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**The Kulyekukyeku Bamboo Orchestra
of Mosomagor, Ghana**

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Abstract

My goal in this project is to examine the Kukyekukyeku bamboo orchestra of Mosomagor, the meaning and importance of this orchestra to the socio-economic life of the Mosomagor community and note the socio-economic changes that the people are experiencing. To gain informants on this topic, I lived fourteen days in Mosomagor, observing, interviewing and participating in the daily life of the people. The people confirmed to me the changes happening in the village since the establishment of Kakum National Park. The major adjustment they are making is to revive their traditional bamboo music to meet the needs of the tourists that pass through the village on their way to Kakum National Park.

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Acknowledgments

This is the section that I guess I get to thank all of the people that helped buckle me in for this wild ride. My mother gets to be mentioned here first because without her support, I would have never had the chance to ride on a tro-tro or hear the expression, "runny tummy. Next in line would have to be Dr. John Collins, who, told me everything I wanted to hear when he filled me in about the situation I would be placing myself in once I reached Mosomagor. I also have to thank him for taking the time to meet with me and be my adviser. A big thumbs-up goes to all the kids at Ebis who kept the laughter alive during those late night sessions of writing these papers. Yemi Tinuoye definitely gets my seal of approval for making himself so accessible to us students and for toughing it out with us in the villages outside of Kumasi. A big happy face goes to Ann Pobi for always keeping me on my toes. I can't forget about all those crazy cats I have been going to school and living with for the past three months, you guys and gals have been great fun! Then there is the big bamboo squad in Mosomagor. Bizmark, Isaac, you guys were fantastic! Finally I am going to have to end with a great big THANK YOU to all of the wonderful people of Ghana. You make this place too easy to live in.

Introduction

My first encounter with the village of Mosomagor came during a discussion with Dr. John Collins at the University of Ghana in Legon, in early February. I went to his office to discuss with him an idea that I had been pondering for my independent study project after a lecture he had given on Highlife music in Ghana. I shared with him the idea of comparing and contrasting three different drumming styles from three different regions in Ghana and note how the drumming rhythms are representative of the social structure they are found in. He felt that this was much too large of a project to do in the time span of four weeks and went on to give me some alternative ideas. One of his suggestions dealt with Mosomagor. This village was working on the revival of their traditional bamboo music as a means of income to cope with the recent socio-economic problems the people were facing as a result of the Kakum Park Project. From the information that he could relay to me, this proposal comprised everything that I wanted to incorporate into my study project: a rural village stay, a study of a traditional music and a study of recent social changes occurring in a traditional Ghanaian village.

My next encounter with Mosomagor came during a visit our class made to the AGORO/CILTAD project in Cape Coast in mid-April. I discovered that the AGORO/CILTAD project was backing the effort being made by the people of Mosomagor to revive their traditional music. I spoke with Selete Nyomi, director of the AGORO/CILTAD project and he was very interested in arranging a time for me to go and see Mosomagor first hand. AGORO sends one of their dance instructors to the village every other Wednesday, so I arranged to accompany him the next time he traveled to the village. It was after I had made the excursion to Mosomagor and experienced the

music and village life for only a few hours, that I made the decision to perform my independent study project there. The first few days of my independent study were done at the University of Ghana. There I spoke with Dr. Collins over possible literature I could read up on concerning traditional Fante music and social change in traditional communities. He suggested a few sources that might be helpful and I spent time in the library checking up on them. Two of the books that followed closely to my topic were "African Music in Ghana," by J.H. Kwabena Nketia and "Music as Expressive Culture," written by Robert Garfias. Nketia's book gave me the information I was searching for that dealt with the music of Ghana on a wide, general scale and Garfias' book enlightened me on the placement of music in cultures and how it is representative of the changes the society may be experiencing. One thing that I found out very quickly in Ghana is the dearth of resources in the libraries as compared to the abundant amount found in most American university libraries. I took notes on what I could find and then made my journey to Mosomagor.

Methodology

In dealing with the lack of literature, I came to grips with the reality that the bulk of information for this project was going to be satisfied through formal and informal interviews adjoined with participant and non-participant observations. A translator was needed to successfully relay pertinent information out of the interviews. Formal interviews were used to obtain the history of this young village from the elders, namely, Yao Abro, Kwesi Amoah and Asona Abusuapene Kwame Amoah. I questioned more than one so as to cross check the data that was collected to insure its accuracy. These interviews were also used to collect the information I needed concerning AGORO's involvement in the village and that also of Conservation International's and the Kakum National Park project. Finally, formal interviews were used to collect the information I needed from the bamboo orchestra's leader and founder, Bizmark Amoah, concerning the history and repertoire of the bamboo music in this particular village. I also questioned him on the actual aid bequeathed to the orchestra from the following sponsoring organizations: AGORO/CILTAC), Mucia, Conservation International and the Department of Game and Wildlife.

