



DECONSTRUCTING THE MATRILINEAL TRADITIONAL ROLES OF MARRIAGE IN THE FACE OF MODERNITY IN AMA ATA AIDOO TEXTS (*ANOWA* AND *THE DILEMMA OF A GHOST*)

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ABSTRACT

Matrilineal system has been a topic of concern by scholars of literature and anthropologists in the field of literature and cultural studies. The studies carried out in the field of feminist literature reveals that the effects of matrilineal ideology in the texts was overlooked. However, a feminist analysis of texts written by authors from matrilineal descent reveals the overrepresentation of female characters in comparison with the submissive women of patriarchal societies, and underrepresentation of male characters especially the husbands and fathers. This aspect becomes a cultural and social concern in the literary works and the society, which needs to be researched on and addressed objectively. Therefore, this study analyzes the place of a man and that of a woman in a matrilineal society, on the same note, it accesses the effects of modernism to the character development of an individual as well as outline the effects of disobeying the culture to a boy versus the girl using the survey research design which entails; recruiting of participants, collecting data utilizing the interview and questionnaire techniques. It also employs non-structured qualitative method of research. It explores various texts written by authors of matrilineal descent but limits itself in analyzing two plays: *Anowa* and *The Dilemma of a Ghost* by Ama Ata Aidoo. This study adds variety of knowledge in the field of literature, therefore, open up other areas for further research in the character development of an individual in a matrilineal society. T.S Eliot's theory of *The Great Tradition* and the Post-Colonial Literary Theory guides this study.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1: Background of study

According to scholars of literature and cultural studies, matrilineal existed long ago in various places in the world but only limited to secluded communities in various areas in the world apart from Western world. The places where matrilineal society is found around the world include Africa, Southeast Asia and India. Johann Jacob, Bachofen and Lewis Henry Morgan, the 19th Century scholars, with the overview of Charles Darwin's Theory of Evolution, observes that matrilineal culture foredated patrilineal societies and presented a prior revolutionary stage. They also foresaw patrilineal systems more "enlightened" and modernized compared to matrilineal ones. In the same perspective, according to Morgan, matrilineal systems slowly by slowly evolved into patrilineal ones, a view that was applauded beyond anthropological and genealogical circles.

The largest matrilineal society comes from Indonesia, The Minangkabau of Sumatra. In this community, possessions like land are hereditary but only through female ancestry. According to their traditions, a man gets hitched into his wife's family, and the woman whether married inherit the ancestral home. Khasi and Nayar from India are another example of matrilineal society. Khasi community is found in Meghalaya state while Nayar community in Kevala. In these sets, the variance is seen in matrilocal, duolocal, and neolocal dwelling patterns. In the duolocal pattern, the couple occupy different homes, therefore, answerable to the head of different household. In matrilocal residence method, a husband lives his wife in her maternal home, therefore, becomes part of his wife's family and becomes a subject to the head of the wife's lineage. Accordingly, in neolocal residence pattern, once married, the couple would either set up his household in a new place or anywhere around his wife's maternal home. The Minangkabau, Ashante and Nayar practice the pattern of duolocal while Khasi practice matrilocal. The Asante or Ashanti of Ghana is an example of matrilineal societies in West Africa. In this society, women and men get status and possessions directly from their mothers.

Another example of a matrilineal society is the Balobedu of South Africa. According to Melanie (2020), a researcher of *The African Insider*, this community was ruled by queens. The custom dictates that each queen's eldest daughter will serve as the Balobedu's next ruler. She also observes that traditionally, the rain queen shun marriage but have a partner chosen for them by the royal councils from a respected dynasty line (Melanie, 2020).

The Nzadi of Congo is also a matrilineal society. A reporter of *Musee Africa*, Admin M21 (2021), observes that Nzadi was a monarchy whose custom was matrilineal. It was ruled by a king with the title Manikongo. This custom provided the rules of succession and inheritance. The king succession was from uncle to nephew, mostly the eldest son of one of the king's sisters. Power is thus found alongside the queen mother and king's sister (Admin M21, 2021).

According to the *East African Magazine* (2009), and borrowing from Louis Leakey (1903), observes that Kikuyu community was a matrilineal society before the colonial invasion in Africa. The ancestry, identity and heritage were derived from maternal lineage as opposed to the paternal. In the same way, women played major roles, including the governance. It further accesses matrilineality among the Agikuyu through the myth of Gikuyu and Mumbi. It is believed that Kikuyu community is an offspring of Mumbi, the wife to Gikuyu. She sired nine daughters; Wanjiru, Wambui, Njeri, Wanjiku, Nyambura, Wairimu, Waithira, Wangari and Wangui. Their God (Ngai) created nine men for the girls to marry. Gikuyu agreed on condition that matriarchal system would remain. Consequently, in Gikuyu community, men do not marry, on the contrary, women marry their husbands. Furthermore, children draw their essence from mother's set (EastAfrican, 2009). According to Kenyatta (2016), in his report on *Nairobi Law Monthly*, today in the Agikuyu community, the matriarchal power comes into play when marriage

breaks down where the lady is expected to leave with all her children (Kenya, 2016). In addition, Tony Malesi (2021) in his report on Standard Media, believes that even though matrilineal culture do not exist in the modern society, Kikuyu women still stand out as tough, difficult, headstrong yet hardworking. He also noted that, Kikuyu clans take the women's name as opposed to other Kenyan communities (Tony, 2021). He also observes that matriarchal element still exists in the community. Kikuyu women also inherit property such as land and still has a lot of say in the naming of children in comparison to other women in the country. Children belong to women and in case of separation or divorce the mothers leave with them. He also discovered that some women even pay their own dowry (Tony, 2021).

Tradition culture is vital and exceptionally significant to a given society mainly in terms of the history of their origin, rites and rituals. According to Nakunya (1992), in African setup, Marriage is one of the most important rituals and likewise the Akan society which is the main focus in this study. According to Nakunya (1992), marriage is a unification of a husband and wife after going through all procedures as laid down by the given society not only for giving birth and raising children but also for companionship. To be acceptable, marriage must follow a certain protocol as dictated by the concerned community. (Nakunya, 1992, P.42)

In matrilineal society, marriage was organized by the parents concerned and other senior kinsmen and women. Marriage therefore, acted as a link between the two families (the bride's and the bride groom's) together in a social relationship. Therefore, the society forbids the young people from marrying outside their society and encouraged local marriages. In traditional African society and to be particular, Akan culture, Nakunya (1992), observes that marriage is so important that two people, a girl and a boy, cannot meet just anywhere and settle down in marriage without involving the family. Marriage is a business of the families, clans, neighbors and communities.

Since marriage is a vital feature to the African culture, it is not optional but a duty of every adult regardless of who it is. It is a rite of passage and hence one had to get married in an acceptable way following the laid down procedures varying from one community to the other. Mbiti (1969) says, "Marriage is an obligation, a society demand and a pattern of life in which all had to participate regardless of social status or background. Doing otherwise, it is not only deviant, unusual but also inhuman (Mbiti, 1969, P.130)

The type of family or the clan that one wishes to marry or get married to was also important and a matter that needed proper investigation by both families. Sarpong observes that, marriage in Africa, is not a matter between two people in love but it concerns the whole family as well as the lineage. Moreover, marriage brings the whole society together. (Sarpong, 1974, P.77)

Another aspect of marriage, is the communal aspects of marriage in Africa and Akan society to be precise. It is a huge decision not only for the individual family but also for the society. Mbiti (1969), commented that, the focus of existence lays in marriage to the people of Africa where every person in a certain community encounter at the process of marriage: the ancestors, the living dead, the living and unborn (Mbiti, 1969, P.130). The traditional living arrangements strengthened the acquisition of wealth including conjugal relationship.

Mbiti (1969), observes that, in the matrilineal community such as Akan, women despite getting married, they continued to live in their maternal homes. These separate dwelling patterns put more emphasis on the point that each spouse is subject to the power of their own household head. The wife, is perceived as a stranger in the husband's family, therefore, she might not benefit directly in her husband's side, unless her husband decides to award her for being a good wife. Likewise, the children from this matrilineal marriage, inherit from their mother's household. (Mbiti, 1976, P. 290)

In his research, Nakunya (1992), discovered that when it comes to marriage in Akan customary marriage, the maternal uncle of the bride or the bridegroom takes up the role of a father and their voice carries weight in matters pertaining marriage. Nakunya writes, a significant feature of matrilineal dictates that the uncle performs duties usually set aside for the father in patrilineal cultures. In matrilineal, father and child belong to different ancestral unit, substantially, it restricts the father's role to the child's well-being. (Nakunya, 1992, P.35)

The role of an extended family and the large community according to Mbiti (1969), is another important factor in the African Traditional Society. The individual does not exist alone. The extended family and the wider community play a big role in one's life and marriage. Each person acquires his or her nature from the family of which it obtains its nature from the clan and the clan from the community. In good or difficult times, a person would always count on the support of the whole community. Mbiti (1969), observes that, in African societies, the family's circle is much wider than other communities across the world. The parent and children form a family, together with the whole extended family which is referred to as the compound family. (Mbiti, 1969, P.104).

The origin of the Akan people is accredited to a mythological story of a female ancestor. This female ancestor is a known person in a certain household therefore, accepted to form a common lineage. This lineage practices have a common religious, political, social and economic activities. In matriarchy systems, it is the long-standing woman in the clan is bequeathed the role of becoming the ancestral mother of the clan. Being the source, she is also the arbiter between the clan's super natural being, the ancestors and the people in the society. (Schwimmer, 1995).

Derik Wright (1989), explains the importance of having a child in family setup. Having or not having children became a matter of concern to the couple, the extended family and the community as well. The women's ability to give birth, was a way by which the society grew. Barren was therefore, a family's disaster. Derek Wright (1989), therefore, states an Akan proverb expressing the customary consequences of not able to give birth, citing that even in the other world the barren has no place there. (Wright, 1989, P.140), anybody who lacks children is considered to be cursed, due to the worth of children in every marriage. In other words, the marriage is not a complete marriage without children.

Critics analyze texts of matrilineal descent as feminist test. They do so by examining the struggle of women against culture and traditions as opposed to the struggle against male-dominated society of patriarchal system since women characters in matrilineal descent texts are not like the women in patriarchal descent texts. These matrilineal women dominate the texts, they assume leadership roles, they are talkative and daring, they are aware of their rights and are ready to fight for their space in the society. Therefore, a feminist analysis of the matrilineal descent texts reveals the overrepresentation of the female characters, which is abnormal, in comparison with the submissive women of patriarchal societies, and underrepresentation of male characters especially the husbands or fathers. This overrepresentation of women characters and underrepresentation of the male characters creates gender inequality hence becomes a cultural and social concern in the literary works and contemporary society. Moreover, the influence of modernism introduces patriarchal system where a woman is underrepresented hence creates further gender inequality. This study addresses this concern by investigating how the place of a man and that of a woman in matrilineal societies influence the character development of an individual. It also investigates the influence of modernism to refute matrilineal traditional roles of marriage hence explore the consequences of neglecting such roles to a boy versus a girl. The study uses two selected texts; *Anowa* and *The Dilemma of a Ghost* both by Ama Ata Aidoo.

1.2: Need of the study

This study provides analysis of the selected texts of matrilineal descent i.e., *Anowa* and *The Dilemma of a Ghost* to carry out a critical analysis of how the author is informed by matrilineal society to voice out the female characters, and modernism to voice out the male characters. While studies are carried out in the matrilineal descent texts, they reveal the overrepresentation of female characters which empowers them, and underrepresentation of male characters which affects them negatively. In the same way, the patriarchal system represents male dominance in the society as opposed to female characters. This is a social concern which needs to be addressed by the stake holders of both societies. Failure to do so, the struggle for gender equality will be far off to be achieved. These texts are a sample of other texts of matrilineal descent. The interest of the study is to access the influence of matrilineality to the character development of an individual as well as examining whether authors of matrilineal descent are informed by matrilineal systems. It did so by exploring the gender roles in a matrilineal marriage setup and showing the effects of defying such roles to an individual.

This study adds variety of knowledge in the field of literature, therefore, open up other areas for further research in the character development of an individual in a matrilineal society. This study aims at deconstructing traditional roles of marriage in a matrilineal society. It establishes the effects of deconstructing such roles to the society, family and individual. The history, culture and traditions of matrilineal society is fundamental in this research. This study addresses the issue of gender inequality in a matrilineal society and demonstrate how the author strives to overcome it through modernization. This aspect would be beneficial to the gender activist, education sectors, government and other sectors which deal with gender activities to inform them on the importance of addressing gender imbalance.

On the other hand, this research informs readers, critics and writers, the existence of matrilineal society and its impact to the character development of an individual. Writing or reading about a 'strong' woman is not abnormal as it is assumed since such women exists in the society and represents the impact of matrilineal society. They need to appreciate the existence of African civilization before the colonial invasion and the impact of colonization on culture and African oral traditions. These impacts might be positive or negative. This study explores on the positive impact of colonization. As Eliot (1919) observes, they need to know the movement of African history from oral traditions, which were transmitted by the word of the mouth to colonial, post-colonial and emergence of Neo-colonialism. This study also makes them aware of the influence of external ideologies and other literary movement which also form part of African experience and history through The Post- Colonial Literary Theory. This ideological movement include feminism. This paper, therefore, calls upon every reader and critics of texts from matrilineal descent to be aware that matrilineal system exists and has influence to the character development of individuals. Therefore, they should be aware of the matrilineal structure in social, economic and politics of such communities and hence consider borrowing from this culture while interpreting their works.

1.3: Population and sample

Although this study samples different works of fiction from other authors such as Buchi Emecheta, Ousmane Sembene and Ngugi wa Thiong'o, it limits itself to the roles of women and men in a marriage setup in a matrilineal society as demonstrated in the selected texts, *Anowa* and *The Dilemma of a Ghost* by Ama Ata Aidoo. These plays are written by the same author therefore, depicting a certain society (Akan society) which may not fully address other matrilineal societies' norms therefore, giving incomplete information about matrilineal.

On the other hand, matrilineal society comprises of various structures including governance, inheritance of property, the art of war and marriage. This study will limit itself in exploring the gender roles in marriage as demonstrated in *Anowa* and *The Dilemma of a ghost*. By doing so, it may fail to create a wholesome picture of what matrilineal is all about. Besides, it may also create gender biasness which may not be the case since one gender might be underrepresented in one area and overrepresented in other areas. In this case, male may seem underrepresented in a marriage setup but when it comes to governance and art of war, they regain their place in the society. However, marriage forms the smallest unit in the society ladder, therefore, it has a major impact in the society which cannot be overlooked.

1.4: Data and sources of data

This study provides analysis of the selected texts of matrilineal descent i.e., *Anowa* and *The Dilemma of a Ghost* to carry out a critical analysis of how the author is informed by matrilineal society to voice out the female characters, and modernism to voice out the male characters. It also samples other texts of matrilineal descent as well as field study among the Agikuyu community in central Kenya which is a matrilineal society.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

A review of the previous research studies is carried out. It includes studies that relate to the aim, purpose and objectives of this study. In addition, this section discusses theoretical framework which used in this study. T.S Eliot's theory of *The Great Tradition* and the Post-Colonial Literary Theory guides this study. T.S Eliot's theory helps this study to see how the authors are informed by the oral traditions and therefore, establish how those early traditions and colonialism informs the current (post-colonial), it did so by interrogating the place of literary history in texts. The tenets of the theory to be addressed in this study include: whether the authors have recognized the value of tradition in their work, to access the ability of the author to elevate the subjective into the objective, while retaining a sense of immediacy and to interrogate the author's command in the text to retain its quality. The Post-Colonial Literary Theory informs this study of what constitutes post-colonialism and therefore, use the knowledge of post-colonial theory to objectively answer the following questions: which post-colonial ideology does author attempts to refute? What are the characteristics of foreign mindset that controls the life of characters as outlined in both texts? Which post-colonial tenets does authors propose in their works to replace the colonial ideology prevalent in emerging decolonized people in terms of marriage setup? To prove that Aidoo's aim in *Anowa* and *The Dilemma of a Ghost*, is to deconstruct matrilineal traditional roles of marriage, this study heavily relies on the Post-Colonial Literary Theory and The Great Traditional Theory for reading and analyzing these texts.

2.2 The place of a man in a matrilineal society

According to Sara (2019), Audrey Richards introduced a "matrilineal Puzzle". This is a framework in which many scholars have always analyzed matrilineal norms and practices, to kinship theory. According to him, Structural-Factionist framework view structures in the society contributes to the growth of certain society. These structures include customs and the people's way of life. Audrey Richards (1950) got surprised by the position of men in matrilineal societies. Richards discovered that men occupy ambiguous roles. This discovery ushered in the debate which focused on the difference between the matrilineal and patrilineal societies.

According to Sara (2019), men had no power over their spouses and children because their wife and children belongs to a different clan from him. She also noted that in patriarchal systems, power and kinship ties were inherited through patrilineal ancestry but in matrilineal societies male did not pass their essence to their sons. The role of men in matrilineal society therefore, not that of a husband and father as patrilineal but they play the role of a brother and uncle. However, according to scholars, the studies on structure, reveals that female dominance in matrilineal society does not correspond to male dominance in patriarchal system.

Sara says, Schneider (1961), observes that a man has no authority over the children he has sired because all the essence of life descends from an uncle to woman's son and from man to his sister's son. According to her, despite the male's importance in marriage as husbands and fathers, their functions and male authority may seem to be ambiguous in a matrilineal society.

Evelyn Blackwood (2001), states that patriarchal ideologies of a marriage and the roles of a husband /father in the family pushed the anthropologists to inquire further of what entails of matrilineal marriage relationship. She says, there is no relationship of a married couple in the matrilineal kin group since they do not exist or the union did not meet the normal. for example, among Minangkabau marital ties were considered secondary.

In the same sense, Blackwood (2001), along with the anthropologists, directed her attention is to the fate of husbands in matrilineal societies. Her main concern is based on prescriptive roles of men's authority as husbands. She discovered that the marital relationship between husband and wife is weak as compared to that of patrilineal marriage, this was possible because of, for instance, power struggle between the husband and wife's relatives, and burdens from his own people. According to anthropologists, in matrilineal society a woman is empowered

economically especially where she is given a land to cultivate, have enough food for the family and sell the rest to earn income. Although lazy husband or those who chose to leave the family for other errands have been blamed for this, it has become a source of power for women in matrilineal societies. 'Weak husbands' or 'missing men' results to matrilineal system is a view of anthropologists which was disputed by Blackwood (2001), where she cited that matrilineal culture takes the first consideration followed by marriage relationship and the roles of husband.

Blackwood (2001), observes that in matrilineal systems men occupy insignificant position as lineage members. For example, they belong to the group of their mother by birth but by marriage they become incorporated into their wife's group. According to her, a man's place as a member of matrilineage was compromised between affiliation to his mother's group and that of his wife. She continued to say, this limits the extent to which he achieved full social being that is an identity within either lineage. Therefore, men in matrilineal system are not full social being because of the fact they are not fully members of either group.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o, descends from a matrilineal society. In his novel *Petals of Blood* presents a male character by the name Munira. According to Ahmad Jasmil (2018), Munira at Ilmorog, feigns as an intellectual. He trashes the local peasant ways of life such as observing the rain patterns in traditional manner according to the culture. Munira lack of understanding of the culture, faces resistant from the cultural people such as Nyakinyua. He is seen as musomi (educated) whose hands are untouched by the soil. This affirms the saying that men benefitted more from the colonialist. Men who are of matrilineal descent saw colonialism as an escape route from the oppressions of the matrilineal system. Men of matrilineal descent are also ignorant of culture since woman are the custodians of culture. (Okleme,2005)

In Gakinya Wangui (2013), research concerning challenges and their effects on boy child in Nyeri county- one of the matrilineal societies- she identified weak family institutions as one of the challenges. This is attributed to absent fathers and the dominance of women in marriage. Fatiha (2019), in her research on Buchi Emecheta's texts observes that the male characters seem not to figure.

2.3 The place of a woman in a matrilineal society

According to De Witte (2001), in matrilineal, everything which is related to cultural practice is a woman's business. In Asante, all including a man do not contest with women in this reverence. The matrilineal culture sees women as experts of the culture and nobody have the right to dare them in their specialty not even a man. They would only criticize each other as women and makes even institutions. A woman word is final and acts as the arbitrator of daily occurrences for the whole community.

