

MARRIAGE, INHERITANCE AND WITCHCRAFT
A CASE STUDY OF A RURAL GHANAIAN FAMILY



Wolf Bleek
1975

Mededelingen Afrika-Studiecentrum, no. 12

MEDEDELINGEN AFRIKA - STUDIECENTRUM, No. 12

Marriage, Inheritance and Witchcraft;

A case study of a rural Ghanaian Family.

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Leiden, 1975

Afrika-studiecentrum



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By

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Leiden, Afrika-studiecentrum, 1975

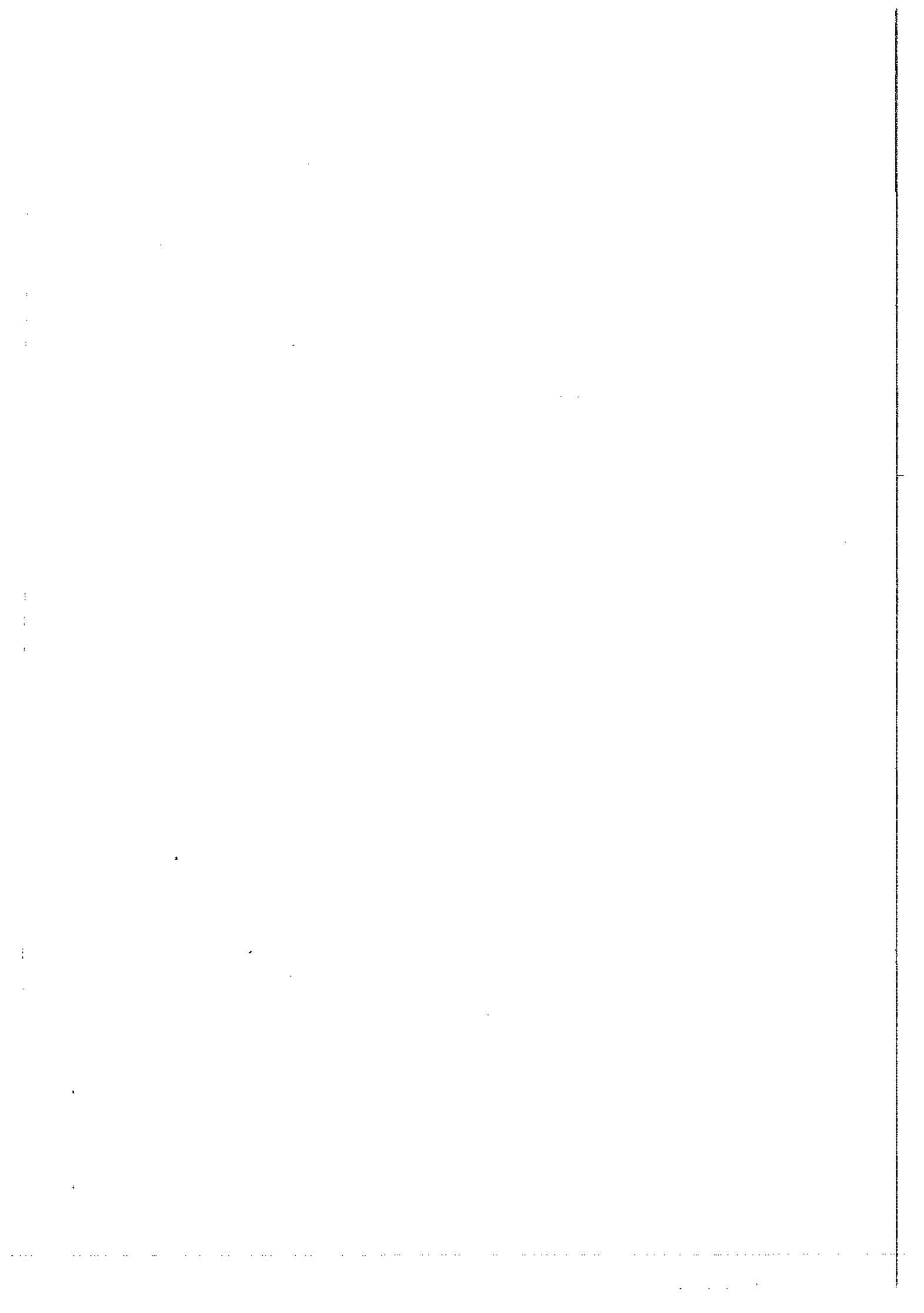


To Kwasi

Ogya deda ano nye sona.

The bird a nest, the spider a web, man friendship.

William Blake



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ERRATA

It is regretted that a mistake has been made in the numbering of the pages. The numbers 183, 184, 185, 413, 414 and 415 have been omitted. The text, however, is in no way interrupted.

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- B. Saa's Section - end of thesis

ABBREVIATIONS

F	=	Father
M	=	Mother
B	=	Brother
Z	=	Sister
S	=	Son
D	=	Daughter
C	=	Child
e	=	Elder
y	=	Younger
H	=	Husband
W	=	Wife

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study would not have been possible but for the help of many people. I am in the first place indebted to Opanyin Kofi Amo and his relatives, who patiently answered my innumerable, inquisitive questions and adopted me as one of them. Two of them in particular, Yaw Manu and Kofi Anim, were extremely open and helpful to me. I thank all the abusuafo for their trust in me and the feeling they gave me of being-at-home while staying with them.

I am also grateful to the teachers and pupils of the Ayere middle schools who co-operated with me, and to the Catholic priest and Presbyterian minister who allowed me to consult their church records. I further received valuable help from Mr. N. Boateng who assisted me in my research.

During the writing of this study I received advice and encouragement from Dr. Christine Oppong and Dr. M. Assimeng. Mr. G. Foottit, Drs. V.A. February and Mr. R. Rivett made English corrections to the final draft.

One person I cannot thank enough is my friend Kwasi Asante-Darko, who spontaneously chose to stay with me and shared all the adventures of the research. He opened my eyes to a world which cannot be explored by anthropological research.

This study was first presented as an M.A. thesis at the University of Ghana and, since it existed in only 5 copies, it was available to a limited number of people. The Afrika-studiecentrum in Leiden made it possible that my study can now be read by many others.

I finally want to remark that, for obvious reasons, the identity of all the people in this study and their town of residence has been disguised by the use of fictitious names. Names of other towns have been exchanged in such a way that it does not affect the purport of the study.

Wolf Bleek

Accra, August 1972

Joure, May 1975

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

A. Southall wrote in 1969, "There is considerable documentation of the growth of towns, of the size of employed labour forces, the differentiation of incomes and the main directions of migrations. What is much less accurately understood is the precise changes in the social relationships and the roles of individuals which accompany these major events". (1969:4) (Underscored ours).

Since then a few books have come out which have more eye for the individual in the process of social change and continuity, one of the most successful being Norman Long's study of a Zambian rural community. (Long, 1968). This study also wants to take up Southall's challenge and examine social processes at their grass roots, in face-to-face relationships between members of one matrilineage. From there it will move to more general behaviour patterns without losing sight of the individual.

Van Velzen has criticised structuralists for forcing societies and communities into the ill-fitting straight-jacket of their structural rules and regularities. He raises a very serious point when he says: "There is evidence that anthropologists with confronting theoretical frameworks collect different kinds of material and use different methods to gather it". (V. Velzen, 1967: 129).

For the Structuralist School this meant that homogeneity and stability were brought to the foreground and exceptions and variations were swept under the carpet.

Van Velzen pleads therefore for more stress on field work and a more flexible theoretical framework, accommodating for variations and exceptions, which should result in a more realistic and objective picture of the social reality. To achieve this ideal he proposes to use a social situation or a particular case as starting point, for the analysis of the social process. It is for this reason that he calls his method the Extended Case Method or Situational Analysis.

In this study we have tried something similar. We started off our research with as few pre-fabricated hypotheses as possible and went to stay with a certain family, noting down whatever occurred to us as being meaningful or important to the family members themselves. Such an approach may seem impractical and even impossible to many students of social change. That it was impractical in the sense that we did not gain quick results, we have experienced.

Nevertheless we think our experiment was useful. The events around the death of one member of the family stirred the other members to such an extent, that we thought it worthwhile to have a closer look at these events and to discover the underlying factors.

These events have been reported and analysed in Chapter III of this study and function as the jumping-off point of our Situational Analysis.

In the reportage and analysis of these social situations we have tried to avoid the attitude of the cool and unconcerned observer and made an attempt to view and examine the basic processes of the conflicts by what in German Philosophy has been called "die Verstehende Methode", meaning "the Understanding Method". The understanding method is mainly based upon identification. When I identify myself, emotionally, with the people involved I gain a deeper insight into the real processes than when I remain a cool scientific observer.

E. Evans-Pritchard has stressed the point that much nonsense has been written about religion by non-believers and he quotes Wilhelm Schmidt as saying: "The non-believer will talk of religion as a blind man might of colours". (Evans-Pritchard:1965, 121). The same applies to non-witchcraft believers writing about witchcraft, non-mourners writing about mourning, healthy people writing about sickness and strangers writing about a family system which is not their own. In other words the outsider will find it impossible to get a real understanding of the social processes; he should become an insider before he can say anything sensible about them.

The last example applies to the writer of this study. He is an outsider in the sense that he was brought up in a different family system, but he has nevertheless tried to identify himself with this, for him, foreign system, by sharing the lives of members of this system.

Scientific investigation springs from a very paradoxical source. It seems that the wish to "know" stems from being an outsider. On the other hand, as we have stated above, the ability to "know" lies with the insider. This polarity between desire and ability is characteristic of any science and, particularly, of anthropology. This explains why so many foreigners and so few Africans have written about Africa and - by consequence - why so few anthropological studies reach real depth.

J. Goody has said: "Nothing marks the anthropological method more than the lack of it." (1969: XIV). A short account of our research methods will underscore how true this statement is. For the type of case study we have been trying to make, anthropological techniques have to become much more variform, and considerably more inventiveness is required to deal with this type of sociological data.

Five months before we started our actual research we did a survey among all the Form 3 Middle School pupils at Ayere, and had a questionnaire of 54 questions answered by them, regarding their family and a few other related topics.

The purpose of this survey was to collect some information as to what an average family at Ayere looked like, in order to select a suitable family for our case study.

When we finally started the research, and for the time being took up residence with one Amo, to search from that place for "Our Family", we found that Amo's family answered the requirements, and there was no need to move elsewhere. Our stay in Amo's house was of high strategic value. As he was the Head of the entire Matrilineage, ("Abusua Panyin"), most events in the family passed through his house. Complaints were lodged and cases were settled right at our door step. Visiting family members coming to Ayere or leaving the town included us in their greeting ceremonies. All this helped us to get acquainted with many members of the family relatively quickly, and to follow what went on in the family.

1. Once we had selected Amo's family we started with interviews; 46 members of the family were interviewed extensively, some once, some several times. The following fields were covered:

- a. Childhood
- b. Pre-Marital Relationships
- c. Marriage Partner(s)
- d. Marriage life
- e. Divorce
- f. Death and inheritance

- g. Migration and Economic Activities
- h. Religion
- i. Witchcraft Accusations
- j. Education.

The interviews were conducted in a very open and unstructured way and the informants were encouraged to talk freely about the given topics.

Some informants were also interviewed about others, either to cross-check, or to collect information about people who had died. So in total we collected the life histories of 70 people in Amo's family, some very elaborate, others rather brief.

2. A Genealogy was drawn up of two sections of Amo's family, comprising almost 150 members, of which 45 have died. The genealogy is 7 generations deep. Anyone who has worked with genealogies knows how difficult it is to draw up a reliable one. If there is one thing the people did not want to talk about, then it was the dead. We must have appeared very rude and callous to them with our persistent questions.

However, our attempts seemed rather futile till we were fortunate enough to lay hands upon a notebook filled with notes on the family history, haphazardly jotted down about 15 years ago by a member of the family, as related by his grandmother, now 10 years dead.

3. A general Diary was kept on events of importance at Ayere with special attention for marriage and family affairs.

4. A Family Diary was kept recording events such as sickness, quarrels, visits, bringing up of children, social relationships between members of the family and co-wives, an abortion case, economic and religious affairs and settlements of cases.

5. About 15 plans were drawn showing sleeping and eating patterns of different compounds, 9 of which belong to Amo's family.

6. Essays were written by School pupils about: "I and My father", "I and My mother", "I and my uncle" and "Good and bad qualities of Kwahu People."

7. Modern highlife songs were recorded and translated into English, as these offer a unique kind of insight into how people experience marriage and family: its joys and its problems; the plight of death, widowhood and orphanhood, the results of jealousy, hatred, bad friendship, egocentricity and roaming about, the hardship of poverty, etc. etc. The popularity of certain songs may be an indication that people recognise themselves in the lessons of the songs.* Two Highlife Bands hail from Kwahu.

* It was Plotnicov who first drew our attention to the use of literary sources for anthropological purposes, when he wrote that the "Use of indigenous authors of fiction ... may be employed more extensively in the future, obviously not as sources of empirical data, but as sources of insight into modern African Social Life, as communicated by sensitive and articulate insiders." (Current Anthropology, vol.8 p.290).

8. We attended and wrote reports about two funerals in Amo's family and 10 other funerals. One of them we finally selected as starting point for our Situational Analysis.

These and a few other explorations produced a huge amount of information. The reader will notice that only a small part of the above mentioned data have been digested in this study. We hope to deal with some of the remaining data some other time and the rest, we are afraid, will be allotted that fate of many a field note: a depository resembling a coffin.

Why did we choose the Kwahu people for our survey, and why did we select that town which we have called Ayere?

The choice of the Kwahu people is mainly based upon that fact that until now very little has been published about the Kwahu. General studies of the History (Ward, 1966) and Geography of Ghana (Boateng, 1959; Dickson, 1969) hardly mention the Kwahu. Special studies of the Kwahu or the Kwahu areas, are limited to some short articles, such as Walker (1925), Wallis (1953), Ameyaw (1966) and Garlick (1967). The last wrote a study of African Traders in general, of which the Kwahu form a high percentage (Garlick, 1971). Ameyaw, who is a Kwahu himself, claims that he made a study of town-traditions in Kwahu, but, unfortunately, we were never allowed to see it for reasons we could not discover.

In the Department of Geography at the University of Ghana, Legon, there are 10 unpublished dissertations on some aspect of the Kwahu area, to one of which (Agyepong, 1964) we owe a great debt.

This Kwahu bibliography is surprisingly jejune when we take into consideration the important role the Kwahu play in Ghana,* and the early settling of Basel Missionaries in this area, resulting in the emergence of Abetifi as a centre of educational and church affairs.

The selection of Ayere had mainly to do with our wish to study the family background of the small Kwahu trader. Garlick has highlighted some aspects of the wealthy Kwahu trader (Garlick, 1967 and 1971). We want, however, to emphasize that the small trader is a much more common and typical Kwahu phenomenon, and for that purpose Ayere was a good place from which to select the family.

Other qualities which supported the choice of Ayere were the presence of a strong Catholic and Presbyterian Community in the town, and our acquaintance with the town from a previous stay, during which we learned the language. The fact that we knew so many people already meant a quick and easy starting point for our case study, in which human relationships were going to play such an important part.

The question as to why we wanted to conduct this study at all produces a rather prosaic answer.

* See further Chapter II.

Peter Berger has said of the sociologist that he is "a professional Peeping Tom", peeking through key holes into his neighbour's private life. The description applies even better to the anthropologist, who, working in a foreign culture, is overcome by curiosity as to what actually is going on in the lives of people around him. We humbly admit that we are not much different from this and that it was probably curiosity in the first place that goaded us into undertaking the research which led to this study.

We were happily surprised to find such big key holes in Kwahu. People were more open to us than we could have hoped for, and revealed their joys and sorrows to us as if we were one of them.

CHAPTER II: AMO'S FAMILY IN ITS SOCIAL SETTING.

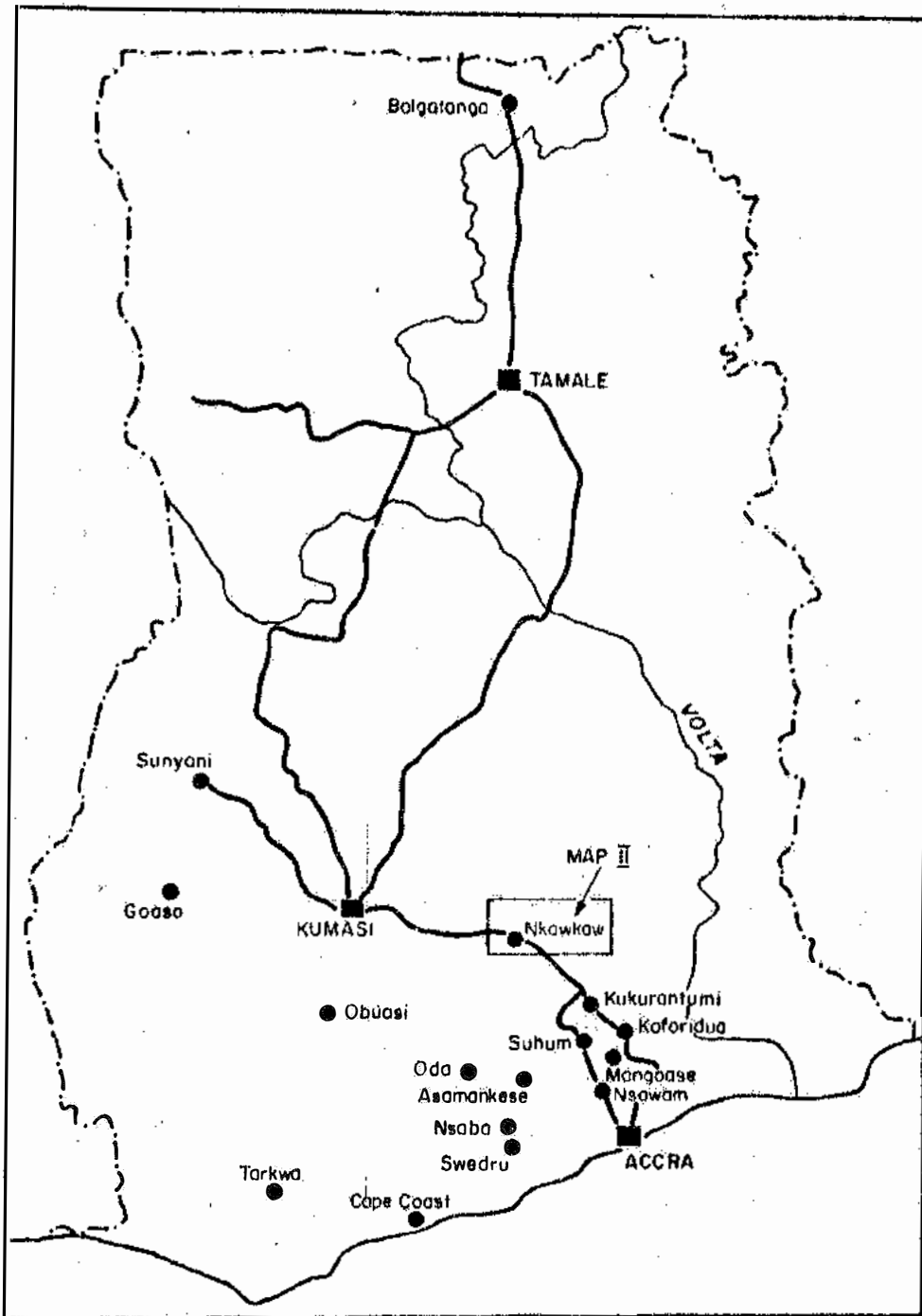
A. THE KWAHU AS A PEOPLE

1. Location of Kwahu

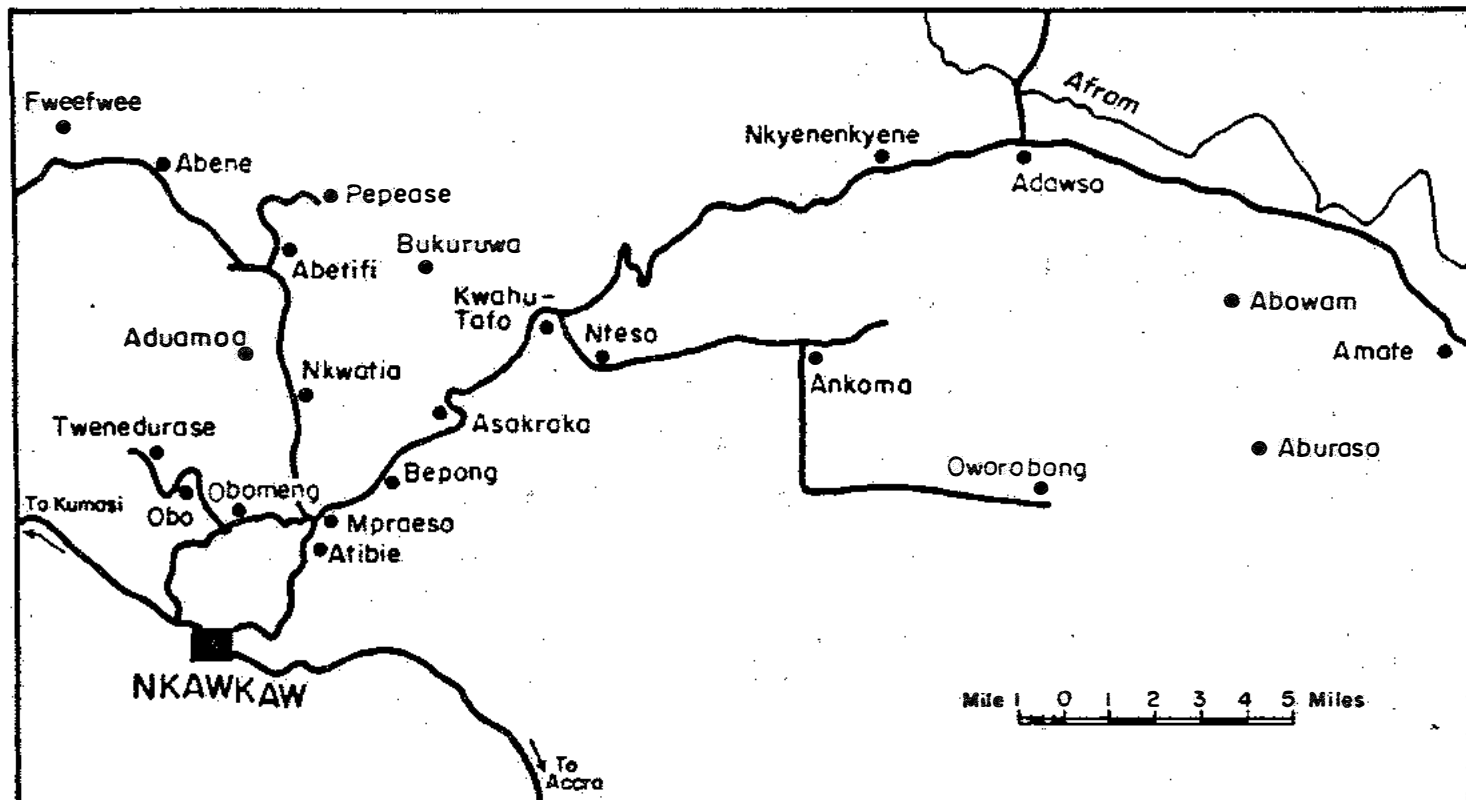
Travelling from Accra to Kumasi along the old road, one sees on one's right a steep and beautiful scarp. It starts near Koforidua, becomes very prominent at Nkawkaw and then gradually disappears out of sight. The scarp itself stretches from Koforidua to Wenchi and is therefore sometimes called "the Koforidua-Wenchi Scarp". On top of the scarp is a huge plateau, 120 miles long, which covers parts of Akim Abuakwa, Kwahu, Asante and Brong Ahafo and is called "the Southern Voltaian Plateau". Another name given to it is "Kwahu Plateau", after its most famous section.

It is indeed in Kwahu that the features of the plateau strike the eye most. At Nkawkaw, a part of the scarp, Mount Ejuanema, rises sheer to a height of 2478 feet, revealing the horizontal strata of the sandstones, a most impressive view.

From Nkawkaw a road leads up to the plateau, to a densely populated area which is usually called "Central Kwahu". Central Kwahu stretches from the South Scarp to the Northern Edge of the plateau where the lonely/grotesquely /and shaped Buruku Mount dominates the scene. Central Kwahu, which is the traditional home of the Kwahu, comprises towns like Mpraeso, Obomeng, Nkwatia, Abetifi, Obo, Epong, Pepease, Asakraka and Kwahu Tafo.



MAP 1: Map of Ghana showing the location of Kwahu and the towns where members of Amo's family have migrated to.



MAP II: Nkawkaw and Central Kwahu.

Ayere, which is the fictitious name of the town where we did our research, is also situated in this area.

Southern Kwahu lies at the foot of the plateau and is enclosed by the forest. Its largest town is Nkawkaw which lies on the trunk road and railway Accra-Kumasi and functions as the gateway to Central and Northern Kwahu. Nkawkaw is the most important commercial centre of Kwahu and has more than 23,000 inhabitants (1970 Census).

Northern Kwahu mainly coincides with what is usually called the Afram Plains, a vast and, due to the lack of water, sparsely populated area. Since the formation of the Volta Lake the plains have become even more isolated than before, encircled as they are by the rivers Volta, Afram and Obosum, which are at certain places more than 15 miles wide. Donkokrom, the seat of the Afram Local Council, is less than 30 miles from Kpandu as the crow flies, but can only be reached by road transport via Nkawkaw and Adawso, where a pontoon crosses the river Afram.

It should be noted that this popular division of Kwahu in three parts does not coincide with its division into three administrative councils: Nkawkaw, Abetifi and Afram.

2. History

The Kwahu are part of the matrilineal Akan groups and share most cultural traditions with them.

It is believed that the first Kwahu came from Asante and settled on the plateau in two groups. (Ameyaw, 1966).

The first group climbed the scarp and founded Bukuruwa, 3 miles from Kwahu Tafo. This happened around 1650, so Bukuruwa is considered as the oldest town of Kwahu, but there remains little to remind one of its long past.

The second group came by the end of the seventeenth century and settled around Fweefwee. They were driven away and fled over the Volta but returned around the middle of the eighteenth century and settled finally at Abene, Sadan and Nkwantanang. The two groups united and their common ethnic origin, traditions and language (Asante) made it possible that they coalesced into one people, the Kwahu.

Fourteen towns are considered to be the original Kwahu Towns, which are alleged to have been in existence by 1750. Initially all towns owed allegiance to Bukuruwa but Abene, the settlement of the second group, eventually became the traditional capital of the Kwahu State. The fourteen towns are Atibie, Mpraeso, Obomeng, Obo, Twenedruase, Bepong, Asakraka, Kwahu Tafo, Nkwatia, Abetifi, Pepease, Aduamoa, Nteso and Bukuruwa. All these towns are situated within a radius of 8 miles around Nkwatia, occupying the highest points of the plateau.

Their positions on the plateau are undoubtedly of strategic significance in terms of inter-tribal warfare. (Agyepong, 1964: 38).

There is little warrant that these historical data are accurate. Kwahu's history, as with most oral traditions, is full of contradictions and murky areas which still have to be cleared up. From the end of the nineteenth century onwards we have, however, more reliable information, based upon written sources.

Kwahu used to be part of the Asante Kingdom, but threw off its allegiance in 1874 when the Asante State fell to pieces, after the war with the British. But it was not until 1884 that the British formally took the region under their protection.

In the meantime the area had been opened up to the Missionary Churches; the Basel Missionary Ramseyer had settled at Abetifi, waiting for his change to enter Asante, and with him came also the first attempt to introduce formal education. By 1878 a small Chapel and School for boys had been opened and by 1890 Abetifi and its six outstations counted 200 Christians and 100 children in eight schools.

Another important date for the development of Kwahu was 1923. In that year the Accra-Kumasi railway reached Nkawkaw, and this was rapidly followed by the construction of a road leading up the plateau to Obomeng, Mpraeso and all the other towns of the central plateau.

After 1930 the road was extended from Kwahu Tafo to the Afram Plains. Cocoa was transported over the new road to Nkawkaw to be taken to Accra by train. Travelling increased and people began to settle in other places to start new cocoa farms. Even the Afram Plains which formerly had been only the hunting ground of Kwahu, became the scene of more extensive farming.

It would be misleading to attribute this new movement merely to the construction of new roads. There are many more factors. One of them is that the menace of Asante had passed, which allowed the inhabitants to leave their fortified towns. Agyepong quotes a general remark of Cruickshank, which is well applicable to the Kwahu. "But since the advent of the tranquility brought about by the last Asante war...the need for herding together has been obviated. Detached huts are springing up on every side."¹⁹⁶⁶ (1853, 285-6).

Another cause was that the available land around the towns had already been used, either for subsistence farming or for cocoa, so people had to move, if they wanted to expand their farms.

The number of settlements in Kwahu, according to population censuses increased as follows:*

1911:	66
1921:	165
1931:	355
1948:	519
1960:	920

* Derived from Agyepong, 1964:13.

3. Economy

Cocoa farming used to be important and rewarding in the direct surroundings of the larger towns of Mpraeso, Nkwatia, Obo and Obomeng. Guggisberg and his wife who visited Kwahu around the beginning of this century were quite surprised to see the conditions of these towns which, as a result of the cocoa industry, had developed a lay-out and sanitary system which could compete with that of Accra and Kumasi. Obo had then an estimated population of 9,000 and Abetifi, Abene and Mpraeso of about 4,000 each. (D.M. and F.G. Guggisberg, 1909:257-356).

This cocoa died however and the inhabitants of the towns swarmed out to start new farms. Many of them settled between Adawso and Mankrong, some near Suminakese and others went down the scarp into the virgin forest.

At present cocoa is still important. According to the 1960 census almost half of the working population of Kwahu are involved in cocoa farming. The men outnumber the women in the cocoa industry, but in the food growing section women are more numerous.

TABLE I. Employment in Cocoa Farming and Food Growing in Kwahu. (Source: 1960 Census).

	<u>Total of working Population.</u>	<u>Total growing Cocoa.</u>	<u>Total growing Foodstuffs.</u>
Males	30,991	14,981	4,036
Females	22,550	6,945	8,629
Total	53,541	21,926	12,765

We believe, however, that the above figures are deceptive. It is unrealistic to divide a population into food growers and cocoa farmers, since cocoa requires a minimum of labour, for only a few months a year. Most cocoa farmers, consequently, spend the greater part of the year growing foodstuffs, such as yam, cocoyam, plantain, cassava, maize and vegetables. Besides, our own impressions, when travelling through Kwahu and visiting its many villages, affirm that at present food production is more prominent and definitely provides more people with work than cocoa farming.

The production of foodstuffs is mainly based upon the system of bush fallowing. A piece of land is used for a couple of years and left again to fallow. In the meantime another piece of land is cleared. Cultivation is almost entirely carried out by hand, using cutlass, hoe, axe and stick.

Much of the farming is still on a subsistence level. Large quantities of food may be transported from the village to the home-town to be stored in the house, or sold there. It may also be sold at the markets which have everywhere emerged in countless villages and attract buyers from Kwahu towns, Kumasi and elsewhere. Fweefwee in particular is a very big market. Around Fweefwee where the forest diminishes and changes into a kind of savannah lowland, onions and tigernuts are cultivated.

Coffee is also grown in Kwahu, but not in great amount since it has to compete with cocoa which requires considerably less labour.

Weeding and harvesting of the foodstuffs is mainly done by the owners of the farm and their relatives, but it is not uncommon that daily paid labourers are hired who join the owner in the busy time.

The structure of the labour force in the cocoa industry is more complicated. Besides the farmers and their relatives there are the caretakers who can take one-third (Abusa) or one-half (Abune) of the cocoa they pluck as reward for their labour. Another possibility is labourers who are either on contract or are paid daily.

The labourers are usually from the North, the caretakers are mainly Kwahu or other Akan, but can also be Ewe or Northerners.

Although farming is still the main occupation in Kwahu, it is trading which has made the Kwahu famous all over Ghana, and it is also mainly trading which accounts for the many luxurious houses one finds at Obo, Obomeng, Abetifi, Nkwatia and other towns.

Garlick is perhaps the only scholar so far, who has paid attention to this extraordinary phenomenon of Kwahu trading. (Garlick, 1967). He relates a fable that one day the god of the river Pra asked each tribe what gift they would like to receive.

The Asante, the story goes, asked for food and the Kwahu for trade. (Garlick, 1967:464).

The extent to which the Kwahu have established themselves as traders is demonstrated in this (Garlick's) study. In his investigation into the largest African traders in Accra, he found that of 125 traders, 97 were Kwahu. This represents 78% of the sample; and if we take into consideration that the Kwahu form only 2% of Ghana's population, we realize how extraordinary this phenomenon is.*

Little is known about the early beginnings of the phenomenon. According to Garlick, it started with the slave trade which, after it had been forbidden, gave way to the rubber trade. Rubber was bought in the Nkoranza-Kintampo area and around Ejura, and sold in Accra and at Cape Coast. Returning from the coast on their way home they carried fish, salt and imported goods such as gunpowder, spirits, tobacco and cloth, which they hawked to people along the road (Garlick, 1971:30).

Some traders sold kola nuts to the Hausa traders in the North and bought from them northern cloth. From the Dagomba in Salaga they bought sheabutter, sheep and cattle. Others again traded in palmoil, kernels, ivory and other commodities in demand by the Europeans. The poorer ones tried to build up some capital by selling farm products, mats and baskets in Akim towns.

* The Kwahu have a striking resemblance with the Ibo of Nigeria. The Ibo are also - or, at least, were until the civil war - virtually omnipresent in Nigeria with their stores. It would be interesting to look at the personality type of both ethnic groups in the light of the Weberian thesis of the Protestant Ethic. An example of applying Weber's thesis to an African situation can be found in Long (1968:Chapter VIII).

Initially the Kwahu maintained their home-towns as their bases, but gradually they settled in the prosperous cocoa centres such as Suhum, Mangoase, Nsawam, Adawso and Kibi. When the cocoa boom was over, many of the Kwahu finally moved to Accra.

At present, many of the Kwahu traders are prosperous. They have formed societies to help their home-towns and many town improvements originate from gifts of wealthy business men.

But although these wealthy traders take the limelight, they are not the typical Kwahu trader. It is rather the small storekeeper who is typical, selling a thousand and one odd articles varying from second-hand clothes to corned beef and from APC tablets to kerosine lamps. They can be found in any Ghanaian town, from south to north and from east to west, but are most numerous in Accra and at Nsawam, Suhum, Swedru, Somanya, Koforidua and Kumasi.

Many Kwahu, however, never achieve their goal of establishing a store. They start by making sandals from old tyres or by tailoring, hoping to collect sufficient money that one day they might open their own store. Garlick estimates that there are between 300 and 400 Kwahu tailors and sandal makers in Accra (Garlick, 1967: 474). Many of them are to be found working at Kantamanto market, which is the Kwahu gate to Accra.

One peculiar feature of Kwahu traders, according to Garlick, is that, although they are clever traders, a Kwahu business rarely survives into a second generation, because the owners do not plough their profits back into their business. They rather use them in building prestigious houses or buying cocoa farms. This behaviour, says Garlick, is completely rational in view of their social environment. "Both farms and houses meant security in time of sickness and old age, and, the trader believed, enabled him to meet his extended family obligations with greater certainty." (Garlick, 1967: 479).

4. Demography

Kwahu is an interesting object of study for students of demography. Let us restrict ourselves to the 14 traditional towns, one of which is Ayere, since we are mainly concerned with this area.

If the figures of the population censuses are correct, the population of these towns declined by 38.1% between 1911 and 1921. After that it gradually increased again but by 1960 it had not yet reached the figure of 1911.

TABLE 2. Population Fluctuation in the Central Kwahu Towns.
(Source: Census Reports; derived from Agyepong, 1964: 16-17).

	1911	1921	1931	1948	1960
Total Population Figure	37,639	23,308	24,519	27,400	37,085
Growth/Relapse in Percentage		-38.1	+5.2	+10.5	+26.1

Fears that the data of 1911 are grossly exaggerated makes one hesitant to look for an explanation of this sharp decline in 1921. Agyepong, however, points to the emigration to the villages as the cause of this relapse in population. His argument is that settlement in small detached villages is a recent phenomenon, only possible after tribal wars had stopped.

Another form of emigration has become important recently: the shift to the urban centres, and it is not unlikely that this type of migration has by-passed the trek to the villages at present. This drift to bigger towns is not peculiar to the Kwahu. It is a general trend in Ghana and in the whole of Africa.

In 1960, 30% of the Kwahu were staying outside the Kwahu area, which is a fairly high percentage, but not exceptional. The Wala also have 30% of their population staying outside their traditional area, and the Frafra 27%. Comparative figures for some other ethnic groups can be found in Table 3.

TABLE 3. Seven Ethnic Groups and the percentages of the number of members staying outside their area of origin. (Source: 1960 Census).

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Members staying outside Area of Origin in Per- centages.</u>
Kwahu	30
Wala	30
Frafra	27
Asante	19
Nzima	19
Kusasi	17
Ga	14

Table 4 shows us how the Kwahu have spread over the regions of Ghana.

TABLE 4. Kwahu Dispersion per Region (Source: 1960 Census). (Percentages in brackets).

<u>Region</u>	<u>Number of Kwahu</u>
Kwahu area	92,280 (70)
Eastern Region (excluding Kwahu)	11,850 (9)
Accra C.D.	10,920 (8)
Western Region	3,840* (3)
Volta Region	1,490* (1)
Asante Region	8,590 (6)
Brong Ahafo	2,740* (2)
North/Upper Region	<u>260 (0)</u>
Total	131,970 (100)

From the foregoing we find that the Kwahu are not particularly unique in their migratory pattern. What appears unique about the pattern is that many of their migrants seek employment in trading. Their number in Accra rose from an estimated 2,686 in 1948 to 10,920 in 1960, and if their number has grown only at the same rate as Accra's entire population they numbered around 17,000 in 1970.

There is a common story about Kwahu towns that says: the size and beauty of their houses are inversely proportional to their number of inhabitants. A popular reason, given for it, is that the traders, practising witchcraft (Nzima Bayi) had sacrificed many relatives in order to attain so much success in trading, and this enabled them to build those particular houses.

*Many of them are also cocoa farmers.

A visit to Obo makes one understand the rise of such a mythical explanation. The town is fantastically neat and beautiful; storey buildings, one more fancy than the other, are lined up along the tarred "city-like" streets. But there is one aspect which is totally "uncity-like". Only a few people are living in this large and exquisite town. So it is not surprising that the term "Ghost Town" is frequently used for it and that rumours say that some of its houses are haunted.*

A more rational explanation is, however, that most of the owners of these houses are living in Accra and elsewhere, where their business is, and have taken their wives and children along. Besides Obo, this also applies to Obomeng and to a lesser degree to Abetifi, Nkwatia, Pepease, Aduamo and Atibie. It applies much less to Bepong, Asakraka, Kwahu Tafo and the other towns. The crucial factor here is the success of a town's traders.

Evidence for this more rational explanation can be found at funerals when these towns are swarming with migrant "natives". Obomeng, for example, is the constant scene of funerals of natives who died elsewhere, and it is not uncommonly called the "Funeral Town". Its cemeteries count more than ten, a figure Accra can probably not even compete with.

* Garlick observed the same, and noticed that Kwahu from other towns were reluctant to allow their daughters or nieces to marry Obo men. (Garlick, 1971:107-8).

We estimate that Obomeng's natives outside the town outnumber the ones in the town by far.

Further evidence can be found at Kwasidae, Christmas and particularly at Easter, when these half-filled towns look suddenly full up. (Easter is the main festival for the Kwahu, because at Christmas they are too busy trading). Agyepong did an interesting survey on the increase of inhabitants per house at Easter 1963.

TABLE 5. Seasonal influx into the central Kwahu Towns, based upon random sample of 20 houses in 6 towns. (Source: Agyepong, 1964:35).

	<u>Regular inhabi-</u> <u>tants per house</u>	<u>Regular inhabi-</u> <u>tants plus Easter</u> <u>visitors</u>	<u>% increase</u>
Abetifi	11	17	55.6
Obo	5	9	80
Kwahu Tafo	13	16	23.1
Mpraeso	15	19	26.7
Aduamoa	5	7	40
Twenedruase	4	6	50

It should be noted that these data do not necessarily indicate the number of natives living outside their home-town. Two other factors are crucial in a person's decision to visit his home-town on Easter or other occasions. These are: (1) His financial position, and (2) his relationship with his relatives. For example, the fact that Kwahu Tafo had such a low influx was certainly connected with the smallness of its traders' businesses.

Concluding we could say that, depending on the success of the extra-town economic activities of their 'natives', Kwahu Towns are relatively thinly populated during the course of the year, but can be expected to experience a large influx of visiting 'natives' on certain occasions and festivals. As a result these towns slowly assume the character of a kind of holiday resort with a high degree of consumption and a low degree of production, since economic activities of their "visiting inhabitants" take place either in the commercial centres or in the distant villages. This, however, is only a probable line of development and far from an established fact for most of the towns.

Agyepong considers this development as the result of two conflicting factors, "One, the love of the Kwahu for their Plateau Home, and the other, the lack of employment opportunities in the area." (Agyepong, 1964:38).

5. Recent Developments.

Recent developments in the Kwahu area consist mainly in the expansion of social, economic, educational, health and other facilities. At Mpraeso, which is the district Administrative Centre, one finds offices of the Ministry of Agriculture, and Forestry, of the District Education Officer and the headquarters of the Traditional Kwahu State Council. There are banks at Nkawkaw, Mpraeso and Kwahu Tafo, and Police Stations at Nkawkaw, Mpraeso, Kwahu Tafo, New Oworobong and Donkolom.

Secondary Schools have been established at Nkawkaw, Mpraeso, Nkwatia, Abetifi and Obo; Training Colleges at Nkwatia, Abetifi and Obo; Vocational Schools at Nkawkaw (two) and Abetifi; and numerous other schools and institutes of many varieties.

Kwahu has two hospitals, one at Atibie and the other at Nkawkaw. In addition there are several clinics, for example at Kwahu Tafo, Nkwatia, Abetifi, Nkyenkyene and other places.

Several churches have moved into Kwahu, some of which are the Presbyterians (their centre if Abetifi), the Catholics (Kwahu Tafo), the Anglicans (Obo), the S.D.A. (Atibie) and numerous other sects such as the Jehovah's Witnesses, Aladura, Musama Disco Christo Church, Eden Revival Church, Memeneda Gyidifo, Pentecost, etc.

Moslems are present everywhere, usually living in the zongo, where they have erected their own houses of prayer.

In spite of the presence of so many Christian denominations, traditional beliefs such as Buruku and Tigare still have quite a hold over people, as Christian churches frequently fail to offer means of protection and security against witches and evil powers.

Pipe borne water is found at Nkawkaw, Abetifi and Kwahu Tafo. Other towns will soon have theirs because a large water project is now under construction.

Electric power of the Akosombo Dam is being brought up to the plateau and it is expected that by 1975 the central towns will all have electricity. At present Nkawkaw alone has electric lights, but some other towns are partly illuminated by private plants.

Rediffusion radio boxes have been spread over many Kwahu towns and can be found in countless compounds, bawling out their mixture of highlife music, news and conversations in several languages, from early morning till late at night, when everybody in the house is already fast asleep.

6. "The Typical Kwahu"

Although "the Typical Kwahu" is seldom a typical Kwahu, no more than the "Typical Scot" is a typical Scot, it is nevertheless interesting to see how Ghanaians picture "the Typical Kwahu". The Kwahu have become almost proverbial in Ghana for their stinginess and money-mindedness. The slogan "Kwahufo ye pepeefo" (Kwahu are misers) is very common and was formerly used by drivers as a horn signal to greet each other. Sentences such as the following are colloquial in Ghana: "He looks like a Kwahu; you can't get a penny from him."

Middle Form 4 pupils of Ayere drew their self portrait when they wrote an essay on "Good and bad qualities of the Kwahu".

They recommended the Kwahu for such qualities as mutual help, industriousness, building of beautiful houses and improvements of their home-towns.

However, they also found many bad qualities among their own people: They are selfish and stingy; they are thieves; they kill people (witchcraft?); they are morally loose and resort to litigations too often.

One pupil writes: "If you go to a Kwahu man who is having plenty of money, begging him to give you some amount of money, he will tell you he is in debt"... and another: "One man had got many bags of money but had guaranteed not to use even half pesewa to help his town. Because of this he is not going to wear good cloth but those made of the bags of flour in such a manner that people may not bear "prompty" eyes on him".

About witchcraft, one writes for example: "When they find that their own people have money, then they begin to kill the one from the world."

About sex, a girl accuses members of her own sex: "About the Kwahu girls and women, when you are a man or a boy and they see you are rich, they will walk with you and play with you." A boy writes bluntly: "They are prostitutes (tutufo)". Another boy comments: "And the girls if they have completed school they say they are going to Accra for a job, but they go and make sexual intercourse and become pregnant and they will come back to their home-town."

One boy finally summarizes the whole problem with: "They marry for nothing".

We interviewed ten non-Kwahu about the characteristics of a typical Kwahu. Their answers do not deviate much from what the pupils thought of their own sort.

All of them mentioned their trading skill and/or money mindedness. Some commended them for it, saying that they are astute traders, industrious and frugal, as a result of which they are rich. Others emphasized the negative side, saying that they like money too much, that they cheat people, use witchcraft to succeed in trading and are misers.

But in spite of their proverbial stinginess, they can be generous at times, for example at an Easter Harvest, and may put up magnificent buildings or do other things to embellish their home-town.

Although they do not stay at home, their ethnic and family ties are strong. They frequently visit their home-towns to attend funerals and do not trust their business to anyone other than a fellow Kwahu. Someone told us, a Kwahu marries as many women as he has stores, so that he does not have to employ any stranger, but can put a wife in charge of each store.

Kwahu women, according to a few, are very loose. They like "the thing" too much, as one put it, meaning sex, but are not willing to bind themselves in marriage.

It is also a common belief that the Kwahu, until recently, were not interested in education, and counted a high percentage of illiterates. The reason was that they started to take part in the trading business from childhood, not seeing the use of education.*

A Fante narrated the following story, which - he said - was commonly told about the Kwahu, to illustrate their frugality:

" It is commonly assumed that the Kwahu like bats for meat. If you go near the fire place in a Kwahu kitchen, you will often see a bat hanging on a string near the fire, right where the food is kept warm. The purpose of it is that they can let down the bat into the soup for a couple of seconds and then pull it up again by the string. By doing so they give the scent and taste of the bat to the soup and still preserve its meat. They repeat this, till the bat has entirely fallen apart."

* Garlick remarks that 34% of the Accra traders are illiterates. "Most of them are Kwahus who had been apprenticed in trade from their earliest years and had already achieved a considerable ability in trading, before they were made aware of the disadvantage of having had no formal education." (Garlick, 1971:32-33).

A comparison with the Ibo of Nigeria shows a marked difference between the Kwahu and Ibo personality. Unlike the Kwahu, the Ibo have always been very keen on education and their leading position in Nigeria was closely tied up with their high educational level.

B. THE AGONA CLAN AT AYERE

1. The Town Ayere

"Ayere" is a fictitious name for the town where we carried out our research. The name, literally, means: "It has become tough" and this study will, hopefully, reveal the justification of such a name.

The town numbers over 4,000 people, some of whom are immigrants, working on nearby state farms or in other types of occupation. The bulk of the population farms.

Unlike some other Kwahu towns, such as Abetifi, Nkwatia, Obo and Obomeng, Ayere has no impressive buildings. Two-storey buildings can easily be counted on one hand. As a matter of fact Ayere makes a rather poor impression. Houses are dilapidated, outer walls have collapsed in many cases, leaving only a centre room for the entire family. Money does not seem to be sufficient for repairing or building new houses. As in so many Ghanaian towns, heaps of blocks reveal the unfulfilled wishes and uncompleted plans of the people. They never managed to continue after the first stage of block-making. At many places the blocks have been there so long that they have started deteriorating.

The reason behind this, is that the people of Ayere were never very successful in their trading, and in that respect Amo's family is quite representative of the whole town.

One of the explanations given for the fact that Ayere traders did not amass so much wealth as the traders of the other towns, is that the tutelary spirit (Obosom) of the town did not allow traders to indulge in witchcraft practices. (Nzima-bayi) like the other traders did.*

At present many inhabitants of Ayere have been baptised in one (or more) of the many Christian denominations in the town. The Catholics and the Presbyterians are the biggest groups. Others are the Pentecost Church, the Seventh Day Adventists Movement (S.D.A.) and a couple of so-called "Apostolic Churches". A handful of Methodists assemble every Sunday in a classroom.

A large proportion of the population, mainly the older part, remains faithful to traditional beliefs. There is a big shrine in the town which attracts people from afar, seeking for healing of diseases or other worries. Tigare, which used to be much sought after in witchcraft cases, has lost most of its former glamour, although witchcraft beliefs still run strong and deep.

There are two, double stream, Primary Schools at Ayere, one Catholic and one Presbyterian, both are followed by Middle Schools. Out of 210 pupils who finished form 4 middle school between 1966 and 1969, only 44 were staying at Ayere during the time of our research, which is 21%. It shows the high degree of emigration. Most of them went to Accra and other towns. These figures refer to girls as well as to boys.

*See this chapter, page 23.

A maternity clinic at Ayere functions as an important factor of family change. Many women from Ayere and surrounding villages and towns come to deliver their baby and learn fundamental principles of baby-hygiene and child-care.

A high percentage of Ayere's food and cocoa farmers can be found in and around a village, which we have called Abowam, and which lies about 30 miles away from Ayere. The last stretch of the road leading to the village is so abominably bad, that most people prefer a walk of two hours via a short cut.

Abowam looks like a miniature version of Ayere. There one meets all the familiar faces, which one also sees at Ayere. Almost all the buildings at Abowam are made of swish, but with the rapid population increase Abowam is losing some of its typical village features. It now has its own primary school, and work has begun on a middle school. This means that children no longer have to stay at Ayere for education, but can stay with their parents in the village.

2. Royals versus royals: Political-Historical Notes

Amo's family is the royal family of Ayere, but, strictly speaking, the present chief is not from Amo's family. The reason is that there are two different families which claim to be the royal family.

Amo is the head of the one and Nana Ahenkora of the other.

It is on purpose that we say "two different families" and not "two different sections" because the two families do not claim to have a common ancestress. As a matter of fact they rather stress their differences in origin, although ultimately they have to recognise a common origin, since both are Agona.

The antagonism between the two groups flares up occasionally and seems forgotten at other moments. There is strong competition for chieftainship between them, and it is mainly in matters of chieftainship that their animosity becomes evident.

At other occasions the two families appear as one. Both the chief and Nana Ahenkora took part in the case following the death of Adwoa Oforiwa, which was a mere house affair.* Outsiders consider Amo's and Ahenkora's family as one and we have even heard several members of Ahenkora's family calling Amo "Abusua Panyin".

Before the present chief came into office the stool looked safe and well in Amo's family. All nine chiefs preceding the present one were from Amo's family. It seems that during that time relationships between the two groups were better because Amo's people did not expect any actions from Ahenkora's side. It was after the present chief came to power, about 20 years ago, that relations worsened.

* See Chapter III.

Both families have their own version of the history of Ayere and its royal clan. Each family tells the story in such a way that they emerge as the legitimate royal family. There are no written documents so it looks unlikely that the feud can ever be solved on historical grounds. Let us first look at the two different versions of clan history. Nana Ahenkora himself, a very old man, gave us the clan history of his family. Here a summary of his history.

Nana Ahenkora's version of the clan history.

"I, Nana Ahenkora, say that it was my grandmother Nana Wiredua who came first to settle in this town. She brought her three sons and a stool along. Nana was coming from Agona Ashanti. After she had settled down here, she gave the stool to her first born and he became the first chief of Ayere. When he died he was succeeded by his brother Nana Aboagye I, and Aboagye again was succeeded by his younger brother. When the youngest of the three brothers had also died, there was no one to occupy the stool so my grandmother herself occupied the stool for four years until she became tired of it and gave the stool to the Okomfo and asked him to give her a male to occupy the stool. The Okomfo brought someone from Atobie to Ayere to become the chief; His name was Nana Akyampon. After Akyampon's death there were still no males in Nana Wiredua's family and another man, Kwame Oduru, also from Atobie, was made the chief. This man again was succeeded by Nana Asante-Darko. After Asante-Darko the following people became chiefs respectively: Kofi Brenya, Nana Kwampona, Kwaku Ayesu, Yaw Ntiri, Kwadwo Sampong and Kwasi Ofei. Ofei abdicated by his own will.

After Ofei the stool was offered to me, Nana Ahenkora, but some people of the family decided that the stool should be given to someone else.

I did not understand this, why should they first give the stool to me and then call upon some one else. So I made a complaint to the chief of Bepong who is senior to us and he declared me innocent and the abusua guilty. So I went ahead and gave the stool to my "wofase", who is now the present chief of Ayere, Kwame Aboagye II.

So this town belongs to us, we come from this place, our grandmother Nana Wiredua was the founder of this town. We shall die and be buried right here."

It was Nana Sampong, once a chief at Ayere and now an old man, who gave us the version of the clan history as it is presented by Amo's family.

Amo's version of the clan history

"Our early ancestors come from Kumpese in Amansie. It was at Kumpese that our forefathers ^{Lone of} had sex with a daughter of the chief of Denkyira. Because of this incident a war broke out between Denkyira and our ancestors and in the course of the war our ancestors moved from Amansie to Akim Abuakwa to a place we shall call Tetekrum.

Tetekrum was too small for us and soon some of our fathers broke away from there and came to Kwahu. Some settled at Atible, some at Abetifi and some at Ayere.

When the Agonas settled at Ayere first, the royals were young, and the then Fofie Okomfo occupied the stool, until the royals had grown up. This Okomfo had come with our ancestors from Tetekrum. After his death the stool was given to Nana Akyampon, and after him the following chiefs reigned over Ayere: Kwame Oduru, Asante-Darko, Kofi Brenya, Kwamponsa, Kwaku Ayesu, Yaw Ntiri myself Kwadwo Sampong, Kwesi Ofei, and finally Kwame Aboagye.

Kwame Aboagye does not belong to our royal family although he is Agona. He is from Ahenkora's family and he is the first of that side ever to become a chief. All other chiefs of which I have mentioned the names are from Amo's family.

After I had been destooled as the chief of Ayere there was a debt to clear. Kwame Aboagye helped in paying off the debt. After Kwasi Ofei had abdicated, Aboagye claimed that since he had helped in paying the debt he also was a royal and entitled to the stool. By then there was no other candidate for the stool, so he got it."

The two versions look very much the same differing only on small details. It was only when a sharp conflict arose between the two sides that we became aware how crucial these slight differences were.

In 1969, Amo made an attempt to win the stool back for his family, by destooling Nana Kwame Aboagye II. Although Aboagye's own relatives were quite tired of him as well, and readily prepared to support his destoolment, they nevertheless closed their ranks behind the chief, because they saw clearly that his distoolment would result in a loss of the stool for their family as a whole. The tension rose so high that people feared a clash between the two groups and so policemen were sent from Koforidua to patrol the town.

It was during these tense days that people readily gave their opinion as to which family was entitled to the stool and why this was so, based on historical facts.

A young man belonging to Ahenkora's family said that his people were the founders of Ayere, and therefore the real royals long ago. When they were short of males they called in Amo's side, who were then at Atibie,

until eligible males had grown up on their own side, but once the stool was in the hands of Amo's people, they refused to give it back until the present chief, Nana Aboagye II. He further explained that Amo's people were very rich and had used their money to keep the stool for so long and now to try to capture it once more.

Some one else, married to a woman of Amo's side related an entirely different story and revealed to us that at the time of Aboagye's enstoolment Nana Ahenkora had given huge bribes to the elders in order to get the stool in his family.

Nana Sampong in his account of the clan history concealed the story of Nana Wiredua and her three sons, which Ahenkora claimed belonged to his family, and started his list of chiefs with Akyampon, who belongs to his own group. When asked why the present chief was called Aboagye II, and whether he had ever heard of an Aboagye I, he answered that he had never heard of any such name.

3. Amo's Family.

The two sections:

In this study we are not concerned with the entire royal clan of Ayere, not even with Amo's side of the royals alone, but with only two sections of his lineage, each comprising a few more than fifty adults, most of whom are still alive.

We shall call each section after its oldest living member, Konadu's section and Saa's section, and speak of the two together as: Amo's family. We should however bear in mind that Amo's family, in strict sense, is much larger.

Although Amo is recognised as the Abusua Panyin by the entire family, we found that the two mentioned sections were closer to each other than any other ones. We base this upon the following criteria:

1. When drawing up a genealogy, people of one section spontaneously identified themselves with those of the other section, and failed to make any distinction. Saa, for example, was presented to us as a real sister to Konadu, and it took us quite some time before we realised how remote their relationship actually was.
2. In genealogical terms both sections are the closest. Saa's section is the only section we could somehow trace back to Konadu's section. No member of any other section was able to show how he or she was exactly related to Amo, unless in very vague terms such as: our grandmothers were sisters.
3. The residence patterns of members of both sections indicate their closeness. A cluster of seven houses in the centre of the town is occupied by members of both sections, and one compound is even occupied by members of both sections.

Members of the other sections live elsewhere in town.

4. Mutual visits are most frequent between members of the two mentioned sections, and it is not uncommon to see some members of Saa's section eating in Amo's house.
5. Though inheritance cases usually remain within each section, they may occasionally cross the borderline between the two sections and it has occurred that members of Konadu's section succeed a deceased in Saa's section, but only once was anyone inherited by a member of a third section, and this happened more than 30 years ago.
6. Witchcraft accusations are restricted mainly to these two sections. We have not heard any member accusing a member of the other sections of witchcraft.

Konadu's Section

Our main interest lies with Konadu's section and it is of this section that we will give a short history.

For a good understanding of the family history we should know that Amo's family hails from Atibie. Amo speaks of Atibie as his home-town, and his real house is there. There is a close relationship between the relatives in Atibie and Ayere, they attend each other's funerals and refer to each other as "brothers" and "sisters".

It is however clear that the bond between members in both towns is no longer what it used to be, although Amo claims he is still the head of all the members both in Ayere and Atibie and also in other towns such as Pepease and Abetifi.

The oldest ancestor still remembered is Nana Kese (A.I,1). He was born around 1800 at Atibie and died at the same place around 1880. According to Adwoa Oye (A.IV,3) this man came from Atibie to Ayere with his sister Nana Ofiri (A.I,2) and his wofase Nana Nyama (B.II,1), who are respectively the ancestresses of Konadu's and Saa's section.

Nana Kese was probably a farmer at Ayere and frequently travelled to his home-town Atibie, which by foot was 10 miles from Ayere. He built the house at Ayere which is now occupied by Saa (B.IV,4). Very little is known about Nana Ofiri and Nana Nyama, and even less is known about Nana Ofiri's daughter, Nana Ohenewa (A.II,1). Nana Ohenewa probably resided at Atibie, because we find that her daughter Nana Kyenku (A.III,1) grew up and married at Atibie. Kyenku, who is the direct grandmother of Kofi Amo, was born around 1850 at Atibie. Her younger sister Nana Owusuwa (A.III,2) was also born and bred at Atibie and married twice at Atibie before she finally came to Ayere. The youngest of the three sisters, Nana Biama (A.III,3) we find in Ayere, when she married her first husband.

Nana Kyenku moved to Ayere after her third marriage, because "Ayere was her town" and she married her fourth husband at Ayere. Nana Owusuwa finally came to Ayere after her sister Nana Biama had died and she was called to succeed her.

Trading and Farming

It seems that up to this point all members of the family earned their living by farming, but Nana Kyenku's first born tried something new, something which has made the Kwahu both famous and notorious: trading. Kofi Asare (A.IV,1) travelled to Berekum, Wenchi, Bondoukou in Ivory Coast and from there again southwards to the coast, Abidjan. He bought blankets, clothes and many other items and sold them again at places such as Mangoase, Kibi, and Nsawam. Asare's example was followed by other members of the family, Nana Kwaku Ayesu (A.IV,2), Gyima (A.IV,11) and Wiredu (A.IV,7). They all made distant journeys across the Ivory Coast border. They were accompanied by other relatives to help them. We know, for example, that Konadu (A.IV,4) accompanied her elder brothers on their journeys when she was still young and did not return home for seven years. Kofi Safo (A.V,13) also accompanied his wofa Gyima on his travels.

Most of the first traders did not settle down in a town to trade there. Of the four people mentioned only Ayesu had a store for some time at Swedru.

Trading was however not all that profitable, so he gave up his store, travelled again and finally, like so many others, returned to cocoa farming.

The first more stable traders were Kwabena Sefa (A.IV,8) and Nana Joseph (A.IV,9). They owned together three stores at Swedru, Nsaba and Asamankese. When they became older, they also returned to cocoa farming and left the stores to two younger relatives. They used to give money to other relatives to start trading. Later on all the stores were closed down and sold. This was around 1940.

In spite of many attempts to obtain a foothold in the trading business, the emphasis remained on cocoa farms. Some members of the family never took to trading; for example, Asirifi (A.IV,6), Ampadu (A.IV,10) and Dede (A.IV,13). The first one was taken to Swedru by Sefa to start trading but Asirifi replied, "Trading is not good for me, I prefer farming" and he returned to his village.

So Ayere, as so many Kwahu towns, became the basis and home front of two groups of people who did not really stay there: the traders who were either on the move or had settled in some other town and the farmers who were staying in their villages varying from 5 to 40 miles away. They all met at occasions such as Easter, Kwasidae and funerals, or came for longer periods to rest and finally returned there when they had grown old and could not do the work any more.

Schooling and Christianization

Some form of schooling started at Ayere around 1905. Sefa (A.IV,8), Siaw (A.V,3), Preko (A.V,12) and Safo (A.V,13) became the first literates in Amo's family.

Christianization moved closely with education. The first Presbyterian baptism at Ayere was administered by Ramseyer in 1899. The four above mentioned people were probably the first members of the family to be baptised, all in the Presbyterian Church. Siaw was the first to have a Christian wedding at Ayere in 1929.

Later on when the first Roman Catholic Missionaries visited Ayere three of the four: Siaw, Preko and Safo left the Presbyterian Church and became Catholics. Preko was rebaptised in 1930 and became a zealot of the Catholic Church. It is probably due to his untiring efforts that many members of Amo's family finally embraced the Catholic doctrine. Five years after Preko's "conversion", eight members of the family were baptised in the Catholic Church.

Family Heads

It was around that same time, 1935, that Nana Kwaku Ayesu was made the chief of Ayere. His reign did not last long. He was destooled in connection with a land dispute and the stool went to his "brother" of a different section of the family. Ayesu retained however the office of Abusua Panyin and kept this till his death in 1957.

All members of the family who remember Nana Ayesu praise him for the way he headed the family. He took interest in every member as if it was his own child and helped many of them financially. Because of his function as Abusua Panyin he became resident at Ayere and was accessible to all. Before his death he expressed his wish that his wofase Kofi Amo would succeed him. This was respected and he became, and is still the Abusua Panyin.

The Present Situation

Amo's family counts 121 adults in total, 45 of whom have died, leaving 76 adults who are still alive. Konadu's section numbers 29 living adults, while Saa's section has 47.

During the time of our research 31 of this group were staying more or less permanently at Ayere, 21 were living in Accra, only one in Kumasi and 23 were staying somewhere else, either in a farming village or at another town.

About 33 were making a living with farming, 4 did not work, 2 were unknown and 37 did some other work (trading, teaching, office, police, prostitution, etc.).

Almost all the churches and denominations of Ayere are represented in Amo's family,* but the majority is, at least nominally, Roman Catholic. Amo himself brought the Apostolic Church to Ayere about 20 years ago, and is still the undisputed leader. During services he sits in front of the church next to the altar table and dominates the scene,

* cf. Table 34 , Chapter VI.

even if someone else conducts the service. His congregation consists mainly of a small group of female relatives and their children. Some men of his family who said they belonged to Amo's church, were never seen there by us. Amo claims to have spiritual healing powers and occasionally prays for people who are sick or have other troubles.

