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R E V I E W

Note: THIS number of the Research Review should have come out in 1974 but for several reasons, this was not possible.

Editor

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THE VALUE OF CHILDREN FOR PARENTS IN KWAHU, GHANA

Wolf Bleek[x]

1. Questions and Problems

The 1974 World Population Conference in Bucharest revealed that representatives of African and Latin American countries held quite different views about optimum population growth from those of Europe and North America. The former proved to be rather pronatalistic while the latter were clearly in favour of limiting the present rate of population growth.

How do we account for these different points of view? According to some, the explanation must be sought in the political sphere: countries of the third world attribute their slim influence on world politics to their numerical weakness and expect that a rapid increase of their population will alter this situation. Conversely, they say, Western countries regard the mushrooming populations in the developing countries as a threat to their present position of power and for that reason start exporting family planning techniques. Often, however, these political motivations are concealed behind a cloak of discussions about the economic problems. Western countries argue that the present situation of economic stagnation in developing countries is due to the unrelenting growth of their populations. In response these countries say that they need a larger population to exploit the resources and possibilities of their lands.

These problems have been the topic of many political and also scientific debates. Does Africa really need family planning or is

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it an artificial need created by Western powers? Some Dutch social scientists, for example, have argued that the family planning assistance which has been undertaken by the Dutch government in developing countries "does not extend the boundaries of what is to be regarded as beneficial to safeguarding the position of the Netherlands in the world" (Gans, et al, 1974:99), so they call family planning help "a contraceptive to revolution". A Dutch demographer writes, "The fact that the demographic solution is emphasized so strongly must be seen as one of the many attempts by the West and some reigning elites in Africa itself to maintain their influencial position and counteract radical changes" (de Jonge, 1971: 128, my translation). An American anthropologist is more cautious when he writes... "exporting propaganda techniques for "zero population growth" or consulting on how to "weaken" the family is much cheaper than providing significant development assistance or establishing fairer prices for imported products" (Polgar, 1972:210).

These views seem to imply that family planning is something alien to the wants of the people themselves. De Jonge, who carried out fieldwork among the Nyakyusa in Tanzania, concludes that a rapid increase of population will not harm economic progress among the Nyakyusa, on the contrary, "For the poor farmers a large family and many children have more positive than negative consequences" (de Jonge, 1974:69). A similar sound has been heard in Ghana from Nyarko (1971) who rejects the idea that the population explosion is the major factor responsible for the lack of economic development in the country. Nyarko holds that in the socio-cultural context of Ghana a large number of children is advantageous for economic progress. Children are indispensable in the house and on the farm and their presence increases the parents readiness to save. Under-population, he says, is rather an impediment to development. If family planning was really advantageous to the economy of a country "France would be the richest country in the world by now, for she has practised it longest; the Netherlands would also be the poorest

in Europe, for it has the highest population growth rate (1971:166). A similar view is defended by the hierarchy of the Catholic church who states that no population problem exists in Ghana and that "Organized family planning therefore seems to be uncalled for" (Statement of the Catholic Hierarchy of Ghana on family planning, 15 November, 1972).

But what do ordinary people think about having children? For example, do politicians adequately represent the ideas of ordinary people? It does not seem likely that the people are being influenced in their fertility behaviour by national-economic or by political considerations. So-called KAP-surveys (knowledge, attitude and practice) have produced numerous studies which reveal that people in developing countries are favourably disposed towards the practice of birth control, but critics have argued that these studies have often been extremely deceptive (cf. Figa-Talamanca, 1972; Jongmans and Claessen, 1974: passim). Many respondents to KAP-interviews pretended to have a very positive attitude towards a small family and the practice of birth control but actual behaviour was not in accordance with their expressed views.

In Ghana a KAP-survey was carried out at the urban and rural level in the years 1965-1966 (Pool, 1970[a]; 1970[b], 1973). The reported practice of birthcontrol was extremely low but the proportion of women who had considered it was highest "among Christian, educated urban women from Southern tribes who are geographically mobile and in non-traditional types of conjugal unions" (1970[a]; 227). The interest in limiting fertility and the actual practice of birthcontrol seem to be higher among the urban elites, as was shown by Caldwell (1968) in his study of elite couples in Ghana's four biggest towns. More recently attitudes towards family size and/or the practice of contraception have been investigated by Oppong for some socio-economic groups; e.g. University students (Oppong, 1974, n.d.) junior civil servants

(1974[b]) and nurses (1975[a]). In a separate paper reviewing studies of parenthood in Ghana, Oppong reaches the conclusion that in all social strata having children is "increasingly being viewed and experienced as entailing serious problems both economic and social." (1975[b]:10).

A quite unique survey was carried out by Molnos (1968) among school pupils in three East African countries. Molnos recorded some spectacular changes in their attitudes to children compared to traditional views. Some of her data are presented in Tables 1, 2, and 5 further below.

This paper is an attempt to present information about what people in a rural area think about having children. The views of both adults and school pupils will be studied.

It is relevant to present first some information about the demographic situation of Ghana and of Kwahu in particular. Ghana's total population is about 8.6 million which is about 84 inhabitants per square mile, a rather low density if we compare it to the United Kingdom (593 per square mile). Ghana's crude birth rate is estimated at 47 and its current rate of growth at 2.5, which means that if the growth continues at the same rate Ghana's population will be doubled in 28 years. Central Kwahu, where our research was conducted, is a rather densely populated area and its fertility rates rank amongst the highest in the country. The completed fertility rate of Kwahu is estimated at 6.6 (Gaisie, 1969:40)

2. The research[1]

The greater part of the research on which this paper is based took place in 1973 in a Kwahu town. Three samples of adults were interviewed about marriage, family life, fertility and birthcontrol. They were 100 men, 179 women of child-bearing ages and 42 members of a lineage. With regard to the lineage, extensive participant observation was carried out. Quantitative data in this paper, however, will only pertain to the first two samples. The women were interviewed

during their visits to a child welfare clinic after a preliminary investigation had suggested that this group of women did not constitute a biased sample of the total female population of that age-category[2]. The male respondents were selected by means of quota-sampling during visits to the doctor and in town. A comparison with the 1970 census results proved later that the proportion of educated respondents (male and female) was above the average number of educated people in Kwahu as a whole.

Apart from the adults, 432 pupils of middle schools (Form 4)[3] and secondary schools (Form 2) in the same town and in some nieghbouring towns were approached for information. They were submitted to a test of uncompleted sentences according to the procedure of Molnos. A detailed account of the methodological problems in applying this technique can be found in Molnos, 1968:27-37. Some of the sentences dealt with fertility and will be discussed here. As most pupils are between 14 and 17 years of age one may wonder what the relevance is of their ideas about having children. After all, one might say, they are not in a situation in which they are confronted with problems concerning children. This objection is not entirely correct. School pupils are frequently faced with problems of pregnancy and childbirth (cf. Bleek, n.d.a.) Even more important is the fact that school pupils are in a position to appreciate the value of children to parents from the viewpoint of child. It is to be expected that they are able to present a reliable picture of the meaning of children on the basis of their own experiences as children.

Finally, it may be asked whether school pupils are not a privileged group and therefore constitute a biased sample. This is true to some extent so we must bear in mind that the ideas expressed by them are ideas of school pupils and not necessarily of adolescents in general. On the other hand, it must be noted that school attendance is fairly general nowadays. In the area where the research was conducted 70 per cent of the population between 15 and 24 years of age had been to

school or were still attending school. The attendance rate of females is, however, considerably lower than that of males (population Census of Ghana, 1970).

3. Traditional views

Early ethnographies of African societies emphasize that fertility was considered as one of the most important human values. The desire for children was unlimited. A famous case in point is the experiences of the Reining who in the early fifities asked Haya women in Tanzania how many children they would like to have. Reining writes that such a question was meaningless to many of them because children were gifts from God. Some answered "as many as possible" and others mentioned an implausibly high number.

Formerly the situation was probably the same in the Kwahu town where the research was carried out. Old respondents told me that in the olden days life was much cheaper because there was plenty of food. Children took part in the production process and looked after their parents when they became old. The more children the better. Moreover, a large number of children enhanced the parent's social esteem. The same old respondents claimed that no form of birth limitation existed in the past. Methods of contraception were not known and induced abortion was not practised. Infanticide was only applied to deformed children who would bring misfortune to the community if they were allowed to stay alive, The fact that an interval of two or more years usually elapsed between successive births was, therefore, not the result of conscious planning but rather of prolonged lactation causing a long period of post-natal amenorrhoea (cf. Bleek, n.d.b.)

4. "Many children"

The present younger generation has quite different thoughts about the merits of having many children. That which in the past was considered a blessing and wealth is now seen more as a burden. In the tests of uncompleted sentences two sentences referred to a large family:

(a) A man with many children.....

(b) A woman with many children.....

The majority of pupils spontaneously associated these two sentences with negative thoughts (predominantly: financial burden) and only a minority completed the sentences in a positive way. The results are given in Tables 1 and 2. For the purposes of comparison we have added data which were collected by Molnos in East Africa between 1965 and 1967.

Table 1: Associations by pupils to: "A man with many children" (percentages only.)

	Kwahu, 1973 (N= 97)	East Africa, 1966 (N= 648)
negative	57	38
ambivalent	26	28
positive	10	30
unclear	7	4
total	100	100

Table 2: Associations by pupils to: "A woman with many children" (percentages only).

	Kwahu, 1973 (N= 96)	East Africa, 1966 N= 671)
negative	53	21
ambivalent	14	22
positive	19	49
unclear	14	8
total	100	100

If we analyze the content of the associations we see that most pupils think of the financial problems created by a large family. A few examples are cited below: the first three refer to a man, the last two to a woman, with many children.

- does not have money to look after them and the children will bring trouble to the man.

- is always as poor as a churchmouse.

- spends a lot of money because he has to send them to school, buy clothing for them and give them good accommodation to keep them in a healthy state.

-she always goes to farm for food because she wants her children to eat; she does not want them to be hungry.

-always looks very thin and she does not have money to look aftem them.

Only a small number of pupils wrote that a man/woman with many children is well off because the children help him/her with everything. That proportion is 5 per cent whereas the proportion of pupils emphasizing the opposite is 66 per cent (see Table 3). It is also significant that no pupil associates "many children" with a high social status of the parents, and, finally, the idea that a large family will bring security in the future is practically absent. This means that the three most commonly heard reasons for high fertility in an African context no longer occur among the school-going generation in the towns where the research was conducted. Those motives were: economic assistance, future security and social status. It should further be noted that there were no significant differences between the answers of male and female pupils. Differences in the associations to a man and a woman with many children were not great either. The only variation worth mentioning is that women with many children are more often associated with something good and with psychological problems connected with the upbringing of children (see Table 3.) It suggests that mothers are more involved with the emotional problems of a large family than are fathers (cf. Oppong, 1975[b]).

Table 3: Distribution of associations by pupils to "A man/woman with many children" (percentages only).

	a man with many children (N=90)	a woman with many children (N=82)	total (N=172)
must work very hard to get money, food, clothes, to send them to school, etc.	75	55	59
general worries about upbringing	6	16	10
other negative	—	2	1
ambivalent/neutral	9	6	15
children will help/support	4	6	5
other positive	6	15	10
total	100	100	100

Interviews with adults confirmed that social esteem is now associated with the ability to look after one's children rather than to merely having many children. If somebody has few children and he is able to take good care of them, then he is respected, but somebody with many children who is not able to look after them is regarded as a failure and a fool. Most admired, however, is the one who is financially able to take care of a large number of children. It might seem that the old value returns here but that is probably not the case; the admiration is not so much directed towards a man's sexual potency or a woman's fecundity but rather to the fact that a person who is able to fend for so many children is apparently very rich.

Both the school pupils and the adults seem to view a large family as a threat to one's financial position. Moreover, another idea has established itself, namely that one child climbing to a high

financial position offers more security to parents than a large number of children lingering in the rural areas. (cf. Caldwell, 1965).

5. "No children"

The objections to a large family do not imply, however, that the value of the child in general has been devalued. School pupils were asked to complete two sentences referring to childlessness:

(a) A man without children.....

(b) A woman without children.....

The answers showed that the pupils still considered childlessness as one of the greatest misfortunes that can befall any body. The negative associations to childlessness surpassed those to "many children" (see Table 4 and 5: data from East Africa have been included).

Table 4: Associations by pupils to: "A man without children" (percentages only.)

	Kwahu, 1973 (N=92)	East Africa, 1966 (N=671)
negative	77	69
ambivalent	2	5
positive	4	16
unclear	16	9
total	99	99

Table 5: Associations by pupils to: "A woman without children" (percentages only)

	Kwahu, 1973 (N=102)	East Africa, 1966 (N=648)
negative	64	88
ambivalent	6	2
positive	6	4
unclear	24	6
total	100	100

Further content analysis of the answers reveals that for both men and women "having children" is a primary condition for human happiness. The pupils write that a woman without children is always sad and lonely:

-she is never happy in her life.

-is always sad about her barrenness because maybe her friends have children and she does not

-is always crying because she has not any son or daughter.

Another problem for such a woman is that she has no one to help her with her numerous domestic activities or run little errands for her.

-is always unhappy because she thinks that she will not get any child to be sent or to buy something for her.

-feels sad because at times when she sends a child the child may think that she is not his mother so he doesn't go.

Furthermore, a childless woman lives under heavy social pressure. She is suspected of being a witch who has killed her own children (either before or after they were born), or having led an immoral life as a result of which God has punished her with barrenness. Some think that she has caught a veneral disease by her promiscuous way of living.

-is very bad woman because God has given her some children but she has killed all of them.

-is said to have been flirting with men during her early days and may have gonorrhea so that she cannot bring forth.

Finally, some say that a woman without children is not a complete woman because she is missing something essential to womanhood, namely children. The pupils make use here of a number of proverbial sayings which are very likely derived from common parlance.

-is like a tree without fruits

-is like soup without salt and is always fond of any child she meets. She always struggles to get one.

Those who find a positive value in a childless woman remark that she is rich and remains beautiful and that she has plenty of time for herself.

The associations with "a man without children" correspond to some extent with those to a childless woman but there are some significant differences, which will be discussed below. Table 6 shows that a man without children is generally considered as an unhappy and lonely man. He has no child to perform small services, he is incomplete and is liable to social ridicule because he is suspected of sexual impotence. Another negative point is that he has no child to bury him when he dies. Children are absolutely essential in order for a man to live a happy and dignified life and to die in a respectable way.

Table 6: Distribution of associations by pupils to "A man/woman without children" (percentages only).

	a man without children (N=81)	a woman without children (N=77)	total (N=158)
has no one to help	30	30	30
is unhappy, sad, lonely	20	36	28
is incomplete	22	8	16
under social pressure	10	12	11
other negative	14	6	10
positive	5	8	6
total	101	100	101

Table 6 suggests that for a mother the value of children lies more in the sphere of affection than for a father, whereas the idea of completeness is brought up more in connection with the father than with the mother. Perhaps, we may, with some simplification, conclude that having children tends to be associated more with prestige for a man and with emotional values for a woman.

Another point which needs clarification is the fact that almost one third of the pupils mention the aspect of help given by children. It shows that children are still regarded in terms of utility. In the previous section we have seen that having many children is hardly considered by anyone as an economic advantage but

now it seems that having no children is nevetheless seen as some kind of economic disadvantage. However, it is not entirely correct to speak of economic disadvantage, because the associations of the pupils refer to a much wider reality. Children in Kwahu, and in the whole of Ghana, perform innumerable small services with which adults do not want to waste their time, or which lie beneath their dignity. For example, children go for water, collect firewood, buy kerosine, take food to their fathers who live in another house, or send messages to their relatives or neighbours. Most of these activities can hardly be said to have economic value but it cannot be doubted that adults, particularly men, are greatly troubled if there is no child who can perform these chores for them. If there are children in a house, but they are not a man's own children (or, we may as well add, his sister's children), he will find it difficult to exercise authority over them, as the pupils clearly state (see above).

In conclusion, people want to have some children but not many. The absence of children renders a marriage and life in general meaningless. Children have retained their high value provided they do not become too numerous. As soon as their number becomes too large they lose their positive value and negative thoughts start to prevail.

6. The ideal number

Up to now we have only spoken about "many" and "not" children, but how many children is seen as the ideal? The topic of "ideal family size" must be handled with utmost caution. Reining's experience in the 1950's still occurs nowadays. For many respondents the question "How many children would you like to have" is a senseless, perhaps even an improper, question. Children are gifts from God so man has no say in the matter. Besides, for elderly respondents with a complete family, the question is preposterous. If, nevetheless, they are prepared to give a sensible answer to this "foolish" question, they are likely to mention the number of children which they actually have. I have attempted to exclude this type of answer as much as

possible from Table 7. Another problem which has played tricks on many a KAP-survey is the tendency of the respondents not to give their own opinion if they have one at all but the interviewer's. If, for example, the interviewer is obviously a representative of a family planning organization they will attempt to satisfy him by mentioning a small number of children as their ideal.

It is, therefore, with considerable hesitation that I present the following data and I am aware that they have limited value. At most they are rough indicators of how people theoretically think about number of children, but they certainly have no predictive power.

Table 7: Ideal family size in three samples (percentages only)

Ideal number of children	males (N=80)	females (N=147)	pupils (N=72)
2	-	1	3
3	4	5	1
4	32.5	33	36
5	5	5	15
6	37.5	47	32
7	21	10	13
total	100	101	100
mean ideal number of children	5.6	5.3	5.2

The concentration of answers on 4 and 6 children and the high degree of congruence between the three samples is noteworthy. The explanation of the preference for 4 and 6 must be sought in the fact that they are even numbers allowing for an equal number of boys and girls. The interviews revealed that there is no preference for either sex, as exists, for example, in India.

The average ideal number of children, slightly more than 5, may seem high to (present) Western standards, but it does represent a decrease in comparison with traditional norms which recommend an unlimited number. It is only a few decades ago that a Kwahu woman was publicly honoured after the birth of her tenth child. Of course, we should keep in mind that the average ideal of 5 children probably refers to children who survive infancy whereas the "ten births" most likely included some children who died at a young age. The traditional attitude of having as many children as possible is probably connected with this very fact. Expressed attitudes about desired family size should, therefore, be seen in the context of prevailing child mortality rates. Gaisie (1975:28) estimates that in the Eastern region (where our research was conducted) child mortality is about 150 per 1,000 live births. This means that if the average ideal family size is 5.2 the ideal number of childbirths should be 6.1. Further, it is likely that the child mortality rate was considerably higher in the past. During his 1945 survey Fortes recorded a rate of 279 per thousand in a rural town of Asante (Fortes, 1954: 309-13), which seems to agree with my own findings. A diachronic view of four generations in one particular Kwahu lineage revealed that in no generation did the average number of children reaching adulthood exceed 4.3 per woman. These simple figures suggest that the average family size which is desired by contemporary Kwahu may be even higher than the actual family size which was achieved on the average in the past.

So if the expressed ideal family size were to have predictive value we might expect that, paradoxically enough, the completed families of today would be bigger than those of the past. Nevertheless, the expressed attitudes about the value and the ideal number of children call for some form of birth regulation.

Is there a tendency among the young to prefer smaller families? Table 8 seems to suggest that there is. Half of all respondents under the age of 30 prefer 4 children or less, while this proportion is only 15 per cent over the age of 30.

Table 8: Age of respondents and ideal number of children (percentages only; males and females combined)

Ideal number of children:	4 or less	more than 4	total
age: -29	50	50	100 (N=147)
30-39	14	86	100 (N= 57)
40+	17	83	100 (N= 23)
total	38	62	100 (N=227)

df=2 $x^2=27.57$ p. .01

However, the figures of Table 8 have less significance than one might think at first glance. In the first place, it is not clear whether the preference for a smaller family is a characteristic or a particular generation or only of an age-group. If the former is true we may indeed speak of a change but if the latter applies we are not dealing with a development in time but only with the fact that people at a young age desire a smaller family than at an older age when their actual number of children has already surpassed their former "ideal number". A second difficulty (to which we have already referred) is that the mentioning of an ideal number of children does not guarantee that the respondent will actually take measures to realise this "ideal". Factors which determine the use of contraception or repressive birth-control are quite different; nor so much attitudes but rather situational factors (cf. Bleek, 1974).

7. Conclusion

In this paper I have attempted to shed some light on the values that children have for parents in a rural area of Ghana. The study is limited to geographical terms but it seems likely that the data

apply to a large extent to most rural communities of southern Ghana, particularly to the Akan communities. The data indicate that the general pronatalistic ideal of the recent past no longer exists. School pupils proved to be very much aware that having many children implies a heavy burden on the parents and adult respondents preferred a number of children which they were able to look after. Having some children, however, remains a primary condition for happiness in life and childlessness is regarded as one of the most tragic misfortunes. It is difficult to ascertain exactly how many children people would like to have but our data suggest an average of slightly more than 5.

The information urges us to be cautious in stating that birth-control is an unwanted commodity imported by western countries. There may be a resistance to particular methods of birthcontrol but it is not likely that this resistance extends to birthcontrol in general. There is a clear desire not to have "many" children. To realise this desire some form of birthcontrol is bound to take place.