De Witte (2001), observes that no Akan woman exists without a social group, from childhood to adulthood, the girl child is required to emulate their mothers and participate actively in affairs of the community's. A girl who does otherwise is seen as rebellious and disobedient. The Akan women brings up their children according to the demand of the culture. Youth are taught to participates in the gatherings. If a child goes against the norms, parents especially a mother is blamed. Bad breeding produces bad children and mothers are blamed for it. Nakunya (1992), observes that, the children in an Akan family were so important that they formed an ancestry clan, without them this is impossible. Therefore, being barren is a great misfortune.

According to Witte (2001), although women are confined at home because of their nature as mothers, the also played a major role in war. Queen mother for instance led the war against the British invasion in 1900. Women in Akan are as brave and daring as men. She established that in some cases, women outshine men in wars. Were it not for their role of giving birth, they would perform just like as men.

According to Brian Schwimmer (1995), The origin of the Akan people is accredited to a mythological story of a female ancestor. This female ancestor is a known person in a certain household therefore, accepted to form a common lineage. This lineage practices have a common religious, political, social and economic activities. In matriarchy systems, it is the long-standing woman in the clan is bequeathed the role of becoming the ancestral mother of the clan. Being the source, she is also the arbiter between the clan's super natural being, the ancestors and the people in the society. The queen mother is the eldest woman in the loyal lineage, she is the mother of the ruling or the future king and consequently, the mother of the whole society. Scholars like Ahmad Jamil (2018), sees Ousmane Sembene, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and other writers who depicts women positively in their works as gynandries; the male authors who show sympathy to women. To them they give women a place they do not deserve in the society such as leadership roles. A woman is not assertive and cannot address a man. The scholars of matrilineal system are aware that such women existed in their society and assumed prominent roles in marriage and the society alike.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o is an author who descends from a matrilineal society. According to Ahmad Jasmil (2018), Ngugi's novels aim to present Africa as it is, to the world. He also tries to reform how people view an African woman which is a false image where matrilineal is concerned. Therefore, in his works Ngugi presents a matrilineal woman, her power and authority in the society. Contrary to Ngugi, some African male authors in their work, demonstrates women in a negative way probably comparing them to the women from Western Culture. Therefore, Ngugi attempts to show the character of an African woman which stood out even after the introduction of patriarchal system in the society. He also attempts to demonstrate the effects of colonialism to an African woman. In his works, he portrays women who very strong character traits as opposed to the women in patriarchal societies. He observes that Ngugi wa Thiong'o in *Petals of Blood* through his characters Nyakinyua and her granddaughter Wanja depicts that apart from motherhood, a woman can be an effective leader or an educationalist.

Ahmad Jasmil (2018), In her research on women representation in *Petals of Blood* observes that Ngugi's demonstrates exceptional women in his works. Women who put community's welfare before anything else. For instance, Nyakinyua is a woman set to fight for her people against colonial powers no matter the consequences. She becomes the people adviser against colonialism. In Nyakinyua's view, women have suffered more in the hands of colonizers than men this could be through denying them their cultural rights and deepening further the patriarchal systems which oppressed women. Nyakinyua is a respected female leader who unites the villagers. Ahmad (2018), observes that Ngugi uses Wanja to emphasize on the value of the female characters in his works. He brings out Wanja's strength and uses her as a major character who propellers the theme struggle for independence. She forms a women group known as Ndemi with an aim of cultivating the land and therefore, increase women efficiency in work.

On the other hand, Ngugi portrays Mariam another female character in the novel, as an assertive woman who refuses to submit to her husband like her fellow women in patriarchal societies. She revolts against her womanhood duties of nurturing children and caring for her husband, in addition the modern duties of working for the white masters to earn income. Her hard work at European farm left her with nothing because women are poorly paid compared to men. Unable to tolerate longer, she leaves for her husband's home and claims her right to own a farm.

In *The River Between*, although women are given low status, the legend observes that it was not always like that. Al Azzawi (2018), observes that long ago during the era of Wangu wa Makeri women used to rule the land. They owned everything. Women were harsh and everything including domestic animals such as antelopes feared them. Men organized a successful coupe and overthrew women from power by getting all of them pregnant. The time being referred to here is the time when Gikuyu community was still fully under the matrilineal system of governance. Ngugi demonstrates Muthoni and Nyambura as women who goes against the odds fight for their rights and their identity in the family as well as the society.

Muthoni stood up for her circumcision rite against her father's will. She is a matrilineal woman who authoritatively stood for the culture against external influences such as the Western ideologies. She challenged her father against the belief that women have no rights to challenge males more so a father or a husband. Muthoni's audacity to challenge her father was unheard of in a patriarchal society. According to Al Azzawi (2018), Ngugi portrays Muthoni as an assertive who does not back down even when things turn out otherwise. Muthoni did not regret getting circumcised even on her death bed.

Ousmane Sembene is another author of matrilineal descent. He was reared by his maternal grandmother who greatly influenced him. Women play a major role in his works. Scholars see Ousmane Sembene and Ngugi wa Thiong'o are gynandries; their works exhibit empathy with women but in the eyes of matrilineal society, these authors present the women they see in their society. In *God's Bits of Wood*, Sembene gives women leadership roles in the midst of men in patriarchal societies. He features Ramatoulaye as a major female character. She is a representative of a certain class of rich Muslims. He portrays her as a very strong woman who leads the march upon Dakar. This march helps share up flagging spirits and ensure victory of the striking workers. Sembene goes against the belief that women cannot be leaders through his female characters such as Penda. She led other women in support of men against oppressions at a place of work.

Buchi Emecheta works major ideas is modernity versus tradition. Her novel *Double York* features the story of the protagonist Nko and her first sight love Ete Kamba. Ete is drowned with patriarchal whims. He exhibits patriarchal ideologies of owning and possessing a woman. To his surprise, Nko displays assertiveness and goes against his ideology. Nko declares that today women know what they want and are aware how to get it, (*Double Yoke*, Pg. 24). Emecheta uses Nko's character to question the oppression of patriarchal societies. Emecheta also uses Miss Bulewoa in *Double York* to affirm matrilineal women's strong character in the face of patriarchal system. Bulewoa is self-

confident as well as informed. She is famous and has travelled widely. She has achieved a lot and has liberated herself in such a way that she uses the briefcase which is usually associated with male being as a working gear.

2.4 Kinship ties in a matrilineal system

According to De Witte (2001), on her research on matrilineal funeral rites she observes that, the marriage bond between the husband and wife is often perceived as less strong than the bond they have with their own family. Obligation towards one's family is not altered by marriage. She continues to say that husband and wife do not live together, but stay in their hometown or with the family elsewhere. They both manage their own finances and most women work to earn their own income. According to the women De Witte talked to, they view marriage as a way of getting and raising children nothing more to it. As soon as the children are grown or even earlier, they prefer to be independent or stay with their maternal family.

De Witte (2001), observes that divorce is quite common and not a shame. Many divorced women, especially the elderly, were in fact proud they could mind their own business without being harassed by a man. This confirms Battle's observation that sex in matrilineal society is just a local cycle which is insignificant to the couple. The responsibility of a father in upbringing of his children may conflict with the responsibility he has towards his own family (Abasua), especially the children of his sisters. The main duty of a father is to pay the school fees; most of other expenses rest on the shoulders of the mother and her family (De Witte, 2001, pg53)

De Witte (2001) observes that, a man's children does not belong to his clan thus in old age the children neglect them. During her research she visited an old and neglected man in Trede where a colleague told her there is a problem in Ashante, the men often do not take responsibilities as fathers, therefore, when they are old, their children also do not take care of them (De Witte, 2001, P.53)

Sara Lowes in her research in The University of New Mexico (2019), examines the relationship among the kins in relations to the cooperation of husband and wife, specifically she relates matrilineal relations and patrilineal system in a marriage setup. Sara Lowes recorded the following findings: she observes that matrilineal women may not experience any hostility in marriage. This is because matrilineal women live in their own terms in marriage and also, they are answerable to their maternal kinsmen. She also discovered that household with matrilineal individuals cooperate less since both the man and the woman are controlled by different authority. Another finding is that matrilineal women may fail to share their income with their husbands in case they are required to, and maybe they are more empowered to own money and other assets as opposed to patrilineal women. Matrilineal women are capable of taking care of the children better since many had fewer children that have died in comparison with the patriarchal women. Their children are educated up to the highest levels of education since women in matrilineal have a bigger say concerning children as opposed to men. On the other hand, patrilineal women even if they wanted their children to get educated, they lack the needed resources. In addition, matrilineal system increases divorce since women have options, this makes them to cooperate less with their husbands. As opposed to patriarchal women, matrilineal women can go back and be accepted by her kinship group in case of her husband's. (Sara Lowes, 2019)

Sara Lowes asserts that matrilineal women do not collaborate fully in matters of negotiating duties with their husbands. According to her, even though matrilineal systems affect the relationship between man and wife, there may be benefit to a gender composition that empowers women and allows them to have a say in marriage, this contrast the patriarchal systems where a woman is portrayed as submissive, children bearers and home keepers. According to Sara Lowes, the reason for lack of cooperation between the couple is attributed to, the divided duties between husband and wife. In a patriarchal, a wife is effectually unified with her clan of where she got married as opposed to matrilineal system where both husband and wife belongs to the groups in which they were born. (Sara Lowes, 2019).

The above review of the past related studies reveals the depth cultural practices of the matrilineal society. They show how the female characters are overrepresented and male characters underrepresented therefore identifying the research gaps for this study. Besides, the critics analyzed texts of matrilineal descent as feminist texts and overlooked the impact of matrilineality in the texts, they also see men who write about women as women sympathizers. Therefore, this research will study the matrilineal systems by evaluating the position of a man and woman in the traditional matrilineal marriage in the face of modernity and establish how modernity led to the deconstruction of traditional marriage hence draw the consequences of doing so to the girl versus the boy in an effort towards achieving gender equity.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

The ideas of Eliot are contained in his essay, *'Traditional and the Individual Talent'* (Eliot,1919). Eliot argues that an artist draws much of his material from others who have written before him. Although we read the text to identify what 'new' the artist has to say, what we learn is that the artist draws heavily from his predecessors. He however, argues that this borrowing from established tradition does not imply blindly handing down from one generation to another. This study therefore, will assess how the writer has been informed by matrilineal society and how the matrilineal society interact with modernism of post-colonial Africa. To him, tradition cannot be inherited, but has to be obtained through great labour. This study will look at matrilineal culture as something that is not inherited or static but a culture that is dynamic and which is modified as a result of interaction with other cultures around the world. Eliot argues that art is not only an individual creation but it is also a universal entity. This means that the use of traditions in once work makes it valuable and give it a collective appeal. A writer belongs to a larger tradition and he should be aware how the tradition impacts him and therefore surrenders to once traditions. This study will examine the traditions in the texts as well as the author awareness of the present. Following the Eliot's argument of including once traditions in the text in order to have a collective appeal, this paper will study how the author has been influenced by her traditions and the value it brings to the modern society.

In his traditional and historical sense, he argues that tradition is a section of the living culture inherited from the past and is still at work in present. Tradition gives the reader new a perspective of the story. It also gives way for logical comprehension of the story and provides various dynamics needed for interpretation of the story. Eliot maintains that tradition is attributed to historical sense in that the past is not lost and worthless but it influences the present in terms of the way we think. To have a logical understanding of this text, this study will not overlook the matrilineal culture, and its impact in the past and present. According to the 19th century scholars, matrilineal culture foredated patrilineal societies and presented a prior revolutionary stage, to them, matrilineal ceased to exist with the introduction of patriarchal society. Borrowing from Eliot's historical sense, this paper will access the influence of matrilineal culture in the contemporary society.

This historical sense can also be perceived through the way the past influences the present. On this sense, the past is current as the present is. The artist needs to feel the presence of history, which in turn ought to compel him to write bearing in mind the literature existed or written in the past. To him, tradition is timeless and place-less. In other words, a writer who is conscious of the literature before his time is also conscious of his own con-temporariness and relevance. In this sense, this study will look at matrilineal as timeless culture and its present impact the same as its past impact.

Eliot further argues that any new work of art will be 'judged' by the standards established before its creation. To judge is not to say the work is 'good' or 'bad', but to establish the extent to which it bears the history of literature of his society in mind. One is right to draw from the oral tradition of his community. However, an artist cannot merely take history as a lump, a bolus, a whole and blindly borrow from it. The artist needs to be conscious that the society is changing and so does the mind. He must be aware of the changes in the society, and bear in mind the current change at the time he writes. This is to say that, the artist should be a keen observer of his time, observing how it denotes from the past of the society in question. This study will assess the author's authority of the past and present, the post-colonial Africa, and how the present changes influence the past and vice versa.

According to Eliot, tradition and present do not follow each other in a linear proportion it is spatial in nature. He believes that the traditions and the modernity live adjacent in the society. This study will look at matrilineal culture as a culture which still exists today. He continued to argue that both the traditions and the modernity influence each other. Therefore, he considers all literature as a whole. Every written work belongs to a family relationship where any new literary work is like the arrival of a new relative. This brings about readjustment in the family to accommodate the new member. This modification is what brings the sense that the modernity modifies the traditional and vice versus. He observes that, a separation with one's tradition is dangerous. Being aware of the past or what has gone before is essential to inform the current and the future as well. Eliot said that, by losing traditions, the existing is lost and hence the future. Therefore, a writer should be aware of the his or her tradition and how his work will be affected by it. The artist should be aware of the history of past literature in order to continue in that traditional of greatness.

Artists are aware of the African history including the ones of matrilineal descent like the Akans. They are aware of the literary traditions existed in their communities. These literary traditions existed long before the colonial invasion in form of oral literature. They are also aware of the colonization way including slave trade. This history moves on

to the post-colonial Africa and the emergence of neocolonialism. The African oral traditions, slave trade, colonialism, post-colonialism and neocolonialism forms part of African experience and history. The interaction of the African culture with the West through slave trade, colonization and the aspect of diaspora have a new impact in the matrilineal systems of which the traditionalist and modernist conflicts.

This brings us to the Post-Colonial Literary Theory which has significantly informed post-colonial literary works. Post-colonial literary theory is a school of thought that acknowledges and critically examines the political, economic, social and historical impact of European colonization through literature. According to the critics, this theory is based on the idea that, “the world we inhabit is impossible to understand except in relationship to the history of imperialism and colonial rule. Post colonial literary theory addresses the role literature plays in challenging and interpreting cultural imperialism through the power struggle between the colonizing powers and the countries or communities that were colonized by the West. To understand the matrilineal culture better, this study will read and interpret selected texts using the post-colonial literary theory.

Post-colonial literary theory refers to a scholarly criticism of the texts whose authors descend from the colonized countries or the text written by authors from the countries who were the colonizers. The main idea of post-colonial theory the concept of othering and resistance (Edward, 1993). After the colonial loot of Africa, there emerged neocolonialism, a section of African leaders who are worse than the colonizer, leading to immense human suffering. These rulers continued with the legacy left by the colonizer. This means that although the countries attained independence, there has been a serious effect of cultural colonization, an instilling of Western education, cultures and values that degrade the local culture, morals and education systems of formerly colonized peoples (Edward, 1993)

This theory is mainly based on what Edward Said (1993), considers as the false image invented by Western scholars where Africans are seen as the primitive ‘other’ in comparison with the civilized West. According to Said, the present reflects the past, and it would be ignorant to study it ignoring the roles played by colonial powers in forming this present. Both histories of the colonizer and the colonized are indistinguishably interconnected. It is also concerned with the study of the effects of colonialism on cultures and societies by examining how the West nations subjugated and took over the colonized cultures and how these communities responded to those encroachments.

Post-colonial criticism evaluates the colonial authority and control in order to offer a vital critique of the ideology. On the same note, it aims at invalidate the “imaginative boundaries” which brought disintegration and division not only economically but also in the livelihood of the concerned countries. For instance, the victims were categorized into West and East, civilized and uncivilized, first and third worlds. The critics therefore, aim at deconstructing the Western literary tenet, which has historically favoured white opinions. Therefore, post-colonial criticism becomes activist and confrontational in its foundation objectives.

To address these issues better, the post-colonial critics came up with various terms which explains the post-colonial literary theory. They include: ‘Hybridity’ or ‘syncretism’, ‘Mimicry’, Diaspora, ‘Double consciousness’ or ‘double vision’ and ‘othering’. These terms help the reader to understand the key subjects of gender, economics and race under the influence of colonization on and after the colonies gained self- independence. These terms have been used to interpret stories with feminist views, racial issues, civilizations and their hierarchical roles. The terms focus on people in a society whose cultural identity has been disrupted by power of colonization. They demonstrate the relationship between the colonizers and those being colonized and how the colonized resist oppressors or became subject to them. A critic is guided by this term to interpret literature whose setting is colonial or post-colonial period. This study will use the texts whose setting is post- colonial Africa.

‘Hybridity’ or ‘syncretism’; attempting to unite the two cultures, one’s culture and that of other country without forsaking any of it. By bringing together various cultural norms, people settle in the culture that seems less oppressive. The people concerned live in a new culture borrowed from their own and that of the other country which is known as ‘cross fertilization’ of cultures. (Edwards, 1993). ‘Hybridity’ removes the notion that either of the cultures (the colonized or the colonizing) are inflexible or have important, rigid features. This ideology will inform this study in the sense that the male character settled in the Western culture which gives them the dominance power. It will also demonstrate that matrilineal culture evolved with time as a result of interaction with other cultures especially the Western culture.

‘Mimicry’; it brings out the outcome of the interaction between the colonizers, the West and their subject, the Africans. The scholars observes that the colonized people did not resist colonial suppression because they were made to believe in Western superiority and their own inferiority. They thus imitate the Western cultural habits, language, attire, values, behaviour and lifestyle. Africans found themselves admiring the Western world superiority in modern

technology and wealth without knowing that they are not very much appreciated by the West. According to Brabha the colonized reproduced the culture of the colonizers in a way that is “almost the same, but not quite.” (Brabha, 1984) This study will assess how the characters in the text imitates the Western culture.

‘Double consciousness’ or ‘double vision’; it is a way of perceiving the world through two antagonist cultures; that of the colonizer and that of one’s community. This led many people to be culturally alienated from their communities. According to Du Bois, Double consciousness suggest that an African will see himself/herself through the eyes of two customs, his own culture and that of the West. This study will assess how the characters in the selected texts embraces the Western culture, how they become its subject and how they struggle to retain some aspect of matrilineal culture.

Another concept of post-colonial is the patriarchal ideology in feminism. Melanie (2020), defines feminism as the ability to recognize the male sovereignty and evaluate it objectively with an aim of changing it. The traditional roles of a given society define what a ‘good’ woman do or behave in a society. Therefore, feminism is a revolt against cultural roles allocated to each member in a society. Feminists argue that, the stereotypical belief that men are mor powerful than women, has been misused. Men continue to dominate the women economically, politically and socially. This patriarchal ideology will be the central discussion in this study. Patriarchal conflicts with matrilineal and influences the character development of a man. Patriarchal forms the modernity, and therefore greatly affects the matrilineal system.

2.7 Recap of Literature Review

Post-colonial literary theory is rich with a lot of information about literature before, during and after colonization. It describes a changing world, one that has changed through struggle and hope. The Great Tradition Theory is used to assess the historical place of both texts and assess the process of change through Post- Colonial Theory. Both theories bring out the strength and the weaknesses of matrilineal culture and patrilineal which form the modernity in post-colonial Africa. This research deconstructs the matrilineal traditional roles of marriage referring to the objectives in the study and answer the questions as outlined in this study. The two theories help this research to go in-depth and achieve its objectives.

Applying the non- structured qualitative analysis in this study, the researcher distinguishes and establishes the past trends of matrilineal society, determine its worth and its impact to the works of literature. This method brings out a comparative analysis drawn from the two theories in that The Great Traditional Theory introduces us to the matrilineal society while The Post- Colonial theory to modernism. According to Eliot (1919), this tradition is not something that has already vanished or something worthless but it is something that has a function in the present. The Post Colonial Literary Theory introduces patriarchal society which brings the conflict between traditional and modernity. This conflict, in this study, is tied to the role of men and women in a matrilineal society.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

A research design allows a researcher to come up with a description on how data are to be obtained, evaluated and analyzed and draw the conclusion. It also involves the enhancement of the theory knowledge in the research process (Akhtar, 2014). This study employs descriptive survey design to seek answers for research questions of this study. It involves gathering information from relatively large group of cases. The information was collected from a sample rather than every member of a society. This study is a qualitative study, therefore, it uses interviews and administering questionnaires as instrument of data collection. It also employs the Literature Research Methodology which is a non-structured qualitative research methodology. It involves reading the texts for interpretation, examining the aspects of matrilineal culture and categorizing the collected materials in order to identify the culture roles related to men and women and assess the presence and influence of modernity to an individual character. (Guijuan, 2009).

