GHANAIAN CHILDREN'S MUSIC CULTURES: A VIDEO ETHNOGRAPHY OF SELECTED SINGING GAMES.

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a video ethnography of the enculturation and learning patterns among children on three school playgrounds in the Central Region of Ghana, West Africa. It includes a) a discussion of colonialism on the redefinition of Ghanaian cultural identity in relation to play culture and the school curriculum b) performance-based case studies of six singing games, which comprise a description of sound and structural features and an explanation of cultural forms evident in singing games and c) a discussion on the role multimedia technologies (video, audio, and computer technologies) played in configuring my explanations and the explanations of all participants: children, teachers, and community members. Goldman-Segall's "configurational validity" is the conceptual basis of this ethnography of Ghanaian children's music cultures. Configurational validity is a collaborative theory for analyzing video documents that expands on the premise that research is enriched by multiple points of view.

Performance stylistic features of singing games emerge that reflected the marriage of two music cultures, indigenous Ghanaian and European. These include: speech tones, onomatopoeia, repetition and elaboration of recurring melodic clichés, portamentos or cadential drops, syncopations, triplets, melisma, polyrhythms, vocables, anacrusis, strophic, circle, lines, and partner formations.

During play, the children were cultural interlocutors and recipients of adult cultural interlocution as they learned about accepted and shared social behavioural patterns, recreated their culture, and demonstrated the changing Ghanaian culture. The culture forms that emerged include community solidarity, inclusion, ways of exploring and expressing emotions, coordination, cooperation, gender relations, and linguistic code switching.

For children in Ghana, knowledge is uninhibited shared constructions; knowledge grows when every one is involved; and knowledge is like "midwifery." I recommended a teaching style that encouraged the expression of children's wide ranging knowledge by a) offering opportunities for cooperative learning through group work, b) encouraging continuous assessment, c) establishing stronger ties with the adult community, and d) recognizing that the ability of children to hear, interpret, and compensate for dialectic differences in closely related languages can be used to enrich the language arts curriculum and also e) recognizing that the cultural studies curriculum can be enriched by the ability of children to re-create hybrid performing arts cultures.

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INTRODUCTION

This is an ethnography of the performance and practice of singing games. My purpose is to explore the contribution singing games make to the acquisition and development of cultural knowledge and intellectual processes. Three school playgrounds in the Central Region of Ghana, West Africa, are the context of the study. I situate the study by discussing the role of children's lore in enhancing music education curricula content. The prospect of enhancing Ghana's music education curriculum is best elucidated with a discussion of the rationale for Ghana's elementary school curriculum, and cultural and intellectual processes of value in teaching and learning.

The Ghana context

Ghanaian culture includes indigenous cultures, and cultures absorbed during the colonial era. It is also influenced by cultures evolving from present global interactions. With independence, most former colonial states were faced with the problem of decolonization, a process that gave birth to a new kind of dependency, *neocolonialism* (Bacchus, 1990; Boateng, 1982; Seitz, 1991; Willinsky, 1994). Kwame Nkrumah, the first Prime Minister of Ghana, described the essence of neocolonialism. He stated that although a state in a neocolonial period is, in theory, independent and apparently externally sovereign, its economic systems and political policies are directed from "outside" (Nkrumah, 1966, p. ix). Such is the present situation in Ghana, an independent nation whose position in world affairs continues to be controlled by western nations. Nkrumah's concept of neocolonialism referred to the political and economic policies of ex-colonies. There is evidence, however, that

social process, executed as repeated expressions of culture may also be affected by outside influences. That is, music, dance, and language use may be influenced by non-Ghanaian cultures.

Changing Cultural Influences: Ghana's Elementary Curriculum

In the 1600s, early European traders established castle schools in Ghana for educating their children. Later, in the 1800s, the missionaries arrived and established schools for propagating Christianity. Hayford (1981) notes that the colonial government of Great Britain began to collaborate with missionaries and traders on education in the early 1900s. During this period, efforts were made to turn children into socially useful "products." This practice reflected corporate management principles which heavily influenced North American curriculum development in the 1900s (Kliebard, 1975, p. 52). The criterion for judging the success of an educational system was the degree to which its graduates were economic assets (Agyeman, 1986, p. 21; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985, p. 1).

A close look at the historical development of elementary school curricula in Ghana shows that it mirrors the philosophical schools of thought which shaped the curriculum in Britain. The purpose of education at the time, as defined by the colonial masters, was to educate Ghanaians to occupy the lower ranking positions in colonial administration and commercial establishments (Bacchus, 1990; Boateng, 1982). The essential elementary curriculum catered only to those skills that would perpetuate the continued indirect rule of Britain. Therefore, with the introduction of secondary and tertiary institutions in later years, an authoritarian climate has prevailed. Curriculum theory and practice in Ghana reflects an influence of the technological philosophy, the social efficiency movement of the early 1920s, and the Tylerian means-ends philosophy (Akrofi, 1982).

Akrofi (1982) reviewed curricula developed for Ghanaian elementary schools. He found that Ghana's Ministry of Education, through curriculum reform, has tried to make the curricular culturally relevant to contemporary Ghanaians. At all levels of educational reform, the attempt at curriculum indigenization has resulted in changes. One such change is the teaching of the vernacular. Another is the compulsory teaching of African studies programmes in tertiary institutions. "Cultural drumming and dancing" (as indigenous Ghanaian performing arts programmes were called in the 60s and 70s), are once again popular in primary and secondary schools as extracurricular activities. More recently, the introduction of the cultural studies curriculum in basic education is a reflection of the attempt to make the school curriculum more culturally relevant.

According to The Education Reform Programme: Policy Guidelines in Basic Education (1988), children and teachers supposedly had a say in curriculum planning and implementation. However, despite the genuine intentions of curriculum reformers, the reality was that a top-down process existed. Top-down curricular integration results in the programming of the subject matter with aims, objectives, assessment, and sequential curriculum development patterns. Nevertheless, curricula developed in this manner presented some problems in Ghana. Teachers were left to their own devices since curriculum developers in Ghana do not have direct control over how the schools are run (Milburn, 1974, p. 137). In addition, teachers were not given adequate in-service workshops to teach the new programme (Hayford, 1981). Lack of facilities and supplies such as books, equipment, classrooms and teachers further compounded the problem. Thus, even though curriculum reform intentions were sincere, the newly developed cultural studies curriculum is unsatisfactory. The problems and the results of cultural studies curriculum are explored in Chapter 3, the context of the study.

At present, music features prominently in the cultural studies curriculum within Ghanaian elementary school programmes. The salient activities in the cultural studies curriculum are singing games (Cultural Studies Syllabus for Primary Schools, 1989). As mentioned earlier, the performance and practice of singing games are social realities in many cultures. The games are idiomatic expressions reflecting the traditions of the culture within which they occur. The inclusion of Ghanaian singing games in a school's curriculum contributes to a culturally relevant curriculum. The implementation of a culturally relevant curriculum has implications for pedagogy. An evaluation of the cultural studies curriculum as an attempt to provide cultural relevance, and a discussion of its pedagogical implications are also found in Chapter 3.

Singing Games as Expressions of Cultural Knowledge

In Ghana, singing games represent a sub-culture practice within the realm of children's folklore, and are a large part of children's musical cultures. These games are performed and practiced when school is out of session as well as during break-time, in yards, in alleys, on playgrounds, and anywhere the children find most suitable. Because they reflect the various cultural traditions of Ghana, the games serve as a forum for children to learn and share cultural knowledge, though they may not be aware that they are doing so.

There is no clear conception of what defines a game (Nakshabandi, 1984), much less a singing game. To use Drewal's (1991) term, singing games are multifocal playforms; that is, they are expressed as the interplay of different disciplines (music, drama, movement, and speech text) transacting to create meanings. Singing games are simulations of social processes and the games carry cultural meanings. A number of researchers have established the presence of music, movement, and text in the play form (Osborn, 1986; Merrill-

Mirsky, 1988; Riddell, 1990). These researchers focused on different elements in their analyses of singing games. Osborn, for example, focused on the analysis of the music of singing games. Merrill-Mirsky, examining gender and ethnicity, considered how these were portrayed in the text of the games and in performance situations. Riddell was more interested in the notation of singing games to display music, text, and movement patterns. She developed an approach to notating singing games that incorporated conventional music notation, text, and iconographic representations of movement. Like other researchers, Riddell, Merrill-Mirsky, and Osborn have been concerned with either the music, movement, text, or the notation of children's play culture. These studies do not address how these different elements relate together in a multimedia environment. This study offers analyses of the interrelationship of music, text, and movement within the singing games tradition, since the various ways in which these elements function together is what constitutes cultural knowledge.

Singing Games as Expressions of Intellectual Processes

Singing games are also expressions of intellectual processes (for example, observation, listening, spatial relationships, sequencing, and memorization) that occur during the performance and practice of particular activities. Children deliberately teach one another games and learn from one another. Particular intellectual processes occur during the performance of singing games because children think and express ideas while playing these games.

Goldman-Segall (1990), utilizing a multimedia ethnographic approach to study children's epistemologies, identified three dominant thinking styles among children in a particular school situation: empirical, narrative, and social/interpersonal. She found that children maintain these styles across domains of knowledge and develop ways to use these styles in combination where appropriate. When I

researched singing games, I sought to collect data through a number of different avenues. Knowing that children learn in different ways, I was concerned that children would be informants in different ways. By considering various opportunities for expressing knowing, I could then determine if, like the children in Goldman-Segall's study, children in Ghana also use narrative, empirical, social/interpersonal, or other ways of thinking.

During the performance of singing games children access knowledge, skills, and ways of thinking. For Erickson (1982, p. 150), "taught cognitive learning" is the process of learning by individuals. It includes the acquisition of consciously held knowledge, skill, and ways of thinking. Erickson argued that taught cognitive learning takes place in informal settings and should not be perceived to be limited to school situations. His argument is applicable to a study of Ghanaian children's songs because expressions of intellectual processes may be observed in how and what children learn as the games are played in these informal settings.

Children's Folklore in the Music Curriculum

There has been some valuable literature on children's folklore in Africa (see, e.g., Abarry, 1989; Babalola, 1983; Blacking, 1967; Dagogo-Jack, 1985; Egblewogbe, 1975; Johnston, 1987; Ohene, 1990). Children's folklore is often studied from linguistic and textual perspectives (Abarry, 1989; Egblewogbe, 1975). There have also been some studies that considered the music aspect of children's folklore (Blacking, 1967; Johnston, 1987; Offei, 1992). However, by comparison with the numerous studies on adult folk music in Africa, children's music lore has been relatively neglected, especially among music education researchers. Music education curriculum planners and implementors have included extensively the great body of adult folk and popular music. Since the adoption of music as a curriculum subject,

materials for music have failed to provide a broad and in-depth representation that incorporates music cultures created by children. This is true not only in African but also non-African music education situations (Mark, 1978, p. 9).

My previous study of music teaching strategies in Ghanaian elementary schools revealed that teachers focused on the development of singing and pitch skills as well as speech and language skills when they used singing games with their children (1990; pp. 115-116). Besides rhythm, teaching other elements of music were not considered by the teachers when they used singing games in class. Furthermore, teachers did not use singing games to foster the development of spatial, kinesthetic and other important skills. Unfortunately, there was very limited use by teachers in Ghana of singing games as avenues for developing a wide range of skills.

To recapitulate, the performance and practice of children's singing games within or outside the school curriculum play a significant role in children's enculturation. The rationale for Ghana's elementary curriculum, based on the country's emerging culture, suggests a lack of congruency with children's enculturation outside the curriculum. Nevertheless, recent curricula reform efforts included children's lore such as singing games, as indices of cultural knowledge in the school curriculum. By exploring intellectual processes of children in the singing game context, this dissertation extends educational scholarship on children's ways of learning and communicating. The Ghanaian context offers the opportunity to research the encounter between children's culture (what is familiar to them and what they continually create) and classroom culture (what teachers use in class). Above all, singing games practiced both as curricula and extracurricular activities, enrich each other.

Statement of the Problems

The problems of this study are four-fold. The first is to determine whether children are enculturated and demonstrate learning patterns during the performance and practice of singing games in Ghana. The second is to find out if explanations for the cultural dimensions do reside within singing games, and if children do recreate these cultural dimensions in singing games. The third is determine how to represent the ideas of all the participants in this study through on-going reflection from researcher and researched. Tobin and Davidson (1990) call incorporating the ideas of the researcher and researched, polyvocality. The fourth problem is to investigate if integrating multimedia such as video, audio, and computer technologies in the research method, contributes to the generation and analysis of information about the cultural knowledge and intellectual processes of children in the singing game scenario.

Accepted patterns of behaviour and values shared in a particular society and played out in its religious, educational, social, economic, and political ethos form the culture of that society. The ascendance of any one of these patterns creates a dominant culture, what Bourdieu (1977) has termed *cultural capital*. Bourdieu describes cultural capital as that contribution made by the educational system to the reproduction of power relationships and symbolic relationships between classes. Cultural capital includes different Ghanaian ethnic cultures, non-Ghanaian cultures absorbed during the colonial era, and cultures evolving from present global interactions played out as accepted patterns of behaviour and values. Contrary to Bourdieu's opinion, schools in Ghana are not a fundamental factor in the cultural consensus, although they do play a significant role in cultural reproduction; that is, although schools may provide an environment for children to acquire some aspects of emergent Ghanaian culture, they do not provide for

significant aspects of this culture. In Ghana, the shared meanings in the communities serve as a prerequisite for communication. This is especially the case outside the school curriculum.

Ghanaian preferred cultural knowledge is the shared meanings in the Ghanaian social context. This shared meaning refers to accepted and repeated patterns of behaviour. Ghana's preferred music culture also emerges as shared meanings in music performance contexts. For example, children's music cultures reside in playgrounds and alleys and possess a shared meaning that reflects the larger musical culture. Characterized by inclusion and popularity, the cultural capital of children's music cultures is reflected in the stories they tell about the games they play. Since this study is about children's music cultures, explicit explanations of these cultures should include the context within which they reside. Therefore, a naturalistic inquiry approach, whereby the researcher collects and examines data in a natural context, is appropriate for studying children's music cultures.

Previous studies on singing games (Okae, n.d.; Osborn, 1986; Merrill-Mirsky, 1988; Riddell, 1990) have presented adult conceptions of the games. Soliciting the interests of children from children themselves provides data that can be useful in identifying cultural categories and patterns of play culture. Tobin and Davidson (1990), in their study of preschools, encouraged polyvocality by giving the children, administrators, and teachers an opportunity to express their opinions and then incorporated these opinions into the study. For these researchers, the intent was to empower their informants through their awareness of teaching and learning practices by encouraging ongoing reflection from researcher and researched. They also brought to light ethical problems inherent in the process of encouraging ongoing reflection. I drew on Tobin and Davidson's polyvocality when I explored the performance situation, and interpretations given to singing

games by children in selected schools. Through interviews with children, teachers, and community members, I discuss what selected singing games mean to the participants. Polyvocality yields a fuller, richer understanding of the cultural and intellectual role of singing games because it encourages ongoing reflection from both the researcher and researched.

At different stages of the research process, multimedia technologies provided opportunities for active participation, constant review, study, and reflection. Information generated from repeated viewing and recording of data made descriptions of children's enculturation and learning patterns "thicker" (Geertz, 1973; Ryle, 1971; Goldman-Segall, 1991). I drew on a more recent work by Goldman-Segall (1995) in which she proposes that through multimedia, it is possible to bridge the gap between ethnographic representations and evocations by building validity through mapping diverse configurations. Building configurations, Goldman Segall takes Tobin and Davidson's polyvocality and Geertz's notion of thick descriptions to a different level of meaning. The level of meaning which is significant to my research is one in which the process of reaching conclusions includes logging (selecting, coding, and analyzing) segments of stories from multiple users (1995, p. 3). In my research, the issue is one of including stories from multiple informants to create what Goldman-Segall (1995) calls "configurational validity". Using multimedia technologies I illuminated the cultural dimensions in singing games, and incorporated the discourse of all participants in the study in review, study, and reflection moments.

Research questions

The first research question of this study is: *What Ghanaian music culture forms are apparent in the performance and practice of Ghanaian children's singing games?* As stated

earlier, singing games are multifocal playforms; that is, they are the summation of different disciplines (music, drama, movement, and speech text) transacting to create meaning. It is appropriate, then, that the sound and structural features of a singing game be described, and that the similarities and differences between children's music cultures and those of the adult music cultures be examined.

The second research question is: *To what extent do children show themselves to be aware of learning these cultural forms?* The central issues here are the role singing games play in the overall enculturation of children in Ghana and children's response to their enculturation.

The third research question is: *What intellectual processes are displayed by children in the performance and practice of singing games?* This study informs educational scholarship on children's conceptions and ways of knowing in the particular context of performance.

The fourth question of this thesis is: *In what respect is knowledge acquired through singing games compatible with preferred cultural knowledge in Ghanaian society?* Aspects of Ghanaian cultural knowledge, which may be described as preferred, may be reflected in the knowledge acquired through singing games. How this so-called preferred Ghanaian cultural knowledge is evidenced in the performance and practice of singing games will also be described.

The final question of this thesis is: *What does a multimedia ethnography reveal about Ghana's singing game culture?* It is possible that utilizing a multimedia approach to naturalistic inquiry will provide insights which have not been forthcoming from traditional ethnographies on singing games. To the extent that authentic representation is created in the context of multimedia technologies, this

dynamic method of inquiry may be an excellent method for identifying and explaining the enculturation patterns and intellectual processes of children.

Definition of Terms

Acculturation: The process of being socialized into another cultural situation.

Context of Performance: This involves not only the physical setting as in the time and place, but also (i) the people who are engaged in the performance, (ii) the factors involved in the performance, and (iii) the reason for the performance. Contextualization in this dissertation, therefore, means describing the people engaged in the performance of singing games, the factors involved in this practice, and the reason for playing singing games. Some factors involved in singing games, such as the political history of the play environment may be external to performance. Nevertheless, they help to situate singing games culture more completely.

Culture: In this dissertation I draw on Clifford (1988), Geertz (1973), and Twum-Barima (1985) for my definition of culture. Clifford described culture as a process of ordering, and mastering traditional values. Culture, for Clifford, develops and changes like a living organism. Both the process of ordering and criteria for order are determined by people. People and situations, therefore, provide a context for the description of social events. Building on Max Weber's theory, Geertz (p. 5) views culture as the interaction of people and situations which provide "webs of significance" demanding interpretive analysis "in search of meaning." Geertz's conception of culture within the context of ethnography involves describing social events

in detail. For Twum-Barima (1985, p. 6) culture is thought or a belief system that informs people's speech, vision and activity. In this study, culture is public shared meanings or the shared knowledge people use to practise, interpret, and understand social behaviour. Culture is discussed further in Chapter 3.

Cultural Studies Programme: This programme (Cultural Studies Syllabus, 1985) in Ghanaian basic education (Primary 1-6 and Junior Secondary 1-3) covers drama, music, religion, and social systems. As stated in the Cultural Studies Syllabus, the general course objectives are aimed at allowing pupils to be able to

1. appreciate a great deal of basic social systems of the Ghanaian (people)
2. be aware of a culture that is Ghanaian
3. appreciate the way our people worship
4. develop the awareness that music plays a vital role in our society (p. 5).

Elementary School System: In Ghana, this consists of six years of primary schooling followed by three years of junior secondary schooling.

Emic versus Etic: Cultural meanings become known by describing the emic and the etic in the a) ethnographer's own interpretation, and b) insider's view. Applying this idea to my study, emic, in the insider's view, is what is distinctive and relevant for the children of a given school; the etic is what is relevant to all the children involved in the study. The meanings I gather from this study on play culture are informed by my emic/etic distinctions. Cultural meanings are mediated by my interactions with participants in the culture, and interactions with singing games, on one hand, and the theoretical assumptions and prior knowledge on which the analysis is

based. Etic/emic distinction are manifest on two different but interacting planes. Relativity and distinctiveness from my interactions with singing games and participants is the emic, and from theoretical assumptions and prior knowledge is the etic.

Enculturation: The process of being socialized into one's own cultural situation.

Ethnography: An ethnography is a description, analysis, and interpretation of a social situation or culture. A variety of approaches and strategies are used in the process of conducting an ethnographic study. In this study, children's music culture of singing games represents a social situation. This social situation is understood and explained in its own setting. Also, in this study the video camera is the principal tool used for the collection and presentation of singing games. Participant observation and interviewing are also used in data collection.

Multifocal: Singing games are multifocal in the way music, movement, drama, and speech text -- as distinct media -- function together and are in relationship with one another to create meanings. For example, some aspect of the movement or music may alter the meaning of the speech text.

Pedagogical Studies: These are studies in which researchers are concerned with skills, knowledge, and attitudes about and for school curricula. The kinds of data examined in pedagogical studies are expressions of intellectual processes (for example, observation, listening, spatial relationships, sequencing, and memorization). These expressions of intellectual processes include consciously held knowledge, skill, and

ways of thinking, and point to particular learning abilities.

Performance versus Practice: Performance refers to each instance of performing; the continuous and continued performance is the practice.

Singing Games: Singing games are traditional games that combine sound, visual, and kinetic elements. The sound elements in singing games are the musical components. Singing games are played by children.

Transcription versus transcript: Transcription is the process of recording data. The recorded data are the transcripts and the signs used to record this data comprise the notation.

The Research Site

Fieldwork was conducted on three school playgrounds in the Central Region of Ghana. The ethnic groups that dominate the population in this region are the Fantis and Efutus. Urban migration has resulted in an increased amalgamation of ethnic sub-groups; consequently, the Central Region is heterogeneous. The purpose of urban migration among people in Ghana has been for education and career opportunities. Situated in West Africa, Ghana has ten regions divided according to political administrative policies and other factors such as economic planning and convergent ethnic groups. These factors contribute to the decentralization of government. Illustration #1 is a map of Ghana showing regional boundaries. The Central Region is shaded.

Illustration #1. Map of Ghana Showing Regional Boundaries.

The three school playgrounds were located at King Armadillo Primary School, Aardvark Primary School, and Ulesis Primary School (all pseudonyms). King Armadillo Primary School is a coeducational school situated in the urban community of Cape Coast. The children at King Armadillo School who participated in this study were between the ages of 7 and 11 years old and in Classes 1 - 4, the equivalent of Grades 1-4 in North America. They were all girls. King Armadillo School participants included two Hausa children, one Ewe and the others, Fantis. (Hausa, Ewe, and Fanti are the names of the different ethnic backgrounds of the children.) Most of the children enrolled in King Armadillo Primary were northern immigrants, Dagombas and Hausas. Ewe people dominate the population of the Volta region of Ghana. Volta lake, the second largest constructed lake in Africa, runs through the Volta region. The parents of these children were teachers, civil servants, nurses, and traders. The children lived in downtown Cape Coast in the Kotokraba, Siwdu, and Adisadel Estates.

At Aardvark Primary School, all 120 students are Fantis. The 19 children involved in the study were between the ages of 11 and 16 and in Classes 3-6. Children tended to be older than the grade level suggests because for financial, social, and educational reasons, they did not start school at the required age. Parent's occupations included teachers, traders, farmers, and drivers. Most of the children lived with their grandparents in the village of Akatakyiwa. It is not unusual for parents in Ghana to have a child keep company with the older folk. As such, the child would therefore be living far away from his/her biological parents. A three-classroom block, the local church, and a room in someone's home comprised the school building.

Twenty-three children from Ulesis Primary School participated in this study. Most of the children in this school came from homes with a higher socio-economic status than the other two schools. Some of their parents were faculty members and staff of the local university. Compared to the other two schools, there was also greater ethnic diversity among children at Ulesis Primary School. The different ethnic groups represented included Fantis, Ewes, Twis, Gas, and Hausas. Ulesis school is situated between the Central and West gate of the local university. Close to the school is the university's sports fields. The children played on the grass hockey field and in other areas within the vicinity of the school.

Significance of the Study

The significance of the study is two-fold. First, knowledge will be expanded in four domains: the culture of singing games, video ethnography, epistemology, and pedagogy. Second, a new level of discussion based on the interplay of multiple research methodologies will emerge. Information pertaining to the culture of singing games is found in the ways in which children play singing games, what the children

say about the games, and in descriptions of the singing games children play.

Culture of singing games

Recreational activities like singing games are forms of cultural expression and point to a culture's *modus operandi*. With the increasing use of video games and television, there is a concern that traditional forms of recreation such as singing games are losing popularity worldwide (Blatchford, 1990; Abarry, 1989). Singing games are child-centred activities and expressions. Children draw on what they see and hear around them when they create new games or learn games from their friends. This study is significant because I examine the interests of children and provide a means for understanding how children make sense of the world around them.

I use multiple approaches to study Ghanaian children's music cultures. In agreement with recommendations by Drewal (1991), Blacking (1973), and Merriam (1964), singing games are examined as multifocal playforms in the context of performance. As in studies conducted by Agawu (1986), and Arom (1991), the structural features of the different arts (music, drama, movement, and speech text) in the playform were also analyzed. Drawing on the Koetting's approach, the interpretive contributions of the children and adult informants are examined to clarify the extent to which cultural forms are learned, and the extent to which individuals are aware of this learning.

Epistemology

Educators endeavor to encourage a child-centred approach to education. Such an approach to teaching and learning demands the inclusion of alternative thinking styles. Some alternative thinking styles may emerge from examining expressions of children in singing game performance and practice. By alternative thinking styles I mean styles other

than developmental, logical sequential thinking. The recognition of a wide range of thinking styles in teaching and learning is what Goldman-Segall (1990, 1991) calls "epistemological pluralism." In her research on teaching and learning styles, Goldman-Segall provided a theoretical basis for epistemological pluralism. She maintains that learning and teaching theories are overly influenced by developmental and empirical theories. In other words, traditional learning modules have been broken into causal (cause-effect) parcels that build up higher and higher levels of knowing. Goldman-Segall (1990) recommended (a) narrative, and (b) interpersonal or social as alternative thinking styles carried by the culture through children's shared stories. These alternative thinking styles emerge from more relational web-like social constructions. Her research was based on an emerging Logo-based computer culture in an inner city elementary school in Boston. Goldman-Segall suggested that at the teaching level of curriculum implementation, alternative thinking styles should be considered. In this study, I, like Goldman-Segall, make a case for acknowledging alternative thinking styles of children in the teaching and learning process. By doing this children are included as stakeholders in the curriculum planning and implementation process. Among Ghanaian school children, each singing game scenario provides an avenue for including alternative learning and teaching styles.

Pedagogy

Cross cultural research brings to the foreground the alternative thinking styles evident among children of different backgrounds (Fiati, 1992). Gardner (1985, p.57) argued that culture influences individual potencies in that it colors the way an individual's potencies evolve. Fiati's argument was in agreement with Gardner's belief that different cultural groups place value on different aspects of intelligence. Fiati argued that because different cultures

have different histories, individual potentials are exploited in different ways, resulting in different conceptual structures (p. 320). Even when two cultures have similar conceptual structures, Fiati argued that there may still be subtle difference among them. Fiati studied the numerical, social, and spatial structures of children in the Volta region of Ghana. The path he chose to follow in studying these three conceptual structures, were tasks: the balance beam task, Marini's social tasks, and an African Embedded Figures Test. I cannot use Fiati's study to claim cross-domain synchrony in my study even though it too was conducted in Ghana. This is because the numerical, social, and spatial structures of children in the Volta region, will not necessarily be the same as those of the children in the Central region where my study was conducted. Like Fiati, I am interested in children's knowledge structures. The particular structures I concern myself with are musical, textual, kinesthetic, spatial, and social. The structural path I have chosen in this dissertation is singing game performance and practise. Learning and teaching styles that emerge in examining these knowledge structures are significant for intercultural education.

Video Ethnography

In agreement with Goldman-Segall (1991, p. 475), I will show how the "new multimedia technologies can create a space in which context and culture are felt, accessed, and communicated to others." Singing games combine sound, visual, and kinetic elements, making video ethnography best suited for presenting and analyzing such a time-space-visual cultural event. Through the use of video, I tried to obtain a faithful and authentic representation of the children's singing games. Playing back the video data of one school to the children in the other two schools made it possible to obtain information about what the children saw in each other's games. The children were also given the opportunity

to watch themselves play singing games and to react to these video images. In this dissertation, children's interpretations of common themes and games are described.

I use the video camera as a principal tool for recording children's collective and individual backgrounds. The particular cultural knowledge structures children create and demonstrate in the performance of singing games are informed by their interests and background. Using the video camera as a principal tool for recording child-centred activities and expressions, makes the study different from other studies on singing games (e.g., Osborn, 1986; Merril-Mirsky, 1988; Riddell, 1990; Wharton, 1979). The distinctive nature of this approach is that it provides new information on the culture of singing games. This culture is situated in how and what children learn in these informal settings, and the extent to which they are aware of acquiring this knowledge.

Since my purpose is to explore the contribution that the performance and practice of singing games make to acquiring and developing cultural knowledge and intellectual processes among children, recorded moments of performance are central to analysis of the games. It is the various ways in which the elements of singing games function together in performance that give an insight of cultural knowledge and intellectual processes.

Limitations

I focused on female students' play activities. This was because even though singing games in Ghana are played by both boys and girls, girls played the games more frequently.

While the children were my study's principal informants, information from adult informants, and recording and observing other children in the market place substantiated information about the games I received from the school children. In this study, market place refers to an area in a town were people meet to trade by buying and selling.

Information from the initial investigations into children's singing games in Canada provides support rather than comparative data. Selected singing games virtually became "case studies" in the thesis.

Organization of the Study.

Multimedia tools are used in this study to inform readers, listeners, and viewers about Ghanaian children's singing games and the culture from which these games emerge. By viewers, I mean those who are in a position to view some of the information on CD ROM.

The first chapter is a discussion of the theoretical basis for this thesis.

Chapter two is a description and rationale for the research methodology. Within this chapter, problems in transcription and notation are outlined, the process of data collection is discussed, and the data analysis strategies are presented.

Since this is an ethnography of play culture, the context within which this culture operates warrants definition. The third chapter of the thesis is devoted to a description of Fanti culture, and Cape Coast and Akatakyiwa, the two towns in which the study was conducted. Also discussed in this chapter is the impact of colonialism on the redefinition of Ghanaian cultural identity in relation to the school curriculum.

The analysis of the singing games as case studies is presented in the fourth chapter. Questions concerning the interrelationship of music, movement, and text of singing games are dealt with in this section. In this chapter, I also show the importance of including an analysis of performance in a study of African arts, and the important role multimedia technologies can play in data collection and analysis.

In Chapter 5, there is a discussion of children's ways of knowing demonstrated in the performance and practise of singing games.

In the concluding chapter, revisiting the research questions, I summarize the contribution multimedia made to representing singing game practice, and engaging the researcher and the researched in the research process. Finally, I offer suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL PREMISE

This ethnography of children's music cultures is the representation of a description, interpretation, and comparison of events surrounding the performance and practice of singing games. Building my arguments around the theme of representation, I argue that since singing game performance and practice do not occur in isolation from social processes, singing games are affected by and affect social processes. In this study, representation involves the description of the music activity or event, the effects of the activity or event on the context, and how the context informs the activity. The description process incorporates ideas from researcher and researched. There are multiple representations and re-presentations upon re-presentations. This polyphonic discourse is what Goldman-Segall (1995) has termed "configurational validity," a collaborative theory for analyzing video documents that expands on the premise that research is enriched by multiple points of view. Themes from diverse interpretations of multiple multimedia users are linked for more valid conclusions. Goldman-Segall states that building configurations includes a) engaging in multiple levels of electronic conversation with many people and b) drawing conclusions from "logging segments" of stories by multiple users (p. 3). Configurational validity involves sifting through layers of thick (Geertz, 1973) ethnographic descriptions to find essential themes and patterns. Goldman-Segall's perspective is reflected in my effort to create what Tyler (1986, p. 127) called the "joint work of the ethnographer and his native partners." Describing singing game events, I consolidate knowledge acquired during the study by all participants including myself. Representation includes (a) the performance event, (b) the knowledge I gain from the performance, (c) my interaction with the

performance, and (d) the children's interaction with the performance. Using configurational validity as a conceptual basis, my theoretical premise is three-fold.

First, I argue for performance-based studies of Ghanaian music cultures and, more specifically, children's singing games. Culturally constructed conceptions of Ghanaian music performing events are in conflict with Eurocentric conceptions of these events. Therefore, I argue that it is not reasonable to base an analysis of Ghanaian performance events solely on Eurocentric music analysis traditions. Drewal's (1991) time-space imperative and Okpewho's (1990) manifesto on performance-based analyses are the valuable theoretical bases upon which I have built my analysis of singing games.

Second, I argue that identifying cultural knowledge structures have implications for learning and teaching and is a significant aspect of intercultural education. If singing games are indeed windows into cultural norms and values, then studying the performance and practice of these games may reveal important information about learning and teaching styles among Ghanaian school children.

Third, I argue that multimedia provides the most suitable method for representing the ideas of all participants in this study. Multimedia allows me to describe the interrelationship and interaction of singing game elements (music, text, and movement) in the Ghanaian context.

1.1 Performance-Based Analysis.

People's representations of performance events vary across cultures; therefore, there are disparities with regard to interpretations of these events (Arom, 1991; Merriam, 1964; Seeger, 1991). In what follows, I turn to scholars in the field of literary arts to make a case for a performance-based analysis of Ghanaian children's music cultures. Since music, dance, poetry, drama, and other performing art forms evolve from within a culture, it follows that these events

should be studied from culturally constructed perspectives. It is imperative, then, to engage in a conceptual analysis of Ghanaian children's music cultures, and compare the analysis with European interpretations of European music cultures. Further, based on a review of trends in ethnomusicology research, I revisit the tone-tune argument raised by different ethnomusicology scholars in Chapter 4 (Arom, 1990; Agawu, 1988; Nketia, 1972). I discuss how issues raised within this argument relate to representation and performance analysis issues raised by Drewal (1991) associated with the examination of African performing arts.

1.1.1 Rationale for Performance Based Analysis.

Performance is the basis of artistic expression and experience in the African tradition (Anyidoho, 1991; Drewal, 1991; Okpewho, 1990). Anyidoho presented three levels of poetry performance that integrate artistic forms, audience, and the artist with the various art forms to provide a unifying experience. At the first level of performance, the poet, although bound to the text, brings the poem to life with a dramatic reading. The second level consists of what Anyidoho calls a "fusion of poetry, music, and action" that involves reinforcing the verbal text with body language and paralinguistic devices. Singing games fall into the third level since the poetry of the games, as per Anyidoho's treatise, is "fused with dance, mime, and gesture to form the integrated whole" (p. 48). I believe that it is at this level that many African oral forms converge in meaningful expression.

Anyidoho's (1990) third level of African oral performance forms raises various analytical implications addressed by Drewal (1991) and Okpewho (1990). Drewal argued that since performance represents a fundamental dimension of culture and the production of knowledge about culture, any study of African arts must include a temporal perspective of analysis in context. Examining the discourse of performers

in time and space is central to Drewal's theoretical paradigm. For Drewal, performance is the expression of embodied skill and knowledge in time and place. In his terms, the children in my study are "human agents situated in time and place... both constituting and constituents of the ongoing social process" (p. 2). Their interaction in time and space is significant to the analytical process.

Okpewho (1990), on the other hand, argued against the total analysis of any cultural act on the basis of human capabilities. Instead, she proposed a performance-centred approach in which scholars are encouraged to pay attention to the circumstances of cultural production. Further, she stated that analysis that "acknowledges the ways in which such circumstances [of performance] qualify the referential value, (with historical and sociological documentation)" is noteworthy. The theoretical maxim here is that a performance-centred approach includes the interpretation of the physical scene as well as other dynamics such as the identity of the performers and layers of reference contained within the oral art. Further to this, Okpewho stated that a performance-centred approach allows researchers to cross over into the world of other disciplines while remaining within their disciplines (p. 124). In my view, this practice reveals a superior understanding and defensible interpretation of the nature of the oral form. In agreement with Thrasher (1985, p. 242), the child is a creator because "variation and change are natural conditions of any tradition passed on orally." This statement gives further credence to the value of a (performance-centred approach to the analysis) of children's games, that is, each rendition of a game represents a reinterpretation and reevaluation of the children's environment and their relationships with each other. Multimedia provides the most suitable avenue for performance based analysis in situ.

1.1.2 Culturally Informed Definitions of Ghanaian Children's Music Cultures.

The nature of Ghanaian music cultures does not objectify a discipline-based analysis exclusively. Most of these cultures are expressed as interrelationships and interactions with music, text, movement, and drama. Previous research on singing games within and outside Africa makes substantive contributions to deconstructing African views of music, dance, and other performing arts. Using an analysis approach that is culturally and conceptually tangential to Ghanaian music cultures creates false objectivity in analysis and respective contextual conceptualizations. Researchers, depending upon their philosophical and cultural orientations, have defined singing games from different perspectives. In this sub section, I review previous research on singing games within and outside of Africa and how scholars in their studies defined children's music cultures and specifically, singing games.

Studies of games and singing games outside Africa that I used to develop my definition of singing games included those by Hotchkiss and Athey (1978), Wharton (1979), Riddell (1990), Nakshabandi (1984) and the Organisation Mondiale pour l'Education Prescolaire (OMEP).[1] Building a theory of games in learning, Nakshabandi defined a game as a temporal structure in which the relationship between the game's means and goals is deliberately made less efficient by explicit and implicit rules. For Nakashabandi, the defining factor is the process of playing a game. The members of the Organisation Mondiale pour l'Education Prescolaire (OMEP) project defined traditional children's games as "games that are part of folk culture, (not institutional, organized amusements and free time) in which the child actively employs physical, motor, sensory, intellectual, social, and emotional abilities" (Ivic, 1986, p. 16-7). Hotchkiss and Athey defined a game as any structured activity in which there is an element of suspense and challenge and in which the participants have

fun. In their view games assist music learning. Wharton's definition of singing games is similar to the definition I prescribed to prior to fieldwork. She delineated the essential elements of singing games by defining the play form as a combination of lyrics, body movement, and drama. By lyrics, Wharton, who completed a structural analysis of Black children's games in the United States, probably meant the melody and text. In a more recent study of children's music cultures, Riddell (p. 13) defined traditional singing games as playground games that incorporate rhythmic chanting and/or singing and some rhythmic movement. She used the word *traditional* to refer and distinguish between playground games learned through oral transmission, not from books or an instructor. Riddell did not state how she distinguished between games taught by peers on playground and those by the teacher.

On the surface, all these definitions seem viable, and offer insights for deconstructing definitions of singing games in other cultures. The studies I reviewed suggested that previous researchers have formed definitions that are not entirely applicable to a study of Ghanaian children's music cultures. It is critical to identify insider-informed conceptions of singing games and other kinds of music performance events within the Ghanaian context. Significant in the following conceptual analysis of linguistic expressions are definitions of music cultures and the arts in Africa.

Certain researchers studying African singing games have been concerned with either the music or text when documenting children's singing games. Others have classified singing games based on different categories. For example, Offei (1991), who considered Ga children's songs in Ghana, functionally situates play activities and views play as a utilitarian means of inculcating patterns for adult life (p. 31). Offei analyzed the music of the singing games she studied. Ohene (1991) compiled a collection of games for

children, and classified playground activities she observed as (a) games with songs and jingles, (b) English songs and free play, (c) finger plays, and (d) Twi songs. In her introduction, Ohene discussed Ghanaian dances and drumming together with the aforementioned classifications. It is not clear whether by including a discussion on dances and drumming, Ohene wanted the reader to believe these are part of playground activities. Her classifications are similar to those developed by Brooks-Barham (1980), and Cheska (1985). Since these are broad classifications they do not give the reader a sense of what games or singing games entail.

Egblewobge (1975) tried to define games from the perspective of the Ewe culture of Ghana. However, he paid little attention to the music sound as a culturally valued play idiom. Concerned with verbal meaning in the music, Egblewobge focused on the text of songs. Johnston's (1987) representation of children's music cultures defined these cultures from the perspective of the Shangana-Tsonga culture of the Northern Transvaal and Mozambique. The representation included a description of the broad range of social context within which the music cultures occur, and identified games as one such social context. Johnston noted that Tsonga children's music culture was "taught, encouraged, and supervised by specific kinfolk and tribal elders..." (p. 126). I believe that oral transmission is not limited to elders and specific kinsfolk, but includes children.

Like Abarry (1989), Egblewogbe (1975) and Johnston (1987), the African linguistic expressions I examined provided a deeper understanding of Ghanaian children's music cultures and singing games. Linguistic expressions are windows into shared values and conceptions of people and therefore, represent culture. For the African, music, dance, poetry and drama are, in many instances, expressed as an integrated whole. The word for play and performing arts in Akan cultures of Ghana is *agrɔ*. The act of performing, expressed in Akan as *di agrɔ*. *Agrɔ*, includes the

participants, audience interactions and participation, and the setting, which is always fluid. In addition, the Akan word for music and song is *dwom*, which includes both recorded and live performances of music and singing. When referring to the specific act of singing, Akan speakers say, *to dwom*. Akans refer to specific individual music instruments when describing the act of playing the instruments. For example:

ɔbɔ Abɛn	He/she blows a horn
ɔnyan Kyene	He/she beats drums

The expression used to describe music played in an ensemble is *di agrɔ*.

The play element in African aesthetics is central to understanding the performance event. For the African child, play embodies expressions of music, drama, movement, and speech text. Play incorporates singing games, traditional music, drama, dance and any other recreational activity that has an element of suspense or challenge, and employs children's physical, motor, sensory, intellectual, emotional, and social abilities. In play activities, each gesture, recitation, declamation, lyric, and instrumental rendition communicate information to both the participants and the audience. Ghanaian conceptions of play and performing arts (*agrɔ*) was demonstrated in the performance and practice of singing games. When African children play games, they construct action patterns that reflect cultural conceptions of play and the performance event. In this ethnographic study, I identified these action patterns.

When the *agrɔ* is acceptable, good, shared, and absorbed, it is described as sweet. Ottenberg (1971) suggested that African cultural values blend a sense of sight, touch, sound, and physical feel of movement. However, he ignored smell and taste. As a conceptual analysis of music, song, and the performing arts reveals, the beauty of the performance lies

in its *sweetness* [taste]. Ghanaians say in Akan, *Agrɔ no yɛ dɛ,* [The performance is sweet].

In this study, singing games are traditional games with musical components, played by children. I study the sound and structural features of Ghanaian children's music cultures. As a result of my use of multimedia analysis tools, my argument for a performance-based analysis of African folk expressions and my definition of Ghanaian children's music culture invite critical reflection in terms of traditional analytical processes in ethnomusicology. In the next sub-section, I present my theoretical position within ethnomusicology by drawing on issues raised in the previous sub-sections, and examining how these issues contrast with trends in traditional ethnomusicology research. This position is central to understanding the premise of my first research question: "What Ghanaian music culture forms are evidenced in the performance and practice of Ghanaian children's singing games?" I also identify potential possibilities and problems associated with representing African music cultures and especially singing games, based on insider informed conceptions.

1.1.3 Performance-based Analysis of Ghanaian Children's Music Cultures.

My theoretical position reflects a growing trend in ethnomusicological analysis for parallel and complementary descriptions of the cultural art and the context within which it evolves (Seeger, 1991). Drawing on Drewal's performance-based analysis treatise, I examined singing games as a combination of music, text, and movement in the context of performance. This process was similar to the marriage of Fiagbedzi's (1989) grammatical and speculative theories into one all-inclusive theory. Some scholars (e.g., Agawu, 1986, p. 65; Arom, 1991) made a case for the value of structural analysis and compartmentalization in music analysis. Others (e.g., Blacking, 1973; Merriam, 1964, pp. 211-213; Nketia,

1990), argued for a contextual approach to the analysis of African arts. Still others, such as Koetting (1986) and Agawu (1990), sought to communicate cultural meaning in their analyses by soliciting the point of view of the carriers of the culture they studied, in addition to describing the physical reality of the performance situation. Even though these views have served as the basis for the analysis of diverse folk arts, the choice seems to depend largely on the preferences of each individual scholar. My position with regard to the analysis of singing games agrees with those of Qureshi (1987), Koetting (1986), Agawu (1990), Walker (1992), Thrasher (1985, 1990), and Seeger (1991), all of whom view as parallel and complementary, the description of the cultural art and the context within which it evolves.

The interconnectedness of structure and style interested me as I examined the relationships among melodic contour, texture, and performance style. I was particularly drawn to what Qureshi (1987, p.58) calls "the musical sound idiom", and the melodic contour organization emanating from singing games. This is also why I reduced melodies by considering the duration of notes and rhythmic patterns of the melody. The tones that evolve from the reduction together form what I have termed the *real range* of the melody. All tones in the melody are considered in determining what I termed *established range* of the melody. Social interaction and relations were reflected in the interconnectedness of structure and style.

Notation played an important role in examining the interconnectedness of structure and style. Ellingson (1992) made a case for examining music notation in a manner which links it with the sound, the music concept, and the culture from which the music tradition evolves. He stated that relatively little theoretical attention has been given to the "clarification of systems of internal logic that structure and animate all notation and forge their linkages between sound, concept and culture" (p. 153). Walker (1992) echoed

Ellingson's concern in his study identifying cultural uniqueness in music sounds. From within the discipline of music cognition, Walker argued that the study of time-variant characteristics in music sounds of different cultures might lead to information on culturally valued aspects of music sound. Even though it is not possible in this dissertation to cross over into music cognition, I draw on Walker (1992) for a description of preliminary explorations in the relationship between speech tones and melody. If singing games are indeed windows into cultural norms and values, then studying sounds in play songs may reveal some important information about perceptions of music among children in Ghana.

Also in relation to the interconnectedness of structure and style, Thrasher (1985, 1990) showed how the derivative nature of melodic contours of Jiangnan Sizhu and La-li-luo dance songs of the Chuxiong Yi, Yunnan Province in China grew out of a few old melodic themes or formulas. He also showed how melodies within these traditions were variants of a common music prototype. In other words, culturally valued aspects of music sound were situated in identifiable melodies, motifs, and modal orientations. With regard to singing games in Ghana, identifiable melodies, motifs, and modal orientations are situated in the relationship between language tone and melody.

Agawu (1984) deals extensively with the relationship between speech tone and melody. Drawing on the work of Fiabgedzi (1977) he agreed that "an efficient frame work for organizing melody does not require speech tones as a basis of melodic organization." He argued that the intervallic pattern affected the position of pitch. If Agawu is right and speech tones do not affect melody, then as he proposes, several variables are operative in a melody's interval pattern. The musical constraints Agawu would have us determine in an analysis of melodic organization cannot exclude the role of vowels in the placement of pitch and,

subsequently, the arrangement of the melody. The important question here was whether or not these pitch placements were culturally contrived. In a later writing, Agawu (1988) rules out the role of spoken text in the movement of the melody and states that, "tone is operative on a number of levels... on the level of a syllable, word, phrase, and sentence (p. 128). As he continued to critically examine this tone-tune argument, Agawu (1988) called for further research into the Northern Ewe melodic structure. I suggest that vowel placement within each syllable may be the dynamic construct that determines culturally acceptable melodic patterns in Ewe and other Ghanaian music cultures. Children's singing games, as re-creations of adult Ghanaian music cultures, rely in part on the relationship between tone and tune and consequently, vowel placement. Later in this dissertation, I show how this is apparent in children's music culture in the Fanti areas of Ghana.

1.2 Building Cultural Knowledge Structures.

Throughout Africa, the playground is a place for recreation and cultural expressions. Play activities are simulations of Africa's social processes. Performance and practice of children's lore within or outside the school curriculum is significant to children's enculturation. A pattern of culturally accepted human actions and relations develop as children are enculturated into African society. These actions and relations are based on cultural knowledge structures which I view as both declarative or propositional knowledge, and procedural knowledge or skill (Bereiter, 1990, p. 609). Building cultural knowledge structures are of value to educational theory and practice in two key areas: (a) learning and teaching styles, and (b) the content and structure of the curriculum. In what follows, I discuss my theoretical position by considering research on culturally relevant teaching and learning styles and the implications for selecting curriculum content and structure.

1.2.1 Learning and Teaching Styles.

In his theory of generative grammar in language, Chomsky (1961) posited that individuals have a proclivity to generate an unlimited number of sentences based on sentence generation rules. These rules were, in Chomsky's view, innate. Today, with the emergence of learning theories based on social values, and researchers argue that knowledge evolves from within a culture. Gardner, for example, believes that each culture places value on the different aspects of intelligence (1985) that inform expressions of intellectual processes. Intellectual processes constitute consciously held knowledge, skills, and ways of thinking or, more simply put, cultural knowledge structures. Therefore, to understand learning, it is important to study cultural knowledge structures. Interestingly, thirty years before Gardner's treatise, Kodály had proposed that his musical mother tongue, which is interpreted in many different ways today, is congruent with current theories of learning based on cultural knowledge structures (Lois Chosky, 1981). I discuss Kodály's proposition further in the next section.

Within any given culture, learning is active, constructive, cumulative, goal oriented, and constantly being reconstructed. Some researchers who have studied singing games have considered learning and teaching styles associated with the games (Addison, 1991; Merrill-Mirsky, 1988; Riddell, 1990). Addison (1991), identified mastery learning and direct instruction as the most evident teaching and learning styles in singing game performance and practice. Within mastery learning and direct instruction approaches, particular intellectual processes are expressed.

According to Riddell (1990), motivation tends to be enhanced with participation in singing games. She based her argument on the premise that games stimulate participation and understanding. Most singing games provide challenge, excitement, and an understandable process. Players are

usually motivated toward better understanding and participation in the game and its processes. Singing games have physical properties that make them accessible to people from all backgrounds. Depending on their roles, singing game participants are actively involved in decision making processes and the final outcome of the game.

