

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

TOTEMISM: ITS INFLUENCE ON THE AKAN YOUTH OF GHANA.



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A Thesis in the DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC EDUCATION, FACULTY OF SCHOOL OF CREATIVE ARTS, submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, University of Education, Winneba in partial fulfillment of the requirements for award of the Master of Philosophy (Arts And Culture) degree.

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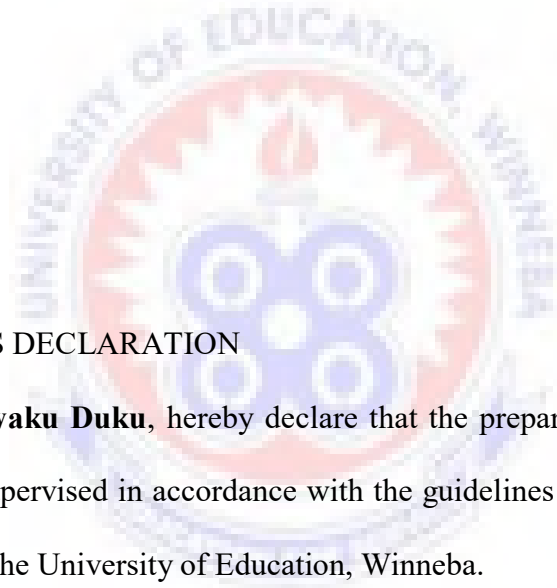
DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

I, **Ntow Jonathan**, declare that this Thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work, and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.

SIGNATURE.....

DATE.....



SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I, **Frimpong Kwaku Duku**, hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of Thesis as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

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DATE:.....

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DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to my wonderful children: Louisa Serwah Asare-Ntow and Hubert Osei Asare-Ntow for their patience and tolerance in the lost of fatherly love and care most of the time.



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ABSTRACT

This research seeks to discuss Totemism: its influence on the Akan Youth of Ghana touching on the types of totems, the philosophical and literal meanings of the totems and conservation of biodiversity. These totems have so much hidden knowledge to be learnt but most of the youth are ignorant about them. This problem can be associated to ignorance, adulteration of culture, improper documentation and the over reliance on adulterated oral history. The research seeks to bring to bear the existing totems within the Akan Culture, elucidate and discuss the literal and philosophical meanings embedded in these archetypes. The Research is situated under the qualitative paradigm employing questionnaire, interview and observation as the main research tools to find information and the review of relevant literature. The findings were discussed as well. The research revealed that there are eight established Akan Clans with their associated totems. However, there are other peripheral totems in our communities. The names of the Clans and totems change depending on where one is geographically located. The Totems are Philosophical in nature and possess Literal meanings as well. Natural places serving as habitats for totemic elements are revered so as to conserve our flora and fauna. Such places have helped to protect these totemic elements from extinction and destruction. The aged have so much knowledge about our Customs and Institutions for which the youth must learn from since they are the custodians of our rich cultural heritage. There is a big gap between the youth and the aged culminating in alienation of the youth from their rich cultural values that are epitome of traditional knowledge. There are limited documented materials on totems and totemism in our educational institutions and indepth research into the historical aspect of totems should be conducted.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

For identification, independence and supremacy, our forefathers got themselves accustomed to certain animals that in a nutshell had a massive influence on the people. Amenuke, Dogbe, Asare, Ayiku & Baffoe (1991) see totems as “animals or objects which are believed to have a special relationship with a particular people or clan” (p.153). According to Okyeame Ampadu-Agyei as cited in Johnson (2013) a totem comes from a North American Indian language which refers to vegetables or animals that are accorded so much reverence by individuals, particularly groups of people or a tribe as sacred, that are believed to be ancestrally related to a tribe, clan, or family group as a reliable spirit to prevent them from any mishap.

A totem is an object or thing in nature that is adopted as a family, tribe, individual or clan emblem. In an interview on 11 November 2013, Rev. Fr. Todzro explained that totem stands for the values central to the group or community (P. Todzro, personal communication, November 11, 2013).

Different clans are assigned different totems and in some cases individuals are given personal totems at birth (Wilson, 1988). These could be seen in the physical or spiritual world; dreams. Though people may identify with different animal guides throughout their lifetimes, it is this one totem archetype that acts as the main guardian spirit. With this one animal, a connection is shared either through interest in the animal, characteristics, dreams, or other interaction.

This Animal Guide offers power and wisdom to the individual when they "communicate" with it, conveying their respect and trust. The totem itself is a symbol that represents this animal. This could be any number of items - a crest, a totem pole, an emblem, a small figurine or anything else that depicts your animal guide (Amos, 2012).

People or clans can be identified or portrayed by the nature of their totems since they are an important part of their everyday life (Amenuke et al. 1991). In some clans, it is forbidden to eat or kill the animal that is their totem, while in other tribes there are exceptions for special occasions.

As noted by Johnson (2013),

the primary reason is that if all totems become destroyed it would have a negative rippling effect on the core fabric of society-its culture and values would be adversely hampered. There would be no values to live for and no point in using totems if the species become extinct.

Unfortunately, the treatments people accord to these animals leave much to be desired. Some people with gross impunity attack these spirits in the name of hunting for meat forgetting the need to appreciate what has been bequeathed to them. The reason may be their lack of interest in knowing the philosophical, educational and socio-cultural values of totems from the elders.

According to Agbenyega (2013, p.44) "preserving and reinforcing the country's cultural values would help the nation to follow the right path in achieving its goals".

As noted by Johnson (2013) "when a deity or spirit is associated with a particular natural object or phenomenon, it is treated with care and not exploited anyhow but rather, through laid down procedure". In support of the need to preserve our totems

and totemic practices, Okyeame Ampadu-Agyei (2003) in a paper presented at a conference on the bush meat crisis in Ghana submitted that, prudent measures must be put in place to prevent them from dying. Very soon if steps are not taken to control the indiscriminate hunting of the wild animals, most of which are totems, a knife will be put on the things that hold us together as one people and we shall be in fragments.

Are we teaching our future leaders, who will take over from us tomorrow, about our rich cultural heritage in this country? We must teach Ghanaian Youth to know all these important traditional values because posterity will never forgive us if we fail to do that.

This is because if we throw away our totems we are throwing away our cultural heritage and our own selves all in the name of an alien culture. Our wildlife is our cultural heritage, yet through over hunting, timber harvesting, bush fires, use of toxic chemicals and other forms of habitat destruction, a large number of animals, reptiles and most bird species have been lost forever. Our tradition of Totemism is not idol worship it is intended to moderate and save our wildlife heritage. Ghana is unique in many things with an unparalleled family/clan system that distinguishes it from the rest of Africa and the world at large. These clans are always represented with totems (Daily Graphic, December 30th 2013).

The totem (*atweneboa/akyenaboa*) which literally means ‘to lean on’ has for some time been relegated to the periphery by some Akan Youth while others cannot do away with them and continuously venerate them. Meanwhile, as expressed by Jefferson & Skinner cited in Edwin (2011),

Akan relationship with nature enjoins the living to view nature as sacred and in effect prevent it from wanton destruction. This is because humans have relationship with nature and must in return treasure it. This relationship shaped

people's perception and attitude towards nature through the adherence to taboos associated with nature as well as the recognition of the place of non-human members of the community.

The question one may ask is, do people still revere these same animals as their spirit animals? As culminated with Ghana's 'adoption of Western perspectives of development which perceives humanity as superior and in charge of creation as well as its perception of Akan animistic tendencies as primitive, superstitious and fetishistic has led to the destruction of nature' (Edwin, 2011, p. iii). Ankrah cited in Andoh (2013) expressed his reservation as, "we must preserve this society and stand against the invasion of foreign cultures that are detrimental to ours". (p.29)

Totemism on the other hand is a system of belief in which each human is thought to have a spiritual connection or a kinship with another physical being, such as an animal or a plant, often called a spirit-being or totem, (Wolfe, 1998). Some people attribute the vitiating of totemism to the idolatry perceived to be associated with the practice forgetting that best practices are best returned for (*sankɔfa*).

Edwin (2011) described the cosmic harmony that the Akans extend to animals as totemic relationship. He further explained that in Akan culture, totemism refers to the sacred relationship that clans and tribes have with animals or plants.

Many of these tribes in Ghana chose these wild animals as their totems because of their historical and socio-cultural significance. The animals are chosen as totems due to some exemplary qualities of the animals that a particular clan wants to emulate. They also rely on them for spiritual inspiration and intrinsic motivation. In doing this, the cultural identity of the people is preserved. Archison (2013) expressed the worry showed by Doe Adjaho at the rapid rate at which the country is fast losing its Cultural

identity but urged Ghanaians to be proud of their Cultural heritage and preserve their customs, stressing that “if we lose our customs, we lose our identity”. As Gyekye (1996) noted “it is an undeniable fact that there are features or elements of the received tradition that can be said to have proved their worth and can thus be considered suitable for the purposes of a present generation”. (p.165)

As enshrined in the National Cultural Policy, “the objective of preservation is not to make our culture static or mysterious, but to consciously prevent the mindless sweeping away of our cultural heritage, a situation which can result in social instability and cultural disorientation”. (National Commission on Culture, 2004, p. 8).

The Youth as defined in The National Youth Policy (2010, p.5) are “persons within the age bracket of fifteen (15) and thirty-five (35)”. The Akans of Ghana form a major part of the demography of the country. They have a population of 47.5% (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010). They occupy six of the ten regions of Ghana (Buah, 1998). The Regions are Eastern, Ashanti, Central, Western, Brong-Ahafo, and some part of the Volta Region. They are the largest ethnic group in Ghana with many tribes.

This ethnic group consists of tribes such as Agona, Ahafo, Ahanta, Akuapem, Akwamu, Akyem, Aowin, Asante, Assin, Denkyira, Fante, Wassa and Kwahu. They are mostly found in the forest zones of the country. Due to the fertile nature of their land, they normally engage in farming activities. However, Boahen (1966) attributed their settlement in the forest zones to either political or population pressure as he espoused “either owing to political or population pressure, or both, the ancestors of the Akan began to migrate into the forest regions” (p.58). Traditionally, the Akans are matrilineal, that is they inherit from the mother’s side except the Akuapem who are patrilineal.

Buah (1998) identified “seven/eight matrilineal ‘clans’ called *abusua* and seven patrilineal groupings, called *ntorɔ* or *kra*. An Akan by birth belongs to the *abusua* of his mother but inherits the *ntorɔ* or *kra* (the emanating spirit) of his father” (p. 8). The clans are *Ɔyoko*, *Asona*, *Aduana*, *Asakyiri*, *Asenee*, *Agona*, *Ɛkoɔna* and *Bretuo*. Boahen (1966) had earlier on elaborated on the matrilineal and patrilineal systems of Akan for which every Akan must belong to one of the matrilineal and one of the patrilineal groups which he/she automatically inherits from his/her mother and father. According to Boahen (1966), Kyeremateng (2010) and Prempeh (2012),

the Akan are organized both matrilineally and patrilineally, and in each case there are eight groupings or clans. The eight matrilineal groupings or *Abusua*, and their moieties are *Ɛkoɔna* and *Asokɔre*, *Asona* and *Dwum*, *Aduana* and *Atwea* and *Aberade*, *Ɔyoko* (*Anona* in Fante) and *Dako*, *Bretuo* and *Tena*, *Agona* and *Toa*, *Asakyiri* and *Amoakaade*, *Asenee* and *Adɔnten*. The patrilineal sub-groups or *Akra* are *Busumuru*, *Bosompra*, *Bosomafram*, *Bosomtwe*, *Bosompo*, *Bosomayesu*, *Bosomakomfo*, *Bosomakonsi*, *Bosomsika*, *Bosomkrete*, *Bosomafi*, *Bosomdwerebe* and *Abankwaade*.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The extinctions of totemic elements do have a consequence on the transmission of our rich cultural heritage and identity to the Akan youth. These totemic elements are philosophical in nature and are embedded with traditional knowledge which if not conserved and preserved will culminate in cultural alienation or disorientation amongst the youth. If our customs and traditions are taking from us, we have no identity. One of the catastrophes is incest (*mogyafra*). Another consequence of this acculturation is the development of a lukewarm attitude by the Akan youth towards their cultural heritage. Is it because the youth consider their customs as primitive, archaic, retrogressive, idolatrous and childish? In congruence to this, Okyeame Ampadu-Agyei in his assertion as cited by Asante (2007), many people today, consciously distance themselves from their past due to the perception that traditional culture is retrogressive and backward. He further reiterated that, many people who live in the cities and large towns believe that urbanization and western lifestyle connotes progress and self-development. Johnson (2013) noted that ignorance of totems and especially by the youth is apart from leading to poverty (disregard for preservation and wise exploitation of natural resources), has also created a gap in cultural awareness. In his desperate mood, he stated again that if this is not managed at this point in our history, very soon, we as a people would become a nation without an authentic culture.

Notably, these features of the received tradition can be said to have proved their worth and can thus be considered worthwhile for the purposes of a present generation (Gyekye, 1996). As Presbey (2000) argued, “Progressive Modernization” “should

entail humbly” searching for what is worthwhile in the traditional value system, instead of discarding everything African.

“Totemism is important because if all totems become destroyed it would as a rippling effect destroy the very core or fabric of society-its culture and values would be adversely hampered” (Smith-Asante, 2002). People should therefore appreciate our socio-culture legacy that has protected flora (plants) and fauna (animals), which support the ecosystem, upon which our survival depends (Ampadu-Agyei, 2002).

The Researcher believes clearly that the future looks bleak since the youth have not been taught their rich cultural heritage. If we vitiate our totems we are discarding our cultural heritage and alienating ourselves from the very things that held us together. Let us not forget that in the past, the clans survived because they were based on courage and strength and that culminated in the adoption of totems by Ghanaian families, clans and traditional areas for which the youth must be made to know.

These totems show leadership and relate to rituals but unfortunately have not received considerable attention in the study of tradition. The origin of some of these totems have been lost in antiquity; though they were an epitome of unity and influenced the actions of the people during ceremonial occasions. Unfortunately, due to adulteration of culture, the Akan Youth of Ghana do not place premium on their totems, the philosophical meanings they portray, their socio-cultural and educational meanings. As observed by Johnson (2013), these days because of ‘modernization’ and ‘progress’ it is nearly impossible to tell what clan a person belongs to unless you know what town a person comes from...even that one does not necessarily mean that the person is from the dominant clan in the town.

We should not forget that the clan is not like a tune that you can change simply because you do not like it. It befalls the people within the clan to improve it. We should also not forget the fact that if we want to increase the population of state, we do not kill the pregnant woman. (Nana Frimpong, personal communication, January 4, 2014).

The effects of totemism on the Akan Youth of Ghana that in the ultimate educate and restore their cultural lineage, identity and heritage is what the research sought to accomplish.

1.2 Purpose

The purpose of this study was to identify both the negative and positive influences of totemism on the Akan Youth of Ghana taking into consideration the literal and philosophical effects.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The present study sought to:

1. Identify and describe totems in the Akan areas in Ghana.
2. Highlight the literal and philosophical meanings of totems.
3. Identify the effects of totems on the conservation of biodiversity in Ghana.

1.4 Research Questions

The following research questions were posed for the study:

1. What totems exist in the Akan areas in Ghana?
2. What are the literal and philosophical meanings of totems amongst the Akan Youth of Ghana?
3. Are there any effects of totems on conservation of biodiversity in Ghana?

1.5 Significance of the Study

1. The study identified and documented most of the totems that exist among the Akans of Ghana.
2. The study helped Ghanaians especially the Akan Youth identified their totems associated with their clans and give the necessary reverence to them.
3. It also helped reduced the negative perception society held about totemism as idolatrous, archaic and retrogressive.
4. It influenced policy makers to put in place more stringent measures to protect and conserve our biodiversity.
5. It also helped to educate the Akan Youth on their cultural heritage.
6. It postulated the major effects totems have on people especially the Akans of Ghana.

7. It served as a reference material for others who want to take up a similar topic in their research.
8. It reminded people of the need to learn about their Customs and Institutions.
9. It also reminded the aged of the need to inculcate the rich Akan tradition in their youth so as not to alienate themselves completely from their root.

1.6 Delimitation

The study confined itself to totemism and its effects on selected Akan Youth in Ghana. The selected areas were the Akan Youth of Asante, Fante, Akuapim, Kwahu and Akyem. The target groups were the Youth within the age bracket (15-35 years), chiefs or family elders and knowledgeable people on the culture of the Akans who were able to interpret those philosophical and socio-cultural meanings of the totems.

1.7 Abbreviations used

- A' Level: Advanced Level
- APA: American Psychological Association
- &: And
- AD: Anno Domini
- Cert 'A': Certificate 'A'
- et al.: And others
- Fig.: Figure
- HND: Higher National Diploma

- n.d: No date
- O' Level: Ordinary Level
- P.: Page
- Pp.: Pages
- S.H.S.: Senior High School
- S.S.S.: Senior Secondary School

1.8 Definition of Terms

- Philosophy: the study of the basic principles of existence, knowledge, morals.
- Incest: forbidden sexual intercourse between persons regarded as being related in any given way.
- Polygamy: marriage of one man to more than one woman at the same time.
- Cosmic: very great and important.
- Consanguine: Persons related by blood ties.
- Exogamy: a marriage rule which prohibits a person from marrying within a certain group.
- Symbiotic: a relationship between two organisms living in close usually mutually beneficial association.
- Lineage: all those related by matrilineal descent from a particular ancestress.
- *Abusua (mogya)*: what an Akan inherits from his/her mother.
- *Ntorɔ*: what an Akan gets from his/her father.

1.9 Organization of the Rest of the Text

The whole work had been divided into six chapters. Chapter one provided an introduction to the study. It gave the background to the study, the statement of the problem, purpose, objectives, research questions, significance of the study, of the study, delimitations and the general layout of the research report. Chapter two dealt with review of related literature on selected sub-topics that helped answered the research questions and addressed the research objectives. Chapter three provided information on the methodology to be used in the research. Those included research design, population of the study, sampling technique, sample size, data collection instruments and the method of data analysis. In chapter four, the results or findings of the research were discussed making references to the tables, figures or graphs generated in the work.

Discussions on the major findings of the research were captured in chapter five. All the findings were interpreted and highlighted on the various themes.

The final chapter (six) comprised the summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations. The APA system of referencing was employed; alphabetical arrangement of all cited works.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.0 Overview

This chapter is to review literature related to the study. It considers background of the Akans, taboos, beliefs, practices, vegetation and agriculture, clans, totems, totem poles in Ghana, Totemism in Ghana, Totemism and Religion, Totemism and Conservation of Biodiversity in Ghana.

2.1 Background of the Akans

The Akans are a group of people speaking different or similar dialects of the same language in Ghana. They practice similar customs and have the same social and political institutions, Mpere cited in (Addei & Addei, 2010). He added that the Akans are one of the major ethnic groups in Ghana and Africa specifically in West Africa. They are made up of various dialects that are mutually intelligible, (Agyekum, 2006). He continued that they are an integration of many complex people of different dialectical inclinations within and outside the shores of Ghana. Buah (1998) posited that “the Akan speak dialects of a common language also called Akan, which is enriched by local varieties of vocabulary, expression and idiom” (p.8). In support of Buah’s assertion, Kyeremateng (2010) reiterated that “proverbs constitute an important feature of the Twi language and they are basically used to adorn or flavour statements,... proverbs tend to reveal the insight of the aged and what they would do in certain situations” (p.28).

As is observed by Buah (1998) & Agyekum (2006), “the Akans are the largest ethnic group in Ghana totaling over half of the people of Ghana and occupying five of the ten (10) Administrative regions of the country, and part of the sixth”. They include Bono, Asante, Adanse, Twifo, Asen, Fante, Akuapem, Akyem, Akwamu, Kwawu, Sehwi, Awowin, Nzima and Ahanta, Wassaw and Buem (Addei & Addei, 2010, Agyekum, 2006 Buah, 2008, Gadzepko, 2005 & Osei, 2002).

In support of the above assertion, Kyeremateng (2010) further espoused that Akan is applied to the largest ethnic group in Ghana. He further stated that their population size constitute about 49.1% of the entire population and inhabit about two-thirds of Ghana’s land space, between the black and the Guinean coast. They are also found in Anyi (Agni) and Baule in Ivory Coast, (Warren, 1986 & Kyeremateng, 2010). The meaning of Akan has received several interpretations, one of such is manifested in Kyeremateng (2010) who stated that Akan is derived from the Twi word *kan(e)* (first or foremost) to imply that Akans were the first settlers (aborigines) of Ghana.