Another religious leader is affiliated to Amo's family. He is Osei, the husband of Oforiwa (B.V.9), and heads the handful of members of the S.D.A. movement. He has no followers in either of the two sections of Amo's family.

CHAPTER III: TENSIONS, CONFLICTS AND CRISES

A. THE SITUATIONS

1. FIRST CRISIS SITUATION: CONFLICT BETWEEN OSEI AND AMO

In May 1967 Amo went to the chief of Ayere to acquire land to build a chapel for his Apostolic Church. The chief gave him a plot, and Amo started to make bloc. s. One day, when he was working on it, Osei, Amo's "brother-in-law" (Osei had married Amo's classificatory sister Oforiwa (B.V,9)), and a certain woman approached him saying that that particular plot of land belonged to him, Osei. An exchange of words followed this confrontation and the two abused one another. According to Osei, Amo even threatened to kill him with a cutlass, threw a block against the woman's foot and poked her eyes with his fingers.

Osei went to the Police Station in a nearby town to lodge a complaint, and two police constables came to arrest Amo and took him to the police station. At the police station several people witnessed against Amo. One of them was Mercy, Osei's daughter (B.VI,20). She accused Amo of the above mentioned actions, and by doing so she accused her own Abusua Panyin.

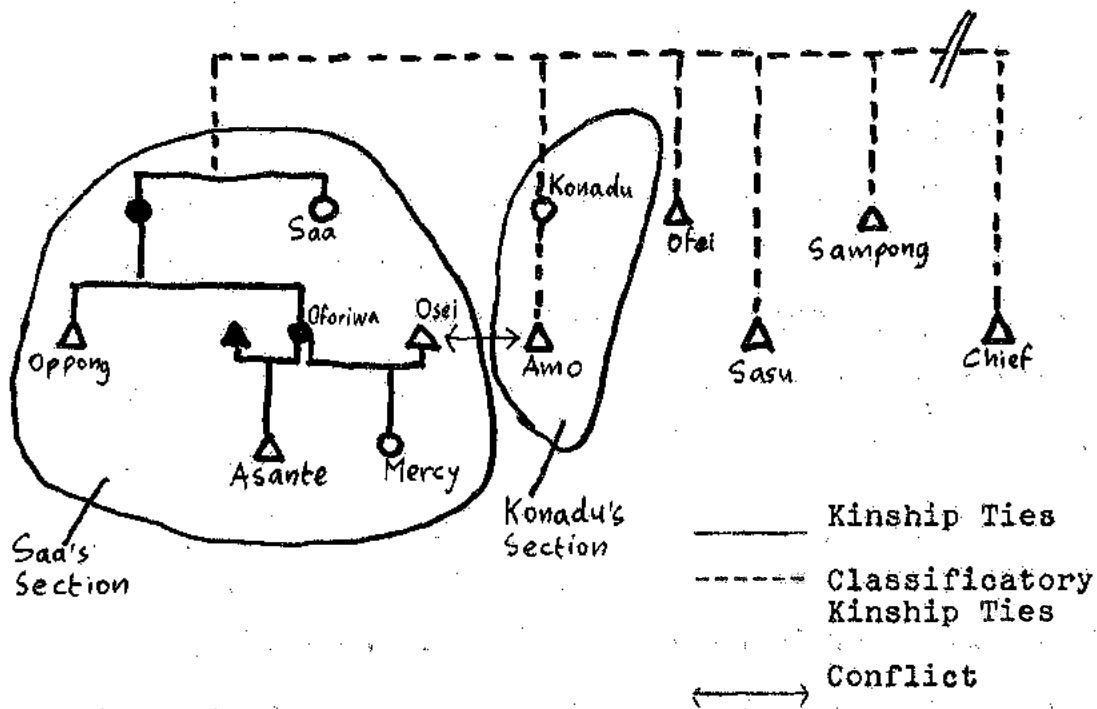


FIGURE 1: Kinship Relationships during the three Crises Situations in Amo's Family.

According to Amo, they were asked to find people to put up bail for them, and he, Amo, even went to the extent of finding someone to provide bail money for Osei, because he was his "brother-in-law".

The piece of land was recognized as belonging to Osei and Amo was told to give it up. Both were charged with disturbing the public peace, and this resulted in a second case which was held at the Magistrates Court. Both Amo and Osei now try to present the case in their own favour. Osei stresses that the case was not between him and Amo but between the two of them on the one hand and the police on the other, since it was the police who sued them for disturbing the public peace (watuatua oman aso).

Amo pleaded guilty, but Osei did not. In the end the police lost the case which meant that through Osei, Amo was also found innocent. Osei's version is borne out by the police documents which were found after a long search.

During and after the police and court case Oforiwa chose the side of her husband against her "brother" and Abusua Panyin Amo. Osei, Oforiwa and their daughter, Mercy, broke with Amo and no longer talked to him. Amo informed his classificatory wofa Sampong about the case and asked him to mediate, but there was no reply from that side. Sampong is a former chief of Ayere and an influential man in the family. In a way he is considered the father of Oforiwa, since he looked after her from childhood until she married.

2. SECOND CRISIS SITUATION: DEATH OF ADWOA OFORIWA.

On the 11th of June 1969, more than two years after the incident, Oforiwa fell sick and was brought to the hospital the following morning before day break. The illness did not appear to be very serious at first, but two days later she suddenly died.

On the evening of that same day Osei went to Amo's house to inform him of his "sister's" death, so that, as Abusua Panyin, he would take the necessary steps to prepare for her burial.

From that juncture onwards we have a live report of the events, as we were present ourselves. The following people were present when Osei came to inform Amo.

1. Amo, Abusua Panyin.
2. Nana Aboagye II, chief of Ayere.
3. Sasu, chief of the Royals (Adehyehene).
4. Krontihene, who ranks immediately after the chief. (He had been asked by Osei to mediate on his behalf).
5. Osei.
6. Osei's friend, an S.D.A. member.
- 7-8. Two elders of the town.
- 9-11- Donkor, Nimako and Agya James, three distant relatives of Amo (Mma mma), who often function as linguists in his house.

It was around 7.00 p.m. when these people met in Amo's house. The following is an abridged version of what was actually said that evening.

Amo: " It is true, that Osei married my "sister" Adwoa Oforiwa according to custom, so he is duly my brother-in-law. But Osei and one woman confronted me and sued me at court because of a scuffle which arose over a piece of land. The court cancelled the case, because they found Osei and his partner's allegations unfounded. Since that case, he and his wife Oforiwa have never talked to me, and have been at logger-heads with me. When they meet my wife, they greet her, but when they meet me, they behave to me as if I were a stranger. Osei and his wife Oforiwa during her life

time, did not know me. So, if Oforiwa is dead today, I do not know her either. Osei can send the body anywhere he likes. I will not have any hand to play in her funeral. I have finished."

Donkor: "Elders, that is what Opanyin Amo says. He will never agree to join hands with Osei to conduct the funeral."

Elder X: "I beg you, Nananom, to allow me to say something. I feel we have very little time to settle this case. So Mr. Osei should render an apology so that we can also help him to get on with the matter."

Osei: "I thought that since the settlement of the case two years ago at the court, the case had ended. I have never thought of still being at logger-heads with him."

Elders (break in with): "Do you come here to greet him?"

Osei: "I do not come here to greet him, and formerly I was not doing that either. The elders have a proverb saying that we should not frequent the house of our in-laws.

(Mpanyinfo se yenko yen ase fie basabasa). I could not come here because I felt shy."

Elders (murmur): "That is no excuse at all."

Krontihene: "Mr. Osei, I think, the simplest thing to do is, as elder X has said, to render apology. Do so, so that we can help you."

Sasu: "Osei, what you did was actually bad. You knew that your wife was Amo's "sister". You should have played your cards well, but you were very careless, and now you are in trouble. If you play with your husband's penis, do not be surprised that it will end up in your own vagina. (Se wotwetwe wo kunu kote a, ehye wo to). So apologise immediately."

Chief: "What I want to tell Osei, is that he has led a life which makes him appear like a stranger among us, but you are one of us. Your life has been too individualistic. When we are going somewhere, you do not come along. (Yereko a, wonko bi). When your wife loves you very much, do not think you are alright. So see to it that you say something to cut the matter short."

Donkor: "In fact, Osei, what you did was very bad. Your behaviour towards your own brother-in-law must really be condemned."

(Osei gets up and goes to Krontihene. He whispers to him. Nobody can hear what they say).

Krontihene: "Elders, Mr. Osei says that he begs for forgiveness. So I plead with Opanyin Amo to forgive him."

Amo: "I will never consent. He can send the body wherever he likes."

Krontihene: "I beg Opanyin Amo to listen to my plea."

Amo: "Alright, I will accept Osei's plea and forgive him, but there is one "brother"*of mine at Pepease, Nana Sampong. He knows every case which occurs in the family. When Osei sued me at the court, I informed him, but he did not react and still has not said a word about the case. If he is not here, I will not talk again. Until he is here I will not have anything to do with the funeral.

Even tomorrow I have to travel to the Western Region to the Headquarters of my church, so whether the body is brought here or not, I will not be here."

(Sasu has been away for some time, when he comes back he gives the following comment: "It is a human being who sins; an animal will never come from the bush and sin against you." (Onipa ara na oye bone; aboa mfiri wuram mmeye onipa bone)).

It is about 10.00 p.m. The elders leave and Osei hires transport to go to Pepease to inform Sampong. The case has lasted about three hours).

The next day.

The next day, a Sunday, Nana Sampong arrived early in the morning. Osei had arrived at his house the night before at about 11.00 p.m., but it was then too late to travel, so he had told Osei that he would come the next morning very early.

* Strictly speaking Sampong is not Amo's brother" but his classificatory wofa.

As he put it, "I will fetch water for him (Amo) to wash his face." (Mesa nsuo ama no ahohoro n'anim).

After Sampong's arrival people assembled again. Sampong begged for forgiveness without delay.

The news of the case had in the mean time spread through the whole town. Women were heard mourning outside:

"Adwoa ee, Adwoa ee,
Aden na wawu agya wo mma yi?
Wo mma yi beye den?"

(Adwoa, Adwoa, why did you die, leaving your children alone? What are they going to do?).

More and more people assembled in Amo's compound. It looked as if all the adults of the town had come together, an indication of how important and shocking the affair was in the eyes of the people. In the Catholic Church the priest was waiting in vain for his flock.

Most of the elders sitting on the chairs and taking part in the debate were elders of the Agona clan. Nana Ofei, former chief Ayere and close friend of Amo was there, and so Nana Ahenkora, head of the other family of the Agona was clan. The Chief was again present with most of his elders, including the Queen Mother.

After Sampong's plea, the Krontihene again begged on behalf of Osei. Amo asked them where Osei's daughter was, the one who had falsely (?) accused him at the court.

Mercy came forward and people shouted at her to kneel down and beg. She fell prostrate in front of Amo and nearly dragged her mouth on the ground. The crowd started to weep loudly when they saw this. The girl got up and sat down in front of the elders.

Amo, who was weeping himself, said that he forgave. People shouted, "Father, thank you" (Papa, yeda w'ase oo), and Osei with his people went around to thank Amo and the elders. Many of the women followed them.

Osei then withdrew and consulted with his people for about five minutes. They returned and the Krontihene announced that Osei wanted to appease Amo with one bottle of schnapps. Sasu replied that the offense was too great and said that Osei should slaughter a sheep as well. All agreed, but Amo stood up and made the following remark, "When his wife fell sick, he did not even inform me, so he should be responsible for the hospital expenses and the costs of conveying the body to Ayere." (All amounted to £26.00).

On this point, however, people disagreed with Amo. The Chief, Nana Ahenkora and Nana Ofei pleaded that, since the case had been settled, all costs should be included, and Amo gave in.

At this juncture, when everything was settled, Amo's mother Konadu (A.IV,4) entered the court yard and started to talk to the elders.

She tried to rekindle the whole case, and narrated the story of the quarrel between Amo and Osei. The people became impatient and one of the relatives tactfully ushered her out.

Amo gave the go-ahead for the funeral. People were sent to the hospital to collect the body and Amo brought ₦40.00 which was divided among the different people in charge of the funeral. The crowd left the compound, and mourning could now be heard through the whole town.

According to the people of Ayere, Oforiwa's funeral was one of the most shocking they can remember. The suddenness of her death, her friendly and generous personality and the dramatic case following her death undoubtedly contributed towards this. Below is an abridged report of our research assistant who took an active part in the funeral.

The Funeral.

"Agya ee, agya ee" was the only sound which could be heard. A group of women, led by the Chief's wife, started to prepare a bed at the venue of the funeral, Akua Saa's house. Meanwhile, people were waiting impatiently for the arrival of the body.

Pots of palm wine started to arrive from everywhere. Young men, elderly men, women and girls drank.

Finally, at about 10.45 a.m. the horn of a lorry was heard blowing loudly. I rushed out to see what was happening. I saw that people were running helter-skelter, and were shouting, "They have brought her." (Yede n'aba oo, Ye de n'aba oo!). People strained their necks to see the corpse inside the lorry. The coffin was on top. Weeping and mourning started again vehemently. The corpse was wrapped in a blanket and two mats and taken into the house. Mercy, the eldest daughter of the deceased went through the street, mourning, followed by many girls of her age.

By 12.00 o'clock the body had been dressed up and laid on a bed, decorated with kente cloth.

By 2.00 p.m. I saw a girl in the middle of a big crowd. She was shaking and I was told she was possessed by the ghost of the deceased. Mr. Appiah, a friend of Osei, was strongly against the whole affair and tried to drive the people away from her, but he had no success. A group of young ladies were able to bring Mercy to the possessed girl and the two entered Amo's house with the entire crowd following them. The possessed girl made some unintelligible sounds and gestures, and another lady, her sister, interpreted them into words.

She said - and this was later on checked in a personal interview - that the ghost of Oforiwa wanted her children, Asante (B.VI,19) and Mercy, to be one and to take proper care of the other children; that Yaa Boahemaa (A.V,11) should inherit Oforiwa; that some of Oforiwa's

money was hidden under a mattress and in a box and that some people were in debt to her. She further said that a certain driver should be allowed to marry Mercy and that Mercy should buy a sewing machine with the money found under the mattress.

One lady, highly provoked, abused the people of Ayere for not believing that the girl was really possessed and saying that she was only drunk. No one gave her any reply.

While this was going on, a group of market women brought foodstuffs, meat and fish in big baskets on their heads to Saa's house where the body was lying in state. They started to act as if they were trading at the market in front of the corpse to pay tribute to the deceased who had been a trader herself. They paraded the street simultaneously mourning and trading in a mock-fashion with their big baskets. They defied the rain which was then starting to fall.

The shaving of hair was completed around 3.00 p.m. in Kisiwa's nearby house. The hours between 3.00 and 6.00 p.m. saw mourning at its zenith. Young women went up and down weeping. Lorries had to give way to people instead of people allowing lorries to pass. The older men were sitting more quietly together under a huge tree.

Men as well as women stood in front of the corpse and expressed their sorrows in frenzied manners. One woman fell heavily over a gutter in front of Saa's house, but she hardly realized it. Both young and old drank freely. Everybody seemed to say that the occasion demanded drinking.

The very old ladies played their role. I saw four of them sitting in front of the corpse. They drove away flies which were alighting on the corpse. One closed the mouth of the body properly.

Around 5.30 p.m. the body was put in the coffin. One woman brought a piece of cloth and said, "Adwoa, the children of the chief say, this is their cloth and an amount of one shilling and sixpence which are gifts for your journey." (Adwoa, Ahenemma se, won ntoma ne won sika, siren ne taku a wode regya wo kwan ni). One man took the money and the cloth, repeated the same words and put them in the coffin.

After this Ntiri (B.VI,28) entered with a group of girls, who formed a kind of singing band and had been practising in one of Amo's houses. They sang some Presbyterian funeral songs and Darko (B.VI,44) began to cry loudly, "Oh, my mother, my mother." (Me na ee, me na ee).

Some people sat down quietly. It was not because they were not sad, but I think the body, lying in the coffin, stupefied them.

The fear of death was clearly expressed in their faces.

A group of young men, led by a driver, shouted, "Where are the drinks?". The driver picked up a stone and got ready to nail the coffin.

Antwi (B.VI,1), in a red cloth, stood over the coffin and spoke loudly to the deceased. His words expressed anger that the woman was dead. He said,

"You fell ill only a short while ago and now you say you are dead. Why is it that a human being should die? It was only your stomach that pained you a short while ago and now you say you are dead. When you go, let us all see who killed you. Let us see him tomorrow, so that everybody will know him. The point is, that when a human being dies, that is the end, but how should such a person die without reason? without anyone knowing about it?"*

The driver nailed the coffin amid mourning and wailing. I went out to see Amo about drinks for the carriers. When I returned they were ready to carry the coffin to the cemetery.

* The Twi text went as follows:

"Woyare seisel ara, wose woawu. Seisel ara wo yam ye wo ya, wose woawu. Se woreko yi, se eye obi a okum wo a, okyena akooa ma yenu no, na obiara nnu no. Adee no a onipa wu a, na wawu ntri a, anka onipa sei na wawu kwa a yente no hwee?"

Young men and women went ahead or followed the coffin. The elderly men and women waited at home for their return. The coffin stopped five times on the road and on one occasion it started to run. A teacher tried in vain to convince the bearers to "behave properly".

Some girls - quite drunk already - entered the wrong cemetery. One of them told me later on that they did so on purpose to mourn on the graves of their relatives who died some time ago.

The grave side was a testing ground for strength. Before the coffin reached the side, one young man tried to jump into the grave. He was mourning vehemently. People tried in vain to prevent him. Just at the time the coffin arrived he jumped into the grave. Another man also jumped in and tried to push the first one out. This started a quarrel and some light blows were exchanged. Again another man joined the two and managed to push the first man out. The two others remained in the grave and helped to lower the coffin into it. There was nor formality. People began to cover the grave with flowers, leaves and soil.

The same teacher asked the relatives why they would not allow him to say a short prayer. They allowed him and after his prayer they continued covering the grave. One young man burst out:

"As you go, help your daughter Afua Mercy, that, if she trades, she will get much money to look after your children."

After finishing people started to leave the place in groups. The workers drank the remaining gin and went home. The sun had set.

At about 7.30 p.m. I went to the main canteen of the town. Elders and young boys and girls, teachers and school children were mixed up, dancing to the music. No one took any notice of who was in the canteen.

Monday morning: The Arrival of Oppong and Asante.

The day after the burial, 5.00 a.m. Oforiwa's only brother, Yaw Oppong and her first born, Kofi Asante, arrived from Sunyani at Ayere. Oppong (B.V,8) informed Amo how he got to know of the death of his sister. Mercy had sent her "brother" Adu (B.VI,3) to inform him. He said he was weeding behind his house, when he saw Adu. He had by that time injured himself with the cutlass. As soon as he heard of the death of his sister, the wound stopped bleeding.

Asante (B.VI,19), who is a taxi driver at Sunyani, told Amo that he hit a cow with his taxi on the very day that his mother died. The cow died, but the taxi was not damaged. So it became a common story in the town that witches turned Oforiwa into a cow and made her own son kill her.

Oppong and Asante presented four bottles of beer for the children of Agona clan members (Mma nna) and a bottle of schnapps for the elders of the family.

Accusation of Amo's wife.

That same morning one of Amo's wives, Asantewa, came to us saying that according to custom Osei should have spent the night on the bed of the deceased in Saa's house, but had refused to do so. This accusation was completely without ground, because there is no such custom. It reveals however her negative feelings towards Osei.

Saturday morning: Planning for the funeral and disagreement between the old and the young.

A group of young men entered Amo's house very early in the morning, and waited for Amo in the hall (pato). They were all members of Amo's family. Amo joined them after some time and they discussed how to organize Oforiwa's second funeral (Nnawotweda). Some suggested that they should engage a guitar band to play at the wake-keeping and the funeral the next day.

Amo, supported by Sasu, replied that it was already too late to call on any band to feature at the funeral, but the drums of the Chief's House would be available, so that traditional drumming and dancing could accompany the funeral.

The meeting was very short, but portrayed the sentiments of the old against the young. The old wanted to go the traditional way and used their position to enforce traditional dancing and drumming upon the young. By doing so they could take part in the funeral and turn the young men

and women into spectators.

Osei's payment of the pacification.

After the young men had left, Amo went to farm, as he usually does on Saturday morning. Soon after he had left, Osei came, accompanied by the Krontihene and one of his younger children, to pay his pacification sum. They offered the sheep and the bottle of schnapps to Nana Ofei, who is a close friend of Amo. The Krontihene, who made the presentation, suggested that they should drink some of the schnapps before leaving to seal the reconciliation, but Nana Ofei remarked that, since the real owner of the drink was not present, it would be wrong to take any part of the things, presented to him, in his absence. The Krontihene agreed and everybody left again.

Nina, the daughter of Amo's wife, stressed that Amo knew that the presentation was going to take place that morning, but nevertheless had left for farm. Perhaps, also, Osei knew that Amo was probably going to farm that morning, and chose for that very reason the Saturday morning for the presentation.

In other words, there is ample reason to believe that both Amo and Osei were performing an outward customary ritual, but were not really reconciled yet, and therefore preferred not to meet. Later developments support this view.

Saturday night - Sunday morning: The Wake-keeping.

Around 9.30 p.m. people started to assemble in Saa's house for the wake-keeping. A record player provided music for some time. A group of young ladies, known as "Accra Girls" in the family, dominated the wake-keeping with the funeral song:

"Menni ena na masu mafere no.
Menni agya na masu mafere no.
Awisia, m'adee ye mmobo,
M'adee ye mmobo."*

A band of five young men came in and tried to play, but the man, operating the record player did not allow them. It took much shouting before he finally gave way to the young men. The first number of the band was the same as that of the "Accra Girls". The whole gathering shook and people started to weep.

The band was not allowed to sing alone. Almost everybody joined in. After this promising start, however, a group of young men came in, shouting haphazardly, and turned the wake-keeping into a noisy meeting.

One man, who was completely drunk, tried to bring back some order, but he became the worst nuisance of all. It was amazing how tolerant people were towards these disturbances.

Palmwine and akpeteshi were served to the band and anyone who cared. In contrast with other wake-keepings no tea was served.

* Translation: "I have no mother or father to cry to. I am an orphan. My lot is miserable."

Some people tried to keep awake, chewing kola nuts.

Dancing was mainly by the young men and girls. Older people watched them or conversed together. Some of them were just sitting there, dreaming with open eyes. In spite of the disturbances there was an atmosphere of peacefulness. The way in which people were allowed to disturb articulated the basic feeling of brotherliness and unity.

Hardly anyone of the family elders was present. Amo was not there, nor was Nana Sampong or Nana Ofei. We only saw Sasu, sitting quietly in a corner and the sister of the deceased's mother, Akua Saa (B.VI,4). The atmosphere was not conducive to the pomp of royals and elders: everyone was equal, partly because of the akpeteshi². It was around 3.00 a.m. when we left the place.

Sunday: Second Funeral.

By 7.00 a.m. relatives of Oforiwa were seated under a shed, raised in front of the Chief's house. According to custom a table had been put somewhere with a plate and a note book on it. A young man wrote down the names of the people who paid a contribution towards the funeral, and the women sitting behind him thanked everyone loudly. In total 449 men and 827 women paid a contribution.

The men usually paid two shillings, the women one. The number of contributors was the highest of all funerals we attended at Ayere.

There was not much that distinguished this funeral from any other one. Around noon the Chief and elders appeared on the scene. There was drumming and dancing as usual and people, especially young people, were struggling to get as much palm wine as possible to drink.

One thing became more and more clear: the division between old and young. While the elderly people were sitting most of the time under the palmleaf-sheds, the young men and women were walking up and down, and embraced each other every now and then.

Around 5.00 p.m. we visited two palm wine bars. They were filled to capacity with young people. A quarrel broke out, when a girl accused a young man of smoking wee. Friends had to separate the two. A lorry driver who tried to force his lorry through the crowd was beaten up.

The canteen was also crowded with many young people. Only a few were drinking, the rest were dancing. There was one highlife record which was played over and over again. It fitted the occasion exceptionally well as the deceased's name was, coincidentally, mentioned in the song:

"Ao, Mother Adwoa, your death pains us and
makes us worry. Your children are weeping.

Oh Mother Adwoa, what are we to do now?
Your children are weeping.

Oh Mother Adwoa, because you are absent now, your house will be filled with dirt, and your children will be miserable.

Oh Mother Adwoa, to whom did you leave your husband? There is no woman so kind to marry your husband again. Come and see your husband, he cannot even shut his eyes, because of sorrows and weeping.

The mother Adwoa I am talking about comes from Kwahu Obomen.

Her real name is Adwoa Oforiwa Amanfo.

If I narrate her life history, people will say, I am doing so to praise her, because she is dead.

The little that I know of her is that, when she was alive, she was very playful and laughed with everybody.

Oh Mother Adwoa, what are we to do now? Your children are weeping."

At that same time, however, the funeral side had almost been deserted. The elderly people tried in vain to win the attention and admiration of the young with their dancing. The young people did not want to remain mere spectators to something they could not take part in and had left the place entirely. When we visited the place again Sasu, the Adehyehene, was dancing to the drums, surrounded by ten women, but the vast emptiness around created a feeling of boredom and dullness. By that time the canteen was crammed.

Around 7.00 p.m. the canteen had turned into a pandemonium. Dancing was profanity at its height. Everyone was intoxicated, and it was very easy to call upon anyone to dance with.

Monday morning: Calculation of funeral expenses and selection of heir.

After the usual morning greetings members of the family and other people of the town assembled in front of the chief's house for the calculation of the funeral expenses (ekabu). The men were seated at one side and the women at the other side of the road. The Chief told the women to appoint an heir. They deliberated a long time, and the Queen Mother joined them. Finally they came with the announcement.

The linguist, Agya James, son of Nana Asare (A.IV,1) presented Amma Dankwaa (B.V,5) as the heir of Adwoa Oforiwa. She accepted the appointment but said, "Now that my sister has died, I have taken up the hoe, but I hand it over to my sister Amma Kumaa (A.V,6)."

Agya James went over and called Amma Kumaa. She also accepted the offer, but handed it over to Yaa Boahemaa (A.V,11). Boahemaa accepted it and thanked the elders. She went around followed by many of the women.

Osei stood up and complained that he did not know his wife's heir. Boahemaa was then formally presented to him.

Amo got up and asked the women whether they really agreed to Boahemaa succeeding Oforiwa.

* Original Twi text: "Se me nua awu a, aso no mafa, nanso mede ma me nua Amma Kumaa."

They all answered that they did. He then continued to say that they all had to swear an oath to him, that they really agreed. They again replied that they would do so. People laughed, but the oath was never taken.

The chief then called upon someone to render accounts of the funeral. The reply was as follows:

Expenses incurred	¢211.20
Donations collected	<u>¢194.70</u>
Deficit	¢ 16.50

Everybody was asked to tell the family how much they spent on the funeral from their own pockets, without claiming it back. A total amount of ¢102.20 was mentioned, covering most expenses on drinks and transport.

After this Osei was asked whether there were any expenses between him and his wife, and between anyone else and his wife. He answered that one person owed her ¢30.00, and another ¢40.00, but both had left the town a long time ago and could not be traced. He and his wife did not owe one another. Nana Ofei raised a topic about a building, but the chief replied that this was a family affair and should be dealt with later in the day. Palm wine was drunk and the people dispersed.

3. THIRD CRISIS SITUATION: THE CASE OF OFORIWA'S HOUSE.

Immediately after the calculation of the expenses, the members of the family moved to Ame's house.

Several complaints had been lodged by members against other members, and the presence of so many abusuafo from different places made it possible to settle these cases.

About ten cases were settled, mostly quarrels over land or unpaid debts. The hearing and settlement of the cases revealed many tensions and conflicts underneath the ordinary family relationships. On the other hand, the mutual abuses and accusations were interwoven with much humour and people enjoyed the performance somehow.

The case which took most of the time, had, however, very little humour in it. It was the case about Oforiwa's house. It was fought by both sides with grim faces. Feelings of hatred were openly expressed and resulted in a growing coherence of both sides. It was the same topic that had been raised by Nana Ofei before, but had been postponed by the Chief.

Osei was called upon to present the case and he explained that he himself had bought a house for his children.

Mercy was asked to tell what she knew about the purchase of the house.

Mercy: "My mother once told me that she had been informed by my father about a building for sale. She told me that she wanted to buy it, because if she did not get a house ready for us her children, we would suffer in future.

So she went to collect ₵200.00 from my brother Asante at Sunyani to pay for the initial cost of the building."

Asante: "I had planned to buy a Bedford bus, which we call Motoway, but my mother came once to me and told me that, when we come home, we do not get a good place to sleep. She therefore wanted me to give her money, so that she could buy a certain house which was at that time for sale at Ayere. I gave her ₵200.00, and abandoned my plan of buying the Motoway."

Osei: "As for the house, I bought it for my children."

Chief: "No, Asante has just said that his mother collected ₵200.00 from him for the house. Did Oforiwa give you the money?"

Osei: "Yes, she gave the money to me."

(At this juncture there was murmuring from all corners. It seemed that everyone was saying that if that were the case, it meant that Oforiwa bought the house herself, perhaps with just a bit of help of her husband. So Osei had no right to say that he bought the house).

Chief: "Osei, you must be very specific. Tell us how much you contributed towards the purchase of the house, so that the family can thank you. You would not be the first one to help your wife put up a building. We all have done something like that. So we want to know exactly how much money you spent from your own pocket to help your wife. Let us know the amount and tell us whether you claim it back."

Osei: "The building costed ₵700.00. I have paid ₵640.00."

(Osei looked very confused and was contradicting himself frequently. He went on and made mention of some ₵100.00 which he used to help his wife to buy the house).

Sasu: "If that be the case, then I can say that ₵100.00 cannot buy what costs ₵700.00. So it is now clear that the building was bought by Adwoa Oforiwa with ₵100.00 help from her husband. We want therefore Osei to make it clear whether he is claiming his ₵100.00 back or not."

Osei: "I am not claiming the money back."

Agya James: "If Mr. Osei has said this, it is nice of him, but I suggest, that we shall not thank him now. Let us find another time to go and thank him."

(No one seemed to agree with this suggestion. The Chief went out and came back with a pot of palm wine and a bottle of whisky to be drunk to stamp the agreement that the house belonged to Oforiwa's children).

Oppong: "My sister told me in the presence of many friends that she paid back the ₵100.00 to Osei. If the elders want me to produce witnesses, I can get at least two here. I further remember that my sister came several times to Sunyani to collect money for the purchase of a house."

(Osei became very impatient and suggested to his friend Mr. Appiah that he wanted to leave, but Appiah advised him to stay. Oppong sat down and the drinks were presented to Osei's wofa, who was also present. He allowed the gathering to drink the palm wine, but kept the whisky. Appiah cut in and spoke on behalf of Osei.

He said that Osei had not received any concrete reply from the elders about his help of £100.00. The elders and others showed their impatience and did not allow him to elaborate. Osei got up and gave what sounded like a warning. He said that his children would have to pay frequent visits to their mother's relatives. While the gathering was still drinking the palm wine Osei left with what looked like his friends and relatives, among whom was his friend Appiah).

Throughout the case Oforiwa's relatives behaved in a very hostile manner towards Osei. One young teacher, Ntim (B.VI,8) was standing behind Osei, annoying him with nagging remarks as "Thank you, thank you" and "Mo-mo" (Well done), every time when Osei spoke, as if he wanted to say, "Thank you, now we know the truth". Osei suddenly lost his temper, turned around and shouted, "I don't know what this thank-you-thank-you means". People immediately shouted back at him.

While Osei was explaining that it was he who had bought the house, many ladies of Amo's family expressed their feelings very loudly, accusing Osei of all kinds of things, "He lies, it is not true, he should be ashamed, he has not even a penny, he did not pay anything", etc. One lady in particular, Kyeiwa (B.V,2), was very sharp in her remarks.

After Oppong's intervention Osei got very annoyed and accused him indirectly of lying. He called out, "Only the deceased knows what is true". The people yelled back at him, angrily, asking who was not speaking the truth, and Osei pointed at Oppong.

This made some people really furious and abuses were bawled out.

Only two people chose Osei's side openly, but neither of them was a member of Amo's or his own family. One was Appiah, a retired post master, the other a primary school teacher. Both were friends of Osei and seemed to have, like Osei himself, more "western" ideas. Osei's brother and wofa who were present did not say a word.

Another small incident took place, when a young man interrupted the elders giving his opinion. He was immediately shouted down by the crowd with remarks such as "Who are you?" and "Are you an elder?"

B. ANALYSIS: FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AND SOCIAL NORMS

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

This series of social situations is the starting point of our situational analysis. The centre of these situations is the three crises. The other events can be considered as leading up to these crises or being triggered off by them.

We have not been very selective in our descriptions but have purposely written a very extensive report, covering all the events around those three crisis situations, to enable the reader to acquaint himself with the total atmosphere in which the dramatic events took place, and observe them, not as a mere onlooker, but also as a kind of participant.

We chose this particular case and not any other of the many conflicts we witnessed in Amo's family, because of the profound impression it made on the entire family and even on the whole of Ayere.

1. First Crisis Situation:

a. Marriage bond between Oforiwa and Osei

What actually happened during the conflict between Amo and Osei? According to Nana Sampong, an old man, sensitive and with a feeling for tradition, the point of the conflict is the following: "Oforiwa made the big mistake of supporting her husband against her brother. This is unforgivable. Even if the brother was completely at wrong, she should still support him against her husband".

Nana Sampong refers here to traditional values which are well known to students of Akan Society, that the bond of blood prevails over the bond of marriage. Fortes has drawn our attention to the fact that marriage is very fragile among the Asante because of this (Fortes, 1950:283) and Schneider extends this phenomenon to any matrilineal system. He writes: "The institutionalization of very strong, lasting or intense solidarities between husband and wife is not compatible with the maintenance of matrilineal descent groups" (Schneider, 1961:16).

Audrey Richards has enriched Anthropology with the concept of "Matrilineal Puzzle". She defines the puzzle as "the difficulty of combining recognition of descent through the woman with the rule of exogamous marriage" (Richards, 1950:246). In other words, the problem is, how authority over the woman should be shared between the husband and the wife's brother or other relatives. There seems to be no fixed rule as to how this problem should be solved, at least not among the Akan in Ghana. The problem is unique for every couple, and has to be solved by the couple in a unique way. Very often however, the problem is not solved at all, and remains a source of conflicts. We can only speak of "solution" if the arrangement is accepted by both sides.

One "solution" which is, of course, no solution at all, is divorce. The problem of how the authority should be shared remains unsettled and one day, in a conflict between the husband and the in-laws, the wife is pushed out by the husband, pulled out by her relatives, or she decides herself to choose against her husband, which means that divorce becomes a fact. An example in Amo's family is Dwamena's first marriage.*

The problem may be solved in favour of the wife's relatives. In such a case, the woman usually continues living with her own relatives, and farming on her own farm. For an outsider, there may be very few indications that this woman has been married to that particular man. The husband himself may even feel the same way, namely, that, although he is married, he has no real wife. Having someone to sleep with occasionally and to cook one's meal once or twice a day, may not come up to the expectations certain men have of marriage. An extreme example is the marriage experiences of Dwamena which were very frustrating indeed. He complained to us that "For 21 months I had a wife but I did not see her". Dwamena's example teaches us that in such a situation the solution may not really have been accepted by the husband and the union will easily be broken.

* See Dwamena's Marriage History (A.VI,10). In the Appendix of Chapter IV.

Such a solution, in favour of the wife's relatives, is more likely when the husband is not a very important personality, and has no, or few, financial means. The husband cannot add much weight to his claims upon his wife and the relatives are less eager to leave their daughter/sister entirely in the hands of such an insecure person. It should be recalled after all that even in the olden days one's financial position determined whether one could enter into marriage or not. When someone asked for a girl's hand he was asked: "How much money have you got" or in a more proverbial way: "Let us see your penis" (Yi wo kote ma yen hwe), meaning the same: what is your financial position? It is therefore no wonder that a man with greater financial means and a higher social status has more claims to his wife. In such a case the problem of authority over the wife can be solved more favourably for the man, and it is less likely that the wife's family will interfere. From the point of view of the wife, if the husband is well-to-do she will be more drawn to him and be at one with him; if he is poor she cannot expect much from him and then her ties with her family will tend to dominate. Whether there is in fact a significant relationship between financial/social status of the husband and the probability of divorce is a topic we shall deal with later on.*

* See next chapter.

In this context we are mainly concerned with the conflict between blood ties and marriage ties.

Let us now look at the marriage of Osei and Oforiwa. It is clear that the matrilineal puzzle had been solved in favour of the husband. Osei was a respected person, particularly at the time of their marriage. He had attended school, was one of the few literate adults in town and had become the Secretary of the Co-operative. He was what people usually called a "krakye" (clerk).

Osei has some "western" ideas concerning marriage. He explained to us that polygamy is an evil thing, and he himself never practised it, although he has had four wives and one concubine during his life time. It is therefore no wonder that Osei aimed at a more western type of marriage for himself. His wife, Oforiwa stayed with him in the same house, wherever he went. All the children stayed with them and what is most exceptional, Osei never had any nephew or niece staying with him.

That Oforiwa stayed with Osei in one house at Ayere is very remarkable. As will be pointed out later: a woman living in her home-town where her relatives are, rarely resides with her husband. If she does, there must be a special reason for it. For Oforiwa the reason was the strong marriage bond and an old conflict with her relatives after which she is believed to have said that her children would not stay with the other relatives.

According to Osei, he and his wife had even some kind of common financial arrangement. "In the beginning, he said, she did not work. She stopped trading when she married me, but later on she resumed. I bought things for her to trade with, so we did everything together."

Another point which probably contributed to the character of their marriage was Osei's leading position in the S.D.A. Movement. Before his wife died, Osei, one day, stressed the point that S.D.A. members have only one wife. It is true that his wife did not join the S.D.A. and even stopped going to church at all, but for Osei this religious factor certainly counted.*

There is one point more which should be taken into consideration. Osei's mother's mother was an Ewe. She was made a captive during a war between the Asante and the Ewe and had been married by the one who took her away. This man was an Asante. Osei's paternal grand parents are both Kwahu.

Osei stresses that his Ewe grandmother retained her Ewe identity and was never incorporated or adopted as an Asante. She even used to visit her home-town across the Volta occasionally.

* The role of religious affiliations in the three crises situations will not be touched upon in this chapter. We have however, well-founded suspicion that their role should not be neglected. Osei was the leader of the S.D.A. at Ayere and Amo of the Apostolics. Moreover Amo wanted the plot to build a new church and it was Osei who prevented him from doing so. For Amo, whose church is no doubt a vehicle for commanding wide respect, this was a serious blow.

Whether this is true or not, it is a fact that Osei himself continues to feel strong links with the Ewe. One of his closest friends who also took charge of Oforiwa's funeral on his behalf is an Ewe, staying at Ayere. Osei himself speaks fluent Ewe.

This case is a typical "boundary case" (cf:Goody,1969: 437-60). Osei feels neither Akan nor Ewe, as the Akan reckon descent through the mother and the Ewe through the father. He says: "I am betwixt and between".

It is not unplausible that his partial identification with the Ewe is linked with his close marital ties since it is generally believed that the marriage bond among the Ewe is stronger and more stable than among the Akan. When we questioned him about this we put the answer virtually in his mouth by asking whether he thought that this also applied to him. He replied: "I think so, because that is in my blood".

There is no doubt that Osei's marriage was remarkably stable (it lasted 20 years) and "western-like", in the sense that the marital bond seemed to dominate any other tie. This bond was now put to the test when the conflict rose between Osei and Amo, and it became undoubtedly clear that the marriage ties were indeed stronger than the blood ties: Oforiwa chose her husband's side.

The implications of her choice became more clear if we apply some concepts of Social Network Analysis. Mitchell argues that many relationships are potential and become only actual relationships by getting involved in a social action or event. He names this: Recruitment to Network (Mitchell, 1969:41). Boswell has worked out this basic idea further in an article "Personal Crises and the Mobilization of the Social Network" (Boswell, 1969). In his article he seeks to "categorise the main zones of recruitment to networks and the ways in which network ties may be used to mobilize support in situations of personal crisis". (Boswell, 1969:245).

A crisis situation can be: childbirth, death, unemployment, sickness etc. and also: matrimonial and family disputes. Boswell's point is that in such situations, the real networks become visible. A man may claim to have ^a close relationship with his friend, but if he leaves him, when his friend becomes sick or gets into financial difficulties, we know that the relationship was not really close.

Let us now apply Boswell's theory to the relationship between Oforiwa and Osei, and between Oforiwa and her relatives. The conflict between Osei and Amo was certainly a crisis situation. People were called upon to show their real faces and to choose one side or the other.

It was expected that Oforiwa would choose the side of her family, since this was what usually happened.

Boswell has argued that in rural areas the main zone of recruitment to networks is the kin. But Oforiwa did not fall back on her kin, she disregarded them and chose the side of her husband. This shows the novelty of the case and proves how strong or - to use Mitchell's terminology - how intense the relationship was between Osei and his wife.

b. Dramatis Personae:

As a matter of fact Oforiwa was not the only one who was forced to lay her cards on the table. Afua Mercy also had to show her colours and she came out in support of Osei. This, however, was not so significant since she followed her mother in this. The shallowness of this choice was proved after her mother's death when she was again faced with the problem of choosing between the father and maternal relatives. During the inheritance case we shall see how Mercy had then moved away from her father considerably.

Another person called upon to clarify his position was Nana Sampong. He was an important man in the family, but he also had very strong feelings for Oforiwa. Oforiwa had stayed with him throughout her youth and he considered her as his own child, even more than his real children. Sampong's reaction was very significant: he kept silent, which was interpreted by every one as secret support for Oforiwa against Amo.

This reaction must have been a real blow for Amo and the self-assurance of the whole family of which Amo was the head. This explains also why Amo was so eager to have Nana Sampang apologise and renew his adherence to the family, after Oforiwa's death.

Another category of people to choose sides were the many relatives in Akua Saa's house, who are the direct relatives of Oforiwa. It should be borne in mind that the relationships between Amo and Akua Saa's house were and still are very ambiguous. Many people of Saa's house openly declared that they do not like Amo because he does not care for them. Unlike Nana Ayesu, the former Abua Panyin, Amo does not take much interest in Saa's relatives, and is not prepared to help them in time of need. Ntim (B.VI,8) and Anim (B.VI,9) both complained that Amo disregards them altogether, even though he is their legal father in addition. Neither Ntiri (B.VI,28) nor Amoa (B.VI,36) ever got any help when they were in trouble. Amoa and Tano (B.VI,39) both openly declared their hatred for Amo. Tano said: "I don't like Amo because he does not care for me as he cares for his own children. He treats me as a distant child. Whenever my case is brought before him, he disgraces me and insults me badly. Because of this I hardly come to his house, may be once in the six months.

Tano further explained that most people in Saa's house do not like Amo. According to him, only Kyeiwa (B.V,2), Antwina (B.V,5), Antwi (B.VI,1) and Bempon (B.VI,2) like Amo. Such direct statements are only expressed by those of the younger generation. The older generation is more cautious in expressing their views on this point. None of this generation in Saa's house could be made to admit that they did not like certain people in the family, but we know from other sources that they did not like this or that person. Amma Dankwaa (B.V,3), for example, repeatedly argued that she likes everybody, although we have ample proof that she does not like Amo at all. We therefore believe that Tano's information is quite reliable. This information is supported by the fact that members of Saa's house are hardly ever seen in Amo's house, except the four mentioned by him.

We now return to our starting point: what was the reaction of this category of people during and after the quarrel? Amma Kumaa (A.V,6), who is always very open and honest in her information, explained that no one in Saa's house said anything to Oforiwa at that time. She continued that this was very bad, because when someone in the family does something wrong the others should correct him or her.

The fact that this did not happen and every one kept silent was the result of the lack of love in the family. She argued that many people in Saa's house do not like Amo.

So also from her direct relatives Oforiwa received silent support, and Amo must have experienced this as a serious crisis of his authority in the family.

c. Social Networks and Social Values:

It should be noted however that this big support for Oforiwa did not necessarily mean that all these people agreed with her action as such. A great deal of human behaviour has very little rational basis. Social network analysis again gives us a quite acceptable tool to understand and predict human behaviour. People acted the way they did, not so much because they supported the new norm that a wife should support her husband against her brother, but rather because they were pushed to do so by the network of their social relationships. On the other hand, this case makes it obvious that it is impossible to distinguish clearly between norms and social networks. They are mutually connected. New norms give birth to new relationships. If I strongly believe that a man should stick strictly to his kin, I will not easily build up a close relationship with non-kin.

If I believe that all people from a different ethnic group than mine are inferior, I will not move with them. But if I conceive the new idea that personal friendship is more valuable than kinship I may start to find my best friends outside my kin and even outside my ethnic group.

On the other hand relationships fashion my ideas. When I move from my village to the city and suddenly find myself living or working in the company of non-kin or other ethnic groups, I may start to rethink certain traditional norms and values that I inherited from my elders, which say that I should not rub shoulders with strangers.

It is however most probable that social networks on one side and social norms and values on the other side change simultaneously. Southall came to the same conclusion when he tried to define the interplay between change of norms and change of actions. He distinguished three types of change:

1. Norm change followed by behavioural change;
2. Behavioural change followed by norm change;
3. Simultaneous change of norm and behaviour,
(Southall, 1961:14).

Our case, however, shows yet another way in which social networks and change of norm are interconnected - a more indirect way. A person may mobilize support for a new norm through his social network, while the people in his

network do not support the norm itself but support the person who propagates the norm on basis of their relationship. This means that a new norm may be introduced by people who do not really adhere to it. Once it has been introduced, and people have become acquainted with it, the norm itself may gradually gain support. Very little attention has been paid to this type of social change, until now.

Such a process implies initially a conflict between norm and relationship. From our case it seems that if such a conflict arises the relationship tends to be more decisive than the norm, and the norm has to give way. This is why influential persons, people with a wide social network, are able to introduce new values and norms.

One cannot say that Adwoa Oforiwa was such an influential person, but she was certainly liked by many. More important however was that relationships in the family were structured in such a way that members of the family chose to utilise the case to demonstrate a secret disloyalty to Amo. However, they did not want to go very far in their sabotage of the family coherence. When, in a second and third crisis situation, they were put before the choice whether to unite or openly to declare themselves disloyal to Amo, they all chose for the former and closed their ranks against the "stranger" Osei.

Later on in this study we will pay more attention to this ambiguity in family relationships, which seems an inherent part of the Kwahu Family System. It shows itself in particular in the form of witchcraft accusations. Cohesion and disruption follow each other up as thesis and antithesis.

So, in the crisis situation of the conflict between Osei and Amo, networks were mobilized which were not strictly according to the lines of kin. The idea of the great united "abusua" lost to personal feelings of affection. But how meagre this victory was became clear when a second crisis situation arose: the death of Adwoa Oforiwa.

2. Second Crisis Situation:

This second crisis situation effected a gradual turning of the tables. After the first crisis we saw how social innovations pushed their way through with the help of non-strictly kinship-based social networks. After the second crisis we will see how these innovations are crushed by a slow falling back to a more kinship-based social network. We will also see how funeral regulations based upon religious ideas, function as an in-built safeguard to preserve the social system. And finally we will see how social conflicts have a positive social function in the sense that they maintain a social equilibrium (cf: Coser, 1956:83 and Gluckman, 1955:169).

In normal situations, we would hesitate to argue, and probably even deny that death among the Kwanu is a crisis situation in which genuine relationships are revealed. Death and funerals are here rather the opposite. It is an occasion at which people claim all kinds of non-existing or half-existing relationships with the deceased and the mourning relatives. It is an occasion of social obligation and pomposity. Attendance and contributions at funerals are frequently made so that people may see them. They help a person to secure a good attendance for his own funeral and to stress his position in the family.

Oforiwa's death and funeral were different. Why was Oforiwa's death the cause of crisis? The reason lies in Amo's response when Osei informed him of the death of his wife and his refusal to know and to bury her. This was enough to shake the very foundations of the family and asked for an immediate "restructuring" of the social relationships.

Amo's response shows the power which was still the prerogative of an abusua panyin and secondly it shows the extent to which this power is still based upon religious beliefs. In a secularised society Amo's reply would have had very little impact on the people's behaviour, but here it became an absolute constraint backed with eternal sanctions. This series of events could inspire the composition of an African Antigone.

The refusal to bury someone is tantamount to denying the person a life with the ancestors and it is the greatest possible disgrace that can befall a person. With this before our eyes, let us now look how people reacted in this new crisis. As some one explained to us by means of a proverb: "W'asem ba a na wOhu wo atamfo", when you are in trouble you see your real enemy and your real friend.

a. Dramatis Personae:

Nana Sampong came as soon as he heard of the case and played for forgiveness without delay. He wholeheartedly chose the side of Amo and returned into the bosom of Amo's family. It should be noted, however, that he had no other choice. It was rather his love for Oforiwa that commanded him to do so, because continuing to support her would result in her losing the opportunity to join the ancestors. It should further be noted that there was no time for delay: the body was waiting.

Two months later we had another interview with him, and from the way he talked about the case one could hardly believe that he ever supported Oforiwa. During that interview it was for him a clear cut case that Oforiwa had done wrong by siding with her husband.

Afua Mercy, Oforiwa and Osei's first born, did the same thing as Nana Sampong only in a more dramatic way, when she fell prostrate in front of Amo and begged for mercy.

She also had very little choice and did actually what her father had done just before. Her action was therefore not very significant. More significant was what she did a week after that, when she sided against her father.

How did the members of Akua Saa's house react in this second crisis situation? None of them played a conspicuous role during the deliberations and the settlement of the case. They were mainly silent onlookers, if they were there at all.

Several factors may account for the fact that Saa's relatives remained passive. One is that the people in her house are mainly women. At that time there were only three men in her house of the same generation as Amo. Two of them, Yaw Oppong and Yaw Berko, were not at Ayere at that time and Kofi Dente who was still alive at the time could neither speak nor walk. Since the case was settled by the elderly men of the family there was little room for younger men like Antwi, Bempon, Adu or Amoa to raise their voice.

That Akua Saa and the other women of her house did not take part in the discussion may find its explanation in the fact that women have to keep quiet.

A more important factor however is the fact that during the conflict between Osei and Amo, Saa's relatives had given Oforiwa only silent support. Now that she had died, they had to come back to Amo, and he had no reason to require an open excuse from them, as he did from Nana

Sampong. Akua Saa, who was Oforiwa's "mother" since she had succeeded her real mother, pretended to know nothing about the case. She even kept up this attitude after Oforiwa's death.

So Akua Saa and the other members of the family watched the events with mixed feelings. They did not interfere in any way, neither to support nor to oppose Amo. Only some of them, according to Amma Kumaa criticised and abused Amo, but in a secretive way. One of them was Afua Yeboa (B.V,12) who, with all her children, is very negatively disposed towards Amo.

One may wonder why there was no open resistance from Akua Saa's house. It shows how strong Amo's position was. He was even supported by the chief and the elders of the town, which is remarkable, since Amo and the chief were latent enemies. Amo at that time was even working towards the destoolment of the chief. But in spite of so much hostility the chief supported Amo. The reason was that traditional norms were at stake. One norm was that, if there is any disagreement between a subject and the head of the family, this should be settled before the subject dies, otherwise this person will not be allowed to join the ancestors. Now that Oforiwa had died her husband Osei and her fosterfather Nana Sampong had to plead on her behalf before her body was going to be buried.

Another norm which was at stake, as we already have seen, was that a woman should support her brother against her husband. The norm had suffered loss of prestige through Oforiwa's action and had to be reintroduced now.

There were certainly more reasons why chief and elders supported Amo's case. Tensions and conflicts between the old and the young generations, between modernists and traditionalists, and between Christians and non-Christians were undermining the authority of the chief and his elders. This case was therefore a unique chance to restore their dented authority. Some of the chief's remarks to Osei are revealing on this point. "Your life has been too individualistic". "He has led a way of life which makes him appear like a stranger among us. When we are going somewhere, you are not coming with us".

So Akua Saa and her relatives were facing so many superior forces that the only thing left to them was to sit and watch. In the light of the next crisis situation this attitude can be interpreted as a step towards the full declaration of allegiance to Amo.

Sasu, the Adehyehene did a lot of the talking. He is a very close friend of Amo, and should be considered Amo's spokesman. On Sunday morning it was the Adehyehene who finally fixed Osei's fine, which was accepted by everyone.

The close relationship between Amo and the Adehyehene stemmed from only one month before, when the Adehyehene was enstooled. It was mainly through the influence of Amo that he was called upon to become the new Adehyehene.

As we have seen the present chief was not from Amo's house, and Amo was very anxious to remove him and get some one from his own house to replace him. The new Adehyehene was the one who had to launch the attack.

Amo and Sasu used to take their evening meals together every day in Amo's house. Amo's two wives bring their meals and Sasu's wife brings hers and Sasu and Amo and Amo's sons and visitors eat together. Amo and Sasu also work together in a private Cocoa Buying Company, in which Nana Ofei also takes part.

When we asked Sasu how exactly the power was divided between him and Amo he gave the following answer: "Amo is the headmost elder of the whole family at Ayere and the other towns. So if there is any case in the family, it is referred to him. The Adehyehene represents the family at the chief's palace, whenever there is a case to be settled. Later on, I will tell the result to Amo".

This dichotomy of power between Abusua Panyin and Adehyehene here seems unique to Amo's family. One of the reasons is that Amo refuses to function in the chief's house, giving as his reason the fact that he is a Christian.

Sasu's kin-relationship with Amo is rather remote and neither of them could trace the exact relationship nor could any one else. The important thing, however, is that they belong to the same family and therefore share common interests against the family of Nana Ahenkora and the chief.

The chief: does not strictly belong to Amo's house and his relationship with Amo is very cool. So his attitude during the case was more neutral. His main point against Osei was that he was too different from the others. He was supporting traditional values against such disruptive forces as S.D.A. Further he was much concerned to achieve a quick solution to the case and expressed this by going out himself to collect the drinks which should mark the end of the matter.

The Krontihene: has no special relationship with Osei. Osei asked him to plead on his behalf because of his position in the town. The Krontihene is also Agona but again from a different house.

Amo's Mother: is a nasty old lady, and believed by many people to be a witch. Her relationship with Amo is very close. Amo could be called her favourite son. It was through her influence, people say, that Amo became the Abusua Payin.

Her hatred for Osei was as great as Amo's himself. She even went to the extent of trying to spoil the case again, when she heard that the case had been settled.

Amo eventually came out "on top" in this case. His power in the family and even in the whole town became obvious in the way he treated Osei. Secretly people grumbled that he was unreasonable and harsh, and even that he had himself killed Oforiwa. A young lady of Ahenkora's family spread the following rumour: About ten years ago Amo killed one of his nephews. He was taken to the police station, but he bribed the police and was released. Everyone knew this, but no one dared to speak of the matter. The same has happened now. Everyone knows that he has killed Oforiwa, but no one dares to say it. She further alleged that, after the quarrel, Amo had told Oforiwa, "If you die, you will not enter my house", to which Oforiwa allegedly had replied, "And, if you die, I will not enter your house either". Amo's prophesy had come true, since Oforiwa's body was brought to Saa's house and not to Amo's.

Another girl, who had been staying in Amo's house, claimed that Amo was a witch and moved around in the night with his underpart changed into that of a fish.

So there were many hidden allusions against Amo but openly no one dared challenge him. Only when Amo refused to pay the hospital fees etc. some stood up against him,

for example Nana Ofei, his personal friend, and the old man Nana Ahenkora.

It was observed on several occasions that Amo himself was crying during the case. We asked several people for an interpretation of his tears. Some said he was himself shocked by the death of his sister, others said that they were crocodile tears, that he simulated sadness to hide his responsibility for Oforiwa's death.

Later events showed that there was no question of a real reconciliation between Amo and Osei.

Nana Ofei: is probably, with Sasu, the closest friend of Amo. He often comes to Amo's house and they sit down together, talking about town politics and business. Amo recently married a daughter of Ofei's present wife and this certainly made their friendship stronger. As we have said, Ofei also had interest in Amo's Cocoa Buying Company.

Ofei is a soft hearted man, and often talks about peace and love in the family. He was a chief before, but resigned because he was afraid.

Let us now finally study Osei's reaction. Strictly speaking there was no case this time between Amo and Osei. The case was rather between Amo and his sister Oforiwa. Osei only acted on behalf of his wife. Osei liked to stress this point when we asked him about the case later on, and the reason why he stressed this so much is not difficult to find.

By doing so he took away any impression that he had been defeated by Amo.

Osei argued that the case between him and Amo had finished after the court had spoken. The fact that he never visited his brother-in-law was merely a question of shyness he remarked.

One Saturday evening he gave a proverb to support his action, "One should not frequent the house of one's in-laws". His wife, he said, and her daughter Afua Mercy, did however have a case with Amo, but that was not of his concern. It was only out of respect for his wife that he came to plead on her behalf.

Osei was right from the legal point of view, but it was clear that, in reality, his case with Amo had not finished yet. After the court case they had continued to be at loggerheads with each other, and Oforiwa's attitude had made it only worse. It was precisely because of this hostility, that the case was so humiliating for Osei. No one likes to beg his enemy. So Osei tried to deny that there was anything between him and Amo, while Amo tried to stress that there was something, in order to humiliate him the more.

When we read the report of the case carefully, we see that Osei in actual fact did not plead on his wife's behalf, but that he had to beg Amo to forgive him for what he had done to him.

b. Social Networks and Social Values:

This sudden change of affairs could come about as Amo and the elders could appeal to tradition and religious norms. But we will see another factor if we apply the rules of social network analysis.

As we have stated above, the attitude of Nana Amoa, Afua Mercy, and Akua Saa's relatives was not so much based upon norm change, but rather on their social networks, of which Adwoa Oforiwa was the focal point. Her death necessarily resulted in a collapse of all these social networks.

The collapse of these social networks, effected again the downfall of those new, weakly established, social norms. In other words, after Oforiwa had disappeared from the scene, people stopped supporting the idea that a woman should side with her husband against her brother.

A readjustment of their social network after Oforiwa's death, brought them necessarily closer to Amo, and therefore also closer to his norms and values. Amo became the centre of a wider and more stranded social network.

3. THIRD CRISIS SITUATION.

The second crisis situation was perhaps the most dramatic but the third was certainly more revealing.

a. Dramatis Personae.

Nine days had relapsed since Oforiwa's death, and people from afar had been informed about her death.

Relatives from Accra, the villages and other towns had come to attend the second funeral celebrations. The two most important ones were Yaw Oppong (B.V,8), full brother and only surviving sibling of Oforiwa, and Kofi Asante (B.VI,19), her first born from her first marriage.

Asante must be considered as one of the key figures in the events. He is not Osei's son, but he nevertheless addresses Osei sometimes as "my father", sometimes also as "Mr. Osei". It goes without saying that his ties with Osei are looser than Mercy's, and one can expect that he will be more drawn towards Amo's side, since these people are his relatives than to Osei's.

After Osei had informed the elders about the house he claimed to have bought, and Mercy had said the little she knew, Asante gave his version, which clashed entirely with Osei's story and brought the turning point in the case. Asante, however, never directly attacked Osei. This was only done by the elders and his wofa Oppong.

In order to measure change we have to know Asante's attitude towards his mother's action after the first conflict with Amo. It should be recalled that Asante is not staying at Ayere, and during his life time also stayed very little with his mother. It was his wofa Oppong who looked after him most of the time.

On the other hand his relationship with his mother must have been close, if it is true what he said about the help he gave his mother to buy the house.

When we asked Asante about his opinion after Oforiwa's first conflict with Amo, he told us, that he did not know anything about the case until he came to his mother's funeral. This is improbable which would mean that Asante did the same as the other relatives of Saa's house: he absconded. If, however, his statement is correct, we venture to say that it is not very likely that he would have taken serious action to change his mother's mind, if he had known about the conflict. After all he was not directly involved, since he was staying far off.

However, when we asked him this very question: What would you have done?, he gave a very plain and self-confident reply. "If I had been there, I would never have joined my mother and her husband in the case. The abusua is always there (Abusua wo ho berebiara), but marriage is not like that. Each partner can decide to leave any time. If my mother were to be divorced she would have to fall back on her family by all means. If I had been there, I would have asked some elders to intermeditate for them".

When we asked him what he would do, if he got entangled in such a situation, he said, "If I and my wife had a quarrel with her relatives, I would never support her and prolong the case..... If the abusua had not brought up the girl, you would not have married her. In such a case I would ask the abusuafo to settle everything.

Asante's formulation of the norms would certainly gain the approval of the elders, but we will have to take his statement for what it is worth. It was after all given after everything was over.

If it were possible to draw here a line under two years of social processes, and balance the changes against what had survived, the total sum would be clearly expressed in Asante's statement: zero. The old norms have survived the crises, and the abusua has preserved its unity, at the cost of marital bonds.

Or is this only outward appearance? Has the process caused some cracks in the firm structure of the traditional family? Should we consider this case study as a snapshot of only one of the many attacks the family system has to endure till it finally gives way?

Let us now throw some light on Mercy's role during the third crisis situation.

Oforiwa's death left a big gap in Mercy's social network, which was partly filled again when her brother Asante arrived.

But between her mother's death and the arrival of Asante there were two days during which the second crisis situation took place. During these first two days of sorrow and confusion Mercy was mainly drawn towards her father. Her dramatic plea with Amo should therefore not be considered as a full reconciliation with him, but as an act in which she followed her father, who had pleaded before her.

Asante's arrival brought however a change in her network of relationships, not immediately, but during the third crisis.

Initially, Asante and Osei were somehow close together, but during the "House Case" they moved away from each other, and Mercy was forced to choose between her father and her brother. There is no doubt that she chose for her brother against her father. Asante and Oppong had previously briefed her before what to say, and when she was asked to give her version, she laid the first foundation for her father's defeat. But she avoided however confronting her father directly, and it was clear that she was still inclined to her father.

We should further remember the incident with the possessed girl during the first funeral. She revealed that Mercy and Asante should stick together, and warned them that they would never prosper, if they disregarded this advice.

We have several indications that the girl's revelations were taken very seriously and contributed to the close relationship between Mercy and Asante.

Oppong was Osei's main opponent. He went to the extent of even denying Osei's last contribution towards the purchase of the house, much to Osei's annoyance. Oppong's conduct was marked by hatred towards Osei, and Osei once lost his temper accusing Oppong loudly of telling lies. It was only after Oppong had spoken that Osei started to speak and behave very negatively towards his wife's relatives and that things became worse for him. At that instance he warned that he was going to "sack" all his children and send them to their wofa, meaning either Oppong or Amo. He was quite clearly no longer in control of himself, because later interviews show that he had no intention whatsoever of giving up looking after his children.

We should also pay attention to Oppong's relationship with Asante, which was crucial in this crisis situation. This relationship was very close indeed. From his seventh year onwards Asante had been staying with his wofa Oppong a period, only interrupted by a few prolonged visits to his mother. Oppong looked after him, paid his school fees and helped him to become a driver. He paid 050.00 for him to get a licence and helped him to buy a car for 0600.00.

Asante finally settled at Sunyani where his wofa was then staying. Asante and Oppong thus came together from Sunyani and also left together. Just before the "House Case" started, Oppong and Asante were seen busily talking and gesticulating in Amo's bathroom, apparently preparing their case. This close relationship between Asante and Oppong greatly influenced Asante's testimony against Osei, and indirectly also Mercy's.

We do not know much about the relationship between Oppong and Amo. We have ample reason to believe that this relationship was very positive. Amo was certainly grateful to Oppong for his contribution in the case. The days after the case and before Oppong's departure, Oppong took his evening meals with Amo and Sasu in Amo's house, and paid frequent visits to Amo.

