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Dance, Movement and Songs as Mechanisms for Promoting Social Control and Social Cohesion: A Study of Kpashimo in Teshie Homowo and Fontomfrom in Adukrom Akuapem, Ghana

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Abstract:

The claim that dance is present in practically all events in the Ghanaian life cycle is not entirely mythical but indeed verifiable in most cases. Festivals and funerals are social events that are held in public to express, reflect and strengthen community social relationships, as well as celebrate the lives of significant relations who have died. They are two of the experiential rites of passage in the Ghanaian culture and are observed through the use of special forms of language, dance and music. These art forms have important roles to play in Ghanaian traditional events, their main function being that they engender unity and cohesion and discourage deviant and irresponsible behavior within the society. Kpashimo is usually celebrated as the climax of the Teshie homowo festivities. Fontomfrom, in addition to being the name of an Akan drum, is also the name given to an important Akan ceremonial dance. This paper examines the socio-cultural significance and relevance of the kpaashimo and fontomfrom dances and their utility in the Teshie and Adukrom social contexts, respectively. The study was done using the functionalist approach, utilizing dance as a medium to stimulate social control, cohesion, and unity in two geographically different cultures. Despite the disparate cultures, dance was used successfully to achieve the required goals and, in essence, validate the claims about the universality of dance in the Ghanaian context. It was a qualitative research employing essentially observation and interviews. Photos and videos were also used for efficient illustration and accurate recall.

Keywords: Fontomfrom, kpaashimo, kpashikpa, homowo

1. Introduction

Although Primus's assertion that the Africans were the first to dance has been variously contested by contemporary scholars, there is certainly no doubt that it is important in the Ghanaian scheme of things. Opoku (1965) postulated about Ghanaian dance thus: "For to us life, with its rhythms and cycles, is Dance. The Dance is life expressed in dramatic terms. The most important events in the community have special dances to enhance their meaning and significance. To us, Dance is a language, a mode of expression, which addresses itself to the mind through the heart, using related, relevant and significant movements, which have their basic counterparts in our everyday activities, to express special and real-life experiences in rhythmic sequences to musical and poetic stimuli. For a deeper insight into our way of life, our labours, material culture, aspirations, history, social and economic conditions, religious beliefs and disbeliefs, moments of festivity and sadness - in short, our life and soul, and the realities perceived, conceived, or felt, that make us the people that we have been and are at present, are revealed to the serious seeker, in our dance."

I suggest that this proclamation by Mawere Opoku in 1965 captures the essence of the importance of dance in the Ghanaian worldview. Indeed, in practical terms, you can find dance, if not everywhere, at least in most places, most celebrations, and the most significant events of our life cycle from the cradle to the grave. There are dances during the naming of newborn babies, during puberty, marriage, festivals, and funerals. Wives dance to spite their rivals in polygamous unions, and sports fans dance to celebrate victories. Hedonism seems to be on the ascendency in Ghana, and there is dancing in the bars, nightclubs, beaches, streets, and what have you. Dance has even crept into the commercial domain, where it is used for advertising consumer goods. (Darko 2016). All these factors may validate Opoku's claim that to Ghanaians, dance is life. Movement and dance have been powerful instruments for keeping festivals alive in most Ghanaian societies. They do so by being part of every activity the people engage in from the beginning of the festival to its end. Their utilization ranges from their use in rituals and durbars to general socialization on the streets. During the *Homowo* festival, there is drumming and dancing at the shrines, on the durbar grounds, and in every nook and cranny in the town (homes, drinking bars, streets, etc.). "In the afternoon, there is a public dance with possessed "women". There is also a dance competition organized for the youth to enliven the celebrations". (Fields, 1961, p. 73). From birth to death, dance plays a major role in most rites of passage of the Ghanaian people. It is appreciated by those who perform as well as those who witness and, thus, becomes an art to be admired. According to Primus, "Dance in Africa is not a separate art, but a part of the whole complex of living. Dance is only part of the whole or the complex. The ceremony is the complex" (1996,