In fact, their superiority complex cannot be underestimated. This is reminiscent in the saying, *animguase mfata akaniba* (disgrace should not be the bedfellow of the Akan). The above feature was also observed by a Portuguese historian De Faria de Sousa cited in Kyeremateng (2010) that the “Acanes are the most polite people of that part of Africa”. According to Kyeremateng, the reference was made to the Akumu-Akoto Kingdom then situated behind the Elmina Castle. They are very religious and believe in God, supernatural beings and ancestors. Akans put high premium on politeness and etiquette in social interactions. There is respect for status, age, chieftaincy and traditional political systems (Agyekum, 2012). The Akans are also classified as Twi speaking people which have severally been curiously rendered in different European

documents as Cui, Chi, Kyi, Ki, Qui and Tsi. That culminated in terms as Cuifor (*Twifo*), *Kyi-Bi* (*Kyebi*), O-qui-hene (*Okyihene*) and *A-kyi-m* (*Akyem*) to represent Akan states, towns and institutions (Kyeremateng, 2010).

On the other hand, the divergent views on the amorphous nature of the Twi classification cannot be underestimated. In elucidating this, Kitson & Nuamah, (1972) classified them into three groups as Asante, Fante-Agona and the Brongs. Adu Boahen cited in Ellis (1996) and Buah (1998) classified the Akan languages into two varieties; Twi and Fante (Asantes and Fantes) respectively. According to the latter, “there are additional languages aside the two major variants of the Akan language, there are other inter-related dialects which differ significantly from Twi and Fante; Nzima, Ahanta, Awowin and Sefwi all spoken in the Western Region” (p.8). Their origin is still mind boggling as Gadzepko (2005) posited that their origin is difficult to say as no single theory sufficiently explained where they originated from. He however traced their origin based on oral tradition by Court Historians in Akrokeri in Adanse and Asebu in Fante who disclosed that the ancestry of the Akan was in the Middle East (Egypt). In an attempt to settle the dust, Danquah cited in Dzamedo (2009) traced the ancestry of the Akan from the old kingdom of Ghana (near present Timbuktu) on the bend of the Niger in AD 1076. He further indicated that the people initially came from countries beyond Western Sudan near Taurus Mountains. Danquah and Meyerowitz also did indicate that the ancestors of the Akan migrated first from Ethiopia into Egypt, and later to the Ghana Empire of the Western Sudan (Gadzepko, 2005). From here (medieval Ghana Empire), they migrated to settle finally in the present day Ghana. He again disclosed that other historians were of the view that the Akan originated from Yorubaland through the Mono and Volta rivers. In

their quest to settle at a place free of intimidation, they moved towards the Afram Plains, then to the North as is disclosed by Kitson & Nuamah (1972) that the pastoral attitude of the Akan compelled them to move towards the Salaga area in the present day Northern Ghana. Not being happy with the conditions up North perhaps due to the constant invasion from the Fulani and other Northerners, they moved to the forest zones again. As submitted by Gadzepko (2005), “they turned southwards into the Pra-Ofin basin...each Akan group for various reasons migrated to where it is presently found” (p.23). The divergent views expressed by the various authors about the origin of the Akan did not dispute the fact that the Akans were all one people with a homogeneous culture. As expressed by Mpere (1992), there are a lot of stories connected with their origin. Their disintegration was mainly due to external invasions and wars.

2.2 Taboos

According to Asirifi-Danquah (2000, p.18) and Osei (2011) “taboo is derived from the Polynesian term ‘tabu’ which simply means forbidden and can be applied to any sort of prohibition”. He further elaborated that it is a ritual avoidance or ‘ritual prohibition’ and define it as “a rule of behaviour which is associated with a benefit that infraction will result in an inevitable change in the ritual status of the person who fails to keep the rule” (Asirifi-Danquah, 2000, p.18). As Osei (2011) admitted “it is similar to the ‘sacer’ in the Greek, *Kadesh* in Hebrew and *Nso* in Igbo language of Nigeria”. Taboo is also applicable to any sort of social prohibition imposed by the leadership of a community regarding certain times, places, actions, events, and people

etc especially, but not exclusively, for religious reasons for the well-being, of the society (Osei, 2006).

“It is something established by social usage to be avoided”. (Warren, 1986, p.75). The Akans normally term it as *mmusu*. In Akan, the synonymous word is *akyiwade*. This similarly means something forbidden and for that matter *musuo*. Gyekye (1995) however submitted that *musuo* is reserved for prohibitions against very serious or extraordinary moral evils such as murder, suicide, rape, incest and religious sacrilege. In view of that not all taboos are *musuo* but all *akyiwade* are taboos. The moral value of taboos cannot be downplayed. Without them the moral fabric of society will be disintegrated. Even in the naming systems, taboos are observed. Socio-cultural norms in Akan do not permit adults and kings to be addressed with their bare names, (Agyekum, 1996). At least some decorum needs to be observed. The disregard for these taboos will incur the wrath of the gods. As Osei (2011) notes, taboos represent the main source of guiding principles regulating and directing the behaviour of individuals and the community towards the Supreme Being and especially the gods and the ancestors in African traditional societies.

The code of ethics though some not documented, are the reference points in determining law-breakers and in some instances used in adjudicating cases at the traditional courts and shrines (Osei, 2000). In the bid to conserve biodiversity, it is believed that taboos are core facets to accomplish this dream. As Osei (2011) observes “African taboos which have unfortunately been marginalized from contemporary intellectual discourse together with African Religion offers the best explanation for the successful ecological practices of the traditional people towards biodiversity” (p.43). Some of the major taboos of the Akans are murder, suicide, rape,

incest, clearing of sacred forests or bushes, farming near watersheds, felling of forbidden timber species, hunting of animals or fishing during forbidden seasons and sacred days, eating of totem animals or fish, digging of graves for burial without due authorization from the chief or other traditional authorities, it is a taboo to have sex with a woman in the bush, it is a taboo to have sex with a woman during her menstrual period and shortly after childbirth.

2.3 Beliefs

Akans are very religious and they believe in God, supernatural beings and ancestors. Akans put high premium on politeness and etiquette in social interactions. There is respect for status, age, chieftaincy and traditional political systems (Agyekum, 2012).

The Akans believe in the existence of God cannot be downplayed. As is reminiscent in “nobody teaches the infant that God exists; *obi nkyere abofra Nyame*” (Koranteng, 1997). (Warren, 1986 & Prempeh, 2012) further elucidated, the Akans knew the concept of a supreme God long before the arrival of the Christian missionaries. “The Supreme Being created all things; he manifests his power through a pantheon of gods, the *abosom*”. Their believe in the Supreme Being is further shown in the naming appellation systems. Warren & Prempeh again stated that the supreme God is known and expressed in many appellations and names, including *Onyame* (from *nya*, “to get”, and *mee*, “to be satisfied”), *Onyankopɔn*, *Tweaduampɔn* (from *twere*, “lean on”, *dua*, “tree”, and *mpɔn*, “bend not”), *Nyamekyɛ*, *Nyamesa*, *Nyameye*, *Nyameama*, *Nyameakwan*, *Nso-Nyameye*.

According to Prempeh (2012), “the Akans also express the existence of God through greetings, proverbs, drumming, traditional prayer (libation), storytelling and singing” (pp. 6-8). Koranteng (1997) also postulated that the Akans believe in a spiritual universe. Man’s search for God conjectured that he might be in thickets, in the sea, in big trees, in rivers, in curious stones and mountains or hideous objects of nature. These were therefore used as media of communication with God. The Akans also believed that some objects and big animals also have souls. The impression that there is a psychic force or a vital force behind every created thing was thus established. They also believe that the power within one person could pass on to another (*Nyamaa*) from the root word “*Nya(m)*”; shining or glorious, dignified or honourable.

2.4 Practices

Polygamy is practiced among the Akans. This allows for a man to marry more than one wife. Kyeremateng (2010) collaborated the idea of polygamy among the Akans as he elucidated, “polygamy is a culture trait among the Akans whereby men exercised the liberty of taking more than one wife” (p. 106). According to Warren (1986), the political organization of the Akan is ultimately based on kinship, each lineage being a political unit with its own headman acting as its representative on higher councils. Among the Akans, the chief is not only ruler but symbol of tribal identity and the embodiment of Akan values. The political symbol of chieftaincy is blackened stool. The sacredness of chiefs cannot be underestimated due to the link they have with the ancestors and gods by way of the stool.

The Akans also attach great importance to procreation as the basis of life to the extent that they tend to look with contempt on people who fail to add to society through child birth (Kyeremateng, 2010). “Many festivals exist among the Akan; their foundations and functions are found in the traditional religion” (Warren, 1986). “The festivals are customs done to remember past events” (Prempeh, 2012).

2.5 Vegetation and Agriculture

The Akan areas are predominantly forest. Trees species dominating the forest are mahogany, *odum*, *wawa* among others. This may be the reason why the areas are noted for flourishing timber industries. The areas are covered with hills, mountains and valleys.

The land is abounding with mineral resources such as gold, bauxite, manganese.

With regards to agriculture, the Akans predominantly grow crops and vegetables such as cocoa, maize, plantain, garden eggs, okro, cassava and cocoyam. Aside the cultivation of crops, they also rear animals for several purposes amongst food and religious. Some of the animals are sheep, ducks, fowls and goat. They are also involved in hunting for wild animals for food and ritual purposes. As noted by Kwakye (2007) on the depletion of our forest, “the situation has contributed to the disappearance of habitat for some wildlife species. The disappearances of wildlife habitat and overhunting have led to only a few animal species left (p.103).

2.6 Clan

One identifying factor of the Akans is that, each individual Akan person belongs to one of the matrilineal clans of the Akans...these are found in all the Akan tribes and as such people of the same clan, no matter where they come from are the children of one common but forgotten ancestress. Marriage between such people is therefore prohibited since they are brothers and sisters. Children of the female descendants of the clan are recognised as the members of the clan in all Akan states where matrilineal inheritance dominates (Osei, 2002). Clan is a group of people that share a common blood; people with a common ancestress, (Lumor, 2009). Group of people that are blood related through the female line can be described as a clan. Warren (1986, p.37) described as “one clan, one blood”; *abusua baako, mogya baako*. The clan itself is “an exogamous division of a larger grouping which can be termed the tribe for example, Ashanti, Brong, Akwapim” (Warren, p.38). It is incestuous for such people to marry. The offense was punishable by death in the olden days. According to Meyerowitz (1960), Reindorf & Sarbah cited in Warren (1986), there are actually seven (7) clans of the Akans, based on totems but Buah (1998) stated that

throughout Akan society there are seven/eight matrilineal ‘clans’ called *abusua*, and seven patrilineal groupings, called *ntorɔ* or *kra*. An Akan by birth belongs to the *abusua* of his mother but inherits the *ntorɔ* or *kra* (the animating spirit) of his father (p.8).

Clan names often remind one of family history. It serves as a constant chant to remind one of the histories one is tied to. Within cultures people know a lot about a person through their clan/family names. This allows for certain protocols to be easier followed. In some African cultures, when one comes upon someone with a certain clan name they automatically know where they are from and they greet them

accordingly. Undeniably, the existence of eight (8) clans cannot be disputed. Osei, (2002: v) and Prempeh (2012) attested to that fact. “The accepted Akan clans are *Asakyiri, Agona, Asona, Aduana, Oyokoo, Ekoona, Biretuo and Asenee*” (p.153). These clans had archetypes (totems) that inspired them spiritually (Ampadu-Agyei, 2003).

2.7 Totems

The word totem comes from the Obijway word *dodaem* and means ‘brother/sister kin’. It is the archetypal symbol, animal or plant of hereditary clan affiliations. It is a being, object, or symbol representing an animal or plant that serves as an emblem of a group of people, such as a family, clan, group, lineage, or tribe, reminding them of their mythic past (Tanner, 2003). A totem is a clan mark, a clan name, the name of the ancestor of the clan, and significantly the name of something revered by the clan. Totem is usually an animal or other naturalistic figure that spiritually represents a person or more likely a clan. A totem is any animal, plant, or other object, natural or supernatural, which provides deeply symbolic meaning for a person or social group that may imbue particular person with a feeling of power and energy (Amos, 2012).

“Totems are symbols of society...could be animals, plants or geographical features. In each tribe, groups of people had particular totems” (Kottak, 1991, p.338). “Members of each totemic group believed themselves to be descendants of their totem, they customarily neither killed nor ate it, but this taboo was lifted once a year, when people assembled for ceremonies dedicated to the totem” (Kottak, 1991, pp.338-339). Durkheim cited in Tanner (2003) emphasized that “the totem is not merely a name; it

is an emblem, a veritable coat-of-arms whose analogies with the arms of heraldry have often been remarked” (p. 59). Grey cited in Tanner (2003) stated that with the Australians, “each family adopts an animal or vegetable as their crest and sign” (p.59).

It is derived from “*Oode or Odoodem*” which refers to anything kinship-related to the Obijbwe language in North America (Daily Graphic, December 30th, 2013). According to Quarcoopome cited in Edwin (2011), animals are chosen as totems based on the qualities of animals that a particular clan wants to emulate.

The above shows the kind of bond and feeling of affinity between a social group, kin group or clan and its totem. The bondage of the people with their totem is further elaborated in the Daily Graphic, December 30th, 2013, “the members of the group believe that they are descendants from a totem ancestor, or that they and the totem are “brothers”. The symbol of the totem may be tattooed on the body, engraved on weapons, pictured in masks” (p. 41). As collaborated by Tanner, 2003, “among the Indians of the North-West, it is very general custom for them to tattoo themselves with the totem” (p.61). He further expatiated that

even if the tattooing which are made by mutilations or scars do not always have a totemic significance, it is different with simple designs drawn upon the body: they are generally representations of the totem. It is true that the native does not carry them every day. When he is occupied with purely economic occupations, or when the small family groups scatter to hunt or fish, he does not have to bother with all this paraphernalia, which is quite complicated. But when the clans unite to live a common life and to assist at the religious ceremonies together, then he must adorn himself (p. 61).

The totem was believed to be sacred for the social group, therefore it was forbidden in some cultures to kill or eat such animals except under ritual circumstances (Mann,

1983). That is 'profane', Durkheim cited in Edwin (2011). As enshrined in Parrinder cited in Edwin (2011), in the case of the death of a totem, a clan or tribe that particular totem represents, organises a funeral for it as if it was a human being. The funeral is meant to revere the totem (sacred form of totemism). This perhaps was the belief that the members of the family regarded themselves as descended from the totem, which also protected them from danger (Mann, 1983). School mascots, symbols, corporate logos and emblems all constitute totems. These totems (symbols) are consistently borrowed from the animal and plant worlds. Besides, symbolism is necessary to collective life as an emblem is convenient and necessary shorthand for expressing social unity.

Therefore, clans would take the essential elements of the natural world and of economic life as their totems. Perhaps the clans represented themselves through a totem from the world of animals and plants since they saw how social authority impresses itself on the individual, how social authority acquires a religious dimension and how religious feelings are expressed in totems (veneration). In support, Prempeh (2012, p.153) stated that "the totems distinguish one clan from the other and they worship the totems like gods". Fison and Howit cited in Tanner (2003) also described the Australian totemic practice as he stated "the Australian divisions show that the totem is, in the first place, the badge of a group" (p. 59). He continued that,

the totem is in fact a design which corresponds to the heraldic emblems of civilized nations, and each person is authorized to bear it as a proof the identity of the family to which it belongs. This is proved by the real etymology of the word, which is derived from *dodaim*, which means village or the residence of a family group (p. 59).

The above was collaborated by Stewart cited in Bazzel (2004), "the totems proudly and publicly proclaimed family lineage, achievements and rights" (p.51).

Sometimes, totems become associated with certain clans due to a particular deity they are associated with as in Southern Benin public (formerly Danxome) and the Kongo many clans incorporate the names of certain animals associated with various deities within their own familiar names. On to this, associated with each totem are certain characteristics. Some clan characteristics connected to the totems are strong willed-ness, warriorship, politics, grace and business acumen (Conway, 2003). It is very important to know clan characteristics and incorporate them with your own personality traits that are innate in you. In the Akan areas in Ghana, there are eight major totems despite the different names associated with the totem at a particular Akan area, however, a clan, group, individual or an organisation can adopt a totem that they so cherish.

The table below shows the clans of the Akans and their respective totems as depicted by Conservation International-Ghana cited in Edwin (2011).

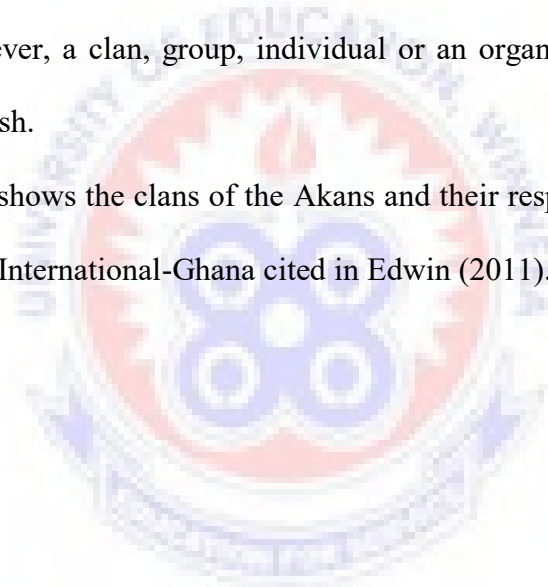


Table 1. Akan Clans and their Totems.

S/N	CLAN	TOTEM	ENGLISH NAME	SYMBOLIC NAME
		VERNACULAR NAME		
1	<i>Dyoko</i>	<i>Akrɔma</i>	Falcon	Patience
2	<i>Bretuo</i>	<i>Osebo</i>	Leopard	Aggressiveness
3	<i>Asona</i>	<i>Kwaakwaadabi</i>	Pied Crow	Wisdom
4	<i>Asenie</i>	<i>Apan</i>	Bat	Diplomacy
5	<i>Aduana</i>	<i>Okraman</i>	Dog	Skill
6	<i>Ekɔna</i>	<i>Ekoo</i>	Buffalo	Uprightness
7	<i>Asakyiri</i>	<i>Opete</i>	Vulture	Cleanliness
8	<i>Agona</i>	<i>Ako</i>	Parrot	Eloquence

Source: Edwin, 2011.

2.8.0 Clan Totems of the Akans.

2.8.1 The Asakyiri Clan (Vulture/Eagle)

The totem for this particular clan is the vulture/eagle (*Kɔkɔsakyi/Pete/Eagle*). According to (Opoku 1973, p.10, Osei-Kuffour 2009, p.43 & Prempeh 2012, p.153), “this clan is the oldest but has few members”. Koranteng (1997, p.43), reiterates that “*Asakyiri* were sisters and brothers to the *Asona* clan...were called ‘*Asona Akyiri*’ corrupted into *Asakyiri*”. They followed the *Asona* clan to their settlement at Bono Manso and the two clans have often been mentioned together, ‘*Asona ne Asakyiri*’. Due to the show off of the *Asakyiri* women, they adopted the ‘*Okɔm*’ (white eagle) as their totem but their men were rather calm, peace loving and neat rather chose the

Vulture. It craves for neatness since it is seen as a scavenger. The Vulture per its unique nature was thus adopted as the totem (Koranteng, 1997). Opoku (1973, p.10) and Prempeh (2012, p.153) supported the above as they stated “*Asakyiri* has two totems; ‘*Kɔkɔsakyi Ampoma*’ and ‘*Ɔkɔre Brasiam*’. That perhaps led to the two clans sharing similar response, ‘*Ofori-na*’.

In another school of thought, Osei-Kuffour (2009) is however of the opinion that oral tradition tells us that at first, dead bodies were not buried but were thrown about until one day when a man saw a dead body being fed upon by large army of vultures and so he remarked ‘*adeɛ a ‘ase’ (ɔdasani) kyiri yi na aboa yi resosɔ yi*’ (what *ase* dislikes is pecked on by the vulture). The man therefore went to tell the old lady (Oforiwaa) and she remarked that perhaps the vultures wanted them to bury the corpse. Since then, she ordered that all dead bodies should be buried because *Ase kyiri*. (*Ase* abhors/dislikes). Since then, people started calling *Ɔbaapanin* Oforiwaa and her descendants *Ase kyirifoɔ* which was corrupted as *Asakyiri*.

In describing their origin, Kyeremateng (2010) stated, the *Asakyiri* people claimed to have arrived from Kankyeabo in Cote D’Ivoire where they settled after they had been driven out of their original home beyond the Niger by some Moslems. They are the co-founders of the first and second Bono kingdoms. On their own they founded the *Akyerekyerɛ* (the place of teaching) Kingdom based at Fomase. The traditional state which survives the clan today is Akrokerri (*Akrokyerɛ*). Their totem feeds mainly on carrion and performs a very useful function by disposing of potential sources of disease. Philosophically, it is the symbol of purification and of transformation. In removing old decayed flesh, new life emerges. The eagle too epitomises divine spirit,

sacrifice, connection to creator, intelligence, renewal, courage, illumination of spirit, healing, creation, freedom and risk-taker.

