

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

**KROBOS' PERCEPTION OF DIPO IN CONTEMPORARY GHANA:
A CASE STUDY OF SOMANYA, YILO KROBO DISTRICT**

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2009

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A CASE STUDY OF SOMANYA, YILO KROBO DISTRICT

BY

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DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
AND ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN
SOCIOLOGY

SEPTEMBER 2009

DECLARATION

Candidate's declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature..... Date.....

Name:.....

Supervisor's declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the dissertation were supervised in accordance with guidelines on supervision of dissertation laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Supervisor's Signature..... Date.....

Name: Dr. V. K. Ametewee

ABSTRACT

Dipo is an initiation rite performed among the Krobos to usher in adolescent girls into adulthood. The practice has undergone many changes over the years. This study was aimed at exploring Krobo's perception of contemporary dipo in Ghana with emphasis on the practice of initiating under age girls before their adolescence. These young girls who have become the subject of dipo at the pre-adolescent stage have rather been exposed to teenage pregnancy, which is contrary to the ideals of dipo. The dissertation has the advantage of serving as a guide or advice to opinion leaders and cultural maintainers in the society.

Questionnaires and interviews were the main methods of data collection while simple statistical tools such as percentages and frequencies were used in analyzing the data.

The finding of the study showed that the aims of dipo (preserving the virginity of young girls before entering into marriage, and preparing young girls for marriage) were not being achieved. Many dipo girls were not entering into marriage after the practices (because they were too young to do so. However, most of them were practicing pre-marital sex. The study also revealed a high perception among the people that, dipo in contemporary Ghana had outlived its usefulness and had been reduced to just a traditional ceremony.

In line with these findings, the researcher suggested that opinion leaders and cultural maintainers in the study area should meet to discuss the way forward for dipo so as to check the immoral act growing among the young dipo girls.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is not a gainsaying that a lot of people contributed to the success of this dissertation, by answering questionnaires, interviews, lending books and documents or giving moral support. I am grateful to all those who have assisted me in the writing of this dissertation especially my supervisor – Dr. V. K. Ametewee for his guidance, patience and sacrifice.

I am also grateful to Mr. K. O. S. Anderson for making his computer available to me and Mr. Frank Oppong for reading through the script. I cannot forget my wife who gave me all the encouragement during difficult times. To all I say thank you.

DEDICATION

To my wife Mrs. Doris Obenewa Kumetey and my daughter Elvira
Manyeyo-Terpy Kumetey.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the study

All over Ghana and in fact the whole of West Africa and beyond, rituals and ceremonies with varying degrees of intensity are performed to mark the three major turning points in humankind's life, namely, birth, puberty and death. These rituals and ceremonies are termed by anthropologists as Rites of Passage; a term which was first used by Gennep (1960). Gennep (1960), also grouped rite of passage into three; the first, transition rite or adoption involves pregnancy, child birth and betrothal, the second, incorporation rite involves marriage and naming ceremonies and the third, separation rite deals with funeral ceremonies (Gennep, 1960). According to him the life of an individual in any society is a series of passages from one age to another and from one occupation to another. The progression from one stage to another is marked by special acts which are enveloped in ceremonies.

Most communities in Ghana perform naming and outdooring ceremonies when a baby is born. Among the various categories of rites of passage, Mercea Eliade and Peter Sarpong believe that the puberty rites are very important (Omenyo, 2001). Mbiti (1991) stated that during that period a person goes through physical, emotional and psychological changes in his/her development from childhood to adulthood.

Puberty rites vary from one society to another. In most communities in West Africa, initiation into the adulthood is an ordeal which young people have to go through. Some puberty rites include circumcision, fighting and or killing of a wild animal (Sarpong, 1974) and shaving of hair (Mbiti, 1991).

In Ghana for example, we have Dipo among the Krobos, Bragoro among the Ashantis, Akuapems, Brongs and Fantis, and Gbewowo among the Pekis (Omenyo, 2001) just to mention a few. According to Mbiti (1991), initiation rites are very important in the life of the African in that it brings a strong bond between the individual and the community. For Mbiti (1991), until the individual has gone through the ritual, he/she is still an outsider, but once the person goes through the initiation he/she becomes a true member of the community. Also, the individual is recognized to be an adult and, therefore, ready to enjoy full privileges and shoulder various responsibilities in the family and the community as a whole. Initiation serves as a gateway to marriage. It gives opportunity to young people to be prepared for marriage. In other words the period is used to teach the young people the history, traditions, values, beliefs and how to raise a family. Besides, it serves as a bridge between youth and adulthood. It is initiation that launches one from childhood into adulthood in the community. Genep (1960) also wrote that the essential purpose of all ceremonies associated with initiation rites is to enable the individual to pass from one defined position to another which is equally well defined. Genep (1960), in his contributions showed the difference between physical puberty and social puberty.

According to him, physical puberty of girls is marked by the swelling of the breast, an enlargement of the pelvic, the appearance of pubic hairs and above all the first menstrual flow.

Boys on the other hand show puberty sign by the growth of beard, pubic hair and breaking of voice (Gennep, 1960). Social Puberty on the other hand is ascribed by the society; giving specific age legally or by convention at which certain specific rites can be performed. Gennep (1960) believes that the reasons for the occurrence of social puberty are primarily physiological. According to him sexual enjoyment is not dependent on puberty, but may be experienced earlier or later depending on the individual. Secondly, the first menstrual bleeding does not occur at the same age among the various races, or among individuals within the same race. In Rome for example, according to Gennep (1960:66) girls are legally marriageable at the age of twelve, but only a twelfth of the Roman girls menstruate at that age; most of them begin to do so only between fourteen and fifteen, while others rarely begin at nine. This means that in that part of the world social puberty precedes physiological puberty. Gennep (1960), therefore, emphasized that it would be better to stop calling initiation rites 'puberty rites'. In this wise present day Dipo can better be described as initiation rite rather than puberty rite due to the increase in underage candidates who have not attain puberty.

This study investigates the Krobo's perception of the Dipo (puberty) rites as its being practiced in present day Ghana with reference to the past. It is a case study of Somanya, the district capital of Yilo Krobo.

Statement of the problem

Dipo is a customary practice of the Krobo through which young girls are formally initiated into adulthood and are regarded fully as members of the community.

The Dipo practice involves training of young girls in home management to become good wives and mothers. It is aimed at preserving the virginity of Krobo girls until they are married. In fact, it is the most important ceremony in the life of female Krobos, which also brings honour to their parents. Any Krobo girl found pregnant ahead of the Dipo custom is ostracized from the community to serve as a deterrent to others. However, the practice which had been linked with the traditional religion by the traditional priesthood (Omenyo, 2001) has recently been diluted by Christianity, socio-economic factors and modernity to the extent that the fear and reverence for it has evaporated. In this wise, many Krobos (especially Christians) are torn between the tenets and values of Christianity on one hand and the practice of Dipo on the other. This is because the Christians consider some Dipo rituals such as pouring of libation and smearing of goat's blood on the feet of Dipo girls as satanic. Besides, Dipo is an expensive venture, considering the cost of transportation from the countryside to the district capital and acquisition of foodstuffs, beads, cloths and other items for the ritual. Again, young girls at the ages as low as two years (Adjaye 2004) now go through the practice as opposed to teenagers in the past.

The study is designed to investigate Krobos' perception of the practice of under-aged girls (as young as 2 years) being subjects of Dipo in contemporary Krobo land which is seen to predispose such girls to teenage

pregnancy. In the past, once the adolescent girl passed through the Dipo ceremony, she subsequently got married; and this cannot be the case for the pre-adolescent girl and therefore would face the temptation of indulging in pre-marital sex. As a secondary factor, the study seeks Krobo's perception regarding the cost of contemporary Dipo in the face of their economic situation.

Objective of the study

The purpose of the study is to explore Krobo's perception of contemporary Dipo with more emphasis on the underage Dipo girl to find out if the practice is still promoting its aims. Also, to find out what non-Krobo residents are saying about the practice.

Research questions

- Would you agree that the chance of contemporary Dipo girls entering into marriage is better than those in the past?
- Does the practice of underage Dipo (under 8years) perform the functions of keeping the virginity of girls, preparing girls for marriage, and making them successful housewives and mothers?
- Problems of teenage pregnancy and pre-marital sex facing under-age Dipo girls and the adolescent Dipo girls.
- What is the attitude to Dipo among the literates and illiterates?
- Does the cost of performing Dipo nowadays differ from the past?
- Are Dipo rites incompatible with Christian principles?

Significance of the study

Though the outcome of the study cannot be generalised (since the sample is not representative) it will be added to knowledge and serve as a guide or advice to opinion leaders, stakeholders and cultural maintainers in the society. It will also serve as a basis for further research into Dipo.

Scope of the study

The study is focused on Krobo's perception of contemporary Dipo with emphasis on the under-age Dipo girl.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

Many writers including Hugo (1993), Odonkor, (1971), Steegstra, (2005), Omenyo (2001), and many others have written on this subject matter, Dipo. Some tried to find out the meaning and the origin of Dipo, others, its influence on Christianity and vice versa and others how the practice affects the life of the Krobo people.

This chapter of the study is going to look at the people of Krobo, the history and cultural practices, the origin and the practice of Dipo in the past, and present (the practice of Dipo in contemporary Ghana) and similar practices among the people of Bemba of Central Africa. The chapter would also show the functional analysis of Dipo.

The people of Krobo

The name Krobo according to Odonkor (1971) emerged from the name Akro (the legendary hunter). The Akan neighbours call them 'Kro, obo so fo' meaning, Rock/Mountain dwellers, which in course of time was picked in English writing as Krobo.

Krobos or Kloli (as the indigenous people will say) are part of the Dangme ethnic group who live along the Western side of the Volta River. They are the largest of the sub-ethnic groups among Ada, Ningbo, Shai (Se)

Osudoku, Prampram (Gbugbla) and Kpone which form the Dangme ethnic group. The area extends from 0°18' Western longitude to 0°8' eastern longitude, and from 6°2' to 6°32' northern latitude (Hugo, 1993). The Krobo land is bounded on the east by the Akwamu and Anum, on the west by the Akwapim, on the north by the Akim and on the South by Shai (Se) and the Prampram (Gbugbla). The area is part of the Eastern Region of Ghana and lies 75km north of Accra (Omenyo, 2001). The Krobos are made up of two political groups each with its own paramount chief called 'Kono'. These are the Manya with Odumase as the district capital and Yilo with Somanya as the district capital. The people are mainly farmers who grow crops like maize, cassava, yam, plantain and vegetables largely in the villages where they have fertile soil (Omenyo, 2001).