A question which may be raised is whether the expressed attitudes have not already been influenced by western propaganda, but such a view would clearly overestimate the impact of the present advertising campaign for family planning. A much more obvious explanation for the change in attitudes is the fact that life itself has undergone some drastic changes since the arrival of western education and a market economy. These developments have in turn changed the role and value of children.

Returning to the question in our opening paragraph, is family planning being imposed on Ghanaians by western powers who are looking after their own interests? This paper has shown that the need to have fewer children does not say, however, that the existence of such a need proves that the countries exporting family planning have noble motives for doing so.

Notes:

1. The research was financed by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana. For the writing up of data I received a subsidy from the Netherlands. Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research (WOTRO). I am grateful to Klass de Jonge for his critical comments.

2. The proportion of women reporting attendance to the clinic was 77 per cent of all women with children below 5 years of age. Reasons that were advanced by women for not attending did not suggest that a particular section of the population absented itself. The only bias in selection was that women without children under 5 years of age were automatically excluded from the sample.

3. The middle school (4 years) is part of the elementary education.

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SOCIO-POLITICAL RELEVANCE OF CHIEFSHIP[x] IN CONTEMPORARY GHANA

A.K. Quarcoo[xx]

It is pertinent that a sociological conference concerned at this time with the institutional challenges of contemporary Ghana should elect to consider the subject of chieftaincy. Chiefship of course, is by no means restricted to Ghana but the type of chiefship which I have elsewhere referred to as the skin or stool policy has become peculiar to the country.[1] It is a system of government which has grown around the use of stool or skin as a symbol of office. We suggest it is a socio-political organization in which the government is essentially of the people, by the people for the people.[2]

Democracy and balance of forces appear to be significant features of the stool polity type of government. It has not been static but dynamic. Nonetheless it appears it has been a drag in a way, to political advancement at different times in Ghanaian history. Basically, however, the history of chiefship indicates that it has proved to be a tried socio-political institution, which as far as records show, continues to be seriously linked with the total life and culture.

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[x] First delivered at a Sociological Conference in Kumasi, March 1975.

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1. See Quarcoo, 1973: The Stool Polity – a kind of Political Organization IX Internation Conference on Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Chicago.

2. That is, democracy as defined by the famous American President, Abraham Lincoln.

Significantly, ever since the attainment of independence from colonial rule in 1957, the place and significance of chiefship has always been a topical subject.

There is a lot of literture on the constitution of chiefship. All serious documents on chiefship outline the place of the chief in the political structure. Busia has pointed out that chiefship tend to be based largely on lineage system and this continues to be so. Each lineage in Ashanti polity he studied was essentially a political unit and its head represented that lineage on the council which is governing body. A chief is nominated, elected and initiated into a stool office and then becomes at once a judicial officer, a commander-in-chief, the legislative, executive and administrative head of his people. In parts of the Northern and Upper Regions, the chief is initiated into a skin office since the skin is the equivalent of the stool in these regions. The leader so installed was bound by custom to act only with the assent and on the advice of his elders. A chief who resorted to arbitrary acts, disobedience to the elders or disrespect for the constitution of the stool, was destooled. The chief spoke normally in public through linquists and the linquists in turn should relate what their chiefs say in court in appropriate language to the people. Chiefs must not speak uncouth language, as they are basically regarded as the first among their people and also lin between the dead and the living. Even now, the chief continues in a large measure to be the hub of unity for separate lineages, villages and sub-divisions. The ideals embodied in the political and social dimensions are basically the same today. The form of political organisation which we are calling chieftaincy required that the person regarded as the most suitable for the position at any particular time should be invited, persuaded or coerced to take the office. The grave responsibilities attached to the office made some people shy away from it. A few, however, in the past as it is the

case now, lobbied or even bought their way to it or engaged in prolonged litigations to get the office.

A chief and some limits on legitimized authority

Constitutionally, a nominated and elected chief is ritually installed into office. Grand public ceremonies, which include taking of the oath of office complete the investiture. A chief duly installed becomes the leader and 'grandfather' of the people. If the chief abused his privilege and ceased to command the respect of his people, he was removed from office but not vi et armis. First, he must be impeached and he must in fact be proved guilty before he could be rejected. The essence of the stool or skin constitution is that the chief is under the law and not above it. He is a leader and not an overlord.

There are a number of examples in past and contemporary history of Ghana when chiefs suffered or do suffer destoolment when they disregarded the advice of their elders or behaved in unseemly manner. Gluttony, drunkeness, taking the law into one's own hands, and discrimination against citizens in the realm on the basis of their origins are among the serious offences which demand the removal of the chief from office.[3]

3. According to Busia (1958) Kings Kofi Karikari 1874, and Osei Bonsu 1800 were destooled. Kofi Karikari did not give his elders enough respect and arbitrarily removed gold from the Bantama mausoleum without permission. Osei Kwame clashed with some of his constituent chiefs when he embarked on his centralization policy without approbal. Chiefs Kwabena Boagye of Asumegya, Kwame Braku and Kwasi Ten were destooled for excessive drunkenness. Kwase Asomane of Bekwai suffered destoolment for being a glutton while Kwame Asona was destooled for dealing in charms and noxious medicines. In Juabeng, Akuamoa Panin was removed from office for his abusive tongue and persistent disobedience of his elders. The chief of Kokofu, Osei Yaw, suffered destoolment for being addicted to disclosing the origins of his subjects. Note that putting people at a disadvantage because of their social origin was abhorred even in old Asante which had many people of varying statuses in the extended realm. Tribalism per se has therefore been always abhorred in Akan Ghana. The same is, to a large extent, true of all Ghana.

In the past, the chief was the recognized supreme judicial, military, political and sometimes religious or ritual authority within the confines of his geographical boundaries. On the whole the election and the processes of making chiefs involved the participation of the whole society. He sat upon the stool or skin of the ancestors and assumed the social personality of the royal ancestors. He was therefore accorded reverence as their successor and he performed sacrifices on behalf of the living. His 'judicial' functions included the restoration of broken relations occurring from religious as well as social offences. He was regarded as 'sacred and had supreme prestige although he had constitutional checks and balances on how he used his authority. He was not to be a despot for he had to govern with the aid of his councillors who consisted of elected heads of lineages who made up the different divisions in the society. This provision made each member of the council a direct representative on the council on the basis of kinship.

On formal assumption of political authority over his people, it was the duty of a chief and his council to maintain peaceful relationships within a given community and make war on aggressors or even neighbours who, in the opinion of the community must, advantageously, be attracted or attached to it.

Chiefs were guardians of the laws and customs of their people. In this exercise some past Ghanaian chiefs came against some of the earlier converts to other religions like Christianity and Islam. The chief was ubiquitous in the life of the people, but the colonial rule steadily affected and spelt out areas where they could not operate. The effect was that there was, as might be expected, disarray in several departments of the ethos of chiefship.

The chief today

The first vital change that came with the colonial rule is that it took most of the legal and political sovereignty of the chief in council. Chiefs, of course, continue today to be made through the processes of nomination, election and installation. The kin qualification also continues to combine kinship with the principle of popular election. However, a complex of factors, namely, the loss of sovereign power, the effect of the long history of nationalist movements, and the economic power of the chiefs which has continued to decline give us a different portrait of the Ghanaian chief of today.

A chief today, therefore, is nominated and elected by his people in accordance with customary usage and so acquires legitimized authority within a specified area to perform functions derived from tradition. To be able to exercise his functions as required by custom he must be gazetted by the central government. He is neither a military nor necessarily, a spiritual leader, and his judicial functions are also circumscribed. He can arbitrate but the two people or factions must normally agree to have the arbitration in his court before he could actt as the arbitrator. Indeed this provision is valid even in towns and villages whose population are fairly homogeneous. Experience however shows that even now, many people find it advisable and convenient to submit to the 'courts' of the chiefs.

In the stool polity are grades of stools and stool offices with graded political competences. Only higher grades of chiefs need to be gazetted by government. Others are recognized through the apex of chiefs of the country. In this regard the lower chiefs rather operate under the former powers of the stool polity constitution. Until today, a typical traditional council may have an apex chief usually called a paramount chief. Under him may be divisional chiefs who are often chiefs of districts. Divisional chiefs also usually

have village chiefs under them. Occasionally, a paramount chief may have some village chiefs directly under him. The reason for any particular arrangement which does not conform to the orthodox pattern is often historical.

The hierachy of stool is an index to the hierarchy of stool offices and political power in the realm. Right from the village level each chief has a council of elders with whom he administers the village, town or division. A citizen can move a case from one court to another at his own will, by swearing the oath of the court to which he desires to go. There is also an arrangement whereby one could appeal to a higher court. One should have good reasons to attempt to move one's case from a lower court to a higher one, since penalties at higher courts tend to be severer than those at lower courts.

Although these arrangements do still exist, British rule essentially took away most of the legal and political sovereignty of the chief in council and subsequent changes have continued to persist in contemporary Ghana. As we have observed earlier on, a chief may be elected by a people, but the central government should gazette this chief to 'consummate' installation. We observe that factors that have helped to undermine the authority and effectiveness of the institution of chiefship, are complex. Chiefship since the colonial era has tended to be an arm of the central government. Indeed, it has been suggested that the concept of indirect rule had as its objective, progressive adaptation of the Institution to modern conditions. Modern conditions, probably refer to government as envisaged by the colonial administration.

Historically, it is known that there were many instances when the colonial regime that was established paradoxically often supported the chiefs against their people. This phenomenon rather weakened the position of the chief. Records show that after the Yaa Asantewaa war

of 1900, the stool constitution of Asante was seriously assailed. Even candidates known to have no right according to native customary law to be incumbents of stools were elected to various stool offices against the people's will. Such chiefs were naturally disrespectful to the conventions of chiefship and ruled without regard to the constitution of the stool because they had the support of the colonial government. Although the people often kicked back most of the time they did not succeed in having justice done. It is evident that the history of chiefship would definitely have been different if attempts to refuse to cooperate with government sponsored chiefs which started in Agona in 1905, to which Busia refers, had persisted.[4] A similar case is reported to have occurred in Juabeng in 1907.[5] Government support for the chiefs has been abundant in the history of Ghana in the latter nineteenth and especially, in the twentieth centuries.[6]

The law of reciprocity operated in that chiefs who were government sponsored chiefs also tended to support the central government not infrequently against their own people. This situation of affairs still persists. It is the case that sometimes sycophantic telegrams, or utterances of support are sent to governments by selfish or sometimes apparently wicked individual. The aim of such acts is difficult to determine but often they merely seem to be designed to please the powers that be. Granting that they mean what their proposals say, the constitutions and decrees of post colonial central governments clearly indicate that they would like to have the benefit of the experience of chiefship but not sychophancy.

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4. Busia 1958: p.105, Reports that the Agona people refused to serve Kwame Boakye who was a government sponsored chief.

5. Ibid. p. 106,

6. Ibid. See page 107 et. seq.

The Stool Polity, Democracy and Development

Democracy as a term or a concept of government has been one of the most stretched. We even have references in political history to democracy in dictatorship. While western countries regard democracy as "a form of government with the supreme power vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation and delegated authority in which people choose their officials and representatives at periodically held elections" (Webster Hutchison's edition of 20th Century Dictonary) - that is representative democracy - some Eastern countries like Russia emphasize economic control by government for the benefit of the community usually through a one party organization. Reference may be made here to the concept of democracy as envisaged by the famous American President Abraham Lincoln who portrays democracy as a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Whether that type of democracy is widely practised is another matter. The stool polity system of government is, in effect, a government which derives its authority from the people. In the light of the above definitions, it is a democratic form of government. There is representation, decentralization of power, accountability, and freedom of the individual within a polity. Checks and balances are provided on the political power of a chief within the constitution, and the right of the people to reject the political direction of a leader who ceases to rule with, by and for them is jealously guarded and maintained.

Describing the decentralisation aspect of chiefship Sekyi pointed to what he described as concentric circles of competences of stools and their incumbent in relation to the apex stool of any 'state'. Danquah's contribution on the position of stools and their competences clearly demonstrated the apportionment of power to different stools. (Danquah 1928, Rattray 1929). "The Pattern of the Stool Polity", as M.G. Smith put it, "may be described as being one of corporations

aggregate related to each other which in turn is represented in corporations whole which are the stools in combination to form the structure." (M.G. Smith, 1956, p.68)

In the stool polity system of government therefore, there are definite political competences and obligations, and delegated responsibilities. Constitutionally, no stool officer has absolute power. The wing chiefs are checks, and at the same time important ancilliary agents in the government at every level. The pattern of the stool polity of Asante Union was one in which the 'state chiefs' became wing chiefs of the whole union government. This pattern is what has been described as concentric circles of political power.

The Stool Polity and Development

National development which was the theme of the 1974 Ghana Sociological Conference may be taken for the purposes of this paper to mean advancement to a guided goal, for example, of obtaining the things which are, in contemporary times, generally regarded as desirable landmarks and styles of life prevalent in the so-called developed countries.

In the case of Ghana, we may list items of progress to include an extensive exploitation and use of our natural resources and the development of agriculture including animal husbandry. Apart from these, national development may include such conditions as mutual respectability, plenty for all, stability, peace and predictability in national political organization. National development, it would seem, could therefore proceed better in an atmosphere of trust and understanding. At the moment no scientific law of progress has been established but people generally seem to know what they mean when they talk about it. There is a sense in which we may think of progress in terms of evolution. Urbanity which is regarded as progress from folk or rural existence is not necessarily, as you may agree, development. Development we suggest must involve the whole of the culture.

With the imposition of colonial government came a new type of political education. Among its salient ideas was that of "territorial units" which needed cooperation between aggregate native authorities for the purpose of providing social services. This in effect fostered a new conception of government. The spirit of giving grants to native authorities towards development projects, and the establishment of treasuries was encouraged. Native authorities made grants for public education, sanitary and general public services. Government made provision for a centralized native administration to cater for services.

Thus the seeds of getting an organization to cater centrally for public services were deliberately sown although in Ashanti for example, that kind of centralization brought its own problems, especially as regards the relationship between the Confederacy Council and the regional or constituent states. In the main, however, the principles enunciated for example through the style of indirect rule largely enforced or adopted the customary practices of indigenous political institutions which existed before the colonial experience.

The chief's financial resources in modern Ghana

In the past the chief was financed in every aspect of his private and public responsibilities by the people and from the resources of his realm. He was entitled, by virtue of his stool office, to complete dependence on his community or state for everything. Most 18th or 19th century Ghanaian chiefs of the centralized political communities were therefore fairly 'affluent'. That position began to change long before the end of the colonial era in 1957. A chief continued to inherit the 'spirit' and social personality of his predecessor but his personality can no longer be said to merge with his office in every way.

Now the chief may have some property which he may call his own apart from the property of the stool. He does not, in fact, receive tributes and gifts from his subjects as of the past. His entitlements to certain parts of game hunted within the confines of his jurisdiction are no longer seriously regarded. As a result of the curtailment of these advantages of office, a chief is unable to be a beneficiary of his realm as required by custom. Chiefs may not levy taxes without approval from the central government and taxes levied must be accounted for strictly. Most chiefs receive stipends approved by the central government. The effects on the maintenance of the supporting institutions of the stool office are obvious. As a result of that state of financing their respectability and social standing, as the first among their people, have suffered.

The contemporary situation of the stool polity and social development

The stool polity type of government required that a chief should keep the peace within his realm and jealously guard the boundaries of his territory as well as defend his people against external aggression. The maintenance of political order entailed operations in other spheres of the social organization. The chief was the care of unity, the grandfather of his people and the epitome of the culture. In the context of the present national state of Ghana, the chief is still likely to be useful in fostering unity. This may seem paradoxical since it has been the case that some contemporary politicians have used or tried to use the institution to bring about segmentation of the country. Hence some argue that the institution appears to be predisposed to sectarianism.

As we have noted earlier on, it is on record that some occupants of stools in the past as well as now, sometimes either became drags on progress or betrayers of the trust imposed in them.

In spite of these social facts, successive governments before and after independence in 1957 continue to feel that the institution is indispensable in the overall political and social administration of the country.

Indeed, contemporary Ghana is rural in many places and the stool polity appears to have been most effective in such places. Even at a time in the recent past when the judicial powers of chiefs were rigidly curtailed, rural folk preferred and continued to seek arbitration from chiefs. For various torts and even crimes, the arbitration of chiefs was preferred to litigation in law courts which, among other things, are sometimes considered remote.

We have indicated that sociologically the overall political influence of chiefs has changed and their financial resources are not only limited but in some cases not guaranteed. It is a fact that both casual as well as serious observers have questioned the wisdom of retaining contemporary chiefs. People have wondered why candidates even continue to agree or litigate for the office of chiefship at all. It would seem reasonable to expect that, under normal circumstances, it should be difficult to get incumbents for vacant stool offices in contemporary Ghana. This is not so. Very affluent and respectable individuals are making themselves available for most of these offices that become vacant. In some cases candidates get involved in protracted litigations for the places. The future of personnel for stool offices seem to be assured and the quality of such personnel in terms of education also promises to be high. We will have to examine the factors promoting this trend of affairs carefully to see what is happening. However, we observe that not only are most villages and towns anxious to have educated chiefs to meet the demands of contemporary conditions, but that a number of enlightened people think the stool polity type of government has something to offer the present and future of Ghana.

The evidence of this contention may be seen in a number of things they do in the political and social reconstruction of the nation and state of Ghana. Among these is the call to chiefs to help stream-line customary laws to make them truly assimilatable into the general laws of the country. The body of customary laws of Ghana is of course already recognised as part of the law of the country but the diversities in the laws on very similar or identical issues make it necessary for some revisions to be done. Besides, some of the usages are obsolete and ill-suited to modern conditions and life. Reference has only to be made to the various Acts and decrees since 1960 to notice the trend of the social and official governmental thought to which we have referred. Act 370 of 1971 went a long way to specify the arrangement of sections. There was to be a National House of Chiefs with five chiefs from every region of Ghana, elected from chiefs of the regions. Article 154 of the Constitution conferred on it specific functions but it was also stated that the House would be required to deliberate on matters referred to it from time to time by the National Central government. This House was required to advise on chieftaincy and government on a variety of matters including the final revision of customary usages and law. Part Two of the Act established regional Houses of Chiefs which was not very different from Provincial Council of Chiefs of the past. Indeed, the national House of Chiefs could be compared with the Joint Provincial Council of chiefs which had Dodowah as its meeting place.[7] The difference was mainly in the composition and the responsibilities of the new House. Part II dealt with Traditional Councils and the duties of persons to assist the councils. The following are other parts of that Act. Act IV dealt with Divisional Councils, Part V with Proceedings affecting the Institution itself, Part VI, Stool Property - Part VII, Customary Law, Part VIII dealt with who

7. Except that Ashanti was not represented.

is a chief and categories of chiefs, enstoolment and destoolment of chiefs. The current decree of the N.R.C. government has accepted the main principles of the Act 370 of 1971 which it has revised.

As a matter of fact the whole of social development is to be one of the foremost concerns of the institution of chiefship. Hence the traditional ways and means of socialization like festivals, periodic calls back home, and specific organization of projects to improve the conditions of the people, towns and villages, are to be exploited by chiefs. Fortunately experience has proved that the traditional rulers would be useful in preserving the desirable aspects of a distinctive Ghanaian culture.

The Chieftaincy Research Project

At this point it may be useful to mention some of the efforts the government itself is making to examine the challenges of contemporary Ghana in the sphere of culture. Rightly, it has been fel we suggest, that the challenges to Ghanaian culture require dispassionate and scientific study of the institutions like marriage and family inheritance and chieftaincy. The study of chieftaincy exposes us to the study of all those institutions listed before it. The national concern to embark on the project of studying this has already been concretely demonstrated by governments preceding the N.R.C. However, there has been a formal launching of it by the N.R.C. government.

As far back as 1960, even the late Kwame Nkrumah, who at a point during the struggle for independence felt that the chiefs were obstructing the way and that they should be dispensed with, seemed to have disabused his mind of this and favoured the guaranteeing of the place of chiefs in the 1st Republican Constitution.

Summary and conclusion

We have been trying to examine the institution of chieftaincy and its socio-political relevance in contemporary Ghana. Although we did not trace its history in any detail we tried to draw attention to the checks and balances inherent in it and consequently to its democratic principles. The supreme power, we saw, resided in the people and they could reject a chief when he ceased to rule in accordance with the laws of the people who legitimized his power.

The colonial experience brought about some changes in the powers of the chief and that of the people. The colonial era and government are past. Subsequently popularly elected national governments or military councils have taken the reigns of government at different times. Evidence shows that governments since the national independence of Ghana have all felt that the institution of chiefship continues to be useful in the political and social administration of the country. Therefore in their own ways, the governments have sought to guarantee the place of the institution in the government of the country. Not only do they do this but they call upon chietaincy as an institution to help in the task of reconstruction. The most recent development is the reorganization of Houses of Chiefs and national research programmes to examine the traditional customs and usages of the country as a whole.