It is undeniable that people have reservations about the bird but the truth is that vultures are clean and the valuable service of eliminating the remains of decaying animals cannot be underestimated. Sometimes messes are created in our life for which for no apparent reason we do not want to confront it. This totem can guide us to the efficient and joyful resolution of such problems. Vultures are adaptable to many situations. Due to their patient nature, they rely on the other animals' killed for their food. This is because they do not have strong feet and talons to tear or grasp their prey as their fellow birds do. In Akan tradition, this seemingly patience is regarded as procrastination. They know how to use what is available to them fullest and thus beholds on us to be resourceful, creative, effective, efficient and innovative with limited resources. Being resourceful, patience and innovative help one to stay focused despite the distractions in life (Johnson, 2013).

2.8.2 The Asona/Dwumina Clan (Crow)

According to Opoku (1973, p.12) Osei-Kuffuor (2009) and Prempeh (2012, p.154), “the Asona Clan is the largest amongst all the Akan Clans”. They are closely related to the Asakyiri Clan. Their totem is the Crow (*Kwakwadebi, Opetefufuo, akonkoran*) and *asona wɔ* (Opoku, 1973, Koranteng, 1997 & Prempeh, 2012). However, it is forbidden for an Asona person to see the Red Snake; *ɔwɔ kɔkɔ* (Prempeh, 2012). The *Asona* name was corrupted out of a purported noise by the totem sometime ago. As Koranteng (1997, pp.41-42) explained;

it is mythicized that once it was gongoned that *Nana Onyankopɔn* was dead, and they wanted a clan group that could go to wake him up. The clan with the crow as its totem was informed. Immediately the crow heard this announcement, it exclaimed: “*Hoo twea*”. The crow went to where *Nana Onyankopɔn* lay and started shouting, “*Kwame Kwaame!*” (*Onyankopɔn*'s name). The other clan groups around shouted it down, ‘Let ears rest’ *momma aso nna* which got corrupted into the clan name ‘*Asona*’.

According to oral tradition expressed by Osei-Kuffuor (2009), a hunter's wife once saw a pot containing gold and so she strived very hard to get it for her descendants. As she made the attempt to pick the pot, a crow from nowhere saw that a snake had coiled itself around the pot which could be perilous to the old lady and so decided to save the old lady's life. The old lady was however bitten by the snake before the crow was able to peck it. The old lady however managed to pick the gold despite the snake bite. Due to the benevolence of the crow, the old lady advised the family members to see the crow as their sibling. That explains why it is forbidden for an *Asona* clan member to see that Red Snake.

The clan is a ‘go-getter’ since the crow snatches with precision and timing. The crows are sly and often deceptive in their actions. This has led to the building of nests high up tree tops just to confuse their predators. These types of nests allow the bird to see things happening around it. Due to its intelligence, nothing escapes its keen sight. The crows are communal in nature. They have complex language that has an outstanding voice range. With a caw, looming dangers are quickly communicated to others to be on the lookout. This allows one to discern the truth of what is being said. The colours (black and white) represent creation. They are adaptable to all environments and can survive in most situations. They eat virtually anything on sight. They are associated with magic, unseen forces and spiritual strength. If one flies into your life, you are

being advised to get out of your familiar nest, look beyond your present range of vision, listen to its call and act accordingly (Johnson, 2013).

2.8.3 The Oyoko/Dako/Yogo/Anona Clan (Hawk)

The Hawk/Falcon (*Akorɔma/Ɔsansa* in Akan) is the totem for the *Ayokɔɔ* clan. It is the Royal clan of the Asante Kings. As Kyeremateng (2010, pp.31-32) explained,

the *Ayokɔɔ* claim to have migrated from Bona in Cote d'Ivoire and arrived in Akyerekyerɛ when Asare Mintem was king. They were warriors led by Agyemang Musu and his brother Aboagye Agyem. They founded Mampɔnten and Adubiase. War broke out between them and their host, *Akyerekyerɛ* and upon their defeat they were pursued until they found refuge at Begoro. The captured were settled at *Abusu* to serve as victims of human sacrifice on death of *Akyerekyerɛ* kings. Those who evaded capture founded a settlement called *Okakum* in Akim. The clan founded the Ashanti kingdom.

Their appellation is *Biri-na/Obiri-na or Oburu*, (Opoku, 1973, p.15 & Prempeh, 2012, pp.154-155). According to Koranteng (1997, p.46),

it is that there is a sacred alliance between the *Ayokɔɔ* group and the Hawk'. The *Ayokɔɔ* were forbidden to eat the *Ɛkoɔ* but once due to a severe famine, they were compelled to feed on the meat so they were teased as those who fed on buffalo, *Awe-Ɛkoɔfoɔ*. This is corrupted to *Ayokɔɔfoɔ*.

“Their bravery makes them to exhibit their victims” *ɔsansa fa adea ɔde kyere amansan*. (Koranteng, 1997, p.46).

The Falcon/Hawk represents a messenger, intuition, victory, healing, nobility, recollection, cleansing, visionary power, and guardianship. It often appears in our life when we need to pay attention to the subtle messages found in our surroundings and

from those we come in contact with. As with all messages received it is important to recognize its underlying truth. Due to the varieties of Hawks, its messages vary and can affect all levels of our psyche. A peculiar feature of all Falcons is their ability to move between the seen and unseen realms gracefully connecting both worlds together. The Hawk is very discriminatory and as such keeps them out of harm's way. The broader vision of the falcon allows them to see what the future holds. In man, this symbolizes prophetic insight. Those who hold this totem should remember to keep their analytical mind under control and not allow it to run wild. The most typical in their pursuit of prey is swiftly following the animal's efforts to escape. Once the Falcon has secured the prey with its powerful talons, the bird dismembers it with its sharp pointed, strong beak. In man, this suggests that we can run but we cannot hide from our destiny. When the Falcon flies into our life we will be asked to evaluate who we have become and rip out the threads of our self created illusions. Having this totem is antithetical. It can be bitter-sweet. If one accepts its presence in one's life we will be asked to surrender anything that does not honour the integrity of all life, (Johnson, 2013).

2.8.4 The Aseneɛ Clan (Bat)

Prempeh (2012) stated that, "the totem for the Clan is the Bat" (p. 155). According to Koranteng (1997), "Aseneɛ tradition claims that they migrated from the North from present day Burkina Faso". (p. 46). Kyeremateng (2010) in support stated that, "one Aseneɛ tradition has it that they had their original home in far away Mossi country". Others hold the view that "the people 'emerged' out of the ground around *Nsaase*, a

spot in modern Asante Akim. It is a symbol of peace and adjudication” (Kyeremateng, 2010).

According to Osei-Kuffuor (2009), “the *Aseneɛ* people were part of the *Ɛkoɔna* clan”. (p.47). According to Johnson (2013), there are different varieties of the bat; small and large. The bats feed on fruits and insects. The feeding on the insects by catching them on the wings is known as echolocation in which an animal produces sounds and listens for the echoes reflected from surfaces and objects in the environment. The full development in man improves the accuracy of man’s intuitive and clairvoyant abilities. Bats are noted to adapt to all situations. Confused Bats fly into things. This is reflected in men trying to get what they want in life but meeting challenges. The transformation of the ego self is about to occur when a Bat flies into your life. Bat offers you the wisdom necessary to make the appropriate changes for the birthing of your new identity. Bats are a reflection of a need to face our fears; bat is a sociable animal’ thus indicating a need for more sociability or increased opportunity with greater numbers of people. The Bat’s ability to navigate through the darkness is reminiscent in its great auditory perception. They have built in sonar that enables them to know what lies beneath the surface. This enables people with this medicine to have uncanny abilities to discern hidden messages both from people and the environment. The appearance of Bats is a message for one to surrender himself/herself to the process of change; opportunities unknown to the conscious mind are about to manifest. Their response is *Yaa Adɔnten / Aduana* (Prempeh, 2012, p.155).

2.8.5 The *Ekoo*na (Kwona) Clan

According to Opoku (1973) and Prempeh (2012), the totem for the *Ekoo*na Clan is the buffalo; *eko*.

Koranteng (1997) and Kyeremateng (2010) further espoused that,

the group tradition has it that the *Ekoo*na Clan arrived from an area behind the Fulani land (near Libya) and settled in *Akyerekyer*e under their chief Ntiri Apau and queen Bantua and later founded Fomena which was very important in the coastal trade with Europe. There is another claim which states the Clan came out of a hole at Bugyeikrom near Kokofu.

Their response is *Dokuna or Ade*e na. (Prempeh, 2012, p.155).

In an attempt to elucidate the origin of the name *Ekoo*, Koranteng (1997) stated,

a hunter once discovered a herd of buffalo (*eko*) who, according to legend, turned themselves into humans. The hunter became interested in one of the female *eko* and stealthily took away its hide. From his hide out, he found out that on their return to put on their hide, that particular female could not find her skin as it had been stolen. When the animals left, the hunter came out from his hideout and took the woman-animal for wife. Her descendants called themselves *Ekoo*nafo.

Another legendary has it that one day; an old lady called *Doku*aa together with her children went to the bush only to be met by a stranger who asked them who was accompanying them. The old lady replied that they were there with God, *Twieduamp*on. The stranger then asked them who will come to their rescue if he tried to attack them. As if by divine intervention, a male Buffalo from nowhere came to stand in between the stranger and the old lady. The Buffalo moved towards the direction of the stranger who then fled. The Buffalo then turned towards the old lady

and the children. It escorted them to the outskirts of their village before it turned back into the bush. When they got home, the old lady narrated the incidence that it was the Buffalo that saved them; *Ekoo no a...* Since then, the old lady and the children took buffalos as their brothers and sisters with the pronouncement *Ekoo no a...Ekoo no a...* which was crafted to *Ekoo na*. (Osei-Kuffuor, 2009).

According to Kyeremateng (2010) and Johnson (2013), the Buffalo is a symbol of abundance and strength. He further explained the philosophy behind the buffalo chosen as the totem for the *Ekoo na* Clan. According to him, the buffalo's large head represent exceptional intelligence and their strong bodies keep them firmly on earth. They are the uniting force between the mundane and the divine and hold the teachings of right action joined with prayer. The grown horns extending to the sky indicate a connection with a higher intelligence. The buffalo's hump located at the shoulder is symbolic of stored energy locked within the body. In man, the personal energy is stored in our shoulders...the shoulders carry responsibility or joy. The buffalo teaches us how to eliminate our burdens by directing our energy in a balanced way. It is unpredictable and dangerous when provoked. The totem thus preaches that one should see the good in all things and not let their frustration store up inside them. The buffalo also has respect for one another as well as a protective instinct to defend life and honour life by giving life to others by sacrificing its own. The buffalo is a reminder to people to be always grateful with whatever they have; respect the ups and downs in life. It epitomizes equality, sacrifice and service and can show us how to live in a state of understanding, acceptance and joy. Buffalo serves as a stepping stone towards healing our imperfections and reconnecting with mother earth and father sky.

In an oral tradition explained by Ossei-Akoto (n.d), it was the *Ekooɔna* family that introduced the job of an *Okyeame* into the Akan system when their chief Nana Awurade Basa of Adanse in the 15th century appointed the first *Okyeame*. A linguist is capable of changing the original speech of his chief without making him look stupid, hence the name *Okyea-amenee*. When literally translated, it means somebody capable of bending or straightening up the brain.

2.8.6 Aduana (Aboradze) Clan

The dog is the clan's sacred animal. The reverence for the totem is reciprocated by the dog not biting any member of the clan. As posited by Koranteng (1997, p.40) and Prempeh (2012, p.154) "their totem is the dog, with fire in its mouth the animal which is claimed to have led them to their first settlement and whose barking drew attention to them". The support provided by dogs to mankind cannot be underestimated. They are mostly used as pets that provide security. In other instances, they are used for hunting. As is noted by Kyeremateng (2010), "the dog is a symbol of support and service to mankind" (p.29). Johnson (2013) further added that "loyalty and perseverance is the hallmark of a dog". According to oral tradition as espoused by Osei-Kuffour (2009), a hunter on a sojourn saw fire. On another day when he went to the bush he saw a lion that had prepared some meal for him. The delicious nature of the meal made them to compare it to yam (*eye ekyeɛn ɔdeɛ; bayere*). Since the people realized that it was through the effort of the hunter, they started calling the people *Aduane asefoɔ* which was corrupted as *Aduanafoɔ*. Due to constant movement from one place to another, they left the fire and this was brought to them by a dog. That

culminated in the adoption of the dog as their totem. In effect, their symbols are lion, plantain and three fire woods. Historically, Kyeremateng (2010) posited that “the *Aduana* claim to be the second Clan group after the Asakyiri to arrive in Ghana in the Kumbu Kingdom around 1500 and dispersed in the forest zone”. The *Aduana* Clan is noted to have brought fire. This is supported by Opoku (1973), Kyeremateng (2010) and Prempeh (2012). They elucidated that *Aduana*'s are credited with bringing fire as depicted in their logo.

According to Johnson (2013), dogs' acute hearing and keen sight forewarned their masters of impending danger; sniff out dangerous situations accurately and guide people into safety. They are selfless, intelligent, sensitive and never need to be praised. They are faithful companions to humans and have strong willingness to serve. Their sense of spirit and the ability to love even when abused is incredible. The dog thus preaches to those with this totem to give and receive love unconditionally. If dog suddenly appears in one's life, he ought to pay attention to his immediate surroundings and let the dog guide his footsteps. Dogs' behaviour often reflects the owner's personality. Through its observation and constant interaction with one, it anticipates one's next move, and serves as a mirror image of which one truly is. The dog is an epitome for those who are willing to be loyal students.

2.8.7 The Bretuo/Twidan/Tena Clan

The Bretuo Clan has the Leopard (*ɔsebɔ/etwie/ɔkyem*) as its totem (Opoku, 1973 & Prempeh, 2012). In recounting their origin, Kyeremateng (2010) submitted that Bretuo originally were in the company of the founders of the Bono kingdom who

claimed to have arrived from the North under their leader Akusiase...their name is said to have been derived from *Betoo-foɔ* to distance themselves from a *Tena* woman who had been accused of a treachery in the Kwaman royal house. However, Koranteng (1997) had recounted that a leopard once turned into a man and took a woman for wife. This man- animal was always on the move with his wife and would not settle permanently. This worried the woman who finally voiced out her concerns to the husband that she was fed up with always moving, “I am tired of quitting and we need to settle. (*Mabrɛ ne Otuo*), which got corrupted into *Bretuo*. In another oral tradition, the people were found of picking mushroom (*miretufɔɔ*).

Another legendary elucidated by Osei-Kuffour (2009) has it that there was an Akan group called *Twidanfoɔ* who were appendage to *ɛtwie* (Leopard). Their ancestress advised them not to kill the Leopard because it is their brother/sister and helper. The story continued that once upon a time, two hunters from the family went on hunting expedition and saw a Leopard. One of them attempted to pull up a gun to shoot and kill it but the other restrained him that their ancestress had advised them not to harm a Leopard since it is their brother/sister. The Leopard pounced on the hunter and seized the gun from him. They were frightened. The other man yelled that if not because they relate to the Leopard ‘*Twɛ nni Twɛ*’ he would have died. Look at how it pounced on you and seized the gun from you. Since then people started calling them those that the Leopard had debarred from shooting the gun (*dɛɛ ɔsebɔ abra no tuo*) *bra tuo asefoɔ* which was corrupted as *Biretuo*.

The leopard is highly perseverance animal. It can adjust to many circumstances. As noted by Johnson (2013), “unlike most cats it can exist in an area without much water giving it an edge for survival”. He further explained that Leopards are excellent at

stalkers; silent and inconspicuous hunters and are able to move in and out of situations without being seen. They are resistant to change. This peculiar characteristic allows them to observe every situation they encounter with clarity. The Leopard is a strong and powerful leaper it shows man how to leap over obstacles efficiently and gracefully. They are masters at maneuvering their environment and will continually serve to encourage that mastership in those who hold this totem. People of this Clan learn to trust and respond to their inner instincts is part of their life lesson. The Leopard totem is often associated with royalty and high chieftaincy (male and female). It is widespread in Africa as the symbol for the king. You will see many African kings sitting upon Leopard skin and/or resting their feet on the skin of the Leopard. Some drape themselves in Leopard skin.

2.8.8 The Agona/Ɛguanafo Clan (Parrot)

The totem for *Agona* Clan is the Parrot (Opoku, 1973, Koranteng, 1997, Kyeremateng, 2010 & Prempeh, 2012). The totem is an archetype of multitude, unity and affluence (Nana Boa-Mensah II and Opanin Sarkodie, personal communication, March 12, 2014 and April 12, 2014 respectively).

According to oral tradition, the *Agona* arrived around the middle of the sixteenth century as refugees from Mande. They founded the settlement of Ntutumbe Apeanyiase when they became a sub clan of the *Anana* whilst at Bono-Manso. They defeated Akyerɛkyere and established the Dankyira kingdom with its capital at Abankɛsɛso currently Obuasi, (Kyeremateng, 2010). A significant feature of the *Agona* Clan members is their eloquence and fluency. “Scarcely does one come across

an *Agona* who is dumb, it is claimed” (Koranteng, 1997, p.44). Prempeh (2012) continued that “they were born with beauty, wisdom and knowledge” (p.54). In fact, they are good communicators, beautiful; provide guidance for wisdom, mockery, thinking before speaking.

The parrot is an alert bird with a good temperament. According to oral tradition, an elder of the family once met some strange people in a virgin forest who tried to attack him. The people then asked him whether he was walking alone but he told them that he was walking with some family members but some were ahead of him whilst others were at his rear. The people then demanded that he called the family members to respond to him. The man shouted three times and fortunately upon the third call, there was a response from nowhere. The man then saw that it was a parrot that responded to his call. Upon realizing that the man was indeed not alone, the people bolted away. When the man went to meet his family members, he told them what had happened to him. They therefore decided that from that time they would never harm parrots wherever they meet them. Hence, the reverence for parrot as their totem, (Nana Boa-Mensah II and Opanin Sarkodie, personal communication, March 10, 2014 and April 12, 2014 respectively).

Another oral tradition has it that there was a family called *Dehyenafo*. They had an ancestress called *Ago* who met a strange man in the forest. There were some parrots that were enjoying some palm fruits. Due to excessive noise by the parrots, the stranger who had bad intentions of harming the old lady run away presuming that there were some people coming to rescue the woman. The old woman later saw that the parrots saved her from the stranger and so all the members started revering them as their totem. The story continued that after the death of the old woman, the family

got divided since one of the grandchildren constantly refused to share her views during family gatherings. One day, one *Dehyena* member asked her why she always kept quiet during gatherings like a stranger (*Onanani*) and that infuriated her to leave where the meeting was going on. Since then, she got some of the members to follow her. Since then whenever someone asked them why they broke away they replied ‘they said we are strangers’; *yese ye ye ananafo*. Since *Fantes* were used to saying *onanani*, it became the name of the *Dehyena* people leaving along the Coast as *ananafo* which was corrupted as *Anona*. Some of the *Dehyena* members moved to the Ashanti Region using the same name of *Ago* and so they were called *Agonana* which later became *Agona*. Therefore *Agona* and *Anona* are one people who came from *Dehyena* family (Osei-Kuffour, 2009).

It is very intelligent and has been taught to mimic humans. Parrots invoke a sense of hope and promise. People with this totem, opportunities to renew their dreams and visions are offered. Their feathers are therapeutic; used in healing rituals to invoke the properties of colour and light. Depending on the situation, Parrots can be vocal or very quiet. This is an indication of an instinctive ability to know when to voice one’s opinion and when to be silent. They have the ability to heal depression. Whenever a Parrot flies into your life it is asking you to recapture the magic of living. It is time to enjoy your life and all its holds, (Johnson, 2013). In greetings “their response is Ago-Na”, (Prempeh, 2012, p.154). According to Kyeremateng (2010), “Agona traditional states today include Dankyira, Akyem Kotoku and Bosome” (p.30).

2. 9 Totem poles in Ghana.

Native Australians and Native American groups of the North Pacific Coast of North America had totem poles that had totemic carvings which commemorated and told visual stories about ancestors, animals and spirits which were also associated with ceremonies, (Kottak, 2009). In Ghana, some totemic poles portray the totem of the user. They are proverbial, philosophical and inspirational. The symbol of the totem may be tattooed on the body, engraved on weapons, pictured in masks. The symbols are usually carved on totem poles made from wood. They normally carry the totems of the groups or individuals. In social gatherings such as festivals, funerals, and other important celebrations, one would see these totems being displayed. The people who bear the totems are the linguists known locally as *Akyeame*. They are the mouthpiece of the clan, king or the community. Apart from its unique designs, the totems are communication channels that chiefs, families and communities use to communicate their identity to other people. (Daily Graphic, December 30th 2013). One has to make great effort to interpret these totemic symbols due to their philosophical nature.