Before the case, their relationship was neither particularly close nor hostile. Their kinship relationship had lost some of its meaning because of the geographical distance which separated them, but, as the case showed, was still open to mobilization in a crisis situation. Their relationship, after they had together ostracized Osei had something of the Herod-Pilate type of friendship.

Osei became the stranger who had to be excluded.

Mercy who had been very close to him upto that time, deserted him, when he got into a new conflict with her relatives. She did not repeat her mother's mistake. She had learnt that cutting yourself off from the abusua meant cutting yourself off from life. So Osei was left alone, only with some of his personal friends and close relatives.

One might ask whether we are not interested in the actual truth about the house. It could be argued that the real course of events (that is, who actually bought the house) must have been an important factor determining the people's behaviour.

Our investigations have confirmed that Osei's contribution towards the purchase of the house must have been minimal. Osei was very confused and contradicted himself several times. Moreover, if his contribution had been so substantial, he would never have given up so easily, and would have brought forward the necessary documents to prove his point. His own friend, the primary school teacher, revealed to us that Osei was indeed very poor. He had been dismissed from the government's service two years ago for failing to follow up a new appointment and since then his wife had been the breadwinner for him and the children. Even the house they were staying in was not his own. So it can hardly be true, that Osei paid so much.

Amo said very little during the whole case, other people did the talking for him: Asante, Oppong, Sasu and the Chief himself. This could however not obscure the fact that the hostility between Amo and Osei was very much present throughout the case, and probably accounts for Osei's desperate attempts to save his honour as an "Opanyin", an "Honourable Man", before the withering eyes of Amo. The fact that Amo kept silent made Osei's defeat only more crushing.

According to custom Amo and Osei had been reconciled and they should not bear any grudge anymore, and, in fact, tradition provides many ways in which this reconciliation is effected and enforced. Amo and Osei had to join hands in organizing the funeral and pay frequent visits to one another for the customary morning greetings. It would be very difficult to go through all this and yet remain enemies.

It was because of this that someone assured us an hour before the "House Case" started, that Amo and Osei had really reconciled, and no ill feelings existed anymore between them. But nothing was less true. The presentation of the sheep and the schnapps on the Saturday proved that they were still avoiding one another, and the "House Case" further confirmed this.

Sasu, the Adenyehe, as we have seen, is a close friend of Amo. Amo had played an important part in his selection as a chief of the Royals, and used his enstoolment as a first move

towards the destoolment of the Ayere Chief.* Sasu should be considered as Amo's spokesman during the case. His contribution to the discussion had a very decisive character. His close relationship with Amo made him automatically an opponent of Osei.

Nana Sampong attended but did not contribute in any way to the discussions.

The Chief attended the meeting, not in his capacity as Chief of Ayere, but as an ordinary member of the family, and, as such, he ranked after Amo and Sasu. As a member of the Agona clan he was inclined to defend his family's rights against the stranger Osei, but he was certainly less hostile than many of the others. At that time relations between Amo and him were becoming strained and the destoolment attempt was casting its shadows ahead.

Mr. Appiah was the only one who chose Osei's side openly. After the case Osei ranked Appiah as his best friend and Appiah ranked Osei as his fourth best friend. The two had been friends from their youth. They were school mates and later on met at a town in Brong Ahafo where Appiah was a postmaster and Osei working with a cocoa buying company.

Osei's first wife was Appiah's "sister", and Appiah performed the customary rites on Osei's behalf, when

* See Chapter II, p 30.

he came to Ayere on a visit from Brong Ahafo. When he returned to Brong Ahafo, he brought the wife along for Osei, who was still there. Osei later divorced her.*

Oforiwa, Osei's last wife, was also Appiah's "sister" in the sense that she belonged to the same clan as Appiah: Agona, although they are in no way related to each other. Appiah belonged therefore to the same clan as mo, and they call one another "brother". This means that, when Appiah chose Osei's side, he chose against his own "family" in the broad sense. He told us that this was accepted by them.

Appiah's conduct is an indication that the effective social network in a rural environment is not necessarily kinship based, and that friendship bonds can play an important role.

The days following the "House Case" Appiah paid frequent visits to Osei, sometimes even thrice a day. He gave money to the twins or bought some palm wine for him and Osei to drink. When we asked him why he did so, he answered because Osei was standing alone. There is no doubt that the crisis situation had strengthened their relationship

b. Social Networks.

The set of relationships, so far mentioned, shows to what extent relationships act as intermediaries.

* See Osei's Marriage History, Appendix I.

Oppong is linked to Amo, Asante to Oppong, and Mercy to Asante. So, through Asante and Oppong, Mercy is linked to Amo, and this resulted in a - temporary - breaking up of her link with her father.

There are many graphic difficulties as to how to record social relationships. Figure 2 is not concerned with content and directedness of relationships. The intensity of a relationship is expressed in the relative distance between two persons. The shorter the distance, the intenser the relationship. The frequency is represented by the thickness of the line. A broken relationship is indicated by two short lines across the line representing the link.

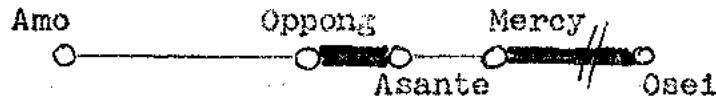


Figure 2: Crucial intermediary relationships during the third crisis situation.

Figure 2 suggests that Asante plays the central role in linking people together. If we take him as the focus of a social network, we get something like Figure 3.

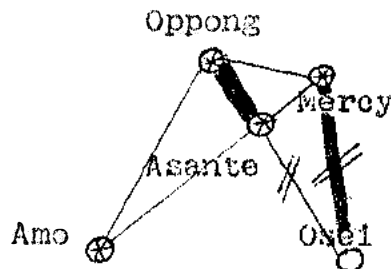


Figure 3: Asante's social network.

In figure 3 we have followed the same system as in Figure 2. It was, however, technically difficult to represent the intensity of the relationships between the other persons, whom Barnes terms "Secondary Stars". So only the frequency of their mutual contacts has been recorded.

This figure shows how Osei is cut off from the others. We have further marked the members of the Agona Clan with an asterisk, to demonstrate that Osei's isolation is according to kinship lines.

This representation of crucial relationships during the third crisis situation is however very defective. In the first place we are faced with graphic problems as to how to represent the interactional criteria of these relationships in an enlightening way. Another major problem which has hardly been dealt with by social network analysts, is the role of negative relationships.

According to Figure 3 there is no direct relationship between Amo and Osei nor between Oppong and Osei. This is however not correct. There is a strong and direct relationship between them, only this relationship is negative. It would be very misleading to treat these hostile relations as non-relations. As we have seen, the breaking up of the relationship between Mercy and Osei, and also between Asante and Osei, can only be

understood in the light of the hostile relationships which Oppong and Amo harbour against Osei.

D.M. Boswell has signalized the importance of negative relationships. He writes, "Hostile relationships are important.....they are intense relationships which are disruptive." (Boswell, 1969:295). But he has not made any attempt to draw the consequences from his statement by mapping out negative relationships as well in his social networks.*

The graphic possibilities of social networks are very limited as we have seen already, and charting negative relationships in addition will meet with more technical problems. One solution would be to draw separate social networks for positive and negative relationships. The intensity of the hostility or conflict could again be expressed by the distance between two stars: the shorter the distance, the intenser the conflict. We shall use dashed lines to indicate negative relationships.

* As we have said, negative relationships have been studied little, if at all, by anthropologists in their application of social network analysis, but, surprisingly, social psychologists have a fairly long tradition of studying the role of negative relationships in social processes. (cf. Heider, 1958; Cartwright and Harary, 1956). It is strange that so little exchange has taken place between two so closely connected disciplines as social psychology and social anthropology.

So the negative edition of Figure 3 would be something like this:

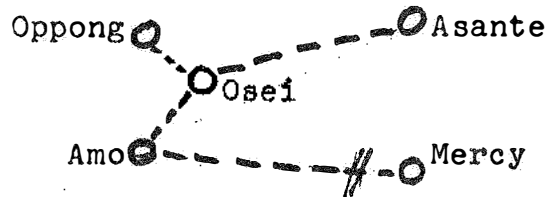


Figure 4: Negative relationships during the third crisis situation.

Figure 4 shows that in the order of negative relationships Osei has become the centre of the social network. Three people are connected to him through feelings of hostility. Most intense are the feelings of Amo and Oppong. Asante's negative feelings are more superficial and short-lived. They were only activated for the time of the "House Case". Mercy, as the figure shows, takes a more neutral position. There is no direct hostility between her and any of the others.

One could, however, also try to map out both positive and negative relationships in one graph or S-graph.* This has the advantage that the interplay of both positive and negative relationships can be demonstrated. A combination of the Figures 3 and 4 for example could show how Asante and Mercy broke off relationships with Osei under influence of the negative relationships between Amo and Oppong on the one hand and Osei on the other.

* The term "Signed Graph" or simply "S-graph" is generally used in social psychology for a graph which shows different types of relationships, for example positive and negative.

It would show Asante as the centre of positive relationships and Osei as the centre of negative relationships. It would be thus:

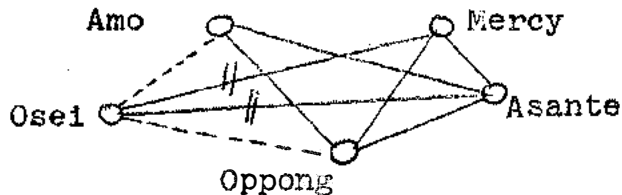


Figure 5: S-graph of positive and negative relationships during the third crisis situation.

In Figure 4 we termed Asante's relationship with Osei slightly hostile. In Figure 5, however, we marked it as a broken-up positive relationship. Here again we see how limited our graphs are. In actual fact, we must say Asante's relationship with Osei is very ambiguous, positive as well as negative. During the third crisis situation positive relationships were temporarily broken up and replaced by negative feelings. This process is too complex and subtle to be recorded in a clear, graphic way.

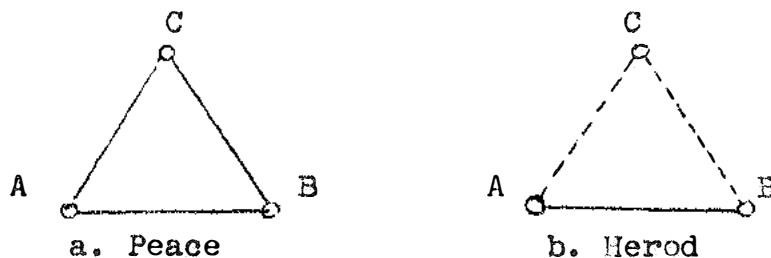
As a matter of fact most human relationships are ambiguous to some extent. Psychology has taught us about the Oedipus complex. Studies of witchcraft have shown that close relationships can be interwoven with feelings of hatred and fear.

Evans-Pritchard, finally, has made some obscure statements about the husband-wife relationship among the Nuer. He writes, "There is, what we would call, a latent hostility between husband and wife.....They say that when a man has begotten several children by his wife, he wants her to die...." (Evans-Pritchard, 1951:133).

Such observations should make one very careful with social network analysis, since it is bound to work with simplifications of a very complicated social reality. They should also be a warning that an arbitrary recording of relationships may result in a gross distortion of the reality.*

c. Positive and Negative Social Relationships.

Let us now look once again into the forces of positive and negative relationships and their effect upon the group structure. If we take three persons or groups A, B and C and map out all the possible relationships between them, we find four basic triads:



* Another oversimplification of our pictorial representations is the fact that we have assumed that all relationships are symmetric, which is not necessarily so.

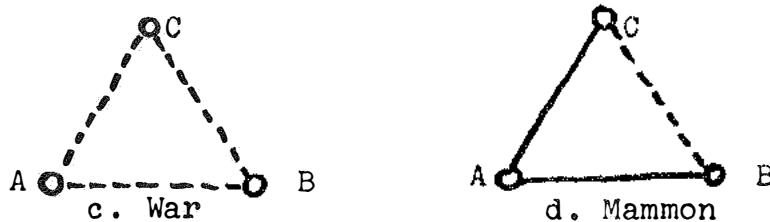


Figure 6: Basic Triads of positive and negative relationships.

- 6.a. A, B and C are on good terms with each other, no hostile feelings are present. The three relationships reinforce each other. Change in relationships is not likely without influence from outside. It is a stable and relatively static set of relationships. We shall call it: Peace Triad.
- 6.b. A likes B, but both dislike C. These relationships too are mutually reinforcing. A's love for B is reinforced by their having a common enemy C. From the point of view of C, C's hatred for A and B is reinforced by the fact that the two are friends.* This set is also relatively stable and will not easily shift without outside influences. We term it: Herod Triad ("On that day Herod and Pilate became friends").
- 6.c. Everyone dislikes everyone. It is not likely that this situation is going to last. A may start to harbour some positive feelings towards B, when he finds out that he and B hate the same person C. So this set is relatively unstable and dynamic, and is liable to change into the one of 6.b. We shall call it: War Triad.
- 6.d. A likes both B and C, but B and C are enemies. This situation does not look very stable either. ("You cannot serve God and Mammon,you will either hate the one and love the other, or you will be devoted to the one and despite the other"). So this set is also likely to change into that of the Herod Triad, if B is able to convince A to leave C. Another possibility is that A will mediate between his two friends B and C and settle their conflicts. In that case the set will change into the Peace triad. We will call figure 6.d: Mammon Triad.

* cf. Homans, 1951:251.

These four basic triads may help us to understand and predict processes in smaller groups. We have seen that two of the triads (Peace and Herod) are more stable than the other two. We do not want to relapse into the old Equilibrium Theory by saying that the two first triads are natural equilibria and the two other ones are naturally unbalanced and are bound to return to the state of the first two. On the other hand it would be a gross mistake to deny that certain situations are less likely to change than others. We therefore call them relatively static and relatively dynamic.

There is one more important difference with the old Equilibrium Theory. The four triads show that conflict, as such, cannot be associated with instability, as was believed in the old theory. It is rather the constellation of positive and conflict-prone relationships that makes a situation either stable or unstable. The Herod triad, for example, shows that conflicts can stabilize a social situation. We can even go further and argue that a positive relationship can destabilize a social situation. In the Mammon triad the positive relationship between A and C causes the whole set of relationships, to become unstable until the positive relationship has changed into a negative one and the situation becomes more stable. In other words, increase of social conflicts can result in increase of social stability.

Let us now examine how useful these theories are and apply them to the social relationships during the third crisis situation. We can distinguish seven triads in Figure 5. Three of them are of the Peace type, three of the Mammon type and one of the Herod type.

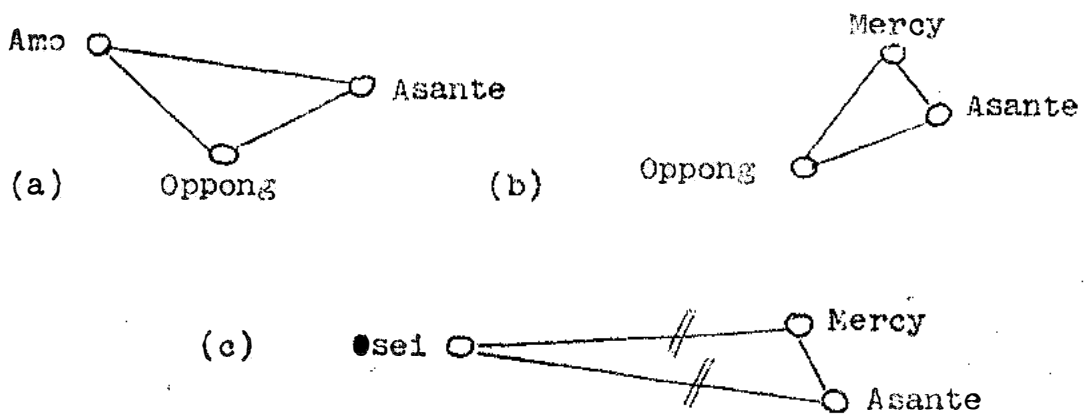


Figure 7. Peace type triads during the third crisis situation.

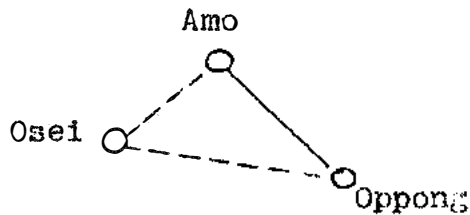


Figure 8: Herod type triad during the third crisis situation.

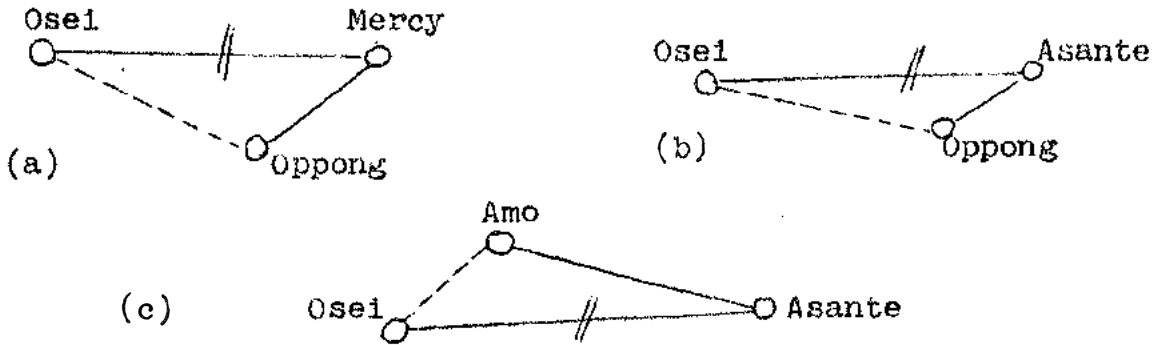


Figure 9: Mammon type triads during the third crisis situation.

The instability of the Mammon type is clearly demonstrated if we look back at Figure 9: In all three triads the positive relationship with Osei was broken off. In two of them (Figure 9.b and 9.c) the triad changed into the Herod type, when hostile feelings started to dominate Asante's relationship with Osei. In one of them (Figure 9.a) the breaking up of the relationship resulted in an ambiguous vacuum, when Mercy's relation with her father was temporarily adjourned, without making place for negative feelings.

The Herod type of triad remained stable throughout the crisis situation and should be considered as one of the strongest and most basic triads in the entire social network, giving shape to the other relationships. (See Figure 8).

The Peace type finally proved stable in two cases (Figure 7.a and 7b). The third one (Figure 7.c) was broken up under influence of an external factor: the Herod triad of Osei-Amo-Oppong, and Asante and Mercy's involvement in it.

The theories of the social psychologists Heider (1958) and Cartwright and Harary (1956) are very useful for a further exploration of the set of relations before, during and after the third crisis situation and the pattern of changes in these relations at different junctures of time.

First, however, we have to introduce some concepts, which, to our knowledge, have not yet been adopted by anthropologists working with social network analysis.

Cartwright and Harary, who base themselves upon earlier studies of Heider, call a line or number of lines connecting two points a Path. They call a closed circuit of lines, in other words, a number of lines that return to their starting point a Cycle. They call a cycle positive and balanced if it contains an even number of negative lines. (NB. They consider zero also an even number). They call a cycle negative and unbalanced if it is otherwise. (1956:284).

In their terminology, therefore, the Peace and Herod triad are positive and therefore balanced, but the Mammon and War triads are negative and unbalanced.

Their graphic theories are also applicable to S-graphs which are more complex than triads. However complex an S-graph is and however many points it has, we can say that "It is balanced if, and only if each of its cycles is positive." Looking back at Figure 5 we can easily detect, with the help of this theory, that the S-graph represented there was not balanced, because not all its cycles were positive. Not less than four cycles were negative the three triads of Figure 9 and the cycle Osei-Mercy-Asante-Oppong-Osei. (See Figure 5). The composition of the set of relationships was therefore bound to change and the change was most likely to take place in those four mentioned cycles, as actually did happen.

Another theorem, produced by the same authors to find out whether an S-graph is balanced or not is the following: "An S-graph is balanced if its points can be separated into two mutually exclusive subsets, such that each positive line joins two points of the same subset." (1956:286). In other words the composition of the set of relations is balanced if the set consists of different cliques which have negative relations with anyone outside their clique and positive relations with anyone inside their clique. As soon as this is not true anymore, it is clear that a factor of instability is present.

A positive relationship with an "enemy" from the ^{either} ~~same~~ clique, or a negative relationship with a "friend" from the same clique are likely to disturb the picture.

This theory can also be used for the S-graph of Figure 5, where one clique consists of Amo, Oppong, Asante and Mercy, and the other "clique" of Osei alone. The positive relations of Asante and Mercy with Osei were disturbing the balance and were bound to shift. That this shift resulted in a break with Osei and not in a break with Amo and Oppong can only be explained through an analysis of the social situation as we have tried in this chapter.

When we anticipate our argument and look at Figure 10, we see, that after Oppong and Asante had disappeared from the scene, Mercy missed the people who linked her to that particular clique, and renewed her relation with her father. This resulted in two new cliques: Osei and Mercy on one hand and Amo on the other hand.

The theories of Heider, Cartwright and Harary demonstrate how a change in norms and values can be the result of a structure of social relations, much more than of new ideas.

4. THE AFTERMATH.

a. The Events.

A few days after the second funeral Asante and Oppong left again for Sunyani.

Osei continued to stay with Mercy and the other children in his house. Every morning Boahemaa paid a visit to the children, but Osei was not very pleased with her visits. He was not prepared to leave the responsibility for the children to Boahemaa. This contradicts with his threat during the third crisis situation, that his children should pay frequent visits to their mother's relatives. This was clearly an expression of anger. Osei did all he could to maintain his authority over the children and to avoid the interference of others. He stressed the point that Mercy was old enough to take care of the children. If Boahemaa was a little more sensible, he argued, she would ask Mercy to take over from her. He continued, "How can Boahemaa be the inheritor? Can she leave her husband and stay here? Can she sell things as my wife was doing? No, she cannot. Look at Mercy, yesterday she started to take up her mother's business, she went to the market in one of the villages and made more than ₵10.00".

When one of the twins was sick and Boahemaa sent a cedi to take the child to the clinic, Osei sent the money back to her and gave Mercy a cedi to take the girl to the clinic.

Immediately after the funeral we often saw Osei's children in Boahemaa's house, and also some of the children of Boahemaa's compound in Osei's house.

Later on, however, this practice decreased.

Visits of Oforiwa's relatives to Osei's house have become rare. Amo never stepped again into Osei's house, nor did Osei into Amo's. Mercy was seen in Amo's house only twice, but returned there again when her brother Asante paid another visit to Ayere, two and a half months later.

b. Social Relationships.

Let us now look again at these events with the help of Social Network Analysis. We stressed that during the third crisis situation Oppong and Asante were two important links in the structure of social networks. (Figure 2). Through Oppong particularly, Asante and Mercy were linked to Amo.

The departure of Oppong and Asante had as profound an effect on Mercy's social network as the death of Oforiwa. Relations which had been forced upon her through the influence of Asante and Oppong and other relations which had been broken under the same influence, were restructured when these two left. Mercy's (indirect) link with Amo was broken and she renewed contact with her father Osei. Osei and Amo maintained their cold-war relation. So Mercy could only afford to have a close relationship with her father if she shunned Amo. Otherwise a Mammon triad would have existed which, as we have seen, is not likely to survive.

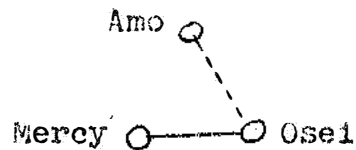


Figure 10: Social relationships after departure of Asante and Oppong.*

When Asante came back to Ayere, however, Mercy was again seen in Amo's house. So, through Asante, she was again linked to Amo, but as soon as Asante had gone, she did not come to Amo's house anymore.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS.

a. The Nature of Crisis Situations.

This change in relationships has taught us something, which we find hard to put in words. If we make a distinction between crisis situations and ordinary situations, we notice that in a crisis situation people do not necessarily show their "real faces" as we supposed before, but are expected to choose according to a certain pattern. This pattern, as we have seen, is kinship-based.

There is not much opposition to a close non-kinship-based relationship, as long as the person is prepared to choose according to kinship in times of crisis. There was not much resistance to Oforiwa's close marital bond with Osei until the first crisis situation cropped up, and Oforiwa refused to choose according to lines of kinship.

* In the terminology of Cartwright and Harary the S-graph in Figure 10 is "vacuously balanced", meaning that it contains no cycle; Mercy is not linked with Amo.

In the second and third crisis situation Mercy had to choose according to kinship, but once the crisis was over, there was no one to prevent her from going back to her father.

One could therefore question whether, after all, a crisis situation reveals to us the true relationship. It seems that crisis situations are tied up with conventions, perhaps even more than ordinary life, and are liable to show us a less spontaneous and less true picture of human relationship.*

Daily life gives more leeway to social change. Crisis situations are inclined to restrict change and make people return to traditional patterns of relations and norms. They rather function as factors of social control. Once in a while, however, a crisis situation may become an instrument of social change, if the persons involved refuse to act according to the conventions. On such an occasion social change, which has hitherto remained under the surface, raises its head, and asks for official recognition. This may result in actual recognition or in conflicts, the outcome of which can vary in many ways. Such a thing happened at the first crisis situation.

In this chapter, we have seen how a new norm was partly accepted during the first crisis situation, but was finally rejected in the second and third crisis.

* Much may also depend upon the type of crisis. Death, example, will perhaps marshal a more conventional and kinship-based social network than financial difficulties.

Nevertheless the process of change will continue outside these crisis situations in every-day life. In spite of the second and third crisis, Oforiwa's children will remain closer to their father than to their mother's relatives.

We suggest that further study should be devoted to this difference between the nature of crisis situations and everyday life, and their implication on social relations.

In the foregoing, we suggested that one relationship would be more "true" than another, but this may not be entirely correct. Every relationship is "true" in its own right. Southall distinguishes structural, categorical and egocentric relationships. The first group refers to kin, the second to class, race or any other form of social category, and the last to relationships which are based upon personal experience and emotion.

Relationships which are recruited in time of crisis, tend to be structural in the first place. When there are no kin around categorical relationships may be called upon.* It is very unlikely that in a crisis situation both kin and members of the same ethnic group will be disregarded and a person will rely upon his personal friends only, unless there is a special reason such as a previous conflict.

* Gluckman has argued that tribalism may take the place of Kinship in an urban situation.

It has been argued by some anthropologists that social networks in rural situations tend to be kinship-based.** It means that categorical relationships are absent and egocentric relationships coincide with structural relationships. Looking at the matter from a different angle one could also say that "crisis-relationships" and "everyday-relationships" overlap. In such a situation social change is not likely to take place.

Where "crisis-relationships" however differ from "everyday-relationships", the first foundation stones have been laid for internal conflicts and feelings of incompatibility of social roles, which are apt to bring about social change.

Oforiwa's case has shown that in Amo's family "everyday-relationships" and "crisis-relationships" can differ considerably, and that this resulted in confusion, tension, and mutual attacks. They indicate that Amo's family is going through a process of change.

b. Conflicts between young and old.

At four points during the course of events conflicts or misunderstandings arose between the younger and older generation. Although inter-generational conflicts are not our immediate concern, it is clear that they have some influence on marriage and family life.

** See for example Boswell, 1969:253-4.

The instances occurred during the planning of the second funeral, the wake-keeping, the second funeral itself and the House Case.

Young people at Ayere generally complain that the old do not understand them, and try to force their will upon them. When students formed a union some time ago, the Chief became suspicious that they wanted to destool him, etc.

The four instances show that the old people indeed do go their own way without considering the young. This results in the apathic attitude of the youth, who then also start to go their own way.

There is no doubt that power at Ayere lies with the old and the traditionalists. The institution of Wirempehene or Asafohene who traditionally represent the youth in the chief's court, no longer functions as such.*

c. The "Functions" of social conflicts.

We have studied the sequel of events with particular regard to the way in which they effect changes in social norms and relationships.

* In our chapter on witchcraft we will come back to the generational conflict. We shall see that a remarkably high percentage of witchcraft accusations are launched by the young against the old and we will relate this to the fact that the young are robbed of any political or social power and are forced to keep quiet in the court.

A psychologist would look at the conflicts from a different point of view, and come up with different facets; for example, he would perhaps describe the conflicts as a mass release of aggression.

It is indeed true that there is a high degree of tension and aggressive feeling in Amo's family. This will be further explained in the next chapters on marriage, inheritance and witchcraft. Conflicts such as those described above may become a welcome opportunity for some members to air their grudges and aggression against others or to settle old vendettas which have nothing to do with the affair at stake. Official reasons may function as a cloak for deeper, much less intelligible reasons.

The three conflict situations have shown that social conflicts are both unifying and disruptive.

The first conflict was unifying in the sense that it bound together Osei's conjugal family and, to some extent, also Saa's side as a separate section of the family. It was disruptive, because it brought division in Amo's family and undermined the authority and respect of the abusua panyin.

The second conflict was unifying because it was the first step towards reunion in Amo's family. It was disruptive insofar as it brought confusion to Osei's conjugal family and made Osei and Mercy choose against their wife and mother respectively.

The third conflict was unifying because it ^{made} Amo's family one against the stranger Osei, in spite of so many internal points of disagreement.

It was disruptive, because it tore apart Osoi and his children, who had been a model of unity before.

d. Conclusions.

The trouble we took to examine the three conflicts more closely, has not been very rewarding in a sense. We did not find a model of change, we did not select any variables to be checked upon a wider scale. We found few "regularities" and little "structure" in the processes we studied. Rather we were struck by the many irregularities and contradictions and have done not much more than trying to understand the irregularities.

Van Velsen has pointed out that structural studies overemphasize the consistency and overlook contradictions (Van Velsen, 1967:129-36), but, as he shows in his article, contradictions are an essential part of the social reality and cannot be neglected without distorting that reality.

We only hope that we did not do the opposite and overlooked the irregularities. This study should be put in the framework of more structural studies about the Akan of Busia, Fortes and others and of more structural studies about family organization, witchcraft and other issues which will be dealt with in this study on the small scale level of one lineage.

In this chapter we abandoned the synchronic analysis of structural principles and were mainly concerned with a diachronic analysis, restricting ourselves to specific actors in specific situations.

It would have been ideal to combine the two approaches as set out by van Velsen in his Situational Analysis and as has been attempted quite successfully by Long (1968).

The set-up of this study is however less ambitious, and we have contented ourselves with studying the social processes in one particular family over a period of 5 generations. In the following chapters our approach will become slightly more structural, using the entire family of 150 people as the basis of our explorations, thus moving from a situational level to a more general level, where quantitative data gain importance. In this way we hope - to quote van Velsen - to find some regularity in the irregularities. In this chapter we found some regularity through social network analysis.

1. There is a close relationship between social networks and social norms and values. Norm change often follows change in human relations. On the other hand, social norms and values may also determine one's social relations.
2. A positive relationship tends to have an element of social identification. Norms and values may be exchanged between people who are linked in a positive relationship.
3. Negative relationships are as important as positive ones; the opposite of identification will take place: volitional alienation. Two people with such a negative relationship will try to be different. Social norms and values may be changed under influence of negative relationships.

4. Family relationships can be very ambivalent; cordial in one situation and strained in another. This makes the use of social networks very precarious and liable to misrepresentation.
 5. It is doubtful whether recruitment of social networks in a crisis situation reveals the "true relationships". We probably have to distinguish between "crisis-relationships" and "everyday-relationships", both of which are legitimate. In a relatively stable society these two types may overlap to a great extent. Where they do not, there is ample reason to believe that the people concerned are involved in a process of change.
 6. In this chapter we have been concerned with one norm mainly: blood ties should prevail over marriage ties. This norm is still very strong in Amo's family.
 7. There are slight indications that younger age and higher education will make people more critical towards this and other traditional norms. Much stronger is, however, the influence of one's social network as we have already pointed out in the first three conclusions.
 8. Social norms and social relationships are, however, not infrequently modified, in order to serve the personal interests of the actor, irrespective of established norms and relationships.
 9. In the conflicts between traditionalists and "modernists", between old and young, the first group usually gets the upper hand, since power is in their hands. Traditional beliefs, even if not officially devoted to, are readily taken by the elders to back certain values or defend their own position.
- e. Link with following chapters.

We have purposely been rather generous in our description of the crisis situations and the related events. The reader must have noted that there is still much material we have not even touched upon.

There are more factors involved than can be handled in one intelligible study. The areas of the conflicts are also probably too many and too varied to be dealt with by one discipline anyway.

However complex the conflicts examined in this chapter, there is no doubt that conflict was more prevalent in some areas than in others.

First and foremost there are the conflicts which arose in and around the conjugal domain: between a man and his in-laws, between a man and his wife, between the wife and her own relatives or between any set of persons who have a place in that domain.

Secondly there is the domain of inheritance. Here again conflicts and tensions may emerge between a man and his in-laws, as this chapter has shown. But more frequently inheritance cases will trigger off conflicts, suspicions and accusations between consanguine relatives, or between consanguine relatives on the one side and paternal relatives on the other.

Thirdly there is a vast and more mystical domain, characterized by tensions and malicious accusations which, apparently have little or no basis in social reality. It is the domain of witchcraft accusations. We came across some of them in connection with the crisis situations in this chapter.

Here we will be mainly concerned with tensions between very close relatives.

These are three topics we have lifted out of the wild array of conflicts around Osei and Amo, and which we hope to examine more systematically in the next three chapters.

We are aware that there are many more aspects which could be selected for further analysis, for example, economic activities, or religion and church adherence. These two have probably a profound influence upon family cohesion and disruption, and upon the conflicts between Osei and Amo in particular. The scope of this study forces us, however, to restrict ourselves to the three mentioned areas.

In chapter IV we will first throw some light upon marriage and marriage stability in Amo's family and their effect upon cohesion.

CHAPTER IV: MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

It is no longer possible to speak of the Kwahu marriage system. An occasional glance through our Marriage Histories (see Appendix of this chapter) demonstrates that there is a wide variety of types of marriages and sexual unions, not only within one society or sub-division of one society, but also within one family and even within one personal life history. Kisiwa (A.IV,5) for example, knew three partners in her life. The first one she was betrothed to as a child of 4 years old, the second one she had a child from, although she never married him officially, and the third one she chose herself and married according to the customs.*

Structural^{ist} studies of a few decades ago suggest that at that time there was some degree of uniformity among the social institutions of the societies concerned. It is a fascinating question whether this was really the case; it probably was not. Kisiwa, to return to this example, talks about a time when anthropologists had hardly started with serious field-work. Malinowski was probably just visiting the Tobrianders when Kisiwa met her first partner, and Rattray was then striking up acquaintance with the Asante.

* Most marriage cases in this chapter are derived from the appendix of this chapter and can be studied there in the context of the person's total marital history.

It is likely that at that time already the social reality was less regular than one believed, or was made to believe by informants, who revealed the ideal rather than the real behaviour.

In this chapter we shall look at a few aspects of marital behaviour in Amo's family over a period of 80 years, and examine the occurrence of change.

A. PARTNER CHOICE.

Old people stress the fact that there has never been anything compulsory about the choice of a partner in Kwahu. An old man told us, "If my wofa gave me a girl to marry, I could as well reject her. The girl could also refuse to marry the man who was given to her by her relatives."

This would mean that the different ways of mate selection which occur in our field material, and which appear to vary from imposition to absolute freedom, are not so different as they appear, and that all share a certain degree of freedom. In the cases of infant betrothal and widow inheritance the partners could always refuse. Our marital gives evidence of this. Kisiwa refused the man she had been betrothed to as a child and Konadu (A.IV,4) rejected the heir of her fourth husband as a marriage candidate.

As a matter of fact, the refusal to enter into widow inheritance is more common than the opposite. It has become so common that people do not mention it anymore.**

On the other hand, we should not underestimate the degree of pressure which could be brought to bear upon a person to marry a certain partner. Not everybody has the courage to stand up against a decision of the elders and to reject an allotted partner. Akua Saa (B.IV,4) admitted openly that she did not like the person she had been given to as a child. "I actually did not like him for marriage. He was, as it were, forced upon me. I had to accept him, because he was given to me by my father."

1. Cross-cousin Marriage.

The same applies to what is commonly called "Ofie Awawee" (House Marriage), which refers to marriage with related persons such as classificatory cross-cousins and "grandfathers' Children", (for example MMBC). This type of marriage used to be, and perhaps still is, a preferential marriage. Some experience it as compulsion and some do not. Nketiaa (B.V,5) said, that her third husband was imposed upon her and that she left him for that reason. Others, such as Dei (A.V,8), Manu (A.VI,11) and Osei went to the extent of even asking relatives to select a partner for them.

** For a further discussion on widow inheritance, see Chapter V.

Most people, however, are between these two extremes and seem willing to accept the proposals of their fathers or wofa concerning their marriage partners. Sometimes also people select themselves a partner from the circle of their relatives. (e.g. Manu: his first partner Adwoa Ntiriwa; Ntiri (B.VI,28): his second partner: and Antwi (B.VI,1): his first wife).

It should be noted in passing that marriage of full cross-cousins is rare in Amo's family. By /cross- /full cousin we understand a cousin of the first order (MBC or FZC). Out of 115 customary marriages we recorded in Konadu's section, 19 (17%) were some kind of "Ofie Awadee".* In most cases the informant spoke in rather vague terms about his/her partner: "Oye me wofaba." (He/she is the child of my wofa) or "Oye me papa wofase" (he/she is my father's wofase). The terms "wofa" and "wofase" were used in their most general meaning of: some remote clan member of a higher or lower generation respectively. These were often people with whom funeral debts were not shared, and no genealogical links were traceable, not even a common town of origin. All they had in common was clan membership.

Of these 19 cases of "Ofie Awadee" only one case was a full cross-cousin marriage, namely that of Nkrabea (A.V,9) with the daughter of Asirifi (A.IV,6).

* If we include both customary marriages and free marriages ("mpena awadee"), we come to an incidence of 20 out of 132 unions, which is 15%.

All the other 18 cases were altogether outside Amo's family. One instance more of full cross-cousin marriage was found in Saa's section out of a total of 37 recorded customary marriages. It took place between Biriwa (B.VI,7) and the son of Nyame (B.V,1). So, altogether we found only two instances of full cross-cousin marriage out of a total of 150 customary marriages (1.3%).* They are spread over 5 generations and a period of about 80 years. One is a case of patrilateral and the other of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage.

It took us some time before we realized that all those cases which presented themselves as cross-cousin marriage, were in fact marriages between children of very remote, untraceable, clan members. Only after we had acquired a thorough knowledge of the composition of the lineage, were we able to make this discovery.

Since this is only a case study, we have no proof or indication that our findings have a more general applicability. It is however not unlikely, that early students of the Asante social system mistook for full cross-cousin marriage, what was in fact marriage between remote clan members, since they may not always have had the opportunity to check the propinquity of the alleged

* One could say that there are three instances of cross-cousin marriage, since Biriwa divorced her cross-cousin husband, married someone else, divorced a second time and married again the same cross-cousin.

cross-cousins.**

It would lead us too far from our main theme to engage in a discussion of cross-cousin marriage. We only want to remark that, if in an overwhelming majority of cases the cousin is in fact a very remote clan member's child, certain argumentations about the function and rationale of cross-cousin marriage do not hold true any longer.

Rattray explains that the preference for cross-cousin marriage is based upon property and wealth, because a man's daughter and her children derive some benefit from the property he is obliged to leave to his sister's son, (Rattray, 1927: Chapter 29). This can only be true, if the parents of the partners are full siblings or at least first parallel cousins.*** Besides, such an explanation only applies to a marriage between FZS and MED, and not to that between MBS and FZD.

** Fortes, for example, found in Asante that approximately 8% of 525 women were married to cross-cousins (1950:282). When we asked him, whether these were cases of cross-cousins / full he replied, "...My field assistants did not always make it clear as to what degree of cousinship was implied... My figures refer to ...classificatory, not first order cousins. I should not be surprised to be told that marriages between the children of a full brother and sister are of the order of 1% in incidence, ... Peppey Roberts working in Swiwi (another Akan area) has found that in one village among 69 marriages there was only one between children of a full brother and sister." (Private correspondence, 1972).

*** Inheritance rules and practices are discussed in the next chapter. We will see that the reality is much more complex, than has been suggested here.

Other arguments remain valid to some extent, one being that "Cross-cousin marriage offers a possibility of reconciling the conflicting influences of conjugal, parental and matrilineal kinship ties." (Fortes, 1950:282).

In our research, the concern about a fitting family to marry from, presented itself as the most important motive for "Ofie Awapee". An old man explained to us, "Fathers could object to their sons or daughters marrying from a certain family, if there were serious diseases or bad characters in that family." This point was so important, as marriage was regarded as a bond between families as well as between individuals. By giving his son or daughter to a member from his own family, the father had solved this problem, he could be sure that his child had married from a good family. This explanation also accounts for the fact that among the Akan no strong preference seems to exist for either patrilateral or matrilateral cross-cousin marriage.

Let us now return to the main theme of our argument. We were suggesting that uniformity in mate selection is hard to find. This was already the case in the previous generations where marriage initiatives could be taken by the father, wafa, other relatives or by the couple themselves. This variability has still increased in the present time, since new types of unions have emerged, based upon different kinds of mate selection.

Marriage is gradually becoming a concern of the individual and the community is losing its grip on the partners. Migration has shifted the population composition of Ayere and brought to Ayere Kwahu from other towns, other Akan and non-Akan, all of whom may become marriage partners for the natives of the town. Marital rules are taken less seriously, and marriage itself is subject to the processes of change.

TABLE 6: Partner* Choice and Age in Konadu's Section of Amo's family. (Percentages in brackets).

	younger than 35	from 35 to 60	61 and older	Totals
Partner is Akan but not Kwahu	6 (43)	2 (8)	6 (7)	14 (11)
Partner is not Akan	0	4 (17)	2 (2)	6 (4)
Partner belongs to the same clan	1 (7)	2 (8)	5 (6)	8 (6)
Total of unions	14 (100)	24 (100)	94 (100)	132 (100)

* In this Table customary marriages and free marriages are taken together.

2. Origin of partner

Table 6 demonstrates a sharp rise in marriages with Akan who are not Kwahu among the younger age group. All these except one first met their partners at Ayere.

None of the younger age group has ever married a non-Akan, but surprisingly enough, not less than 17% of the unions in the middle group and 2% in the older group are with non-Akan. All these unions occurred in the 5th generation.

The explanation of this remarkable phenomenon is an interesting one. Non-Akan, for example Ewe, but especially Northerners, are somehow considered inferior by the inhabitants of Ayere and, one might say, by most Akan in general. No young man or woman thinks therefore of marrying a partner from that out-group. However, when a woman has brought forth several children and has divorced once or twice, and thus her marriage bargaining position has gone down on the marriage market, she may capitulate and accept a partner from the group mentioned.

The partner himself may consider this marriage a rise in his social status at Ayere.

Out of the total of 6 cases 4 refer to such late unions of women (three of Kumaa (A.V,6) and one of Aframea (A.V,4). The two other cases refer to first marriages of men. Nkrabea's (A.V,9) first wife was a Gonja, but an adopted slave, so she does not really fall into the category of non-Akan. The second case refers to the first and only wife of Ankonam (A.V,10). She is a Krobo, and it seems that Krobos are likely to be less regarded as inferior. However, Ankonam has broken with his family after a few quarrels and is now staying in the Krobo area. "He is lost" (Wayera), Amo remarked meaningfully.

3. Clan Exogamy.

Partners belonging to the same clan score quite a high percentage in all three age groups (Table 6).

This phenomenon is one of the most noteworthy we came across during our research. Few norms have been repeated so often as the rule of clan exogamy. An old man, who is considered as an expert in tradition at Ayere, emphasized, "No people of the same clan were allowed to marry. If they had, by any mistake, they were separated, no matter how many children they had. I remember that my wofase had married a woman in Asante, not knowing that she belonged to his clan. As soon as his brother discovered it, he came all the way from Asante to inform me, and I saw to it that the marriage ended immediately. They had five children, but I did not care."

Similar statements were made by many members of Amo's family, even by those who themselves married within the clan. Konadu, for example, whose own fourth partner was Agona, suggested that it was unthinkable that someone in her family would ever marry a clan member. When we asked her about the clan of her fourth husband she answered that he was Bretuo.

In another interview, about her mother Kyenku (A.III,1), she revealed that Kyenku's first husband, who was a chief at Atible, belonged to the same clan as she, after she had first mentioned another clan.*

* She first said: Adome. According to Rattray, Adome is a twin-clan (moiety) of the Agona clan. There was a time that people of one moiety were allowed to marry into the other one, but this practice has been abolished since long. (Rattray, 1929:67).

When we asked her how they could marry, she only replied, "Aaah", meaning: what can I say. Later on she explained that, as a chief, he could do what he wanted and force the rules to his will.* It should be recalled that this marriage took place around 1865!

Kumaa (A.V,6) also stressed that intra-clan marriage was not tolerated in her family, and that, because of that, her second marriage was dissolved. Other people who stressed the rule of clan exogamy, although they had married within the clan themselves are Nkrabea, Boahemaa (A.V,11) and Amo who is moreover the abusua Panyin and upholder of the tradition.

From our data it has become clear that no agreement exists on the rule of clan exogamy. Some stress that the rule applies to any member of the same clan, irrespective of subdivisions or town of origin. Others argue that the rule does not apply when the partner comes from a different "house" or a different town (Boahemaa, Bempon (B.VI,2), Gyanewa (B.VI,6), Obo (B.VI,30)). Boahemaa commented, "My partner's clan was from Bepong", and Obo explained, "We do not share debts" (Yenkya ka ntua), which refers to funeral debts. Funeral debts are however only shared within the lineage, so her statement is tantamount to: my partner was not from the same lineage.

*This is certainly not true. Such a marriage can rather become a ground for destoolment. Osei Kwame is alleged to have married a woman of his clan (it was in fact his twin-clan) and to have been destooled in consequence. (Rattray, 1929:67).

It looks as if the norm of clan exogamy is handled in such a way, that it serves the means of the people concerned. When divorce is pursued, the norm is enforced (Kumaa and Boahemaa), and when marriage is sought, it is suggested that the norm does not apply (Boahemaa, Bempon, Gyanewa, Obo).

How arbitrarily the rule is enforced or not enforced, is illustrated by Boahemaa's case. When marriage was pursued, she had two excuses to justify her marriage with a clan member: firstly that she did not know about it, which is most likely untrue, and secondly that the man's clan originated from somewhere else. It should further be noted that the first excuse nullifies the second. When she later desired a divorce, she did not hesitate to produce the very same argument as a reason for divorce: "I divorced him, because we belonged to the same clan."

We finally want to remark that 6 of the 8 cases in our sample are marriages with partners of the same town. So it cannot be true that people did not know about the clan of the partner. Seven of the eight cases are customary marriages for which the elders of both families were forced to meet each other.

B. TYPE OF UNION.

Speaking about "Marriage" we are faced with many terminological problems: How do we define "Marriage"?

Should it include, what is usually called "Mpena Awadee", and is sometimes, very clumsily, translated as "Concubinage"? Although no marriage payments have been made, Mpena Awadee does monopolize sexual relationships, it entails domestic and economic services, it seems to establish a legal father and mother, and receives considerable social recognition.

Should the term "Marriage" also include more short-lived lover relationships, particularly those which occur between young people? Even those relationships enjoy more recognition than one would expect. Not infrequently parents or other relatives know about it and tolerate it, as long as no school girl is involved, who may become the source of big financial troubles, as we can see in the case histories of Amoa (B.VI,36) and Ntiri (B.VI,28). A young man likes to speak about his girl-friend and introduce her as "Me yere" (my wife), and vice versa, the girl likes to refer to her boy-friend as "Me Kunu" (my husband). Joking and straightforwardness are closely linked up in this kind of parlance.

From this type of union it is only a small step to the different gradations of free love and some forms of prostitution which exist in abundance in Amo's family. Where, in this kaleidoscope of unions, should we draw the demarcation line between "Marriage" and "Non-Marriage"?

Southall and Gutkind, who carried out research in two suburbs of Kampala, concluded, "Perhaps the most outstanding features of marriage are the varying types of sexual unions and the problems of choice of mates." (1961:169). They suggested the following categorization for this variety of unions:

- A. Temporary Sexual Unions.
 - 1. Prostitution.
 - 2. Lover Relationship.
 - 3. Free Marriage.
- B. Recognized Marriage Relations.
 - 1. Tribal Marriage (Customary Marriage).
 - 2. Christian Marriage.

To make the situation still more complex they remarked that several types may even overlap within the life of one person. For example, a man may have a wife at home, whom he married according to the tribal tradition and have a lover in Kampala.

The situation is not much different in Amo's family, and we shall adopt Southall and Gutkind's classification as an attempt to come to grips with the wide range of unions in our field material. We prefer however the term "Customary Marriage" to "Tribal Marriage". Before we can apply this classification, we have to consider some of the criteria by which we are going to categorize the unions.

1. Criteria.

Most difficulties arise, when we try to distinguish Free Marriage ("Mpena Awazee") from Lover Relationship, and Lover Relationship from Prostitution.

We have come to realize that gifts for example are very ambiguous. Are they to be considered as gifts of a husband to his wife and therefore some kind of financial support (customary and free marriage), or as expressions of love, irrespective of the duration of the love relationship (lover relationship), or as payment for sexual services (Prostitution)? How, for example shall we interpret the fact that Sirikye's (B.VI,38) present partner, pays the rent of her room for her? It will rarely be possible to make sharp distinctions, and in most cases gifts will have something of all these three elements, even where a customary marriage is concerned. It may even happen that giver and receiver attach a different meaning to the same gift.

Residence does not seem a very operable criterion either. Common residence can be considered as an indication that the union of the two partners has progressed beyond the stage of the short-lived Lover Relationship, but the obverse of it, duo-local residence, does not say anything, since it can occur in all five mentioned types of union.

The presence of children, out of the - still existing - union seems to be a stabilizing factor, and we will take it as a sign of Free Marriage.

When a man starts making marriage payments, but fails to complete them, or when he promises to pay the rest later on, we also term such a union Free Marriage.

One of the most useful criteria to distinguish Free Marriage from Lover Relationship is, however, the fact that the woman does the man's cooking daily or regularly since this would also indicate that the man gives "chop money" ("to chop"= to eat) to the woman at regular intervals. The Twi expression for giving "chop money" entails the recognition of some kind of stable relationship. ("Obo no akonhama").

In order to distinguish Prostitution from Lover Relationship, one could set a certain duration of time or intensity of emotional response as a minimum for the qualification "Lover Relationship." Unfortunately, we have no reliable information on this and must therefore desist from doing so.

We therefore take the mere mentioning of a name by the informant as a sign that the relationship is stronger than that of prostitution.

A relationship which has been mentioned expressly, and which is not characterized by regular cooking or some other criteria of Free Marriage, will therefore be termed: Lover Relationship.

We are aware of the fact, that this does not guarantee that all Lover Relationships will come to our notice. On the contrary, it has become more than clear, that many a long-passed Lover Relationship has been forgotten or is purposely concealed. We often could only trace a certain relationship because the informant had a child he or she could ^{not} account for. We may therefore suppose that many relationships which did not result in child-birth, never came into the open. Even Konadu tried at first to hide the identity of Amo's real father, in order to hide the relationship she had had with him.

It was especially the old people who were rather hesitant to provide us with objective information about their past liaisons. They seemed rather anxious, to give us a bright, but distorted, picture of the past by hiding certain pieces of information so that the "Good Olden Time" would contrast sharply with the "Gloomy Present Time." As a result, our data on the occurrence of Temporary Sexual Unions in the distant past are definitely unreliable. There is, however, one thing which comes out clearly: there is a

strong awareness among the old, that this type of union should be disapproved of. This contrasts with the openness of the younger generation, who may not have such an opinion. So their information remains of utmost importance, not as objective information, but as observed behaviour and implicit value judgement.

Table 7 demonstrates what we have been trying to say above. According to the informants the incidence of Free Marriage has increased sharply among the middle group and younger age group. We do not deny an actual increase, but suspect that the figures are exaggerated, for reasons stated above.

Table 7: Free and Customary Marriage according to Age Groups in Konadu's section of Amo's family. (Percentages in brackets).

	Younger than 35	From 35 to 60	61 and older	Totals
Free Marriage	8 (57)	6 (25)	4 (4)	17 (13)
Customary Marriage	6 (43)	18 (75)	90 (96)	115 (87)
All Marriages	14 (100)	24 (100)	94 (100)	132 (100)

$n = 2$ $\chi^2 = 33.87$ $p < 0.001$

It should be noted that in all the Tables of this chapter we have only entered Free Marriage and Customary Marriage. The only exception is Table 8, where explicitly has been indicated that Lover Relationships and Prostitution have been included.

The distinction between Free and Customary Marriage is easy to make on the basis of whether marriage payments have been made. There is no need either to discuss criteria for defining what Christian Marriage is, as this type of marriage is administratively recorded.

Let us now examine how these different types of unions occur and function in Amo's family and in the society at large.

2. Lover Relationship and Free Marriage.

It cannot be denied that the customary type of marriage still is an ideal for most members of Amo's family, although it is becoming rare among the present generation. During the funeral of Dente (B.V,11) Amo reprimanded the women for not marrying anymore according to custom. As a result, he said, only women attended the funeral and there was no husband to be seen. The proceeds of the funeral had remained very low because of that.

If we take all the young people between 17 and 27, whom we interviewed in both sections of Amo's family, we find 10 people, most of whom are actively engaged in sexual liaisons, but only one of them has married according to custom. Since most of them were quite open to us about this aspect of their lives, we are able to present a rather reliable table of their different types of sexual unions.

TABLE 8: Sexual Relationships of young people (17-27) in Amo's Family.*

Name	Number	Sex	Age	CM	FM	LR	Pr/FS	Children
1. Nkwanta	A.VI, 16	F	23	0	0	3?	yes	1
2. Anim	B.VI, 9	M	26	0	1	0	0	1
3. Asante	B.VI, 19	M	24	3	0	2?	?	4?
4. Mercy	B.VI, 20	F	18	0	0	4	?	0
5. Ntiri	B.VI, 28	M	26	0	2	10?	yes	2
6. Obo	B.VI, 30	F	23	0	1	?	yes	1
7. Okoto	B.VI, 31	M	18	0	0	2	6	0
8. Amoa	B.VI, 36	M	25	0	2	6	yes	1
9. Sirikye	B.VI, 38	F	21	0	2	?	yes	2
10. Tano	B.VI, 39	M	19	0	0	11	yes	0?
Totals				3	8	38?	many	12?

Legend: CM = Customary Marriage
 FM = Free Marriage
 LR = Lover Relationship
 Pr = Prostitution
 FS = Free Sex

The interesting aspect about Table 8 is that the variety of sexual unions is not restricted to the urban areas, as seems to be the case in the Kampala study of Southall and Gutkind.

* Later investigations showed that Table 8 is representative of the remaining 10 people between 17 and 27; 8 never married customarily, but 5 of these had one or more children. From the two who had married before, one was only married nominally. Her "husband" was a student in secondary school and did not look after her, nor did he ever come to visit her. From the 8 who never married two earned their living as prostitutes in Accra.

The unions of Table 8 occur both in urban and more rural areas. We did not come across prostitution as an established business at Ayere, but we did meet certain relations which were akin to it, and which we chose to call Free Sex. We further found that the activities of the prostitutes in Accra are known at Ayere.

In spite of the high rate of temporary unions, there is even among this group of young people a desire for a final customary marriage. Nkwanta, who is a fully-fledged prostitute in Accra, expressed her wish to marry a particular person. Sirikye, also a prostitute, expressed the same desire in relation to her present partner. Ntiri, frustrated about girls, has taken a firm decision: "If I now decide to make someone my friend, it means that I intend making her my wife". Tano, who, like many others, lives like a Don Juan, says, "I want to marry one wife, to discuss matters with her, and bring forth children. Both of us will put resources together, to look after them, so that, when we are away (have died), they can live happily."

The question, however, is how seriously should we take these statements? For Nkwanta, for example, such statements serve at the same time to conceal her prostitute activities and to give her a more respectable image.

Nevertheless we have the impression that even Nkwanta is sincere to some extent.

It has been said, and it will often be repeated, that the gap between real and ideal behaviour is remarkably high in Amo's family. The ease with which conflicting norms can co-exist happily, astonishes an observer. We will term this feature "Accommodation Ability" and will discuss it more extensively in the next chapter.

The conclusion of what we have been trying to say so far is, that, although the ideal norm of a customary marriage is still strong and real, Free Marriage and Lover Relationship have established themselves as alternative forms of sexual unions in Amo's family, not only as temporary Ersatz and passing phases in a person's life, but probably even permanently. We have to explain this a little further.

We mean to say that temporary unions such as Free Marriage and Lover Relationship not only play a role in the pre-marital experiences of young people, but are gradually presenting themselves as permanent alternative sexual unions, and are clamouring for social recognition.

Let us restrict ourselves to Free Marriage as we do not have sufficient information on Lover Relationships. The foregoing argument suggests that we can distinguish two types of Free Marriage, one preceding Customary

Marriage and one following it. The former is part of the mate selection process. Partners stay together for some time to study one another's character as they usually say, and customary rites may be performed if the outcome is positive or the woman becomes pregnant. Uncountable marriages which we have registered as customary marriage started that way. The practice is so common that the informants do not even think it necessary to mention it. As a result our data on it are not consistent. There are also however a considerable number of cases in which the partners had had no sexual relations before the customs had been performed.

A few examples of Free Marriage, preceding Customary Marriage are: Amanua's first marriage (A.IV,12); Kumaa's second marriage (A.V,6); Amo's eighth marriage (or should we term this Lover Relationship?); Nkrabea's sixth marriage (A.V,9); Badu's first and second marriage (A.VI,6); Dwamena's first marriage (A.VI,10); and Korang's second marriage (A.VI,15).*

The list which has been composed at random and could be extended with many more examples, gives us the inkling that this type of Free Marriage is no recent development, but has a very old tradition.

The other type of Free Marriage is the one following customary marriage.

* See the Appendix to this chapter.

Its incidence is not so common as the other type, but we think it worthwhile to examine it a little further. It was a remark of Boahemaa (A.V,11) which goaded us into paying more attention to Free Marriage as a conclusion, an end of a marital career, rather than as a first step towards it. During the interview Boahemaa sighed, "What is the use of marriage, if you cannot bring forth? We stay together till we get tired and stop." She repeated this even thrice.

If marriage has been a frustrating experience for someone, he or she may prefer not to start it all over again. On the other hand, to remain without a partner is not feasible either; apart from personal problems it entails, an unmarried status is looked upon as queer and is easily associated with witchcraft. In such a situation Free Marriage is a welcome compromise.

The causes of frustration may be many and various; Boahemaa mentions harshness. Other disappointments she suffered, will, no doubt, contribute to her pessimistic view on marriage: for example the way she was used by her second husband for his business without receiving reward and her quarrels with her co-wives.* Others may have quite different reasons for their scepticism regarding marriage. Let us therefore first list all the cases which fit into this mould.

* See the Appendix to this chapter.

TABLE 9: Free Marriage as the conclusion of a marital career in Amo's family.

	Number	Age	CM	Followed by FM
Aframea	A.V,4	67	3	1
Kumaa	A.V,6	53	3	3
Boahemaa	A.V,11	40	2	2
Oduraa	B.V,16	36	2	4
Fofie	A.VII,3	32	1	3
	Totals		11	13

Legend: CM = Customary Marriage; FM = Free Marriage.

Although the number of 5 is not particularly high, this table 9 provides us with some interesting information. All five are women which may be an indication that "Getting tired of marriage" is more a female than a male experience. It is further noteworthy that out of the 13 partners in Free Marriage a high percentage is non-Kwahu and even non-Akan. The table below gives a breakdown of the partners according to their ethnic origins.

TABLE 10: Ethnic Origin of marriage partners in Table 9.

	Kwahu	Akan, not Kwahu	Not Akan	Totals
Partners of CM	10	0	1	11
Partners of FM	2	7	4	13
Totals	12	7	5	24

Legend: See Table 9.

The implications of Table 10 can be many. One explanation has been given before in this chapter: a woman may start off with a Kwahu partner, but end up with a non-Akan, due to a drop of her "shares on the market". It is further obvious, that, when the partner is not Kwahu or not Akan, there is less pressure exerted upon the two to enter customary marriage, because the partner, being a stranger, has no family elders behind him to impose the norms upon him, and secondly, the family of the Ayere partner may not be very anxious to ratify a union with a stranger, particularly when that stranger is not an Akan. There is a motto "We do not marry strangers", which elsewhere has even been applied to a partner of another Kwahu town.*

Does this short digression on the ethnic origin of the Free marriage partners undermine our "theory" of marriage frustration as an impetus to the occurrence of Free Marriages after having tasted customary marriage? We do not believe so. We admit that the non-Kwahu origin of the partner may account for reluctance to enter into an official marriage union, but is it not plausible, that at the basis of all this lies a certain nausea with marriage at large? The selection of a non-Kwahu and the refusal to perform the rites can all be manifestations of this satiety with Kwahu customary marriage. To answer the above question, let us look more closely at the five people concerned.

* See the Appendix under Antwi (B.VI,1).

1. Aframea has had three official partners before, two of whom she divorced, while the first one died. She had four children but that did not seem not sufficient to her, and she accused her own mother of being responsible for her low fertility.* She always looks worried and afraid and is hardly willing to reveal anything about herself.

She never made any statement of being tired of marriage, but the fact that she remained unmarried for a period of about 20 years is significant and unusual, as we have stated above.

2. Kumaa divorced all her 5 previous partners, three of whom she had married according to customary law. Her present relationship with a Northerner can hardly be called a Free Marriage, though we have classified it as such. She bore 9 children of which only 4 daughters are still alive. She receives little help from them and three of them are frequently in Accra. When they come home, the house is filled with squabbles and abuses. Kumaa, who is very open, once complained to us in a casual conversation that there is no point of marrying when one is becoming old.

3. Boahemaa, as we have seen, is a clear example of someone who is tired of marriage. Her present partner is Akwapim, so tribal objections against marriage cannot exist.

As a matter of fact, Amo and other members of the Apostolic church, of which she is an elder, have tried to convince her to marry, and so has her partner himself, but she

* See Appendix to chapter IV, No.8. Witchcraft is extensively discussed in Chapter VI.

refuses bluntly, saying that she does not see the use of it.

4. Oduraa has already divorced, or separated, from 5 partners and is now with her sixth one, although she is only 36 years old. She does not seem to expect very much from marriage except children, and she turns bitter, when she remembers some of the partners. During our interview she even wanted to forget about two of them altogether. She herself said plainly that after her first two marriages, which were customary, she did not encourage her partner to perform the customs, since the two first marriages had disappointed her.*

5. Fofie: It would be rather premature to talk about Fofie's Free Marriages as conclusions of her marital life, since she is only 32. Nevertheless, she fits remarkably well in this company of five. Her situation most resembles that of Oduraa. We cannot say that she is tired of marriage, but it seems that her expectations of marriage do not require a customary ratification of the bond. She seems to prefer a looser tie with her husband, or perhaps it was rather the husband who preferred this and she did not think it worthwhile to force the issue.

It is striking that in both cases of Oduraa and Fofie the switch from customary marriage to Free Marriage coincides with the switch from Kwahu partner to non-Kwahu partner.

* See her Marriage History in the Appendix.

Concluding we can say, that these 5 cases demonstrate that there is indeed a tendency to fall back on Free Marriage after having tried customary marriage. The motives vary from being tired of marriage to taking the easy way out. They vary in intensity, but have undeniably much in common: the preference for a looser marital bond.**

It would be an obvious question to ask now, whether Free Marriage also occurs between customary marriages. This incidence is remarkably low in our field notes. This is probably partly correct and partly due to forgetfulness and concealment of the informants. The few instances we find can all be classified as mate selecting or trial marriages which were stopped because of a negative outcome of the trial. Both Mpenanom of Konadu (A.IV,4) and Kisiwa (A.IV,5) were connected with their first sexual experiences, and Safo's Mpena (A.V,13) was a trial to find a new wife after his first one had died. Afo's (A.VI,4) only Free Marriage was also a trial marriage as she stated herself, and the same applies to Berko's third marriage (B.V,14).