p. 4). Duodu (1994) argues, "dancing is popular in Africa because many people practice it". This argument is vindicated in practice when one observes the verve with which the people of Ghana participate in dances of all types. According to Asihene (1980), "Festivals are occasions for exuberant merry-making." Functionalism is one of the major theoretical perspectives in sociology, whose theory was first formulated by Emile Durkheim. Durkheim had a special interest in how social order was possible or how society remained relatively stable. The perspective examines each part of society in terms of how it contributes to the stability of the whole society. According to the theory, society is more than the sum of its parts; rather, each part of society is functional for the stability of the whole society. The different parts are the institutions of society, each of which is organized to satisfy different needs and each of which has particular consequences for the form and shape of society. Thus, all parts depend on each other. (Durkheim, 1947). A classical illustration is that the government of Ghana maintains law and order in the country. The citizens are also obliged to pay taxes on which the state depends to keep the government functioning. The society is dependent upon the school to educate their children so the latter can have good careers, which should help them have good jobs so that they can raise and support their own families. In the process, the children become law-abiding, taxpaying citizens who, in turn, support the state. If all goes well, society produces order and stability and is productive. If all does not go well, then parts of society must adapt to recapture a new order, stability, and productivity. Functionalism emphasizes the consensus and order that exist in society and is interested in social stability and shared values. Malfunction of the system, with problems such as deviant behavior, leads to social change since society must adjust to achieve stability. When one part of the system is not working or malfunctioning, it affects all other parts and creates social problems (Durkheim, 1947).

Culture refers to patterns of behaviors and interactions that are shared by a group. It involves cognitive constructs and affective understandings that are learned through a process of socialization. These commonly shared ways of doing things identify the members of a culture group while also distinguishing those of another group. It encompasses the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs and values, attitudes, religion, roles, spatial relationships, material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people over the course of generations through the groups' or individual efforts (Schechner, 2005; Gyekye, 2003; Nketia, 2005; Peoples & Bailey, 2006). The characterizations of most Ghanaian culture are usually on display during festivals, funerals and other significant life events. Ghana can boast of many festivals that represent the various ethnic communities. These can generally be classified into four (4) main groups, namely: harvest festivals, migration festivals, purification festivals and war festivals.

Homowo is an example of a migration festival commemorating the origin of the Ga people and their migration to Ghana, which was fraught with many challenges, including famine. They were compelled to grow millet, and upon achieving a great harvest, they had cause to hoot at hunger, hence the name *homowo* meaning 'hooting at hunger' (Abbey, 2010 p. 5).

Teshie is a town on the Southern Coast of Ghana and part of the Greater Accra Region. It is situated in the Ledzokuku-Krowor Municipal District. Its people initially hailed from La, and their main occupations were fishing and fish selling. Due to the fact that it is situated on the way to the Tema port (Ghana's principal port of entry), it has become an important economic hub, and a lot of artisans and traders have had thriving businesses there in recent times. The Teshie *Homowo* takes place in August of each year, following the celebrations of the event in *Ga Mashie*. There is the feasting aspect, where citizens prepare sumptuous dishes of kpoikpoi (the traditional homowo dish) accompanied by palmtut soup laden with large fishes called *tsile* and *odaa* for their loved ones, friends, and well-wishers. The other aspect is the *kpa* performances.

Abbey states, "the *homowo* festival is preceded by some traditional religious rites including the *shibaa* (the planting of millet and the ban on noise making for thirty (30) days); the *odada* (the lifting of the ban on noisemaking); and the *nsho bulemo* (the purification of the sea, done by the *wulomei* (the fetish priests) between April and July." (2010, p. 6)

2. Teshie Kpa

The Ga people are deeply religious and ascribe all blessings and good fortune to the Supreme Being and the gods. Similarly, they believe that the deities, the state and the general public punish people who do not do what is right.

"Rewards and punishment are not meted out by supernatural beings only; human society also has its own rewards and punishment. The rewards are in the form of praise and honour for those who do well, while punishment for offences which do not escape the attention of the civil authorities may be a physical penalty or the imposition of a fine. Other offences may be dealt with by public opinion, and this may take the form of ridicule or social disapproval, which could result in the offender being ostracized." (Asare Opoku, 1978, p 160)

Each society has its own ideal of what is considered good behavior by its members on the one hand, and what is considered unsatisfactory on the other. Moral decadence is considered a disgrace in the view of the Teshie people, and they continually strive to find ways of dealing with it. Naturally, they expect punishment meted out to offenders to serve as a deterrent to other potential offenders. The Teshie people go to great lengths to remind members that it pays to be morally upright. During an interview with Nuertey Nortey of Teshie, the researcher was informed that two (2) mediums used by the people of Teshie during *homowo* for applauding (in the case of good moral behavior), and condemning (in the case of bad moral behavior) are songs and dance. These mediums are very effective, praising members of good moral standing and exposing the nefarious deeds of miscreants. This is because the songs and dances are performed on the streets of Teshie in the full glare of all and sundry. In some instances, national and political leaders are not spared. The society perceives moral decadence as a disgrace to the society, and the punishment meted out to offending individuals, is meant to send the message that moral uprightness is a virtue and therefore no one should in any way attempt to disregard

it. There was no doubt in any indigene's mind that one was bound to receive reward or retribution, depending on their behavior in the society.