The Yilo Krobo district within which this study has been carried out lies approximately between latitude 6°00'N and 0°30'N and between longitude 0°30' and 1°00'W. It covers an estimated area of 805sq. km, constituting 4.2 percent of the total area of the Eastern Region. The Yilo Krobo district is bounded in the north and east by the Manya Krobo district, on the south by Akwapim North and Dangme District and on the west by New Juaben, East Akim and Fantekwa Districts. (Yilo Krobo District Assembly Development Plan 2002-2004). It has a population of about 86,107 in about 200 settlements. The district capital, Somanya has a population of over 5000 people (2000, National population census).

According to Omenyo (2001), the Krobos migrated from North Eastern Nigeria, a place called Sameh, a country said to be situated between two rivers Efué and Kpola. Due to continuous hostilities suffered from the neighboring

tribes, they migrated and settled for a time at Lorlorvor hills or the Togologo plain and later moved to 'Kloyom' (now, Krobo mountains) where they stayed until their ejection in 1892 by the British colonial government. According to Odonkor (1971), the dispersal of the various Dangbe ethnic groups took place at Lorlorvor or Togologo plain. Lorlorvor, means love is ended, signifying the breaking of ties of unity. Hugo (1993) has it that the Krobos were under the leadership of Akro-Muase or Akro-Natebi to Klo yom. It is believed that Akro-Muase was a great hunter who discovered the mountain and saw it to be a suitable settlement and therefore led his people into it to take refuge from the attacks of their enemies. The first original Krobo settlers, according to Azu (in Hugo, 1993) and confirmed by Odonkor (1971) were the three Dzebiam clans; Nam, Agbom and Yokwenya, shortly afterwards, followed by the Manya-Lomodze group.

Odonkor (1971) also has it that when the Krobos got to the plain around the Krobo mountains, the priests commissioned two leading hunters, Akro Moase and Madza to go in advance and explore the mountain to ascertain its suitability for settlement. When the result was found favourable each hunter led a group into separate mountains, one on the eastern side of the other. The Moase group who are the present day Manya Krobo settled on the eastern side and the other group (the present day Yilo Krobo), on the west. According to Odonkor (1971), both states were under one king (even after the separation) from the Akwenor clan of the Manya side, until the Yilo broke away as an independent kingdom when it grew greatly in population and wealth under the first leader Saki.

Life in the mountain was very peaceful for the Krobos until their forceful ejection by the British. It is believed that no ethnic group was able to conquer them due to their location. It is said that the peace enjoyed by the Krobos attracted some tribes to seek refuge in their camp. Among such groups were the Denkyira who were believed to be part of the defeated army in 1700 by the Ashantis. According to Hugo (1993), those Denkyera strangers helped the Krobos to set up their first war stool with Larte Odoi (the only known king before 1800, (Odonkor, 1971) as the first Kono (paramount chief). Under him, more farmlands were acquired from the Akwapim, Begoro and the people of Jakiti so that they could descend from the mountain to farm in these areas. As they did settlement farming in the low land areas, the mountain remained the real home, where they continued to bury all their dead, kept their shrines of their gods and where their daughters, under the supervision of the priestesses and the aged women under went their initiation into womanhood.

In 1850, all territories under the Danish Government came under British rule after they had bought the Christiansborg castle and all Danish possessions. Two years later, in 1852, the British Governor, Winniet met all the chiefs under his territorial area and announced a policy change; the British would not continue the Danish policy of annual government grant paid to them, but rather would demand tax from them according to the Poll Tax Ordinance of 1852. This did not go down well with the chiefs. Many of them refused to pay, which generated riot in the country.

By 1856, the Basel Missionaries made their way into the Kroboland. They first stopped at Sra in the Yilo State but were rejected by the chief, Ologo Patu, due to an earlier conflict he had with the colonial government (see

Appendix B). The missionaries were, however, warmly received in Odumase (Manya) by Chief Odonkor Azu. He gave his sons, Peter Nyarko, Noah Aguee, and Ada Tei to the missionaries to be trained as teachers, who later came and helped in the mission field (Odonkor, 1971). More churches and schools were built and many more local people were educated. With the positive change in the level of education in Odumase, and in line with the indirect rule policy, the British found it more convenient to rule the Kroboland through the Odumase chiefs.

The ejection of the Krobos from the Krobo Mountain

As part of their cultural activities, there was a yearly ritual of human sacrifice to their war gods, Nadu and Kotoklo, in the area, rumors of which reached the British authorities (Hugo, 1993). In January 1892, when Kono Sakitey died, the Governor decided to be present at the enstooling of the new ruler and to announce measures against human sacrifice. To worsen the case for the Krobos, an earlier report had been made to the Akuse District Commissioner of a murder case involving four young Krobo men; and on the 19th of July 1892, he went to Odumase to address the people, and warned that severe punishment would be imposed on anyone (including the priest) who would further promote or take part in human sacrifice. Organization of fetish festivals, burial of dead bodies and customary puberty rituals were abolished on the mountain and a three day deadline was given for the people to pack all their belongings and vacate the mountains. These directives were codified in the “National customs ordinance”. According to Hugo (1993), two days after these directives, a new Kono (Paramount Chief) Mate Korley was instooled.

The new chief, a former teacher of the Basel Mission collaborated with the British and got one hundred soldiers posted to the mountain to enforce the evacuation, and destroyed the shrines and gods. Their settlements lower down the plains subsequently developed more and more into towns and new shrines were built on the outskirts for their tribal gods. Odumase then became the permanent residence for the paramount chief of Many people and Sra-Somanya for the Yilo people.

This assertion that there was bloodshed by the Krobo which led to their evacuation from the mountain as given by Hugo,(1993) and Odonkor,(1971) was seriously rejected by Okyam Nguwa Amakwata (the chief linguist of the Yilo State) in an interview granted the researcher on the 16th day of December 2006 at about 4:09pm in his residence at Somanya. According to him, the British forced the Krobo out of the mountain because of their refusal to pay the Poll Tax which they introduced after taking over governance from the Danish government. Okyam Nguwa Amakwata stressed that the Krobo could not have been the only victim of bloodshed since such atrocities were the 'order of the day' between and among states. Indeed, Odonkor (1971) wrote that the Poll Tax Ordinance passed in 1852 generated a riot between the chiefs and the colonial government. The hitherto annual grant paid to the chiefs by the Danish government was replaced by rather a tax paid to government. This new policy was unfair in the eyes of the chiefs so many refused to pay, resulting in the disturbances. States that showed open defiance became targets of the British. For example, in 1854, Christiansborg, Teshie and La were bombarded by the British over the poll tax.

Streegstra (2005) also wrote that the expulsion of the Krobos from their mountain home was as a result of the politics of both the Basel Mission and the British colonial government. While the Basel Missionaries repeatedly praised the picturesque view from the mountain and its healthy climate, they also realized that they could not easily reach the people on this inaccessible mountain. Moreover, they saw the mountain as Devil's 'bulwark', as it was the seat of the traditional priests. The British administration, on the other hand preferred its subjects to live in convenient, surveyable and taxable towns in the plain. Therefore, in July 1892 when the British installed a new Christian chief, the missionaries sang praises and said it was an answer to their prayer and that meant a breakthrough of Christianity in Kroboland. To scare the people, the four Krobo men who were convicted of murder a month earlier were publicly executed, and a strong warning was sent to the neighbouring states that they would face similar sanctions if they did not stop their festivals and rituals.

Cultural practices of the Krobos

Krobos are people who practise patrilineal system of inheritance and have lived with certain cultural practices since their settlement on the Krobo Mountains up to date with some changes over time. Some of these cultural practices among others include marriage, Lapomi, festivals, funerals and puberty rites (Dipo).

Marriage

Marriage is a very cherished institution by the Krobos. The community expects all its members to get married upon reaching a certain age, so as to

procreate and perpetuate the existence of the community. For the Krobos, marriage takes place between a man and a woman through an elaborate custom rite involving the families of the would-be couples. When a marriage is contracted, the couples in particular and the community in general expect a child or children to come out from it. If that does not happen, pressure mounts on the couple (especially the woman) which results in anxiety, stress and depression with some cases leading to illness. If a child is born, she/he is outdoored and given a name to be part of the community. During the naming ceremony the family head ties a thread (la) with cowry around the wrist of the child to register its membership into the family. Until the outdooing and the naming ceremony such a child is seen as a stranger. Besides, if the child is a male he is circumcised but the females grow up to adolescent age when they undergo Dipo initiation rites.

Lapomi

This is a cultural practice typical of the Krobos and performed by a father to claim a child born out of wedlock and had been named by his/her mother's family. According to Krobo custom, a child born out of wedlock does not belong to the father unless he performs this ritual called lapomi (that is to cut the thread tied around the wrist of the child during the naming ceremony). This custom was put in place to sanction young men who would not marry but taking advantage of the young women. It must, however, be noted that most victims of this "lapomi" custom do not perform the ritual because they consider it very expensive. Moreover, they believe that the child/children will by all means look for their fathers in the future when they

are old. Such children are called 'Plabihii' (children born out of friendship or casual sexual relationship) or Yobi (a woman's child). Such children cannot inherit their fathers if the Lapomi is not performed.

Festivals

'Kloyosikplemi' is a festival celebrated by the people of Yilo Krobo to mark the forceful ejection from their ancestral home, 'Kloyom' (Krobo mountain) by the British colonial administration in 1892. After the ejection which was led by Governor Brandford Griffith, the Krobos were prohibited from visiting the mountain home until the attainment of independence in 1957. And ever since 1972, the Yilo Krobos have started paying pilgrimage to their ancestral home every year. (Kloyosikplemi Brochure, 2004).

The festival normally starts on the second Wednesday of November and ends on the following Sunday. During the period, a lot of people- Krobos and nonKrobo are attracted to the district capital, Somanya to take part in the celebration. Some outstanding activities of the festival include the arrival of all Yilo citizens on the Wednesday where friends and relations interact to renew their relationship. Thursday marks a massive clean up exercise in all the communities which is normally followed up by a symposium in the late afternoon where topical issues of concern are discussed to educate the people. Discourse may dwell on sanitation, health (HIV), education, poverty alleviation and or environmental issues. On Friday, a mini durbar is held at the foot of the mountain. The Kono (the paramount chief), Chiefs, Queen Mothers and Elders sit to welcome their subjects. Libation is normally poured to pay homage to the ancestors.

Kloyo climbing competition is organized where old and young climb the mountain to test their strength, and also giving the opportunity for new comers to tour the place. Winners are presented with prizes by the organising committee. Invited guest, group leaders and some prominent people are allowed to make speeches to grace the occasion.

Drama groups perform and dramatise the forceful ejection of the Yilo Krobo from the Kloyom by the British. These activities are interspersed with drumming, dancing and merry making. The Kono and his entourage leave the durbar ground after the drama performances to prepare for the grand durbar on Saturday.