Free Marriage, we may therefore conclude, tends to occur in Amo's family, before a person enters into customary marriage or after ne/she has tried customary marriage and and has become dissatisfied with it.

** Contrary to these five cases, women are commonly believed to seek the security of marriage, while men have the name of trying to escape it.

Free Marriage, according to our notes, does not last long as a rule. The two longest instances refer to Boahemaa and Korang (A.VI,15) and amount to approximately 5 and 4 years.

3. Customary Marriage.

The norms of Kwahu customary marriage are very similar to those of Asante.* One important difference between Asante and Kwahu is, that in Kwahu the father of the bride receives the marriage payment and sends the share of the girl's family to them, whereas in Asante it is the other way around: the girl's family takes the payment^{and} sends a share to her father and his family. This norm is born out by our data: it is always the father of the bride or his successor who receives the marriage payments.

We recorded several accounts of how marriage was or should be contracted traditionally, some of which are from the mouth of very old people. We shall quote here Amo's version.

"If a man saw a woman who attracted him, he asked her, "Woman, are you married?" (Maame, wowo kunu?). If the woman had no husband and liked the man, the man informed his father of having met a woman he liked and wanted to marry. The father then asked his son, "Are you grown?" (Woanyin?). If the son answered yes, the father asked him, "How much money do you have?". The father took the money to meet the expenses in connection with the marriage. He then went to inform the parents of the bride, that his son wanted to marry their daughter.

* See Rattray, 1927:76-87 and Denteh, 1972.

If the bride's parents agreed, the groom's father sent a bottle of schnapps to them. This drink was and is still called "Knocking Fee". The acceptance of the "Knocking Fee" marked the beginning of the marriage. The father of the groom sent then two people, especially from the side of the wafa (i.e. the groom's matrilineal family) to arrange the marriage and agree upon the payment with the father of the bride.

It was at this point, that the groom was asked to clear any debts of the bride's wafa. If the bride divorced the husband later on, this money was refundable, even if it amounted to £30.0.0, which was a very high amount in the past.

At the present time, the marriage payment is fixed at £10.80. The 80 pesewas is the marriage proper, known as "Kete ase Hye" (Putting under the mat). If the bride divorces the husband, she has to pay these 80 pesewas twice, which amounts to £1.60. Whatever the marriage payment is, the 80 pesewas are necessary to crown the marriage."

Several terms were used by our informants, to indicate the two stages in the marriage payments. The first part, usually referred to as "Knocking Fee" in English, was called "Nhunu Anim" (seeing the face) and "Nkommo Nsa" (Conversation drink). People also refer to it with a sentence, for example: "Okoy/boo upon no" (He went to knock on the door), or "Ode Schnapps koboo koko" (He brought a bottle of schnapps as knocking fee), or "Ode £1.10 hyee n'aburobia mu" (He filled my father's pipe with £1.10).

If the girl has been made pregnant before, people will call the first payment "Kwaseabu Sika" (Foolishness money). A fine may be attached to this payment, especially when the girl is a chief's daughter or attends school.

It all depends on the mutual understanding between the two families.

The second stage is usually called "Aseda" (Thanksgiving), and is performed after the couple have been staying as husband and wife for some time. People refer to it with "Odaa ne tiri ase" (He thanked for her head) or "Otuu ne tiri nsa" (He offered the drinks). Amo and others speak of "Kete ase Hye" (Putting under the mat).

Informants do not all agree upon the meaning of these terms. Some think that for example "Kete ase Hye" is part of the first stage, and again others that it can refer to either of the two stages. Similar disagreements exist on "Tiri Nsa" and the expression referring to the father's pipe.

The total amount paid is usually in the range of £30.00, but this can fluctuate considerably. Siaw (A.V,3), for example, said that for his first marriage the father of the bride did not require a high payment, since the marriage was going to be a church wedding. He paid £2.40 as knocking fee to the father and gave the bride 10 shillings. He also gave the mother something which he, however, had forgotten. For the second part the father demanded 6 yards of cloth and an umbrella. This happened in 1927.

For his second marriage, only a few years later, he paid one bottle of schnapps as Nkomo Nsa and for Aseda only £4.20 plus two bottles of schnapps, which were divided between father's and mother's side of the bride.

Nkrabea (A.V,9) paid for his marriages knocking fees of 4 bottles of schnapps and as Aseda he paid amounts varying from $\text{¢}20.10$ to $\text{¢}30.00$. For Safo all payments together amounted to $\text{¢}20.00$, for Dwamena to $\text{¢}24.80$, for Beauty to $\text{¢}32.00$, for Ansa to $\text{¢}8.00$, for Antwi to $\text{¢}15.85$, for Bepon to $\text{¢}20.00$, etc. etc. The highest price was paid for Nkansah (B.VI,42), which was $\text{¢}44.00$.

Often people do not remember the exact amount, especially the women, since they have very little to do with the whole ceremony and are not present. In most cases the groom is not present either.

The Kwahu norm that payments should be made towards the father of the bride is quite consistently followed, but regularity in performer of the ritual is less evident. Table 11 is a random sample of members over three generations, showing the relationship between performer and groom.

TABLE II: Who performed the customs on behalf of the Groom?

Groom/ Bride	No.	Performer's relation- ship to groom	Name of Performer	No.
Kisiwa Saa	A.IV,5 B.IV,4	MBS Groom		
Siaw Kumaa Amo Nkrabea Nkrabea Osei	A.V,3 A.V,6 A.V,7 A.V,9 A.V,9	Father Father MB MMZS (Wofa) Remote clan member A friend	Ayesu Wiredu	A.IV,2 A.IV,7
Safo Safo	A.V,13 A.V,13	MB MH	Gyima	A.IV,11
Dopaa Dwamena Bempon Antwi Nkansah	A.VI,5 A.VI,10 B.VI,2 B.VI,1 B.VI,42	FBS BZS MZH <u>Abusua Panyin</u> eB	Amo	A.V,7

Table II gives a very diversified picture: Paternal as well as maternal relatives perform customs on behalf of the groom. They can be of an older or of the same generation; they can be close or remote. In one case a mere member is chosen for the sake of convenience: he is staying in the bride's town. The person can be the new husband of the mother, or a friend, and finally, the groom can do it himself.

This very limited sample suggests that the selection of a representative of the groom is based upon personal relationships, rather than upon strict structural kin relationships.

4. Christian Marriage.

After Free Marriage and Customary Marriage we must have a short look at, what we have called "Christian Marriage". The civil counterpart of it, Marriage by Ordinance, will not be dealt with in this chapter, since ~~it does not occur in Amo's family.~~ ~~we came across only one instance of it (Osei and Oforiwa),~~ though it may well be possible that our data are uncomplete on this point. We will further limit ourselves to the Catholic Church Marriage, because it is only this type which is present in some number. We met only one case of a Presbyterian Church Marriage, the first one ever to be contracted at Ayere between Siaw (A.V,3) and his first wife. As a matter of fact, Presbyterian Church Marriages are rare at Ayere.

Only 14 marriages were blessed between 1927 and 1954, and the pastor assured us that this was the correct figure.

It is generally known that missionary churches have not been very successful in their attempts to promote Christian Marriage, at least in the form they wanted. The 1960 Census gave the following statistic on Customary and Christian Marriage among married Christians.

TABLE 12: Customary and Christian Marriage among Christians in Ghana. (Source: Population Census, 1960).

	Customary	Christian
Christians (general)	83.2%	9.6%
Catholics	80.7%	12.6%

The Catholics in Amo's family are no great exception to the rest of Ghana. Taking together all the people who were traced by us as being baptized catholics, and having a partner at this moment either in customary or in free marriage, we counted 10 married catholics of whom two were married according to the church laws. Their 20% is still higher than the average for Ghana.

When we count all the marriages which were ever contracted by catholics in Amo's family, we come to a total of about 35. Of these estimated 35 marriages 8 were Christian Marriages, which is even 23%. They are the following:

1. Nana Joseph (A.IV,9) : 1st marriage
2. Amanua (A.IV,12) : 3rd marriage
3. Siaw (A.V,3) : 3rd marriage
4. Dei (A.V,8) : 2nd marriage
5. Preko (A.V,12) : 1st marriage
- 6-7. Safo (A.V,13) : 1st and 3rd marriage
8. Manu (A.VI,11) : 2nd marriage

Catholic Church Marriage is sometimes called "Holy Matrimony" or in Twi: "Awaree Kronkron", which means the same. It is highly regarded by most Catholic members and considered as a distant ideal, which they will not very likely attain. There is some similarity in the way people like Nkwanta (A.VI,16), Sirlaye (B.VI,38) and Tano (B.VI,39) look at customary marriage and people such as Kumaa (A.V,6), Dwamena (A.VI,10) and Beauty (A.VI,12) view Christian Marriage: desirable but unattainable. They pretend to strive after it, but do not really do so. The ideal of a Christian Marriage is connected with the dream almost everybody seems to have: to find the perfect husband/wife and start all over again. Beauty remarked, "Awaree Kronkron can only be done, when the two partners agree very well. I do not think my husband will like it." Dwamena said frankly, "I am a Catholic, but since my first marriage I have not received the sacraments, because I have not married in church. I would like to marry in church, but I have to find a good wife first. I will not marry ^{my} present wife in church!"

The reason that Christian Marriage in the Catholic Church is such a difficult affair, is that it cannot be dissolved, which is so entirely alien to most members that they feel reluctant to "try" it. Two who tried it saw their wives run away and were unable to marry again. They were Preko and Manu. Another one, Siaw, divorced his wife and ran into conflict with the Church authorities.

Another reason that Christian Marriage is no easy thing, was explained by Dei, who himself married in church, and is still married. "Holy Matrimony means, that you do not sleep with anyone apart from your own wife." In spite of this, it cannot be denied that Christian Marriage attracts those members who take church membership seriously.

It is striking that none of the present sixth generation is married in the church. The only one who did so, Manu, has been without a wife now for 6 years. It is beyond us to say whether this is a general trend among the present generation. Speaking for Ayere alone, we can however say that it is. During the last four years only one person contracted a Christian Marriage, and he was not even a native of the town. But it may well be possible that such a development is limited to Ayere due to factors of church policy or other factors which lie outside the scope of this study.

C. RESIDENCE.

When we asked Nana Ahenkora, the head of the other side of the royals, about residence patterns in the olden days, he told us the following, "A man who married could bring the wife to stay with his family. The wife could also stay with her own father and mother. This decision was the exclusive right of the man. So the wife could stay with the husband, but when the couple had many children, and the husband became older, he was expected to build his own house to accomodate his wife and children. It is foolish men only who stay in their wives' houses. It happened before and it still happens. In the olden days the children did not stay with their wofa. The wofa had to obtain formal permission from the father before this could happen."

Ahenkora's picture of the olden days resembles very much to-day's picture of Amo's family. Both virilocal and duo-local residence exist and some "foolish men" do take residence with their wives.

It is however doubtful whether the choice of residence type is so exclusively the husband's. Our data suggest that some sociological condition is more imperative than the voice of the husband.

TABLE 13: Residence pattern and Town of Residence in Konadu's Section of Amo's family.

	Residence together	Residence not together	Unknown	Totals
Couple staying in wife's home-town.	18	52	6	76
Couple staying outside wife's home-town	54	6	1	61
:Not known	5	1	4	10
Totals	77	59	11	147*

n = 1 $\chi^2 = 55.22$ $p < 0.001$

Table 13 evinces that there is an extremely significant** relationship between the pattern of residence and the fact whether the couple is staying in, or outside, the wife's home-town. This is not surprising, and tallies with what we have said about the matrilineal puzzle before. When the couple is staying in the wife's home-town, it is not likely that the woman will take up residence with the man. She or her relatives will prefer her to stay in her family's house. When the husband is staying in another town, the wife has no opportunity to continue staying with her relatives and cannot anymore serve the two masters, husband and family (abusua) simultaneously.

* This total is higher than the total of 132 marriages in Konadu's section, since some marriages show different residence patterns at different stages.

** We follow the terminology of Hagood and Price (1952) to indicate the degree of probability: $0.05 > P > 0.01$ we call moderately significant; $0.01 > P > 0.001$ highly significant; and $P < 0.001$ extremely significant.

She has to break away from her relatives and join the husband. There are chiefly three possibilities when the couple is not staying in the wife's hometown. They may be staying in the husband's home-town, or they may have migrated to somewhere else, either to a village to farm or to Accra or another town to take up an occupation as trader, teacher, tailor, clerk or anything else.

When they however visit their home-town, they are likely to stay separately during the time of their visit, he with his and she with her relatives. For example, when Amo was trading at Swedru, he had his first wife staying with him at Swedru, but whenever they came to Ayere, they separated and lodged with their respective relatives. In the same way, he stayed with his second wife in the village, but when they came to Ayere, she would sleep in her family's house, and cook there as well.

Only when husband and wife hail from different towns, such a thing could not take place. For example, Akosua Addae (A.VI,9) lives with her husband, who is from Atibie, in Brong Ahafo where they have a cocoa farm. They stay together with 6 of their 9 children in one house. When they come to Ayere for a funeral or to spend Easter, the husband stays with the wife, as he has no own relatives in town, and when they visit Atibie, she will lodge in his family's house.

Our data underline the presence of Richards' "Matrilineal Puzzle" in Amo's family.

The residence patterns show that a woman is subject to opposite pulls from her husband and her family. Our data suggest that this conflict is solved in favour of the family, if the couple stays in the wife's home-town, and in favour of the husband if they stay elsewhere.

Unfortunately, the reality is more complex than that. If the wife is staying away from her family, she may make up for this by paying long visits to her home-town, thus, leaving the husband alone. When she gets pregnant and approaches childbirth she may go to stay with her mother for 6 months or more. During the period of our research Nyamekye (A.VI,14) stayed over 8 months at Ayere while awaiting delivery.

It took us some time before we realized that not Ayere, but Accra, was her actual place of residence, since she looked fully settled at Ayere, and had even set up some trading.

Let us now examine Table 17 more closely. If we leave out the unknown cases, we see that out of a total of 130 known cases 106 cases (81%) follow the rule we mentioned above. Using the Chi-square method, we must reject the Null-hypothesis and conclude that there is an extremely significant relationship between couples staying in, and outside, the wife's home-town and their residence pattern behaviour.

In only 6 instances the couple, living away from the wife's home-town, do not stay together. The reason is probably - we do not have sufficient information to corroborate this - that, although the place was not the wife's home town, she did have some relatives in that town to stay with. Konadu, for example, stayed with her wofa while she was in Ivory Coast and had a liaison with some Kwahu man over there. In that case, preference was given to relatives. In our survey, when we asked from what town a certain wife was, our informants usually gave the original home town ("ase") of the partner, even if the family had been for one or two generations at Ayere, and had established themselves entirely. In such a situation it may be misleading to state that the couple is not staying in the wife's home town.

In 18 cases the partners are staying together while they are living in the wife's home town. Four of these are some kind of uxori-local residence, three of which have been related in our marriage histories in the appendix to this chapter. They concern Boahemaa's present partner (A.V.11), Dwamena's first partner (A.VI,10), and Fofie's third partner. The last one was a tenant in Amo's house, where Fofie was then staying, so their common residence was the cause, rather than the result of their marriage. During the time of their relationship, the man continued to pay rent to Amo.

Three cases of these 18 are Catholic Church Marriages: the first marriage of Nana Joseph (A.IV,) and the third marriages of Amanua (A.IV,12) and her son Safo (A.V,13). We assume, that common residence is here an expression of a stronger marital bond and an attempt to comply to certain Catholic norms.

Audrey Richards, writing about the Bantu has said that the crucial point in the solution of the "Matrilineal Puzzle" is "the question of residence at marriage, and the determining factor in this regard is the marriage payment or the type of goods and services which the bridegroom gives." (1950:249).

At first sight this observation hardly applies to the Kwahu case in general and to Amo's family in particular. Viri-local residence (73 cases) dominates duo-local residence (59 cases), but marriage payments are low. However, as we have argued in chapter III (page 80), when we substitute Richard's "Marriage payment, type of goods and services which the bridegroom gives" with "the groom's financial and social status", her observation may be well applicable to Amo's family. The general consensus is that a big man ought to have his wife or wives staying with him and, also that the woman's relatives will be more willing to let their daughter/sister stay with someone who is able to provide her with status and security.

It is rather unfortunate that we do not have the particular kind of information at our disposal, to check whether this norm is realized in practice. Social status and financial position are rather vague and qualitative concepts, liable only to very subjective interpretations of the informants. We are therefore not able to analyze the 18 mentioned cases on basis of this "Status principle", to see to what extent common residence in the wife's home town is concomitant with high status of the husband.

The only reliable information on status that we have is about Ayesu (A.IV,2) and Amo, the two family heads (Abusua Panyin). The wives they had during their time of office, were not staying in their hometown, except one, with the result that they are not useful for this analysis.

Let us now have a brief look at how the residence pattern has behaved through the lapse of time. We have, for that purpose, broken down Table 13 according to generations. (see Table 14). The table shows a gradual increase of common residence and decline of duo-local residence. Only the change between the third and fourth generation is a sudden one, but it should be borne in mind that the population of the third generation is very small, and may therefore give a distorted picture.

183 - 184 - 185

The numbers 183, 184, 185 have been omitted.
The text, however, is in no way interrupted.

TABLE 14: Residence Pattern and Town of Residence according to Generation in Konadu's Section.

Generation:	III		IV		V		VI-VII		?	Totals
	tog.	d-l.	tog.	d-l.	tog.	d-l.	tog.	d-l.		
Couple staying in wife's home town	0	3	7	19	7	15	4	10	6	78
Couple not in wife's home town	0	0	20	5	18	1	16	0	1	59
Unknown	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	4	10
Totals	0	3	27	24	30	17	20	10	11	147

Legend: tog. = together; d-l. = duo-local.

The table further shows, but less pronouncedly, that the number of couples residing outside the wife's home town is growing compared to the ones staying inside. In the third generation all are residing in the wife's home town, but among the two last generations the tables have been turned and a small majority lives outside the wife's home town. Table 14 therefore demonstrates an increase of common residence corresponding with an increase of migration.

Our findings seem to agree with those of Fortes at Asokore and Agogo for Asante (Fortes, 1949:77). Agogo, which was more isolated than Asokore, had a lower percentage of common residence. Basing ourselves upon our own data, we suspect that this was simply the result of a higher degree of migration and inter-village marriage at Asokore and a lower degree at Agogo, resulting in a situation at Agogo, in which many women found their husbands and their relatives living in the same town.

Another observation we want to make with regard to residence is more impressionistic than statistical. It seems that husbands staying in their home town tend to rely heavily on their relatives and frequently do not come to the point of building a house for their own wife and children. When they, however, are staying outside their home town, where reliance on the family is out of the question, the challenge seems bigger, and they may feel it a necessity to provide a house for their wife and children. Fortes observed already in Asante that the ideal for a man to have his own house for his wife and children is less often realised than one would believe. (1949:69).

As a result, there is no evidence that common residence increases with the wife's increase in age and the rise in number of her children. This contradicts the information of Nana Ahenkora about residence in the past and Fortes' statement that as the women "advance in maturity, the pull of the conjugal ties increases", resulting in a shift of residence from their relatives to their husbands. (Fortes, 1949:78). We found many cases in which matured women with several children continued to stay with their relatives and young childless wives took up residence with their husbands.

To mention only a few: Nana Kyenku (A.III,1), Nana Biama (A.III,3), Oye (A.IV,3), Aframea (A.V,4),

Saa (B.IV,4), Ansa (B.V,10) and Yeboah (B.V,12) were all staying separately from their husbands at a time they had four or more children. On the other hand, Darkoa (A.V,1), Minobrowa (A.V,2), Aframea (A.V,4), Kumaa (A.V,6), Soahemaa (A.V,13), Dapaa (A.VI,5), Badu (A.VI,6), Fofie (A.VII,3) and several others took up residence with their husbands right at the beginning of their marital career, even before they had brought forth.

D. DIVORCE AND SEPARATION

The term "Divorce" suffers from the same terminological difficulties as "Marriage". The confusion around its definition has caused a lively discussion between some anthropologists, including Gluckman (1950), Schneider (1953), Leach (1957), Fallers (1957) and Gibbs (1963). The discussion has produced a chain of interesting comparative studies on marriage stability.

Schneider (1953) argues that a distinction should be made between the jural and conjugal aspects of marriage instability. His argument is directly related with a situation among the Nuer, where marital bonds may be broken while jural bonds remain. He therefore suggests the restriction of the term "Divorce" for a jural breaking of the marriage bond and "Separation" for a conjugal breaking only.

This distinction still looks too crude to fit all our data. The variety of divorces (in its most general meaning) is as multiform as the variety of sexual unions.

The end of one marriage can hardly be compared with the end of another. A barren marriage and a marriage which has produced many children miss a basic point of comparison, and so does the breaking up of both. Can divorce between relatives (Ofie Awanee), between people of the same ethnic group or different ethnic groups be compared indiscriminately? And so we can continue. The marriage histories in the Appendix demonstrate the uniqueness of every case and make one reluctant to lump them together so readily.

Having no alternative terms, however, we accept Schneider's dichotomy for the analysis of our data. Applying his terminology we will use "Separation" for the breaking up of Free Marriage, and "Divorce" for that of Customary Marriage. The term "Marital Instability" will usually refer to the brittleness of both Free and Customary Marriages.

1. Frequency of Divorce and Separation.

In Table 15 we have entered all free and customary marriages we registered in both sections of Amo's family. 132 Unions are from Konadu's section and 50 from Saa's section. The figure 132 is practically complete. Only a few unions which we could not trace before the final drawing up of the tables have been omitted. The figure 50 for Saa's section is very uncomplete. We estimate that all free and customary marriages in Saa's section, over the last three generations, amount to more than 150. Lack of time prevented us from recording all unions in Saa's section.

TABLE 15: Divorce and Separation in Amo's family.

	Customary Marriage	Free Marriage	Totals
Unions ended by death	48	0	48
Unions ended by div./sep.	77	24	101
All completed unions	125	24	149
Current unions	25	8	33
Total of all unions	150	32	182

Table 16 gives us the number of people in Amo's family who are involved in these 182 marriages and the number of those who experienced either divorce or separation.

TABLE 16: Marriage Experience and Experience of Divorce/
Separation in Amo's family.

	CM	FM	Totals
People with marriage experience	57	20*	63**
People who experienced div./sep. at least once.	41	18	50**

Legend: CM = Customary Marriage; FM = Free Marriage.

2. Customary Marriage and Divorce.

The Tables 15 and 16 enable us to calculate divorce rates in Amo's family. There are however several methods to measure divorce rates, as Barnes (1949) has demonstrated. All are more or less justified, but they become misleading when one is compared with another.

* Free Marriages which developed into customary marriages have not been counted as free marriages.

** People who experienced both free and customary marriage, or both divorce and separation have been entered only once.

Barnes gives three methods which he calls Ratio A, B and C. (1949:44).

- A. The number of marriages ended in divorce, expressed as a percentage of all marriages.
- B. The number of marriages ended in divorce, expressed as a percentage of all completed marriages.
- C. The number of marriages ended in divorce, expressed as a percentage of all marriages except those that have ended by death.

Barnes demonstrates that no method can escape bias altogether. Much depends on whether the sample is taken from a dead or live population. For a complete insight in his argument we refer to the named article (1949). For our own purposes method A and B are most useful. Method C renders misleading figures, since it ignores all the marriages which were terminated by death of one of the partners. Barnes shows that method C may be the most satisfactory method, when the sample is taken from a live population, but it is useless for our data, which, for a large part, refer to deceased members of the family. For the purpose of comparison it is however desirable that we give all three divorce rates.

We further include, what Barnes terms "Cumulative Marital Experience", which entails: Divorce per head of ever-married population and percentage of ever-married population divorced at least once. These methods of calculating divorce rates have been used by anthropologists as well.

We will term them Ratio D and E respectively, for the sake of convenience.

TABLE 17: Divorce and Separation Rates in Amo's Family.

Ratio:	A	B	C	D	E
Customary Marriage	51.35	61.60	75.42	1.35	75.45
Free Marriage	75.00	100.00	75.00	1.20	90.00
Totals	55.4	67.78	75.37	1.60	79.36

The divorce rates in Amo's family are very high compared to other societies of which the rates are known. In Table 18 we have selected the divorce rates (associated with customary marriage) from Table 17 and compared them with the divorce rates in several other societies. It should be borne in mind that Ratio C is highly misleading in our sample.

TABLE 18: Comparative Divorce Rates of Amo's Family and some other Societies. (Derived from Barnes, 1949:45).

Divorce Ratio	A	B	C	D	E	Year of publication
Fort Jameson Ngoni	28.5	55.8	36.9	0.49*	32.4*	1951
Agatia	3.5					1950
Lamba	33.1	61.3	41.8	0.41*		1950
Ngwato	9.3			0.06*	2.7*	1950
Nuer	9.4	25.	13.0	0.09**	6.25**	1945
Palest. Arabs	4.3	7.7	8.7			1931
Bemba				0.53*	35.	1940
Tallensi				0.25*		1949
Yako		57.			39. **	1941
Yao	34.6	68.2	47.3	0.53**		1949
United States		18.				1928
Amo's Family	51.35	61.60	75.42	1.35	71.95	1972

* Figures refer to men only.

** Figures refer to women only.

Table 18 demonstrates unmistakably, that divorce rates are remarkably high in Amo's family. Only in B. it does not score the highest figure due to the high mortality figure which is an unavoidable result of our going so far back to the past. (48 of 125 completed marriages ended in death: see Table 15). If we would restrict ourselves to the last three generations (5, 6 and 7), Ratio B would score 77.01 for the 5th generation and 72.72 for the 6th and 7th generations (see Table 21), which also would be the highest score.

The figures of Table 18 are bound to be very crude for the purpose of comparison. Methods of data collecting vary considerably for the different societies and influence the outcome of the calculations in no small way. We again refer to Barnes' article (1949) for a more detailed discussion of the problems involved. It was only our intention to give the reader a general impression of the divorce frequency in Amo's family by relating it to that of a few societies.

3. Divorce and the Time Factor.

A question, which comes immediately to one's mind, when reading these figures is: Has divorce become more frequent through the course of generations?

In Table 19 we have broken down the first column of Table 15 into generations and in Table 20 we have done the same to Table 16.

TABLE 19: Incidence of customary marriage and divorce in Amo's family, according to generation.

Generation:	III	IV	V	VI-VII	Totals
CMS ended in death	3	28	11	6	48
CMS ended in divorce	5	19	37	16	77
All completed CMS	8	47	48	22	125
Current CMS	0	0	13	12	25
Total of all CMS	8	47	61	34	150

Legend: CM = Customary Marriage.

TABLE 20: Marriage and Divorce Experience according to generation in Amo's family.

Generation:	III	IV	V	VI-VII	Totals
People who experienced CM	3	14	20	20	57
People who experienced divorce at least once	3	10	17	11	41

Legend CM = Customary Marriage.

The Tables 19 and 20 enable us to measure the divorce rates in the different generations, but comparison is necessarily defective. It is clear that we cannot compare satisfactorily divorce rates in one generation of which all members have completed their marital career with divorce rates in another generation of which many members are still at the beginning of their marital life. The figures of the former group will show a higher number of divorces, since it is likely that people of 70 years experienced more divorces than people of 30 years. This will affect Ratio D and E considerably.

Ratio B will be mainly influenced by the fact that the mortality rate of the older generations is higher than that of the younger. Ratio C is totally useless for comparison since there are no extant marriages in the 3rd and 4th generations. Most useful - or perhaps least useless - for our purposes is Ratio A, because in this Ratio marriages which ended in death in the early generations are compensated for in the later generations by extant marriages. It is therefore mainly Ratio A in Table 21 which gives us some idea how the divorce rate has developed over 5 generations in Amo's family.

TABLE 21: Divorce Rates in Amo's family according to generation. (position in brackets).

Generation.	III	IV	V	VI-VII	Totals
Ratio A	62.50 (1)	40.42 (4)	60.66 (2)	47.06 (3)	51.31
Ratio B	62.50 (3)	40.42 (4)	77.01 (1)	72.72 (2)	61.66
Ratio C	1.00 (2)	1.36 (3)	1.85 (1)	0.80 (4)	1.35
Ratio D	100.00 (1)	71.43 (3)	85.00 (2)	55.00 (4)	71.93
Average Position:	(1.75)	(3.5)	(1.5)	(3.25)	

The figures in brackets indicate that no generation is consistently highest or lowest in divorce rate according to all 4 ratios. According to Ratio A, which is the most useful Ratio for our purposes, as we have stated, generation III scores the highest rate, followed by V, VI-VII and IV respectively.

If we add all the figures in brackets together and take the average position of each generation, generation V occupies the first place followed by III, VI-VII and IV. Both ways, generation IV is consistently lowest in divorce rate. The low frequency in this generation may be partly attributed to the relatively early death of some of its members, which prevented them from divorcing their partners. (e.g. Ampadu (A.IV,10) and Asirifi (A.IV,6)).

The table further seems to evince that divorce has decreased among the present generation. This, however, as we have explained, is not necessarily so. The figures are biased, as generation VI and VII are live generations, of which many members are still at the beginning of their marital life. The most accurate way of comparing all the generations would be to measure the average number of divorces at a certain age, say at 40. Our information does, however, not allow such a cross-comparison. Another method could be to compare the average length of marriages terminated by divorce in the 5 generations, but, unfortunately, our information on length of marriage is too vague to carry out such a comparison either.

Another factor influencing the ratios of the younger generations is the growing incidence of Free Marriage. Free Marriage and Separation have not been included in the foregoing tables.

It would therefore be an error to conclude on basis of the above figures, that marital stability is rising among the younger generations. The sharp rise of free marriage and the high rate of separation (see Table 17) testify rather the opposite.

Long lasting marriages are relatively rare in Amo's family, but especially among the present generation. Among 34 customary marriages in generation VI and VII, we recorded only 4 marriages lasting longer than 12 years.

Basing our analysis upon the above figures and upon the case histories in the Appendix we conclude that Marriage Instability is not a recent phenomenon in Amo's family. Divorce rates have been very high from the end of the past century onwards. Marriage instability seems, however, to increase in the present time, when we take into account that many members are still young and that free marriage and subsequent separation are on the increase.

4. Some hypotheses of the occurrence of Divorce.

Several students of society have tried to explain the occurrence of divorce by linking it to other variables. Gluckman has suggested that patriliney is associated with a low divorce rate and matriliney with a high. (1950:190). Connected with this is his hypothesis that a high bride price is given in societies with a low divorce rate and and little or nothing is paid in societies where divorce is frequent. These hypotheses seem to hold true for the Kwahu case.

Fallers (1957) and Gibbs (1963) have complemented Gluckman's hypothesis by stating that not matriliney as such has a destabilizing effect on marriage, but rather extreme lineality, irrespective whether it is patrilineal or matrilineal. Gibbs writes, "Extreme lineality leads to instability in marriage, because it results in divided jural authority over a woman, with some rights in her vested in her lineage and some in that of her husband." (Gibbs, 1963:552).

In the same article Gibbs criticises previous hypotheses in that they have tried to explain stability or instability by one single factor. He says, "Marriage stability can probably be better explained by a frame of reference which views marriage in a matrix of social control, influenced by many social institutions and elements of social structure." (1963:552).

A society which supports marriage stability he calls "Epainogamous", and the obverse of it "Non-epainogamous". Marriage in an "Epainogamous society"....."is stabilized through the presence of structural features in the social system which minimize marital deviance through the activation of one or more of three basic processes of social control," (Gibbs, 1963:553). These processes are:

1. The elimination of normative ambiguity through:
 - a. Fixed and focussed allocation of the matrimonial rights.

- b. Ceremonilization and sacralization of the marriage bond.
2. The rewarding of conformity to marriage norms. (This implies that one can get in marriage, what one cannot get outside marriage: sexual satisfaction, off-spring, labour aid, respect, etc.).
3. The punishment of deviance from marital norms, through:
 - a. Marriage as a mode of access to scarce ends.
 - b. Group involvement, which refers to:
 - Preferential Marriage.
 - Forms of Betrothal.
 - Forms of Secondary Marriage.
 - Amount and Form of Marriage Payment.

Gibbs' hypothesis has the disadvantage that it is very elaborate. It loses in operability what it gains in adequacy. On the other hand, it is probably the most satisfactory hypothesis so far. We have quoted it so extensively, because it offers us a guideline to look at some marriage destabilizing factors in Amo's family and in Kwahu at large. We shall follow Gibbs' scheme of three processes closely.

- ad 1. Elimination of normative ambiguity.
 - a. Matrimonial rights and duties are rather vague in Amo's family. Our data show that there is no common practice as to where the wife should stay, where the children should stay, whether and how much the wife should contribute towards the running of the household, who is entitled to take the children after divorce, etc. It seems that rights and duties are rather allocated according to personal character and socio-economic status of the partners. Social network Analysis can probably reveal more about this than structural theses.
 - b. The marriage ceremony is reduced to a minimum and does not play a significant social role. Both partners may be absent from the function.

ad 2. Social control with regard to marriage is small. The appearance of free marriage has made sexual satisfaction, reproduction of children, labour aid and even respect available for people who do not want to enter customary marriage, and even without free marriage these ends are not unattainable.

Among the present generation in particular sexual satisfaction and bringing forth are not strictly bound to regular sexual unions. It should however be noted, that such practices are disapproved by society, although they are hardly punished by society as long as no school girl is involved.

The acquisition of labour aid has been mentioned by several people as a motive for marriage, e.g. Dei (A.V,8), Nkrabea (A.V,9), Dwamena (A.VI,10), Manu (A.VI,11) and Berko (B.V,14). Dei for example told us, "I was then a storekeeper, and if for example - excuse me to say - I had to go to the toilet, there was no one to look after the store; so I needed a wife."

There are however also examples in which labour aid was received from relatives, rather than from a spouse. Amo had a young girl of the family with him when he was trading at Swedru and had not married yet. Manu had Fofie with him before his marriage, and had altogether 8 younger relatives to help him in the household, while his brother Dwamena looked after his store. Human respect seems indeed to be related with marriage, at the least with free marriage. An unmarried person such as Preko (A.V,12), Badu (A.VI,6) or Manu (A.VI,11) are viewed with a mixture of suspicion and derision.

ad 3. Punishment of defiance from marital norms.

- a. To what extent marriage provides a mode of access to scarce ends we have discussed under ad 2?
- b. Group involvement is dwindling rapidly in Amo's family. Preferential Marriage, which we called "Ofie Awadee" still exists among the last two generations (6 and 7). We recorded there 6 cases out of a total of 34 customary marriages, but it has a less compelling character than one would expect, and the involvement of the group is probably less than it used to be. Of the 6 cases of preferential marriage 4 have already ended in divorce. Table 26 will show us later on that preferential marriages are even more likely to end in divorce than non-preferential marriages. (This applies to Ofie Awadee as well as to widow inheritance).

Widow Inheritance, another form of enjoined marriage, has almost entirely vanished from the scene as we shall see in the next chapter, and the same holds true for Child Betrothal which was still undergone by the oldest living members of the family, Konadu, Kisiwa, Saa and the widow of Nana Joseph (A.IV,9). It is not practised anymore. The amount of the marriage payment hardly requires the assistance of relatives, as the amount is low. The form of payment does however need the mediation of relatives, but this is rather symbolic and does not create obligations.

We may conclude by stating that the society of which Amo's family is^a part, is a "Non-epainogamous Society". As Fortes has observed for the Asante, Divorce has no social stigma attached to it and "Usually^(t) makes little change in the domestic circumstances of a woman or in her economic situation, nor does it affect her jural status or that of her children." (Fortes, 1950:283).

5. Valuation of Divorce.

Divorce seems to be regarded as a normal phenomenon which is likely to befall any member of the family once or several times, unless (s)he is barred from it by the intervention of death. It is less experienced as a failure and source of personal grief than for example in Western Societies.

Nkrabea (A.V,9) related his sorrowful life story in a matter-of-fact way where his marriages were concerned. "Because no children were coming forth, we had to stop the marriage to enable one another to try our chances somewhere else to get children."

In Nkrabea's case the absence of children is apparently felt much deeper than the breaking up of so many marriages. Amo, to mention someone else, did not think it worthwhile to mention two of his wives whom he divorced long ago, and with whom he had no children. He claimed to have stayed with one of them for almost 10 years.

These instances suggest that divorce should not only be viewed as a negative factor. It is not merely experienced as the end, but also as the beginning of something. For Nkrabea and most of the wives he divorced, divorce had the positive meaning of "Trying new chances" as he expressed it himself. For others, when an incompatible relationship ends in divorce, there is also something positive. Kumaã (A.V,6) said, "We decided to have a divorce because I wanted to become a Catholic."

For others, however, divorce did certainly bring grief and distress. To mention only a few: Kisiwa (A.IV,5), Siaw (A.V,3), Boahemaa (A.V,11), Badu (A.VI,6) and Manu (A.VI,11).

6. Occurrence and Absence of Divorce: an Analysis.

Divorce, as we have said, is an inherent part of the marital process of any member of Amo's family. Out of 26 persons in the last two generations who experienced some form of marriage, only three were married for more than about 10 years without any divorce or separation. Others who never experienced divorce or separation saw their marriage ended

by an untimely death or married only a short time ago.

On basis of this we dare say that divorce should be considered as the "Rule" rather than as the "Exception". We should therefore not try to explain the occurrence of divorce, which is the rule, but we should on the contrary try to offer an explanation for the exceptions, that in certain cases partners prefer to stick together, in spite of the common practice of divorce around them.

It would not be very enlightening to select all those marriages which "failed to end in divorce" (i.e. marriages which ended in death or extant marriages) and compare them with marriages which ended in divorce. The reason is that many of those marriages which ended in death, would otherwise have ended in divorce, and that many of the extant marriages will probably end in divorce later on.

We have therefore selected 25 marriages of which we know with certainty that they lasted a long time, at least 12 years, and were never terminated by divorce. Some of them are still in existence, some of them ended by death of one of the partners. Below we have listed all those marriages with name and genealogical number. The figure behind refers to the marriage of the person, so 3 means: third marriage.

1. Asare	A.IV,1:	3	14. Safo	A.V,13:	1
2. Oye	A.IV,3:	1	15. Safo	A.V,13:	3
3. Kisiwa	A.IV,5:	3	16. Anan	A.VI,3:	3
4. Nana Joseph	A.IV,9:	1	17. Dapaa	A.VI,5:	1
5. Gyima	A.IV,11:	1	18. Addae	A.VI,9:	1
6. Amanua	A.IV,12:	3	19. Beauty	A.VI,12:	2
7. Darkoa	A.V,1:	1	20. Saa	B.IV,4:	1
8. Mmobrowa	A.V,2:	3	21. Kyeiwa	B.V,2:	1
9. Siaw	A.V,3:	4	22. Dankwaa	B.V,5:	2
10. Amo	A.V,7:	1	23. Nketiaa	B.V,5:	4
11. Amo	A.V,7:	7	24. Oforiwa	B.V,9:	2
12. Dei	A.V,8:	2	25. Ansa	B.V,10:	2
13. Ankonam	A.V,10:	1			

14 from V, and 4 from VI. ^{Seven} of them come from generation IV,

Let us now examine these 25 lasting marriages, and compare them with those marriages which ended in divorce, relating both to variables such as residence pattern, place of residence, marriage fertility, preferential marriage, polygamy, and origin of partner.

TABLE 22: Polygyny and Marriage Stability in Amo's family. (Percentages in brackets).

	Polygynous	Mono-gamous	Totals	Unknown	Final Totals
All CMs ended in divorce	44 (61)	28 (39)	72 (100)	5	77
All CMs	81 (59)	57 (41)	138 (100)	12	150
25 lasting CMs	9 (39)	14 (61)	23 (100)	2	25

Legend: CM = Customary Marriage $\chi^2 = 3.41$ $0.10 > P > 0.05$

According to Table 22 the lasting marriages are predominantly monogamous while the 77 marriages which ended in divorce were predominantly polygamous. The difference is however not statistically significant.

The tendency of polygynous marriages towards divorce is consistent with a reason for divorce or separation that is sometimes heard: Interference of the co-wife. (See also Table 28). Badu for example says, "I divorced the man, because the other wife used to trouble me without end. She did not allow her husband to marry me properly." Kate (B.VI,11) explained why she did not marry the man ^{who} caused her first pregnancy, "He had another wife, of which he was very much afraid," and Oduraa (B.V,16) divorced her second husband because "The other wife always quarreled with me."

TABLE 23: Residence pattern and Marital Stability in Amo's family. (Percentages in brackets).

	Residence together	Residence not together	Un. known	Totals
All CMS ended in divorce	35 (45)	37 (48)	5 (7)	77 (100)
All CMS	75 (50)	62 (41)	13 (9)	150 (100)
Lasting CMS	16 (64)	7 (28)	2 (8)	25 (100)

Legend: CM = Customary Marriage. $\chi^2 = 1$ $X^2 = 3.07$ $0.10 > P > 0.05$

Table 23 seems to indicate that common residence of the partners tends to accompany marriage stability. The relationship is however not statistically significant. Common residence, especially when it goes with residence outside the wife's hometown - which is often the case as Table 13 has shown - takes the wife outside the realm of her family and diminishes influence or interference from that side, which otherwise may lead to divorce.

Actually, several people attribute divorce to the fact that relatives meddled with their marriage affairs. Siaw (A.V,3) for example: "Then I understood that there was a conspiracy between my wife and her relatives... I became angry and divorced her." Mtansah (B.VI,42) told us, "My grandmother became angry and insisted on divorce. I did not want to divorce him, but since the idea was proposed by the elders, I had no choice and divorced him against my will."

TABLE 24: Place of Residence and Marriage Stability in Amo's family. (Percentages in brackets).

	Resident in WHT	Not resident in WHT	Totals	Unknown	Final Totals
All CMs ended in divorce	36 (54)	31 (46)	67(100)	10	77
Lasting CMs	11.5 (46)	13.5 (54)	25(100)	0	25

Legend: CM = Customary Marriage. $\chi^2 = 0.43$ 0.90 ~~1.80~~
WHT = Wife's Home Town.

Dwamena (A.VI,10): "I divorced her, because her mother wanted her to be always at her side, since she was her only daughter.....After the birth of our second child the mother did not allow her to visit me for one year and nine months...."

Manu: "Main cause of separation was interference of relatives. Her father had been promised he would get a fat job in one of the cocoa buying agencies, and wanted to give his daughter in return to the agent who was promising him the job."

Tables 23 and 24 appear consistent with Fortes' statement that the high divorce rate is "due primarily to the strength of the matrilineal kinship ties." (Fortes, 1950:283).

Geographical distance weakens the kinship ties and strengthens the marital ties.

TABLE 25: Origin of Partner and Marital Stability in Amo's family. (Percentages between brackets).

Partner's origin:	Home town	Kwanu	Akan	Non-Akan	Totals
CMs ended in divorce	50 (65)	17(22)	7(9)	3 (4)	77(100)
Lasting CMs	13 (52)	8(52)	2(8)	2 (8)	25(100)

Legend: CM = Customary Marriage. $\chi^2 = 3$ $X^2 = 1.82$ 0.50 \rightarrow 0.30

TABLE 26: Preferential Marriage and Marital Stability in Amo's family. (Percentages in brackets).

	Ofie Wwaree	Widow Inheritance	Non-pre- ferential	Totals	Final Unknown	Totals
CMs ended in divorce	20 (29)	7 (10)	42(61)	69(100)	8	77
Lasting CMs	6 (24)	1 (4)	8(72)	25(100)	-	25

Legend: CM = Customary Marriage. $\chi^2 = 2$ $X^2 = 3.85$ 0.20 \rightarrow 0.10

Comments we made in connection with Tables 23 and 24 are underscored by the Tables 25 and 26. Marriage within the family of the father or within the home town does not seem to have that stabilizing effect, people expect from it. It rather has a slightly destabilizing effect. The percentage of marriages with partners from outside the home town is higher among the stable marriages (48%) than among the marriages which ended in divorce (35%). In the same way, the percentage of preferential marriages was higher among the divorce-marriages than among the lasting marriages. (See Table 26).

None of the last four tables shows any statistically significant relationship, but all gravitate towards the same direction: distance creates stability and closeness instability. Marriage gains in stability when the partner is found further from home and when the female partner stays further from her relatives. Certain forms of endogamy, which were commonly believed to have a stabilizing effect, seem to be associated with instability rather than with stability. Where this preference for endogamous marriage was by-passed marriage tended to last longer.

It should be noted that these comments do not so much affect the present generation, which is only represented by 4 marriages in the sample of 25 lasting marriages. One of the 4 could even be regarded as belonging to the previous generation, because of the relative age of the union.

One should therefore not conclude that marriage stability is increasing among the present generation, in association with an increase of common residence, of migration, of marriage with partners from outside the home town, and of non-preferential marriage. These factors can be correlated with a higher stability in the past, but it seems they fail to do so at present, due to other factors, one of which is the rise of a looser type of sexual union, which we have called Free marriage.

A last factor we have not yet examined is marriage fertility. Is there a relationship between fertility and stability in marriage? Table 27 affirms this. There is an extremely significant relationship between the two. Only 12% of the marriages which ended in divorce had three or more children, growing up or grown up. As for the 25 stable marriages this was not less than 68%

We must make one remark here, which refers to the last six tables (22-27). Strictly speaking all that these tables can bear out is concomitant variables. It needs a further study to investigate to what extent these relationships are also causal. For example one could argue that it is only natural that marriages which are untimely broken off by divorce do not produce many children and that marriages lasting longer than 10 years are more fertile. In other words, fertility may not so much be the cause but rather the outcome of high marriage stability.

The foregoing tables with their comments should therefore in the first place be read as showing an associational relationship, rather than a causal one. The only indication of causal relationships we have are official reasons of divorce given by our informants. We have added these to our comments and cited some of them. In the next paragraph we shall pay more attention to those.

TABLE 27: Fertility and Marriage Stability in Amo's family.
(Percentages in brackets).

	No children grown	1-2 children grown	3 or more children grown	Totals
CMs ended in divorce	38 (49)	30 (39)	9 (12)	77 (100)
Lasting CMs	5 (20)	3 (12)	17 (68)	25 (100)

Legend: CM = Customary Marriage. n = 2 $X^2=35.11$ $p<0.001$

Coming back to Table 27, barrenness and low fertility are indeed often given as reasons for divorce. One person who immediately comes to our mind is Nkrabea (A.V,9) who according to his own version divorced four times because of this very reason. "After the first child she never became pregnant again. I fought hard for it, but I was not successful. The wife's family therefore claimed her back."

Another person who failed to bring forth and divorced twice is Boahemaa (A.V,11). She, however, never mentioned it as a ground for divorce. As a matter of fact women rarely do admit barrenness as grounds for divorce. Some other people who mentioned infertility in connection with divorce were Amo (twice) and Dei (A.V,8). Amo finally told us that Preko's marriage (A.V,12) stranded because of similar reasons. "Preko was impotent. He did marry a girl officially, but she left him because of his impotency."

The plight of barrenness is expressed in a highlife song about a woman in Kwahu Tafo, Yaa Boahemaa, who has never brought forth.

We have adopted this name for a member of Amo's family for obvious reasons. The song starts: "Yaa Boahemaa has made up her mind to mourn for herself while still alive, because, when she dies, there will be no one to mourn for her.....She is unable to conceive and bear a child.....She has no helper on earth. She has been crying all along and now no tears are left...."

7. Reasons for Divorce.

After having related marriage stability and instability to the above variables, let us now look at what people themselves give as reasons for divorce or separation. Most of the reasons listed below were expressed by one of the partners. In some cases, when the partner had died or was inaccessible, information was given by some relative. We have made a distinction according to whether the reason was given by husband, wife or a mere informant. The distinction between divorce and separation has been dropped here as we want to look at the reasons given for breaking up any marital union.

TABLE 28: Reasons for Divorce and Separation in Amo's family.

Reasons given by:	Husband	Wife	Other	Totals
Reasons:				
Interference of other partner	2	7	1	10
Infertility/low fertility	8	2	1	11
Bad conduct or neglect of marital duties	6	8	2	16
Partner did not perform customs	0	2	0	2
Interference of relatives	4	7	2	13
We belonged to same clan	0	2	0	2
There was no love	3	5	2	10
Quarrel or beating	3	2	1	6
Partner travelled and left me	3	4	2	9
Any other reason	5	4	5	14
Reason unknown	2	3	15	20
Totals	35	46	31	113*

Table 28 needs some explanation. The reason which is mentioned most often is neglect of marital duties. The wife usually accuses the husband of not taking proper care of her and/or children, and if it is the husband who brings the case, it usually means that the wife refused to stay with him, or to work on his farm.

Not surprisingly the second reason is interference by relatives. Aso, for example, told us, "His mother did not agree to our marriage, and advised her son to leave me. He listened to her and left me." This reason can also be used to shift the responsibility on to someone else, while the real reason may be quite different. In the case of Ntiri (B.VI,28) the real reason was that he failed to look after the girl and to perform the customs, but he attributed the cause of separation to actions of the fathers of both girls, that they did not want him to marry their daughters.:

* The total number of reasons is higher than the total number of divorces and separations as sometimes more than one reason was given.

"The father told me, that he was going to give her to someone else to marry, so I left her."

Third comes infertility or low fertility. Remarkable is however that the reason is mainly brought by men. Marital infertility is usually attributed to barrenness of the woman, which may be the reason that women do not like to mention it as the reason of the divorce. Only twice a woman mentioned it. In one case the woman, Nketiaa (B.V,5) blames the man for her failure to bring forth more than two children: "He had too many children, so he did not need any more. After my second child I did not become pregnant again. That is why I left him." It is only Fofie (A.VII,3) who somehow includes herself in the reason: "We had no children and that was the reason of the divorce." Two women who probably divorced because of infertility but denied this are Kumaa (A.V,6) and Boahemaa (A.V,11).

The fourth place is shared by "No love" and "Interference of another partner." Understandably, the latter is mainly brought forward by women, who, supposedly, clash with their co-wives, but in our sample not less than 5 of these 10 cases refer to male "co-partners" who are interested in the same woman. The two cases mentioned by men are from the mouth of Berko (B.V,14) and Amoa (B.VI,36). In both cases a former husband is returning to the scene to win back his former wife.

Sixth is 9 cases in which one partner left the other and went away on a long journey or settled elsewhere. In 8 of the 9 cases it was the husband who travelled. The wife may refuse to accompany the husband as happened to Berko (B.V,14): "She said Abidjan was too far, and she might remain there permanently and not see her home town again." More common is however that the husband leaves more or less unceremoniously, probably with the underlying intention to get rid of the wife. Badu (A.VI,6) for example said of her third partner, "My friend was then transferred to Cape Coast and left without saying goodbye to me. I have not seen him since then." Similar statements were made by Fofie (A.VII,3) about her second partner and by Oduraa (B.V,16) about her fourth.

The remaining three reasons are "Quarrel/Beating", "Refusal of the man to perform the (rest of the) marriage customs" and "Belonging to the same clan". The last two were only expressed by women.

Among the other reasons which have not been specified we find: excessive drinking, money palaver, witchcraft, sickness, spendthrift of the woman, disagreement upon some issues, the wish to become a Catholic, and impertinence of the woman.

During interviews with old people we asked them what were causes of divorce in the past. Most of the above were mentioned by them.

Three reasons which were brought by them do not occur in Table 28: Adultery, Lying and Failure to inform the wife of taking another wife. It was explained to us that a man seeking divorce will rather not bring forward the accusation of adultery, for fear of being ridiculed. If there were any peculiar reasons which could not be revealed in public without causing embarrassment, any other tangible reason might be given.

8. The Divorce Ritual.

Traditionally there was a well-defined ritual to ratify a divorce. If the woman or the relatives of the woman sought the divorce, they had to pay back the "Tiri Nsa" (Head Rum) or "Kete ase hye" (Putting under the mat) to the husband. If the husband sent the woman away, he could give her some consolation money called "Kwangya Sika" (Send-off or Farewell money). The crucial rite was the pouring of white powder before the woman's feet by the husband, called "Hyiregu" (Throwing of powder). This act could also be performed by someone else, if the husband was far away or something else prevented him from performing the act.

At present the picture has become more confused and equivocal, and we have the impression that in many cases divorce was agreed upon and enacted in some manner other than the traditional one.

The amount of money collected by the husband also differed slightly in the cases of Amo's family.

Osei received 16 shillings from his first two wives and Badu paid the same amount to her first husband. Ntiri claims that he also received that amount, but he is probably boasting since he never completed the marriage customs. Nkansah and Nketiaa paid 8 shillings and Nyamekye 11 shillings. Many times also no money was collected back from the woman, although divorce was initiated by her or her relatives. This happened for example after the second, fourth and fifth marriage of Nkrabea (A.V,9). Nkrabea explained, "There were no payments, because it was clear that she should try somewhere else to get children."

In two instances the husband was asked to pay, but these were fines, rather than divorce payments. Berke (B.V,14) was fined £40.00 and Beauty's first husband £25.00. In one case, the husband (Nkrabea: 6th divorce) bought a pot of palmwine which the court drank to crown the end of the marriage.

9. Free Marriage and Separation.

We need not say much anymore about the termination of Free Marriage, which we have termed "Separation". Some aspects of Separation have been dealt with in our discussions on divorce.

Separation is easy and frequent. When we apply Ratio C (See Table 17), which has been recommended by Barnes as the most adequate ratio for a live population, Separation

Frequency is 75% and when we apply Ratio B the frequency is even 100%. More telling than these frequency rates is the average duration of free marriage. A random sample of 16 out of 32 free marriages, about which we have reliable information as regards duration, teaches us that an average free marriage does not even last for 2 years.

Separation is easy, because it is a purely private affair, like the start of the relationship. Elders or other relatives do not have any role to play. Payments are not made - neither at the beginning nor at the end of the union.*

Reasons for separation do not differ from those advanced for divorce reasons. The only reason which is peculiar to separation is the failure of the husband to perform the (rest of the) customs. The supposition that interference by relatives will be higher in free marriage than in customary marriage is not born out by our data; not more than 5 out of the 13 cases refer to free marriages. (Table 28).

10. Catholics and Divorce.

Is there any relationship between church membership and the occurrence of divorce and separation? The Catholic Church has certain very outspoken ideas about marriage when it has been contracted in the church before the priest. Manu produced the official doctrine of the Catholic Church when he quoted the Bible (Mat.19,6), "Man cannot tear asunder what God has joined together."

* Unless it is a "customary marriage" of which only the initial payments have been made.

There is no sign that the divorce rate in customary marriage is lower among Catholics than among other members of the family. Kumaa (A.V,6) who was a long time an "Unbaptized Catholic" (she only was baptized after her 5th marriage) divorced all her husbands. Dwamena (A.VI,10), Manu (A.VI,II) and Asante (B.VI,19) divorced twice. Other Catholics did not even come to customary marriage and sufficed themselves with a temporary partner such as Ntiri (B.VI,28), Obo (B.VI,30), Anim (B.VI,9) and Sirikye (B.VI,38). Others again "retired" to free marriage such as Kumaa and Aframea (A.V,4).

Strictly speaking, customary marriage and free marriage are, however, not considered as "joined by God"; this is reserved for the marriage which has been blessed by the priest, and which we have called Christian Marriage. It is here that we can see the influence of church membership on marriage stability.

No less than 5 of the above mentioned 25 "lasting marriages" were Christian Marriages. Of the total of 8 Christian Marriages in Amo's family only 3 ended in divorce, which is, expressed in Ratio A, only 36%, while the general rate is 51% (see Table 12). It should further be noted, that of these three, only one was followed by a new marriage (Siaw). The other two, Preko (A.V,12) and Manu stuck to the rule of the church and did not marry again.

Concluding we can say, that there is a strong influence of the Catholic Church upon marriage stability, when people have entered into Christian Marriage. There is a firm social control exercised by church officials and elders, which is almost absent in the secular domain of the same society. Siaw's collision with church authorities after he had divorced his wife and married someone else, impaired his social position considerably, and it is clear, that such considerations play a role in Manu's decision not to marry again, but rather try the Sisiphus job of winning his wife back. His whole position as teacher in the Catholic School and catechist in the church would collapse, were he to decide to marry someone else. In such a situation secret Lover Relationships are the only solution.

E. DYNAMICS OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

Can we, at this juncture, point to a "function" of divorce? Can we conclude this chapter with some well-defined theses about the extent to which, and the conditions under which, divorce is integrative or disruptive? Marwick, for example, has stated that marital instability among the Cewa has an integrative effect upon the matrilineage and the integration of the matrilineage has a destabilizing effect upon marriage. (Marwick, 1952:261). Because of that, he concludes, the Cewa society is better adapted to a high rate of labour migration, than a conjugally organized society, since the matrilineage remains functional under a disturbed sex-ratio.

There is no doubt that the first part of Warwick's conclusion applies to Amo's family. Marital instability is closely connected with the integration of the consanguine family. We have seen that propinquity of relatives is concomitant with a high divorce rate. We have further seen that interference by relatives is an oft-repeated complaint and cause of divorce. It is also likely that infertility and other divorce grounds are linked up with family interference, since the woman's matrilineal relatives will claim her back if she does not bring forth, or anything else is wrong with the marriage.

Looking at the matter from the opposite point of view, we have ample evidence that marriage stability can become very disruptive to the matrilineal family. It is here that we link this chapter to the previous one. In chapter III we have observed how the stability and cohesiveness of the marriage between Osei and Oforiwa shook the very foundations of unity and solidarity in Amo's family. It undermined ascribed social relationships based upon kinship, and split the family into two parties. The events that followed the first conflict demonstrated the prevalence of people's belief that blood ties ought to dominate marital ties and that no marriage partner can or should take the place of a brother or sister. There is no need to repeat the arguments of chapter III, and it is on basis of both this chapter and the previous one that we conclude that divorce frequency and family cohesion are closely associated.

The question remains however, whether a high divorce rate also fulfils a positive role in adapting the family to new socio-economic situations as it does for the Cewa.

If we may consider the urban elite as a vanguard of social change as some suggest (Lloyd (ed) 1966:passim), we must draw the conclusion that developments in Amo's family are not in line with those we may expect to take place, if we look at the elitist style of life. Caldwell who did a survey among the elite of Ghana's four biggest towns found that 87% of the women and 72% of the men had married only once. The average age of the women was about 30, that of the men 37. (Caldwell, 1968:36). Asked, "Do you think it is a good thing for a man to say with the same woman all his life?", 85% of the females and 90% of the males said yes. (Caldwell, 1968:57).

Caldwell comments on these figures, "The expectation is that an unstable marriage pattern is not easily adjusted to the living conditions of the urban elite", and he mentions among others the factor of upbringing and education of the children and a general feeling of respectability attached to this more western type of marriage. (Caldwell, 1968:36).

But let us not take such a long view; Amo's family is far away from becoming or even approaching an urban elite. Most members who have settled in the urban areas of Accra and Kumasi are rather poor and are having a hard time to survive.

Residence patterns of members in Accra are a sort of extension of residence patterns at home, they are based upon kinship rather than upon marital ties. Nkwanta (A.VI,16), Badu (A.VI,6), Akoma (B.VI,29) and Obo (B.VI,30) stay in one room in Accra and Sirikye (B.VI,38) and Love (B.VI,46) do the same. Anim (A.VI,9) stayed for some time with his brother Ntim (B.VI,8) and Atuobi (A.VII,4) stayed with Korang (A.VI,15).

To fulfil the social needs in such a situation, "Kinship Stability" is more important than marriage stability, and not only for the purpose of residence; also for the upbringing of children. For example Korang has given three of her four children to her mother at Ayere to look after, and so has Nkwanta with her only child. Sirikye also has trusted her two children to her mother Yeboah (B.V,12) at Ayere.

For the members of Amo's family staying at Ayere and in the farming villages, and to a great extent also for those staying in the urban centres, kinship ties continue to play a dominant role as we have demonstrated in this chapter and chapter III. A high divorce rate therefore, does not affect their adaptation to present social and economic values in a negative way. It rather has a positive effect as far as it sustains the kinship ties against marital ties.

Marriage and divorce should not be considered as static social entities which are opposed to one another. Radcliff-Brown has stressed that African marriage is not an event or a condition, but a developing process. (1950:49). He distinguishes several stages in the process, the most important of which can be betrothal, contract between the two families, removal of the bride, birth of the first child, etc. We suggest that divorce also should be regarded as a stage in the marital process, at least for the marital processes in Amo's family, and - if this case study would pertain to a wider scope - for Kwahu marriage at large.

We have stated that divorce is more common than non-divorce and should be thought of as the rule, rather than the exception. Divorce is therefore an inherent part of marriage.* To leave one partner for another in one's marital life, is as normal, as it is to leave one plot of land for another in the traditional agricultural system of bush-fallow rotation - if we may make such a comparison.

Perhaps Fortes' concept of "Developmental Cycle" could be applied here usefully. (in: J.Goody, 1958). Gray very rightly points out that the present trend in Anthropology is not the study of social "structures" but of social "processes". (Gray, 1964:9).

* E. Goody made a similar discovery among the Gonja in Northern Ghana, where elderly women divorce and return to their house of origin as a rule (E. Goody, 1962).

There remains only one remark we want to make. The view that divorce is only a stage in the marital process and not "the end of marriage", and the concomitant more positive appreciation of divorce as a step towards a next stage, is in line with a modern trend in most western societies, in which divorce, until recently, was branded as a social evil.

There is a striking similarity between these traditional African values and modern developments in western moral thought. New parliamentary bills in these societies stress that marriage partners should not be kept together against their will, and that divorce should be made more easily attainable for those who experience their relationship as having "broken down", and who would like to opt for the establishment of a new relationship. This very idea lies - inter alia - underneath the ease and high frequency of divorce in Amo's family.

If, however, Caldwell's prognosis is correct, that the divorce rate will decline sharply, we shall ultimately have the ironic situation that Africans and Europeans are swapping their values. As a Ghanaian student remarked to us, "If I divorce my wife in Ghana, I am a conservative, if I do it in Europe, I am progressive."

APPENDIX I: MARRIAGE HISTORIES

A. KONADU'S SECTION

Afua Konadu. (A.IV,4)

"When I was still a child, one of my wofanom who was a trader, took me on his journey to the North and Ivory Coast. That journey lasted seven years. Before that time, however, I had been betrothed as a child to a man at Atible, where we were staying then. I became his Asiwa.

In Ivory Coast another Kwamu man took me as his mpena and our friendship resulted in the birth of Kofi Amo, but this name was only given to him after I had returned from the journey. It was my real husband who gave him the name. A fine of adultery had been paid by the father of the child to my uncle and my uncle had sent the money to my husband at Ayere.

After I had returned home my husband took me as his wife and we had one child together, Kwaku Dei. My husband had one wife more. I did not stay with him in the same house. After he had died I was given in marriage to his younger brother who inherited him.

This man had two wives more at that time. We had no children together. Because he used to beat me, I decided to leave him.

I left Atible and settled with my two children at Ayere. There I met a man from Abetifi who was staying with his brother at Ayere. I married him and he looked very well after the children. At Ayere we did not live in the same house, but when we went to his home town we did. I also travelled with him and when I was staying with him at Suhum, I saw the first car in the Gold Coast.

When he died he was inherited by his nephew, who was still a small boy. I did not feel any love for him so I refused to marry him, and since that time I have not married again."

Amma Kisiwa (A.IV,5).

"When I was about 4 years old, I was betrothed to one Owusu. I became his Asiwa. But when I grew up I did not like the man, so I refused to marry him. Owusu collected back his 3 pounds plus a fine of 2 pounds.

By that time I had been made pregnant by a man called Wiafe. Owusu became angry with Wiafe and blamed him for the fact that I had refused to marry him, saying, "Se wo na wotuu me yere yi so." (So, you changed the mind of my wife). This remark annoyed Wiafe and he also refused to marry me. The child we had together is Kofi Nkrabea. After Wiafe broke with me, he did not care anymore for the child, but his sister sometimes gave Nkrabea money to buy food.