The main means of addressing the behavior of members of the Teshie society is singing of songs and dancing. These mediums are so powerful that anyone who uses them derives the pleasure of telling the society or the whole world about the misdeeds or the good deeds of a society member on the streets of Teshie. During the *Homowo* festival, the people air their views on any topic freely, and the bad behaviors of the people are fully sanctioned by the people with the support of the deity. Anyone airing his views or sanctioning any member of the society during this period works within the confines of the law, as far as the deity (who is responsible for this sanction) is concerned. During the *Kpa* performances, the people are free to openly express their views without fear of retribution since they believe the gods themselves have granted them permission.

In an interview with D. Obeng-Bene, a royal of Teshie, I learnt that *Kpa* music is a vocally oriented musical genre, and the performances are either by individuals or by groups. During the *kpa*, the dancers make social commentaries on issues confronting the society running through the streets of Teshie, singing and stamping of the feet known as *kpashimo*.

There are two (2) types of '*Kpa*' music, namely the '*Amlakuiakpa*' (*Kpa* music for the Royals) and '*Kpashi Kpa*' (Music for the non-royals). During the performance of the '*Amlakuiakpa*', the songs used belong to the Royal lineage known as *Amlakui* and comprise historical themes.

There are two (2) types of '*Amlakui akpa*', the ordinary and the 'heavy songs'. The latter songs are used to invoke the deity. This is the type of *kpa* used by the carriers of the *sese*. The *sese* is a large dish reputed to contain all the bad things which the Teshie people reject. The contents of this container will eventually be emptied into the Sango Lagoon, signifying the end of the *homowo* festivities. The Teshie people believe this act of cleansing will pave the way for blessings from the gods and a lot of good omens, including bountiful harvests and plenty of fish. Hence the lamentation:

Sese yaabu dzan neke afi
Meeloo abaaye?

Meaning

Sese shall not overturn till next year
What fish shall we eat?

(D. Obeng- Bene, personal communication)

The '*Kpashikpa*' is done by non-royal citizens and is generally used to comment on current events in society and on trending national issues. It serves three (3) major social functions. The first is to punish and reform members of the society whose behaviors are considered unsatisfactory. Secondly, it is used to praise and encourage upright members of the society. Thirdly, it is used to caution and counsel members of the society. According to N. Kwei Sowah, who hails from Teshie (personal communication), the performance of *kpashikpa* is organized in four (4) main ways, namely: (a) the solo performance, (b) the all-male performance, (c) the all-female performance; and (d) the mixed gender performance.

In his unpublished thesis, Amakye-Boateng (2006) describes the *Kpa* dance as: "A rhythmic stamping of the feet on the ground. It is danced in solos or in pairs. There are also group dances. It may be danced in a sitting position or standing. When two persons dance as partners they dance facing each other and away from each other. The knees, the upper part of the body and the arms are slightly bent. One does not perform the '*Kpashim*]' in an upright position. The dancer moves to the right and the left while doing the steps. However, the number of steps in one direction will depend on the dance pattern adopted by the dancer. The right steps often coincide with every strong beat of the song. The dance may begin with the right foot followed by the left, then a pause with the arms in half bent position. This stamping compensates for the absence of instrumental support. Lyrics in the songs are used to invoke blessings from the Supreme Being, the lesser gods and the ancestral spirits."

Below is an example of *kpa* song, which castigates a female citizen, who is a returnee from outside the jurisdiction, where she is alleged to have engaged in prostitution. This led to her contracting venereal diseases for which she had to take medication. According to T. B. Ofofu, a lecturer who also hails from Teshie (personal communication), although she was a sick woman, the society saw her behaviour whilst outside the country as unacceptable, and they used the song to show their displeasure with her, and ultimately to caution others from attempting to do same. The woman is called *Korkor*, and below is the song:

Korkor pis eh ni okoo
Eye omusun fee
Korkor pis eh ni okoo
Eye omusun fee

Korkor tutu, I get it
Korkor shaalo I get it
Korkor tutu I get it
Korkor shaalo I get it

Meaning

Korkor, the pills you are taking
Have destroyed your womb
Korkor, the pills you are taking

Have destroyed your womb

Korkor, you damn prostitute, I get it, Korkor, who shamelessly flatulates, I get it

The social control mechanism is clearly in effect here.