This down to earth attitude to study the basic indigenous institutions of the country dispassionately seem to be a step in the direction which we may call scientific. The results, we hope, should be revealing and useful in forging future governments which may be better based on the soil of culture. Culture of course is dynamic and obviously cognizance would have to be taken of that in the study. This means it would be necessary for us to be painstaking in our researches in order to locate the vital and resilient aspects of the culture. Our final observation is that it is not unlikely

that something fruitful may evolve from the study which is currently being done on chiefship. If this proves to be so, we would hope, that the institution would be put to greater and better use in the social development of the country.

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THE ACADEMIC APPROACH TO AFRICAN ART

Dr. Chukwulozie Anyanwu

How do researchers study African art? The researchers begin with the belief that Africa is a continent of diversities and varieties, that the North is different from the South; East from West, and every ethnic group from another. Within each ethnic group, the researchers find differences between all villages. To pursue this belief to its ultimate consequence, one must also emphasize the differences between all families and all individuals. Thus, we arrive at the uniqueness of all individuals. In fact, two twins are never identical due to their fingerprints.

Due to these differences and diversities, the Western experts caution and decree that one should be "particular" not "general". This scepticism arising from the methodology of science does not refer to or depend on African culture but defeats the power and authority of reason to know reality. In other words, in the face of diversity and differences, reason is powerless. The idea that one must be "particular" not "general" has become an "approved method of science", approved of because the researchers equate facts with knowledge, neglect epistemology and rely on observed facts without the need for reflection.

In pursuit of this "approval method of science", the researchers have divided Africa into different "zones" or "fields". Each expert observes his or her own field, localizes the art object, the place of its origin, the data, the author of the art object, the function, etc. The art object are said to be "sacred", "naturalistic", "abstract", "realistic", "symbolic", "moving", "balance between nature and abstraction", "freedom of expression", etc. Some art objects are classified into "pure art", "religious art", "ceremonial art", etc. These and similar qualities attributed to African art have no meaning within the African cultural premise.

With their rational methods, the researchers into African culture embark on a systematic collection and documentation of data, forbid "general statements" and pay "specific" attention to "particular" areas. This method has led to the accumulation of facts, but the knowledge of African art remains merely popular.

The researchers into African art have not even asked themselves why no African community wrote on paper. They have assumed that culture will illumine the heart of the "Dark Continent". None has suspected that science (the Western science — the concepts and theories derived from the Western culture) cannot improve on or explain the nature of African culture, that the African people did not write their cultural reality — beliefs and ideas, meaning and values of God, man, nature, etc. — on paper because the African cultural reality does not fit into the schemes of space. As a result, all the concepts and theories derived from the Western culture have no validity in the African cultural world.

African art, like all other cultural expressions among the Africans (the Black Africans) stem from a climate beyond the experience of the Western people. In spite of the innumerable facts exhumed daily, the factual data so far accumulated are very minute. Archaeologists, ethnographers,, anthropologists, etc. have amassed immense material systematically documented them, but what has come to be known as the knowledge of African art is African cultural fact subordinated to Western concepts and theories. Some experts have tried to formulate laws from the accumulated data. Others still call for detailed observation and study of each village before any attempt to formulate laws could be possible. Besieged by fragmentary and scattered facts which are dubious or incorrect, all researchers into African culture address themselves to the question of the origin of African people or of each ethnic group with the purpose of determining how artistic works have altered during the course of the migration of each ethnic group and how the art of each group has been influenced by

another. Follow ing this line of thought, almost all experts in African culture deny the possibility of any cultural synthesis until the civilization of every village, ethnic group and nation has been systematically studied, observed and documented. Anyone who questions the "approved method of science" will not be given a hearing because it violates the dogmas of the "Church of Reason".

African culture possesses its own assumptions and world-view. The artistic forms of that culture, its political beliefs, its ethical and moral norms, etc. depend on the philosophy of African culture. Religion, aesthetics, politics, art, music, etc. stem from a cultural premise and constitute one body of experience. "A study of African culture reveals almost without question that it is based upon religion — that, in fact, it is within the religious network that the entire culture resides. Furthermore, this entire culture is an organic whole. In traditional Africa, there is no specialization of disciplines, no dissociation of sensibilities. In other words, starting from this particular religious focus, there is no separation between religion and philosophy, religion and society, religion and art. Religion is the form or kernel or the core of the culture."[1]

The minds of the Western researchers are accustomed to fragment into isolated and independent pieces that which is a whole. Religion, art, politics, economics, music, etc. are seen as different activities or expressions, hence this mode of thought will never grasp the nature, meaning and expressions of African culture. Religion constitutes the basis of all African cultural expressions. What does religion mean in the African culture? "In spite of an enormous literature," Professor Bastide wrote: "we have only a very poor knowledge of African religions.... Religion is seen from the outside as a thing and not from within as experienced reality.... Books

1. Edward Kamau Brathwaite, "The African Presence in Carribbean Literature", Daedalus; Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Spring 1974; page. 74.

concerning the African religion are basically no more than an immense gallery of mirrors which only reflect the image of ourselves, our ideas, our dreams, or our passions. Will we ever be able to break these mirrors which deform?"[2] African religions are studied, as matters of empirical facts, through interviews, questionnaires, the description of rituals and ceremonies, etc. All these appear "magical", "superstitious" and "undeveloped" because the researchers have completely no knowledge of where and how to start the study of African art and religion. No knowledge of any cultural expression is possible without the knowledge of the cultural premise and of the nature of experience within that culture. Every culture possesses its own science, that is, the standard which the mind must adopt or follow in order to arrive at what that culture believes to be valid knowledge of reality. The method by which any culture arrives at its belief of true and valid knowledge necessarily determines its approach to God, Man, Nature, Social facts, etc. To know what that method is, one must know the nature of experience within that culture. One of the greatest errors committed by the Western researchers was the application of the "approved method of science" to African cultural expressions hence they bring a priori assumptions, hypotheses, concepts, theories suggested by the Western culture to bear on African culture.

The most essential and ultimate goal in the study of African cultural expression is the understanding of the assumptions, concepts and theories through which the African people explain their activities and behaviour. The Western experts think that they will arrive at that understanding by interviewing the Africans in market places as if the common people in any culture know the ideas, principles and assumptions governing their cultural activities and behaviour. African elites, aware solely of the Western ideas, theories and concepts, have no knowledge of their own cultural ideas. As a result, they confuse

the identity of words in the Western and African cultures with the identity of meaning. The western experts do not want to accept the judgement of the few Africans who have insight into both the African and Western cultures and who call for a completely new approach to the study of African culture. Again, the Western experts want to confirm the judgements of those few Africans empirically by interviewing the common people in Africa. Did Hume, Kant, Descartes, Spinoza, Newton, Hegel, etc. distribute questionnaires to the Western populace prior to the formulation of their ideas? Have the Western empirical researchers questioned the common people in the West to confirm or refute the ideas of the Western thinkers? Perhaps the Western people believe that their cultures depend on reason while that of the African people depend on individual opinions. Spencer's sociology, the theories of Comte, Weber, Durkheim, Malinowski, etc. have no hold on African cultural reality. The Western social scientists have developed certain conceptual tools in the light of their own culture and analyze the African culture with such tools.

An appeal to factual knowledge as the basis for the confirmation of African normative theory is absurd. The accumulated facts could as well refer to any culture nor is the normative theory a material thing to be known through the method of natural science. Any study of African cultural expression which fails to grasp or ignores the understanding of the nature of experience in African culture, the concepts and theories of that culture, the standard which the mind must adopt to arrive at the knowledge of African cultural reality, the premise of African culture, has no meaning and no knowledge of culture.

EXPERIENCE IN AFRICAN CULTURE

Culture is a response to human experience. Experience shows or reveals the duality of the Ego and the world. The opposition between the Ego and the World in spite of their mutual dependence constitutes the basis of all contradictions. Without resolving the contradiction between the Ego and the World, there will be a split in human consciousness which militates against the unit of the individual and the selfhood. The duality of the Ego and the World further reveals the duality of the body and mind, individuality and universality, oneness and manifoldness, time and eternity, etc. Cultural activities or responses are attempts to resolve the duality of experience.

How did the African culture respond to the duality of experience? The African cultural spirit saw the World as centered on the Self hence it made no distinction between the Ego and the World. This led to the belief, as a personally experienced reality, that Nature is alive not a dead thing. Consequently, the Self animates the World. The Self and the World order become identical. The World which has no reference to the Self has no meaning within this cultural context. Consequently, the World possesses order and unity through the living experience of the Self. The Self and the World are one, and both proclaim the unity and solidarity of Life. Living, therefore, in a world of aesthetic continuum which admits of no duality of thought, a world of aesthetic continuum where the Ego and the World are one; the dualistic and analystical modes of thought in the West have no validity in the African culture. In the world of aesthetic continuum, it is possible to discern anything "specific", "concrete", "clearcut", "objective", "subjective", "religious", "secular", etc. Rather, one is confronted by a world of events where everything is in every other thing and where there is no isolated thing or individual.

In the African cultural world of aesthetic continuum, a world of art, of pure sound and pure sensation, the whole is the real. In this universe of aesthetics, there is no impersonal experience. God, person, man, ancestor, spirit, man, etc. are personally experienced realities... As a result, the African culture is extremely vital, sensitive, musical, dynamic, emotional in nature and rich in human living. Art, therefore, permeates the African life, religion, thought, because it is the art of living. Art and life are inseparable and religion is the "mechanism" for its expression. The Western anthropologists, ignorant of the nature of African cultural experience, term African religion "animism", "superstition", etc. The African artistic solution to the antinomy of experience — the duality between the Ego and the World — unifies the Ego and the World, individuality and universality, time and eternity, oneness and manifoldness. The African ancestral figures proclaim the unity of Life; past, present and future.

Since Nature is alive and not dead, the African mind sees in plants, stones, rivers, etc. certain living but invisible forces which must be approached with caution. In other words, "material things" are not merely "material" but co-exist with indivisible forces. Material and spiritual, sacred and profane, etc. express the duality of analytic thought which the African cultural premise forbids. Thus, instead of the material or the spiritual, the African mind sees a vital-force. The universe is a web of vital-forces and all forces are in constant interaction. The masks meant to harbour the spirits of the dead express the attempt of the African mind to restore the unity of vital-forces fragmented by death. The African does not claim to possess a conscious knowledge of the invisible forces residing in "things" or a complete mastery over it though he possesses the method by which he can gain contact with it — the magical power of words. The African realizes that form determines the function of every vital-force. Bows, arrows, domestic implements, etc. are

not merely "material things" but embody living and invisible forces. Through incantation, rituals, adherence to certain strict rules, he approaches the invisible forces. The African idea of Nature and its qualities have led to the adherence to certain permanent, not static, expressions in artistic forms, rituals, ceremonies, etc. The African people, approaching "Objects" as living forces, do not behave illogically. Personal experience has shown them that "empirical objects" embody invisible forces. Contemporary physics has confirmed what the African intuitively knew.

Experience, in African culture, is immediate and personal as well as transcedental. The African grasps reality through personal experience. Science, in the Western culture, cannot explain, observe or improve on African, cultural experience. Of what God, man, person, spirit, ancestors, family, the living-dead, etc. mean in African culture; scientific observation and theory can never explain. There is no separation from experience and the self who experiences hence African art from African life.

THE WESTERN CULTURAL EXPERIENCE

How does the Western culture approach the duality of experience; the duality between the Ego and the world. No culture is as contradictory as the Western culture, not only within its systems of ideas but with reference to observed facts. The West makes the World the object of rational knowledge and believes that the World exists independent of the Ego. The World is seen as Objective and the Ego, Subjective. To know the World objectively has been the aim of the Western culture. In pursuit of this goal, the Western science removes the Ego from the World. The world, as a result, is regarded as the object of knowledge. But the relationship between the mind and the world in the Western culture is rational or intellectual. Experience, in the West, means scientific and impersonal experience.

The West believes that the real is the material process in time, that which can be measured and quantified. This knowledge — scientific knowledge — is said to be "objective". But it is an artificial thing. In other words, "objective truth" belongs to the artificial world of mathematics, to abstract concepts and abstract relations, not the truth of life and the heart. To grasp the truth of the heart, one must not only feel and experience its relations but must be moved by them.

Believing that reality can be grasped by reason, the West looks low on emotions as inferior qualities associated with lower animals. As a result, the West under-rates everything "subjective" as an individual opinion. Reality and truth, for the West, must be "objective" and "public". This is expressed in figures and formulae; but figures and formulae are neither things nor realities. The "objective" view of the world led to intellectualism and rationalism. The Western theory of knowledge — the Western philosophy — is marked by the conflict between rationalism and naturalism, between rationalism and voluntarism. The division of reality into "subjective" and "objective" was the basis of rationalism, materialism and analytic thought. Since the method by which any culture arrives at what it considers a true knowledge determines its approach to the Other: God, Man, Society, art, etc., the West believing that that method is rational or mathematical created rational theology, rational psychology, rational politics, rational art, rational aesthetics, rational sociology, etc. Knowledge, in the Western culture, means a systematic and logical knowledge deduced from postulated concepts and their abstract relations. The meanings of such concepts depend on their definitions within the systems of scientific theories. As a result, such terms as God, man, spirit, soul, immortality, love of God, etc. found in the religious treatises of the Western philosophers are not personally experienced and immediate realities but

purely logical constructs. They are defined concepts not given to personal experience. Body, mind, idea, mental substance (man or person), substance, law of nature, etc. as found in the Western culture are postulated concepts, logically defined concepts, unobservable "entities". Being theoretically postulated concepts, their meanings can never be found in personal experience. In African culture, on the other hand, in a world of aesthetic continuum, all African cultural concepts are intuitive and imaginative. As concepts by intuition and imagination, they have personal references. Scientific knowledge is not the knowledge of Personal God, persons, personal meaning, institution, etc. Since the African cultural concepts are not theoretically postulated and defined, no social scientist can find any "specific", "concrete" and "clear-cut" fact in experience to confirm such concepts. Such terms as space, time, individual, knowledge, art, etc. do not have the same meaning in the African and Western culture. To call for "specific", "particular" "concrete" and "clear-cut" cultural expression in Africa is to impose the intellectualism, the rationalism, the cold and impersonal objectivity of the Western culture on the living reality of African culture.

Contemporary physics has shown that "clear-cut", "concrete" and "objective" observations and knowledge are impossible. Contemporary physics has shown that reality cannot be known rationally, that physics cannot give an "exact" picture of the world, that Nature is alive, that no distinction exists between subject and object, that the indivisible coexists with the actual, that analysis into subject and object destroys reality. Contemporary science has discovered the mysterious, the magical, the non-logical, in the realm of Nature. Contemporary science has shown that we live in a world of aesthetic continuum, a religious not a rational world. These discoveries have destroyed the theories of materialism and mechanism, rationalism and naturalism. The Theory of Relativity showed for the first time in the Western scientific culture, the importance of the observer, of consciousness, in the world. The Principle of Indeterminacy emphasizes the non-objectivity

of the world. With the collapse of the concepts of postulation the western scientific attitude comes to an end. Reality is not impersonal but must in some way be related to person and personal experience. Consequently, the Western rational theology, sociology, psychology, politics, art, aesthetics, philosophy, etc. have no meaning, validity and application in the light of the world of aesthetic continuum. It is not the African cultural expression that should be subordinated to the concepts of rationalism -- to the 19th Century Westery theories -- but the Western concepts that must be re-defined in the context of the African cultural concepts. Anybody who speaks of science today speaks of religion not reason. Consequently, all that the Western people call God, man, mind, person, knowledge, observation, thought, body, society, emperical, etc. must undergo radical changes.

THE AFRICAN APPROACH TO THE OTHER

How does the African know the other: God, man, society, events? This will determine his approach to art. "Let us, therefore, consider attitude of the Negro-African towards the Object to be known, towards the Other: God, Man, animal, tree or pebble, natural fact or social fact. Contrary to the classical European, the Negro-African makes no distinction between himself and the Object; he does not hold it away from himself to be examined or analysed; or rather, after having examined it, if not actually analysed it, he takes it in his hands, alive as it is, careful not to kill it and pin it down like a specimen. He touches it, he feels it, he is conscious of it. The Negro-African...is a field of pure sensation.

....It is his subjectivity, with the tips of his sensory organs, with his insects antennae, that he discovers the Other. We see him excited, moving centrifugally from subject to object on the waves of the Other. ....Here we see the Negro-African sympathising, leaving

his ego to identify himself with the Other, dying to himself to be born again in the Other. He does not absorb, he is absorbed. He lives a common life with the Other...he has cognition of the Other. ...Subject and Object are here compared dialectically in the very act of cognition. ....The Negro-African could say: 'I sense the Other; I dance the Other: I am.' Now, to dance is to discover and to recreate, particularly if the dance is a dance of love. It is in any case the best means of knowing. So that cognition is at the same time discovery and creation or rather re-creation, and re-creation is the image of God." [4] (Leopold Senghor).

A good Western rationalist would laugh at the African mode of knowledge with contempt because it is not "objective", "systematic", "rigorous", etc. Instead of the formally constructed and logically reasoned doctrines of the Western culture, one notices that the African dances his religion, expresses it in intuitive poetry, proverbs, myths, because there is no other way to express the personally experienced reality. The Western people love definition of terms as if everything can be defined. What will the Western man call the reality which admits of no distinction between subject and object or the aesthetic continuum termed mind and matter?

Let us examine the Western approach to music and the African attitude towards it. "Some Western authorities," Fela Sowande wrote, "subscribe to the idea that music is an aspect of human behaviour; that music has many facets, for its aspects include the Historical, social-psychological, structural, functional, physical, psychological, cultural, aesthetic, symbolic, and others; and that therefore music can and must be studied from many standpoints, for clearly no single

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4. Fenner Brockway, African Socialism, The Bodley Head; London, 1963; pp. 33-34.

kind of study can be successfully substituted for the whole. But were we to attempt to sell this idea to traditional man in Nigeria, he would either tell us to get lost, or his reply would be couched in such language that his vocabulary would be of considerable interest to Dictionaries that have space for hitherto unprintable, quadriliteral Anglo-Saxon words.

> "Our Nigerian traditional man would tell us that Sound was evocative; not that it 'could' be, but that by its very nature it was evocative; he could point to his 'words of power' or his 'mantrams', which he has used time and again to produce tangible results; if he happens to be a Yoruba, he would refer to those vocal forms handed to him by his forefathers, such as the Assan, the Ogede, or the Ofo, patterns of Pure Sound, the like of which Elisha used in the Bible to call down fire on the soldiers sent to arrest him, or Jesus used to command the storm to be still. Nigerian traditional man knew -- at least in Yoruba land ...that through the medium of Sound, he can evoke and handle Psychic Forces of tremendous potencies, which his will could then direct as it suited his purpose. He knew this, not as a theory, but as experienced fact.
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> "We shall never penetrate beneath the surface of Nigerian music, until and unless we adopt this view of traditional man, who is likely to reject, out of hand, our present day of 'studying' traditional music through the meticulous cataloguing of styles, etc.; and is more likely than not to support Spengler's views that 'more would be revealed to us, if we were to write history of musical intruments, not -- as it always is -- from the technical standpoint of tone production, but as a study of the deep spiritual bases of the tone -- colours and tone-effects aimed at"[5].

The Western researchers would not only be reluctant to start from where they ought to -- religion as experienced reality -- in the study of African cultural expressions, they do not believe that one approach is adequate. But the multiplicity of view-points so much admired by the West in the study of events has no validity in African culture. Like music, African art stems from a world of

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5. Fela Sowande; Composer 19, Sept. 1966; pp.28, 29.

aesthetic continuum where "Sound is evocative or creative in its own right, and as itself". Music, as well as art, is "the organization of the raw material of Sound into formal structural patterns that are meaningful and generally acceptable to that Society in which the organization has taken place, patterns that relate in a most intimate manner to life-experiences of that Society, viewed as a homogeneous whole, and are accepted as such by that Society".[6] Music like art must be regarded as "functional" in at root, because it enabled its creators and practitioners to bridge the gulf between the visible and invisible worlds, thus aligning Man with God and Nature, in one and the same hierarchy, in which Nature is part of Society, and Society itself consists of (1) the Ancestors and heroes, (2) the present generation, and, (3) the next generation, all three regarded as forming one unit. The claims of the next generation explains in part, why in traditional society, property was defined in terms of family community or village, not in terms of individual ownership."[7] Thus, the African notion of art does not refer solely to empirically observed facts in space but to the invisible forces which intuition and imagination alone can contemplate.

Having examined the African approach to the Object to be known and to music, let us examine his attitude towards a physical event. "Think of a house falling on someone who is passing by," Dr. Oruwariye wrote. "From the European point of view, the explanation is simple, the house is old; maybe there is an earthquake, or a breeze blows, and the house falls; the African does not leave it at that. He wants to know why that man, why that day, why that particular hour, and why that particular house out of so many houses, is involved. For practical purposes, for engineering, the European would reduce all the unknowns to a few, which would help him to make a prediction. All he has done is to simplify things.

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6. Idem, p. 29.