Merrill-Mirsky (1988) found that mothers play significant roles in the transmission of singing games to children. The leader in the play group is also involved in this process. Merrill-Mirsky pointed out that gestures such as facial cues rather than verbal commands were significant in singing game performance (p. 227).

In African traditional music education situations, particular teaching styles are evident. Ellingson (1992), for example, noted the use of tactile teaching systems by African instrumentalists who beat drum rhythm patterns on the shoulders of individuals as they teach her or him to play an instrument. In the same vein, identifying teaching styles used by children during singing game performance is important to suggesting the intellectual processes of Ghanaian children.

Relatively little attention has been given to the contributions performance expressions of learning can make to educational theory about children's ways of knowing and thinking. Learning includes propositional knowledge (knowing what), procedural knowledge (knowing how), and relational knowledge, (ways in which children know how and what). Drawing on the work begun by Kodály, I identified the intellectual processes that occur during singing game practise and performance. This type of research informs educators on pedagogical practices evident in singing game performance.

1.2.2 Content and Structure of a Music Curriculum.

As stated earlier, Gardner's (1985, p. 57) belief that culture influences individual intellectual capabilities is shared by musicologist and educator, Kodály. Kodály believed that music educators world wide can improve their music programmes by analyzing their own country's music and including it in the music curriculum (see Chosky, 1981; Zemke, 1973). Kodály identified structural similarities in the analysis of thousands of Hungarian folk tunes he had collected with assistance from Bartok. From this analysis, Kodály developed a sequence for teaching melody in Hungarian schools (Zemke, 1973). Numerous educators from other countries adopted both Kodály's sequence for teaching melody, and Hungarian folk music. This was not what Kodály had intended, given his explicit argument that educators should use their own country's music in their music programmes. Osborn (1986, p. 2) examined Kodaly's argument in a review of the Hungarian approach used in Canadian school music curricula. She suggested that pitch patterns of different cultures' traditional songs embody the metric and rhythmic structures of the particular language structure. She posited, therefore, that pitch pattern characteristics differ across cultures (p.220). Osborn, in agreement with Kodály, argued that Canadian music curricula should be based on Canadian folk music. The analysis of folklore such as Ghanaian singing game performance and practise informed educational practice in general, and the curriculum content of cultural studies programs in particular, with regard to cultural knowledge structures in performance events.

Brooks-Barham (1980) considered teaching and learning in her research on singing games. She developed a model for collecting and organizing music examples that authentically involves movement. Singing games, in Brooks-Barham's view, represent additional teaching materials that should be developed and made part of the curriculum. She was

concerned about the lack of material on movement in elementary music curricula.

The content and structure of Ghana's elementary curriculum must include cultural knowledge structures from within the society. The rationale for curriculum planning and implementation should be informed by these cultural knowledge structures. In this dissertation, the building of cultural knowledge structures by exploring intellectual processes of children within the singing game context, extends educational scholarship on children's ways of learning and communicating.

1.3 Re-presenting Performance Events with Multimedia

Re-presentation is central to the development of an ethnography on children's play cultures. I was concerned with what happens when children play singing games, and how effectively these events can be re-presented. In this study, representation is the re-presenting of the picture of an event or culture. In what follows, I present my arguments for using multimedia for representing (a) music, text, and movement in singing games (b) singing games in the Ghanaian context, and (c) the ideas of the researcher and researched in their competing roles and identities.

1.3.1 Representing music, text and movement.

Western music is presented in a conventional notation system which determines the kinds of transcriptions or representations of music. In re-presenting music from Ghana, there is a need for theoretical development in the study of unwritten systems of folk art communication. My substantive concern with singing games of Ghana is to present integrated data that include music, text, and movement and the expressions of participants. First, the objective measurement of the tones of singing games contributes to the building of a tonal system on singing games. Second, singing games combine sound, visual, and kinesic elements. Not all

scholars are capable of representing these elements fully and accurately. Visual media were important for presenting the elements of singing games I could not otherwise present.

Recently, researchers studying singing games have presented music, text, and movement concurrently in their transcription of singing games (Riddell, 1990; Wharton, 1979). Riddell (pp. 109-110) used technology in an integrated transcription technique for singing games. She incorporated iconic pictorialism in her representation on movement patterns in singing games with equidistant modified staff in western music notation. Her purpose was to show the interrelationship between music, text, and movement. She thus relied on the visual sense to depict movement but not sound.

Osborn (1986) used multimedia in her study not for notation but for analyzing singing games. She developed a computer-aided methodology for analyzing the tones and phrases of variants of children's singing games in the British-Canadian tradition. Osborn concluded that the adaptation of Bartók's grammatical principle in the development of a computer-aided methodology for analyzing British-Canadian singing games was successful. With her computer-aided methodology, Osborn was able to group variants of singing games according to the same number of phrases. She was also able to analyze phrase patterns of equal length, identify stressed and unstressed beats of a singing game variant, isolate stressed-tone patterns of each phrase, and identify common patterns of phrases. She recommended that researchers in other countries adopt her computer-aided methodology when analyzing the musical characteristics of their children's play songs. However, it is not possible to use Osborn's computer methodology in this study because it is neither the number nor the length of phrases which determine variants in Ghanaian singing games. I posit that it is the arrangement of pitches in the phrases of the Ghanaian singing games that determines variants.

Ellingson (1992, p. 154) delineates four examples of non-graphic notational systems used by different musicologists: aural, visual, kinesic or choreographic, and tactile. Aural and tactile notation systems are evident in the indigenous African music context. Ellingson (1992), referred to music transcription when he observed that many scholars have emphasized intercultural specific transcriptions over culturally specific transcriptions (p. 161). Ellingson's examples included James Koetting's (1970) TUBS system for notating various hand strokes that produce different qualities of sound in African drumming, and Labanotation-influenced diagrams showing the asymmetrically alternating long-short patterns used in Ladzekpo and Pantaleoni's 1970 publication (p. 161).

I use multimedia as an intercultural avenue for representing singing games from Ghana. In the singing game culture, intercultural aspects include the proportional division of rhythm and tone measurement. Culturally specific aspects of transcribing singing games are speech tone and text used to represent rhythm. Ellis' research[2] in the cent system informs the basis for music notation of singing games for this dissertation. I use a pitch measurement device to measure the exact pitches of the tones used by the children. The Kay Elemetrics Computerized Speech Laboratory 5.1 (CSL) programme for the PC is used to measure the exact pitches of songs of the singing games (see Chapter 2). The objective measurement of the tones of singing games contributes to understanding a tonal system on singing games. I used the software program *Constellations* 2.5, a data management and analysis tool for Macintosh computers (see Chapter 2 and Appendix F) to analyze and present my data. In this study, I present potential possibilities as well as problems in the notation of African music cultures.

1.3.2 Re-presenting singing games in context.

By their nature, singing games reflect the culture within which they are performed. Previous studies on singing games have been *formalist* studies. According to Ellingson (1992), formalist conceptualizations of representations are deficient because they omit the functional, intentional, communicative, and musical dimensions of representation. In some anthropological studies on singing games, researchers have been concerned with presenting the games as cultural expressions (Opie & Opie 1985; Schwartzman, 1978; Sutton-Smith, 1989). These descriptive studies showed that games were part of the everyday life of children. Another contextual study was by Norbeck (1968) who applied classification analysis of the games to demonstrate their cultural significance. He discussed the social function of play among Japanese people. These researchers used neither visual media such as a video camera nor sound media as principal tools for representing singing game context (Norbeck, 1968; Opie & Opie, 1985; Schwartzman, 1978; Sutton Smith, 1989). As time-space-visual cultural events, the performance and practice of singing games were best presented and analyzed with multimedia. In this study, the video camera is the principal tool in the collection and presentation of singing games. Other media, such as audio recordings of songs, provide contextual data.

1.3.3 Re-presenting voices: Competing with role and identity.

Throughout this study, the role and the identity of all the participants determined the extent and degree to which inferences about singing games were made and analyzed. When I described children's cultural knowledge structures in singing performance and practice, I evoked my representation of the playform--my knowing. Therefore, embedded in my representation are several representations (the role and the identity of all the participants) that together evoked

cultural meanings. This ethnography described a knowledge, a partial knowledge, a partial truth (Clifford, 1986). The question that arose was an ethical one raised by Goldman-Segall (1993) when she asked, "whose story is it, anyway?" She works with multimedia as an electronic forum for discussion and social intercourse among multiple users. She was concerned with whether the story is in the minds of authors as they create an ethnographic story, or the minds of readers as they sew together fragments of the story using sound, video, and text (p.7). Similarly, I was interested in the contribution that the role and identity of the participants make to evoking cultural meanings. Cultural meanings are mediated by interactions with participants in the culture and during the performance of singing games. These interactions emerged in the sewing together of video observations of singing game performances and interviews with children and adult informants, video transcripts, text, video annotation, and music transcripts.

The children in this study re-presented their culture through the games. As a researcher, I studied their re-presentations of their private cultures and Ghanaian culture. I became engaged with these children, my adult informants, and each of their re-presentations. Using multimedia to re-present singing game culture, Ghana's culture, and the individual cultures of children and adults, another level of representation emerged. There were several levels of interactions, all converging to create cultural meanings. It was at this stage that Goldman-Segall's (1995) configurational validity was realized in singing game research.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODS: WINDOWS, MIRRORS, AND WALLS

2.1 Configurational Validity in Singing Games Research

The research design of this ethnography is based on the premise that context and play are intimately related. Observations, interviews, audio and video recording are the different methods used to collect information about singing games and their context. These methods are not used to triangulate the data because each data gathering situation gives birth to new meanings. Expressions of all the players (children, adult informants, teachers, and myself) provide different levels of expression with plural methods. Together, the matrix of expressions build "thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1973) of singing game culture. Using Goldman-Segall's (1995) collaborative theory of configurational validity described in the previous chapter, I "sifted through layers of thick descriptions" by the players to find cultural meanings. I will now describe how the study began and its growth, my role as a researcher, the setting, the process of data collection, transcribing, and the analysis of data.

2.1.1 Birthing the approach.

My initial investigations into play culture began with my desire to respond to the request for culturally relevant educational materials for Ghanaian children (Aduonum, 1980; Akrofi, 1982). My first instinct was to put together a collection of Ghanaian children's play songs. Accordingly, in 1990, I completed a music analysis of six Ghanaian play songs. However, this analysis proved to be inadequate because in Ghana, music is part of a shared performing arts culture and my analysis was concerned only with the music. My western educational background, even though I lived in Ghana, had contributed to my perception and conception of the

project. The following year, I took a course in Ethnomusicology entitled Transcription and Analysis. The course was taught at the University of British Columbia by Dr. Alan Thrasher. As a consequence of this course, I began to realize the extent to which a culture permeates music, and the importance of fully considering the impact of culture in my study. Maintaining my desire to work with play culture, I completed an analysis of recorded play songs in North America. Through this project, I became aware of the different nuances that artists bring to the songs they record--nuances dictated by their cultural backgrounds.

Convinced that I had to study the culture together with the performance event, I began to consider how to best present this cultural event in its entirety. In 1992, multimedia ethnographer, Dr. Ricki Goldman-Segall, was invited to our graduate ethnography class taught by Dr. Allison Tom of the University of British Columbia. Goldman-Segall gave a seminar on her work in multimedia ethnography. During her session, I realized that video technology might provide the most effective means of representing play culture. Using video to document play songs would capture both the songs and the situations. I felt that such a project would be of interest to music educators outside and within Ghana. In this technologically advanced era, multimedia technology makes the project accessible to people of different backgrounds.

Investigations into play culture began in a Canadian elementary school. I worked with a group of ten children, and established a deliberate observation situation by asking the children to present singing games in the school's staffroom. At the time, the fundamental questions for me were: What am I seeing? and What am I looking for? As I reflected on the scene, I realized that embedded in these questions was a paradox: What I was seeing was influenced by what I was looking for. Yet, certain observations, which I call my *windows* into play culture, still jumped out at me (see

Goldman-Segall, 1993, p. 267). The staffroom performance did not enable me to observe the children's natural social interactions or determine how these interactions fitted into the context of playgrounds. Situational observations and the recording of actual social interactions provide more accurate information on how children's perspectives on society are structured. Insights into children's singing games as domains through which children externalize internal dispositions are best gained by observing them during their natural play situations. Generating data in situ was important for constructing meanings about singing game culture in Ghana.

During a review of the literature on children's singing games, I discovered a report of the Organisation Mondiale pour l'Education Prescolaire (OMEP) project. The OMEP project was established to provide a research basis for the study of world-wide traditional games. The philosophy of the OMEP was that traditional games continue to have great cultural and educational values and therefore require documentation. From the OMEP project, four different models were established which serve as approaches for studying games. I selected Model 3, because it offered an approach that allows for (a) a description of the singing games, (b) the actual process of playing the games, (c) the play behaviour in a defined setting, and (d) the systematic collection of relevant data (social, historical, economic and political) about the setting (Ivic, 1986, p. 24). This approach requires that after the setting has been defined, data on the history and origin of the games must be collected simultaneously with the recording of the games. The comparison of the games with other forms of folklore should provide further historical and socio-cultural information on the games (Ivic, 1986, p. 24). Methods for collecting information in Model 3 included observation, interviews, and audio and video recordings. These methods made it possible to analyze singing games and their context in a mutually

compatible manner, while answering the study's research questions.

2.1.2 Singing Games: Sound, Structure and Setting

Singing games comprise children's shared knowledge; therefore, singing games have both social and contextual dimensions. These dimensions add several levels of meaning to the games. The interpretive aspects of social settings represent cultural meaning and are best accessed by qualitative research methods (Comstock, 1982; Dey, 1993; Finnegan, 1992). It is by acknowledging the "what is" and "where" that explanations can be given for the "who" and the "why" of children's singing games. A description of the organization of sound and structure, as presented in the integration of music, text, movement, and drama in the singing games, is fundamental to creating meanings about the singing game. Context influences behavior and as such, it is important for researchers to also consider the setting in which all the contextual variables are operating (Drewal, 1991). In Nketia's (1990, pp. 86-7) terms, this embraces the components of the genre, as well as the factors and the nexus relations between them. The performance of singing games is purposeful and expressive of deeper values and beliefs (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 79). However, Agawu (1992), pointed out that researchers who get caught up in the burden of contextualizing may neglect attending to the analysis of the genre itself.

Singing games are integrated activities. In this study, singing games are considered as the integration and interrelationship between music, text, and movement in the context of performance. As suggested by Seeger (1991), both the singing games and their context are included in the design of the study. While these approaches may be viewed as antithetical by some researchers, in this dissertation I will show that they are parallel and complementary and therefore, warranted.

2.1.3 Contextualizing Singing Games: Video Ethnography

Performance is at the heart of African expressive forms and it is fundamental to explore meaning in cultural expressions such as singing games (Drewal, 1991; Okpewho, 1990; Anyidoho, 1991; Nketia, 1990). Contextualization comprises describing the people engaged in the performance of singing games, the factors involved in this practice, and the reason for playing singing games. Nketia (1990, p. 79) recommended that the best way to approach contextualization is through observing and documenting performance situations. For this study, I have chosen to use the video camera as the principal tool for recording the games in context. Video data is overt in that it can capture the time-space-visual event of singing games in their cultural contexts. However, recording children playing singing games away from their regular play context does not capture context. For example, when I recorded children at the Canadian school in the staffroom, their movements were stilted; the staffroom was not their regular play area.

Video as a data collection device permitted playback access for immediate follow-up, clarification, and identification of omissions. Further, data were collected in the natural setting, and data on non-verbal behaviour and communication were obtained (Marshall & Rossman, 1989 p. 102). Viewing the recorded data allowed me to observe activities that may have been overlooked in observation situations. This approach strengthened the contextualization of the play form for analysis.

The physical arrangements of the playgrounds are also important to contextualization of the play form. Video technology allows for constant review of the research setting. With each additional viewing, new information may be retrieved and Geertz's (1973) "thick description" can be realized. According to Marshall and Rossman (1989, p. 86), video recording in qualitative research will increase the

authentic value of any record. Like Marshall and Rossman, Goldman-Segall (1991, p. 468), argued that "multimedia video ethnography promotes both making discoveries within the data and communicating the discoveries to other users." Because the data can be shared with other viewers the making and communicating of discoveries both inform each other.

2.1.4 Constructing Meanings through Children's Utterances

Another significant dimension of this dissertation's research design is the importance placed on children's own words in creating meanings. The use of video technology helped me to obtain the children's explanations of the games in context and to incorporate these explanations into the analysis of the games. Since "every human has a story to tell" (Wolcott 1985, p. 196), soliciting stories from children both during the interview process and active observation, allowed me to identify underlying themes and patterns of play culture. The discourse among the children during the performance were noted.

The anthropologist, Schwatzman (1978) cautioned that the four major "metaphors" for describing play in ethnographic studies are more influenced by the ethnographer than by the informants. These play metaphors are a) structured games, b) imitation, c) projective tests and revealing trends in enculturative practices, and d) irrelevant information (p. 29). Schwatzman further stated that whichever metaphor the ethnographer uses points to his/her own culture's view of singing games rather than the views of those within the culture under study. In agreement with Schwatzman's terms, I expressed my own, as well as the children's, cultural views, and "layered" (Goldman-Segall, 1991, 1993) my views with the children's. As I discussed the games with the children and showed them the video, I encouraged my own and the children's active participation in the research. The cultural meanings I created are representations of the different views. The

camera provided opportunities for active participation, constant review, and study and reflection--all of which enhanced the probability of a comprehensive analysis and interpretation of the games.

Configuring actions and viewpoints of the various players from multiple data sources and situations allows for structural corroboration of the research design. These different players had an influence on the definition of my role as a researcher both in the field and during post-fieldwork activities.

2.2 Identification and Description of Researcher Role

A growing number of researchers expound the value of research which takes place in one's own cultural setting (e.g., Khare, 1983; Messerschmidt, 1981); others believe that while such research is of value, it must be balanced with a comparative perspective (e.g., Wolcott, 1981). In this study, I looked at my Ghana culture through the eyes of children in play situations. This experience was valuable to me because even though I had lived in Canada for six years and had become secure in my ability to adjust to and become a part of, another culture, I was not removed from nor out of touch with my Ghanaian culture. This was beneficial in terms of maintaining distance and not taking anything I observed for granted. As a former member of the community for 17 years, nostalgia greeted me as I encountered familiar situations. For example, I had attended one of the primary schools in the area, I had completed my first degree at the local university, and I had shopped in the local market. I encountered a cross-cultural experience which prompted the questions, "What is really going on here?," "Is what I see influenced by my experience in Canada or am I looking at my culture from the perspective of a Ghanaian?," and "Where do I draw the line?" In this section, I define my role as a video ethnographer, reflect upon my data collection experience in

Ghana and upon the issues that arose maintaining my role as a video ethnographer who had returned to her home to study "other". The inevitability of an enculturation process and its impact on data gathering in the field is also the subject of concern in this section. Moreover, I make references to experiences I had in my earlier investigations in Canada and how this informed the definition of my role as an ethnographer in the field.

2.2.1 Role Versus Identity: Insider/Outsider Researcher

Matters of self representation are central to situating my research within the paradigm of qualitative inquiry. The *role* and the *identity* of the field researcher may at a certain point in the research process be viewed as either separate or interrelated. At another phase in the development of the research process, the researcher may cease to play a role but will take on the role as an identity. However, at the same instance, the identity of the researcher may either mediate against the process or facilitate it. Either way, the ramifications of the researcher's role versus identity are numerous.

As I tried to fulfill my role, I was confronted with the definition of my identity in the field. My pre-field experience in course work and private reading had reinforced my need to always be aware that I was observing the children as an ethnographer (role) and as a young Ghanaian woman (identity). However, field work must be experienced to be field work. I did not realize the extent to which my particular socio-cultural and economic background and as one who is *known* in the community would affect my interrelationships, and my quest for knowledge. Identity is a cultural construct. My identity includes the different ethnic cultures, the non-Ghanaian culture absorbed during the colonial era, my identity as a student in Canada, and the cultures of Ghana's continued interaction with other world cultures.

The children demonstrated Ghana's confluence of cultures in the games they played. At the Ulesis Primary school, the children play a variety of European singing games. In their minds, these games are theirs. I became aware of the impact of different cultures on my private culture as I watched them play. Self representation for me as an African became more complex because, it continuously has to be interpreted in a cultural, social, and political context.

In making sense of my data, my role and identity, I was continually aware of the emergent Ghanaian culture as one which seems to revisit the indigenous and blend it with the borrowed cultures. I was concerned with concepts of cultural value or cultural knowledge structures. "Culture ... is inferred from the words and actions of the members of the group under study" (Wolcott, 1985, p. 192). Vida, one of my participants, defined culture as the way a group of people live, the kind of food they eat, and the way they dress. Further to that she stated "...in Ghanaian culture, as a young girl, you have to respect older people and live peacefully with your neighbours." These comments are expressions of Ghanaian moral thought which exists for the well being of the community. At the same time, these comments represent the conflict I experienced in my self representation in the Ghanaian society; my identity had another dimension, the culture I had absorbed while out of Ghana.

2.2.2 My Lenses, Versus the Lenses of the Video Camera

The video camera, language, audience interjections, from teachers, other adult members of the community, and children presented new challenges I had not anticipated. My field work experience enabled me to describe Ghana's culture through the eyes and voices of children and the interactions with other people. I found myself looking at my culture through a variety of perspectives, through the camera, through my own eyes as I slowly became re-enculturated into

my own society. The power of reliving and reviewing the past and the process of change in a culture was best recorded with my video camera.

The video camera provided me with the opportunity to give more attention to establishing relationships with my informants with eye contact while still recording events. Video recording occurred throughout the gathering of data. The children began to associate me with the camera. Goldman-Segall's (1990, p. 76) experience in the Hennigan School district was that because the video camera was always carried in her arm, the children were not responding to the camera of the camera person but to the person who always carried a camera in her arm. My own experience in Ghana confirmed this.

2.2.3 Intervention versus Collaboration

Constantly, I had to remember that this was a joint project between the children, adults, and myself, and with it, came rights, assumptions and relationships. Throughout my stay in Ghana, I maintained contact with the subject coordinator of the cultural studies program, my supervisors at the host institution, and my committee in Canada. My role as an ethnographer, and identity as a Ghanaian demanded that I reduce suspicion on any grounds (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983, p. 65). All the defined collaborators, as I prefer to call them, acted as gatekeepers at different points and stages in my study. For example, I needed to have (a) the project proposal approved by my committee in Canada before I could begin field work, (b) the cultural studies coordinator leading to the particular schools I worked with, and (c) permission of my supervisors in Ghana to use the University equipment and facilities for my research.

Full collaboration and candour were important to the authentic gathering of data for this study. These are best attained in a situation where some amount of distance has been created. I was both an observer and a participant

observer/recorder. On one particular day, during my preliminary investigation in the Canadian school, I worked with the participating children on the playground and not in the staffroom. The children who were not directly involved in my study reacted to my presence by surrounding my participants and would not play as they usually did during recess. The presence of familiar and non-familiar adults does influence the behavior patterns of children, and this may or may not be to the advantage of the research. The Canadian children participating in my study, presented a distorted picture of their social interactions during the performance of singing games. I found that, sometimes the children in the Canadian school reacted to my presence by presenting the games in the "best possible" manner. This means that they often cleaned up their songs for me. I concluded that my role in gathering data among children was not to stand on the periphery of the play activities but to be a part of the children's play. Participant observation increased collaboration and quickened the process of familiarity. From my experience in Canada, I hoped that in Ghana my presence would not be a novelty for a long while. The children in Ghana, called me *madam* or the more endearing *auntie*. This was an indication of growing familiarity.

In Ghana, the children invited me, on their own accord, to play with them and sometimes I asked them if they would teach me a particular game they were playing. Goldman-Segall (1990, p. 78) described this as "work while I play and play while I work." When I participated in the games I found that the temptation to supervise was reduced for I was concentrating on learning to play. Ownership, that is the authority of play culture, had been placed completely in the hands of the children.

I did my best to allow my participants to tell their stories and play their games in their own ways. The children directed the play and resisted my attempts at surveillance by often ignoring me. Not only did this practice place

ownership with the children, but it also increased the authenticity of contextual information. The children played games they wanted to play and in effect, introduced themes I had not anticipated. Nonetheless, I was constantly aware of my need to teach my informants about my role in the field. When I needed clarification on a game, I would elicit the performance of the particular game and ask further questions. This encouraged the children to talk openly, and resulted in reducing suspicion on their part. They had a right to know how they were being represented and to have a say in their representations. Also, the differing interpretations of games by the children from the different schools provided a wider viewpoint. It should be noted that the children treated my research seriously. I spent four months actively involved with each school and they knew this study was important to me and others.

The importance of being an insider in this culture became clearer to me as I related to the children and the adults. I constantly had to remember in my dealings with people the culturally acceptable ways of doing things in Ghana. One was looking for and greeting the head teacher each day I visited the school. Also, I had to acknowledge all the other teachers who came by while I recorded games on the playground. I, therefore, arrived a couple of minutes before break time so that I could walk along the corridors and greet each teacher with a wave. Practicing culturally accepted ways did not come naturally, since I had been away and had become acculturated into a new culture. In field research I was dealing with people and situations, and my relationship with them that was equally as important as having the camera in the right spot.

2.2.4 Intergenerational Communication

Some interesting reactions to my research came from adult Ghanaians. For example, at the village, the audience included the adult members of the community. The nature of the community made adult intervention and interjections a norm even during school hours. They had the right to urge the activity on the playground on. This was normal practise. Despite my discomfort with this, the more I observed activities in indigenous communities and read about African traditional education (Arnoldi, 1987, Boateng, 1990), I learnt that intergenerational communication is a way of providing an even transmission and continuous preservation of values and traditions. The lines of authority became blurred as I struggled to maintain my role and my cultural identity in the field.

On the playgrounds in the urban areas, I did not observe many instances of intergenerational communication. This is probably because the school culture in the urban community was more removed from the community culture than in the village. At King Armadillo Primary, situated in the urban community, intergenerational communication was expressed in teacher involvement. I found this very distracting, and frustrating. My identity and my role were in conflict with one another. The teachers wanted to help, and I had to respect that. When the teachers taught the children games they had learnt during their childhood, these worked to my advantage. When I viewed my tapes, I felt there was too much teacher involvement. Knowing from insider knowledge that during recess, teachers do not usually take part in the children's games, I sought to reduce teacher involvement. I had anticipated that the presence of familiar and non-familiar adults would influence the behavior patterns of children. However, I had not anticipated that the teachers would participate in the games.

When the teachers took part in the games, the children's movements and expressions were inhibited. Again, I reminded

the teachers that my study was about children's play cultures, and therefore I was more interested in hearing the children's voices. After teacher involvement had been reduced, the children sang more daring games, in terms of text and movement. Also, this showed a change in how they trusted me. The children played games they would usually not play with adults around. There was a sense of ownership in the way they expressed themselves during play.

At one of the elementary schools, the teachers went about their work as usual. They did not interfere, and almost seemed nonchalant towards my presence and my project. It was difficult to determine if their nonchalant attitude was because I had attended the school, and therefore was seen as a trusted 'old girl' revisiting, or, whether, they were just disinterested. In retrospect, I realize that because my visit to Ulesis began after I had already spent three months in Ghana, I had become considerably re-enculturated. Therefore, I was looking for a reaction from the teachers. This reaction was not forthcoming.

2.2.5 Verisimilitude, Control and Surveillance

Even though I was an insider, I did not have the right to record children at play without permission. A moment of taken-for-granted permission could cause me a lot of embarrassment, and of course would be unethical. I began working with the children at the Ulesis Primary School after seeking permission from the head teacher. The head teacher had quickly granted me permission but had not mentioned it to the children. The children made sure I followed the protocol. On the day I was to begin recording, they insisted that since the head teacher had not informed them at morning assembly about my work, they were not prepared to work with me. It became clear to me that the protocol of the school was that during morning assembly the children were informed about possible visitors and happenings for the day. I was obligated to remind the head teacher about this and the need

to have consent forms signed by all participants in the study. As a result all children participating and their respective parents were asked to sign and return the consent forms. It was obvious that these children had a clear sense of their authority on the playground. In order to gain their cooperation on the playground I had to accept this.

Tobin and Davidson (1990, p. 276), argued that biases exist in the use of the video equipment because recordings focus, magnify, and may distort situations to suit the researcher's interests. For them, verisimilitude, surveillance, and voyeurism are issues of concern in video research. Writing for an international research community, I approached verisimilitude by selecting schools with children from contrasting socio-economic backgrounds. Ghana is a developing country, and reflections of its economic growth may be inaccurately inferred from viewing, for example, the children's apparel and the context (which included school buildings and open market places) where children's play was recorded suggest a certain socio-economic level. One purpose for selecting schools from a range of socio-economic backgrounds was to avoid repeating the negative biases found in the western mass media on Africa. Since the schools in these areas varied largely on the basis of availability of resources, selecting from the three distinct areas provided variety in the settings and strengthened the credibility of my findings (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 55). Repeated viewing and recording facilitated authentication of data and reduced the effect of my tendency to supervise during data collection. Voyeurism did not apply in this research since parents and staff had given written permission to record the children during their break time and the children were aware that their actions were being recorded.

2.2.6 Insider Communications: Dress, Language

I dressed simply in T-shirts and sandals I bought in the local market. The clothes I wore when meeting with adults

were different. When I interviewed the royals (Nana Amba Enyiaba, Queen mother of the Oguaa traditional area; Nana Kwaa Duah, the 17th paramount chief of Akatakyiwa), I avoided wearing trousers and dressed a little more formally.

Language was to provide an indicator of my identity as an insider and hopefully ease any suspicions in the field. Even though English is the Lingua Franca in Ghana, on the playgrounds, more often than not, it is the language of the area that is used. Meaning and symbolism are dependent on accurate language usage. The children corrected me and rephrased my questions to clarify things. I quickly regained an authentic accent and corrected my grammatical expressions as I worked with the children. The text of the games were full of hidden meaning and allusions. Recognizing some of these hidden meanings as they presented themselves contributed to my own enculturation process. A non-insider would have had to use an interpreter and would have missed many of the hidden meanings. In the village school, the children did not speak colloquial Fanti, the language I was used to hearing and speaking. They spoke classic Fanti, the language usually heard around the royal courts and other such important places. The teachers at the village school helped me with the words when I needed clarification. Because I knew the root words, I could ascertain what was explained.

I also had to reconcile my new-found style of communicating with what I knew to be culturally acceptable as a Ghanaian. In North America, I had learned an up-front and direct style of communication. However, in Ghana, directness is couched in proverbs and sayings that only insiders can understand. It is also considered polite to precede most sentences with "please" even when not asking for anything. Reiterating the statements made earlier by Vida (1993), "respect older people and live peacefully" has special meanings and symbolism open to a Ghanaian or one acculturated into Ghanaian culture.

2.3 Entering the playgrounds

Before entering the three research sites, I sent letters of introduction to the subject coordinator of the Cultural Studies Programme of the Central Regional Centre of Education. These letters detailed the purposes of the study and my fieldwork plans. In addition, I sent a letter to the head of the Department of Music at the University of Cape Coast. Being familiar with my culture, I knew I had to have someone local act as a liaison for my correspondence with the schools. I could not rely on the post or people's goodwill. The University of Cape Coast became my host institution. The regional subject coordinator selected the schools, and letters were then forwarded requesting consent. After receiving consent from the schools and before beginning data collection, I solicited funding in North America.

Three schools were selected for my study by the Central Regional Ministry of Education in Ghana: King Armadillo Primary School, Aardvark Catholic Primary School, and Ulesis Primary School, of which are situated in and around Cape Coast. The administration of the University of Cape Coast, Ghana, provided guest housing and office space on the university campus. I made daily visits to each school, observing and interviewing the children and staff during class time and break time (recess).

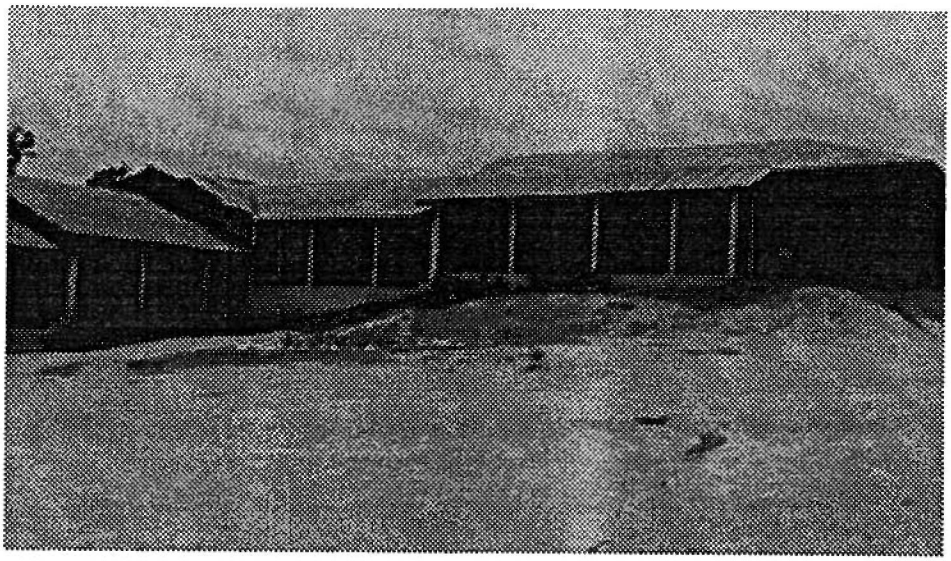
In this study of playground activities I was faced with the dilemma of whom to select and how to ensure (without using coercion) that those selected were at the playground on a regular basis. While watching the children play, I selected those with whom I wanted to work closely. These were the children who would: a) volunteer to begin games, b) suggest games to play, c) play the games with enthusiasm, and d) teach others how to play. A couple of children dropped out on their own volition, and not all the children were present each day I visited their school. Some became key informants for their particular school. Profiles of key

informants and other children mentioned in this dissertation are included in Appendix D.

2.3.1 A playground on a hill: King Armadillo

The King Armadillo Primary School building, shaped like an "L", is situated on a small hill in the Aboom Wells district of Cape Coast. The school shares the grounds with a church-based elementary school. The two schools are separated by an open gutter running from the top of the hill to the bottom of the hill. Since the two schools have different recess schedules, it is not usual for the children in the schools to play together. At the bottom of the hill and west of the school is a tree under which a hawker sold her wares. The hawker sold biscuits, sweets, and fruit. I assumed she drew most of her clientele from the school community. She had a little table and a long sitting bench. Also at the bottom of the hill and in front of the school is a kiosk, the owners of which sold stationary. The walk up to the school is over red laterite soil. It was hot, humid, and dusty in February and March. Half-way up the hill, stones have been placed in a small circle three feet (91.44cm) in diameter. These stones are painted white and flowers have been planted in the middle of the circle. The children like to play in this area of the school although sometimes they also play behind the school block. In front of the primary 5 classroom are two talking drums called *Atumpan* drums. These drums have replaced bells in all schools in Ghana. Picture 1. Star: *King Amardillo Primary School* is a picture of the school.

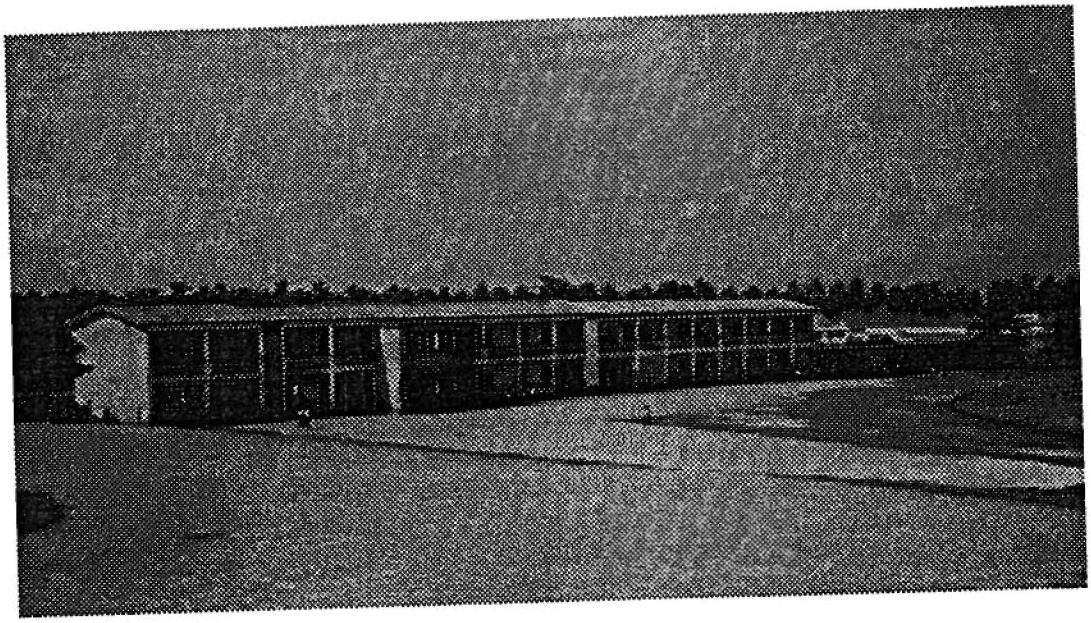
Picture 1. Star: King Amardillo Primary School



2.3.2 Hockey pitch and flamboyant tree: Ulesis Primary.

The two storey Ulesis Primary School is situated close to the University campus. White lattice balconies and carved wood doors add an aesthetic effect to the building. In front of the school is a large playing field which includes soccer, basketball, and cricket fields. To the west of the school is a hockey pitch, and to the east, a tennis court. Behind the school and to the south, is a playing area which separates the school from the main road. The children play on all fields as well as the tennis court. A huge, flamboyant tree provides shade for children playing and for hawkers selling their wares to children and staff at break times. The head teacher's office is on the second floor. The staffroom is on the second floor three classrooms down from the head teacher's office. Picture 2. Star: *Ulesis Primary School* is a picture of the school.

Picture 2. Star: Ulesis Primary School



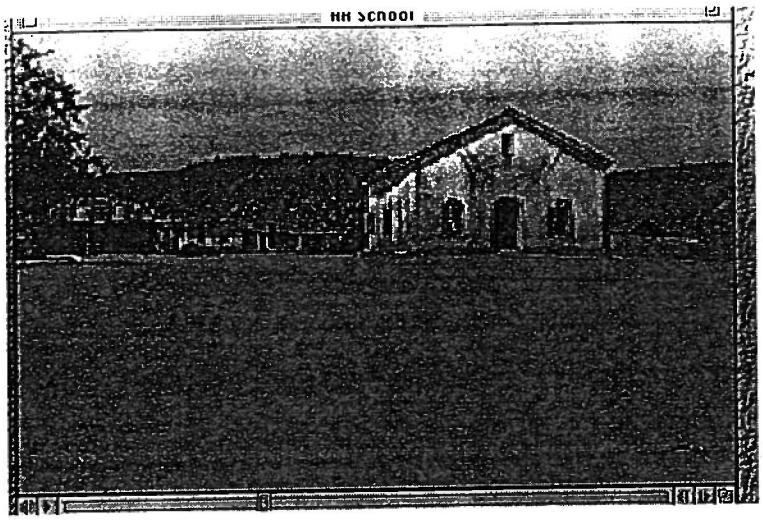
2.3.3 Crabs, Coconuts and Rivers - Aardvark

Akatakyiwa village is 20 kilometers out of Cape Coast on the main Cape Coast-Accra road. Each morning, I traveled by local transport to Mankesim, the next marketing town from downtown Cape Coast. I alighted at the junction leading to the village on the main road. Here, a mound of coconuts lies at the side of the road. Coconuts are cut and the fresh coconut water is sold to travelers who pass by. Akatakyiwa village is one kilometer from the Cape Coast-Accra road. The road into Akatakyiwa is bordered by trees and vegetation. Peasant farmers from the village till the land around the village. As I walked toward the village each day, I could hear the birds singing and the goats bleating. Entering the village, I walked to the market square and turned right to head toward Aardvark school, now within sight. In this area the soil is also red and dusty. Aardvark school comprises a three-classroom block, a church building, and a room in someone's home. The classroom block is made from red brick which is old and crumbling. The school's

talking drums lean against stairs located in the middle of the classroom block. Flowers have been planted in front of the classroom block and these are marked by large stones painted white.

The playing field is located in an area in front of the classroom and the church. There is a tree close to the school building under which children sit or play during break time. Behind the school building the boys usually play soccer. The following is a picture and a representation of the physical layout of school, including classrooms.

Picture 3. Star: Aardvark Catholic Primary School



2.4 Methods of Data Collection

Data collection strategies included observation, participant observations, interviewing, and recording. Over six months time, I gathered an extensive amount of data in the form of field notes, interviews with children and adults, photographs, and audio and video tapes. A Sony Video8 Handycam camera was used for collecting video data. A Sony Digital Walkman Professional was used for audio recordings of play songs that accompanied the games. The process of analysis begins with data collection since "theory building and data collection are dialectically linked" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983, p. 174).

2.4.1 Looking

Observation and interviews were the primary data collection techniques used in the study. According to Marshall and Rossman (1989), these are the "staples" of qualitative inquiry. Some previous studies (e.g., Avedon & Sutton-Smith, 1971) on singing games did not use observation as a data collection technique. Instead, researchers relied on information given to them by adults who recalled games they played as children. During the first four weeks, I used observations and interviews to become familiar with the schools, the children, and their play situations. By the end of the second week, I had begun to identify my key informants.

As suggested by Comstock (1982), Fetterman (1989), and Nketia (1990), I used a variety of observational tools for data collection and recording. Form A2 (see Appendix B), developed in the OMEP-project, served as background to the process of observation. I found that the video camera, the participants in my study, and the audience (comprised of other children and adults) all served as channels of observation in the study.

Participant observations gave me a clearer understanding of the interrelationship between words, music, and movement of the games, which were much more complicated and involved than I had envisioned from observation alone. The children invited me to participate in their games and taught me the games just as they would teach their friends. Soon, I was immersed in the singing games culture of the children.

Video recordings were made and notes were taken on the process and interactions being observed in the field. These formed a major portion of my field notes.

Prior to beginning field work, I assumed that since most performance in Africa is participatory, I would not have a serious problem with participant observations. However, (as mentioned earlier), interjections from teachers and other

adult members of the community presented new challenges I had not anticipated. In addition, interjections and interventions from teachers at urban schools hindered my attempts to quickly develop a working relationship with my participants. By working relationship, I mean one that would allow me to be part of the children's games. I felt that the children were under enough pressure with their teachers present; therefore, I developed my relationship with the children slowly. Once they were comfortable with my presence, they invited me to join the games.

2.4.2 Asking

By the end of the second month, I had started to do small group interviews. Questions for the children were drawn from Form A2, my review of literature, information gained in on-going contact, and the video recordings. In part, they were designed to help me make more sense of the text, music, and gestures and their interrelation to create meanings in the games. For example, one of my research questions addressed the extent to which knowledge acquired through singing games is compatible with preferred cultural knowledge in Ghanaian society. From the responses of the children emerged the following general themes: Bonding, names, gender roles, food, sports, and marriage.

These themes and the children's outlook on them formed a basis for the development of interview questions with selected adult culture carriers. They were interviewed as a means of substantiating information I collected on the playground and during interviews with the children. These adults were Professor J. H. Kwabena Nketia, one of Africa's leading ethnomusicologists; Professor Mawure Opoku, renowned dance professor at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana; Nana Amba Enyiaba, Queen mother of the Oguaa traditional area; Nana Kwaa Duah, the 17th Paramount Chief of Akatakyiwa, and Mrs. Efua Sutherland, an internationally known playwright who had also studied

children's play cultures. All interviews except the one with Efua Sutherland were video recorded and then transcribed.

My experience with the children in the Canadian school informed me that large group interviews are not ideal because all the children clamour to be heard at the same time. The children in Ghana were no different in this regard and, therefore, I conducted small group as well as individual interviews. I also interviewed some informants in pairs. Most of my interviews with the children were informally conducted during play. Small groups were established as I asked certain participants from particular primary grade levels to work with me at a given time. I asked questions on the description of informants and the games. Frequently, as I left Akatakyiwa village, a couple of children would offer to help me take my bags to the road side. I used this time to obtain additional demographic information about the children.

After being in the field for five months, I began to develop an active and participatory interviewing and observation style. Again, the power of the camera to provide an opportunity for active participation, review, study, and reflection illuminated this aspect of active participation in communication. This is also an aspect of Ghanaian culture. Not only was I able to engage with my interviewees (as described in the next paragraph), but I was also able to come up with further questions when I reviewed the video image. According to Koetting (1989, p. 59), acknowledging what is heard and what is perceived by those who carry the tradition contributes to a comprehensive analysis and interpretation. In effect, I am both the observer and the observed--the listener and the one to whom others listen.

In the Akan royal courts, the linguist is one who usually speaks on behalf of the Chief. When the Chief does speak, the linguist continually punctuates his/her speech with expressions like, "Good!", "Well said!", "We are listening", or an antiphonal - "Hm!" In Ghanaian culture

this indicates that one has the attention of the listener. When I watched my interview data in Ghana, I did not notice or think that my punctuation was unusual, for I was in a context in which such practices are acceptable. On arriving in North America, I reviewed these tapes with much discomfort. The literature on interviewing clearly states that punctuating the interviewee's speech does not constitute "good interviewing." In Ghanaian society, however, it was culturally acceptable and therefore represents appropriate interviewing. I don't believe I would have solicited the amount of information from the Queen mother if I had followed North American style interviewing techniques. My enculturation made my interview strategies culturally acceptable.

2.4.3 Playing

The rituals I developed while working with the children differed from school to school. Sometimes, as I walked to the school, one of the children I was working with would recognize me and tell the others to come around. Other times, (for example, as I walked along a school corridor greeting teachers), the children would notice that I had arrived. As I identified particular areas as my meeting spots, the children usually met me at these places during break times.

After we had gathered, the children would begin to play singing games on their own accord. I used deliberate observation situations to obtain historical and other information about the games. Sometimes, I asked the children to play a particular game; other times I would stop their play and ask them to clarify gestures and language. After providing me with clarification, the children were free to play and do what they wanted. I also asked the children about the origin of, as well as any toys used in, the game.

I booked appointments to talk with adult informants in their own abodes. Only the Queen mother felt it would be to

our mutual advantage to work together at my guest house; She felt she would be distracted in her active royal palace. With the adults, I usually began my interview by introducing my work, and explaining the value of their expertise with regard to my research. Once they understood that I knew something about their work, they relaxed and began to speak freely with me. These interviews, which took place after I had been in Ghana for four months, were extremely valuable, and also involved a certain amount of "urging" on their part. Portions of my interviews with the adults are included in the text and on CD ROM.

2.4.4 Tracking

I recorded a number of songs on digital audio tape and then again (for frequent use purposes) on standard tape. I gave the music recorded on standard tape to adult Ghanaian informants[1] who offered their versions of the music transcriptions. A detailed account of this process is provided later in this chapter.

I kept track of my field recorded data by labeling the video tapes with a school's name and number before placing a tape into the camera, e.g, King Armadillo Tape #1. The resulting forty hours of video data were transcribed according to procedures suggested by Comstock (1982), Fetterman (1989), and Finnegan (1989). The numbers that appeared on the camera served as a guide for logging data as I wrote my field notes. My logged information included the serial number of the tape, number and section of tape, date and time, description of contents, name of participants, and nature of the singing game. I also made daily comments on special circumstances, such as problems with the camera or tape, the demeanor of children and staff, and the manner in which I managed my role as a field researcher. In the field notes, I labeled this commentary "my reflections." My field notes looked something like the following:

King Armadillo Primary B Tape #4 February 26,1993

I arrived in the school at 9:00am as usual. Everything was quiet. I walked by the head teacher's office. She was not in. I headed for the stair case that I asked the children to gather at. At 9.10am I heard the Atumpan drums being played . It was break time again. The children in my team start to pour in.

I caught sight of Mary, one of the children I have targeted as becoming a key informant. I said to her, " we missed you yesterday , you were not here. " Mary smiled. I guess it felt good to be acknowledged.
Mary told she did not make it to school at all. I acknowledged as many children as I could. I feel pleased that I am getting to know these children individually.

The class two teacher came by to find out what was happening. We started out on the playground in front of the school. Too many children gathered around. It was difficult to film. I asked the children in my team to move to the back of the building. The play area there is much smaller. Today only 13 children gathered around.

0:00 - 2.00

I asked the children to play "Araba be gye wo letter"

Comments like "you don't know how to play it", "Stay out!" and "Madam not every one knows how to play this game" started to fly around. I thought this is my opportunity to observe the way the children teach their peers the games.

I said "teach your friends" The kids were reluctant. I wonder why. I quickly said "Play what you would like to play. "

Reflections

I did some fruitful work today with the children.

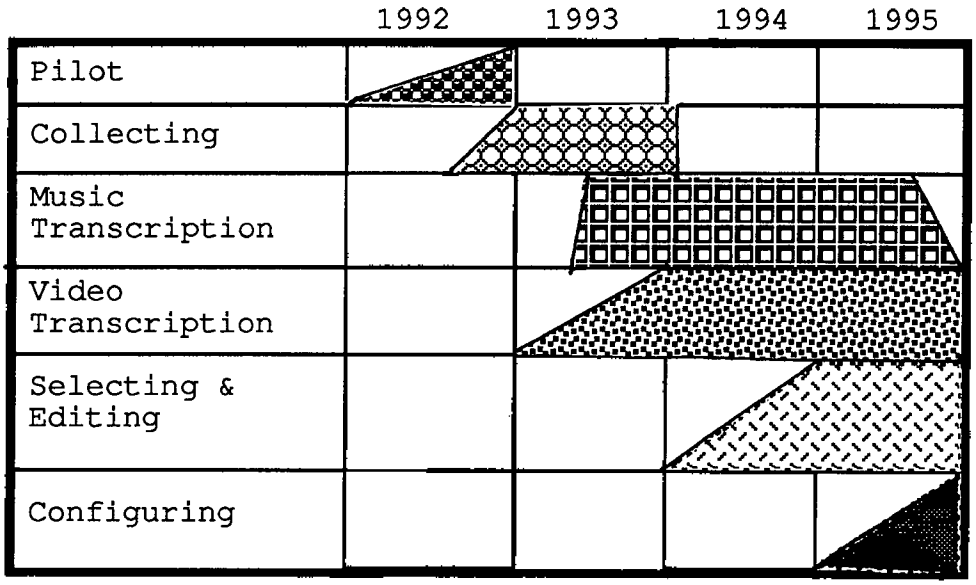
In addition, I kept track of my research data by grouping and sorting my games by category. My initial categories were spatial formations such as circle games, semi-circle games, body percussion games, line games, scatter formations and miscellaneous. I also sorted the games by what

I perceived at the time to be games with melodies and games with chants.