Figure 1: La Kpa Movement

Kwakye–Oppong (2014), in her paper, suggests that there are clothing and color symbolisms that inform the dress code in the *kpa* dance performances. These symbolisms help to drive home their messages in an effective manner. There are seven (7) *kpa* bands representing the seven (7) quarters of Teshie. The first band, the Pot band, represents society's diversity and is identified by a mixture of colors. The second band, *Gbematele* (literally meaning kill it and let me carry in Ga), has Ananse, the spider, as its emblem and black as its colour. Ananse stands for vices such as greed, selfishness, and cunningness. The third band *Koolewon Koo*, has the cock as its emblem and red as its colour, extolling virtues like valour, caution, bravery, and aggression. The fourth group is *Tafoyefew* (literally meaning Tafo is nice). Their color is yellow, which stands for the wealth of the nation. They also encourage the citizens to be content with their lot and work hard to improve their situations and, ultimately, the society. The fifth band is America, showing the American flag as shown in figure 2.



Figure 2: The American Flag during Procession

This band tries to discourage the "America at all costs" mentality that has bedevilled a lot of the youth in Teshie. The Sixth group is called Mind-U, with the *Sankofa* (literally meaning go back to it) emblem and white colors. This band seeks to encourage the people to return to their roots. The seventh group, *Tsese*, is the leading group believed to hold the soul of the town. Its colors are Ghana's national flag's colors: red, gold, and green. The band vigorously displays the themes of the national flag. (2014, pp.118-119).

The Akans are one of the dominant ethnic groups in Ghana. They are homogeneous culturally and linguistically, and these attributes enable them to easily assimilate their immediate neighbors, by virtue of their superior political systems. The word 'Akan,' translated from twi, means kan (e), i.e. first and foremost. Akan claim to be imbued with courtesy, grace and wisdom, a feeling clearly postulated by a proverb like *aninguase mfata okani ba* (disgrace is not the Akan man's portion). According to J.B. Danquah, the word '*okanni*' ordinarily means a nice, refined, well-mannered man, a civilized or

cultured person. The Akan tended to be brave personalities who abhorred sycophancy (Danquah, 1944; Gyekye, 2003; Agyekum, 2019). Music is a prominent feature of Akan culture and is used during most traditional events. The main instruments are the drum, the horn, the rattle and the bell. Music is used both for entertainment and communication. As a communication tool, music is used in the traditional Akan society for both tangible and esoteric reasons, delivering messages through invocations, proverbs, salutations, eulogies, announcements, and warnings. The main drums for communication are the talking drums (*fontomfrom*).

This paper examines the role of the *fontomfrom* dance in promoting unity and social cohesion among the Adukrom people of the Eastern Region of Ghana. In this instance, I explore the funeral context. Data were gathered through archival records, observation, interviews, and academic literature. According to Roger Copeland and Marshal Cohen (1983), "Dance is a transient mode of expression, performed in a given form and style by the human body moving in space. Dance occurs through purposefully selected and controlled rhythmic movements; the resulting phenomenon is recognized as dance by the performer and the observing members of a given group" (p.6). Royce (1977) defines dance as "a patterned movement performed to an end in itself" (p. 8).

Ajayi (1996) posits: "Dance is both a sign and a vehicle of communication. It is able to express an action or an idea, and it is at the same time the action and the idea it expresses. For example, a person dancing can be a sign of happiness; at the same time, this sign is a vehicle to communicate and express a sense of mind. Since a sign derives its meaning from its nature, and a tool assumes its significance for what it is used for, the use of dance in sacred rituals has both intrinsic and cultural imports" (p.185).