7. Idem, p.29

The African views the whole as a compact system; hence you will not be able to understand his activities, unless you take his way of thinking into account."[8] The African is not interested solely in the "how" an event behaves but why it behaves so. As a result, he is aware of the event as well as the psychic state of the observer.

The African, living in a universe of forces, does not create "things" but "living-forces". Nature as understood by the West (as a dead thing to be known rationally and mathematically) was not the theme of African art. The Renaissance art in the West made landscape a theme of monumental art. In the 19th Century impressionism, the Renaissance art reached its lowest level. The African uses mythology, stories, etc. to creat art. Words are forces, creative, significant, meaningful, powerful and magical because they can transform and arouse other forced to action. But imitating or copying a "dead" Nature, the Western artists laid emphasis on technique so that those who copied Nature mechanically and effectively were called good artists. The Renaissance art was essentially mathematical and rational as the works of Leonardo de Vince, Puero della Francesa, etc. would show. With the destruction of form by Occam, followed the devaluation and impoverishment of vision and perception. Mere seeing, even till today, took the place of vision, imagination, perception, intuition. If form does not exist, then painted objects are realities. That was the logic of the artist. Thus, colour took the place of form. Thus, technique became the basis of art, science and even of life. As a result, art in the West was merely intellectual and mechanical because reality was believed to be mechanical and rational.

THE ARTISTIC SYNTHESIS

No writer on African art has delved into the most important goal and nature of African art: the synthesis of human experience and the understanding of the world and to resolve the duality of experience. But science fails to achieve its purpose because Nature, its object of knowledge, does not embrace the whole world. The knowledge it offers consists in the unification of empirical data with the general laws of the mind. It brings Nature — material things — under general laws, but Nature is not the whole world. As a result, the world constructed by science is partial and fragmented. The men of science subordinate particular facts to general laws and, as laws of Nature, do not offer universal knowledge. By subordinating the particular to general laws, science ignores the question of individuality and universality. In other words, the subordination of the multiplicity of empirical data to general laws termed "the laws of Nature: "fails to explain the problem of One and Many. Since in the world of Nature, everything obeys mechanical laws, freedom does not exist. Consequently, science fails to solve the duality of the Self and the World. It merely strives to subordinate the Self to Nature, to a thing said to be dead and mathematical. It may even strive to eliminate the Self from the world or even objectivize the self as "a mental substance". By eliminating or objectivizing the Self, science becomes impersonal. Nature marks the limit of science. In the realm of the Self and its reality, science is mute and powerless. In trying to explain the actual world, science goes beyond the actual and returns to verify its postulated concepts in the actual world of experience. It does not mean that the results and concepts conform with the actual world.

Science reduces facts to general laws, but general laws are not facts in the world nor has nature any compulsion to obey them. Where do laws of Nature exist? If in the world, then they are natural facts hence subject to temporal order. But they belong to

a postulated world hence the truth of the actual world which science wants to know cannot be eternally valid. That which cannot be subordinated to general laws do not fail within the domain of science. The whole man, the Self, the whole individual, etc. cannot be known scientifically but culturally. The particular is merely a fragmented aspect of the whole hence should not be confused with the individual who is a whole world. The end of scientific attitude came from the encounter with the whole individual beyond subordination to general laws — laws of the mind.

The African mind wanted to understand the world through art. It sees the universe as one field of force, of aesthetic continuum, dynamic and rhythmical. Art transforms the forces. In the world of art, all polarities are synthesized. Science strives to offer abstract and logical knowledge; but does not delve into meaning, individuality, universality, eternity, etc. African culture has its own logic of aesthetics: the whole is the real. It offers a delightful knowledge and unifies the individual and the universal, time and eternity, one and many, freedom and necessity. The world of art is not fragmented like that of science. It offers a whole image of the world which science cannot achieve. As a result, the scepticism of science does not govern the optimism of art. By unifying all opposites, art expresses unity in multiplicity. Thus, one is forbidden to call one aspect of art "naturalistic" and another "abstract"; one "sacred", another "profane"; one "religious", another "secular"; one "traditional" and another "modern", etc. These dualistic concepts ignore the unitary process of vital-force. The African art embodies a whole experience —sensuous, logical, personal, spiritual, divine, etc. All these are intrinsically one and vital. The African culture follows the logic of the co-ordination of the individual with the universal; not the subordination of the particular to the general. Intuition and imagination transform the sensuous and the intellectual into one vital continuum. Any analysis of these elements into separate and

independent categories destroys the unity of African cultural reality. African art appeals to the senses, mind, imagination, spirit, all at the same time. As a result, it gives greater satisfaction than scientific knowledge which appeals solely to the intellect not to the whole man. Because it offers living realities, not figures and formulae or heaps of dead ideas, African art creates meaning and significance. The individual, seen in the light of the whole, belongs to the whole and the whole to the individual. Every art work is complete in itself as a whole world. The so-called scientific progress is the accumulation of facts upon facts, but science can never possess complete or sufficient facts to offer a complete image of the world. Its truth is, therefore, partial and rational. African art reconciles body and mind, self and the world, human and the divine, hence its world of art is not one of dull uniformity but rich in the possibilities of human living. Art and history do not speak particular or general but universal language. The African art, therefore, is the art of living not of conquest. In the West, with its art of conquest, rational knowledge shows the relationship between natural force and power. As a result, all the reasoned knowledge in the West is the organization of force for conquest not for coexistence — conquest of Nature and alien peoples as the products of Nature.

THE ROOT OF AFRICAN ART

The study of African art must go to the root - to the myth, religion, world-view — which inspired the artistic expressions. There can never be any separation of African art from African religion, philosophy, world-view, state of mind, faculties and life. To speak of African culture means the recognition of African religion,

the religion of inspriation not institution, the religion of life not of conquest. The beauty of African art is essentially the African religion, thought and life. The West is good at detachment; but the African cultural world forbids this mode of knowledge. Having seen that "objects" are "living forces", attention must be paid to the laws governing the interaction of forces, the power of words which transform forces, gestures which are associated with words, spontaneous expressions which are even beyond language and logic. African art has meaning, value and significance only within the vital and dynamic universe of aesthetic continuum. As a result, art objects cannot be separated from the mental process of the African people. Vital force is active throughout the whole universe. This force can increase or decrease but never annihilated. The norm of good conduct is the strengthening of vital force, of relationships and of the whole life. The vital force at the direction of man (vital force with conscience, feelings, emotions, thought, will, etc.) forms the basis of artistic creativity.

Thus, one must know the theory of vital force both in its universal and individual nature, the theory of man, person, soul and the unity of the soul with ancestors, the living-dead; the individual and the collective soul or community, the position of individual soul within the collective soul, how the individual establishes contact with and expresses the invisible force, etc. The individual expresses the whole just as the whole is in the individual. Every art object is a vital force which contains the whole class or species of that force. Images may represent series of "natural" beings — all are forces — to proclaim the solidarity of vital force, the unity of living forces, humour, etc. Through acts of consecration and the magical power of words, art objects represent the ancestors. Masks refer to invisible forces — death, ancestors, etc. As the dwelling places of ancestral spirits, they constitute the media through which the living generations gain

contact with the whole vital-force which establishes the unity of human community. In this way, the African can imaginatively and intuitively see and hear the silent but eloquent language of life. Thus, the most important thing in African art is the mythological role of vital forces and the interaction of those forces. The art objects are alive, not only in the universe of forces but in the minds of their creators and owners. The minds, being cultural products and vital forces too, produce "objects" which conform with the forms of belief. The ability of the artist to represent in art objects the forms of beliefs opens up an inquiry into the interaction of "mind" and "matter". In the African case, the problem does not exist because there is no duality between mind and matter. Masks, images, art objects, etc. represent the forms of experience reality. In pursuit of this goal, the artist explains solely the essentials. The essentials are not "style", "balance", etc. but the belief which is general for the whole community, the belief which unifies feelings, emotions, integrates all individuals and elevates their minds and emotions to ideals even beyond conscious understanding. Even when the individual freely expresses himself or herself in art or music, the general rule still prevails. In other words, individuals conform with the norms of their artistic expressions within their groups or communities in spite of innovations. Thus, the African pays more attention to the form and nature of vital force not to "material things" and their details. African art as well as aesthetics do not depend on the analysis of art objects into concepts, theories, etc. suggested by the Western culture. The nature and form of the vital force determines the whole artistic expression. The study of individual artists the context of African community, general beliefs, the world of aesthetic continuum would suggest that the individual lives and creates in an isolated world of his own. In other words, the personality of the artist is not as significant as the work

of art because the artist is the secretary of his community — the beliefs, mythology, religion, experience of the people. It is not the individuality of the artist but the universality of the belief and collective soul that are vital in the artistic work. Consequently, an artist is not questioned whether he is an expect or an authority or not. It is sufficient to pay attention to the religion, mythology, beliefs of the people and see whether the norms, principles, customs, etc. are embodied in the art work. Consequently, the essential is the content not the analysis of the appearance of art objects. The content is not the expression or creation of an individual but of the collective belief, experience and unconscious. The reality or content is collectively known. The artist expresses it according to generally accepted rules, words, rites, etc. As a result, African art and aesthetic are expressions of profound beliefs and faith which are enduring. In spite of social changes, the enduring form and quality of art remain because they stem from religion. Beliefs and ideas rise and decay, but not the creative spirit which is religion. It is meaningless to insist that Africa has become "modern" or to trace African activities solely to Christian, Islamic and Western influences. In reality, such influences have never aided the development of African art, religion, world-view, etc.

African art is African religion. It goes beyond isolated individuals, beyond death, beyond what eyes can only see, to capture the vital force, a living reality, which must be strengthened. Thus, African art is at the service of life, not only to unify the whole man with collective life but to create qualitative enrichment of life. The African mind penetrates into the mystery of the universe with imagination and feels the vital presence of the world in the form of myth. As a result, African art symbolizes the mystery of personally experienced reality. Ultimate reality is not grasped by the external senses but symbolically and imaginatively. Art objects, therefore,

enable the African to perceive reality, a reality which is beyond measurement, analysis and classification into its component parts and sets of rules. As personal reality, it can only be grasped in the realm of religion and of profound living. Thus, one must feel and sympathetically put oneself in the African cultural premise, accept its concepts and theories, and the way it generalizes its activity in order to grasp the nature of African cultural activities. Art, therefore, is essentially that of living meaningfully and significantly. All vital activities are rhythmical because the world of aesthetic continuum has rhythmical order. Dancing, as Leopold Senghor pointed out, is an act of creation, union, knowledge and endurance.

Art and music are the intensification of the human living, of ordered relationships, of human experience of a living reality. To die in the Other so as to be reborn is an act of transcendence. To arrive at the eternal order of reality, a timeless region, the power of symbolism is essential. Thus, the symbolic act expresses the inwardness of life hence the African artistic values spring from the depth of the soul or vital-force. In the timeless order, time ceases to exist. As a result, the experienced reality absorbs the African mind and integrates all individuals. The African art expressed the unity of life, environment; constitutes the sources of discipline and touches on all levels of reality. Collective knowledge, expectations, hopes, fears, memory, conscience, etc. are embodied by art and music. This unity of life and purpose can only by symbolically expressed - - masks, ancestral figures, figurines, etc. All the symbols embody the African belief about life, its process, relationship, order and transcendence. They summarize African emotions, thought, perceptions, ideals. Since African art touches on all African activities and are inseparable from life, one must not isolate art objects to define them in terms of aesthetic norms of technique, style, etc.

ARTISTIC APPRECIATION

Since the Renaissance period in the West, art has been disassociated from life and from other human activities. All modern problems are viewed as scientific and technical problems. Truth is regarded solely as scientific truth. Art no longer related to living, to the form of life, of selfhood and integration. Thus, human sensibility and world become fragmented. Life is left without any nourishment and deep expressions and becomes merely theatrical. Everything is dissolving and decaying for want of universal and enduring form or standard. As a result, nothing appears relevant, vital and significant. Scientific understanding, something artificial and provisional deforms the growth of the whole man and nullifies the power of self-integration. Every symbol that embodied wisdom and truth has been destroyed. The river, the moon, snake, tree, lightning, etc. are no longer mysterious manifestation of invisible forces but things. As a result, the emotional and psychic energy necessary for the support of symbols has grown weak. Faith, religion, science, art, ethics etc. now isolated things which can no longer restore the unity of life and activities. Since truth is regarded solely as scientific truth; the most vital and living truth of religion, art, faith, philosophy art, etc. is regarded as a matter of individual opinion. Thus, human beings — fragmented selves — grow old but never grasp the meaning and the paradox of life, and they retire with nothing to retire on; no enduring belief, no profound experience and expression, no inspiration and no authority. They no longer see themselves as parts of the whole universe and feel that the order of the society depends on the order of the universe. The greatest in man — spirit, feelings and emotions of ideals, imagination and intuition — is allowed to decay. Man is thus a heap of bones and figures. The pursuit of comfort and leisure led to the opposition between individuals and community hence the absence of organic life today in industrialized nations. With the disintegration of the community, personality disappears. All attentions are focused on politics and economics,

that is, on mutual exploitations of individuals.

Art is now a commodity, a value whose significance depends on money. As a result, art is robbed of vision and imagination and no sooner is it produced than it grows old. With no enduring value and quality, people crave for the new, novelty, believing that the latest is the best. Myths, community, life, etc. cannot support culture any longer but museums. Thus, all sources of inspiration have dried. Empirical facts replace reflection. Visual aid replaces imagination. A community is the expression of reality and all individuals live and die in it. Today, people live and die lonely and in isolation. Life is not a "good time" but the supreme value and reality which require discipline, imagination, insight and beliefs to live it meaningfully. Without the unitary view of life, the world and the eternal, the study of African art will have no meaning. All African cultural activities must be approached as events in the world of aesthetic continuum and as vital forces in constant interactions. Art is religion and religion in art.

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URBAN/RURAL UPBRINGING AS A CORRELATE OF YORUBA CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF FAMILY POWER STRUCTURE

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Considerable research evidence abounds to show that the way a child perceives his family's power structure correlated very highly with his personal characteristics. Among such correlates are age, sex, religious affiliation (Hess and Torney, 1962; Kagan, 1956; King, 1969; Goldin, 1969), social class (Bronfenbrenner, 1961; Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Strodtbeck, 1958; Bowerman and Elder, 1964) and birth order (Cushna, 1966; Hilton, 1967, Kandel and Lesser, 1966; Lasko, 1954, Clausen, 1966 and Sutton-Smith, 1968). However, in a review of studies on the correlates of children's perceptions of family power structure, Olasehinde (1973) found that the effect of locale of upbringing on such perceptions was never studied. Since research shows that certain idiosyncratic elements make for marked differences in children's perceptions, it was hypothesized, for the purposes of this study, that Yoruba children's locale of upbringing would be a function of their perceptions of familial power structure.

The import of this study's problem derives from a number of socio-psychological propositions. First, since rural settings are repository of traditionalism, rural children would report preponderant instances of traditional patriarchal family power structure. As against rural/urban children would report more instances of emergent family power structures because of greater exposure to forces of social change. Secondly, on a psychological level, a child's report of his family's power structure on this basis of his locale of upbringing will have implications for the kinds of parental identification he makes, the kind of personality he develops, the type of attitude

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he has towards authority figures outside his family, the kinds of cultural values that are transmitted to him and the role status he will play in later life.

It would seem necessary to clarify the phrase, family power, in the context of this study. It is equated with each family member's decision-making power in four areas of family activities as used by Herbst (1952) in his Melbourne study and by King (1969) in his Florida study. Family power, according to Safilios-Rothschild (1970), is regarded as a multidimensional concept which remains multi-faceted even when equated with decision-making. Thus, the four areas of family activities covered by this study's instrument were child-bearing, household, economic and social.

Method

Subjects

By a random sampling procedure an sixth graders of Yoruba parentage in the Western State of Nigeria, 504 urban and 495 rural children in the State's school system were selected as subjects of th this study. All told, there were 998 sixth graders who had to have lived in either an urban or rural locale since their birth up until the time of this study. The urban and rural delimitations were based on the Nigerian national census of 1963.

Instrument

The method of data gathering was a self-report questionnaire comprising eight items, two of which covered each of childrearing, household, economic and social family activities. Where applicable to the Yoruba social and cultural backgrounds, the ideas in Herbst's and King's questionnaire items were drawn upon; otherwise relevant items were constructed by the author. However, the resulting instrument was different from any other that had been used in any previous power studies. The major point of difference was that

instead of asking who decides and expecting responses such as father, mother or both together, the instrument's items asked how much power a particular family member has in decision-making process. The responses were of the Likert-type thus: quite a lot, small, little or none weighted 4, 3, 2, 1 respectively. A sample item covering a household activity was: How much power does each of the following, father, mother, father and mother together, or yourself have in deciding what work you should do around the house? A Yoruba version of the instrument yielded a reliability coefficient of .84 when tested for reliability by a split-half odd-even technique.

Procedure

Data for this study were obtained by administering the questionnaire on the sample by the author, himself a Yoruba, who was involved in the back translation of the instrument. The Administration of the questionnaire was done during one lesson period in eadh of the participating schools. The total power score for each family member or for father and mother together was the summation of the highest scores assigned by each respondent over the eight power items.

Results

An analysis of the results revealed a typology of power patterns thus: father-dominance, mother dominance, equaliterrianism and childdominance. These power patterns served as dependent variables while urban and rural locales were the independent variables. A chi-square test of correlation between the two sets of variables was computed as reported in Table 1.

Table 1

Chi-square between urban/rural upbringing and family power patterns

Power Patterns	Number responding	Urban children	Rural children
Father-dominance	604	268	336
Mother-dominance	202	131	71
Equaliterrianism	118	69	49
Child-dominance	74	38	33

$X^2 = 29.56$ df = 3 $P < .001$

Discussion

Contrary to the traditional belief that the Yoruba family is typified by patriarchy, the results of this study show that there are at least four possible power patterns, to wit: father-dominance, mother-dominance, equaliterrianism and child-dominance. For the entire sample and for each sub-sample, father-dominance was reported most often. However, the hypothesis that more rural children would report father-dominance than urban children did was supported. Conversely, more urban children reported mother-dominance, equaliterianism and child-dominance than the rural children did. Thus, the results show that urban/rural upbringing is a strong correlate of children's perceived family power patterns.

The differences in the children's reports may be explained by the differential exposure of their respective locales of upbringing to the forces of social change. It would seem justifiable to say that the functional forces of social change explained by Lloyd (1969) may have led to the collapse of hierarchical ranking, patriarchal dominance and the correlation of power with age, seniority and masculinity. More families are exposed to industrialization, Westernization, foreign contacts and mass media than rural families are. Educated parents, more of whom are located in urban areas, seem anxious to reverse the authoritarian role so common in the traditional rural society. It is however clear from the results that both locales were affected by these factors, as both urban and rural children reported identical power patterns. What is ivolved is the question of extent. One may however not expect a complete switch-over from the traditional to the emergent structure because of the Yoruba acculturative process. This process seems "selective and adaptive rather than substitutive" (Herskovits and Bascom, 1959).

Again, it would seem reasonable to say that women and children in both locales enjoy considerable emancipation as evidenced by instances of mother-dominance, equalitarianism and child-dominance. Mothers are now bread-winners and have unrestrained access to education. It would seem interesting to find out whether Yoruba women's power base can be interpreted in terms of Blood and Wolfe's (1960) resource theory. In the same vein, children in both locales can now be heard as well as being seen. Whether this is due to parental permissiveness is a moot question. It is however clear that, in both locales, paternal authority has declined (cf. Mogey, 1957) and that women are succeeding in their struggle for marital power (cf. Gillespie, 1971). As to the power patterns themselves, their possible effects on the sample's social and personality development would seem to call for urgent investigation as Bronfenbrenner (1961), Dager (1964) and Strauss (1962) have done with American children.

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AXIM KUNDUM: A PRELIMINARY SURVEY

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Introduction

Every year between September and October, the people of Nzema celebrate their Kundum Festival. It is estimated that a total of about 154,000 people[1] from Dutch Sekondi to Half-Assini, a distance of about 300 kilometres, take part in this festival.

Not only are all these people (which include the Ahanta, the Evalue and the Jumoro) united by the Kundum festival, but, with very minor dialectical differences, they are also united by a common language - Nzema. The Ahanta spread from Sekondi to Agona with their traditional capital in Busua. The Evalua which mainly refers to the Nsein-Axim traditional area stretch beyond the Ankobra to include Esiama and Atuabo. Beyin, the traditional capital of Western Nzema or the Jumoro, completes the picture.

Among the Nzema speakers of the West, the festival is known as 'Abisa'[2]. But from Atuabo to Dixcove in the Ahanta district, the festival is called 'Kundum'. Although throughout my enquiries no one was able to tell me exactly what "Kundum" means in the Nzema language, one reliable informant told me (and this was later confirmed by one of the Kundum Elders) that the word Kundum was rhythmically

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1. 1970 Population Census of Ghana, Special Report "D" (Census Office, Accra, 1971).

2. Nowadays the word 'Kundum' has spread to Western Nzema, and is used to refer to the festival as a whole. The word 'abisa' however, is being used in the context of the festival to refer to the creative artists - musicians, singers, drummers and dancers - who motivate the festival.

derived or inspired by the sound of the Edomgbole,[3] the most important drum in the Kundum ensemble.