I used informal interviews with the villagers to obtain their feelings about the bamboo orchestra and how they were adapting to the new socio-economic changes their everyday lives were experiencing since the establishment of Kakum National Park. These

interviews were also used to receive information from the orchestra members over their involvement with the orchestra and the effects the orchestra has had on them.

A huge effort was made on my part to immerse myself into the everyday lives of the villagers. This was done through countless participant observations. These included playing the bamboo instruments with the members, learning the Fante songs that accompanied the music, going to farm with a few families and making meals. When I wasn't participating, I was passively observing, such as viewing rehearsals and a formal performance for the Ambassador of Denmark, the making of roofing thatches, and the process of pounding out and drying the "local toothbrushes"¹ to sell at the market.

I documented all of the data I received from my interviews and participation in my notebook. I often used my audio recorder to capture the music and songs that made up the repertoire of the Kukyekukyeku bamboo orchestra and I snapped many photographs of life in the village as it was presented to me. Before I could use my audio recorder and camera, I had to seek the permission of the people in the village first. This didn't pose any problems at all; everyone wanted to have their picture taken and voice recorded. I haven't any means of cross checking the daily lives of the villagers, so it is impossible for me to gauge the extent of which my presence had an impact upon their daily lives. Therefore, the information that is to come in the following pages was directly

¹ A special wood that is pounded on until it becomes very soft and then it is dried. Once dried, a small piece is chewed on for a while and then taken and wiped over surface of teeth thus, simulating a Western style toothbrush.

obtained through my own personal experiences I went through in the fourteen days that I lived amongst the people of Mosomagor.

Section 1: The Village of Mosomagor

The History

The village of Mosomagor lies in the Central Region on the eastern side of Kakum National Park about 40 kilometers from Cape Coast. This remote village was born thirty-three years ago from Yao Anorh's pursuit to find fertile farmland. Yao began this pursuit with his wife and children by leaving Agona Abordom for Amoobin. In Amoobin, Yao went to the Asona Abusuapene, Kwaku Jamina, commonly known as Nana Mosi because of his resemblance to the Mosi people of the Northern Region, and asked him if there was any land in the surrounding area that he could obtain to begin a cocoa farm. Yao's tie to Nana Mosi came through the Asona Abusua Womprekwa royal family, which they both belonged to. This gave Nana Mosi good reason to give Yao a plot of land in the deep forest, some seven kilometers northwest of Amoobin. Yao established his cocoa farm with his wife and then sent word out to all of his relatives in Fanteland informing them of the very promising farmland that surrounded him and suggested that they come join him.

Within the first four years, seven families came from various areas of the Central Region to join Yao in the forest. Upon arrival, the families scattered in all directions and set up their own farms quite some distance from each other and Yao as well. Once this was brought to Nana Mosi's attention, he sent word to Yao of his disapproval of this arrangement and noted his desire to see them merge together and form a single village. It was now Yao's mission to bring his family and friends together.

The name Mosomagor was born out of this effort made by Yao. He told the families of Nana Mosi's desire and added "me ne me mba so agor," which translated from Fante to English means "me and my children are up to enough number to play." What Yao meant by this was "there wasn't any reason for the families to be separated from each other. He and his family were able to enjoy many good times together and the more that joined them, the merrier"². The families admired this saying so much that they decided that it was a proper name for their new village. It was then combined and shortened thus giving rise to "Mosomagor."

In the following years many families made the journey to Mosomagor. These families were no longer comprised of only "direct" relatives of Yao. The wives of Yao's brothers sent word to their fathers, uncles, brothers and friends and these people passed the news of this farming village on to their friends and extended family members. Within fifteen years, the number of families in Mosomagor rose from seven in the first four years to nearly twenty-five.

Cocoa was the most popular crop to farm. Those who didn't farm cocoa, farmed cassava, corn, yams, or plantain. Everyone in the family played an active role in going to farm most days of the week either to weed, harvest or gather firewood for cooking. After harvesting was complete, the goods were taken to Amoabin to be sold in the market. This acted as the village's main source of income.

Another source of income for the village was selling the "bush meat" they killed in the forest. This "bush meat" was comprised of "antelope, monkey, bird, grass cutter

² Abro, personal communication, 23APR98. Translated by Isaac Nana Kwesi.

and other small rodents.”³ Men, especially the teenagers, were the chosen ones who would make the long treks out into the deep forest to find the meat. Shotguns, bamboo spears and slingshots made up the selection of weapons to chose from. The abundance of this “bush meat” in the deep forest assured any decent shot that he wasn't going to return home empty handed.