3.4: Population and sample

The target population for this research study is the Agikuyu community which practice matrilineal culture and two plays; *Anowa* and *The Dilemma of a Ghost* both by Ama Ata Aidoo from Akan society in Ghana which is also a matrilineal society.

Therefore, the location of this study is Ndakaini location in Murang'a county. The choice of this place as a research location is influenced by the fact that Murang'a is the source of Agikuyu community and people from this region are considered to be of purer breed compared to the other regions where Agikuyu community is found. The researcher is also familiar with the region and was able to visit the place to administer questionnaires and conduct in-depth interviews with the selected samples from the population.

Sampling is necessary in this study since it is impossible to analyze the entire population. Non- probability sampling procedure is used through purposive and snow-ball sampling techniques in order to get required information for this study from knowledgeable members of the selected society. These techniques allow the researcher to focus on certain characteristics of the target population. The purposive sampling allows the researcher to get to interview people who are believed to be intrigued to matrilineal culture. These include the married couple through traditional wedding and adult male and female aged seventy years and above. Snow ball sampling is used by researchers to identify potential

subjects in studies where subjects are hard to locate (Mugenda, 2003). The snowball sampling technique allowed the respondents to direct the researcher to the next potential respondents like the leaders of *Kiama kia Ma* in the selected area.

Table 3.1: Sample population

Target population	Age group	Target number
Elders' men/women	70 years and above	4
Married couples (Traditional wedding)	50-70 years	20
Divorced male/female (traditional way)	50-70 years	10
Single mothers by choice	50-70 years	10
Barren women	50-70 years	10
Children	5-10 years	30
Total		84

3.5: Data and sources of data

The data collection tools for this study are questionnaires and interview schedules. The questionnaires entails both close and open-ended questions because target information does not require yes/ no responses, or true/false responses and the target group may need assistance to write down the responses. Five questionnaires were used: the married couples, divorced couples, single mothers, barren women and children's questionnaires. The interviews with the elders was conducted to get more information the researcher or the respondent may not be aware of (Gay, 1993)

Apart from the library sources, this study used sources from the internet. The study also used both primary and secondary data collected from the field work, research library and the internet. The primary data was collected from the selected text, journals, articles, scholars' books and research. Published research projects, various recorded sources or any other useful information from a recognized site forms the secondary data. The data collected is used in line with the selected theories; The Great Traditional Theory and The Post- Colonial Literary Theory, and the study's objectives to address the research questions.

3.5.1: Elder's interview

Interviews are known for soliciting "extra" information which the researcher may not be aware of. The elders were interviewed in the sense that they possess first-hand information about matrilineal culture and their advance experience of over seventy years on social activities in the community. They volunteered for an interview and gladly shared a lot of information regarding matrilineal culture and gave the comparative nature of matrilineal and modernism. It is attached here in Appendix I.

3.5.2: Married couple's questionnaires

The married couples' questionnaire collected data in relation to the research objectives, with an aim of addressing the roles of men and women, the importance of children in marriage, the women inheritance, the relationship of a woman/man with his/her maternal family and the relationship between a man and woman in marriage. It is attached here in Appendix II.

3.5.3: Divorced men/women questionnaires

This questionnaire collected the data on the characteristics of matrilineal marriage such as the relationship between husband and wife in marriage, the reason for divorce, the fate of children after divorce, the women inheritance and the women outside option. It did so by addressing the research questions in this study. It is attached here in Appendix III.

3.5.4: Single mother's (by choice) questionnaires

This questionnaire collected data with an aim of addressing the question on character development of an individual in matrilineal society. It also collected the data to assess the modern influence on such characters. It is attached here in Appendix III.

3.5.5: Barren women questionnaires

This questionnaire collected data with an aim of addressing one of the characteristics of matrilineal culture regarding such women. It is attached here in Appendix IV.

3.5.6: Children's Questionnaires

The target children are those who are between 5-10 years. This group is appropriate since it is believed that children of this age tell the truth. It is attached here in Appendix V.

3.6: Theoretical Framework

This study employs the non-structured qualitative technique which involves literature review and text analysis. This qualitative analysis employs the following methods: causal analysis- it refers to the global, regional and local structures of matrilineal societies, comparative analysis- it outlines the roles of men and women in a matrilineal society using The Great Traditional Theory and Post-Colonial Literary Theory and the effects of modernism on such roles, conflicts analysis- it employs the Post-Colonial Literary theory and analyze the conflicts which arises due to introduction of modernism. This methodology assists the researcher to access and evaluate the information collected from different perspectives. It did so by describing functions, characteristics and results. Since qualitative description seldom demonstrate the variable connection of the area of focus, the researcher uses Scientific abstract method which is a logical reasoning to look at the logic relation among entities and to establish what problem to work on and how to work on them. Lastly, this research draws a conclusion using the deductive and inductive method i.e., it makes an inference based on widely accepted facts or premises while inductive is employed in making an inference based on logical reasoning of the selected sample.

The non-structured qualitative research method helps this study to select samples referring to the interests of the research and area of focus paying attention to address the questions and the aim. It did so by referring to the common thinking process of qualitative analysis which involves answering the following questions: What is the area of the motive of the study? What are the definitions of the terms used in the study? What are the evidences? what is the reason? What is the assumption of the study? The selected samples are *Anowa* and *The Dilemma of a Ghost* both by Ama Ata Aidoo.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1: Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the study in relation to the interviews and questionnaires used to collect the data. The data is presented in form of tables and narrative explanation. The sampling method employed include: Snowball sampling- the selection is by referral from other participants or people who know potential participants, purposive sampling- selection based on the researcher's rationale in terms of being the most informative and criterion sampling-selection based on pre-identified factors. This section also provides the study of Ama Ata Aidoo texts, *Anowa* and *The Dilemma of a Ghost* in relation to the matrilineal culture and modernity. This study is guided by research objectives and employs the non-structured qualitative research methodology as suggested by Guijuan (2009). It employs the following process: causal analysis- it refers to the global, regional and local structures of matrilineal societies, comparative analysis- it outlines the roles of men and women in a matrilineal society and evaluate the over representation of female characters and underrepresentation of male characters using The Great Traditional Theory and Post-Colonial Literary Theory and the effects of modernism on such roles, conflicts analysis- it employs the Post-Colonial Literary theory and analyze the conflicts which arises due to introduction of modernism. As T. S Eliot observes, this study looks at matrilineal culture and modernity as spatial not linear. In this sense, therefore, this paper studies matrilineal and modernity as two cultures which lives side by side not a sense of following one another consecutively. Eliot in *The Great Traditional Theory* suggests the tenets used in this study. Therefore, this study looks at Westernization as a new member of the family or a new acquaintance and as Eliot argues it evaluates the changes brought by the new member including the readjustments, the modifications and the new relationship formed. Due to the influence of the new relative or the new acquaintance, the following Eliot's tenets has informed this study: How the past informs the present and how the present informs the past, whether the author has recognized the value of tradition in their work, how the author's command in the texts retain its quality and also evaluate the ability of the author to elevate the subjective into the objective while retaining the sense of immediacy. Lastly, this research draws a conclusion using the deductive and inductive method i.e., it makes an inference based on widely accepted facts or premises while inductive is employed in making an inference based on logical reasoning of the selected sample.

4.2 General information about the location, respondent, author and the texts

4.2.1: Ndakaini location

It is situated in Murang'a county about 3961 meters above sea level. It has an estimated population of 8000 people. The estimated male is 3000 while the female is 5000. The main economic activity is tea and dairy farming. The wide religion is Christianity but a section of people still practices traditional religion and culture.

4.2.1.1: Response rate

Out of 80 questionnaires which had been administered to the interviewees, 75 of them were returned for analysis. This translates to 93.8% percent return rate of the respondents. Overall, the response rate can be considered to have been very high as shown in Table 4.1. According to Mugenda & Mugenda (2003) a 50% response rate is adequate, 60% good and above 70% rated very good. Based on this assertion; the response rate in this case of 93.8% is excellent.

Target population	Respondent sample size	Number of respondents used for the study
Elders	4	2 male and 2 female

Married couple (Traditional marriage)	20	20
Divorced men/women	10	10
Single mothers (by choice)	10	8
Barren women	10	7
children	30	30
total	84	79

Table 4.1: Response rate

4.3: Demographic analysis of the respondent

4.3.1: Gender of the respondent

There were more female interviewed than male due to the nature of the research and the target sample. For instance, the single mother's and barren women samples targeted women only. It was not difficult to get the samples since single motherhood, divorce and even women without children are common phenomena in this society.

4.3.2: Levels of education of the respondent

Out of the samples, both male and female had reached the high school level/O levels. A number of females who had gone beyond high school was more than the male. This is largely attributed to easy money made through selling farm produce like avocados and macadamia, tea picking, boda-boda business and alcohol and substance abuse which mostly affect the boy child.

4.3.3: Occupation of the respondents

Most males are farmers while most females are working class while others are business people. Women work as shopkeepers, secretaries, bar maids among others. Most market stores are owned by women. Women also own a good number of psv vehicles and boda-boda where they have employed young men to work for them. Most clubs and hotels in this area are owned by women.

4.4: Gender roles in marriage

4.4.1: Males versus females' roles in marriage

Male	Female
Providing basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter.	Providing basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter.
Paying school fees.	Paying school fees.
Farming.	Farming.
Milking.	Milking.
Offering security.	No security.
Do not discipline the children.	Disciplines the children
They do not offer advises to either gender.	Advises both boys and girls.

Table 4.2

In the above table it was discovered that women just like men plays a major role in the family and the society. The question is, do women really need a man if they can perform all these duties by themselves? These defines a matrilineal woman as hardworking, determined and self-dependent. This also forms part of the problem facing the society such as single motherhood and divorce.

4.5: Social-cultural challenges and customs

4.5.1: Causes of divorce

Male	female
Interference by extended family	Interference by extended family
Abusive husbands	Abusive wives
Lazy husbands	Dirty wives
Infidelity	Infidelity
poverty	Female dominance in marriage especially where they have more money than their husbands.
Polygamy	Lack of children

This table shows the reasons why male/female is divorced according to the interviewees' response. Even though there were other reasons for divorce, the above reasons were picked for the purpose of this study.

4.5.2: Reasons for single parenthood

Most of the interviewees' who are single parents come from either abusive or divorced families. Others like women are educated and have a well-paying job therefore, they do not see the need to marry. There are other women who inherited property from their parents hence they do not see the need to get married. The essence of marriage is misinterpreted as people see marriage as an escape from poverty. When one has money which can sustain her, she does not see the need to get married. As a result, various social problems emerge such as adultery, prostitution and infidelity.

4.5.3: Agikuyu marriage process

Just like the Akan community, Agikuyu community had the raid down procedure which had to be followed by all. Once a man show interest to marry a girl, the first thing to do was to take her to his parents. His parents are the one to approve of his decision to marry her and give him blessings if there are no issues to stop him. Traditionally, some clans could not marry from certain clans hence the importance of the prospect groom to take his bride to his parents first so that they can figure out if there are any hinderances.

Once his parents had given him a go the ahead to get married, it is time to make plans to visit the girl's parents. Usually, one could not go to meet the girl's parents alone and empty-handed. One had to pick some elderly men to accompany him. The purpose of this visitation is for both families to meet and to get marriage approval from the girl's family. The elders in this case will speak on behalf of the groom and ask for permission to marry the girl. This ceremony is commonly referred to as "Kuhanda ithigi" which literally translates to planting a twig.

"Planting a twig" means that that you have all the rights to marry that girl and no other man could woo her. Worthwhile noting, however, is the fact that the prospect groom must take a goat and a sheep on that very day. Also,

this is the day the groom will get to know how much dowry he is supposed to gift for that girl. In addition, the man had to carry some money so that the dowry gift records are opened for him.

By the time the prospect groom leaves the bride's home, he will have the blessings of the girl's family to go ahead and marry each other and he will also know how much dowry he is supposed to gift. The amount of dowry gifted varies from one clan to another and can sometimes be negotiable. Under normal circumstances, the girl's worth is equivalent to that of her mother. Therefore, if fifty cows were gifted as her mother's bride price, the groom will be expected to do the same. The remaining gifts for dowry are settled slowly by slowly until the final, big ceremony known as the "rurario" (dowry). This ceremony marks the end of the groom dowry payment and it gives him all the rights to marry the woman.

4.5.4: Agikuyu social organization

According to the Agikuyu believe, God (Ngai) created the first man (Gikuyu) and woman (Mumbi) to whom they trace their origin. They were blessed with nine daughters: Wanjiru, Wambui, Njeri, Wanjiku, Nyambura, Wairimu, Waithira, Wangari and Wangui but no sons. When the time came for them to get married, there was no man to marry them. Gikuyu prayed and offered sacrifices to God who provided nine men to marry his daughters. The nine daughters became the ancestors of the nine kikuyu clans. Therefore, the Agikuyu clans trace their ancestral lineage through a woman. This formed the matrilineal system among the Agikuyu community. Furthermore, Agikuyu social organization is based on family units (Nyumba). Several related families form a clan (Mbari). Agikuyu's father, Gikuyu made an agreement with the nine men that they will retain matrilineal system in the process of marriage. Therefore, in Agikuyu community it was the women who took husbands and not the men who took wives. In Agikuyu women played prominent roles in governance. The renowned chief Wangu wa Makeri was a chief even during the colonial era.

4.6: Biography of the author

Ama Ata Aidoo is a daughter of chief Nana Yaw Fama and Maame Abba Abaseme. She was born in 1942 at a place called Abeamzi Kyiakor, Ghana. During colonial period Ghana was known as Gold Coast. She is a hailed Ghanaian playwright, novelist, Short Story writer and poet. Her main concern is the effects of sexism and colonialism which she portrays deeply in her works. Since Aidoo was a chief's daughter she was raised as royalty and was taught the traditional folklore and rituals of her Fante community. After her education she worked as an educator in the United States of America and Ghana where she also served as Minister of Education. While in the University of Ghana, she wrote two plays and a collection of short stories as well as participating in writers' workshops and Ghana Drama Studio. Her early works featured controversial female characters at odds with societal expectations. Aidoo suffered rape case which led to her divorce with her first husband. Later she got married as a second wife. This episode drove her to explore issues such as marital rape and career choices and their impact on love and marital relationship in her later works (Frank, 1987).

On January, 1998, Aidoo and Maria had an interview which took place in Accra Ghana. The main discussion revolves around the reason why most African critics say Ama Ata Aidoo is not a feminist. She says, "I have always said I am a feminist...I cannot understand why people think that if you write about women, you are a feminist..." (Wilson, 2000). It is this statement that aroused curiosity of this project. Aidoo insist that she did not learn feminism outside Africa, she learnt it through vocal women from her Akan side. Aidoo endows her female characters with a powerful tool of speech. Wilson (2000), points that, Aidoo's women use words as a weapon to the extent that they can easily and intelligently fustigate men's ego and beat them dialectically/metaphorically. (Wilson-Tagoe, 2000, Pg. 248) In addition Wilson-Tagoe observes that, Aidoo creates women who are strong, hardworking, independent, articulate and smart thus deconstructing the stereotypical image of the submissive, passive and battered African woman. Aidoo defends her women character by stating that "As far as I am concerned, these are African women among whom I was brought up. In terms of women standing on their own feet, within or outside marriage, mostly from inside marriage living life on their own terms." (Wilson-Tagoe, 2000, Pg. 248). Wilson (2000), sees Aidoo's women as wise about gender differences, he concludes that the women do not blame everything on the 'system' but recognizes fundamental differences between men and women, in this light Aidoo remains clear that male sexism exists and was learned by African male from neocolonial influences since Ghana was strongly matrilineal before colonization. These Aidoo vision of foregrounding the complex lives of women who behave in a contradictory way haunted by African traditions, in this case matrilineal, but caught in modernism of post-colonial Africa forms the basis of this study. Contrary to other African writers, Aidoo's recurrent topics are: marriage, motherhood, emotional and economic dependence, woman's education, women's political and economic marginalization and their resistant to expression. Aidoo says, 'in Ghana and to be specific Akan people, women are not silent at all. They are the most

vocal and the most articulate African women.’ She referred to the story of her aunt who pushed her to pursue education to the highest levels. In her article Aidoo says that her mother taught her about politics. Also, in her article she wrote about two illiterate women at the hospital who were caught having a serious theological argument on Muslims and Christianity, she says that those were women she knew who protest at a personal level, about injustice, misrepresentation among others. (To Be a Woman, 1985, pg.259)

4.6.1: Aidoo’s view of women in the texts

Aidoo’s view of women especially in *Anowa* is informed by an interview which was conducted by Maria in January 1998 in Accra (Ghana). They focused on feminist theory and the debates around African, African-American and Western feminism. In the interview they used some of her works including *Anowa*, their discussion revolved around her female characters in the reality of colonialism and post-colonialism in the face of African traditional culture and modernity. (Wilson-Tagoe 2002)

In this interview, Aidoo states that she got her first perception of feminism from matrilineal African women where she grew up. This means that she did not learn her view of feminism outside Africa and that her local women who hails from Akan culture taught her. This takes her to her roots (The Akan culture). Aidoo is a product of a matrilineal society, the fact that she was taught the traditional culture by her mother and her grandmother shows that she was aware of what matrilineal society entails. The setting of *Anowa* being 1870 at the onset of the colonial rule in Africa and presenting *Anowa* as hardworking, independent, articulate and smart demonstrate a lot about the matrilineal society. In the character of *Anowa*, Aidoo deconstruct the stereotypical image of the submissive, passive and battered African woman of the patriarchal system.

From this argument, we can conclude that Aidoo’s women characters are not strange, they are the product of the society Aidoo lived. If Aidoo is articulate, she learnt from those women in her family and the neighborhood. As demonstrated in her works, Aidoo women have crossed patriarchal boundaries. Therefore, if there is feminism ideology in Akan culture, we cannot trace it through submission of women to the patriarchal orders of the society but in the culture.

Aidoo admits that when she was writing *Anowa* she was not an eloquent feminist; she was twenty- five years old. Her intended view of *Anowa* was about a woman who goes against the society. She says, “All I could see was: what was likelihood if you get a woman ‘flying’ in the face of society? What is most likely to happen? I could see *Anowa*, I could see how articulate she was.” (Wilson-Tagoe 2002). Aidoo in this regard, creates women who defy the stereotypical women’s role of their time.

Knowing what feminism is all about Aidoo regrets on the tragic end of *Anowa*. She says, “If I were writing *Anowa* today, I would not let her die. I would make sure that she lived and that she lived in terms of the dynamics of the changing world.” (Wilson-Tagoe 2002). Looking into the play, Aidoo refrains from making *Anowa* to return home because of her integrity, so for her pride, she chooses death. Even if Aidoo did not make *Anowa* a successful dynamic character as she later realized, by making her not to return to her people is also a sign of dignifying her and strengthening her stand. She triumphant against the traditions since she did not go back to submit to it by begging for forgiveness.

From the above argument, this paper places Aidoo’s plays (*Anowa* and *The Dilemma of a Ghost*) as matrilineal texts, which realizes change as a result of interaction with the Western culture through colonization and post-colonization influences. We have also observed that the Akan women were already empowered by the matrilineal system. Feminism exists but can only be traced through women struggling with the matrilineal culture whose women are the custodians and the new culture learnt through colonial influence or through the patriarchal system. As seen in *The Traditional Theory*, T.S Eliot (1919), observes that an artist should be aware that the society is changing and so does the mind (Eliot, 1919). Consequently, the post-colonial literary critics argues that even if there was no colonization, the traditional culture would have changed by now. They believe that every culture is a hybrid resulting from both pleasant and unpleasant encounters with other cultures. To them colonization is an indelible fact of history.