In this article, we shall focus attention primarily on how Kundum is celebrated in the Nsein-Axim traditional area; and as far as possible, we shall also attempt to trace the origin of the Axim Kundum, underline its social and historical importance and finally describe its significance as a major cultural event among the Nzema of that area. In the course of our analysis we shall endeavour, where appropriate and applicable, to make comparisons, contrasts and provide evidence to substantiate the points we make.

Most of the material for this paper was collected at first hand when I went on a research trip to Axim during the celebration of the Kundum festival in September 1973. In August 1974, I spent a week in Axim to verify the information I had already collected. On both occasions, the Amanhene of Nsein and Lower Axim and various elders associated with the celebration of Kundum in that area were interviewed on tape. Various people and informants also volunteered information which was recorded; and photographs were taken and important rituals, ceremonies and events were observed.

AXIM KUNDUM FESTIVAL

Anyone travelling from Takoradi towards Axim will not fail to be impressed by the luxuriant growth of trees and dense forest which seems to guard the tarred road all the way to Axim. All at once, one is in the area with the highest annual fainfall in Ghana.[4]

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3. There are four drums in the Kundum Ensemble: Kuukuu, Apasoo, Adenhenle and Edomgbole. Each is distinguished by the sound it contributes to each performance.

4. The average annual rainfall in the Axim area ranges between 80-85 inches. The heaviest Monsoon rains are experienced between May-July.

Located between Latitude $4^{\circ} - 5^{\circ}$ above the Equator and Longitude $2^{\circ} - 3^{\circ}$ West of the Meridian, the Axim-Nsein traditional area has a luxuriant rain forest which contains not only timber, but also gold and diamond. The area is noted for the production of coconut, rice, cassava, plaintain and cocoyam. By the middle of August the heavy monsoon rains leave off, giving way to a relatively dry spell, which marks the beginning of the main harvesting and fishing season. It is at this time that the Kundum Festival is celebrated.

As we shall see, the very special timing of the festival is significant in itself. For, the immediate occasion for the festival secure when there is plenty to eat from the sea, farms and rivers of the area. But although there is this outward material bounty there seems to be a spiritual void in the society. The attempt to close this seeming 'spiritual void' may therefore be seen as the primary motif of the Nsein-Axim Kundum. As we shall see, through a system of organised dramatic symbols, events, ceremonies and rituals (which make up the sum-total of the festival), the Nsein-Axim society attempts to dramatize the reconcilliation of spirit and matter in the celebration of their Kundum.

Origin

In the course of our research, it became clear that there was common agreement about the origin of the Kundum Festival. Among the Nzema speakers of the West, the festival is believed to have originated from Ahanta Aboade, a village on the Tarkwa-Takoradi road. According to tradition, it is in this village that the legendary palm tree associated with the origin of the Kundum festival is supposed to exist. The primary legend has it that in the olden days this palm tree used to ripen once in a year. With time this period became a symbolic calendar in the lives of

the people. In other words the ripening of the palm tree became the signal for the festival to begin. This explanation is so widely accepted that the Evalue and the Ahanta themselves acknowledge the historical and cultural significance of this village of Aboade.

However, in both Axim and Nsein, Kundum Elders and various informants were at pains to underline the fact that the Kundum or Abisa was brought into these areas by a particular family or Abusua; and that this Abusua did not (and still does not) belong to the ruling chieftaincy Abusua in these areas.[5] Thus it is believed that it was the Nvavile clan who introduced the secrets of the Kundum to Western Nzema; and that their totem - the Palm tree and the Parrot - bears eloquent testimony to their control and custodianship of the festival. In Axim, we found out that a branch of that family is called the MAJORI family. According to our main informant, Madam Kobinaba of Lower Town, Axim, it was her great, great, grandfather called Akoto Nyanzu who brought Kundum to that area. A hunter by profession, Akoto Nyanzu went to hunt one evening and was not seen again till three months later. He returned with Kundum. He asked his family to make drums. The drums were made and the Kundum was first celebrated for three months. It proved difficult to spend this length of time, so it was reduced to one month. Later on, the one month was further broken down into two phases: phase one lasted three weeks when artists, drummers, performers and old men versed in the art of Kundum isolated themselves to learn new songs, new dance forms, body movements and generally plan the artistic course of the festival. The second phase of one week sees the actual celebration of the festival.

For above account two impressions seem to stand out: the first; is the very interesting discovery that the Kundum festival was

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5. The major ruling families in the whole of Nzema from Nsein to Beyin traditional area, belong to the [illegible]EA or DOG CLAN. In Nsein, the Omanhene's crown is inscribed with the symbol of a dog with fire in its mouth.

originated by a family which is completely unrelated to the families which rule or occupy the stools in these areas. In the words of a member of the Majori family in Lower Axim, it is his family "which is responsible for the actual celebration of the Kundum festival with the help of the Omanhene". (Emphasis mine). Infact, throughout the celebration of the festival, it was noticed that all the four drums used for the festival were always deposited, at the end of each day's activities, in the household of the Majori family.

This situation reveals aspects of the complex balance of power within the political system of the area. Given the traditional power structure of Amanhene, subchiefs, Court elders, clans, interest groups (Asafo Companies, Stool Custodians, Women's guilds etc.), it was very interesting to find that one family or clan - the Majori - emerge as the custodians or 'arbitrators' of the course of the festival; and further, as a result of their historical claims in relation to the festival, gain considerable political authority during the festival. By exercising supervisory powers over the main instruments of the festival, i.e. drums (of which they are believed to be originators); the Majori family seems to direct the festival in the sense of seeing to it that the festival is celebrated in accordance with established historical protocol. It can be said however that although these considerations are acknowledged and the Majori family in particular is tenacious of its prestige and power deriving from its principal role in the festival, it was very difficult not to realize that the festival has been transformed into a completely public affair involving the whole community.

The second impression is that the Kundum festival is a well-planned activity. It was obvious that a lot of skill and intelligence had gone into the planning of the festival. I was greatly impressed by the way in which people acted out their roles without

introduction prompting or stage-fright. No where was there a hitch. Everything was smooth and orderly. Drummers, dancers, singers and performers were there when expected and lived out their roles to everyone's expectation. Clearly, there was an organizing mind behind such a complex cultural activity. We found out that such a mind existed in a group of people known as Kundum Elders who were responsible for the planning of the festival. Although in principle these elders are responsible to the Omanhene they are in fact independent of Court since they are mainly artists whose primary objective is to see to the artistic direction of the festival. They therefore owe their ultimate allegiance to the festival hence their name - "Kundum Elders"[6].

A better insight into how well the Kundum is a planned activity will have to begin with the "preparation stage" of the festival. As indicated earlier, although the actual celebration of the festival takes only one week, the total time spent on the realization of the festival covers one calender month from mid-August to the end of October, in each year. During the period between August and October, each Kundum centre in Nzema and Ahanta land is at liberty to select one month convenient to the community so as to prepare and celebrate the festival. The selection of the appropriate time is done by the Omanhene in consultation with Kundum Elders and the family which is recognized as the Custodians of the festival.

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6. This situation of course further complicates the political relationships at the festival. The interesting thing here is that, the principle of diversity of roles in unison obtains. Political entities and various Kundum performance-groups seem to know their limits during the festival, and so skilfully is this done that one is not immediately aware or even conscious of the highly volatile nature of social relationships which infact obtain at the festival.

Three weeks of the selected month is usually set aside as the preparation period. Kundum Elders, artists and people with acquired knowledge of the festival go to live in isolation. This period of isolation from the community is appropriately known as "Eyele nu" or "Cold weather". Outside the community, in a place where no one other than those involved would know of their activities, they learn the relevant repertoire of songs and various dance movements which add beauty and artistic dimension to the festival. In addition, new songs are composed, new dance movements which add beauty and artistic dimension to the festival. In addition, new songs are composed, new dance forms initiated, old drums are repaired or replaced and costumes for various occasions are discussed in detail. Almost simultaneously, drumming and blowing of horns as well as anything which generally involves the use of musical instruments is banned. It is believed that if this ban is violated before the Kundum is outdoored, the legendary "Afakye" (who is believed to symbolize disese in the society) will come prematurely to plague the society with disease.[7]

Outdooring

The first Sunday of the fourth week (of the appointed period of one month) is the occasion for the outdooring of the Kundum. In Axim, as we witnessed, it was a dramatic occasion. The time was about 8.30p.m. There is darkness everywhere, but the brilliant moon in the sky clearly reveals a beautiful stretch of sandy shore in Lower Town Axim.

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7. It is on the last day of the festival that according to belief, "Afakye" is actually expected. At midnight of this last day, the festival is literally "hooted out" or "Afakye is hooted out" symbolizing the spiritual emancipation of the society from disease and bad omen, at least for the ensuing year.

The waters of the sea had receded, giving rise to a beach-line which shone in the moonlight. A large group of women, men and children gather on the beach. Everybody is carrying a huge bundle of flame, made of coconut fibres. Meanwhile, the four drums are poised on the heads of four stalwart men. Suddenly the Edomgbole drum sounds. Three smaller ones join. Men's voices are joined together. The whole mass of people carrying huge torches, move as one man towards the town. Their song is simple and to the point: they sing of the origin of the Axim Kundum:

> It happens today
> Gyanewa[8]
> Akotoko Nyanzu bring your
> flame[9] to celebrate Kundum....

Gradually, the procession moves in majesty along a well-defined route on the beach for about four hundred yards; then the procession moves over the wall on the beach into town and is pitched at one spot. With the drums in the centre, the whole throng dance and sing around in a circle. What was interesting was that there was no attempt to carry the procession through the town. It was localized at one spot, which from enquiry was the household of the Majori family, the clan who traditionally is believed to have originated the Kundum. The drama of song, music and dance continues for about two hours. But the point has been made: Kundum has been outdoored.

Monday:

Nothing very much happens in the morning. But towards evening, every household becomes busy. Three heavy logs of firewood are

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8. Gyanewa was the wife of Akotoko Nyanzu who brought the Kundum.

9. The symbolism of this flame in the festival is complex. In its practical use, the flame serves to heighten the dramatic entry of the Kundum into the society. But in a more important way, the flame suggests the conflict between 'good' and 'evil' (darkness and light), a regeneration of a new type of energy and life force in the society, which are the most important recurrent themes of the festival. Finally, the symbolism of the flame recalls the political totem of the ruling family in the state the AHWEA (DOG CLAN) whose totem is dog with flame in its mouth. Symbol of power and soverei-gnty.

arranged in the open courtyard of each household. This is obligatory. By four o'clock in the evening, every household we visited had already made this arrangement in its courtyard. About 7.00p.m. or when it is sufficiently dark, the three amanhene in the Nsein-Axim traditional area and their divisional chiefs perform the ceremony of setting fire to the prepared firewood. Libation is first poured after the logs had been set on fire. Thereafter, all households surrounding the amanhene and their divisional chiefs are free to light their logs or go to the Ahenfie to gather the flames from there to their house. The logs so lighted will constitute a kind of "perpetual flame", which will be used throughout the festival in every home. All kinds of cooking both during the day and at night, which normally are done in the privacy of the kitchen, will, from henceforth, be done on the perpetual flame. In reality all meals cooked during this time are expected to be done in the open so that any member of the public who wants food can just walk in and help himself to the food on fire. For, it is a time of plenty when charity and hospitability abound. A deep sense of hospitality which is so much at the core of the way of life of the people is therefore given dramatic and symbolic expression throughout the festival in this way.

About 8 p.m. a gun is fired. It was now time to mourn those who had died in the course of the previous year. However, the privilege to mourn was restricted to only families or households who had actually lost members during the course of the year. We visited a few of such households and we noticed that the families concerned had organized funeral dirges to be sung in memory of their deceased. What was interesting was that all the mourners wore black costumes and actually wept, and the atmosphere was like a live funeral.

In effect, the "realism" of the occasion was symbolically commemorative being a dramatic expression of each household's sense of spiritual continuity with its ancestors and the dead. The overall

drama, thus embodies the symbolic gesture of renewing the society's sense of continuity with the past; affirming the relevance of the past (and therefore of history) to present and future developments. This is given concrete expression in the libation texts and dramatic acts which are enacted on this occasion. Of special interest perhaps was our discovery that the dirges were being sung in Ahanta - a fact which emphasises the Ahanta origin of the Kundum.[10]

Tuesday

Early in the morning on Tuesday, all "black stools" in various households and families are outdoored. There is no mourning or open weeping this time, but the ancestors are remembered. In the secret enclosures erected in these households for this purpose, family elders pour libation to their ancestral stools. Prayers are said, sheep is slaughtered and fowls sacrificed. Members of the family who had travelled home for the festival as well as those who had stayed behind are given the chance to once again renew their sense of identity with the ancestors by providing drinks for texts of prayer to be said for them.

Immediately afterwards Kundum groups of children, youngsters and elderly women parade from household to household. These groups have no drums and they do not use any of the Kundum drums. For they are mainly singers and dancers who move from house to house singing the praises and genealogies of well-known families. Accompanying their songs were cymbals, dumbbells, rattles, gourds and whistles. The use of these musical instruments definitely gave dramatic intensity to the songs and dances being performed. But it was their costume which attracted me: the performers wore beads on their hands, necks and chests. Each also wore a white singlet from the top. The whiteness of the singlets was emphasised by the white powder which was liberally daubed on their faces, necks and chests. Immediately below the waist were short, red or crimsoned tunics which were heavily studded with

dumbbells. The red recalls the memory of the ancestors and white the joy of the living. Put in symbolic terms the two colours together seem to emphasise the people's belief in the continuity between the world of the ancestors and the human world of the living. The occasion therefore has a total religious significance in that it expressed the fact that the ancestors are a vital part of the world of the living community.

Wednesday:

Like on Monday, nothing significant happens on Wednesday morning. About two o'clock in the afternoon however, a major event takes place. The venue is the Axim Castle.[11]

By 2 p.m., the Omanhene of Nsein and all his Divisional chiefs were ready at the boundary of Lower Town to proceed to the Castle. The Kundum drums were infront followed by the Divisional Chiefs, the Omanhene and members of the public. The procession was magnificent in colour and majestic in movement. On reaching the entrance of the Castle, the Omanhene was lowered from his palanquin and, together with his retinue (for members of the public were forbidden), he entered the Castle. The main event here was the pouring of libation on a grave in the Castle. In the accompanying text he recounted the history of the state, prayed to the ancestors and pleaded for unity and prosperity among his people. As the Omanhene later confirmed in his interview with us, his visit to Axim Castle was symbolically political. Long before the arrival of the Whiteman, all the lands of Axim belonged to Nsein and it was the Elders of the stool of Nsein who gave the land to the Whiteman to build the Castle on. It was therefore necessary and appropriate on this occasion for the Omanhene of Nsein to go to the Castle in his splendour and majesty to recount history, straighten the records and in that symbolic procession, affirm his sovereignty over all the lands in Axim.

11. Built originally by the Portuguese in the first half of the 16th century, Fort. St. Anthony seems to dominate the Axim landscape. Later in the same century, the castle was captured by the Dutch who sold it to the English in the 18th century.

In addition, the occasion was also a unique opportunity for all the Seventeen Divisional Chiefs of Nsein to renew their political allegiance and to assure the Omanhene that there is still unity among all the stools of the state.[12]

Thursday and Friday

Thursday and Friday are mainly days of rest. No event of any importance happens except that in the evenings, all the Kundum groups in the area come together at one spot where they drum, sing and dance traditional Kundum dances. These occasions are important to the youngsters both male and female. In practical terms, it provides an opportunity for the young to socialize, and it is not unheard of for prospective marriages to begin from here.

Saturday

Saturday, the last day of the festival is significant. Usually, there is a durbar of chiefs in the morning but this really depends on which government official is willing to come. From 2 p.m. onwards, there is continuous drumming, singing and dancing at the Town Square. All the Kundum drums are fully exercised. Between 9 p.m. and midnight, the whole mass of people still in their festive mood begin to move towards the outskirts of town, this time carrying no torches. Instead, each one carries either a piece of stone, stick or wood, just anything he can readily throw away. On reaching the outskirts of the town a signal is given; the singing stops. Drumming ceases too. Then, all of a sudden there a stampede, everyone ancious to run back. Sticks, stones and sand will flow into the outer darkness. No one looks back. Amid shrieks and shouts all run back swiftly to their respective homes. The Kundum has been "hooted out". Afakye, the symbol of disease and bad luck in the society has been expelled, and he goes away with the evils of the society cleansing and

purifying it for the coming year. This symbolic gesture therefore brings the Kundum celebration to an end. There is no more Kundum drumming, dancing or singing till the following year.

Conclusion

Unlike the Aboakyir festival of Winneba and the Homowo of the Ga people, Kundum is not a festival which primarily emphasises the people's migrational history or reveals their agricultural success in a newly settled area. Kundum is primarily a cultural event, although there are observable socio-political levels as well. It provides occasion for artists and performing groups within the community to display their talents in diverse ways. It also provides the opportunity for the community to dramatise its way of life and reveal the social and religious values within it. In the end, the festival reveals that the people of the area cherish hospitality as a way of life, and value their relationship with their ancestors; and just as a sense of history is important to the survival of a people so also is a sense of unity and political stability important in the Nzema culture of the Nsein-Axim traditional area.

THE CREDIBILITY OF SCIENTIFIC TYPOLOGY AND AGGREGATE DATA IN CROSS-CULTURAL ANALYSIS[x]

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and

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Introduction

In order for non-Western societies to evolve into being active participants of the scientific and technological transformation, instead of being passive consumers of innovation, a tremendous amount of scientific thought must be diffused into the countries. At this point in history, national development is closely tied in with scientific and technological advancement. The question becomes how is this information to be successfully transmitted in a way that will satisfy the non-Western societies' aspirations for economic independence and raise them above the grasp of exploitation to becoming equal and active members of the world economy. The methods of modernization of these countries should include social, political, economic and cultural approaches. This involves, as a first step, dissemination of scientific thought through mass education and training. Secondly, in order to establish a modern scientific infrastructure, the developing countries should be able to manufacture equipment and machinery that is of the same calibre as the latest world standards.[1]

Taking into consideration the fact that different countries will have different starting points and aims for scientific and technological modernization it becomes necessary to develop scientific

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[x] This exposé is a segment of a research project in progress by the authors exploring the contradictory phenomena of our time. Its focus is on such questions as political development, progress and its dilemmas, public policy and its externalities, cognitive dissonance, political ...

typologies pertinent to the varying needs of the developing states. Some political scientists believe that these countries ought to be classified according to the level and type of their production forces which utilize any form of technology. It is generally agreed that some form of generalized indicators should be used to enable researchers to compare the development levels of various countries as well as to determine their strategic aspirations of development. In the past, per capita national income was used as an indicator. But this measure has proved unreliable as it does not include the socio-political variables of developing countries such as the system of values as it is related to their cultural and historical background. In other words, a set of indicators must be found that will include the vital necessities of each particular country. For example, the "affluent" and "consumer" society, which has been the outgrowth of modernizing influences in the West is part of the ideological and political basis of Western man's aspirations. This Western orientation of development is not congruent with the goals and values of many non-western countries. An erroneous methodological qualitative comparison between the values of these two systems would be to divert the developing countries away from their original and specific needs and throw them into a supine position in the face of the technological neocolonialistic dictates of Western technocrats. It is therefore vital that the indicators be valid abstractions directly related to the development orientation of each particular system.[3] The internal social, cultural, political and economic conditions of each developing country will determine the individual kind of technical development it will need according to its own internal social system. They will also determine the phases of such development, as well as the time needed to transform its present state into a "modernized" one. The problem is in determining a unified set of dimensions by which to analyze the diffusion of scientific thought into non-western societies.

DIMENSIONS OF CROSS CULTURAL ANALYSES

When studying cross-cultural, political and economic systems of non-western societies, with respect to the diffusion of scientific thought, it is important to take into consideration the wide range of variables and facets peculiar to each country in terms of the fundamental contradiction and social priorities of each system. One way of arriving at the basic levels of comparison is through taxonomic typologies which aid in pointing out dimensions of national difference. The use of the empirical method will help eliminate the influence of cultural myths upon the comparison while at the same time overcoming biases or prejudgement concerning countries of geographical similarity.[4]

When studying physics or maths a formal system of equation is used to analyze highly generalized models whose constituents are in the form of standard units of specific dimensions. But where are all the main dimensions of social and political reality? Would it be possible to claim an absolute standard for a set of dimensions while trying to allow for the openers of systems? Since the scientific revolution new epistemological and metaphysical perspectives have been added to the structure of scientific methodology. The paradigms change with time but there continually remain certain parameters and standard dimensions with which to work.[5] The social sciences, on the other hand, have been at a loss for a dimensional unity in the pre-paradogmatic stage of which its main authorities are prone to select relevant and

predominant variables of a chosen theoretical style which are seldom in dimensional form. The study of information transfusion to the non-western world becomes a quite expansive and complex one without a set of standards by which the construct self contained political and economical models of the complex social processes involved. Interrelated variables such as economic, scientific, social, cultural, political and personal variables of the less developed countries play in any attempts by developed countries to interfere in a less developed country's status quo. The dimensions of influence in one realm must be taken into consideration when evaluating the influence of another. For that reason a mean problem exists in effecting a translation between different conceptual realms. The difficulty in establishing a set of basic dimensions in the realm of social sciences for a comparative analysis is due mainly to the high percentage of variance of the variables.[6] It must not be forgotten that, unlike math or science, we are not dealing with standard sets of numbers but with human beings whose emotions and prejudices cannot be confined to a predictable pattern. This, itself, is what impedes the attempts to educate or technicize less developed countries. The use of quantitative measurement of particular qualitative experiences in exploring the human estate creates various adversities. On the one hand, mathematical and statistical equations are formed as a result of generalizing spatial and quantitative properties and the intra-relationship of objects, processes and symbols which are of an inanimate nature. On the other hand, the human estate, as a living organism and self-regulating system, consists of fortuitous experiences and it becomes almost impossible to define, formalize and reduce it to parameters alien to its state.