The staff is usually carved from wood and may be coated with gold leaf. The staff is carved of wood in three segments and then gold leafed. The sculptured finial carries a proverbial message, but occasionally the two-piece shaft may have subsidiary motifs. Usually the top part of the staff is a symbol designed to communicate specific messages.

The poles are in scaffolding form with the totem (clan or individual) fixed on it. The upright may be without designs or be decorated with intricate designs. They are used during social activities. They are normally carried by the spokespersons. The

following are Clan Totemic and other philosophical symbols used as linguist staffs by the Akans of Ghana and their interpretations.



Fig. 1. Linguist staff of *Agona* Clan.

Source: Fieldwork, February, 2014.

It is a symbol of eloquence and frankness.



Fig. 2. Linguist staff of *Oyoko* Clan.

Source: Fieldwork, February, 2014

It is a symbol of patience. The Falcon/Hawk displaying its victim.



Fig. 3. Linguist staff of *Bretuo* or *Twidan Abusua* Clan.

Source: Fieldwork, January, 2014.

It is a symbol of bravery and skill.



Fig. 4. Linguist staff of *Asakyiri* Clan.

Source: Fieldwork, March, 201

The Vulture: It is a symbol of cleanliness and neatness.



Fig. 5. Linguist staff of *Ekɔɔna*, *Asokɔre* or *Adɔnten*.

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2014.

The Buffalo: It is a symbol of might and dexterity.



Fig. 6. Staff of *Aduana* or *Aborade* Clan.

Source: Fieldwork, April, 2014.

The dog symbol represents humility and friendliness.

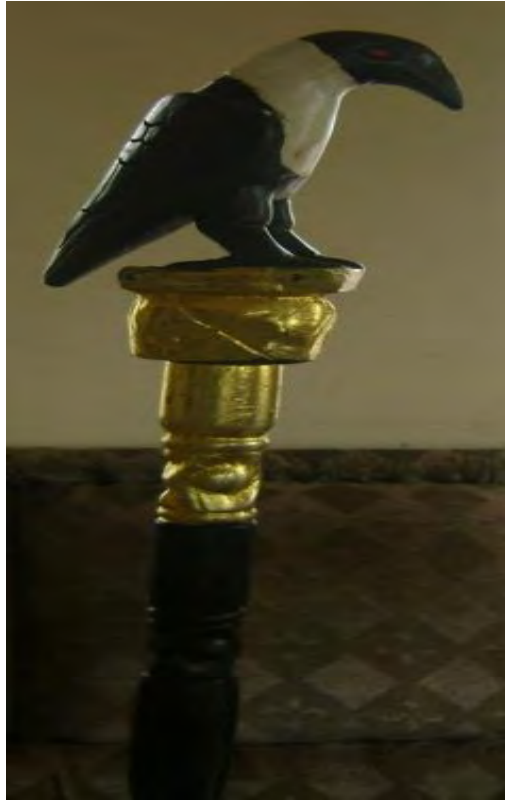


Fig. 7. Staff of *Asona* Clan.

Source: Fieldwork, March, 2014

The white crested raven or crow (*akonkran*). It is the symbol of the purity of heart and eloquence.





Fig. 8. *Sankofa*

Source: Fieldwork, February, 2014

Go back and retrieve *sankofa* - go back and retrieve symbol of wisdom, knowledge, and the people's heritage from the aphorism: *Se wo wɛrɛfi na wosan kɔfa a, yenkyi*.

Literal translation: There is nothing wrong with learning from hindsight. The symbol is based on a mythical bird that flies forwards with its head turned backwards. This reflects the Akan belief that the past serves as a guide for planning the future, or the wisdom in learning from the past in building the future. The Akan believe that there must be movement with times but as the forward march proceeds, the gems must be picked from behind and carried forward on the march.



Fig. 9. *Obakofoɔ mmu ɔman*

Source: Fieldwork, December, 2013.

One person does not rule a nation. *Obakofoɔ mmu ɔman* - one person does not rule a nation is a symbol of participatory democracy, warning against dictatorial rule, and plurality of ideas from the maxim: *Obakofoɔ mmu ɔman*. Literal Translation: One person does not rule a nation. The Akan belief is that Democratic rule requires consultation, open discussion, consensus building, and coalition formation. The uses of the Queen Mother as a co-ruler and the Council of State or Council of Elders are depicted by this symbol.



Fig. 10a. *Nea aduane wɔ no*
Source: Fieldwork, May, 2014.



Fig. 10b. *Nea aduane wɔ no*
Source: Fieldwork, May, 2014.

The food owner Symbols of property rights and inheritance rights. This is from the maxim: *Nea aduane wɔ no na odi, na nnye nea ɛkɔm de no.*

Literal translation: It is the rightful owner of the food who gets to eat it, not the hungry person. That is property belongs to its rightful owner, not the desperate person in need. The symbols depict the Akan notion that rules of succession are not based on need; they are based on rightful access.



Fig. 11. *Asem pa ye tia*

Source: Fieldwork, May, 2014.

Truth is brief is a symbol of peace and stability, eloquence, diplomacy, brevity of speech, and truth from the maxim: *asem pa ye tia*. Which is literally translated as: a good case is argued in brief. Truth in argument need not belabored. This staff symbolizes the diplomatic essence of the *ɔkyeame* as the one who stands for peace stability in society. It also represents the skill of the *ɔkyeame* to utilize the power of the spoken word in conflict resolution such as in court cases and in diplomatic negotiations to ensure peace and stability.



Fig. 12. Botire

Source: Fieldwork, May, 2014.

The Head; from the proverb: *botire da nkwan mu a, ennyera*, literally means the head of an animal is never lost in a soup. Anybody of significance does not get lost in a crowd; anything of importance stands out on its own merit. That is whatever good deeds you exhibit will never be hidden. Hardworking is rewarding.



Fig. 13. *Ahahan*

Source: Fieldwork, February, 2014.

Leaves; symbol of knowledge, intelligence and critical reasoning from the maxim: *konini ne besepa ahahan yetase no abanyansafoɔ*. Literal translation: the difference between the leaves of the white and red cola trees is only discerned by the wise and knowledgeable child.



Fig. 14. *Akokɔbaatan ne ne mma*

Source: Fieldwork, June, 2014.

This teaches us that just as the hen protects her chicks with her wings, so does the King or Chiefs protect his subjects.



Fig. 15. *Hyen* (boat)

Source: Fieldwork, March, 2014.

Symbol of co-operation or joint effort, from the proverb: *hyen yekwan no afanu a, na eko akotrenee.*; literal translation: paddling the boat on both sides makes it go straight.

2.10 Totemism and Religion

According to Durkheim cited in Mann (1983), society is the soul of religion and that society is the foundation of all religious belief. Religion has its origins in totemism. Totems are collective symbols that represent both god and society. The primary purpose of religion is to allow people to imagine its society and express its social unity; the enduring relevance of religion (not to give a physical account of the world but to bind a people together). The collective thought of which totemism is an early

expression is the basis of all religious thought, as well as philosophy and modern science. Therefore, totemism is symbolic. The totem is a symbol, a material expression of something else; God and society. Therefore, god and society are one and the same so far as the totem is both the symbol of god and of society.

The god of the clan must therefore be the clan itself but transfigured and imagined in the physical form of the plant or animal species that serve as totems. This is moral consciousness, which the ordinary man has never distinctly imagined for himself except with the aid of religious symbols.” Durkheim then shows how the two primary influences on man, the empirical/physical and the collective/social, result in him splitting the world into two distinct categories – sacred and profane. The experience of these two external pressures, one tangible and one intangible, create two different orders of experience. The physical world inspires no special respect (profane), while the social world inspires veneration (sacred).

Totems are the clan’s flag. The religious feelings inspired by society are therefore projected onto the totem. The totem is the clan’s flag. It is therefore natural that the feelings the clan awakens in individual consciousness are much more attached to the totem than to the clan (Tanner, 2003). The clan is too complex a reality for such rudimentary minds to picture clearly its concrete unity. The totem becomes the image of the clan and, psychologically, takes priority over it – a complex reality is represented in simple form. Religion arose from society and man responds to society spontaneously and without resistance. His relationship with society is not experienced as yielding to coercion but responding to his inner nature. Man did not create religion from observation of the physical world. Religion is not illusory, it is not a hallucination, it is rooted in social reality. That is, religion and societies are inseparable.

Durkheim cited in Amos (2012) further explained that the importance of the totem or god does not rest with their metaphysical traits but rather with their material representation of society. Durkheim compares the relationship between the worshipper and his god to the relation between the individual and society. Both god and society hold an abiding force over the individual, in that they shape his actions and feelings. The individual is aware of something other than him and outside of him which existed before him and will linger after he is gone. Religion is society's way to enforce on its members adherence to itself, and as Durkheim cited in Amos (2012) "the emblem is not only a convenient method of clarifying society's awareness of itself, it actually creates this feeling".

Totemism is a religious as well as a social system. On its religious side it consists of the relations of mutual respect and consideration between person and his totem, and on its social side it is composed of obligations of the members of the clan towards each other and towards other tribes. Totemism is an aspect of religious belief centered upon the veneration of sacred objects called totems. The religious aspect of totemism is expressed in the conviction of the intimate union between individuals or groups and natural objects. The main features in the religious aspect of totemism are shown in the rites and ceremonies performed with a view to show or to attain identity with the totem (Sarpong, 2005)

Durkheim cited in Mann (1983) argued that the origins of religion are to be found in totemism and believed that beginning as the badge of the clan the totemic emblem came to possess mysterious and supernatural powers when the native people were inspired by the emotional 'effervescence' of collective ritual.

MacLennan cited in Edwin (2011) indicated that the entire human race had in ancient times gone through a totemistic stage while Gordon (2006) however viewed totemism as a relationship between one type of animal and a clan but he opposed to the idea of seeing totems as the basis of religion. He saw totemism as a classificatory phenomenon. On the other hand, Lang cited in Gordon (2006) saw totemism as nominalistic phenomenon. According to him, local groups, clans or phratries, in selecting totem names from the realm of nature, were reacting to a need to be differentiated. If the origin of the names was forgotten, there followed a mystical relationship between the objects from which the names were once derived and the groups that bore these names. He saw the relationship through nature myths according to which animals and natural objects were considered as the relatives, patrons or ancestors of the respective social units. To him, those thoughts by the tribes on those matters led eventually to taboos, and that group exogamy first originated in the formation of totemic associations. In support of Lang's assertion, Durkheim cited in Mann (1983) again submitted that the totemic principle was then the clan itself, and it was permeated with sanctity. He held that such a religion reflects the collective consciousness that is manifested through the identification of the individuals of the group with an animal or plant species; it is expressed outwardly in taboos, symbols, and rituals that are based on this identification.

In the opinion of Frazer cited in Wagner (1987), the origin of totemism is an interpretation of the conception and birth of children, a belief he called "conceptionalism". Goldenweiser elaborated in Sandy and Camson (1988) three phenomena in totemism that could exist singly and actually coincided only in the rarest of cases. These phenomena were: (1) clan organization, (2) clans taking animal

or plant names or having “emblems” obtained from nature, and (3) belief in a relationship between groups and their totems. Unfortunately, he did not perceive these phenomena as a unity, since any of them could exist apart from the others.

As seen from the above submission, totemism is a very complex phenomenon for which many scholars do not succinctly relate it to religion but personally I feel there is some minute form of religion in the practice. In religion, there is reverence for the Supreme Being, practices to adore the omnipotent God and the same can be said of totemic practices in the various societies where totemism exists. However, the universality of religion is par excellence but totemism is limited to few societies.

2.11 Totemism in Ghana

There is no properly documented evidence concerning the origins of totemism; however, it could have begun when humans started living in organized communities. Many anthropologists believe that totem use was a universal phenomenon among early societies. Pre-industrial communities had some form of totem that was associated with spirits, religion and success of community members. Early documented forms of totems in Europe can be traced to the Roman Empire, where symbols were used as coats of arms, a practice which continues today. As elucidated by Durkheim, Radcliffe and Levi-Strauss cited in Kottak (2009), because each group has a different totem, social differences mirror natural contrasts. Diversity in the natural order becomes a model for specialization in the social order. However, although, totemic plants and animals occupy different niches in nature, on another

level they are united because they are all part of nature. The unity of the human social order is enhanced by symbolic association with and imitation of the natural order.

Man's reverence for nature and its linkage to the unknown therefore venturing into spiritual realms brought into practice totemism. One cannot delineate reverence for nature as a repository of or habitat of unseen spirits which are worshipped as deities (Johnson, 2013). The Akan cosmic harmony with nature extends to animals and this harmony has been described by anthropologists as a totemic relationship. McLennan defined totemism as fetishism plus exogamy. After McLennan's assertion over the years, totemism has gone through a lot of intellectual development and metamorphosis as Frazer and Durkheim all tried to espouse on the term in their own way. Frazer cited in Edwin (2011) defines totemism as a class of material objects which a savage regards with superstitious respect, believing that there exists between him and every member of the class an intimate and altogether relation. He observes that, the relationship between man and his totem is symbiotic. The totem protects the man and the man respects the totem by not killing it if it is an animal and, not cutting it if it is a plant which Durkheim cited in Edwin (2011) described as sacred form of totemism.

Totemism is an aspect of religious belief centered upon the veneration of sacred objects; totems. Totems in Ghana are varied. It is found in many cultures of the country, according to Johnson (2013)'totemism thrives especially at the grassroots communities'.

The indigenes of Buabeng Fiamra in the Brong Ahafo Region have practiced totemism for a very long time. According to Lumor (2009), the respect and admiration for monkeys has brought about the now famous monkey sanctuary. He further added that,

the people of Ningo consider turtles as gods and so have made their area a safe haven for the marine creatures. Also worthy to note is the Mud Fishes in the Kwaniakwa stream at Akim Etwereso, Akyemansa District; Eastern Region (Appendix 3c). These fishes are forbidden to be eaten and so are accorded the needed reverence. The crocodile pond at Paga in the Northern Region is worthy of mention. Their contribution to biodiversity conservation cannot be underestimated. As opined by Okyeame Ampadu-Agyei cited in Lumor (2009), totems are found in almost all the communities of the Akans, conspicuously displayed at the entrance of or inside the chief's palace. When a chief sits in state, the linguist (spokesperson) holds the chief's staff with the totem at top. The stools used by the chief's have all symbolic animal forms carved in them.

2.12 Types of Totemism

Farmer (2006) postulated that social or collective totemism is the most widely disseminated form of this belief system. It typically includes one or more of several features, such as the mystic association of animal and plant species, natural phenomena, or created objects with unilaterally related groups; lineages, clans, tribes, moieties, phratries or with local groups and families; the hereditary transmission of the totems (patrilineal or matrilineal); group and personal names that are based either directly or indirectly on the totem. According to Taylor (2010), the use of totemistic emblems and symbols, taboos and prohibitions that may apply to the species itself or can be limited to parts of animals and plants and a connection with a large number of animals and natural objects (multiplex totems) within which a distinction can be made between principal totems and subsidiary/peripheral ones. As noted by Wolmer (2007),

group totems are generally associated or co-ordinated on natural things which sometimes possess no economic value for the communities concerned-were originally selected as totems is often based on eventful and decisive moments in a people's past. Folk traditions regarding the nature of totems and the origin of the societies in question are informative, especially with regard to the group's cultural presuppositions. For example, a group that holds that it is derived directly or indirectly from a given totem may have a tradition in which its progenitor was an animal or plant that could also appear as a human being. In such belief systems, groups of people and species of animals and plants can thus have progenitors in common. In other cases, there are traditions that the human progenitor of a kin group had certain favourable or unfavourable experiences with an animal or natural object and then ordered that his descendants respect the whole species of that animal (Wolmer, 2007). Group totemism was traditionally common among people in Africa, India, Oceania, North America, and parts of South America. It is perhaps not accidental when some teams in African and the World Soccer at large have chosen certain animals and trees as their totemic symbols; we have the porcupine warriors, Asante Kotoko, (porcupine), Accra Hearts of Oak (Oak Tree), *Abusua Dwarfs* (Crab), The Indomitable Lions of Cameroon (Lion), The Elephants of Ivory Coast (Elephant), The Hawks of Togo (Hawk), The Squirrels of Benin (Squirrels) and the Three Lions of England (Lion). A totemistic instinct also has a role to play in the selection of a name for sports teams, choosing of national symbols and other activities. Invariably, the character of the animal or natural force described in the name comes to have significance in symbolically bestowing desirable traits upon members of the given team, club or state (Wagner, 1987).

Corporate bodies also use a combination of animals or plants as their emblem/logo as is shown in (Appendix 3d) which shows the totem (Buffalo) of the *Ekooṃa* clan. The corporate bodies do select these archetypes due to the special features or characteristic they possess. Besides, each sex can have an emblem such as a bird or animal, which usually signifies solidarity of that sex as distinct from the other. Injuring or killing the sex totem animal is like challenging or attacking that sex associated with it. Again, people of a particular site or locality share a common totem, which is not connected with kin relationships or descent. A person associated with a particular site that has mythological associations has therefore a direct link with the totemic being connected with that site. People connected with a particular site share a bond (Spencer, & Gillen, 1938). The people of Asanteman in the Eastern Region also have the Big Tree (Appendix 3a) which is revered so much by all and sundry as a special tree. Another important local totem is the Mudfishes in the Kwaniakwa Stream at Akim Etwereso (Appendix 3c).

Conception totemism has semblance with local totemism. The place a mother first realizes she is pregnant determines the child's ritual totem, according to the totemic or other connections with that site. In some areas a man can find a spirit child in a dream or vision before the mother knows she is pregnant, he may know a spirit child is to be incarnated in his wife. The child may appear in conjunction with a natural phenomenon, often one connected with the father, with his country, or the social unit. If a mother becomes sick after eating a particular food and later dreams of a spirit child, the food will be considered the conception totem, the child having entered her body with it, or taken the shape of the food (Stanner, 1958).

As Ranger (1999) noted, the union between an individual and a class of natural objects establishes individual totemism. Individual totemism is expressed in an intimate relationship of friendship and protection between a person and a particular animal or a natural object; sometimes between a person and species of animals, the natural object can grant special power to its owner. Frequently connected with individual totemism are definite ideas about the human soul. Individual totemism may have predated group totemism, as a group's protective spirits were sometimes derived from the totems of specific individuals.

The tendency to pass on an individual totem as hereditary or to make taboo the entire species of animal to which the individual totem belongs. It is found not only among tribes of hunters and harvesters but also among farmers and herdsmen (Elkin, 1933). Besides, some individuals not otherwise involved in the practice of a tribal religion have chosen to adopt animals which have some kind of special meaning to them as a personal totem (The New Encyclopedia Britannica, 2002).

With the practice of clan totemism, if the totem dies accidentally it could be mourned and buried with the same honours as a member of the clan. As pertains in the savanna belt of Ghana, when the dwelling places of these creatures (pythons) are flooded during the heavy rainy season they creep into the mud homes and co-inhabit with them. These snakes occupy spaces in-between pots, cupboards and the woodwork of the landcrete or grass roofing of the building during the day. The connection between the people and their totem is usually mutually beneficial as in the night they creep around in the rooms and yard looking for food (mice) and commonly, ultimately, retire onto the mats on which the people will be sleeping. The totem (python) stands for protection for the people. In Sirigu (the Frafra) the python is revered, and was

worshipped in the past, since it symbolised life and death to the people. The closeness between man and the python has brought about human pentastomiasis due to the direct contact with the totem thereby increasing the risk of disease transmission if the python is discharging embryonated eggs in its' faecal droppings (Dakubo, Etwire, Kumoji & Naaeder, 2006).

During social functions of chiefs and the people in the Akan speaking areas, different kinds of linguist staffs with carved objects on top of these staffs that identify a family or clan or tell a proverb are conspicuously displayed. Careful look at most of these carvings is representations of various animals notably reptiles and birds, the lion, the elephant, the eagle, the buffalo, the leopard, the snake, the tortoise, the crow, the crocodile, the parrot, the vulture and the hawk. All these totemic animal symbols are philosophical in nature and reinforces clan unity.

2. 13 Totemism and Conservation of Biodiversity in Ghana

In considering the Akan as participants in the fight against environmental degradation, it is important we consider their worldviews, beliefs and practices which according to Awuah-Nyamekye in Edwin (2011) is very important towards a successful conservation and preservation of nature. Totemism is not a religion; it is a way of life and a source of family pride that gives an indelible lesson on traditional wildlife conservation. Our ancestors were very much attuned to conservation of wildlife species; we cannot throw away our Totemism just like that because it has been one of the major traditional conservation tools which has helped to conserve many wildlife species up to date. As stipulated in the National Cultural Policy's specific objectives,

the policy shall be “to identify and disseminate local knowledge of the environment and support communities to sustain positive traditional concepts and practices to protect nature and biodiversity for the benefit of the nation”. (The Cultural policy of Ghana, 2004, p. 5).