On the Saturday, Krobo youth groups from various towns process through the principal streets to end at the durbar ground to usher in the arrival of invited guest, the Kono, Chiefs, Queen Mothers and Elders. After the exchange of greetings and pleasantries, libation is poured paving the way for the Kono to give his welcome address which is normally preceded and ended by cultural drumming and dancing. The District Chief Executive, Guest of Honour, and representative from government also address the durbar. Appeal for funds is made to raise funds for developmental projects in the district. The Saturday programme ends with state dance and crowning of Miss Yilo in the evening. Inter-denominational church service is held on the Sunday to end the festival.

Funerals

Krobos perform funeral for their departed souls. They believe that funerals offer smooth transition for the departed souls into the spiritual world.

In the past, departed Krobos were buried and funerals performed in Kroboland. However, in recent times this cultural practice has been relaxed due to financial constraints so that burial and funeral rites can be performed anywhere for departed souls, however part of the deceased (nails and hair) would be sent home for a symbolic burial.

When death occurs in Krobo land, it is first made known to the 'Nopulor' (the one who is to bury the deceased). The nopulor is normally the family head or head of a lineage to which the deceased belongs, and he is in charge of all activities concerning the burial and funeral rites. Upon receiving the information of death of a family member the nopulor calls all elders (men and women) in the family for a meeting to take decision on burial and funeral rites activities. After this meeting he publicly announces the death (by two gun shots if the deceased is an elderly person). Women then start crying and wailing which attract people from the neighbourhood who come to sympathise.

Elderly women are made to wash the corpse with boiled water, soap and lemon. The body is smeared with shea-butter, cosmetics and beads (if she is a woman). After the toiletry, the body is stretched out on a show bed to lie in state till burial. While lying in state, mourners arrive; relatives, kinsmen and in-laws intensifying the wailing, crying and the lamentation from both kinsmen and visitors (Hugo, 1993).

Some rituals before burial

Tenya Yami: (Meeting around the stone): Before burial the nopulor assembles all the elders at a traditional meeting place called 'Tenya' (around

the stone). Over there, the nopolor addresses the deceased through libation by saying: ‘inyemi, muene no ople ose wowor, lor he ingor da ke bo kebakamo ne ike nge mo pue’-- meaning that, my brother, today you have left us. Thus, I present you with wine and cloth so as to bury you. All the elders present also present their drinks and cloth. It is believed that the deceased uses these items on his journey to the ancestral world.

Akpeti pomi: (Separation from the deceased): Libation is poured by the nopolor to separate the deceased from those very close to him; the spouse, last born, or any one in blood covenant with the deceased.

Kita Kami: (Swearing): This is the last ceremony that precedes burial. The nopolor, through libation, calls on the deceased to revenge his own death on the one who has caused it, if it is not his destiny or by God (Hugo. 1993). After the burial, a day is set for the final funeral rites termed as Yapemi or Yasitremiti which normally starts from Friday evening. During this period the nopolor and his elders sit, group around to receive sympathisers and distant relatives who have come to mourn with the deceased family. They present drinks to the nopolor to express their sympathy and also thank the family for the burial ceremony. It must be noted that all rituals and ceremonies are interrupted with singing, drumming and dancing. Drummers and singers who are regularly served with drinks sing songs in honour of the death or dirges that express grief and loneliness (Hugo. 1993). Late in the night where there are no arrival of visitors, the singers and drummers are allowed to perform till day break.

The most important activity during the final funeral rites, takes place on Saturday. In the morning, the nopolor assembles his elders (men and

women) at the 'tenya' for a highly official meeting. At the meeting, the nopolor before his elders takes a calabash full of wine and pour libation to invoke the spirit of the deceased (He mentions the deceased's name and addresses him with the following words... 'wa nge oyaa sitree muene no, ba he da ne onu. Wor le wali no ne gbe mo, mo ne ole. Ke mo nitse osesie oyaworsi dii' meaning "we are performing your final funeral rites today, accept a drink from us. We do not know what caused your death, but you know. If it is your destiny rest in peace) expressing on him once again to revenge his death."

After this ritual, the most important thing to be discussed is the assigning of the deceased's property and his wife or wives, if he was a male. The nopolor would then find out from the elders and other family members whether the deceased owes any one or some one owes him. When answers are found to these questions, restitution would be made at once and if there are still funds left, would be used to meet burial and funeral expenses. The balance (profit/loss) is distributed according to the rules of inheritance. Wife or wives go to the junior brother of the deceased or the one who to take care of them (the next of kin) and also to continue the marital relationship. After the meeting, decisions taken are announced to the entire family. Meanwhile traditional meal prepared for the funeral is served to all taking part in the funeral ceremony.

Later in the day, son(s)-in-law perform special ritual called '**yosedo fiem**' (dance on behalf of wife) where they and their kinsmen make a lovely procession amidst drumming and dancing from their kins group. The sons-in-law dance on behalf of their wives and make financial presentation.

Afterwards, individuals, relatives, friends and sympathisers join in the exciting celebration in honour of the dead and also offer their contribution to mark the end of the funeral rites. However, for the funeral rites of elderly people the nopolor must perform the final cleansing ceremony term as '**wemi dzram**'. Using water, he pours libation addressing the spirit of the deceased in this way -muene no wagbe oyaa nya. Nyu ne ike ha mo ne oke dzra wemi dzi no ne, "meaning as we bring your funeral rites to a close to day, I offer you this water so as to cleanse the house" (Hugo. 1993).

The Dipo ritual

Dipo is a puberty/initiation rite performed for adolescent girls to usher them into adulthood/womanhood and to become full members of the community. The main aim of Dipo is to preserve the virginity of Krobo girls until they are married and also prepare them adequately for marriage. Dipo is one single important ritual in the lives of female Krobos. Therefore, a girl who fails to undergo Dipo rites cannot consider herself as a mature Krobo girl or a woman worthy to be married to a Krobo man. Dipo involves training of girls in home management to become good house keepers, wives, mothers and above all, making them 'real' Krobo women. For evidence of participation and successful completion of the initiation rites, Dipo girls (Dopo yi) are given some incisions on their bodies. The first is "bemi bo" (sweeping marks) signifying cleanliness. These are seven marks between the thumb and the index finger, symbolizing that a girl is capable of keeping a home clean. The next is called "fomi bo" (childbearing marks) signifying fertility and physical maturity. This means that the girl's belly, breast and waist have been

examined and found to be matured enough for child bearing. Three more marks at the waist called “aplamde” are made. They signify a marriage taboo. This means that no man has the right to touch the girl’s waist except the lawful and legitimate husband. It is believed that these “aplamide” marks are meant to frighten Dipo girls so that they do not indulge in illicit pre-marital and post-marital sex (Omenyo, 2001). Besides, it is a strong taboo for a Krobo girl to become pregnant before the rites. Such girls are regarded unclean and become social outcasts.

Origin of Dipo

Dipo, according to Omenyo (2001) originated out of jealousy and bitterness. This was recorded from a Krobo historical account which alleged that once, a nobleman lived and married two women. While the elder wife gave birth to male children, the junior wife had female children. Due to the practice of patrilineal system an elaborate ceremony was always organized for the male child on the 8th day after birth as part of the naming ceremony. Gifts of valuable items are presented to the child to welcome him into the community. This ceremony honoured the elder wife who enjoyed it with pride to the annoyance and bitterness of the younger wife. Out of the bitterness and jealousy the second wife reported to the priestess Nana Kloweki to have same ceremony for her girls to honour them.

The priestess (Nana Kloweki) then established the Dipo rites where girls at the age between 12 and 15 years were sent to her grove for training in personal cleanliness, environmental cleanliness, childcare, cookery, spinning of cotton, herbal medicine and pottery. “Klama” songs (Krobo traditional

songs), respect for the aged, housekeeping and domestic management were also taught (Omenyo, 2001). After three years training (including some rituals), the girls were crowned with a colourful ceremony involving gift presentation to initiate them into adulthood.

Dipo in the past

According to Steegstra (2005), elders in the past had a great deal of authority over their young people in matters of sexuality and marriage. Although there were no physical coercion on the part of parents in the choice of marriage partner, the social and moral pressure was so strong that respectful children would have found it difficult to choose their own partners against the will of their parents. It was, therefore, a father's responsibility, in particular, to let his daughter pass through Dipo. When the Dipo season was announced, parents enrolled their mature girls for the ceremony where they are camped in the mountain home (Klo yom) under the care of the priestesses for the period up to three years.

Dipo girls initially were not supposed to work hard in order to become well-fed and beautiful (Steegstra, 2005). Their brothers, close relatives, and fiancés would provide them with food, water and firewood. Omenyo (2001), wrote that the early years in the girls stay in the Dipo cult were for the teaching and training of the nine arts and sciences. The theoretical lesson is followed by practical work in their second year where they begun going to farm for firewood and foodstuffs, and do all kind of house chores. They ate more herbs and foods made from millet, maize, palm oil and fish. They were made to desist from taking too much of carbohydrate, in order to tone down

the nerves so as to reduce their sexual urge. At the end of the second year, the Dipo girls are assessed on personal and environmental cleanliness as well as sexual maturity and those who passed the test were given incisions on various parts of their bodies as symbols or certificate.

One important ritual that marks the end of the second year was the climbing of the sacred Totroku/Tegbete rock, testing the sexual purity of the Dipo girls during the training period. This ritual is characterised by singing, drumming and dancing. It is believed that the tegbete rock could reveal a pregnancy. A girl who is pregnant would fall down and the drumming and the dancing would cease, she would be sent to the traditional midwife for testing. If it is confirmed that she was pregnant, which is an abomination to the rock, and the Dipo cult, her parents would be heavily fined to appease the gods and the ancestors', and the girl ostracised from the hilltop (the mountain home) to join any tribe which may adopt her. Girls who passed the tegbete ritual are outdoored and rewarded with presents and gifts from relatives, friends and fiancés.

After the outdooring some of the Dipo girls return to the cult for further training especially the very young ones and also those whose parents can continue to sponsor their stay in the cult. According to Odonkor (1971) this phase lasted for one year thereby extending the ceremony into the third year. Meanwhile, the elderly ones among the Dipo girls (especially the betrothed ones) enter into marriage after the outdooring. It must be noted that this section of the ceremony; from the tegbete stage to the outdooring takes about five to ten days and this is what is being observed as Dipo in contemporary Ghana which is discussed in the next section of this study.

Present day Dipo

The present day Dipo takes only 5 days, starting from Thursday to Monday. It takes place between the months of March and June every year. The ritual starts with an announcement by the Dipo priest of the Bonya clan of the Yilo Krobo. He sends a messenger to announce the commencement of the Dipo season in towns, villages and market places calling on parents to get their Dipo daughters ready for the initiation. After the announcement, individual parents would then decide when to converge in 'Dom' (Somanya) with their daughters for the ritual. On arrival at Dom, parents then consult soothsayers/diviners ('gbalor') to ask the souls (susuma) of the girls, permission to perform the rites and also ask them what they would need for a successful Dipo performance (Steegstra, 2005).