Many analytic approaches can be used to dimensionalize the societal variables of cross-cultural diffusion of scientific information.[7] Some examples of the numerous processes are: pragmatic, inductive, social physics, empirico-deductive factor analysis, deductive, facet theory,

cluster analysis and Euclidean space methods. The choice of a convenient aggregation is the fundamental problem in practical applications. The dimensions of political processes, alone, cover a vast scope of factors. When comparing political systems, the level of analysis shifts from the object of observation (which may be individuals or groups) to the social system in which the observations are made. Obtaining data on this level is subject to a somewhat random or personal selection of data for variables which therefore inherently include the possibility of error. One consideration to be made is that of using units of observation and generalization which provide for variance on the dimensions. Secondly, the validity of the measurement statements must render the data reliable. Thirdly, assuming the first two have been achieved, there is still a question as to whether the data is expressed in equivalent language of measurement.[8]

Variables for comparative data can be attained in terms of analyzing the differences between systems as a whole. They can also include non-relational characteristics of the components of the system. Certain cultural-historical factors must also be considered as well as a system's basic social processes and development. The effect of the characteristics of the system upon the attitudes and goals of the people is also a determining factor influencing the degree to which the information transformation will be successfully achieved.[9]

The ideology of the systems concerned is one of the major variables which influence the transfer of scientific knowledge to non-western world in terms of the interpersonal values and political orientation. An omnipresent problem in comparative studies is to develop a measurement of variables that cut across and take into consideration different political systems. The terminology and

concepts used should have a meaningful cross-national applicability. In many cases concept designations are dependent upon the level of development of the country. Finlay, Simon and Wilson's study of cross-national research contends that individual sekf-designation (respondents view of himself in regard to any number of dimensions) was a most effective way of determining value and perception preferences. They could, therefore, gain an introspection into the political culture by evaluating the respondents' cognitive, emotive and effective reflections of themselves.[10] They began with the determination of interpersonal values as indicators of Left/Right political orientation in 13 countries. But their conclusions led them to believe that their measures of values were Western-oriented because their scales indicate much more variance between Left and Right orientation in developed countries than in LDCs. A more accurate conclusion would be that the Left/Right clarity is something that can only be interpreted accutely within the context of the country itself.[11] Again, this point out the difficulty in obtaining unity in a dimensional analysis. The determination of categories as measures of political orientation in LDC's become a dubious task when the same categories must also apply to developed countries. Often, cultural influences change the meaning or expression of certain attitudes even on the basic level and render comparisons unequal or biased by the particular culture of the researchers themselves. The determination of a country's inhabitants' ideological self-designation as being Leftist or Rightist is such an example of the relativity of terminology.[12] For example, the use of political activity as a measure for politicization becomes a meaningless indicator in those countries where voting enforced or rigged by a dominant or single presidential candidate as it has been in most Third World countries. Such data is obviously Western-oriented and will be of no value to researchers as it fails to include the political peculiarities of the system's modus operandi.[13] One of the consequences of a scientific and technological infusion into non-western societies

is that it is being carried out by the Western societies and is therefore subjected to their bias. A common fear among scientists of the non-capitalist society of the USSR is the rise of a trend toward "technological neo colonialism" of Westernism. The USSR (which is also a western country) is using almost the same technique but under the name of Scientific Socialism. This rivalry supports the fear that "scientism" is not value free but is manipulated by a particular ideological bias.

In the transfer of scientific thought it is difficult to obtain a consistent pattern of relationships to help gauge the efficacy with which such information will be received.[14] Social indicators which are culture bound or system-specific have proved unreliable and biased when applied to other socio-political systems. The disparity arises from over-generalized and unidentified linkages between theories and applications.[15] The problem of applying concepts across systems is that indicators vary according to the function of the theories from which they originated as vs. just the frequency with which they occur from system to system. The researcher should be aware that his indicators are dependent upon his models and should use this to help explain the variance in his findings, to improve the quality of operationalizations and increase the intersubjectivity of his inquiry.[16]

In forming indicators, the reliability can be assessed by the degree to which they are ambiguous. Error will be directly related to this variance. Validity is another important aspect of an indicator by which it must measure accurately the internal as well as external relation to the total concept.[17] For example, a direct indicator would be more valid than inferred one. It is usually the social laws which are transferred into inferred indicators. Arriving at a valid indicator, then, becomes a highly technical problem. For example, if a researcher wants to compare the level of education between two populations with the desire to increase higher education in certain LDC's he might count the number of schools there based on his theory

that more schools means more education. But this assumption fails to acknowledge that perhaps in some countries the schools are relatively useless institutions or perhaps are only attended by members of a particular social class.[18] In this case the researcher's indicators would be totally contingent upon his implicit or explicit mode. His model, being presumptuous and Western-oriented, his indicaters likewise will reflect the error in his basic theory and therefore will not be a valid source of information. For this reason many political and social scientists advocate an orderly and deductive procedure for indicator determination that encompasses the full range of operationalization of variables based on the valid antecedents of the general theory. Further, it is a sensitive process to transfer ideational concepts into non-abstract and observable indicators. But this is the means by which we devise categories of empirical observation of concepts; i.e., it is a common means of operationalizing abstract as well as non-abstract theory. But, to be valid, the information in any category must maintain a high degree of interrelatedness to the nature of the conceptualizations.

Likewise, the linkage of the indicators to each other is equally important in terms of unifying and validating the original concept. The confusion of overlapping operationalizations can be avoided by formal methods of identifying multiple indicators rather than with process of conjecture. This also facilitates hypothesis-testing. When a disparity is found among indicators it could be a result of the application of different conceptual frameworks to similar systems. It is important that one refer constantly to his theoretical framework to avoid currupting his data by subjective and indirect linkages between his variables. The crucial awareness which should be developed is to the impact of the researcher's theory upon his indicators. This relationship should then be used constructively.[19]

The problems involved in the diffusion of scientific thought to non-Western world are many. The scientific method of inquiry is not adequate for this comparative method of socio-political inquiry. Comparative methodology cannot arrive at "laws" of behaviour because it is virtually impossible to standardize the information in terms of valid indicators. For that reason scientific typologies are needed as a methodology for comparative analysis.[20]

FOOTNOTES

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2. Willian M. and March A. Chandler — "The Problem of Indicator Formation in Comparative Research." Comparative Political Studies 1 (April, 1974): 26 - 46.

3. Robert E. Agger and others: "Education, General Personal Orientation, and Community Involvement: A Cross-National Research Project." Comparative Political Studies 1 (April 1970)

4. Michael Hass — "Dimensional Analysis in Cross-National Research." Comparative Political Studies 1 (April, 1970): 3 - 32.

5. J. Stephens — "The Kuhnian Paradigm and Political Inquiry: An Appraisal." American Journal of Political Science 3 (August 1973): 467 - 488.

6. Sethi, S. Prakash, — "Variable and Object Clustering of Cross-cultural Data: Some Implications for Comparative Research and Polity Formulation." Comparative Political Studies 3 p.315 - 342.

7. Kenneth H. Thompson — "A Cross-National Analysis of Inter-Generational Social Mobility and Political Orientation." Comparative Political Studies 1 (April 1971) : 3 - 20.

8. David J. Finlay and others: "The Concept of Left and Right in Cross-National Research." Comparative Political Studies 2, (July 1974) 209 - 221.

9. A. Lal Goel. "The Relevance of Education for Political Participation in a Developing Society." Comparative Political Studies 3 (October 1970) 333 - 346.

10. Leo A. Hazlewood "Concept and Measurement Stability in the Study of Conflict Behaviour Within Nations." Comparative Political Studies 2 (July 1973): 171 - 196.

11. David J. Finlay and Others "The Concept of Left and Right in Cross-National Research." Comparative Political Studies 2 (July 1974): 209 - 221.

12. " " Ibid.

13. Richard A. Pride "Pattern Analysis: An Alternative Approach to Quantative Historical Data." Comparative Political Studies 3 (October 1971): 361 - 370.

14. D.J. Palumbo "Comparative Analysis: Quasi Methodology or New Science?" Comparative Urban Research 4 (Winter 1973 - 74): 37 - 53.

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17. Michael Aiken "Comparative Cross-National Research on Sub-national Units in Western Europe: Problems, Data Sources, and a Proposal." Comparative Administration 4 (February 1973) 437 - 472.

18. Campbell, S.J. Colin. "Current Models of the Political System: An Intellective-Purposive View." Comparative Political Studies 1 (April 1971): 2 - 20.

19. Henry Teune and Kezysztof Ostrowski. "Political Systems as Residual Variables: Explaining Differences within Systems." Comparative Political Studies 1 (April 1973): 3 - 21.

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SOME GENETIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN AKYEM/ASANTE TWI (ONI/ɔ'NI, ɔSE/ɔ'SE, ETC.)*

A.C. DENTEH

1. Introduction:

"Oni" or "ɔ'ni' (his or her mother) belongs to a class of Akan genitive constructions found in Akyem-Asante Twi. Such constructions invariably consist of a possessive pronoun followed by a possessed noun, usually a kinship term. Formerly, such grammatical constructions were written without the apostrophe. The Akan Orthography Committee set up by the Institute of African Studies and the Language Centre, Legon, at one of its meetings, decided to write the possessive pronoun as "ɔ" with an apostrophe between it and the possessed noun. "oni" or "ɔni" was from that time written with "ɔ" plus the apostrophe.

At a later meeting, it was again decided that the form "ɔ'ni", "ɔ'se", "ɔ'wɔfa" etc. should be regarded as "colloquial". The non-colloquial correlative of the possessive pronoun is "ne", as in "ne se", "ne ni", "ne wɔfa" etc. It may be inferred from this decision then that if this "ɔ" plus the apostrophe type of possessive pronoun should appear in a written play or poetry, the agreed written form should be used.

2. The Committee's decision to standardize the written form of the possessive pronoun to be "ɔ'ni" etc. was a move in the right direction; because the "ɔ" here may be regarded as the contracted form of "ɔno". The following examples illustrate this point:

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(a) "ɔno" (nominative):

(i) ɔno nam ha na me nso menam do.

ɔ-nam ha na me nso menam do.
(While he/she came this way, I went that way)

(ii) ɔno pɛ fufuo, wo nso wo kyiri fufuo.

ɔ-pɛ fufuo, wo nso wo kyiri fufuo.
(He/she likes fufuo, whereas you don't take it.)
ɔ-pɛ
(He/

(b) "ɔno" (possessive):

(i) ɔno akyi na wo die.

N'-akyi na wodie.
You are his/her follower.

(ii) ɔno ho na manya amanes no.

Ne ho na manya amanes no.
(I am in trouble because of him/her)

3. In example 2(a), "ɔno" contracts to "ɔ". In example 2(b) "ɔno", functioning as a possessive pronoun, transmutes into a "no" or "Ne". This transmutation sometimes gives rise to the interchange of "No" and "Ne" as the possessive in the same context. For instance, in the Bible, at 2 Kings chapter 9 verse 25, we read "...laid this...upon him", the expression "upon him" is translated "no do" (Fante), "no so" (Akwapem), "ne so" (Akyem-Asante). The point here is that "ɔ-no" drops the prefix "ɔ" and retains "No" or its transmuted form "Ne", and in other contexts drops the nominal root form "No" or "Ne" and retains the prefix "ɔ".

4. The retention of the "ɔ" as a possessive pronoun occurs in Akyem-Asante Twi, and perhaps in Nzema. The occurrence of this "ɔ" possessive in Akyem-Asante takes place in contexts which are characterized by three main properties: First, it is used in connection with about fourteen words. They are:-

(a) Ɔ'nana
Ɔ'ni
Ɔ'se
Ɔ'wɔfa
Ɔ'nua
Ɔ'sewaa
Ɔ'kunu
Ɔ'kora
Ɔ'wura (Ɔ'wura)

(b) Ɔ'maame
Ɔ'papa

(c) Ɔ'niwaa (Ɔ'niwaa: found in dirges).

(d) Ɔ'nɔkwa (Ɔ'ɪ nɔ'kwa).

(e) Ɔ'wora.

NOTE: i. In the list, "Ɔ'nana-prenu", Ɔ'nana-presa", "Ɔ'nana-sunkwakwa", "Ɔ'nana-damsaa" and "Ɔ'nana-nkaasowa", being extensions of the term "Ɔ'nana", have been taken to follow the pattern of the initial term "Ɔ'nana"; so have the extensions of the others (e.g. - Ɔ'se - Ɔ'se-kuma, Ɔ'se-panin etc.) not been found necessary for inclusion.

ii. "Ɔ'maame" and "Ɔ'papa" are new adoptions.

iii. "Ɔ'nɔkwa" ("By his/her nature") follows the pattern:- me nɔkwa, mo nɔkwa etc.

Secondly, the expressions in question are mainly kinship terms, except (d) and (e). "Nɔkwa" relates to "Self" (me nɔkwa, wo nɔkwa, ɔ'nɔkwa). "Wora" (me wora, wo wora, ɔ'wora, Kofi wora etc.) seems to belong to the "Nɔkwa" group, though it is not the same in character. "Wora" may be described as a term in opposition to "Me", "wo" etc. It needs a further study.

Thirdly, if the referent of the two items in the genitival construction in Akyem-Asante Twi are relatives, the referent of the possessive pronoun "Ɔ" is always the younger (diminutive), of the two. For instance, we can attest "Ɔ'se" (His/Her father), but never "Ɔ'ba" (his/her son or daughter). Except in the case of "Ɔ'wura" (his/her master, mistress or owner), the rule does not extend to such relationship terms as "his chief", "his Bishop" etc. Where the rule applies, if the two relations are equal in status or by right of birth, the "Ɔ" possessive can function for either side,

e.g. "ɔ'nua" or "ɔ'nuanom" (his/her sibling or siblings) and "ɔ'kora" (his/her partner in marriage: "Kora" is applied to two or more men who are married to sisters respectively; and to any of a group of women who are wives of one man).

5. One advantage of the use of the "ɔ" with apostrophe is the elimination of a possible confusion which otherwise would occur in some expressions. Pairs of instances are:

i (a) ɔ'nua Paul wɔ ha: His/Her brother Paul is here.
(b) Onua Paul wɔ ha: Brother Paul is here.

ii (a) ɔ'nana aba kuro yi mu: His/Her grandparent has come to this town.

iii (a) ɔ'wura no nim: His/Her master knows it.
(b) Owura no nim: The gentleman knows about it.

6. The "ɔ" possessive pronoun which has been discussed does not occur in Fante or Akwapem Twi or Bron; it is however understood by speakers of Akan when used by an Akyem-Asante speaker.

WOMEN AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN WEST AFRICA

KATIE CHURCH*

Engels was the first to attempt a systematic analysis of the material roots of male dominance in society (Engels, 1884). In re-examining Engel's theory in the light of studies of traditional African communities at varying stages of economic development ranging from hunting and gathering societies to ones with a sizeable exchange economy, Karen Sacks concludes that Engels' emphasis was misplaced and that it is not men's ownership of private property per se that gives them dominance, since some men own no property and some women do, it is rather the privatisation of women's labour in the production for use sector, which pushes them into a subordinate position (Sacks, 1974). Sacks argues that participation in social labour is the pre-requisite for being a 'full social adult' and that although a woman's domestic authority may be enhanced by the property she owns, her subordinate status in public life prevents her from achieving fully equal status with men even in the domestic sphere. Outside the family women's status diminishes as the range of activities undertaken within the context of the whole community excludes women's work.

From Engels' own analysis of the woman's situation in class and non-class society, and Sacks' modification of Engel's conclusions, two closely interrelated factors emerge as significant in determining the political and economic power which women enjoy in any society: (a) the presence or not of an exchange economy in which the bulk of private property is owned by men (by private property is meant ownership of the means of production); (b) the extent to which women participate in social labour. By social labour is meant any form of productive activity undertaken within the context of the community as a whole, as opposed to work of which the benefits are only felt by

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the individual or the family. In class societies the ruling class has control over social labour. Thus the feudal lord exacts days of labour from some institutions controlled by the bourgoisie. Anyone engaged in marketing produce is participating in social labour since the function of distribution of goods is one that services the whole community. Because of this there is a close link between active production for exchange and participating in social labour. A woman farmer may be involved in production for exchange, but only if she has control over the sale of the product can she really be said to be engaged in social labour and be enjoying the influence that accrues from being engaged in production for exchange. The Ibo woman who extracts oil from palm fruits, but whose husband owns the oil and sells it, is working within the context of the family, not the community at large. Her work probably brings her no status outside the family, nor any wealth. The Engels-Sacks theory therefore offers two sets of related determinants of women's power in society. measurable in the form of the following questions: (1) in an exchange economy to what extent do women own or control the means of production, especially the means of production for exchange? (2) to what extent are women engaged in social labour?

In this paper an attempt is made, using the above criteria, to make a rudimentary assessment of how women's situations in West Africa have altered as a result of the rapid expansion which has taken place over the last couple of centuries. Territorial movements of whole groups of agricultural settlers in search of new land or in flight from aggressors has ceased. Instead, the individual has become more geographically mobile. Farming and consumption patterns have changed following the introduction of food-crops such as cassava and corn. Faster transport and mechanised fishing have made more sea-fish available to people living in the hinterland. Imported foodstuffs provide additional sources of animal protein. Above all rural economies have been absorbed in

a unitary market system and the exchange sector of those economies has greatly expanded. The slave trade, mining, timber-extraction and cash-crop farming have brought West Africa into the world economy, with the result that commodity prices on the world marke and international monetary fluctuations are of vital concern to modern West African States.

An important element in these economic changes was European imperialism and the political colonisation which went with it and lasted roughly from the late nineteenth century to the 1960s. Colonial administrations tried either to destroy and replace indigenous political institutions or to modify them to suit their own ends. At the same time missionaries made an assault upon the existing spiritual and social order. The colonial administrators and missionaries met with varying degrees of resistance from African institutions. Frequently their policies and actions had unforeseen side effects or results of a very different nature from those desired. The colonial presence was a powerful source of exogenous change which made its impact felt within a relatively short space of time. The accelerated rate of change brought about during the colonial period has not slackened since African countries gained formal independence.

One interesting aspect of the colonial phenomenon from the sociologist's point of view is that by injecting a concentrated dose of change factors into African societies it provided a time-telescoped laboratory in which social changes and interactions can be observed.

African societies as first studied by European anthropologists had mostly moved far beyond the stage of having a purely subsistence economy. In most cases there was some production for exchange, though one of the chief changes taking place since the onset of colonial rule has been the rapid growth of the proportion of production geared to exchange. It is important to note that Africa south of the Sahara has been affected by these changes in a highly uneven manner. There are still people living in the least accessible parts of the continent

whose contact with outsiders is minimal. The Mbuti of Zaire are one of the few peoples whose economy is still characterised by subsistence hunting and gathering (O'Laughlin 1974). The Mbum Kpau in Chad practise hoe agriculture, livestock rearing as well as hunting and gathering, but apart from the purchase of iron ore for making tools they do not trade goods outside the community. Exchange of subsistence goods within an Mbum Kpau village is done by barter (O'Laughlin 1974). The Mbum Kpau provide an example of a society considerably removed from the hunter-gatherer state of Mbuti society, yet almost untouched by European contact and having very little communication with their neighbours. In Mbuti and Mbum Kpau societies we see people operating very much as they might have done before the onset of colonial rule. At the other extreme are the coastal areas of Sierra Leone and Liberia where a substantial proportion of the population is descended from ex-slaves returned from the Americas. Even within fairly small modern states the impact of colonial rule and economic contact with the West has been very uneven. Life in Accra differs in many ways from life in many of the remoter rural areas of Ghana. Life amongst the poorer people in the rural areas still bears a closer resemblance to life there prior to European contact than does life in towns. Too much should not be made of this latter contrast since the effects of urbanisation have not been limited to the towns. Cash-cropping, improved communications and marketing infrastructure and rural-urban migration are some of the factors which have changed life in the rural areas. Nevertheless the uneveness of the degree of social change that has taken place, enables one to see more of the 'traditional' in some areas than others.