4.6.2: Synopsis of the texts

Both of her plays, *Anowa* and *The Dilemma of a Ghost*, Aidoo makes use of the elements of Ghanaian Traditional Folklore to which she was introduced early in her life by her mother and grandmother. In *Anowa*, Aidoo portrays *Anowa* as the modern disobedience daughter of the tale. Osam and Badua, *Anowa*’s parents, have different view concerning their daughter *Anowa*. Osam believes that *Anowa* might make a better priestess than a wife but Badua insists that *Anowa* needs to conform to societal mores, settle down and marry. *Anowa* falls instantly in love with a handsome young man named Kofi Ako. Badua protest the union since she wants to arrange the marriage herself as the customs requires. Badua sees Kofi as a narcissistic, lazy and from a family who tends to produce disastrous

husbands. Anowa rejects everyone's ideas for her future, ignores her mother's opinions, marries Kofi and leaves the village of Yebi, vowing not to return. Anowa's inability to bear any children and her views regarding slavery ends up destroying her marriage and her life. In *The Dilemma of a Ghost*, the central motif is a childhood song about a ghost at Elmina junction who did not know whether to go to Cape Coast or to Elmina. It is a play written in the sixties. It tells a story of Ato Yawson, a young Ghanaian who goes to America to study and returns home with an Afro American, Eulallie as his wife without the extended family involvement in his marriage. This scenario set the tone of the theme of deconstructing the cultural roles of marriage. Far worse, Eulallie is from a different continent with a different culture. Eulallie expects that her way of life should be respected. However, her way of life contradicts with the norms of Ato's people erupting to constant friction which threatens their marriage union. The researcher argues that *The Dilemma of a Ghost* is a revolutionary play. It provides a powerful critique of the dominant colonial ideology that dominates all aspect of life among the Akan people. The play explores the shared history with the colonialist and brings out a post-colonial national ideology. Aidoo, through this play helps to get rid of the colonialist legacy and hence rebuild indigenous post-colonial identity

4.6.3: History of the Akan people as portrayed in the texts

Eliot (1919), argues that an artist draws much of his material from others who have written before him. Although we read the text to identify what 'new' the artist has to say, what we learn is that the artist draws heavily from his predecessors. Eliot argues that art is not only an individual creation but it is also a universal entity. This means that the use of traditions in once work makes it valuable and give it a collective appeal. A writer belongs to a larger tradition and he should be aware how the tradition impacts him and therefore surrenders to once traditions. Both plays, *Anowa* and *The Dilemma of a Ghost*, honors T.S Eliot's view of the traditional of greatness. They revolve around: The African oral traditions, slave trade era, colonialism, post-colonialism and neocolonialism which forms part of African experience and history. Aidoo is also aware of the matrilineal society and therefore, crafted her work to demonstrate women who are traditionalist and men who are modern.

Aidoo takes us back all the way to the African classical period. She is informed by the African folklore and African childhood songs. As she takes us through this period, Aidoo demonstrates both positive and negative impacts of the changing world. She portrays characters who are trapped between the traditions and modernity. Aidoo shows an interaction between the deeply rooted oral tradition and the developing literary tradition as a result of colonization. The folklore in *Anowa* and the childhood song in *The Dilemma of a Ghost* are the key aspects in the plays. They form the main conflict in the plays thus develop the vital themes of traditions versus modernism.

According to the Oxford dictionary, folklore is defined as the traditional beliefs, customs and stories of a community passed through the generations by word of a mouth. Folklores are shared by a particular group of people and contains the traditions common to the culture, subculture or group. They include tales, legends, proverbs and jokes. Among these, Aidoo is informed by folktales and proverbs. The Vocabulary.com defines a folktale as an old story that has been told again and again, often for generations. They are oral traditions or tales that people tell each other out loud. Folktales are an important way of passing knowledge, information and history of a particular group of people. The Cambridge English Corpus observes that folktales need to be seen as histories and not simply as folktales. Therefore, tales from Africa are not just stories, they are living pieces of history and culture to the very people. Aidoo treats this tales as history of her people and therefore, she uses this tales to warn both boys and girls against disobeying culture. The fact that such tales do not have a happy ending, they aim at imparting a lesson the hard way.

In *Anowa*, the Old Man takes on stage with an aim of pouring libation. He takes the audience through the history of the Akan people from the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. He states that during the pre-colonial period everything happened in moderation. *"Everything created by Odomankoma, God the creator, knew its boundaries and so do the people. The sun comes out but seldom burns the crop. Likewise, the rain comes but floods are hardly known to the living memory. In the same way, the ocean knows its boundary and provides fish to the people as opposed to destroying their lives."* (*Anowa* pg. 65-66). The nature here is symbolic to the ways of life of the Akan people. In a family setup, each participant knows his /her boundaries. Men, women and boys and girls knew the role to play in the family without crossing the boundary. Although according to the post-colonial critics observes that no culture is static, African traditional culture does not accommodate change as demonstrated in the texts. Anybody who dared cross the boundaries, is met with conflicts which threatened his /her livelihood.

As the Old Man continues to narrate the history of his people, he switches from the pre-colonial and introduces the audience to the colonial period. He says, *"Let not prosperity judge it too bitterly, that in a dangerous moment, the lords of our house sought the protection of those that- came-from-beyond-the-horizon."* (*Anowa* pg. 66), here he is

referring to the colonizers. According to the Old Man, there those among them who resisted while others collaborated with the British rulers. This paper is concerned with the collaborators to see how they are influenced by the Western culture and how they are trapped to their own culture.

From his explanation, the Old Man is calling us to think and judge positively those who collaborated with the colonizers. He says, “*If there be among us that have found a common sauce-bowl, in which they play a game of dipping with the stranger, who shall complain?*” (Anowa pg. 66). To him a womb gives birth to people of different characters and one cannot be judged harshly for what he has decided to become. He says, “*Out of one womb can always come a disparate breed; and men will always go where the rumbling hunger in their bowels shall be stilled, and that is where they will stay...*” (Anowa pg. 66-67).

In this scenario, the Old Man introduces Kofi Ako who is a symbol of those men who sought refuge in a white man. The Old Man defends his action by stating that Kofi Ako is looking for peace, happiness and fulfilment. He states, “*...let it not surprise us then, that this- one and that- one depends for their well-being on the presence of the pale stranger in our midst...*” (Anowa pg. 67). Kofi symbolizes the Post-Colonial period thus brings out the aspect of mimicry, double-consciousness, individuality and other themes which characterize the period.

In the *Dilemma of a Ghost* the history of the Akan people is tackled in a different way from that of *Anowa*. Having written in the 60s, Aidoo demonstrates a society that is embracing the new ideas of the Post-Colonial Africa while trapped to the traditions of their land. In the text, Aidoo brings out an aspect of hybridity. Ato and Eulalie attempts to bred their original culture with that of the host country, without abandoning either. The two characters develop the theme of split consciousness of being both yet neither completely and forms the main conflict in the play. In the play Aidoo takes us back to the traditions of the Akan people which helps us to understand the conflict in the play better.

Some of the traditions highlighted include: the matrilineal system, the oral traditions and the role of the extended family and the community at large. By referring to the history, Aidoo introduces us to the main conflict of the play, which is cultural conflict. This conflict between the African traditional culture and The Western culture highlights the post-colonial ideas of hybridity, double consciousness, mimicry and diaspora. To be specific, the Western culture introduces the following issues: getting married without involving the family and the community, introducing patriarchal ideology, introduction of individualism, alienates the roles of children towards their family and the extended family, introducing the aspect of family planning methods and lack of identity.

History plays a big role in informing both texts. It is through history that the reader is informed where the society is coming from and where it is heading. As the paper explores the history of the Akan community from the traditional matrilineal system to colonial and post-colonial Africa, it establishes that men were the first to be alienated by the Western culture. This could be possible because in matrilineal system, women are the custodian of the culture which leaves men vulnerable to it. As the Old Man in *Anowa* depicts they sought refuge in the Western culture which seems to accommodate them better, gives them a voice and empowers them. Aidoo uses Osam in *Anowa* and Ato's father in *The Dilemma of a Ghost* to demonstrate men's vulnerability to the culture. On the other hand, Aidoo uses Ako and Ato to demonstrate men's struggle for liberation through adopting the Western culture.

4.7: Matrilineal marriage customs as portrayed in the texts and interviewee's response

In her essay, *To Be a Woman* (1985), Aidoo's view of marriage opposes what African traditions dictates. According to her, other things like education comes first then marriage second and it is not a must. She says, “My child, get as far as you can into this education. Go until yourself you are tired. As for marriage it is something a woman picks up along the way.” This statement contradicts with what Mbiti (1969), said “Marriage is an obligation, a society demand and a pattern of life in which all had to participate regardless of social status or background. Doing otherwise, it is not only deviant, unusual but also inhuman. It also affirms what De Witte (2001) established in her research about Akan women, they view marriage as a way of getting and raising children nothing more to it. As soon as the children are grown or even earlier, they prefer to be independent or stay with their maternal family. Aidoo is a product of the Akan society which is purely matrilineal, therefore, her plays, which are based on the stories told by her mother and grandmother are informed by matrilineal system. Though both plays are set during the post-colonial period, Aidoo refers to history of her community concerning love and marriage that brings the main conflicts in the plays.

The first aspect of a matrilineal customary marriage is that it must follow the laid down stages to be called a marriage. Marriage is one of the most important rituals in African Traditional Society and likewise the Akan society.

According to Nakunya (1992), marriage is a unification of a husband and wife after going through all procedures as laid down by the given society not only for giving birth and raising children but also for companionship. To be acceptable, marriage must follow a certain protocol as dictated by the concerned community. (Nakunya, 1992, P.42) In both texts Aidoo portrays the kind of marriages which do not follow the laid down procedures as the Akan matrilineal marriage customs requires. Anowa chooses her own husband and goes against the custom where it is the duty of the parents to choose the marriage partner for their children or to approve them when they ask for a hand in marriage. Instead of waiting for the proper procedure of marriage to be followed, she elopes leaving her family and the community stranded. Osam says

“Osam: . . . anyway I said long ago, that I am removing my mouth from my daughter Anowa’s marriage. Did I not say that? She would not allow herself to be married to any man who came to ask for her hand from us and of whom we approved. Did you know then that when she chooses a man, it might be the one of whom we would disapprove?” (Anowa, 76)

In the same case Ato chooses his own wife without involving the family and goes ahead to marry her. Ato’s family is astonished when it learns that Ato is married. The family reacts in a manner that such an act was unheard of before. As earlier seen, in traditional African society and to be particular, Akan culture, marriage is so important that two individuals cannot just meet and decide to marry without involving the family. Marriage is a business of the families, clans, neighbors and communities. Esi Kom is excited by her son’s return to Ghana. She is ready for his marriage; she has the money ready to pay the bride price. On top of that, she has chosen a woman fit for Ato to marry. News about her son’s marriage frustrates her, she calls herself unlucky.

Ato: [as if awake from sleep] Ei, Uncle, are you talking of marriage?

Esi: it is nothing. I was telling your aunt that I have sold your sheep to pay the bride price for you when you make up your mind to marry...

Ato: [casually] But I am already married Maami.

ALL: You are married? Married! Married!

ESI: [overlapping] Who is your wife?

AKYERE: [Overlapping] When did you marry?

MANSA: Who is your wife?

MONKA: [Overlapping] What is her name?

ESI: Where does she come from? (Dilemma, 16)

To make the matters worse, Eulalie, Ato’s wife is an off spring of slave. The family is more frustrated when it learns that he is married to An American woman. The news of the American being a daughter of a slave sweeps them off the ground. Aidoo observes that the conversation regarding a shared history with the slaves is unwelcome conversation. Aidoo says “Among Ghanaian you do not talk about slavery, you do not call anybody a slave.” The reaction of the family upon hearing that Ato is married to a slave is devastating. It is worse than hearing of death. Ato himself is aware of the grave information he has to relay to the family members, he is nervous. Men cannot continue sitting on hearing of this news The woman who is approved for marriage should have roots. Her family should be well known by the groom’s family and the name of the family should be ‘clean’.

MANSA: Our master, isn’t your wife ...eh...Fanti?

ATO: No, aunt.

AKYERE: [Contemptuously] If so, what is her tribe?

ATO: She has no tribe. She does not come from...

NANA: [Looking up to him] She has no tribe? The story you are telling us is too sweet, my grandchild. Since I was born, I have never heard of a human being born out of the womb of a woman who has no tribe. Are there trees which never have any roots?

PETU: Ato, where does your wife come from? [A short silence all look at ATO.]

ATO: ... My wife comes from ...America.

ESI: [Putting her hands on her head] Oh Esi! You have an unkind soul. We always hear of other women’s sons going to the white man’s country. Why should my own go and marry a white woman?

MONKA: Amrika! My brother, you have arrived indeed.

AKYERE: . . .What have you done to us, my son? We do not know the ways of the white people. Will not people laugh at us?

ATO: [Very nervously] But who says I have married a white woman? Is everyone in America white? In that country they are white men and black men.

ATO: . . . [All quiet. Eyes are focused on Ato] I say my wife is as black as we all are. [signs of relaxation]

ESI: But how is it, my child, that she comes from Amrika and she has this strange name? [the old woman spits significantly]

ATO: Please, I beg you all, listen. Eulalie's ancestors were of our ancestors. But [warming up] as you all know; the white people came and took some away in ships to be slaves. . .

NANA: [Calmly] And so my grand-child, all you want to tell us is that your wife is a slave? [At this point even, the men get up in shock from their seats. All women break into violent weeping. Esi Kom is beside herself with grief. She walks round in attitudes of mourning.] (Dilemma, pg. 17-18)

Secondly, In Akan traditional society, marriage under customary was often arranged or agreed upon by the fathers and other senior kinsmen of the prospective bride and bridegroom. Marriage thus served as a link between the two groups (the bride's and the bride groom's) together in a social relationship. Therefore, marriage within the ethnic group, the clan and in the immediate locality was encouraged. When Anowa decides to marry and her father Osam is convinced that his daughter's decision cannot be swayed, he invites Anowa's uncles for the arrangement of her marriage with Ako. Matrilineal traditional custom of marriage does not give the father authority over her children's marriage. The uncles, brother to the children's mother, have an upper hand in this.

“OSAM: . . . Kwame! Kwame! I thought the boy was around somewhere. [moves towards lower stage and looked around]

BADUA: What are you calling him here for?

OSAM: To go and call us her uncle and your brother.

BADUA: Could we have not waited until this evening or dawn tomorrow?

OSAM: For what shall we wait for dawn?

BADUA: To settle the case.

OSAM: What case? Who says I want to settle cases? If there is any case to settle, that is between you and your people. . .” (Anowa pg. 76)

Both Osam and Badua demonstrates knowledge of Ako, their prospect son-in-law, they know his family well. Badua is paranoid about Ako and explains the reasons why she does not want her daughter to get married to him. According to her, Ako is lazy and indolent therefore incapable of taking care of his family. On the other hand, Osam has nothing against Ako, to him he has come from a good family something that erupts to a heated debate between Anowa's parents. It is through this rejection that Aidoo affirms her aim of deconstructing the traditional forms of marriage. As Osam puts it, the only worry Badua has was her daughter not getting married six years after puberty. It is advisable for her to accept whoever comes to ask for Anowa's hand but instead she refuses.

“BADUA: . . . Whose daughter would want to marry this fool, this good-for-nothing cassava man, this watery male of all watery males? . . .

BADUA: And do you know what this Kofi Ako is like?

ANOWA: What is he like?

OSAM: How would I know he is like? Does he not come from Nsona House? And is not that one of the best houses that are here in Yebe? Has he an ancestor who unclothed himself to nakedness, had the unmentionable, killed himself or another man?

BADUA: And if all there is to a young man is that his family has unspoiled name, then what kind of a man he is? Are he and his wife going to feed on stones when he will not put a blow into a thicket or at least learn a trade. (Anowa, pg. 76)

In the *Dilemma of a Ghost*, the family members are gathered at Esi Clan house to welcome Ato who is coming from abroad. The clan house here means the place where Esi was born. Even though she is married there is no mention of her husband. The leader of the clan, the old woman is the center of all things which is happening here. Esi is already prepared for her son's marriage. She reared a goat in Ato's name and has already sold it ready to pay the pride price.

“AKYERE: I say, Esi. For a long time, I have not been seeing that sheep which you were raring in Ato's name.

ESI: It had a good market and I thought I would find some money and add to give to Ato's father to pay the pride price for its owner.” (Dilemma, pg. 15)

Since marriage is an important aspect of the way of life of Africans, it is not optional but an obligation in every adult's life. It is a rite of passage and hence one had to get married in an acceptable way following the laid down

procedures. According to Aidoo these procedures include: Identifying a girl or a boy of marriageable age and the parents goes ahead to ask for a hand in marriage, (. . . *I heard them say that his mother had gone to knock the door of Yaw Mensa to ask for the hand of his daughter for him, Dilemma, pg22*) when interested party agree, the father is given a chance to pay the pride price as the wedding procedure commences. Mbiti says, “Marriage is an obligation, a society demand and a pattern of life in which all had to participate regardless of social status or background. Doing otherwise, it is not only deviant, unusual but also inhuman (Mbiti, 1969, P.130). Aidoo is aware of this fact and she therefore, uses the institution of marriage to demonstrate the effects of Westernization to matrilineal traditional marriage customs. In both texts, she constructs marriages which are unacceptable in a matrilineal setup. Both Anowa and Ato chooses their marriage partners and goes ahead to marry without the proper procedure. This brings conflict in the family and the community disowns them.

“BADUA: *Who is driving you away?*

ANOWA: *You! Who does not know here in Yebi that from the day I came to tell you that Kofi and I were getting married you have been drumming into my ears what a disgrace this marriage is going to be for you? Didn't you say that your friends were laughing at you? And they were saying that very soon I shall be sharing your clothes because my husband will never buy me any? Father I am leaving this place.” (Anowa, pg79)*

Another aspect of a matrilineal marriage custom is that the type of family or the clan that one wishes to marry or get married to was also important and a matter that needed proper investigation by both families. Saprong observes that, marriage in Africa, is not a matter between two people in love but it concerns the whole family as well as the lineage. Moreover, marriage brings the whole society together. (Sarpong, 1974, P.77). In both text Aidoo portrays a marriage which escapes this procedure. Anowa and Ato ignores this important aspect of marriage. The work of investigating the bride or the groom to be belongs to a woman, in this case, a mother. Badua, Anowa's mother knows the kind of a man she wants for her daughter. She does not only consider the family name but also his capability to feed and take care of the family. She has done her investigation thoroughly and dug the deep secrets of Kofi Ako family. She has undoubtable reasons why she does not want her daughter to marry him.

“BADUA: . . . *Shut up because I never counted Kofi Ako among my sons-sons in law. Anowa, why Kofi Ako? Of all the mothers that are here in Yebi, should I be the one whose daughter would want to marry this fool, this good-for-nothing cassava man, this watery male of all watery males? . . .*

BADUA: *And do you know what this Kofi Ako is like?*

ANOWA: *What is he like?*

OSAM: *How would I know what he is like? Does he not come from Nsona House? And is not that one of the best houses that are here in Yebi? Has he an ancestor who unclothed himself to nakedness, had the unmentionable, killed himself or another man?*

BADUA: *And if all there is to a young man is that his family has unspoiled name, then what kind of a man he is? Are he and his wife going to feed on stones when he will not put a blow into a thicket or at least learn a trade.” (Anowa, pg. 76)*

“BADUA: . . . *What was he able to make of the plantation of palm-trees his grandfather gave him? And the virgin land his uncles gave him, what did he do with that?” (Anowa, pg. 78)*

On the other hand, Esi Kom Ato's mother is ready for his marriage, she has a goat for the pride price and a proper bride in her mind. She has sold the goat for a proper price and the money is kept in a safe place ready for the task. The news that Ato is married devastates Esi. She says, [*putting her hands on her head*] *Oh Esi! You have an unkind soul. We always here of other women's sons going to the white man's country. Why should my own go and marry a white woman? (Dilemma, pg. 17)*, Unable to accept the marriage between Ato and Eulalie, Esi goes to seek the hand of the daughter of Yaw Mensa. She is known in the village and has managed to uphold her morals regardless of going to school. Esi is aware that her educated son needs a woman who is his perfect match, educated as he is, therefore, Yaw Mensa's daughter would be good for him.

“2ND W: . . . *But I heard him say that his mother had gone to knock the door of Yaw Mensa to ask for the hand of his daughter for him.*

1ST W: *Oh, he would have had a good woman. I saw the girl when she came home last Christmas school has not spoilt her, I think.*

2ND W: *And that is the sad of it my sister. He has not taken this girl whom we all know and like. . .” (Dilemma pg. 22)*

Another aspect among the matrilineal groups such as Akan, is that married women continued to reside at their maternal homes. The separate living patterns reinforced the idea that each spouse is subject to the authority of a different household head, and because spouses are always members of different lineages, each is subject to the authority of the senior men of his or her lineage. The wife, as an outside in the husband's family, would not inherit any property other than that granted to her by her husband as gifts in token appreciation of the years of devotion. The children from this matrilineal marriage would be expected to inherit from their mother's family (Mbiti 1976: 290). This brings us to one of the characteristics of matrilineal women that they cooperate less with their spouses and exhibits greater stress in a bargaining task with a spouse. However, even though matrilineal systems affect the relationship between man and wife, there may be benefit to a gender composition that empowers women and allows them to have a say in marriage, according to Sara Lowes, the reason for lack of cooperation between the couple is attributed to, the divided duties between husband and wife. In a patriarchal, a wife is effectually unified with her clan of where she got married as opposed to matrilineal system where both husband and wife belongs to the groups in which they were born. (Sara Lowes, 2019). Aidoo is informed by this fact and demonstrate it in both texts. The relationship between spouse in both text is tense; the wife ignores her husband's opinion and goes by what she believes is right. Women make firm decision and nothing would change what they believe.