Games were also grouped according to schools. In this manner, I was able to delineate games which were practiced in all three schools and make comparisons.

My activity time schedule for this study was as follows:

Table 1. Timeline of singing game ethnography study



2.5 Transcription, Notation and Representation.

A transcription system which simultaneously shows all the contextual elements in operation is best for the presentation of African art as a multifocal performance genre. However, the video documentation may serve as a

transcription system in analysis where there may be a need to see video transcripts in written form.

I wanted to sift cultural meanings inherent in each singing game by analyzing the interrelationships between music, text, and movement within singing games. To determine this interrelationship, the presentation of music, text and movement in transcription is necessary. Riddell (1990) developed a method for transcribing singing games in which all aspects of the game can be presented simultaneously. In her transcription, music notations were incorporated with text and iconographic descriptions of movement.

Two music transcription procedures were used in this study. These were transcriptions extrapolated from a) listening and judgments of adult Ghanaians, and b) computer-generated pitch equivalents from Hertz values. Transcriptions from the first source are presented for all singing game cases. Transcriptions from computer-generated Hertz values are also presented for *Afra Kakraba* (Figure 1), *Maame Abrewa* (Figure 5), *Adjoa Atta* Figure 7) and portions of *Obiara* (Figure 14).

The following is the code for all music transcriptions found in this dissertation. It is drawn from the Abraham - Hornbostel (1905, 1994) paradigms of music transcription.

Table 2. Transcription code:

Glissando or Glide

Note or rest held a little longer than indicated

Strong tie

• Above or below note - Staccato (Short and detached)

+ Note sounds slightly higher in pitch than indicated

- Note sounds slightly lower in pitch than indicated

| Uncertain pitch

Slight pause, a breath

Light tie

Subsidiary divisions

Sounds for non pitched instruments - hand claps

D3 Pitches in the Octave below C 261Hz[1]

D4 Pitches in the Octave C 261Hz to C 523Hz

D5 Pitches in the Octave above C 523Hz

2.5.1 Music transcriptions of adult Ghanaian informants

Music transcriptions from listening and adult Ghanaian-informed judgments began during fieldwork. After learning and participating in the singing games with children in Ghana, I transcribed each singing game. I listened to the audio recording of each song accompanying the games. I then completed a transcription using the conventional Western music notation system and the code drawn from Abraham - Hornbostel (1905, 1994). Three other individuals listened to the recording of singing games and offered their judgments on pitches and the interval relationships between the pitches. These individuals were Ghanaians, two of whom had Bachelor of Music degrees and the third, a doctorate in ethnomusicology.[2] They also provided transcriptions of singing games based on their judgments. After I listened to the music again, I constructed music transcriptions incorporating all judgments and compared their transcriptions

with my initial transcriptions. All the music is transcribed in the key of C. Relative pitch judgments were made in reference to the pitches in each singing game. For the Ghanaian-informed transcriptions, interval recognition was the criterion for determining the pitches in each singing game.

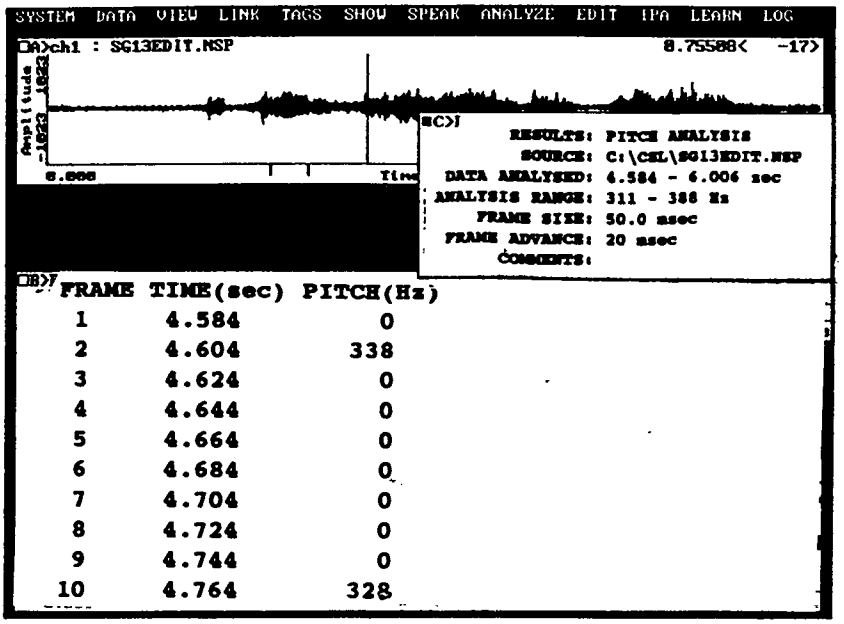
2.5.2 Kay Elemetrics Computerized Speech Laboratory 5.1 (CSL) programme.

The second music transcription involved transferring Hertz values of pitches in singing games to pitches of equal temperament scales.[3] Here, I drew on Nettl (1964, p.113-114) discussed the value of both "measured" pitch and pitch identified by ear. He noted that different devices, such as the oscilloscope and the stroboscope, are time honoured. Nettl further stated that Hornbostel's *Reisetonometer* and Kunst's *monochord*, demand that a transcriber be able to identify simultaneous pitches. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Walker (1992) also expressed the value of "measured" pitch in identifying culturally valued aspects of music sound. A more up-to-date version of the pitch measurement devices is the Kay Elemetrics Computerized Speech Laboratory 5.1 (CSL) programme. I inputted audio recordings of singing games into an IBM desktop computer fitted with this software programme. In contrast to Seeger's (1958) Melograph, the CSL programme allowed for the measurement of cent values of intervals. With CSL, I was able to isolate each pitch within each singing game. The programme enables simultaneous displays of graphic,[4] sound, and numerical information. I printed out the generated numerical Hertz values for each pitch and calculated an average of these for particular Hertz values (Hz). Hertz values[5] were then matched with pitches of an equal temperament scale (see Appendix C: Table 1). Tables representing pitches of singing game cases are also in Appendix C. The Hertz values in each table are numbered. These numbers represent the position of successive pitches in

the melody of each singing game. I have also indicated the syllable and pitch equivalent for each Hertz value in the table. Since I was primarily concerned with pitch, I did not investigate the use of the CSL programme in determining rhythm. I only transferred pitches of nineteen songs to the pitches of equal temperament scales. For these songs, I computed the cent values of pitch intervals.[6]

Typically, when we record music of different cultures, we record groups and solo performances and make transcriptions of both. The singing game songs were performed by groups of children who were close to agreement in pitch. A pitch band may have been the reason for the pitch differentiation. It could also be argued that the computer picked up the pitches of the child with the loudest voice. A similar argument could also be made for the musicians who transcribed the songs using conventional ethnomusicology processes. Like the computer, the human ear also picks up the strongest voice. Thus, the CSL programme provided a measurement in Hertz values of the strongest voice's pitches. I used the programme to verify transcriptions which reflected pitches identified using the human ear. Below is an illustration of the CSL programme.

Illustration 2. Window from Kay Elemetrics Computerized Speech Laboratory 5.1 (CSL).



FRAME	TIME(sec)	PITCH(Hz)
1	4.584	0
2	4.604	338
3	4.624	0
4	4.644	0
5	4.664	0
6	4.684	0
7	4.704	0
8	4.724	0
9	4.744	0
10	4.764	328

2.5.3. Constellations 2.5.

Constellations 2.5 is a data management and analysis tool developed at the University of British Columbia's Multimedia Ethnographic Research Laboratory (MERLin) under the directorship of Dr. Ricki Goldman-Segall. This multimedia research tool consists of a Hypercard application designed to provide access to video images, music transcripts, text, pictures, and sounds. Constellations can be used to access and analyze data from four folders; movies, pictures, sound, and text files.

Digitized video segments were inputted into a Macintosh Quadra 840w computer using Adobe Premiere 3.0 software, and stored in the movie folder. Scanned images of music transcriptions as well as maps and pictures were stored in the picture folder. The sounds of the six selected games were stored in the sound folder. Video annotations, texts of songs, and interview data were stored in the text folder. These images were then accessible for further analysis and presentation using Constellations 2.5.

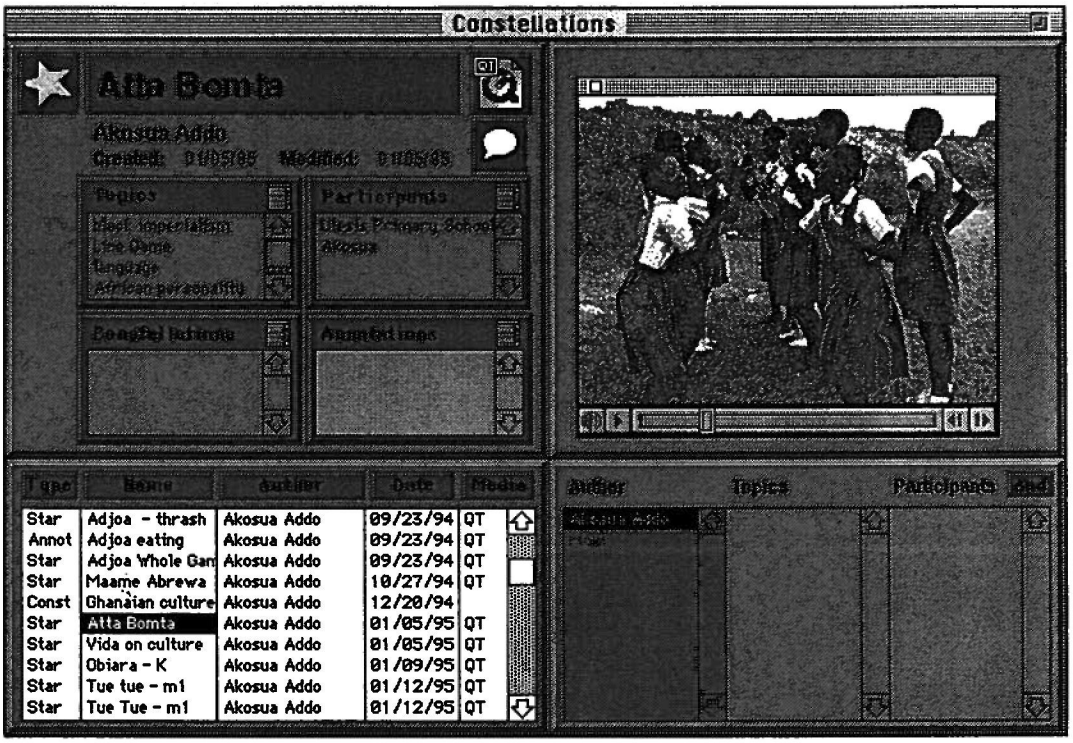
Constellations 2.5 allowed the creation of stars or constellations of stars around themes. Each star may either be a video segment, text, sound, or music notation. The procedures employed in coding the star are discussed in the data analysis section.

In order to enter Constellations, the researcher logs in by placing the user name and password in the boxes provided. Upon entering the system an introductory card appears. Each card in Constellations is divided into four sections. By default the name of the user and the date appear within the left corner of the card. The first option was to click the right hand corner and select a star, an annotation, or a constellation. After naming the selection and the type, either movies, pictures, sound, or text was selected. Upon arriving at the selected star, I could then read the topics pertaining to the particular star, the names of the

participants in the star, annotations on the star, and whether the star is linked to other stars. All this information is provided in the top right hand section of the card. The top left hand section provides space for the type of star.

Another option for entering the system was to click my name in the author space in the bottom left hand section of the card. A list of all the stars, annotations, and constellations, would appear in the left hand corner, and I could then select from the pool of information for further analysis. Refer to Appendix F for further information on Constellations 2.5. Below is an illustration of a star from Constellations 2.5.

Illustration 3. A star from Constellations 2.5.



Singing games are performance events. Visual, contextual, paralinguistic, gestural, and musical elements are constituents of the verbal text and its meaning (Finnegan, 1989, p. 19). Focusing on one of these elements, I could create more stars within a selected star. This is described later in the data analysis section of the chapter. I chose to use Constellations 2.5 to analyze and present the cultural event.

2.6 Data Analysis Strategies

Following Strauss & Corbin (1990) and Huberman & Miles (1994), I began analyzing my data prior to collecting data in Ghana. The strategies for data collection stimulated a process of analysis that was used to answer the research questions. The first stage began before field work when I read previous studies and redefined my research questions with regard to what had not been done. Prior to its use in this study, I piloted my questionnaire in a Canadian school.

The second stage of my analysis was during field work in Ghana, when I sorted data by the different categories presented in Sub-Section 2.4.4. The music transcription process described by Ghanaians took place at this time (See Section 2.5.1).

In what follows, I describe the final stages of the data analysis. Huberman and Miles (1994) identify three processes -- data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification -- as essential to all three stages of data analysis. My research questions and theoretical premise helped to focus the data analysis process. After reviewing the video I began data reduction by creating data banks of nonlinear video chunks. The second music transcription process described earlier (section 2.5.2) took place at this time. I also looked at the content of the text, and reviewed the data to consider details of movement elements.

2.6.1 Dividing, comparing, and categorizing

Step 1. Upon my return from the field, I time coded all my video tapes using a *Sony Video 8* Double deck. I then made back ups of the tapes on regular VHS tapes. As did Goldman-Segall (1991, p. 475), I first reviewed video data for nonlinear presentations. I then wrote separate transcriptions in text for each tape. I divided the screen into three columns: one for time codes, the second for text transcripts, and the third for annotations.

Step 2. I made a list of all singing games I observed in the field and identified those played at the different schools. There were 75 games in all, to which I assigned themes or key words. These included *birth, names, historical events,* and *gender roles,* and were drawn largely from the texts of the singing games.

Step 3. I transcribed 56 play songs collected at the three project schools. I then sorted the music transcriptions of the play songs according to scale similarity. Each staff was divided into three sections. The first contained the first few tones of the children's song; the second, the scale in weighted format; and the third, the range of the songs. The weighted scales were represented as starting on a common tonic. In each case, the entire song was transcribed before the weighted scale was constructed.

Step 4. From the 56 play songs, ten singing games were selected for further analysis: A*djoa Atta, Your first Name, Kye Kye Kule, Adwengo, Stone Passing Games, Maame Abrewa, Afra Kakraba, Obiara, Antɔ* and *Tue Tue*. These singing games contained nineteen playsongs in all. The method used to establish the selection criteria was in the tradition of Bartók and Arom (1991). The criteria for selection was a) structural similarities and differences, and b) variants and versions. Structural similarities are considered with regard to the interplay of music, text, body movement and gestures in the games across schools. Melodic reductions of each transcription were in the style of Agawu (1990). This

notation illuminated notes and patterns of structural importance in the selected singing games. I then identified the variants and versions of singing games at the different schools. Burman-Hall (1978, p. 81) defined variants as distinct melodies which are structurally related on middle ground levels and contribute to what she calls a "tune family." She defined versions as performance variations of lesser magnitude within a particular tune variant. I sorted the 26 variants and versions and identified them by themes. I selected ten games with 19 playsongs, all of which presented different themes for analysis. As did Thrasher (1985) I searched for musical prototypes within the singing games. Translated verbal interchanges among the children prior to and after the performance of the selected games are noted in my transcription. More often than not, the children sang and spoke in Fanti.

Step 5. From the analysis of 19 playsongs, I selected six based on their tonal organization. I used information from adult informants, literature on melody organization in Africa, and my personal judgment to determine that three of the songs were European-sounding and the remainder, Ghanaian-sounding. The perceived melodic similarity between European and Ghanaian traditional tunes is the result of the history and evolution of music cultures influenced by Ghana's social processes. The six selected for inclusion in the dissertation are *Adjoa Atta, Maame Abrewa, Afra Kakraba, Obiara, Antɔ* and *Tue Tue*. Transcriptions of the singing games are found in Chapter 4.

2.6.2 Creating Data banks of Non linear Video clips.

Where this study departs from conventional qualitative research and adds to the body of knowledge in qualitative analysis, is in the creation of a database of digitized video data for comparing and contrasting data. This database included selected singing games, interviews, and landscaping. In this study, the "cases" are the singing games. The

detailed analysis of multimedia presentations of singing games elaborates the interrelationship of music, text, and movement. I created data banks in the form of transcriptions of observations, interviews with children, interviews with adults, and singing games in written music transcription form.

Step 1. After transcribing video data, I marked the sections in which the ten selected games occurred. I also logged scenes from interviews with themes similar to the ten games. I reviewed the performances of each game over time since during each performance, children re-interpret and re-evaluate their environment and their relationships with one another.

Step 2. I edited the video for performances of the six selected games and discussions relevant to the games' themes. Comparing scenes of each performance to acquire additional information, I examined the children's re-interpretations and re-evaluations, as well as similarities and differences among various schools with regard to game performances and practices. I then selected scenes from these performances (one for each school) for nonlinear cuts. Adult interviews were also included. The selected singing game performances and interviews were digitized as described earlier (see section 2.5.3), and made available on a CD ROM. The CD ROM is included as an addendum to this dissertation.

2.6.3 Probing, conceptualizing, configuring constellations and verifying

There were two parts to probing, conceptualizing, and verifying information about selected singing games. One part was done using Constellations 2.5 for video data (steps 1-5), and for the other part, I drew on Agawu (1990), Thrasher (1985, 1990), Hughes (1991) and Walker (1992) for music analysis (steps 6-7). Constellations 2.5 provided a slate for writing these labels as topics. This slate was used for textual annotations of

the stars and the names of the participants. I began with questions which served as background to the development of the thesis, as well as those presented in Form A2. The questions that formed the basis for this thesis were: What are singing games? Who plays these games? Why do they play them? When do they play them? Where and from whom did they learn them? What are the sound and structural features of children's singing games? and What are the similarities and differences between the sound and structural features of children's singing games and adult music cultures?

Step 1. Before beginning detailed analysis of the six singing game cases, I observed the video data as a whole. This allowed me to verify my selections, and respond to statements of cultural drama by adding video annotations. Using the interview Form A2, I reviewed the video evidence with the questions, and considered the different elements of the selected singing games. I labeled the information on the singing games using *Constellations 2.5*. Labeling each star video segment is the first step in conceptualizing and breaking down the data. After identifying and selecting images, I began to chunk stars within stars. Each time I came to the data, my focus was different. However, this did not prevent me from noting information that "jumped out" at me. As I reviewed the relationship between the music, text, and movement in context, I observed that the schools had become distinct cultural groups in their representation of Ghana's different cultures. I therefore reviewed the performance of these games separately by schools.

Step 2. Movement is an integral part of children's play cultures. In particular, movements in singing game performances offer a setting in which participants can enact common experiences. Movement themes I considered as I reviewed my nonlinear clips included: space, direction, level, size, pathway, focus, speed, rhythms, weight, effort, flow, balance, body parts, body shape, and relationships. In addition, I observed child-to-child interactions, audience-

to-participant relationships, and the elements of movements that elucidate the children's enculturation.

Step 3. I analyzed text as conduits of cultural information because the songs that accompany games in Ghana are strongly social (Blacking, 1967; Cheska, 1987; Egblewodgbe, 1975; Jones, 1959; Ofori-Ansah, 1977). Cultural information in this case is the culture created by the children during singing game performance, and the reflections of an already established Ghanaian culture. I was curious about the notion of person (specifically, femaleness) perpetuated in play culture. The text of each singing game is in the language sung by the children and, where necessary, a translation into English is based on the related semantic content. A pronunciation guide for local expressions is in Appendix A. Text transcriptions are in the International Phonetic Alphabet.

Step 4. The interconnectedness of structure and style was of interest to me as I determined the relationship between melodic contour, texture, and performance style. In order to describe the melodic structure of singing games, I reduced the melody by considering the duration of notes and rhythmic patterns of the melody. The tones that evolved from this reduction together form the melody's *real range,* which I define as only those tones that emerge in a melody reduction. All the tones in the melody, not the reduction, were considered in determining what I described as the *established range* of the melody. I also considered texture created by the marriage of text, movement, and music, as well as repetition and variation which account for performance style.

Step 5. Another feature of this study is my labeling of not only the interactions I observed, but also the manner in which I interacted within the context of the play situation. Being an insider, I used particular culturally acceptable behaviors to elicit information from the play situation. Identifying these cultural indices helped to abstract from

the data the salient features for answering the research questions.

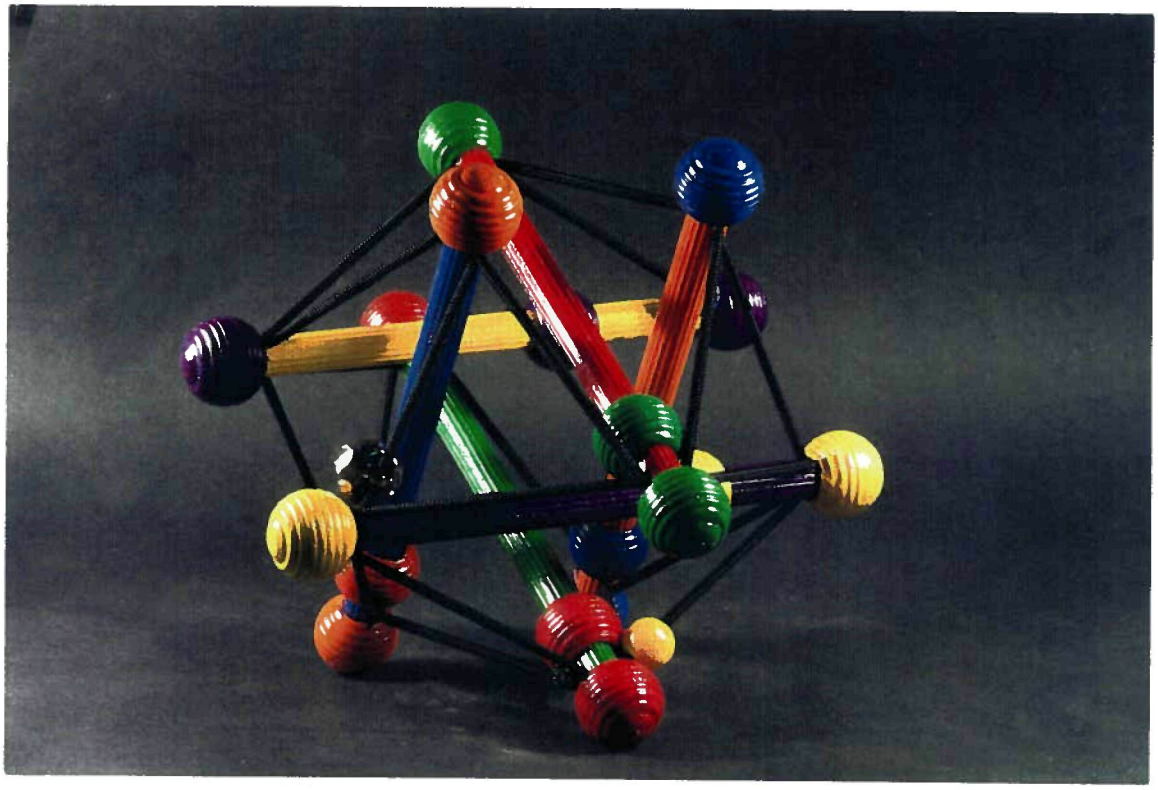
Step 6. I studied the sounds in songs with regard to the tone-tune argument raised by different ethnomusicologists (e.g., Arom, 1990; Agawu, 1988; Nketia, 1974). I noted how this argument relates to representation and notation issues for African performing arts such as singing games. Tone refers to the "quality" of the music sound. Speech tones are produced from speech-like singing styles similar to plainchant of the Roman Catholic Church. Agawu argues that correlation between speech tone and melody is weak and untenable in Northern Ewe music of Ghana (p. 128). He goes on to state that the tone-tune question varies in extent rather than in type. Even though Nketia, in his argument, proceeds from music to words, he does not deny the structuring influence of text on melody.

Step 7. With regard to the tone-tune argument, my concern was adult perceptions and consequent representations of children's music cultures. Adult perceptions are influenced by the individual's background. Although in this dissertation I followed conventional ethnomusicology practice to provide six case studies of singing games, I also asked myself questions about the representation of sounds in this singing game culture. I examined sound representation in the music of Ghana and showed how these representations are influenced by the culture of both researcher and researched. For this examination, I also used analytical methods other than those derived from Western norms. Engaging in this particular form of questioning and analysis, I began to write about Walker's (1990) description of the musical beliefs of both the researcher and the researched. As I included music ideas by the children, adult informants, and myself, this analytical process made possible Tobin and Davidson's (1990) polyvocality, and Goldman-Segall's (1995) configurational validity.

2.7 Summary

My analytic position for music, text and movement relates to Agawu (1990), Koetting (1986), La Rue (1986), Royce (1977), Thrasher (1985, 1990), Walker (1992), and Hughes (1991); for analyzing video images of sound, structure and style, it relates to Collier & Collier (1985), Goldman-Segall (1995), Qureshi (1987), and Seeger (1991). The expansive analysis of six singing games covering meter, rhythm, note grouping, melodic phrases, form, texture, text, and speech tone style fostered the identification of formal attributes (see Chapter 4). Structural similarities and differences are considered with regard to the interplay of music, text, and body movements, all of which combine to provide meanings about these games. Descriptive information about the singing games was generated and used to furnish the interpretation of cultural context, cross validate interviews and interactions, and demonstrate the interaction between the singing games and the context of performance. Like a postmodern ethnographer, I was increasingly aware of the impact of my point of view on the collaborative research venture. Expressions from all information sources including children, adult informants, teachers, maps and pictures and myself, demand different methods of analysis. The configuration of information from these sources validates the conclusions I draw in my final chapter. The image of a child's toy (squish!) comes to my mind, with the toy's different colours and textures signifying "webs of significance." Below is a picture of the child's toy.

Illustration 4. Picture of child's toy.



CHAPTER 3

GHANA'S SOCIAL PROCESS

3.1 Ghana's Cultural Capital

The study was conducted in the Central Region of Ghana, where the Fanti and other Akan[1] peoples comprise most of the population. The cultural capital of this region reflects the overall cultural capital of Ghana (Boateng, 1982, Twum-Barima, 1985). As stated throughout this dissertation, this overall cultural capital includes Ghanaian indigenous ethnic cultures, non-Ghanaian cultures absorbed during the colonial era, and cultures evolving from the influence of present global interactions. As a nation, Ghana is partially determined by geographical boundaries and more by the interactions of the different sub-group cultures. The emerging Ghanaian culture is reflected in contemporary accepted patterns of behavior and values.

In this chapter, I will discuss Ghana's emerging social process with respect to the different interactions, relationships, and situations that have shaped it. I will also describe how explicit explanations of this culture may be identified in the context within which singing games reside. My concern will be with the content and structure of singing games. Ghanaian culture is created by the interaction between the creation and transmission of singing games. In relevant areas of this chapter, I will refer briefly, to the singing games that are examined in detail as case studies in Chapter 4.

I begin by describing Ghanaian preferred cultural knowledge. I then identify the factors which have influenced the development of this cultural knowledge. Finally, I describe how these factors were evident in the performance and practice of singing games.

3.2 Preferred Cultural Knowledge

In Twum-Barima's (1985, p. 6) opinion, culture is intangible in that what drives people to act in particular ways is culture. Enculturation is the process of being socialized into one's own culture. According to Twum-Barima (p. 7), culture is transmitted through speech, vision, and activity. Thus, the performance and practise of singing games are methods through which children are enculturated into Ghanaian society and express their culture. Indigenous Ghanaian society places importance on informal methods of enculturation. These informal methods are functional in that they exist within the lived situation. The publicly shared meanings, or the shared knowledge Ghanaians use to generate, interpret, and understand social behaviours, drive the cultural situation and vice versa. In contemporary Ghana, enculturation occurs as colonial European values and contemporary global cultures are integrated with indigenous values in cultural expressions.

In contrast, acculturation is the process of being socialized into any cultural situation, usually a culture other than one's own. However, acculturation may also be construed as an element of enculturation in the Ghanaian context because it includes assimilating other than the indigenous culture. The element of balancing cultures through the dichotomy of enculturation and colonist acculturation, is, as Antubam (1963) pointed out, vital to understanding the new African, or more important, the neo-colonial Ghanaian personality.

In Ghanaian sub-cultures, there are distinct expressions for all age and social groups. These expressions differ from one another in the degree to which European and indigenous values are integrated and transmitted. Performance roles from the members of the group are dictated by social structures within cultural expressions. Spontaneity of self expression is valued in the Ghana social process. Music in Ghana, as is the case in other African

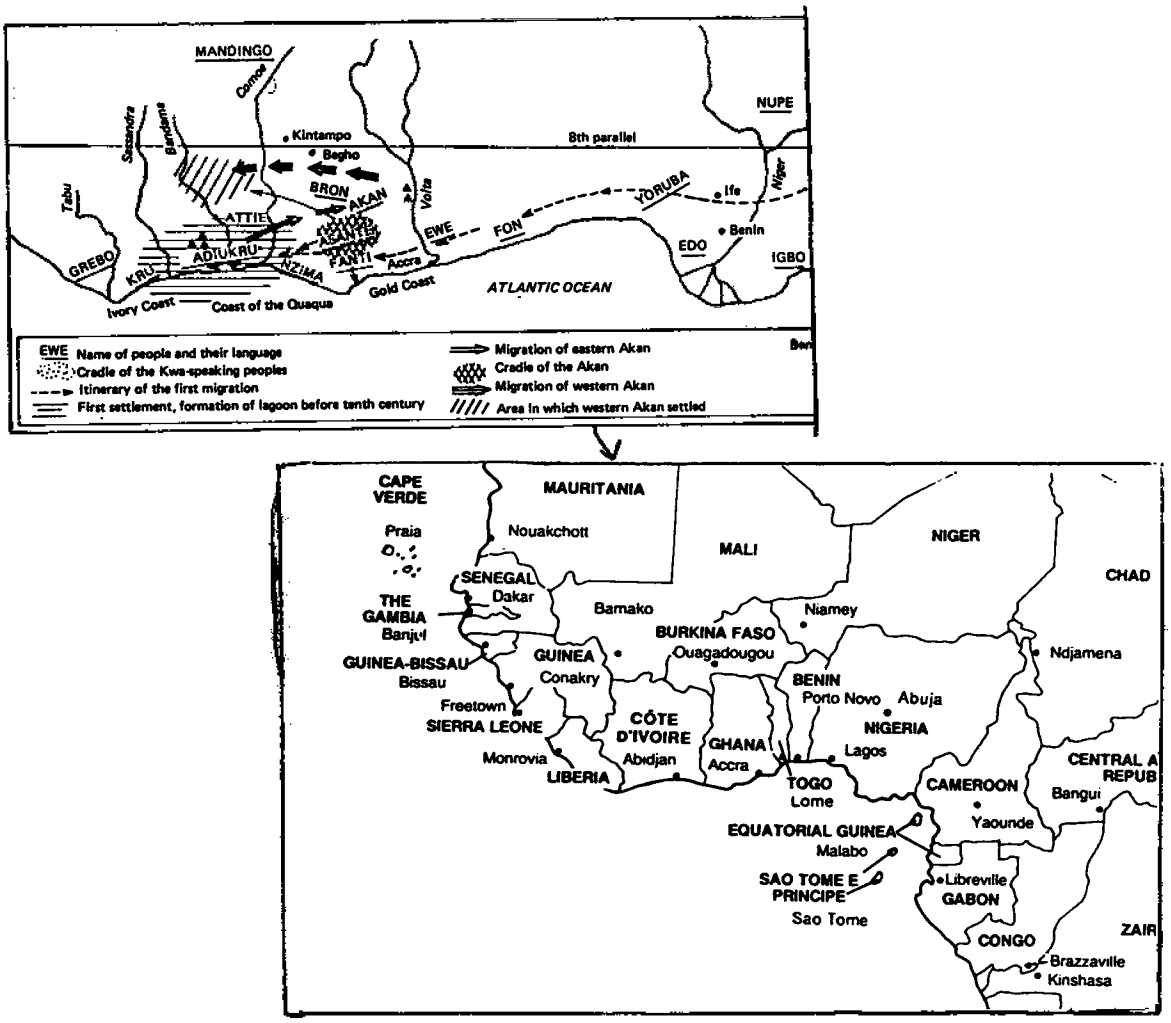
nations, is believed to be vital for sustaining community life (Nketia, 1974; Merriam, 1964). Nketia described enculturation in music as intense within African settings because its organization is most often concurrent with other activities. During music performance in Africa, the essential element is communication. Each gesture, recitation, declamation, lyric, and instrumental rendition communicates meaning to the people engaged in the situation. The festivals, leisure activities, and ceremonies for cycles of life in Ghana integrate artistic forms, audience, and the artist to provide a unifying cultural experience. In Anyidoho's (1991) view, these occasions are the ultimate expressions of Ghanaian culture. They provide avenues for contemplation, criticism, praise singing, recounting history, and establishing ethnicity. Central to present artistic expression and the experience of African tradition are (a) performance roles, (b) integrating values of different cultures, and (c) methods of transmission. These three elements are negotiated on particular occasions and settings. Drewal (1991) posited that performance is a fundamental dimension of culture and the production of knowledge about culture. In this study, children's performance roles are considered in the analysis and discussion of children's singing games cases (Chapter 4). Performance roles, integrating values of different cultures, and methods of transmission give the play form its distinctive character and meaning. Every time children perform singing games, they re-interpret and re-evaluate their culture, environment, and relationships with each other.

3.3 Fanti Ethnicity and Kinship: Historical background.

The Fanti people belong to a large ethnic group called the Akan. The Akan include the ethnic sub-groups Asante, Akyem, Kwahu, Akwapim, Wassa, Twifo, Assin, Brong, Sehwi, Adansi, Akwamu, Gomoa and Fanti. In neighbouring Cote d'Ivoire, they also include the Anyi and the Baule. Not only do subgroups within the Akan culture share linguistic resemblance, but they also have a common calendar, religious beliefs, naming ceremonies, marriage institutions, and matrilineal systems of inheritance (Boahen, 1972, p. 4). Exogamous matrilineal and patrilineal clans cut across ethnic groups and political boundaries. People who are related by consanguinity and affinity are termed as kin (Agyemang, 1986). Kinship involves biological and sociological relationships. Agyemang noted that one important variable of kinship is descent, which may either be matrilineal or patrilineal. According to Agyeman (p. 28), the Fanti speak of a "double descent." The Akan have a monarchical system of government.

Boahen (1972) posited that the ancestors of the Akan, known as Kwa-people, originated in the Benue-Chad region before breaking up and heading south-west to the Dahomey gap located in middle Niger and lower Volta. The break up of this group of Kwa-people led to migrations in different directions. The Akans moved to the valley of the Afram and forest regions, settling in the area where the Pra and Ofin rivers meet. Here, the Akan people developed their distinct culture (Boahen, 1972, p. 4). Aduonum (1980, p. 35) suggested that in this area the Akan people founded the states of Twifo, Adanse, and Denkyira. The Adanse people began to move to the north and south and this marked the birth of the Asante, Fanti, Akyem and Akwamu subgroups.

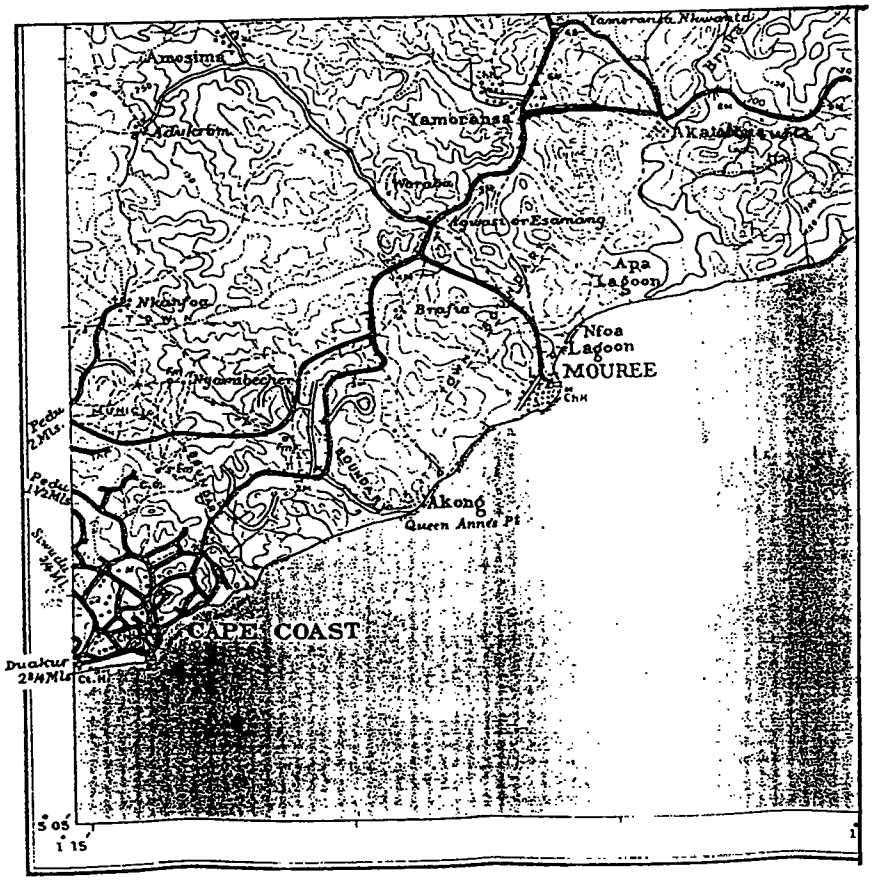
Illustration 5. Maps of Fanti Migration



The Fanti people moved further south to the coast, and formed a confederacy made up of the states of Mankesim, Nkusukum, Abora, Abease, Kwaman, and Anomabo. Cape Coast belongs to Abora, and Akatakyiwa belongs to the Nkusukum confederacy.

The Chief of Akatakyiwa traces the history of the village to the town of Takyiman. Settling first at Mankesim, the people moved west to Biriwa, a coastal area, but did not stay because they were not fishermen. There were two groups, Takyi and Takyiwa. The Takyi people moved further inland to their present settlements. The name of their village means "Takyiwa has been left behind." (See Star: Chief on Village History)

Illustration 6. Map showing Akatakyiwa and Cape Coast.



3.4 Factors Influencing the Emerging Culture.

The aggregate of Ghanaian and non-Ghanaian cultures is an expression of an emerging social process which, as argued earlier, is neo-colonial. Expressions of culture, music, dance, and language have been and continue to be influenced by non-Ghanaian cultures. The different factors which have influenced Ghana's emerging culture are interactions, relationships, and situations which together include colonialism; linguistics; economy; community norms; gender roles, attitudes, and reactions; religion; and formal education (Agyemang, 1986; Ayisi, 1979; Boahen, 1987; Boateng, 1982; Twum Barima, 1985). As I consider each factor, I will illustrate how Ghana's preferred culture, as it emerges from the influence of these factors, is resonated in the singing game scenario.

3.4.1 Colonialism.

Ghana gained independence from Britain in 1957 after nearly 400 years of contact with various European cultures (e.g., Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, French, and British) which influenced Ghanaian cultural knowledge. Today, American culture has a greater influence than colonial era cultures (Agbodeka, 1992), and the major proponents of American culture appear to be low income groups. For example, I observed that people living in low income areas prefer to wear American clothes and listen to American popular artists. On the other hand, people from higher income areas prefer to wear newer expressions of traditional clothes and listen to both Ghanaian and non-Ghanaian music. The effects of Ghana's colonial heritage[2] and continued global interactions are displayed with different intensities within social structures. Social changes that took place within traditional societies as a result of colonization, introduced new values and methods of cultural transmission. The Akans[3] resisted and resented the influence of foreign cultures; however, with the fall of their economy during the colonial era, they began to adopt certain aspects of European culture while still maintaining and perpetuating their traditional culture (Agbodeka, 1992; Boahen, 1987).

Boahen (1987, p. 107) pointed out that the psychological impact represented the most serious of negative impacts on Ghanaians resulting from the colonial period (which lasted less than 100 years). Spivak (1990) supported Boahen's statement when she argued that a significant impact of colonialism on neo-colonial states is its effect on self representation and identity. In Ghana, expressions of colonial mentality are found in condemnations of anything indigenous to Africa. During the colonial period, this mentality was perpetuated by European rulers who discouraged and eventually banned all expressions of African cultures in school and at home (Agbodeka, 1992; Boahen, 1987; Nketia, 1963). Some educated Ghana's elite rejected traditional

Ghanaian perceptions of high culture and these rejections were reflected in games and perceptions passed on to Ghanaian children.

Neuberger (1986, p. 90) argued that many African peoples were reluctant to push for an end to colonization because they feared repression and exploitation from dominant ethnic groups. He stated, "In an internal colony, ... nationalism may be used 'as a cloak for oppression,' separatism will be decried as reactionary and oppression of subject nationalities may be harder than ever" (p. 90). The fear of repression and exploitation can also be traced to the colonial period. For example, Boahen (1987, p. 108) noted that the constant humiliation and oppression to which Africans were subjected during the colonial era resulted in deep feelings of inferiority and a loss of human dignity. As a consequence, not only did ethnic sub-groups that best emulated European culture think of themselves as superior but they were also considered superior by other groups. This is what Neuberger called "Black imperialism," and what Twum-Barima (1985, p. 23) called "the enslavement of the intellect." Even though this mentality in Ghana is changing (as it is in other former colonies), expressions of black imperialism can still be found within the text of singing games. A typical example, in reference to the Northern peoples of Ghana, is the following hand clapping singing game recorded at the Ulesis School playground:

Ataa Bɔmta,

[Twin, Meaning unknown,]

Sika Dende!

[Money, Expression of joy!]

Wo maame frɛ woa,

[If your mother calls you,]

obe kyɛ wo adzi.

[She'll give you a gift.]

Ashieto hyɛ mpase.

[(Ashieto is the name of a Northern Girl) Ashieto is under the bed.*]*
Kwame Alhaji na eba no,
[(Kwame is the name of a boy born on Saturday) Kwame Alhaji is coming,*]*
ohyε guarantee nanso onti brofo.
*[*He is wearing Guarantee shoes, even though he does not speak English.*]*
Ne brofo a otia ne dε School registration spell your name.
*[*All he can say is School registration spell your name.*]*
School registration spell your name, Capital Ebu Oya, E bubu bu Oya!
[School registration spell your name, Capital, meaning unknown*]*

In this play song, the children tell a number of stories, one of which is about heeding a mother's call in order to receive a reward. Another is about two people from the Northern part of Ghana. Ashieto, a girl, is hiding underneath a bed; Kwame Alhaji, a man of Moslem faith, is wearing platform (guarantee) shoes that are not considered to be fashionable in Ghana anymore. Ashieto is probably trying to avoid house chores. Kwame Alhaji does not speak English. Conflict, which arise from the integration and expression of a confluence of cultures, are resonated in this singing game. The conflict between traditional and emerging values is illustrated in the song through Ashieto's response to her mother's call and the Moslem man's attempt to be more western by wearing western clothing even though he does not speak English. I refer to this singing game in the next section when examine language use as a factor in Ghana's emerging culture.

On the playground, children demonstrated the extent to which their upbringing was heavily influenced by European traditions--a clear indication of neo-colonialism. The text of the following singing game illustrates how children in

Ghana are increasingly being brought up to be more like children raised according to western traditions. In this singing game, the protagonist is a young girl dressing up. She combs her hair, puts on make- up (demonstrated in the gestures), wears earrings, a watch, nylons, and platform shoes -- popularly known as guarantee shoes. The make up, watch, and nylons are clearly European in nature.

Nanso obiba [Rebecca,]
[Someone child, Rebecca,]

Nanso obiba [Rebecca,]
Nanso obiba [Rebecca,]
Nanso obiba [Rebecca,]

Ni tini w'abo. [She has done her hair.]	(touches head)
Na'nim polishe. [She has polished up her face.]	(brushes face, and pretends to use lipstick)
Ohyε ni somadze. [She is wearing earrings.]	(pulls at both ears)
ninsa no watchie. [There a watch on her wrist.]	(touches wrist)
Naase ni nylon. [She is wearing nylon tights.]	(touch hips)
Ne nanaho guarantee. [On her feet are Guarantee shoes.]	(point at feet)
Ɔdenam Ɔdenantew ayee. [She goes on her way.]	(dance away back to position in circle)

Interestingly, despite their historical resistance to external rule, the Fanti also emulate aspects of European culture with even greater intensity than other ethnic subgroups in Ghana. Today, independent African nations are encouraging the revival of expressions of African cultures and their propagation outside of Africa (see *The Education Reform Programme: Policy Guidelines in Basic Education.*, 1988). As part of the cultural studies program, children in school are encouraged to take part in cultural expressions.

Bukh (1979, p. 13), in describing Ghana's transformation, stated that the transformation is displayed

as "a new social division of labour, new patterns of exploitation and oppression, new elements of class contradictions, and in particular increased subordination of women." Social change agencies included religion, commerce, and imperial administration[4] (Nduka, 1990, p. 157). From the text of the above song, we observe that singing games situations are both agents and expressions of social change.

3.4.2 Language Use

Nduka (1990) identified communication as one of the conduits of imperial domination. Colonialism affected inter-African trade and subsequently the spread of African languages. This aspect of Ghana's neo-colonial social process has had a detrimental effect on Ghanaian self-identity because children in Ghana are caught between two linguistic and cultural expressions. The conclusion among some Ghanaians is that the more articulate in English a person is, the more intelligent he/she is. They also believe that anyone able to imitate European culture is closer to civilization and, therefore, should be revered.

The previously mentioned singing game, *Ataa BɔmTa,* shows that Ghanaians are reluctant decolonizers in language use, and attitudes towards language. Depending on the socioeconomic area, attitudes to English language use are varied. In addition, during my interview with the Queen mother, she noted other Ghanaian reactions to the conflict created by balancing different linguistic expression.

> **AMBA**: Yes! So someone goes to the village and meets people gathered there and instead of greeting in the local language, or traditionally, he or she says ,"Good Morning" and the people of the village think he/she is insulting them not because they do not understand but they think he wants to show off.

Another interesting aspect which points to neocolonialism is the varied degrees of non-Ghanaian influence in different expressions of the singing game among children in the three schools. The children at Ulesis

school, whose parents were doctors, lawyers, and academics, sang both in Fanti and in English. The children from the other two schools, Armadillo and Aardvark, sang only the Fanti versions of songs (example, *Obiara* section 3.4.4).

The language on the playground is the language of the area. As this study was conducted in the Central Region, the language is Fanti. However, I observed that children at Ulesis school, who came from higher income families, were more apt than children at the other two schools to switch language codes--sometimes even within the same sentence. This practice has generated a new linguistic expression known as *Ghanaian English*. Singing games which illustrate code switching include *Ataa BɔmTa* and the Ghanaian version of Punchinella, a well-known European singing game. The movement patterns of the latter game are similar to those used by children on European playgrounds. *Aponkyi* is the Akan word for goat. In this game, the children creatively extend the terminal syllable to add colour to the construing of Punchinella. The character, Punchinella is not the children's present cultural reality but goats are. Today in Ghana, the text of the game is as follows:

Look whose seana Aponkyiyala Aponkyiyala
Look whose seana Aponkyiyala in the Zoo

Look whose here Aponkyiyala Aponkyiyala
Look whose here Aponkyiyala in the Zoo

What can you do s'Aponkyiyala Aponkyiyala
What can you do Aponkyiyala in the zoo

I can do this Aponkyiyala Aponkyiyala
I can do this Aponkyiyala in the zoo

Point to the east, east, Point to the west west.
Point to the one that you like the best.

The Ghanaian version of Punchinella shows that colonial European cultures continue to resonate on the playground (the language of which is English), and have become part of the children's culture. However, despite the origins of the

games, children in Ghana own the singing games and do not discriminate between games of different cultures. I asked the children to play their games and they played these. The recreations of these children in Ghana were part of their singing game culture.

3.4.3 Economy.

Prior to the colonial era, Africans produced their own building materials, pottery, soap, and so on. During the colonial era, such products became less important. Most of Britain's Crown colonies were developed as single crop producing states, with Ghana's main crop being cocoa (Boahen, 1987, p. 101). The economy of Ghana continues to be based on agriculture and cocoa is an important export crop.[5] Other cash crops introduced to Ghana during the colonial era included pepper, tomatoes, cassava, groundnuts (peanuts), palm oil, coffee, tobacco, rubber, and maize. Staple foods continued to be yams, coco-yams, plantains, and maize.

Mining also became an important industry, with gold, diamonds, and bauxite contributing significantly to Ghana's economy. In order for agriculture and mining to succeed an infrastructure comprised of roads, railways, harbours, airports, and telecommunication systems was established (Boahen, 1987, p. 100). Ghana's Kotoka International airport was built during the colonial era. Some children responded to the introduction of the airplane to Ghana with the following singing game, the text of which suggests that they knew the culture from which the airplane came. They liken its movement, speed, and possibilities to that of a bird. They also use onomatopoeia and body movements to reinforce the idea of an airplane in flight. The children not only acknowledge aeroplanes as part of Ghana's culture but also the source of this infrastructure. The text of the singing game is as follows:

Abrɔfo di bii bi aba.