Colonial administrations wished both to increase the area under cultivation of export crops, and to bring all Africans within the orbit of their own style of cash economy. They therefore imposed taxes whereever they could and encouraged the cultivation of crops which could be sold for cash. Their efforts in these directions were

focussed exclusively upon men. British 'Indirect Rule' was based upon the use of indigenous political institutions to implement many of colonial local administrative policies. Consequently British colonial offers' perceptions of the political organisation of African communities was very important in creating institutions which were to shape the political organisation of these communities under colonial rule. Perhaps one of the greatest mistakes which the British made in this direction was to overlook the role played by women in many political systems. This omission became glaringly evident in Eastern Nigeria, where, in 1929 two million women were involved in the widespread disturbances known as the 'Aba riots'. The authority, organisational ability and communications network which the women's formal political organisations commanded, astounded the British authorities. Sylvia Leith-Ross, whose research amongst Ibo women was partly directed towards providing information towards a reassessment of colonial policy in the area, made the following comments:

> Judging from my own experience among various peoples of Nigeria, I am inclined to believe that the women, because of their economic importance as mothers, farm cultivators and traders, have rather more power than is generally thought, and that therefore they must be taken into account in the farming of new legislation, or the introduction of new methods of trade or husbandry, or the creation of new social and economic institutions. (Leith-Ross, 1939:21).

Whenever a new occupational skill or cash crop was introduced by Europeans, the new technique required was taught to men. Similarly with school education and the subsequent job opportunities which it offered to a handful of Africans, the emphasis was upon education for boys (Foster 1965). Thus white collar jobs became a male preserve from the start, and the balance has only been partially redressed in later years. Throughout West African coastal and forest areas prior to the colonial era, regular markets were to be found, especially in areas of dense population and good communications.

The most lucrative and prestigious lines of trade, slaves, gold, palm oil, rubber, ivory and iron were plied by men (Dike 1956). The involvement of men in the most lucrative occupations re-enforced traditional division of labour. Women were involved in selling foodstuffs and a variety of hand-made domestic utensils. They were involved in production for exchange but within the sphere most closely related to the household. Theirs were not the goods that could be traded with Europeans for iron bars, cloth or guns. Colonisation followed rapidly upon abolition of the European slave trade. This removed one form of male-dominated production for exchange; slave raiding and slave trading. It also increased the level of trade in other goods including those sold by women since it enabled unarmed individuals to travel long distances in greater safety than before. To some extent the innovations which introduced men to cash-cropping and wage labour and left women with food production both for use and exchange did not entail a radical departure from the pre-colonial division of labour between the sexes. The change was in the size and importance of the new exchange sector of the economy. Production for use correspondingly declined in importance. Moreover the new forms of production for exchange cultivation of cocoa, rubber or groundnuts required a very large quantity of land in the areas in which they flourished. Some of the cocoa-growing areas of Nigeria and Ghana and the groundnut-dominated land of the Gambia have become deficient in food production as a result of excessive monoculture. When a cash-crop boom prompts a community to rely upon production for exchange to provide even for a proportion of subsistence needs, the prospects of a slump in the sales of that cash-crop are grimindeed. One of the chief grievances of Ibo people in the 1930s was the drop in palm oil prices. One of the complaints voiced by Ibo women during the investigations after the 'Aba riots' was that "the land is changed - we are all dying - we are not as happy as we were before." (Leith-Ross 1939; p.38) The heart of the riot area was also the

area of the most concentrated palm.oil production and severest land shortage.

There is evidence of shortage of land for growing food in Ashanti today where cocoa farmers have difficulty in recruiting labourers to work on their farms because of the high cost of food in those localities (Adomakoh-Sarfoh 1974: 137). The normal practice is to allow labourers to grow food on reserve farms, but since cocoa trees occupy all the land in most places labourers find themselves having to spend all their earnings on food imported to local markets. Many Yoruba women, deprived of the means of production for subsistence demand to be paid wages for the work they put into their husbands' farms (Galletti 1956). They too have to buy a large proportion of the foodstuffs which they need to feed the family. Ghanaian women often expect to be given a few acres of cocoa farm in return for their assistance in building up their husbands' farms. The great majority of cocoa farm owners are men, and where women own farms they tend to be smaller than those owned by men. Cocoa farmers are heavily dependent on the labour of female relatives, especially wives, in establishing their farms. The role of women in cocoa production appears largely as family labour in a supportive subsistence farming role. A result of the general increased demand for arable land is that increasing numbers of food farmers, especially those farming near urban centres, are obliged to rent land for food farming.

There are occasional instances where the usual pattern of male exploitation of new opportunities was reversed. When a new crop, cassava, became available to the Afikpo Ibo, men ignored it since the spiritually sanctioned prestige crop was yam (Ottenberg, 1959). Cultivation of yams was the province of men and was a very positively valued form of economic activity. In the absence of male interest in cassava, Afikpo women seized upon this new crop with alacrity. Thus

by their own efforts women were able to alleviate the annual famine period which used to precede the yam harvest. They were also able to sell the surplus at market. As a result of their increased economic capacity, particularly in production for exchange, women's influence increased. One of the Ibo women explained the situation:

> Nowadays women do not care if the husband doesn't give them any food, for they can go to the farm and get cassava. If a woman has any money she rents some land and plants cassava. The year after she does this she can have a crop of cassava-meal, which she can sell and have her own money. Then she can say, what is a man, I have my own money (Ottenberg 1969).

For subsistence farming communities whose agricultural land is plentiful, the question of ownership or right to use land is of less political and economic importance than the labour to farm it. Thus the common arrangement whereby men owned land or had the right to use land, and where women owned the crops which they grew upon it, gave women effective if not de jure control over the means of production.

The importance of right of access to land in determining women's political and economic power becomes much greater when there is land scarcity as in the Ijaw villages of the delta region of Nigeria studied by Leis (1974). In one village where a man's wives customarily cultivated equal sized plots on his land, there was a strong network of women's councils which had considerable powers to legislate and enforce observation of their regulations by applying sanctions. This high degree of cooperation between women was possible because the right to equal portions of a man's land meant that women did not have to curry favour with their husbands in order to have the means to produce food for themselves and their children. There was no rivalry between co-wives for a man's land and favour and consequently there was a basis for co-wife solidarity. In the second Ijaw village studied by Leis conditions were broadly similar, with the exception of land distribution arrangements which were somewhat erratic. Women were

supposed to farm on land made available to them by their mothers, but many women were married and resident too far from the lands of their matrilineage to be able to farm there. As a result, some of a man's wives might have their own land whilst others had to beg some land from him. This made for inequality between co-wives regarding access to land and thus there was not a strong basis for co-wife solidarity. On the contrary wives were anxious not to offend husbands and therefore were less individually and collectively assertive. In this village there were no women's councils. Another difference between the two villages was that in the first, women regularly visited nearby markets to sell their agricultural surplus, and in the second village women were limited to exchange of subsistence produce within the village since there was no easy access to full-scale markets. Women were discouraged from travelling to distant markets and any who ventured to do so were labelled as 'promiscuous' and 'bad wives'.

The above study of the two Ijaw villages illustrates firstly the importance to women of who owns or controls the land which they farm. In neither village did women own the means of production but in one village they were guaranteed free access to it. Secondly, it should be noted that the more powerful group of women participated fully in production for exchange. They sold their surplus at market. Thirdly the more powerful group of women participated in 'social labour' as defined by Engels. Their women's councils organised village clean-up sessions and cutting of the long grass by river-banks. There is no indication that some near neighbours of the Ijaw, the Ibo, who also had women's councils, used them for organisation of any kind of communal labour. Their activities centred upon ensuring the smooth running of the market. This organisational work however is on a par with 'social labour' since it concerns the public exchange sector of the economy. The councils made their market regulations and enforced them. Their authority in all such measures was recognised by men who never interfered with the councils' work. The only matter over which the council's authority overlapped with that of the Senior Males in the community was marital disputes (Leith-Ross, 1939:107). In these, women's councils

acted in consultation with senior men. The jurisdiction of West African women's councils does not cover land disputes or other matters of dispute between families. The close connection of the women's councils with the running of the village market is underpinned by the practice of having council meetings in the market-place after the day's trade is completed. The British colonial administration in Iboland prevented women's councils from carrying out their customary sanctions against recalcitrant offenders, namely, the spoilation of property and crops. This underming of their authority may have been an aggravating factor behind the 1929 riots. The speed and ease with which women in scattered villages were mobilised for action is an indication of the organisational potential of the councils. However the attempt to co-ordinate them under an 'Ibo women's Union' failed utterly. The full participatory democracy whereby women debated until they all agreed, was not feasible on a large scale and women were reluctant to resort to majority vote decision-making or delegation. Some West African women's market organisations offer credit facilities to their members and to some strangers including men. In modern Ghana and Nigeria they perform the function of small-scale credit banks and are powerful political lobbying institutions.

A comparison between Ghanaian women in the north and the south of Ghana provides an illustration of how involvement in production for exchange is an important determinant of women's status and influence. In northern Ghana men predominate in farming. Women's household tasks are too-time-consuming to allow them to spend much time in the fields, and they do not exchange surplus produce on anything like the scale that women in the forest and coastal regions of Ghana do. Water in the north is scarce and women spend a lot of

time carrying their pots to and from the water source. In the North grains and not tubers are the food staples. The amount of pounding that goes into making porridge flour or extracting oil from grains is much greater than that involved in either preparing fufu or extracting palm oil. In Southern Ghana where women farm and market, and where the exchange sector of the economy is not dominated by male ownership of livestock, women enjoy greater freedom of association, control over their children, and access to private property. Goody emphasises that just because northern women do not farm and trade it does not mean that their contribution to the family is any less essential. Of the economic role of women he writes, "To try to measure this purely in terms of contribution to agricultural or trading activity neglects the important role of women in food preparation, production of children and sex-gratification" (Goody 1972). The important point to note is that it is not the indispensability of women's contribution to the family economy that determines their status, it is rather direct involvement in production for exchange and some control over the sale of the product that counts. Fetching water and pounding millet are vital tasks but they constitute production for subsistence. Subsistence production is socially viewed as a subordinate complement to production for exchange.

One aspect of the social relations of production in which women invitably play a crucial role is in the reproduction of the labour force. Women in this sense are the relations of production. In a subsistence economy where no surplus is produced for exchange, and all labour is social labour, women's reproductive role is a matter of interest to the whole society and is not controlled by any particular group of individuals. In a society where subsistence production has ceased to be social labour and takes place within the family context, the amount of control which a woman has over her own reproductive activity is important in determining her status within the family. It seems that women's control over their reproductive activity is a variable

dependent upon their involvement in production for exchange. It is where women are confined to subsistence production that their control over the means of production is least. Boserup describes how women in entirely male farming areas tend to be secluded, excluded from production for exchange, and from full adult participation in the social life of the community. In some societies where women's contribution to the economy is generally low, their only valued function being reproduction, women are valued so little that forms of female infanticide are practised. Nowhere in Africa is women's status so low as to reduce them to the mere chattel status which they have in certain Arab, Indian and Chinese societies (Boserup 1970). Nevertheless within Africa there are great variations in the amount of control a woman has over her marriages, sex-life, child-bearing and children.

Most traditional African social organisation is centered upon the corporate descent group traced unilineally. For a woman the big difference between a patrilineal and a matrilineal society is that in the one she bears children belonging to someone else's lineage and in the other she bears children belonging to her own lineage. It has been suggested that the rules of exogamy, patrilineal descent and virilocal residence cause women to be 'alienated from their own reproduction' (O'Laughlin 1974). This is perhaps an overstatement of the case. Whilst the female in-marrying affine may never juridicially become a member of the lineage, she is very much a member of the household in the widest sense. Far from being alienated from her children, she regards them as the means by which she is accepted into the lineage segment and as a source of influence. Although a female marrying into, for example, a Yoruba household may become a respected senior person, that fact that lineage property, including land and titles are vested in male lineage members effectively excludes them from decision-making regarding the distribution of the means of production within the lineage. Bridget O'Laughlin describes how amongst the Mbum Kpau where land is readily available and the tools for agriculture and hunting are very simple, married women as non-members of the lineage in which they live are economically disadvantaged. Although there are

no rules barring women from ownership of these, valued forms of property fall predominantly into the hands of senior men. Moreover, by virilocal residence the Mbum Kpau woman is cut off from help from h own kin in undertaking large tasks. A man can recruit free labour from his junior patrilineal kin, but a woman sponsoring a co-operative work group will have to find some means of offering recompense for that labour since it is not due to her as a lineage member. Thus Mbum Kpau men have more access to surplus labour than their women do, a factor which is very important in contributing towards wealth differences.

Men's evasion of their obligations towards wives and children, when not accompanied by increased support of female kin, must lead to an increase in the number of financially unsupported or under-supported mothers. In the light of overall developments in the economy it is not hard to see how this could have taken place. As the exchange economy expands so does the individual's dependence on cash income. Family obligations once fulfilled in kind become transmuted into cash, but the cash which most men can earn is not enough for them to carry out all of their obligations. In the case of Ghana a boom in world cocoa prices is followed by a slump, and no sooner has the price of cocoa recovered than the national economy is weakened by international inflation. During the period when the purchasing power of the majority of the population increased a number of manufactured imported commodities entered the consumption culture so that provision of these items became a part of the system of family obligations (Lawson). 'The new scarcity' therefore becomes the chief culprit in heightening weakness and tensions in the family system, whilst the fact that cash earning is more easily available to men than to women, ensures that women suffer in these changes in family system.

Partly as an extension of their traditional trading roles, and partly as a response to the need for their own cash income, West African women have swarmed into the distribution business. They are

wholesalers, retailers and transport owners. However the distribution system is fragmented to such an extent that only a small minority of women traders become substantially wealthy. The disproportionately large section of the West African labour force engaged in distribution can be attributed partly to the family system which requires that women have independent cash incomes, and to the fact that trading is the only source of cash earning open to most of them. On the other hand, Akan women in Ghana, are noted for their economic activity and their financial independence. However, being a financially independent head of the household may be one facet of the situation; lack of help in training and providing for the children may be another facet of the same situation. A successful woman trader can put her children through school, be free of any restraint on her activities by either husband, brother or uncle, and enjoy respect and influence as a result of her wealth. Her less advantaged sister may be really struggling just to feed her children. The expansion of the exchange sector of the economy has enabled a few West African women to become extremely wealthy and independent. To a large extent a woman's independence depends on the strength of her economic situation as compared to that of her husband and her kin. If a woman's resources are slim and those of her husband or kinsman are substantial then she is likely to be financially dependent on that person who is therefore likely to exercise some control over herself and her children. Such relationships of financial dependence are not limited to relationships between man and women. A wealthy woman trader may pay the school fees of her poorer sister's children and have all her sisters and their children at her back and call. A similar state of economic affairs has come about in the cash-cropping areas of southern Nigeria. Studies of Yoruba family life suggest that patrilocality keeps the proportion of female household heads much smaller than in Akan society. Urban accommodation problems have broken some polygynous households into a number of mother-children units (Izzett 1961).

Traditionally Yoruba wives, including those living in towns, supported themselves and their children by farming land allocated to them by their husband's patrilineage. In the modern urban situation, unless he can give them sufficient capital to make a living by trade the Yoruba husband is not in a position to provide his wives with the means to make a living. Consequently wives either have to fend for themselves or depend entirely on cash contributions from their husbands. The more successful women traders are often either Heads of their own households, or else live with their own patrilineal relatives with whom they enjoy positions of influence. Izzett notes that such women tend to keep their daughters very close to them and arrange the making and even breaking of their marriages. They may encourage their daughters to have liaisons with wealthy men rather than subject themselves to inconveniences of marriage with someone less well-off. There is scope then for a few women in both Akan and Yoruba society to become influential and independent through wealth.

The position of daughters and wives of the professional elite is very different from that of the peasantry and the petty bourgoisie. For the purposes of this discussion, 'elite', will refer to members of the higher professional stratum, doctors, lawyers, university lecturers, business executives and higher grade civil servants. Because of the narrow educational opportunities which have been available to women, there are very few of them in higher professional employment. Oppong's study of elite married couples in Accra (Oppong 197a), and P.C. Lloyd's work on elites in Africa (Lloyd 1966), show that most elite men marry women in the lower professional stratum, teachers, nurses or clerks. Therefore elite men tend to have much higher earning capacity than their wives who are dependent on the husband for the high standard of living which they enjoy. Elite women cannot afford to risk losing their husbands, and in any kind of struggle over marital roles and responsibilities they are in a relatively weak position. Differences between matterners in access to

material resources are not camouflaged by ideas of mutual sharing as they tend to be in Western society, they rather form the basis of the bargaining situation. Oppong found that the higher a woman's educational qualifications and earning power in comparison to that of her husband, the more likely the couple was to operate a syncratic mode of decision-making and to share responsibility for household tasks. Given that syncratic decision-making is an expected corollary of the companionate type of marriage, and that Akan elite wives desire the latter, one can deduce that women with relatively high earning capacity are coming closer to achieving the type of marriage they desire, than are other wives of elite men.

For the elite West African wife, a companionate and monogamous style of marriage is desirable. The modern elite husband's material provision for his wife and children constitutes a much higher proportion of their income than it did in traditional society or still does amongst the urban and rural non-elite. It is therefore very important to the wife that she be the only woman with access to her husband's financial resources. Oppong found that one of the commonest sources of domestic conflict between elite couples concerned the wife's disposal of her income. Wives were reluctant to contribute more to the running of the household than they were absolutely forced to. One reason for this may be the wife's fear that the more cash the husband has at his disposal the more he will spend on outside wives and girl friends. An ordinance marriage which is a monogamous one, gives a wife certain inheritance rights over her husband's property; rights which she would not enjoy under customary law. For an elite woman the economic advantages of a monogamous marriage outweigh those of a polygynous one. Women in the traditional Yoruba household relied upon their co-wives to help with housework and child-rearing but the recently evolved style of polygyny does not offer such facilities. The elite wife can employ

domestic servants and perhaps have young relative to stay and help in the house as well.

One reason for the increased popularity of outwardly monogamous marriages amongst the upwardly mobile elements in towns has to do with the behaviour patterns expected and encouraged by European educators and employers. A mission education was often the man's only means of economic advancement and for the purpose of impressing teachers and the colonial administration which employed him he would adopt Christian practices (Foster 1965). Besides, in order to convince his superiors in the colonial administration that he was suitable for promotion it was useful if not imperative for the civil servant that he maintain a monogamous front. Even today in modern independent Africa European life-style serves as some sort of a reference model for members of the elite. It is not a matter of prestige for an elite man to accumulate wives. He would rather display his wealth by purchasing cars and houses. This does not mean that polygyny is not practised by elite men, merely that the form of polygyny has altered. The 'formal' wife's desire to keep her husband to herself does not prevent him from having relationships with other women, having children with them and contributing to their maintenance. The 'formal' elite wife, because of her weak economic bargaining position, often has to put up with a style of marriage which she may not find satisfactory. Under traditional polygynous arrangements there was a sense of order; co-operative tasks were undertaken by wives and the husband attempted to give an equal amount of material assistance to each. Even where wives were living matrilocally they would still co-operate in assisting on the husband's farm.

Today, the form of polygyny as practised in West African society has changed. Whilst some of the better-off farmers and businessmen may marry more than one wife in the traditional manner, there are a number of urban men who maintain a girl friend as well as a wife. The 'girl friend factor' in 'monogamous' marriages is an important deterrent to

wives willingness to contribute to any household expenses which they can force upon the husband (Karanja-Diejomoah 1976). Another factor which prevents conjugal partners from pooling their resources is the financial obligation which both retain towards their kin (Oppong 1974).

Kenneth Little, commenting on courtship and marriage patterns among educated young women in West African towns suggests that "It is a question of deciding whether she should exchange economic and sexual independence for a marital state which may not be compatible with her own views of a modern satisfactory marriage" (Little, 1959). However, there is as yet no sign even of women with very high earning capacity postponing marriage long after the completion of their studies or rejecting it altogether.

The economic changes taking place in West Africa have been characterised by two developments of particular relevance to women. The first is the expansion of the exchange sector of the economy in which men have increased their participation more than women have, and the second is the introduction of a modern sector of the economy in which men's participation has also been greater than women's. Many men have given up subsistence farming altogether, and many others are more deeply involved in production for exchange than they were before. Women too participate more than before in the exchange economy in absolute terms, but the shift in division of labour between the sexes has been characterised by a proportionately greater increase in men's involvement in the exchange sector of the economy. In the modern job sector, including large-scale industries and trading enterprises, banks, and all forms of employment in the public sector, the number of women in proportion to men is much smaller than in the traditional sector of the economy.

In both Ghanaian and Nigerian society women are active or dominant in subsistence farming, petty and medium-scale trading, nursing, teaching and some clerical work. They play a minor part in cash-crop production, manual wage employment, managerial work in both the public and private sector, and higher professional work. This division of economic and occupational spheres between the sexes has important implications for the emergence of socio-economic classes. Female predominance in subsistence production and the least lucrative areas of the exchange economy tends to blunt awareness of socio-economic difference between groups of people, and rural-urban differences. This is because many poor women have access to financial help from men slightly better off than themselves. The role of women in West African economies and the changes that these have undergone are important both with regard to family authority structure and overall class developments.