For instance, Badua has decided that Anowa will not become a priestess despite her husband's advice. In the end Badua's Clan blames Osam when Anowa's life turns against their expectations. ". . . Certainly, I remember what happened in connection with Anowa dancing. That is if you don't. Did they not say in the end that it was I who had prevented her from going into apprenticeship with a priestess?" (Anowa, pg. 76) In the same way, Badua and Osam do not agree with each other concerning Anowa's marriage to Ato. Badua stands by her own opinion ignoring her husband's. According to Osam, Badua's opinions are baseless and therefore, he supports his daughter to get married. This argument shows that women cooperate less with their husbands and their opinions come first. This aspect is a source of power for Akan women such as Anowa who makes a decision that women of the patriarchal society would not dare.

"BADUA: . . . Shut up because I never counted Kofi Ako among my sons-sons in law. Anowa, why Kofi Ako? Of all the mothers that are here in Yebi, should I be the one whose daughter would want to marry this fool, this good-for-nothing cassava man, this watery male of all watery males? . . .

BADUA: And do you know what this Kofi Ako is like?

ANOWA: What is he like?

OSAM: How would I know what he is like? Does he not come from Nsona House? And is not that one of the best houses that are here in Yebi? Has he an ancestor who unclothed himself to nakedness, had the unmentionable, killed himself or another man?

BADUA: And if all there is to a young man is that his family has unspoiled name, then what kind of a man he is? Are he and his wife going to feed on stones when he will not put a blow into a thicket or at least learn a trade." (Anowa, pg. 76)

"BADUA: . . . What was he able to make of the plantation of palm-trees his grandfather gave him? And the virgin land his uncles gave him, what did he do with that?" (Anowa, pg. 78)

Aidoo further affirms this custom in *The Dilemma of a Ghost*. Ato's mother, Esi continues to live with her people besides being married for years. "Hmm. For my part, I would be ashamed to live in a clan house for as long as she has done." (Dilemma, pg. 12), A woman belongs to her clan and only takes orders from the head of her clan. In *The Dilemma of a Ghost*, Nana is the head of the Clan, she advises on affairs affecting one of her sons Akroma but it seems that he cannot make any decision regarding his wife, he has to consult her people.

NANA: I notice you do not feel clear in your own inside. . . have we not heard enough of the white's man medicine? Since they do not seem to do anything for your wife, why do you not take her to Kofikrom? The herbalist there is famous. . .

AKROMA: I have heard you, Old One. I would put it to her people and hear what they have got to say too. (Dilemma, pg. 14)

In the same case, husbands have no authority over their wives. Badua with a lot of confidence jeers on Osam, her husband, who attempts to reprimand her of the fight between her and Anowa. She says, "You leave me alone, Osam. Why don't you speak to Anowa? She is your daughter, I am not." (Anowa, pg. 78)

When it comes to marriage in Akan customary marriage, the maternal uncle of the bride or the bridegroom takes up the role of a father and their voice carries weight in matters pertaining marriage. Nakunya writes, a significant

feature of matrilineal dictates that the uncle performs duties usually set aside for the father in patrilineal cultures. In matrilineal, father and child belong to different ancestral unit, substantially, it restricts the father's role to the child's well-being. (Nakunya, 1992, P.35). Aidoo demonstrates this in both texts. In *Anowa Osam* distances himself in matters pertaining Anowa's marriage. He says,

“OSAM: . . . If you think well of it, I am not the one to decide finally whom Anowa can Marry. Her uncle your brother is there, is he not? You'd better consult him. . .”
(*Anowa*, pg. 76)

In the *Dilemma of a Ghost*, Aidoo demonstrate a marriage where a woman gets married and still lives with her people. Her brothers, Ato uncles are there to make any decisions concerning Ato's education and marriage. When the play opens, we see them in a meeting to welcome Ato back after successfully studying in America. Nana, the Clan leader, ask Ato to call his uncles for a meeting.

“ATO: Maami, why don't you and my uncles hurry? Nana is getting impatient.
NANA: Have your Uncles Petu and Akroma come?” (*Dilemma*, pg. 13)

In matrilineal, though the residence may be preferably patriarchal, since father and child do not belong to the same kinship group the father's role in terms of authority and discipline is greatly affected, (Nakunya, 1992). In *Anowa Osam* seems helpless when it comes to Anowa's behaviour. He cannot make any decision beyond advising her stubborn mother. The only thing he can do is to sit and smoke his pipe. He wants to support his daughter's marriage to Ako but his word is useless as the culture dictates that a father has no say concerning the children. Children belongs to the mother and her clan. Fathers play a minimal role on them.

“OSAM: My wife does remember I am a man the son of a woman who also have five sisters. It is a long time since I gave up trying to understand a human female. Besides, if you think well of it, I am not the one to decide finally whom Anowa can marry. Her uncle your brother is there, is he not? You'd better consult him. Because I know your family: they will say I deliberately married Anowa to a fool to spite them.

OSAM: . . . Certainly, I remember what happened in connection with Anowa dancing. That is if you don't. did they not say in the end that it was I who had prevented her from going into apprenticeship with a priestess?” (*Anowa*, pg. 76)

In the *Dilemma of a Ghost*, the father figure is absent from the beginning of the play to the end. Esi mentions him only when she is talking about paying the pride price for Ato. She says, “. . . I have not done anything with it. It had a good market and I thought I would find some money and add to give it to Ato's Father to pay for the pride price for its owner. (*Dilemma*, pg. 15) Here, the father is presented just as a mere object without any say or any contributions towards their children. The woman takes the center stage and carries out all matters concerning children. She is the one who knows when they will marry, where the pride price will come from and to whom they will marry.

When the fight between Anowa and her mother, Badua, erupts, Osam has nothing to do or anyway to stop the fight. All what he could do is to sit and attempts to advise them. The tone is shrunken and it seems both women do not respect him. The authority of a father and a husband is not felt, this is because children in a matrilineal society do not belong to the father and wives belongs to their clan and are answerable to the Clan heads who happens to be the Old Woman in the family.

“ANOWA: Please, Mother, remove your witch's mouth from our marriage. [Osam jumps up and from now on hovers between the two, trying to make peace]

OSAM: Hei Anowa, what is wrong with you? Are you mad? How can you speak like that to your mother?

ANOWA: But father, Mother does not treat me like her daughter.

BADUA: And so, you call me a witch? The thing is, I wish I were a witch so that I could protect you from your folly.

ANOWA: I do not need your protection, Mother.

OSAM: The spirit of my fathers! Anowa, what daughter talks like this to her mother?

ANOWA: But father, what mother talks to her daughter the way Mother talks to me?

And now, Mother I am going, so take your witchery to eat in the sea.

OSAM: Ei, Anowa?

BADUA: Thank you, my daughter. [Badua and Anowa try to jump on each other. Badua attempts to hit Anowa but Osam quickly intervenes.]

OSAM: What has come over this household? Tell me what has come over this household? And you too Badua. What has come over you?

BADUA: You leave me alone, Osam. Why don't you speak to Anowa? She is your daughter, I am not.

OSAM: Well, she is not mature.

OSAM: Anowa have you made up your mind to leave?

OSAM: Anowa, stop! [But Anowa behaves as if she has not heard him.] Anowa, you must not leave in this manner." (Anowa, pg. 78-79)

The origin of the Akan people is accredited to a mythological story of a female ancestor. This female ancestor is a known person in a certain household therefore, accepted to form a common lineage. This lineage practices have a common religious, political, social and economic activities. In matriarchy systems, it is the long-standing woman in the clan is bequeathed the role of becoming the ancestral mother of the clan. Being the source, she is also the arbiter between the clan's super natural being, the ancestors and the people in the society. (Schwimmer, 1995). The essence of a female ancestor is clearly seen in The Dilemma of a Ghost, where Nana, the Old Woman is the head of Odumna Clan. Nana calls for a meeting where the clan members are required to attend on time and without fail. She asserts her authority and makes her presence felt through her sharp speech. In her eighty's her tongue is sharp and possesses a will like iron. Everybody respects her and obeys her orders without question.

"PETU: Old woman, we greet you.

NANA: I respond, my Royal Ones, and how are you?

PETU: We are all well, Old One." (Dilemma, pg. 14)

As the head of the Clan, she advises the married couple carefully observing the culture. She is the custodian of the culture, knowledge and treasures of the community therefore, defends it at all cost. Likewise, her clan members rely on her for advice and for directions as well. Where she is needed to keep quiet, she does so and gives everybody a chance to make his /her own decisions.

"NANA: How is your wife's stomach?

AKROMA: It is a bit better

NANA: I notice you do not feel clear in your own inside. . . have we not heard enough of the white's man medicine? Since they do not seem to do anything for your wife, why do you not take her to Kofikrom? The herbalist there is famous. . .

AKROMA: I have heard you, Old One. I would put it to her people and hear what they have got to say too." (Dilemma, pg. 14)

The Old Woman is a symbol of authority. She asserts her authority by reprimanding her Clan members for keeping her waiting. The culture places a woman as the final arbiter in all decisions in Akan community. When a tribunal sits to settle a case, its members finally retire to take a decision and this final act is referred to as "consulting the old woman." The Old Woman holds the last word. After the Old Woman reprimands them for being late, the Clan members results into a discussion about Ato and as soon as the Old Woman speaks that discussion comes to an end. Likewise, when they ran of Ato's marriage to a Black-American Slave, Aidoo gives the Old Woman the last word.

"NANA: I say what are you doing there? Why are you doing this to me?

FEMALE VOICES: Ah, here we are

NANA: Ah your characters are not pleasing. What were you really doing by the hearth. I thought you knew that I must not sit here until dew falls on me.

MANSA: Old One, it is all right we won't do this again." (Dilemma, pg14)

NANA: . . . I think we should all know that Ato was always a humble one." (Dilemma, pg15)

The Old Woman being the Clan head acts as a link between the living and the deity. It is her duty to inform the deity of everything that transpired when they left. When the Clan head dies, she becomes a spirit mother of the clan. "My spirit Mother ought to have come for me earlier. Now what shall I tell them who are gone? . . . someone should advise me how to tell my story. My children, I am dreading my arrival there. Where they will ask me news of home. Shall I tell them or shall I not? Someone should lend me a tongue. Light enough with which to tell, My Loyal Dead." (Dilemma, pg19)

On the same note in Agikuyu community each clan had a woman as the reader of the clan. The Agikuyu women were the custodians of the culture and everybody including the men respected their position in the culture. Men were proud of their culture and made it a habit of introducing themselves referring to the clan, for example," My name is

Mwangi Njoroge of the clan of Aceera in the lineage of Makumi.” The following are the known clan leaders of the Agikuyu community.

NAME	CLAN
Wanjiru	Anjiru
Wanjiku	Agaciku
Wambui	Ambui
Waceera/Njeri	Aceera
Wangari	Angari/Aithekahuno
Wakiuru/Wambura	Akiuru/Ambura/Ethaga
Wangeeci/Waithira	Angeci/Aithirandu
Wairimu/Gathigia	Airimu/Agathigia
Wangui/Waithiegeni	Angui/Aithiegeni

Table 4.4

The role of an extended family and the large community according to Mbiti (1969), is another important factor in the African Traditional Society. The individual does not exist alone. The extended family and the wider community play a big role in one’s life and marriage. Each person acquires his or her nature from the family of which it obtains its nature from the clan and the clan from the community. In good or difficult times, a person would always count on the support of the whole community. Mbiti (1969), observes that, in African societies, the family’s circle is much wider than other communities across the world. The parent and children form a family, together with the whole extended family which is referred to as the compound family. (Mbiti, 1969, P.104). When Ato got an opportunity to study abroad, the whole community and the extended family comes together with their resources to send him abroad, “*Old as the names, Oburumankuma, Odapadjan, Osun. They multiply faster than the fowls and they acquired gold as it were corn grains but if in making one scholar much is gone ... we came from left, we came from right ...*” (Dilemma, pg. 7)

The community also come together in times of grief to console and cry with the family. This is seen in *The Dilemma of a Ghost* where the women join the family to cry. Initially, it is thought that the old woman, the clan head, is dead but the truth of the matter is that Ato has married the offspring of a slave,

“1st woman: My sister what can be the meaning of this?

2nd woman: That is what I cannot see.

1st woman: Probably the old woman is dead.

2nd woman: She has not been well lately.

2nd woman: Let us start weeping, my sister

[they begin to weep and walk-up stage, then thy notice Nana]

1st woman: Ah, but look she is sitting there.

Nana: [hobbles towards women] Yes, I am sitting here. So, you thought I was dead? No, I am not. Go home good neighbours and save your tears for my funeral. It cannot be long now... go.

[the women turn back] No do not go yet, I still need your tears. My grandchild has gone and brought home the offspring of slaves. [women’s faces indicate horror.] A slave I say. [Esi Kom enacts horror and great distress.] Hear what has befallen our house.” (Dilemma, pg. 18-19)

Another aspect of marriage, is the communal aspects of marriage in Africa to be precise the Akan and the Agikuyu matrilineal society. It is a huge decision not only for the individual family but also for the society. Mbiti commented that, the focus of existence lays in marriage to the people of Africa where every person in a certain community encounter at the process of marriage: the ancestors, the living dead, the living and the unborn, (Mbiti,1969 130). The traditional living arrangements strengthened the acquisition of wealth including conjugal relationship. Anowa’s and Ato’s marriage is a community business, everyone including the uncles, aunties, the old and the villagers, poke a nose in this marriage. For instance, in *The Dilemma of a Ghost*, the old woman, uncles and unties hold a meeting to welcome Ato and to deliberate on his marriage. “*But women can you not wait to finish what we came here to say?*

the child has just come from a journey. You have not welcomed him but already you want to marry him, (Dilemma, pg. 15-16)

This communal nature has negative aspects towards the family since people live in a competition with the other. Women would do anything for their family to stand out. In Agikuyu community some of the divorce occurred due to the interference by the extended members of the family. Esi Kom is more concerned with what the larger community would say about Ato's marriage than her own son's happiness, "... *How my friend must be loving behind me now. 'After all the fuss, she is poorer than even before.'* (Dilemma, pg. 35). Likewise, Badua is more worried about community's critics more than her daughter's happiness she says, "... *Didn't you say that your friends were laughing at you? And they were saying that very soon I will be sharing your clothes because my husband will never buy me any? ...*" (Anowa, pg. 79).

Having children is vital for an African marriage to stand. The childbearing ability of women was explained as means by which lineage ancestors were allowed to be reborn. Barren was therefore, considered the greatest misfortune. Derek Wright (1989), states an Akan proverb, "The barren, have no face in the other world." In this proverb, he expresses the customary consequences of bareness. Bareness is considered a curse in traditional African and in Akan society due to the value that is usually placed on children in every marriage. In other words, it is considered unfruitful in Africa to marry a barren woman. In page thirty-nine of *The Dilemma of a Ghost*, the word 'barren' is mentioned more than six times to demonstrate the grave situation a barren woman is placed by the culture. The woman cries for Eulalie for her assumed bareness. It is a great catastrophe for a woman to start a marriage with bareness. "*If it is real bareness, then, oh stranger girl, whom I do not know, I weep for you for I know what it is to start a marriage with bareness...*" (Dilemma, pg. 39). Anowa's childlessness brings a heated debate between her mother Badua and her father Osam, when one gets married, she is expected to give birth as soon as possible. Anowa's childlessness becomes a matter of concern to the family, community and herself. She feels incomplete and her marriage is incomplete too. "*Mm... children it would be good to have them. But it seems I am not a woman enough. And this is another reason that you ought to marry another woman. So that she can bear you children. [pause] I am only a warfare, with no belongings either here or there.*" (Anowa, pg. 96).

The importance of having children is emphasized in *The Dilemma of a Ghost*, "*They came to ask why we have not started a family.*" (Dilemma, pg. 45). This statement indicates that there is no family without children. Womanhood is defined by children 'I am not enough woman' and the future of the family is at stake without children, "... *to call someone a wayfarer is a painless way of saying he does not belong. That he has no home, no family, no village, no stool of his own; has no feast days, no holidays, no state, no territory.* By comparing herself to a wayfarer it means she lacks all these benefits because of her bareness. There is a sense of lack of belonging to a barren woman, "... *What is the difference between any of your men and me? Except that they are men and I am a woman? None of us belongs,* (Anowa, pg. 97). In today's society especially the Agikuyu community, women who are barren experience the same treatment by the society. Traditionally when men could marry more than one wife, a barren woman had a place in her husband's house. Today such a woman is divorced. Once divorced other women in the society detest her as they see her as a husband snatcher. She is not entrusted leadership roles in the society such as heading women groups or even in some churches. Today barrenness is not attributed to witchcraft like in the traditional society but it is attributed to abortion or overuse of family planning pills/injections. Such women live a lonely life despite the steps the society has made in education.

4.7.1: Roles of women in the texts and interviewee's response

As earlier noted, in a matrilineal setup, women are highly valued and their position in the family and the community is clearly defined compared to those of men. Women are the custodian of the matrilineal culture i.e., Akan and the Agikuyu culture of which they do that with vigor. Aidoo demonstrates women who are devoted in defending the culture at all cost. They are also ready to disown whoever goes against the culture no matter who they are. In both texts, (Anowa and *The Dilemma of the Ghost*) Aidoo brings out the matrilineal society systems which becomes vital for character's development of an individual throughout the play. Through the power of speech, women in Anowa and *The Dilemma of the Ghost*, has managed to frustrate men's ego and consequently have gained respect from the other sisters in the community. The roles of a woman in both texts could be traced in the way they are the source of the clan, the custodians of the culture, the relationship between the mother and the children, and their economic role as farm workers.

One of the major roles played by the matrilineal women is that they are the source of the clan. According to Brian Schwimmer (1995), the origin of Akan is accredited to mythological female ancestor. As in all matriarchies, it is the eldest woman of a certain clan is the source of the clan line. Being the mother of matrilineal clan, she is also the

mediator between the clan deity and the living members of the clan. The Dilemma of a Ghost introduces us to the old woman, Nana, who is the head of the Odumna clan. She sits on one of the stools at the center ready to put the meeting to order. She asserts her position as the clan head felt by the old and young as well. *“Now, though she is weak her tongue is sharp if not sharper for her eighty plus.”* (Dilemma, pg. 12). She orders and her orders are followed at once without questions. Women are depicted as the light of the clan and the meetings cannot start in their absentia, *“Ah, here we are. [Esi Kom, Akyere and Mansa enter. The stage is well lit now. The women sit around on the terrace] (Dilemma, pg. 14).* Throughout the meeting Ato’s uncles and aunties engage into a heated debate about Ato’s marriage and only keeps quiet when the old woman is talking. Nana, the old woman takes her position as the clan deity and the mediator between the living and the dead she says, *“My spirit mother ought to have come for me earlier. Now what shall I tell them who are gone? The daughter of the slaves who come from the white man’s land, someone should advise me on how to tell my story. My children, I am dreading my arrival there, where they will ask me the news of home. Shall I tell them or shall I not? Someone shall lend me a tongue, a light tongue with which to tell my Royal Dead. That one of their stocks, has gone away and brought their sacred precincts. The wayfarer! They will ask me where I was, when such things were happening. O Mighty God! ...”* (Dilemma, pg. 19)

In a matrilineal society, women are the custodians of the culture. According to De Witte (2001), a woman is the custodian of all knowledge and treasures of the community. In Asante, men rarely defy women in this respect. Women are known as reputed connoisseurs and must not be challenged in their specialty. It is only among themselves that criticisms maybe whispered and even institutions made. A woman is the final decisive factor in all activities and the arbiter of what is good or bad for the whole community. Aidoo portrays women as strong defender of the matrilineal culture as compared to men. Matrilineal women as the custodian of the culture have a place in the clan meetings. Their decisions are highly valued, when Ato had an afternoon dream, Petu, his uncle, wants to consult Ato’s grandmother, the leader of the clan, on his behalf, about its meaning, *“I will tell your grandmother and hear what she has to say about it.”* (Dilemma, pg. 30) Badua wants her daughter to marry well and take her place in the meeting among the men and women of the clan. She also wants her to hold the mantle of heading the family as the queen mother when Badua is no more. She says, *“... should she not take her place at the meetings among men and women of the clan? And sit on my chair when I am gone? And a captainship in the army should not be beyond her when the time is ripe!”* (Anowa, pg. 72)

Badua and Esi Kom are portrayed as typical matrilineal women in respect to their own marriage and that of their children. Badua has a daughter, Anowa, while Esi Kom has a son, Ato. Although Badua lives with her husband in the same household, she makes her matrilineality felt in her marriage. She defends her role of marrying her daughter the traditional way. She is devastated when her daughter chooses a man to marry without her consent she says, *“I am disgraced... other women certainly have happier tales to tell, about motherhood. [silence] I think I am just an unlucky one,* (Anowa, pg. 77). On the other hand, Esi Kom is ready for her sons marriage, she has the goat already sold to pay the bride price, *“... it had a good market and I thought I would find some money and add it to give to Ato’s father to pay for the bride price of its owner ”* (Anowa, pg. 14) She has also identified a good girl from a good family for her son, *“... I heard them say that his mother had gone to knock the door of Yaw Mensa to ask for the hand of his daughter for him,* (Dilemma, pg. 22)

Another role of matrilineal women is giving birth and doing all it takes to see their children prosper in all areas of life, physically, socially, and economically as well as disciplining them. De Witte (2001), observes that no Akan woman exists without a social group, from childhood to adulthood, a girl child is required to emulate their mothers and participate actively in the affairs affecting the community. Withdrawn from the social life of one’s age group is frowned on and is thought to be a serious blemish of character. The Akan women spends time and energy to fit the children into society. Youth are taught to participate in the gatherings. Parents especially a mother is blamed for the impoliteness and uncouth bearing of their children. Bad breeding produces bad children and mothers are blamed for it. Esi outlines the trouble she had to take to see her son prosper she says, *“... just considers the trouble I have had-the school fees, the uniforms... the tears I have shed... the lonely journey I made to the unsympathetic rich, how often did I weep before your uncles and great uncles while everyone complained that my son’s education was ruining your home,* (Dilemma, pg. 35). On the hand Badua is concerned of her daughter, Anowa. She would do anything for her well-being. When she passes puberty stage, the time girls were supposed to get married, and failed to accept any suitor who asked her hand in marriage, Badua is worried and restless. She says, *“Any mother would be concerned if her daughter refused to get married six years after her puberty. If I do not worry about this, what shall worry about?”* (Anowa, pg. 70).