“Bush meat,” however, wasn't the only natural resource that the deep forest had to offer the people of Mosomagor. There was an unlimited supply of bamboo, an incredibly strong twine used for making baskets and holding the bamboo structures together, and the best wood used for making the “local toothbrush,” to name a few.

The village's farming and hunting efforts coupled with what they were able to gather from the deep forest allowed Mosomagor to be able to succeed as a self-sustaining village.

³ Abro, personal communication, 22APR98. Translated by Isaac Nana Kwesi.

Village Life after the Establishment of Kakum National Park

In 1925 the Government of Ghana established the Kakum Forest Reserve. This was the year the official boundaries were constructed. This act of ecological conservation in no way hindered the surrounding villages' use of the forest for its natural resources. It wasn't until 1989 when the Kakum project began and further on in 1992 when the Reserve was reconstructed as a National Park, that villagers first became affected by this act of ecological conservation. This was the point in time when all "illegal activity"⁴ was to stop within the boundaries of the Forest Reserve. This posed great problems for the people of the surrounding villages, including Mosomagor. The people of Mosomagor were now placed in a situation where they could no longer have access to the immense amount of "bush meat" and other natural resources from the deep forest. This new project proclaimed that one could not cross the boundaries of the Reserve without a guide. Villagers were now put in a situation where they had to deal with finding another means of income to replace that generated from hunting. They also had to resort to finding materials such as the twine used in basket weaving and the wood used for "local toothbrushes" in the immediate area surrounding their farms. Once these materials were found, they were discovered to be of a lesser quality than those found in the deep forest. On a positive note, there wasn't anyone from Mosomagor that lost any substantial amount

⁴ Ben Asamoah-Boatang, Officer-in-Charge at Kakum National Park during a formal interview on 4 MAY98. Reference to "illegal activity", was meant as those activities that are seen as illegal by Reserve rangers such as hunting, farming and logging within the boundaries of the Reserve.

of his farm. At most a couple of meters were shaved off by the road that outlined the boarder of the Reserve, and if one could provide proper papers declaring his ownership of the lost land, he was reimbursed by the government.

Subsequent actions taken by some villagers were in some instances more drastic than those taken by others. Some took it upon themselves to learn a new trade, such as basket weaving or tailoring, which would produce a product that they could sell in the market. Others, such as the young men who once spent the majority of their days in the forest hunting "bush meat," began fleeing the village to seek work else where, be it Cape Coast or as far as Accra. Those who fled felt that there wasn't anything left in the village that would provide them with the amount of income that they once generated from hunting in the forest. This broke up many families and placed a much greater responsibility and hardship on those family members who stayed behind to help keep the family farms going.

The loss of numerous young men and some young women was detrimental to the village as a whole. Elders and young children were forced to take over the everyday chores of the departing villagers, leading to the decline of productivity within the village due to the lack of stamina and strength. The people needed to create something within Mosomagor that would replace the income lost from hunting and would, at the same time, keep the young people from leaving. Solving this problem was a priority amongst

the people of Mosomagor. In the attempt to find new livelihood within Mosomagor, the idea of the Kukyekukyeku bamboo orchestra was born.

Section 2: The Kukyekukyeku

Bamboo Orchestra

The History of Bamboo Music

With the birth of the Kukyekukyeku bamboo orchestra came a revival of the traditional music of Mosomagor. It was one family who first introduced the bamboo music to Mosomagor within the first four years of the villages' existence. This family was comprised of Kofi Mensah, Kojo Obo, Kwame Amoah, and Yao Abro, all of whom were originally from Gomoa Odinna. They brought the music with them during their initial move to Agona Abordom and then finally onto Mosomagor. The people of Mosomagor were longing for some sort of recreational activity to enjoy and participate in during the evening after a long day at the farm. Kwame Amoah took it upon himself to teach the music that was taught to him by his uncle, to his son, Bizmark Amoah and then to the other villagers who fostered an interest in learning this new music. It caught on quickly within the village, especially with the younger peoples and became a popular evening activity. "In traditional African societies, music making is generally organized as a social event,"⁵ and it is very characteristic of many sub-Saharan societies to have the young ones be the players of recreational music. Songs were sung to accompany the polyrhythms played by seven musicians. These interlocking patterns are representative of

⁵ Nketia (1974), page 21.

the strong sense of social cohesiveness that exists in sub-Saharan African cultures. "The combination of these...independent patterns fit together to create a whole pattern, much like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. In this way the interdependence of the members of the community is reflected in its music."⁶ Highlife was the name of the particular arrangement that was most often played by the Orchestra. The songs sung over the highlife rhythm, were songs of remembrance for those who had died while out at farm, songs comprised of proverbs and stories and those songs that dealt with harvesting the cocoa, to name a few.