My third partner was Addo, the son of my "wofa". We liked one another and he took the initiative and asked me to become his wife. He married me officially before making me pregnant. We had seven children together, but five of them died, leaving only Ankonam and Boahemaa.

Addo fell sick and died after a week. We and his relatives tried to cure the illness, high fever, but were not successful. I have heard that some people in Addo's family were caught by medicine for their bad deeds, but I do not know if any of them has killed my husband.

Addo was inherited by his wofase, but this man did not take care of my children at all. He was staying at Cape Coast and came every season to collect the proceeds of the cocoa and left again to squander the money. Because of that the inheritance was taken from him and given to another nephew who is very good.

My last husband had 4 wives. He divorced one, another died, and I and another survived him. After his death I decided not to marry anymore."

Kofi Siaw (A.V,3).

"My first wife was Yaa Mansa from Ayere: she was the daughter of my wofa and a sister of Kofi Amo's first wife. I liked her and went to my "wofa" to inform him and he gave me her in marriage. I did so on purpose to avoid going in to many women and contacting a dangerous disease. I married her officially before she became pregnant.

Because we were both Presbyterians, her father asked me to wed her in the church. The wedding took place in 1927 and we were walking hand in hand through the street.

During the time she was my wife I gave her eight cloths, eight headkerchiefs, and an air-tight trunk. I gave her everything a woman needed.

I gave her every day money for food, but I do not remember how much. We both farmed (cocoyam and corn) and we usually went together to farm, sometimes to her farm, sometimes to mine.

We did not stay together in one house since we both had our own house at Ayere. We had one child, a daughter.

Divorce came after two years. The reason was the following. My wife's sister did not approve of our marriage and advised her not to come to me in the village where I was working. She said that if my wife would come to me she would not attend her funeral, when she came to die. So my wife failed to come and I went to Ayere to complain to her father that my wife refused to stay with me in the village. By that time also my wife had become pregnant again and I had given her two pounds worth of native medicines.

During the settlement of the case my wife's mother revealed that my wife was not even pregnant. Then I understood that there was a conspiracy between my wife and her relatives and that they had made me pay 2 pounds for nothing. I became very angry and divorced her.

Another reason that I divorced her was that my wife's mother was a witch, and wanted to kill our daughter. I was so angry that I told her that, if the child would die, I would fry her (the mother) for a person to eat. (cf. Appendix III, No.5).

In the night my wife came home to sleep. I asked her about the child and she answered she was well. She praised me, saying that it was good for a man to be bold. For when my daughter fell sick at first, the old lady gave her some herb, but it failed to work until I went to the house and shouted at the old lady. Since then she had applied the medicine only once and the child had come around. So another reason why I divorced my wife was that her mother was a witch.

My second wife was Abena Dede. I had 3 children with her. At first we were happy together, but later on I realized that there was a conflict between the two of us.

I went to Akwatia to work in the diamond mines, and my wife came to join me. She became a friend with another woman of Ayere at Akwatia and the two started to live a very bad life. One day she informed that she wanted to go to Ayere. I did not mind her and went to work. When I returned I found that she had locked the doors and left the keys with my landlord.

I was told that she had left for Ayere. I decided not to follow her but my landlord advised me to go, to check whether she had arrived safely, because if anything would happen to her on the road, I would be held responsible. So I also left for Ayere and found that she had already arrived. When we met to settle the case I was found guilty, because I had failed to come home the very day my wife left Akwatia, to see whether she had arrived safely. I explained that I could not leave Akwatia without permission of my employers, otherwise I would have been dismissed. I also told them how my wife had left Akwatia and she also was found guilty. She thereupon replied that she did not want to be my wife any more, so I divorced her.

It is my nature that, if I love a woman, but she tells me she does not love me, I will not talk to her any more. Whether she is my wife or my mpeña, as soon as that statement has been made I do not like her any more and I will divorce her. So, as soon as Dede had said this, I divorced her and that was the end.

My third wife was Cecilia, also from Ayere. She was the daughter of my "wofa". I approached her step-father and married her in the Catholic Church. I was then a pupil teacher at Nteso and later at Bepong and took her with me.

I then realized that teaching would not gain me anything so I left the teaching field and took to cocoa farming. I had then many people to look after, not only my own children but also many nieces and nephews.

My wife got a very serious disease in her breast. I spent huge amounts of money on her and travelled with her to Accra and other places, but all my attempts were in vain. The sickness grew worse and she had to stay at home. It was there that she offended me so much that I could not help divorcing her.

I had appealed to her to allow me to marry another woman, because I needed money and she could not do anything. She refused to allow me this, but I had no choice if I wanted something to eat and to put in the church collection on Sunday, and married another woman who is my present wife.

One day I went to the house of my sick wife Cecilia to take some things like buckets and cooking utensils, but she confronted me and did not allow me to take anything because she did not like the other wife. I did not want to use any force as she was a sick person; she attacked me suddenly and tried to give me slaps. I was saved from her hands by one of my sisters who was then passing.

I was very provoked at her action, so as soon as I reached home I reported the matter to my "wofa" and divorced her. Since then I have never been allowed to receive the Holy Communion. We had no child together.

My fourth wife is called Elisabeth, she also is from Ayere and the daughter of my "wofa". We do not have any children, but if God will give us some, we will like it. (Note: both are over 60). Anyway, I am not worried about that.

My wife stays in her own house, but comes here to bring me food and spend the night. We go together to farm and to the village. We do everything together. She has helped me very much and works very hard. She has many foodstuffs on her farm.

If she wants to buy a new cloth I give her money to buy one. We put the money together when we sell foodstuffs, and from that money we buy what we need. But we do not put all our money together, because, when God calls you, the relatives come and count your money, and see to it that people who owe you pay their debts. But if for example the man owes the wife, the family can write off the debt."

Adwoa Aframea (A.V,4).

(Note: this account is partly from Aframea and partly from her son Yaw Manu. It has been indicated in the text where Manu takes over. Aframea was not present when Manu gave us the information).

"My first husband was Kofi Tano from Ayere. He had a store at Kukurantumi where I stayed with him. We had three children, Akosua Addae, Dwamena and Manu. My husband died and I was given in marriage to his younger brother who inherited him. His name was Boateng.

Boateng had ^{wife} one more. I had one child from him, Yaa Beauty. My mother, Oye, offended Boateng one day so much that he became very angry and divorced me. I cannot reveal to you what she said."

(Manu continues).

"After that my mother married a certain Ntim, also from Ayere. I was then in Form 3. Ntim was the son of her "wofa", but very remote. They did not have any children. Divorce came when my mother contacted a Dagarti labourer.

My mother stayed about one year with the Dagarti man. They were the same age. They had no child but my mother had a miscarriage.

I did not like the man at all. He was a tenant in the house and knew that my mother was married, so he should have left her alone. Perhaps the man used some medicine to get her, because he was interested in juju. That was also a reason that people opposed him.

Ntim called some people to beat him. There was a big fight, because the man's people fought back and even broke the fence around Nana Ayesu's house. Nana Ayesu interfered and somehow managed to bring about a separation of my mother and the man. Later on this man became sick and left for his home town, which was the end of all.

My mother, however, refused to return to Ntim, because of what he had done to the Dagarti man, and has not remarried ever since. She sometimes says that I am her husband since I give her food and clothes."

(Note: Aframea's grandson, Yaw Sam, informed us that there was another "husband" now, but did not ^{/Manu} know about this. He looked surprised but did not rule out the possibility.)

Amma Kumaa (A.V,6).

"My first husband, Boama, hails from Ayere. He was also the first one I ever had sexual intercourse with. I met him at Ayere and he liked me, that is why he asked me to marry him. I was then about 15 years old. He had never married before. He belonged to the Presbyterian Church and I had written my name to become a Catholic, that is why we did not have our wedding. We had two children but both died very young.

When we went to the village we used to stay together in one house. He gave me money to prepare food and we went together to the farm.

We decided to have a divorce because I wanted to become a Catholic. There is no other reason. (When asked:) No, the death of our two children had nothing to do with the divorce.

My second husband is also from Ayere. He belongs to the same clan (Agona) as I, but his family hails from Bepong. We married because we liked one another.

By that time we did not know that we belonged to the same clan. I became pregnant before he had performed the customs. At that time he had already one wife.

We stayed together in Kumasi where my husband had a store. We sold pomade and other petty things.

In Kumasi I gave birth to our only child Kofi Yesu, who was born on Good Friday. After the birth I took the child to Ayere, and did not return to Kumasi, because we divorced.

The reason of the divorce was that we belonged to the same clan. One of my wofanom told us to separate. In our family they do not allow such marriages. (Note: This is certainly not true). After the divorce the boy stayed with me till the father came to collect him and took him to Kumasi, where he later on died in an accident.

After I divorced Darko I remained without a husband for some time. Twice I brought forth but both times the baby died. I did not want to marry the fathers of these two children, I cannot say why.

Around that time a certain malam came to Ayere and I went to see him, for I had difficulties in bringing forth, four of my five children had died. The man gave me medicine and married me later on. He was younger than I, and had no wife, or at least he did not bring any when he came to Ayere. He performed the marriage customs before I became pregnant.

He went to Kumasi and I went with him and stayed with him. We had three children and they also stayed with us. He gave me money to buy food but sometimes I also contributed money. In Kumasi he married a second wife but divorced her.

It was my uncle Ayesu (A.IV,2) who convinced me to marry the malam, though I did not want it myself. When Ayesu died I was at Ayere and the malam in Kumasi, so I sent him a message that my wofa had died and that he should come. He did not show up until 3 months after the funeral (1957). I then decided to leave him and we divorced.

After the divorce he took two of the children along to stay with his sister and the youngest remained with me. After the death of his sister the children came to me, because he did not look after them any more. He sometimes comes to visit them but he does not give them anything. Only when wofa Ayensu was alive he cared for them. It was all because of my wofa that he did so.

I then got to know a certain Opoku from Nteso, who came to work at Ayere. The man was older than I. He had a wife at Nteso but no one at Ayere so I became his mpena. I stayed on my own and he stayed with his relatives. We had one child, Yaa Grace (A.VI,17).

We never married officially, because my "Wofa"* Kofi Amo did not like it, and it was finally upon his instigation that I left him. It is our custom that we obey the elders, so I obeyed Amo. After all he was to receive the marriage payments, and if he disagrees, it is not possible to marry.

After Opoku I stayed for 2 years and then was taken mpena by a Northerner at Fwe^ewe^e. I went and stayed with him for two years at Fwe^ewe^e."

(Note: the following information is from Yaa Grace. We met her in a room in a house next to her mother's. We asked her in whose room she was staying. She answered in her father's. We said we did not believe this, and she stressed that it was her mother's present "husband". We asked for his name, and she said: Kwadwo Ameyaw. We replied that the tenant was called Mr. Kwame. She then gave us the following information:)

"It is true, the man is called Kwame Bullsa, he is a Northerner. I did not want you to know that my mother's husband is from the North, that is why I changed his name. He works as a labourer in one of the villages but comes every month here. He pays rent for the room to my wofa Yaw Manu."

Kofi Amo (A.V,7).

"I married my first wife after I had been a trader at Swedru for two years. I went to Ayere to marry her and took her back to Swedru. Her name was Tenewa. She was the daughter of my "wofa". I was then about 20 and she very young because she menstruated for the first time after I had married her.

We had five children together: Buadi, Odame, Ansa, Monica and Kyeiwa. They are all still alive. Tenewa stayed with me at Swedru till we left it. Our marriage lasted about 20 years and was only broken off by her death.

* He is her classificatory brother. The term "wofa" expresses respect.

At Swedru we stayed together in one house, and when we visited Ayere she stayed with her own people.

During that time I married a second wife, but that one did not come to Swedru, she stayed at Ayere and later on, when I stopped trading and started farming she went with me to the village. That wife was called Fosimaa. She bore four children but two died very young. The remaining two are Rose and Yaw Agyei. Fosimaa was also from Ayere.

Fosimaa died after nine years and that was the end of our marriage.

Around that same time I married another wife, and stayed with her for about 10 years. We did not have any children and I became tired of her so I divorced her. She also was from Ayere.

My fourth wife was Yaa Mansa. She was given to me by my wofa Ayesu who inherited her from his younger brother Asirifi (A.IV,6). Asirifi left two widows behind, so Ayesu took one himself and gave the other to me. Mansa was from the Volta Region and had 6 children with Asirifi. She came to stay with me at the village but left then for her home town and did not return. We had one child together but it died the first day.

My fifth wife was from Nkwanitia, called Biriwa. She had five children when I married her. I have one child with her, Kofi Yeboa.* Biriwa and I had the same clan: Agona.

It was the wife who initiated divorce. She went to stay for some time at her home town and I did not visit her during that time. She became angry and divorced me. There were no payments made for the divorce.

It was about the same time that I married another woman from Ayere. Our union did not last very long. No children were coming, so the woman left me. Later on she got a child by somebody else.

At the moment I am married to two wives. The oldest is Yaa Asantewa from Ayere. She had one child before she married me, Nina, who is staying with me. Yaa Asantewa has given me three children, Somua, Doris and Minta.

*Yeboa is not their child. He is the child of Biriwa's sister who has died and has been inherited by Biriwa. During her marriage with Amo, Biriwa had only a miscarriage.

She, the other wife and I go together to farm. Both have their own plot to collect the foodstuffs from. Sometimes I help the one, sometimes the other.

Both also do a bit of trading once or twice a week. They sell cloth and children's clothes at the markets of the surrounding towns and villages. I have bought the things for them to sell.

Both have their rooms in my compound, but only Yaa Asantewa cooks here. The other cooks in the next house where my mother Afua Konadu is staying, and brings the food to me. Both cook every day for me.

My youngest wife is called Theresa. She is from Oworobong. Her mother is Ofei's present wife, and it was through him that I married her. She has had 6 children before I married her, but we do not have any child yet, since I married her only 6 months ago. She is literate and has even been a pupil teacher before."

Observation:

As a rule Amo sleeps one day with Asantewa and the next day with Theresa. In the evening they all sit before their doors and converse till about 9 or 10 o'clock. On the surface it looks as if the two wives move freely together, but underneath there is much tension which came to the open one day.

That day, the two wives went together to farm without Amo who stayed home because his mother was sick. On the farm Theresa asked Asantewa whether she felt jealous when she (Theresa) slept with Amo. Asantewa pretended not to hear and kept silent. In the evening, when they were sitting together, Asantewa asked Theresa suddenly why she asked that question on the farm. Theresa answered her in English. Asantewa asked for an explanation in Twi since she does not understand English. After that they started to abuse one another in rather obscene terms. Theresa left the house and went to her mother, but Asantewa continued to shout loud through the night that the house belonged to her and that she, Theresa, should not set a foot in the house any more. However, Theresa returned to the house later in the night and slept there. Amo tried to calm down the two, but was not able to do so.

The case was the next day settled by Sasu, a friend and relative of Amo, but the two women did not speak to each other for more than a week.

Information by Agyanla:

"Before Amo married Theresa, Asantewa was his only wife. She worked very hard with him and did not want anyone else to come in to profit from her labour.

So when Amo got interested in Theresa he brought her to his house in secret. She would come and sit in the room of one of the tenants till Asantewa had gone to sleep. She would then come out and sleep with Amo. This went on for about six times until Asantewa discovered it. She pretended to sleep but watched through the key hole. As soon as she saw Theresa going into Amo's room she came out and asked her what she wanted in her husband's room. Amo asked Theresa not to reply and to go back to the tenant's room.

A quarrel broke out first between the two women and finally between Amo and Asantewa. The husband of Afua Fofie, who was then there, intervened.

Amo went then to sit in the pato and threatened to divorce Asantewa. But people around convinced them to go to bed since it was night.

The case was settled the next day and Amo was asked to pay something to pacify her (mpata). He never did and Asantewa did not force him. Since then, about 6 months ago, they have not quarreled again, but everyone knows that Asantewa and Theresa do not like one another."

Kwaku Dei (A.V,8)

"My first wife was from Ayere. My brother amo got her for me, when I was still young. I was then a store-keeper and if, for example -excuse me to say - I had to go to toilet, there was no one to look after the store: so I needed a wife. The wife stayed with me at Swedru, Nsaba and another town near Swedru, and came back with me to Ayere when I stopped trading.

The marriage lasted about six years, but we did not have any children.

Back at Ayere, I married a second wife, Nyama, and this one became pregnant after some time. When my first wife saw this, she decided to leave me, since she had not brought forth with me. So I told her that she could go and she went.

My second wife is from Asakrama. She came with me after I decided to come to Accra and has stayed with me all those 20 years. We had 5 children together but three have died.

Four years ago we were baptized as Catholics and now we are married in the Catholic Church. I know that, if you have holy Matrimony, you can marry only once, and cannot sleep with anyone else."

Kofi Nkrabea (A.V,9).

"My first wife was Amma from Ayere. I asked my parents to find me a woman to marry, and they gave me this girl. She was very young, about 14 and I was about 25. For both of us it was the first marriage, and neither of us had had any child before. We were not related in any way. She also belonged to the Agona clan, but I do not want to say anything more about that.

We had two children, who also stayed with us in the same house. One of the children died later. I divorced her after about 6 years.

By then I was very handsome and many girls were fond of me. My wife was very jealous anytime she saw me talking with a girl and used to quarrel. I could not stand that and divorced her. There were no divorce payments involved. Before I divorced her I had already married a second wife."

(Note: In a second interview we asked him again about the clan of this wife and whether the fact that they belonged to the same clan had influenced the divorce. This was his answer:)

"My first wife was a descendant from people who have been stolen in the war, we call these "Etuo Nnipa" (Gun people). She was therefore an adopted Agona, but her real tribe was Gonja. This has however nothing to do with our divorce, because I knew all this before I married her. Even one of my relatives, who was the chief, allowed me to marry her.

I have seen cases where people were separated because they belonged to the same clan, but not in my own family; I have never seen a case where such people were allowed to marry. (sic!).

Because of that I later on changed the places where I chose my partners. I always met people of the same clan when I was at Ayere.

People knew the origin of my wife in secret, but they dared not make mention of it. That is why I did not want to tell you on the first occasion. It is not good to reveal the origin of such people. There will be trouble if they find out who revealed it."

(Note: The following was said during the first interview).

"My second wife, Akosua, was also from Ayere. I was about 30 and she 14. She had not menstruated yet when I married her.

We stayed together in the same house, and the marriage lasted about 9 years. We had one child.

After the first child she never became pregnant again. I fought hard for it, but I was not successful. The wife's family claimed her therefore back. No payments were made.

My third wife was Adwoa from Nkwatia. I met her at Nkwatia. I liked her because her father and I are both farmers, so I felt that a farmer's daughter would be interested in my work. I was then about 40 and the wife 25. She had married before and had two children.

The marriage lasted about 4 years, during which we stayed together in the same house. We did not have any children.

Because no children were coming forth, we had to stop the marriage to enable one another to try our chances somewhere else to get children. I myself took the initiative. No payments were made.

My fourth wife, Abena, was given to me by my wofa Asirifi (A.IV,6). He gave me his daughter because he was worried about my plight, that all my previous wives had been divorced due to my inability to produce children with them. So he gave me his daughter that I should not remain single.

Our marriage lasted three years. We had no children. The wife sought for divorce. There were no payments because it was clear, that she should try somewhere else to get children.

Akua from Ayere was my fifth wife. She was given to me by her "grandmother", who pitied me for my tragic experiences in marriage. Her father was my "wofa".

I did not stay with her in the same house, but she came whenever I called her. The marriage lasted three years.

The woman realized that she was not becoming pregnant, and told me that she had to leave me. I therefore divorced her. No payments were made.

My sixth wife, Yaa, was also from Ayere. In her case, no one brought us together. We ourselves proposed love and agreed to marry. We flirted some time, before we married officially. I used to give her money and also her mother. She was then around 30 and I was perhaps about 50.

We stayed together in the same house, but were unable to have children the four years of our marriage.

I divorced her because we did not agree. Our spirits did not agree. (Me ne ne sumsum anhyia). I bought one pot of palm wine which the court drank to crown the end of the marriage.

My next wife, Afua, was from Aduamoa. I met her there when I attended a funeral. I got to know that she had no husband, so I took the opportunity to propose love to her and she readily agreed. Most of the time we did not stay together, but when she came to visit me at Ayere or I went to Aduamoa we stayed together.

When I acquired land, far away near Dedeso, she refused to come along and stay with me and help me in farming. So I became angry and divorced her. No payments were made. We had no children.

My next wife is called Elisabeth. I inherited her from my "wofa", Nana Joseph (A.IV,) and she is still married to me.*

My ninth wife is Wurekye from Oworobong. I was introduced to her by one of my "wofanom" at Oworobong.

* Elisabeth is a very old lady and a pious Catholic. She did not want to be "inherited" by Nkrabea in the traditional way, but agreed to being married to him officially. Their marriage should be regarded as an act of good will by Nkrabea who felt responsible for her, and is a compromise between Traditional and Christian marriage. Because of the character of the marriage Elisabeth has not been prevented by the Catholic priest from receiving the Sacraments.

When I met her she had 3 children and had married three times before. Her first husband had died and the two others she had divorced, so I am her fourth husband. I met her about two years ago, I was then over 60.

I have not yet completed the marriage customs for her, I have only paid the "knocking fees", the rest I hope to perform later on.

She is staying with me at my village near Dedeso. We do not have any children but she does not have desire for children anymore.

My tenth wife is from Asamankese and my eleventh I inherited from my brother (Kwadwo Nyame, B.V,1?)."

(Note: Nkrabea was getting tired of questions about this topic and did not say much about the last wives. Nkrabea further accused the women in the house of removing his sperms and spoiling his marriages, so that their children may inherit his wealth. (See Appendix III, No.12).

Finally, the following information was given us by Yaw Manu.)

"Some time ago my uncle Nkrabea was sick. His testicles were swollen and I took him to the hospital at Atibie. I paid \$35.00 for operation. Since then he has not been able to have children anymore."

Yaa Boahemaa (A.V,11).

"My first husband was one Bempon from Ayere. I never had a boyfriend or slept with any man before I married Bempon. Bempon and I belonged to the same clan, but we did not know that at the time. Anyway his clan was from Bepong. The elders however knew about it, but they did not say anything, neither did my "wofa" Nana Sampong who received the marriage payments.

I was his first and only wife. We went to stay in Accra and lived in one house. We had a child but the baby died after 5 months, and no child was born after that.

In the morning my husband always gave me money to buy food at the market and to buy clothes. I also earned some money which I used for food and clothes for myself.

I divorced him because we belonged to the same clan. No one told us to separate, we did it ourselves. The fact that I did not bring forth had nothing to do with the divorce. No payments were made.

My second husband was Adu from Ayere, he was the son of my (remote) "wofa". I married him about three years after my first divorce. He was much older than I. He had already three wives and married one more after he married me, so we were five.

He had a store at Nsawam and three of his wives were staying there with him. The two other ones were at Ayere.

I was with him and the two other wives at Nsawam. Two of us worked in the store, but we often quarreled, so I decided to leave the store. My wofa Ayesu (A.IV,2) settled the case and I won, so my husband decided to leave the whole store to me. He saw that I was doing well but he did not reward me, he did not give me cloth nor did he allow me to visit my relatives at home. All my clothes had torn. I therefore decided to divorce him. My wofa Ayesu paid a certain amount which I do not know.

I never had a child with him.

After that I became the mpena of one Ntim, also from Ayere. He had one wife, but she was staying at Asakraka. He was much older than I, and our relationship lasted only a year.

Separation came about without reason ("Enye hwee"). I did not want to stay with him any longer, because he did not look after me well. He had his wife and children to care for and that was enough, so I left him.

At the moment I am staying with Kofi Osofo from Akwapim. He first wanted to become a minister of the Apostolic Church, but has stopped. Amo, who is the founder of the church helped him financially, but he is not paid for his work in the church, although he still conducts church services. He used to do carpenter's work for Amo, but that job is also finished. At the moment he goes to farm with me. He stays with me in my mother's house (Uxorilocal!).

Amo has told him to marry me officially and bring drinks, but he has not done so. The church members know that we stay together without being married officially, but no one has said a word.

He would like to marry, but I am not going to marry anymore. What is the use of marriage if you cannot bring forth? We stay together till we get tired and stop. Our relationship has lasted 5 years now.

I know, he has married in his home town before and divorced the wife. He also has children, and still looks after them, but I do not know much about that. You had better ask him."

Yaw Preko (A.V,12).

(His brother Safo told us:) "My brother Preko did not like women and he never married. Once only, when he went to teach catechism in one of the villages, he contacted a girl and she became pregnant. As far as I know, this is the only time he ever contacted a girl. He did not marry the girl but took her as his mpena; no marriage rites were performed. The girl brought forth the child, and the child died. That was the end of the affair. The girl also died later.

The elders even told him to marry, but he refused. He did not like women at all. For example, when he taught them catechism in his room and he had finished, he sent them home immediately and went to sleep.

In the olden days, when the German and English missionaries were here, it was not so easy for a boy to call a girl to sleep with him. The elders would beat you if they found out, so we were afraid. That may be a reason that Preko was shy and afraid to call any girl."

(We told Amo the above story and asked his opinion about it. He laughed loud and said bluntly that Safo was a liar. This is his version:) "Preko never made any girl pregnant. He was impotent. He did marry a girl officially, but she left him because of his impotence. All the customs had been performed. After that he wanted to look like a Catholic Priest."

(Note: This version has been confirmed by several people. According to the Catholic Marriage Register, Preko married his wife even in the church).

Kofi Safo (A.V,13).

"My first wife is Akosua from Ayere. I met her in Accra where I was learning shoemaking. She had reached the marital age and had been told by her sister to marry. She then met me and agreed readily to marriage.

I wrote a letter to my wofa Gyima (A.IV,11) to inform him. He agreed and performed the customs for me. Neither of us had had any child and we had not moved together before our marriage.

Later on we became interested in the Catholic Church and started to learn the catechism. When we had three children we were both baptized and our marriage became Holy Matrimony.

In all we had 8 children. At Ayere we did not stay in the same house and our children always moved between their father's and their mother's house.

My wife died in 1949 in a motor accident while she was travelling to Accra. (See Appendix III, No.17).

After the death of my wife I met one lady, called Amma, and flirted with her for some time. I made a beginning with the marriage payments and paid two bottles of schnapps to the father. Later on I found out that she was morally weak and was interested in every man, so I did not marry her and handed her back to her father.

The next wife was my present wife; she is also from Ayere and called Afua. I married her one year after the accident of my first wife. By then Afua had not had any child.

Afua is staying with me in the same house. We have no children together; Afua has never born a child.

After one and a half years (Note: It was in fact after 6 years) we decided to marry in the church, because by then we had studied one another properly and felt we could remain as husband and wife."

Yaa Aso (A.VI,4).

"The first man who made me pregnant, did not marry me; he took me as his mpena. I brought forth a child but he died before he could walk. The man even claimed that he was not the father of the child, so my own parents cared for me during my pregnancy and did not want me to marry the man.

My first real husband was Aba from Ayere. He married me according to custom.* I spent 3 years with him. The two of us, however, had no child together.

* This contradicts the rest of her story.

He informed his father about the marriage, and his father advised him to stay with me for some time, before performing the customs, to study my character. He accepted this suggestion and stayed with me for a while.

The mother of Aba did not agree to our marriage and advised her son to leave me. Aba listened to her and left me.

During our marriage I stayed in my own house, cooked for him and brought the food to him. I was then his only wife. Since the divorce I have not married again. I am sickly and not strong enough to cook for my husband.

I got another child before I married Aba. This child also died and the father never married me."

Amma Dapaa (A.VI,5).

"My present husband is my first husband. He is from Bepong, but I met him at Ayere. We loved one another, that is the reason why we married. I was about 17 and he 26. He had already a wife so I became his second wife.

At the moment we are all staying at my husband's village, about 15 miles from here. My husband is a farmer. So my co-wife is there with her children, my husband, and myself with my four children and one child of my elder sister Anan (A.VI,3) whom I succeeded after her death."

Akosua Badu (A.VI,5).

"My first husband was Ababio from Nteso. I met him at Asakraka where I was then staying with my sister Anan. Ababio was a teacher at Asakraka. Before he performed the marriage rites he gave me many presents and money.

When he performed the customs I was already pregnant, but nobody detected that. Before I had spoiled one pregnancy with him, so this was my second pregnancy. I was sixteen when he married me. Ababio had already one wife plus a child. The wife was also pregnant at that same time. I was staying with him in the same house while the other wife was staying in her own house.

I divorced the man later because the other wife used to trouble me without end. She did not allow her husband to marry me properly. I payed a charge of 16 shillings and divorce payment to the husband.

I had two children with him. One died and the other one was later on collected by her father. The child and I visited one another sometimes.

My second husband was from Brong Ahafo, called Bampo. I met him at Ayere where he was a clerk for a cocoa buying agency. I liked him because he used to give me money. In the course of our friendship I became pregnant, so he waited till I had delivered the baby and performed the customs. He also had two children by then, but no wife.

We had one child together, and we all stayed together till the death of my husband. He died because he hanged himself.

My third partner I met at Accra, where he worked in the ministries. We became friends and started to flirt. After that I became pregnant. My friend was then transferred to Cape Coast and left without saying goodbye to me. I have not seen him since then. I delivered the child and it was only then that people got to know that I had been pregnant without having a husband. Nobody has ever seen the father of my child. Only those staying in Accra knew him.

If I marry again, I will marry a Kwahu, because if you marry a stranger and something happens, your relatives have to travel long distances to the town of the husband. The elders do not like that."

Kofi Dwamena (A.VI,10).

"My first wife was one Mary from Bepong. I met her at Mpaemu where I was then working. I was then 25 and she 18. She became pregnant before I officially married her; it was her first pregnancy. We had two children together.

At first I had my own room at Mpaemu, but after we married I gave up my room and went to stay with her. (Uxorilocal!). The girl did not work. At the end of the month I used to give her ₵6.00 to cook from.

I divorced her because her mother wanted her always to be at her side, since she was her only daughter. When I moved to Kwahu-Tafo, she came to spend a month with me and was then called back by the mother. The most important reason that led up to the divorce was that after the birth of our second child the mother did not allow her to visit me for one year and nine months. I had wanted her to look after my store, but she refused. Persistent appeals to the father and mother proved futile.

The mother finally excused her by saying that she was sick and that the doctor had forbidden her to go near the fireplace, so her daughter had to cook food for her. This led to the divorce. For 21 months I had a wife but did not see her.

After the divorce I took the first born to my mother and left the second born with her. Later on she came to collect the child and now both are with her at Mpaema. I usually pay something for their school fees and upkeep.*

My second wife was one Grace from Ayere. I met her about 6 months after the divorce of the first. It was through my wofa Safo's (A.V,13) wife that I met her. The girl was her sister's daughter. The reason I married her was that I needed someone to take care of my store.

I took her to my grandfather's (FF) house where she cooked but she slept in my store. There we used to sleep together as well. We had no child.

The marriage lasted only 5 months, after that I divorced her. Reason was that she refused to listen to me. When I told her to stay in the store, she would close it and leave to sell ball-fruits at the lorry station. I told her to sell them in front of the store so that she could look after the store at the same time, but she did not mind me. Sometimes also, in the evening, she went to the canteen and returned home late at night. I quarreled with her and that brought about the divorce.

I gave her every day 4 shillings to buy food at the market. We also went to farm; we went together to mine or she went alone to her father's sister's farm. When she went there she did not bring food to our house.

After I had divorced her, I wanted to marry a certain girl, but she was from the same clan, although from Bepong. Once I gave her a cloth and her mother asked her who had given her the cloth. She mentioned my name, and then the mother warned her not to marry me, since we were of the same clan. My wofa did not know about the case.

My third and present wife is one Comfort from Ayere. She had born 6 children before I married her. The first child is from someone she divorced, the 5 others from a teacher at Atible who died a few years ago. After his death she returned with her children to Ayere. Two of her children had died.

* We doubt the truth of this statement.

I became involved with her and contacted her once. A few months later she informed me that she was pregnant. I informed my father's sister about the matter, and also about the fact that I intended to marry that other girl. She advised me to marry Comfort and leave that other girl, since we were both Agona.

Now we have two children together and the third one will come very soon.

At the end of every month I give her ₦6.00 for food. We go to each other's farm.

I am a Catholic, but since my first marriage I have not received the sacraments, because I have not married in the church. I would like to marry in the church, but I first have to find a good wife. I will not marry my present wife in the church (sic!)."

(Note: Dwamena's present wife is a full sister of the husband of Dwamena's sister Yaa Beauty (A.VI,12). Siaw said this about the matter, "As for Dwamena, I called him, but he does not listen. I do not agree with him, marrying this Comfort." Yaw Manu, his own brother commented:)

"My own sister Yaa Beauty has been married to Abankwa for 12 years, and now my brother Dwamena, who is from the same mother as she, has married Abankwa's real sister (the same father and the same mother). The elders of the family, Amo, Siaw, Safo and Nkrabea sat together and advised Dwamena to put a stop to the marriage, but because he was not pressed he continued with the marriage and nobody forced him to divorce her."

Yaw Manu (A.VI,11).

First partner.

"When I was in training college I used to visit my grandfather, Nana Sefa (A.IV,8) during holidays. It was at his house that I met his daughter Adwoa Ntiriwa. I contacted her and she became pregnant and brought forth a boy.

When I contacted her, she had already one child. She had had an affair with a teacher when she was in form I. The teacher did not marry her, but the affair put a stop to her education. At the time I got involved with her, she was about 18.

It was not difficult for me to meet her since she was my grandfather's daughter, and I saw her all the time in the house. The fact that she had stopped school and had one child, was an encouragement for me. It meant that she knew the thing, and would be very close to me also.

One afternoon I called her to my room. I was staying there alone and no one would disturb me. You know, students are often highly regarded by the girls, when they come home on vacation, so as soon as I called her she came. I had two "rounds" with her, and later on I called her again and we had one round. She never stayed over night, but left after some time.

As soon as I had gone back to college, I learnt that she had become pregnant. I did not know whether I was the only one she moved with, but when I came back on holidays, the mother called me and explained that I was the one.

The mother said that I had told the girl to keep it secret, because if I were found out, I would be sent from college. I answered that this was not correct. Anyway, the girl did decide to keep it secret and went to stay with her sister at Ho. The father did not know a thing about the whole affair.

That holiday the two of us quarrelled. I called her to my room and she refused. I was annoyed and called another girl. Unfortunately, this girl also conceived, so before I returned for my final term at the college I had made two girls pregnant. Ntiriwa had by then left for Ho.

One day I was called by my grandfather who handed a letter to me from his daughter Ntiriwa. She wrote him that she was pregnant from his own grandchild, and that I had sent her away to Ho. She also wrote that she was very sorry that her first child had no father, and that her second child was going to be without one also. She put in in a proverbial way, saying, that she was bringing forth "sheep's children". In the course of our conversation my grandfather's two sons abused me and as a result I told them that I was not going to marry their sister any more.

Later on it became a case. The girl came to Ayere and Sefa sat on the case together with my two "wofanom" Nkrabea (A.V,9) and Safo (A.V,13), and some elders. I stuck to my guns and told them that the girl went of her own free will to Ho, and that I was not going to marry her because her brothers, who are my "sons" (I belong to my grandfather's clan, so they have to call me "father" as well) had abused me.

It was a not discussion and even my own wofa Siaw was trying to charge me. I told them I would rather pay 100 pounds than marry the girl. I know that my grandfather had hoped to settle the case amicably, so that I would marry his daughter, but I refused....They charged me 8 pounds plus 6 pounds for the upkeep of the child every year.

First I had wanted to call the boy after my uncle Siaw, but because of his role in the case I called him after my father's sister.

Because of this incident I also decided not to apply for a post as teacher at Ayere and went to Tarkwa.

At the same time there was the pregnancy of the other girl, whose parents were also pressing me to marry her."

Second partner

"The other girl I made pregnant was called Yaa Ohenewa. She was from Ayere and had never married or brought forth. My brother Dwamena let everyone know that I was the father of the child by giving her openly money on my behalf, etc. My grandfather Ayesu (A.IV,2) was very annoyed with Dwamena's behaviour, because, as he said, everyone would say that I was telling lies, if I were to deny being the father of the child.

I therefore accepted responsibility for this child and prepared for marrying the girl. I had some small savings and used them to pay for the two cases.

So I married Ohenewa officially according to customs, but I left her at Ayere when I went to Tarkwa. Two months later the girl brought forth, again a boy. My "wofa" Nkrabea had then come to Ayere and he gave a few things to Ohenewa through my "mother" Bohemaa and my father's sister. I also sent some money to be given to her. I named the child Nkrabea, after my "wofa".

At that time I did not know anything about contraceptives or abortion, neither about the traditional way of causing abortion by herbs. I never discussed any of these things with my friends.

In 1957 my grandfather Ayesu died and I came from Tarkwa to attend the funeral. During the celebration Ohenewa's brother called for me, and I went to him with some relatives. The man gave me two points to answer.

The first was whether I was not prepared to give his sister any money, because, when he came home his sister had asked him for a three pence. He said that if I had some cocoa farms I should allow his sister to stay there with my labourers, so that she would have something to eat.

His second point was that the Catholic priest was worrying him that his sister had no holy Matrimony, so I should marry his sister in church immediately, since we were all Catholics. He could not wait for me, one month, one year or ten years before I decided to marry her according to the laws of the Church.

I asked the man whether he said all these on his own behalf or on behalf of his family and he answered that he himself had decided to put these points before me. I asked him therefore whether he did not know that my grandfather, a big man in the town and once a chief, had died and that I, the only educated man in the family, had to play my full part in the funeral. So I asked permission to leave and told him that, if he had any sense, he would rather have come to help me. I proposed that he gave me his address so that I could give him my reply by mail.

When I informed my wofa^{now} about the affair, they were very annoyed, but they decided that the funeral should be finished first. I had no time and hurried back to Tariwa. From there I wrote a letter to my wofa and my father's sister, that they should divorce the girl with immediate effect, because I could not be responsible for what her brother had told me. That was the end of the marriage.

The relatives of the girl tried to hide the role her brother had played in the affair. They said, the divorce took place because I was going to another course and the girl could not wait 4 years before I would finish college, so she should be given the right to divorce and marry someone else. Since the factor of education was brought in, no fine was raised.

I am still looking after my previous wife and the child, and whenever I visited them I tell them that I had no intention whatsoever to divorce her, but that it is her brother who was the cause of all."

Third partner.

"When I was teaching at Tariwa I took my "wofase" Afua Pofie (A.VII,3) with me to help me in the house. Soon after that Amo wrote me a letter that I should bring the

girl back to Ayere since her father had not been informed. When I had brought her back, her father told me that the girl had grown, and might "contact" someone, so I should leave her at Ayere and look out for another girl to marry and stay with me.

I took his advice and selected four girls I liked. From them I would choose one to marry. I wrote to my father's sister to meet these girls and discuss matters with them. She did and the answer was that none of them wanted to marry me. I decided that I should get one by all means so I came to Ayere and called upon one Victoria. I saw her parents and they agreed. The girl at that time was betrothed to an old man, who was one of my "grandfathers", but she said she did not want to marry him. She said if she married me it would come to the same thing, because I and the old man were relatives. I had to pay about £30.00 to be used for paying back what the old man had spent on the girl. Debts of the father were included. It was agreed upon that her father would pay me back in about two years' time, but nothing has been paid yet. After that the girl came to me at Tarkwa. I had been there about two years then.

The girl was then about 18 or 19. I do not know her clan, but she is not related to me. She had never brought forth yet. I am quite sure that she refused to have intercourse with the old man, because he was old and very short, and she was afraid of getting short children.

I myself had never had intercourse with her before I married her. After she had agreed to marry me, I left for Tarkwa and gave money to my father's sister and my grandfather (FP) to perform the customs on my behalf. That was in 1939.

About two months after the customs had been performed the girl came to Tarkwa and stayed with me in the same house.

She did not work, so I gave her money to buy food from the market. Often also people gave me foodstuffs, as I was a teacher. I wanted her to learn sewing, but she did not like it and said she preferred learning baking, but also that she gave up and went back to Ayere to deliver her child. We had two children together, both were girls.

I think, I gave her £9.0.0 a month. When she came first she said she had no clothes, so I gave her 4 pieces of cloth, headkerchiefs, sandals, etc. I also bought her clothes when we had our church marriage.

The girl had not been baptized yet, so she was baptized before the wedding.

A strange thing happened on the day of our wedding. Just before we were going to church she refused the wedding clothes and said she wanted another cloth, called "Wofa me nwa" (You have taken me as a snail), meaning you got me very easily. So, when the church bells were rung her dress was being sewn. I also left my suit and put on a cloth of the same type.

Divorce came about 4 years later. Or rather separation, because I never conceded to a divorce. Main cause of separation was interference of relatives. Her father had been promised to get a fat job in one of the cocoa buying agencies, and wanted to give his daughter in return to the agent who was promising him the job.

The official reason was however that the girl said I did not look after her properly. No payment was ever made. The children were taken by her, but at the moment they are staying with her father and sister.

As I said, I did not divorce her, and there was never a customary divorce, otherwise I should have received 15 snillings from the girl and I should have poured some powder before her feet, but sunu a thing never took place. The catholic priest had advised me so, because it has been written in the bible that man cannot tear asunder what God has joined together. This is also the reason that nobody ever married her, not even that cocoa agent, since I could claim a fine from them if they would make her pregnant. I think however that the girl became pregnant twice, but never brought forth. She probably spoiled it. She has been staying in Kumasi ever since and I do not know what is going on over there. I myself have not married either. So I have been a bachelor for six years now."

Yaa Beauty (A.VI,12).

"I was in Middle School Form 2 when I became pregnant by a teacher. The man brought "Nhunuanim", but did not perform the rest of the customs after the birth of the child, so my wafa did not allow me to marry him. The man paid a charge of £25.0.0. for not looking after me and the child. The boy, which we called Yaw Sam (A.VII,13), has been staying with my mother Aframea (A.V,4) and is now with my brother Yaw Manu. I also used to take him to the village where I am staying.

My first real husband is Abankwa, to whom I am still married. He is from Ayere and it was here also that I met him. Before he married me officially, I was his mpana for some time. He used to give me money and clothes, he also gave sometimes money to my mother. When we married he was about 26 and I was 17. I was pregnant before we married.

I am staying with my husband at the village. My husband, myself, our children, and his labourer with wife and children are all staying in the same house. I have 5 children with him. He has also a second wife, but she is not staying in the house. She comes to sleep there but cooks somewhere else.

I would like to have our marriage blessed in the Catholic Church, but I feel that my husband is not interested."

Abena Nyamekye (A.VI,14).

"I have had two boy friends before I married. One of them I had sexual intercourse with once. By then I had not menstruated yet.

When I was about 15 years old I was made pregnant by a man who I met at Ayere. He performed the first part of the customs but never married me completely. I had two children with him, but both have died. I only married him for a short time, and left him again for no special reason.

My second husband, one Oben, was a teacher in the Afram Plains. I met him here at Ayere, which is also his hometown. His father is my mother's (remote) "wofa". I liked him, because my "wofa" Kofi Amo gave him to me. I was pregnant before he married me. He and I have two children which are both alive.

The two of us and the children were all staying in one house in the Afram Plains. Oben was older than I, and had not married before. I was about 22.

When he was deposed as a teacher and came back to Ayere I decided to divorce him because he was drinking heavily, pure akpeteshi. I had to pay a fine of ₵1.10.

After divorce I left for Accra to sell children's clothes and entrusted the two children to my mother (A.V,6).

I met someone in Accra, a policeman from Ashanti. He made me pregnant and I had a child from him. I never married him. Why? Without reason!

At present I am again pregnant. I met a store-keeper from Pepease, when I was going around selling my things. I like him because he has a good character. He gives me everything I need, he has even given three cloths to my mother.

My new husband has paid the "knocking fees" plus one bottle of schnapps to my "wofa" Kofi Amo, because my father is not here. The rest he will complete very soon."

Akua Korang (A.VI,15).

"The first man I had intercourse with was one Berepo from Asante. He was a labourer at Ayere. His friend was hiring a room in our house so he often came to our house. That is how I met him. I visited him in his room and we had sex. I became pregnant and he went to see my "wofa" Amo and paid a certain amount. That was all. He never married me officially.

We had two children together. At Ayere we were not staying together since I had my own house, but later on he travelled to Asante and there we stayed together in one house.

I divorced him because he refused to marry me according to our custom.

After the divorce, I went to Accra and worked at the Star Hotel. I had many friends then, but no husband.

The next husband was one Obiri from Bukuruwa. I met him in Accra where he was a taxi driver. I was staying with his sister and she arranged the marriage between us (okaa me maa no). He is older than I.

I was the first wife he ever took and he did not marry any other wife either. He had no children when he married me. At the moment we are staying together in one room in Accra. It is a double room. Some other people are staying with us, for example my sister Nkwanta (A.VI,16), Akosua Badu (A.VI,6), Amma Akoma (B.VI,29), Abena Obo (B.VI, 31) Yaw Atuobi. (A.VII,4) and other more remote relatives.*

His sister brought Obiri in and made us stay together. I became pregnant, and after I had brought forth he performed the customs to my "wofa" Amo.

*All these women are prostitutes. Korang herself practises prostitution inspite of her marriage with Obiri. Her husband most likely agrees with this extra contribution towards the upkeep of the family.

At the moment I have two children from him. Both I delivered at Ayere.

I sell meat and make some money out of that. My husband gives me 12 shillings every day to prepare food. If I need anything he will give it to me."

Amma Nkwanta (A.VI,16).

"When I was about 14, a teacher at Ayere made me pregnant. It was my first intercourse after my first menstruation and that made me pregnant. I had a child called Kwasi Siawa after my "wofa" Kofi Siaw. The teacher who hails from Nkwatia, never married me. I cannot say why.

I have not married yet, but I have a "friend" who is called Buadu, from Ayere. I met him here. By that time Buadu was not doing any work. He proposed love to me and I liked him, because he used to give money to me. I was then about 18 years old, and he 28. I have been flirting with him for about two years, but now he is in Accra. I have been visiting him on several occasions in Accra. In Accra I stay with him in the same house, and when he comes to Ayere he sleeps with me in my room.

I hope to marry Buadu if he is willing. Because of that I do not take any contraceptives when I sleep with him.

When I met Buadu first, he had one wife, but later on he divorced her. I think I am the only friend of Buadu. If I find out that he has another friend, I will fight her. And if he detects that I have another friend, he will also be angry and quarrel with me.

As a matter of fact, I do have another friend, one Botwe from Ayere. This is to release sexual tensions, because Buadu and I do not meet regularly. So I do not do it for the money. Botwe is the only person I have sex with now. If Buadu would marry me, I would not have sex with anyone else.

Botwe also would not like me to have sex with anyone except him, and he even likes to marry me, but his mother does not approve of that. If the mother would agree I would have had a child with him by now, and informed Buadu about it. I would inform him later that I and Botwe have married. I do not use any contraceptives when I sleep with Botwe, but I do not become pregnant. Maybe our blood does not agree, maybe also Botwe fears his mother and is afraid when he has sex with me. That could be the reason that he cannot make me pregnant."

Afua Fofie (A.VII,3).

"My first husband was one Bonsu from Nteso. I met him in the village I was staying, and we stayed there together in one house. He performed all the customs. His clan was Oyoko. We had no children and that was the reason of the divorce. Later on we both got children, so I do not know whose fault it was that we did not have a child.

My second husband was one Ayerefo from Akwapim. I do not know his clan. He was working at Ayere and that is how I met him. It was "mpena" marriage, because he did not perform any customs. We stayed in different houses and had no children. He was transferred to Konongo and never returned. That was the end of the relationship.

My third husband was Boakye from Kibi. He was a teacher at Ayere, where I met him. At the time I did not know his clan, but later on we found out that we were both Agona, but that had nothing to do with our divorce.

Boakye performed the first part of the customs only. We were staying together in the very room you are staying now. So he was a tenant in our house, and that is how I got to know him.

I got one child from him, a boy, but he took it along when we divorced. He is now staying with Boakye's mother at Kibi.

The divorce came after a quarrel we had in the night.

My fourth husband is Boahene, also from Akim. I do not know his clan, but it is not Agona. I met him here at Ayere, where he was working with the Cocoa Marketing Board. We have one child together, but he never performed any customs. So I am only his mpene.

During the time he was at Ayere, I was staying with Kofi Amo, and he had his own room in town. Later on we moved to Koforidua and finally to his hometown in Akim. There we stay together in one house. And when we visit Ayere he stays with me in my room in Amo's house."

B. SAA'S SECTION

Akua Saa (B.IV,4).

"I married only once. So my first and last husband was Kwame Kisi from Ayere. He was my father's "wofase" (probably remote). Our marriage lasted till he died. I did not marry again.

I was still very young when I was betrothed to Kisi. I was his Asiwa. I actually did not like him for marriage. He was as it were forced upon me. I had to accept him, because he was given to me by my father.

From the time I had been betrothed to him, by husband fed me and cared for me till I finally grew up and became his wife. Kisi stayed in his own house and I stayed in mine. The children moved frequently between the two houses. I went to my husband's house whenever I was wanted.

I had 3 children from my husband. Two of them died when they were still young. My co-wife had 9 children with him.

You ask me why my husband died? Why are you asking all these questions? I do not understand. What is the use of it? Do people in Europe not die, perhaps?"

Akosua Nketina (B.V,5).

"My first husband was from Ayere. I loved him, that is why I married him. No one gave us to one another. I had just had my first menstruation when I married him, so I must have been about 15. My husband was also a young man and had never married before.

Six months after our marriage my husband died. He cut his leg on the farm and died a few days later. We had no child together. That was the end of the marriage.

During the marriage I stayed with him in the same house.

My second husband was Darkwa from Ayere. He had three wives when he married me, so I was his fourth one. It was Darkwa who proposed his love to me, and I agreed. I married him about 10 months after the death of my first husband.

My husband had a very big house, so we all, his 4 wives and their children, stayed with him in the same house. I myself got 2 children from him, Kwakye and Asiodu.

The marriage lasted about 8 years. The reason for the divorce was that he did not treat me well. (Note: She seemed beating around the bush, not willing to reveal the real cause. She finally said this:) Adarkwa had too many children, so he did not need more. After my second child I did not become pregnant again. That is why I left him. I had to pay 8 shillings for divorce.

My third husband was Donkor from Ayere. He was given to me by my "wofa" Ayesu (A.IV,2) and his father who is also a (remote) wofa of mine.

The marriage lasted only three months. One month I stayed in my mother's house and two months I stayed with him. The marriage was an imposition on me, so it had to be done away with. Nevertheless, it was Donkor who initiated the divorce. No payments were made. We had no child. He had two other wives then.

My present husband is called Okummipa, from Bepong. He was farming at Ayere, and that is where I met him. No one gave me to him, we liked each other and agreed to marry. I was about 35 and he much older.

Our marriage has lasted about 15 years. My husband has houses both at Ayere and Bepong. When I visited him at Bepong I stayed with him. At Ayere I sleep in his house, but eat and cook in my mother's house."

Kwame Osei, one time husband of Adwoa Oforiwa (B.V,9).

"I never had sexual contact with any girl before I married my first wife, at the age of 25. I stayed with my mother's wofa when I was young. This man was very strict, so I remained ignorant of girls.

Also during the time I was in school I did not contact any girl, because it had become my habit. At Ayere I was staying with a school teacher who was equally strict. My father had sent me to him, though I was not related to him. I had to work for him in the house.

My first wife was Afua from Ayere. I was then working at Dormaa-Ahenkro in Brong Ahafo. I sent a letter to my mother to find a wife for me, so she did. The girl was my grandfather's (FP) wofase, so my grandfather gave her to me.

At that time I was 25 and she about 18. She had never brought forth, and was not pregnant when I married her in 1929.

My friend, Mr. Appiah, and my mother performed the customs on my behalf. My father had died by that time. Mr. Appiah was then staying with me in Brong Ahafo, so, when he went on leave, I gave him the full amount of money along (₵30.00): I was not present at the ceremony myself.

When Mr. Appiah returned from Ayere he brought my wife along, and she stayed with me in the same house. No other relative stayed with us.

We had five children together, one boy and four girls, they are all still alive.

My wife did not work, so I gave her every day money to prepare food and buy things when needed.

I divorced her because she was too primitive for me. She never went to school, and as a result, we often did not agree on certain points. When I gave her instructions, she did not obey.

I took 16 shillings from her, when I divorced her, but nothing else such as dresses etc. She took the children along, but I continued to pay for their upkeep and schooling. At that time we were both staying at Ayere.

My second wife was one Amma from Ayere. I married her after I had divorced my first wife. I selected her myself, after a friend had recommended her to me. I do not know her clan, but she is not related to me in any way.

She was about 20 years old. She had married and divorced once before and had one child. She was not pregnant when I married her. She had never attended school. (Note: Osei divorced his first wife because of "primitiveness").

We did not have any children; I do not know why.

We stayed at Nkwantanan in the same house, and her child was staying with us. No one else stayed with us and I had only one wife. She did not work herself, so I gave her daily money for food and other things.

I divorced her ^{after} about 2 years, because she went to another man at Nkwantanan. I took 16 shillings from her.

~~Kwa~~ After I divorced my second wife I got to know a certain woman at Nkwantanan, and contacted her, although I had no intention of marrying her. She had brought forth several children. The woman came from Nteso, and was staying there with her wofa. We never stayed openly together, but had one child, a girl which died when she was 5 years old. I paid for the child's upkeep till she died.

My third wife was one Akosua from Atibie. She was my "grandfather's" daughter (FMED). I chose her myself, because I knew her at Atibie, since I often came there as my father's people are coming from there. I married her in 1944. I was then about 40 years old and she 30. She had married and divorced once and had 4 children. When I married her she was not pregnant.

We had together two children. They and the four other children stayed all with us, first at Nkwantanan and later at Mpraeso. She was my only wife and no other relative stayed with us.

My wife was a seamstress and used the money she made for herself and her children, especially for the four eldest, since I did not look after those very much. For the rest I gave her daily money to prepare food. As for clothes, we managed together.

I divorced her because she put me in debt; she gave credit to so many people that in the end I had to pay the debts. When I informed her family about this, they did not mind me, so I sacked her. She took all the children away, and I never paid for them anymore. I do not even know their whereabouts. The marriage lasted only 3 years.

My fourth wife was Adwoa Oforiwa who is related to Kofi Amo. After I divorced my previous wife I was trying to marry a certain woman at Ayere, and Oforiwa was helping me, since she was the woman's friend. I found the woman unfaithful and reported this to Oforiwa. Then I decided to marry Oforiwa herself, since she is related to me as well, (very remote) and she agreed.

Oforiwa had married only once before and had one child, Kofi Asante (B.VI, 19). She had divorced the husband and had been without husband for several years. She was about 28 when I married her.

I was by then staying at Mpraeso, so she came with her son and stayed with me in the same house. Later on I went to Abetifi, Accra and Ayere and she followed me everywhere and stayed with me.

No one else of her or my relatives/stayed with us. I had never only one wife; I never married two wives at the same time. I find two wives too much of a burden and it is against the rules of the Church. (Osei was first Presbyterian and later S.D.A.).

Oforiwa was a trader before she married me, but stopped when I married her. Later on, however, she resumed trading. I bought things for her to trade with, so we did everything together.

We had 6 children together, none of them died. Her death in 1969 brought an end to our marriage."

Yaw Berko (S.V,14).

"My first wife was one Akosua from Ayere. She was a "wofase" of the "Kwamuhene" at Ayere and belonged to the Bretuo clan.* She was then a farmer at Ayere and I was a sandal maker in Accra. I liked her because she was hard working and respectful and smiled always. I proposed love to her and that I would take her to Accra. She agreed immediately.

First she was my mpena for some time before I officially married her. She was 21 and I 24. I did not have a child yet, but she had already one. I used to give her and her mother money. The two of us had no children together.

I decided to go to Abidjan and trade there. Akosua refused to go with me. She said Abidjan was too far and she might remain there permanently and not see her hometown again. I became angry, because I did not see the use of having a wife who is not prepared to travel with you to make money. So I divorced her. No payments were made.

So I left alone for Abidjan and started trading in a village near Abidjan. I met there a woman who was a trader, she was a native of that place. She had a young daughter who she used to send to sell things at the village I was staying. The girl often left her things in my care, so we got to know one another, and became more and more familiar. The mother therefore did not hesitate to give her daughter to me, when I approached her on that, and answered that her daughter had told her about me. I used to give money to the girl and her mother. Sometimes I payed her transport home, etc.

* The "Kwamuhene stool" at Ayere belongs to the Agona clan so the girl must have belonged to this clan as well, that means: to the same clan as Berko.

I was then about 30 and the girl 17. She had never "seen" a man and was not pregnant when I married her.

We had two children together, both girls.

There came a time that I wanted to return to Ghana, but my wife told me she could not come along with me, since it was too far. So I left her with the children and came home around the year 1955. My mother advised me to start farming so I did. I settled at Abowam as a farmer.

You know, I am not a man to stay at a certain place because of a woman. Nevertheless, I went back to Abidjan once and tried to convince the girl's parents to allow me to come along with me, but it was of no use. So I left the place unceremoniously and returned to Ayere.

Later on, a Kwahu man from Kwahu Tafo who was trading at Abidjan brought me a message from my wife asking me to come to Ivory Coast and divorce her formally. I gave a letter back to the man when he returned and told him to divorce the girl on my behalf. I did not include any money. The parents of the girl asked the man to pay a divorce price, but he begged them and the matter was shelved. So, I never paid a divorce price.

When I came to settle permanently at Abowam as a farmer, I had no helper. Sometimes, when I put food on the fire, it got spoiled before I had returned from farm, so I had to return earlier to cook my own food. This troubled me very much and I decided to marry.

At that time I met one Abena who also had her farm at Abowam. She became my mpena and became pregnant later on

The father of the woman got to know about the affair and charged me £4.0.0. for stealing his daughter. I begged him to cancel the claim but he did not. So I officially went to inform him that his daughter had been made pregnant and paid the amount plus a bottle of schnapps and promised to perform the rest after she had delivered.

The woman had 5 children already, which were staying with her mother at Ayere. Since she had a farm at Abowam she often sent food to the children at Ayere. The woman was about 28 and I 32. We helped each other on the farm.

After she had delivered I discovered that I did not want to marry her. She cheated me by refusing to go to farm, so I decided to divorce her. Our only child is being looked after by me, no one else contributes towards the upkeep of the child.

My fourth wife was from Oworobong, called Akua. I met her at Ayere and gave her 26.0.0 and proposed love to her and she agreed. She was a "wofase" (remote) to my father. I flirted some time with her, before I married her officially.

By that time I went back to work in Accra, so I took my wife with me, and we stayed together in the same room. We had one child which also stayed with us. I was about 40 by then and she 23. That was around 1967.

One day my wife went to her home town to attend a funeral. When she arrived she wrote me a letter that she did not want to be my wife any longer. At that time her ex-husband was also at Oworobong and used to shadow me whenever I went there to visit her. He could not understand why I should marry his previous wife.

When she refused to come back to me in Accra, I also refused to send her any money. Later on I went home to divorce her, because I felt that the marriage became a danger to my life. The father of my wife and the elders sat on the case and charged me 240.0.0. This included the divorce price and all the expenses incurred by my wife during the eight months that I had refused to send her money. I never paid the charge nor did I ever go back to Oworobong. This happened about two years ago. I liked the woman very much, that is why I begged the father to reduce the charge against me, but he did not listen to me.

Our child was taken by the woman and is now staying with her, but when he grows up I will go and take him away from her. If the woman had agreed to come back to me I would have paid the whole charge readily, but now I am not going to pay a pesewa.

My fifth wife is called Yaa, she is from Bepong. I met her first in Accra where she was staying in the same house with me. I proposed to marry her and she agreed. She was at that time selling sponge and had already one child. I flirted for some time with her, before I married her officially. She became pregnant before I married her.

Despite the fact that this is my fifth marriage, I have only 3 children. (Note: He does not include his children in Ivory Coast). I went to a place to find out, why I have not been able to produce more children, and I was told that it is witches in the house who do not want me to have many children, so that the money I will get will be spent on them.

That was the reason why I divorced all my previous wives: the witches spoiled the marriages.

At the moment the four of us stay together in one house in my village near Abowam, that is: myself, my wife, our child and her first child. There used to stay some foreign labourers with us, but they have left recently because of the Aliens Compliance Order.

I hope to go back to Accra very soon, because in Accra it is easier to make money than at the village."

Yaa Oduraa (B.V,16).

"My first husband was Kwame Afari, the son of my "wofa" Nana Joseph (A.IV,9). I liked him because I loved him. At that time I was about 17 years old. He married me officially, and I was not pregnant before the marriage.

Afari was working in Accra, so I went to Accra and stayed with him. We had two children, but both died. Both stayed with them in Accra before they died.

It was in Accra also that Afari divorced me. He thought I was impertinent to him. I had always something to say, when he told me to do something. This made him annoyed. One day he sent me to buy firewood to burn tyres for rubber. I refused and this was the immediate cause for divorce. No payments were made.

My second husband was one Broni from Aduamoa. We married because we loved each other. I was about 20. He married me officially and I was not pregnant then. We met at Ayere.

Later on I had one child from him, so the three of us stayed together at Aduamoa, where Broni had a store.

Broni had another wife, so I was only the second one. The other wife always quarreled with me, so that is why I divorced him. No payments were made.

Our only child went to a relative at Asamankese.

About two years after this divorce I met a man at Ayere, who worked here as a shoemaker. He originated from New Tafo. We became friends and I had two children from him.

I did not encourage him to perform any custom because the two first marriages had disappointed me. The man was nice to me, he gave me food and everything I needed, but he did not marry me. I was then about 24.

Later on we separated. Our two children are at this moment staying with him at New Tafo.

My fourth partner, one Esiam from Agona, I met also at Ayere. He was a trader in padlocks. We became friends and I conceived, so he went to see my father and paid the "Nhunu Anim". The rest of the customs were never performed, so our union was not an official marriage.

Esiam went away and settled at Begoro. I was then pregnant. When I had delivered the child I went to see him and collected money to pay for the delivery. He has never come back to Ayere, so that was the end of our friendship. The child is still with me.

My fifth partner was one Karikari from Ejura. He worked as a labourer at Ayere, where I met him. I became pregnant and he paid the "Nhunu Anim", that was all. So this marriage was not official either. He was older than I.

He did not take proper care of us. Now and then he "dashed" us a shilling, that is all.

Karikari had a wife at Nteso. One day I quarreled with her. I abused her and she responded. Karikari asked me to go to Nteso, and render apology. I refused. That was the reason that the wife did not allow me anymore to remain the man's mpeña and we separated.

My present partner, my sixth, is Yaw Kwapong. He is a Basari from the North and a labourer on a cocoa farm. When we met he was about 23 years old, so he was much younger than I. We have not performed the customs, but are staying together in one house at the village of Abowam. We have one child which stays with us.

I hope to marry him officially in future. We have been together now for about 2 or 3 years."

(Note: Oduraa tried to conceal her 4th and 5th partners. The reason could be that she wanted to cut the interview short, since she was in a hurry - it was the day of Dente's (B.V,11) funeral. Another reason could be that she really wanted to conceal them to forget about them).

Kwaku Antwi (B.VI,1).

"The first woman I wanted to marry was from Pepease, but my younger brother, Kofi Bempon (B.VI,2), did not agree. He argued that the woman was older than I, and that she was a stranger, and we do not marry strangers. I did not know her clan. It is not good to ask someone's clan. Bempon informed my mother, and since I feared my mother, I left the woman.

My first was dwoa from Ayere. She was the granddaughter of my "wofa". I chose her myself. She was not pregnant when we married. I took her to Accra, where I was then working with my "wofa" Berko (B.V,14), and we stayed together in one room. Our only child died at the age of three. On occasions such as Christmas and Easter we used to come home to Ayere.