Thursday

Kpa Womi (Tying Of String)

Thursday marks the beginning of the Dipo ritual performances. It is the day where the Dipo girls (Dipo yi) wear special string, with only one reddish bead around the neck and waist and are made to stand /step on sacred antelope skin. This is meant to inspect their chastity by an old lady. It is believed that something will happen to a girl who is pregnant (*the girl will fall or be in coma*). 'Yisi pomi' (shaving of the lower part of the head) then follows and the girls are made to wear special red loin-cloth.

Friday

Preparation of the traditional drink (ngma da) from millet and threading of beads for the events ahead is done.

Saturday

Pami Yami (Going To the Stream)

Early in the morning on Saturday, the Dipo girls are led in their loin-cloth with calabash on their head to a stream to wash their clothes, take their bath and return home. On their way home they walk in a special order with each following the other, forbidden to speak to anybody. They are met on arrival with joy, singing and dancing and served with food. In the evening, the initiates are dressed with beads, long white loin-cloth, and a raffia conical hat with long stick in their hands amidst singing, march on the streets to announce the Sunday's activity (Tegbete yam). On their return home after the procession, a he-goat provided by each child's parents is slaughtered and the blood poured on their feet to invoke the blessings of Nana Kloweki (the priestess) and the gods on the girls. Before the goat is slaughtered each girl is told these words; 'ke oya gbawe obu no' (be respectful when you enter into marriage Omenyo, 2001). Slaughtering of the goat is a cleansing ritual to ward off any bad omen in connection with the girls development and also to remind the girls to tell the truth if pregnant (before the Sundays ritual where pregnancy can be detected on the sacred stone) to avoid the consequences. It must be noted that every evening throughout the ceremony Dipo girls are made to Dance/make Dipo dance to the Klama tunes provided by the women by way of entertainment and also rehearsal towards the Monday procession.

Sunday

Tegbete Yami

Tegbete Yami (climbing the Dipo sacred stone) is the climax of the Dipo ceremony. Early in the morning Dipo girls in the company of the elderly women go to the Dipo shrine to present gifts and the fee charged (Dipo fee) to the priests and the priestesses. From the shrine, they come back to eat food prepared with the slaughtered goat meat and made to rest a while. The “Tegbete Yami” which is the climax and most important of the initiation takes place between three (3) o’clock and six (6) o’clock in the evening. To start the journey to the sacred stone, the girls are dressed in beads and a walking stick in hand. Leaves are placed between their lips to ensure they do not talk to anybody on the way. A crowd of young men and women follow them amidst singing and dancing. But the men are forbidden to enter into the groove so they stop at a distance. On arrival, each girl is made to climb the sacred rock one after the other, after a libation is poured by the priestess who invokes the spirit of the gods and Nana Kloweki for their blessing. The old lady seats each girl on the stone three times with the words: Hisi, Tesi, Wa nge mo kloyo pee oo (sit down! Get up! We are making you a Krobo woman). After this ritual, the women take the Dipo girls from the groove to the young men who put them at their back with growing joyous songs into their homes. During this period the young men can propose to the girls who are now initiated into adulthood and can enter into relationship or marriage. At home, it is all joy, dancing, feasting and merry making. Gift of valuable items are showered on the girls to congratulate them and also for their preparation to enter into

marriage as they dress in their finest clothes to make the Dipo dance to entertain the community members.

Monday

On Monday, the singing and dancing continues and extends to the town and market places where they receive gifts from people as they make the Dipo dance. The return from the town procession to the house marks the official ending of the Dipo ceremony.

The 'chisungu' ceremony of the people of Bemba

The Bemba are small but once a powerful dominant tribe on the north eastern plateau of northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) in Central Africa. They live on a high plateau land standing at a height of about four to five thousand feet covered with bush, scrub and low trees. They mainly depend on the land for living, practising shifting cultivation to grow their staple foods; millet, sorghum, maize, peas and cucurbits. Foods in the form of wild vegetables, mushrooms, honey and caterpillars are also obtained from the bush. Women are responsible for most of the food supply. Men are great hunters and though game is not plentiful, hunting, a forest pursuit is considered the most pleasurable and exciting activity (Richards, 1956).

Economic activity is very low since there is little or no surplus food to be traded. Between 40 and 60 percent of the men vacate the area to the south in search of cash income in the mines; a situation which affected the marriage system in the Bemba community in the 1920s.

Like the Krobos, the people of Bemba undergo some traditional rites such as, chisungu rite and marriage. The one of concern to the researcher is the chisungu rites.

The chisungu is a nobility rite practiced for a girl or for two or three girls together which is normally preceded by short puberty ceremony. When a girl experiences her first menstrual period, she reports to the older women who start preparation of the chisungu rites for the girl. According to Richards (1956), chisungu rite is a nobility rite that precedes marriage ceremony, since most of the girls come to their chisungu already betrothed. It is believed that in the olden days the chisungu rite could spread over six months or more. However, in recent times it lasts continually over a month or less. The rite is aimed at protecting the young couple against the magic dangers of first intercourse and gives the bridegroom the right to perform this act which is thought to be entirely different from all that follows it in or out marriage. Anyone who takes this right from him is said to steal or spoil the chisungu (Richards, 1956).

The chisungu ceremony is organized by a mistress, “nacimbusa” hired by the parents of the initiates (banacisungu). The mistress is normally an old experienced woman who can prove herself to be a successful midwife. The one who provides for the ceremony is termed as the owner of the ceremony (nwine).

The first day of chisungu starts with a headman of a village calling out the names of the ancestors to bless the ceremony by spitting into the air. Later in the day (after the ancestral blessing), the girls are called into a hut to mark another rite amidst singing, drumming and dancing. In the hut, the girls are

made to undergo some rituals in the form of crawling and jumping after which they are carried shoulder high into the village as a sign of honour.

Not many activities take place on the second day. It is all singing and dancing to honour the initiates and their families. The third day opens with the carrying of small pots of beer to the “nacimbusa” and her helpers by the mothers of the bridegrooms as part of their required payment. Later in the day, women go out into the bush around the village to make portrait emblems from clay. The fourth, fifth and sixth days pass quietly with only the continuation of works on the pottery emblems in the mornings and more singing and dancing in the evenings.

On the seventh day, the candidates of the initiation go out into the bush followed by the elders and the members of the village. Series of rituals are performed on the way. For example, the girls are made to imitate the “nacimbusa” and her helpers as they act as wild pigs, monkeys, guinea fowls. According to Richards (1956), these activities are meant to train the girls to be hard working as they are entering into marriage. They should always work hard like the animals mentioned to search for food for their families. One more significant ritual before returning to the village is the blessing of the ‘musuku’ tree which is one of the symbols of womanhood in the Bemba tribe; two small rings of white beads are tied round twigs of the ‘musuku’ tree and the girls are made to bite them off in their mouths and give them to the mistress of the ceremony (Richards, 1956). It is believed that without this ritual there would be no parenthood for the girls. After this, the crowd returns home amid singing, drumming and dancing, which is a characteristic of all the rituals. At the village, series of rituals are performed before getting back to the Chisungu

hut where the testing of maturity ritual is performed; two large water pots are set on the floor and put in each little darting water insects known as ‘injelela’. While the drumming and the dancing is going on the girls are asked to catch the insect with their mouth and spit it into the hands of the “nacimbusa”. Catching the insect symbolises the maturity of the girls. If they fail their mothers would pay a fine.

The eighth day is for whitewashing and painting special chisungu designs on the walls of the hut. The designs include beans and guinea-fowls. According to Richards (1956), the whitewashing signifies the washing away of menstrual blood and the designs, manhood. In the evening the girls are brought to the hut and the designs handed over to them by the mistress of the ceremony (the nacimbusa).

The ninth and tenth days are used for modeling large pottery emblems. Symbols like snake, guinea-fowl, bed and male and female (brother and sister) are moulded. The modeling of man and woman signifies the brother/sister relationship which is prominent in the matrilineal system of the Bemba tribe. Most of the chisungu rituals stress the husband’s duty to feed and clothe his wife, but in this, the women seem to emphasise the brother’s perpetual obligation to look after his sister before, during and after her marriage. The models are pulled down after they had been shown to the initiates.

The eleventh day marks the cooking and sharing of porridge among the company in order of seniority. The day also marks the removal of the girls’ food taboo, so they are free to eat all kinds of food. According to Richards (1956), it is a day of ‘offering and receiving offering’ from the girls’ mother the

bonacimbusa, from the younger nacimbusa to the older in order of seniority and from the initiated women to the girls (Richards, 1956: p 84, 85).

The twelfth and the thirteenth day are virtually free days with only moulding of some emblems which are discarded at the end of the day's activity. The fourteenth day marks a rite of purification from menstrual blood and beautification of the body at a river side. The nacimbusa and the elder women demonstrate to the girls how to bath in the river during menstruation. After bathing their bodies are covered with white clay. They dance off to the village's headman's house who in turn spits the blessing of the spirit on them. The fifteenth and the sixteenth day pass without much activity. Apart from building of shelter, a screen and collecting of millet and flour in the morning of the fifteenth day and sixteenth day respectively, it is all drumming and dancing in the evenings.

On the seventeenth day the company together with the initiates goes out into the bush to honour the 'mwenge' tree (a female tree signifying the pliancy of the women (Richards, 1956: 94). Other rituals performed during the day include the *drinking of the beer*, the *preparation of the jumping hoop* (mupeto) and the return of *the lion killer*. The return of the lion killer, for example, is about the cutting of a log of a tree called the 'kabumba' which represents a lion. The initiates kneel holding the *lion* on their shoulders while the older women ritually offer it an emblem (mbusa) amidst singing, drumming and dancing. The nacimbusa dance up brandishing weapons as it is done in the olden days when a lion had been killed. Ritually, the lion represents a male therefore the bridegroom is being honoured like a lion killer. Besides, it is also meant to congratulate the girls because the dangers in

chisungu are over. Deep into the night, the girls are presented with their “mbusa” after which the bridegrooms come to see their brides beautifully dressed. It is the moment when they come in as husbands to claim their brides in marriage.

The eighteenth day marks the killing of a chicken at dawn. Two chickens tied together with their heads held on the ground are given to each girl. The girls are made to jog up and down by way of sitting and rising as they bang the heads of the chicken together till they die. If a girl succeeds killing the bird this way, it shows that the girl is mature otherwise she is a ‘citongo’ (an uninitiated person). After killing the bird the meat is prepared and served with porridge after which the girls are sent to the river for a ceremonial bath, signifying the end of the chisungu ceremony

On the nineteenth day the girls are dressed up neatly and go out into the community with the mistress of the ceremony to beg for little presents. Richards (1956) explained that it is a way of submitting to the elders telling them their readiness to work for them.