The music played on until 1976 when then younger ones who had been doing most of the playing, had gotten older and were beginning to get married and start families of their own. This involved much energy and thus, the time they allotted themselves to play quickly diminished and soon bamboo music became nonexistent in Mosomagor. It wasn't until 1986 that the music began to make its come back.

At this time, the younger boys in the village were becoming increasingly more and more interested in the girls. The boys quickly realized that the only way to get the girls out of their houses and away from the over-protected eye of the fathers, was to start playing the bamboo music, again, in the evenings. This, it was felt, would instigate a social gathering

⁶ Garfias (1997). page 51.

and give good reason for people, young girls included, to leave their houses and come out to play. This time the music lasted until 1988 when again it died out, as a result of the boys beginning to leave the village in search of work. Mosomagor remained quiet until 1994 when Bizmark Amoah saw the possible economic potential of having an organized bamboo orchestra in the village.

The History of the Kukyekukyeku Bamboo Orchestra

In April of 1994, while Bizmark was selling *FAN Milk* ice-cream products in the streets of Cape Coast, he heard, coming out of a distant, blaring radio, an announcement from the newly formed AGORO/CIUTAD project. This project was a product of a collaboration of both Ghanaian and Danish interests in preserving traditional music and dance. They were asking for anyone who was interested in polishing up on or learning a traditional music or dance, to come and join them at their center. The announcer also mentioned how AGORO was interested in helping anyone who knew of a traditional music that had died in their town or village and wanted to revive it. Bizmark took the following day off work and went to the AGORO people to talk to them about their proposal. Mr. Okyrgmar was in charge of making the decision on whether or not AG'ORO would administer this help. I-le was the first person Bizmark spoke to at AGORO about the bamboo music of Mosomagor and the recent problems the people were facing since the establishment of Kakum National Park. Bizmark also shared with

Mr. Okyrgmar his thoughts on how if the music was revived; it could potentially bring income into the village thus deterring the youth from leaving to go find work in the outside. Okyrgmar quickly became interested in the state of Mosomagor and told Bizmark that AGORO would assist him in trying to revive the bamboo music.

That night, Bizmark traveled back to Mosomagor with an AGORO pamphlet and shared with the people the events of the day. The people were very excited about the new idea and that night there was a gathering of the youth to sing songs. The following day, many skipped out on going to farm and instead went to the bush to get bamboo to make instruments. During the next four days, the air was filled with the sweet sounds of bamboo music. Bizmark was the only remaining person in the village who had played the music in past times of revival and thus, was the teacher for all those interested in playing. Not everyone wanted to be a drummer however. Some had an interest in singing while others had an interest in dancing. The people had many songs in their repertoire, but they only knew two dances at the time.

The following day Bizmark traveled back to Cape Coast to inform the people at AGORO that they were ready for them to come see and hear the music. This time Bizmark was directed to Selete Nyomi, the director of the AGORO/CILTAD project. Selete was as equally impressed with Bizmark's enthusiasm and drive to revive the traditional bamboo music of Mosomagor. He sent Bizmark back to Mosomagor with the promise of coming to the village very soon to hear the bamboo music. Much time had

passed and Selete had yet to come to Mosomagor. Finally, in early December, Selete found time and made the journey from Cape Coast. He enjoyed the performance put on by the people immensely. Before leaving, Selete donated 10,000 cedis to the village, requesting that in return the orchestra members spend the next month polishing up the music. It was on that day that the Kukyekukyeku bamboo orchestra was officially born. Bizmark gave the name to the group adding that he merely "liked the way kukyekukyeku sounded."⁷

In the following months there was much interaction between the orchestra and AGORO. A video sample of the orchestra was taken and sent to Ghana Broadcasting Company (GBC) for a public showing in late January. Early February brought the banish representative of AGORO to Mosomagor for four days to learn and asses the music and village life. He left the village assuring them that positive things were going to come out of the Mosomagor/AGORO relationship. Then in early February, four men and four women dance instructors from AGORO traveled to Mosomagor to teach dances that would accompany the bamboo music to those who were interested. They were to continue going to the village on a regular basis, but transportation problems stood in the way and it wasn't until January of 1996 that an instructor made it to the village regularly to teach the dances. Zie was the first dancer to come every Monday to instruct. He

⁷ Amoah, personal communication, 29APR98. Translated by Isaac Nam Kwesi.

consistently returned every week throughout the rest of the year. In mid-1997, Zie was replaced with Skinny and he only came to Mosomagor every other Wednesday to teach the dances. The number of dances that the orchestra added to their repertoire grew quickly.