(The Europeans have introduced something new.)
Wofrɛ no aeroplane.

(It is called the aeroplane.)
Otu sɛ anomaa

(It flies like a bird.) (Hand clapping)
See sea w'ab ɛsen kor.

(It flew by a moments ago.)
See sea w'adu abrokyir.
(It has landed overseas.)
pa, pa, na na na na (Here they spin fast)

3.4.4 Community norms - Cycles of life

Among the values summarized by Antubam (1963, p. 27) in his treatise on Ghanaian culture is the belief in perpetual cycles of life. He delineated "pregnancy, life, death, and a period of waiting in the universal pool of spiritual existence with a subsequent state of reincarnation," as aspects of cycles of Ghanaian life. Throughout this discussion of cycles of life, I will refer to the Akan because the study was conducted in a predominantly Akan area.

Childhood

Childbirth is important in Ghanaian communities. Indeed, among the Akan, a marriage is not considered to be completely binding until a child is born (Antubam, 1963; Warren, 1973). Libations and prayers include requests for numerous children. At the same time, it is taboo to make comments about a woman's pregnancy. If she experiences complications during the pregnancy, these will be blamed on the person who made the comments.

At birth, the child assumes a *day name* for one of the days of the week. An *outdooring* ceremony (*mpuei*) is then held, during which the child is formally named. The

following brief discussion on the meanings behind the outdooring ceremony illustrates the origin of day names, and Ghanaian philosophical thoughts on life.

During an outdooring ceremony, the child is given other names such as the father's name. In Ghana, custom demands that the father names the child. According to Akan custom, a child is formed by matter sustained in the mother's blood (*mogya*), the self or ego (*ntoro or ntobo*), and the personality of the father's spirit (*Sunsum*). The child is birthed by one of the seven tutelar sponsors (Okeragyaa) believed to exist in the court of God. The seven days of the week are named after these tutelar sponsors (Antubam, 1963, p. 39).[6] A man bonds with his child spiritually; a woman bonds with her child physically.

During the study, children used their day names when playing singing games. One of the games discussed the different day names given to a Ghanaian child and was particularly interesting because the game's text illustrated the marriage between Ghanaian ethnic and European cultures. This game, *Obiara* (see Section 4.4) is discussed in detail in Chapter 4. In Ghana, today it is common to give a child an English or European name. Many of these names have erroneously become construed as "Christian" names because they were introduced by missionaries. In addition, many Fanti people, because of their long contact with Europeans, took surnames such as Davidson, Addison, Arthur, Crenstil, Ferguson, Hamilton, Dawson, and Taylor. When I asked the children in my study their names, they mentioned their English first names and their surnames. However, when they began to play, they usually used their day names or other Ghanaian names. I observed that through a concept of names, children are constantly balancing indigenous cultures with non-Ghanaian cultures. This is Ghana's emerging social reality.

Puberty.

When a girl comes of age in indigenous rural areas, puberty rites are performed. Young girls are fed a special meal of mashed yams and boiled eggs. *Bra* songs are sung; *bra* being a euphemism for menses. The belief is that with the announcement of a girl's puberty, an old woman will soon die (Warren, p. 14). The ceremony includes music played on the *Donno* (Hour-glass drum or Squeeze drum). The girl's marriage prospects are considered to increase with the announcement of her puberty. Therefore, marital status and age are closely related. None of the singing games I recorded serve as examples of puberty.

Marriage

Marriage is considered to be the coming together of two families, rather than two individuals. Warren (1973) described six different preferred marriage types among Akans. The most desirable type was *Adehyewadee*, the marriage of a free man to a free woman. It is common for Ghanaian women to want to marry and have families.

A son's "head money" (*tiri sika*) is paid by his father to the father of the bride. The offering from the groom to the woman's parents is *ayɛdee*. The marriage request of the male and the acceptance of the request by the female are sealed in the affiance fee (*tiri nsa or ti nsa*). In a customary marriage, a small amount of money and a bottle of schnapps or rum are usually given to the bride's family in appreciation (*aseda*). Even though *aseda* and *tiri nsa* are supposed to be token fees, today these can represent a financial burden for the groom. *Tiri nsa* today may include such items as a suitcase, sewing machine, six pieces of wax fabric, six silk scarves, and drinks. *Aseda* is distributed among witnesses and, as such, its purpose is not to enrich families.

In contemporary Ghana, a Bible, a ring, and a hymn book have become part of traditional marriage ceremonies. This

reflects the influence of colonial era Christian missionaries. The accepted meaning of the ring is that it signifies an engagement. This has led many contemporary educated Ghanaians to falsely conclude that the customary marriage is not a real marriage. It is the Christian church wedding that is perceived to be authentic--another example of the colonial legacy and mentality. As a result, some couples take part in two marriage ceremonies (Christian and traditional) in order to have their union honoured by all Ghanaians. Marriage in present day Ghana is marked by (a) a conflict of values, and (b) materialism due to the expense involved with performing two ceremonies. This conflict was created by integrating Ghana's indigenous practices with the colonial heritage of a legalized Christian marriage.

Through their singing games, the children in this study spoke about the conflicts surrounding the increased materialism in Ghanaian marriages. In the following singing game the children discuss what people need for marriage in Ghana. In the text that follows, the child suggests a bucket, [bokiti]. As the song is repeated the following items are added to the lyric by whomever is in the centre of the circle: video player, refrigerator, broom, suitcase, plates, pots and pans, furniture, television, and fan (for Ghana's hot climate). Imbued in these suggestions are the requirements for *tiri nsa*. The words for the singing game are as follows:

Ant⊃ Ant⊃ [bokiti?] (call:bokiti is suggested by the child in the center)

[You did not buy, You did not buy a bucket?]

Ant⊃ bokiti? (response)

[You did not buy a bucket?]

Ant⊃ Ant⊃ [bokiti?] (call:bokiti is suggested by the child in the center)

(You did not buy, You did not buy a bucket)

Antɔ bokiti? (response)

[You did not buy a bucket?]

Antɔ bokiti na ɛreko aware akoye abadze?

[How are you going to manage in marriage without buying a bucket?]

Antɔ bokiti na ɛreko aware akoye abadze?

[How are you going to manage in marriage without buying a bucket?]

San W'akyir o!

[Literally: Turn your back on your marriage!]

My interviews with the children further demonstrated their awareness and comprehension of contemporary conflicts with regard to the subject of marriage in contemporary Ghana. This will be explored further in Chapter 4, as I build a case study on the subject of marriage using the singing game *Antɔ*.

Divorce and Polygamy.

Divorce is a part of Ghanaian customary marriage situations but, because marriage is a union between two families and not two people, divorce can be difficult. However, divorce is not considered to be an anti-social act or religious sacrilege. According to Warren (1973), the extended family system in Ghana reduces the emotional tremor children feel in divorce situations. While this may have been the case when Warren's work was published, it is now debatable because the scattering of families for career reasons has changed the role of the extended family. This in turn has changed the manner in which divorce is handled in contemporary Ghanaian society. At present, this difference is not reflected in singing games the children in this study played.

One of the singing games the children performed presented divorce as an option to a woman not satisfied with her marriage. The hand clapping game, sung by the children

at Aardvark School, told the story of Ama, a woman born on a Saturday in Ghana. In the game, Ama is advised that if she cannot stand being married any more, then she should consider divorce. The following is the text of the game:

Pempena pempena Ama.
[Pempena - Onomatopoeia for the hand clapping movements, Ama - a girl born on Saturday.]
Pempena pempena Ama.
[Pempena - Onomatopoeia for the hand clapping movements, Ama - a girl born on Saturday.]
Sɛ nke tom' aware'aa gyae o, gyae o, gyae o, Ama.
[If you cannot stand being married any more stop, stop, stop, Ama.]
Sɛ nke tom' awar'aa gyae o gyae o gyae o Ama, Ama.
[If you cannot stand being married any more stop, stop, stop, Ama.]

The words "stop, stop, stop," in the above text refers to divorce. In traditional Ghanaian culture, a person is either married or not married. If a person has been married before and is no longer married, it is reasonable to conclude that the marriage broke down and resulted in divorce.

Polygamy is considered to be socially acceptable and practical among the Akan, even among those who follow the teachings of Christianity. Although according to Warren (1973) polygamy seems to be declining in urban areas, in rural Ghana, it is still acceptable and practiced. In rural areas, for example, farming duties of the man with several wives and children are lighter. The following song, which is sung during a stone passing game, discusses a man's displeasure with his wife who lives in Winneba and has not fulfilled her duties. He gives his wife money to prepare food but because her cooking is so bad and she is not present to serve him the food, he decides to divorce her. He has that option because he may well have wives in other towns.

The following text demonstrates adherence to the traditional pattern of family organization:

Simpa aware memware bio, ma gyae.
[I am going to put an end to this Winneba marriage, I am divorced.]
Ɔbaa basea!
[Woman, Female!]
Simpa aware memware bio, ma gyae.
[I am going to put an end to this Winneba marriage, I am divorced].
Ɔbaa basea!
[Woman, Female!]
Ɔbaa Besea, maa mani wo sika,
[Woman, Female, I gave you money,]
nfa nye aduane.
[To cook food for me.]
mefi adwuma aba,
[I return from work,]
Ɔdze'ase ho, obiara ni hɔ o.
[She has left the food, There is no one around.]
Nkrakra ni nsua,
[As for the Light Soup,]
W'aye nsu nkua.
[It is watery.]

"Light soup" is a pepper soup popular among many Ghanaians. From this singing game, the children may generalize that Winneba women are bad cooks and therefore not worthy of marriage. Interestingly this song was only sung at Aardvark school. I explore gender roles in marriage further in Section 3.4.5 and in Chapter 4.

Old age and death.

In indigenous Ghanaian cultures, regardless of the ethnic group, old people are respected and cared for by their children. Family care reinforces the premium placed on bearing children in marriage. Old age facilities such as retirement homes are not yet culturally acceptable or available. With increasing contact with other countries and changing social values, retirement homes will probably be considered in the near future. For example, Warren (1973) notes that Ghana's changing social values have affected the manner in which old people are regarded. Today, as in European countries, academic achievement, the scattering of families, education, and political party philosophies have reduced older people's traditional high status. As educated young people become more honoured within Ghanaian society, older people who are less educated are not viewed with equal regard. In addition, the scattering of families for career reasons has lessened the value placed on older people taking leadership roles within the extended family.

The following singing game does not discuss older people's high honour but does acknowledge their contribution to Ghanaian social organization. *Maame Abrewa* is a fast, high-spirited circle game about old women. The text of the singing game is as follows:

Maame Abrewa rebɔ ni nkatse
[Mother, old lady cracks her groundnuts]

dwɛ dwɛ dwɛ dwɛ dwɛ dwɛ
[onomatopoeia representing sound of cracking nuts]
ɔrebɔ rebɔ rebɔ
[She cracks it, cracks it, cracks it.]

dwɛ dwɛ dwɛ dwɛ dwɛ dwɛ

Older women in Ghana do light work like cracking nuts. In Ghana, the purpose of cracking nuts is for family consumption or for retail. Cracking nuts is the function of

older people in this singing game. The performance reflects the recurring cyclic patterns of life. Repetition in the text and rhythmic patterns coupled with the body movement reinforce a sense of the perpetual cycles of life. In Chapter 4, I analyze this singing game in detail.

Antubam (1963, p. 27) states that the Akan believe that during the period of waiting after death, "it is possible to change one's lot for better or for worse." The fourth line of the following singing game refers to this period of waiting when through reincarnation, a person is able to change his/her destiny. The text of the entire singing game is presented later in this chapter.

Hwe Hwɛ odo
[Seek after love]
Ansaa na' wo
[Before you die]
ɛno na ɛyɛ wo kwan kyerɛ fo
[That is your guidance]
nsamana' kyir baabia ma yɛ re ko
[At the suspension between the quick and the dead, where we all are going]
Wonfa sika nyɛ hwee wo ho. . .
[Money has no use there]. . .

Antubam (1963) recorded that one of the values of Ghanaian culture is the belief in the eternal suspension between the quick and the dead. At death, the Akan believe that a person's blood becomes a ghost and enters the spirit world. A person's spirit goes back to God. Funerals are important social events as they reaffirm these cultural values. The size of the funeral is determined by a person's age, status, occupation, personality, and religion. Dancing and music are integral parts of the public funeral. The singing game *Adjoa Attah,* presented as a case study in Chapter 4, illuminates the Akan belief in life after death.

3.4.5 Gender roles, attitudes and reactions.

Although women of other cultures in Ghana continue to live in their lineage houses rather than joining their husbands, the Akan custom for the marriage residence is patrilocal. However, in an interview with children from Ulesis School, I observed that women in contemporary Ghana do own houses. As such, the marriage home is not necessarily patrilocal. This interview is presented in Chapter 4. (see, Section 4.4).

Peil (1975) studied female roles in West Africa.[7] Of particular interest in this dissertation is the point Peil raised about a woman's participation in decision making. A woman's participation, Peil argues, is related to her role as wife and her relative contribution to household expenses. She found that women make enough money to provide for themselves. Peil also states (1975) that women who are economically independent are usually willing to exchange this independence for the status of wife and mother--highly valued in Ghana. Attached to marriage and motherhood are household chores and cooking. Imbued in an interview I conducted with the children are their conceptions of gender relationships within marriage (see Chapter 4, pp. 150 - 155). An example of accepted patterns of behavior in gender relationships is the statement by Akua on page 152, "The plates and cups are used by the woman." A singing game played by the children in Ulesis School illustrates this point subtly.

Mummy at the kitchen is a hand clapping game and a concentration game popular at both Ulesis and Armadillo Schools. When one child says "stop", they all stand as still as possible until a self appointed leader tells them to change their standing position. The text of this game follows:

Mummy at the kitchen, cooking rice water
Daddy in the hall, watching TV

The children are playing, playing ampe.
STOP!

Women in contemporary Ghana society are constantly attempting to resolve conflicts with regard to their status. Before colonization, a woman's distinct role was to complement the male. During the colonial period, Ghanaians learned from the British that the women's role in society was primarily in the home. Interestingly, I found a version of the following singing game recorded by Abrahams & Rankin (1980, p. 32). They noted that the game was first recorded in 1959 in Canberra, Australia. The text of this European version is as follows:

Mother's in the Kitchen
Doin' a bit of stitchin';
Father's in the butcher's,
Cuttin' up the meat;
Baby's in the cradle,
Fast asleep.
How many hours does baby sleep?
1, 2, 3, 4, ...

A comparison of the two texts (*Mummy at the kitchen, cooking rice water ...* and *Mother's in the Kitchen...)* confirms that the Ghana version originated in the colonial era. Boahen (1987, p. 107) observed that during colonization there were fewer opportunities for Ghanaian women in academia. In addition, few European women were appointed to European posts and a woman had never been appointed governor of a colony (Boahen, 1987, p. 107). The notion of home-maker is now part of Ghana's emerging social organization. In the indigenous society, both women and men worked in agriculture.

3.4.6 Religious beliefs and practices

Traditional religious beliefs and practices are important sources of African philosophical thought because they seek answers to fundamental questions such as the meaning of life, the origin of things, and death (Gyekye, 1987). However, traditional religious beliefs and practices are also being influenced by Ghana's emerging social process.

Africans have elaborate religious beliefs and practices which permeate the singing game culture. Gyekye (1987, p. 13) states that African philosophical thought is expressed both in oral literature and the thoughts and actions of people. In contemporary Ghana, because of the influence of Islam and Christianity, the people are syncretistic. Even though the text of singing games may reflect different religious beliefs, most often it is tied to traditional beliefs.

Traditionally, Ghanaians believe that one is born free of sin and remains so until becoming involved with some polluting circumstances in life (Antubam, 1963, p. 27). Gyekye (1987) rightly pointed out that in traditional Akan philosophy and theology, God is omnipotent and wholly good (p. 124). He went on to state that, for Akan people, evil can originate from "the deities (*abosom*, including all supernatural forces such as magical forces, witches, etc.) and mankind's own will" (p. 124).

In traditional Ghanaian forms of religion, prayer is concurrent with pouring libation. Libation may either be an alcoholic drink, water, or food. Antubam (1963, p. 40), states that as Ghanaians pray and pour libation they are connected to their ancestors. This act reinforces the belief in life after death. The seven basic virtues that, according to Antubam, form part of prayer in Akan traditional societies are: *Nkwa* (life and good health), *Adom* (God's Grace), *Asomdwee* (peace of the world), *Abawotum* (fertility of sex, potency and procreativity), *Anihutum* (good eye sight),

Asotetum (good hearing power), and *Amandoree* (rainfall and general prosperity of the land and state).

In Ghana, religious faiths practiced include Islam, Christianity, and African traditional religions. Ghanaians practice both Christianity and traditional religions simultaneously. Traditional beliefs are indisputably part of every Ghanaian's life. However, some Ghanaians feel the need to make a distinction regarding their affiliation to Christianity or Islam.

Religion has been affected by the commercialization of most aspects of Ghana's social process. Many contemporary Ghanaian musicians attempt to modify a materialistic mentality by promoting the pursuit of expressions of love above material wealth. One of the singing games the children at Ulesis played expresses this quite explicitly. The text is as follows:

Hwe Hwɛ odo
[Seek after love]
Ansaa na' wo,
[Before you die,]
Ɛno na ɛyɛ wo kwan kyerɛ fo.
[For that is your guidance.]
nsamana' kyir ho, baabia ma yɛ re ko,
[At the suspension between the quick and the dead, where we all are going,]
Wonfa sika nyɛ hwee wo ho.
[Money has no use there.]
Nti sɛ wo wo sika,
[So if you have money,]
Nyame na ode amawo.
[God gave it to you.]
Sɛ wo wo ntuma,
[If you have clothes,]
Nyame na ode amawo.
[God gave it to you.]

Nsamana' kyir, baabia ma yɛ re ko,
[At the suspension between the quick and the dead, where we all are going,]
Wonfa sika nyɛ hwee wo ho.
[Money has no use there.]

3.4.7 Recreation

Recreation in Akan and other Ghanaian communities is segregated along gender lines. Spouses seldom go out together except to church. This causes much conflict in cross-cultural marriage situations. Traditionally, playing outdoor games, storytelling, gossiping, and dancing are some of the favorite pastimes of people in Ghana. Colonization introduced ballroom dancing, and the creation of new forms of music that blended Ghanaian and European cultures. Continued contact with other countries has caused Ghana to embrace new forms of recreation. Some of these include the discotheque and video games such as those manufactured by Nintendo.

Children in Ghana play with toys that were once imported but are now manufactured in Ghana. The toys reflect the blend of Ghanaian and European cultures. Some children have grown up playing with teddy-bears, dolls, and guns while others have made tin "push" vehicles and "cooked" sand. Still others have enjoyed both Ghanaian and European cultures. In Ghana popular outdoor games include singing games, *ampe,* and soccer. Among children, play is also enacted along gender lines. Even though both boys and girls play singing games, they do not usually play together.

Some singing games reflect entirely non-Ghanaian traditions. At Ulesis School, I found a variant of a singing game performed at the Canadian school where I had conducted my initial investigations into play culture. The text of this singing game is *Sing Zero* as follows:

a)
Sing Zero, Sing Zero, to the east, the west,

I met my best friend at the country shop
He bought me ice cream and a wedding cake
Mama, Mama, I am so sick
Call the doctor, quick! quick! quick!
Doctor, doctor shall I die?
No my darling, don't you cry
so one, two, three, four . . .

This game is played by the children in groups of four. It is a hand clapping game. In the Canadian school, the variant is a skip rope game and its text is as follows:

b)
Cinderella dressed in Yellow,
Went upstairs to kiss a fellow
Made a mistake and kissed a snake
How many doctors did it take,
One, two, three, four . . .

A version of this singing game is recorded by Abrahams & Rankin (1980, p. 28) and is close to the version played by the children in Ghana. The text of the Abrahams & Rankin version is as follows:

c)
Doctor, doctor, come here quick,
Doctor, doctor, I feel sick,
Doctor, doctor, will I die?
No, dear child, do not cry.

Abrahams & Rankin (1980, p. 28) note that this version (c) was also recorded by Sutton-Smith in 1959 in Australia. The text suggests that the singing game, which must have originated in the colonial era, has not changed much since then. The version sung by the children in Ghana (a) reflects the absorbed cultural values of contemporary Ghanaians. The

indistinct change in the Ghanaian version may be because its cultural meaning is compatible with Ghana's contemporary culture.

3.4.8 Schooling in Ghana

Ghanaian concern for social continuity and change involves balancing indigenous traditions with non-Ghanaian traditions. Nduka (1990, p. 153) argued that in Africa there existed a conflict between indigenous values and exotic western values and institutions. One of the conflicts Nduka noted was the tension that arose with regard to resolving individualism as propagated by Christianity and other aspects of Western religion, and the African demands of communal solidarity. Calling for cooperation between home, school and society, Nduka admitted that there were difficulties inherent in attempts to integrate Western and indigenous values. In addition to "teaching and learning and other processes whereby values, rules, principles, ideals, habits and attitudes are inculcated," moral education for Nduka included the taking of "adequate educational steps supplemented with appropriate institutional arrangements to promote moral growth along the development continuum" (p. 155).

During the colonial period, schooling in Ghana meant that students left home and stayed in boarding schools referred to as *Salem*. The students stayed in these schools for nine months every year and sought "the correctness that would lead them to out do the bourgeois" (Harker, 1990, p. 93). Many Ghanaians continue to give credence to the superiority of Europe, and Ghana's educational system and teaching methods reflect this mentality. Once, the bourgeois were the colonizers; today they are products of this system. The stratifying effects of colonialism have spilled over into education and onto the playground. An inherited authoritarian political climate prevails in school settings (Agyeman, 1986, p. 21; Seitz, 1991). Indigenizing the school

curriculum is an example of the attempt to overturn the stratifying effect of colonialism (Agyeman, 1986, p. 21; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985, p. 1).

Pedagogical practices are based on Euro-American norms that have already ceased to function, or are being questioned, within the very societies that generated them. Some of these practices include the use of a cane for discipline, direct didactic methods of instruction by teachers, and the defining of teachers as unquestioned sources of all knowledge. The following text of a singing game reflects these pedagogical practices:

School registration, spell your name	
School registration, spell your name	
Capital "M"	(Child in centre)
M, M	(Response: All Children)
"A"	(Child in centre)
A, A	(Response: All Children)
"R"	(Child in centre)
R, R	(Response: All Children)
"Y"	(Child in centre)
Y, Y	(Response: All children)

In the above singing game the children form a circle and one child volunteers to stand in the middle of the circle. The children in the circle ask her to spell her name. Each time the child in the centre calls out a letter the other children repeat this letter twice. Repetition reinforces the letters and acts as a teaching strategy for memorizing and internalizing the spelling of the name.

Harker (1990, p. 91) posited that the children who succeed in school come to accept the criteria[8] that deem them successful--what Bourdieu (1977) called "learned ignorance." This perception, in turn, creates a sense of "social neutrality" that blinds one to realities. Social neutrality

has been increasingly present in the development of curricula in Ghana because of Ghana's neo-colonial social reality. As education became more accessible, there was an increase in the questionable pyramid philosophy that "many are called but few are chosen" (see Hawes, 1979, p. 34). Social mobility for some and not others, therefore, stratified the society.

Education in Ghana is fraught with the dynamic of a society driven by meritocracy -- the criteria for merit favouring style and content.[9] Social class and prestigious language forms are dependent on schooling and, taste and to some extent, this is true in Ghana. It is relatively easy to identify the school a person attended by the economic and social choices she or he makes. Social choices are influenced by the socio-economic backgrounds of children's parents and include the kinds of singing games children play. For example, I counted the number of games the children played to determine how many were sung in English and in Fanti. My intention was to determine if there was a relationship between socio-economic class and language use across the three schools. The children at Ulesis school sang twenty games in English and twenty-six in Fanti. Some of these games were European games from the colonial period which had not changed much in terms of style and content. At Aardvark School, of the forty-eight games that the children played, two were in English. Armadillo School children played thirty-seven games for me, and, of these, ten were in English. The children at Ulesis school are more like children who live in western societies than their peers at the other two schools.

3.4.9 Music Curriculum and Instruction.

The present music curriculum is included in the Cultural Studies Syllabus for Primary Schools (1989). The curriculum is developed and published by the Curriculum Development and Research Division of the Ghana Education Service. The cultural studies programme was designed to nurture cultural

awareness and appreciation in Ghanaian students for Ghanaian indigenous culture through music, drama, religion, and social studies. However, the organization of curriculum subjects creates a hierarchical educational structure imbued with the dynamics of authority and power. In agreement with Bourdieu, (1977), knowledge is socially distributed. The more academic and theoretical subjects are preferred over practical skill oriented subjects. The classification of subjects as preferred, status/hegemonic or as practical/non-pecking is on some existing codes of practise within the boundaries of Ghana's cultural capital. The subjects of the cultural studies programme were considered as practical and non pecking.

Evaluating the cultural studies programme, I observed congruence between the learner goals and objectives in the Cultural Studies Programme. For example, as part of the goal to develop awareness among students that music plays a vital role in Ghanaian society, pupils are expected to (a) sing folksongs that belong to various traditional occupations, (b) state the social values of patriotic songs of the nation and identify the correct occasion for these songs, (c) identify occasions when particular types of drums are played as well as the drum's significance in the cultural heritage of Ghanaians, and (d) sing folksongs, playsongs, and religious songs. Particularly at Aardvark School, I noticed that children on the playground did not discriminate between singing games and other forms of music expression. All expressions of Ghanaian indigenous music forms were part of their playground activities.

Music in the Ghanaian indigenous social setting continues to be functional in so far as it is a part of people's daily life. Situations for learning occur during music performance and practice. This form of instruction, also evident in other African countries, is informal because it occurs within the context of everyday life. Parents (Turkson, 1989), apprenticeship (Merriam, 1964, p. 146) and

playmates (Turkson, 1989) are legitimate conduits of music instruction. The practises of this form of instruction include rote learning, observation and active participation, imitation, memorization, and spontaneity. Informal music instruction takes place at the time of the music event and, as these events reoccur, continues throughout a person's lifetime.

In Ghana's formal primary school curriculum, music includes both Ghanaian indigenous and non-Ghanaian forms as content. Until 1987, secondary school students were required to take `O'level examinations that were organized by Cambridge University in England. Therefore, the secondary music syllabus increasingly became western. Those students who possessed or had acquired the intercultural code, would opt to study music further. At tertiary institutions, there was a return to balancing indigenous Ghanaian music instruction with European music.

3.5 Summary

Is knowledge acquired through singing games compatible with the preferred cultural knowledge in contemporary Ghanaian society? Aspects of Ghanaian cultural knowledge which may be described as preferred, may be reflected in the knowledge acquired through singing games. Colonial era cultures, indigenous cultures, and the influence of cultures by Ghana's global interactions is all part of Ghana's preferred cultural knowledge and neo-colonial social process. This examination of the structure and content of singing games in performance situations illustrates how this so-called preferred neo-colonial Ghanaian social process is evidenced.

This thesis is constructed on the premise that Ghanaian culture is created by the interaction between the making and the transmission of singing games. Singing games, unlike other channels of African philosophical thought, may either be an individual's creation or the collective creation of a

group of children. Balancing the aggregate of Ghanaian and non-Ghanaian cultures as expressions of a neo-colonial social process creates conflicts. This social process is influenced by colonialism, linguistics, economy, community norms, gender roles, attitudes and reactions, religion, and formal education. The children's socio-economic backgrounds affected the degree to which these factors influenced the social process.

CHAPTER 4

STORIES: GHANAIAN PLAY CULTURE

4.1 Parallel and Complementary Analysis

Parallel and complementary analysis refers to the marriage of two otherwise antithetical approaches to analysis. One school of thought, formalists, proposes that one does not have to know the details of the cultural context within which a particular type of music exists (e.g., Agawu, 1986, p. 65; Arom, 1991). The belief is that the music can be understood quite apart from its context. Another school of thought, contextualists, argues that knowing and understanding the context is essential to a representation of the sound idiom (e.g., Blacking, 1973; Merriam, 1964, pp. 211-213; Nketia, 1990). I posit that, when used together, these two approaches--though thought to be parallel--are in fact, complementary. I combine these two approaches to analyze the selected singing games.

The singing games selected for analysis in this chapter are presented as case studies, each with their own story, challenges, and entertainment value. My analytical position relates to those of Qureshi (1987), Koetting (1986), Agawu (1990), Walker, (1992), Thrasher (1985, 1990) and Seeger (1991). Like these scholars, I view as parallel and complementary the description of sound and structural features of singing games, and the description of the significance of children performing singing games. The questions that form the context for this chapter are: What cultural forms are apparent in the performance and practice of Ghanaian children's singing games? To what extent do children show themselves to be aware of learning these cultural forms? What does a video ethnography reveal about this singing game culture?

In this chapter, I describe game rules of each singing game in a general introduction. Following the introduction,

I discuss the sound, structure and style features of singing games. I distinguish between three European-sounding singing games and three Ghanaian-sounding singing games. The three singing games classified as Ghanaian sounding are *Afra Kakraba* (Section 4.2), *Maame Abrewa* (Section 4.3), and *Antɔ* (Section 4.4). The three singing games classified as European-sounding are *Adjoa Atta* (Section 4.5), *Obiara* (Section 4.6), and *Tue Tue* (Section 4.7).

First, I analyze music, text and movement drawing on Agawu (1990), Koetting (1986), La Rue (1986), Royce (1977), Thrasher (1985, 1990), Walker (1992), and Hughes (1991) to show sound, structure, and style. I observed child-to-child interactions, audience-to-participant relationships, and the elements of movements that elucidate the children's enculturation. I analyzed text as conduits of cultural information, because the songs that accompany games in Ghana are strongly social (Blacking, 1967; Cheska, 1987; Egblewodgbe, 1975; Jones, 1959; Ofori-Ansah, 1977). Analyzing the interrelationships between music, text, and movement within singing games, I was able to explain some cultural meanings inherent in each singing game.

Second, drawing on Collier & Collier (1985), Goldman Segall (1991), Qureshi (1987), and Seeger (1991) I analyzed video images for extra-musical factors of performance contexts, and cultural ideology. Here, I was interested in what singing games contributed to children's enculturation in Ghana as well as what children themselves contributed to singing game culture. Through singing games, children are both enculturated into and are the creators of, Ghana's culture. I examine the children's re-interpretations and re-evaluations of their environment and relationship with each other, as well as similarities and differences among various schools with regard to game performances and practices. The last part of the chapter, the summary, reiterates the interconnectedness and interrelationship of the analytical approaches to this singing game culture.

4.2 *Afra Kakraba:* Description and Analysis

Afra Kakraba is a circle game played by children in all three schools I researched. *Afra kakraba* is about an infant sitting in the sun. All this infant did was cry. The children, through this singing game, talked about how to comfort the crying child. At the beginning of the game, the children stood in a circle facing the centre. One child stooped in the centre of the circle, playing the crying infant, while the others clapped their hands and sung. The child in the centre articulated movements suggested by the rest of the children. She stood and shook the hem of her dress when asked to do so and she spun around. Finally, she ran to choose a friend in response to the text of the song. As she spun on the spot, she covered her eyes with one palm and pointed at a child with the other hand. The friend she chose then stooped in the centre of the circle and another cycle of the game began. There were no losers or winners in this game. The children made sure every participant had the opportunity to be the infant in the circle.

The following is the text I recorded for *Afra Kakraba*:

Afra Kakraba Kosow ewiam
[An infant sits in the sun]

Daa Daa orisu
[The infant cries all day long]

Afra sɔr' Afra sɔr' Afra popow w'atare mu
[Infant, get up, Infant, get up, Infant, shake out your dress!]

Afra twa woho twa woho twa woho
[Infant, turn around, turn around, turn around]

Afra kɛ fa wo dɔfoɛ
[Infant, go to your loved one]

Some of the children sung the last line as *Afra kε fa wo yonkuε,* which means "Infant, go for your friend." Implicit in the expression "loved one" or "friend" as an aspect of person in Ghanaian social construction. I explore the social construction of a loved one or friends among children later in this case study. The children attending Aardvark School and Ulesis School tended to personalize the game by substituting the word *Afra* with the name of the child in the centre of the circle.

Afra Kakraba has 6 four-beat phrases (See Figure 2). Text, movement, and music marked the phrases of the singing game and therefore defined its structure. The fourth and sixth phrases were variations of the second phrase; therefore, they sound similar.

All phrases except the second begin with the word *Afra*. Each phrase contained a different textual idea. A relatively steady marked tempo was maintained throughout the performance of *Afra Kakraba*.

Each phrase had distinct characteristics, and yet all the phrases were related in their movement, text, and music. I describe the distinct characteristics of these phrases as I present my analysis of *Afra Kakraba*. The articulation of these distinct sections accounts for the variety within the game performance and for its formal structure.

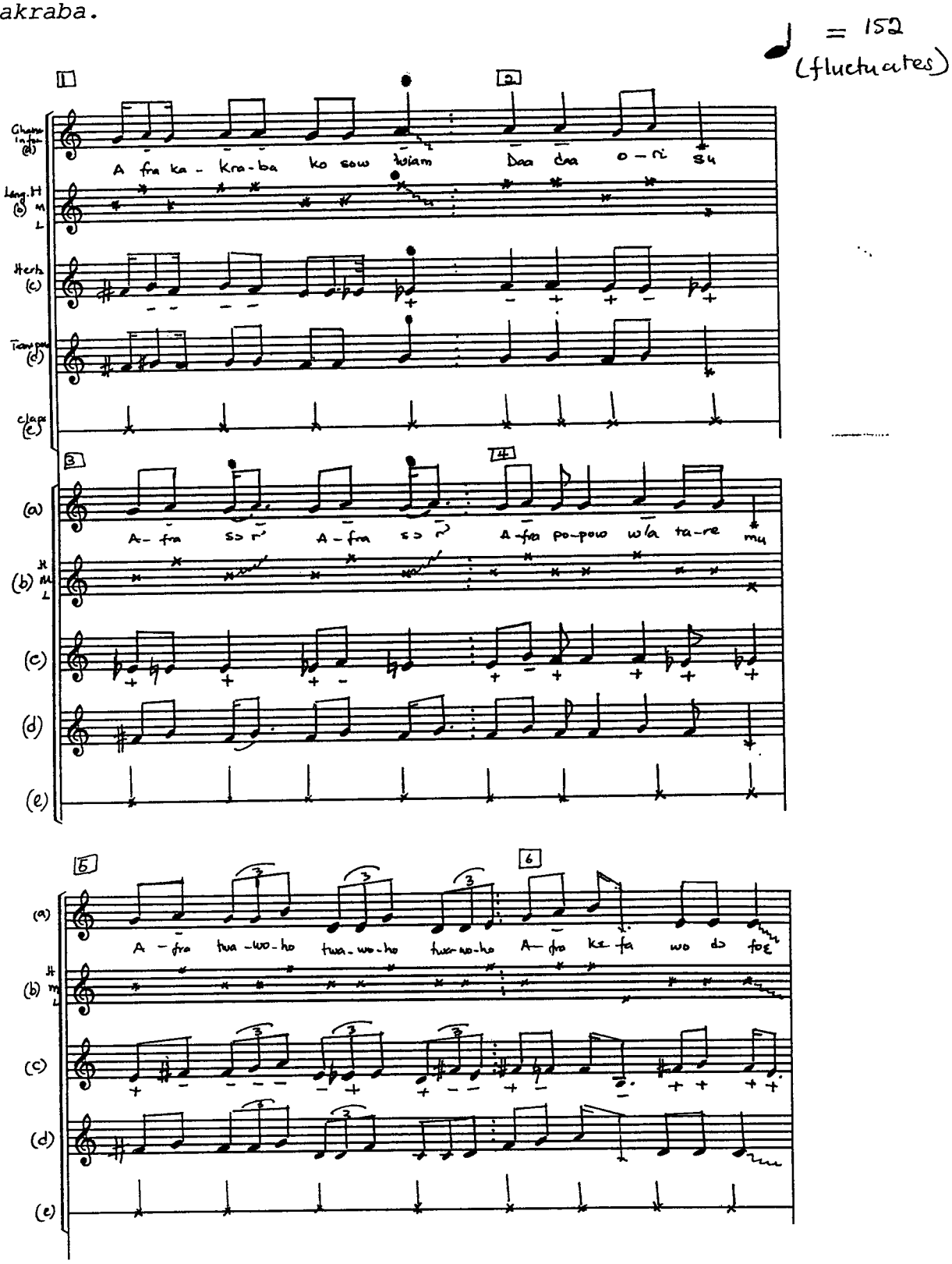
Afra Kakraba has a short melodic range. There were five speech tones in the Ghanaian informed transcription (Figure 2, Line a). Figure 1 shows the tones arranged in weighted scale format and the melodic range.

Figure 1. Speech tones and range - *Afra Kakraba*

The tones of *Afra Kakraba* seemed to be closely related to the text, as was the rhythm. The rise and fall in the language was observed in the melody. Melodic phrases showed descending contours at the end of the second, fourth and sixth phrases (see Figure 2, Line a). Cadential drops to indefinite pitches, characteristic of adult Akan traditional music, were evident at the end of these phrases. The sequential melody of the phrase *twa woho* in the fifth phrase charted a descending melodic contour. All six phrases of *Afra Kakraba* had melodic similarities. Differences in the melodies were created by the distinct rhythmic and textual variations of each phrase. I discuss these variations later in the analysis.

In Figure 2, the first line (Line a) is the transcription constructed from Ghanaian-informed judgments. The second line (Line b) will display tones from the natural rise and fall of the language. I have chosen a three tone framework of High, Medium and Low for *Afra Kakraba*. The computer-assisted transcriptions are in line c. There were apparent differences between the tones in the transcription from Ghanaian informed judgments (Line a) and computer-assisted transcriptions (See Figure 2: Line c and Appendix C: Table 2). Consequently, I show a transposition of the Ghanaian informed transcription in the fourth line (Line d). The actual beginning pitch is F#4. In the last line I show where the hand claps occur.

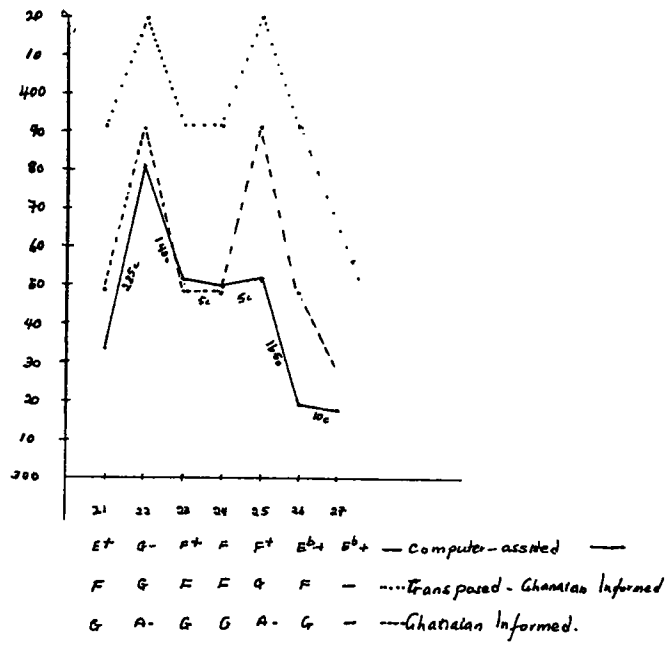
Figure 2. Transcriptions from Ghanaian-informed judgments, speech tones of language, computer-assisted transcriptions, transposed melody and hand clapping - *Afra Kakraba.*



In Figure 2, the line of music transcribed by adult Ghanaian informants (Line a) follows the natural rise and fall of the Fanti language (Line b). This similarity between melody contour and speech contour was also reflected in the melody extrapolated from Hertz values (Line c). The distinction between these three lines is in the individual tones. The first pitch of *Afra Kakraba* began on G_4 for the Ghanaian informed transcription and $F\#_4$ for the computer assisted transcription. Given that the CSL programme used to measure the pitch equivalents (See Figure 2: Line c and Appendix C: Table 2) is accurate, it is possible to suggest that there is a disparity between the adult Ghanaian perceptions of children's singing and some of the pitches the children actually sang. Therefore, I transposed downward the transcription by informants, beginning on the same tone as the computer-assisted transcription (see Line d).

The difference observed in the previous comparison (Figure 2, Lines a & c) was reduced when I considered the intervallic relationship between the transposed informants transcription (Figure 2: Line d) and Hertz value pitch equivalents (Figure 2: Line c). The tones begin to deviate from each other at the fourth and fifth pitches. For further examination, the corresponding values are presented in Table 2, Appendix C. Table 2 also provides details on interval relationships. The deviation may not be very wide in the above example; however, it was more noticeable as the rest of the tones are compared. For example, the interval relationship between the Ghanaian informed transcription (dotted line) and both the transposed (broken line), and computer-assisted transcription (solid line) for pitch 21 to 27 are shown in Graph 1. The movement in the melody of the computer-assisted transcription was not detected by the ears of the informants. Note how close the pitches of the transposed melody (broken line) are to the pitches of the computer-assisted transcription (solid line).

Graph 1. Intervallic relationships - *Afra Kakraba*.



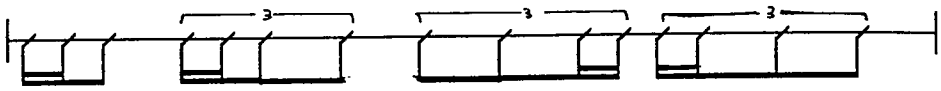
The marked difference in pitches at pitch 26 may have been caused by the vowel [a] in the syllable [w'a]. The placement of this vowel in the vocal cavity probably led listeners to hear the pitch as higher than it actually was.

Another feature worth noting is the human ear's proclivity to hear more than is presented. A comparison of the transcriptions in Figure 2, (Line a and c) indicated that there were glides written by Ghanaian informants at pitches #8 (wiam), #16 (sɔr), and #20 (sɔr) in Line a and single tones were extrapolated when I used the CSL programme. These tones are identified by single red dots.

What gives this singing game its active character is its fluid and fast-changing rhythm. All the phrases are rhythmically different. The longest note in *Afra Kakraba* is a quarter note (crotchet). This note occurs at phrase endings. The effect of combining surface rhythms in the music and pulsating hand clapping is an active growth of the singing game. Tempo in *Afra Kakraba* is controlled by the hand clapping.

Syncopations occur in the fourth phrase and triplets in the fifth phrase. I provide a resultant rhythm pattern to demonstrate the rhythmic density of *Afra Kakraba*. Juxtaposing all the rhythmic patterns for each phrase except the fifth results in the following rhythmic pattern:

Figure 3. Resultant Rhythm - *Afra Kakraba*



As stated by Agawu (1987, p. 417), the significance of rhythmic structure in West African music lies in its integration with various forms of rhythmic expression. Some forms of rhythmic expression, such as gesture, the spoken word, vocal music, and dance or stylized gesture are relevant to the performance of *Afra Kakraba*. A description of the expressions of these rhythm forms follows.

The rhythms of this singing game are closely tied to the text. The recurring word *Afra*, shown to be significant in the formal structure *Afra Kakraba*, serves also as a unifying feature with its basic duple rhythm. The rhythm pattern of the repeated text, *Daa, daa* is used as a vehicle for emphasizing the constant display of emotion by the crying infant. Thus, the words *daa, daa* have the longest note values in the singing game. Also, vowel elisions at the end of *ewiam'* and *sɔr'* for the sake of euphony, create marked rhythmic patterns.

Another important rhythmic feature in the performance of *Afra Kakraba* is the close relationship between gesture and the spoken word. Hand clapping punctuates the movement of text and its rhythmic pattern. Even though there is a lull at the end of each game cycle, there is no clapping at the end. This is the point at which another child walks into the centre of the circle. Hand clapping ends on the last syllable. The silence lasts for more than a beat. The

length of the silence varies each time. As mentioned earlier, the children know when to begin the next cycle. They look at one another and, by observing facial cues, are able to establish that they have everyone's attention. Facial cues also serve as an indication of the extent to which Ghanaians are involved in conversation. This practice is similar to performing arts practice among adult Ghanaians. Like adult Ghanaian, these children do not look for a main beat before participating in the action (Chernoff, 1979, p. 45). The integration of gesture, spoken word, and vocal music during the game determined its success. *Afra Kakraba* is rhythmically dense.

Unity existed in the movement of the game and was provided by the pulsating hand clapping integrated with fast changing surface rhythms. As the game progressed, the child in the centre of the circle responds to her peers with movement. Dramatized movements of an infant seeking comfort were repeated by all the children when they came into the centre. The only prominent difference in their movements was in the choice of who would be the next infant. The consistency of these movement patterns is significant as they demonstrated specific cultural ways of doing things. In what follows, I will illustrate some culturally accepted gestures and explain the meaning behind these movements. I will also discuss cultural forms inherent in *Afra Kakraba*.

Child-to-child interactions in the performance of *Afra Kakraba* depicted cultural values of community solidarity, and empathy. The social construction of a loved one or friend among children in Ghana was situated within these broad cultural values. Children bonded with each other, shared and created cultural behaviour while performing this singing game. These cultural behaviours were expressed in the music, text and movement. The text of *Afra Kakraba* is filled with both emotional and illustrative connotative meanings. The moral in the text is that a crying child needs a loved one. A loved one is someone to hug, someone who will help you to

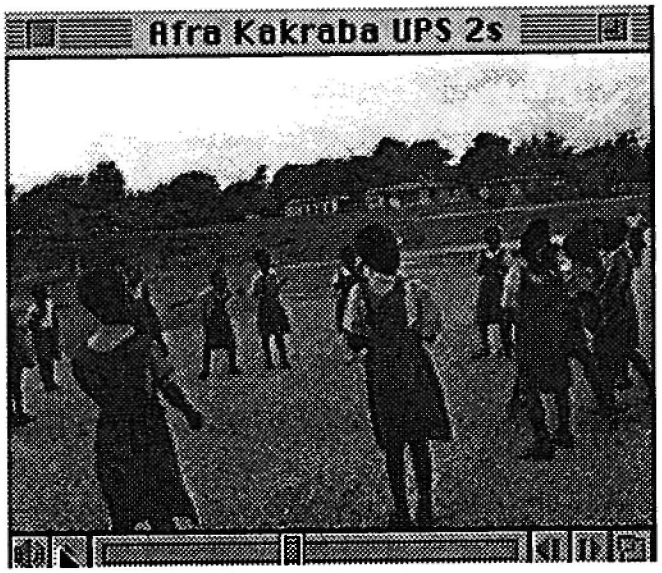
overcome your sorrow. In Akan communities in particular, it is not unusual to have people other than a mother or relative comfort a crying infant. A child belongs to everyone in the community. *Afra Kakraba* is a reflection of the culture of caring for each other as a member of the broader family and community. The children learn and teach one another this cultural value of community caring.

Afra Kakraba offers the opportunity for children to explore in play emotional expressions of grief, culturally symbolic representations of grief, and strategies for coping with grief. When the children ask the crying infant to "get up," they are asking her to literally get up out of her misery. They emphasize their urgings by repeating the imperative *Afra sɔr',* (translated; Infant get up). Another significant highlight of the game is when the children ask the infant to shake out her dress. This symbolizes the end of one emotional state (grief) and the transition into another state (comfort). She is then asked by her community to "turn herself around," that is, to become happier and to reach out to others physically and emotionally. The social function of the audience as narrator and cultural interlocutor is shown in the performance of *Afra Kakraba*. Acting as narrators, the children empathize with the crying infant.

The final gesture in Afra Kakraba, the hug, is another way Ghanaians connect and communicate with one another. Usually the words *atoo* accompany the hugging gesture in Ghanaian culture. The children create their social construction of a loved one by hugging their friends during play. Within the context of *Afra Kakraba*, there is no opportunity for the word *atoo* from adult constructions of loved ones. The close relationship between the song text and movement or gestures eliminates the possibility for interjecting *atoo*. The hugging gesture the children exhibit is similar to that expressed by adults. Picture 4 shows a

child hugging her friend during the performance of *Afra Kakraba*.

Picture 4. Star: *Afra Kakraba*: Child hugging her friend.



In some expressions of Ghanaian culture, everyone's life is everyone else's business. During the performance of *Afra Kakraba,* children symbolically showed that the infant's business is everyone's business. The children expressed the infant's desire for help in the integration of music, text, and movement. Help was all around the crying infant. The surrounding and ever-present nature of the help is manifested in the circle formation of the game. The spatial organization of *Afra Kakraba* created a circle of support. Picture 5 shows a child stooping in the centre with other children surrounding her.

Picture 5. Star: *Afra Kakraba*: Stooping.

Enculturating children to view the circle as primarily a circle of support engenders a cultural conflict. This cultural conflict is situated in Ghana's present cultural scene, which blends indigenous cultures with non-Ghanaian cultures. Community solidarity and support is highly valued in indigenous Ghanaian social life. I must point out that the emphasis on community solidarity and support in Ghanaian social life does not preclude the recognition of the importance of privacy. However, I view the circle in *Afra Kakraba* as both a circle of support and one of intrusion or invasion of privacy. Watching the video segments of *Afra Kakraba* in North America, I experienced cultural tension since community support as expressed in Ghanaian culture would be considered an invasion of privacy in North America. In the fast paced developed world a more individualistic

culture prevails. As global interaction increases, and Ghanaian culture becomes increasingly individualistic through acculturation, a cultural tension will arise. The tension I feel is similar to the potential tension that may emerge as the children later attempt to balance a culture of privacy with community solidarity.