Dance is one of the oldest art forms in the African worldview and a complete and satisfactory form of art. Its basic materials are space, time, and rhythm (Opoku, 1965), and it employs the use of both spatial and temporal facilities to tell stories or express emotions, mainly through the use of bodily movements. There are different kinds of dances performed in Ghana that celebrate both ordinary and significant events. Dance, thus, is a medium through which the Ghanaian communes with and worships both deities and ancestors. *Fontomfrom* is widely referred to as the dance of royals, during which talking drums are extensively utilized to communicate royal messages. These messages are used to honor chiefs as they ride in their palanquins in public, splendidly attired in royal regalia. The drums also appreciate the royal processions through the recitation of proverbs. Another function of the *fontomfrom* is to replicate the patterns of speech at royal gatherings. It sometimes also shows chiefs (in full battle dress, re-enacting notable achievements of their states and those of their predecessors).

In an interview with Kofi Owusu, a royal and the son of a former linguist, *Adukrom Akwapim*, he said that *fontomfrom* prominently features at royal funerals. All citizens of the royal lineages (who have not converted to Christianity) have the *fontomfrom* played during their burials and funerals. These events provide a platform for the departed to be eulogized for the valiant and virtuous feats they had accomplished whilst alive. The drum also interprets the moves of various accomplished dancers as they express shock, sorrow, and a sense of loss at the departure of the deceased. These dancers usually include the deceased's family members, spouses and children. Through the dance performances, the society assures the bereaved members of support in the absence of their departed relations. (K. Owusu, personal communication). In Adukrom, the *fontomfrom* dance is used as a medium for promoting unity and cohesion. The town can be found in the Eastern Region of Ghana. It is the penultimate town on the eastern part of the Akwapem Ridge, next to Apirede. The main vocations of the people there are farming and, to a lesser extent, hunting. The people of Adukrom are Guans who speak the *kyerepon* language. They are a patrilineal community, and the people trace their ancestry to a common male ancestor. The town was home to one of the Salem settlements (Agyemang, 1997) set up by the Basel Mission to separate converted Christians from those perceived to be fetish worshippers. Thus, one can find a clear demarcation of places where Christians live and places where the other citizens reside. The former, of course, do not subscribe to the use of the *fontomfrom*. The practice of polygamy is still in vogue in Adukrom, especially in the families, which engage in farming, and ensures adequate labor on the farms. The town is in the Akwapim North District, under the Okere Constituency. It has an Omanhene, which is called the Nifahene. Recently, it has become a residence of choice for many wealthy homeowners because of the cool weather there, similar to the temperate weather in autumn.

I have been privileged to learn about their version of *fontomfrom* as a result of my frequent visits there for different events in the company of my husband, who hails from there. In the olden days, the *fontomfrom* drum was used to raise the alarm in the community to warn citizens of impending danger. Those were times when technology was not so advanced, and populations were smaller and less dense. The most effective means of communication was the call for the people to gather at the durbar grounds. The Akwapim Ridge (where Adukrom is situated) was also a favorite hunting ground for slave raiders. As of today, there is still a big house at the border of the town in which one can find the remains of a dungeon, where captured slaves were kept before onward transportation to the coast. The people of Adukrom had a lookout on a mountaintop, always warning the townspeople when they were going to be attacked by invaders. Because they were on top of the mountain, they could see those who were coming from the valley early enough, and the *fontomfrom* was used to rally the people to prepare to defend themselves against the invaders. In times of peace in the present time, the drum is played for the people to remember their good old days of valor and unity of purpose. (Y. Okyere, personal communication) When the *fontomfrom* is being played, the talking drum initiates the rhythm whilst the dancer interprets the rhythm. The drum performance occurs wherever royals are gathered or engaged in any kind of activity. It can also be seen or heard during functions where the whole town meets, such as durbars, funerals, and festivals. All these events serve to bring the citizens together to perform a function, thereby facilitating unity and cohesion. The drums are kept in the palace, and the performance of rituals (libation and the slaughtering of a ram) has to happen before the drums

can be played. The typical fontomfrom ensemble includes the *bommaa*, *atumpan*, *apentema*, *agyegyewaa*, *adukrogya*, and *dawuro*, as shown below.



Figure 3: Fontomfrom Drum Ensemble

The *bommaa* (which is the master drum) includes one male drum and one female drum. So are the *atumpan* drums that are used to send the messages. Other supporting drums are the *apentema*, the *agyegyewa*, and the *adukrogya*, all of which are one each. There are also two *dawuro* or bells. The master drummer is called the *Okyerema*, and he is the leader of the group and their conductor. It must be noted that fontomfrom is essentially a communicative dance; therefore, before one could do the dance proficiently, one needed to understand the drum's language and be capable of interpreting the nuances being churned out by the drum.