My wife was selling tigernuts in Accra, and I gave her every day 30 pesewas in addition to prepare food.

I divorced her, because we did not agree on some issues, and she took the child with her to Ayere. This was in 1952.

The second wife I married was one Abena. Her father was from Ayere and her mother from Asakraka. I met her during the funeral of Darko's mother, Afua Agyeiwa (B.V,15) in 1953.

After I married her I took her to Accra where she stayed with me in one room. She also sold tigernuts and I was a sandal maker. I gave her money to cook for morning, afternoon and evening. We had two children together.

When my father died, I came from Accra and went to Asakraka. In the night I went to Atibie. The next day Amo came with the rest of the people from Ayere. My wife had wanted to join them, but that morning she slipped and fell heavily on her way to the bathroom. As she was pregnant and expected a child in two weeks' time, they took her to the hospital where she was operated upon and the baby was removed. She spent two weeks in the hospital. We were charged a high amount and I was able to pay all but $\text{Ø}14.00$. I informed Amo and he promised to help me in payment. One day the girl's father came and requested the money immediately. I could not meet his request, but told him that my "wofa" Amo was going to pay the amount the next day. That man did not agree, and threatened to take his daughter away if I would not pay. I could not, so I asked someone to perform the divorce rites on my behalf.

The girl took the two children along to her next marriage and stays now in the village (Abowam).

(Note: During a later interview we asked Antwi whether there was any deeper reason for the divorce. He insisted it was only because of the money and added that he liked the girl. He could not explain why Amo was not able (or unwilling?) to give the money that same evening).

After this divorce I took one girl as my mpena. My mpananom are usually women who have had children before. A man cannot stay without a mpena. Because I do not take any contraceptives I do not like school girls or other young girls.

It was about 3 years after my divorce that I married again, which was last year. I met the woman at Ayere, but she originates from Bepong. She is also Agona.

Since we married only recently, she has not brought forth with me yet. Before she married me, however, she had already three children who are all staying with her. Both of us are staying in separate houses.

I give her money to prepare food. Both of us have farms. Sometimes we accompany one another to the farm. I have also traps to get meat. If they fail I give her money to buy meat."

Kofi Bempon (B.VI,2).

"My first wife was one Afua from Asakraka. I met her at her home town, and performed the customs straight away. I was then about 28 and she 20. I took her to Abene where I was then working. There we stayed together with our two children.

Marriage broke off when the girl decided to stop with it. She did not give any reason. The children continued to stay with me, and it was only this summer that I sent one of them to the woman at Asakraka. The other one is with my mother Yaa Kyeiwa (B.V,2) at Ayere. I pay for her schooling.

My second wife is one Amma from Kwahu Tafo. I married her two years after I had divorced Afua. I saw her first at Kwahu Tafo.

The girl's sister was staying in the same village as I. She told me that she had a sister at Kwahu Tafo who had no husband and wanted to marry. She went to see her sister about it and the reply came that I should go forward to marry her.

I went to Kwahu Tafo and saw her parents and grandmother. They said they would think over it. After three days they sent a message that they agreed. So I informed Kofi Amo and people were deputized to perform the customs on my behalf, since my father was not around. After that she stayed for some days at home till I invited her to come to my village.

Presently we have four children, but one has died. The three are staying with us in the village. My wife does some petty trading, but we have not formally invested money in trading. We go to farm together, since my wife has no farm of her own in the village. I give her "chop money" daily.

My wife is of the same clan as I, but my section hails from Tetekrom in Akim and hers from Asafo-Akim."

Kofi Anim (B.VI,9).

"My first partner is called Esi and comes from Jona-Swedru; she is the only woman I have ever had sex with. I met her at Manso-Akim where I was a pupil teacher in the Roman Catholic Primary School. Esi was a trader in foodstuffs.

One day a lady came to me and asked me whether I knew a place to store her yams. Her name was Esi. I offered a part of my own room, which was very big. One day - I was teaching in the school - a big lorry arrived with the yams. On the front of the lorry was written "Waste no time". Esi sent for me and I asked permission from the headteacher to go home. I was given five minutes to see the lady. I saw her and allowed her to put the yams, about 60 tubers, under my bed, which was a very safe place. I told her she could come for them anytime she wanted.

A few days later Esi sent me a message through her daughter that I should send her Lux soap, milk and sardine. By that time I had not proposed any love to her, so I did not understand the meaning of the message, nevertheless I sent her the articles. She then came to thank me and it was then that I proposed my love for her, and she gave me a favourable reply after about three days. We then became friends and Esi became pregnant.

Esi was already 30 years old when I met her and had 5 children from her previous husband who had died. I was then only 24.

Esi told me that she did not like men who force women to have intercourse. She therefore visited me only once a week for that purpose. She came to my house in the night and left early in the morning of the following day. She became pregnant after about two months in spite of the fact that we used "Appiol and Steel" for contraceptives.

When she became pregnant, she had not yet officially been divorced by the relatives of the deceased husband. This scared her, so she advocated for abortion. I took her to Oda and a certain dispenser caused abortion for her. He charged me ₦10.00.

Later on she became pregnant again, and I told her that I was not going to get rid of this one and she agreed. Because I was far from home the headteacher, who was my friend presented me to Esi's father and paid the "Nhunu anim". Esi delivered her child after that, but I never performed the second part of the customs, so she never became my official wife. I do not intend to do so, because I have decided not to continue marriage with her. My mother has advised me to leave her because she is much older than I. I will however look after the child till my death. At the moment I send money every month to the child. (Note: This statement is probably not correct. Anim has been in grave financial difficulties the last couple of months, since ^{he} has no work).

Left to me alone, I will not leave Esi, because she is hard working. If I married her I could start trading, for example. The big difference in age does not trouble me. Esi has warned me that, if I do not perform the rest of the customs before Christmas, she will leave me. I have not told her yet what is on my mind, but my only device to get rid of her will be: not paying the rest of the customs.

I still visit Esi and the child every now and then, but I hardly have sexual intercourse with her. Since the child was born, only twice. I did not use any contraceptives, but if she will become pregnant again, I will cause abortion. When I go to Manso to visit her I sleep with friends who are teachers. I go only because of the child. Esi is living in the same room with her mother, so it is just impossible to sleep with her at Manso.

You may be surprised that Esi is the only woman I ever slept with, but it is true. At first I did not even have interest in the act, so I did not talk to any girl about it. When I was young I used to stay in the Catholic Mission, so I was not introduced to that aspect of life earlier."

Lofi Asante (B.VI,19).

"My first wife was one Adwoa. I was at Sunyani and the girl was a native of that town. I married her according to the customs.

Some time before I married Adwoa I had a girl friend, Abena, from a town near Sunyani. It was around that time that I got my driving licence and I asked the girl to come and stay with me. Her mother did not agree and made one of her "wofanom" take her to Kumasi. Later on the girl returned to Sunyani and I went to see her mother, because I still liked the girl, although I had married in the meantime Adwoa. I begged the mother to forgive me what I had done wrong before and to give me her daughter to marry. So she became my second wife.

She was not pregnant before I married her, but later she became pregnant which resulted however in a miscarriage. After that she conceived again and delivered a child.

I hired two rooms in the compound. One for me and one for Abena. Adwoa was staying somewhere else. I slept one week with Adwoa and the other week with Abena. They prepared meal together and the three of us ate together.

I divorced Abena, because she was always squeezing her face to my friends. She even did not like my own mother and "brother" Adu. When Kwabena Adu (B.VI,3) came to visit me she quarreled with him, that is why I divorced her. On that occasion I realized that I was still a child and could not have two wives.

Later on Adwoa, who I liked better than Abena, started to behave in a similar way, abusing my friends and showing off. So I divorced her as well.

After that I married another wife, Akua, again from Sunyani. This happened only a very short time ago. She is a bit older than I and had three children before she married me. She was not pregnant at the time of marriage, but now she is. When my mother Adwoa Oforiwa died, Akua came with me to the funeral.

I like her because she knows how to handle money and will be able to help me, financially and in household affairs. She is at the moment running a chopbar. She is calm and likes anyone of my family or friends.

Now I look whether a woman has a good character and is able to help me, if I want someone to marry."

Kwasi Ntiri (B.VI,23).

"My first girl friend was one Gladys from Ayere. I was in Form 3 of middle school and she in Form 2. We used to play and converse together, but, as long as I was in school, I did not sleep with her, because I was afraid of making her pregnant. My father had warned me against that.

After I finished school and got a job, I also started to sleep with her. By that time I had my own room in the house where Nana Konadu is staying now. Amo gave it to me. I used to meet her in that room, but not regularly. We did not use contraceptives.

After one year I made her pregnant and was forced to marry her. I do not know her clan, but we were not of the same clan. My father performed the customs to the girl's father. He paid about £26.00 ("Kwaseabu Sika"), because I made her pregnant before seeing her parents.

Gladys continued to stay with her mother. I told her not to cook for me, because I could not give her any money, so my mother cooked for me. My financial difficulties came from the fact that I had another case of pregnancy, for which I had to pay by instalments.

Gladys had her first child from someone else, when she was in Form 4. At that time she was always with me, but when she got the child she put the responsibility on someone else and never presented the child to me. Even if the people would know the child was mine, I could not accept it, because she never brought him to me. After the first child she came back to me and conceived a second time, which forced me to marry her. This child was a boy.

I asked her to come and stay with my mother. Because I could not give her any money, I wanted her to stay with my mother, so that she could accompany her to farm and help her. When she refused I divorced her. Another reason was that her father advised her to leave me. Because her father brought the case against me, saying that I did not like her any more, she had to pay 16 shillings.

During the time I was married to Gladys, I met a girl, called Vida, who was in Form 3 at Mpraeso. She came with her school to Ayere for sports. Her parents were staying in the house where I hired a room, so she came to my house after they had closed athletics. She came to my room and we had intercourse, although I had never seen her before. She did not stay long and returned to Mpraeso. I never had intercourse with her again.

A month later she wrote me that she had conceived. I replied that it was not from me, but they charged me ₦160.00. My father paid half of it and I was asked to pay the rest in instalments. After I had finished paying they asked me to marry the girl, but I refused.

Another girl friend was Erica from Ayere. I was teaching her in Form 2. I was then about 19 and she 14 or 15. I was not afraid of contacting her, because I was working, and if anything would happen I could take care of it. At that time I was still married to Gladys. Erica also conceived, but by that time I had divorced Gladys. The pregnancy was an accident. I did not want to make her pregnant since she was still a school girl, so I used contraceptives, but I think the pills failed to work and she became pregnant.

People wanted me to marry her, but I did not. I paid the "Kwaseabu Sika" ₦8.10 and postponed the payment of a charge of ₦50.00 against me, and finally never paid, although they were always worrying me.

During that time I looked somehow after the girl. She was staying with her parents and I was staying in my own room.

When she reached the time of delivery she was sent to a maternity clinic and delivered but the child was dead. The fees were almost ₦20.00 and they allowed me to pay only half of it.

The fact that they were so lenient towards me and charged me only ₦50.00, was because the girl was related to me. The girl's father was my (distant) "wofa".

After she had come home from the delivery, the father told me that he was going to give her to someone else to marry, so I left her. No payments were made. This happened about 4 years ago.

After Erica's case I did not marry anymore, nor did I have a good friend. So, I have been staying without a good friend for four years now.

If I feel like it, I can call some girl. I think there are about ten girls I have been sleeping with since, but they are not my real friends. I have now experience and will not make the same mistake again.

I am not going to spend huge amounts of money on girls I do not want to marry. They are "town girls". If I now decide to make someone my friend, it means that I intend to make her my wife.

Some of the girls stayed for about one or two months but they are not friends. I go myself to call them, I do not send anyone. I may give them small gifts like underwear or small money like a cedi, but I am not going to give them big things like a cloth. If I stopped giving small presents they would not come back.

These girls are experienced, not school girls. However, they are not prostitutes, because they only sleep with me. If I find out - as has happened - that they go to someone else, I sack them. People know that I sleep with these girls."

Kwame Aboa (B.VI, 36).

"I have had many girl friends but the first one I was really going to marry was one Rose from Asakraka. I met her there when I was teaching at Asakraka.

Rose had had a child from a revenue collector. Three months after delivery of her child I met her for the first time. She was always on the verandah of her house, and I greeted her every morning on my way to school and she always responded nicely. So I decided to get to know her better. I sometimes went to her house, conversed with her or gave her some money.

The mother also liked me, and told me that the other man had already married someone from their family and could therefore not marry Rose in addition. She encouraged me to perform the customs and suggested that my staying with Rose would not harm anything. So I started to stay with her, and actually from that time onwards I was more in her house than in my own. Rose was about to become my wife although I had always prayed, that I would not marry a woman with a child.

The other man, however, continued to visit Rose and I became suspicious, but could not say anything since he was visiting his child. Once he wrote a letter to Rose asking her whether she had divorced me. I myself collected the letter from the Post Office and opened it. This proved to me that the man was thinking that I had actually married Rose, but that was not so. I had only taken a bottle of schnapps to the father with the intention to perform the remaining customs later on. After this letter, however, I changed my mind, because I thought it well possible that Rose had paved the way for the man to write such a letter, and that ended my love for her.

Rose was the first girl I stayed with officially and freely. With the other girl, Fata, about whom I will tell you later, I was forced to stay.

I did not use any contraceptives while staying with Rose, and expected her so much to become pregnant. I suspect, however, that she tried to prevent it secretly, because her first child was still too young. Once I came to the house and she was squeezing juice from some boiled leaves, and I took that to be a sign of her intentions. I told her parents about it and they were very annoyed with her.

Rose is now in Kumasi. The last time she visited home she passed by my house, but by that time Fata was in and tried to pick up a quarrel with her. You can say that Fata has checked my interests in many cases.

Another girl with whom I got involved is Fata. She hails from Brong Ahafo, but was staying with some relatives at Ayere, and was attending form 4 of the middle school. I was at that time teaching in Form 3 of the same school. We started flirting and she became pregnant in February, 1969.

When the relatives she is staying with discovered this, they drove her away from the house. Fata has been very troublesome to them, so I think they were happy to get rid of her. Fata had nowhere else to go, so she packed her things and came to my room. So we have been staying together as "husband and wife" for about 5 months.

I was able to get rid of her pregnancy, but Fata could not go back to her relatives. They had reported the matter to her step-parents in Brong Ahafo (her real parents have died) and told them that Fata was pregnant and that she is too troublesome to be controlled. She always quarrels with the people in the house, and has been stealing money.

So Fata has been staying with me all the time, but a short time after she had come her "wofa" at Ayere started to warn me that, if I would not go to Brong Ahafo to perform the customs before April they would sue me in the court. The same warning came to me in a letter from a lawyer saying that, if I delayed the case they would charge me ₵2,000.00.

So my father and I and Fata rushed to Brong Ahafo where the case was settled. I was made to pay the lawyer's fee of ₵40.00 plus a fine of ₵260.00 for seducing Fata. I paid ₵200.00 and promised to pay the rest before the end of May.

The step-father also told me that I would have to perform the rites to make the marriage a recognized one."

(Note: So far Amoa's story. What follows is some observations on the relationship between Amoa and Fata, as they were written down by our research assistant in his dairy).

20/5/69. Amoa and Fata were in their room. At about 8.30 p.m. Fata started to scream that her husband had taken a cutlass from under his bed and was going to take his life. He had written a short note on two pieces of paper. He had given one to Fata and had put the other one in his pocket. The note read that he (Amoa) had taken a very difficult girl, and that his death should be a warning to all Kwahu boys not to marry a girl from Brong Ahafo.

Fata forced the door open and a sister of the landlord came to the scene to calm the couple. She advised them to live peacefully. All has been quiet since then.

A few days ago a fight broke out between Fata and a girl who sells bread. The bread seller had come to the house and was talking to us. Fata started to abuse her and asking how she had the courage to enter this house. The bread seller replied loudly that Fata should be ashamed of being driven away from her own house because of her bad character. This was too much for Fata and she rushed out to fight the other girl. Amoa tried to hold her in vain. The fight lasted about 5 minutes and when someone finally managed to separate them, their clothes were off and they were revealing their underwear.

Fata was bleeding from the nose, but continued to abuse the other girl, till they were finally pampered and taken away. Amoa commented after the fight, that it would have been better if the bread seller had beaten Fata to death.

I was later told that this was not the first fight between the two. The bread seller was once the girl friend of Amoa so Fata is always suspecting her of foul play with the husband.

25/5/69. Amoa complains to Kofi Amo that his wife Fata is too impertinent to him, and that he therefore has decided to drive her away. Amo advised Amoa to wait for some time, because the girl's step-mother is supposed to come to Ayere. If she comes, he can hand the girl over to her.

9/6/69. Another fight broke out. This time between Fata and another tenant in the house, a friend of Amoa. The cause of the quarrel, according to the tenant was the following: Amoa has been suspecting his wife of infidelity with a certain man.

He has questioned Fata about it, and now Fata is accusing him, the tenant, of telling Amoa that she is playing foul love with another man. That is how the quarrel came about.

20/7/69. Amoa told me that his wife Fata has left for her home town. He explained to me that he was playing a trick on her. He intentionally allowed her to go home since she had finished school, hoping that she would not return. She also tried to play a trick on him, he said, because, when she departed, she left a pair of slippers behind and said she would come back to collect them. Amoa forced her then to take the slippers along as well. Amoa further remarked that he will get ^{of} Fata's "wofa" at Ayere before he (Amoa) dies.

21/7/69. Amoa is again in a very bad mood. He told me that he had just been informed that Fata had returned from her home town. I went to Akua Saa's house where Amoa's mother is staying, and found that they were all talking on top of their voices about the case. There were many relatives there who had come for the funeral of Adwoa Oforiwa, and they all expressed their anger about the girl's return. They said that they could not understand why Fata should stay on and feed on their brother Amoa, after he had paid such a huge fine for her. They told Amoa, to go to his room and drive the girl away. Amoa went and was followed by about 12 relatives. When they reached the room Amoa is renting, Fata was in bed pretending to be fast asleep. Amoa's relatives pushed him inside the room, saying that he should chase her away. First she pretended not to hear, but when they continued shouting she woke up, took her bag and went out.

23/7/69. Amoa told me today that Fata attacked him and slapped him, because he refused to give her the key to his room. When he informed his brothers about this, they started to heap insults on him, instead of sympathizing with him, and blamed him for taking a problem girl. Some of them even wanted to beat him, and insults were exchanged. Fata left to-day for her home town.

1/8/69. Fata has returned again to Ayere. Amoa had got a hint of her arrival and had hidden himself. When I went to his room I found Fata sitting at the back of the house. She asked me whether I had seen Amoa or knew whether he had travelled, and I answered I did not know.

Later on I went to Amoa's mother and saw Amoa hiding in the corner of a room, drinking alpeteshie. He warned me not to tell Fata that I had seen him. When I returned to his room some time later Fata was standing in front of his room.

2/8/69. When I enquired where Fata had slept, someone in the house told me that she had slept in front of Amoa's room, and had been asked by someone to sleep in the hall of the house. I further heard that Fata had returned to her home town early that morning, but had come back again. She had met Amoa and informed him that she was pregnant, but Amoa had replied that he was not going to be responsible for anything concerning her. A quarrel broke out and Amoa claims that he gave her a sound beating.

After the quarrel Fata went to Amoa's father. Amoa admitted having had sex with her, but, he said, the precautions he took made it impossible that she is pregnant from him. Fata later on left.

8/8/69. Amoa and his father travelled to Brong Ahafo and paid the remaining \$100.00 of the fine they were charged by Fata's step-father. Amoa told me that now Fata's chapter is closed for ever. Amoa's father paid the fine for him; I think, he is supposed to pay it back later.

9/8/69. Amoa has renewed the ties of a three year old friendship with another girl at Ayere. She comes to him in the evening and leaves in the morning. He does not make a secret of it. He informed me that he does not have any intention of marrying this girl.

Yaa Sirikye (B.VI,38).

"My first partner was one Gyamfi from Koforidua. I met him at Mpraeso. He was about 35 and I 17. He had a wife but was separated from her unofficially.

We were introduced to one another by a friend of his. We started flirting until I became pregnant. We liked one another so we decided to remain friends (Mpena). So he did not officially perform the marriage customs to my relatives, but everybody knew that we had this relationship.

I sometimes went to stay with Gyamfi for two or three weeks at Mpraeso and came then back to Ayere. We had two children who stayed mostly with me. After separation came Gyamfi took one away, but one of my wofanom convinced me to go for the child, so I took it back and now both are staying with my mother Afua Yeboa (B.V,12). The children have not visited their father ever since.

We separated when misunderstanding arose between us. Gyamfi met another lover and because of that he did not treat me well anymore. So gradually I stopped paying visits to him at Mpraeso and he also did not come anymore to see me at Ayere. That was the end of our friendship.

Gyamfi belongs to a different clan. If he belonged to the same clan, I would not agree to flirt with him.

All Agona are one family, so it would not have been appropriate to flirt with him. If in such a case we would nevertheless flirt and would be caught, we would have to slaughter goats.

During our friendship Gyamfi gave me money and clothes. Later on he also gave me money to give to my mother.

After my divorce I left for Accra where I now stay and trade in ladies' clothes.

I am not married yet, but I have another friend, a Ga man called Lamptey, who is a clerk in the Ministries. He looks after me and pays the rent of my room. We enjoy ourselves everyday. He has a wife, but that does not matter. I frequently visit him at home and he also comes often to my room.

We girls can move from place to place. So one fine Saturday I went to a beer bar to enjoy. The bar is called "Weekend in Paradise". I went with one of my friends. While we were drinking some men invited us to their table. We accepted the invitation, and the men ordered two bottles of beer for us. Later on they added two more bottles. We conversed and one man said I should talk to Lamptey. I did and so our relationship started.

After drinking, the men saw me off, and the next time we met Lamptey proposed marriage to me. I agreed. Since then we have been flirting, but I hope he will marry me officially. Although Lamptey is older than I, I like him very much. I met him 6 months ago. He is a Roman Catholic.

I am staying at Lartebiokoshi and my "sister" Akosua Love* (B.VI,46) is staying with me. As I said Lamptey pays the rent. There are more Kwahu staying in the house, but they are not close relatives."

Yaa Nkansah (B.VI,42).

"My first husband was Twumasi from Bepong. I met him at Fweifwe^l where he was teaching. I was then about 16 and he 26. Nobody gave him to me, we liked each other and agreed to stay as husband and wife. He performed the customary rites.

* Sirikye and Love are both prostitutes.

My husband was a pupil teacher and taught in many towns and villages of the Kwahu. Everywhere we went we stayed together in one house. When he was laid off he went to Accra. I was then pregnant of our second child and remained at Ayere. When I delivered the child, Twumasi did not come to Ayere to see me and the baby.

My grandmother, Akua Saa, became angry and insisted on divorce. I did not want to divorce him, but since the idea was proposed by the elders I had no choice and divorced him against my will. I paid 8 shillings as a charge of divorce.

Our eldest child is staying with the father in Accra. The second born stays with my mother at Ayere in Akua Saa's house.

Both Twumasi and I were Agona, but when this was discovered later on, my grandfather Ayesu (A.IV,2) told us that there was no need to separate and that we could continue marriage.

My second husband I met in the village, Abowam, when I went to visit my mother's sister Yaa Oduraa (B.V,16). It was about a year after I had divorced Twumasi. The man was called Nyarko and hailed from Ayere. What influenced our union was that my mother's children were all boys.* The man gave me medicine and I became pregnant. So my mother promised Nyarko that if the child would be a girl she would give me to him in marriage. So it was no wonder that we liked each other when we met at Abowam, after my first divorce. I was then about 25 and he 40. He had another wife and 7 children.

In the beginning I stayed with him and my co-wife in the same house at Abowam, but now I am staying in the house of a friend of my husband. I moved away from the other house because I had many quarrels with his senior wife. We have four children together, 3 of them stay with us. One stays with a relative near Fweifwe²."

* This passage is not clear. She is probably not speaking about her real mother.

CHAPTER V: INHERITANCE

A. THE RULES

It is not easy to state the general rules of inheritance in Kwahu. People agree upon certain general points, but are at a loss when they are asked about the details. The only objective basis seems to be proverbs, but - as in the case of the Bible - proverbs appear open to many different interpretations and even seem to clash with each other in certain situations.

The general rule is that a uterine sibling inherits the deceased, a brother inherits his brother, a sister her sister. If there is no direct sibling, it may be a more distant "brother" or "sister" such as a M&C or even more remote. They are all addressed as "Onua". It is more likely, however, that in such a case the inheritance will go to a man's sister's son (ZS), or, if such a person is not available, to a more remote "wofase". When the deceased is female it will go to her daughter, or, in absence of such a person, to someone else called "ne ba" by her.

The preference of a sibling to a "wofase" is expressed in a proverb, cited by Rattray (1916:41). "When the mother's children are not finished yet, the nephew does not inherit". (Niwamma nsae a, wofase nni adee). An early observation by Walker (1925:22) on inheritance in Kwahu cannot possibly be correct. He writes, "If there are no nephews, nieces obtain the property, and in the absence of both it goes to the brothers."

Some disagreement exists as to who among the siblings is to inherit the deceased. Some argue it should be the eldest. They corroborate this with a proverb saying, "If the ninth child is still alive, the tenth does not inherit". (Nkruma te ase a, Badu nni adee). The majority, however, believes that the inheritor should be the first following the deceased. They also support their view with a proverb, "We do not inherit a child" (Yenni akwadaa adee), meaning that one cannot inherit someone who is younger. The proverb that the tenth cannot inherit before the ninth is therefore explained in this way, that the eldest, following the deceased, should be the heir.

There are several ways of defining social norms. One is to ask people what the norm is, a method which was mainly followed by the pioneers in anthropological fieldwork. Another way is to observe what the practice is. We have tried to do both in order to measure the gap between the two.

If the above representation of the theoretical norms is correct, inheritance cases in Amo's family roughly follow the general rule, but diverge from it not infrequently. In all we recorded 39 death cases with the subsequent heirs. They can be found in Appendix II. Table 29 shows the relationships of the heirs to the deceased in these 39 cases.

TABLE 29: Relationships of inheritors to deceased in Aka's family.

		Male deceased	Female deceased
<u>ONUA</u>	(Elder Brother	3	
	Younger Brother	4	
	MZS	3	
	More remote		
	Other section	2	
<u>WQJASE</u>	(Sister's Son	3	
	More remote	2	
	Other section		
Female Heir:	(Elder Sister		4
	Younger Sister	1	8
	<u>ONUA</u>		3
	More remote		
	Other section		2
	(Daughter		3
	Sister's Daughter		1
	More remote		1
	Other section		
	<u>ENA</u>	MMZD	
TOTALS		18	24

42*

In most cases a younger sibling inherited the deceased, unless no younger sibling was available. In such cases an older sibling inherited.

* The actual number of death cases is 39 (16 males; 23 females), but in 3 cases more than one heir is involved.

When there was no sibling at all, the inheritance was passed over to a MZS or daughter, or another relative in the next generation. Remarkable is, however, that in 8 cases (19%) an immediate sibling was by-passed and the inheritance was given to someone else. In one case a sibling himself passed the inheritance over to a wofase. This practice is in conflict with the adage that as long as the mother's children are available no one else can inherit.

Let us now list these 9 cases and examine them more closely.

1. Asare (A.IV,1) had two younger brothers, Ayesu and Asirifi, but his property was inherited by a remote cousin. This remote cousin's property, however, was again inherited by Ayesu (A.IV,2) upon his death.
2. Oye (A.IV,3) had two younger sisters, Konadu and Kisiwa, but she was succeeded by her youngest daughter Kumaa (A.V,6). Two of her older daughters, Mmobrowa (A.V,2) and Aframea (A.V,4) were bypassed as well. So in this case a second principle was neglected, namely that an elder sibling has the preference over a younger.
3. Nana Joseph (A.IV,9) died and was initially succeeded by his older brother Sefa (A.IV,8), but Sefa gave the inheritance later to Nkrabea (A.V,9), because, as Amo said, "We do not succeed children."
4. Mmobrowa (A.V,2) had two younger sisters, Aframea and Kumaa, but the inheritance was given to her MZD Yaa Boahemaa (A.V,11).
5. Danso (A.V,5) was only 27 when he died. He had not married nor had he children. He had one older brother, Siaw (A.V,3) but someone else, Boateng (A.VI,2) was appointed as his heir.

6. Deda (A.VI,1) had four younger sisters, but she was, very surprisingly, succeeded by Soahemaa (A.V,11), who, though younger than she, was from an older generation, and therefore her classificatory "Mother". Deda is believed to have been killed by Tigara because she was a witch. (See Appendix III, No.2).
7. Obenewa (B.IV,2) was not succeeded by her younger sister Saa (B.IV,4) but by her sister's daughter Kyelwa (B.V,2). An accusation that Saa caused Obenewa's death by witchcraft may be the reason for this decision (See Appendix III, No.34).
8. Otofo (B.V,4) had three sisters, one of which, Nketiaa (B.V,5), was younger than she, but was nevertheless succeeded by her M.D. Leboan (B.V,12). Otofo hanged herself and has been accused of witchcraft by three people. (See Appendix III, No.55, 68 and 70).
9. Agyeiwa (B.V,13) had one younger sister and two older sisters but was succeeded by her M.D. Naetiaa (B.V,5). It should be noted that in the last two cases (8 and 9) heirs were exchanged, as it were, between the children of Kwakyewa (B.IV,1) and the children of Saa (B.IV,4).

According to many informants the cases 3 and 5 are not "irregular". These informants emphasize that in no case whatsoever an older sibling should succeed a younger. They argue that the normal procedure is that, in absence of a younger sibling the older will accept the inheritance and hand it over to a wofase, as is demonstrated in No.3.

In 4 of the above 9 cases the inheritance went to a relative of the same generation, in 4 cases also to someone of the next generation and in one case to someone of the older generation.

There is very little regularity in these nine cases and we do not have sufficient data at our disposal to interpret them.

There are indications that some of the decisions were influenced by supernatural beliefs. Since witches are believed to work among very close relatives, it is plausible that direct siblings were unwilling to succeed them, for fear of being saddled with the consequences of their witchcraft. It is believed that even the clothes of a witch may transfer witchcraft to the one who wears them. There are however four other cases in which an alleged witch was succeeded by a younger sister. (See Appendix II, No.21,35, 34, and 39). In one of these cases the inheritor, Dapaa (A.VI,5) even accused the one she had succeeded, Anan (A.VI,3) of having tried to make her barren. (See Appendix III, No.22).

Information on other cases has taught us that people may also deviate from the general rule for domestic or more private reasons. They may judge that someone is not fit to succeed the deceased and look for someone else. For example Aso (A.V,4), who is sickly was passed when Anan died. (NB. Aso believes that it was Anan who caused her sickness, so supernatural beliefs may play a role here as well). Another interesting example is the inheritance case after the death of Oye (A.IV,3). Siaw told us that the inheritance was given to Saa (B.IV,4) initially. A few weeks later, he, Siaw, remembered that his mother had had a quarrel with Saa over a piece of land. She had threatened that something would happen if Saa would inherit her upon her death.

When Siaw put this before the elders, the inheritance was again taken from Saa and given to Kumaa, Oye's daughter.

It may also well be that someone refuses to be the inheritor, this can be for various reasons, and one cannot be sure that the reason which is put forward is the real reason. Kisiwa (A.IV,5) for example refused to succeed Oye because, as she said, she could not stay in Oye's house.

Let us now look at some other breaches of the theoretical rules. One proverb states, "Women inherit women and men inherit men" (Obaa di obaa adee na obarima di obarima adee), but after the death of Gyima (A.IV,11) it was his younger sister Amanua (A.IV,12) who inherited him and kept the inheritance until her death. After her death only the male part of the inheritance went to her son Safo (A.V,13), and the female part to Kumaa (A.V,6).

The principle that someone cannot be selected as the heir as long as an older sibling is available was discarded four times: After Kyenu's death (A.III,1) Oye was bypassed and Konadu (A.IV,4) was selected. After Oye's death (A.IV,3) Amobrowa and Aframea were passed over for Kumaa (A.V,6), and the same happened after the death of Amanua (A.IV,15). And finally, after Anan's (A.VI,3) death, Dapaa (A.VI,5) became the heir and not Aso.

Strange was further the choice of Boahemaa as inheritor of Deda (A.VI,1) and Seiwa (A.VI,7). Their ages may not have differed too much, but in classificatory terms Boahemaa was their mother.

Besides there were abundant other candidates around. As for Seiwa's case, we received a domestic explanation. Seiwa was survived by a young child. By making Boahemaa her successor, the elders hoped to give her a child, since she did not have any herself. Unfortunately, the child died shortly after the mother.

There is a tendency to choose the heir from the section of the deceased. In four cases, however, the borderline between the two sections was crossed, although we could not always see the need for it.

1. Asare (A.IV,1) was succeeded by a relative of another (not Saa's) section. This man, Mframa, is clearly remembered by all older members and seems to have been very close in emotional terms. Mframa was later succeeded by Ayesu (A.IV,2), which was again an instance of cross-sectional inheritance.
2. Oye (A.IV,3), as we have seen, was initially succeeded by Saa (B.IV,4), because Konadu was disqualified and Kisiwa refused. Later on, it was, however, taken from her.
3. Nyame's (B.V,1) inheritance was given to Nkrabea (A.V,9), in spite of the fact that Nkrabea was a bit older than Nyame. It was explained to us that other candidates, within Saa's section were too young by then. These candidates were Dente (B.V,11) and Oppong (B.V,8).
4. There were many women in Saa's section who could have succeeded Oforiwa (B.V,9), and there was finally also her own daughter Afua Mercy (B.VI,20), but the women chose Boahemaa from Konadu's section.

These four incidents illustrate clearly the unity of the entire family. People have very broad ideas as to who are their relatives.

In two instances it was explained to us that someone could^{not} succeed her sister because she had previously succeeded her mother. By doing so, she had - as it were - become the "mother" of her sister and could therefore not come down to inherit her "own daughter". The principle "We do not inherit children", was here applied. The two cases occurred after the death of Oye (A.IV,3), when Konadu could not inherit her since she had already inherited their common mother Kyenku (A.II,1), and after the death of Mmobrowa (A.V,2) when Kumaa was disqualified as she had succeeded their mother Oye before. When we put this principle before some mature Kwahu students at the University, they declared they had never heard of such a rule. As a matter of fact we recorded another case, where the same person inherited both mother and mother's daughter: Boanemaa inherited both Mmobrowa (A.V,2) and her daughter Seiwa (A.VI,7). It was however the daughter who died first and this might have made the difference.

We mentioned before the opinion of some informants that no one can inherit a younger sibling, but should always hand over an inheritance to a wofase of the deceased. If we adopted this principle we could cancel two cases as "irregular", but we would have to add 6 other cases as "irregular", all cases in which an older sibling became the heir. (Appendix II, Nos. 2, 3, 7, 10, 14 and 28). The informants noted further that it is not uncommon that an older sibling refuses to hand over,

(or imposes his will upon the others) when there is a big inheritance at stake. A typical example would be Ayesu (A.IV,2) inheriting the many flourishing cocoa farms of Asirifi (A.IV,6). In the tables below, we consider therefore inheritance by an older sibling regular when there is no younger one available.

In Table 30 we have compiled the deviations from the ideal rule, and in Table 31 we compare the number of "irregular"* cases with that of the "regular" ones.

TABLE 30: Irregularities in Inheritance Cases in Amo's Family.

A sibling is bypassed by a non-sibling:	9
An older is bypassed by a younger:	4
A classificatory mother inherits child:	2
Cross-sectional inheritance cases:	4
A woman succeeds a man:	1
Total	<u>20</u>

Out of the 5 types of irregularities 4 are based upon a proverb as norm.

The total number of irregularities (20) is higher than the total of irregular cases, as some cases contain more than one irregularity.

* It would probably be more appropriate to omit terms like "irregular" and "deviation" altogether, since people do not experience the above-mentioned cases as such. It seems that by applying the theoretical rules to our material, we are imposing an artificial and foreign rigidity upon what is dynamic and flexible. We started off with the intention to measure the gap between the rules and the practice. As rules we took certain proverbs, and the interpretation of these proverbs by Kwahu people. The high percentage of "deviations" from these principles which they themselves quoted, highlights the dynamic and ambivalent character of inheritance in Kwahu and may even ask for a re-interpretation of the rules.

TABLE 31: Regular and Irregular Inheritance Cases in Amo's Family. (Percentages in brackets).

Regular Cases:	24 (61)
Irregular Cases:	<u>15 (39)</u>
TOTALS	<u>39 (100)</u>

The discussions and cases presented above make it clear that there is a considerable gap between ideal and real behaviour, or between theory and practice in the selection of heirs for deceased family members. 39% of the cases deviate from the formulated rules. There is overwhelming evidence that inheritance rules are open to many different interpretations and are applied very flexibly.*

The cases further show that the members of Amo's family do not think of their family in narrow terms of children of one mother. Kwahu students in Law explained to us that formerly little distinction was made in Kwahu between mother's children and mother's sisters' children, when an heir had to be selected. This, however, they said, had changed entirely in the present time, because the old system was incompatible with modern trends of economic activities where the nuclear family became more prominent, and caused serious conflicts.

* In a later interview with members of the family, we asked them who would most likely succeed so and so. Here also a rather confused picture arose as to what is the general rule. One, for example, thought that Siaw could be succeeded by Amo, N'rahea or Safo, but not by Dwamena or Manu, his real wofasenom. Someone else, however, suggested that Dwamena or Manu would most likely succeed Siaw, if he were to die. One rule became clear from this follow-up interviews: the heir must be able to take proper care of the inheritance. The idea of one abusaa was also articulated very strongly: All members are brothers and sisters (nuanom).

This change may apply to towns like Obo, Obomeng, Abetifi, etc. where wealthy traders have introduced such new ideas, but does not apparently apply to Ayere, where trading has not made such an impact on society.

The unity of the entire extended family is clearly demonstrated in the foregoing inheritance cases. All members are considered "brothers" and "sisters" and as we have seen, even people whose genealogical connection cannot be traced may be selected as heir. Boahemaa, as Siaw explained, was expressly selected to succeed Mmobrowa to make the family more one. This choice stressed that Boahemaa was as much Mmobrowa's sister as Aframea and Kumaa.

B. THE INSTITUTION OF INHERITANCE

We are interested not so much in the rules of inheritance, but rather in the institution itself. Much ink has been flown over the Akan system of inheritance and its paradoxical character. The system has been criticized for a long time, but has survived most criticisms without much damage.

As early as 1941 the then Asantehene made the following speech, "I do not deprecate the idea of brothers and nephews succeeding their deceased brothers or uncles, neither do I propose that the custom should be abolished, but I want you to understand that our children are blood of our blood and bone of our bone for whom we are accountable to God for bringing them into this world.....They and their mothers help us in our farm and domestic work.

Sometimes you feel that all your nephews and nieces do not come near you at all. It is only your children who care for you. Is it not fair that we should make provision for them and their mothers who look after our interests and welfare so that they may not become useless and wretched after our death." (Susia, 1951:125-6).

The problem has been exacerbated since then. Garlick quoted an Akan business man complaining, "Formerly the system had provided that the widow(s) and the children became the responsibility of the heir, but this has developed into a situation in which the widow(s) and children might be thrown into the street with nothing..." (Garlick, 1971:94).

There was and is however an old Asante tradition, which also operates in Kwahu, which takes care of the children, in case they have contributed towards the expansion of a man's property. Many Ashanti fathers either gave a portion of their privately acquired property to their sons - the gift being made in the presence of witnesses - or willed it to them after their death. The latter procedure was a clearly recognised legal practice in Ashanti. It was known as "Samansie",* (lit. that which is left by the spirits)." (Rattray, 1929:339). We know however of no instance when a man used this method to reward his wife.

Although this possibility exists, it is rarely taken and inheritance remains a quaggy area, beset with pitfalls and marked by innumerable conflicts between paternal and uterine kin.

* The Kwahu pronounce it "Samanseē".

A highlife song which won a prize in 1970, "Agyani a Due" (Orphan, Condolence), advocates the idea that a father should leave something for his children and even for his wife:

"In this world, it is the one who sweats that eats. When father was about to die, he called the family and told them that - as they could see - he was going to die. If he left any property behind, he would leave it for his children, because he laboured for them. If he came to this world to labour, he did so for his children. It was for them that he came to fight. So if he had to distribute his property, he would give the bulk to his children and a little to his relatives. He laboured in this world with his children and wife, so he will leave them his property. In this modern world, leave, before you die, some property for your children, so that they do not become desperate in life."

The problem has been presented rather emotionally in this song, but this is probably also the way most people feel about it. The two other quotations, those of the Asantehene and the business man are not less emotional. Inheritance has become an obsession for many Akan. How can they pass ^{between} ~~them~~ this "Scylla and Charybdis"?

In the next section, we will distinguish two aspects of inheritance, and deal with them separately as far as that is possible. We will first look at inheritance as inheriting a property and secondly as succeeding a person.

1. Inheritance of property.

When a large amount of property is involved, people may criticize the selection of an heir, because they feel that the wrong person gets the money, someone who "does not get near the deceased", to use the Asantehene's words.

Case 1. The rebelling children.

When Akosua Dampim (B.V,7) died, her sister Oforiwa (B.V,9) was chosen to inherit her property, which included some cocoa farms. Dampim's children who were grown-ups by then, did however not agree, and claimed the cocoa farms back. The elders eventually gave in and took the cocoa farms from Oforiwa and gave them to the children. This incident brought the first conflict between Oforiwa and her "abusuafo".

This case shows how Dampim's children rebelled against the norm that siblings have the preference over children and were successful.

Our main interest does not lie in the property aspect of inheritance but in the personal aspect of it, and how inheritance affects the family structure. The two aspects are however closely intertwined. Marx's central intuition that economy and material goods are the basic drive of human behaviour and socio-political organization, seems applicable to traditional and modern Africa. Family affairs may be used as a cloak for what is in reality 'money palaver'.

The "House case" after Oforiwa's death, which has been recorded at length in chapter III, is very revealing in this respect. Osei emphasized to us that he had no intention whatsoever of taking possession of the house, he only wanted to secure a place for his children, who, after all, do not belong to his abusua. He talked in terms of family relationships and explained to us that he did not want Boahemaa to take over the house, but rather Mercy, his daughter, because she alone could take the place of the mother and not Boahemaa, etc. etc.

Amo and his people, however, considered Osei's claim as an attempt to secure the house for himself as his private property, and transferring his wife's and her son's money into his own pocket, and they were probably right. (Osei does not even have a house of his own, which he probably experiences as a stain on his reputation as an educated man). Even four months after the case Osei continued to say, that he paid the lion's share of the house, although this is clearly untrue.

P.C. Lloyd and A. Southall speak of "Incompatibility of social values" as a factor of social change. Two contradicting values cannot exist in one and the same person, so the person has to make a choice, either reject the new value and stick to the old or welcome the new one and drop the old one. In this way incompatibility of values can become an important element in the process of change.

The process is however not that simple, and a person may develop certain techniques to postpone or even avoid such a choice between old and new. One technique is mentioned by Lloyd, which he calls "Compartmentalization of roles". He gives an example of a person living in two worlds, one of the modern elite and the other of his traditional surroundings. In such a case a person may be able to keep up two different codes of morale, as long as he can keep the two worlds separate. (Lloyd, 1967:167-8).

Such a technique is hardly possible in a more rural situation, if people stay continuously in the same place. Amo, for example, will find it very difficult to divide his roles in the town in two different sets, which do not interfere with one another. There is hardly anything at Ayere which will escape the notice of the general public. Nevertheless, Amo too and many of his relatives have proved very flexible and adaptive, and are able to combine contradictory norms and values to a certain extent.* It is not feasible to give an accurate description of how this is done. The technique differs from person to person, and is possible because it has become a kind of tradition: it has become structuralized, based upon tacit acceptance. For Amo, his authority and the fear people have for him permit him to take certain liberties others cannot. He may be criticized indoors, but people will think twice before confronting him.

This flexibility and ability to combine conflicting values we will call "accomodation Ability". A high accomodation ability can be associated with a more ambiguous process of social change: Old and new values will continue to stay alive alongside one another. There is no social integration, but rather assimilation.

A low accomodation ability can be associated with a more rectilinear process of change: old values will either

*Festinger has termed this state "Cognitive Dissonance" (Festinger, 1957).

prevent the introduction of new ones, or will be ousted by the new ones.

It is difficult to say which of the two types of change goes faster. It is probably the latter. It may last longer before a new value is finally accepted, but once it has been accepted, change has become a fact.

There are indications that the accommodation ability of members in Amo's family is rather high. Conflicting norms are allowed and accommodated for. Contradiction between word and action does not confound a person. This may account for the fact that old norms can survive so long after new ones have been introduced. One may find it difficult to determine which are the valid and effective norms in the family. Accommodation ability is common in the case of inheritance conflicts.

Case 2. A father favours his son.

Amo, as the Abusua Panyin, is the representative of the traditionalists. It is his function to maintain the old values in his family. He is the one who sees to it that inheritance rules are followed. When Boahemaa succeeded Oforiwa, it was Amo who commanded the women to take an oath that they accepted Boahemaa as the rightful successor of the deceased.

Nevertheless there are strong rumours/~~whispered~~ ^{/and} accusations against him that he is trying to escape the very rules he is imposing upon others.

A couple of years ago a beautiful two storey building was put up in the town. It was officially said that the house was being built by Amo's favourite son Yaw Agyei (C-II,7), but very soon a story went around that it was Amo himself who was paying for it. So relatives interpreted the whole affair as an attempt by Amo to smuggle family capital into his son's hands.

This is particularly believed by people who do not like him, his own brother Kwaku Dei (A.V,8) and members of Saa's section.

Yaw Agyei is very much liked by his father, because he was always very dedicated to him and helped him, first in the village when Amo was farming and later on in Amo's business at Ayere. Agyei's sister of the same mother, Rose enjoyed education and even went to a vocational school, but Agyei did not get that opportunity, because, as he put it himself, he had to help his father always.

An Ewe man in the town (according to whose customs a son can inherit his father's property) supported Amo wholeheartedly, saying that it would be foolish to have your son work so hard for you and not to reward him, but let all the money fall into the hands of other relatives.

Apart from the storey building Amo bought also three cars for him and helped him to buy a store in Accra, the profits of which return partly to Amo and are partly for Agyei.

Case 2 demonstrates the many aspects which may be attached to "inheritance palaver". If Amo's action had been an example of a man openly giving a portion of his self-acquired property to his son, the relatives would have no reason to grumble. The difficulty is however, how to determine what self-acquired property is. The uterine relatives will reiterate that it is family property, and if Amo did increase it, it does not mean, that it is his, it still remains family capital. Amo, on the other hand, does not openly challenge them by saying that it is his own capital, but his actions do suggest, that he takes it that way. Amo, as a matter of fact, is, like most Kwahu, rather "careful", and does not lay his financial cards on the table for anyone.

The door of his room is always locked and hardly anyone has access to it. (Several members of the family remember with spite how different everything was with the previous Abusua Panyin Nana Ayesu (A.IV,2), when they walked in and out of his room as they pleased, and no secrets existed). Amo's economic transactions are enveloped in a veil of secrecy and when he travels - he only does so for economic reasons - his wife will tell any visitor that he has gone to farm and will return very late.

As a result, people do not exactly know what is happening, but they have the unpleasant feeling that they are being cheated behind their backs. This unpleasant feeling gives rise to many fantastic rumours, and people are busily arguing what is exactly going on. One day Manu, excited, came to us and told us, he had heard from Kumaa that Amo had not really given the house to Agyei. He had only pretended that it was his son who had built the house to mislead the people, so that they would not see how rich he was. All the official papers concerning the house were however in his, Amo's, name. (Many people told us that such manipulations are typical of the Kwahu).

Our personal impression is however, that Amo indeed helped Agyei to build the house for him, and this was confirmed by Agyei in a very frank interview.

It is also quite clear that Amo became wealthy only after he had inherited his wofa Ayesu, who possessed many coco² farms.

Ayesu seems to have inherited many people in the family. He inherited his remote relative Mframa, who had inherited the property of many members of the family, one of whom was Asare (A.IV,1). It seems the bulk of the family capital had somehow been accumulated in the hands of this Mframa, whose position in the family was very similar to that of Abusua Panyin. This capital went after Mframa's death to Ayesu and the rich cocoa farms of Ago and Asirifi (A.IV,6) were added to it.* After Ayesu's death all these were inherited by Amo. So it is no wonder that members of the family are very concerned about this capital and suspect Amo of using it as his private money. And if this is so, Amo has every reason to be secretive about his business.

But whatever the facts are, people will continue to express their suspicions. These suspicions and accusations fulfil a need in the family. Inheritance palaver is not only a cause of conflict, it also is an expression of it. It is Dei (A.V,8), Amo's own brother, who accuses him most of all the alleged practices, and this is no wonder: Dei has a deeply rooted hatred for Amo. The same applies to other accusers, such as Manu (A.VI,11), Tano (B.VI,39), Amoa (B.VI,36) and other members of Saa's section who bear a grudge against Amo. There are certain basic feelings of dislike and tension, which seem to miss rational grounds but nevertheless continue to exist and need to be aired.

*Ago was a slave from the North, and adopted by Ayesu. He did well as a cocoa farmer, and climbed to high esteem. He married two wives; the second was Amma Darkwaa (B.V,3). By succeeding him, Ayesu, as it were, succeeded his son!

This can be done through accusations that someone is violating inheritance regulations; another form it can take is witchcraft accusations as we will see in the next chapter.

We shall further see that witchcraft accusations are frequently rationalized by linking them to inheritance palaver, as if the witch is after the inheritance of the victim. (See appendix III, No.12, 15, 59, 78). These accusations are sometimes totally absurd.

In short, we may say that the institution of inheritance is closely connected with the strained character of social relationships in Amo's family. It exacerbates tensions and rationalizes them; it is simultaneously the cause and expression of conflict.

This digression led us from the main point of our argument, that inheritance is subject to a continuous process of change. Case 2 shows how these innovations gain new ground, but the "House Case" related in Chapter III demonstrates how a similar attempt to innovation can fail.

There are many other techniques to pursue the same goal: securing goods for members of the nuclear family, some of which are very petty. One method of saving some property from the hands of greedy relatives, as one member of the family explained to us, is to remove the property of the deceased person out of the house before the relatives arrive to see what is in the house. This may even happen before the person has died or while (s)he is dying.

Where small items are concerned, there is no problem, and the wife and children may keep them. This is legally permitted. However, people are never sure of that. Relatives may prove very harsh and intolerant. So they brace themselves against anything to come. It was in that mood that Osei told us about his wife's box with clothes.

Case 3. Oforiwa's box.

After Oforiwa's death, Amo and some other relatives came to see her property. Osei was asked to bring the key of her box and open it for them. Osei did so, but, according to his own story, refused to give anything from the box away, saying that the clothes should be taken by Mercy, and this was accepted by Amo. They also allowed Mercy to collect the rent of the house, he said.

The treatment of widow and children often depends upon the relationship between the wife and her in-laws before the death of her husband. If that relationship was cordial the family may be very generous to her and leave her even one or two rooms in the house, but in the other case they may throw her out with nothing.

Many scholars have argued that the extended family is becoming "individuated", and that this accounts for resistance against obsolete inheritance rules. Kathleen Gough (1961:640-1) believes that the privatization of resources, which she calls "the Unitary Market System" is the root cause of these changes.

Our data corroborate such a trend, but stress at the same time the strength of the old system.

We refer to Chapter III and our analysis of the third crisis situation, the "House Case", where we have tried to lay bare the underlying forces of this process of change and of the conflicts it entails. As we have explained there, the "Interest Motive" is an important factor in the whole process, both as innovative and as reactionary force. When we compare the "House Case" and Case 2 of this paragraph, we see how the interest motives of Amo have a reactionary effect in the "House Case" but an innovative effect in the other case.

The effectiveness of the interest motive depends for a great deal upon the social network of the actors. A wide and multi-stranded social network will enable one to marshal much more support against his opponent.

2. Succession of a Person.

When a father or mother dies at a time that the children still need the care of parents, inheritance can become a delicate affair. Is the inheritor really going to care for the children? Will he or she be able to replace the father or mother?

Similar feelings were harboured by Osei when a relatively remote person was appointed to take care of his children, after the death of his wife Oforiwa. We have seen this in Chapter III. Such a person may be considered as an intruder by the children, or, as in this case, by the husband.

Osei spoke clearly his mind out when he said that Boahemaa, his wife's heir, should hand over to his daughter Mercy. He had probably the opinion that Boahemaa could not replace the mother as Mercy could.

Boahemaa, on the other hand, talked quite a different way. From her words one would gather that Osei has not much say over his children, and that it is the family (abusua) which is really close to them. She was convinced that Osei would marry again very soon, and leave the children to her.

It seems that Osei is not going to comply with her expectations. He did marry a new wife after 6 months, but he is determined to keep control over his children, and to avert all interferences from outside. He even returned money which had been given by Boahemaa to one of the twins.

Osei buttressed his point by relating two other inheritance cases, in which the children of the deceased pushed the heir out of the house. One concerned his own wife Oforiwa and has been cited as Case 1 in this chapter. The other case was outside the family, and happened recently in town. Osei believes that Boahemaa ought to undergo the same lot, and Mercy should take her place. Initially Boahemaa came everyday to see the children and predicted she would take complete control over them after 40 days. Nothing of that kind happened. Her visits have dwindled to once in the or three days, and it seems she is rather losing control over the children.

On occasions, however, we still see the children playing in Boahemaa's house, or Boahemaa bathing one of the twins in her house. There is however no doubt that her influence is decreasing, and that she is aware of it.

Here again we see the discrepancy between theory and practice. In a crisis situation certain rules may be enforced and re-enforced, but during the aftermath things are taken less seriously and departures of the rule may be tolerated. So it is not sufficient to look at crisis situations, how rules are enforced, but one should also look at how things develop afterwards.

In such a situation, when personal succession fails to work out, we have to interpret the selection of an inheritor as a ritual act, rather than as an act with socio-domestic consequences. The selection of the heir is ~~afterall~~ an inherent part of the funeral ceremony and rounds off the first week's activities. ^{the selection of the heir is indispensable, but it is clear from} In that quality, people's reactions, that in many cases, one does not expect any consequences of such a selection in the domestic domain. They rather consider it a formality. Amo, for example, although he is the Abusua Panyin, did not remember the heirs of several people who had died recently. This may indicate the relative unimportance of some inheritance cases.

Orphans.

Let us now look at inheritance as parental succession from another angle, from the point of view of the child. What is the position of the child? How is (s)he cared for?

It is commonly said, both by insiders and outsiders, that in Akan society there are no orphans, since every child has many "Fathers" and "Mothers", and if one falls away, there will be another one to take care of him/her. The institution of inheritance in particular is supposed to execute this principle. Our data underpin this statement only to some extent, and show that there is another side of the medal.

Case 4. Kwaku Agyanka.

When Afua Anan (A.VI,3) died, her younger sister Dapaa (A.VI,5) succeeded her. Anan had four children, one of whom was then grown up, namely Fofie (A.VII,3). One of the younger children was Kwaku Agyanka (A.VII,5). He is now 14 years old and is staying in Amo's house. During our stay in Amo's house, we got to know him quite well. It is clear from his talking, that Dapaa never managed to replace his mother for him. When his mother died Agyanka was about 10. Although Dapaa, his "new mother", was staying in the same village as his real mother, he left the village after his mother's death, and joined his older sister Fofie at Ayere. It was she, Fofie, and his father who cared most for him, paid his school-fees, gave him chop money, clothes, etc. Significantly, he addresses and refers to his sister as "Ena kumaa" (my younger mother).

When we asked him who he liked most among his relatives, he, strangely, did not mention the name of Dapaa nor of Fofie, but Kumaa (A.V,6) and Siaw (A.V,3) with whom he sometimes goes to farm and who give him money occasionally. He further mentioned Badu (A.VI,6) who brings presents along for him when she returns from Accra and his brother Atuobi (A.VII,4).

More telling than this little information is perhaps the following incident. In our first interview Agyanka talked a lot about his father, how he had helped him in many ways. When we asked him further about his father, he told us exactly what had happened to his father after his mother's death. He had married another woman, had divorced her and was now working in Accra. He had a good job and sent him, Agyanka, money at times.

Later on we heard from someone else that Agyanka's father had died two years after his mother. We did not know what to think of Agyanka's story, and thought that he had been speaking about his father's successor or another relative. People often talk about their "father" without making distinction between real father, step-father, father's brother, etc.

So, one day, after we had finished eating together, I asked him whether he had meant his step-father when he had mentioned his "father". He denied it. I repeated the question, but he replied in the same way. Then I asked him bluntly, whether his father had not died. The answer was very short: No, he was still alive, working in Accra. Bewildered, I was about to ask him whether the person who had given me the information was perhaps mistaken, but then I saw how he turned his head away, trying to hide his tears. The next moment he was crying aloud, got up and tried to leave the room. I convinced him to stay and calm down first, which took him an hour.

Only then we realized that he had been trying to hide his condition from us. This incident convinced us more than anything else, that being an orphan is a hard reality in Amo's family.

The same applies here as applies to witchcraft accusations which we will discuss in the next chapter: the most telling information is the information which is not given. The fact that Agyanka tried to conceal his condition, shows how much of a problem it is for him.

Since then, several people have told us how miserable Agyanka's lot is. At the moment Agyanka is staying alone in a room in Amo's compound. His sister Pofie has left Ayere with her husband, and he stays in her room. His sister sends him every month one cedi as shop money. Other people also give him small amounts. He is never called by Amo to eat with him, although Amo's son of the same age as Agyanka, eats daily with his father. (A very prosaic reason may contribute to this fact: Agyanka does not eat fufu!).

Although it is true that many people give something to him, (and Amo is also one of them) he has no one who really cares for him, and in that respect the institution of inheritance and succession becomes highly questionable and equivocal.

Case 5. Kofi Darko.

Another example is Kofi Darko (B.VI,44) who is now 16 years old. When his mother gyeiwa (B.V,15) died, she was succeeded by her cousin (MZD) Nketiaa (B.V,5). Darko was then 3 years old. He only stayed one year with Nketiaa, after which his father came to collect him. He looked after him till he reached class 6, when his father told him, that he should now look after himself. Two years later his father sent him to Ayere to his mother's relatives, that they should take care of him.

He is now staying in his grandmother Saa's house with four of his classificatory mothers and many other relatives. Although he stays and eats in the same house as his step-mother Nketiaa, there is hardly any indication that there is a special relationship between the two. He stays with a friend in the same room. The friend is not related to him in any way. They cook their own food, and are given soup everyday by one of the women, not necessarily Nketiaa. He does not go with Nketiaa to farm. He works on the farm of his grandmother Saa and that of his mother's sister Yeboa (B.V,12). He often goes to farm with his friend. It is clear that his friend is closer to him than anyone of his relatives.

In short, Darko looks a bit like a stranger among his own relatives, and the one who was supposed to take his mother's place never really did.

The cases 4 and 5 need little explanation. The institution of inheritance is not only in a crisis where property is concerned, also as parental succession it does not seem to function well.

There are 10 children younger than 17 years in Amo's family, who have lost their mothers. Out of these 10 only one is staying with the person who succeeded the mother. She is Dansoa (A.VII,6). There are 3 children who lost their father and are younger than 17. None of these is staying with their father's successor. (See Table 32).

TABLE 52: Residence of motherless and fatherless children below 17 years in Amo's family.

	Motherless children	Fatherless children
Staying with:		
Father and new wife	6	-
Relatives but with no one in particular	2	1
Mother's successor	1	1
Unknown	1	1
Totals	10	3

We came across several instances in which, after the death of a mother, another wife or the next wife of the father, and not the heir, took up the role of step-mother. In the same way, after the death of the father, it was the new husband of the mother, who became a kind of father for the child. We relate here one case which happened around 1930.

Case 6. The children of Nana Joseph.

Nana Joseph (A.IV,9) had two wives. The first wife never had a child, the second had two children. When the children were still young - 4 and 10 years old - the mother died. The younger child, a girl, was given to the grandmother of the mother. The other child, a boy, stayed with the father and his first wife. After some time, the grandmother refused to look after the girl any longer, because she was very troublesome. So the father went and took the child back to Swedru, where he was then trading. From that time onwards the children stayed with their father and his first wife, till they grew up and married. The first wife who is still alive and is now a very old lady, stressed the fact that she trained the children and looked after them like a mother.

Table 32 and Case 6 suggest that after the death of a mother the husband of the deceased is the key figure in the filiation process of the children. He will be the most likely person with whom the children will be staying. This is also underscored by the case between Osei and Boahemaa. Social and financial status of the father will probably have some influence on his decision. Numerous other factors may also contribute to the decision making process.

Case 6 shows, for example, that barrenness of the first wife helped her to take more interest in the children and treat them as if they were her own.

It is remarkable that so many highlife songs speak of the hardship of an orphan. The main theme is that no one can take the place of a mother. "If your mother dies, your family is finished" (Wo eni wu a, wo abusua asa), an Akan proverb says.

One Kwahu highlife band relates the story of a girl called Abena who is an orphan and is staying with a certain rich man. On Christmas day she goes to play with some friends and forgets the time. It is already dark when she decides to return home. At that moment she meets Sasabonsam (a satan-like monster in the Akan mythology). He accompanies her home, but warns her that, if the people in the house do not open the door for her, he will kill her and eat her up. When she reaches home she knocks and knocks desperately, but in vain, the door remains locked. She starts singing that Sasabonsam is with her and will kill her if they do not open, but no one responds.....When, the next morning, the

people open the door they find only the skull and the clothes of Abena lying in front of the house. The song ends with an advice to all step-parents to treat their step-children well.

Another, very popular song by the same band is "Aku Sika". It is a Cinderella-like fairy tale about an orphan who receives a raw deal from her step-parents, but finally, through her patience and trust in God, becomes the most loved wife of the paramount chief.

"An orphan deserves pity" is a line which is repeated many times in another song and again another song lets a girl say, "I am miserable....my parents have died, leaving me alone on this ruin."

Proverbs underscore this general feeling. No proverb speaks in favourable terms about the life of an orphan.

"Orphan, are you satisfied?" He replies: "if you give me as much food as your own child, I will be satisfied". (Ayisaa, woamee anaa? Ose: woma ne senea woma wo ba a, anka namee).

"Orphan, ask for the skin, not for the liver". (Ayisaa, pere were, na mpere mmerebo). "When an orphan is hungry, they say he is sick."

All suggest that an orphan is discriminated against in the family he is staying with, which somehow tallies with our own impressions in Amo's family. So it is no wonder that an orphan is a sorrowful person. As another proverb says, "When an orphan weeps, tears come easily". (Ayisaa su a, omme nusu ho)

These proverbs, which are probably a few generations old, indicate that the problem of defective parental succession is not a new problem, and should not be considered as a result of recent social change only.* This reflection makes the whole issue even more intriguing.

Widow Inheritance.

Widow Inheritance is the logical consequence of succeeding a person. A man's successor is supposed to take over his task as father and husband, and to look after widow and children, so what is more logical than to marry the woman so that he becomes the "real" father of the children?

As some Kwahu explained to us, it is not good to leave a woman especially when she has contributed to the man's wealth. By marrying her, the woman is again made secure. It is however obvious that this theory does not take into account divorce. After such a marriage has been terminated by divorce, the task of the heir will rather be hampered, and it is likely that the woman's next husband will take over some of the tasks and become the virtual father of the deceased man's children, if the children continue to stay with the mother.

Widow Inheritance is part of the funeral customs. The heir is introduced to the widow with the words, "This is your husband". Both can refuse, as usually happens nowadays, and that is the end.

* It was suggested to us that we may read too much into these proverbs, and that, basically, they only want to confer this thought: a mother is irreplaceable. The use and interpretation of proverbs is however a whole new and fascinating area, largely outside our competence.

No rites need to be performed. If they, however, agree, libation has to be poured to ask the deceased's permission to take his wife. His permission is required, because during his lifetime, it would have been an abomination for his brother or wofase to contact his wife.