Children's enculturation into Ghanaian society is in their demonstrating culturally accepted conceptions on when to offer advice, coping strategies, and support. In times of grief as illustrated in *Afra Kakraba*, a Ghanaian is expected to seek and appreciate the support of the community. Also shown in *Afra Kakraba* are the children's conceptions of grief and the physical responses that serve as coping strategies for dealing with grief. The children's constructions of and ways of coping with grief are not exactly the same as those expressed in adult Ghanaian culture; they are symbolic representations of grief and coping strategies. As the children reenact and recreate real life situations they recreate, affirm, and sustain the culture of community solidarity, and empathy.

4.3 *Maame Abrewa*: Description and Analysis

Maame Abrewa (Mother old lady) is a fast and highly spirited circle game. It was played by the children attending King Armadillo School. At the start of the game, all participants stood in a circle facing the centre. The children held hands and looked into each other's eyes to make sure everyone was ready to play.

Maame Abrewa began with singing, clapping and whole body movements. One child began the game by volunteering to ran into the middle of the circle. Her friends clapped a steady pulse while singing the song that accompanied the game. Each running step of the volunteer agreed with each hand clap of her accompanying friends. The child in the centre punctuated her performance with the rapid movement of her upper torso.

Hunching her back, she moved her upper torso forward and backward once. After hunching her back she left the circle. As the child in the centre run out of the circle, another child took her place. This new volunteer articulated movements similar to those of the previous child. The children run into the centre of the circle one after the other in a counter clockwise direction. There were no rules for winning or loosing. Each child maintained the flow of the game by creating a continuous cyclic repetition of music, text and movement.

Below is the recorded text for this singing game:

Maame Abrewa rebɔ ni nkatse
[Mother old lady cracks her groundnuts]

dwɛ dwɛ dwɛ dwɛ dwɛ dwɛ

ɔrebɔ rebɔ rebɔ
[She cracks, cracks, cracks]

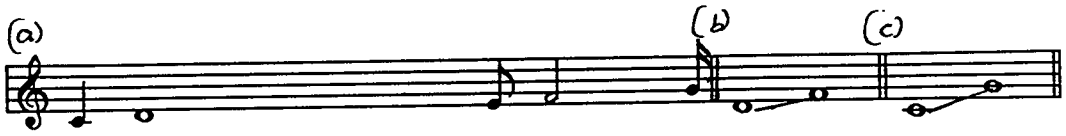
dwɛ dwɛ dwɛ dwɛ dwɛ dwɛ

In this analysis of *Maame Abrewa*, I illustrate the marriage of music, text, and movement in conferring its character and structure. The interrelationship of sonic and structural elements of *Maame Abrewa* is profound. Its text has an interesting combination of onomatopoeia and vowel elisions, reinforced by the movement patterns.

The quality of sound produced by the children in the singing of *Maame Abrewa* is best described as speech tones because the children sound like they are reciting a poem. The melody of *Maame Abrewa* has five speech tones (Figure 4). These speech tones are C_4, D_4, E_4, F_4, and G_4. The tones also follow the natural lilt of the Fanti language. These sounds do not have pure melodic pitches. The Fanti language is a tonal language in which pitch alters meaning. Besides high, medium and low tones, there are also in-between tones that must be enunciated for the words to have meaning. These

enunciations are apparent in the children's rendition of *Maame Abrewa*.

Figure 4. Speech tones and range - *Maame Abrewa*

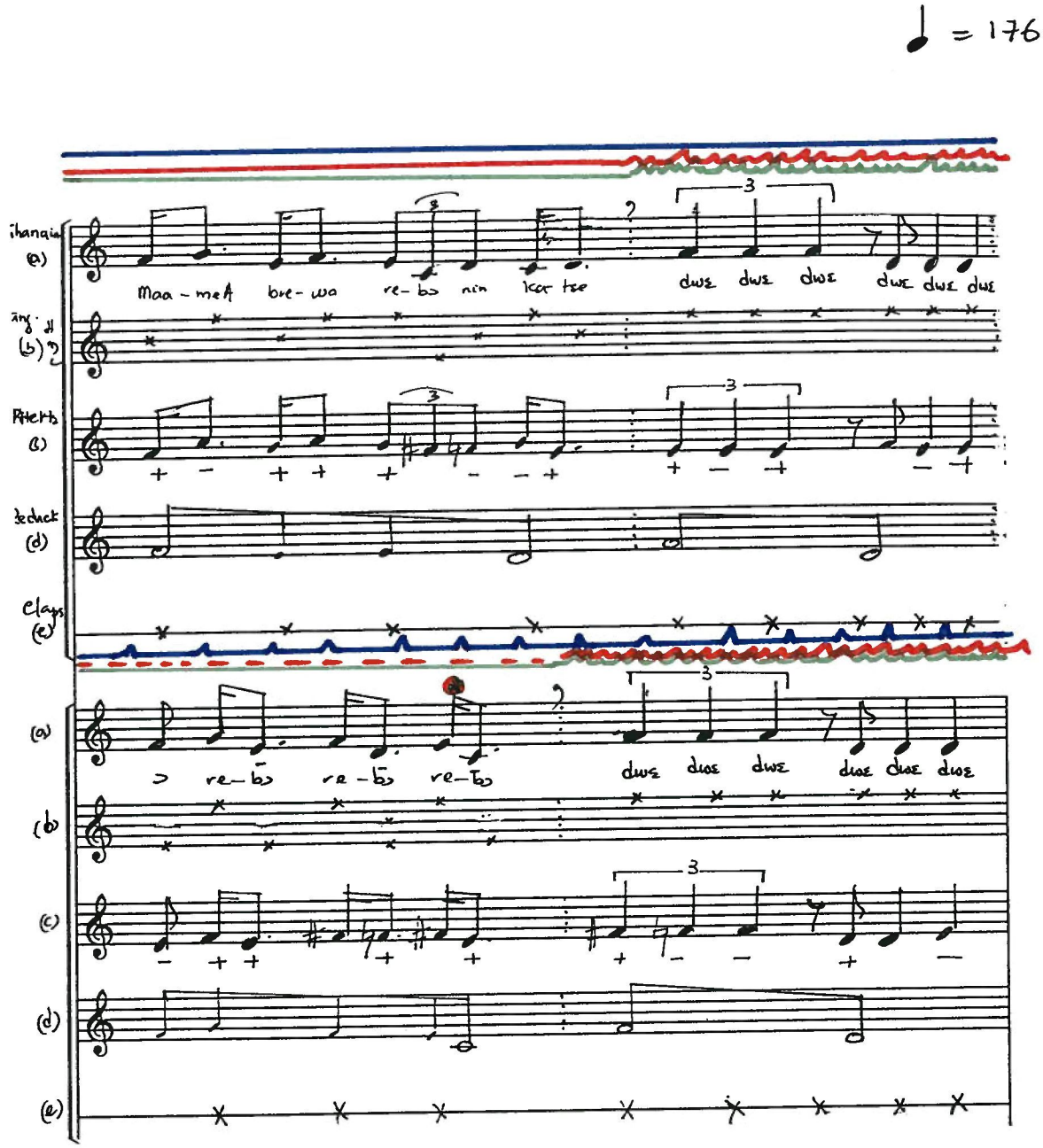


I reduced the melody of *Maame Abrewa* by considering the durational values of notes and rhythmic patterns of the melody (Figure 5). The reduction showed a real range of a third (Figure 4b). The established range for all the tones in the entire melody is a fifth (Figure 4c).

A melodic reduction showed the descending movement in the play song (Figure 5, Line d). All four phrases had descending contours. The reduction of the melody of *Maame Abrewa* brought to the foreground a boundary note F_4 and terminal note D_4. Descending intervals in the melody were no more than a third; ascending intervals, no more than a perfect fourth. Intonation of words and phrases guided the organization of the melody. The verbal intonation showed a descending trend. Sequential thirds, alternating with intervals of a second, guided the music to its final tone.

In the following transcription of *Maame Abrewa*, I follow the same presentation as I used with the previous singing game, *Afra Kakraba*.

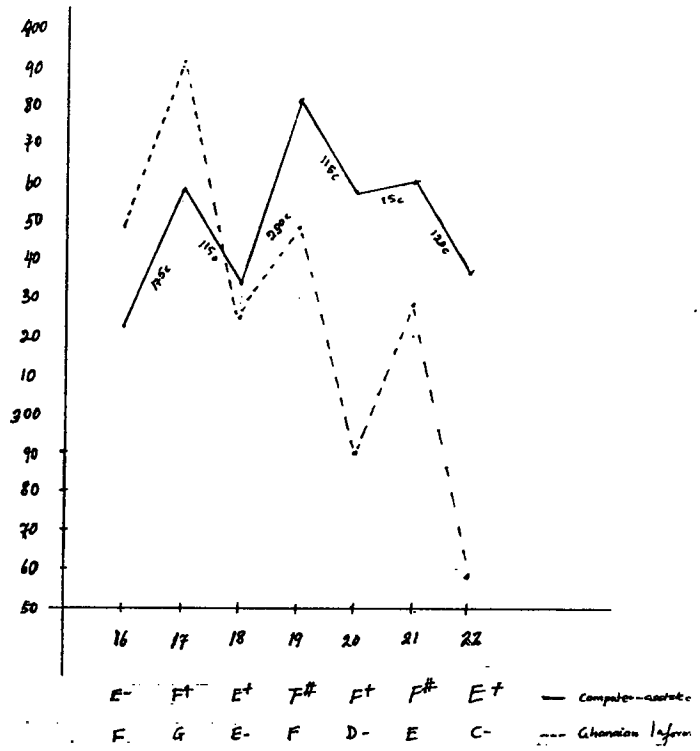
Figure 5. Transcriptions from Ghanaian-informed judgments, speech tone of language, computer-assisted transcriptions, melody reduction and hand clapping - *Maame Abrewa*



In the transcription (Figure 5) of *Maame Abrewa*, the melodic contour of the third phrase is found to be closely related to its phonemic translation of text sounds. The most significant vowels in this phrase are [i] as in feet and [ɔ] as in hot. Similar to English language practise, the articulation of the syllable with the [i] sound in Fanti [*rebɔ*] moves formants up to create a high pitched sound. On the other hand, the [ɔ] sound in [*rebɔ*] requires low spectral placement of formants creating low pitches. Hence, the sounds associated with the phrase *ɔrebɔ rebɔ rebɔ* would have [LHL HL HL] pitches. All transcriptions of the phrase showed this relationship between high and low pitches. This refers to a complex phenomenon which Marks (1978) described as distinguishing between the illusion and the perception of sound. In this particular phrase, the illusion of an interval and its perception was influenced by the cultural consensus of the placement of particular vowels [i] and [ɔ].

The intervals between the pitches in the phrase *ɔrebɔ rebɔ rebɔ* constructed from computer generated pitch equivalents were closer than the transcription from Ghanaian-informed judgments. Pitches #16 through to #22 in Table 3 show the numerical values of the intervals. All three intervals of the expression *rebɔ* were a semitone, an average of 116c. The intervals of the same phrase for the Ghanaian informed judgments were at least a minor third wide. Graph 2 illuminates the disparity in the two transcriptions.

Graph 2. Intervallic relationships - *Maame Abrewa*



The differences between tones of the transcription provided by Ghanaian-informed judgments (line a) and those from computer generated pitch equivalents (line c), were not as pronounced as that found in *Afra Kakraba* (Figure 2, Table 2). Transcriptions from computer-generated pitch equivalents illuminate the extent to which the succession of pitches and relative duration of words together create different melody contours. In both transcriptions of *Maame Abrewa*, the melody showed downward movements in the melodic contours.

Maame Abrewa was performed in strict rhythm accentuated by regular body movements and hand clapping. Divided into two sections, the play song consisted of a nine beat phrase answered by a nine beat phrase. There was a continual shift in the metrical accent at the last beat of the song marks the beginning of the play song. The hand clapping was a steady pulse that sets the stage for the child to run into the centre. The purpose of the fundamental regular beat in hand clapping was to unify the rhythmic organization. Each child

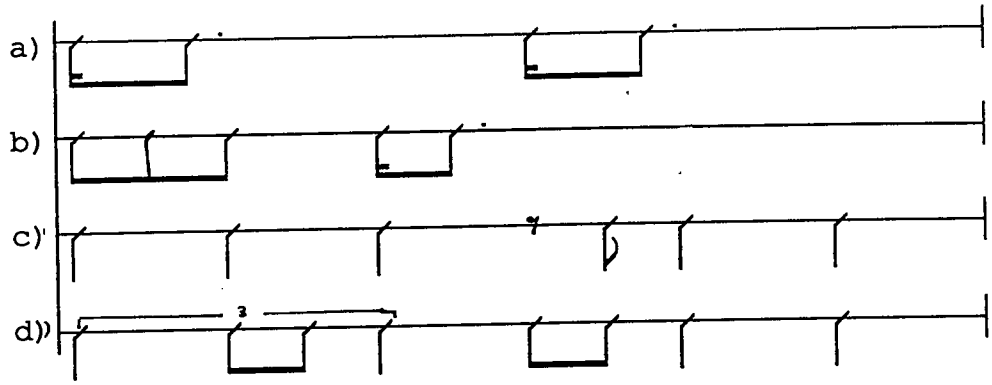
had an opportunity to move into the circle. This was also the practice adult performing arts situations and in other social situations. I will now show the social significance of the movement into the centre of the circle.

Children in Ghana listen to the phrasing in the text to guide movement in play. For some singing games such as, *Maame Abrewa*, the phrasing did not lend itself to the use of time signatures in transcription. Thus, I did not use time signatures as I transcribed this game. Using duple time in the transcription of *Maame Abrewa* would distort the accentual pattern in phrases. In duple time, all accents fall on *re* or *dwɛ*, with the exception of the words *Maame Abrewa* and *Nkatse*, I have indicated where the accents are in a duple meter transcription. The ● under the third *re* suggests the distortion, because in natural lilt of the Fanti language, the accent should fall on the first *re*.

Haydon (1941, p. 85) stated that rhythm in music depends upon tones presented in temporal sequence having not only pitch, loudness, quality, and duration but also movement. The rhythm of *Maame Abrewa* is driven by both musical and physical movements. While probing text and gesture relationships within the performance of *Maame Abrewa*, I found that text relates to gesture in the structural sense. Both the feet and hands keep the pulse. In the first transcription of *Maame Abrewa* (Figure 5), I have indicated where the claps occur.

Polyrhythm, common in African adult music structure, is also present in children's singing games. The rhythm of the first motive of the play song also presents the pattern for the supporting drum called the *appentema*. This small drum is played with the hands in the *Adzewa* or *Adowa* ensemble of the Akan peoples. The drum is shaped like a small *Atumpan* drum (talking drum), the lead drum in the ensemble. The *appentema* drummer plays the motive in Figure 6a. The other two rhythmic motives of the song are also presented in Figure 6b and 6d.

Figure 6. Surface Rhythm Patterns and Resultant Rhythm - *Maame Abrewa*.



I will now consider the movement in *Maame Abewa*. The movement is organized so that the final gesture falls on the last *dwɛ*. This last *dwɛ* marks the first beat of the entire play song. Continuous cyclic repetitions result until every child has had the opportunity for individual expression. A good dancer is one who is able to interpret the rhythm of music in definite ways (Nketia, 1974, p. 213). The combination of melody and hand clapping creates polyphony. A repeated viewing of the performance of *Maame Abrewa* foregrounds all body movements as leading parts in the sonic organization. At other times, the sonic organization in *Maame Abrewa* was led by text or hand clapping. The resultant rhythm of music and handclapping for the final phrase is in Figure 6d.

In this play song, the children marry sounds, text, and movement. The long, accentual rhythmic pattern on the onomatopoeia *dwɛ* (Figure 6c) indicates the point at which a child must move into the centre of the circle. This phrase serves to encourage a unified cyclic action in the movement that accompanies the singing game. Therefore, the pattern cues actions in the movement of the singing game. The rhythmic pattern corresponds to the bell pattern of *Adzewa*, an indigenous music and dance piece for the Fanti people.

Since the onomatopoeia occurs twice during performance, two different children perform its accompanying gestures (See Picture 6: Star: *Maame Abrewa*: The Onomatopoeia).

In addition, there is an alteration of the word *Ɔrebɔ*. The children elide the vowel [ɔ] in the first phrase and in the second and third occurrences of the third phrase. This occurs both for the sake of euphony and to articulate the sharp and precise rhythms of the playsong.

Phrasing also guided the movement of *Maame Abrewa*. On each tonal phrase a different child dances. The textual form of this play song was A B C B. The tonal form was A A'. The form of the movement was ABAB. In this game, we observed an interrelationship in the phrasing of the music, text, and movement. This interrelationship was illuminated in the visual presentation of the game using *Constellations 2.5* (see Picture 7. Star: *Maame Abrewa*: The Game). Also illustrated in Figure 5 are the formal relationships in the written transcription of *Maame Abrewa*. Red lines show textual variations, purple lines show tonal form, and pale green lines show movement.

The relationship of text, tonal form, and movement is a reflection of both social organization and the children's creation of social organization. While *Maame Abrewa* serves as entertainment for the children, it also serves as a validation of the worth of older people and symbolically represents sounds and activities of older folk. I will now describe the social significance of *Maame Abrewa* in terms of the children's enculturation and their creations of culture.

Children in Ghana sing and play about all aspects of the Ghanaian cycle of life. Their songs inform them about different aspects of Ghana's social organization. Three symbolic representations of time emerge in my viewing of *Maame Abrewa*. I see the maturation of time in old age, harvest and the integration and coordination of music, text and movement.

Through the singing game, the children acknowledge the role of older people in Ghanaian social and economic life. Role-playing transgresses time and age. During Maame Abrewa, the children balance player roles with a symbolic representation of older folk. Everyone has a role to play in society. While older women in Ghana do light work such as cracking nuts, this nevertheless represents an important contribution to their families. During my interview with the Chief of Akatakyiwa, I remarked on the information children passed on to me about their grandparents.

AA: I was talking to the children and many of them were saying that they were living with their grand parents.
Nana: The mortality rate is low. They have nothing else to do. So they are peasant farmers. The area is small.

When old people farm, they provide cash crops as food for the family and the children living with them. The onomatopoeia in *Maame Abrewa* denotes the sound of cracking ground nuts and symbolically signifies harvest time, during which Maame Abrewa cracks her nuts. The nuts are picked up with the hands and squeezed between the forefinger and thumb of both hands. After the shell has been cracked open, the nuts are removed and cooked as desired.

The cultural significance of the final movement in this singing game is worth noting. When the child in the centre punctuates her performance with the rapid movement of her upper torso, we observe the simultaneous back and forth movement of the hip girdle. This movement, according to Professor Opoku, one of my adult informants, is indecent. Here are the comments of Professor Opoku.

MO: ... You must not teach the child to use the hips; that is supposed to be indecent. . . .

You may move your waist sideways. That is not bad. In dance we call shifting your weight. You let your weight rest on the right leg and then on the left, that is perfectly alright. Or you can rotate the whole of your hip girdle.

When you make a forward and back movement, that movement represents sex. It is frowned upon. The only time this movement is allowed is when some one is dancing and it happens to be somebody you do

not like. And you think his/her dance is indecent, the drummers exaggerate it to point it out.

The children were aware that this punctuating movement was frowned upon by Ghanaian elders. They showed their awareness of this cultural dynamic by turning away from me when performing the movement. However, when their teachers were observing them at play they would never perform the movement. As I visited the playground regularly and the children became more comfortable in my presence, they began to more clearly articulate this movement. The positive responses of playmates to these more pronounced forward and back hip girdle movements encouraged other children to be more daring. The challenge became the extent to which they could clearly articulate the movement in my presence.

Once again we find that the social significance of *Maame Abrewa* is coordination and cooperation. However, Ghanaian culture is not lacking in individuality. Within communal structures, opportunities do exist for building individuality. The move into the centre of the circle is a reflection of the value placed on personal autonomy and individualism. These girls learn to take turns while performing the game through the building of relationships and meaningful interactions. In *Maame Abrewa*, the children recreate cultural values of personal autonomy and community cooperation. With the added dimension of coordination, these girls maintain orderliness within the game. Play situations offer opportunities for children to bond with one another and with their environment. According to Wharton (1979, p. 12), children in North America learn to deal with conflict in relationships within the play context. Children in Ghana, like their counterparts in North America, also develop coordination and cooperation skills within the context of play. These skills facilitate conflict resolution in social interactions.

4.4 *Antɔ*: Description and Analysis

Antɔ [pr.: antoor] was a singing game about marriage relationships and gender roles within marriage. In this game, the children commented on material needs in Ghanaian marriages. The game began with all the children holding hands to form a circle. One child then voluntarily stepped into the centre of the circle and began singing, clapping, and dancing. The other children joined in the singing and clapping. The clapping was done in a distinctive pattern typical among the Akans in Ghana.

As the participants sung and clapped, the child in the centre suggested what she expected in her marital home. The other children responded by including her suggestion in a refrain. Each child could only suggest one item. The child in the centre of the circle brushed her right hand behind her right heel as she joined the others in singing the last phrase. This gesture coincided with the last phrase *San W'akyir o,* which meant "turn your back on your marriage." She walked out of the centre to take her position in the circle. The child on her right hand then stepped into the centre of the circle. The game began all over again. There were no losers or winners in this game.

The following is the recorded text for *Antɔ*:

Antɔ, antɔ [bokiti.] (call: bokiti is suggested by the child in the centre).
[You did not buy, you did not buy a bucket.]

Antɔ bokiti. (response)
[You did not buy a bucket.]

Antɔ, antɔ [bokiti]. (call: bokiti is suggested by the child in the centre).
[You did not buy, you did not buy a bucket].

Antɔ bokiti. (response)
[You did not buy a bucket].

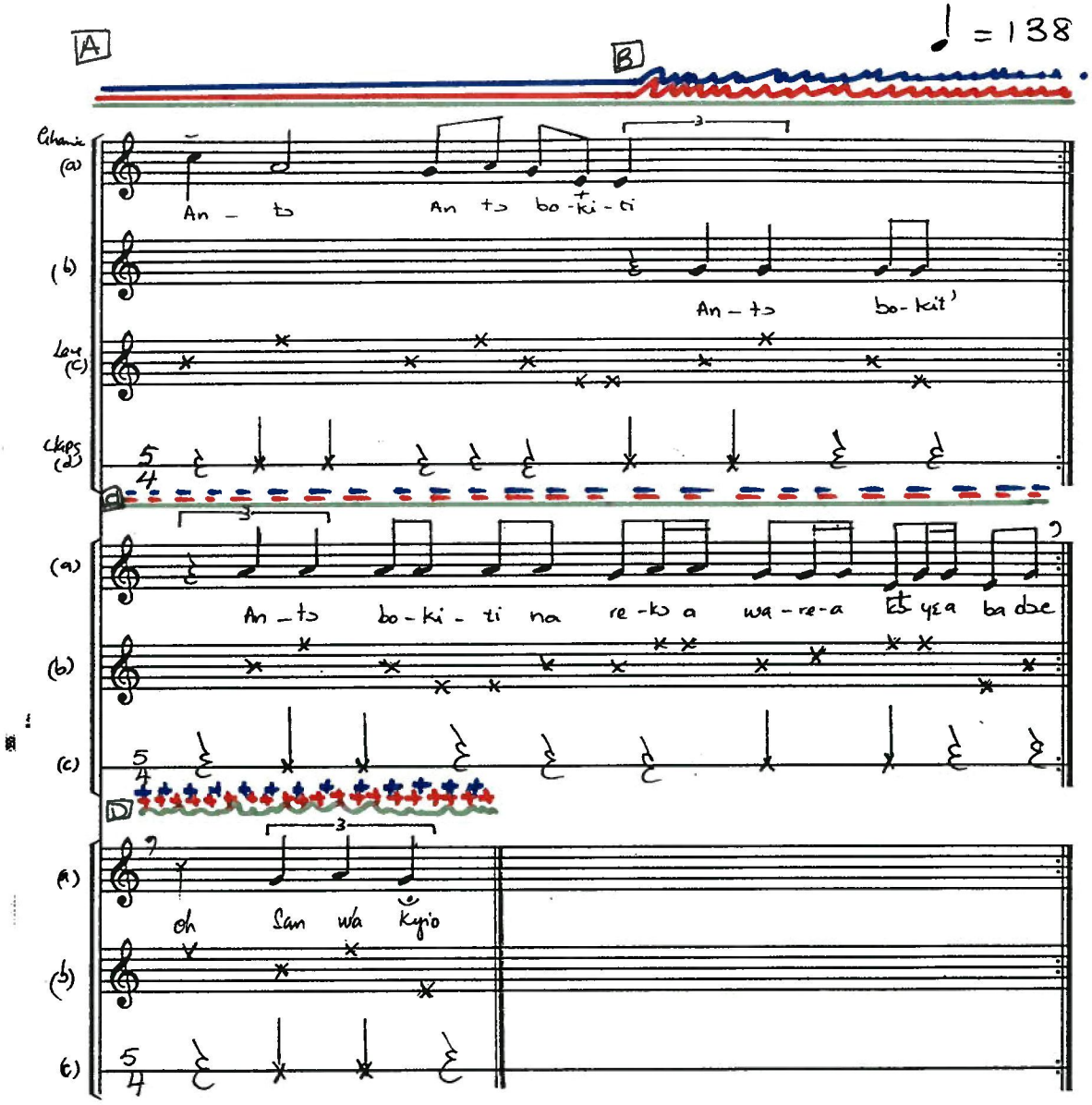
Antɔ bokiti na ereko aware akoyɛ abadze?
[How are you going to manage in your marriage without buying a bucket?]
Antɔ bokiti na ereko aware akoyɛ abadze?
[How are you going to manage in marriage without buying a bucket?]
San W'akyir o!
[Literally: Turn your back on your marriage!]

Antɔ has two major sections. The first section is a call and response, that is, ABAB. The second section is a response only, that is, CCD.

The structure of the text in *Antɔ* is similar to its music. However, the form of its movement, is different. The text and music forms for *Antɔ* are both ABABCCD. Movement in this singing game is similar to the High Life[7] dance. The clapping form is AB.

Figure 7 is the transcription and structure of *Antɔ*. The first system has four lines with the call and response on first two staves (Line a and b). The third line shows the natural rise and fall of the Fanti language. Hand clapping patterns are shown on the fourth line. The second and third systems have three lines. The melody sung by all participants was placed on the first line. The speech tones of the language were placed on the second line. Hand clapping patterns are shown on the third line.

Figure 7. Music transcription from Ghanaian-informed judgments, speech tone of language, and hand clapping - *Antɔ*



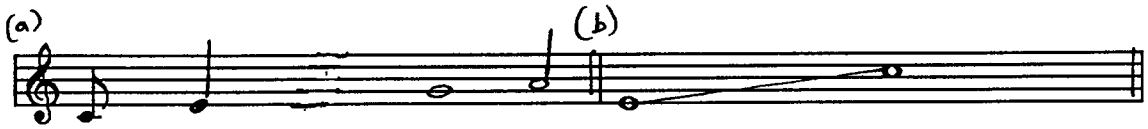
Note: Red lines show textual variations, purple line show tonal form and pale green lines show movement. Bar-lines demarcate the different phrases in the singing game.

The first section [ABAB] of the music of *Ant⊃* could be divided further into two phrases. The melody moves in skips and steps from C_5 down to G_4 in the first phrase (See Figure 7). There is an implied anacrusis in the opening phrase of the singing game. This opening phrase is the call of the play song which could be sung by child in the centre or by all of the children. In the first phrase, the melody ends on E_4.

In the second phrase, it was constructed on G_4 [B]. The text of the second phrase was repeated in response to the call. A link is created between the call and the response through the text of the singing game. In the second section, the melody is built on the tessitura of G_4-A_4 with a cadential drop or portamento of a minor third.

Part of the text changed each time another child sung her desires for her marital home, but the music and movement remained the same. The entire melody had a tonal range of a sixth. The tones and range of *Ant⊃* are shown in Figure 8.

Figure 8. Tones in weighted scale and range - *Ant⊃*



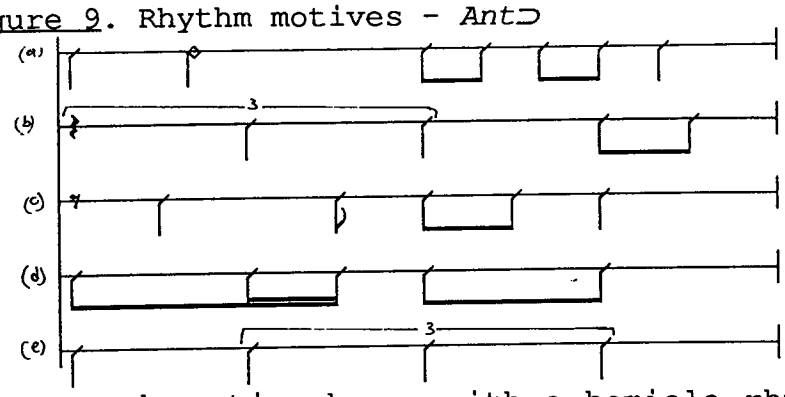
Ant⊃ has multiple rhythm patterns. The rhythm of the music is layered against the rhythm of the hand clapping. *Ant⊃* is rhythmically captivating. The anacrusis at the beginning of the first phrase and the resolution to a half note or minim creates suspense. Accordingly, this phrase is linked to the question, "You did not buy?" Repeating the question for emphasis at the faster pace by shortening the note values in the repetition is appealing. In the first phrase the rhythm of the response has hemiola and regular divisive rhythm motives (see Figure 7 and Figure 9c).

A six beat phrase was answered by a three beat phrase. Together, these two phrases comprised the opening section of

Ant⊃. The last beat of the first phrase overlapped with the first beat the second phrase. As a result, the opening section had eight beats.

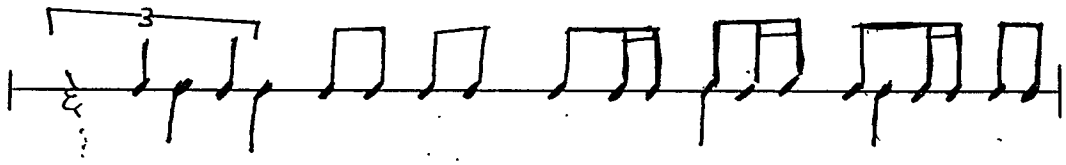
Figure 9 shows rhythmic motives of the singing game.

Figure 9. Rhythm motives - *Ant⊃*



The second section began with a hemiola rhythm pattern that omits the first beat. A striking polyrhythmic pattern was created when the down beat of the hand clapping pattern occurred with the hermiola (see Figure 10). Unity is created by the regular, periodic double hand claps. This section also had eight beat phrases. Rhythm in this section was closely related to the text.

Figure 10. Resultant rhythms: music and hand clapping - *Ant⊃*



A tag at the end of *Ant⊃*, '*oh san w'a kyir*', which meant, "turn your back on your marriage", had three beats with a hemiola beginning on the second beat. For emphasis, the tag was sung with increased intensity. This voice production style accentuated the dramatization of the imperative, '*oh san w'a kyir*'. During the performance, the tag was also enhanced by other body and facial expressions. Typically, the child in the centre flashed one hand behind her heels--sort of brushing her behind as she sung the tag

(see Picture 8. Star: *Antɔ*: The Tag). The frown which accompanied this gesture further amplified the disgust the children were enculturated to feel in potentially poor marriage conditions. This culturally significant gesture is also expressed in many other every day situations. In adult performing forms such as *Adowa*[2] and *Gota*,[3] it is also used to symbolize disgust and rejection.

Variety is found in the complexity of the music. Thematic differentiation in all melodies of the three phrases is a source of variety and flow in the performance of the singing game. Rhythm and melody in *Antɔ* were so interrelated that it was almost impossible to deconstruct them completely for analysis. This lends credence to the performance based analysis approach in African performing arts proposed by Drewal (1991) and Okpewho (1990).

Analysis of the cultural information in *Antɔ* indicated that the formulation and articulation of attitudes about gender relations in marriage also occurred on the playground.

My interviews with these children on *Antɔ* revealed their awareness and understanding of the contemporary conflicts with regard to gender relations in marriage in neo-colonial Ghana. According to the children attending King Armadillo School, the absence of material wealth calls for divorce. The movement patterns for the "turn your back on marriage" also reinforced these perceptions. A thought provoking discussion ensued when I asked them about items men and women buy in preparation for married life.

AA: Who do you think should buy the plates?
[Lydia, one of the children attending King Armadillo School, explains that when one enters marriage without acquiring plates, something is missing.]

AA: Is it the man or the woman who buys the plates?
Children: The woman.
AA: What about the TV?
Children: The man.
AA: The video, suitcase and fan?
Children: The man.
AA: Who should buy the Glassware?
Children: The woman.
[The children are getting excited.]

AA: Why is it that the man should buy the TV, and the video and the woman should buy the plates and the glasses?
[They laugh!]
Delphina: They are the woman's things and she needs to be prepared before she goes into marriage.
AA: What do you mean by a woman's thing?
Children: TV. Watch, dress, cloth ring, glasses, pots, suitcase, bags, scarves, spectacles, earrings, shoes, chairs.
AA: Where did you learn this?
Children: After school we meet together and learn from one another.
AA: Have you ever seen a customary marriage ceremony?
Children:Yes!
AA: Whose marriage did you see?
Linda: My sister's marriage.

This dialogue conveys the influence of non-Ghanaian cultures in the selections of marriage items in contemporary Ghana. In fact, so vital are these items that without them, some marriage proceedings do not take place. From an early age Ghanaian children, through their singing games, are being enculturated into a social process currently fraught with materialism and which confers status on the basis of material wealth.

A man's ability to look after his wife is demonstrated by the kinds of material goods he is therefore able to offer. These gifts were not part of indigenous Ghanaian marriage ceremonies and are a product of the increasing blend of cultures which now form part of Ghana's social process. The importance placed on material goods is creating a new social problem because men increasingly feel bound to provide these items. There is also a conflict with regard to expressions of cultural value, as both men and women attempt to live up to the new material demands of Ghanaian society. The children's suggestions, therefore, during *Antɔ* represent their recreation of contemporary Ghanaian culture.

The children at Ulesis Primary School were asked the same questions as those at King Armadillo School. The children commented on property ownership in marriage relationships. The discussion indicated the degree of non-Ghanaian influence on indigenous Ghanaian cultures. The Akan woman's private property always remains her own. She enjoys some amount of independence in the patrilocal home and

experiences less family interference. Picture 10. Star: *Ulesis School - Interview Marriage* on the CD includes comments by children at Ulesis School on marriage relationships. Below is a transcript of the interview.

AA: Why do you need to buy a bucket to enter marriage?
Vida: If you go, you will not have a bucket to bath with.
AA: So what is the purpose of these things?
Child: You will use it for your wedding.
AA: How?
Child: You will serve with it.
Vida: You will use it in your house.

AA: Who do you think should buy the television?
Children: The man or the woman.
AA: The refrigerator?
Children: The man.
AA: The Bucket?
Children: The woman.
AA: The glassware?
Children: The woman.
AA: The plates?
Children: The man and the woman.
AA: The video?
Children: [Emphatically] The Man! [Raise their eyebrows for emphasis]
AA: Why do you say this?
Akua: The plates and cups are used by the woman.
Vida: You can buy some, but you have to leave it in your parents home and come to your husband's house.
AA: Why should you leave it there?
Vida: Sometimes the men are bad.
AA: Why are they bad?
Vida: Maybe when you bring all your things . . . For example, with the Ashanti, they will say that you do not have to inherit from the man, so when the man dies, the family will come for all your things and the woman will be left alone.
Barbara: Some of the men sell the things.
AA: That is interesting. I did not know that.
Ransfellina: Sometimes when the men get angry, they sack the woman and take all the things.
AA: You children are very aware of what is happening around you.
Francisca: Sometimes he will sack the woman and give the things to another wife.
AA: I like that addition. So that is why the man should buy the expensive stuff. Do women also sack men?
Clara: If the house is for you, when the man is doing rough you can sack him!
Ransfellina: When the man sacks the woman, she calls her mother and father to come to her marriage home.
AA: Why?
Ransfellina: When they come, if the man wants to be difficult they can see everything.
Vida: Sometimes the men sack the women because they have other women.

In this interview we see that it is acceptable for a Ghanaian woman to buy more expensive items. As reflected in the previous interview with children attending King Armadillo School, traditionally, these items are provided by the man.

The contemporary Ghanaian woman holds to the traditional concept that her property remains her own throughout marriage. Thus, even though children in these two schools played the same singing game, its meaning for each group was different. As I asked children in the different schools the same questions and they provided different answers, the children directed the interviews in directions that suited their particular beliefs about marriage, gender relations in marriage, and property ownership.

Culturally significant is Vida's statement, "Maybe when you bring your things....For example, with the Ashanti, they will say that you do not have to inherit from the man, so when the man dies, the family will come for all your things and the woman will be left alone." She is demonstrating her knowledge of matrilineal inheritance patterns expressed among many Akan groups. Material possessions become significant at the death of a spouse. Many widows in contemporary Ghana are expelled from their marriage homes because of the matrilineal inheritance system. Vida reiterates the repercussions. When she speaks of the family, she is referring to the extended family led by the family head, *Abusua panyin*. Even though the extended family is expected to be a source of support, the death of the husband can result in the extended family becoming a source of grief for the wife in a matrilineal system. The contemporary Ghanaian woman responds to this dilemma by leaving her material wealth at her matrilineal home.

Barbara raises an important issue of which I had not been aware of previously when she states that, "Some of the men sell the things." When I express my ignorance about what what she means, the children are encouraged to suggest other gender related marriage scenarios. This prompts Abena to quickly add "When men get angry, they *sack* the women." Sack is a Ghanaian expression used to ask women to leave their homes. When people's career contracts are terminated, they are said to be sacked. In the same manner when women are

sacked, their marriage contract has been terminated. There are some instances when the woman's family is asked to help prevent a potential marriage break up. The hope is that with her parents around the man will not be as difficult. As Ransfellina said, "They can see everything."

Watching and listening to the children as they responded to my questions, I could not help but notice the bias in favour of women. The reason for this may have been that the children were all girls who had become comfortable communicating gender-related information to me. When I asked if they knew women would play the "bad guy" I recieved an interesting response from Clara. She pointed out that, "If the house is for you, when the man is *doing rough* you can sack him!" Doing rough refers to a situation in which the man is not living up to his responsibilities as the "man of the house" or is flirting with other women. In contemporary Ghana, women do own houses and the marriage home is not always the man's house. Some women have found such situations empowering as they are able to control gender roles within the home.

Noteworthy are the gestures that the children demonstrated when they expressed their views on marriage, gender relations and property ownership. In the language laboratory at the local University, the children watched video playbacks of their playground activities. As they watched, I noted gestures and movements. Some of these gestures included nodding their heads for emphasis, frowning, and accompanying "yes" responses with the simultaneous raising of their eyebrows. These gestures added more meaning to cultural information in the words in the song as well as, the interviews.

Antɔ also functions as an avenue for the symbolic expression of gestures that communicate meaning to the indigenous Ghanaian. During play, the children brushed their bottom while saying "Turn your back on your marriage." I asked one of my adult informants what this gesture meant.

During our conversation, Professor Opoku (referred to as MO in the transcript below) made it clear to me that acceptable gestures are learned over time and within the context of a particular situation.

MO: Where the Americans say shit, we say this shit by just rubbing your hand on your bum.
AA: On your bum - [I am finishing his sentences!!]
MO: *Me ne wo so*. Straight forward. I shit on you. You are not fit to be my toilet paper.

He rubs his hands behind him during the interview in a manner similar to the children's final gesture. This was the last gesture the children made during *Antɔ*. The individual differences in the expression of these gestures reflected the children's creation of new gestures of protest. One such difference was little movement in the upper torso but a sharp thrust of the head forward, together with the brushing of the bottom. Speaking to Professor Opoku, I was able to understand better the deeper meanings in the children's movements. The children, while articulating their sentiments, were also being enculturated into symbolism and hidden meanings in Ghanaian social life.

4.5 *Adjoa Attah*: Description and Analysis.

The socio-dramatization of the life of Adjoa Atta, a girl born on Monday, was the subject of this singing game. Adjoa Atta has a twin sister or brother. One child acted as the mother and sat with the other child, Adjoa, who had her head in her "mother's" lap. The other children participating in the game stood holding each other's shoulders to form a line about six meters away from Adjoa and her mother, who faces them. When the game began, the children holding each other sung, and walked abreast towards Adjoa and her mother. In their song, they asked Adjoa's mother of her whereabouts. The mother sung her answer and the children stood listening still holding on to each other. The children then walked backwards away from Adjoa's mother, still holding on to each other. As they walked away, the children sang the same melody that began the game, though with vocables instead of text. This marked the end of one cycle. They decided to visit Adjoa again and the process was repeated. The mother responded each time with a new verse that told the story of the life of the Ghanaian woman. Adjoa rested, she emptied the garbage, she swept the floor, she took a bath, she ate, she went to school and she died. When she died, she became a ghost and chased children. The child who acts as Adjoa did not sing; she only mimed the story sung by her mother throughout the game (see Picture 11. *Star: Adjoa Atta - K*).

Adjoa Atta's metric nature was derived from the European quality of its melody. The rhythm of the music may be described as syllabic, that is, it emulated textual rhythm.

The text in this singing game showed the form. Similarities in the verbal organization outnumbered the differences. The play song was in call and response form. In this game, the chorus acted as the cantor (see Figure 12). The form of the song within each verse is ABAC. All the children sung the chorus and Adjoa's mother repeated the

melody singing the verse. Repetition added emphasis to the questioning and answering during the dramatic play within the story sequence. The chorus was then repeated using mnemonics or vocables in place of text for the first three phrases, ABA, and text for the last phrase, C. Vocables in the song *Adjoa Atta* helped to unify both the action and conjured images of solidarity among the chorus members.

Adjoa's mother varied her text each time she sung a verse. As a result, this play song was strophic. *Adjoa Atta's* strophic character heightened the dramatic element in the performance of the singing game. The simplicity that strophic songs provided drew the listener into the story line in the text and the pantomime.

The repetitive nature of the choreography furnished the structure of *Adjoa Atta*. Each time the children walked forward to visit Adjoa, they sung the text throughout the verse. Three two-line verses occur in each cycle. The form of each cycle was ABA'. Since mother's narrative determined the number of cycles, there were several cycles of ABA'. Consequently, the length of the game varied from performance to performance. Adjoa always died at the end of the game. The rest of the children respond to Adjoa's death by either crying or running away from her ghost.

Twi (another Akan Language) expressions were evident in versions sung by the children at Ulesis and Armadillo Schools. The textual transcription below shows variations among different schools. Line 1 is in Fanti and line 2 is in Twi. The semantic meaning did not change in the first phrase but did in the second.

Line 1: *WɔM 'yɛn kɔ hwɛ Adjoa Atta, Adjoa Atta, Adjoa Atta*
[Let us go and see Adjoa Atta, Adjoa Atta, Adjoa Atta.]

Line 2: *Mom 'yɛn kɔ hwɛ Adjoa Atta, Adjoa Atta, Adjoa Atta*
[Let us go and see Adjoa Atta, Adjoa Atta, Adjoa Atta.]

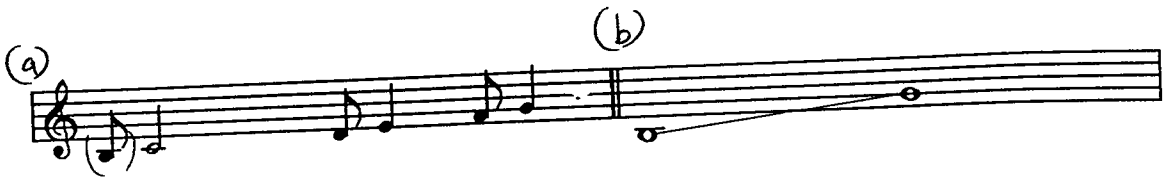
Line 1: *WƆm 'yɛn kƆ hwɛ Adjoa Atta, na nihu tisɛ dɛn nni?*
[Let us go and see Adjoa Atta, How is she doing?]

Line 2: *Mom 'yɛn kƆ hwɛ Adjoa Atta, na mom fre me nso nkƆ.*
[Let us go and see Adjoa Atta, and please leave me alone.]

Linguistic code switching and mixing is common in areas of Ghana with heterogeneous ethnic representations. This practice is more noticeable in a town such as Cape Coast than it is in a village such as Akatakyiwa. The practice is also noticeable in languages of the same root such as Twi and Fanti. In line 2 above, the words seemed to echo the mother's sentiments rather than those of the children. While reflecting the sentiments of the mother, the children introduced expressions and comments typically used by Akan mothers such as, *Na mom fre me nso kƆ* [please leave me alone]. There seems to be no connection between "Let us go and see Adjoa Atta," and "Please leave me alone." This demonstrated children's proclivity to combine in play distinct cultural and linguistic expressions.

A sound analysis of *Adjoa Atta* showed that it had a tonal range of a sixth (see Figure 11b). Its tones were built on a hexatonic scale. The scale may also be perceived as a variant of the major scale that omits the sixth tone (l). Figure 11 shows the range and the tones arranged in a weighted format.

Figure 11. Tones in weighted scale and range - *Adjoa Atta*

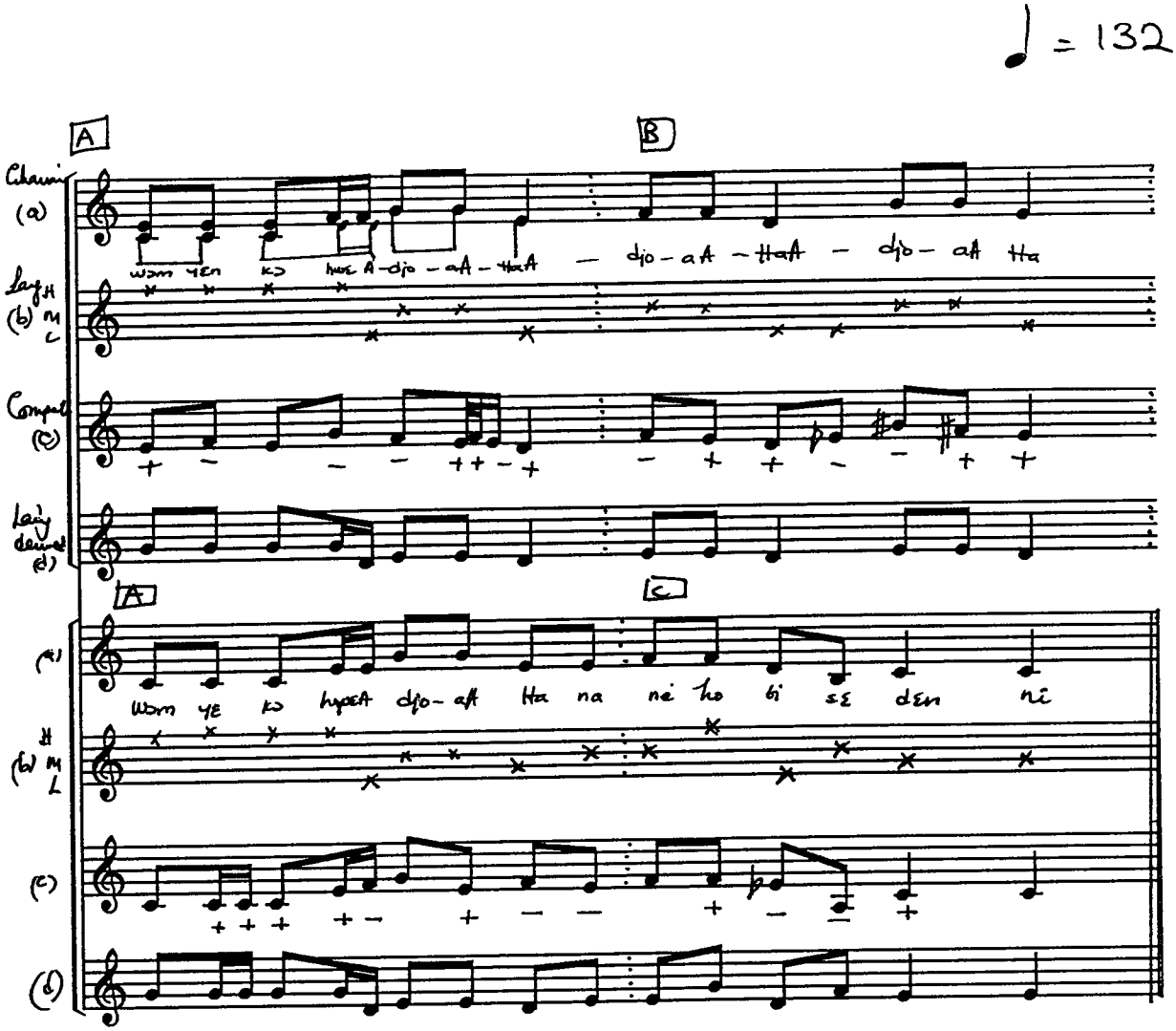


In the three schools I researched, there were differences in the placement of the children's opening tone. The initial pitch was a tonic or (do) for children attending Ulesis and King Armadillo Schools. However, for the children attending Aardvark School, the song began on the third or (mi). In cross-school comparisons, there seems not to be consensus on the placement of initial pitch in *Adjoa Atta*.

The melody had descending intervals of not more than a third and ascending intervals of seconds, thirds and fifths (see Figure 12). Melodic contour had skips and jumps beginning on the tonic and ending on the tonic. Descending sequential thirds to the terminal note were characteristic of phrase endings. There was a repetition of tones in each verse. In line 2 of Figure 12, the transcription of *Adjoa Atta* was constructed from Ghanaian-informed judgments. I placed the stems of the notes up for the version sung by the children attending Aardvark and the stems down for the variant sung by children attending Ulesis and Armadillo.