I have had the opportunity to observe some events that involved the playing of the *fontomfrom* accompanied by dancing, which I will proceed to describe. At funerals, the *fontomfrom* drums are set closer to where the chiefs and his entourage are seated. The drums are played continuously throughout the event, and since it is a funeral, clothes worn are in dark shades (red, dark brown or black). In the past, people were only allowed to wear traditional clothes – men with the cloth wrapped over their shoulders over shorts, and women in Kaba (local blouse) covered the cloth with no make-up. Things have moved on significantly since then, and people are now allowed to wear urban clothes as well as very little make-up. When *fontomfrom* is played on the funeral grounds, those who are confident of their proficiency in the dance get closer to the performers and, at any given opportunity, exhibit their skills. The dances are normally solo, and the dancers interpret the rhythm that is played through their movements. The raised index finger of the right hand towards the *okyerema* means the dancer is asking the drummers to play for him to dance. With two palms together, the chief is asking for togetherness, as shown in figure 3.



Figure 4: Palms Together Signifying Togetherness

A movement like putting the right elbow with the upper arm facing up into the left palm is a sign promising the drummers a bottle of drink when they play for the dancer on the floor. Also, when a dancer's eyes are wide open as if looking for someone amongst the people and then cannot find them, followed by a sudden clap of hands and open palms, as if is asking "why?" it means the dancer cannot comprehend why the deceased had departed at that time. A drumstick can also be taken from the drummers and given to someone amongst the people to come to the dancing floor to dance. This is an open invitation to good dancers to exhibit their dancing skills. As they dance, there is a point where the drumming stops. Sometimes, when this happens, the dancers embrace themselves or sit on people's laps. The chiefs also dance to express their emotions. Normally, when they come onto the floor to dance, a lot of people join in and surround them, pointing their right two fingers up in a victory sign, appreciating the dance. This promotes socialization amongst members - the bereaved, those who came to mourn with them and, at times, people who get their life partners during these occasions.

During durbars, the movements performed in *fontomfrom* are normally open movements. These movements involve hopping, jumping, turning, spinning with hands raised and alternating these with a facial expression that shows one is in a joyous mood. The attire this time comprises clothes with brighter colors. Royals, including the chief, also dance during durbars, and it is an opportunity for the citizens to observe and test the chief's dancing prowess by interpreting his movements. Owing to this, the chiefs who are not confident in their dancing skills take private lessons to increase their proficiency before the event so as not to be embarrassed in public. The chiefs do not perform strong movements like jumping, kicking, hopping, etc. They rather communicate with the drumming by raising both arms up when the drumming is cut. Sometimes, the chief is held at the back, held at the waist to give him stability, whilst he is dancing and also to hold firm the cloth he is putting on. Sometimes, someone from the Chief's entourage dances the *fontomfrom* in front of the Chief, as shown in figure 4.



Figure 5: A Member Dancing *Fontomfrom* in Front of the Chief

3. Conclusion

The *kpa* is a dance that unites people of Teshie especially the youth. It is a period where young members also choose their suitors. At the end of each *homowo*, family members who were at loggerheads are united, there is unity amongst the people of the land and this brings peace and growth in the suburbs of Teshie. There is also order in the township. The *kpashimo* also serves as an agent of social control for the Ga people. The dance serves as an avenue for the young ones to learn more about the history of their ancestors. This enables them to be brave and also to be open to all the people who come in contact with them. This helps them contribute to the integrity of the society. The *homowo festival*, which has people performing the *kpa* dance, provides a suitable platform for successfully negotiating any possible conflicts that may arise in the society's bid to correct social wrongs, deviance and immorality. All these are achieved in a friendly and carnival atmosphere. Apart from its social and cultural importance, the *kpashimo* promotes tourism and commercial activity. There is good business, especially for the couturiers, because of the colorful costumes used.

The *fontomfrom* dance is a medium through which the people of Adukrom negotiate unity and cohesion. These movements curb social deviance and help restrain the actions or behavior that violate social regulations, including formally enacted rules and informal violations of social norms. The dance that used to be performed by males only is now performed by both sexes, fostering unity and cohesion among the people. This leads to better socialization in the town. Through dancing the *fontomfrom*, some people have got their life partners. Those who also have problems in their families manage to resolve them. These dances from different regions speak or communicate a lot. Since verbal communication is well understood, dance can also be understood in the same manner.

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