It was a duty of a woman (mother) to marry her daughter and son to a responsible man or woman and train them on how to take care of the home. In this respect we see men in a matrilineal setup absent unlike the patriarchal men who takes the center stage. Badua is ready for her daughter's marriage. She is eager to experience what other women feels when they marry their daughters. She wants her daughter to marry well and live like other women in the society and goes through all her stages of life as the culture dictate for a woman. She says, *"I want my child to be human woman, marry a man, tend a farm, and be happy to see her peppers and onions grow. A woman like her should bear children, many children, she can afford to have one or two die. Should she not take her place in the meetings among men and women of the clan? And sit on my chair when I am gone? And a captainship of the army should not be beyond her when the time is ripe!"* (Anowa, pg. 72). Daughters on the other hand, they had a role to play towards their mothers. If a daughter does not marry well or her behaviour is bad according to the culture, their mothers are to blame. The old woman says, *"Others think that her mother Badua has spoilt her shamelessly..."*, (Anowa, pg. 67), the old woman insists that, *"... Badua should have told her daughter that the infant which tries its milk teeth on every bone and stone, grows up with nothing to eat dried meat with."* (Anowa, pg. 81), because of Anowa's actions, her mother is disgraced among the women in the community, Badua says, *"I am disgraced... other women certainly have happier tales to tell, about motherhood. [silence] I think I am just an unlucky one,"* (Anowa, pg. 77). On the other hand, Esi Kom is devastated on hearing that Ato got married without informing her and the family. She was ready for her son's marriage and like Badua she wants her son to marry from a 'good' family. She has a girl in mind and the other women in the village agrees with her too.

1st w: ... but where is his wife?

2nd w: I do not know my sister.

*But I heard them say that his mother
Had gone to knock the door of Yaw Mensa.
To ask for the hand of his daughter for him.*

1st w: Oh, he would have a good woman.

I saw that girl when she came home last Christmas.

School has not spoilt her, I think.

2nd w: And that is the sad part of it, my sister.

He has not taken this girl

Whom we all know and like..." (Dilemma, pg. 22)

Ato too as a son, has a role to play towards his mother. A role, he has failed terribly due to the influence of modernism. Ato is educated to the highest levels and the mother, extended family and the larger community are waiting to benefit from his education as the culture dictates. Besides getting a good job in the city, Ato's mother lives in dept and is still poor, Ato has not changed her live. Badua says, *"...I cannot get a penny to pay the smallest dept I owe."* (Dilemma, pg. 35). Even the villagers observes that Ato has failed on his cultural duty of taking care of his mother and the extended family. The 2nd woman says, *"... it has not been good going, the roof leaks more than ever before...Esi Kom is not better than she was."* (Dilemma, pg. 37)

It was duty of a woman to teach their own daughters or their daughters-in-law how to take care of the home and their husbands. Esi Kom says, *"I had thought I would do as other women do-spend one or two days with my daughter-in-law, teach her how to cook your favorites meals..."* (Dilemma, pg. 34). Badua regrets her daughter's failure in marriage and attributes it to Anowa's headstrong. Anowa did not wait to get advice from her mother. Badua says, *"... before she walked out that noontday, she should have waited for me to tell her how to marry a man... a good woman does not have a brain or mouth."* (Anowa, pg. 93)

Lastly, women play a major role to the economy of the matrilineal society, they are hardworking farmers who grows different types of crops for the well-being of the family. Badua says, *"... tend a farm, and be happy to see her peppers and onions grow..."* (Anowa, pg. 72). The women are dedicated to their work, *"...who must toil from morning till eve, before a morsel hit her teeth or a drop of water cools her throat."* (Dilemma, pg. 11) when men and children sit around doing nothing. *"...shall I do this when, this and that have nothing to do, no, and they all sit with their hands between their knees..."* (Dilemma, pg. 11)

4.7.1.2: Influence of matrilineal system to the character development of a woman

Scholars like Ahmad Jamil (2018), sees Ousmane Sembene, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and other writers who depicts women positively in their works as gynandries; literary male writers who in their works exhibit empathy with

women. To them they give women a place they do not deserve in the society such as leadership roles. A woman is not assertive and cannot address a man. The scholars of matrilineal system are aware that such women existed in their society and assumed prominent roles in marriage and the society alike, therefore, they portray women who are brave, resilient, determined and resourceful as opposed to the women in patriarchal societies.

One of the characteristics of matrilineal women is that they are determined, aggressive and resilient not like the vulnerable and sensitive women of patriarchal systems. Aidoo demonstrates women who once they focus on something nothing weighs them down. They let out their will and aggressively defends their decision regarding culture and their own life and that of their children.

Matrilineal women are domineering or obstinate unlike the patriarchal women who are submissive and timid. Al Azzawi (2018), in *The River Between* observes that, Joshua, the father of Muthoni and Nyambura, abuses them by forcing them to give up their circumcision rite. Muthoni, the youngest, stood up for her circumcision rites against her father's will. She challenged her father against the belief that women have no rights to challenge males more so a father or a husband. In a patriarchal society few or no female children may question their fathers in the way Muthoni does. In *Anowa*, Aidoo portrays such women, they challenge men over anything, including marriage and work. *Anowa* challenges her parent over marriage issue, she refuses every man who ask for her hand in marriage and opts to marry the one she has chosen herself. Her obstinate character is revealed when she elopes with Kofi Ako and even when things get tough in her marriage, she refuses to come back to her community to beg for forgiveness.

Another characteristic of women from matrilineal system is that they are talkative. In the interview with Maria, Aidoo explained the reasons for portraying such women in her text, she says, "People say to me: 'your women characters seem to be stronger than we are used to when thinking about African women', as far as I am concerned these are African women among whom I was brought up. In terms of women standing on their own feet, within or outside marriage, mostly from inside marriage living life on their own terms. (Wilson-Tagoe, 200:248). In her interview, Aidoo observes that women in Ghana and to be specific Akan people, are not silent at all. They are the most vocal and the most articulate African women. Aidoo uses the powerful tool of speech to bring out the behaviour of women in a matrilineal society. The women in both plays do not fear to express their views. They are firm in their decision and not any man can sway them off. For instance, *Anowa* uses words as a weapon to cement her ground of choosing her own marriage partner. The power of speech also leads to her great realization that she is not the cause for lack of children in their marriage but the real culprit is her husband, Ako.

"ANOWA: Mother, Father, I have found the man I want to marry.

BADUA: What is she saying?

ANOWA: Kofi Ako asked to marry him and I said I will." (*Anowa*, pg74)

Anowa firmly defends her husband to be, she says, "*Father Kofi Ako is not a fool.*" (*Anowa*, pg. 76) She believes that the marriage between her and Ako will work and therefore, *Anowa* ask her mother to stop bewitching her marriage because she is not changing her mind regarding Kofi Ako. Her father, Osam is astonished by her sharp words. No child talks to her mother this way. "*Please mother, remove your witch's mouth from our marriage.*" (*Anowa*, pg. 78) She later decides to leave Yebi and through the power of speech she lets her decision known to her parents. In her speech *Anowa* does not struggle or fear the age.

"ANOWA: You! Who does not know here in Yebi that from the day I came to tell you that Kofi and I were getting married you have been drumming into my ears what a disgrace this marriage is going to be for you? Didn't you say that your friends were laughing at you? And they were saying that very soon I shall be sharing your clothes because my husband will never buy me any? Father I am leaving this place.

BADUA: Yes, go.

ANOWA: I am on my way mother.

OSAM: And where is your husband?

ANOWA: I am going to look for him

OSAM: Anowa stop! [but Anowa behaves as if she has not heard him] Anowa you must not leave in this manner.

BADUA: Let her go. And may she walk well.

ANOWA: Mother, I shall walk so well that I will not find my feet back here again."

(*Anowa*, pg79)

A woman is expected to respect her husband. She is required to listen and honor her husband's words. In case of matrilineal society, as demonstrated by Aidoo, this is not the case. A man talks and a woman answers sharply. On the highway with her husband, *Anowa* talks too much. She irritates Ako who desires a quiet woman, "*Anowa, see*

how you shiver! And yet my tongue cannot match yours. (Anowa, pg. 82) For this reason, they crush at every conversation, especially the talk about buying slaves. Kofi Ako struggles to explain his views, obviously stammering and fearful of Anowa's reaction. Anowa decides that they are not buying slaves and her firm decision is heard in her speech.

“KOFI AKO: Hmmm, I don't want to marry again. Not yet, But I think. . . I think. . . that perhaps. . .

ANOWA: Ehen!

KOFI AKO: I think the time has come for us to think of looking for one or two men to help us.

ANOWA: What men?

KOFI AKO: I hear they are not expensive. . . and if. . .

ANOWA: [Getting up slowly that every movement of her body corresponds to syllables or words in her next speech] My husband! Am I hearing you right? Have we risen so high? [Corking her ears] Kofi Ako, do not let me hear these words again.

KOFI AKO: [Mimicking her] 'Do not let me hear these words again.' Anowa, do you think I am your son?

ANOWA: I don't care, we shall not buy men.” (Anowa, pg89)

Matrilineal women are hardworking and resourceful. Ngugi, in his works, portrays hardworking and resourceful women. For instance, Nyakinyua in *Petals of Blood*, successfully brings the villagers together and guides them efficiently. Ngugi shows that women are active and love farm work. He describes Wanja as an active woman who forms a group called Ndemi. This group helps Nyakinyua to cultivate and weed the land. The purpose of this group is to help women increase efficiency in work. Wanja also works as bar maid. Likewise, in both texts, Aidoo portrays hardworking and resource women

4.7.2: Place of a man in matrilineal system in the texts and interviewee's response

Schneider (1961), observes that a man has no authority over the children he has sired because all the essence of life descends from an uncle to woman's son and from man to his sister's son. According to Sara (2019), despite the male's importance in marriage as husbands and fathers, their functions and male authority may seem to be ambiguous in a matrilineal society. Audrey Richards (1950) was surprised by the position of men in matrilineal societies. Richards discovered that men occupy ambiguous roles. This discovery ushered in the debate which focused on what made matrilineal societies different from what was seen as "normal" patrilineal systems. Aidoo portrays this position of a man in both texts. The man especially a father or a husband is invisible in matters pertaining their children's marriage. In case of Osam, Anowa's father, his voice on her marriage is unheard. When it comes to Anowa's marriage, her uncles have a bigger say,

“Badua: And you, Kobina Sam, will you not say anything?

Osam: Abena Badua, leave me out of this. You know that if I so much whisper anything to do with Anowa, you and your brothers and your uncles will tell me to go and straighten out the lives of my nieces. This is your family drum beat it, my wife. (Anowa, pg. 75)”

Matrilineal system denies men authority over their wives and children. They contribute less to their bringing up and hardly disciplines them. According to Sara (2019), men had no power over their spouses and children because their wife and children belongs to a different clan from him. She also noted that in patriarchal systems, power and kinship ties were inherited through patrilineal ancestry but in matrilineal societies male did not pass their essence to their sons. The role of men in matrilineal society therefore, not that of a husband and father as patrilineal but they play the role of a brother and uncle. Nakunya (1992), discovered that when it comes to marriage in Akan customary marriage, the maternal uncle of the bride or the bridegroom takes up the role of a father and their voice carries weight in matters pertaining marriage. Nakunya writes, a significant feature of matrilineal dictates that the uncle performs duties usually set aside for the father in patrilineal cultures. In matrilineal, father and child belong to different ancestral unit, substantially, it restricts the father's role to the child's well-being, (Nakunya, 1992, P.35). Osam fails to discipline Anowa when she talks back at her mother. His action depicts a weak man, who cannot separate two women who are fighting. The women too do not respect men like the women of patriarchal system do. Anowa and her mother are fighting in front of Osam

“Anowa: Please, mother, remove your witch's mouth from our marriage.

[Osam jumps up and from now on hovers between the two, trying to make peace]

Osam: Hei Anowa, what is wrong with you? Are you mad? How can you speak like that to your mother? (Anowa, pg. 78)”

In regards to his wife, Osam does not have authority over her. Mbiti (1969) observes that each spouse is subject to the power of their own household head, and because spouses are always members of different lineages, each is subject to the authority of the senior men of his or her lineage. The wife is an outsider in the husband's family; therefore, the husband has a little say regarding her behaviour. Osam is not bothered when his wife tells him that she does not have any authority over her, a clear indication that this is the place of a man in a matrilineal society.

“Osam: What has come over this household? Tell me what has come over this household? And you too Badua what has come over you?”

Badua: You leave me alone, Osam. Why don't you speak to your Anowa. She is your daughter, I am not.” (Anowa, pg. 78)

Matrilineal system places men as not fully social being and their marriage do not meet the parameters of a marriage as compared to the patriarchal system. Blackwood (2001), observes that in matrilineal systems men occupy insignificant position as lineage members. For example, they belong to the group of their mother by birth but by marriage they become incorporated into their wife's group. According to her, a man's place as a member of matrilineage was compromised between affiliation to his mother's group and that of his wife. She continued to say, this limits the extent to which he achieved full social being that is an identity within either lineage. Therefore, men in matrilineal system are not full social being because of the fact they are not fully members of either group. Osam is a good example of a compromised husband and father. He marries a woman whom he does not have authority over. He sires a daughter who he cannot make any decision regarding her. His hands are tied, all what he can do is to advise but his advises do not count since women will listen to the kinsmen of their own clan. *“... If you think well of it, I am not the one to decide finally whom Anowa can marry. Her uncle, your brother is there, is he not? You'd better consult him. Because I know your family: they will say I deliberately married Anowa to a fool to spite them.” (Anowa, pg. 76)*

Matrilineal men are ignorant of the culture, this is so because women are the custodian of the culture. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, descends from a matrilineal society. In his novel *Petals of Blood* presents a male character by the name Munira. According to Ahmad Jasmil (2018), Munira at Ilmorog, feigns as an intellectual. He trashes the local peasant ways of life such as observing the rain patterns in traditional manner according to the culture. Munira lack of understanding of the culture, faces resistant from the cultural people such as Nyakinyua. He is seen as musomi (educated) whose hands are untouched by the soil. This affirms the saying that men benefitted more from the colonialist. Men who are of matrilineal descent saw colonialism as an escape route from the oppressions of the matrilineal system. Men of matrilineal descent are also ignorant of culture since woman are the custodians of culture. (Oklema,2005)

Men who are of matrilineal descent saw colonialism as an escape route from the oppressions of the matrilineal system, Ako and Ato are good examples of such men. Ato is seen as a link between the African culture and the Western culture, a role he refuses to play, in fact, he avoids the conversation about culture at all cost. He leaves his white wife to explore the African culture on her own. The failure to explain to Eulalie of the African customs in this case, Fanti, brings out cultural conflicts which could be avoided if he performed his role well.

“Eu: [Anxiously] But darling, I really hope it won't matter at all?”

Ato: What?

Eu: You know what Native Boy.

Ato: Lalie, don't you believe me when I tell you it's O.K...?” (Dilemma, pg. 10)

“Ato: [Vehemently] Look at me, we shall post-pone having children for as long you would want.

Eu: But still, I understand in Africa...

Ato: ... Eulalie Rush and Ato Yawson shall be free to love each other, eh? This is all that you need to understand or should understand about Africa.” (Dilemma, pg. 10)

Another aspect of matrilineal men is the fact that they are absent fathers. Their absenteeism both physical and emotion has brought about weak family institutions. In Gakinya Wangui (2013), research concerning challenges and their effects on boy child in Nyeri county- one of the matrilineal societies- she identified weak family institutions as one of the challenges. This is attributed to absent fathers and the dominance of women in marriage. Fatiha (2019), in her research on Buchi Emecheta's texts observes that the male characters seem not to figure. Ato's father does not figure anywhere in the play, he is only mentioned by his wife on the issue of paying bride price for Ato, something he did not contribute, *“...I have not done anything to it. It had a good market and I thought I would find some more*

money and add to give it to Ato's father to pay for the bride price for its owner?" (*Dilemma*, pg. 15). Living in separate household detach the children from their fathers, therefore, they lack fatherly advice as the patriarchal sons get. Even after marriage, Esi Kom continues to reside at her clan's household, "Hmm. For my part, I would be ashamed to live in a clan house as long as she has done..." (*Dilemma*, pg. 12)

4.6.2.1: Western influence to the character development of men in the texts and interviewee's response

Westernization or modernity became a refuge for the men in Akan culture. In matrilineal society, women being the custodian of the culture dominated the marriage leaving men vulnerable. During colonial era and post-colonial era, the men redeemed themselves through education and modern ways of earning a living like commercial business. Aidoo uses Kofi Ako and Ato Yawson as examples of the liberated men who embraces patriarchal ways of life. Ato is educated to the highest level of education while Ako is a prominent business man trading the skin. He can now buy slaves to assist him in his trade business and have some help his wife at home, this is a symbol of the Western way of life.

The first aspect of western influence is alienation which has been brought about by 'Double consciousness' or 'double vision'; it is a way of perceiving the world through two antagonist cultures; that of the colonizer and that of one's community. This led many people to be culturally alienated from their communities. According to Du Bois, Double consciousness suggest that a black person will see himself/herself two customs his own culture and that of the West. The African people live a communal life. A child belongs to the community. If a child is bad, it is a matter of concern to the community in question and when a child is good the whole community benefit. The Western culture managed to alienate people from the community. Ato is educated in abroad, when he comes back to the country, he goes to stay in the city with his Western wife. He lives a luxurious life, the West way of live. For instance, he takes gin and water as opposed to the traditional drink, palm wine. "...I 'll have a gin and water..." (*Dilemma*, pg. 26). As much as he is a modern man, he still embraces some traditional ways like 'sprinkling of the stool' ceremony. During the ceremony Ato joins other men for a drink and since then he stops his wife, Eulalie from drinking in front of his people. Ato is ashamed of Western ways regarding his wife's behavior but he is unable to tell her to stop. He is torn between the two cultures.

Ato: well, now that I am back, I don't think you need it, do you, sweet pie?

Eu: just let me finish this. [voices behind the door to the right]

Ato: I think some of my people are coming. [Anxiously] Let me put your drink in the room for you.

Eu: Why?

Ato: I don't think they will approve.