Along with the dance instruction that AGORO supplied, they also helped in arranging times and places for the orchestra to perform. Many performances have come their way in the recent years. For instance, the orchestra performed in the 1995 *Kidda Fest* at the National Theatre in Accra and at the end of the year in Kakum Park for its grand opening. 1996 brought the orchestra performances at the Cape Coast National Theater and at the Cape Coast Castle. In 1997 they performed once again at the Kidda Fest in Accra and later in the year at the grand opening of the visitor's center in Kakum Park. Finally, just this year, they were asked to play at a farewell ceremony, hosted by AGORO, for the Danish Ambassador to Ghana who was leaving to take up a post in another country.

Instruments

The instruments played in the orchestra are all bamboo stamping tubes with the exception of a very recently introduced bell. These instruments fall under the general category of Idiophones. "Of the instruments found in Ghana, IDIOPHONES are the most common."⁸ Idiophones are, most often hollowed out, instruments in which the vibration

⁸ Nketia (1963), page 94.

of the body is what creates their sound. “Their development began many thousands of years ago when early man first clashed together sticks, stones and bones to emphasized the rhythms of his clapping hands and stamping feet.”⁹ The orchestra is comprised of four different bamboo-stamping tubes. These include:

1. Ma-yen-koham (side drums): This instrument consists of two small, single segmented pieces of slightly different lengths (see figure 1), thus creating a higher pitched tube, and a lower pitched tube. When played, one is held in each hand and the closed end is played against the ground. Within it's pattern, the two are clapped together, hence their name. the side drums. These tubes keep a constant underlying rhythm.

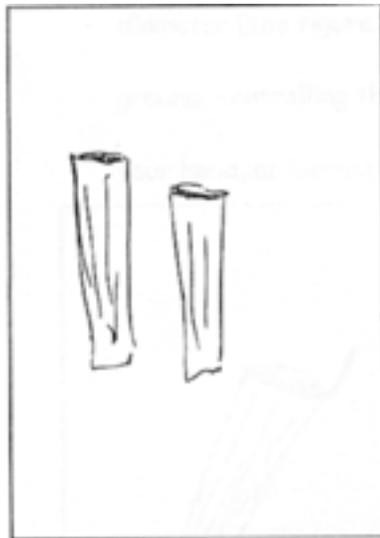


Figure 1: side drum

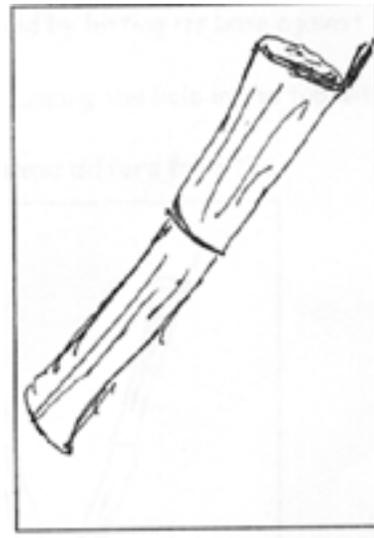


Figure 2: pempa

2. Pempa: This is the bass stamping tube. It is made out of a very mature stick of bamboo, standing two segments high, with a four-inch diameter opening at the top (see figure 2). As compared to the other stamping tubes, one must

⁹ Midgley (1978), page 90.

stand to play this one. The pempa has two sounds. One is the closed, tight sound, the pem, which is made when one hand is placed over the opening as it is hit against the ground. The other is the open, full tone, the pa, which is achieved when the opening is le* uncovered and it is struck against the ground. This, like the side drums, also keeps a steady, underlying rhythm.

3. Pepempa: This is a single segmented piece of bamboo, three inches in diameter (see figure 3). It is also played by hitting its base against the ground, controlling the tone by either cupping the hole in the top with your hand or leaving it open. The pepempa differs from the previous two instruments in



Figure 3: pepempa

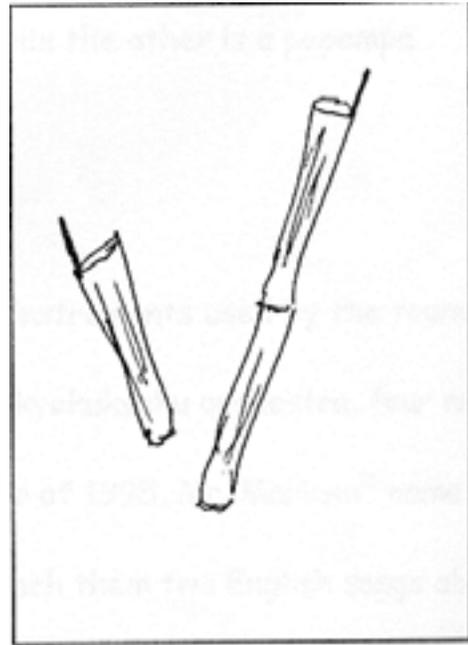


Figure 4: talking drum

that it has a much greater freedom to improvise and send messages within its basic rhythm.