The computer generated pitches of *Adjoa Atta* were remarkably close to the pitches obtained from transcriptions of Ghanaian informed judgments. Table 4 in Appendix C reflects the pitches of the chorus of *Adjoa Atta,* as sang by the children in Aardvark School. These were generated using the *CSL* programme.

Figure 12. Transcriptions from Ghanaian-informed judgments, speech tone of language, computer-assisted transcriptions and language derived model - *Adjoa Atta*.



Most people who listen to the music of *Adjoa Atta* will agree that it is European-sounding. The melodic sequence of successive thirds and tonic endings add to the European tonal quality. Interestingly, the tonal organization of both the melody extrapolated from Hertz values (Figure 12, Line b) and Ghanaian informed judgments (Figure 12, Line a) do not follow the natural rise and fall of the language. Even though the text is in Fanti, the melodic organization is European. Hybrid performing arts forms emerge in the expression of combined music cultures. Detailed pitch information is provided in Appendix C, Table 4. Had the melody followed the natural rise and fall of the Fanti language, it would probably have sounded like the transcription in Figure 12, Line d.

In the second system of Figure 12, the melodies (Lines a and c) are similar. The transcribers for the melody in Line a were Ghanaians with strong western music education backgrounds. It could be argued that, given the transcribers' backgrounds, they were able to perceive and transcribe the European-sounding singing games more accurately than the Ghanaian-sounding ones. The transcription (Line a) is representative of the singing game *Adjoa Atta*.

Walker's (1990) categorical perception is significant in the transcription of Ghanaian children's play culture. Walker defined categorical perception as the "tendency to group together a number of sounds and categorize them as being all in one category rather than in a series of discreet events" (p. 22). There is no reason to suggest that categorical perception only occurs among European musicians. As Ghanaian musicians transcribing singing games, we showed categorical tendencies in our perception and representation of children's music cultures. These categorical tendencies may have been influenced by our musical enculturation, which is based on a blend of different music cultures. Similarly, the children's tendency to produce play material is influenced by their enculturation and is also an indication

of their growing enculturation into different music cultures. In effect, the children continue to recreate and represent sound structures based on their level of enculturation into different musical cultures. Their recreations and representations show the tensions that result from the mixing of Ghana's music cultures. The similarities demonstrated in the melodies in the second system of Figure 12 (Line a and c) show the children's and adult musician's abilities to categorize pitches of the Western tonal system.

Repetitions and variations of duple rhythms in duple meter led the music of *Adjoa Atta* to its final tone. A march-like effect was created as the children walked backwards. The march was introduced to Ghana during the colonial period when marching bands were formed to entertain the colonial administration (Nketia, 1974). This march is highlighted by vocables (1a) sung to simple rhythms in *Adjoa Atta*. The children elongate the rhythmic value of the vocable to further emphasize the march-like effect. Rhythm vocabulary that form *Adjoa Atta* are in Figure 13.

Figure 13. Rhythm vocabulary - *Adjoa Atta*

Adjoa Atta's tempo was controlled by the movement of the chorus. This can be seen in the video as the children in the chorus walk to the beat as they visit Adjoa. The simple duple rhythm patterns are combinations of the vocabulary in Figure 13.

I will now describe the interactions among music, text, and movement that occurred in *Adjoa Atta*. Movement in *Adjoa Atta* was the foreground element. The music and text were simple and repetitive. Although Adjoa Atta was the

protagonist in the story play, she never sung. A stage was set with her mother as the narrator and Adjoa miming her role. The mother as narrator, signifies an important aspect of Ghanaian cultural life. The significance of a mother's role is further emphasized in the following interview with the Queen mother (see Star: 24 Queen - Women).

AA: I have been working with children on singing games. One of the reasons for doing this is that I am looking at the way children are enculturated into the Ghanaian society in the performance of the singing games. When I ask them questions about the games the children tell me that their mother taught them this or their mother told them what their names mean, or explained this or that. I want you to talk about the role of women in educating the child in modern Ghana.
AMBA: This question reminds me of an art work done by one of my students. It was an imaginative drawing session. This boy brought some work which was peculiar and unique. I will not delve into it.
He had drawn some pictures like mud stick figures, two representing adults and three representing children. I asked him to explain who the adults where. Surprisingly the one I thought represented his father was his mother. I asked him why he portrayed his mother in that manner, and the boy said, "Yes! It is because I hardly see my father. He leaves home when I am in bed and comes when I am in bed. It is my mother who feeds me; it is my mother who gives me my school uniform, everything I need." He saw that the mother meant more to him than the father.
This answers the question. It is because the children are most often at home with the mother. It is they who feed them. (sic) When they are babies they are almost always with the mother. Even their eating habits. They start training the children. They have more influence on the children.

Nana Amba's use of the words "peculiar", "surprize", "training", and "influence" point to a mother's roles in children's enculturation in Ghana (See Picture 27 Star: Queen mother on Role of Women). The significance of the role of mothers is observed in her explanation, and the children's performance of singing games such as Adjoa Atta.

Riddell (1990) would most likely describe the game *Adjoa Atta* as an action-oriented story sequence. The children who visited Adjoa held each other and walked abreast, their steps synchronized with the music. Children walking abreast in *Adjoa Atta* is significant; it demonstrates a particular community spirit reinforced by the children's synchronized steps. As they played the game of *Adjoa Atta,* the children learned about the social value of togetherness, and community spirit.

At death, Adjoa, in accordance with Akan beliefs became a ghost and entered the spirit world. There, she was able to

continue to communicate and interact with the living people. *Adjoa Atta* demonstrates Akan beliefs in the eternal suspension between the living and the dead (Antubam, 1963).

Picture 13. Star *Adjoa Atta*: Ghost.

Even though the melody of *Adjoa Atta* is repeated several times, Adjoa Atta's mother improvised textually and rhythmically as she introduced a new idea in the story sequence. Reinforced in the "mother's story" are Ghanaian expressions of gender-based roles and duties. Expectations of girls include the household chores such as sweeping and emptying the garbage. Social organization based on gender is an important issue for Ghanaians.

The analysis of the melodic sequence of *Adjoa Atta*, showed the children's enculturation into different music cultures. Also foregrounded in this singing game are

cultural values of togetherness, spontaneous improvisation, the significance of the mother's role, and the belief in active life after death.

4.6 *Obiara* : Description and Analysis

Obiara is a circle game. The children stood in a circle facing the centre. They held hands to form the circle and looked at one another. When they felt everyone was ready to begin the game, they all sang together and clapped their hands to a regular beat pattern. Children born on a particular day of the week danced in response to the text of the play song that accompanied this game. Most children in Ghana know the day on which they were born. Beginning with Sunday, one day of the week is called out for each verse of the song. The children born on a particular day stand akimbo and swing their waists from side to side while lowering their torso down to a squatting position. They stayed in that position and continued to sing. After all the days of the week had been called out and all the children are squatting, the children begin the cycle again. Starting with Sunday, this time around the children danced to a standing position when they heard the day of their birth. Visual representations in video data clearly show these movement patterns (see Star: *Obiara*: Ulesis). The children at Ulesis Primary School add a third cycle to the game of *Obiara;* they all come into the middle of the circle and dance. As a result, the spatial organization changes from a circle formation to a cluster.

The text of the music was as follows:

Obiara wo woo no Kwesida, ɔn koto, ɔn koto
(All those who are born on Sunday bend down, bend down.)

Obiara wo woo no Kwesida ɔn sore, ɔn sore
(All those who are born on Sunday get up, get up,)

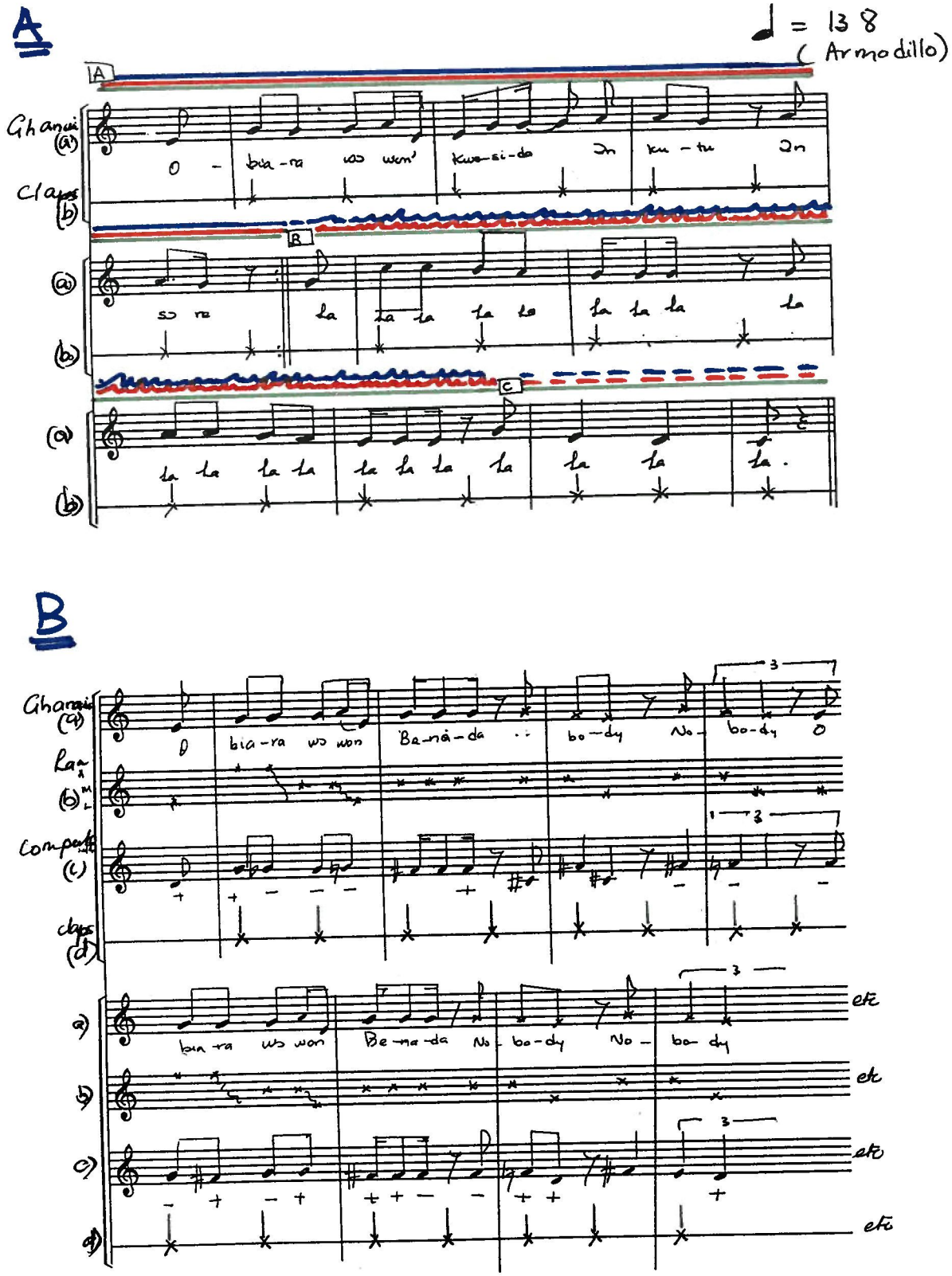
Tra la la la la la la la
Tra la la la la la la la
La la la la

The analysis showed that the interplay of music, text, and movement in the performance of *Obiara* furnished its structure. I show this interrelationship in the visual presentation of digitized images of the game using *Constellations* (see Picture 13. Star: *Obiara*: Ulesis). Illustrated in Figure 14 is the interplay of music, text, and movement using a written music and text transcription of *Obiara*. The colour code used to show the structure of the previous singing games is used with *Obiara*.

Melodically, there were five phrases in this singing game. The first two phrases were eight beats long; the last phrase, three beats long. The form of the music was AABB'C. This play song, on the other hand, had two major textual sections. The first textual idea of *Obiara* included the first two phrases, AA. The second textual idea included the last three phrases, BBB'. As such its textual form is AABBB'.

Furthermore, because *Obiara* was in strophic form, its performance may be viewed as having three large sections. Part of the text changed each time a new verse was sung. The first change occured when all the children the seven verses, danced to a stooping position; the second change occured when the children danced their way up; and the last change occurs when they all danced in the centre of the circle. The children in Aardvark school had two sections instead of three.

Figure 14. Transcriptions from Ghanaian-informed judgments, speech tone of language, computer-assisted transcriptions, and structure analysis - *Obiara*



The transcription of *Obiara* in Figure 14A, showed that the melody begins on the third - (m) (see Line a). This transcription was made based on Ghanaian-informed judgments. Navigating around the tessitura of E_4, G_4, and A_4--the first phrase, made up of rising thirds and fourths and falling seconds--ends on the fifth - (s) (see Line a). Given the European-sounding quality of the text and melodic organization, we could speculate that if the first phrase was harmonized an imperfect cadence at the end might be appropriate. In the second phrase, we observe slight variations in repeated rhythm motives from the first phrase.

Beginning on an anacrusis of s - d, the second section moved in a descending contour towards the final tone (see Line a). This second section has three sub-phrases built on descending scale passages. The first sub-phrases are sequential and have identical rhythm patterns. A climax is reached at the beginning of the first phrase. Elements of gradient and unification are observed in the second sub-phrase. As a variation of the previous two sub-phrases, the last phrase, is arpeggiated and intervallic, bringing us to the final tone.

This play song has a tonal range of an octave and is built on all the tones of a diatonic major scale (see Figure 14).

When a verse of the song refers to a day of the week on which none of the participants is born, the children at Ulesis and King Armadillo Schools still sing the verse. The children at Aardvark School intone the words *nobody, nobody* in the first phrase of the verse. Table 4 in Appendix C illustrates the pitches of *Obiara* when the children at Aardvark School intone the words *nobody, nobody*. I have tried to identify the speech tones evolved in this section using both Ghanaian informed transcriptions and the *CSL* program.

The first phrase sung by the children of Aardvark School is outlined in Figure 14B. The first line is the

transcription constructed from Ghanaian-informed judgments (Line a). Speech tones from the natural rise and fall of the language is on the second line (Line b). The third line displays the computer-assisted transciption (Line c). On the last line is the hand clapping pattern for *Obiara* (Line d).

The opening interval of *Obiara* in Figure 14B Line a, was a minor third. In Line c, the interval is a perfect fourth. The human ear may have heard the movement from the opening vowel [o] to the second vowels [ia](which forms a diphthong), as smaller than it was. Table 5 in Appendix C has the details of Hertz values and intervals for *Obiara*.

In addition, whereas the melody in Figure 14B Line a, rises, falls, and rises again at pitches #4-7, it falls in Line c at pitches #4-6 (see Table 5 for further details). The human ear hears E_4 (Line a, pitch 6) when, in actual fact this pitch may be nonexistent as established in Line c. This melodic contour was repeated in both lines at pitches #18, 19, and 20. This repetition established the children's intent to produce those sounds. The disparity in the perception could be due to the introduction of the consonant [n] (Figure 14B: line a, pitch #6) or in the musician's categorical perception.

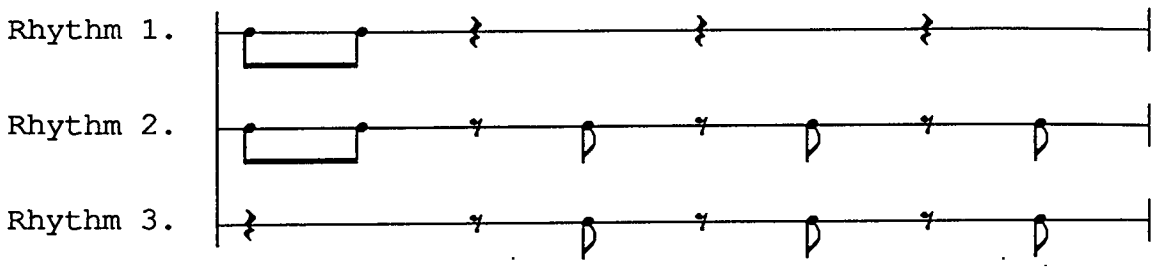
Obiara was in duple meter and this is another indication of its European nature (see Figure 12). An anacrusis comprising an eighth followed by two eighth notes created a motivic accent at the beginning of each sub-phrase. These patterns are:

The 20-beat playsong has the rhythm pattern occurring on the third beat of the sub - phrase.

As I listened to the children at Aardvark School play this game, I heard the sound thicken as the hand clapping patterns that accompanied the play song became increasingly

complex. Rhythmic stratification occurred with the introduction of each new pattern. At the beginning of the cycle, the children clapped Rhythm 1 (See Figure 15). By the time they had reached the end of the first cycle, they were clapping Rhythm 2. In the last cycle they clapped Rhythm 3.

Figure 15. Hand clapping patterns - *Obiara*



Looking at these three hand clapping rhythm patterns, we notice that peak action occurred at the end of the first cycle with Rhythm 2. This rhythm is a combination of the two adjacent patterns. These patterns are not predictive. For example, one child may lead into a pattern, which the others then follow. Observing the children play, I found that changing rhythm patterns were based on the level of momentum achieved as the performance progressed. On certain occasions the children, did not build up the momentum necessary to stimulate complex hand clapping patterns. When this occurred, the layering of sound in voice and hand clapping was not thick and varied.

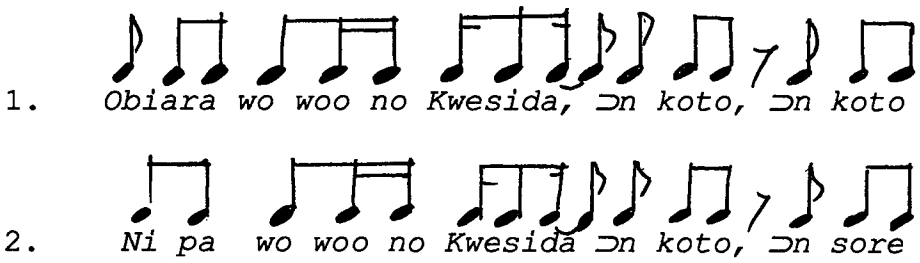
Drewal's (1990) temporal perspective on analysis revealed that factors such as the weather, relations, and interactions among children participating in the game, as well as their familiarity with the game at a particular time determined the degree of complexity in hand clapping patterns.

Rhythm motives from the first section of the melody were developed in the second section. However, the combined

rhythm of the two sections were distinctively different. Peak action in rhythmic activity was found in the first section. The second section was steady and the flow rate seemed to slow down to the point of arrival.

Variations existed in the text of the music. The heterogeneity among ethnic groups in Ghana, facilated tone switching and mixing linguistic codes across in Twi and Fanti. As a result, the rhythm patterns of the song differed at schools where the text differed. Figure 16 shows an example of the disparity in rhythms across schools. The first line shows text and rhythm by children at King Armadillo School; the second by children at Ulesis Primary School.

Figure 16. Rhythm and text across schools - *Obiara*.



Balance is created in the repetition of melodic and rhythmic ideas. Using La Rue's (1986) expression, a "disbalance" in the flow of the singing game is created in the last four-beat phrase at the end. However, because of the duration values of these notes, there is a sense of closure in the extension.

Varied levels of non-Ghanaian cultural expressions are reflected in all singing games played by children in the three schools. However, the diatonic scale tones and the vocables suggest that this particular singing game emerged from colonial education. In an interview with Ghanaian playwright, Efua Sutherland, I tried to find out about changes in singing games over time. Below is the text of the interview.

AA: After watching the video clips yesterday, would you be able to tell me about the variations in the singing games over the years?

ES: Games like *All those who are born on Monday* are not indigenous games. The *tra la la* bit is the clue. Such games have been absorbed from our colonial heritage.
Also, games that talk about *Daddy* and *Mum* are games of the emergent culture. When we use the words *M'agya* and *Me' nna* to refer to the father and the mother, these words have deep bondings that *Daddy* and *Mummy* lack.

Efua Sutherland, helped to alley my confusion with this game especially since I played it as a child. As a child, I remembered singing only the English language version. Perhaps this was because, at the time, Ghana still displayed much of its colonial heritage and this had spilled over into the playground activities. The current cultural climate in Ghana encourages children to sing and play in local languages. At the more European influenced Ulesis School, the children sang *Obiara* in Fanti and in English. At the other two schools, only the version in Fanti was observed. In addition, even though the Fanti version was popular at Aardvark and King Armadillo schools, European nuances of the *tra la la* vocable still remained.

Movement in *Obiara* incorporates the twist and Gahu[4] waist patterns. Even though evidence and research (Cheska, 1987; Hanna, 1992) shows that Africans use all parts of the body for dancing, certain body movements are more pronounced among particular groups of people. For example, torso movement is prevalent in dances across coastal West Africa. However, Professor Mawure Opoku pointed out during our interview, that some ways of moving the torso are acceptable and some are not.

MO: ... You must not teach the child to use the hips. That is supposed to be indecent. That is something that you must mention - Our moral values are so strong that dance movements are censored as you dance. ... I call it drum censorship. When you are dancing and you move in an indecent or improper manner, you find that the drummers will warn you on the drum. If you do it again, they may throw one of the playing sticks at your hip.
AA: At you?
MO: On your hip. Be careful about your hip!

If you go on, in the middle of a phrase they stop playing!
AA: That's all!.
MO: How to get out of the circle is then the issue.
AA: I would be embarrassed!
MO: . . .is one of the most embarrassing things that can happen to a dancer. Those are some of the things one has to learn.
You may move your waist sideways. That is not bad. In dance we call that shifting your weight. You let you weight rest on the right leg and then on the left and that is perfectly alright. Or you can rotate the whole of your hip girdle.

The children move their waists from side to side as they dance in the singing game *Obiara* (See Picture 14. Star: *Obiara*: Torso). The children are, in this singing game, practicing culturally acceptable movement patterns which prepared them for dances popular among adults.

Another important point that emerges from this interview relates to how I positioned myself as a participant observer. As Professor Opoku painted the picture of a particular situation during a dance performance, I responded as a Ghanaian by saying I would be embarrassed at the situation. Professor Opoku acknowledged my response and noted that culturally acceptable movement patterns as well as the emotions and the feelings that go with them are learned behaviours.

Obiara demands a physical response that is based on cultural knowledge. The children needed a knowledge of naming practises in order to play this game. In the following intervew, I asked the children attending Ulesis School about naming practices (see Star: Obiara Explanations UPS).

AA: How do you know when you were born?
Priscilla: My mother told me.
Faustina: With the Fanti, if you were born on Monday or Tuesday, there is a name that is given you.
[They play another game]
AA; In the previous game, someone said with the Fanti ... How many of you are Fantis.

I later asked for the particular names which went with particular days of the week. I used the interview process to not only determine how Akan people learn about naming practises but also, how much they knew about their own

cultural identity. All except one of the children were able to tell me their ethnic groups. At the other two schools, King Armadillo and Aardvark all the children were able to tell me about their ethnic groups.

As they played *Obiara* and we discussed the value of the game the children presented their contructions on naming practises. *Obiara* reflects the influence of Ghana's different cultures on play ground activities.

4.7 *Tue Tue* : Description and Analysis

Tue Tue is another cherished singing game performed among children in Ghana today. As is the case with products of oral tradition, the words have changed over the years. In some instances there has been so much change that the original meanings have been lost. This game was played by children in all three schools at which I worked. I played *Tue Tue* as a circle and a partner game.

The children attending Aardvark School played it as a line or partner game. They formed two lines, each facing a partner. The basic movement patterns in the singing game were hand clapping with partners and patschen (slap thighs). The game had two sections. In the first section, the players began by singing and performing a four-beat body percussion pattern with the player they were facing (Figure 20). They turned to the side and face another player and repeat the body percussion pattern (see Picture 15. Star: *Tue Tue* - m2). In the second section, the children created a bridge, and tapped each other's palm with their arms in the air. The first pair of children bent down and walked through the bridge, tapping each other and singing. Succeeding pairs from the same end walked through creating the image of a continuous outpour of coupled children from under the bridge. The bridge building movement of *Tue Tue* is an indicator of its colonial origin; children in Europe play *London Bridge is*

Falling Down using similar movement patterns (See Picture 16. Star: *Tue Tue* - m3).

In the other two schools, *Tue Tue* is played as a circle game. At Ulesis School, the children began by choosing and standing next to a partner before forming a circle. In the Ulesis School version, *Tue Tue* also has two major sections. In the first section, the children use both palms simultaneously to perform part of a standardized sequence of hand clapping. They held their hands out to each other at waist level with the left palm facing up and the right palm facing down. The left palm hit the right palm of the person on the left; the right palm facing down hit the left palm facing up of the person on the right. Lifting up their hands to shoulder level, the childen then hit both palms of the participants on both sides. They then slapped or patschen their own thighs with both hands, twice.

In the second section, the children turned to the partners they chose prior to starting the game. They performed a second handclapping sequence which involved hitting the palms of both hands of their partners twice, then slapping their own thighs twice. In the third sequence, they made a 180 degree turn, and hit the palms of a new partner and slapped their own thighs. The children kept turning until they decided to end the game. The recorded text follows:

Tue Tue Maria Tue Tue
["Tue" is a rice dish. Maria is the name of a girl].
Tue Tue Maria Tue Tue
Abosom daa, Ama na wa ye
[Spirits are asleep, Ama has done it].
Tue Tue
Abosom Daa Ama na waye
Tue Tue
Hei Maria, Tue Tue (Repeated several times. End for Ulesis and Armadillo children)

la la la la la Tue Tue (repeated until all Aardvark children walked under the bridge).

Picture 17. Star: *Tue Tue* - m3

Melodically, the music is in three parts. The first phrase A, is repeated. The second phrase B, is repeated with a variation at the end. In the B section, the melodic contour descends to C_4. In the last section, an overlap of melodies in call and response form occurs (see Figure 18). The response remains the same with the call varying from time to time. Because the response remains the same, an ostinato is created.

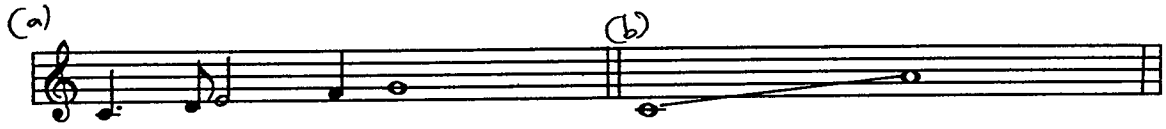
The musical fabric of *Tue Tue* was polyphonic, with polyphony here resulting from rhythmic and melodic interaction in the body percussion and music respectively.

Hand claps form a steady pulse of patschen and claps. Characterized by threes against twos, the melody which has the lead role in *Tue Tue* blends with the hand claps to create a complex sound system.

The tone colour of *Tue Tue* comprises the sounds created by the marriage of the child's voice with body percussion. The dynamic level remains the same throughout the performance of the singing game. A greater intensity of sound is created by the patschen in the body percussion pattern and this produces contrasts in tone quality. Dynamic contrast has its subsequent effect on timbre in this singing game. Contrast occurs regularly in the first section of the play song.

Tonal range (Figure 17b) of the entire singing game is a sixth, with predominant notes being E4 and G4. Repeated tones on the tessitura furnish melodies in *Tue Tue*. The melody has six tones. Here are the tones presented in weighted scale format (see Figure 17):

Figure 17. Tones in weighted scale and range - *Tue Tue*



The melodic contour begins with repeated tones on the dominant rising a step and falling a third (Figure 18). *Tue Tue's* opening phrase has six beats. This curved opening melody is repeated after a two beat rest.

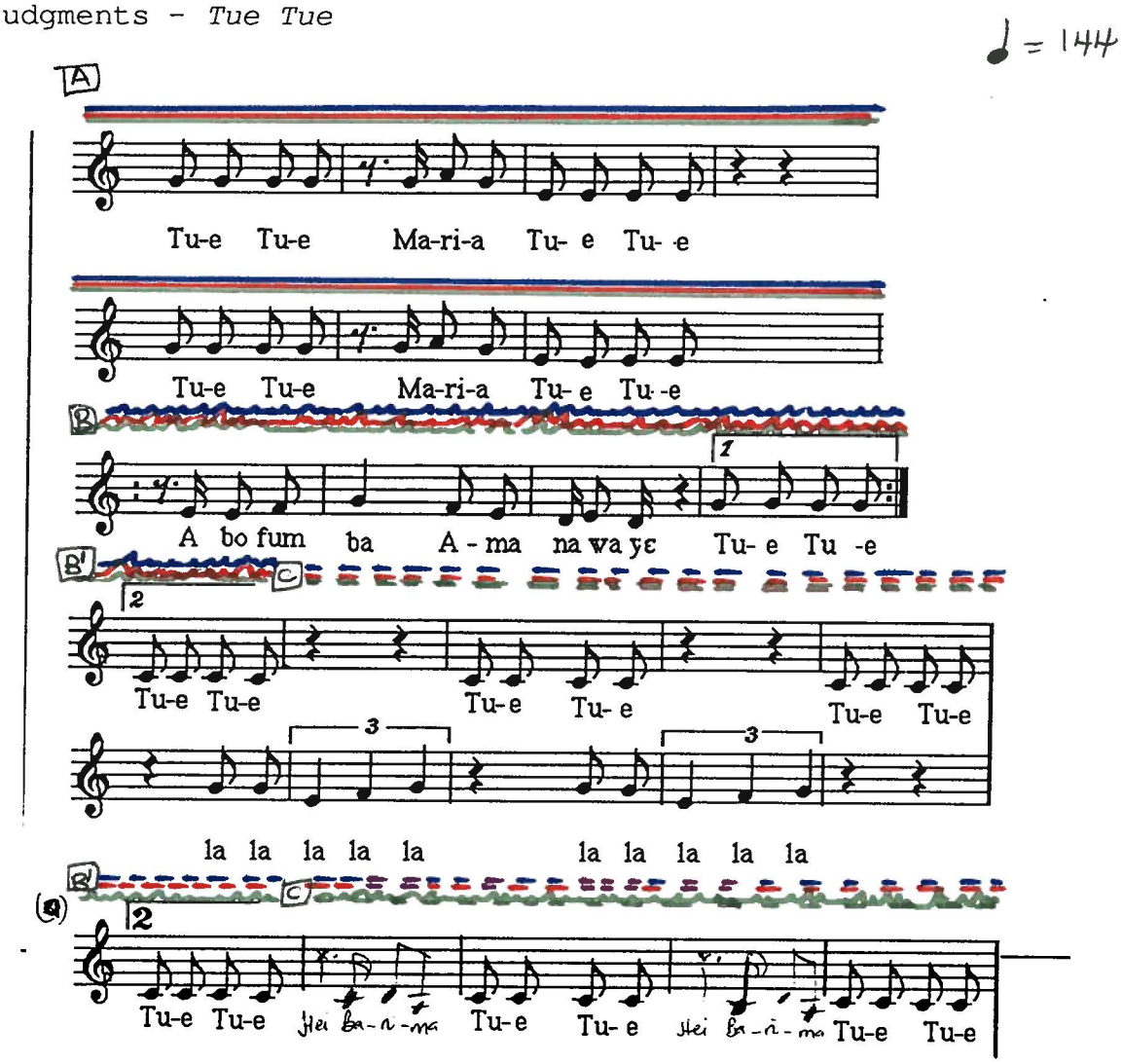
After the repetition of the opening phrase, the second phrase begins without a rest. Beginning on a lower pitch, the second phrase also rises to the fifth and drops to the second. Rising a fifth to create an imperfect cadence, the melodic organization stimulates the anticipation of another phrase. This phrase is repeated and the melody descends to

the tonic from the supertonic creating a perfect cadence of V - I.

Cycling melodies are created in the last section of the version of *Tue Tue* sung at Aardvark Primary School (Figure 18). A melody built on three notes--E_4, F_4, and G_4--is repeated several times and in response, another melody built on the tonic is also repeated several times. This creates a double ostinato which overlaps at the last beat of the call and the first beat of the response.

The first two sections of the version sung by the children at Ulesis and King Armadillo Primary Schools follow the same melodic and rhythmic organization as the version sung by children attending Aardvark Primary School. The last section of the Ulesis-Armadillo version has repeated melodies. Although these melodies do not overlap, their distinctive features include the marriage of indefinite and definite pitches (Figure 18a). In addition, there is a melodic movement from the A_3 to C_4 at the penultimate beats of the last section. This movement increases the range of the melody and provides a plagal ending.

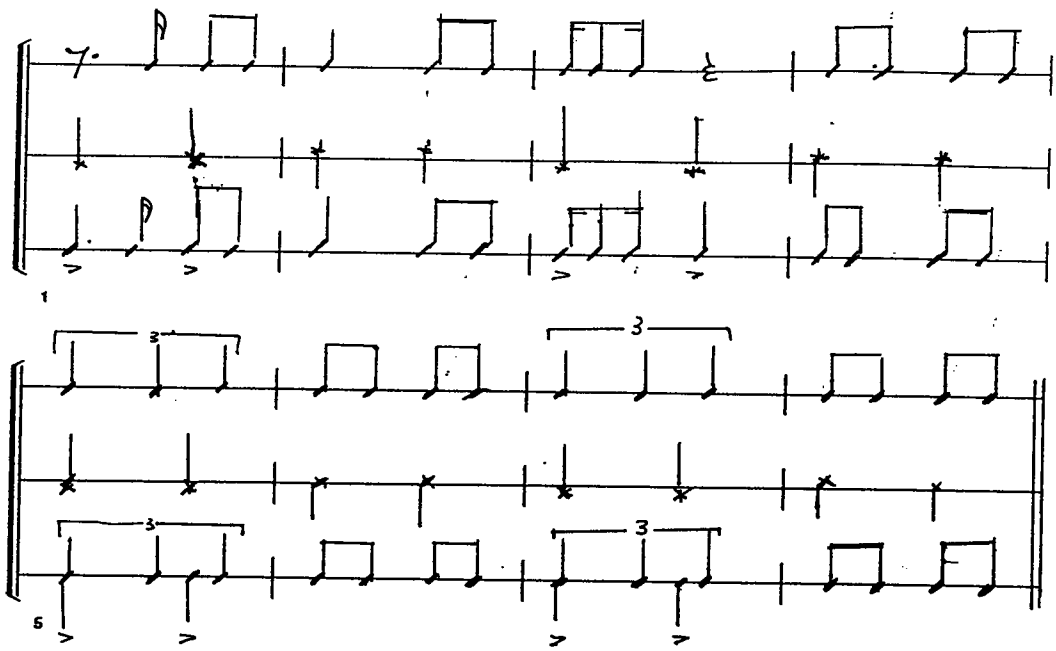
Figure 18. Music transcriptions from Ghanaian-informed judgments - *Tue Tue*



Layering of rhythmic patterns occurs in the juxtaposition of the body percussion patterns and patterns created in the vocal music. In Figure 19, I show the result of the layering of rhythmic patterns. Line a is the rhythms in the vocal music, Line b is the rhythms in the body percussion patterns, and Line c is the resultant rhythms. In line b, I placed partner slaps above and patschens below, the line. Patschen in *Tue Tue* seemed to be louder than the hand

claps, creating accented sounds. A striking sonic effect emerges with the marriage of music, text, and movement.

Figure 19. Layered rhythms patterns - *Tue Tue*

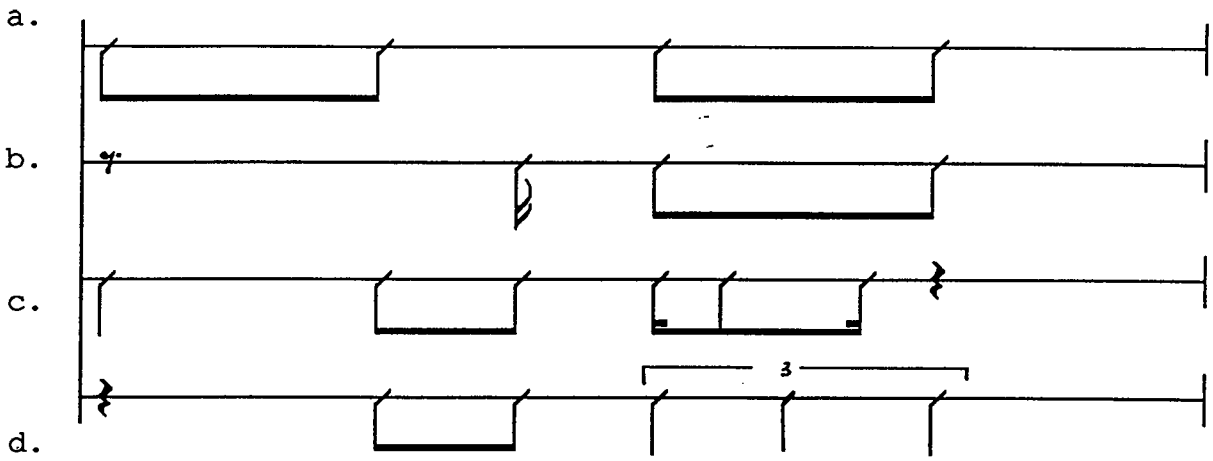


Hemiola-like effects occur in the marriage of the melodic rhythm with the body percussion rhythms. Stress on the repeated rhythm patterns results in a motivic accent on the text *Tue Tue* (Figure 19a). This repeated motivic accent contributed to the flow of the play song.

Even though the tempo remains the same, there is little grouping of notes to create a metric accent. Grouping is found in the final phrase of the singing game. The singing game sounds as though it is in duple meter; however, the phrasing shows a shift in the accent.

Surface rhythm patterns in the music of *Tue Tue* are simple. Figure 20 displays these rhythm patterns.

Figure 20. Surface rhythm patterns - *Tue Tue*



The rhythm begins on the down beat and slowly rises to peak action by the last beat. Changes in rhythm, movement, melody, and text are slow in *Tue Tue*. Overlaps occur when the children use the vocable "la". Simplicity in the text, combined with complexity in melodic organization and movement, holds the music together. Repeating melodies also created thematic unity.

In the last phrase, *Tue Tue* is a recapitulation of the first phrase and as such the two phrases are interconnected. This interrelationship is illuminated in the visual presentation of the game using *Constellations 2.5* (see Pictures 16 and 17). Variety and complexity are created in the marriage of music, text, and movement. The colour coordination in Figure 18 illustrates contrast and variety in *Tue Tue*.

Determining the social significance of *Tue Tue* was challenging. Like other products of oral tradition, the text of *Tue Tue* is at present a combination of different cultural expressions. Different adult Ghanaians told me the expression *Tue*, referred to children who wet beds in their sleep, and

others told me it referred to food. When I asked children at the three schools what *Tue* meant, none knew that the expresion referred to bed wetting. Perhaps none of these children had ever wet their beds and therefore had not been victims of teasing. Interestingly, with the children at Ulesis School told me that *Tue* was food. The dialogue with these children is as follows.

AA: Please tell me the meaning of the words
Betty: Tue Tue is food, Northern Region's food.
Priscilla: It is also Ewe people's food.
AA: What kind of food is it?
Betty: It is rice and you do it like Etu, Banku ... I don't know the English name.
Pamela: You paddle!
AA: you make it into a ball
Children: E he! [made cultural sound symbolizing agreement.]
AA: What does "abosomdaa" mean?
Betty: Ama did that and the Gods came!

In some parts of Ghana the children sing *Mamuna* instead of *Maria*. The children in Fanti areas, the south have altered the name to suit their cultural experience.

What I found significant was the implied representation of Christian church and traditional religions in the expressions *Maria* and *Abosom daa* respectively. The children attending King Armadillo School were emphatic that the expression *Abosom daa* is correct. *Maria* refers to the virgin Mary and *Abosom* refers to the lesser gods or deities. Two different interpretations could be given to the expression *Abosom daa* depending on the intonation of the word *daa*. The expression could either mean "The gods are sleeping" or "The gods are everlasting." Embedded in the text is the Ghanaian tendency to practice religious syncretism (refer to Chapter 3, Section 3.4.7).

The children altered speech tones to create new meanings. The disparity in the meaning of the words of this singing game in the three schools I researched pointed to the working of oral tradition. Sometimes these reinterpretations occurred before me. As the children argued about the meaning of the words, the opinion of the child with the dominant

personality's carried. At King Armadillo school the following dialogue occurred.

AA: Sing it slowly so that I can hear the words. Who knows how to sing it?
Delphina: I do [She begins to sing].
AA; What does Abofumba mean? [I interject].
Delphina: Mbosom ba, Abomsom ba [She tries to decipher the words].
Rebecca: A bei! What Abosomba! It is Abosom daa.

Children's tendency to pass on blame in different situations is illuminated in the expression *Ama na wa yɛ* [Ama has done it]. Ama is the name of a girl born on Saturday.

The text of *Tue Tue* symbolically refers to religious aspects of Ghanaian life. References to food and to females, are all indicators of cultural information. Varying spatial formations and movement patterns, the European sounding melody and the culturally laden text together make a captivating performance event.

4.8 Summary.

The interconnectedness and interrelationship of the two approaches is obvious in the foregoing analysis. The children actively engaged in the performance relate to each other, to their context, and to the play form. I had planned to solicit stories about singing games from the children because I wanted to include their ideas in this ethnography. It soon became clear to me that words are not the principal avenue for communication between children in Ghana. On several occasions, gestures were their ways of telling stories. These gestures occurred during the performance of the games and when I asked them questions about the games or about themselves.

The melodies of Ghanaian-sounding singing games (*Afra Kakraba, Maame Abrewa*) correlated with the speech tones of the Fanti language. The non-Ghanaian sounding games did not follow the tonal organization of the Fanti language (*Adjoa Atta*). What was highlighted in the discrepancy is the confirmation that not everything the children sung fell

within the constraints of the Western Tempered scale. I used the CSL programme to assist in determing the differences in tonal organizations of the selected singing games.

The text of the singing games showed that the first three Ghanaian-sounding games prepared the children for adult life. The next three dealt with different aspects of Ghanaian life but, unlike the Ghanaian-sounding games did not provide cultural information for adult life.

Performance stylistic features of singing games that emerged reflected the marriage of two music cultures, indigenous Ghanaian and European. These include; speech tones, onomatopoeia, repetition and elaboration of recurring melodic clichés, portamentos or cadential drops, syncopations, triplets, melisma, polyrhythms, vocables, anacrusis, strophic, circle, lines, and partner formations.

During play, the children were cultural interlocutors and recipients of adult cultural interlocution as they learned about accepted and shared social behavioural patterns, recreated their culture, and demonstrated the changing Ghanaian culture. The culture forms that emerged include community solidarity, inclusion, ways of exploring and expressing emotions, coordination, cooperation, gender relations, and linguistic code switching.

The video images illuminated the variations in each performance of the singing games. Most of the variations, as I pointed out, resulted from differences in the text. Each time a singing game is set in motion, intralinguistic procedures such as vowel elisions, text variations, and omissions create new expressions of singing games. The extent of the variations differ with each performance and show the workings of oral traditions. Constellations 2.5 provided an apt avenue for exploring the variations in each performance and for linking these performances with interviews, pictures, music transcriptions and sounds to build more valid conclusions--Goldman-Segall's (1995) configurational validity.

CHAPTER 5

CHILDREN'S WAYS OF KNOWING

In this ethnography, I explore the role of singing games in enculturation and development of intellectual processes among children at three schools in Ghana, West Africa. Children in Ghana have particular learning abilities that they demonstrate during the performance of singing games. These learning abilities are dictated by their consciously-held knowledge, skills, and ways of thinking. In the previous chapter, I explored the children's consciously held knowledge and how these were related to Ghana's emerging social process. In this chapter, I discuss children's ways of knowing demonstrated during singing game performance in relation to three teaching and learning scenarios. The skills and ways of thinking I observed during the performance and practice of singing games, are delineated.

5.1 Three Teaching Scenarios

Intellectual processes displayed by children during singing games performance become apparent in the first few moments of play, so do overt and covert ways of teaching and learning. During my study, I observed three such teaching and learning scenarios. In the first, the children taught themselves singing games; in the second, they taught me singing games (using a more overt teaching and learning style) and in the third, the cultural studies teacher taught them conflict resolution skills in class. In all three scenarios, learning styles were marked by the following: a) Knowledge is uninhibited shared constructions, b) Knowledge grows when every one is involved, and c) Knowledge is like "midwifery". I use midwifery as a metaphor for the urging which takes place during singing games performances. Usually at the birth of a child, the midwife and other nurses coach the mother-to-be on with words of encouragement. Occurrences

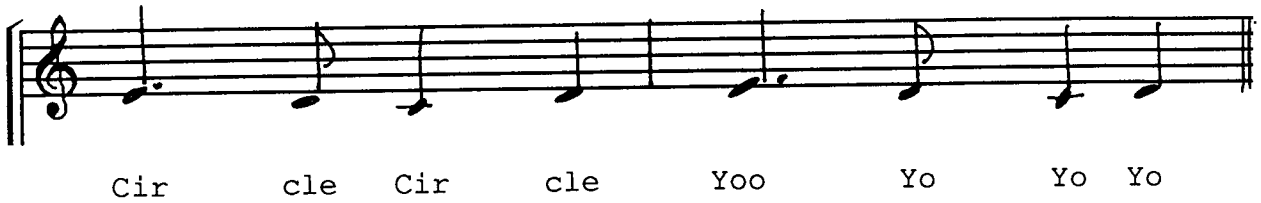
of these learning styles are noted in the following discussion of three teaching and learning scenarios.

5.1.1 Scenario One: Children teach and learn from one another

Invariably, whenever children at the three schools decided to play a new singing game, one child held the game's propositional knowledge; while the others had either no or a vague idea of how it is played. For example, on one occasion, at the Ulesis School playground, I asked the children about particular games I had not seen them play, but were played at the other two schools. (I wanted to know which games were popular across the three schools.) When I asked if anyone was familiar with the game, *Pempena*, played at Aardvark School, Adelaide put up her hand indicating that she knew the game. The other children then immediately gathered around her, ready to learn the game. *Knowledge is uninhibited shared constructions*. The other children wanted to know what Adelaide knew, and she was prepared to share her knowledge. Since singing game performance and practice allowed children to share knowledge without reservation, the scenario was a healthy one for both teaching and learning.

If shared knowledge was important, so too was the level of involvement in the game. As Adelaide used her own teaching style to share her knowledge with her peers, a distinct learning process emerged. Adelaide began by holding her playmates' hands and they in turn formed a circle to begin the game. Then, as was the case with children from the other two schools, they demonstrated a ritualized way of focusing during singing game performance--especially circle games. The children held hands and sung "Circle Circle", followed by "Yoo Yo Yo Yo." Figure 21 is the music transcription of this expression.

Figure 21. Game introduction.



This activity called other children to the game and set its spatial organization. After the circle was in place, the children repeated the game's opening motif several times in order to gain everyone's attention. For these children, it was important that everyone be fully involved in the game, that is, all participants observed one another. *Knowledge grows when every one is involved.*

After the circle was formed, Adelaide extended her palms outward in a manner appropriate to the game and the other children, followed suit. She then began to sing and clap the game. Observing and listening, the other children followed the sequence of hand claps and played along with Adelaide. The children were expected to learn as the game progressed, and Adelaide, acting as the leader, directed and facilitated the learning process through demonstration and verbal commands. *Knowledge is like "Midwifery".* As they began to perceive the sequence in gestures, and song, Adelaide's playmates joined her in correcting their peers. Adelaide's role as leader began to diminish as the other children acquired the knowledge necessary to play the game. They became both learners and teachers and through direct observation and experimentation demonstrated a number of skills. When all of the children demonstrated an understanding of the rules of the game, their performance was smooth (See Picture 21: Adelaide Teaches Peers).

5.1.2 Scenario Two: Children teach researcher singing games.

The first time children at Ulesis Primary School decided to teach me a singing game, they used the method described in the previous section. The hand clapping singing game they taught me was called *Ziana Zina*, and its performance demanded high levels of physical dexterity, numerical skills and precision. Beginning, as it does with gesture and song, I found the game difficult to follow; I was expected to imitate the children and as such, I could not master counting and other rules. A verbal description of the rules would have been helpful, as would have dividing the game up into sections. As it was, the only way I could understand what was going on was to ask questions. What became clear to me was the difference between adults' and children's ways of knowing (see Picture 20, Star: Children Teach Researcher).

The second time around, Adelaide decided that I should learn to play some skip rope games. She walked up to me and asked me to give the video camera to Vida, which I did. She then held my hand and brought me over to the rope.

It had become obvious to Adelaide and the other children that I did not learn in the same way they did. This was partly because I was no longer familiar with the gestures, songs, and sequencing of playground games. My formal education in Ghana had resulted in a loss of the spontaneity, physical dexterity, and coordination I had acquired while playing the games as a child in Ghana. Adelaide showed me how to play, section by section, and included verbal instructions such as "This is the first part. Let me show you the middle section. Now let us do the last part." However, she did not follow this sequence of events. She showed me the middle section first because the accompanying music provided me with substantial time to practise. She then taught me the tag at the end of the song followed by the beginning. Her friends urged my learning on with giggles and encouraging comments. Throughout the teaching, the other

children had opportunities to play, and this allowed me to step back and watch them do what I had just been taught. The skills demonstrated by Adelaide and the other children who taught me games were similar to those demonstrated when they taught one another. However, the teaching process was different. Because I was an adult, Adelaide broke the game down into sections and taught them in a sequence she believed would best enable me to learn. When I finally began to play the game correctly, all the children cheered.

The comments the children made as they taught me skip rope games are important, because this commentary reflect teaching and learning processes associated with adult traditional music performance situations. Through the running commentary, the children urged both performance and learning of the game. For these children learning is situated in the selection and collections of these urgings, which are much like a midwife's coaching of a mother about to have a baby. Grunts, verbal comments and other interjections from children participating in, or watching, the game encouraged learning, and also communicated how accurately the participants were playing. They applied this same evaluative style when they taught me singing games. In the next section, I describe the extent to which urging comments were also part of community member's teaching process. *Knowledge is like "Midwifery"*.