Eu: [Taking a sip] Nonsense. [Voices draw nearer]

Ato: [trying to take a glass from her] But Lalie, don't let them find you in the very act." (*Dilemma*, pg. 42). Ato's panic shows that he is not comfortable with the Western culture yet he is accommodating his wife who behaves in a Western way. This dilemma introduces the main conflict in the play of modernity versus tradition. Ato becomes the ghost at Elmina junction who does not know whether go to the left or right. Ato demonstrates ignorant of the African ways since he is now a modern man. He forgets that kitchen affairs, and a kitchen is a place for women and not men.

"Ato: Maami, what did you bring?

Esi: Can not your wife herself go, and see? After all, these are all women's affairs. Or do our masters, the Scholars, know what goes on their wife's kitchen?" (*Dilemma*, pg.31)

Ako too is alienated from his community yet trapped between the modernity and the traditional ways. He is living a luxurious life after getting fortune from his skin business. He is a good example of a man who is completely assimilated to the Western ways and asserts his position of a patriarchal husband to Anowa. He marries one wife and completely ignores his wife's suggestion of having another wife. "Ah my master, but I don't understand you. You are the only man in this world who has just one wife and swears to keep only her..." (*Anowa*, pg. 84). He is disinterested in having children of his own which is unheard of in the African tradition. Ako's relationship with Anowa and his modern view of marriage introduces us to the one of the conflicts in the play which leads to the down fall of their marriage and themselves too. Kofi Ako focuses on seeking for more and more wealth and pleasures of which Anowa is disinterested.

Alienation brings about individualism, another Western ideology. After marriage, the couple in African society settled within the community and become part of the community in all aspects of life as dictated by the culture. However, the couples in both texts after marriage they stay away from the community and become disinterest in the community's affairs as well as the family. Ato and Eulalie lives in town and fails to look after the family as expected.

It is clear from the women chorus that gone are the days when the children used to take care of their parents, nephews, nieces and anyone in the family.

“2nd w: Who shall look after them?

1st w: Do you ask that of me

When everybody knows

A son is back from the land beyond the sea?

Shall he not help to look after his nephews

And nieces when it was somebody else who

Looked after him in the days of his childhood?

You talk, my sister,

As if the days are gone

When the left hand washed the right

And the right hand washed the left.

2nd w: Perhaps they are not, my sister.

But those days are over

When it was expedient for two deer

To walk together,

Since anyone can see and remove

The beam in his eye with a mirror.” (Dilemma, pg. 22)

On the same note, Kofi Ako and Anowa prefers to stay away from their folks. They also neglect their traditional roles towards their parents and the family and lives a lonely live just the two of them. They also set an economic activity contrary to the community’s beliefs. Slavery and slave trade is a topic that annoyed the Akan people. Badua is worried by Anowa’s behaviour she says, *“I have never heard the like of this before. A human being, and a woman too, preferring to remain a stranger in other people’s land? (Anowa, pg. 91)*, Osam is also surprised, he says, *“But don’t other women leave their homes to go and marry? And do stay away forever? Do they not return with their children to the old homestead to attend funerals, pay death debts, return for the feeding of their family stools? ...” (Anowa, pg. 92)*

The men, as portrayed in both texts are caught up in a state of imitating the West which the post-colonial scholars refer to as mimicry. ‘Mimicry’ demonstrates ambivalent relationship between the colonizers and the colonized. The colonized subjects did not resist colonial subjugation because they were taught to believe in Western superiority and their own inferiority. They thus mimic the colonizer’s cultural habits, language, attire, values, behaviour and lifestyle. Africans found themselves admiring the Western world superiority in modern technology and wealth without knowing that they are not very much appreciated by the West. According to Brabha the colonized reproduced the culture of the colonizers in a way that is “almost the same, but not quite.” (Brabha, 1984). Ako imitates the West in many ways including the mode of dressing and the lifestyle. In phase one and first part of phase two while he was still a Fanti, he is seen wearing men’s work-clothes. These are a pair of long knickers and a jumper shirt, both of them old-looking and possibly patched. From the middle of phase two, when he stated trading and living the Western way, he is always in men’s leisure clothes, for example a large piece of printed cloth (4 to 6 yards wide) worn around the whole body and the top edges gathered on the left shoulder, (Anowa, pg. 62).

To emphasize further on how matrilineal men liberated themselves through the West, in the last part of phase two and throughout phase three, Kofi Ako is wearing the Ghanaian *kente* either made of a rich fabric like velvet or silk. He is also wearing sandals, a gold head band, rings and other gold jewelry, the way a rich man from the West wears, (Anowa, pg. 62). The description of Kofi Ako’s house befits the West, the furniture is either foreign or opulent. There are beautiful skins lying on the richly carpeted floor. There is a giant sideboard with huge decanters and decorative plates. They have also put a picture of queen Victoria and to left of this picture is a picture of Kofi Ako. By putting the queen’s picture adjacently to his, Kofi shows that they are both at the same level, he belongs to her culture, (Anowa, pg. 103).

Ato Yawson is another man, Aidoo presents in her works who is carried away by the white man’s ways. Coming back from abroad, he has forgotten his tradition ways. He marries a Western woman, to make the matters worse, an offspring of slaves, without involving the members of his clan. He lives in a luxurious life in town and forgets his duties as the first-born son of his family. His mother, Esi Kom, takes us through her son’s new life in the city. He has a modern cooking stove, a refrigerator and live a luxurious life leaving his family behind. She says, *“... have*

Hureri got all her machine now? 'Hureri must have sutof. Hureri must have something in which to put her water to cool...' (Dilemma, pg. 36)

Another aspect of the Western influence is lack of the importance of children. In traditional African society marriage is meant for procreation as earlier seen. The importance of the children in marriage is so important that a woman will feel discontented if she lacks a child; she is as good as dead. Men, as demonstrated in the texts are not bothered by lack of children in marriage, something they borrowed from the West. Ato Yawson encourages his wife, Eulalie to postpone birth by the use of the birth control methods. "... *They would say we are displeasing the spirits of our dead ancestors and the almighty God for controlling birth...*" (Dilemma, pg. 45) Knowing how grave this matter is, Ato refuses to explain to his folks what is keeping them from having a child therefore, putting his wife on the wrong side with the family. On the other hand, Ako does the unmentionable, he exchanges the seed of a child with wealth, something which is common in modern society. "... *Did he tell you that perhaps you had consumed it up acquiring wealth and slaves? She continues to say, "Now I know. So that is it. My husband is a woman now. [she giggles.] He is a corpse. He is dead wood. But less than dead wood because at least, that sometimes grows mushrooms... Why didn't want me to know..." (Anowa, pg. 122).*

4.6.2.2: Patriarchal men as portrayed in the texts and interviewee's response

Due to the fact that the women are the custodians of the matrilineal culture the men feel left out so when the emergence of the new culture of the post-colonial Africa envelopes the society, men were the first to be assimilated. They sought refuge in modernity and they asserted themselves as patriarchal men who assumes the position of dominance and privileges in the society. This new culture places women at the lower position of the ladder therefore, oppresses them. Patriarchal society believe that 'men are superior to women' this has been used to maintain male monopoly of positions of economic, political and social power. Anowa has been depicted as a 'bad girl' because she rejects the cultural norms of her society. She chooses her own marriage partner and rejects the cultural practice of a wife being a homemaker. She chooses life on the road along her husband Kofi and ignores her father's advice that life would get tougher. Due to her choice of life, Kofi see Anowa as difficult and rebellious. Kofi Ako as a good example of a patriarchal man is completely assimilated to the Western ways of life. His relationship with his wife Anowa takes us through the patriarchal mindset which becomes the main conflict in their marriage. He treats Anowa as a child who needs a man's protection. This is seen in the instance where Ako compares his body size with that of Anowa, diminishing her into something vulnerable.

"Kofi: ... Shivering like this when your clothes are wet, you look like a chick in a puddle.

Anowa: And how about you?

Kofi: Do you compare yourself to me? See how big I am. [He bares his chest and spreads out his arms]

Anowa: [Pretending to be shocked] Ahhh! And this is why we should fear more of you. You are so tall and so broad. You really look like a huge something. There is too much of you..." (Anowa, pg. 83)

Another patriarchal view about men is that they are more intelligent than women. Kofi Ako is surprised by how knowledgeable Anowa is and how she is aware of her every move. To him, a woman should only rely on her husband's knowledge and direction in life. He goes ahead to question Anowa of the person behind her knowledge.

"Kofi Ako: ... I wonder how much we have done..."

Anowa: We are near Atandasu. This means we have only about thirty miles or more to do...

Kofi Ako: Is that it? Do you know how many days we have been walking?

Anowa: No, I have not been counting the days. All I know is that we have been on the highway for about two weeks now. [fights sleep]

Kofi Ako: The ghost of my fathers!

Anowa: But think of it, if we are not too tired to go a little further, we shall be there tomorrow.

Kofi Ako: Ei, Anowa. You ought to have been born a man." (Anowa, pg. 84)

Patriarchal men see women as weak creatures who cannot march difficulty task. The weakness of a woman is not only physical but also mental. Ako says, "... *This life is not good for a woman. No, not even a woman like you. It is too difficult. It is over two hundred miles to the coast and I wonder how much we have done...*" (Anowa, pg. 83). Ako sees long distance trade as man's work and advices Anowa to wait at home, he says, "*Perhaps this work is too much for you... maybe you should stop coming on the roads... I don't see what is pleasing on these highways. The storms? The wild animals or bad men that we often meet?*" (Anowa, pg. 88-89)

Patriarchal men are authoritative and they expect every order they give whether good or bad to be followed without question. Ako argues with Anowa over buying men to work for them, Anowa is in contrary opinion but Ako uses

his position as a patriarchal man and forces his will through, he says, "... Anowa do you think I am your son... Anowa, look here. You are not always going to have it your way. Who are you to tell me what I must do or not do?... I am not buying these men to come and carry me. They are coming to help us in our work." (Anowa, pg. 91). In spite of Anowa's opinion about buying slaves, Kofi Ako says, "... Now here is something I am going to do whether you like it or not..." (Anowa, pg. 90) Kofi Ako has his way, he buys slaves who both for trade and even for helping Anowa at home.

A woman's world in the world of patriarchal system is termed useless and an empty talk contrary to the matrilineal society where the old woman is given the last word and no one would dispute it. In various cases Kofi Ako despises Anowa's talk, to him, women have a mouth to talk and nothing more to it. "...Besides you are only talking like a woman." (Anowa, pg. 90) Kofi Ako complains about Anowa's behaviour of talking back at him, he compares her with the patriarchal women who he sees as 'normal' since they do not challenge men with their talk, they just take orders, he says, "And I don't think there is a single woman in the land who speaks to her husband the way you do to me. [Signs and relaxes]. Why are you like this Anowa? Why? [Anowa laughs] can't you be like other normal women? Other normal people?" (Anowa, pg. 113). Anowa laments the oppression of women in a patriarchal society where men see women as nothing even as compare her matrilineal society it. Things have changed with Westernization especially in a marriage setup. She says, "...I hear in other lands a woman is nothing. And they let her know this from the day of her birth. But here O my spirit mother, they let a girl grow up as she pleases until she is married. And then she is like any woman anywhere: in order for her man to be a man, she must not think, she must not talk...?" (Anowa, pg. 112)

Patriarchal men believe that the only way to train a woman or to silence her is through beating her. Wife battling is a common practice in patriarchal marriage setup. Kofi Ako regrets why he did not do it. He believes Anowa is difficult since he does not beat her like other men in such a society do. He says, "... Hmm. How sad... And yet if I gave you two good blows on your cheeks which flashed lightening across your face, all this foolishness would go out of your head. [to himself] And what is wrong with me? Any man married to her would have by now beaten her to a pulp, a dough..." (Anowa, pg. 98). This contradicts the matrilineal society where even with a lot of pestling by a woman Osam did not think of laying a hand on Badua. Ato Yawson silences his wife Eulalie with a smack on her cheek, "... Do you dare... [like the action of lightening, Ato smacks her on the cheek...Eulalie, stunned, holds her cheek in her hands for several seconds. She tries to speak but the words do not come. She crumples, her body shaking violently with silent tears] ..." (Dilemma, pg. 48)

Men in a patriarchal society have a tendency of disrespecting women by threatening or disgracing them. When Anowa refuse to leave Kofi Ako without an explanation or a formal divorce, Kofi threatens to disgrace her by telling people that she is a witch. "Anowa, if you do not leave me quietly, but go consulting anybody about this affair, I shall brand you a witch." (Anowa, pg. 120). Kofi Ako is confident that nobody would stand with Anowa in this, since the society has been taught that a man is always right. He says, "And if I do, do you know there is more than one person in the world who would believe me... and there will be those who would be prepared to furnish proof... and then you know what could happen..." (Anowa, pg. 120). Another form of disrespect to a woman is when even after doing a lot to the society, it is still nothing, men feel that women think about themselves only, "Being a woman of course, that's all you would think about..." (Anowa, pg. 111). A woman is just an object who get married not for love but for conveniency, to fill an empty gap in a man. When Anowa fails to give birth and is seen to be learning mad, the Boy advises the Girl not to worry about a thing since she will be the candidate to fill the gap left by Anowa, he says "Though, if I were you and most beautiful, I would not worry. Perhaps father would take you for wife." (Anowa, pg. 111)

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1: Strength of matriliney

The strength of matriliney is seen in the place of a woman in matrilineal society. Matriliney system empowers women. They have a voice in the family and society. Matrilineal women are talkative, aggressive, domineering and daring. They stand on their feet inside and outside marriage. In marriage, they live in their own terms. This has a positive impact in women empowerment where a woman has a voice in the family and the society as well.

In matriliney, even though women lose their husband's inheritance rights, they inherit property from their family. This empowers them and gives them ability to make firm decision regarding themselves and the children. This has made many women to shun abusive family and create their own home together with the children as single mothers.

Matriliney gives woman authority over the children. Children belongs to a mother and her kinship family. Women make important decisions regarding their children's education and marriage. Esi and Badua would do all that is needed to see their children prosper in all areas including physically, socially and economically. For instance, Esi brought her whole clan together to raise funds for her son's education in abroad. Badua is also passionate about her daughter's marriage and aggressively defends her from been apprenticed to become a priestess.

Matrilineal system allows supports women in leadership roles. They have a place in the clan's meetings and the oldest woman in the clan is the head of the clan. Their decisions are highly valued. In Akan, the old woman is the last arbiter in every case. She is given the final word.

Matriliney produces women who are hardworking and resourceful. They are known to help their husbands make wealth. For instance, Anowa is not worried about her husband's laziness and poverty. She is determined to make something out of him. In the trade, she takes the central role and withing a short time, they had made wealth. In the trade she is performing as better as her husband.

5.2: Weaknesses of matriliney

The principle of male authority in a matrilineage, the status is passed from a woman's brother to her son and from him to her sister's son. In matrilineal societies; although in marriage, men may be deemed necessary and useful as husbands, fathers, and human resource for labour, their functions and male authority may seem to be ambiguous. The man especially a father or a husband is invisible in matters pertaining their children's marriage. It is the duty of a woman to look for a husband or a wife for their children, man's work is to approve. Women also arranges for dowry payment and any other thing concerning their children. This is seen in Anowa's marriage where Osam contribution is unrecognizable. Badua makes all the decision related to her daughter's marriage.

Matrilineal system places men as not fully social being and their marriage do not meet the parameters of a marriage as compared to the patriarchal system. Matrilineal system denies men authority over their wives and children. They contribute less to their bringing up and hardly disciplines them. A wife is under the authority of her kinsmen and

children likewise. For instance, Akroma cannot make any decision regarding his wife's sickness while Osam cannot make any decision regarding Anowa's marriage and her disrespectful behaviour of talking back to her mother.

Another aspect of matrilineal men is the fact that they are absent fathers. Their absenteeism both physical and emotion has brought about weak family institutions. The separate living patterns between the husband and wife makes the wife not to respect her husband since she is subject to her own authority. A wife is seen as an outsider in her husband's family, therefore, not eligible to inherit any of his properties. The children also suffer the same fate since they are expected to inherit from their mother's family.

Unlike most African societies, in matriliney, marriage is not valued. Aidoo put education first as opposed to marriage. To her marriage is something one picks on the way. The marriage portrayed in the texts do not fit in either traditional or modernity. Traditionally, marriage is meant for procreation while in modernity, marriage is for companionship. Osam and Badua's marriage are examples of traditional marriage where the couple has one child only. On the other hand, Esi Kom, another traditional marriage has two children. The modern marriages in the texts such as Anowa's and Ato's do not portray companionship due to the interference of the culture.

Another aspect of matrilineal men is the fact that they are absent fathers. Their absenteeism both physical and emotion has brought about weak family institutions. A father figure is absent he is presented just as a mere object without any say or any contribution towards their children. He does not have a voice. The discipline of the children is left to the mothers. As demonstrated by Anowa, daughters do not respect their mothers. This becomes a society problem since girls like Anowa makes decision that affects the family and the society either positively or negatively.

5.3: Comparison between matriliney and patriarchal systems

In patriarchal system a wife is effectively incorporated into her husband's family while in matrilineal system both husband and wife maintain strong ties with their own kinship groups. the marriage bond between the husband and wife is often perceived as less strong than the bond they have with their own family. Obligation towards one's family is not altered by marriage. The husband and wife do not live together, but stay in their hometown or with the family elsewhere. They both manage their own finances and most women work to earn their own income. According to the women De Witte talked to, they view marriage as a way of getting and raising children nothing more to it. As soon as the children are grown or even earlier, they prefer to be independent or stay with their maternal family.

In patriarchal, a wife and children are subject to the husband/father, therefore, a husband makes important decision regarding them especially in terms of health, education and marriage. In matrilineal, the wife and children are subject to the maternal authority. Therefore, important decisions are made by the wife's authority. Concerning Anowa's marriage, it was her uncles to make the decision while Ato's uncles and the extended family came together to send him abroad.

In patriarchal system a father/husband is the head of the family and a symbol of authority over the wife and children. Women in patriarchal do not have authority over their children like the matrilineal women. In case of divorce, their children are left with their father unlike matriliney where a wife leave with the children.

In matrilineal once the couple marry, they are expected to settle their home in maternal homestead or a place not far away from the maternal family. A wife may decide to remain at her family's home even after marriage.

In matriliney women are allowed to inherit property while patriarchal women do not inherit property from maternal family.

In patriarchal women respect and honors their husbands. They do not talk when their husbands are talking or even talk back as Badua does to Osam. In matriliney, a man talks and a woman answers sharply. Kofi Ako, a patriarchal husband, desires a quiet woman just like the women in patriarchal societies. He and Anowa crushes at every discussion.

5.4: Patriarchal men versus matrilineal men

Due to the fact that the women are the custodians of the matrilineal culture the men feel left out so when the emergence of the new culture of the post-colonial Africa envelopes the society, men were the first to be assimilated. They sought refuge in modernity and they asserted themselves as patriarchal men who assumes the position of dominance and privileges in the society. This contradicts with the matrilineal men who occupy ambiguous roles in marriage.

The first aspect of a patriarchal man in the society is the believe that 'men are superior to women' this has been used to maintain male monopoly of positions of economic, political and social power. In matrilineal, both men and women share powers where a man possesses political power, a woman has social and economic powers.

Patriarchal men are authoritative and they expect every order they give whether good or bad to be followed without question. Matrilineal men do not have authority over the wife and children, whatever he says it might be followed or not depending on his wife's decision.

Patriarchal men diminish women and see them as weak creatures who cannot march difficulty task. The weakness of a woman is not only physical but also mental. A woman's world in the world of patriarchal system is termed useless and an empty talk contrary to the matrilineal society where the old woman is given the last word and no one would dispute it.

Patriarchal men believe that the only way to train a woman or to silence her is through beating her. Wife battling is a common practice in patriarchal marriage setup. Kofi Ako regrets why he did not do it. He believes Anowa is difficult since he does not beat her like other men in such a society do This contradicts the matrilineal society where even with a lot of pestling by a woman Osam did not think of laying a hand on Badua. Ato Yawson a patriarchal man, silences his wife, Eulalie with a smack on her cheek.

5.5: Matrilineal woman versus patriarchal woman

In the text matrilineal woman is seen in the characters of Abena Badua, Esi Kom and Anowa while in the patriarchal woman is seen in the characters of Anowa and Eulalie. Even if Anowa is a traditionalist she is caught in the midst of patriarchal society in her marriage to Kofi Ako.

Women are the custodian of the matrilineal culture i.e., Akan and the Agikuyu culture of which they do that with vigor. Aidoo demonstrates women who are devoted in defending the culture at all cost. They are also ready to disown whoever goes against the culture no matter who they are. In patriarchal society, men are the culture. The culture is oppressive to a woman who does not have any say to it.