4. Kokobo (talking drum): The talking drum is the master of the orchestra, playing all of the commands such as telling group when to start and stop. "The master drum is of course the most important of all, and naturally the one with the most elaborate part. It carries the rhythms that characterize the particular music or dance."¹⁰ This instrument is also the storyteller, pounding out old proverbs and stories. Although this instrument has a set rhythm, it spends much of its' time deviating from it. The talking drum is comprised of two bamboo tubes, one held in each hand. One of the tubes is two segments long (approximately 2 feet), while the other is a pepempa (see figure 4).

These stamping tubes were the indigenous instruments used by the founders of Mosomagor. Since the formation of the Kukyekukyeku orchestra, four new instruments have been added. In December of 1995, Mr. Markumit¹¹ came to the orchestra with a request. He wanted to teach them two English songs about the forest to go with their bamboo music. Once they learned the tunes, he wanted to take them into Accra with his animals and perform for children in a few select schools. It was with the introduction of

¹⁰ Nketia (1963), page 101.

¹¹ The first American to get involved with the process of turning Kakum Reserve into a National Park.

the two English songs that Mr. Markum introduced the bell to the orchestra. The bell has become the backbone of the orchestra, keeping precise time for the other musicians. The next instruments introduced were to be played by the bell player, to accompany the bell. These were a small piece of bamboo open at both ends and held horizontally between the legs while it is played and a small xylophone (see figure 5). All of these have been of Bizmark's creation. The trumpet has been the last addition to the orchestra. This is a thin short piece of bamboo open at both ends. It is blown through one end and the other end has a small hollowed out calabash resonator attached to it (see figure 6).



Figure 5: bell and accessories

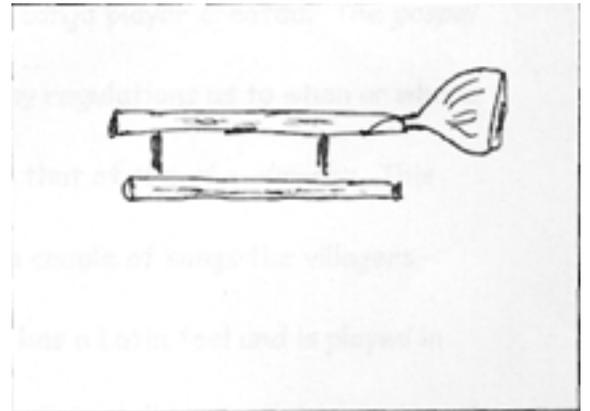


Figure 6: trumpet

Bamboo Rhythms

Recent years have added, to the orchestra, four new bamboo rhythms in addition to the indigenous highlife rhythm. Three of the new rhythms, gospel, slow and cho-cho-cho, were all born out of the influence a short lived vocal band, that a member of the village tried to introduce to the people after he had returned from his travels in the mid-1980's, had on the bamboo players. The vocal band was comprised of congas, maracas, an acoustic guitar and a singer. Bizmark and other bamboo players noted the different rhythms and sounds that the various instruments played and then tried to recreate them with their bamboo instruments. This was a popular method used by the bamboo players to give birth to new rhythms. A new style of playing the pepempa was created with this rhythm. The pepempa player will hold one in each hand, keeping one closed and the other open at the top to recreate the sounds and patterns the conga player created. The gospel rhythm is for recreational purposes and hasn't any regulations as to when or where it can be played. Another recreational rhythm is that of the cho-cho-cho. This rhythm was created as something to accompany a couple of songs the villagers learned from the vocal bandleader. This rhythm has a Latin feel and is played in 2/4 times. The last rhythm that was created out of the influence of the vocal band is the slow-rhythm. This rhythm is specifically played for sorrowful songs and at funerals.

The *konuku* rhythm is the latest rhythm adapted into their repertoire. This rhythm is an *adowa* rhythm of the Ashanti Region. Zie introduced *konuku* to the bamboo players, soon after he began coming to the village to teach them dances. I-le studied the patterns played by the *adowa* drummers and then took it to the village and tried to recreate them with the bamboo instruments. This is also a rhythm meant for recreational purposes and is most commonly played with the highlife rhythm hr performances.

These rhythms, like that of the highlife rhythm, all facilitate the use of poly-rhythms made up of interlocking patterns. These interlocking patterns are repetitive, incorporating occasional variations. This is also a very common trend amongst the music of sub-Saharan African cultures.