The expansion of the traditional as well as the modern sector of the economy enabled many more women to participate in 'social labour' than did in traditional West African society and thus many more women may be called 'full social adults'. At the same time however, the greater differentials in wealth that have accompanied the growth of private property have left women as a group, heavily weighed towards the bottom of the income and private property scale.

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SOME FIELD PROBLEMS IN RURAL SOCIAL RESEARCH WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO GHANA

P.A. Twumasi[x]

I. Introduction

This article is concerned with highlighting some of the pertinent field problems and issues commonly encountered by fieldworkers in carrying out rural social research. The specific intention is to draw attention to some of the particularities and problems of rural social research and to suggest some field strategies to help to lower field error and to increase reliability and validity measurements in collected field data.

II. The Research Rationale

In Social Research the scientist uses the scientific method to discover patterns of social forms and relationships. An organised and a systematic method is used to seek information into the social composition, living arrangements, activities and views of a group of people.

The social scientist assumes the existence of the existing social situation. That there is in existence a well defined social structure and the people, within this well defined social structure, do not act in quixotic way. Rules of social behaviour exist. People relate and interact in a meaningful way to maintain a form of social cohesion.

Assuming all these positions the social scientist develops a methodology with a built in significant level of objectivity criteria, to study the nature of the existing social structure. He uses the scientific method to study the social phenomena in order to present

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an intelligible image of the system. In the research operation, the serious social scientist is dogma free except his pre-occupation with his basic assumption that through rigorous scientific methodology he will be able to discover patterns of social interaction and "meanings", social participants give to their social situations and relationship.

How do these people define the nature of their existing social reality? What meanings do they give to social action? What is the nature of the relationship between the research worker and his respondents? What method can help to increase the efficiency level of the operational tools of measurement? What methods in sampling can be designed to increase the response rate in rural community studies?

III: Field Experience

In Ghana, according to the recent census figures, about 70 per cent of the people live in rural and outlying settlements. A few of the population (30%) live in the urban towns and cities. A significant majority of the people therefore, share traditional ways of life and work in traditional based institutions. Essentially, these institutions are different and the mode of life has its own situational logic. Kinship plays an important role in their social relationships. Many of the people are subsistence farmers. They work on kinship farms and return home late in the evening. A significant proportion of them consists of old people and the very young. Many of them are illiterates. They are exposed to a different style of life. They share a different belief system and their cultural ideas are quite different from what exist in the industrialized social systems.

Experiences acquired from three social surveys within the period 1972-7[illegible] can throw some light on the postulate that there is a remarkable difference between the urban response rate, among literate respondents and the rural response rate involving illiterate respondents.

In 1972, the University of Ghana Medical School Community Medicine, asked two research scientists, E.O. Boateng, ISSER and P.A. Twumasi, Department of Sociology, to conduct a social survey into "Housing Conditions and Utilisation of Health Services with Particular Reference to the Population of Achimota Village, Adabraka and Tesano in Accra". The Study was conducted during the long-vacation period from June to September 1972.

In pursuit of the research problem it was necessary to indicate the nature of the housing conditions and to show whether there is any difference in health behaviour pattern with particular reference to the population in Achimota Village, Adabraka and Tesano.

At Achimota Village we selected a homogenous group of people at Achimota Kopevi Village. They belong to a particular ethnic group. Most of them were illiterates, unemployed and those employed were mainly of the self-employed variety. Adabraka residents were fairly mixed - all types of people were found in this locality. A significant proportion of them were educated and employed in formal organization of work. The other survey area was inhabited by people from the professional class, lecturers, doctors, lawyers and other high administrative personnel. They represent a significant proportion of the resident who live at Tesano. It is a residential area.

52 medical students were selected and trained in field methods, problems involved in interviewing, measures of reliability and validity in data collection, establishment of field report and other related field issues. The important point in this training phase, was

to instil in them field skills and techniques, to acquire similar orientation in probing questions and to develop methods to help increase the response rate in the collection of relevant data.

We took into consideration the nature of the field situation. Those who were familiar with the area were selected to work in that area. The language question was also noted. The field assistants were put into groups of three. The interviewers were conversant with the particular predominant language spoken in the area. They were also introduced to the psychology of interviewing techniques, how to establish field rapport, ask the right questions at the appropriate times and measures used to increase field response rate.

Daily checks were made. The collected questionnaire schedules were checked and edited. Incomplete frames were returned and refilled. Field assistants were continually encouraged to go to the selected houses at appropriate times suitable to the respondents.

The sampling scheme adopted for the study was probabilistic. The essential argument in probability sampling as argued by Kish[1] is that we can specify for each element of the population the probability that each element will have the chance to be included in the sampling design. Each individual within the selected population universes (i.e. Achimota village, Tesano and Adabraka) had non zero chance of being included in the sampling design. What is necessary in probability sampling theory is that "for each element and its combination there must be some specifiable probability that it will be included"[2] (Selltiz, p.513).

We adhered to this principle in probability sampling because it is the only approach, in sampling methodology, that makes possible representative sampling design. This method enables the designer to check error in an organized and systematic way. It makes it possible for the designer to estimate the extent to which the collected data based

on the estimated sample are likely to be different if he were to study the entire population. In using the probability sampling frame we expect the estimated sampling mean to differ or to differ insignificantly from the expected survey population value.

In order to lower variance within each stratum of the survey universe, the sampling scheme adopted for the study was stratified sampling method. We began this scheme by systematic sampling procedure with a random start for each selected stratum.

As said earlier, the areas were stratified. There were differences however. But these differences whereas allowing us to obtain more information did not contribute significantly to the sampling error of the population mean. In fact it can be shown that differences between strata mean in the population do not contribute to the sampling error of the estimate of the population mean. Samplin error of the estimate of the population mean comes from variations among sampling units that are in the same stratum. Hence through stratification the investigator can get homogenous sampling units to lower sampling variance.

Also the nature of the sample size was taken into consideration. Where a stratum showed more variability than other areas, a larger sample size was taken, meaning that a stratum of less variability got a smaller sample size. This method enabled us to explain variability in a more meaningful way.

As indicated in Table 1, the sampling figures for the three areas were as follows: Achimota village 430 respondents, Adabraka 1,800 respondents and Tesano 370 respondents. The corresponding figures show the response and non response rates estimated in percentages. The non response rate is higher in Achimota village (13.0%); this village it must be remembered, is inhabited mainly by rural oriented, illiterate population.

Table 1

Response and Non Response Rates at Achimota Village, Tesano and Adabraka

Response	Achimota Village		Tesano		Adabraka	
Non Response	Abs.	%	Abs	%	Abs	%
Rates:						
Response rate	370	86.4	365	98.5	1760	97.5
None Response Rate	60	13.6	5	1.5	40	2.5
Total	430	100	370	100	1800	100

See E.O. Boateng and P.A. Twumasi, Community Health Report No.6 University of Ghana Medical School, Department of Community Health, Accra, 1972.

In both Tesano and Adabraka, the inhabitants are fairly well educated and work in formal institutional establishment. The response rates were significantly high. What then accounts for the high non response rate in Achimota village.

Before we attempt to explain the differences in the response rate it is equally important to look at similar differences in response rates in two other social surveys.

In 1973 the Population Dynamics Programme of the University of Ghana (in conjunction with the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, U.S.A.) agreed to finance a study into some traditional attitudes towards health, disease and family planning in four selected Ghanaian Communities, The Principal Investigators were Drs. G.K. Nukunya and P.A. Twumasi (both of the University of Ghana). We selected two urban areas and two relatively isolated rural communities.

(i) Nsawam - It is one of the principal towns in the Eastern Region with a population of 25,528, according to the recent census figures.

(ii) Doboro - It is in the Eastern Region. It is situated on the Nsawam-Aburi road. It is a small farming community whose inhabitants are mainly subsistence farmers. According to the census figures its population was 278. It is a rural settlement.

In the Volta Region we selected Dzelukofe and Abor.

(iii) Dzelukofe - shares the characteristics of an urban town. It is about 130 kilometres from Accra, with a a population of 5,153 people.

(iv) Abor - is a small community. By the standard definition, it is a rural in both sociological and demographic terms, with a population of 3,434 inhabitants. It is ethnically a community. The inhabitants represent 96.58°/o of its people.

The preceding Table 2 shows clearly the response and non response rates. The response rate is higher in the urban areas than in the rural settings (see Table 2)

Table 2

Response and Non Response Rates in Four Communities: Nsawam, Doboro, Dzelukofe Abor

Response and Non Response Rates:	Nsawam		Doboro		Dzelukofe		Abor	
	Abs	°/o	Abs	°/o	Abs	°/o	Abs	°/o
Response rate	694	99.1	55	78.3	193	96.5	175	92.1
Non Response - rate	6	0.9	15	21.7	7	3.5	15	7.9
Total	700	100.00	70	100.00	200	100.00	190	100.00

See Dr. G.K. Nukunya and Dr. P.A. Twumasi, Traditional Attitudes Towards Health Disease and Family Planning in Four Selected Ghanaian Communities, Legon, Population Dynamics Programme Study. June, 1974.

The other social research was conducted in June 1974, by a group of principal investigators headed by Professor N.O. Addo, Director of Population Dynamics Programme, University of Ghana. The purpose of the survey was to study "The Impact of Tourism on Social Life in Ghana". This research was commissioned by the Ghana Tourist Control Board.

The sample areas included both urban centres and rural communities. All the regional capitals were included in the sample. Some villages were also included. The villages were selected, one from each region, to act as control to determine if there was a difference between rural-urban analysis of tourist behaviour pattern.

The field assistants were University of Ghana students. They were given an intensive orientation course into field psychology, acquisition of research techniques and skills to give them a meaningful insight into the nuances of fieldwork. They were distributed at the end of their training to the selected areas to interview and to assist the respective respondents to fill the questionnaire schedules.

During the fieldwork, many of the field workers complained about the difficulties met in contacting both rural and urban respondents in certain areas. Recalls were made. Substitute samples were framed. Interviewers re-entered the field. They were closely supervised. In the final analysis there was some improvement in the urban response rates where as the difficulties in reaching some of the respondents in rural areas persisted. Part of the reason was that some rural respondents were not found in their usual place of residence. This fact was borne by data from Paga in the Upper Region, Ewhia in Ashanti Region and Kato in the Brong-Ahafo Region. These communities are rural, inhabited mainly by farmers.

The data cited in the last few pages clearly throw some light on the nature of response rates in rural and urban studies. The comparative relationship between rural and urban response rates is established. It will be more meaningful to get more data from other research studies to make definitive statements. The interesting point about this analysis is that future research workers should meaningfully take into consideration the nature of this tentative observed relationship in order to improve the quality and the quantity of data in rural field research. This preposition is significant because in Ghana and in many of the developing countries in Africa a significant proportion of the people live in rural and outlying settlements. A minority reside in the urban areas.

A possible explanation is ecological. In the urban situation, we have large dense permanent settlements. The buildings are well defined. The area maps are relatively well outlined. The numbering of the houses is relatively much better outlined than found in rural environment. Secondly the rural population exhibit a different style of life. They are mainly subsistence farmers, they have different work culture and habits. They go to their farms during the best part of the day, some return late in the evening. others never return during the day. Some may choose to sleep in the farming houses or settlement especially during the planting and harvesting seasons. Some go on long ways, on footpath, to attend to kinship business and funeral arrangements. Many rural folks have been noticed to shy away from embarrasing questions. Wrong identity of the interviewer may also play a part to increase the non response rate. As indicated by one of the field interviewers, "some of us were mistaken to be tax collectors".

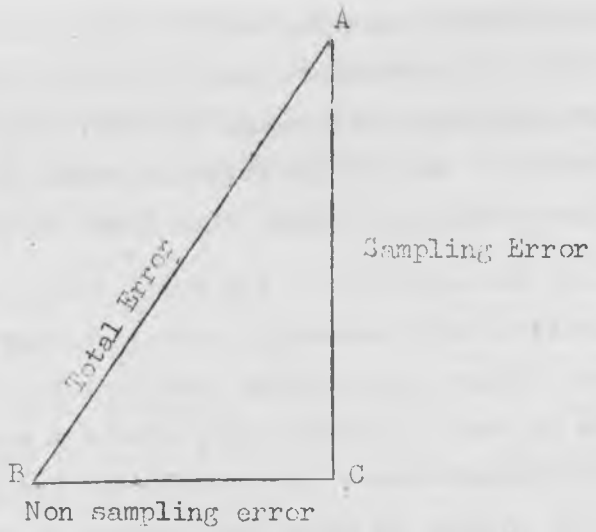
In Small-Scale Social Surveys, unlike census studies where the mass media and other government publicity media assist to prepare the local inhabitants to remain in their homes, we tend to get poor publicity. So the non response rates in small scale social surveys tend to be much higher than found in census studies.

The travelling arrangements of the rural folks, work habits and pure sensitivities about answering certain research questions do account for the higher non response rate in rural studies. The educated urbanite it must be pointed out, shares a similar orientation with the field interviewer. He understands the interviewer, tends to co-operate because he knows the meaning of these research studies. Questions about sex and other related sensitive matters are freely discussed.

Different norms and cultural idiosyncracies can effectively account for the discrepancies between the non response rates in the two cultural settings. These indications show clearly that in carrying out field research in rural cultural settings, the field scientist must of necessity use culturally relevant field methods in the collection and validation of field material.

As pointed out by Kish[3] two types of errors can be encountered in all field surveys. These errors are (1) sampling errors and (2) non sampling errors. The interaction of these two errors tend to produce total research error.

Put diagramatically the position is that of a right angled triangle, in which $AB^2 = BC^2 + AC^2$. That is to say the sq. on the hypothenuse is equal to $AC^2 + BC^2$. It means there is a functional relationship between sampling and non sampling errors, to produce interactively "Total Error".



To reduce errors therefore in social research the two legs, AC and BC must be critically controlled through rigorous scientific methodology with a view to lower errors. On the AC leg, is sampling erro In sampling design, a widely accepted model combines the variable error a the bias into the total error.

To reduce error in sampling, a meaningful representative sampling must be designed. Kish mentions three points in this regard (1) that the true value must be uniquely defined (2) that the true value must be defined in such a manner that the purposes of the survey are met and (3) where it is possible to do so consistently with the first two criteria, the true value should be defined in terms of operations which can actually be carried through.

These measures if neglected can affect sampling frames as well as the non sampling measurements. For some items the true values can be obtained relatively easily but for others difficult to obtain.

The non sampling errors can emerge from non coverage, non response, errors in observation, framing of the questionnaire and asking sensitive

questions without establishing a meaningful field rapport. Errors of non observation can also result from failure to obtain information from certain segment of the survey population.

It is in this sphere that we can distinguish between two sources of non response error. These are non coverage and non response. The former means there is a failure on the part of the designer to include some meaningful units of the defined population area in the actual designing of the sampling frame.

The non response refers to the failure on the part of the field interviewer to get information on some respondents, originally included in the sample frame. It could be due to the non coverage of area unit, that is to seeing coverage errors as a result of incomplete listing. Incomplete listing is usually an outcome of inaccessibility and difficulties in mapping the area, sufficiently. Non response rate will increase sampling error by decreasing the effectiveness of the calculated sample size and the non sampling error.

As pointed out also by Som[4] sampling bias may arise from inadequate or "faulty conduct of the specified probability sample or from methods of estimation of the universe values." This may be due to wrong selection procedures and partial or incomplete enumeration of the selected units. In sampling, the researcher must include diverse elements in the proportions in which they occur in the actual population. Size of sample alone is no proof that the estimate will be accurate. Hsin Pao Yang[5] opines that "a small sample cross-checked by various methods may under certain circumstances produce more accurate and reliable information than a large one"; if meaningfully selected, such a small size is more economical and efficient to handle than a larger one.

Definitions of operational variables must be clear and distinct. Vague concepts, unclear definitions and improper application of theory will also blur the focus of research.

Inherent in social research is the ability to develop viable methods to collect valid and reliable data. Field methods must be carefully designed and selected to suit each empirical social situation. To ascertain views and opinions about social phenomena, there is the need to reflect constantly on the issues of reliability and validity of tools of measurements.

Questionnaire construction, interviewing methods, field rapport and the possibility of designing a strategy to increase reliability and validity indexes must be given a field consideration.

The argument is that the rural population live in a different social environment. The style of life, their mannerism, work habits and value orientation must be carefully noted, evaluated and assessed before planning rural social surveys. Unlike census such surveys are not given adequate governmental publicity. Thus if inadequate preparations are made, errors can emerge to lower the response rates and these affect reliability and validity of measurement. Field procedures must be guided by its propriety and fruitfulness. The need is to seek sedulously respondents who are acute observers of the social situation. Informants can be used or a small number of such individuals can be brought together in a discussion. This method may be more useful in many instances than the formal questionnaire method especially when dealing with illiterate homogenous population.

IV. Field Strategy:

The initial problem is to select an appropriate research topic. The selection of a research topic needs some thought. Do the rural folks have answers to the research problem? Do they often shy away from discussing the essence of the topic? What methods can be used to

extract the field material? The ability to perceive in some brute experiences the occasion for a problem, and especially a problem whose solution has a bearing on the situation, is a good starting point in any field research. The ability of the social scientist is sharpened if he reads what has been done in the field of his interest, to throw some light in the area of his operational research, and to know about the sensitivity of the people in the area, to learn about relevant techniques already in use in collection of field data, and the methods used to establish rapport with the respondents in the field situation. Secondly after the selection process is finalised there is the need to specify the crucial research concepts and variables to be used in the research process. These concepts must be defined empirically and translated into local languages appropriately. Such testable indicators must have empirical based validity and reliability measurement criteria. The prevailing social mood must be assessed. The empirical definition must be relevant to the existing social mood. One way to achieve a meaningful empirical definition is to pretest the social indicators or the operational variables in the area of research, to learn or to discover "how the people in the social situation" define and give meaning to the concepts under consideration.

Thirdly the methodological tool for data collection must receive some considerable thought. In the rural society, the majority of the people are illiterates, cannot read and write in the official English language. Sensitive questions must be carefully framed to avoid misunderstanding and preferably only asked when the necessary field rapport has been established between interviewer and the interviewee. In making the decision about the particular field technique, the researcher must keep in mind the nature of the social situation, the types of people and the nature of the field problem.

The most predominant techniques used however are the field interviewing technique, properly constructed and meaningfully translated questionnaire, the participant observation, the structured observation technique and the panel discussion method. It is important to use more than one method in collecting field data. Then in entering the field, the researcher must give a proper account of himself. He introduces himself to the power structure of the community, the legitimate chief, his elders, other prominent leaders of the community etc. in order to gain a legitimate entry into the community. The aim of the project must be given together with its applied implications. If these introductory discussions are clarified then unnecessary suspicion will be discarded. This formality can give the field researcher the passport to enter into the chosen community.

Then he must settle down to do some serious fieldwork. His life style and general approach to the fieldwork must be meaningful to the people in the localities. He must be aware that he is dealing with a gemienschaft society. They act in a friendly manner. Kinship relationship plays an important part in the day to day activity of the people. The researcher must be careful not to offend any person in this situation. He must be fair and objective in his relationship and social interaction. Any word discussed with a particular household will be known by others in other households. If he has the use of a motor vehicle, for example, he may be asked to give "lifts" to people in the village who may urgently need such an assistance. If he does a favour to one section of the community, he must be prepared to do likewise to others in order to maintain good field relationship and rapport.

In all collected field data, the question of reliability and validity issues should also be determined. Reliability refers to consistency of field answers, i.e. consistent data; are the answers reliable and how relevant are the answers in respect to the research

problem? [illegible] on addresses itself to the issue of validity. It is precisely in this direction that at least two methodological tools must be used to check for consistency and reliability of the field data. Furthermore the interviewer must have a built-in checks, by introducing certain questions which can help him to detect errors in data collection in a systematic and in an organised way. For example in the area of age of respondents, specific life incidences must be referred to. This will give an illiterate respondent a focus to remember the age in which he was born etc. Also through lengthy conversations, an implicit contradictory statement can be discovered and corrected. In other words if formal questionnaires are used among illiterate folks, the researcher must remember to check his answers by supplementing data collection process with informal interviews to discover the mood of the situation, and to correct ambiguities and other irregularities.

This is the position of the research who goes to the field in a rural area. It represents the commitment on the part of the researcher to actively collect reliable and valid data. It means precisely that the researcher must be intimately acquainted with the aspirations of the people must understand the language of the people, the meaning of their life styles and must learn to view the social world of his respondents from the way they structure such experiences and view their experiences. It means that the researcher must be humble enough to mix with the people he is studying. This is so because being from a different social background he should be extremely careful not to impose his values and orientation on the social situation. Many of the research workers are usually recruited from the University population. The point to be remembered in this regard is that the observer is in a relatively different social position when he goes to the field. He must not act in any way different to reflect that he looks down upon the people he is observing. He must in all humility

learn to accept and to collect data meaningful in the social environment he finds himself.

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