One of the characteristics of matrilineal women is that they are determined, aggressive and resilient not like the vulnerable and sensitive women of patriarchal systems. Aidoo demonstrates women who once they focus on something nothing weighs them down. They let out their will and aggressively defends their decision regarding culture and their own life and that of their children. This is in contrast with patriarchal women who are submissive and timid.

Matrilineal women are domineering or obstinate unlike the patriarchal women who are submissive and timid. Women as demonstrated in the text are capable of challenging the males just like Muthoni in *The River Between*. She challenged her father against the belief that women have no rights to challenge males more so a father or a husband. In a patriarchal society few or no female children may question their fathers in the way Muthoni does or even Anowa.

Another characteristic of women from matrilineal system is that they are talkative. Aidoo observes that women in Ghana and to be specific Akan people, and also the Agikuyu community, are not silent at all. They are the most spoken and the most eloquent African women. Aidoo uses the powerful tool of speech to bring out the behaviour of women in a matrilineal society. The women in both plays do not fear to express their views. They are firm in their decision and not any man can sway them off. For instance, Anowa uses words as a weapon to cement their ground and no man can march their tongue.

A woman is expected to respect her husband. She is required to listen and honor her husband's words. In case of matrilineal society, as demonstrated by Aidoo and the interview's response, this is not the case. A man talks and a woman answers sharply.

Patriarchal women are treated as children. For instance, Kofi Ako see Anowa as a child who needs a man's protection. This is seen in the instance where Ako compares his body size with that of Anowa, diminishing her into something vulnerable. Matrilineal woman is equal to a man, she inherits, she takes up difficult jobs as well as heading the clan and the family. She is also capable of raising a family single handedly.

5.6: Western influence on matrilineal system

The first aspect of western influence is alienation from the culture, community and the family. The African people live a communal life. A child belongs to the community. The Western culture managed to alienate people from the community. For instance, Ato is educated in abroad, when he comes back to the country, he goes to stay in the city with his Western wife. He completely forgets his people's way of life, his duties towards the family and the community. This has a negative effect to his relationship with his family and the community. He is no longer the son they sent abroad; the family is no longer proud of him.

Individualism is another Western ideology which affects matrilineal system. After marriage, the couple in African society settled within the community and become part of the community in all aspects of life as dictated by the culture. However, the couples in both texts after marriage they stay away from the community and become disinterest

in the community's affairs as well as the family. Ato and Eulalie lives in town and fails to look after the family as expected.

The men, as portrayed in both texts are caught up in a state of imitating the West which the post-colonial scholars refer to as mimicry. They thus mimic the colonizer's cultural habits, language, attire, values, behaviour and lifestyle. Africans found themselves admiring the Western world superiority in modern technology and wealth without knowing that they are not very much appreciated by the West. Ako imitates the West in many ways including the mode of dressing and the lifestyle. Ato Yawson is another man, Aidoo presents in her works who is carried away by the white man's ways. He lives in a luxurious life in town and forgets his duties as the first-born son of his family.

Another aspect of the Western influence is lack of the importance of children. In traditional African society marriage is meant for procreation. The importance of the children in marriage is so important that a woman will feel discontented, empty and incomplete if she lacks a child; she is as good as dead. Men, as demonstrated in the texts are not bothered by lack of children in marriage, something they borrowed from the West. Ato Yawson encourages his wife, Eulalie to postpone birth by the use of the birth control methods. On the other hand, Ako does the unmentionable, he exchanges the seed of a child with wealth, something which is common in modern society.

Lastly, Anowa is another example of a woman who is influenced by modern ways. As much as she values her tradition, she prefers a modern marriage which do not follow the traditional protocols. She chooses her own husband and elopes with him without proper marriage rites as the traditional dictates. She also refuses to be a homemaker and works in trade just like men, something she borrows from the Western culture where a woman takes a career like men.

5.7: Conclusion

Aidoo writes in post-colonial Africa when patriarchal system dominated the society in the 60s to date. She attempts to inform the outside world and to remind her people about the matrilineal culture and asserts its positive and negative impact to the society. Nevertheless, she shows the world there is something good in matrilineal society especially women empowerment. In an attempt to explore the culture roles of men and women, this study assessed the overrepresentation of female characters and underrepresentation of male characters and how the modern society influences the characters in a positive or a negative way. In the same case this study analyzed the consequences of modern influence (patriarchal) to an individual character development and the matrilineal culture. Aidoo uses the institution of marriage to confront the past and the present. Both marriages in the texts symbolizes the interaction between traditional and modernity. Since the traditional culture and modern culture lives side by side, there are conflicts which are consequential. The central conflict occurs over the issue of children where the couples disagree on whether to have children or not. A child is a property of a mother's family, a source of clan in matrilineal society, any plan to sell a seed or to postpone birth is an attempt to put to an end the matrilineal system. African women as portrayed by Ama Ata Aidoo and the interviewee's response possesses values which conflicts with those of patriarchal men. Aidoo women particularly Anowa defy the stereotypical women roles and asserts themselves in a position way above the society expectations. She desires to be a modern independent woman but she fails to completely forsake her matrilineal identity or submit herself entirely to the Western culture. She suffers identity crisis. In both plays, the characters suffer deep conflict of identity since they feel that neither the traditional culture nor the Western culture should be utterly rejected. Their struggle to balance the two forces prove too difficult for any person. Aidoo uses other voices like the old man in *Anowa* and Esi Kom in *The Dilemma of a Ghost* to join the struggle. They both symbolizes the community which would slowly change and affirms the post-colonial view that even if the colonialist did not come to Africa since culture is dynamic would have changed through other forces. As Aidoo interpret the past, she observes that the two culture, the Western and matrilineal are both oppressive and restrictive in their own ways. In this sense she does not advocate for a return to the matrilineal culture or a rejection of Western culture, she invites the society to evaluate what good or bad and come up with a new culture which would accommodate all.

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Appendix I: Elder's interview

Please, give your view by filling in the blank spaces or putting a tick [] in the appropriate spaces that corresponds with your response.

1. Gender: Male [] Female []
2. Marital status: Married [] Single [] Divorced []
3. How old are you?

Marriage process in matrilineal culture

1. What was the marriageable age in Agikuyu culture?
2. How was the engagement done?
3. Who asked for the girl's hand in marriage?
4. Who were involved during dowry payment?
5. Where did the couple settle after marriage?

Roles of a man in matrilineal marriage

6. What were the roles of a man in marriage?
7. What were the duties of a man towards his wife?

8. How was a man expected to relate with his children?
9. What is the role of a man in the extended family?

Roles of a woman in matrilineal marriage

10. What were the roles of a woman in marriage?
11. What were the duties of a woman towards her husband?
12. How was a woman expected to relate with her children?
13. What is the role of a woman in the extended family?

Roles of children, the boy/the girl

14. What were the roles of children?
15. How did the children relate with their parents?
16. How did the children relate with the extended family?

Divorce processes in matrilineal culture

17. What instances brings divorce?
18. Who were involved in the divorce process? What was their role?
19. What was expected of a divorced woman/man?
20. What was the fate of children in the event of divorce?

Inheritance process

21. Who was eligible to inherit from parents?
22. How was the inheritance shared among the children?
23. Did children inherit from the extended family?

Appendix II: Married couples' questionnaire

All your responses and information will be treated with utmost confidentiality and only be used for analytical purposes of the study. Please, give your view by filling in the blank spaces or putting a tick [√] in the appropriate spaces that corresponds with your response.

1. Gender: Male [] Female []

2. Marital status: Married [] Single [] Divorced [] Age []

3. What is the level of your education?

4. Did you marry in a traditional way or modern way?

Marriage process in matrilineal culture

1. Who played a big role in your marriage?
2. How long was the marriage process?
3. What gifts did your family members give?
4. Where do you stay?

At your husband's home? []

At your wife's home? []

Away from parents' home []

Roles of a man/woman in matrilineal marriage

5. What is your occupation?
6. How much do you earn?
7. How do you spend the money?
8. What is the role of your partner at home?

Roles of children and inheritance process

9. How many children do you have? Boys [] girls []
10. How old are they?
11. What is the level of their education?
12. How will your children inherit your property?

Appendix III: Divorced man/woman questionnaire

All your responses and information will be treated with utmost confidentiality and only be used for analytical purposes of the study. Please, give your view by filling in the blank spaces or putting a tick [√] in the appropriate spaces that corresponds with your response.

1. Gender: Male [] Female []

2. Marital status: Married [] Single [] Divorced []

3. How old are you?
4. What is the level of your education?
5. Did you marry in a traditional way or modern way?

Did you inherit anything from your parent?

Reasons for divorce

1. What made you divorce?
2. What process did you follow to get divorced?

Family reaction towards his/her divorce

3. What did your family say when they heard of your divorce?
4. Do you feel discriminated in the family because of your status?

Society's reaction towards his/her divorce

5. How did the community react when they heard of your divorce?
6. How did they support you?
7. Do you feel discriminated in the community because of your status?

Children's fate after divorce

8. How many children do you have? Boys [] girls []
9. Who lives with them?
10. Who provides for them the basic needs?
11. Who pays school fees?
12. How will you share the inheritance among your children?

Appendix IV: Single mothers (by choice) questionnaire

All your responses and information will be treated with utmost confidentiality and only be used for analytical purposes of the study. Please, give your view by filling in the blank spaces or putting a tick [√] in the appropriate spaces that corresponds with your response.

1. Gender: Male [] Female []
2. Marital status: Married [] Single [] Divorced []
3. How old are you?

4. what is the level of your education?
5. Have you ever been married?
6. Did you inherit anything from your parents?
7. Do you feel discriminated by the community because you are single?

Children's inheritance

8. How many children do you have? Boys [] girls []
9. How old are they?
10. What is the level of their education?
11. Which child support you most?
12. How would your property be divided among your children?

Reasons for remaining single

13. Why did you choose not to marry?
14. What are the advantages of being single?
15. What are the disadvantages of being single

Family reaction towards her choice

16. Have you ever shared with any member of the family about your choice?
17. What was the reaction of family members about your choice?
18. Have you ever been pushed by any member of the family to get married?
19. Do you feel discriminated by family members because you are single?

Society's reaction towards her choice

20. Has anyone outside your family asked why you are not married?
21. What was the reaction of the community about your choice?

Appendix V: Barren woman questionnaire

All your responses and information will be treated with utmost confidentiality and only be used for analytical purposes of the study. Please, give your view by filling in the blank spaces or putting a tick [√] in the appropriate spaces that corresponds with your response.

1. Gender: Male [] Female []
2. Marital status: Married [] Single [] Divorced []
3. How old are you?
4. What is the level of your education?

Marriage process

1. Is your marriage traditional or modern?
2. Who were involved during your marriage?
3. What role did each one of them take in the process?

Reasons for bareness

1. Is lack of children by choice or any other cause?
2. If it is by choice, why did you choose not to have them?

Family reaction towards her bareness

3. Has any family member asked why you do not have children?
4. What was their reaction when you told them you cannot not have children?
5. Do you feel discriminated by family members because of lack of children?

Society's reaction towards her bareness

6. Has anyone outside your family ever asked why you do not have children?
7. What was their reaction when you told them you cannot not have children?
8. Do you feel discriminated by the community because of lack of children?

Appendix VI: Children's questionnaire

All your responses and information will be treated with utmost confidentiality and only be used for analytical purposes of the study. Please, give your view by filling in the blank spaces or putting a tick [√] in the appropriate spaces that corresponds with your response.

1. Gender: Male [] Female []
2. Whom do you stay with: Father [] Mother [] Both []
3. where does your parent work? Father [] mother []
3. How old are you?

Parents role in marriage

1. Who buy food at home?
2. Who buys clothes for you?
3. Who pays for you the school fees?
4. Who stays with you most?

Parents relationship with children

5. Who discipline you most?
6. Who is harsh? Why?
7. Mostly who gives you advise?

Children relationship with the extended family

8. Which side do you like visiting most, fathers or mothers? Why?

In case your parents are not allowed, whom do you feel comfortable to stay with

Appendix VII: Parent's consent form

Karanja Lilian Muthoni has been authorized to conduct research in Ndaka-ini Location concerning family relationship in matrilineal society. According to the requirement of the National Office Data Protection, a parent must consent the involvement of their children in such an activity. The data collected will be purely used for scientific research only. Therefore, I request every parent to tick appropriately.

I give permission for my child to be interviewed

Agree [] Disagree []

Appendix VIII: Research Work Plan

Activities	July 2022	July 2022- Feb 2023	March 2023	April 2023	April 2023- August 2023	Sept 2023	Sept- Nov 2023
Presentation of research topic in the department							
Development of the research proposal							
Department defense of the research proposal							
Corrections on research proposal							
Data collection							
School defense of research project							
Finalize and submit							

Appendix IX: Research Budget

Qty	Item description	Sub- total	Total
	Proposal writing	10,000	12,000
	Desk research: libraries, journals, photocopying, printing.....	2000	
	Research permit.....		
2	Research instruments: questionnaires, interview guide.....	25,000	37,000
3	Data collection.....	55,000	92,000
4	Data analysis fee.....	12,000	104, 000
5	Final draft: printing, photocopying, binding.....	25,000	129,000
6	Miscellaneous.....	15,000	162000
7	Transport	15,000	
8	Stationary.....	1000	
9	Airtime	2000	
	Grand total		162,000

Appendix X: Approval from Postgraduate School



REF: MKU/ISERC/3174

Date: 29 September 2023

TO: KARANJA LILIAN MUTHONI

REG: MELIT/2021/76741

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: DECONSTRUCTING THE MATRILINEAL TRADITIONAL ROLES OF MARRIAGE IN THE FACE OF MODERNITY IN AMA ATA AIDOO TEXTS (ANOWA AND THE DILEMMA OF A GHOST)

This is to inform you that **Mount Kenya University** has reviewed and approved your above research proposal. Your application approval number is **2218**. The approval period is **29/09/2023 - 28/09/2024**.

This approval is subject to compliance with the following requirements;

- i. Only approved documents including informed consents, study instruments, MTA will be used
- ii. All changes including amendments, deviations and violations are submitted for review and approval by **Mount Kenya University**
- iii. Death and life-threatening problems and serious adverse events or unexpected adverse events whether related or unrelated to the study must be reported to **Mount Kenya University** within 72 hours of notification
- iv. Any changes, anticipated or otherwise that may increase the risks or affect the safety or welfare of study participants and others or affect the integrity of the research must be reported to **Mount Kenya University** within 72 hours
- v. Clearance for export of biological specimens must be obtained from relevant institutions
- vi. Submission of a request for renewal of approval at least 60 days prior to expiry of the approval period. Attach a comprehensive progress report to support the renewal
- vii. Submission of an executive summary report within 90 days upon completion of the study to **Mount Kenya University**

Prior to commencing your study, you will be expected to obtain a research license from National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) <https://research-portal.nacosti.go.ke> and also obtain other clearances needed.

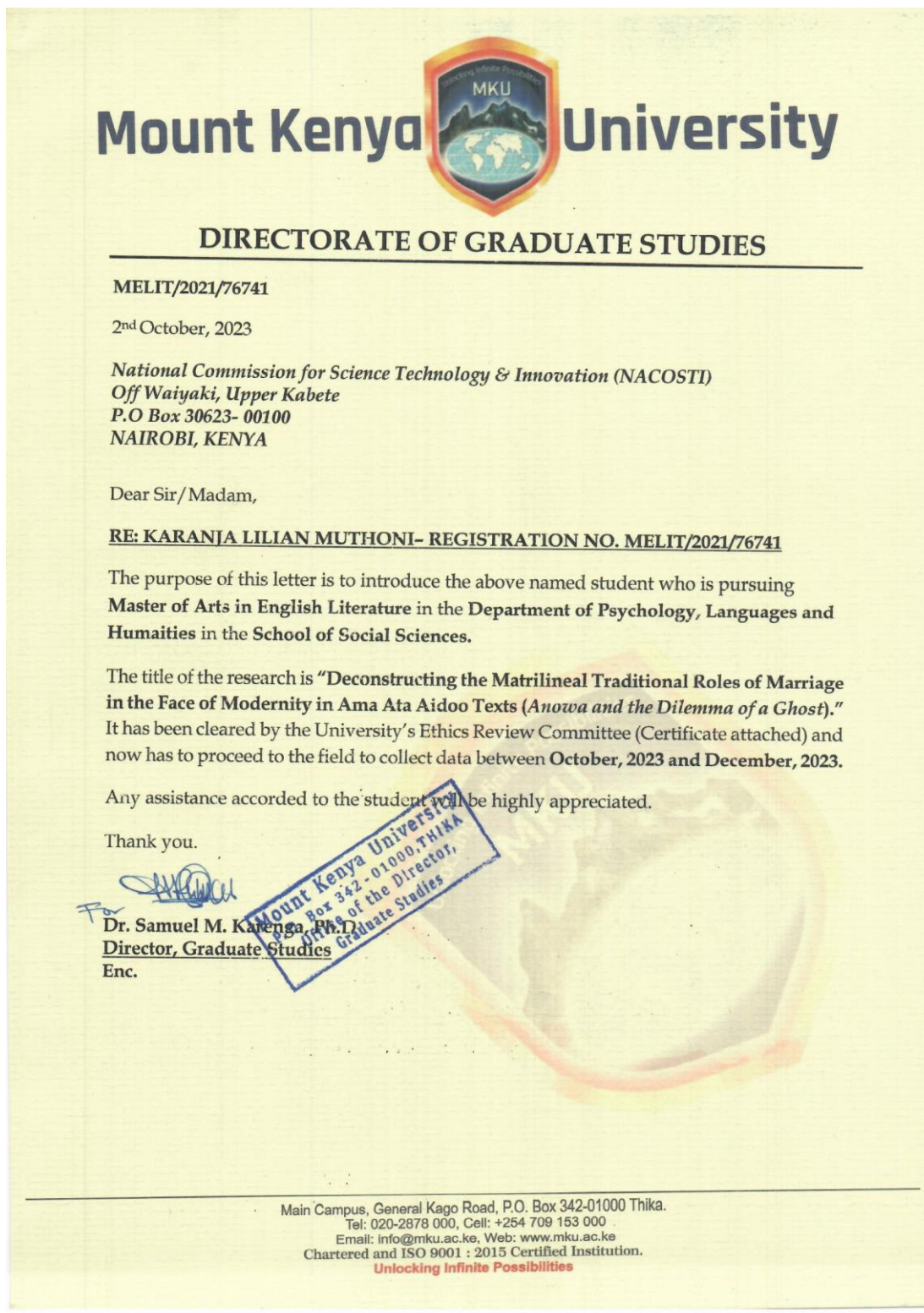
Yours sincerely,

The Chairman
Mount Kenya University
Ethics Review Committee
P. O. Box 342 - 0100, Thika

Dr. Alfred Owino, PhD
Chairman, Mount Kenya University ISERC

Main Campus, General Kago Road, P.O. Box 342-01000 Thika.
Cell: +254 709 153 000 / +254 709 153 200
Email: info@mku.ac.ke, Web: www.mku.ac.ke
Chartered and ISO 9001 : 2015 Certified Institution.
Unlocking Infinite Possibilities

Appendix XI: Introduction Letter from ERC



Appendix XII: Research Authorization Letter from NACOSTI


REPUBLIC OF KENYA
 Ref No: **559111**
RESEARCH LICENSE

This is to Certify that Miss. Karanja Jilian Muthoni of Mount Kenya University, has been licensed to conduct research as per the provision of the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 (Rev.2014) in Muranga on the topic: Deconstructing the matrilineal traditional roles of marriage in the face of modernity in Ama Ata Aidoo texts (Anowa and The Dilemma of a Ghost) for the period ending : 12/October/2024.
 License No: **NACOSTI/P/23/30341**
559111
 Applicant Identification Number

 Director General
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION.
 Verification QR Code

NOTE: This is a computer generated License. To verify the authenticity of this document, Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.
See overleaf for conditions

Appendix XIII: Authorization Letter from Chief



OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND CO-ORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Telegraph: "DISTRICTER",

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF

Telephone : 0727602496

NDAKAINI LOCATION

E-mail

P.O BOX 916-01000

when replying please quote

THIKA

Ref. No. NDIK ADM. VII III/23/76

15th Oct, 2023

and date

THE ADMINISTRATOR
NTI, KENYA UNIVERSITY

RE: KARANJA LILIAN MUTHONI ID 2476055

I hereby certify that the above referenced person has been doing a research within this my area of jurisdiction.

I would wish to certify that she has been visiting homes within the area, ^{researching} ~~on~~ traditional matters and am sure she has been assisted fully.

This office is wishing her the best in her studies.

Thanks for the continued co-operation.

Jeg
CHIEF
NDAKA-INI LOCATION
SIGN:

FLORA MWANGI