Membership and Training

For one, it is quite simple to gain membership into the orchestra. All are welcome to join, but one must have the 2000 cedis to pay for a registration card that is obtained from the people at AGORO. The orchestra is still dominated by men, but the number of women members has risen in past years. The men still exclusively play the bamboo, while the number of men and women singers and dancers make up a more balanced ratio (see Table 1). There are twenty acting members in the orchestra, but only a select fifteen participate in performances. Those fifteen are chosen, based on the amount of effort shown by the individual in rehearsals, before each performance by Bizmark. The ages of

the members range from 9-35 years old, with the majority of them in their late teens and early twenties.

The training administered is more indirect than direct. There aren't actual lessons that one attends to when learning the drumming, he will generally sit and watch the older members play from an early age. There are times delegated during the week for the children to play in their own little orchestra, and even here there isn't any formal instruction, the kids merely play what they have learned from watching the older kids play. As far as the dancers are concerned, they have formal instruction every other week when an AGORO dancer comes to the village to teach them a dance. Non-members are not allowed to join the members during this rehearsal, but are allowed to dance with them during the couple of rehearsals they have during each week. The songs sung in the orchestra are all ones that the village has been singing for years, thus formal training isn't needed for the interested singers, all that is needed is a good, loud voice.

Repertoire

The Kukyekukyeku bamboo orchestra's repertoire is quite large. Combining those traditional Fante songs of generations past with those recently adopted songs in Twi, Ga, Hausa, and Samana, makes their repertoire an extensive one at that. Members of the orchestra are now beginning to create their own songs. The songs are all sung for

recreational purposes and are broken up into three sub-categories: performance, religious and children's.

The songs placed into this category are those that are sung to announce performances and those specifically sung on the way to performances. Some popular examples of performance songs are:

Mpanifo -a ye ma mo atenase-o-o

Mpanifo -a ye ma mo atenase-o-o

Mpanifo yen de yefri de bok¹²

This song is sung at the start of a performance and is informing the audience that the group has come to entertain. The next song is one that is sung after the group is on their way home after a performance.

Ose ye-e, mama ay bra-o

Ose ye-e ye k ya-y ba-ot¹³

"Everyone, we are tired.

Everyone, we have come back¹⁴

The religious songs are those that are sung exclusively at funerals and those praise songs sung during performances and free time. An example of one is:

Saaman, Soaman nyimpa n'ewie o,

Ewie o saamon

Saaman nyimpo n'ewie o, n'ewie o saman¹⁵.

¹² Fante

¹³ Fante

¹⁴ Translated by Isaac Nana Kwesi on O 1MAY98.

This song is mostly sung at funerals, but also occasionally at performances. It is meant to remind people of their dead relatives. If one has remembered a dead relative, he takes money up to the performers and places it on their heads in gratitude for letting him remember his loved ones. Translated, it means "at the end of someone's life, they are left for the maggots."¹⁶

There are many children's songs sung in Mosomagor. Along with being performed by the younger members of the orchestra, they are widely sung throughout the village. Children may dance to them, play games to them or just sit and sing them. An example of a popular children's song is:

Atseyaa dede-e, Astseyaa dede-e, Awuraba.
Atseyca dede-e, Astseyaa dede-e, Awuraba.
Moa mo p asa na asa na aba-e
Mo be saa ma ye hwe.
Mo be saa ma ye hwe.
*"Slim girl, slim girl, teenage girl.
Slim girl, slim girl, teenage girl.
You say you like to dance.
There's dancing here, so let's see you dance."*¹⁷

Members of the orchestra are now beginning to create their own songs. Although they didn't have any examples to sing to me, they said that some would be ready for performances very soon.

¹⁵ Fante

¹⁶ Translated by Isaac Nana Kwesi "

¹⁷ Fante-Translated by Isaac Nana Kwesi

Section 3: Effects of Tourism

Beginning with the establishment of Kakum National Park and continuing with AGORO's recent involvement with the village, tourism has begun to make a mark on Mosomagor. Whether it is the foreign students coming through AGORO to live in the village and study music and dance, or the traveler passing through on his way to meet a guide at the eastern entrance of Kakum National Park, tourism has been the cause of many changes in Mosomagor.

Effects on Village

The effects on the village itself have been quite grand in the more recent years. In the area of community development alone, Mosomagor has seen many changes. The road from Fante Yan Kumasi to Mosomagor has been widened and smoothed as a result of Mosomagor being made a gateway to the eastern entrance of Kakum National Park. This has not only made it easier for tourists to make their way into the Park, but it has also enabled the people of the village to have much more access to transportation. Before the road was smoothed out, taxis couldn't make their way along the eight-kilometer stretch of dirt road from Amoabin to Mosomagor. This forced them to walk the distance to the junction if they needed to leave the village.