The practice of Widow Inheritance has declined sharply. In Saa's section of the family we did not find any case of widow inheritance on a total of 37 customary marriages. In Konadu's section we found 11 cases. Table 33 shows the incidence of Widow Inheritance in Amo's family per generation.

TABLE 33: Widow Inheritance in Amo's Family per Generation. (Percentages in brackets).

	<u>Widow Inheritance</u>	<u>Total Customary Marriages</u>
Generation: III	1 (12)	8 (100)
IV	5 (11)	46 (100)
V	4 (7)	61 (100)
VI, VII	1* (3)	34 (100)
Totals	11 (7)	150 (100)

Table 33 shows the decline of Widow Inheritance and we may well assume that the practice has been abandoned, as the last cases happened about 25 years ago.

C. THE IMPACT ON THE FAMILY COHESION.

Is inheritance and the way it is practised cohesive or disruptive to the extended family?

* Took place about 25 years ago.

Simmel and his exegete L.A. Coser have shown us how ambiguous social reality is. What is disruptive at one level is cohesive at another level. The social conflict itself has a unifying effect upon the social community.

The same applies to inheritance conflicts. Inheritance is indeed highly ambiguous. It easily sparks off conflicts and can become very destructive to the unity of the family. The first inheritance quarrel of Oforiwa with her relatives, for example (See Case 1 of this chapter), brought about the first break with the family and contributed to the rise of her conflict with Amo, which we described in Chapter III.

On the other hand, by splitting the family into two, it enforces the inner cohesion of the two parties, and becomes cohesive at that level. An inheritance case may also unite the whole family against an outsider, and effect a high degree of family solidarity. The "House Case" can serve as an example here.

Our data further show, that heir selection is both a tool towards, and an expression of, family unity. The frequency with which immediate siblings were bypassed in favour of more remote kin expressed the natural feeling that the family is one and that all are brothers and sisters. The sceptical proverb "There are many people in the family, but only your mother's child is your brother" (Abusua ye dom, na wo na ba ne wo nua) seems to be refuted. The field material shows that a distant relative can be chosen purposely to unite the family.

Surprisingly enough, however, inheritance is at the same time used as a weapon to attack relatives. As we will see in the next chapter, the family is riddled with tensions and conflicts, that people cannot even account for. Suspicions and accusations of persons misusing family capital or trying to escape the rules may exacerbate these conflicts. Sometimes also, these accusations are the result rather than the cause of these tensions and may simply be used as a rationalization for negative feelings which are already existing and have a much deeper and more obscure source.

D. CONCLUSION.

In Chapter III we analysed three conflict situations, in which, as we saw, inheritance palaver played one of the leading parts. These conflicts formed the take-off point for this chapter, in which we moved to a higher level of generalization. We isolated and examined all inheritance cases in Amo's family, and tried to lay bare their impact on the family. We compared the rules of inheritance with the practice and measured the gap between both. We attempted to account for the deviations by placing them in their social context and relating them to other areas of social behaviour in the family.

Some of the most salient features found by us are the following:-

1. The institution of inheritance has become ill-adapted to the present social needs. The fact that relative outsiders inherit one's wealth, is considered by many as something which goes against the grain. Successors who are supposed to take the place of parents fail to do so for several reasons. They may be over-occupied with their own nuclear family and not really interested in the deceased's wife and children. They may meet with resistance of the other side, the children or the partner left behind.

A similar attitude is reflected in the disappearance of Widow Inheritance. Men and women are not prepared anymore to be linked to another partner, merely by inheritance arrangements.

The process of "Individuation", which by many sociologists is regarded as the root cause of kinship change in Africa, has, hesitantly, set in in Amo's family.

2. In spite of so many strains and conflicts, the institution of inheritance remains one of the strongest hallmarks of the Kwahu matrilineal system. The tight organization of the lineage does not easily allow any escape from the imposition of it, but enforcement of the family decisions can sometimes be softened gradually, and even avoided altogether in the long run.
3. The selection of an inheritor can have far-reaching social and domestic consequences in one case and remain virtually a dead letter in another case. In the latter case, the selection does not go beyond being a mere funeral ceremony.
4. One can hardly speak of inheritance rules in Amo's family, in the sense that one can predict who will be someone's successor on the basis of his relationship to the deceased only. The human factor is of utmost importance, and people tend to look at the character and other personal qualities of the heir as much as they look at his kin relationship.

5. The tendency to make the deceased's own children his heirs can be detected in manipulations by which a father hands over family capital to his son during his life time. The practice is in turns assailed and defended by the very same persons, according to their own positions and their personal interests in the case.
6. Although inheritance may bring tension and even conflict in the family, it has certainly also cohesive qualities. The "House Case" has shown how unity can develop out of inheritance quarrels. We further have seen how the selection of an inheritor can be made purposely to unite the family, and to bring near those who are far away.
7. Inheritance conflicts and accusations of malversation of family capital may be either causes or expressions of tensions in the family. In the latter case they may serve as rationalization of more obscure hostilities, and are, as such, similar to witchcraft accusations.

APPENDIX II: INHERITANCE CASES IN AMO'S FAMILY

Deceased	Year of death	Gen.No.	Heir	Gen.No.	Relationship to deceased.
1. Nana Kyenku	1925?	A.III,1	Konadu	A.IV,3	D
2. Nana Owusuwa	1915?	A.III,2	Nana Kyenku	A.III,1	eZ
3. Nana Biama	1910?	A.III,3	Nana Owusuwa	A.III,2	eZ
4. Kofi Asare	1935?	A.IV,1	Mframa	other section
5. Kwaku Ayesu	1957	A.IV,2	Kofi Amo	A.V,7	ZS
6. Adwoa Oye	1962	A.IV,4	Akua Saa Amma Kumaa	B.IV,4 A.V,6	other section D
7. Asirifi	1942?	A.IV,6	Ayesu	A.IV,2	eB
8. Wiredu	1941	A.IV,7	Sefa	A.IV,8	yB
9. Sefa	1953?	A.IV,8	Siaw	A.V,3	MZDS
10. Nana Joseph	1947	A.IV,9	Sefa	A.IV,8	eB
11. Ampadu	1925?	A.IV,10	Nkrabea Gyima	A.V,9 A.IV,11	MZDS yB
12. Gyima	1951?	A.IV,11	Amanua Safo	A.IV,12 A.V,13	yZ ZS
13. Amanua	1961	A.IV,12	Amma Kumaa	A.V,6	MZDD
14. Dede	1946?	A.IV,13	Gyima	A.IV,11	eB
15. Darkoa	1953?	A.V,1	Mmobrowa	A.V,2	yZ
16. Mmobrowa	1968	A.V,2	Boahemaa	A.V,11	MZD
17. Danso	1937	A.V,5	Boateng	A.VI,2	ZS
18. Preko	1955	A.V,12	Safo	A.V,13	yB
19. Deda	1948?	A.VI,1	Boahemaa	A.V,11	MMZD
20. Boateng	1946?	A.VI,2	Yesu	A.VI,13	MZS
21. Anan	1958?	A.VI,3	Amma Dapaa	A.VI,5	yZ
22. Seiwa	1951?	A.VI,7	Boahemaa	A.V,11	MMZD
23. Baah	1969	A.VI,8	Dwamena	A.VI,10	MZS
24. Yesu	1954	A.VI,13	Baah	A.VI,8	MZS
25. Nana Asarewa	1910?	B.III,1	Otiwa	B.III,2	yZ
26. Nana Otiwa	1920?	B.III,2	Atekyi	B.III,3	yZ
27. Nana Atekyi	1940?	B.III,3	daughter	D
Ntiriwa	?	B.III,4	?		
28. Nana Ofeiwa	1930?	B.III,5	Atekyi	B.III,3	eZ

Deceased	Year of death	Gen.No.	Heir	Gen.No.	Relationship to deceased.
29. Kwakyewa	1930?	B.IV,1	Obenewa	B.IV,2	yZ
30. Obenewa	1935?	B.IV,2	Kyeiwa	B.V,2	ZD
31. Adubea	1933?	B.IV,3	Akua Saa	B.IV,4	yZ
32. Nyame	1933	B.V,1	Nkrabea	A.V,9	other section
33. Otofo	1952?	B.V,5	Yeboah	B.V,12	MZD
34. Adwoo	1955?	B.V,6	Dampim	B.V,7	yZ
35. Dampim	1958?	B.V,7	Oforiwa	B.V,9	yZ
36. Oforiwa	1969	B.V,9	Boahemaa	A.V,11	other section
37. Dente	1969	B.V,11	Berko	B.V,14	yB
38. Agyeiwa	1953	B.V,15	Mansa	B.V,4	MZD
39. Denta	1960	B.VI,5	Gyanewa	B.VI,6	yZ

CHAPTER VI: WITCHCRAFT ACCUSATIONS

Many Akan proverbs warn, that the people who are closest to you, can also be the most dangerous. Two of them are frequently used: "Fear him who is close to you" (Suro nea oben wo) and "Fear your neighbour" (Suro wo yonko). These are frequently inscribed on lorries and houses.

Other proverbs with a similar meaning are: "Only the insect which is hidden in your own cloth bites you". (Aboa a ohye wo ntoma mu, na oka wo). "Someone who is close to you can do something to you". (Obi a oben wo no, na otumi ye wo ade). "The fire burns what lies near it". (Ogya hye nea eda ano).

Yaw Manu (A.VI,11) explained to us, that all these proverbs mean that....."A close relative is the one who has access to you and is also able to harm you most."

Two other proverbs referring to witchcraft and its causes are: "In every house there is a witch". (Ofie biara bayi wom). "If you are better than your neighbour, he hates you". (Wosen wo yonko a, otan wo).

There are several highlife songs, which express the same idea. One has the very title "Suro nea oben wo" and is based upon an Ananse story. It is sung by a band of young Kwahu men. When this band visited Ayere, this song moved the gathering most and turned the place almost upside down. There is no doubt that the idea here expressed is a true aspect of life, and that that is one of the reasons why this song moved the listeners to such an extent. The text runs as follows.

"Fear your neighbour, he will treat you badly, if he gets you. Brother, fear your neighbour, he will treat you badly.

Once, Ananse the spider befriended Prako the pig. They stayed together and did everything in common. There came a big famine and they were unable to get food and water. As they were sad and thinking over matters, Ananse decided to go to the bush in search of food for his family. He took his gun and cutlass and off he went.

After some time, he came to a fallen tree. Ananse stopped to look under it. He saw that the place was full of dangerous creatures, including red ants.

Ananse went home and informed Prako that he should rejoice, for he, Ananse had seen a place full of grass-cutters, while they were suffering with hunger. Prako, not knowing what was in store for him, followed Ananse to the tree. When they got there, Ananse pointed at the hole under the tree as the home of the grasscutters.

'Brother, burry up, we will enjoy very much today. We have not tasted meat for a long time, Prako, today we shall have a good time.

Immediately Prako went into the hole and the wild animals started attacking him. He shouted for help from Ananse, but in vain. Ananse replied, 'Why should I stay with you, fat animal, while I want meat to eat. Today you will see.'

Prako died and Ananse and his family pulled him out. How plenty was the meat for them! They were singing happily while they were going home. 'Okonore Yaa (Ananse's wife), today you will have a good time. Kwabena Ntikuma (his son), today you will celebrate your birthday. Yaa, you must prepare me a nice soup.'

So is the world, a neighbour has been lured to death; a neighbour will treat you badly. Brother, fear your neighbour, for if he gets you, he will treat you badly."

In a song of another Kwahu band, "Otan woagye den?"

(Hatred, what did you get?) jealousy is labelled as the root of hatred:

"When the crab eats, it pains the frog; that is why there is so much hatred around." In another song by the same band, "Ofie Nwansena" (House-fly), a man is complaining about his misery, that no one in the house has pity on him. He exclaims, "If this is how my own relatives are treating me, I will make friends in the street. My relatives have rejected me, I have nowhere else to go. If a house-fly can bite me so badly, what will happen when I am bitten by the tsetsefly."

The same band relates the story of a man called Kofi Nkrabea (Kofi Lot) in another song.* The man relates his miserable life and concludes, "People have asked why there is no remedy for my lot. Everywhere we reached we were told, that destiny cannot be changed and that, if some insect is biting you, it is nowhere but in your own cloth. So, if I wanted to know the cause of my downfall in life, I should go and inquire from my own house."

Not only modern songs are full of references to hatred in the family; more traditional songs are also. An old destitute man, badly marked with the signs of leprosy, sang an extremely bitter song for us, accusing his own relatives of being the cause of his sickness and poverty.

"There is no medicine for hatred and you have come to kill me...This is what my relatives wish for me, that I shall die.....The family does not like one who prospers.....I will die....when all the children have left for farm.....My relatives are running after me, dressed in the feathers of a vulture.....how did I come and how will I go?"

*Because of resemblance this name was given to one of the people in Amo's family.

Ah, ah, ah, will there be ^{any} attendance at my funeral?.... I am a relative of the dead. My father, my mother, I am calling you as the forest bird calls for water early in the morning..... Eyes cannot turn into fire when one is sad, else my eyes would be as red as fire....If my mother's family has rejected me, I will turn to my father's, because a man does not speak ill of the place he comes from....My relatives, if you have killed me at home, do not kill me again in the street."

The case between Osei and Amo has given already some insight into the strained character of relationships in Amo's family. During the crisis situations certain conflicts and tensions remain however latent. If it is possible to use an arctic analogy for a "tropical" phenomenon, we could say that family hostilities resemble an iceberg: most of it is hidden under the water surface.

A great deal of it consists of witchcraft accusations which are not openly expressed. Marwick and others have drawn attention to the fact, that Witchcraft Accusations tend to circulate within the group of kinsmen. This certainly applies to the Witchcraft Accusations in Amo's family as well.

At the onset of our research we asked our informants about witchcraft cases in general. Almost all cases they remembered referred to their own family. Outside these, they only knew of a few spectacular cases which become known had throughout the whole town.

As we advanced with our research, we decided to omit our /in analysis all witchcraft cases which were not part of the family. The reason for this was that we wanted to look at witchcraft beliefs in the framework of this case study of one single family.

Mary Douglas has criticized Marwick's study on sorcery that he provides many cases, but not one real case. (Douglas, 1967:74). Cases are always contradictory. There are several conflicting versions, but if one reads Marwick's study, one gets the impression that every case was clear cut. Secondly, background information of Accuser, Witch and Victim is defective. If we aim at a sociological interpretation of witchcraft - and that is what Marwick wants - we cannot do without substantial background information.

We have therefore restricted ourselves to the "Dramatis Personae" we have met in the recorded case histories and in other contexts such as conflicts, inheritance cases, marriage life, residence patterns, divorce rates, etc. In Appendix III we have collected the Witchcraft Accusations we met in Amo's family. We have grouped them under the accuser and listed the accusers according to their number in the genealogical chart. In total we collected 71 Witchcraft Accusations.

A. BELIEF IN WITCHCRAFT

Refusal to speak.

Do people really believe in their own accusations? There is no indication that the elders do not believe in witchcraft.

Siaw, Kumaa, Nkrabea, Safo, Aso, Dapaa, Dwamena, Manu and most of the others seem to be very convinced of what they say, though their concepts of witchcraft may differ. The people who refused to divulge any witchcraft accusation should also be regarded as believing in witchcraft.

It was their strong conviction which prevented them from giving us the information. For them witchcraft is probably more real and more of a problem than for the ones who expressed themselves. The persons who refused to speak about witchcraft in the family are: Konadu, Kisiwa, Amo, Yaa Boahemaa, Dankwaa, Aframea, Yaa Ansa, Gyanewa and Abena Obo. If we look more closely at this list of people we see that each of them had good reason to keep silent:

1. Konadu (A.IV,4): has been accused of witchcraft herself by 9 people.
2. Kisiwa (A.IV,5): has been accused of witchcraft herself by two people, one of whom is her own daughter.
3. Amo (A.V,7): his own mother has been accused of witchcraft by 9 people. Amo himself has been accused by three people but he may not be aware of it.
4. Yaa Boahemaa (A.V,11): lives together with two people (Kisiwa and Aso) both of whom she thinks are witches. One is her own mother, the other, Aso is more distantly related but, sarcastically enough, Aso considers Boahemaa as her best friend.

So Boahemaa is emotionally closely linked to two people who she fears at the same time. This must be a very big existential problem for her, which she will only reveal to a few confidants, and not to strangers like we are. During our research we found Yaa Boahemaa most friendly to us, but at the same time we found it extremely difficult to interview her. She always managed to escape us^{or} to find an excuse. She liked us, but was afraid of an interview.

5. Amma Dankwaa (B.V,3): was interviewed more or less in the open. She reacted very strongly when we asked her about witchcraft in the family: "In my family there is no witchcraft. Even if I were a witch I would tell you....I do not want to tell you about witchcraft in my family, because the witches have already died. It would not be good to talk about them." It should be recalled that her own daughter is believed to have been killed by Tigare, and her second husband to have been killed by Konadu.* Dankwaa also assured us that she liked everyone in the family, but according to Anim his mother hates Amo.

*See Appendix III, No.59. NB. Numbers behind witchcraft accusations refer to the numbers in the appendix of this chapter.

6. Adwoa Aframea (A.V,4): has accused her own mother of witchcraft, and it is not surprising that she is not eager to repeat this accusation in front of a stranger. Aframea has a timid character. During the interviews we had with her she looked very afraid. Because of fear, Aframea preferred also to live at a distance from the other abusuafo, though her own son, Yaw Manu, has a house immediately next to the other houses of the family.
7. Yaa Ansa (B.V,10): has been caught by her own husband as a witch. Any question about witchcraft will remind her of her own witchcraft. A logical result is that she denies any knowledge of witchcraft. As a matter of fact out of the 9 accused witches we interviewed and asked whether he/she knew any cases of witchcraft in the family there was no one who mentioned his or her own name as a witch, which is not surprising!
8. Afua Gyanewa (B.VI,6): Her own sister, Adwoa Denta, whose goods she inherited is believed to have been killed by Tigare because of witchcraft. Gyanewa admitted that she had heard cases of witchcraft but could not reveal them to us.
9. Abena Obo (B.VI,30): Her own mother is generally known to have been caught by Tigare. She also admitted, she knew witchcraft cases but could not reveal them.

Some other people who did give us information on witchcraft accusations concealed those cases which were most real and embarrassing to them. Aso, for example, must have been aware of the witchcraft accusations against her, but concealed them. Another prominent example is: Kwaku Agyanka who seemed very nervous when we asked him about witchcraft and finally, after much prodding, mentioned two cases, but left out the accusations against his own mother, which he probably knew about.

Personal experience with witches.

There is another indication of strong belief in witchcraft: some people claim to have personal experiences of witchcraft. In such cases there is little doubt that the person believes in the reality of witchcraft.

Kofi Siaw for example told us the following story:

"When I was young I once had a sore on one of the toes of my right foot. One night when I was asleep, I felt that someone was sucking the sore. In my sleep I asked my mother what she was doing to my sore. I also realized that one-half of my body had separated from the other half. My mother answered that she was doing nothing. I then pushed the thing away with my left foot and I heard it fall down "tum". The next day I saw there were blood marks on the walls of our house, even on the outside. Because I was young I could not see who sucked my toe, but I am sure it was the work of a witch."

Yaw Manu has seen several witches as well: "I saw them at night, sitting on trees. They were like fire and sparks of light were flying around. When I was in Tarkwa I saw one witch naked."

Among the younger also, some claim to have seen a witch once and base their faith upon that fact. If they have not seen it themselves but one of their friends has, this may also be accepted as sufficient proof that witches are true.

Yaa Grace (A.VI,17) bases her faith upon a personal experience in Amo's Apostolic Church. She was present when Yaa Aso confessed her evil deeds. She further argued that many witches caught by Tigare had died, so witchcraft must be true.

Abena Boatema (A.VII,19) bases her faith upon the fact that a friend of a friend saw a witch sitting on a stump. "He shouted and called people to the scene. One man brought a gun and attempted to shoot but the witch left."

In the same way, many people base their unbelief upon the fact that they have never seen a witch (Dei, Tano, Antwi).

Identity of Accuser and Victim

Another indication of an accuser's belief in witchcraft is his/her personal involvement in an accusation. This tends to be high when the accuser considers him/herself to be the victim as well. Most of 16 witchcraft accusations of this kind confirm that the accuser seems to have a deep rooted belief in witchcraft.

Uniqueness of accusation

When someone launches an accusation which is totally unique, this may be an indication of his belief in witches. For he does not merely repeat what he has heard from others, but tells his own story. Such a witchcraft accusation is likely to be based upon some personal experience and the accuser tends to present him/herself or a very close relative as the victim.

Doubts and unbelief

We have said that embarrassment and refusal to speak about witchcraft is likely to be an indication that witchcraft is taken very seriously. However, embarrassment about witchcraft does not necessarily imply an absolute faith in it. We met several people whose behaviour showed that they were embarrassed by the phenomenon but, on the other hand, they expressed some doubts whether witchcraft was really true.

When we asked Agyanka (A.VII,5) whether witchcraft really existed, he replied that witchcraft was not true. We asked him then whether Nana Afua Konadu was really a witch, and he answered yes. So, his final conclusion was: " I think witchcraft existed formerly but not nowadays, or at least I have never seen a witch."

Tano (B.VI,39) flatly said that he does not believe in witches because he has never seen one. When we asked him to tell us the cases he had heard he was however unwilling to do so at first. For him too, embarrassment remains in spite of doubts about the reality of witchcraft.

Asante (B.VI,19) too said that he does not believe in witches, and that he does not know any cases either, since he has been staying outside Ayere for the greater part of his life. Ntiri (B.VI,28) gave a similar answer.

Most surprising was Antwi's (B.VI,1) statement. Antwi is one of the few members of the family who sticks faithfully to the old traditions and the town "Obosom" (Tutelar Spirit). His social network is very traditional and almost entirely based upon kinship. When we asked him about witchcraft he answered shortly: "There are no cases of witchcraft. I do not believe there are witches."

Kwaku Dei (A.V,8) also denies any belief in witchcraft and is supported by his wife. So, altogether, only 5 people professed openly that they don't believe in witchcraft. They have very little in common, as they differ in age, education and church adherence. Not believing in witchcraft seems to be a very personal feature, connected with a man's private psychological background. A sample of 6 is however too limited to draw any conclusion.

Belief in Witchcraft related to other variables.

How far does education, church adherence and age influence one's belief in witchcraft? Let us have a look at the next table.

TABLE 34

Belief in witchcraft and other variables.

NAME	BELIEF IN WITCHCRAFT	EDUCATION	CHURCH ADHERENCE	AGE
1. Siaw	S	F4, once PT	R.C. faithful	70
2. Aframea	S	0	R.C. "	67
3. Kumaa	S	0	R.C. "	53
4. Amo	S	0	Apost. leader	68
5. Dei	No	0	R.C. faithful	60
6. Boahemaa	S	0	Apost. elder	40
7. Nkrabea	S	0	Traditional	65
8. Safo	S	P6	R.C. elder	66
9. Aso	S	0	Apost.	40
10. Dapaa	S	0	No church	35
11. Dwamena	S	S.S.F2, once PT	R.C. - Relapsed	37
12. Manu	S	T.T.C., Teacher	R.C. Catechist	35
13. Beauty	S	F.2	R.C. relapsed	32
14. Korang	?	P.3	No church	28
15. Nkwanta	?	P.2	No church	23
16. Grace	S	F.3	R.C.	15
17. Agyanka	W	F.1	Presby, not bapt.	14
18. Antwiwa	?	F.3	Meth. relapsed	15
19. Boatema	S	P.5	R.C.	11
20. Berko	S	P.4	Presby. relapsed	43
21. Antwi	No	0	Traditional	39
22. Bempon	?	?	?	35
23. Anim	S	F.4 6 years PT	R.C.	26
24. Tano	No	F.4	R.C. relapsed	23
25. Nkansah	?	0	No church	28
26. Darko	?	F.2	Anglican relapsed	16
27. Asante	No	P.6	R.C.	24
28. Ntiri	No	F.4 8 years PT	R.C. Active	26

LEGEND: S = Strong
W = Weak
PT = Pupil Teacher
T = Teacher
P4 = Form 4

P6 = Primary 6
TTC = Teachers Training College
SS = Secondary School
RC = Roman Catholic
Apost = Apostolic

The first thing we are struck by is the overwhelming strength of the belief in witchcraft, in spite of education and church membership. This is not the first time that this point is being stressed. Debrunner in his study on "Witchcraft in Ghana", for example, notes that many literates continue to believe in witchcraft. For many, witchcraft even increases in importance when they start climbing the social ladder. They fear witchcraft from people who envy them, or they may themselves resort to witchcraft practices to succeed in their undertakings. (Debrunner, 1959:46).

We are able in this study to put forward a few concrete cases of people who do not feel that it involves a contradiction being educated or being a strong church member and believing in the existence of witches or resorting to witch hunting practices such as Tigare. We select some of the most prominent examples.

1. Siaw (A.V,3): was one of the first educated in Ayere, and was teaching for a couple of years. The catholic priest even asked him to start a new school in one of the other towns. Siaw is also a very faithful church member, used to be an elder in the church but got into difficulties with the church laws when he divorced his third wife. At the moment he does not go to communion but attends church service every Sunday.

Nevertheless Siaw believes strongly in witches. He himself relates how he took part in a witch-hunting rite which resulted in the death of the witch, his wofase Deda (A.VI,1). (See Appendix III, No.2). His trust in God and the Holy Virgin Mary has become a part of his technique to ward off all attacks of witches. Siaw claims personal experiences with witches.

2. Safo (A.V,13) is the Vice-President of the Roman Catholic Church at Ayere. He attends service daily. He is proud of his brother Yaw Preko who did so much for the Catholic Church as a full-time Catechist. Safo inherited his property and feels attracted by his good example. Safo went to school before there was an official school at Ayere and reached primary 6. Safo launched 5 witchcraft accusations which were divulged by no one else: an indication of his conviction and deep feeling. They all concern close relatives: his brother, two uncles and his wife. There was never the slightest indication that Safo felt his position in the church to be in contradiction with his belief in witches.
3. Manu (A.VI,11) is the highest educated in Konadu's section but of all the accusers in his section he launched the most accusations. They are practically all unique and he is personally involved in them. In 5 of them he himself is the Victim.

His position as a Teacher and a Catechist in the church is closely connected with his belief in witchcraft. He feels people envy his position and try to kill him. He stresses that the very members of the Catholic Church (Siaw, Safo, Kumaa) are the worst witches. Manu is a keen catechist. He attends any possible meeting and even sacrifices his own money if the church fails to pay his transport. He never made any remark to the effect that a catechist in the R.C. Church should stand above things such as witchcraft. He even developed a theory regarding the way in which witches work and how they can be emulated.

Manu claims to have seen witches himself and is convinced of their existence. During one of our interviews we left him for a few moments. When we returned we found him reading the first lines of this section, "Belief in Witchcraft", which start: "Do people really believe in their own accusations?" He did not realize the sceptical tone of this first line and gave spontaneously his opinion that witchcraft is absolutely true.

4. Amo: As a head of the Apostolic Church, Amo considers it his task to fight witchcraft and other evil powers. One instance is known of a witch and member of the family (Aso) who confessed her witchcraft in his Apostolic Church.

Belief in witchcraft does not collide with the doctrine of the church, on the contrary. Amo never went to school but he can read the Bible in Twi. He claims that he has often seen witches with his own eyes. He refused to speak about witchcraft in the family, but admitted there were some cases.

5. Anim (B.VI,9). Even among the very young "educated", belief in witchcraft is strong. The most colourful example is Kofi Anim, 26 years, Middle School leaver and pupil teacher for a period of 6 years. He accused not less than 11 people of witchcraft. His education is not very high, but as a pupil teacher he was considered to belong to the intelligentsia. He is also very fond of the R.C. Church and says he will never leave this church.

The Ideology of Witchcraft Beliefs

Witchcraft beliefs in Amo's family are not very consistent. It is true that all members agree that witches can only kill within their family,* and that for killing outside the family the co-operation of a fellow-witch is needed, who belongs to the family of the Victim. But they differ among each other about the exceptions. The following exceptions were mentioned of killing by witchcraft outside the family: between co-wives, between husband and wife, between marital partner and parent-in-law, between a child and his/her father.

* This runs counter to the statement of a Kwahu cited by Rapp (1938:553) that a witen cannot kill any relative.

One member even argued that two unrelated tenants in the same house could bewitch one another.

It should be noted that the crucial factor was not so much the fact of belonging to a family but rather the degree of intimacy. People who are intimate although not related are in one another's witchcraft range, as was expressly stated by one member. He also cited the proverb that only the insect in your own cloth can bite you.

In the event of someone outside the family being killed with the help of an insider, the emphasis will be on the witch who initiated the evil, and not the witch who is related to the victim. Someone remarked that, if Tigare took up the matter, probably only the first one would be caught. This also explains why the Tigare priest, who is married to a member of Amo's family, could say that witches can kill anyone they hate, even Northerners, and that people may even forget about the go-between.

Our own data, as we shall see later, stress the incidence of witchcraft among close relatives.

Beliefs as to what witches are and how they operate are as numerous as there are witchcraft cases. Debrunner (1959) gives a kaleidoscope of fantastic stories, most of which end with the eating of the victim's flesh.

The scope of this chapter does not follow for a more detailed study of the beliefs themselves. We therefore refer to other authors, such as Debrunner (1959) and Evans-Pritchard (1937).

B. SOME THEORIES OF WITCHCRAFT

1. Marwick

Marwick links his Witchcraft* Accusations with quarrels. "The Matrikin is the natural arena for quarrels over succession to office and over the inheritance and disposal of property especially cattle" (Marwick, 1965:101). Because there is no judicial way to settle such quarrels between close relatives the tensions seek an outlet in witchcraft accusations. Out of Marwick's 100 cases of Sorcery 72 are directly connected with a quarrel. So Marwick is able to provide us with a rational basis for 72 of the cases. This is one of the reasons why he prefers the term "Sorcery". Sorcery, as he says, can be traced, it is conscious, but witchcraft cannot be traced, it is unconscious, and its motives are not clear at all. So there is more rationality in sorcery than in witchcraft.

We have already stated that we feel a bit suspicious about the clarity of Marwick's cases.**

* Marwick himself uses the term sorcery but Mary Douglas deplores the use of the term. It is not always possible to apply analytical distinctions to social reality. Turner (1964:319) remarks that the contributors to Middleton & Winter's book (1963) fail in their attempts to categorize cases as witchcraft or sorcery. He explains, "The dichotomy, verbalized as explicit among the Azande is not made in many societies". In this chapter we shall leave this distinction aside and speak of witchcraft covering both witchcraft and sorcery.

** It should be said in Marwick's defence that all his cases were formal cases, which, by nature, will be less equivocal than the gossip-type of accusations we are dealing with.

But if his cases are so clear, then it is sure that there is much difference between Marwick's sorcery and the witchcraft which we observed in Amo's family.

The above mentioned cases show that there is very little rationality in the witchcraft accusations. Only 7 out of 71 witchcraft accusations (10%) are connected with some kind of quarrel or conflict between accuser and witch and only 11 out of 54 cases (22%) can point at a particular incident or tension which can be considered as a reason for the witch's actions against the victims. (See Table 35).

TABLE 35: Reasons for Accusations in Accuser - Witch and Witch-victim relationships (percentages between brackets).

	Quarrel	Jealousy	No manifest reason	Totals
Accuser-witch	2 (3)	5* (7)	64 (90)	71**(100)
Witch-victim	2 (4)	9 (18)	43 (78)	54**(100)

There is another important difference between Marwick's cases and ours. When he speaks of quarrels, he means quarrels between Sorcerer and Victim. So his sociological interpretation of sorcery is mainly based upon the relationship Sorcerer-Victim. Nearly all his victims are however dead as a result of the sorcerers' actions. So immediately the question arises, who informed him of the case?

* In all these the accuser was simultaneously the victim.
 ** When we discuss the relationship of Accuser-Witch we have a total of 71 Witchcraft Accusations but when we discuss the relationship witch-victim the total is 84. The reason is that in some cases more than one victim is attributed to a witch. In 28 cases the identity of the victim is not disclosed, and two cases have been recorded double, so we come to a total of 54.

Not the victim; that's certain. The sorcerer, is not likely either. Perhaps the accuser? * or other people? The fact that he fails to mention the informant and this person's relationships to the sorcerer, the Victim and the Accuser, is a serious lack in Marwick's study. Van Velsen very rightly argues that informants' statements should be treated as "observed behaviour" which is not objective. (Van Velsen, 1967:144). The informants themselves become part of the research. Their information reflects their place in the general network, and, vice versa, their place in the general social network throws light upon their information. To accept informants' statements as the objective truth is an error.

Surprisingly enough Marwick recognises the importance of the Accuser - Sorcerer and Accuser - Victim relationships, but he does not draw the consequences from his statements on this.

Our data on witchcraft accusations are mainly centered around the Accuser, whose social behaviour we have been able to observe for a couple of months. In some cases the Witch and the Victim have died, in some also they are still alive, and therefore also subject to our observation.

We use the term "Accuser" in a slightly different meaning than Marwick.

* In 22 of Marwick's cases the Accuser was not even identified.

We consider all our informants "Accusers" since they accuse someone of witchcraft, though the kind of "accusation" may vary from a direct attack to a simple piece of information with little emotional involvement.* All these "accusations" were divulged surreptitiously; sometimes a great deal of prodding and persuasion was needed before a person was willing to speak, sometimes the accusations came spontaneously. For Marwick and most other anthropologists however, accusations seem to be formal and public statements which may be the start of a judicial procedure in which the witch is prosecuted. Such a definition of accusation tends to overlook the many vague hostilities and tensions which do affect family cohesion considerably.

Out of 71 witchcraft accusations 53 concern a witch who was formally caught, 16 refer to one who was never caught and in two instances we do not know. From the 53 witchcraft accusations which refer to a caught witch many accusations are not congruent with the formal accusations and confessions. People tend to project all kinds of evil deeds onto a person who once has been branded as a witch. These new accusations and suspicions are more effective in the family system than old, and nearly forgotten, cases. By restricting themselves to the formal cases anthropologists let precious material slip through their hands.

* The different types of witchcraft accusations will be discussed later on.

Out of 84 witchcraft accusations the witches are still alive in 41 cases and the victims are still alive in 25 cases. The total number of witches still alive is 9. All of them have been observed and interviewed by us. The total number of victims still alive is 11. All of them have been observed and interviewed by us. The breakdown is as follows:

TABLE 36: Witchcraft Accusations in Amo's Family: Witches and Victims dead and alive.

	TOTAL OF WAS	WAS in which the witch			WAS in which the victim		
		is dead	is alive	is unknown	is dead	is alive	unknown
Konadu's section	62	29	31	2	18	23	21
Saa's Section	22	12	10		12	2	8
TOTALS	84	41	41	2	30	25	29

TABLE 36A: Number of Accusers, Witches and Victims in Amo's Family, dead and alive.

	Accusers all alive	Witches			total	Victims		
		dead	alive	unknown		dead	alive	total
Konadu's Section	19	5	7	2	14	15	9	24
Saa's Section	7	5	2		7	4	2	6
TOTALS	26	10	9	2	21	19*	11	30

Marwick's sociological explanation for the fact that witchcraft accusations occur between close relatives, as we have said, is that there is no judicial way to settle quarrels between kin.

* The actual number is much higher. Accusations such as: "She killed all her children" have been registered as having one victim.

So tensions and conflicts seek an outlet in witchcraft accusations. The situation is quite different in Amo's family and among the Kwahu in general: There is a judicial way to settle conflicts within the family.*

In other words, there is no "need" for resorting to witchcraft accusations when one feels wronged by one's brother, or other relative.** One can put the matter before the Abusua Panyin and the case will be settled. As a matter of fact this method seems to be popular and effective, and people frequently come to Amo for such reasons. This is probably also the reason why so few clear conflicts could be associated with the witchcraft accusations in Amo's family, in contrast to Marwick's cases.

There are however other conflicts which have no rational basis and do not find their origin in certain social events. They belong rather to the field of psychology. These "conflicts" or rather hostilities cannot be brought to the Abusua Panyin, because they lack any social footing, and escape any judicial mediation. These kind of hostilities are more likely to be expressed in the form of witchcraft accusations.

During the settlement of cases after Adwoa Oforiwa's funeral many charges were brought against Yaa Oduraa (B.V. 16), and her behaviour in the court aroused a lot of hostility against her. Nevertheless Yaa Oduraa was never accused of witchcraft by anyone. This shows that there are certainly alternative ways of expressing anger at someone.

** See this chapter Table 42. ** This statement will be further differentiated later on.

2. The Friction Theory

S.F. Nadel, in his study of witchcraft in four African Societies (1954) argues that "Witchcraft beliefs are conspicuously related to specific anxieties and stresses arising in social life" (1954:20). By locating the points of friction in these societies he also locates the areas of witchcraft accusations and in that way he tries to give a sociological explanation for the presence or absence of witchcraft beliefs. Among the Mesakin, for example, there is a generational conflict which finds its expression in witchcraft accusations of the young against the old. Among the Nupe, on the other hand, there is rather a sex antagonism, resulting in men accusing women of witchcraft.

Monica Wilson attempted the same even 3 years before Nadel, and demonstrated that there was a clear relationship between witchcraft beliefs and the social structure of a society (1951). Comparing the Pondo and the Nyakyusa she found that among the Pondo sex played an important role in witchcraft accusations because girls though available, were forbidden for the young men, which caused a lot of tensions and obsessions. Among the Nyakyusa however it was cattle that dominated witchcraft accusations, since cattle were scarce and difficult to come by, whereas girls were everywhere at hand. A similar theory is also offered by Middleton and Winter (1963: introduction) who try to relate certain types of witchcraft or sorcery to certain types of societies.

In this study we shall take these theories together and name them "Friction-Theory".

Structuralism has put a profound stamp upon anthropology and has enabled students to gain an insight into the general and more enduring aspects of a society. Structuralism is now considered as an inadequate approach to the social reality, since it violates it by not accounting for exceptions and variations. It should however be noted that exceptions and variations may only be noticed after general rules had been suggested by the structuralists. To test the structural approach, we shall now apply the structural "Friction Theory" to our own data and put the data in a wider context of the Akan Matrilineal System.

Studies of Matriliney by Levi-Strauss, Audrey Richards, Kathleen Gough, David Schneider and others generally argue that the matrilineal system is a conflict prone system. The root of most conflicts is located in the relationship between a man and his in-laws. Levi-Strauss alleges that the husband is considered as an outsider, even as an enemy, and yet the wife goes to live with him (Levi-Strauss, 1949:149). There is a contradiction inherent in Matriliney which Richards terms the "Matrilineal Puzzle" and describes as "The difficulty of combining recognition of descent through the woman with the rule of exogamous marriage" (Richards, 1950:246).

The puzzle is further analyzed by Schneider when he points out that in matrilineal systems lines of authority lie with the men, but lines of group placement with the women. (Schneider, 1961:7). So, if this is the main point of friction in Akan society one would expect that a high percentage of witchcraft accusations would be exchanged between affines, according to the "Friction Theory" of Nadel and others.

Another relationship which is supposed to be very prone to tension and conflict is that between a man and his father's sister (FZ) or father's sister's son (FZS). In a matrilineal society it is not unlikely that a man will accuse his FZ or FZS for killing his father in order to get the inheritance.

Fortes argues that there is often a feeling of tension between mother's brother (MB) and sister's child (ZC). This is not surprising, he remarks, because it is the MB who has a definite say in the child's marriage and it is also from him that the child will inherit. He even illustrates this with a proverb: "Nephews are enemies" (Wofase eye dom) suggesting that wofasenom are waiting for their wofanom to die so that they may inherit their property (Fortes, 1950:270-273).

And finally there is the relationship between co-wives. The Twi word for co-wife, Kora, indicates the very nature of their relationship: jealousy.

So, according to the Friction Theory, witchcraft accusations can be expected to occur mainly in these four areas.

Let us now have a look at our field material and catalogue the social relationships both between Accusers and Witches and between Witches and Victims. We also bring in the variable of residence, since hostile relationships will be exacerbated when the people concerned stay together.

TABLE 37: Reciprocal social and residential Relationships between Accuser and Witch in Amo's family. (Percentages in brackets).

	In same house	In different house	Unknown	Total
Ego - Mother	3			3
Ego - Sibling	2		3	5
Ego - MZC	1	10	1	12
Ego - MB		4		4
Ego - MZ		6		6
Ego - "Grandparent"*	2	7		9
Ego - More distant relative	2	12		14
Ego - Different Section		14		14
Ego - Affine	2	2		4
Total	12 (17)	55 (77)	4 (6)	71 (100)

* We consider anyone called Nana within the same section "Grandfather".

Table 37 does not substantiate the Friction Theory in any way.

Two categories (Ego - FZ and Ego - Co-wife) do even not come into the picture and the other ones are negligible.*

The table does not only fail to bear out Nadel's theory, it has also a tendency to go against it. Relationships such as ego - mother, ego - sibling and ego - grandparent, which are termed cordial and affectionate by Fortes, are relatively often undermined by Accuser-Witch relationships. This tendency becomes clearer when we leave the rather extraneous distinction between sibling and mother's sister's child (MZC) and between mother and mother's sister (MZ), and, following the Twi terminology, take them together as "Onua" and "Ena". When we do this 9 out of 71 accusations (13%) occur between ego and Ena and not less than 17 out of 71 (24%) between ego and Onua. This would mean that 37% of all witchcraft accusations occur between those relatives who are believed to form the corner stones of the family cohesion.

* One could argue that the absence of the two mentioned categories and the relative insignificance of the affine category are a logical result of the formulation of our question which only referred to witchcraft within the family. This is however not correct. Our question: "Do you know any witchcraft case in your family?" should necessarily bring out cases in which a member of the family is believed to have died or become sick through witchcraft of any paternal relative, affine or co-wife. When responsibility for any misfortune in the family has been shifted upon such a person, this would have been remembered. One would further argue that the absence of these categories tallies with the belief that witches can only operate among their own "abusuafo". As we have stated before, this is not entirely correct. People believe that they can also bewitch people who are close to them in another way.

TABLE 38: Reciprocal social and residential relationships between Witches and Victims in Aso's family (percentages in brackets).

	In same house	In different house	Unknown	Total
Ego - Mother	11			11 (21)
Ego - Sibling	4		8	12 (23)
Ego - MZC	1	3	3	7 (13)
Ego - MB		2		2 (4)
Ego - MZ	1	1	1	3 (6)
Ego - "grandparent"*	1	2	4	7 (13)
Ego - more distant relative	1	5		6 (11)
Ego - different section		1		1 (2)
Ego - Affine	4			4 (7)
TOTAL	23 (43)	14 (26)	16 (31)	53 (100)
Not included				1

Total 54 **

This picture becomes even more disconcerting when we look at the relationships between Witches and Victims (Table 38). Only in two instances Witch and Victim stand in an ego - MB relationship, and only 4 times in an ego - Affine relationship. The two other categories are again not even mentioned.

On the other hand, the highest figures are surprisingly scored by the very categories of relationship which are believed to be the bases of the Akan Family System: the Ego-Mother and Ego-Sibling relationships.

* Anyone called Nana by Ego within the same section.

** Not included in one accusation in which victim and witch are the same person. Accusations referring to the same case, but expressed by different accusers have all been included separately. For example: three people accuse Aso of having killed her children. This results in three entries in the Ego-Mother category.

The third place is shared by two relationships which are also supposed to be cordial: Ego-MZC and Ego-Grandparent. If we finally add the Ego-MZ (Ena) relationship to the above, we find that in 40 out of 53 cases (75%) Witch and Victim stand to each other in a relationship which "structurally" is believed to be free of stress and tension, and only in 6 out of 53 cases (11%) they are linked in a "structurally" conflict prone relationship.

One could, at this juncture, ask what the conclusion is of our argument. The conclusion is that, either the structural approach has failed us and that the "structural" conflicts in the Akan society do not necessarily coincide with the "actual" conflicts between the "actual" members of Amo's family, or that the Friction Theory has proved an inadequate sociological explanation for the occurrence of witchcraft accusations. Finally, it may well be true that both, structural approach and Friction Theory, are insufficient. As a matter of fact the Friction Theory is by definition closely interwoven with structuralism and wants to speak about societies rather than about individuals.

To find out where exactly the flaw lies, let us leave behind the structural approach and move closer to the family at issue to see whether "actual" tensions and conflicts are expressed and aired through witchcraft accusations.

In Table 39, we will start from the opposite direction and investigate which accusations were expressed with a considerable amount of negative feelings towards the Witch and which were expressed without much emotion.

Table 39 evinces that only 9 out of 71 accusations (13%) can be associated with strong feelings of hatred, and that no less than 47 accusations (69%) miss this emotional dimension. A closer look at these 9 accusations reveals that the concept of "Witch" has become very vague and can almost be taken as an abuse. In fact this was stated expressly in three cases (Appendix III, No.29, 30 and 66). Manu explained in a later interview that he doubts that Siaw and Safo are real witches in the sense that they use supernatural powers, all he wanted to say was that they are wicked. Tano, further, remarked that he does not believe in witchcraft, but nevertheless his accusation against Amo was very emotional and he explained that of all the people in the family he disliked Amo most. The remaining 6 accusations are: 5,6,11,30,31 and 62. With the exception of the first two, which are from the mouth of Siaw, all these handle a rather vague concept of witch as well. Anim (62) at first did not attribute any witchcraft to Amo, but then, remembering how Amo had treated him, revised his statement and accused him of witchcraft.

TABLE 39: Negative Emotions in Witchcraft Accusations and identity of the Victim in Amo's family. (Percentages in brackets).

	Victim=Accuser*	Victim≠Acc.	Victim unknown	Totals
WA expressed with strong negative emotions	5	3	1	9 (13)
WA expressed without any emotions		20	27	47 (69)
Borderline cases **	11	2	2	15 (18)
TOTALS	16	25	30	71(100)

Legend: WA = Witchcraft accusation.

- * In this table the relationship Accuser-Witch is pivotal, so all accusations, in which one of the victims coincides with the accuser, have been entered under this heading, with neglect of other victims.
- ** The high figure of borderline cases illustrates the difficulties we had in determining whether witchcraft accusations were strongly emotional or not. We define our criterion as follows: Can we point at manifest negative feelings which are not inherent part of the witchcraft accusation? We based the application of this criterion mainly on observation; how does someone present his accusation? Are his negative feelings only the result of his sincere belief that the other one is bewitching him, or does he make the impression that his "belief" that the other one is a witch rather stems from his already present ill-feelings towards him? We are aware that the distinction between Table 34 and Table 39 is very subtle. We can also define the distinction as follows: Table 34 is more objective; we base ourselves upon information and ask whether any case or quarrel is mentioned as cause for the witch's activities. Table 39 is more subjective; we base ourselves upon people's behaviour: do they show aggression against the witch as a person? It is understandable that people do not talk with affection of someone who, they sincerely believe is after their lives, and that there is some amount of aggression in any such accusation. They may, however, blame not so much the person, but rather the witch in them. Such cases have been recorded as borderline cases.

Amo himself (11) did a similar thing to Oforiwa. His accusation was a spontaneous impulse, rather than a well thought over accusation. When, many months later, we asked him formally about witchcraft, he refused to say anything. The two remaining witchcraft accusations by Manu (30 and 31) appear to us very similar to his two other ones although he himself stresses that they are different in the sense that Amo and Kumaa are real witches. Manu is obsessed by the idea that everyone works against him and most of his witchcraft accusations have a very personal character.

This brings us to another aspect of these 9 accusations. Seven of them bear a very personal stamp. In five of them the Accuser is also the Victim, in one case (5) Victim and Accuser might as well be identified since the Victim is the Accuser's first born child, still a baby, and in the other case (11) it is silently understood that the Accuser, Amo, considers himself as the intended victim.

In the two other cases (62 and 66) Anim and Tano try to tarnish Amo's reputation by accusing him of certain fantastic deeds in the past. They have no relationship with the victims and their witchcraft accusation come very close to a certain type of backdoor slander which is also common in European societies. We will come back to this later.

Our data do not seem to endorse the Friction Theory: witchcraft accusations concomitant with social conflicts and tensions are few. However, before we draw a final conclusion we should consider one other factor.

So far we have looked at: witchcraft accusations with conflicts (few) and witchcraft accusations without conflicts (many). Let us now also examine conflicts without witchcraft accusations.

There is abundant evidence that many conflicts and tensions are never ventilated through witchcraft accusations. A brief glance through the case histories in our field material presents us with many conflicts which we never came across again in the context of witchcraft accusations. Applying Marwick's hypothesis to our case, we already mentioned that the Kwahu have alternative ways of expressing and solving conflicts within the family. Many conflicts and tensions found an outlet during the court cases in Amo's house after Oforiwa's funeral. None of these conflicts gave rise to witchcraft accusations. We further listed and ranked the positive and negative social relationships of eleven people in the family. These social relationships are hardly congruent with witchcraft accusations of the same people. Only in some instances do they agree, for example Tano says he dislikes Amo and Konadu and he also accuses both of witchcraft. Manu both dislikes and accuses Amo, Safo, Kumaa and Konadu. As a rule, however, there does not seem to be much correlation between someone's negative social relationships and his witchcraft accusations and in a considerable number of cases the two factors even seem to collide.

Ntiri (B.VI,28) says bluntly that there is no one in the whole family he likes, but these negative feelings towards his own relatives are not followed by witchcraft accusations. Kumaa and Aso both profess to like the very person who accuses them of witchcraft, respectively Manu and Boahemaa. Dwamena accuses Konadu but likes her at the same time. The most striking case, however, is Korang (A.VI,15). She also accused Konadu of witchcraft, but listed her under the people she liked. When we raised some doubts about this, she insisted on it and argued that she had even come from Accra to visit Konadu because she had heard that she was sick. On the other hand she disliked Konadu's sister Kisiwa the most. She had had a vehement quarrel with her many years ago and since that time they had not talked to each other. Kisiwa, she said, was the only one in the family she hated, but when we asked her whether she thought Kisiwa was a witch, she denied this.

Korang's case may seem a bit extreme but we think that it is a good illustration of how inconsistent and incomprehensible witchcraft accusations are.

On the basis of the foregoing argument, we are inclined to conclude that the incidence of witchcraft accusations in Amo's family does not fall within the scope of the Friction Theory of Nadel and others, since it is not significantly concomitant with social conflicts. There are however two (structural) variables we have not tried yet: the Generational Conflict and Sex Antagonism.

The latter will be dealt with later on. The former will be examined here.

3. Generational Conflict:

Middleton and Winter (1963:13), combining witchcraft and sorcery in the one term "wizardry" remark that "Wizardry seems to be inevitably considered as the weapon of the weak, the down trodden, the poor and the envious..." They argue that accusations in the opposite direction are not likely to be believed since it does not seem reasonable that an elder should use wizardry, unless in certain situations where elders are known to maintain their positions by wizardry. They note that this tendency is less stringent in case of witchcraft than in case of sorcery, but maintain nevertheless the rule in general.

This view surprises us considerably. Reading studies of witchcraft, one is left with the impression that the elders, the rich and the people in power are rather the butt of witchcraft accusations. We therefore are inclined to believe that it is not the practice but rather the accusation of witchcraft which should be considered "as the weapon of the weak, the down trodden, the poor and the envious". This is a complete reversal of Middleton and Winter's remark.

It is amazing that anthropologists should pay too much attention to the practice of witchcraft and so little to witchcraft accusations. This must be a remnant of structuralism in which everything has its place and its function and a society is envisaged as a logical and coherent whole.

In such a view the logical sequel of events is that witchcraft and witch are primary, the victim is second and the accusation is last. Sociological observation and social reality are however not like that. We agree with Beattie (1963:36) that the sequence of events is almost always some kind of reverse of the above. First may be some kind of misfortune befalling someone, second is an accusation and last is the witch. If there is no clear cut case of a victim, an accusation may be the first step and the appearance of the alleged witch the second step. This sequence is not logical, but it is actual.

An anthropologist has hardly direct access to witchcraft practices but he does have access to witchcraft accusations and cases of misfortune as Marwick has demonstrated. We even dare say that witchcraft itself, by its very nature, escapes sociological implements and belongs to the fields of comparative religion and psychology. Only the societal expressions of the belief in witchcraft and the social events leading up to and following witchcraft accusations belong to the field of sociology. So the witchcraft accusations are pivotal.

Middleton and Winter have no sociological evidence that the oppressed use witchcraft as an attack against the oppressors. All they could say is that the oppressors accuse the oppressed of using witchcraft against them.

This view, as we stated above, seems to run counter to the view we gained from our own data.

In chapter III we spoke of the conflict between young and old. There is ample evidence that the older generation imposes its will upon the young, and that this results in dissatisfaction and frustration among the young, and, finally, in witchcraft accusations by them¹

Let us therefore examine our data in the light of the generational conflict, in which the young are the "down-trodden".

TABLE 40. Accuser's relationship to Witch, according to age and generation, in Amo's family.

	According to generation	According to age
Younger	35	56
Equal	28	5*
Older	8	10
TOTALS	71	71

TABLE 41. Witch's relationship to Victim, according to age and generation, in Amo's family.

	According to generation	According to age
Younger	5	8
Equal	24	7*
Older	24	34
Unknown		4
TOTALS	53**	53**

The tables 40 and 41 give overwhelming evidence that in Amo's family witchcraft accusations tend to come from the young and attack the elders, and that the elders are believed to keep the young down by the power of witchcraft.

* Equal=less than 5 years difference in age.

** One case excluded in which witch is victim.

If the above figures can really be interpreted in that way, it would mean that the theories of Marwick and Nadel do contain some useful suggestions after all.

We make this conditional because there is one factor - beyond our control - which may render all the figures of the tables 40 and 41 useless. We found that older people are considerably more hesitant to reveal witchcraft accusations than young people. If the witchcraft accusations they are holding back, are directed against the young, our figures and our argument lose their foundation, but if they are directed against their seniors, our argument holds true. It should further be noted that unexpressed witchcraft accusations tend to carry a heavier ideological and/or emotional load, as we have discussed before.

Bearing these restrictions in mind, we can say in terms of Nadel's theory: There is a generational conflict in Amo's family. It is old people who pull the strings and lay down the law and the young have no way to stand up against them. This conflict results in witchcraft accusations by the young against the old.

Rebellion against the elders may seem to be a recent phenomenon, but it is also very old. In spite of the respect and honour showered on the elders by the young, there has always been some underlying tension; old people being afraid that the young will push them out, and young people waiting to step into their shoes.

There are several proverbs expressing this idea, one being: "A bird staying too long in the sky will be killed by a stone" (Anomaa kye asoro a, ogye obo), meaning that a man should not live too long but make way for the next generation.

We could check whether there is a causal relationship between the generational conflict and witchcraft accusations by analyzing the content of the accusations in the light of this conflict. This would lead us not only too far, but is also bound to be very defective since it is not likely that these grudges are openly expressed. They will often be covered, perhaps consciously, perhaps even sub- or unconsciously. This means that we have reached the border of our territory and have to hand over to psychologists.

All we can say, as social anthropologists, is that a certain degree of generational tension is concomitant with a high rate of witchcraft accusations from the young against the old.

This argument may throw some light upon one aspect of witchcraft accusations in Amo's family: generational antagonism; but it does not provide any suggestion for an explanation of their most enigmatic and fascinating aspect: the incidence between close kin.

Marwick also made a point which is relevant here. His thesis is that witchcraft accusations occur where there is no alternative means of expressing and solving the problem (i.e. among the matrikin).

This thesis seems to hold true for the generational conflict as well. The younger generation has little opportunity to fight the elders in court. There is no way in which the young can successfully compete for office and property. Their frustrations and anger are bottled up till they find an outlet in witchcraft accusations, which clearly demonstrate their helplessness.

Here again we have gone past our competence and have been led to give a psychological interpretation of the concomitance of two sociological variables: the deprivation of power of the young and frequency of their witchcraft accusations. It is clear that sociology, psychology and other branches of science need each other, if we want to study witchcraft to a deeper level. J.G. Kennedy (1967:273) has remarked that investigators of witchcraft find themselves inevitably concerned with psychological problems. "The reason, he writes, lies in the nature of the phenomenon itself. Witchcraft is primarily a manifestation of strongly held negative emotions. Any student describing it inevitably finds himself involved with material which have been the province of psychoanalysis - hatred, fear, anger, jealousy and frustration."

We recorded 7 court cases in Amo's house. They affirm two statements made by us: that close relatives can accuse each other before the Abusua Panyin but that it is uncommon for the young to accuse the old (See Table 42).

TABLE 42. Kin and Age Relationships between Complainant and Defendant in 7 court cases in Amo's house.

	Complainant is			TOTALS
	older	same age	younger	
Ego-Sibling		1		1
Ego - MZ			1	1
Ego - MZC	2			2
Ego - Distant Relative	1			1
Ego - Affine		2		2
Ego - Step-son	1			1
TOTALS	4	3	1	8*

The table shows that in only one case a younger person challenged an older, but this very case demonstrated the impossibility of such an accusation. The accusation was shifted by the elders to the accused's daughter, who had to defend herself and apologized eventually. The older person kept out of harm's way.

4. The Spatial Distance Theory

Before concentrating on the characteristics of witchcraft accusations in Amo's family, let us bring in another hypothesis on witchcraft accusations which has been launched recently by an anthropologist.

Mary Douglas (1970: Introduction) relates the occurrence of witchcraft to the frequency of social interaction and the precision of social role definition. It is the former we want to consider here briefly.

*In one case there are 2 defendants, so the total of relationships is one higher than the total of court cases.

Where the population is widespread and thin, social interaction becomes sparse and, as a result, relationships become less intense. Where there is a dense population the opposite will happen and human relations, either positive or negative, will increase in intensity.* Douglas argues that, in such a situation, relationships may be more competitive and she concludes that witchcraft, as a weapon of attack, is more likely to occur in such a densely populated society (1970:XXV).

With some slight alterations this hypothesis seems to find some support in the occurrence of witchcraft accusations in Amo's family. First we have seen that a relatively high percentage of witches stay in the same house as the accusers or the victims. Table 37 shows that in 17% of the accusations Accuser and Witch stay together. It is not unlikely that frequency and intensity of social contact played some role in the rise of these accusations. "If a tree is near another tree they rub each other" (Dua a eben ne yonko na etwi), says a proverb, meaning the friction is bound to come where people live closely together.

Looking at the negative part of Douglas' hypothesis: witchcraft is unlikely to occur where human relationships are sparse, we find some evidence that there is a tendency towards a decrease of witchcraft accusations when people stay outside the town and have not frequent contact with the relatives in the town.

* Cf. Homans, 1950:113 ff. and Coser, 1956:62-63.

In Table 43 we have taken together all the people we interviewed explicitly on witchcraft and those who were mentioned by others as Witches or Victims, and divided them according to residence (in or outside Ayere) and involvement in witchcraft (either as Accuser, Witch or Victim).

TABLE 43: Witchcraft involvement and spatial distance. (Percentages in brackets).

	Involved in witchcraft	Not involved in witchcraft	TOTALS
Inhabitants staying at Ayere	21 (91)	2 (9)	23(100)
Emigrants staying elsewhere	5 (50)	5 (50)	10(100)
TOTALS	26 (79)	7 (21)	33(100)

$$n = 1 \quad X^2 = 7.12 \quad 0.01 > P > 0.001$$

The data look most pronounced if we separate the two categories of inhabitants and emigrants. Out of 23 inhabitants 21 (91%) are involved in witchcraft accusations, but out of 10 emigrants only 5 (50%) are involved. This shows a sharp decline of witchcraft involvement concomitant with spatial distance and this correlation is highly significant in statistical terms. The idea is expressed by the proverbs cited at the beginning of this paragraph that closeness and witchcraft are mutually related: The fire burns what lies near it!

It should further be noted that in no case was someone accused of witchcraft who was staying outside Ayere.

These data are very significant, and tally with findings of Marwick among the Cewa (1965:92). So it seems from this table that migration and spatial separation have a deflating effect upon witchcraft involvement.

It should, however, be noted that Table 43 is a little deceptive. If we would bring into chart the number and intensity of accusations these people are involved in and relate them to the variable inhabitant - emigrant, the significance would be considerably less impressive. We don't want to go into so much detail again and suffice it to note that the most prolific accusers, Many and Anim, are both emigrants! Manu is moreover also the most emotional accuser!

Here again we are faced with the refractoriness of our material, which cannot be forced into a sociological one-factor-hypothesis mould. Douglas' hypothesis concerning the frequency of interaction and spatial spreading cannot be pushed aside as useless, but it cannot be accepted as satisfactory either. Witchcraft accusations in Amo's family are much more unpredictable, whimsical and equivocal.

The above arguments have demonstrated how a detailed knowledge of the social actors can sabotage any theory which is an oversimplification and glosses over basic variations and exceptions. There is no reason to assume that witchcraft accusations in other societies, such as the Cewa (Marwick, 1965), Nupe, Gwari, Mesakin (Nadel, 1954), Bunyoro (Beattie, 1963), Lugbara (Middleton, 1963), Amba (Winter, 1963), miss this whimsical character altogether and occur according to neatly formulated sociological rules.

Case studies of the incidence of witchcraft accusations in the above mentioned societies could complement and shade the findings of the more structural studies.

C. A FURTHER DESCRIPTION, CLASSIFICATION AND ANALYSIS OF WITCHCRAFT ACCUSATIONS IN AMO'S FAMILY.

1. Some Characteristics

Before we try a final analysis of witchcraft accusations we have to list certain characteristics of the 71 recorded witchcraft accusations, which will throw more light upon this mysterious phenomenon.

Incorrect Statements

Incorrect statements are frequently made by Accusers. They reveal a slapdash way of mentioning family relations and a trend to exaggeration to make the accusation more interesting and impressing. It is particularly the younger generation which is guilty of this practice.

To give only a few examples: Grace [Appendix III, No.43) gives a detailed description of what happened to Aso's three children, but Aso had only two children. Tano (67) ascribes even 6 children to her.

Anim (60) claims that all Kisiwa's children died except one, Boahemaa, but three are still alive. Anim (61) further tells us that Mmobrowa became mad and died in Accra in the Mental Hospital, which is also grossly incorrect. Safo (15) says that Amo inherited his wofanom Ampadu and Gyima after Konadu had killed them. It was however he himself who inherited them.

Contradictory Accusations

Accusations referring to death or sickness of victims not infrequently contradict each other. Figure 12** shows that there is very little agreement about who killed who. Only 4 of the 16 victims who died or suffered obvious misfortune have their misfortune attributed to the same witch by more than one accusation. In fact disagreement is more common, because accusers contradict each other in relation to 5 of these 16 victims, namely Preko, Boateng, Aso, Seiwa and Yesu.

Most surprising is that in 2 cases an accuser even contradicts him or herself. Safo accused first Konadu (15)* of killing his brother Preko, but later, in the very same interview, he accused Deda (16) of this evil act. Grade did the same when she accused both Anan (42) and Aso (43) of bewitching Fofie.

These two characteristics illustrate the vast difference between Cewa witchcraft accusations and Kwahu witchcraft accusations. Witchcraft accusations in Amo's family seem much more vague and fluid and less brought out in the open for everyone to know. Shame about it may prevent people from making it public. One of the highlife songs puts it this way: "House affairs are not pieces of cloth you wash and spread on the streets to dry."

As a result accusations are expressed secretly, their versions may change as time goes by and consensus is hard to find.

* All numbers in brackets refer to Appendix III.

** See page 386.

This again allows the "story-tellers" and gossip-mongers to add whatever they like to make the whole more juicy and to vent their own aggressiveness.

The Sex Variable

Men are rarely accused of witchcraft and we know of no case in which a man was officially caught as a witch. The three men who have been stamped as witches are Siaw, Amo and Safo. None of them is accused by a woman. However, we do not see any reason to speak of Sex-antagonism as an underlying factor of witchcraft accusations. Out of 66 witchcraft accusations against women, 35 are from the mouths of men and 31 from women, which means that men and women equally accuse women.