In prehistoric societies, totems were key symbols of religion and social cohesion; they were also important tools for cultural and educational transmission. This attitude may have been the basis of environmental laws and regulations that existed in such societies. In Africa, Totemism still plays a significant role in community bonding, but few scholars have examined its role in the development of environmental protection. Indeed, a concern for the environment has developed in every society with totemistic beliefs. It was likewise illegal for a relative such as wife, who may have hailed from a different tribe and therefore had a different totem, to hurt the totem of a husband or son. This was mainly because totems were viewed as part of the kindred, and it was believed that these totems shared blood with the ancestors. To hurt a totem was tantamount to hurting the community's ancestors. Severe punishments, such as banishment, fines, hard labour, or death, were applied to anyone who disrespected their totem.

Totemism can lead to environmental protection due to the fact that many tribes have multiple totems. Plant and animal species are considered totems among some tribes in Africa (Gwayaka, 2007). Totemism is part of our socio-culture life of Africa and is common in home clans, villages, tribes, chieftaincy system, social clubs, political parties and the nation at large. Members of the Totemistic groups have a common bond and affinity with colleagues by sharing a common appellation arrowed form of the characteristics or the symbolic quality or virtue of the particular animal or totem.

Thus Totemism can thus be exploited as a tool to galvanise or bring about solidarity in the human societies particularly in Africa for biodiversity conservation. It is like sounding a war cry to awaken the cultural instinct for the protection and in defense of the animals or totems which are held in high esteem, so as to help protect all totems to ensure the sustainability of our cultures and to ensure that man and animals live harmoniously with nature. All the eight clans of the Akans in Ghana are formidable forces for conservation activities at the local level. Totemic groups could therefore be turned into well-organised groups to protect their totems and their habitats. (Smith-Asante, 2002).

Since biodiversity is about life and to ensure the sustainability and growth of the world, our ancestors treated biodiversity with so much respect but human activities these days contribute immensely to the decline of biodiversity in Ghana. Totemism and society are inseparable. As reiterated by Kottak (2009), 'totemism uses nature as a model for society' (p.490). Elkin (1933) also described Totemism as a view of nature and life, of the universe and man...it unites them with nature's activities and species in a bond of mutual life-giving...and that it is relationship between a person or a group of persons and a natural object or species, as part of nature. It is worldview in which a human is an integral part of nature, not distinct from other natural species, sharing with them the same life essence. Animals emanate the breath of our lives by showing us certain qualities and behaviours that we should emulate; they teach us patience, endurance and the balance.

According to Durkheim, Levi-Strauss and Radcliffe-Brown cited in Kottak (2005), "totems are usually animals and plants which are part of nature and people relate to nature through their totemic association with natural species" (p.490). Historically,

wildlife forms used as totems have been under threat of extinction due to non adherence to rules protecting their exploitation, protection and conservation or ignorance that natural resources are not inexhaustible and need to be managed judiciously (Johnson, 2013). Attitudinal change can significantly help protect biodiversity and achieve sustainable development. It is believed that totemism can lead to environmental protection due to the fact that many tribes have multiple totems. Totemism is seen to play a very relevant role in community bonding; it is forbidden to kill or hurt a totem. That is seen as hurting the community's ancestors. The consequence in some cases is banishment, a fine, hard labour or death.

In Uganda for instance, The Wildlife Education Centre uses a community-based approach for animal protection. In view of that individuals are encouraged to donate funds for feeding animals in the former zoo. Donations are applied to the donor's totem; such a donation is considered an act of 'feeding one's brother' that is unable to feed himself, (Gwayaka, 2007). A survey by the Conservation International on totems in Ghana revealed that over 200 totems in Ghana are represented by wildlife, and among these about 98% of these animals are endangered, threatened or extinct. Totems which some suggest have helped to conserve wildlife in the past have been rendered ineffective by this ferocious trade which rarely observes wildlife rules. The local people's culture and its symbiotic relationships between animals are therefore considerably threatened. As these cultural objects and perspectives become endangered their roles in biodiversity conservation become meaningless (Conservation International, 2002).

Nothing is more rational than the fact that the totem in being protector is also protected, and therefore an ecological purpose is served as well. A trip to the Kumasi

Zoo showed that the Wildlife Division had made frantic efforts to protect fauna some of which are totemic archetypes; personal or group. Some of the effort was the display of varied posters on several animal species. The reconciliation of the diverse views and perspectives on conservation at this stage is most critical. This in no doubt affects the socio-cultural life of many communities in Ghana that are inextricably linked with wildlife (Farje, 1992 & Ntiamoah-Baidu, 2002). The reverential mood is diluted and alienated to the periphery. The perilous nature of the extinction of the precious wild animals that serve as totems for some individuals and groups needs to be given a serious consideration. As observed by (Salafky et al., 2002 and Ampadu-Agyei cited in Johnson, 2013), extinction is truly irreversible, once gone, individual species and all of the services that they provide us cannot be brought back. There are frantic efforts made by the Ghana Wildlife Commission to discourage the killing of these creatures of ancestral reverence.

Perhaps, the development of captive breeding or game farming could be supported as an alternative way to active hunting of wild animals to satisfy local demand without compromising the wild stock (Auzel and Wilkie, 2000). Perhaps the country must open more Zoos to help protect these animal species facing extinction.

On a note of caution, Okyeame Ampadu-Agyei cited in (Johnson, 2013) 'the list of fauna considered totems facing extinction, is frighteningly tall and amazingly includes those protected under the Wildlife Laws of Ghana ... the laws are not really biting and are ineffectively enforced'. Unknowingly, measures put in place to check the menace may not be the best since the core knowledge of the indigenes may not have been sought for. As analyzed by Hens (2006) on series of biodiversity related subjects in Ghana show that indigenous knowledge has the potential to contribute to

the conservation of species, genes and ecosystems. In juxtaposition to Hens' submission, (Rose, 2002) reiterates, conservation must pursue human-nature bio-synergy in the era of social chaos and bush meat commerce.

In other words, there was rational interest in preserving the species. One can also say that communities, families, clans, chiefs and kings realised the need to protect certain animals and other endangered species of trees thus using such objects as their totems with the application of superstitious beliefs. Animals like antelopes, eagles, lions, crows, parrots, whales, sharks, elephants, python, and many others are some of the animals which are mostly used as totems and these animals are not many in the ecology. (Daily Graphic, December 30th 2013). Among the Akan culture, their ideas about nature should not be put at the periphery. But how can the Akan totemic practices help preserve Ghana's environment from further degradation? The Akan ideas about nature are relevant towards the preservation of nature and must be incorporated into working environmental policies but not to be shelved documents that are left at the mercy of dust.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

This chapter makes known the different methods employed in gathering relevant data for the completion of the thesis; Totemism, its influence on the Akan Youth of Ghana.

3.1 Research Design

The purpose of this research is to find out the effects Totemism has on the Akan Youth of Ghana. In order to deal with the situation, there is the need for such data necessary at arriving at a solution of the problem being investigated. The study therefore employed the qualitative research approach to analyse the data collected.

A qualitative research approach provides a deeper analysis and allow for a richer and indepth understanding of how people make meaning of their situation or interpret phenomena of interest (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Merriam, 1988; Cresswell cited in Azila-Gbetor, 2010). The use of qualitative research allowed for the respondents to tell their own story. That allowed the researcher to have a direct encounter with the people in their setting, observing their activities, reading and digesting their literature and recording in field notes. In qualitative studies, the researcher gathers data through observation, interview and the scrutiny of relevant documents.

3.2 Research Tools

To conclude, the researcher employed the following research tools; interview, documentary search to analyse both primary and secondary sources of information and questionnaire to authenticate and check consistency of what people say so as to expand the data pool. Observation of animal symbolism and linguist staffs was not left out.

3.3 Library Research Conducted

Scholarly work calls for the review of other relevant documents related to the topic. The search for information from the library was a major approach to seek for authentic information for the thesis. Information were sought from George Padmore Research Library on African Affairs; Accra, New Juaben Municipal Library; Koforidua, Ashanti Library; Centre for National Culture, Kumasi, North Campus Library, Art Education Library, Osagyefo Library; University of Education, Winneba, Balme Library; University of Ghana, Legon. Relevant information, charts was also sought from the researcher's own personal library.

3.4 Online Research

Internet surfing played a major part in the research. The researcher made frequent visits to the Internet to seek for relevant and current information for the thesis.

3.5 Population

A population comprises all elements, individuals, items or objects; whose characteristics are being studied. Population is ‘the collection of all elements of interest’, (Mann, 2001, p.4). The population that is being studied is also called the target population. Researches are done to benefit the population. The population of this research involved the Akan Youth and adults of Ghana. The adults are the custodian of traditional knowledge.

3.6 Sample and Sampling Techniques

In purposive sampling, we sample with a purpose in mind. Purposive or judgemental sampling enables you to use your judgement to select cases that will best enable you to answer your research questions and to meet your objectives. Here, the researcher purposely chooses respondents who in his opinion are thought to be relevant to the research topic. He selects cases that are judged to typify the views of the group. The process of sampling involved identification of the informants in the selected towns within three Akan dominated Regions; Ashanti, Eastern and Central. It is useful when you want to select cases that are particularly informative.

3.7 Sampling Size

Best cited in Lumor (2009) elaborated on population as any group of individuals that have one or more characteristics in common that are of interest to the researcher. The

population may be all individuals of a particular type or more restricted type of a group.

A total of sixty (60) Akans were purposefully selected as the sample size for the study. That included twenty (20) adults who are believed to be the custodians of traditional knowledge. They were used in the research to seek for information on the literal and philosophical meanings of the totems. Out of this number, ten (10) were interviewed based on the Akan clans. Those interviewed included chiefs or sub chiefs, aged adults and family elders with Akan background. The interviews were done in Twi. The other ten (10) adults were made to answer a questionnaire based on general issues of clans and their totems related to the Akan clans. They were people with Akan background and had at least O'Level/SSS/SHS as the minimum qualification. The ages were thirty-six years (36 years) and above. They personally answered the questionnaires.

Twenty (20) youth who were within the age bracket of fifteen (15) to thirty-five (35) years from the chosen population answered a questionnaire. The questionnaire was self-completed. Again, the remaining twenty (20) youth within the age bracket of 15-35 were interviewed. The first twenty (20) respondents who answered the questionnaire involved those at the Senior High Schools or have even completed SHS/Technical and Vocational education and above whilst those that were interviewed involved those at the JHS, drop outs or those who have completed JHS. The researcher recorded responses on the questionnaire. This was done in Twi. Due to the homogeneous nature of the Akans, the above segregated population was drawn from the three Regions dominated by the Akans. The selected towns involved forest zones and fishing communities. In Ashanti Region, Ejisu, Effiduase and Asokore

were chosen. Obo, Asiakwa and Aburi were selected from the Eastern Region whilst Agona Nsaba, Apam and Saltpond were chosen from the Central Region.

3.8 Data Collection Instrument(s)

Data for the study were gathered from two main sources; primary and secondary sources. The data from the primary source were those collected from selected subjects employing face-to-face interviews, administration of questionnaire, observation and the secondary data were those collected from written materials.

Gay (1992) states that all research studies involve data collection. Because all studies are meant to either answer research questions or test hypotheses, they all require the relevant data with which to do so. According to Mann (2001), a data is ‘a collection of observations on one or more variables’, (p.11). A kind of data scores such as age, gender, ethnicity and religion are demographic information. Both primary and secondary data were obtained for the study. The primary data were acquired through personal observation, interview and questionnaire.

The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2007) defines observation as “the process of watching something or someone carefully for a period of time” (p.1130). This clearly shows that observation involves the sense of sight or vision. Observation involves a systematic observation and recording. It involves describing, analyzing and interpretation of people’s behaviour, (Azila-Gbettor, 2010). Since an interview is an exploratory technique to seek for further clarification, it helped to search for more details on the things observed.

An interview is purposeful discussion used basically to gain an understanding of the core reasons and motivations for people's attitudes, preferences or behaviour, (Azila-Gbettor, 2010).

Interview was used because it is an effective way of obtaining better descriptive content and concepts using the Interview Guide in Appendix 2. Interviewees self confidence is also boosted since they feel part of the research. Both semi-structured and unstructured interviews were employed in the data collection. In semi-structured interview, the researcher had a list of themes and quotations to be covered. The order of questionnaire may vary depending on the flow of the conversation, (Azila-Gbettor, 2010). The researcher recorded the data by taking down notes and the use of a Sony recorder. The recorded information was transcribed later for authentication. Unstructured interview were used to conduct in-depth interviews. The instrument gives the opportunity to talk freely about events, behaviour and beliefs in relation to the topic area, (Azila-Gbettor, 2010).

A questionnaire is a set of questions designed to generate the data necessary to accomplish the objectives of the research project, (MacDaniel and Gates, 2004) or is a formalized set of questions for obtaining information from respondents, (Malhotra, 2007). A questionnaire is further explained by (Azila-Gbettor, 2010) as "a technique of data collection in which each person is asked to respond to the same set of question in a predetermined order", (p.104). Questionnaire permits wider geographical coverage that reaches individuals who are really hard to reach. The questionnaire may be standardised, unstandardised and standardised.

Unstandardised questionnaire and standardised questionnaire were used as shown on Appendix 1. The questions on the questionnaire are well defined and open hence

allowing respondents to formulate their own answers to the questions (Azila-Gbettor, 2010). The standardised questionnaire was used to allow respondents to answer some of the questions based on options provided.

The researcher employed the self-administered questionnaire type for twenty (20) respondents. That allowed the researcher to deliver the questionnaires to the respondents and collected them after the completion of the questionnaire by the respondents. Twenty other respondents provided answers to questions on the questionnaire asked by the researcher in Twi. The responses provided were recorded. The questionnaires were based on thematic areas; personal details of respondents, clans and their totemic background, relevance and interpretation, conservation and preservation and an option for general remarks if the respondents wish to do so.

Secondary data are data that have already been collected or previously gathered for purposes other than the problem at hand, (Malhotra, 2007, McDaniel & Gates, 2004). For example, journals, articles, internet, textbooks and encyclopedia, unpublished theses and newspapers are some of the sources of secondary data. Some of these sources were painstakingly considered by the researcher for the study.

3.9 Method of Data Analysis

The qualitative data analysis method was used. This is the process of bringing order, structural meaning to the mass of information collected. Bogdan and Biklen (1982) stated that qualitative data analysis is ‘ working with data, organising it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned and deciding what you will tell others’ (p.145). In

simpler terms, Miles and Huberman cited in Azila-Gbettor (2010, p.180), stated that ‘qualitative studies aim to describe and explain a pattern of relationships and interactions’.

Based on the above elucidation, the questions for interview and questionnaire were sorted into various themes, for example, existing totems in Akan areas in Ghana, the literal and philosophical meanings of totems amongst the Akan Youth in Ghana and the recommendation for sustaining totems to improve the conservation of biodiversity in Ghana. Tables and graphs were used to represent the respondents’ features such as age, educational level, occupation and gender.

The questionnaire administered was scrutinized to identify correlations with the interviews conducted and the field notes; observing for differences and similarities. That allowed for the development of multi-dimensional categories so as to create different concepts and to determine how they are linked.

Having observed and cross case analyzed the interview, the researcher developed themes derived from the data and analysed them. The method used is tabulated on Table 2.

Table 2. Summary of the research methodology.

Population: the Youth population in the Akan areas in Ghana.	Sample Size	Sample Technique	Instruments	Data Analysis Plan
Ages 15 – 25 years	10	Purposive sampling	Interview/	Thematic analysis process/ interpretation
	10		Questionnaire: question and record responses/delivery and collection.	
Ages 26 – 35 years	10	Purposive sampling	Interview/	Thematic analysis process/ interpretation
	10		Questionnaire: question and record responses/delivery and collection.	
36 years and above	10	Purposive sampling	Interview: face to face	Thematic analysis process/ interpretation
	10		Questionnaire: question and record responses/ delivery and collection.	
				Thematic analysis process/ interpretation

Source: Researcher's construct, 2014.

3.10 Interviews Conducted and Questionnaires Administered

Considering the nature of the research, the researcher was convinced that employing interview was another way of getting enough information for the research. This was done to satisfy those who found the use of questionnaire very uncomfortable. The researcher interviewed thirty respondents comprising ten adults and twenty youth. This was done face-to-face. All the interviews were done in Twi using the Interview Guide (Appendix 2) for the adults. The youth were interviewed using the questionnaire. The interviewees were met at their residences or work places. The responses for the interviews conducted for the adults were recorded on a Sony Recorder and an interview guide and later transcribed whilst those of the youth were recorded on the questionnaire.

Thirty Questionnaires were administered using the Questionnaire (Appendix 1). Twenty-five Questionnaires were successfully retrieved out of the thirty distributed; three could not be retrieved upon several efforts and two questionnaires were not answered.

These had enabled the researcher to arrive at some important findings, made relevant assumptions and adequate recommendations. It offered the researcher the necessary experience in the areas of data collection, data analysis and data presentation.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS/FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

Under this Chapter, data collected from both the questionnaires and interviews are interpreted based on the themes. To ensure accurate, objective, valid and reliable findings, the following data instruments were used; questionnaire, interviews and observation. The questionnaire used was in two forms; the standardised and the unstandardised. The standardised ones gave no room for respondents to make suggestions and opinions. They were thus restricted.

On the unstandardised questionnaire, respondents were allowed to formulate answers to some of the questions. The Interviews were also done to gain an understanding of the underlying reasons and motivations for people's attitudes, preferences or behaviour with regards to their totemic archetypes. The interviews conducted for both the aged and the youth were critically studied and deductions made from them.

Observation of linguist staffs during social functions with metaphoric totemic symbols was done; relevant information recorded, analysed and interpreted. The information gathered from the various selected chiefs, elders, students, teachers and other youth were purposively considered as primary data. Only information from those sources confirmed, analysed and evaluated by the researcher have been accepted for the treatment of the study.

4.1 Results/Findings

The questionnaire comprised both closed and open ended questions. Respondents were made to choose from few possible answers and opportunity to give reasons for choices chosen in the case of closed questions. The respondents expressed their views in written forms to few open ended questions. In all, thirty Questionnaires were administered out of which twenty-five were retrieved. Three Questionnaires; two from the youth and one adult were not returned and two others from the youth were returned unanswered culminating to 83%, 10% and seven percent respectively

4.2 Administration of Questionnaires to literate youth and learned adult

The Questionnaires, which were designed into five Sections, touched on the various areas on Totemism. The first Section (A) touched on personal details of respondents, clans and their totemic background formed the Section (B), Section (C) was on the relevance and interpretation, conservation and preservation constituted Section (D) and the last Section (E) provided the opportunity for respondents to make suggestions or recommendations.

The Section (A) part of the Questionnaire, comprising Questions 1 to 8 dealt with particulars of respondents. On gender, nineteen were males out of the twenty-five respondents and six were females. These represent 76% and 24% respectively. This is represented on Table 3.

Table 3. Gender of respondents

Serial Number	Female	%	Male	%	Total	%
1	6	24	19	76	25	100
Total	6	24	19	76	25	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

Out of the twenty-five respondents who answered the questionnaires, eight of them were between the ages of 15 and 25 years, eight respondents were between the ages of 26 and 35 years whilst nine were 36 years and above. These respondents represent 32%, 32% and 36% respectively. This is represented on Table 4.

Table 4. Age range of respondents.

Serial Number	Age	Total	%
1	15-25	8	32
2	26-35	8	32
3	36+	9	36
Total		25	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

With regards to the educational levels of respondents, ten of the respondents making up 40% were Degree holders, three of them representing 12% were Diploma holders, two of them representing eight percent were Technical School leavers, one representing four percent was a Trained Teacher (Cert 'A') holder, two of them were 'O' Level holders representing eight percent, one was Higher National Diploma

(HND) holder representing four percent and six respondents were Senior High School (SHS) leavers amounting to 24% of the total respondents. On the religious status of the respondents, all the twenty-five respondents stated that they were Christians. With regards to their hometowns, seven responded that they hail from the Ashanti Region, thirteen also responded that they hail from the Eastern region and five were from the Central Region representing 28%, 52% and 24% respectively. The tribal disaggregation saw that out of the twenty-five respondents, seven were Asantes, three Kwahus, four were Fantes, one was Agona, six were Akyems and four were Akuapims. These represent 28%, 12%, 16%, four percent, 24% and 16% respectively. This is shown on Fig. 16.