A six-room guesthouse is now in the works at Mosomagor. It will be used for the Danish students coming in with AGORO and will eventually house the visitors that come to that side of the forest to hike in the Park and visit the planned visitor's center. Members of the village are to be trained as forest guides, Park rangers, and forest guards who protect against poachers and loggers. This will all help to deter the young people from leaving to go find work since there will be more jobs opening up in the village and surrounding areas, thus increasing the size of the village. This consequently will cause for more competition for farmland and the jobs being offered.

There are some negative effects of the increased tourism. One is the potential threat of urbanization that could creep in with constant contact the villagers have with the foreigners. Also, if all of the youth begin to stay because of the higher potential to make money, the population will increase at a faster rate and farmland will become even scarcer. Or it could have a reverse effect and the youth will still leave to find work in the cities because they think that there they will have the potential to make enough money to live like the foreigners that came into their village.

On the other hand, tourism on the whole could be very positive for Mosomagor. A healthy income can be generated from the accommodations, selling of crafts and food. More people making money means more money for the village. This in turn means that

the dilapidated schools could have a chance to be refurbished and a better health care system or center.

Effects on Bamboo Orchestra

There have been both positive and negative effects of tourism on the orchestra. The most positive effect was the revival of the bamboo music itself. If there weren't the potential of making money off of the music, then who knows when or if the music would have ever come back to the people of Mosomagor. It just so turns out that the Kukyekukyeku orchestra is the main focus of everyone's energies in trying to solve the socio-economic problems everyone is facing. Most of the community belongs to it, either in a direct or indirect way, such as being a brother of one of the dancers. Another positive effect is the income the members now are receiving and the opportunity they are getting to see areas of their own country that they wouldn't normally have the opportunity to see.

One negative effect that I see with tourism as far as the orchestra is concerned is that the people no longer play it for recreation. During the two weeks that I lived with these people, I never saw them play their music for fun. The only times they play are when they give visitors lessons, rehearse for performances and have performances. I see this happening because everyone, who is currently playing, started playing for the main reason of making money. In fact, when I interviewed about half of the orchestra members, they all said that they would have left to go find work if the bamboo orchestra

didn't exist. They also said that they hadn't any intention of playing the bamboo music until Bizmark came to them with the idea. In the end, everyone in the orchestra seems to be happy with the direction the group is moving.

Conclusion

Mosomagor is a village that has many wonderful gifts to offer, but is unable to effectively give them because of the socio-economic situations that it has been facing in the past few years. This is a village that was robbed of most of its high quality natural resources and told that its people are no longer free to go into an area of land they once considered their backyard. All of this trouble is due to a few peoples' ignorance to investigate the consequences of creating a hierarchical order and not finding a happy medium so that the peoples and nature could live together in peace and comfort.

Through this study we see the actions that the people are taking to cope with the situation at hand. Establishing the bamboo orchestra and building a guesthouse for the future are both great ideas because they can generate a long-term income that will almost be guaranteed to always bring in some amount of money. The orchestra is also providing the village with a representation of their rich cultural heritage, the traditional bamboo music.

My account of Mosomagor and the Kukyekukyeku bamboo orchestra was a basic overview. What has been presented on the previous pages isn't everything that Mosomagor has to offer. There is still much more to tell in the story of Mosomagor. There are the many Fante songs, the methods of farming in a traditional village, a more elaborate analysis on the effects of tourism and a more elaborate analysis of the bamboo rhythms and how they are representative of the culture they are played in and sub-Saharan Africa culture on the whole. These are all issues in the village that are of great importance. There is only so much information a person can collect in three weeks, especially when he doesn't have a research attendant. It was also difficult to organize

times to meet with informants because there is always the problem of getting everybody to come together at the same place and time. I recommend that one do his/her literature research before the time for the study project begins. I found it very difficult to try and find every thing that I needed in three days before I left to go live in the village.

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Appendices I: The Members of the Orchestra as of May 1998

1. Bizmark Amoah (30) - leader/founder of the orchestra and a musician
2. Charles Edooh (27)- musician
3. Isaac Kojo Edua (23)- musician
4. Isaac Nana Kwesi (32)- musician
5. Ishmel Mensah (20)- musician
6. Joseph Andoh (20)- musician
7. Samual Panford (22) - musician
8. Benjamin Mensah (12)- musician
9. Samual Assen (9)- musician
10. James Kojo Panford (28)- drummer/singer
11. Felicia Mensah (35) - singer
12. Elizabeth Abo (35)- singer
13. Mary Panford (21)- singer/dancer
14. Alex Yao Arther (21)- dancer
15. Philomina Dankwaa (20)- dancer
16. Kate Mensah (19)- dancer
17. Eric Essel (19)- dancer
18. Cecila Amoah (19)- dancer
19. Samuel Appong (17)- dancer
20. John Kofi Assan (15)- dancer