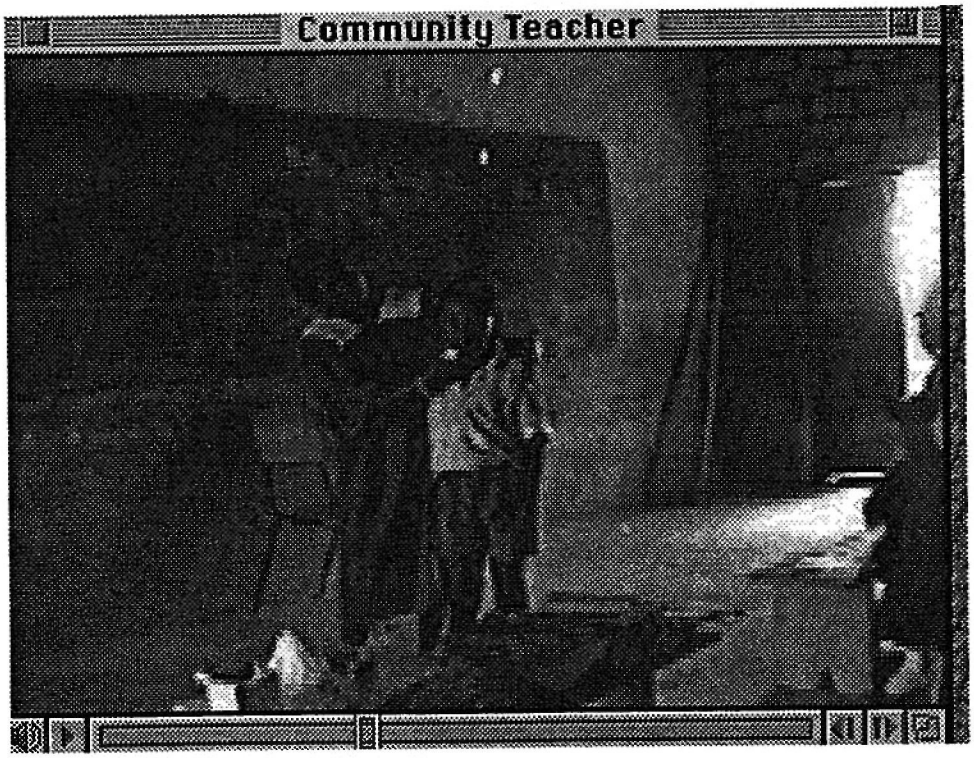
5.1.3 Scenario Three: Community member teaches: Cultural Studies

The local community member who taught cultural studies urged the children on during a classroom activity about conflict resolution. She began by presenting a scenario involving two friends having a disagreement. Selecting a student to play the part of one of the feuding friends, she demonstrated a method by which the argument could be resolved. The community member sang a song and used a handkerchief to wipe the student's face. She placed her hand

around the shoulders of the student--her "estranged friend," and walked with the student from one end of the room to the other trying to win back the "friendship." By the completion of the walk, her "friend" had embraced her, agreeing to make up. Combining hypothetical situations presented with music and dance performance, is a popular educational strategy within traditional Ghanaian society. *Knowledge is uninhibited shared constructions.*

After the teacher demonstrated this conflict resolution method, two children volunteered to try the activity. The other children joined in by singing and making comments about the activity. An active and successful teaching and learning process was established. *Knowledge grows when every one is involved.* After a few more children tried the exercise, the groups discussed the activity in detail. In this community member's class, learning was accomplished by doing, a practice similar to that exhibited by the children on the playground. Picture 17, shows the community member teaching the class.

Picture 17. Star: Teacher's Urging during teaching



The community member's teaching style, which utilized question raising and problem solving, reflected traditional modes of learning and as such was very different from the teaching style used during regular class periods in Ghanaian schools.

5.2 Procedural Knowledge: Knowing How

Whether knowledge is shared constructions, or involves every one, or is like midwifery, particular skills are needed to make knowing possible. The knowledge skills demonstrated by the children during the performance and practice of singing games include intra and inter personal, memorization, motor coordination, language, tonal perception and rhythmic perception, numerical, and spatial awareness skills. In both covert and overt teaching and learning situations, the children in my study demonstrated particular skills and ways of thinking. Differences among the children's socio-cultural and economic backgrounds contributed to the skill differences across the three school playgrounds. In the following sections, I will discuss the manifestation of these skills in detail. Differences across the three school playgrounds are delineated.

5.2.1. Intra and inter personal skills

Singing game performance demands intra and inter personal skills. Intra personal skills have to do with accessing one's own feelings (Gardner, 1985, p. 239), and being able to distinguish between different personal emotions, and using this distinguishing ability to guide personal behaviour. Inter personal play skills have to do with children's ability to identify and make distinctions among the moods, motivations, temperaments and intentions of their peers (Gardner, p. 239). In Ghana children's intra and inter personal skills are influenced by their enculturation. For example, when the children played *Afra Kakraba*, they

demonstrated the ability to distinguish between different personal emotions; in this case, pain from grief and pleasure from comfort (See Chapter 4, pp. 123-134). *Knowledge grows when every one is involved.*

Since singing games demand active participation, the children's intra and inter personal skills were challenged during performance. This was because singing games, like other games, have rules. These rules, or operational codes, must be followed in order to determine the games's success. The degree to which participants followed the operational code was determined by their information state. A player's ability to play a game depended on his / her ability to process information about the game, and to follow the operational code. Deutsch (1982) and Sloboda (1985) have shown that a person's ability to perform a task is dependent on the extent to which the sequence of the task is rule based. They also found that errors in reproduction are not random, but are structured according to rules picked up, or imposed on, by the person. Children in Ghana came to understand the meaning of rules through games, whether these games were competitive or not. A child's game worthiness depends on their intra and inter personal skills.

Role playing, which is a central feature in singing game performance and practise is another aspect of intra and inter personal skills. Roles are linked to social roles and therefore illustrate cultural expectations. In Ghana, everyone present during the game has a role to play and therefore everyone is a player. Most important, no role in singing game performance is permanent. For example, Adelaide's changing role informed the teaching and learning process (see Section 5.1.1) as she moved from leader, to facilitator, to player.

There are leaders in the transmission of games and it is possible to make observations about leadership in singing game performance. Leadership may either come from the audience or the leader in the group. For example, the

children at Ulesis and King Armadillo Schools play a concentration and elimination game called *Mummy in the Kitchen*. During play, the children watching and those who have been eliminated from the game urge the performance on with audible comments. When one child makes a mistake, they all take part in pointing it out. All the children become involved in supporting and encouraging the players to either win or loose in competitive singing games.

Cooperation and participation mark the inter and intra personal skills of these children. *Knowledge grows when every one is involved*. In all three schools, there were disagreements among the children about which rules to follow when a mistake is made. When someone makes an error, the game is stopped and there are brief arguments followed by conflict resolution or problem solving behaviour. This encouraged the children to resolve their differences quickly and develop roles as active critics.

For girls, the spontaneity that results from this kind of structured activity allows them to experiment with aggression and other types of behaviour more commonly accepted in boys. Observing the consequences of their actions, the children became aware that they could control and predict their own and one another's behaviour during singing game performances. They demonstrated this awareness of controllable and predictable environments across other play situations.

5.2.2. Memorization.

Memorization involves knowledge and the processes by which an individual interprets, stores, and remembers that knowledge: classification, categorization, retention and recall. I am particularly interested in memorization as it relates to children's enculturation in singing game performance. According to Flavell (1977) children do not remember as well as adults. However, I observed during an audio recording session that the children were able to recall

as many as twenty-five singing games in one hour. This fascinated me. The children showed high levels of memorization because a) information in singing games is organized, b) increased rehearsal of singing games led to greater recall, and c) active participation led to increased focus, which in turn resulted in greater recall.

The analysis of singing game cases revealed that all the singing games have structure, sound, and style. These aspects are directed by the organization of music, text, and movement attributes in singing games. The children's processing ability lead to greater retention and recall because of the cultural knowledge patterns created by the connections between the different attributes.

The same rehearsal method is used in music performance regardless of culture. The purpose of rehearsal is for the musicians to become better acquainted with and to articulate compositions in the most meaningful manner possible. Interestingly, this standard rehearsal method is unconsciously accessed by the children as they recall singing games. When I was not giving cues for particular singing games the children recalled the most rehearsed and therefore the most popular games first. Recalling rehearsed singing games prompted the children to recall others. In addition, they chose to "forget" games they played when they were younger, some of which lacked the intellectual challenge necessary to engage them. In the following dialogue, the children tell me why they do not want to play a particular game.

AA: Did any of you make up any games? Have you exhausted all your games? You have never played Robert for me.
Adelaide: It is not nice.
AA: Why is it not nice?
Adelaide: We have played it... aaah.
AA: So you are bored with it?
Abena: It is for the nursery children.
AA: Why is it for the nursery children? Why can't you play it?
Abena: Because we are grown ups!
AA: So what games do the grown ups play?
Adelaide: Ampe, Skipping rope.
Vida: Quick games, games that will make you count quickly.
Adelaide: And culture.

AA: Show me some of your quick games.

[The children move to make circles and work on some of their games. After playing some of their "quick" games I continue the dialogue with the children]

AA: Do you play these games often? I am beginning to have a sense that you folks do not play these games often. I heard today that somebody said that *Robert Mensah* is more for the nursery kids. I am beginning to have a sense that most of these games are played by children in the lower primary grades.

[Adelaide is holding the hands of Vida.]

Vida: Okay, maybe, ... Sometimes, it comes to a time when we do not play these games.
AA: So it is played more by the kids in the lower primary.

From the above dialogue (see Picture 19: Star: Games for Grown-ups), it becomes clear that the children attending Ulesis School are more engaged by games that demand mathematical and kinesthetic skill. The "quick" games the children played were not played at either of the other two schools.

Doyle and Carter (1987) showed that high levels of student involvement through active participation were positively related to memorization. The ritualized manner that the children use to focus on a particular game (see Section 5.1.2) showed that for these children it is important that everyone be fully involved in the game; that is, all participants closely observe one another. Distractions break the performance and, as the children say, "spoil" the game. The expression "spoil the game (or activity)" is a vernacular translation from Akan to English which has become part of Ghanaian English discourse. Anyone who "spoils" the game was thrown out. This ritualized beginning set the pace and mood of the singing games and prepared the children mentally for active involvement. When the children played a hand clapping game or a game that required a spatial formation other than a circle, they repeated the opening motif. The children's ability to remember is based on the fact that they remember best those aspects upon which they focus. *Knowledge grows when every one is involved.*

5.2.3. Motor coordination skills

Movement is an integral part of children's music cultures in Ghana and it is a natural aspect of singing games. The manner in which the children coordinated their movements demonstrated their motor coordination skills. These skills are linked to spatial awareness skills as well as rhythm. Motor skills draw on what Gardner (1985) has termed bodily-kinesthetic intelligence which manifests in a person's ability to use his or her body in "highly differentiated and skilled ways" (p. 206). The children used locomotor movements and mime in their performance of singing games. Some of their movements showed the influence of Ghanaian traditional dances.

Girls in Ghana use all parts of the body in their games and I observed a greater number of whole rather than partial body movements. In contrast, children of Euro-American culture use hands, head, and arms and have a high centre, and African-American girls have a lower centre because they use their hips, legs, and feet to a greater extent than other parts of their bodies (Merril-Mirsky, 1988, p. 184). Many singing games showed a dependence on body-generated locomotor movements such as hand clapping, running, and walking. I observed simultaneous hand clapping and walking movements in the playing of *Maame Abrewa*.

The movement of singing games in Ghana either controlled or complemented the structure of the games. Tonal and rhythmic organization also complemented the movement patterns in singing games performance. In *Maame Abrewa,* the onomatopoeia is performed with the punctuating movement (see pp. 134-144).

Motor coordination skills in singing game performance demand precision, speed and dexterity. All singing games performances require a good sense of timing, and the smoothness of the performance depends on each child's knowledge of movement patterns. These patterns were either

abrupt or flowing depending on the game's text and music. *Knowledge is uninhibited shared constructions*.

Through mimes, like the one in the singing game *Adjoa Atta,* children experienced an approximation of certain facets of Ghanaian society which are or could be facets of their own lives. Singing games which require miming, therefore, encourage the mastery of cultural symbolic functions such as representation and expression.

The children enjoyed freedom of movement in many singing games. For example, circle games like *Antɔ* allowed for individual movement expressions and the simultaneous brainstorming of ideas about marriage. *Knowledge is uninhibited shared constructions*.

Culturally patterned sequences of nonverbal movements are observed in the free movements of *Antɔ*. These movements reflect Ghana's Highlife dance patterns. Movement patterns in *Obiara* also reflect culturally accepted hip movement patterns. The extensive use of hip movements in Ghanaian traditional dance informs this movement in singing game practice. Children attending Aardvark School did not distinguish between singing games and other forms of traditional dance practised during break times.

Contact, which relates to movement in Ghanaian adult music cultures was another significant aspect of movement in singing games. During most of the singing games, the children made some form of physical contact with one another. For example, they held one another as they formed a circle to begin a game.

5.2.4 Language Skills

On the playground, linguistic expressions included singing the text of singing games, group corrections, and administering orders. The semantic content of game text covered all aspects of Ghanaian social life (see Chapter 3). In this section, I will discuss particular linguistic expressions observed in singing games performance and

practice. These include a) code switching, b) speaking in the third person, c) onomatopoeia, and d) the rise and fall of Fanti Language.

Many languages are spoken in Ghana so that even though the language of the playground is usually the language of the area, children are also adept at hearing, interpreting, and compensating for dialectic differences in closely related languages. Switching linguistic codes in play situations is commonplace in contemporary Ghana. In addition, expressions that have no meaning or connection to the subject of the singing game appear in the children's singing. Language use in *Obiara* typifies linguistic practices among children in Ghana who are caught between linguistic and cultural expressions. For example the children at Ulesis School are bilinguals and freely combine English and Fanti to create their own unique linguistic style. They also regularly switched from Fanti to English. At King Armadillo School, the children are not as proficient in English although sometimes during the performance of a singing game they count in English and sing the rest of the song in Fanti. In contrast, at Aardvark School very few children speak English.

During the performances children constantly communicated with each other through gestures and short linguistic expressions. For example, when I asked the children at King Armadillo School to explain a game to me, they demonstrated it and asked me to take part in their play. I also observed differences in the children's linguistic abilities and by this I mean their ability to express themselves in languages other than English. I spoke to the children in Fanti, the language of the area.

Another interesting aspect of the children's language skills is their use of the third person both in songs and in their regular speech. This practise reflects typical Fanti linguistic expression. During play the children would refer to particular characters which represent either people or animals: a child, a wife, a parrot, a monkey, Adjoa Atta.

When the children sung about themselves, as in *Obiara*, they used either the third person or their own names.

Another important feature I noticed was that children learned to spell their names during the performance of particular singing games. The children not only spelled their names in the singing game *School registration*, they also tried to identify the names others spelt. *Knowledge grows when every one is involved.*

During singing games children are introduced to valued rhetorical arts. They play on words and especially scatological ones. The combining onomatopoeia with music and movement encourages the simultaneous use of different skills during play (see *Maame Abrewa,* pp. 134-144).

The melodic organization of Ghanaian-sounding songs followed the natural rise and fall of the Fanti language. This provided the children with opportunities to practice the correct expressions in the local language. Children not familiar with the Fanti language had an opportunity to practise the nuances of the language in play situations.

In order to fully comprehend the verbalization of children in Ghana, attention to other aspects of communication is critical. *Knowledge is uninhibited shared constructions*. Children communicated using their linguistic skills together with kinesthetic, movement and spatial skills.

5.2.5. Music skills: Tonal and Rhythmic perception

On the playground, children show their tonal and rhythmic ability. As noted in Chapter 4, the children have a wealth of quality musical material. For example, through call and response form, they demonstrate their ability to discover and conserve the tonal pitch structure and rhythmic organization within a singing game. *Knowledge is uninhibited shared constructions*.

According to Serafine (1986, p. 313), by the time children are 10 to 12 years old they are able to coordinate

several elements of music and perceive sameness in melody, rhythm and form. The central elements in music are melody, rhythm and timbre. The arrangement, or form, of melody and rhythm with different media, create timbre.

It is generally accepted that African music cultural situations are marked by distinct rhythmic complexities. Indeed, children sang melodies marked by interesting and diverse tonal organization. In contrast, the singing games sung at the Canadian school were characterized by a predominance of pentatonic tones of d, r, m s, and l. The children at the Canadian school told me they learned some of their singing games from their music teacher. (Whether the prevalent tonal organization of these singing games had to do with the Kodály programme taught at the school must be the subject of another study.) The children attending Ulesis School told me they learned some of their singing games in nursery school. Most of these games were European singing games taught by children's nursery school teachers. The tonal organization of these singing games was similar to those played at the Canadian school. Children in Ghana experience a wide range of melodies which typify different Ghanaian cultures. I believe the rich tone vocalizations are the result of exposure to, and experience with, singing games of different cultures.

The pitches generated from the CSL programme showed that patterns I found in the children's singing are not fixed, but characterized by a certain instability created by cultural and personal idiosyncrasies. The patterns show that some elements remain invariant while others may change. The children's ability to reproduce invariant tonal aspects of singing games demonstrates their ability to conserve pitches, and to match and discriminate between tones.

Complex rhythmic perception was exhibited in the marriage of music rhythms and movement. The children's ability to perform polyrhythmic activities was illuminated during performances of singing games. The analysis of six

singing games (see Chapter 4) shows the complex rhythm and melodic combinations developed freely by the children.

5.2.6 Spatial awareness skills.

Singing games allow the children to define the management of spatial relationships such as direction and symmetry. Spatial skills combine all other skills: visual, auditory, linguistic, kinesthetic and intra / inter personal.

Singing games played in the three schools I researched included circle games, line games, partner games, scatter formations, and other combined formations. Partner games like *Tue Tue* offer children in Ghana the opportunity to experiment with symmetry and as they change partners to develop spatial relationships. The direction of body movements were either forward, backwards, or side-to-side.

The children's manipulation and management of space in singing game performances showed their ability to combine all other skills in a meaningful manner. *Knowledge grows when every one is involved.*

5.2.7 Numerical Skills

Among the children attending Ulesis Primary School, I observed the management of proportions and measurement in counting singing games that demanded numerical skills of addition, subtraction, and multiplication. Memory and goal structure play an important role in mathematical problem solving activities.

I found that during singing game performances, the children were able to solve and remember a sequence of word arithmetic problems when they fully understood the essence of the problems. Very often they missed problems they did not understand. For example, during the performance of a numerical singing game called *Political Sets,* a child kept making the same mistake. The first few times her friends interrupted the game and explained the rule to her. This

continued until, finally, all the children audibly expressed their dissatisfaction with the girl's performance.

I observed the demonstration of numerical sophistication in singing games played by children ages of 9 and 13. Some games were unique to particular school settings. For example, children attending Aardvark School played social games, and children attending Ulesis School played counting or mathematically based games. The latter demonstrated their ability to solve mathematical problems during play and used tactile processes to artfully demonstrate numerical sophistication. They played games based on abstract mathematical theories of multiplication. Their sense of touch reinforced sequencing, memorization, and recall.

5.3 Relational Knowledge: Ways in which children know how and what.

In this section, I outline ways of knowing among children on the playgrounds of Ghana. Where and how does knowing take place? Knowing is everywhere; however, in certain contexts we are able to delineate *ways* of knowing. Like Goldman-Segall (1990) who studied thinking styles in a logo environment, I observed that empirical, narrative, and social/interpersonal thinking styles were evident in play situations. However, the narrative and social/interpersonal thinking styles were more evident than the empirical thinking style. Kinesthetic ways of knowing were also evident in play situations in Ghana and singing games practice provided new ways of looking at these ways of knowing. Each school has established particular patterns of involvement which illustrate the children's ways of knowing how and what. What follows is a discussion of patterns of involvement with particular reference to intergenerational dialogues and their contribution to establishing relational knowledge in singing game performance.

Increased awareness of how one's own memory works is a key factor in the developmental stages of remembering.

Strategies for remembering among children in Ghana are found in the simultaneous use of music, text and kinesthetic elements of singing games. Often, when I needed to know more about a game, I would sing and demonstrate a part of the game, and the children would immediately respond to my cues with recall. More often than not, when I used the text of singing games as verbal cues for recalling games, the children would respond with blank looks on their faces. When I requested the performance of a game, the children would demonstrate the movement patterns with friends standing near by before forming groups to play. I found that memorability is an important aspect of children's intellectual processes, is dependent on whether movement or sound is included with verbal cues.

Learning for the children is situated in the selection and collections of running commentaries and in repeated performances. The urging, which ranged from grunts to verbal comments and interjections from the children participating in, or watching, the game, is related to the narrative or linguistic and inter/ intra personal ways of knowing. Adults passing by also encouraged learning and communicated how accurately the participants were playing. *Knowledge grows when every one is involved.*

Intergenerational dialogues occur when adult passers by interject and move on. Children choose whether or not to respond to the comments. Interjections from the adult members of the community and the children's responses to them are part of the playground learning process. The adults in my study included community members and teachers. I found intergenerational dialogues to be strongest at Aardvark School, where the children frequently interacted with adults.

As a result of my research project, teachers in the selected Ghana schools watched the children at play more closely. On several occasions, they exclaimed at the text, movement, and songs in which the children were engaged. Their comments included: "These children have words! Ohh! Very

Interesting!" Sometimes they would simply chuckle, enjoying the children's robust sense of humour. In Ghana, children always combine the narrative, kinesthetic and intra / inter personal learning styles.

As part of their quest to know, children in Ghana also combine different skills. They know by seeing, hearing, singing, feeling and moving. I observed that because the children were always and actively involved in their games, they displayed a high combination of all seven intelligences named by Gardner (1985).

5.4 Implications for teaching and learning.

In Ghana, the learning of cultural information occurs in situ. Singing games do not represent a self sufficient panacea for education, even though they combine different intellectual skills. Nonetheless, they are more than simply another educational device. In Ghana's cultural studies programme, singing games have been inserted as additional content. Indeed there are many ways in which singing performance can enhance teaching and learning. In what follows, I outline some implications for teaching and learning I identified from my study of Ghanaian children's music cultures.

First, there is a need for educators to develop a teaching style that encourages the expression of children's knowledge. In addition to didactic teaching methods, teaching that considers children's interactions also contributes to the teaching and learning process. Children in Ghana express and explicitly demonstrate some of their knowledge in song and games. For example, when I asked the children about their games, they demonstrated consciously held as well as shared constructions of knowledge.

Second, there must be opportunities for cooperative learning through group work. This runs contrary to current elementary classroom practice in Ghana. Children are unable to share information because of the legacy of authoritarian

teaching and learning methods. Through group work and peer instruction, children can share their knowledge with one another and teachers can begin to bridge the gap between classroom practice and playground activities. As previously mentioned, singing game performance and practice allows children to share knowledge without reservation, thus making the scenario a healthy one for teaching and learning. Interviewing and questioning by teacher or friends directs group activities. By implication, teachers are facilitators and this diminishes their role as the ultimate source of all knowledge. The children's desire to share may be transferred to classroom practice where the children, through group work and peer instruction, share their knowledge with others. *Knowledge grows when everyone is involved.*

Third, the teaching style should be one of continuous assessment. Judging from what occurs on playgrounds, continuous assessment involves verbal and gestural communications critical to children's education. Children in Ghana, because of the manner in which they process playground information, look and wait for verbal and gestural communications from their teachers and peers. Children in active learning situations are better able to learn when the teaching and learning style is active and marked by continuous assessment. An active teaching and learning style includes a dialogue of urging and acknowledging. *Knowledge is like "midwifery."*

Fourth, each time the children play, they learn something new about their peers, their community, and themselves. Each "playing" represents a new "knowing." Even though the basic structure of a particular singing game does not change, the circumstances around its performance do. Each new context enriches learning. As one of the teachers at King Armadillo School said, "In those days (referring to her childhood years) we did not think we were learning anything, but now we know that we were. It is important to us because

it is our culture!" *Knowledge grows when every one is involved.*

Fifth, to foster intergenerational learning and teaching, it is necessary to establish stronger ties with the adult community. To a large extent, teaching and learning in the schools continue to be influenced by colonial era cultures. Singing games allow teachers to begin teaching from a different premise that relates to the children's culture and their enculturation patterns outside the classroom. *Knowledge is uninhibited shared constructions.*

Sixth, the ability of these children to hear, interpret, and compensate for dialectic differences in closely related languages can be used to enrich the language arts curriculum. Spelling games could also be included in classroom activities. As previously noted, with the exception of children attending Ulesis School, very few children at the other two schools could spell their names. *Knowledge grows when every one is involved.*

For children in Ghana, knowledge is uninhibited shared constructions, knowledge grows when every one is involved and knowledge is like "midwifery." Observing the intellectual processes of children in Ghana during play, I recommended a teaching style that encouraged the expression of children's wide ranging knowledge by a) offering opportunities for cooperative learning through group work, b) encouraging continuous assessment, c) establishing stronger ties with the adult community, d) recognizing that the ability of these children to hear, interpret, and compensate for dialectic differences in closely related languages can be used to enrich the language arts curriculum and e) recognizing that the cultural studies curriculum can be enriched by the ability of children to re-create hybrid performing arts cultures.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSIONS

6.1. Cultural meanings in singing game culture.

In this ethnography of Ghanaian children's music cultures I bring the reader into the children's world using multimedia technologies such as Constellations 2.5 for Macintosh, Kay Elemetrics Computerized Speech Laboratory 5.1 (CSL) for PC, the Sony Video8 Handycam video camera recorder, and the Sony Digital Walkman Professional audio tape recorder. These technologies, together with video observations of singing game performances and interviews with both children and adult informants, transport singing game performance and practise into "strange lands" (Tyler, p.126). These strange lands result in a polyphonic discourse on discourse as per Goldman-Segall's (1995) theory of configurational validity. I summarize children's enculturation and ways of knowing and the contribution multimedia made to re-presenting singing game practice. I also summarize diverse interpretations and conceptions of culture that emerged from the analysis of games, and offer suggestions for future research studies.

6.2. Creating and reflecting Ghanaian music and culture.

What Ghanaian music culture forms are evidenced in the performance and practice of Ghanaian children's singing games? To what extent do children show themselves to be aware of learning these cultural forms? In what respect is knowledge acquired through singing games compatible with preferred cultural knowledge in Ghanaian society?

The performance stylistic features that achieve the continuity and re-creations of singing games include speech tones, onomatopoeia, repetition and elaboration of recurring melodic clichés, portamentos or cadential drops, syncopations, triplets, melisma, polyrhythms, vocables,

meter, anacrusis, strophic, and simultaneous variations. These features are a reflection of the marriage of two music cultures: indigenous Ghanaian and European. There were differences in the stylistic features of singing games that sounded Ghanaian and those which were influenced by European traditions.

With regard to music, the analysis in chapter 4 shows that the Ghanaian-sounding singing games had short melodic ranges (*Afra Kakraba,* Section 4.2; *Maame Abrewa,* Section 4.3; and *Antɔ,* Section 4.4). Phrase ending portamentos, or cadential drops as I called them, were also evident. The slide was always downward and used frequently on the last note. The descending slides were as wide as a minor 3rd. In all three songs the spatial organization was a circle with a child in the centre. Syncopations, hemiola, triplets, and phrases of varying lengths added to the rhythmic density of the three songs. The close relationship of text with gesture was illuminated in the multimedia analysis. The use of onomatopoeia was in contrast to the use of vocables in the European-sounding sounds. The onomatopoeia represented the sound of cracking nuts; it had meaning. All three songs had speech tones which influenced their melodic contours. Vowel placement was a dynamic construct that determined culturally contrived melodic patterns. Therefore, in the Ghanaian sounding melodies, the placement of vowels played an important role in the arrangement of pitches for the melody. The children's Ghanaian-sounding singing games are culturally contrived in as much as there is a relationship between tone and tune; that is, they follow the natural rise and fall of the Fanti language. The interrelationship of music, text, and movement shown in the structural analysis of these songs gives credence to Drewal's (1991) and Okpewho's (1990) performance approach to analysis.

The European-sounding singing games (*Adjoa Atta,* Section 4.5; *Obiara,* Section 4.6; and *Tue Tue,* Section 4.7) were all metric and had wider tonal ranges. Like the Ghanaian-sounding

games, they were in call and response form. In all three songs, the spatial organization was different. The varied nature of these formations was related to the structure and content of the singing games. Two of the three singing games were strophic, a characteristic typical in European music cultures. It was possible to harmonize the songs using Western four-part harmony. I made references to cadences which could be used for harmonizing these songs. The plagal ending in *Tue Tue* and the perfect cadences for *Adjoa Atta* and *Obiara*, contribute to the song's European nature. The interconnection between music, text, and movement for these three songs was not as close as the Ghanaian-sounding songs. For example, even though all three songs were in the local language, the meanings did not change with the marriage of western styles and Ghanaian texts. Through this marriage, the children recreated another musical culture--a hybrid--which related to their understanding of the world around them.

The children's social interactions on the playground reflected the interconnectedness of structure and style in singing game culture, the function of singing games in cultural change, and reflection agencies. At several points in this text, I made references to the manner in which the children both recreated and reflected Ghanaian culture in their games. Regardless of whether the children were recreating their culture or reflecting the changing Ghanaian culture, particular values emerged in their games. Some of the cultural forms that emerged included community solidarity, inclusion, exploring and expressing emotions, coordination, cooperation, and gender relations. In their play, the children were cultural interlocutors and recipients of cultural interlocution as they urged each performance on. As adults interjected, the children learned about accepted and shared social behavioural patterns. Linguistic code switching in singing game performance reflected the rapidly changing and merging linguistic cultures of Ghana. My

interviews with the children and adult informants showed the children's awareness of cultural interpretations, and that they were comfortable recreating these cultural meanings.

6.3 Intellectual processes in singing game performance

What intellectual processes are displayed by children in the performance and practice of singing games?

In a regular class period, teaching and learning in Ghana's schools continues to be based on rote learning practices. Rote learning, first introduced by missionaries and colonial administrators, minimizes direct observation and experimentation and does not include question raising and problem solving. In my opinion, rote learning practices was one of the avenues that enabled colonial administrators and missionaries to maintain power over Ghanaian peoples. Questioning and experimentation were discouraged because they may have led to further questioning of the colonial administration. The continuation of rote learning within neo-colonial Ghana's elementary school system is in direct contrast to teaching and learning that takes place on the playgrounds.

From my observations, knowledge was shared constructions, and involved everyone, and it was like midwifery. The children demonstrated intra and inter personal, memorization, motor coordination, language, tonal perception and rhythmic perception, numerical, and spatial awareness skills. Differences in skills across the three schools were attributed to the children's particular socio-cultural and economic backgrounds. I recommended a teaching style that would encourage the expression of children's wide ranging knowledge by a) offering opportunities for cooperative learning through group work, b) encouraging continuous assessment, c) establishing stronger ties with the adult community, and d) recognizing that the ability of these children to hear, interpret, and compensate for dialectic

differences in closely related languages can be used to enrich the language arts curriculum.

6.4 Unraveling Singing Games with Multimedia

What does a multimedia ethnography reveal about singing game culture? The imperfection of my ethnographic representation is in my description of the singing game culture, the effects of this culture on the context, and how the context informs the activity. Engaging the researcher and researched in the research process, I unearthed multiple levels of meaning. As I engaged with the performance event, I entered into a child's world and caught a glimpse of its humour, challenges, and fears. This knowledge was reinforced by the children's interactions with me during the play. In this section I examine the contribution multimedia made to re-presenting singing game practice.

After repeated viewing of the video data, I began to observe broad patterns of involvement and sub-themes. These include interactions shown in child-to-child interactions, adult-to-child interactions, child-to-adult interactions and child-to-family member interactions.

With regard to child to child interactions, I found that the children spoke emphatically about every topic, although not everything they told me was true.

Exclusion in child to child relationships took place on three levels. First, through repeated viewing, I found that some children were excluded from a game for lack of knowledge. In most cases, the excluded children had not been given an opportunity to prove themselves in the activity (See Picture 20. Star: Stone Passing Game). The second form of exclusion involved excluding me as the researcher by changing the words to the games. Sometimes, the children would go so so far as to correct a friend by bluntly stating that he or she was not singing the correct words. They seemed to be silencing their friend; however, the reality was that they

were excluding me from their "inner caucus." The third type of exclusion was on the basis of peer groups. During a period at Ulesis school, I worked with two age groups. I found that the older children (Classes 4 to 6) would not sing because they did not like the idea of the younger children (Class 2) joining them. I separated the groups but the energy had been lost. After that period, Clara walked up to me and pointedly asked me not to let the younger children (7 and 8 year-olds) join us the next day. I asked her why and she gave an evasive answer: "Their parents will be here with their cars to pick them up after school!" I wondered what that had to do with me, but since Clara had made it very clear that she did not want to play with the Class 2 children, I reassured her that I would deal with the two groups separately from then on. Repeated viewing of the video images enabled me to identify this child-to-child interaction which could easily have been missed had I been viewing only the singing games. The child-to-child interactions I observed are significant in the description of singing game culture because they reveal the accepted patterns of peer behaviour on the playground.

Like the children in Tobin and Davidson's (1990) study, my groups of children were entranced by watching themselves and interacting with the video in ways I had not anticipated Reviewing video images, I observed the children giggling, hiding their faces with embarrassment, teasing their friends, and pointing out everyone they knew.

When I tried to control the performance of the games the children reacted by ignoring me. This child-to-adult interaction was significant because it showed the children's ability to reclaim and maintain their authority over the playground space. In other child-to-adult interactions, the children expressed feelings of intimidation. These expressions were illuminated in video images showing interjections by teachers. In all likelihood, the children were attempting to deal with a contentious issue: how to keep

teachers from trying to also control the playground, which the children had hitherto known to be *theirs*.

6.5 Suggestions for Further Research

This is only the beginning of multimedia ethnography in singing games. The following are my suggestions for further research

a) An ethnography of the changes in enculturation and learning processes among children in the Central Region of Ghana.

Rationale: Gardner's (1985) argument that culture influences individual potencies raises questions about the dynamic nature of culture and its subsequent effect on cultural values and learning processes. If Gardner is right then individual potencies will change over time in sympathy with changing cultural values. New methods and patterns of enculturation will emerge, and new learning processes will be required. As well, in agreement with Fiati (1992), children in Ghana will begin to place value on different aspects of intelligence. Researching the changing enculturation patterns and learning processes will be of value to educational theory practice on two levels. First, it will inform education on the new and particular demands of schooling. Second, such research will help to bridge the gap between changing learning demands and educational practice.

b) An investigation into the difference between the body of knowledge taught by the teachers and that learned by children on the playground.

Rationale: In order to bridge the gap between changing learning demands and educational practice, it is important to investigate teacher knowledge versus children's knowledge. The significant question here is whether teachers continue to perpetuate a predominant European culture in the material they use in class or are considering other Ghanaian cultures

in their selection of materials. An observation and survey of content in different schools would be significant. Given that the teacher's educational backgrounds influence their selection of material, there may be a disparity in the cultural relevance of the materials. From this study, culturally relevant materials are those which include the different cultures in Ghana and the children's interpretations of these cultures. Perhaps, as Thrasher (1985) found, musical prototypes may emerge in the teacher's materials and these may be the bases for the children's recreations.

c) An experimental study on the relationship between formant configurations and pitch perception for children in Ghana's schools.

Rationale: Pitch perception, as reflected in the Ghanaian-informed transcriptions, suggests that intervallic relationships between pitches may be a result of formant position rather than melody in the western sense. The interrelationship between pitch, the frequency of sound variation and timbre, sound qualities produced by different sound sources, and syllables of speech becomes important. The articulation of particular vowel syllables due to the placement of articulators in the vocal tract affect the frequency of the sound. Therefore, pitch production may be a result of formant configurations created by the articulation of vowel syllables. Formants as defined by Walker (1992, p. 19) are naturally occurring energy peaks within the frequency spectrum of a complex sound pressure wave. Formant configurations may be observed through a terminal analogue. The articulation of particular vowel syllables may either move formants up or down the frequency spectrum, creating high or low sounds. Is the melodic contour of a singing game related to the articulation of vowels within each singing games sung by children in Ghana in Fanti, English, or other Ghanaian languages? Frequency spectra is not the sole

channel for deducing these interrelationships and collocations. Drawing on Sundberg and Lindblom (1991), investigating the significance of formants in both pitch production and pitch perception is worthwhile. Studies such as those described above might provide further information on valued Ghanaian music culture behaviours, and how these behavious are influenced by extra musical factors such as language and context.

d) An investigation using intervals to determine the the existence of modal prototypes for Ghanaian music cultures.

Rationale: Previous research on African music has used a western tonal system for representing music when, in fact, there may be a clear difference between what is performed and what is represented. In this study, the pitch perceptions of western educated music listeners correlated positively with pitch identification using CSL with the European-sounding song, *Adjoa Atta*. However, this was not the case with Ghanaian-sounding songs. Reviewing the intervals identified in Appendix C, there were quite a few occurrences of intervals larger than a tone. Given the influence of Walker's (1990) categorical perception on the transcription of Ghanaian children's play culture, research is needed to find out if there is an emergent Ghanaian tonal system that reflects children's growing enculturation into different music cultures. The children's re-creations and re-presentations show the tensions that result from the mixing of Ghana's music cultures.

6.6 Summary

Often, researchers examining social change do not identify singing games as agents of social change. However, in addition to being agents of learning, singing games function as social critiques, reflect social formations and, as such, they effect change. In this study of three school

playgrounds, I explored children's performance and interpretation of singing games. This resulted in a description of enculturation and learning patterns among children in Ghana. I also explained cultural dimensions residing in singing games as well as the role multimedia technologies played in my explanations.

I represented the voices of all participants. Through interviews with children, teachers, and community members, this study stimulated discussions about what the selected singing games meant to the children. Computer-assisted transcriptions were analyzed to determine the degree of similarity between synthesized tones and aurally perceived tones. The value of Drewal's (1991) and Okpewho's (1990) performance approachs emerges in the integration of the physical scene with the identity and dynamics of the individual's layers of reference.

Integrating multimedia, such as, video, audio, and computer technologies, I enhanced the generation and analysis of information about cultural knowledge and intellectual processes of children in the singing game scenario. Repeated viewing and recording of data increased the value of descriptions of children's enculturation and learning patterns. My ethnography is a meditative vehicle on the enculturation and learning patterns of children in Ghana displayed during the performance and practice of singing games. It is a transcendental return to time and place evoking multiple meanings through polyphony (Tyler, 1986). After all, "the point ... is not how to create a postmodern ethnography or what form it ought to take" (Tyler, p. 136).

In my effort to contribute to the fields of ethnography, ethnomusicology, and music education, it is my hope that the reader will consider my study "as the start of a different kind of journey " (Tyler, 1986, p. 140): the blurring of the genres (Geertz, 1973) using what Goldman-Segall (1995) calls "configurational validity."

END NOTES

CHAPTER 1 MY THEORETICAL PREMISE

1. The Organisation Mondiale pour l'Education Prescolaire (OMEP) Project was initiated in 1985. The project brought together scholars in traditional games from all over the world (Ivic, 1985). The members of this project were committed to collecting, presenting and preserving all sorts of traditional games. Four models based on different philosophies were developed for collecting games.

2. A history of innovations in notational systems in music is traced to the phonograph of 1877 by Thomas Edison and the development of the cent system of pitch measurement in 1885 by Alexander Ellis.

CHAPTER 2. RESEARCH METHODS:WINDOWS, MIRRORS, & WALLS

1. The USA Standards Institute (1960) adopted a system first introduced by Young (1939) for identifying a particular octave within which a note lies. The Lowest C on the piano is labeled C_1 and all the notes in that octave labeled D_1....B_1. Therefore middle C (261hz) is C_4 and concert A (440Hz) is A_4. For further information read:

Young, R.W. (1939). Terminology for logarithmic frequency units. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*. 11, 134-139.

U.S.A. Standards Institute (1960). *American Standard Acoustical Terminology, S1.1-1960*. New York: USA Standards Institute.

2. These Ghanaians are Mr. Adum-Atta, and Mr. Adjaho Teaching Assistant at the University of Cape Coast, and Dr.

Francis Saighoe, Ethnomusicologist, University of Cape Coast, Ghana.

3. Equal tempered scales divide each octave into 12 logarithmically equal steps. Each adjacent note is related to the other by a semi-tone or a half step, at a frequency ratio of 1.0595:1 (Siegel & Siegel, 1977, p. 400).

4. These are displacement-time graphs for the vibration of each vocal sound by the children. The vertical axis is the amplitude, the displacement of sound from its position of rest; and the horizontal axis represents the passage of time.

5. Whenever the frequency of pitch is multiplied by 2, the pitch rises by an octave. Therefore, the octave has a frequency ratio of 2:1. Since each half step is related to the other by a frequency ratio of 1.0595:1, then with 12 half steps in an octave (1.0595)12 = 2.

6. For calculating intervals in cents, I divided the larger pitch in Hertz by the smaller adjacent pitch, and took a log of the resulting ratio. This was then multiplied by the log of 1 cent which is 3986 to give the interval cent values. Formula is as follows:
Interval = Interval ratio (i.e. .\F(332,216)Hz)log X 1200

Interval = (1.537) log X 3986

Interval = 0.1867 X 3986

Interval = 744 cents

CHAPTER 3 GHANA'S SOCIAL PROCESS

1. According to Warren (1973), there are as many as 66 ethnic groups in Ghana. Some of these include, Hausa, Ga, Ewes, Akan, Dagarti, Guan, Dabani. When I write about Ghanaian cultures, I refer to the shared meanings among these ethnic groups.

2. According to the Ghanaian historian, Agbodeka (1992, p.11), the Europeans who arrived along the Guinea Coast in the late fifteenth century had two aims: a quest for gold and a propagation of Christianity. Between the sixteenth and seventeenth century, Africans exchanged goods and services with neighbouring peoples, and Europeans. Nduka (1990, p.156), who like Agbodeka, discussed the trade link between Sub-Saharan Africa and Europeans pointed out that Europeans traded textiles, guns and gun powder, tools, utensils, salt, and gin for slaves, gold, ivory, timber and spices from Africans. By 1700, Cape Coast had become one of the major slave centers along the west coast of Africa.

3. The Fanti educated elite together with the council of chiefs formed the Fanti Confederation and pioneered the quest for self government and national unity. This council was initiated when people of African decent were attacked because they did not comply with the wishes of the British and Dutch (Gooking, 1981, pp. 122-126). The Dutch had exchanged forts with the British for economic reasons without the knowledge of locals. Komenda locals refused to lower the British flag and hoist the Dutch flag (Gooking, p.123). This provoked the Dutch to attack the locals. This bombardment generated a series of fighting, and cordial relations between the Europeans and Africans became tainted.

The Fanti Confederation thought that their political independence was threatened by European regional authority. This radical change in the bases of contact with Europe

occurred at the end of the eighteenth century (Nduka, 1990, p. 157). The Fanti Confederation believed that no culture is superior to another and therefore challenged the regional authority's attempt to propagate the notion.

Over a period of 75 years the Ashanti were engaged in battles with the British. Yaa Asantewa's Queen mother of the Ashanti played a major role in vanquishing British attempts to annex the Ashanti. It was not until 1901 that the Ashanti became part of the British Protectorate of the Gold Coast (Warren, 1986, p. 7). Nketia (1974) recorded an important reaction to colonization by the Ashanti in expressions of *kete* drum music. One particular piece which is entitled *Yɛde brebre bekum Adinkra*, means "Slowly but surely we will kill Adinkra." Nketia (p. 153) writes that Adinkra was an enemy of the Ashanti who proved difficult to vanquish in battle but was eventually captured. The Ashanti chose to play this piece for the representative of the British crown when he came on a state visit. As the representative grinned and greeted chiefs each *kete* ensemble played *Yɛde brebre bekum Adinkra*. It is significant to note that Ghana's independence from Britain was one of the smoothest compared to other colonies.

4. Nduka (1990, p. 157), argued the scientific revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and the Industrial Revolution of the second half of eighteenth century, made European technology surpass technology in other parts of the world. The result was an overwhelming abundance of material, military, and economic advantages. Nduka, in referring to the work of Fyfe (1962), maintains that the Europeans came to assume that their manners, customs, and monetary systems were also self evidently superior. Africans shunned European offerings of Christianity and formal education at the time, for they had transacted business as equals (Nduka, p. 157).

In 1874, the British annexed the Fanti peoples; the Protectorate of the Gold Coast became a Crown colony. Paid

leave passages were introduced to attract good men to the Gold Coast from Great Britain (Fyfe, p. 396). The headquarters of the colony was relocated in Cape Coast.

5. Since independence, Ghana has encouraged the production and consumption of locally produced goods, and diversified agriculture. Nkrumah tried to diversify and industrialize Ghana by building the Akosombo Dam to provide power for local industries (Skinner, 1980, p.77). The Supreme Military Council (1972-1979) through ventures such as Operation Feed yourself; and the Provisional national Defense Council Government (1981-1992) through the Ghana International Furniture and Woodworking Industry Exhibition (GIFEX), Pan-African Festival of the Arts (PANAFEST) and projects of the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP). Ghana is still economically dependent on the West.

6. For more information on the subject of Day names see, Antubam (1963, p.57-59) and Aduonum (1980, p. 41-42). Also chapter four presents two case studies on naming practices in Ghana.

7. Peil (1975) presented three hypotheses on female roles in contemporary Ghana. The first hypothesis is that there is a relationship between marital autonomy and economic independence, and relative contribution to household expenses. Peil's second hypothesis is that labour force participation is related to marital career and age, in that older women have more autonomous marriages than young women. Third, a woman's social life expands with participation in the labour force, and is based on interaction with family and kinship.

8. Until 1975, children in elementary schools had to pass the Common Entrance Examinations in order to gain admission into secondary schools. Since these examinations were based on

British cultural capital, the examinations was not compatible with the cultural capital of many children in Ghana. The economically underprivileged had a lower success rate because of their inability to possess the code to decipher the British "cultural wealth" of these examinations.

9. Children from two economic strata enterred the secondary schools in Ghana under the Common Entrance Examination system. Children from higher income homes gained admission into many of the schools in the urban areas. Many of these children attended private primary schools that provided learning resources that put their children at an advantage in the Common Entrance Examination. The second group of children come from the public elementary schools most often situated in the rural areas. These public schools are government assisted and lack the very basics in learning resources. At the secondary school level, children gain admission to one of three types of schools (a) first choice government assisted secondary schools (b) second choice government assisted secondary schools and (c) third choice private school. First choice secondary schools referred to schools that (a) made the first choice in the selection of students for enrollment and (b) offered the best quality in resources and efficiency. Many children from high income earners' homes select first choice government assisted secondary schools. At the secondary school level, private schools do not function as efficiently as government assisted secondary schools without funding--these schools are third choice schools. Many children from low income homes have to be content with second and third choice schools. The abrogation of the Common Entrance Examination increased the number of children who had access to first choice secondary education, but at the expense of the quality of education.

CHAPTER 4 STORIES: GHANAIAN PLAY CULTURE

1. Highlife music, a syncretic art form grew out of the colonial ballroom and Latin American dance orchestras. The music combines ethnic melodies, percussion instruments, acoustic guitars, and wind instruments. Highlife began in Ghana along the Fanti Coast during the colonial era. Different expressions of Highlife exist in West African countries. For further information on Highlife see:

Collins, J. (1986). *E. T. Mensah: King of Highlife*. London: Off the Record Press.

2. Adowa is a royal court dance for the Akan people. Today Adowa is also a recreational dance. Adowa means Antelope. The dance gestures depict the graceful movements of the antelope.

3. Gota is a courtship dance which originated from among the young people in the Ewe and Adangbe areas of Ghana. It is now popular among the youth in schools and elsewhere.

4. Gahu is a recreational dance piece which originated from Yoruba land in Western Nigeria. The Ewe people migrated from this area to their present settlement in Ghana. Gahu is currently performed for entertainment in for example, theatres, schools, at public rallies and funerals. For Further information on Gahu see:

Locke, D. (1987). *Drum Gahu: A sytematic method for an African percussion piece*. Crown Point. Indianna: White Cliffs and Media Co.

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Appendix A

PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

PRONOUNCIATION GUIDE

The Akan language has 23 vowels and consonants. The spelling within this dissertation are orthographic ally correct. Some of the vowels are not in the Roman Alphabet. I have italicized most of the Akan words in the manuscript. In this glossary I will draw on Gyekye's (1987, p.xiv-xv) guide to pronunciation of Akan terms.

Vowels

Gyekye (p. xiv) writes that in Akan there are no true monosyllabic diphthongs. Where there are two vowels adjacent to each other in a word they are pronounced as separate vowels. The name *Ekua* is therefore pronounced in three syllables: E - ku - a.

Akan vowels are short and are lengthened by a double letter.

a	as in bat
e	as in gray
ɛ	as in bet
i	as in fill
o	as in programme
ɔ	as in sob
u	as in food

Consonants

Akan consonants are diagraphic. Where two consonants are adjacent they are pronounced as one syllable. The Fanti language is the only Akan language which has a 'z.' This consonant only occurs are a diagraph with 'd.'