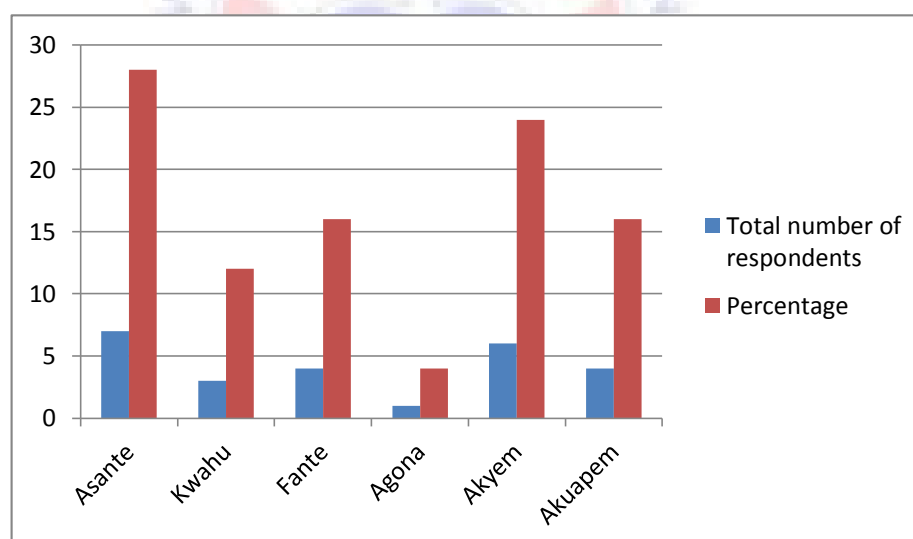


Fig. 16. Tribes of respondents

The Section (B) dwelt on the sub-topic ‘Clans and their Totemic background’. Question 1 demanded to know what clans respondents belong to. Out of the twenty-five respondents, six were *Agona*, eight were *Asona*, one was *Asenee*, three *Bretuo*, five were *Aduana*, two were *Ekosna* and none was *Oyoko* and *Asakyiri* representing

24%, 32%, four percent, 12%, 24%, and eight percent respectively. This is represented on table 5.

Table 5. Clans of respondents

Serial Number	Clan	Total	%
1	<i>Agona</i>	6	24
2	<i>Asona</i>	8	32
3	<i>Asenie</i>	1	4
4	<i>Bretuo</i>	3	12
5	<i>Aduana</i>	5	20
6	<i>Ekoona</i>	2	8
7	<i>Oyokoo</i>	0	0
8	<i>Asakyiri</i>	0	0
Total		100	

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

The next question elicited for the origin of the clans. Thirteen people responded to this positively by answering 'Yes'; that they know the origin of their clans and twelve of them answered 'No' representing 52% and 48% respectively. In responding to the meaning of the clans, nine people responded 'Yes' that they can explain the meaning of the clan, fourteen people responded 'No' whilst two did not state their position. These represent 36%, 56% and eight percent respectively. The nine people that responded 'Yes' to Question 3, all of them were able to state the meaning of the clans that answers the next question. Twenty people responded 'Yes' that is, they know their clan totem and five people responded 'No' to Question 5 which required them to provide the totem for the clan. Out of the twenty people that responded 'Yes' seventeen were able to state the correct totem for the clan, two were unable to state the correct totem for the clan which they had earlier on responded in the affirmative

that they knew of and one person responded 'Yes' but could not provide the totem representing 85%, 10% and five percent respectively. On the meaning of the totem, eleven responded 'Yes' that they knew the meaning of their totem, thirteen responded 'No' and one did not respond 'Yes' or 'No' representing 44%, 52% and four percent respectively. Those that responded 'Yes', ten were able to state it representing 91% however one was unable to state it representing nine percent. In categorizing the totemic symbols, the options provided were (a) wild animal, (b) domestic animal, (c) mythical beast, (d) plant and (e) others, thirteen people chose 'a', seven people selected 'b', one chose 'c' and one person chose others representing 52%, 28%, four percent and four percent respectively. Three people representing 12% did not choose any of the options. To identify other totems in their communities apart from that of their clan, twenty-two people chose 'Yes' that they knew of other totems apart from that of their clans representing 88%, two chose 'No' representing eight percent and one person was undecided representing four percent. The twenty-two people that responded 'Yes', only nine percent and that is two people remaining twenty people representing 91% were unable to give any other totem. Two people provided wrong answers representing nine percent. With regards to 'what features of your clan totem do you know?' Fifteen people representing 36% were able to answer it whilst ten were unable to provide it representing 40%. In answering the question, 'has your clan totem put any impediment on your way in life before?', two respondents chose 'Yes' that their totem had ever put impediment on their way whereas twenty-three selected 'No' representing eight percent and 92% respectively. The two people that responded 'Yes', all of them were able to provide the kind of impediment representing hundred percent. On the next question as to the benefits of the totem to their lives in any form, sixteen people responded 'No', eight people responded 'Yes' and one person did not

choose any of the options representing 64%, 32% and four percent respectively. Seven respondents representing 88% were able to give the meaning of the totems whilst one person representing 12% was unable to state it. Out of the twenty-five respondents, fifteen amounting to 60% were able to explain totemic poles whilst ten were unable to explain totemic poles representing 40%. On the materials used in the preparation of the totemic poles, fourteen people representing 56% were able to state them. The dominant amongst them was wood. The remaining eleven respondents representing 44% were unable to provide the materials. To give reason for the choice of material in the preparation of the totemic pole, twelve respondents were able to do that however thirteen people were unable to do that equating to 48% and 52% respectively. In addition, the response to whether Totemism has outlived its usefulness or not, twelve people responded positively, eight people responded negatively whilst five did not respond to any of the options representing 48%, 32% and 20% respectively. Should the Concept of Totemism be improved or ignored? Saw seventeen respondents opting for the former, four opted for the latter whilst four did not choose any of them amounting to 68%, 16% and 16% respectively. The last question on Section B asked respondents to give reasons to support their answers given to the above question. Twenty people were able to give reasons to support their choice above representing 80% whereas five were unable to assign reasons to their choice representing 20%.

Under Section C, the questionnaire sought to elicit from the respondents the Relevance and Interpretations of the Totems. The first question for the section is 'what are the uses of totems?' This saw eighteen people amounting to 72% answered the question whilst seven people representing 28% left the question unattended to. On

the 'literal or direct meaning of your totem', nine respondents representing 36% responded 'Yes' that they knew the direct or literal meaning of the totem, fourteen people responded 'No' representing 56% and two people did not choose neither 'Yes' nor 'No' representing eight percent. The eight respondents that selected 'Yes' were able to state it. In response to the 'philosophical meaning of your Totems', five people responded 'Yes' that they knew the philosophical meaning of their totems, eighteen responded 'No' whilst two people responded to neither 'Yes' nor 'No'. These represent 20%, 72% and eight percent respectively. Out of the five people that responded 'Yes', three were able to state the philosophical meaning whereas two of them could not state it. These represent 60% and 40% respectively. The next Question was 'do you know of any socio-cultural relevance of the totem to the development of the society?' nine responded in the affirmative, two did not indicate their stand whilst fourteen responded 'No' representing 36%, eight percent and 56% respectively. Out of the nine people that responded 'Yes', eight of them were able to state it whilst one person could not state it representing 89% and 11% respectively. The question on the educational value of totems to the youth saw fourteen of the respondents answering it whilst eleven could not equating to 56% and 44% respectively. Nineteen respondents answered 'No', three responded 'Yes' and three did not choose 'Yes' or 'No' representing 76%, 12% and 12% respectively to the question 'do you know of any influence of Totemism on the youth'. All the three people that responded 'Yes' were able to state it representing 100%.

The next Section was 'D' that elicited views of respondents on 'Conservation and Preservation'. The first question was 'do you have any festival in honour of the totem?' two responded positively and twenty-three responded in the negative

representing eight percent and 92% respectively. Out of the two that responded ‘Yes’ one was able to state it representing 50% whilst one could not provide it representing 50%. On which other area of your societal life do you find these totemic symbols with the following options; ‘stories, regalia, traditional religion, proverbs, traditional art form and others’ for Question 39, three people did not choose any of the options, twelve people chose only one option, three people chose two options, five people chose three options, one person chose four options and one person chose all the five options representing 12%, 48%, 12%, 20%, four percent and four percent respectively. The information is shown on Fig. 17.

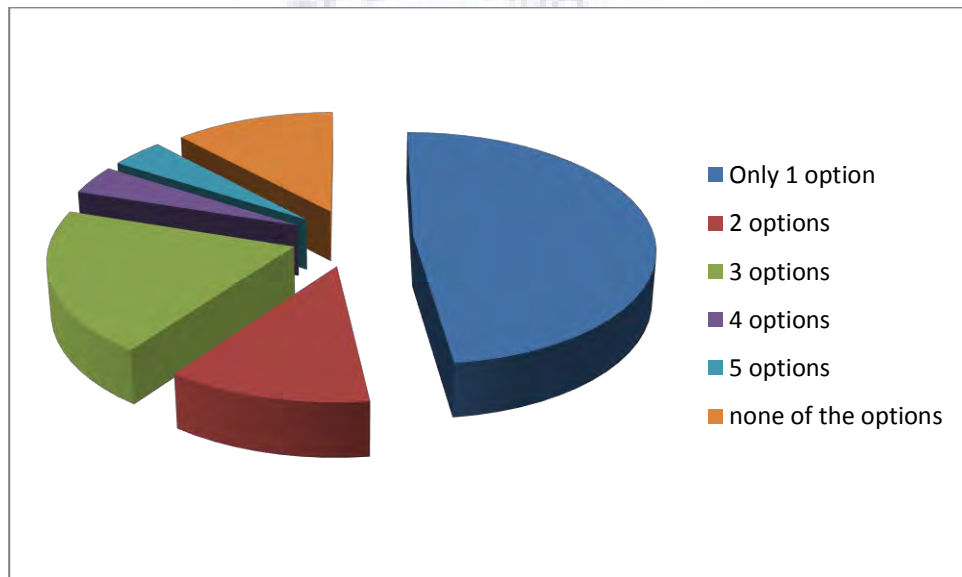


Fig. 17. Respondents responses to Question 39.

The next question under the Section was ‘do you have any special activity (ies) for preserving these totems?’ with regards to ‘economic, political, social and others’. Two people were able to provide responses in respect of two options, four people were able to provide responses to one option, fifteen were unable to provide responses to any of the options and four were able to provide responses to all the options. These represent

eight percent, 16%, 60% and 16% respectively. 'Where are these totemic symbols used with the options 'for funerals, for festivals, for religious activities, for shrines, used by chiefs and others' formed the next Question. Four did not choose any of the options, twelve chose only one option, three chose two options, four chose three options and two chose four options representing 16%, 48%, 12%, 16% and eight percent respectively. In an answer to 'who should carry out activities for preserving knowledge about these totems?' seventeen people were able to provide the people who should lead in preserving the knowledge about totems whilst eight people did not suggest anything representing 68% and 32% respectively. The dominant responses were the chiefs, elders and the education sector. 'Does totemism improve biodiversity conservation?' was the next question. Seven people ticked 'Yes', eleven responded 'No' while seven did not choose any of the options equaling 28%, 44% and 28% respectively. Six out of the seven that responded 'Yes' were able to state how leaving only one who could not representing 86% and 14% respectively. On 'how does your community document totems? with the options 'written, oral tradition and music'. Fifteen people chose only one option, three people chose two options, one person chose all the three options and six people did not choose from any of the options. These disaggregations represent 60%, 12%, four percent and 24% respectively.

The last Section E allowed respondents to provide information on how totemism could be sustained and enhanced. Out of the twenty-five respondents, sixteen commented representing 64% and nine people did not comment representing 36%.

4.3 Interviews with the elderly/chiefs/sub-chiefs and family heads

To elicit relevant information from the elderly, chiefs, sub-chiefs and family heads, ten of them were interviewed. A sample of the interview guide has been provided in Appendix 2. The personal details of the interviewees revealed that 90% equating to nine were males while one woman representing 10% were involved. The age ranges of interviewees are shown on Table 6.

Table 6. Age range of aged interviewees.

Serial Number	Age range	Female	%	Male	%	Total	%
1	36-55	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	56-75	1	10	7	70	8	80
3	76-95	-	-	1	10	1	10
4	96+	-	-	1	10	1	10
Total		1	10	9	90	10	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

Table 6 shows that 10% of the interviewees were within the age ranges of 96+ years, 80% equating to eight people were within the age ranges of 56-75 years and 10% were within the age ranges of 76-95 years.

Table 7. Occupation of aged interviewees.

Serial Number	Occupation	Female		Male		Total	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1	Self employed	-	-	5	50	5	50
2	Professional	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	Unemployed	1	10	4	40	5	50
Total		1	10	9	90	10	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

Table 7 shows that five of the interviewees were self employed representing 50%, none was a professional and five were unemployed representing 50%.

Table 8. Religious background of interviewees.

Serial number	Religious background	Female		Male		Total	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1	Christians	1	10	7	70	8	80
2	Islamic	-	-	1	10	1	10
3	Traditional	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	Non-denominational	-	-	1	10	1	10
Total		1	10	9	90	10	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

Table 8 shows that one female interviewee was a Christian, seven males were also Christians, one male was a Muslim, none of them was a Traditionalist and one was a

non-denominationalist representing 10%, 70%, 10%, zero percent and 10% respectively.

Table 9. Educational level of interviewees

Serial Number	Educational level	Female		Male		Total	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1	Primary	1	10	1	10	2	20
2	MSLC	-	-	4	40	4	40
3	O'Level	-	-	1	10	1	10
4	A'Level	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	Tertiary	-	-	2	20	2	20
6	No Formal Education	-	-	1	10	1	10
Total		1	10	9	90	10	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

Table 9 shows that one female interviewee completed Primary education representing 10%, two men also completed Primary education representing 24%, four men completed Middle School Leaving Certificate representing 40%, one male completed Ordinary Level representing 10%, two males representing 24% had completed Tertiary education and one person representing 10% had no formal education.

Table 10. Rank of interviewees.

Serial Number	Status	Female		Male		Total	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1	Obaapanyin	1	10	-	-	1	10
2	Chief	-	-	1	10	1	10
3	Sub-Chief	-	-	4	40	4	40
4	Family head	-	-	4	40	4	40
Total		1	10	9	90	10	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

Table 10 shows that four men were family heads, four were sub-chiefs, one was a chief and one *Obaapanyin* representing 40%, 40%, 10% and 10% respectively.

On the clan system of the interviewees, two were from the *Ekosna* clan, three were from the *Agona/Anona* clan, one person from the *Oyoko* clan, one person from the *Asakyiri* clan, one from the *Bretuo* clan, one from the *Asona* clan and one from the *Aduana* clan representing 20%, 30%, 10%, 10%, 10%, 10% and 10% respectively.

The information is represented on Fig.18.

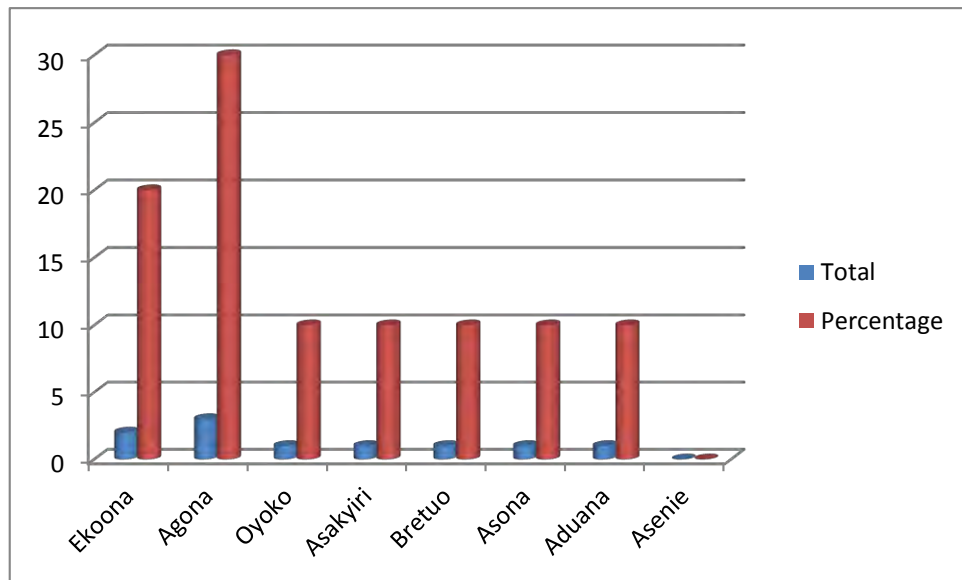


Fig. 18. Clans of interviewees.

Five of the ten interviewed were Asantes (50%), two were Akuapim, (20%) one Akyem (10%), one Fante (ten percent) and one Agona (10%). With the origin of the clans, five interviewees representing 50% responded that the clan originated from Adanse, one interviewee representing 10% said they are from Takyiman, one interviewee representing 10% said they came from Agona Nsaba, one interviewee representing 10% said the Clan came from Denkyira, one interviewee representing 10% responded his ancestors came from Israel and one interviewee representing 10% responded the ancestors came from Barekese. Interestingly, the three interviewees representing 30% interviewees that gave *Agona/Anona* as their clan gave different towns of origin of their clans; Denkyira, Agona Nsaba and Takyiman.

All the ten interviewees were able to mention their clan totems; hawk, buffalo, parrot, crow, leopard, vulture and dog with fire in the mouth. Moreso, five interviewees representing 50% of the respondents were able to explain why that totem was chosen whilst five representing 50% were unable to explain why their patriarchs chose that

totem. On the awareness of other totems in the respective communities of the interviewees, all the ten interviewees indicated that they were aware of the existence of other totems in their communities. With respect to the interviewees' views on the literal or philosophical meanings of the totems, four representing 40% of the interviewees were unable to give any meaning (literal or philosophical) whilst six representing 60% were able to respond to that question. With regards to the question of whether totems have any cultural relevance, nine representing 90% respondents out of the ten respondents said 'Yes'. However, one respondent (10%) was unable to respond. On the meaning of Totemism, four respondents equating to 40% were able to speak about it while six representing 60% were unable to explain it. All the ten interviewees positively ascribed that Totemism is still been practised. Seven respondents representing 70% accepted that Totemism has an influence on the Conservation of Biodiversity, however, three interviewees; 30% were on the other side of the coin responding that Totemism has no impact on Biodiversity Conservation. The relationship between Totemism and Religion was accepted as existing by six respondents representing 60% while four respondents representing 40% did not succumb to that. All the ten interviewees were able to explain the educational meanings of the totems.

4.4 Youth responses to interview questions

Out of the twenty youth within the ages of 15-35 years interviewed, ten representing 50% were within the ages of 15-25 years whilst 50%; ten youth were also within the ages of 26-35 years. Out of these twenty interviewees, nine representing 45% were females whilst eleven representing 55% were males. These are shown on Table 11.

Table 11. Age range of interviewees.

Serial Number	Age (Years)	Female		Male		Total	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1	15-25	4	20	6	30	10	50
2	26-35	5	25	5	25	10	50
Total		9	45	11	55	20	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

JHS leavers were fifteen representing 75% and five representing 25% had Primary as their educational level. Out of the fifteen JHS leavers, seven were within the ages of 26-35 years representing 47% and eight were within the ages of 15-25 years representing 53%. With the Primary School leavers, three representing 60% and two representing 40% were within the ages of 26-35 years and 15-25 years respectively. On occupation, nine were traders, three were tailors and seamstress, two were hairdressers, one was a farmer, one a carpenter, one a security officer and three were JHS Students representing 45%, 15%, 10%, five percent, five percent, five percent and 15% respectively. These are shown on Table 12.

Table 12. Occupation of Youth interviewees.

Serial Number	Occupation	Female		Male		Total	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1	Trader	5	25	4	20	9	45
2	Tailors/Seamstress	2	10	1	5	3	15
3	Hairdressers	2	10	-	-	2	10
4	Farmer	-	-	1	5	1	5
5	Carpenter	-	-	1	5	1	5
6	Security	-	-	1	5	1	5
7	Student	-	-	3	15	3	15
Total		9	45	11	55	20	100

Source: Fieldwork, 2014.

All the twenty interviewees were Christians. In all, six of the interviewees were from the Ashanti Region, nine from the Central Region whilst five were from the Eastern Region representing 30%, 45% and 25% respectively. With the tribal disaggregation, four were Agona, six Asante, one Akwapim, five Fante, one Kwahu and three Akyem. In percentage wise, it is 20%, 30%, five percent, 25%, five percent and 15% respectively. On clans and their totemic background, four of the interviewees representing 24% were unable to give their clan names whilst 80%; sixteen of them were able to provide their clans. On Question 2 under the Section A, sixteen; (80%) interviewees answered 'No' to the origin of their clans, that is they did not know the origin whilst four; (24%) responded 'Yes' to the effect that they know the origin of their clans. On the meaning of the clans, eighteen of them responded 'No' representing 90% whilst two representing 10% responded in the affirmative. The 10% interviewees gave their opinions on the meaning of their clans. The twenty interviewees were asked whether they know the totem for the clan. Thirteen of them

responded 'Yes' whilst seven responded 'No' representing 65% and 35% respectively. All the thirteen interviewees that responded 'Yes' were able to give their totems for their clans. Out of the thirteen that provided their clan totems, only one was able to express his opinion on the meaning of his clan totem. This represents eight percent. On categorization of the totemic symbols, eight chose option 'a' (wild animal), one chose option 'b' (domestic animal), one chose option 'c' (mythical beast), one chose option 'd' (plant), one indicated that the totem is both a domestic as well as a wild animal and eight did not choose any of the options representing 40%, five percent, five percent, five percent, five percent and 40% respectively. Do you know of any other totem in your community apart from that of your clan was the next interview question for which thirteen responded 'Yes' and the remaining seven responding 'No' representing 65% and 35% respectively. All the thirteen respondents that responded 'Yes' above were able to mention the type of totem they know in their communities for the next question. One person out of the twenty interviewees responded 'Yes' that represent five percent. The rest of the 95% interviewees said 'No' on the question; 'does the other clan totem have any influence on you? The one person who chose 'Yes' said that "it inspires him". On the next question, 'what features of your clan totem do you know?' had eight interviewees mentioning the feature whilst twelve did not say anything equating to 40% and 60% respectively. Question 15 demanded from the interviewees to state whether clan totems have put any impediment on their way in life. Fifteen responded 'No' whilst five did not respond to either 'Yes' or 'No' representing 75% and 25% respectively. In effect, no response was given for Question 16. 'Has your clan totem been beneficial to you in life in any form? was Question 17. In all, four responded 'Yes' representing 20%, twelve responded 'No' representing 60% and four respondents did not choose either

‘Yes’ or ‘No’ representing 20%. Since none of them chose ‘Yes’, Question 18 was not responded to. On the definition of a totem, thirteen people were able to define it whilst seven were not able to define it. These represent 65% and 35% respectively. Four people were able to respond to ‘what are totemic poles?’ sixteen did not make any attempt to answer the question. In percentage wise, they represent 20% and 80% respectively. Six interviewees were able to mention the material used in the preparation of totemic poles. These represent 30% out of the twenty interviewees. In assigning reasons for the use of the material stated in Question 21, only four representing 20% were able to do that. Question 23 demanded for the definition of Totemism. Nineteen interviewees were unable to answer Question 23 representing 95% whilst one person representing five percent made the attempt to answer the Question 23. There were eleven people that responded ‘Yes’ to Question 24; ‘has Totemism outlived its usefulness?’ Five responded ‘No’ whilst four chose neither ‘Yes’ nor ‘No’. These represent 55%, 25% and 20% respectively. When asked in Question 25 ‘whether Totemism should be improved or ignored?’, 40%; (eight people) responded to option ‘a’ it should be improved, eight people representing 40% chose ‘b’ it should be ignored whilst four people representing 20% did not choose any of the options. Fifteen people representing 75% were able to assign reasons for their choices in Question 25 whilst five did not give any reason at all. These represent 25%.

Section C touched on the ‘Relevance and Interpretation of Totems. Seven interviewees representing 35% were able to state according to their opinion ‘what are the uses of Totems?’ in answering Question 27. Thirteen of them representing 65% were unable to give any uses. Question 28 demanded from the interviewees the literal or direct meaning of their totems. Out of the twenty interviewees, eighteen

representing 90% chose 'No' whilst 10%; two people did not respond to either 'Yes' or 'No'. For Question 30 which demanded for the philosophical meaning of totems, two people did not respond to any of the two options 'Yes' or 'No' whilst eighteen of them chose 'No' representing 10% and 90% respectively. Since the interviewees did not choose 'Yes' for Question 30, no reasons were assigned in Question 31. Six interviewees representing 30% chose 'Yes', twelve interviewees representing 60% chose 'No' whilst two interviewees representing 10% did not choose neither 'Yes' nor 'No' in response to Question 32 as shown on Fig. 19.

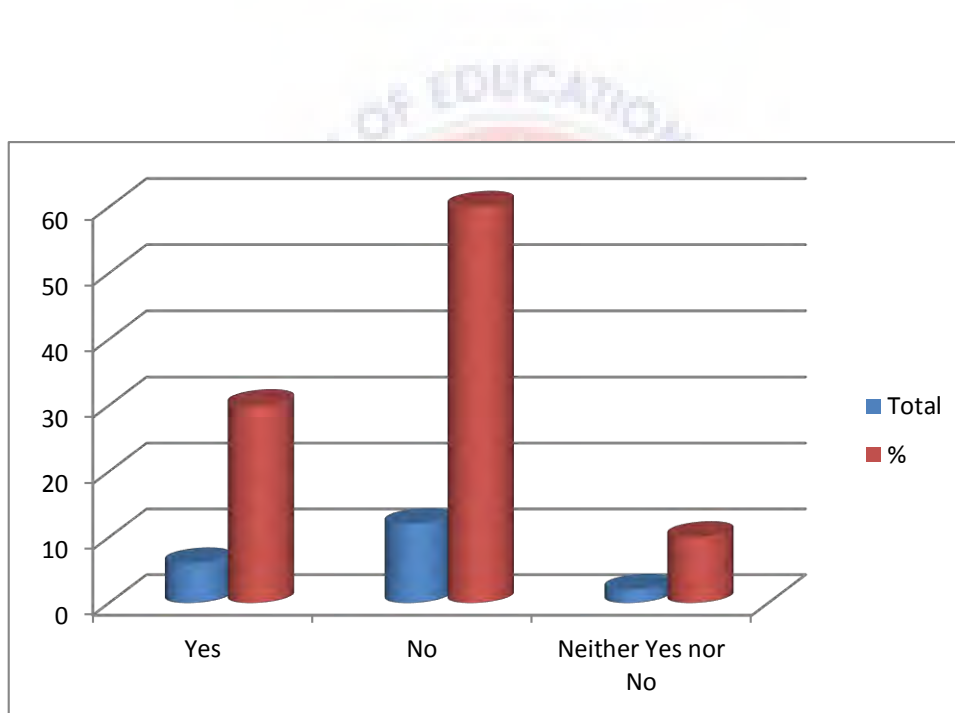


Fig. 19. Interviewees responses to Question 32.

Five interviewees were able to give reasons for choosing 'Yes' to Question 32 representing 25%. Question 34 demanded interviewees to state the educational value of their Totems. Out of the twenty interviewees, nine representing 45% interviewees mentioned some of the educational values of Totems, one interviewee representing five percent indicated that Totems do not have any educational value and ten

interviewees representing 50% could not give any educational value of the Totems. Influence of Totemism on the youth was Question 35. Three interviewees responded 'Yes' to the question. This represents 15%. Fifteen said 'No' representing 75% whilst two representing 10% did not choose any of the two options. The three interviewees that responded 'Yes' were able to assign reasons for their choice.

Section D dwelt on Conservation and Preservation of Totems. The first question under this Section sought to find out from the interviewees whether festivals are organised in honour of their respective totems. Amongst the twenty interviewees, sixteen of them forming 80% answered 'No', three representing 15% interviewees did not respond to either 'Yes' or 'No' but one interviewee representing five percent responded positively to the question. The one interviewee who responded in the affirmative stated "some days are set aside to honour the Totem". In respect to Question 39, 'which other area of your societal life do you find these totemic symbols?' with options 'stories, regalia, traditional religion, proverbs, traditional art form and others'. Seven of the interviewees did not ascribe to any of the options, two chose three options, eight chose two options and three interviewees opted for only one option representing 35%, 10%, 40% and 15% respectively. Question 40 required interviewees to respond to 'do you have special activity (ies) for preserving these totems?' The activities included 'economic, political, social' and there was an opportunity for interviewees to indicate other activities they may know of in respect to the above question. Fifteen (75%) could not provide any of the activities, two interviewees representing (10%) provided activities for others, two representing (10%) interviewees provided for economic, political and social activities but one forming (five percent) of the interviewees listed activities for economic and social

purposes. For Question 41, 'what should be done to preserve the knowledge about these totems?' fourteen interviewees (70%) provided an answer to the question whilst six did not provide any answer to the question. This represents 30%. The most prominent amongst the responses were "education and documentation". 'Where are these totemic symbols used?' was Question 42. The options were 'for funerals, for festivals, for religious activities, for shrines, used by chiefs and others'. Seven interviewees chose only one option, five did not choose any of the options, five chose two options, two chose three options and one chose all the options. These represent 35%, 25%, 25%, 10% and five percent respectively. Seventeen interviewees representing 85% provided answers to Question 44 which dwelt on 'who should carry out activities for preserving knowledge about these totems?' three people did not say anything about the question. These represent 15%. Eight interviewees representing 40% responded 'Yes' to Question 45; 'does Totemism improve Biodiversity Conservation?' 40% representing eight interviewees opted for 'No' and 20% representing four interviewees responded 'no idea'. All the eight interviewees that responded 'Yes' to Question 45 were able to assign reasons in Question 46. The last Question for this Section was 'how does your community document totems?' It had options to be chosen from; written, oral tradition and music. In all, seven representing 35% interviewees selected 'oral tradition', three interviewees representing 15% opted for 'oral tradition and music', seven interviewees representing 35% did not choose any of the options, one representing five percent interviewee, chose 'written and music', one culminating in five percent interviewee opted for 'written and oral tradition' and one interviewee representing five percent opted for all the three options.

At the end of it all, the interviewees were given the opportunity to make recommendations and suggestions at Section E. Out of the twenty interviewees, sixteen forming 80% gave out suggestions and recommendations and 20%; four persons did not offer any recommendations or suggestions.



CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS OF FINDINGS

5.0 Introduction

This Chapter presents discussions of major findings of the research work that boarder on Totemism: its influence on the Akan youth of Ghana taking into consideration the Literal and Philosophical meanings related to Clan Totems that inure to Conservation and Preservation of Totemic elements.

5.1 The Literal and Philosophical meanings of Totemic elements.

According to Opoku (1997) “the Akan live in the forest belt and are very conversant with myriad varieties of trees and plants which provide them with food and medicine, as well as sources of philosophical reflection on life” (p. 81). He further explained that “the variety of animals in the forest belt gave the Akan the opportunity to study animal life, observing their characteristics and behaviour that provided many insights and knowledge which were incorporated in their proverbs” (pp.85, 99). This is epitomised in the use of such plants, trees and animals by the Akan Clans as their totemic archetypes. The totems are educational materials in the traditional fraternity that one has to devote his or her time to learn. As enshrined in the Daily Graphic December, 2013, “these symbols also demonstrate Ghanaians’ ingenuity of literature or semiology where symbols are used to communicate”. Anyone who sees these totems is psychologically forced to rack the brains or to make certain inquiries in order to get the meanings of what the designs represent since ignorance is not an

excuse. As shown in this adage ‘*wo werɛfi wo kuromhene abɛn a, woyera wɔ dwabɔ ase*’. Philosophically, it is incumbent on one to be abreast of issues with regards to one’s Customs and Institutions in order not to be alienated. The Akans wittiness in language is further espoused in the use of plants, trees and animal symbols in their philosophical sayings as seen in their proverbs. These perhaps rekindled the Akan ancestors to identify plants, animals and their uses and bequeathed to posterity not only a vast bank of knowledge of plants and animals and their uses, but also a number of philosophical sayings in connection with plants, trees and animals. Below are some of the Akan proverbs, their Literal and Philosophical meanings that are characteristic of some Totemic elements.

5.1.1 *Ehia ɔsebɔ a, ɔwe nwura.*

Literal meaning: when the leopard is desperate it eats weeds.

Philosophical meaning: Desperation and want often drive a person to do what he/she is not used to or what he/she normally would not accept. The proverb expresses the need for one to adapt himself/herself to changing circumstances. This calls for dynamism and versatility in life. Necessity is the mother of invention. The Leopard is noted for its carnivorous in nature but in times of need it eats leaves for survival.

5.1.2 *Obi nkyerɛ ɔsebɔ ba atow.*

Literal meaning: No one teaches the leopard’s cub how to spring (to catch its prey).

Philosophical meaning: Children take after their parents. The young one normally learns from the elderly.

5.1.3 *Ɔsebɔ de ne ho hu na ewen n'afuw.*

Literal meaning: The leopard protects its farm through the fear which people have for it.

Philosophical meaning: Fear of the consequences prevents people from trespassing or breaking the rules set by authority. Never spare the rod to spoil the child.

5.1.4 *Aboa a ɔsebɔ antumi anwe no, agyinamoa mfa no afo.*

Literal meaning: A leopard with a porcupine in its mouth. The animal that the leopard has not been able to eat (catch), its carcass will not be eaten by cat.

The leopard and the cat belong to the same family, but the leopard is a bigger and stronger creature. The animal that the leopard cannot catch can in no way be caught by the cat which is a smaller creature.

Philosophical meaning: Tasks which call for strength or power cannot be accomplished by those who do not have it. Who the cap fits, let him wear it, competent people need to be appointed to occupy sensitive positions devoid of nepotism.

5.1.5 *Sɛ osu hwe ɔsebɔ a, ne ho nhwi na ɛfɔw, na ne nworonworan no de, empopa.*

Literal meaning: When the rain beats the leopard, his fur becomes wet, but his spots do not wash away.

Philosophical meaning: A person of valour may be overwhelmed by adversity, but his/her spirit (character) remains undaunted (unchanged). A person's character cannot be hidden no matter where he/she is found.



Fig. 20. *Sɛ osu hwe ɔsebɔ a, ne ho nhwi na ɛfɔw, na ne nworonworan no de, empopa.*
Source: Fieldwork, March, 2014.

5.1.6 *Krotwiamansa fa awuru a, obua da.*

Literal meaning: When a leopard picks up a tortoise (to eat), it starves.

The tortoise is not the leopard's natural prey and it is therefore foolish on the part of the leopard to catch it.

Philosophical meaning: The symbol is a warning against foolish acts. To show how independent the tortoise is for the leopard. This proverb is cited when an otherwise weak or powerless person cannot be harmed by a powerful person. It is also useless to kill an ant with a stick.



Fig. 21. Krotwiamansa fa awuru a, obua da.
Source: Opoku, 1997.

5.1.7 *Kobia nnim gyata.*

Literal meaning: Kobia (the small child), does not know the lion.

The symbol represents the story of a child who took a lion to be a sheep and stroked it. His/her naivete saved him, for the lion did not hurt her/him. The child's action was the result of her/his youth and inexperience and the linguist staff is used to stress the importance of educating the young and uninitiated in the traditions and customs of the society.

Philosophical meaning: In a larger sense, the symbol emphasises the need for knowledge which will dispel ignorance and enable us to avoid courting danger. It also

urges the youth not to discount their rich customs and traditions else they will be found wanting in a public gathering.

5.1.8 *Dhurii si akyekyere akyi kwa.*

Literal meaning: The tsetsefly (looking for blood to suck) stands at the back of the tortoise in vain as shown in Fig. 22.

The proverb is used to advise people not to allow problems, or anything else that may be done to hurt them, to penetrate their skins considering the hard impregnable shell of the tortoise.

Philosophical meaning: unproductive venture. This is an exhortation for steadfastness in the face of adversity. This is perhaps to elucidate on the fact that life is full of ups and downs and so one should be prepared for any eventuality in life.

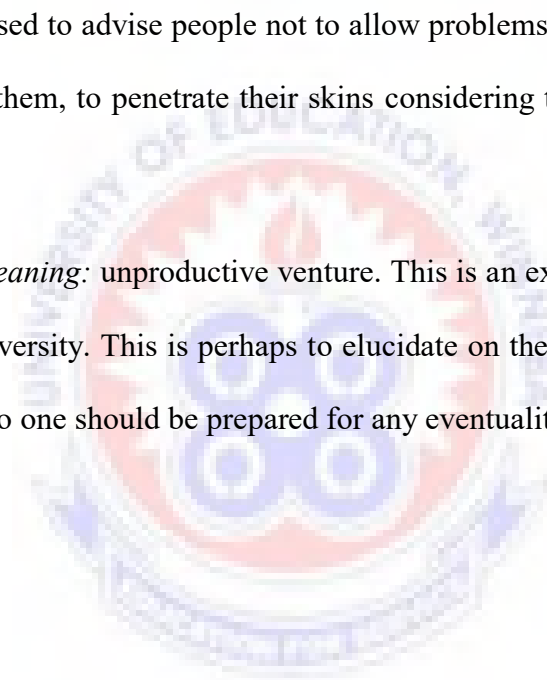




Fig. 22. Ohurii si Akyekyere akyi kwa.

Source: Fieldwork, March, 2014.

5.1.9 *Akyekyere se: ntɛm ye, ogom nso ye.*

Literal meaning: The tortoise says to go fast (speed) is good, and to go slowly (slowness) is also good.

Philosophical meaning: Both speed and slowness have their proper time and place, depending on the circumstances. The proverb lifts up wisdom or good judgement as a guide to conduct.

5.1.10 *Wokɔ awuru kurom na ɔwe dɔte a, wowe bi.*

Literal meaning: When you visit the town of the tortoise and it eats earth (dust), you eat some too.

Philosophical meaning: The proverb expresses the need for adaptability. It also calls on people to adjust to all situations.

5.1.11 *Gye akyekyere kɔma agya” nnye ahayɔ.*

Literal meaning: Literally translated as “take this tortoise to father” is no hunting.

Philosophical meaning: A hunter who returns from the forest with a tortoise obviously shows his lack of success in killing game.

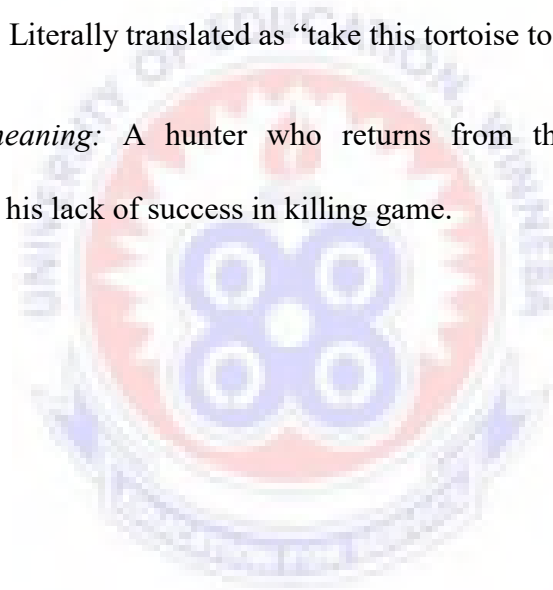




Fig. 23. Gye Akyekyere kɔma agya nnye ahaya.

Source: Fieldwork, March, 2014.

5.1.12 *Akyekyere nni nufu, nso ɔwo a, onim nea ɔye yen ne ba.*

Literal meaning: The tortoise does not have breast milk, but it knows how to take care of its child when it gives birth.

Philosophical meaning: A mother will endeavour to feed her children under any circumstances. The versatility of mankind is brought to bear when this philosophical saying is properly diagnosed and juxtapose to human activities.

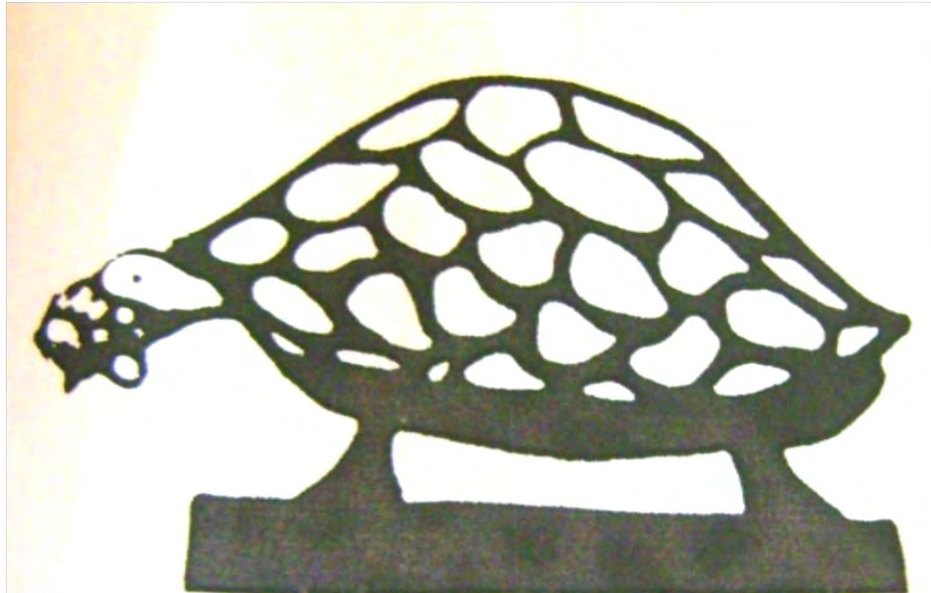


Fig. 24. *Akyekyere nni nufu, nso ɔwo a, onim nea ɔye yen ne ba.*
Source: Opoku, 1997.

5.1.13 *Esono kokuroo, adowa ne panyin.*

Literal meaning: The elephant is big, but the (little) royal antelope is the elder (smarter).

Philosophical meaning: Quick-wittedness is better (superior) than sheer size. Wisdom and intelligence have got nothing to do with a person's stature.



Fig. 25. *Esono kokuroo, adowa ne panyin.*

Source: Fieldwork, March, 2014.

5.1.14 *Esono nni ha mu a, anka ekoo ye aboɔn.*

Literal meaning: If the elephant were not in the forest, the roan antelope would be considered a very large animal.

This proverb is used in a political sense to compare the power of the king, in the case of the Asante nation, with that of the other paramount chiefs. It is also used in a general sense to compare the power of the chief to that of the elders or heads of households in towns or villages. In Akan political culture, the king is compared to the elephant, as the person with the mightiest power in the nation.

Philosophical meaning: This re-emphasises the need to eschew mediocrity.

5.1.15 *Esono afɔn sɛ dɛn ara a, wɔngua no wɔ berew so'*

Literal meaning: However thin the elephant becomes, it is not skinned on a palm leaf.

After killing an animal, a hunter would put it on a skin or pad to skin it; and usually the hunter would select a skin or pad on which the animal would fit. The elephant is the biggest animal in the forest, and it would be inconceivable to imagine that it can be laid on a palm leaf to be skinned, however thin it has become. If this happened, it would be a disgrace to the elephant.

Philosophical meaning: The proverb suggests that a person must be accorded the dignity and respect attached to his/her position, notwithstanding adverse changes his/her personal circumstances.

5.1.16 *Wonnyae esono akyi di nkɔtoto abo mmɔ aseredowa.*

Literal meaning: One does not leave (ignore) an elephant and throw stones at a small bird.

Philosophical meaning: When there is opportunity for important matters to be dealt with, one does not abandon it to pursue minor or insignificant matters. There is the need to cut down on wasteful/unnecessary ventures and be meticulous in spending.

5.1.17 *Wudi esono akyi a wontoa.*

Literal meaning: When you follow an elephant, you do not get tangled up with creepers.

Philosophical meaning: An elephant going through the forest clears its path of all creepers and entanglements, and a follower walks with ease in the elephant's path. The king is compared to an elephant, for his wise counsel and able leadership, if followed, will ensure a conflict-free state. The elders with their wisdom and experience also blaze a trail through the thickets of life and the younger generation will avoid so many trials if they follow the advice of elders and parents. This encourages the youth to get closer to the elderly and tap their reach worth of experience and knowledge.

5.1.18 Sono ntumi ne se a, anka ɔmfa nnantew.

Literal meaning: The elephant would not be able to walk if it could not carry its own tusks (teeth).

Philosophical meaning: Each person should endeavour to bear his or her own burden. We should bite what we can chew.

5.1.19 Esono dua ye tiaa, nso eno ara na ɔde pra ne ho.

Literal meaning: Although the elephant's tail is short, she/he brushes off the flies with it, nevertheless.

Philosophical meaning: Limitations or handicaps are no excuse on the part of a person not to make an effort to make do with what one has. In other words, however limited a person's resources or endowments are, one can still do something with them. This reaffirms that disability is not inability.

5.1.20 *Konturomfi se, hye mafonom, na meyi asempa maka makyere wo.*

Literal meaning: The monkey says, “If you fill up my cheeks (with food), then I shall say good things to you”.

Philosophical meaning: Kindness must be reciprocated. As human beings, we should not be ingrate.

5.1.21 *Kwasi Ahwehwe nnya nkɔdɔw Boaboa no, na eho nokɔson didi.*

Literal meaning: The monkeys at *Boaboa* (name of a place) had something to eat before Kwasi Ahwehwe (name of a man) went there to make his farm.

Philosophical meaning: Benefactors who are often fussy or nitpicking are told this proverb to show that the people they are helping were livings (not starving) before they came and that they could well do without the assistance of the benefactors.

A warning to benefactors not to be excessively demanding or boastful. This admonishes us not to look down upon our beneficiaries.

5.1.22 *Konturomfi se, ɔbran wu ne koko.*

Literal meaning: The monkey says, “The valiant man dies because of his bravery”. The Akan language locates feelings such as anger and bravery in the chest, *koko* or *bo*. To say that a person is brave, the Akan would say, “*ne koko ye duru*” - literally, his chest is heavy.

Philosophical meaning: Thus, the brave man dies because of his heavy heart (nothing to do with sorrow in Akan language) means the brave man dies because of his courage or bravery. The Akan say the warrior fights with courage, not with excessive anger.

5.1.23 *Hae! Hae! Na amma akorɔma annyɛ kɛse.*

Literal meaning: means the shout of *Hae! Hae!* did not let the Hawk grow big.

The Akan shout to drive away or frighten off domestic animals (sheep) and birds of prey. And if the hawks are not driven away they would catch more chickens to eat and grow big and powerful and cause more harm.

Philosophical meaning: The proverb stresses the need to contain evil so that it does not become overpowering.

5.1.24 *Hama behu soro a, efiri dua.*

Literal meaning: if the vine (climber) can see the sky, it is because (it climbs on the trunk) of the tree.

Philosophical meaning: it is with support of others that one can accomplish something. This elucidates man's indebtedness to others on his achievements. It further urges man to be grateful and show appreciation.

5.1.25 *Abɛ baako na ɛsɛ nsa.*

Literal meaning: one palm nut spoils the taste of the palm wine.

Philosophical meaning: palm wine is tapped from the palm tree but when ripe palm fruit falls into a pot of palm wine it changes its taste. The proverb means that one bad person in a family or community ruins the reputation of the entire group.

The proverb admonishes people to be careful in their dealings since it may have repercussion on their entire family.

5.1.26 *Ɔsansa kɔ abu a ɔde n'akyi gya Akorɔma*

Literal meaning: Ɔsansa (Falcon) goes to brood, the Akorɔma (Hawk) takes over.

Philosophical meaning: When the leader is not there, the next in commander takes over. This calls for peace, harmony and trust. The absence of one person in a society should not affect the entire society but there should be a succession plan.

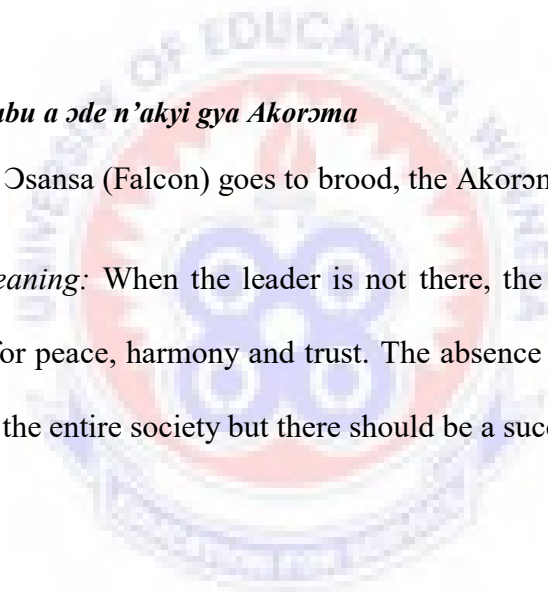




Fig. 26. Osansa kɔ abu a, ɔde n'akyi gya Akorɔma
Source: Fieldwork, June, 2014.

The above submissions clearly demonstrate that the totems should not be regarded as merely archetypes since they possess philosophical interpretations. As Tanner (2003) cautioned “the totems should not be regarded as mere symbols or simple artifices since social life in all its aspects is made possible only by a vast symbolism”. The attitude of respondents and interviewees clearly showed that the practice of totemism has been relegated to the periphery due to culture acculturation. The Akan established clans are eight in number with their totems but the names change depending on the geographical location of the tribe as the study revealed. The study also revealed that most of the Akan youth know their clan names no matter their academic level however the illiterate youth had little knowledge about the origin and meaning of their

clans. From the analysis of the Questionnaire administered, hundred percent learned adult/literate youth, hundred percent aged interviewees and eighty percent illiterate youth interviewees respectively were able to state their clans but fifty-two percent learned adult/literate youth, hundred percent aged interviewees and twenty percent illiterate youth interviewees respectively were able to state the origin of the clans. The disparities in the percentages above clearly demonstrate that the aged have much to offer with regards to our Customs and Institutions.

The study has also showed that a greater part of the population of the study knows their clan totems but on the meaning of the totems, the youth lack worthwhile knowledge. On the influence totems have on the youth, a greater part of the population of the study did not know much influence the totems have on them.

Probably, the most worried part of the study. This is because respondents and youth interviewees showed much naivety. The adults have much knowledge on the literal and philosophical meanings of the totems. The uses of totems are very minimal. The social functions of the totems dominate the uses of totems. Totems dominate social functions involving chiefs since linguist staffs always portray proverbial icons which are epitome of reverence for clan patriarchs. The youth are also ignorant about other uses of the Totemic elements in their society.

The chiefs and elders are touted as having much knowledge about the Customs and Institutions of the land. As Antubam (1963, p. 165) reiterated, “the ruling house of every traditional area is said to be the custodian of treasured knowledge of the land and people of their particular traditional area”. He further elaborated that “royalty in Ghana is always associated with old age and the wisdom of the people’s life”. Activities to use Totemistic practices to Preserve and Conserve Biodiversity were

rarely seen in the communities. The aged showed much knowledge on the use of Totemism to influence Conservation of Biodiversity.



CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Summary of Findings

This chapter summarizes the findings of the whole work, draws conclusions and offers suggestions and recommendations to the conclusions arrived at. The research was aimed at finding out on Totemism: its influence on the Akan Youth of Ghana.

Due to this, three objectives were developed:

- What totems exist in the Akan areas in Ghana?
- What are the literal and philosophical meanings of totems amongst the Akan Youth of Ghana?
- Are there any effects of totems on conservation of biodiversity in Ghana?

Based on the above objectives, thorough search for literature was carried out so as to review the most authentic ones. Questionnaires, interviews and observation were the core instruments used to ascertain the main facts on the ground.

Literature search showed that aside the eight established Akan Clans with their totems, there are other peripheral totems. The interviews with the aged, family heads, chiefs and sub-chiefs showed that most of these people are embedded with rich knowledge on the totems but according to them not much documentation on the historical aspect had been done. This is an indication that transmission of Customs and Institutions from one generation to another has been futile. Few communities

have sacred places that are believed to be harbouring potential totemic elements and as such those places are reserved. Some people feed and do not harm their totemic elements during certain times. The few uses to which the Totemic archetypes are put are mainly social. The youth interviewed showed much naivety towards the concept of Totemism apparently due to their alienation from their cultural heritage.

The responses to the questionnaires showed that some youth had much information on their totems than others. The delay in the submission of the questionnaires is also an indication that even some youth and adults lack some aspects of their culture as some were very frank to confess their limitations to the researcher.

Observations made during the interviews on the attitude of the youth, showed that the youth have inadequate knowledge of their tradition and that has culminated in their lack of interest in learning about their Customs and Institutions. Another observation made during the conduct of interviews and the administration of questionnaires showed that there is a big gap between the youth and the elderly as some of the elderly interviewees confessed to the researcher hence the non-transmission of the rich valuable cultural heritage through informal education. This clearly backs the submissions by the Daily Graphic, December 30, 2013, “most of the current generation do not know the importance of the totems and therefore overlook them when they see them”. They showed naivety of knowledge towards the philosophical and literal meanings of the totems. Some of the youth saw the practice of totemism as idolatrous and outmoded. Another relevant observation made was inadequate written materials on Totemism in our educational institutions that culminated in the limited knowledge showed by the youth in answering the questionnaire and the answers provided for the interview questions.

Aside from the above, it was observed that authentic information on totemism was very handy.

6.1 Conclusions

The research revealed that there are in existence the eight major clan totems for the Akans despite the different names used by the various tribes. Not all respondents were able to give the literal, educational, socio-cultural and philosophical meanings of the totems. Only a few of the respondents expressed the notion that totems have any effects on the conservation of biodiversity.

Conclusions drawn were:

- Most elderly have rich knowledge on the totems but the transition to the youth is lacking since the latter saw the practice of totemism as archaic.
- The totems possess philosophical and literal relevance but the youth showed naivety towards them.
- The current generation does not know the importance of totems and their implication in life forgetting the need to appreciate the socio-culture legacy that has protected flora and fauna, which support the ecosystem upon which our survival depends, (Ossei-Akoto, n.d).
- Limited documentation had been made on totems and totemistic practice in our educational institutions and this has resulted in the youth finding it very difficult to recount them.

- Natural places serving as habitats for totemic elements are revered so as to conserve our flora and fauna. Such sacred places have helped to protect these totemic elements from extinction and destruction.

6.2 Recommendations

Considering the above conclusions, the following recommendations are made:

- The youth should be encouraged to seek for knowledge on the Customs and Institutions from the elders/aged who are the custodians of our rich cultural heritage “since royalty in Ghana is always associated with old age and the wisdom of the people’s life...every traditional area is said to be the custodian of the treasured knowledge of the land and people of their particular traditional area” (Antubam, 1963, p.165).
- By way of conservation of biodiversity and the preservation of their cultural heritage, the youth should be educated on the practice of totemism by the elderly as a way of protecting their patriarchs but not out of date (archaic).
- Issues on totems should be vividly documented and included in our educational Curriculum and possibly community libraries should be stocked with such important and educative materials for easy access. This will encourage the youth to learn about their clan totems and other issues related to the totems.
- Totems should be painted and drawn on walls of all clan members in order to always perpetuate these symbols as Tanner (2003) observed, “the nobles of the feudal period carved, engraved and designed in every way their Coats-of-arms

upon the walls of their castles, their arms...the blacks of Australia, Indians of North America do the same thing with their totems” (p. 59).

- For further research, the researcher recommends that, in-depth research into the historical aspects of totems should be conducted.



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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

SCHOOL OF CREATIVE ARTS

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (ARTS AND CULTURE)

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please take a moment to think about the questions below and answer them truthfully and honestly. This research is for EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES ONLY.

It will however inform the researcher to make significant addition to knowledge in our Educational, Social and Cultural Systems about the attitudes of the citizenry towards our valuable Cultural practices and preservation of our Cultural heritage. The information gathered would be kept strictly confidential.

TOPIC: TOTEMISM: ITS INFLUENCE ON THE AKAN YOUTH OF GHANA.

SECTION A

Please, tick () appropriately to express your view.

PERSONAL DETAILS OF RESPONDENTS

1. Gender Male Female

2. What is your educational level?

3. Primary JHS SHS O' Level Technical

Cert 'A' Diploma HND Degree

Higher

4. How old are you?

15 – 20 years 21 – 25 years

26 – 30 years 31 – 35 years

36 years and above

5. What is your occupation?

6. What is your religious background?.....

7. What is your hometown?.....

8. Which Akan group do you belong to?.....

SECTION 'B'

CLANS AND THEIR TOTEMIC BACKGROUND

1. What clan do you belong to?

2. Do you know the origin of the clan? Yes No

3. Do you know the meaning of the clan? Yes No

If yes, state it.....

4. Do you know the totem for the clan? Yes No

If yes, state it.....

15. Do you know of any philosophical meaning of your totem? Yes No

If yes, state it.....

16. Do you know of any socio-cultural relevance of the totem to the development of the society? Yes No

If yes, state it.....

17. State the educational value of your totem to the youth.....

.....

18. Do you know of any influence of totemism on the youth? Yes No

If yes, state how.....

SECTION D

CONSERVATION AND PRESERVATION

19. Do you have any festival in honour of the totem? Yes No

If yes, state it.....

20. Which other area of your societal life do you find these totemic symbols?

Stories Regalia traditional religion

Proverbs Traditional art form others (please

specify).....

21. Do you have any special activity (ies) for preserving these totems?

Economic.....

Political.....

Social.....

Others.....

22. What should be done to preserve the knowledge about these totems?.....

.....

23. Where are these totemic symbols used?

24. For funerals For festivals
For religious activities For shrines Used by chiefs
others (please specify).....

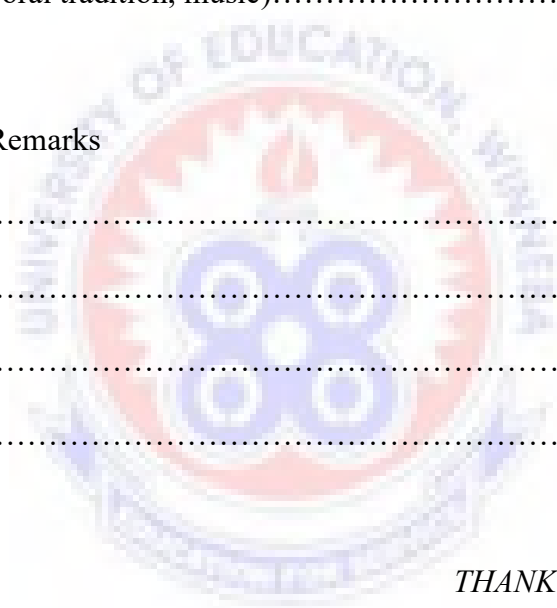
25. Who should carry out activities for preserving knowledge about these
totems?.....

26. Does totemism improve biodiversity conservation? Yes No
If yes, state how

27. How does your Community document totems?
(Written, oral tradition, music).....

General Remarks

.....
.....
.....
.....



THANK YOU.

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW GUIDE

On the topic:

TOTEMISM: ITS INFLUENCE ON THE AKAN YOUTH OF GHANA.

PERSONAL DETAILS OF RESPONDENTS

Name.....

Age.....

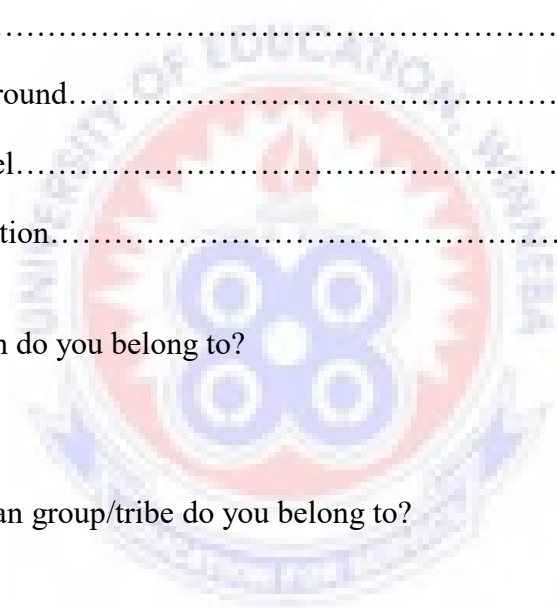
Occupation.....

Religious Background.....

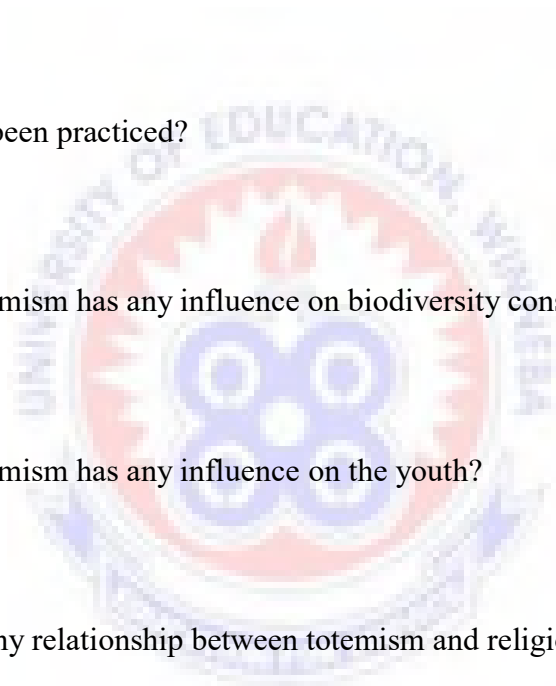
Educational Level.....

Status/Rank/Position.....

1. What clan do you belong to?
2. What Akan group/tribe do you belong to?
3. What is the origin of your clan?
4. What is the totem for the clan?
5. Why that totem for the clan?
6. What other totems are found in your community?



7. Do you know of any literal or philosophical meaning of the totem?
8. Does the totem have any cultural relevance?
9. Do you know of any other totem used in the community?
10. What is totemism?
11. Is it still been practiced?
12. Does totemism has any influence on biodiversity conservation?
13. Does totemism has any influence on the youth?
14. Is there any relationship between totemism and religion?
15. What are the educational meanings of totems?



APPENDISES 3a – 3d.



Appendix 3a. The Big Tree.

Source: Fieldwork, March, 2014.



**Appendix 3b. Linguists with linguist staffs at a social function.
Source: Fieldwork, May, 2014.**



**Appendix 3c. Mudfishes in Kwaniakwa stream.
Source: Fieldwork, February, 2014.**



Appendix 3d. The Buffalo used as a Logo.

Source: Fieldwork, January, 2014.