Finally, on the twenty-third day the “banacisungu” (the initiated girls) sit on a mat with their potential or real husbands besides them and their kinsmen around them singing and throwing coins into a basket which goes to the nacimbusa and her helpers. After this comes the wedding ceremony to end the chisungu rite (Richards, 1956).

Theoretical framework of the study

Dipo, as a socio-cultural and religious activity performed by the people of Krobo has its effect on their lives, thereby, influencing the adaptation or

adjustment and strengthening of the social system. In order to find out the functions and dysfunctions as well as manifest and latent functions of Dipo and their contribution to the strengthening of the social system, the researcher has chosen functionalism as the theoretical framework for this study.

Functionalism itself, though highly credited to Emile Durkheim, took its roots from August Comte (Turner, Beeghley & Powers, 1995). Comte in his early work, (The Plan of the Scientific Operations Necessary for Reorganizing Society) saw society as an “organic whole” where the components stand in relation to one another and that to study these parts in isolation is to violate the essence of social organization. Comte, (as cited in Turner, Beeghley and Powers, 1995) likening the study of society to a biological organism with its elements, tissues and organs which perform different functions but integrate to support growth of that organism, has been the mode of analysis which became known as functionalism (Turner, Beeghley & Powers, 1995). Durkheim (in Turner, Beeghley & Powers, 1995) developed these ideas of Comte and argued that social institutions exist solely to fulfill specific social needs. Functionalists, therefore, hold the view that society is a system made up of parts forming a larger whole, with each part performing a specific function which work together to promote social stability.

In dealing with modern functionalism, especially in the area of anthropology two names cannot go without mentioning – Bronislaw Malinowski and Reginald Radcliffe-Brown. In fact the two according to Glazer (1996), (in www.utpa.edu/faculty/mglazer/Theory/structuralism.htm) are viewed as the founders of modern functionalism. However, their functionalisms are dramatically different. While Radcliffe-Brown's is a

structural functionalism, Malinowski's functionalism is based on human biology and psychology. It must be noted that this biopsychological approach pays close attention to the individual and de-emphasizes the importance of the social system. Glazer (1996) (in www.utpa.edu/faculty/mglazer/Theory/structuralism.htm) believes that Malinowski's functionalism is a transformation of the seven needs of the individual; nutrition, reproduction, bodily comforts, safety, relation, movement, and growth into the secondary needs of society. Malinowski (in www.utpa.edu/faculty/mglazer/Theory/structuralism.htm) is of the view that individual needs are satisfied by the social structure of his culture, whose function it is to satisfy those human needs.

Radcliffe-Brown on his part, according to Goldschmidt (1996) (in www.emuseum.mnsu.edu/information/biography/pqrst/radcliffe_brown_a.r.html.) focused attention on social structures. He suggested that a society is a system of relationships maintaining itself through cybernetic feedback, while institutions are orderly sets of relationships whose functions is to maintain the society as a system. Following August Comte, Radcliffe-Brown (in www.emuseum.mnsu.edu/information/biography/pqrst/radcliffe_brown_a.r.html.) believe that the social constitutes a separate level of reality distinct from those of biological forms and inorganic matter. Further more, he believed that explanations of social phenomena had to be constructed within the social levels. For him individuals are replaceable, transient occupants of social roles. Unlike Malinowski's emphasis on individuals, Radcliffe-Brown considered individual irrelevant.

Functional analysis of Dipo

Dipo is a puberty/initiation rite performed for adolescent Krobo girls to usher them into womanhood, and to become full members of the community. In the past according to Omenyo (2001), dipo involved two to three years training of girls to become good housekeepers, good housewives and mothers and above all making them real Krobo women. However, in recent times dipo lasts for only five days; the reason according to Hugo (1993,) is to relieve parents from their anxiety over a possible pregnancy of their daughters. Odonkor (1971) on his part, asserts that dipo involves a rigorous training in housewifery and child care calculated to keep all girls chaste and make them competent before marriage.

The aim of dipo, according to Omenyo (2001), is to preserve the virginity of Krobo girls until they are married. Parents who are the sponsors of the dipo rite send their dipo age girls to nana kloweki (the priestess) for the training. At the dipo cult the girls are put on special diet made up of millet, maize, palm oil and fish. The reason is to tone down the nerves so as to reduce their sexual urge. After some time the initiates are assessed on cleanliness and maturity by the priestess. Initiates who pass the test are given incisions/marks on various parts of their bodies --- waist, belly or between the thumb and the index finger as a certificate (see p 20). To test the sexual purity, the initiates are led to a sacred rock called 'totroku or tegbete'. The chief priest of Nana Kloweki pours libation to invoke the spirits of the gods to prove the girls' purity, amid drumming, singing and dancing of 'klama' (a traditional dance) "It is believed that if a girl is pregnant during the period of training she will fall down and the drumming will cease, she will be sent to the traditional

midwife for testing (Omenyo, 2001). In fact, any krobo girl found to be pregnant before or during the dipo rite is ostracised from the community. Girls who pass the pregnancy test are handed over to their parents for outdoorings. The outdoorings ceremony attracts a lot of people; immediate and distant relatives, community members, clan heads, friends and visitors. Parents provide goat for each initiate which is slaughtered and the fat is poured on their head symbolizing success in their training. The girls then march to Nana Kloweki to render their thanks to her and there after go home with their parents.

The week that follows is for drumming, singing and dancing and merry making with foods and drinks. The girls are dressed in their finest and costly clothes, beads and head kerchiefs. They dance to klama tunes at homes, roadside, and market places where they receive presents. After the week of celebrations, the grown up and betrothal girls enter into marriage with their fiancées to fulfill the primary objective of dipo.

The above analysis depicts some sociological functions. As pointed out by Merton (1957), any social phenomenon /item shows a concept of objective consequences which he mention as functions and dysfunctions. According him, functions are those observed consequences which make the adaptation or adjustment of a given system while dysfunctions are those observed consequences which lessen the adaptation or adjustment of the system. He further stated that an item may have both functional and dysfunctional consequences. Merton (1957) also made mention of manifest and latent functions. According to him those objective consequences contributing to the adjustment or adaptation of the system which are intended and recognised by

participants in the system are manifest functions whereas latent functions are those which are never intended nor recognised. Again, Merton (1957) pointed out that a previously latent function can be transformed into a manifest function.

The performance of dipo depicts some functional concepts described by Merton (1957). For example the dipo ceremony helps preserve the virginity of Krobo girls before marriage. The training also prepares them for marriage. Undergoing the dipo rite gives some form of freedom to Krobo girls in their social set up. This is because it is only after the girls are fully accepted in the community that they can attend any social gathering, nominate or be nominated for any social position in the community. For instance, in the Kroboland only initiates can be elected as queen mothers or be married to Krobo men. These are examples of manifest functions.

In time of Dipo, there is a massive clean up exercise in the community and rehabilitation of dilapidated houses. Family members reunite and hold discussions on future family projects. Besides, due to the influx of both Krobos and non-Krobo into the town, economic activities increase. Demand for consumable goods ranging from foodstuffs to clothing, and more importantly, Dipo related items such as beads, and white calico materials increase, thereby, inducing high income for the sellers. Steegstra (2005). wrote that during the preparation for the Dipo custom, the trade in Akuse and Kpong flourished as the Krobo people bought the necessary items for the up keep of Dipo girls. The girls also learn klama songs, the culture and traditional history of the Krobos. All these can be described as latent functions which contribute to the adjustment of the social system.

On the other hand some activities of dipo can be dysfunctional. As given by Merton (1957), an item may be functional for some individuals and subgroups and dysfunctional for others. In the same way some Krobos, especially those who claim to be stout Christians see the activities of Dipo as fetish, irrelevant and even satanic, which does not help the proper growth of the social system. They condemn the slaughtering of animals, the visitation of the sacred stone (tegbete) and the body exposure of the young girls. For example, about 49% of respondents believe that Dipo is not of any importance to the Krobo culture. (Ref. table 13) The study has also revealed that hitherto manifest functions of Dipo have transformed into dysfunctions. For example, Dipo in the past helped to preserve the virginity of Krobo girls before marriage and so there was nothing like pre-marital sex in Krobo land (Omenyo, 2001). However, due to the tender age of the majority of the Dipo girls in contemporary Ghana, many of them are not able to marry after the initiation but rather use the initiation rite as license to indulge in pre-marital sex which is considered a social menace in Krobo land .Table 10 gives the clear picture of the people's perception of the manifest functions of Dipo in contemporary Ghana. For example, about 81% of the respondents believe that preservation of virginity as one of the aims of Dipo is not being achieved in the present day celebration of Dipo.

Summary

The literature review has a direct link with the topic under study and therefore very relevant to the study. The subjects reviewed will serve a useful purpose in analysing the data and also prepare the grounds for the researcher

to have a positive insight towards the realization of the objectives of the study. Summarily, the review of the literature revealed the following issues which are related to the study:

Dipo is mainly aimed at preserving the virginity of Krobo girls until they are married and also prepare them adequately for marriage; through training in home management. Dipo in the past involve two to three years vigorous training in housewifery and child care however, it takes only five days in recent times.(Omenyo, 2001).

Unlike in the past where most dipo girls enter into marriage just after the ceremony because most of them were of marriageable age, it is not so in recent times because most of the dipo girls are underage (Omenyo, 2001 p.30). The expulsion of girls who are pregnant on or before the ceremony which was vigorously pursued in the past is relaxed in recent years due to the influence of modernity. The review also showed the difference between physical puberty and social puberty as given by Gennep (1965) and his assertion that most researchers describe initiation rites as puberty rites. These revelations will help the researcher to put dipo in its right perspective.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter of the study presents the source of data for the study, population, sample and sampling techniques. Other things to be discussed in this chapter include the design and administration of instruments and the statistical tools used in analysing the data.

- Source of data for the study
- Population
- Sample and Sampling techniques
- Design of the instruments
- Administration of the instruments
- Statistical tools used in analysing data
- Socio-Demographic characteristics of Respondents

Source of data for the study

In this study, the data was collected from questionnaires and interviews. Information pertaining to the practice of Dipo was obtained from sampled respondents in the population area.

Population

The target population is made up of residents of Somanya – especially Krobos, even though some non – Krobo residents were targeted. The size of the population of the area according to National Population Census, 2000 is 33,080. The target group comprised both males and females who are 15yrs and above.

Sample and sampling techniques

The actual sample of 43 respondents used for the study was drawn from Sawyer, Sianya, Agavanya and Labor, all suburbs of Somanya. This number is made up of 28 males and 15 females representing 65% and 35% respectively. In order to achieve the aim of the study purposive, snowball and accidental sampling techniques were used. For example, the purposive technique was used in order to reach up to some opinion leaders and personalities who matter in the celebration of Dipo. The snowball technique also helped the researcher to reach up to a number of respondents in the same category (those who have undergone the Dipo rites). The accidental method was used to get the respondents to express their opinion on the practice of Dipo.

Design of the instrument

Questionnaires and unstructured questions were designed as instruments for the study. There were 41 questions in the questionnaires. This is made up of 40 close-ended questions with yes, no and don't know options

(from which respondents ticked) and one open-ended question. The items in the questionnaire were generally grouped under:

- Socio – Demographic characteristics of respondents
- Dipo and the Krobo girl
- The challenges of Dipo

The questions in the questionnaire were designed to arouse the interest of respondents in order to fully participate and give their candid views throughout the interview. As much as possible the questionnaires were constructed in a straight forward, simple, clear and specific language so that all respondents would understand them the same way despite their differences in education, experience and beliefs.

Administration of the instruments

The researcher made use of the survey methods in the collection of data. According to Sarantakos (1997), surveys are methods of data collection in which information is gathered through oral or written questioning. Oral questioning is known as interviewing while written questioning is accomplished through questionnaires. This method was used, taking into consideration, the educational level of the people in the study area, most of whom are first and second cycle school leavers.

Forty-three (43) questionnaires containing forty-two (42) items each were administered. These questions were made up of forty-one (41) closed-ended questions with yes, no and don't know options (from which respondents ticked) and one (1) open-ended question allowing respondents to express their views on under-age Dipo. In all, 15 questionnaires were administered by the

researcher while 28 questionnaires were self – administered. The filled (self - administered) questionnaires were collected within 2 days. Out of the entire sample, there were more male respondents (65.1%) than female (34.9%). Informal interviews were also held with some opinion leaders and community heads with their voices captured on the researcher’s mobile phone under their permission.

Questions about the history of the Krobos, the Dipo ritual and under-age Dipo were asked. The respondents were highly enthusiastic about the exercise and this was demonstrated in their readiness in filling and submission of the questionnaires which led to a 100% response and return rate.

Analysing the data

The collected data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Software. Being a case study and a descriptive study, descriptive statistics were mainly used to make issues clear and give quick visual impression on values; tables were used to support the analysis. The options, ‘yes’, ‘no’ and ‘don’t know’ responses were assigned values while the returned questionnaires were coded and the items in them scored according to views expressed by respondents. Responses to the open ended questions were also studied and factored into the analysis of the data. The findings of the data analysis are detailed in the next chapter.

Socio-religious demographic characteristics of respondents

Table 1: Distribution by sex

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	28	65.1
Female	15	34.9
Total	43	100.0

Source: Field data 2006

Table 1 shows the sex distribution of the data. Twenty-eight males representing 65.1% and fifteen females representing 34.9% were recorded. Detailed comments are given in the next chapter.

Table 2: Distribution by age

Age	Frequency	Percentage
18 or less(15)	3	7.0
19 – 28	8	18.6
29 – 38	6	14.0
39 – 48	12	27.9
49 – 58	9	20.9
59 – 68	2	4.7
69 or more	2	4.7
No response	1	2.3
Total	43	100.0

Source: Field data, 2006

Table 2 shows the age distribution with a higher number of respondents falling between eighteen and forty-eight years. For example twelve respondents representing 27.9% fall within the age of 39-48 years. Detailed comments are given in Chapter Four.

Table 3: Distribution by education

Level of Education	Frequency	Percentage
4 – 6yrs	4	9.3
7 – 9yrs	3	7.0
10 – 12yrs	15	34.9
Some colleges	14	32.6
Bachelor	4	9.3
None	3	7.0
Total	43	100.0

Source: Field data, 2006

Table 3 shows the levels of education of respondents. The distribution show that a greater number of respondents are below a bachelor level of education. Detailed comments are given in Chapter Four.

Table 4 shows the marriage distribution of respondents. Twenty-seven respondents representing 62.8% are married and eleven representing 25.6% are single. Detailed comments are given in the next chapter.

Table 4: Distribution by marriage

Marriage Status	Frequency	Percentage
Single	11	25.6
Married	27	62.8
Divorced	2	4.7
Widowed	3	7.0
Total	43	100.0

Source: Field data, 2006

Table 5: Distribution by religion

Religion	Frequency	Percentage
Christianity	38	88.4
Islam	3	7.0
No Response	2	4.7
Total	43	100.0

Source: Field data, 2006

Table 5 shows the distribution by religion, capturing two major religions; Christianity and Islam. Detailed comments are given in Chapter Four.

Table 6: Distribution by ethnicity

Ethnic	Frequency	Percentage
Krobo	30	69.8
Ewe	4	9.3
Ashanti	3	7.0
Akwapim	2	4.7
Others	2	4.7
No Response	2	4.7
Total	43	100.0

Source: Field data, 2006

Table 6 shows the ethnic distribution. The data covers the major ethnic groups in the study area. Detailed comments are given in the next chapter.

Table 7: Political orientation distribution

Political orientation	Frequency	Percentage
Conservative	10	23.3
Non-conservative	9	44.2
Don't know	6	14.0
No response	8	18.6
Total	43	100.0

Source: Field data, 2006

Table 7 is a distribution showing of the political orientation of the respondents. Detailed comments are given in the next chapter.

Table 8: Distribution of number of children

Number of children	Frequency	Percentage
No children	10	23.3
One to two years	12	27.9
Three or four years	15	34.9
Five to six years	4	9.3
Seven years or more	1	2.3
No response	1	2.3
Total	43	100.0

Source: Field data, 2006

Table 8 shows the distribution of the number of children of respondents. Detailed comments are given in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

The presentation of the results of the study addressed the demographic characteristics of the sample and the subject responses to the various questions posed by the researcher. The variables which define the sample are sex, age, ethnicity, religion, educational levels as well as marital status and the number of children they have. Forty-three (43) respondents were used as subjects of the study. Descriptive statistics method has been used in summarizing the characteristics of respondents as shown below.

Demographic characteristics of respondents

Distribution by sex

The sex distribution of the respondents shows a greater number of males than female respondents (Table 1). Male respondents represent 65.1% whereas the female respondents represent 34.9%. This difference was as a result of the fact that some opinion leaders who were mainly males were targeted to make input into the study. For example, the chief linguist of the Yilo Krobo traditional area, sub-chiefs and the representative of the District Chief Executive were covered. The researcher believes that their knowledge and experience would enrich the study.

Distribution by age

This table shows a greater number of respondents within the ages of 39 and 58 years representing about 50% of the sample (Table 2). Seventeen (17) respondents, representing about 40% also fell within the 15-38 age groups, while 4 respondents representing 9.4% were above 58 years. There was one (1) respondent (2.3%) who had not identified his/her age group. The age distribution shows that all the respondents were of age and might have rich knowledge and experience and therefore were likely to give important and necessary information vital to the study.

Distribution by education

Three respondents (representing 7%) had no formal education. Twenty-two, representing 51.2% had up to basic level of education while fourteen respondents representing 32.6% completed some colleges (Table 3). Four, representing 9.3% hold Bachelor degree. The distribution table shows low level of education among the people of Somanya indicating why a number of respondents were guided to fill the questionnaire.

Distribution by marital status

The table shows three respondent representing 7% whom are widows, two representing 4.7% who are divorced, twenty-seven representing 62.8% are married and eleven representing 25.6% are singles (Table 4). The distribution gave a fair presentation of all groups of people in the various levels of the social set up to express their opinions on the subject of study.

Distribution by religion

Thirty-eight Christians and three Moslems representing 88 % and 7% respectively were involved in the study (Table 5). Two respondents did not disclose their religious identity. Greater number of Christians were captured because of their predominance in the study area. The high number of Christians will help the researcher to tap divers views relating Christianity and dipo.

Distribution by ethnicity

Thirty (30) Krobo's (representing 69.8%) were involved in the study. Non-Krobo residents of Somanya who were involved in the study to express their views on Dipo were eleven representing 25.7% (Table 6). Two respondents had not identified their ethnic background. The table shows that a greater number of Krobo's were involved in the study than people from other ethnic background. This was to give credence to the topic of the study. However, all the major ethnic groups in the area were represented.

Distribution by political orientation

In the political orientation distribution data, ten respondents representing 23.3% were shown to be conservatives (Table 7). They believe everything about dipo as it is now is good and, therefore, there is no need for a change. However, nineteen respondents representing 44.2% who were shown as non-conservatives stood for changes in the practices of dipo to reflect modernity. The rest of the respondents representing 32.5% made no comments or don't know what to say.

Distribution by family size -number of children

The family size distribution data shows that out of the forty-three respondents thirty-two of them representing 74.4% have children while ten of them have no children (Table 8). But out of those who have children twenty-seven of them have between two to four children and five of them have between five to seven children. The data also revealed a slight increase in male children (about 2%) over females.

Research Question 1

Would you agree that the chance of contemporary Dipo girls entering into marriage is better than those in the past? Five sub-questions were asked (in the questionnaire) to address this research question. The analysis of the result in relation to this research question is shown in Table 9, presented under frequency and percentage.

From Table 9, it can be seen that most respondents agreed that Dipo girls nowadays have no better chance of entering into marriage with either a Krobo man or a non-Krobo man as it used to be in the past. For example, in response to question item (i), 24 respondent (55.8%) believe that Dipo before marriage is not necessary. In support of the view that Dipo before marriage is not necessary, 22 respondents representing 51.2% in response to question item (ii) believe that Dipo girls nowadays have no better chance of entering into marriage than non-Dipo girls.

Table 9: Dipo girls and marriage

Questions(item)	Responses		
	Option	Frequency	Percentage
Do you think Krobo girls should perform Dipo before marriage?	Yes	19	44.2
	No	24	55.8
	Total	43	100.0
Do Krobo girls who have undergone Dipo rites have a better chance of entering marriage?	Yes	18	41.9
	No	22	51.2
	D K	3	7.0
	Total	43	100.0
Do non-Dipo girls have difficulty entering into marriage with Krobo men?	Yes	18	41.9
	No	22	51.2
	D K	2	4.7
	N/R	1	2.3
	Total	43	100.0
Is it easier for a non-Dipo Krobo girl to marry a non-Krobo man	Yes	31	72.1
	No	11	25.6
	D K	1	2.3
	Total	43	100.0

Source: Field data, 2006

Note: DK represents Don't Know, and NR, No Response.

In relation to question item (iii), 22 respondents out of the total (43) representing 51.2%) believe that it is not difficult for non-Dipo girls to enter into marriage with Krobo men nowadays. On question item (iv), 31 respondents (72.1%) believe that it is easier for non-Dipo girls to marry non-Krobo men. This is seen to suggest that Dipo should not be a condition for marriage since young Krobo girls can easily be married to non-Krobo men. On the whole, the study tries to reveal that Dipo does not enhance the chances of Krobo girls in entering into marriage nowadays with either Krobo or non-Krobo men.

Research Question 2

Does the practice of under-age Dipo (under 8years) perform the functions of keeping the virginity of girls, preparing girls for marriage, and making them successful housewives and mothers? Six questions were asked to address the Research Question. The analysis of result in relation to the research question is shown in table 8 under frequency and percentage.

Table 10: Aims of performing Dipo

Question(item)	Responses		
	Option	Frequency	Percentage
Do you believe that the basic aim of Dipo is to preserve the virginity of Krobo girls before marriage?	Yes	22	51.9
	No	21	48.8
	Total	43	100.0
Do you believe the basic aim of Dipo is to prepare Krobo girls for marriage?	Yes	25	58.1
	No	18	41.9
	Total	43	100.0
Is the aim of Dipo to make the Krobo girls good housewives?	Yes	20	46.5
	No	23	53.5
	Total	43	100.0
Has Dipo achieved the aim of virginity?	Yes	8	18.6
	No	35	81.4
	Total	43	100.0
Do you agree or disagree that Dipo rites have achieved the aim of preparing Krobo women for marriage?	Agreed	14	32.6
	Disagreed	29	67.4
	Total	43	100.0
Has Dipo achieved the aim of preparing Krobo girls to be good housewives?	Yes	14	32.6
	No	28	65.1
	D K	1	2.3
	Total	43	100.0

Source: Field data, 2006

From Table 10 it is seen that most respondents believed Dipo in its real sense is meant to prepare Krobo girls for marriage and also to preserve their virginity. For example, in response to question item (ii), 58.1% (25 respondents) believed that Dipo was meant to prepare the Krobo girls for marriage and in question item (i), 22 respondents (51.2%) believed that preservation of the virginity is one of the basic aims of Dipo. However, 53.5% (23 respondents) of the respondents declined that one of the aims of Dipo is to make Krobo girls good housewives.

As to whether Dipo in contemporary Ghana is performing the function of preserving the virginity of Krobo girls or preparing them for marriage, most respondents answered in the negative. For example, in question item (iv) 35 respondents representing 81.4% believe Dipo, nowadays, is not helping to preserve the virginity of Krobo girls. In a related question (item v), 29 respondents representing 67.4% also believe that Dipo nowadays does not help in preparing Krobo girls for marriage. In all, it is clear from the table that the practice of underage Dipo does not perform the function of keeping the virginity of Krobo girls and also preparing them for marriage.

Research Question 3

Problems of teenage pregnancy and pre-marital sex facing under-age Dipo girls and the adolescent Dipo girls. Four questions were asked to address this research question. The analysis of result in relation to this research question is shown in table 11 under frequency and percentage.

Table 11: Dipo girls and teenage pregnancy

Question(item)	Responses		
	Option	Frequency	Percentage
Are Dipo girls who are more than 12years likely to engage in pre-marital sex?	Yes	35	81.4
	No	7	16.3
	D K	1	2.3
	Total	43	100.0
Are non-Dipo girls who are more than 12years likely to engage in pre-marital sex?	Yes	19	44.2
	No	22	51.2
	D K	2	4.7
	Total		100.0
Are under 8years Dipo girls likely to engage in pre-marital sex?	Yes	30	69.8
	No	12	27.9
	D K	1	2.3
	Total	43	100.0
Are under 8years Dipo girls likely to have problems with teenage pregnancy than twelve years and above Dipo girls?	Yes	27	62.8
	No	13	30.2
	D K	3	7.0
	Total	43	100.0

Source: Field data, 2006

The data shown in the above table reveals that girls who have undergone Dipo at the age of 12 or more are likely to engage in pre-marital sex as compared to girls of the same age group who have not undergone Dipo. For example, in question item (i), 35 respondents representing 81.4% believe that Dipo girls who are 12years and above engage in pre-marital sex. On the

other hand, in question item (ii), while 44% of the respondents believe that non-Dipo girls of the same age group are likely to engage in pre-marital sex, 51.2% believe otherwise (said no). Again, it can be seen from the data that girls under 8years who have undergone Dipo are likely to engage in pre-marital sex and have problems in teenage pregnancy than in 12years and above Dipo girls. For example, in question item (iii), 30 respondents representing 69.8% believe that under 8years Dipo girls engage in pre-marital sex as compared to only 12 (27.9%) respondents who said no. In a related question, (item iv), 27 respondents (62.8%) also believe that underage Dipo girls face teenage pregnancy related problems than 12years and above Dipo girls. In all, it is clear from the survey that young girls who have undergone Dipo practice pre-marital sex instead of preserving their chastity. This goes to support the assertion made by Omenyo(2001) that Dipo nowadays is used as a license for young girls to freely indulge in pre-marital sex, whereas in the past pre-marital sex was virtually non-existent in Krobo land (Omenyo,2001).

Research Question 4

What is the attitude to Dipo among the literates and illiterates?

Three questions (items) were used to answer this research question. The analysis of the result in relation to the research question is shown in Table 12 presented under frequency and percentage.

Referring to table 3, only 3 of the respondents, representing 7% had no formal education. The rest have completed some levels of formal education ranging from basic levels through to tertiary level. For example, about 37% of the respondents have completed secondary school, 32.6% completed some

colleges and 9% (representing 4) have completed tertiary school (bachelor holders). The survey revealed that among the three illiterate respondents, one would not encourage Dipo at all in any form, the second respondent supports adolescent Dipo while the third person favoured Dipo at any age. In the same way, among the four bachelor degree holders, two of them ruled out Dipo completely, one in favour of adolescent Dipo and the other preferred Dipo in all forms.

Table 12: Peoples attitude toward Dipo

Question(item)	Responses		
	Option	Frequency	Percentage
Would you allow your under eight year old daughter to undergo Dipo rites?	Yes	8	18.6
	No	35	81.4
	Total	43	100.0
Would you allow your daughter who is thirteen years or more to undergo Dipo rites?	Yes	15	34.9
	No	28	65.1
	Total	43	100.0
Do you believe Dipo is still worth performing?	Yes	20	46.5
	No	20	46.5
	D K	2	4.7
	N R	1	2.3
Total	43	100.0	

Source: Field data, 2006

The picture of the survey on education shows that the level of higher education in the area is very low. However, there has not been any significant difference between respondents with higher education and those without any education in terms of attitude towards the performance of Dipo. It is, therefore, difficult to say that one's education influences his/her decision in performing Dipo.

Data from table 12 can be used to buttress this point. For example, in question item (i) and (ii) 81.4% of the respondents said ‘no’ to under aged Dipo and 65.1% said no to adolescent Dipo respectively. However, there was a split among respondents on question item (iii). This implies that about half of the respondents (who had some level of education) who said no to the under aged or adolescent Dipo still believe that Dipo is worth performing.

Research Question 5

Does the cost of performing Dipo nowadays differ from the past?

Four questions were asked to answer this research question. The analysis of result in relation to this research question is shown in table 13 presented under frequency and percentage.

It is clear from the table above that most respondents believe performing Dipo nowadays is more costly than the past. Many more believe that it places unnecessary financial burdens on families and that it is not even important nowadays. For example, in question item (ii) 51.2% of the respondents believe that performing Dipo nowadays is financially expensive and in question item (iii), 62.8% believe Dipo places unnecessary financial burden on families. With these perceptions formed by the people on the cost of performing Dipo, it was expected that many more of them would respond no to question item (iii) on table 12, however, there was a split. This shows the depth of Dipo in the cultural life of the Krobos, hence in my view there are people who would not let Dipo go even though they may not be happy with some changes that have taken place, including the cost of performing it.

Table 13: Cost of performing Dipo

Question(item)	Responses		
	Option	Frequency	Percentage
How important do you feel Dipo is to Krobo culture?	Very important	18	41.9
	Moderately important	3	7.0
	Not important	21	48.8
	No response	1	2.3
	Total	43	100.0
Are Dipo ceremonies financially expensive?	Yes	22	51.2
	No	14	32.6
	D K	6	14.0
	N R	1	2.3
	Total	43	100.0
In your opinion, do you think Dipo ceremonies place unnecessary financial burden on families?		27	62.8
		10	23.3
		6	14.0
			Yes
Is Dipo ceremony most costly in cedis today than twenty years ago?	Cost more in cedis today		No
	Cost more in cedis 20yrs ago		D K
	D K		Total
	Total	43	100.0

Source: Field data, 2006

Research Question 6

Are Dipo rites incompatible with Christian principles?

One question was asked to address this research question. The analysis of result in relation to this research question is shown in table 14, presented under frequency and percentage.

Table 14: Dipo and Christian principles

Question(item)	Response		
	Option	Frequency	Percentage
Do you think that Dipo is incompatible with Christian principles?	Yes	27	62.8
	No	14	32.6
	D K	2	4.7
Total		43	100.0

Source: Field data, 2006

It is seen from table 5 that 88.4% of the respondents were Christians. In response to question item (i) in table 12, 62.8% of the respondents believed that Dipo is incompatible with Christian principles. This implies that there are about 25.6% of Christian respondents who do not have any problem with Dipo as far as Christianity is concerned. Besides, some respondents who said yes to question item (i) in table 12 might also be partakers of the Dipo ceremony. This is because in a related question as to whether Dipo is still worth performing, an equal half number of respondents, 46.5% said ‘yes’ while the other half said ‘no’. This means that the Christians who see Dipo to be incompatible with Christianity are the very ones practising it.

Views expressed by non-Krobo residents

In response to the open-ended question, the non-Krobo residents (representing 30.4%) expressed the views:

- One respondent believe that Dipo leads to fornication and therefore not good.

- Two of the respondents believe that dipo is not needed; it is causing social problems in Kroboland. The main aim of dipo is not being achieved. It has now become a mere traditional ritual with heavy financial burden on parents and families.
- Two respondents also said that dipo is not necessary because education is taking care of the girl child's life
- Another two believe that under-age dipo is good because it prevents the embarrassment that goes with the body exposure of the adolescent dipo girl.
- Four respondents are of the view that under-age dipo encourages pre-marital sex, it must be stopped.
- There was no response from two respondents.

Summary

The findings, in general, revealed that Dipo in the past promoted chastity and also enhanced the chance of marriage among Krobo women. This, however, can not be said about contemporary Dipo. This is because most respondents believe that Dipo is rather encouraging pre-marital sex leading to teenage pregnancy and its related problems due to the practice of underage Dipo. It is also seen that education has not been able to influence the people's attitude towards the performance of Dipo, perhaps due to the low level of education in the area. The findings also show that most of the Christians who claim Dipo is incompatible with Christian principles are the very ones who are practising it, thereby negating their fight against the practice. Besides, most

non-Krobo residents also see Dipo as a thing of the past which has outlived its usefulness and, therefore, must be stopped.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the findings gathered from the study, conclusion drawn from the findings and recommendations based upon the data collected from the study and suggestions.

Summary

This study is aimed at finding the Krobo perception of Dipo in contemporary Ghana, relating especially to underage Dipo and also to find out what non-Krobo residents of Somanya say about Dipo. From the findings, it has been established that Dipo in contemporary Ghana does not enhance the chances of young Krobo girls entering into marriage with either Krobo or non-Krobo men. Besides, it is seen that there is no difficulty for non-Dipo girls entering into marriage with Krobo men nowadays, something which does not exist in the past. The researcher discovered that Dipo in contemporary Ghana is not achieving the aims of Dipo; preserving the virginity of Krobo girls before marriage, and preparing them for marriage.

The findings also revealed that underage Dipo girls who have undergone the ritual practise pre-marital sex before entering into marriage because of the long gap between the Dipo year and the marriage age. Most

girls, therefore, see Dipo as a license to practice sex rather than a preventive measure.

Again, the findings show that the cost of performing Dipo nowadays is higher than in the past. Contemporary Dipo is, therefore, placing unnecessary financial burden on families.

The findings further revealed that Dipo is incompatible with Christian principles even though some Christians do not share this view. In all, the study does not show any significant difference in terms of attitude towards the performance of Dipo between literates and illiterates. Perhaps this is due to the low level of education in the area revealed by the study.

Conclusions

In line with the findings of this study the following conclusion could be drawn. There is high perception among both Krobo and non-Krobo residents in Somanya that Dipo in contemporary Ghana has outlived its usefulness and has been reduced to just a traditional ceremony, hence could no longer achieve its aims. However, in spite of this high perception, respondents could not agree or disagree on whether Dipo is still worth performing.

Recommendations

In the light of the findings and the conclusion thereon, the following recommendations are worth considering:

- Opinion leaders and cultural maintainers in the Yilo Krobo District should meet to discuss the way forward for Dipo.

- The traditional authority should come out with a standard age of performing Dipo
- Christians who see Dipo to be incompatible with their principles must stay away from practicing it.

Suggestion for further study

In view of the small population size of the study, I suggest that further research be done to cover a large area of the Kroboland so as to generalise the result and also challenge or confirm the findings of this study. Further research also be done on whether Dipo should be abolished or not.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE STUDY

This study is seeking to understand how people differ in their opinions regarding Dipo initiation in Ghana. As part of the study, I humbly request your participation by filling out this questionnaire. You are assured of strictest confidentiality on all information provided.

Direction: Please tick the option chosen in the box provided.

1. Gender: Male [] Female []

2. Age: 18 or less [] 19-28 [] 29-38 [] 39-48 []
49-58 [] 59-68 [] 69 or more []

3. How would you describe your ethnicity?

Krobo [] Akwapin []

Ewe [] Fante []

Ashanti [] No Opinion []

Other (specify)

4. Religion

Christian [] Traditional []

Islamic [] No Opinion []

5. How many years of formal education have you completed?

3 years or less [] Some college []
4- 6years [] Bachelor []
7-9 years [] Masters []
10-12years [] PhD []
None []

6. Political orientation

Conservative [] Don't know []

Non-conservative []

7. Marital Status:

Single []

Married or on a permanent relation []

Divorced []

Widowed []

8. How many children do you have?

No children [] 5 - 6 []

1 - 2 [] 7 or more []

3 - 4 []

9. How many male children do you have?

None [] 5-6 []

1-2 [] 7 or more []

3-4 []

10. How many female children do you have?

None [] 5-6 []

1-2 [] 7 or more []

3-4 []

11. Do you feel Krobo girls should perform Dipo Ceremony?

Yes []

No []

Don't Know []

12. Do you think Krobo girls should perform Dipo ceremony before marriage?

Yes []

No []

Don't Know []

13. At what age do you feel Krobo girls should undergo Dipo Rites?

2 or less [] 17-19 []

3-5 [] 19 or more []

6-9 [] Don't Know []

10-13 [] No opinion []

14-16 []

14. In your Opinion do you think Krobo girls who have under gone Dipo rites have a greater chance of entering into marriage.

Yes []

No []

Don't Know []

15. In your opinion do you think Krobo girls who have not under gone Dipo rites have difficulty entering into marriage with a Krobo man.

Yes []

No []

Don't Know []

16. Do you think it is easier for a Krobo girl who has not performed Dipo to marry a non-Krobo man?

Yes []

No []

Don't Know []

17. Do you think it is easier for a Krobo girl who has not performed Dipo to marry a Krobo Man?

Yes []

No []

Don't Know []

18. Do you believe the basic aim of Dipo ceremony is to preserve the virginity of Krobo girls before marriage?

Yes []

No []

Don't Know []

19. Do you believe the basic aim of Dipo ceremony is to prepare Krobo girls for marriage?

Yes []

No [] Don't Know []

20. Do you believe the basic aim of Dipo ceremony is to prepare Krobo girls to become good housewives and caring mothers?

Yes []

No []

Don't Know []

21. Do you think Dipo in contemporary Ghana has achieved the aim of preserving the virginity of Krobo girls?

Yes []

No []

Don't Know []

Other (specify)

22. Do you agree or disagree that Dipo rites have achieved the aim of preparing Krobo women for marriage?

Agreed [] Disagreed [] Don't know []

23. Do you think Dipo ceremony has achieved the aim of preparing Krobo girls to be good housewives?

Yes [] No [] Don't know []

24. In your opinion do you believe young Krobo girls (12 years and above) who have undergone Dipo ceremony are more likely to engage in pre-marital sex?

Yes []

No []

Don't Know []

25. In your opinion do you believe that young Krobo girls (12 years and above) who have not undergone Dipo rites are more likely to engage in pre-marital sex?

Yes []

No []

Don't know []

26. In your opinion do you believe under-age Krobo girls (under 8yrs) who have undergone Dipo are likely to engage in pre-marital sex?

Yes []

No []

Don't Know []

27. Do you think under-age Dipo girls (under 8yrs), are more likely to have problems with teenage pregnancy than adolescent (12 years and above) Dipo girls?
- Yes []
- No []
- Don't Know []
28. If you had a daughter (under 8 years), would you allow her to undergo Dipo rites?
- Yes []
- No []
- Don't Know []
29. Assuming you had a daughter who is 13 years or more, would you allow her to undergo Dipo rites?
- Yes []
- No []
- Don't Know []
30. Would you allow your brother's daughter to undergo Dipo rites?
- Yes []
- No []
- Don't Know []
31. Would you allow your sister's daughter to under go Dipo rites?
- Yes []
- No []
- Don't Know []

32. How important do you feel Dipo is to Krobo culture/way of life
- Very important []
- Moderately important []
- Not important []
- Don't Know []
33. In your opinion, are Dipo ceremonies financially expensive? Yes []
- No [] Don't know []
34. In your opinion do you think the Dipo ceremony places unnecessary financial burden on families?
- Yes [] No [] Don't Know []
35. In terms of money, is the Dipo ceremony more costly in cedis today than 20 years ago?
- Cost more in cedis today []
- Cost more in cedis twenty yrs ago []
- Don't Know []
36. Do you think Dipo is linked to traditional religion?
- Yes []
- No []
- Don't Know []
37. Do you see the linkage of Dipo to traditional religion as a problem?
- Yes []
- No []
- Don't Know []

38. Do you think Dipo has been diluted by modernity?
Yes []
No []
Don't Know []
39. Do you think Dipo has been diluted by socio-economic factors?
Yes [] No [] Don't know []
40. Do you think Dipo is incompatible with Christian principles? Yes []
No [] Don't know []
41. Do you believe Dipo is still worth performing?
Yes [] No [] Don't Know []
42. Give your comment on under-age Dipo.

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APPENDIX B

THE SATURDAY WAR (HOR TA)

Ologo Patu was the youngest son of Padi Keteku the Chief Captain General and Linguist of Wetse Saki, the first Yilo King. He inherited his father's stool and later became the chief of Yilo after the death of King Adawuda. His contemporary on the Manya side was King Odonkor Azu.

In 1856, it was said that one Yilo man called Tetteh Atia seduced one of Ologo's wives and according to custom, the defaulter had to pay a satisfactory money to Ologo which he did through one Akorkorpa who failed to effect the transaction straightaway. Ologo then kept threatening the peace of the accused who reported the case to the then British high commandant Sam Bannerman who summoned Ologo to Accra. Ologo refused to go to Accra and this brought the commandant and his men to Kroboland to arrest Ologo. Ologo later change his mind and made peace with the commandant. Two years later, he crashed again with the British, this time commandant Freeman. In 1858, Ologo was granted the use of a plot by one Okumafo to build a house at his mountain home. Okumafo later accused Ologo of stealing a buried treasurer (gold dust) which Ologo denied. This brought a quarrel between the two which was settled in favour of Ologo. Okumafo refused to pay the ensuing damages and cost and escaped to Akwapim. Ologo and his men raided the home of Okumafo, attacked his subjects and cut off two peoples head.

Freeman who was then on his rounds collecting poll tax arrived in Kroboland. Hearing of this outrage, Freeman thought that Ologo was becoming a threat to peace in the British territory and must be arrested. He quickly mobilised a force under Captain Addo Koako. Ologo also went to his

mountain stronghold and immediately marshaled his forces to resist the attack and arrest. Freeman noticing a serious task called for reinforcement. Soldiers came from Accra, Akwapim and Ajuwamu all marched to the foot of the Krobo mountain ready to fight the Krobos. The Yilos took up the challenge in earnest, came down the foot of the mountain in battle dress, and engaged the British in a fierce battle. King Odonkor Azu of Manya persuaded his people to stand neutral but his captain regarded this as unpatriotic and would not hear of it. They therefore join the Yilos to fight the British attackers who could not withstand the Krobos and had to retreat. The Yilos took this as a victory, only for Freeman to re-appear with a larger army a month later to encamp at a place called Mueyo near the Krobo Mountain. The Krobos knowing that they would be losers this time made peace with the British. The Krobos were however fined ten thousand pounds as war indemnity. King Ologo Patu was also taken to Accra to stand trial in connection with the Okumafo case, but in the end was acquitted. King Ologo Patu had grown to hate all white men and even mulattos because of the conflicts he had with the British government hence rejected the Basel Missionaries request to settle in the Yilo State (Odonkor, 1971).