Consonant	Akan word	Pronunciation
dz	e**dz**iban (food)	as in **z**oo
ky	**Ky**ɛw (hat)	as in **ch**ew
hy	Ade**hy**e (royal)	as in **Sh**y
ny	O**ny**ame (God, Supreme being)	as in Ma**ny**aya
kw	**Kw**adu (banana)	as in **qu**aint
nk	**nk**ontomere (vegetable) **Nk**etia	as in p**ink**
tw	Twi (Akan language)	as in Saska**tchew**an
dj	A**dj**oa or	as in ad**j**acent
dw	A**dw**oa (female child born on a Monday	
hw	a**hw**i**hw**ɛ (mirror)	A silent beathy whistle
gy	A**gy**emang (Male name)	as in **gy**mnastics

Appendix B

FORM A2

FORM A2 - THE DESCRIPTION OF OBSERVED GAMES

1.0. INFORMATION ABOUT THE RESEARCHER
- 1.1. Name and Surname
- 1.2. Profession
- 1.3. Date of observation

2.0. DESCRIPTIVE ABOUT FACTS ABOUT SETTLEMENT.
- 2.1. Settlement
  - 2.1.1 Name
  - 2.1.2 Type of settlement (village, smaller town, town, new settlement, big city, etc.)
- 2.2. Larger Region.
  - 2.2.1 Name
  - 2.2.2 Type of larger region (community, county, republic, etc.)
- 2.3. Institution for children in the settlement (preschool, school, cultural institutions, children's organization, etc.)
- 2.4. Types of families (prevailing traditional families, nuclear families, families in transition, etc.)
- 2.5. General conditions for play and game (free space street, playgrounds, wasteland etc.)
- 2.6. Adult pastimes (prevailing forms of gettogethers, games, sports, festivals, carnivals, TV, etc.)

3.0. FACTS ABOUT THE INFORMER (THE SOURCE OF INFORMATION)
- 3.1.
  - 3.1.1. Observation of spontaneous game-playing by a child /children
  - 3.1.2. Oral report about the game obtained from the child/ children
  - 3.1.3. Observation of the game played at the request of the researcher.
- 3.2. Facts about the children who are playing the game or giving information about the game.
  - 3.2.1. Age
  - 3.2.2. Gender
  - 3.2.3. Educational institution enrolled in (kindergarten, school and grade, other)
  - 3.2.4. Attitude toward game
    - 3.2.4.1. Do they play the game always /often
    - 3.2.4.2. Do they play the game sometimes
    - 3.2.4.3. Do they just know the game without playing it.
    - 3.2.4.4. Who taught them the game

4.0. DESCRIPTIVE FACTS ABOUT THE GAME
- 4.1. Title of the game (and possible variations in title.)

4.2. Players
4.2.1. Age
4.2.2. Gender
4.3. The type of Game (according to the number of players)
4.3.1. Solitary
4.3.2. Two players
4.3.3. Three players
4.3.4. Other possibilities
4.4. Playing space (empty space, playground, courtyard, corner, table, stage, etc.)
4.5. Playing time
4.5.1. The length of the playing time.
4.5.2. Is there any particular time when the game is played? (time of day, season of the year)

5.0. THE COURSE OF THE GAME
5.1. Commencement of the game spontaneous agreement, a formal invitation to play, counting off, some other way to commence the game and distribution of roles, rules for invitation play)

5.2. The middle part of the game (a detailed description of every thing that the children do in the course of the game)
- what they speak or chant
- the temporal sequence of the various stages of the game.
- fictive situations: Fictive (imaginary) space, fictive (imaginary) time; roles dominant, submissive, changes of roles; requisite; real; fictive (imaginary)
- the rules of the game: describe the rules of the game, the types of rules: role-directed, formalized and variations in the rules
- the relationship between the rules and the fictive situation (the degree of domination of one or other element in the playing field.)

5.3. The finale of the game (describe how the game ends; the reasons for the conclusions of the game: formal, psychological; the rules for the conclusion of the game)
5.4. Gains in the game (e.g. points, the right to take on a new role, the right to take a toy, etc.)
5.5. Sanctions in the game (what must the loser do or give)

6.0. COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE PLAYERS
6.1. In the playing of the game what kinds of social behavior and behavioral norms does the game

impose)

6.2. In a realistic plane (the real relationships between the children at play; the domination of certain children, submission, conflicts, psychological determinants in the distribution of roles, the satisfaction / dissatisfactions of particular players, etc.)

7.0. Describe the possible variations in the game (underline the changing elements in variations of the same game)

8.0 THE ORIGIN OF THE GAME

8.1. Traditional game (in the sense of transmission over generations; if possible, describe the connections this game might have with the other products of folklore and culture, with religion, history, myths, rituals, etc; data is existing about transfer of this game from some other culture and when this happened)

8.2. New variations of a traditional game (give a detailed description of the innovations)

8.3. New game (appeared in the present generation of children.)

8.4. Invention

9.0. TOY(S) used in the game

9.1. Name of the toy(s)

9.2. Origin of toy(s)

9.2.1. Traditional

9.2.2. New

9.3. Type of toy (art, sports requisite, mobile toy, mechanical, etc.)

9.4. Manufacture

9.4.1. Hand-made

9.4.2. Industrial

9.4.3. Made by the children themselves

9.5. Material (wood, textile, plastic, natural material, etc)

9.6. Function of the toy in the game(description of the function, fixed function or versatile function).

9.7. Make a sketch of the traditional toy

Appendix C

TABLES

Table 1

Frequency Equivalents in Hertz of the Pitches of the Equal Temperament Scale.

PITCH	OCTAVE NUMBER 3	4	5
C	130.8128	261.6256	523.2511
C# / D♭	138.5913	277.1826	554.3653
D	146.8324	293.6648	587.3295
D# / E♭	155.5635	311.1270	622.2540
E	164.8138	329.6276	659.2551
F	174.6141	349.2282	698.4565
F# / G♭	184.9972	369.9944	739.9888
G	195.9977	391.9954	783.9909
G# / A♭	207.6523	415.3047	830.6094
A	220.0000	440.0000	880.0000
A# / B♭	233.0819	466.1638	932.3275
B	246.9417	493.8833	987.7666

Table 2

Computer Generated Hertz Values of Pitches and Cent Values of Intervals in Afra Kakraba (SG13edit.nsp)

Frequency in Hertz		Text	Intervals in cents
1. 363Hz	F#-	A	
			110c
2. 387Hz	G-	fra	
			100c
3. 366Hz	F#-	ka	
			65c
4. 380Hz	G-	kra	
			95c
5. 360Hz	F#-	ba	
			155c
6. 329Hz	E	ko	
			40c
7. 322Hz	E-	so	
			35c
8. 316Hz	E♭+	e	
			0
9. 316Hz	E♭+	wiam'	
			135c
10. 341.5Hz	F-	da	
			75c
11. 356Hz	F+	da	
			115c
12. 333Hz	E+	0	
			50c
13. 324Hz	E-	re	
			35c
14. 318Hz	E♭+	su	
			10c
15. 320Hz	E♭+	A	
			60c
16. 331Hz	E	fra	

			20c
17.	335Hz	E+	sɔr
			95c
18.	317Hz	E♭+	A
			140c
19.	343.5Hz	F-	fra
			100c
20.	324Hz	E-	sɔr
			50c
21.	333Hz	E+	A
			235c
22.	381Hz	G-	fra
			140c
23.	351Hz	F+	po
			5c
24.	350Hz	F	pow
			5c
25.	351Hz	F+	wa
			165c
26.	319Hz	E♭+	tar'
			10c
27.	317Hz	E♭+	mu
			95c
28.	334.5Hz	E+	A
			120c
29.	359Hz	F#-	fra
			55c
30.	348Hz	F-	twa
			160c
31.	381Hz	G-	wo
			235c
32.	436Hz	A-	ho
			520c
33.	323Hz	E-	twa
			55c
34.	313Hz	E♭+	wo

			5c
35. 312Hz	E♭	ho	
			95c
36. 295Hz	D+	twa	
			355c
37. 362Hz	F#-	wo	
			205c
38. 321.5Hz	E-	ho	
			250c
39. 371Hz	F#+	A	
			130c
40. 344Hz	F-	fra	
			15c
41. 347Hz	F-	kɔ	
			623c
42. 242Hz	B,-	fa	
			677c
43. 358Hz	F#+	wo	
			174c
44. 396Hz	G+	nyon	
			194c
45. 354Hz	F+	ko	
			174c
46. 320Hz	E-	ɛ	

Table 3.

Computer Generated Hertz Values of Pitches and Cent Values of Intervals in Maame Abrewa (SG8edit.nsp)

Frequency in Hertz			Text	Intervals in cents
1.	357hz	F+	Maa	
				310c
2.	427hz	A-	meA	
				115c
3.	400hz	G+	bre	
				196c
4.	448.5hz	A+	wa	
				190c
5.	401hz	G+	re	
				150c
6.	368hz	F#	bɔ	
				205c
7.	343hz	F-	nin	
				215c
8.	388hz	G-	ka	
				270c
9.	332hz	E+	tse	
				90c
10.	315Hz	E♭+	dwɛ	
				50c
11.	306Hz	E♭-	dwɛ	
				45c
12.	314hz	E♭+	dwɛ	
				185c
13.	349hz	F	dwɛ	
				140c
14.	322hz	E-	dwɛ	
				65c
15.	334hz	E+	dwɛ	
				60c
16.	323hz	E-	ɔ	

				175c
17.	357hz	F+	re	
				115c
18.	334hz	E+	bɔ	
				230c
19.	381hz	F#	re	
				115c
20.	357hz	F+	bɔ	
				15c
21.	360hz	F#	re	
				120c
22.	336hz	E+	bɔ	
				180c
23.	372hz	F#+	dwɛ	
				130c
24.	345hz	F-	dwɛ	
				20c
25.	341Hz	F-	dwɛ	
				240c
26.	297hz	D+	dwɛ	
				25c
27.	293hz	D	dwɛ	
				190c
28.	327hz	E-	dwɛ	

Table 4.

Computer Generated Hertz Values of Pitches and Cent Values of Intervals in Adjoa Atta (SG49Chor.nsp)

Frequency in Hertz			Text	Intervals in cents
1.	334hz	E+	WɔM	
				56.09c
2.	345hz	F-	yɛn	
				82.20c
3.	330Hz	E	kɔ	
				286.96c
4.	389.5Hz	G-	hwɛA	
				212.81c
5.	344Hz	F-	djo	
				152.45c
6.	315Hz	E♭+	o	
				306.43c
7.	376Hz	F#+	a	
				273.77c
8.	321Hz	E-	A	
				94.19c
9.	304Hz	D+	tta	
				234c
10.	348Hz	F-	djo	
				55.60c
11.	337Hz	E+	a	
				212.91c
12.	298Hz	D+	tta	
				28.80c
13.	303Hz	E♭-	A	
				510.81c
14.	407Hz	G#-	djo	
				137.14c
15.	376Hz	F#+	aA	
				205.04c

16.	334Hz	E+	tta	
				420.30c
17.	262Hz	C	wɔm	
				32.85c
18.	266Hz	C+	ma	
				25.84c
19.	270Hz	C+	yɛn	
				0c
20.	270Hz	C+	kɔ	
				288.69c
21.	319Hz	E♭+	hwɛ	
				151.07c
22.	347Hz	F-	A	
				215.49c
23.	393Hz	G	djo	
				261.70c
24.	337Hz	E+	a	
				10.24c
25.	339.5Hz	F-	tta	
				99.85c
26.	320.5Hz	E-	na	
				145.21c
27.	348.5hz	F	ne	
				14.86c
28.	351Hz	F+	ho	
				248.86c
29.	[304Hz	E♭-]	ti	
				701.90c
30.	[202.5hz	A,-]	sɛ	
				495.86c
31.	269.5	C+	dɛn	
				45.64c
32.	262hz	C	ni	

Table 5.

Computer Generated Hertz Values of Pitches and Cent Values of Intervals in Obiara - Aardvark Verse 2 (SG25edit.nsp)

Frequency in Hertz			Text	Intervals in cents
1.	300Hz	D+	O	
				423c
2.	383Hz	G+	bia	
				69c
3.	368Hz	G♭-	ra	
				0c
4.	368Hz	G♭-	ɔ	
				60c
5.	381Hz	G-	won	
				46c
6.	371Hz	F#	bena	
				23c
7.	376Hz	F#+	da	
				523c
8.	278Hz	C#	No	
				490c
9.	369Hz	F#	bo	
				490c
10.	278Hz	C#	dy	
				467c
11.	364Hz	F#-	No	
				103c
12.	343Hz	F-	bo	
13.	missing		dy	
14.	341Hz	F-	O	
				228c
15.	389Hz	G-	bia	
				73c
16.	373Hz	F#+	ra	

				46c
17.	383Hz	G-	wɔ	
				49c
18.	394Hz	G+	won	
				76c
19.	377Hz	F#+	Bena	
				61c
20.	364Hz	F#-	da	
				9c
21.	366Hz	F#-	No	
				53c
22.	355Hz	F+	bo	
				312c
23.	296.5Hz	D+	dy	
				393c
24.	372Hz	F#	No	
				299c
25.	313hz	E♭	bo	
				100c
26.	295.5Hz	D+	dy	

Appendix D

PROFILES KEY INFORMANTS

KEY INFORMANTS

My key informants at King Amardillo where Rebecca, Mary and Cynthia.

Mary is ten years old and in Class 4. She comes from the Volta region of Ghana. She is an Ewe. Mary lives with her grandmother in a house hold of three. Her brother who is fourteen lives with her. Her parents live in Accra the capital of Ghana. Her mother sells oil, she does not know what her father does for a living. Mary tells us she often plays in Kotokraba market. She lives on Coronation Street, Cape Coast.

Cynthia is also ten years old. She is Fanti. She is in the same class as Mary. Cynthia lives with her mother in a household of seven people. Her father lives in Nigeria, West Africa. She tells me she lives with her sister Diana, another girl in my group. When I check it out she is in reality, Diana's cousin. In our vernacular we do not have a word for cousin, so we use sister. Ghanaian conceive the "extended family" to be part of the family. The expression "extended family" has become popular in present day Ghanaian elite family systems.

Rebecca is eleven years old and in class four. Rebecca came from Winneba to live in Cape Coast. Winneba is a town in the Central region of Ghana. Rebecca live with her aunt in a house hold of 12 people. Her aunt sells fabrics. Rebecca has four brothers and three sisters.

I worked closely with nineteen children in the village school-- Aardvark Primary School. Grace and Charity M became my key informants.

Grace was 15 years old and in class 6. She lives with her grandparents in the village. Grace understood my questions and responded promptly each time I asked her. She loved to demonstrate and also talk about the games. Grace showed her leadership skills by often organizing her friends during play and leading the games.

Charity M lives with her grandparents in the village. She is fourteen years old and in class three. Her parents live in Takoradi, the regional capital of the Western region of Ghana. She has five sisters who live in Takoradi. Her grand mother is a peasant farmer. Her Father is a teacher in Takoradi. Charity wants to be a catholic nun when she grows up. Charity likes to lead. Often when the class teacher is not present, Charity will be found standing in front of the class with the cane supposedly trying to teach.

Twenty three children participated from the Ulesis primary school. Vida and Adelaide emerged as my key informants in this school.

Vida is 12 years old. He father is a lecturer in economics at the University of Cape Coast. Her mother is a teacher. Vida loves to sew and would like to do that when she grows up. She has started learning to sew by helping out a seamstress on campus after school.

Adelaide is 12 years old. Her father is a taxi driver and her mother is a nurse. She lives with her parents in Cape Coast town. Adelaide come from a family of ten. She has seven other sisters. Some are older than her and the others are younger. I identified Adelaide as my key informant as I went through my tapes and analyzed my data. She contributed more than I heard and saw while engaging in feildwork in Ghana.

Appendix E

CONSENT LETTERS

Visual and Performing Arts in Education
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Faculty of Education, 2125 Main Mall
Vancouver, BC Canada V6T 1Z4
Phone: (604) 822-4531, (604) 822-5340
Fax: (604) 822-9366

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM - CHILDREN

January 12, 1993.

Dear

I am Ghanaian graduate student studying for a doctoral degree in Music Education at the University of British Columbia. The title of my research project is **Ghanaian Children's Musical Cultures: A Video Ethnographic Study of Children's Singing Games.** I would like your permission to interview you and video record you at break time for my study.

I have asked your parents' permission to talk to you and they have agreed. This letter is to you to be sure that you agree to be interviewed. I would like to be able to talk to you for about an hour about the games you play with your friends during break time. If you decide you don't want to keep talking, we can stop whenever you want. You can refuse to participate or withdraw at any time from the study, and in either case this will not jeopardize your class standing.

After I have finished talking to you, I will talk about what we discussed in my doctoral dissertation. I will use your first name only but I will not use your schools name so no one will know it is you I am talking about.

If you have any questions about this project, you or your parents can contact me or my field supervisor, Dr. Eric Akrofi at the Music Department, University of Cape Coast, or my UBC supervisors, Dr. Ronald MacGregor or Dr. Allen Clingman at the above address.

If you are willing to be interviewed, please sign the bottom of this letter. Thank you,

Sincerely,

Akosua Addo

I, _____ am willing to be interviewed and video recorded by Akosua Addo.

_____ _____

Signature Date

Visual and Performing Arts in Education
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Faculty of Education, 2125 Main Mall
Vancouver, BC Canada V6T 1Z4
Phone: (604) 822-4531, (604) 822-5340
Fax: (604) 822-9366

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM - PARENTS OF CHILDREN

January 12, 1993.

Dear

I am Ghanaian graduate student studying for a doctoral degree in Music Education at the University of British Columbia. The title of my research project is **Ghanaian Children's Musical Cultures: A Video Ethnographic Study of Children's Singing Games.**

As part of the requirements for this project, I need to interview children about the games they play during break time. I would like to interview your child, about games he /she plays with friends during break time. The purpose of this letter is to seek you permission for this interview. If you grant me permission, I will also ask your child about his/her willingness to be interviewed. The interview will take place no more than one hour of your child's time. Your child may refuse to participate as well as withdraw at any time from the study, and in either case this will not jeopardize your child's class standing.

The material I gather in these projects will be used as a basis for my doctoral research. You may change your mind and with draw your permission for this interview at any time before, during or after the interview. I will also explain this to your child.

If you have any questions about this project, please feel free to contact me or my field supervisor, Dr. Eric Akrofi at the Music Department, University of Cape Coast, or my UBC supervisors, Dr. Ronald MacGregor or Dr. Allen Clingman at the above address.

If you are willing for your child to participate in this interview, please indicate this by signing in duplicate in the spaces provided. You may keep the second copy for your records. Thank you,

Sincerely,

Akosua O. Addo.

I, give my permission for Akosua Addo to interview and video record my child, for her doctoral dissertation research as described above.

Signature Date

Visual and Performing Arts in Education
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Faculty of Education, 2125 Main Mall
Vancouver, BC Canada V6T 1Z4
Phone: (604) 822-4531, (604) 822-5340
Fax: (604) 822-9366

INSTITUTIONAL INTERVIEW / OBSERVATION LETTER

January 12, 1993.

Dear Head Teacher,

I am Ghanaian graduate student studying for a doctoral degree in Music Education at the University of British Columbia. I completed my first degree at the University of Cape Coast, Ghana between 1979-1985. After my national service with the same institution, I left to pursue a masters program in music education at the University of British Columbia from 1988-1990.

The title of my research project is **Ghanaian Children's Musical Cultures: A Video Ethnographic Study of Children's Singing Games.** I am currently researching the performance and practice of Ghanaian traditional games and songs on school playgrounds. I believe my research area is related to the Economic Recovery Program's concern for the lack of cultural and language resources in education. I will need to observe children during break time, and interview them about the games they play. The interview will take no more than one hour of each child's time. The child may refuse to participate as well as withdraw at any time from the study, and in either case this will not jeopardize the child's class standing. I will be video recording through out the project. Your school has been selected to participate in this project. The purpose of this letter is to seek your permission for me to carry out this project at your school.

If you decide to give me permission to carry out this project in your school please sign this letter in the space provided below and return it to the Music Department, University of Cape Coast.

If you have any questions about this project, please feel free to contact me or my field supervisor, Dr. Eric Akrofi at the Music Department, University of Cape Coast, or my UBC supervisors, Dr. Ronald MacGregor or Dr. Allen Clingman at the above address.

This study is conducted under the auspices of the Music Department, University of Cape Coast; and Music Education, University of British Columbia. Thank you for your contribution.

Yours sincerely,

Ms. Akosua Addo.

I, give my permission for Akosua Addo to carry out a project at as described above.

Signature _____ Date _____

Visual and Performing Arts in Education
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
Faculty of Education, 2125 Main Mall
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1Z4
Phone (604)8224531, (604)8225340
Fax: (604)822-9366

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM -ADULT INFORMANTS

June 12, 1993.

Dear

I am a Ghanaian Student studying for a doctoral degree in Music Education at the University of British Columbia. I completed my first degree at the University of Cape Coast, Ghana in 1985. After my national service with the same institution, I left to pursue a masters programme at the University of British Columbia, Canada from 1988-1990.

The title of my research project is Ghanaian Children's Music Cultures: A Video Ethnographic study of Children's Singing Games. I am currently researching the performance and practice of singing games on school playgrounds.

As part of the requirement so f this study, I have video recorded children playing singing games and interviewed them about these games. I also need to know certain facts about the origin, history and variations of the games from adult informants. I have identified you as one of my key adult informant and would like to interview you about Ghanaian folklore, particularly, children's lore. The interview will take no longer than one hour of your time. The purpose of this letter is to ask your permission to carry out this interview and record it on video. If you decide to give me permission please sign this letter in the space provided below.

If you have any questions about this project please feel free to contact my field supervisors, Dr. Eric Akrofi or Dr. Francis Saighoe at the Music Department, University of Cape Coast, or my UBC supervisors, Dr. Ronald MacGregor or Dr. Allen Clingman at the above address.

This study is conducted under the auspices of the Music Department, University of Cape Coast, and Music Education, University of British Columbia. Thanks you for your contribution.

Yours sincerely,

Ms. Akosua Addo

1, give permission for Akosua Addo to video record and interview with me for her doctoral dissertation research as described above.

_____ _____

Signature Date

Appendix F

LEARNING CONSTELLATIONS

LEARNING CONSTELLATIONS now called CONSTELLATIONS

Multimedia: A Tool for Ethnographic Research

Learning Constellations is an interactive multimedia Hypercard application designed by Ricki Goldman-Segall and her research team to assist in the management and analysis of both digital and analog data (text, sound, photographs, video) in educational, anthropological and ethnographic research.

Goldman-Segall began collecting the data resulting in *Learning Constellations* in 1985 at MIT in Cambridge, MA. This data was collected in collaboration with Seymour Papert and Project Headlight, a computer-based project in a culturally diverse inner-city elementary school, the Hennigan School in Boston. Project Headlight explored the cultural changes that could occur in the school system with the introduction of technology. Goldman-Segall focused specifically on three children in that culture, exploring their thinking and their capacity to make theories about their thinking in the Logo environment.

To collect her research data, Goldman-Segall used video. She soon became aware of the intrusive characteristics of videotaping and the tendency for performance by children in the presence of the video camera. She learned to become what she calls a "participant recorder," meaning that she learned how to forget about the camera while developing relationships with the children. Her focus moved away from proving theories she held about children to finding out more about the theories that children have. In order to do this, she changed her recording style to one that was non-pedagogic, non-judgmental and interactive with the children. The idea was not to exclude the subjectivity of the videotaped material, but to elicit responses that were genuine while also taking advantage of the performance factor. She would carry her video camera with her at all times. She would ask the children if and when they would like to contribute. The children, then, not only became involved in the research but began to be the directors of the research.

Goldman-Segall found some major complexities in the analysis of videotape material using traditional tools of research. With text data, the researcher interprets and codes what a child is saying. With video data, the researcher needs to interpret and code not only what a child is saying but also what the child is doing. It is necessary to interpret whether a wink, twitch or a shrug has meaning or is simply "noise." Add to this the inflection of words, energy and gesture and the analysis of video data multiplies, quite literally, experientially. An additional major and critical problem in making sense of video data is that the data is especially subject to at least one person's point of view...the cameraperson. Therefore it is essential to recognize who the researcher is and pay particular attention to the context in which an event was shot. The study of video data, then, becomes the study of semiotics within a given culture to determine how gestures translate as symbols and signatures of meaning. What was needed was a tool that would "weigh" or "layer" the significance of the data so that the conclusions of the researcher were based on what a child means, not only when she speaks but inclusive of the energy and gestures associated with the entire event.

To build valid interpretations, conclusions and theories, Goldman-Segall believes the tools must incorporate collaboration with others. This resulted in the development of a unique multimedia research tool called *Learning Constellations*.

From the hours of recorded video, Goldman-Segall selected small slices or chunks of video which were representative of the entire body of collected data. These chunks are referred to in the software as "stars." Relative chunks can be linked together into "constellations." By linking these chunks together, the researcher can begin to develop meanings and theories associated with the actions and thinking of the children. This material is available to other researchers who will also construct constellations, creating an open-ended research environment which maintains the integrity of the original source material while allowing the other researchers an unlimited number of connections with the material. This layering or *thick descriptions* (a term Goldman-Segall has borrowed from the work of anthropologist Clifford Geertz to describe the language of media technology) of the data brings the user/reader/viewer/researcher as close as possible to the native or original experience. What creates thickness in the description of a chunk or star or constellation is not quantity, but the ability to transmit what is really being said for purposes of communication between two or more cultures. The layering of input blurs the distinctions between original researcher and users. Each user will access the data differently, but the conclusive results should fall within the perimeter established by the primary researcher. What Goldman-Segall has created is an interactive document where interpretations can continue to be shared and negotiated, enabling researchers to interact with other researchers in a way that all users become part of the interpretation process. This tool initiates dialogue.

For example, the cover illustrates a single star from *Learning Constellations*. The card is divided into four quadrants. In the upper left hand quadrant, the user is able to select the type of data to be displayed (text, video, picture, sound), chunk the data, describe each chunk and rate the significance or importance of that chunk. The ability of each researcher to rate the data provides crucial information to other researchers. Chunks are rated from 0 to 10 using the "significance measure" (the vertical bar on the left). The significance is recorded by sliding a knob on a colored vertical scale, from a saturated color at the very top (corresponding to a rating of "10") to an unsaturated color at the bottom. The color matches the color that has been assigned to the category. This rating provides the researcher, and her subsequent users, with a visual record of the significance of an event. Users can search for data with a keyword and sort the matching data by its rating of importance to the criteria in question. In addition, it will now be possible to examine which information is most important to a given user.

In the upper right quadrant, the data are displayed. This area is of particular importance because it works globally with the rest of the computer applications. If displaying video, this program will automatically launch Quicktime; if text, it will launch the wordprocessing program, etc. In other words, the user can work in her selected application and the data can remain as a file in that application.

The lower right quadrant is where the database is located and any categories selected from the database are displayed in the lower left quadrant.

Goldman-Segall describes the functioning of the application as follows: "Let us suppose that after seeing this star of JOHN OUTSIDE, Ricki, or any other user, wanted to see the other connections to this chunk. Well, she could double click on any attribute in the upper left quadrant describing the star, or she could go to the database in the lower right hand quadrant and make a selection by clicking on any of the listed attributes. Her search for other links to the topics "connections" and "energy" has brought up two items — a constellation called "putting it together" and a picture annotation star. Double clicking on either would bring up that item. If she wanted to see how Monika, Elliot, and Ruth had made sense of this chunk, she would do another search in the database. In this way, Ricki could browse, but not change, her colleagues' chunks and view THEIR ratings."

Most current research tools are hierarchical, narrative or

relational in structure, and researchers are often limited and labeled exclusively by their form of documentation: text; sound or image. Goldman-Segall's tool utilizes a hermeneutical approach where all forms of data are treated equally and the goal is to make meaning by understanding the smallest parts or pieces; "to build thick descriptions by understanding the richness of an event by first describing it grain by grain."

As Goldman-Segall puts it, " Discoveries made on this system would not be made with conventional tools. Having random access to my data enabled me to organize it into meaningful categories and then to reconstruct the chunks into fine-grained case studies of children. The random access videodisc environment enabled me to communicate with my viewers and readers in a manner which gave them the opportunity to build their own meanings. Moreover, by using this medium, I established different relationships with my viewers and readers; they became part of the research effort. Consequently, my resulting case studies, to some extent, reflect the interpretation of the various users of *Learning Constellations*."

In this system, the users become researchers, building their own theories about the primary researcher's interpretations of the selected video and text data. Consequently, the research environment becomes a growing video and text documentation. There exists the possibility for expansion by adding text and video annotations to the material and/or including future studies at a later date. Goldman-Segall concludes,"The notion of "fixed interpretations" may be a part of our pre-electronic past."

Working with Goldman-Segall on the latest version of *Learning Constellations* are Monika Marcovici, Head Programmer; Lar Halff, Scott Flinn and Bruce Finlayson, design and programming; Lee Steg, interface touch-up artist; with thanks and acknowledgments to MERlin Lab, Faculty of Education at University of British Columbia and specifically to Dr. Kellogg Booth, Computer Science, UBC.

Working with Goldman-Segall on first version of *Learning Constellations* at MIT were David Greschler, head programmer, Vivian Orni Mester, design and video consultation, the MIT Media Lab with thanks and acknowledgments to Seymour Papert and Glorianna Davenport.

Learning Constellations requires a minimum of a Macintosh LC with 8 MB of RAM, and Quicktime™. Videodisc and CD-ROM are optional.

Dr. Ricki Goldman-Segall is assistant professor of mathematics and science in the Department of Education at the University of British Columbia, Canada. Her research focuses on tools and methods in the construction of knowledge in computationally-rich learning environments. She teaches courses in multimedia ethnography where she integrates theories from epistemology, ethnography and cinematography. She has also established a research lab, MERlin, Multimedia Ethnographic Research Laboratory, devoted to the exploration of tools for inquiry and analysis.

Appendix G

PHOTOGRAPHS

Ulesis Primary School

The School.

Plate 1

Hockey Pitch,
Flamboyant Tree ,
Soccer Field.

Plate 2

Walking to the Language Laboratory,
Watching,
Playing.

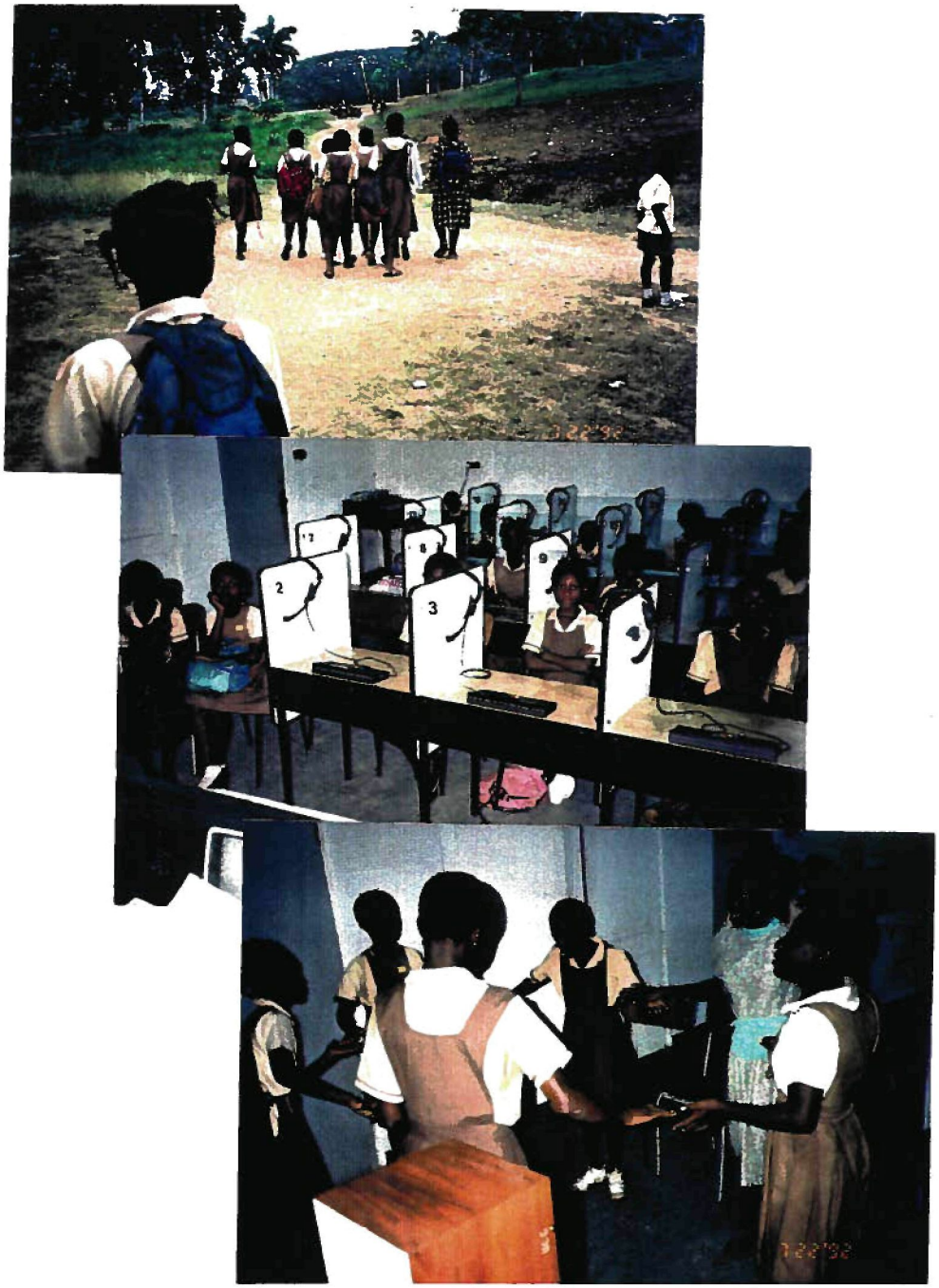

Plate 3

King Armadillo Primary School

The School,
Assembly,
Playing.

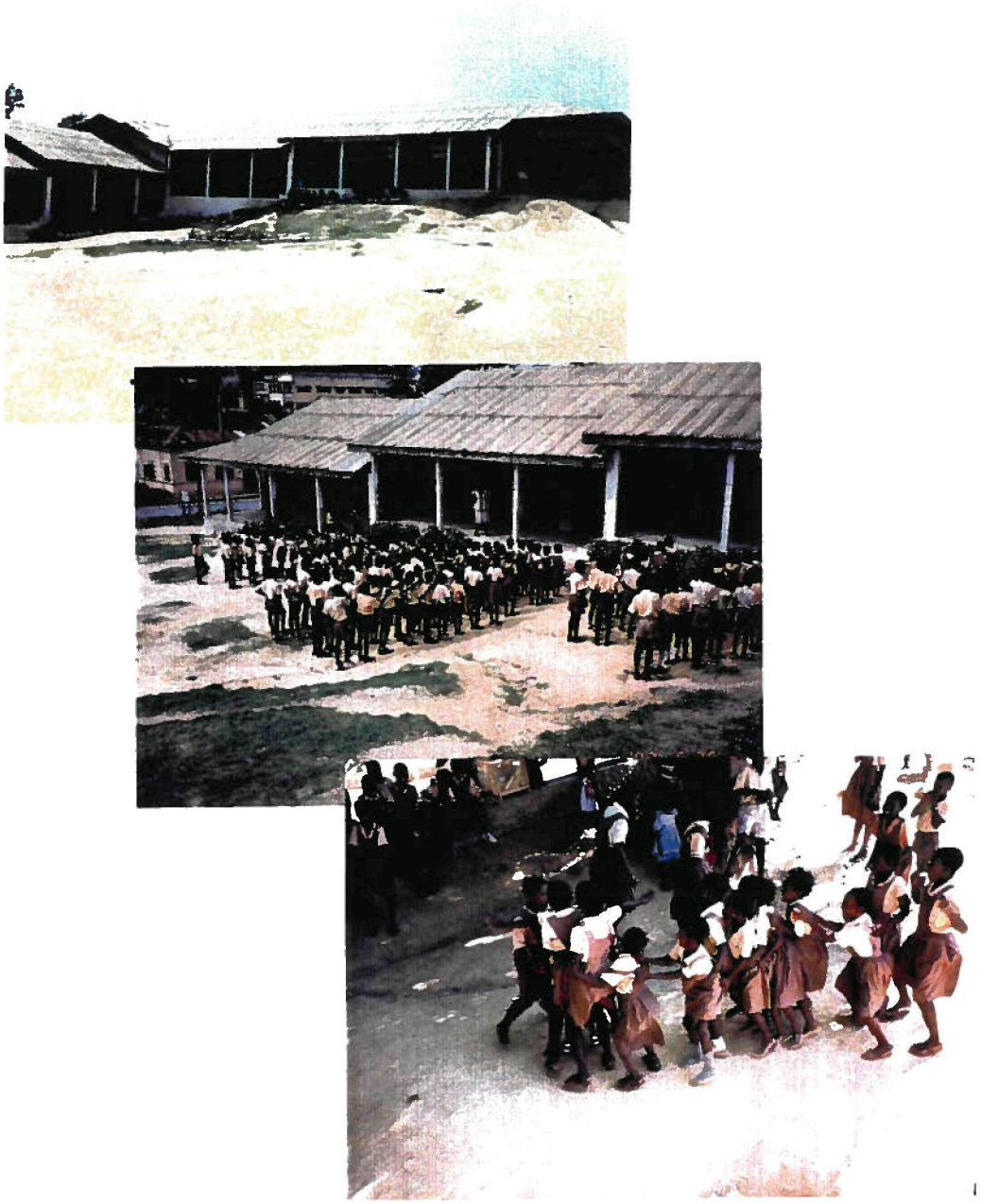

Plate 4

In Class

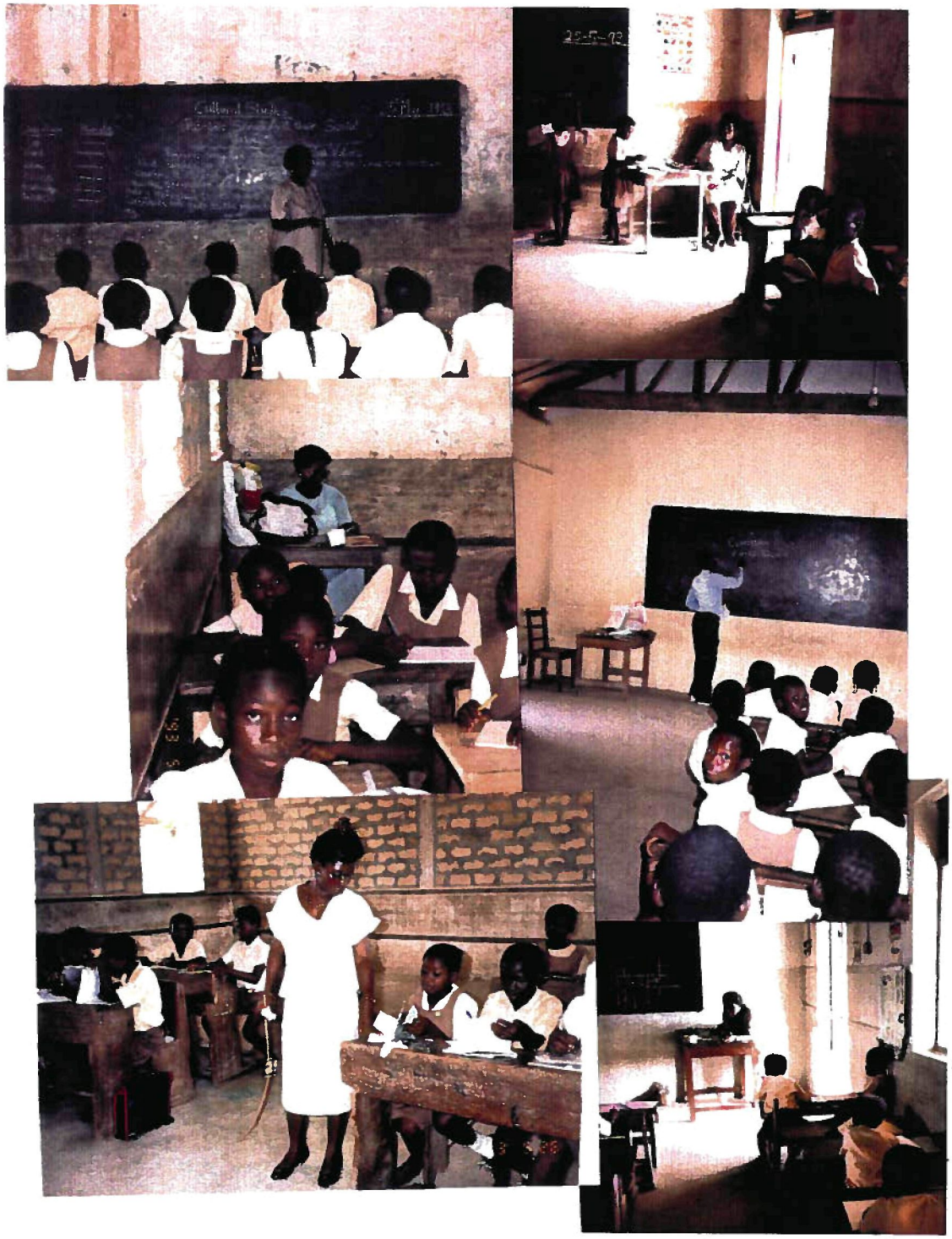

Plate 5

Aardvark Catholic Primary School

Outside the Village,
Road into the Village,
Inside the Village.

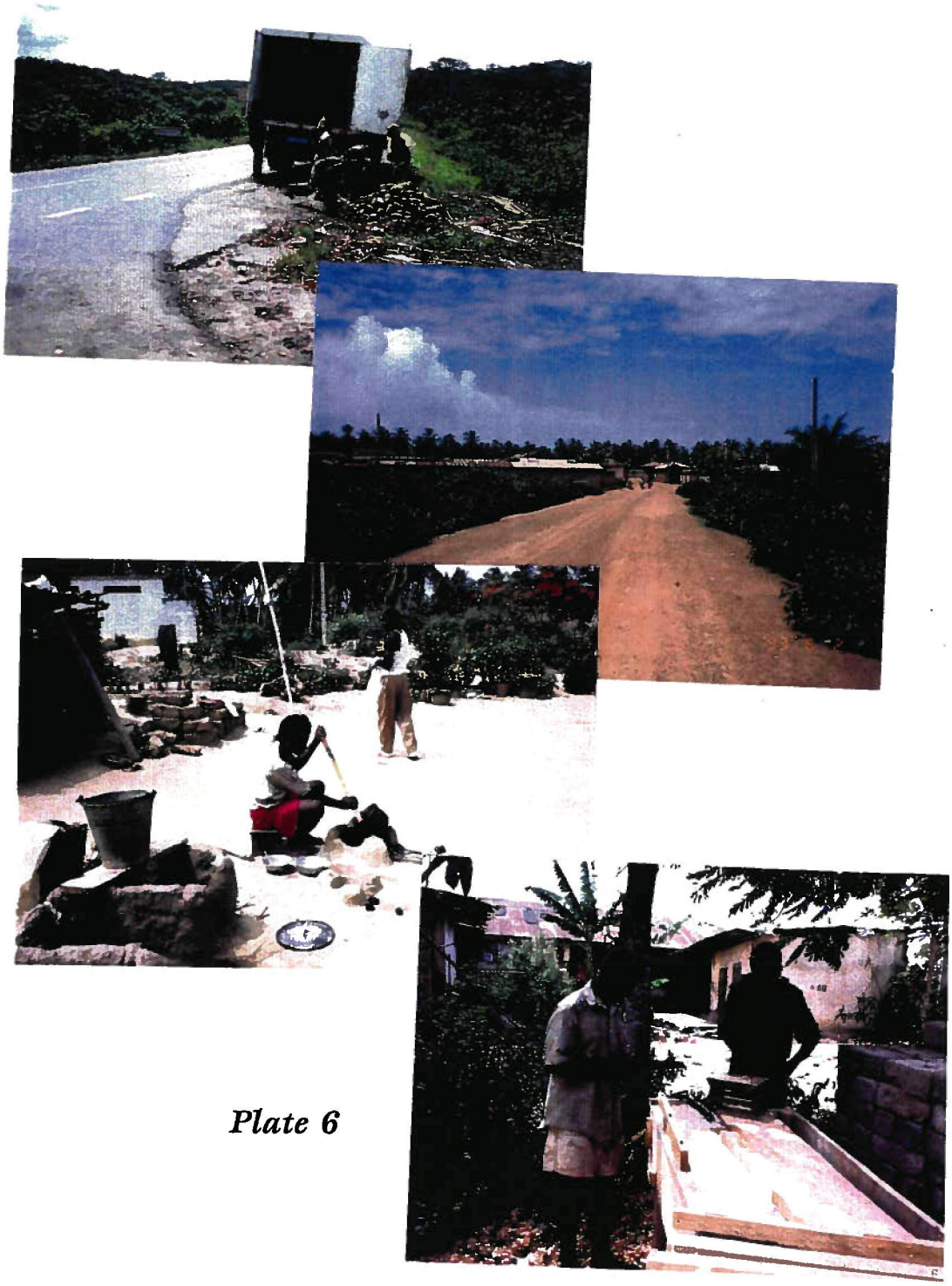

Plate 6

The Boys,
The Church,
The Girls.

Plate 7

Assembly,
In Class,
At Break.

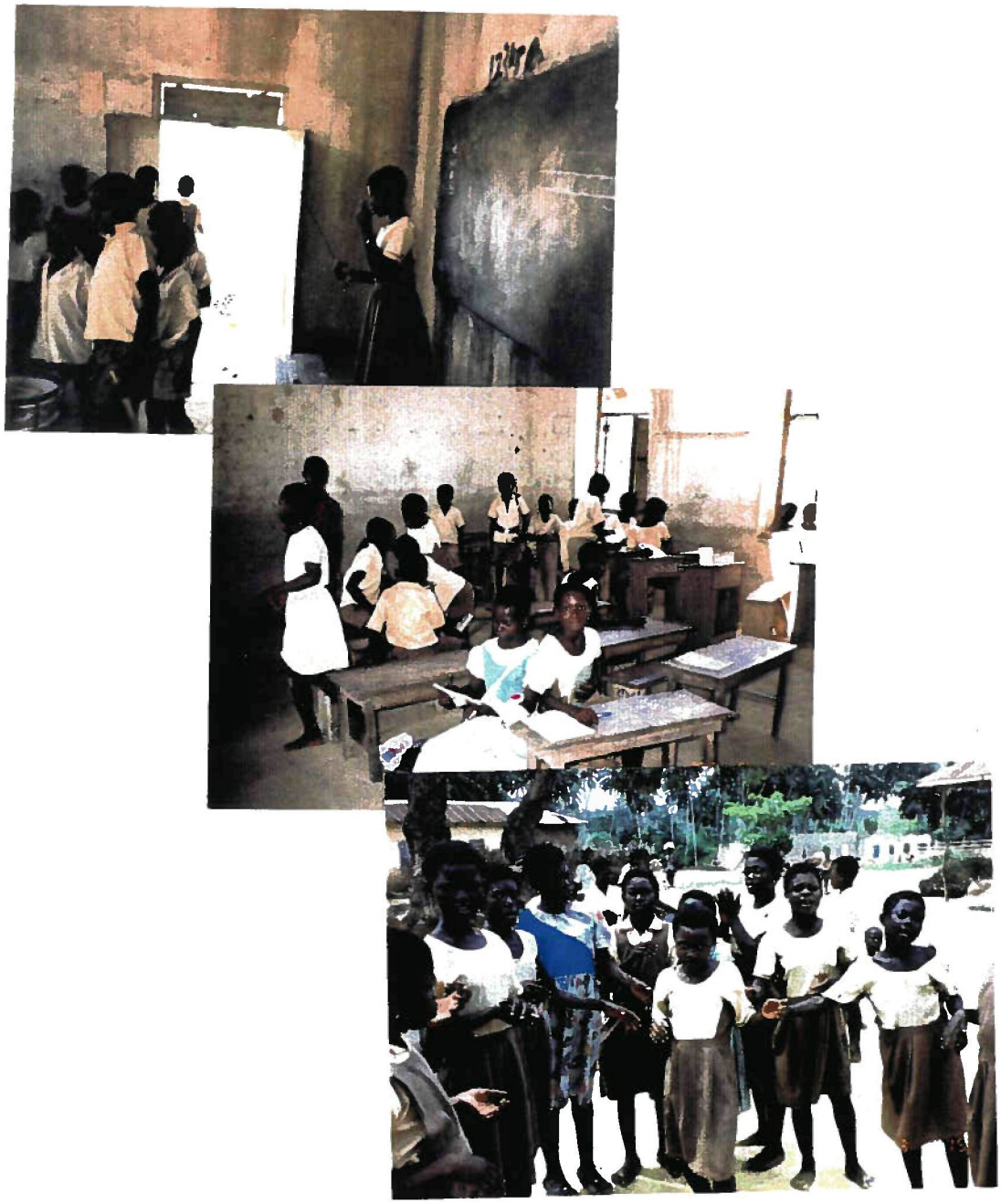

Plate 8

Appendix H

ETHICAL REVIEW SLIP

The University of British Columbia
Office of Research Services

B92-416

BEHAVIOURAL SCIENCES SCREENING COMMITTEE FOR RESEARCH AND OTHER STUDIES INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

C E R T I F I C A T E of A P P R O V A L

INVESTIGATOR:	Clingman, A.
UBC DEPT:	Visual & Perf Arts
INSTITUTION:	Elementary schools in Ghana
TITLE:	Ghanaian children's musical cultures: A video ethnographic study of children's singing games
NUMBER:	B92-416
CO-INVEST:	Addo, A.
APPROVED:	JAN 19 1993

The protocol describing the above-named project has been reviewed by the Committee and the experimental procedures were found to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects.

Chair, Behavioural Sciences Screening Committee

for Dr. R.D. Spratley
Director, Research Services

THIS CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL IS VALID FOR THREE YEARS FROM THE ABOVE APPROVAL DATE PROVIDED THERE IS NO CHANGE IN THE EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURES

ADDENDUM

Please contact author for the CD ROM at

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2125 Main Mall
Vancouver, B.C.
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