It is further interesting to note that all 5 accusations against men have been categorized as highly emotional (See Table 39). We have stated already that in these cases the concept of "Witch" becomes vague and questionable, loses its super-natural character, and is little more than an abusive term.

This indicates that - at least in the small sample we are studying - the original concept of "Witch" seems to be reserved for the female sex only. This however should be checked over a wider sample. Debrunner, who writes about witchcraft in Ghana as a whole, but most of the time talks about Akan witchcraft, writes, "Although it takes men much longer to delude themselves into the belief that they are witches, when they do so, the neurosis is much more serious.

Wizards (male witches) are reputed to be more dangerous than witches, two of them, I have frequently been told, are strong enough to destroy a town." (1959:73-74). Margareth Field, who recorded 146 case histories of patients at a healing shrine, found only 6 males of Akan origin, who accused themselves or had been accused of witchcraft. The female witches were however many (Field, 1960).

In Amo's family women seem to have the monopoly in witchcraft. This has the following consequences: If a man dies suddenly or prematurely, the chance exists that someone - probably a woman - will be accused of having killed him by witchcraft. If a woman dies before her time the chances are two: either some other woman will be accused of having killed her or she herself may be called a witch, caught by medicine.

It would be interesting to look into the reasons why women and not men are being accused. Esther Goody (1970) has done this for the Gonja of Ghana. Such an investigation, however, lies beyond the purview of this study.

Lineage-section and witchcraft accusations

Witchcraft accusations tend to be restricted to a section of a lineage, but out of 71 accusations in Amo's family 14 (20%) cross the border^A line between the two sections (Table 43). This figure would have been much lower but for the accusations of Anim who recalled not less than 6 witchcraft cases in the other section of the family.

TABLE 43A: Witchcraft accusations within and outside the lineage section.*
(Percentages in brackets).

	Konadu's Section	Saa's Section	Totals
WAS within the section	44	13	57 (80)
WAS crossing the borderline	5	9	14 (20)
Totals	49	22	71 (100)

Legend: WA = Witchcraft accusation.

In general, however, people seem to be more ignorant, or less interested, in witches of the other section. Only a type like Anim, who is keenly interested in family affairs and has a tremendous memory, is able to remember more cases of the other side.

So most of these accusations carry little emotion and (11,62,66) were expressed in a matter-of-fact manner. Three which are more emotion-laden are connected with an already existing strong (negative) relationship across the borderline. They all involve Amo, who by nature of his office, Abusua Panyin, must deal with members of both sections. Twice he is accused and once he accuses someone else (Oforiwa) with whom he has had a serious conflict. A fourth - relatively emotional - accusation (12) across the borderline misses sufficient background information to be explained.

The distinction between the two sections is even more pronounced when we examine the Witch-Victim relationship.**

* See also Figure 11, page 385.

** See Figure 12, page 386.

Out of the total of 54 cases only once is a witch believed to have attacked someone of the other section (12).

Absence of accusations

It has been remarked before that absence of accusations is often a sign that the accusations exist in such a strong form that they cannot be expressed, at least not in an interview.

Nana Kisiwa and her daughter Boahemaa are good examples. For them, witchcraft was so much of a problem and an obsession that they could not talk about it. Both have suffered much during their life-time. Kisiwa saw 5 or her 8 children die, and the remaining 3 have very difficult lives; Boahemaa suffers of a poor health and had only one child who, however, died. They are therefore very likely to accuse others of witchcraft or to be accused of witchcraft. It was only through information from Manu (28) and Boatema (42) that we got some insight into the matter, though they themselves tried to hide it from us.

So we face the problem that we do not only have to interpret actual witchcraft accusations, but also the absence of witchcraft accusations. The latter seems even more crucial because, as we have explained, the most significant and serious accusations are not expressed. The recorded witchcraft accusations are often hardly felt and expressed in a disinterested way.

Information is vague and contradictory and one often gets the impression that the informant makes up part of the story during the interview, perhaps even to please us. In such a case interpretations become very difficult and the interviewer runs the risk of paying more attention to accusations than they really deserve.

But in the case of unexpressed accusations we are dealing with well-defined and deeply-felt accusations, and the chance that information is vague and contradictory becomes very small. The help of a third informant is here indispensable to give us some insight.

One cannot stress sufficiently how risky certain questions were for the members of the family. Many people must have been rather uncomfortable. They put their fate practically in our hands by revealing certain secrets to us. If people were to find out that they gave this information to us, life would have become very difficult for them. It is therefore not surprising that many preferred to keep silent. Others were taken by surprise at the first interview and later on regretted their openness.

2. Classification and Analysis of Witchcraft Accusations

One important aspect of witchcraft accusations as yet not touched upon by us is the religious aspect.

Evans-Pritchard, the pioneer of sociological studies on witchcraft, has termed witchcraft accusations "the explanation of what is inexplicable".* In many cases it is not conflict but some misfortune that is the direct cause of witchcraft accusations.

Such misfortune is for example sudden death, sickness, and financial or social set-backs. Witchcraft accusations in Amo's family seem to underscore this. Table 34 has shown that out of 71 accusations only 7 accusations (10%) could be traced back to a conflict or tension between accuser and witch and in only 11 out of 54 cases (22%) the Accuser would point at some quarrel or at jealousy as a reason for the Witch's action against the Victim.

When we look at witchcraft accusations from the point of view of misfortune, we gain quite a different picture. Out of 84 alleged witchcraft cases, 66 (79%) can be related to some kind of misfortune, either death or lasting illness, and in only 18 cases (21%) is no reference made to any visible kind of misfortune. Claims such as social or financial adversity have not been considered, since they could not be measured objectively.

* More generally one could say: explanation of what is extraordinary. This can be negative (misfortune) or positive (extreme fortune). Of the latter we find an example in the type of witchcraft which is often attributed to Kwahu: Nzima bayi. Here extraordinary success in business is explained through the use of witchcraft. (See chapter II). In this light it can also be understood why peculiar people such as old ladies or unmarried persons are often considered as witches. Winter has argued that witchcraft accusations emphasize normal behaviour and traditional ways by attributing abnormal and inverted characteristics to witches (Winter, 1963:292).

Of the 66 cases connected with misfortune 19 refer to misfortune of the victim, 28 to misfortune of the witch, and 19 to misfortune of both.

TABLE 44: Witchcraft accusations and misfortune. (Percentages in brackets).

	Misfortune of victim	Misfortune of witch	Misfortune of both	Totals
Cases linked with misfortune	19 (23)	28 (33)	19 (23)	66 (79)
Cases not linked with misfortune				18 (21)

Totals 84(100)

One could imagine, and it was also been suggested to us, that the female predominance among the alleged witches has some correlation with the fact that a great deal of the misfortune which has to be explained away, could be misfortune in child birth, such as barrenness, abortion, infant mortality and other typically female ailments. This hypothesis does however find no evidence in our data as Table 45 shows.

TABLE 45: Type of Misfortune and Sex of the Accuser.

	Male Accuser	Female Accuser	Totals
Death of witch	14	23	37
Sickness of witch	4	6	10
Infertility of "	2	1	3
Death of victim	18	8	26
Sickness of victim	2	4	6
Infertility of victim	1	4	5
TOTALS	41	46	87*

* The total does not correspond with the total of witchcraft accusations, because in several cases more than one type of misfortune is involved.

The figure of Table 44 suggest that the occurrence of human misfortune is a firmer basis to build a witchcraft theory on than social conflict. We can divide the witchcraft accusations in Amo's family into three types which we shall call the "Religious type", the "Psychological type", and the "Gossip type".

By religious, we mean those accusations which attempt to give an answer to the ultimate question: Why? Why did this person die so untimely? Why did sickness befall that person? Why does misfortune come the way it does?

By psychological, we mean those accusations which are predominantly emotional, and have their roots in social conflicts and tensions. Many times, as we have seen before, the Accuser will consider himself or a very close relative as the Victim. He will blame the Witch for adversity in his life and project the cause of his own failures onto someone else. By finding a scapegoat he can proclaim himself innocent and continue to live with confidence in himself. There are many possible psychological processes underlying these accusations which explains why we call them psychological witchcraft accusations.

Purely psychological witchcraft accusations, are not likely to last long, unless they are also linked to a visible misfortune and become psycho-religious. Only "religious" witchcraft accusations are likely to last and remain embedded in the memory of people, since they are attached to some memorable event of sickness or death.

But in the course of time the wounds are healed and a sudden death of 20 years ago does not pose to a contemporary member the same religious questions as it did at that time.

People, as a consequence, will then relate witchcraft stories without religious or psychological involvement. Their attitude may be neutral, as if they are giving mere pieces of information:

It is generally believed in the family that this person was a witch. Their attitude may also have the character of malicious slander. This vague type of witchcraft accusation we shall call the gossip type.

The three types of witchcraft accusations are not sharply separated, but flow into each other. This causes serious difficulties when one tries to classify witchcraft accusations in Amo's family. We saw no other solution than to create three intermediary types: the Psycho-Religious, Psycho-Gossip, and Religio-Gossip types. When we apply this classification to Table 44 we get the following:-

TABLE 46: Misfortune and Classification of witchcraft accusations.

	Rel.	Ps-Rel.	Psych.	Rel-G.	Ps-G.	G.	?	Totals
No Misfortune			9			9	1	18
Misfortune of victim	1	9		6	2	1		19
Misfortune of Witch	10	2		11		3	2	28
Misfortune of both	9	2		7		1		19
TOTALS	20	13	9	24	2	13	3	84

This table looks obscure at first sight. Let us therefore lift out some of the figures and examine them more closely.

No misfortune: If there is no misfortune attached, most of the accusations are merely Psychological in which Ego usually considers himself as the Victim, or merely Gossip, in which the Witch is vaguely accused of killing many people without specification. In the last case attention has been shifted from the Victim, who died long ago and has been forgotten, to the Witch who is still alive, and real for the accuser. The original Religious character of the witchcraft accusation has lost its fervour as the dead sank into oblivion, but the Witch continues to bear the stigma which was once placed upon her. People don't have a special grudge against the Witch, but enjoy somehow tarnishing her reputation.

Misfortune of the victim: Where the victim is remembered the witchcraft accusation tends to become more religious. However, because of affectionate ties with the victim, the witchcraft accusation is also emotional, and is mixed with feelings of hatred against the Witch who is still alive. (9 cases). For the younger generation who hear the story from their parents or other people, part of the religious dimension remains as an explanation for a past misfortune, but the feelings of hatred give way to a more general tendency of vilifying the accused person without any special reason.

We have called this type of witchcraft accusation: Religio-Gossip (6 cases).

Misfortune of the witch: When, however, the Witch herself has been caught and killed, feelings of hatred have lost their meaning since the Witch has already undergone her punishment. Such cases are considered as acts of God, and the accusations are expressed rather with an attitude of shame and fatalism than with negative feelings towards the Witch. 10 witchcraft accusations have been recorded as religious.

When the witch is still alive, affected by sickness, such as Aso, people tend to consider her since she has "received her reward" for her evil practices. Feelings of hatred abate and give way to some kind of slander since any witchcraft accusation here involves speaking ill of someone who is still around. 11 witchcraft accusations bear this stamp.

Misfortune of both victim and witch: Where both Victim and Witch have died or have been affected by sickness, roughly the same argument as the one above holds true. Negative emotions become pacified and accusations are mainly religious (9) of Religio-Gossip (7).

Our data-discussions and tentative classification have shown that witchcraft accusations are not static entities which can be fitted into a structural framework.

They are rather dynamic social processes which need a much more subtle approach. Each witchcraft accusation has its history, it goes through different phases, and during every phase it wields a different kind of influence over the social community. Fortes' concept of "developmental cycle" is applicable to witchcraft accusations in Amo's family (J. Goody, 1962).

Some witchcraft accusations start off highly psychological. A member feels frustrated in life and tries to shift the responsibility of his failure upon someone else, by accusing the other of practising witchcraft against him. We found examples of such witchcraft accusations among the accusations of Manu, Siaw and others. The history of such a witchcraft accusation is usually very short and its influence is very limited. It will not live longer than the Accuser, and perhaps even much shorter, in case the accuser becomes successful in life and can forget his mental troubles. Its influence will be restricted to the relationship Accuser-Witch, and no other people will share in it.

Other witchcraft accusations may have a fairly psychological start, but the Accuser manages to link his grudges with a certain misfortune. A clear example is Safo's accusations against Konadu (15), blaming her for killing his two wofanom, so that her own son (Amo) could finally inherit their wealth.*

* This accusation is absurd since it was Safo himself who inherited the properties of his wofanom (See Appendix III, No.15).

The accusation is clearly inspired by jealousy that amo did so much better than Safo and by a subconscious desire to blame someone else for his own failures. This type of witchcraft accusation is likely to have a longer history and a wider range of influence since it has been attached to a visible sign of misfortune which will be remembered for a longer time.

Again other witchcraft accusations begin as quasi-religious answers to the riddle of suffering, death or misfortune, gain some emotional momentum and slowly wither away after having served for a long time as gossip material.

This theory presupposes that a gossip type of witchcraft accusation is more common among the younger generation. This is borne out by Table 47.

TABLE 47: Gossip and Age of Accusers. (Percentages in brackets).

	WAS with elements of Gossip.	Total of WAS
Accusers younger than 30	26 (79)	33 (100)
Accusers older than 30	13 (25)	51 (100)
TOTALS	39 (46)	84 (100)

3. Witchcraft Accusations and Social Change

After this elaborate discussion on witchcraft accusations in Amo's family, we may be able to answer the question: How witchcraft accusations influence social change. It has frequently been argued that witchcraft provides a means of adaptation to factors of change (e.g. Marwick, 1965:258).

Our data do not substantiate this. Witchcraft accusations often hardly bear any rationale and are neutral to either change or continuity. But the few cases in which there is a relationship between witchcraft accusations and Social Change, show that witchcraft accusations are rather anti-change, supporting traditional values and norms, and holding back people from making career because of fear to incur disfavour, jealousy, or witch practices of others. The conflict between Amo and Oforiwa is a point in case. Her break with traditional values brought the accusation "Witch" on her neck. Manu's witchcraft accusations illustrate the witchcraft fears which accompany someone climbing the social ladder.

Conclusion

It is not easy to pull together the many threads of our argument in this chapter. Both as religious and as psychological phenomena witchcraft accusations seem to have very few positive social functions. We cannot agree with Marwick who has the opinion that witchcraft dissolves strains in social relationships. We would rather agree with Douglas who views witchcraft as an aggravator of hostilities and fears and an obstacle to peaceful co-operation. Religious ideas are poisoned with human controversies and social conflicts are intensified by giving them a transcendental foundation.

Marwick's view that witchcraft accusations can be a moral force does not apply to our case either. Witchcraft is not attributed to transgressors of the social rules, neither is it believed that witches act against people who have broken the law. Witchcraft is rather attributed to sickly and queer people. Much of it is indeed "meaningless hatred" as one of the highlife songs of the African Brothers says. Its mystical attacks electrolyze close relationships and exacerbate fears and tensions. Relationships become highly ambiguous; relatives who live apparently together in peace, staying in the same house and cooking on the same fire, become at the same time linked in a latent-hostile relationship of Accuser and Witch. Fears of witchcraft may prevent an open outbreak of conflicts and a split in the family, but this can hardly be considered a positive function in the light of what has been said about the strained character of the family.

The main points of our argument are the following:-

1. Witchcraft accusations vary considerably. Some are bitterly felt, personal and emotional attacks, other quasi-religious answers to existential questions and again others vague pieces of information or malicious, unfounded, slander. These different types of witchcraft accusations require different types of interpretation.
2. These different types of witchcraft accusations are not static but dynamic. Witchcraft accusations spring up, develop and peter out passing through a wide variety of phases, and an equally wide variety of sociological implications.

Because witchcraft accusations are not part of a static equilibrium, but play an active part in a fast moving social process, structural analysis is bound to be inadequate as an explanatory theory.

3. Witchcraft accusations in Amo's family cannot be covered by a one-factor hypothesis. At a closer look any such hypothesis proves an oversimplification and tends to overlook exceptions and variations.
4. This study has shown how a microscopic knowledge of face-to-face relationships can unnerve over-courageous general statements and theories. We have no reason to believe that witchcraft accusations in other societies are less capricious and we advocate for more case studies on witchcraft accusations in those societies which have been studied at large.
5. Contrary to what is ordinarily assumed of Kwahu witchcraft accusations, we found very little rationale in the accusations. Only a few of the accusations find their origin in quarrels or conflicts. Jealousy is sometimes mentioned as the cause, but the jealousy itself is often hardly intelligible. It should however be recalled that the type of witchcraft which is commonly attributed to Kwahu (Nzima Bayi) is associated with prosperous trading, and it is clear that trading does not play such a prominent role in Amo's family.
6. Witchcraft accusations in Amo's family may be "structurally" uniting in the sense that fear of witchcraft may prevent an open outbreak of conflict or a definitive split in the family.

Witchcraft accusations may also be cohesive in the sense that they unite people against others in common accusations.

But what is gained in structural unity does not compensate for what is lost in mutual understanding and affection through suspicions and accusations which the very shake basis of the family system.

7. Marwick's compensation-hypothesis that witchcraft accusations occur between close relatives because they have no judicial way to settle quarrels between close kin, does not apply to the Kwahu case. There we have a judicial opportunity to settle quarrels before the Abusua Fanyin.

8. The occurrence of witchcraft accusations cannot be associated with alleged strained relationships in the Kwahu family system. Neither do they dovetail with actual conflicts in Amo's family. The "Friction Theory" of Nadel and others seem however to hold true for the generational conflict in Amo's family. Witchcraft accusations are predominantly launched by the young against the old. This is concomitant with an overbearing attitude of the old towards the young. Marwick's compensation thesis seems to apply here: Witchcraft accusations originate from the impossibility to resist the old in the court.

9. ^{at} Special distance produces a decrease in witchcraft involvement.

10. Witchcraft accusations do not provide a means of adaptation to social change, they rather tend to reject change and to favour a kind of static society where no one goes beyond what has been allotted to him.

11. We conclude this chapter with some suggestions as to the conditions under which witchcraft accusations are likely to occur on the one hand and to decrease on the other hand.

Witchcraft accusations are likely to present themselves where there is a high rate of human distress and misfortune and no alternative concepts are offered to interpret the occurrence of suffering and death, and to cope with it.

Witchcraft accusations further arise where the antagonism between young and old continues to exist without giving the young the opportunity to stand up and defend their own views.

Witchcraft accusations are also likely to crop up as long as family members live closely together, sharing both occupational and domestic affairs.

Witchcraft accusations are therefore likely to decline when human misfortune is lessened and people acquire a more secular attitude towards sickness, death and other adversities, through education and other means. An increase of medical facilities will also help to replace certain obsolete ideas based upon witchcraft beliefs.

A solution to the generational conflict and the tensions between young and old may be expected to coincide with a decrease of witchcraft accusations between young and old.

And finally an increase of occupational and spatial mobility is likely to cause a deflation of witchcraft accusations.

APPENDIX III

WITCHCRAFT ACCUSATIONS IN AMO'S FAMILY

1. Siaw (A.V,3) v. Konadu (A.IV,4).

"Amo's mother, Afua Konadu is a witch. Nana Ayesu took her and his own wife to the North and there they were caught. She confessed that she had wanted to kill me. She had been following me all the time for that purpose. I have been in trouble always. Twice I was threatened with a cutlass when she intended to kill me, but I was saved by God.

She had two fetishes in the house Abam and Mmere. Abam is used when one gives birth to twins. My grandmother Abena Kyenku (A.III,1) acquired it when she gave birth to twins and Konadu got it from her, Mmere belonged to Kyenku's father. When the father died, she claimed it saying it had been given to her by the father. I went with her and carried it to Ayere, where she added it to Abam. They put witchcraft in the two. Both fetishes were taken to the north by Nana Ayesu (A.IV,2).

When they returned from the North Konadu called me and begged me to forgive her. She confessed that she had wanted to kill me, take my money and give it to her son Amo. But I had done nothing against her.

I don't know whether she is still a witch or not. I know she attends the Apostolic Church, but one never knows."

2. Siaw v. Deda (A.VI,1).

"Akua Deda, my wofase, was a witch. She intended to kill me but she was caught by Tigare and killed.

Tigare asked me to collect schnapps for it to perform the rites. I brought half a bottle and the priest poured some into a glass for me to drink. He asked me to sit on a goat's skin beside him in Ayesu's house. He then called Deda to confess, otherwise she would die. He said, 'You wanted to kill your wofa; if you do not say what he has done to you, I shall kill you. If you do not say it, and I will kill you, I will never kill a fowl in this house.' She did not give a reply. The schnapps was given to me and I got boozed. Deda died three days later."

3. Siaw v. Anan (A.VI,3).

"Afua Anan, my wofase, was a witch. She was caught by Tigare and died."

4. Siaw v. Aso (A.VI,4).

"I don't know whether she is a witch, but from her actions and character some people say she is a witch."

5. Siaw v. first wife's mother.

"My wife's mother was a witch, and when we had our first child she wanted to kill it. The child fell very seriously sick. I was then working at my village. I went back to do something about it, because I did not want my first born to die.

I was so angry that I told my wife's mother, that, if the child died, I would fry her for a person to eat (Se abofra yi wu a, gye se mekye no mema onipa we).

One of the reasons I divorced my first wife was that her mother was a witch."

6. Siaw v. third wife.

"My third wife was also a witch, she tried to kill me, but could not. Later on we had a quarrel and she disgraced me so utterly that I had to divorce her."

7. Siaw v. Ansa (B.V,10).

"Yaa Ansa, the wife of the Tigare Okomfo is a witch."

8. Aframea (A.V,4) v. Oye (A.IV,3):(Informant:Yaw Manu).

"People who accuse or suspect each other of witchcraft may move together freely. Only if a case crops up, they start to fight. My own mother Aframea and her mother Oye are two examples. My mother told me that her own mother Oye prevented her from having many children."

9. Kumaa (A.V,6) v. Deda (A.VI,1).

"Deda was a witch. She was caught by the obosom and confessed being a witch. She killed many people in our house. She died because she refused to say her evil works."

10. Kumaa v. Anan (A.VI,3).

"Anan was also a witch. She too died because she refused to confess her deeds."

11. Amo (A.V,7) v. Oforiwa (B.V,9).

(Talking about a girl's possession during Oforiwa's funeral).

"It might be true that the girl was possessed by the ghost of the deceased, because the deceased was a witch. The ghost of any decent person will never possess anyone when he or she dies."

12. Nkrabea (A.V,9) v. Ansa (B.V.10).

"Tigare has caught many witches in our house who have confessed that they do not want me to have children. My uncle Kofi Asare brought Tigare from the North and I am now keeping it. All the women in my family are witches. Yaa Ansa, for example, was caught by Tigare and she confessed having removed my sperms. Customs are yet to be performed to wipe the sins she has committed. All these women are my sisters, they do not want me to have children so that the money I make will be used in looking after their own children."

13. Yaa Boahemaa (A.V,11) v. Kisiwa (A.IV,5). (Informant:Yaw Manu).

"Boahemaa believes that her own mother is a witch, and that that is the cause she cannot get any children. You may think that they are on good terms with each other, but that is not so. They will easily fight together."

14. Yaa Boahemaa v. Aso (A.VI,4). (Informant: Abena Boatema).

"Yaa Aso was accused of being a witch by my grandmother Boahemaa. Because of her witchcraft I do not eat food prepared by her."

15. Safo (A.V,13) v. Konadu (A.IV,4).

"Afua Konadu is a witch. She was caught in the North and confessed that she had killed Yaw Ampadu (A.IV,10), Kwabena Gyima (A.IV,11) and Yaw Preko (A.V,12).

There were two more she confessed to have killed, but I cannot remember their names. She killed them because they were hard working and made farms. So, when they died it gave her brothers the opportunity to inherit them and eventually her own son Amo has inherited them all (3 Accusations).

16. Safo v. Deda (A.VI,1).

"My wofase Deda was a witch and killed my brother Yaw Preko (A.V,12). Preko was returning from a catechism class in a nearby town. Walking on the road he was hit by something at the back of his neck. As soon as he reached home he fell sick and died after three days. Deda later confessed that she had killed Preko."

17. Safo v. First wife's sister.

"My first wife died in a motor accident when she was travelling to Accra to buy bales of cloth to retail at Ayere. My wife's sister later confessed that she had killed my wife by causing the accident. She asked me to forgive her but I answered: 'God rather should forgive you'."

18-19-20. Aso (A.VI,4) v. Konadu (A.IV,4), Deda (A.VI,1) and Anan (A.VI,3).

"Tigare has caught my two sisters Deda and Anan. Both are now dead. They brought my sickness upon me. It was Afua Konadu who gave the witchcraft to my sisters. My sickness is epilepsy (sorow). The sickness comes while I am asleep. I hurt myself and get bruises all over the body. The sickness started only after my first pregnancy (3 Accusations)."

21. Dapaa (A.VI,5) v. Deda (A.VI,1).

"My sister Deda, with whom I stayed, was a witch, and it was her witchcraft that killed her. For example, she did not want me to have children. She even said it in my presence. So my husband took me to a place to get medicine to get children. When Deda died my first child was 3 months in the womb. Deda combined her evil powers with Anan and killed my elder brother Kwasi Boateng (2 Accusations).

22. Dapaa v. Anan (A.VI,3).

"My sister Anan, who I inherited was also a witch, and she too was killed by her own bad deeds. She, like Deda, did not want me to have children, but when she died I had already two children.

When she died she confessed a lot of things. She confessed that she had made Yaa Aso become sick (epilepsy). She further said that she had killed my mother and younger brother by drowning them in the river. She killed my elder brother Boateng (A.VI,2) with the help of Deda. My mother had 12 children but only three are still alive (4 Accusations).

23. Dwamena v. Konadu.

"My grandmother Konadu is a witch. Nana Ayesu took her to the North where she was caught by medicine. She had a fetish in her house called Abam. Konadu confessed that witchcraft had been put in the Abam in her house. They took it to the Okomfo. The Abam had been made for Ayesu and a twin brother.

24. Dwamena v. Deda (A.VI,1).

"Deda was a witch and caught by Tigare. She died. I do not know who she killed."

25. Dwamena v. (Anan (A.VI,3).

"Anan, Deda's sister, was also a witch and caught by Tigare. She died. I do not know her victims.

26. Manu/v. Konadu

/(A.VI,11)

"When Mmobrowa's daughter, Adwoa Seiwa (A.VI,7) died, my grandfathers wanted to call the police to find out the cause of her sickness and death, but my grandmother Afua Konadu stopped them from doing so. So I think it was Konadu who killed her. ^I even said this openly, but my mother became annoyed and told me that it would be my own fault if they would kill me as well. Later on when it was proved that Konadu had killed her, people wondered how I got to know this.

My grandfather Ayesu (A.IV,2) liked Adwoa Seiwa very much, and was very upset about her death; so after her death he took all the women in the house to a shrine near Brong Ahafo and there Afua Konadu was caught and confessed. I believe Konadu killed all Mmobrowa's children and also Kwasi Boateng (A.VI,2).

She also tried to kill me while I was being born. It was my grandfather Ayesu who saved me by performing certain rites. She tried to enter my stomach and still I feel something like a boil in my stomach as if I am pregnant.

People say I will die if I try to remove it in the hospital. Nana Ayesu has tried to remove it with the help of several herbalists and fetishes, but it was of no use. The thing is still there and it is even growing. That is the reason why I am so unhealthy and growing lean.

Later Nana Konadu reported me to my grandfather Ayesu so that he would not take me to school any longer. She worked then hand in hand with my "mother" Kumaa, and used witchcraft for it (4 Accusations)."

27. Manu v. Oye (A.IV,3).

"My mother told me that her own mother Adwoa Oye was a witch and prevented her from having many children (of.7)."

28. Manu v. Kisiwa (A.IV,5).

"Yaa Boahemaa has told me that her own mother Amma Kisiwa is the cause of her barrenness (of. 11)."

29. Manu v. Siaw (A.V,3).

"Siaw is the second witch among the men in my family. He hates me."

30. Manu v. Kumaa (A.V,6).

"The same applies to my "mother" Amma Kumaa. She worked with Afua Konadu against me. I will never go freely with them and when they invite me to take some food, I will act very carefully. If they prepare special food for me, I will never take it, but when they are eating themselves, I may suddenly join them. That is all. So they have no chance to put any bad medicine in the food.

Once I attacked my "mother" Amma Kumaa openly and accused her of wanting to kill me. It happened when she gave some very bad food to my wife to be cooked for me. I told her that she could not kill me and that I would rather kill her. She cried and said to me: "Yaw I am a witch" (Yaw meyere) and I replied: "You are really a witch" (Woyere pee). "You think that I caused your son's death, but it was not me but your own bad intention (I referred to her only son Kofi Yesu (A.VIpl3)). That day she wept bitterly because I accused her in the presence of her friend.

I am very sure that Kumaa is a witch. One night, when I was still young, I dreamt that she was running around in the yard with a lantern, dressed in black clothes. I opened the door and shouted at her. She then came over to me to attack me. I tried to close the door again, but could not. She jumped on me... and I woke up. Not long after that her son Kofi Yesu died (2 Accusations)."

31. Manu v.Amo (A.V,7).

"My wofa Amo is a witch. He does not like me at all. (NB. Manu will reluctantly set a foot in Amo's house. He never comes to greet him when he arrives in the town). Can there be any other reason why Amo does not allow anyone to enter his room, than that he is a witch and is hiding certain things in his room connected with witchcraft?"

32. Manu v. Safo (A.V,13).

"Safo is the first witch among the men in our house, even before Amo and Siaw. Safo, Siaw and Amma Kumaa are all Catholics. They saw the good work I was doing with the Catholic Priest, but they were also the first to say that I should be removed from the town, because they saw that I was doing well in the church. They also saw that I was building houses and having stores; they feared that one day I might be a big man.

When I say that Siaw and Safo are witches I mean that they are wicked (Wodi aboro). I do not say that they use supernatural powers to achieve their evil ends, although you never know. Other people such as Amo, Kumaa and Konadu, do however use supernatural powers. In that sense they are therefore real witches."

33. Beauty (A.VI,12) v. Anan (A.VI,3).

"Afua Anan was a witch. She confessed that she killed Adwoa Seiwa (A.VI,7). I have forgotten the other cases of witchcraft in our family.

34. Korang (A.VI,15) v. Konadu (A.IV,4).

"Konadu is a witch."

35. Korang v. Deda (A.VI,1).

"Deda was a witch, she died."

36. Korang v. Anan (A.VI,3).

"Anan was a witch, she died."

37. Korang v. Aso (A.VI,4).

"Aso is a witch, she is still alive."

38. Korang v. Ansa (B.V,10).

"Ansa is a witch. She was caught by Tigare long time ago. She killed many people in the family, but I don't ^{know} who. She is still alive."

39. Korang v. Denta (B.VI,5).

"Denta was a witch. She died."

40. Nkwanta (.VI,16) v. Anan (A.VI,3).

"My elder "sister" Anan was a witch and was caught by Tigare. By then Akosua Badu (A.VI,6) was pregnant and Anan confessed that she was going to kill her in child birth. It was not long before Anan died herself.

She also confessed that she killed my brother Kofi Yesu. There are many more cases of witchcraft in the family, but I have forgotten them (2 Accusations)."

41. Grace (A.VI,17) v. Deda (A.VI,1).

"I do not remember her name but she is my mother's eldest sister's daughter, She was a witch and caught by Tigare."

42. Grace v. Anan (A.VI,3).

"Anan (Grace gave her a wrong name) was caught by Tigare. She confessed being a witch. She said she had taken away her eldest daughter's beauty and deposited it on the lorry road (Afua Fofie (A.VII,3))."

Her second victim was my mother's dead son Kofi Yesu. She confessed killing him. She did not say all her bad deeds before Tigare killed her (2 Accusations)."

43. Grace v. Aso (A.VI,4).

"I have heard that Yaa Aso is a witch. She is a sister to Anan. Tigare caught her too. She confessed that she gave birth to three children.

The first one was a girl and she took her as a meal. The second one was taken by her to her mates to feast on, because she herself had also feasted on other witches' meat. They threatened to kill her if she refused to bring her child. The third child was used as a horse to ride on. When she was riding this human horse something went into the eyes, making the child totally blind.

Her fourth victim was Afua Fofie (A.VII,3). She removed all her beauty and placed it under water. That was why every man refused to marry or even approach her. The Obosom gave Afua Fofie medicine to restore her beauty, and on the eighth day after she started to use the medicine a stranger came and married her (2 Accusations)."

44. Fofie (A.VII,3) v. Anan (A.VI,3).

"I don't know much about witchcraft in our family because I am so often away, but I have heard that my mother was caught by Tigare. I tell you this only because you are our friend and you have looked so well after Kwaku.

I was not there myself, but I have heard that she was accused of killing people. It seems that 3 of her victims were present at the session. One of them was lame. I never told Kwaku about this, I don't know whether he knows it. I have never seen a witch with my own eyes, strange, isn't it? I would like to see one."

45. Agyanka (A.VII,5) v. Konadu (A.IV,4).

"Nana Konadu was a witch before, and caught by medicine; the medicine was taken away, and now she goes to church. I don't know whether she killed anyone."

46. Agyanka v. Aso (A.VI,4).

(When we reminded him, he said:) "Yaa Aso is a witch."
(When we asked him whether he had forgotten about her, he replied:) "I did not forget her but I wanted to see whether you knew that she is a witch. I do not know whether she killed anyone."

47. Antwiwa (A.VII,9) v. Aso (A.VI,4).

"I have heard that Yaa Aso is a witch. She has eaten her children. She was caught by the Obosom and she confessed that she was a witch. This is the only case I know."

48. Boatema (A.VII,12) v. Kisiwa (A.IV,5).

"My 'grandmother' Yaa Boahemaa has said that her mother Amma Kisiwa is a witch and is the cause of her barrenness."

49. Boatema v. Aso (A.VI,4).

"Yaw Aso was accused of being a witch by my grandmother Yaa Boahemaa. Because of her witchcraft I do not eat any food prepared by her.

When she was caught by Tigare she said she was the queen of the witches, and was asked to bring the head of a human being. She could not do this and was therefore made an epileptic.

Once Aso wanted to kill Boahemaa but she was held back by Boahemaa's husband who was sitting behind her. She shouted: 'Leave me, leave me, someone is calling me.' People say that if Aso had been there alone, Boahemaa would have died."

50. Berko (B.V,14) v. Adwoo (B.V,6).

"Akua Adwoo was killed by medicine. She was a witch, and the aduru that killed her is called Brakune."

51. Berko v. Dampim (B.V,7).

"Dampim was also a witch, she was killed by Tigare."

52. Berko v. Denta (B.VI,5).

"Denta was a witch, she was killed by Tigare. Before she died she confessed that she ⁱⁿ wade hofi Dente what he became (paralysed)."

53. Bempon (B.VI,2) v. Dampim (B.V,7).

"Akusua Dampim was killed by Tigare because she was a witch. I do not know much about the case because I was in Accra at that time."

54. Anim (B.VI,9) v. Saa (B.IV,4).

"Saa killed my "grandmother" Obenewa (A.IV,2). The two had a quarrel on the farm and Saa cursed Obenewa saying: 'What will happen to you, has never occurred to anyone before' (Adee a ebeye wo no, ebi mmaa da).

When they returned from the farm, Obenewa became sick and was never healed until she died. She could not even utter a word in her last minutes."

55. Anim v. Otofo (B.V,5).

"Yaa Otofo was caught by Tigare. She refused to confess her sins so she became mad and eventually hanged herself in her room."

56. Anim v. Adwoo (B.V,6).

"Akua Adwoo was a sickly person. Water used to come from her anus while she was alive. I did not know why she was sick, but Akua Adwoo herself confessed that she herself was the cause of her sickness. Her own witchcraft had put her in such a state."

57. Anim v. Ansa (B.V,10).

"She is a witch and was caught by her own husband who is the Tigare priest."

58. Anim v. Denta (B.VI,5).

"My own sister Denta was caught by Tigare. She confessed that she had wanted to kill my brother Ntim, after he had finished college."

59. Anim v. Konadu (A.IV,4).

"There are more women than men in our family, because the women are witches and have killed most of the men. (The same was said by Yaw Berko). Konadu for example killed my father Kwame Ago. My father was a Northerner. He was stolen and brought down by Nana Kofi Asare. Nana Ayesu gave him a big cocoa farm and gave my mother to him to marry. The cocoa did very well and my father was going to be prosperous.

Because of that Konadu killed him to make the ownership of the cocoa farm pass into her own son Amo's hands. Before my father died he revealed that it was Konadu who was killing him. I was two years old when my father died."

60. Anim v. Kisiwa (A.IV,5).

"Nana Kisiwa is a witch. She bore many children but they are all dead except one, Yaa Boahemaa. (It is not correct: three are alive). She does not like people. I do not say that anyone whose children have died is a witch, it can also be God's will. But as for Nana Kisiwa, she is a witch."

61. Anim v. Mmobrowa (A.V,2).

"She is a witch, and was caught by Tigare. She killed her own daughter Adwoa Seiwa. She became mad and was brought to the mental hospital in Accra where she died 4 years ago.

After that she was brought back to her hometown. In fact she killed all her eleven children except one, Kwaku Baah, who is mad." (This statement is very confused and incorrect: Mmobrowa did not become mad and was never taken to Accra. She died in her village near Ayere. It was rather her son Baah, who was taken to Accra. Baah died a year ago but Anim did not know this either).

62. Anim v. Amo (A.V.7).

"Kofi Amo is normal...no, he is not. He is very bad. He has killed two of his wives. I do not remember their names. He killed them to get more money, which he used in buying Bedford buses for his own children. Amo has also built a house for his children. He has said that, when he dies, the children should take the house. It is difficult to detect that Amo uses 'juju' to get more money because he is a farmer.

Amo has warned his nephews and nieces that, if they get themselves involved in trouble, he will not help them. This is so because Amo's mother has only two children who are both males, so Amo has no direct Wofase. He does not regard the children of his other 'sisters' as real wofasenom and therefore all his property, he has said, belongs to his children.

He is only there as Abusua Panyin, but he does not help the family at all. Amo is even my father because he inherited Nana Ayesu, and Nana Ayesu inherited my father Ago. However, he does not help us at all. When my brother

Kwasi Ntim got in trouble with a girl and incurred a debt of 600 cedis, Amo did not pay a pesewa. My mother paid the whole amount. She had the money ready, because she wanted to build a house. That is now all finished.

Even though Amo is the leader of an Apostolic Church, he is a witch. He uses the church as a cloak to cover his bad deeds. It is not true what the people say, that Amo can heal sicknesses by prayer.

I also believe that ~~Mama~~ Adwoa Oforiwa's death has something to do with her quarrel with Amo. I am sure that Amo knows more about her death. This is my own opinion, but I have also heard it from other people in the family. I have not heard it outside the family."

63. Anim v. Anan (I.VI,3).

"Afua Anan was a witch and was caught by Tigare. She confessed being responsible for the death of her sister Deda. She was at logger heads with her, that is why she got rid of her. They both had many children and they always quarreled." (NB. Deda had only two; Anan had five).

64. Anim v. Aso (A.VI,4).

"Yaa Aso is a witch. She was made sick by Tigare for refusing to confess her sins."

65. Tano (B.VI,39) v. Konadu (A.IV,4).

"I myself do not believe in witches, because I have never seen one, but I have heard some cases. (He was first not willing to say it). Afua Konadu is a witch. I do not know who she has killed."

66. Tano v. Amo (A.V,7).

"Kofi Amo is a witch. People say he has killed one of his wives."

67. Tano v. Aso (A.VI,4).

"Yaa Aso is a witch. She has killed all her six children."
(NB. She had only two children).

68. Nkansah (B.VI,42) v. Otofo (B.V,5).

"Otofo was a witch; she was caught by her own bad deeds. Together with Akua Adwoo she killed Akua Saa's last born."

69. Nkansah v. Adwoo (B.V,6).

"Akua Adwoo was a witch and caught by her own bad deeds. She killed Akua Saa's last born together with Otofo. These things were told to me by my mother."

70. Darko (B.VI,44) v. Otofo (B.V,5).

"I have heard that Yaa Otofo was a witch, and caught by Tigare. She confessed many things which I do not know."

71. Tigare Priest v. his own wife Ansa (B.V.10).

"My wife Yaa Ansa has confessed having killed many people. She only preferred the bones of the victims. She said she could, however, not allow her own children to be used as meat by other witches or to be killed. That is why all her children are still alive.

She extended her witchcraft even to me, her husband. Whenever I went to sleep with my other wife, my penis could not go into the vagina of the woman. Because of this she was caught by Tigare. After she had confessed I thanked her for doing this and asked her: 'Why is it, that you are a

wife to Tigare and you want to make him impotent so that he will not get a wife to marry?"

Some other Statements about Witchcraft

72. Siaw (A.V.3) about Kwame Danso (A.V.5).

"Danso was very handsome. Nana Sefa and Nana Joseph took him to Swedru where they had a store. They bought a sewing machine for him and he became a tailor. Then he wanted to marry a certain woman but the elders of the family did not agree. He returned from Swedru to Ayere and immediately he was attacked by leprosy. Because of his sickness the woman did not like him any more. Moreover, most of the money, intended for marriage, he spent on his sickness.

The sickness was given to him by a witch and that is why he died, at the age of 27."

73. Aframea (A.V.4) about Kwame Danso.

"I have not heard of any witchcraft connected with the death of my brother Danso."

74. Dei (A.V.8) about witchcraft.

"I don't believe in witchcraft, because I have never seen a witch. I have heard people talking about it, but I don't know anything about it. Whether it is white or red, I don't know.

Even when I was a child, I did not believe in it. I know, that sometimes people die suddenly without sickness, but that does not prove that it is the work of witches, it can

happen from a natural cause."

75. Yaw Berko (B.V,14) about witchcraft.

"Although I have married 5 times I have only 3 children. I went to a certain place to find out why I have not been able to produce more children. I was told that it is witches in my house that do not want me to have many children, so that the money I will get will be used on them. That is the reason I divorced so many wives: the witches spoilt my marriages."

76. Antwi (B.VI,1) about witchcraft.

"There are no cases of witchcraft. I don't believe there are witches."

77. Asante (B.VI,19) about witchcraft.

"I have not been staying often at Ayere so I don't know much about witches. I have not heard of any case. As a matter of fact I don't believe witches exist."

78. Ntiri (B.VI,28) about witchcraft.

"I don't know much about witchcraft in my family, since I always stayed with my father's relatives. I have heard of some cases but I don't know the names. I do not think witchcraft really exists."

CHAPTER VII - CONCLUSION

The primary concern of this study was summed up in a quotation of Southall in the first paragraph of the introduction, asking for depth studies disclosing "The precise changes in the social relationships and the roles of individuals" which accompany major processes of social change.

It is indeed true that anthropologists have produced numerous general studies of ethnic groups in Ghana and in Africa as a whole, demonstrating how these groups organize their families, what type of residence they have, what their rules of inheritance are, what their beliefs are, etc., but few clear pictures have emerged how "general" these phenomena really are and how they function at the basic level of the family.

Anthropologists have for some time been mainly interested in the structure of the society, and some of their studies have a deceptive clarity or, to borrow a term from the French philosopher Merleau-Ponty, a "lucidité maudite". It is only recently that they have become more concerned about the role of individuals and small groups and are moving away from the embracing approach of the "Structuralists".*

* It goes without saying that this was only a general trend which does not necessarily apply to all anthropologists. Some of them were well aware of the variability of social reality. Fortes, for example, in his studies of the Asante and Tallensi, did take into account micro-relationships, and Malinowski wrote, as early as 1929, "The smoothness and uniformity which the mere verbal statements suggest as the only shape of human conduct, disappear with a better knowledge of cultural reality." (Malinowski, 1929:426).

This study has been another attempt to focus on a small group to bring out the trend of social processes on the fundamental level of individuals and primary group relationships.

The nature of this study made it necessary for much field material to be included, to give the reader the opportunity to get acquainted with the "Actual Personalities". The importance of this has been stressed by Van Velsen (1967) and others. This field material, which is a constituent part of the study, can be found in chapter III, in the Appendices and throughout the whole study.

The presence of so much field material may give one at times the impression of reading a novel. This is not entirely at variance with the goal we had set ourselves. We believe that this "Novel-type" of approach, based upon long and intensive observation and followed by a sociological analysis, brings us closer to the social "reality" than a more abstract representation.*

One society which has frequently been described at large by anthropologists is the Akan. In this study we have selected one particular lineage of one of the Akan sub-groups, the Kwahu, and observed this lineage more closely.

*Plotnikov writes, "To observe, understand, and accurately and precisely report on behaviour within a patterned matrix of the social structure and culture of a modern African city requires the research skills of the social scientist and the sensitivity of a good novelist". (1967:19).

Our starting-point was a number of social situations which confronted us with a much more complex social reality than structural studies had suggested; we have thus demonstrated that variations and exceptions are not very "exceptional" in the family concerned. These social situations have been examined with the help of social network analysis.

It was found that social networks are crucial to an understanding of social behaviour. Norms and values are not infrequently modified under the influence of a social relationship, or a change in the composition of one's social network.

Some concepts from the field of Social Psychology were introduced in the application of social network analysis, such as the use of negative social relationships and S-graphs.

Situational Analysis evinced that Richards' concept of the "Matrilineal Puzzle" is still very much present in Amo's family; there is a conflict between conjugal and matrilineal ties and there is no doubt that the latter are preponderant. It further does not seem likely that this situation will change in the near future. In contrast with the urban elite^{**}, in the "ordinary" rural family - if we may consider Amo's family as a representative of that category - conjugal ties are rather losing strength as customary marriage is giving way to a more temporary type of union,

^{**} See Caldwell, 1968; Oppong, 1970.

which has been termed "Free Marriage" or "Lover Relationship". In these types of union the conjugal ties tend to be rather loose and cannot compete with the matrilineal ties in the case of a crisis situation.

The hypotheses of Simmel and Coser that social conflicts have both disruptive and unifying effects, found support in our study. Fissiparous tendencies on the one side triggered off consolidation on the other side.

The related events further demonstrated clearly that "Social change moves ahead by a complicated leapfrog process" - to quote Moore. A change was usually followed by a period of standstill or regression.

Analysis of the social situations presented three areas in particular as domains of social conflicts: Marriage, Inheritance and Witchcraft Beliefs. These three areas were subjected to a further investigation for which a wider sample was used, comprising about 100 adults spread over five generations. An attempt was made to refine and differentiate the too general structural terminology and to measure social change over the period of five generations.

The rules of mate selection were found to be less rigidly followed than is generally assumed. Full cross-cousin marriage was found to be rare and intra-clan marriage proved a rather common phenomenon which was either concealed or rationalized.

It was noted that "marriage" and "divorce" have become vague and amorphous terms and one can no longer speak of "Kwahu Marriage" in general. Many different types of sexual unions have emerged and, to some extent, established themselves in the society. A looser type of union was found to be rampant among the young generation and the incidence of customary marriage is decreasing sharply.

Residence develops from duo-local to virilocal concomitant with an increase of migration and consequent residence away from the wife's home town.

The divorce rate is high as compared with other societies and is still rising. Divorce, it was concluded, can be considered as a normal phenomenon and an inherent part of the marriage cycle.

Inheritance proved both a source of conflicts and a source of unity in the lineage.

The 39 inheritance cases demonstrate that all members of one section are considered as children of one mother and can inherit each other's property. Inheritance rules are more flexible than proverbs and structural studies make one believe and much importance is attached to the personal qualities of the heir.

There is some opposition against the system of inheritance; the fact that sons cannot inherit their fathers' properties is a common topic in arguments and discussions.

413 - 414 - 415

The numbers 413, 414, 415 have been omitted.
The text, however, is in no way interrupted.

Attempts to change the rule have, however, remained without success, and most people still adhere to it. The ironic situation is that people, in their capacity of father or son, attack the system and try to circumvent it, but they enforce and perpetuate it, when they are involved as matrilineal kin. Thus, matrilineal inheritance remains one of the hall-marks of the Akan social system.

Witchcraft accusations permeate the entire lineage and occur between close relatives, even between those staying in one house. The accusations differ considerably in character and emotional involvement and cannot be embraced by a single hypothesis. Our approach combined several analytical levels and classified witchcraft accusations into a Religious, a Psychological and a Gossip type of accusation.* These different types should not be considered as fixed categories but, to use a term of Fortes, as "the crystallization, at a given time, of the developmental process." Witchcraft accusations, it was demonstrated, undergo a process of change which has many variations. They usually find their origin in the explanation of misfortune or in tension between two people and end in the field of gossip and abuse. It is therefore not surprising that witchcraft accusations were found to contradict each other considerably and several variations exist of one original accusation.

*Beidelman has suggested that witchcraft should be analyzed sociologically, ideologically and psychologically (1970:356).

Although witchcraft accusations taunt close relatives with the most hideous actions, they could not satisfactorily be correlated with actual conflicts and feelings of hatred in the family. Witchcraft accusations proved to be much more mysterious. Even relationships which were found to be positive, were interwoven with witchcraft suspicions, and outright hostile relationships, on the other hand, were often free from them. Structural relationships which have been described by early anthropologists as strained, were rarely associated with witchcraft accusations.

Witchcraft accusations were mainly launched by the young against the old, and the relationships between these two groups of people are characterized by permanent tensions.

It seems further that witchcraft accusations can be correlated with the frequency and intensity of social contacts and that they decrease with migration and geographical dispersion.

Amo's family emerges from this study as a conflict-prone community. The family is riddled with suspicions and accusations, with fears and feelings of hatred, but, on the other hand, it knows moments of supreme unity. Ambiguity is the outstanding feature of social relationships in Amo's family. There are indications that this conflict-prone character arises from the fact that a great deal of the family still lives closely together, and that dispersion will diminish tensions and conflicts.

This statement, however, requires more research.

A recurrent theme of this study was "Rationalization". Breaches of the rule and inconsistencies in social behaviour were readily accommodated by some kind of rationalization. The real reason, frequently some profit motive, hardly came into the open.

This synoptic view of the study is deemed to remain very defective. The smallness of the sample has widened the actual topic considerably. The micro-level approach of this study allowed the reader to look at the interplay of many factors, more than can be summed up in a concise conclusion. Only the most prominent findings have found a place in this chapter.

It is in order here to underline the wider implications of this study. It has been remarked that only depth-studies will yield the kind of material that will enable us to lay a foundation for large scale studies and cross-cultural comparisons. This study has been an attempt to offer that kind of material. It can be placed in the framework of more general studies of the Akan, to demonstrate the extent to which, and the way in which, general principles are operating at the fundamental level of the family.

It is hoped that this study will be the starting-point of other large-scale studies. Some of its findings can be selected and tested, using a larger body of data.

It should further be noted, that the few case studies which have appeared, tend to concentrate on urban situations and/or elite families.* Considerably less is known about the "ordinary family" in the rural areas, where information is more difficult to obtain. This study can therefore be considered as a complement to more urban-oriented case studies.

The analysis of the three crisis situations shows the operation and inter-play of ~~my~~^{many} different variables and may contribute towards a better understanding of some of the processes of social change, particularly of the role of social networks in this process.

Any study of an exploratory nature, such as this, should raise questions inviting further research. This study raises perhaps more questions than it offers answers.

Little has been said about economic activities of the members of Amo's family, particularly about their trading and subsequent migration which are characteristics of the Kwahu, as we explained in chapter II. An analysis of this interesting phenomenon has not been attempted yet, and this study has only provided some background information about their family system. An intensive study of the trading activities of the Kwahu is, in fact, far overdue.

Beattie writes in the preface of his book "Other Cultures", "It is more important today than it has ever been before in human history for people to have some understanding of cultures other than their own". (Beattie, 1966:ix).

*e.g. For the Akan: Oppong (1970); for Africa: Plotnicov (1967) and Mitchell (ed) (1969); for Europe: Bott (1957).

Africa is not only interested in the West, the West is also interested in Africa, and no longer for economic or political reasons alone. People in Europe and America find in Africa values and a way of life which attract them. Marriage is an example. People who are dissatisfied with Western institutions and find themselves in a culdesac, look out for new forms of marriage and family organization. The more open and temporary character of the African example may arouse their interest. Although this case study of a Ghanaian family was written with another objective, it may offer some insight into the implications of this different type of family organization and become useful as material for a cross-cultural study of the family. As such it may contribute to the search for meaningful marriage and family life.

APPENDIX IV: GLOSSARY OF MAIN TWI TERMS (KWAHU).

It is unfortunate that it was not possible to print the letters ɛ and ɔ, as is required by the Twi spelling. They have been substituted by e and o respectively.

<u>Abusua:</u>	Clan, lineage, family; the term can refer to a large category of (putatively) matrilineally related kin, as well as to a fairly small sub-group of this category. In this study the term has usually been translated with the more colloquial term of "family", although "lineage" would have been more specific.
<u>Abusua panyin:</u>	Head of the <u>abusua</u> (lineage).
<u>Adehyehene:</u>	Chief of the royals, member of the chief's council.
<u>Akpeteshie:</u>	Locally made gin.
<u>Ase:</u>	The origin of a family.
<u>Aseda:</u>	"Thanks-giving"; the concluding part of the marriage rites.
<u>Asiwa:</u>	Infant bride, infant fiancée.
<u>Awaree:</u>	Marriage.
<u>Awaree kronkron:</u>	Christian Marriage, holy matrimony.
<u>Ba:</u>	Child (also in classificatory sense).
<u>Bayie:</u>	Witchcraft.
<u>Ena:</u>	Mother (also in classificatory sense).
<u>Krontihene:</u>	Chief of the kronti division, member of the chief's council, first in rank after the chief.

- wasidae: Festival, celebrated every sixth Sunday in Kwahu; it is a day of reunion of members of the family.
- Mmanma: "Children children": the term is used to indicate the collective group of children of ego, of his brothers (paternal and maternal) and of his cousins (paternal and maternal); in other words: those who address ego as "father" (asya).
- Mpena:
(pl. mpenanom) A partner in mpena awaree; more colloquial: any sexual partner who is not a customary marriage partner.
- Mpena awaree: A sexual union which is rather constant and is known by the family, but for which (all) the necessary rites have not (yet) been performed; "free marriage".
- Nana: Grandparent or grandchild; in classificatory sense for both matrilineal and paternal relatives; also: a term expressing respect: elder.
- Nhunu anim: "Seeing the face"; usually: first part of the marriage rites.
- Obosom: Tutelar spirit, "fetish".
- Obusuanl:
(pl. abusuafo) Member of the abusua.
- Ofie awaree: "House marriage"; marriage between (classificatory) cross-cousins or otherwise related persons.
- Okomfo: Priest of the obosom, soothsayer, diviner.

Onua:
(pl. anuanom)

Sibling; in classificatory sense: 1. member of the same abusua, belonging to the same generation; 2. paternal parallel cousin.

Opanyin:

Elder, grown-up person, gentleman.

Wofa:
(pl. wofanom)

Mother's brother; in classificatory sense: any male member of the same abusua belonging to the first ascending generation.

Wofase:
(pl. wofasenom)

Sister's child; in classificatory sense: a man's matrilineal relative of the first descending generation.

APPENDIX V: ALPHABETICAL LIST OF NAMES

Included are all members of Konadu's and Saa's section and a few other names of people who played a crucial role in the social events concerning Amo's family. The numbers behind their names refer to their place in the genealogy.

Adamu	A.VII,17	Anin	B.VI,9
Addae	A.VI,9	Aniniwa	B.V,13
Addo	B.VI,21	Ankonam	B.V,10
Adomaa	B.VI,27	Annor	B.VI,45
Adonten	B.VI,10	Ansa	B.V,10
Adu	B.VI,3	Ansoma	B.VI,15
Adubea	B.IV,3	Anthony	B.VI,26
Adwoo	B.V,6	Antwi	B.VI,1
Aframea	A.V,4	Antwiwa	A.VII,16
Agnes	A.VII,2	Appiah	Friend of Osei
Agyanka	A.VII,5	Asante	B.VI,19
Agyei	Son of Amo	Asantewa	B.VI,18
Agyeiwa	B.V,15	Asare	A.IV,1
Ahenkora	Head of the other side of the Royals.	Asarewa	B.III,1
Akoma	B.VI,29	Asiedu	B.VI,15
Amanua	A.IV,12	Asirifi	A.IV,6
Ameyaw	B.VI,48	Aso	A.VI,4
Amo	B.V,7	Atekyi	B.III,3
Amoa	B.VI,36	Attaa I	B.VI,24
Anoako	B.VI,41	Attaa II	B.VI,25
Ampadu	A.IV,10	Atuobi	A.VII,4
Amponsaa	B.VI,40	Ayesu	A.IV,2
Anan	A.VI,3	Baah	A.VI,8
		Baby	B.VI,43

Badu	A. VI, 6	Gyima	A. IV, 11
Beauty	A. VI, 12	James	Son of Asare
Bempon	B. VI, 2	Joe	B. VI, 23
Berko	B. V, 14	Joseph	A. IV, 9
Biama	A. III, 3	Kate	B. VI, 11
Bimpoma	A. VII, 18	Kese	A. I, 1
Biriwa	B. VI, 7	Ketewaa	B. VI, 50
Boanemaa	A. V, 11	Kisiwa	A. IV, 5
Boama	B. VI, 35	Konadu	A. IV, 34
Boatema	A. VII, 19	Korang	A. VI, 15
Boateng	A. VI, 2	Kumaa	A. V, 6
Daafb	B. VI, 22	Kwakyee	B. VI, 12
Dampim	B. V, 7	Kwakyewa	B. IV, 1
Dankwaa	B. V, 3	Kyeiwa	B. V, 2
Danso	A. V, 5	Kyenku	A. III, 1
Dansoa	A. VII, 6	Love	B. VI, 46
Dapaa	A. VI, 5	Manu	A. VI, 11
Darko	B. VI, 44	Marfo	B. VI, 17
Darkoa	A. V, 1	Mercy	B. VI, 20
Deda	A. VI, 1	Mframa	One of the " <u>nananom</u> "
Dede	A. IV, 13	Mireku	A. II, 2
Dei	A. V, 8	Mmobrowa	A. V, 2
Denta	B. VI, 5	Nimako	Son of (remote) clan member
Dente	B. V, 11	Nkansah	B. VI, 42
Dwamena	A. VI, 10	Nketiaa	B. V, 5
Fofie	A. VII, 3	Nkrabea	A. V, 9
Fosimaa	B. VI, 16	Nkwanta	A. VI, 16
Fordwor	A. VII, 1	Ntim	B. VI, 8
Frimpong	B. VI, 34	Ntiri	B. VI, 28
George	A. VII, 23	Ntiriwa	B. III, 4
Grace	A. VI, 17	Nyama	B. II, 1
Gyanewa	B. VI, 6	Nyame	B. V, 1
Gyekye	B. VI, 37	Nyamekye	A. VI, 14

Oberewa	B. IV, 2	Tano	B. VI, 39
Obo	B. VI, 31	Tenewa	B. VI, 4
Oduraa	B. V, 16	Tenkorama	B. VI, 32
Ofei	Clan member, former chief of Ayere, friend of Amo.	Theresia	B. VI, 14
Ofeiwa	B. III, 5	Wiredu	A. IV, 7
Ofiri	A. I, 2	Yeboah	B. V, 12
Oforiwa	B. V, 9	Yesu	A. VI, 13
Ohenewa	A. II, 1	Yiadom	A. VII, 14
Okoto	B. VI, 30		
Opoku	B. VI, 47		
Oppong	B. V, 8		
Osei	Husband of Oforiwa		
Otiwa	B. III, 2		
Otofo	B. V, 4		
Owusu	B. VI, 33		
Owusuwa	A. III, 2		
Oye	A. IV, 3		
Pepera	B. VI, 49		
Preko	A. V, 12		
Saa	A. IV, 4		
Safo	A. V, 13		
Sam	A. VII, 22		
Sampong	A. VII, 15		
Sampong, Nana	Clan member and former chief of Ayere.		
Sasu	Adehyehene		
Sefa	A. IV, 8		
Seiwa	A. VI, 7		
Siaw	A. V, 3		
Sirikye	B. VI, 38		

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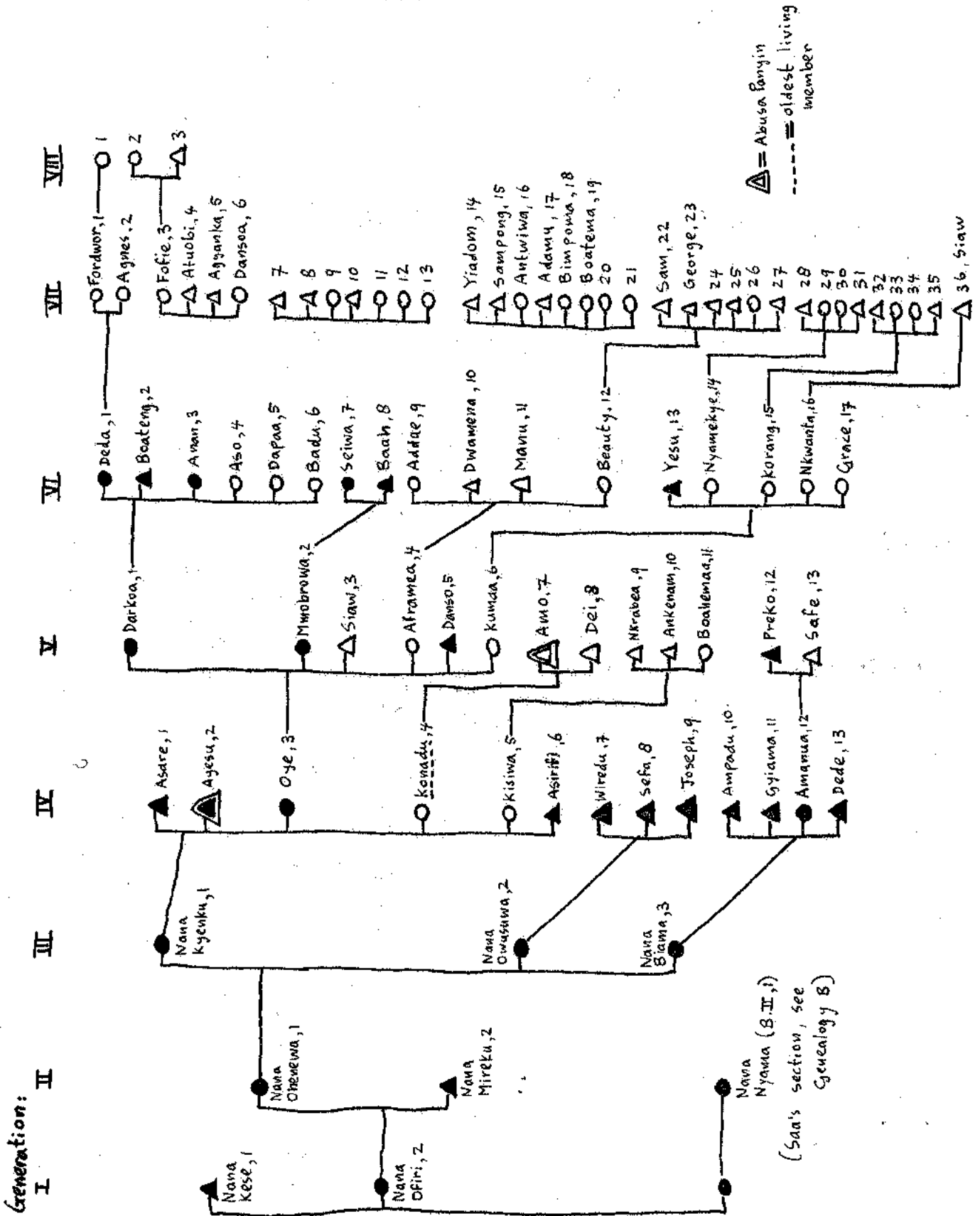
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GENEALOGY A. KONADU'S SECTION



GENEALOGY B. SAA'S SECTION

Generation:

