Guidance Implications of Dipo Rite and It’s Initiation among Manya Krobo Groups in Ghana

Bernard Kissi-Abrokawah, Grace Mensah, Anontise Isaac Aboyom, and Ebenezer Bamfo Aidoo

ABSTRACT

Dipo rite is a puberty initiation practiced by the Krobo Groups in Ghana. The study describes the practice and process of Dipo rite, and its guidance implications associated with Dipo rite. This was a qualitative study underpinned by interpretative philosophical thought. The study employed case study design and data was collected using unstructured interview guide. Snowball sampling technique was used to sample the view of four (4) Dipo rite initiators and purposive sampling for the selected key informant from the Manya Krobo Chief Palace. The data were analysed using thematic analysis. The study highlighted the process and practice of Dipo rite. These included the policy, stages, benefit, and those are capable for being initiated. The study revealed that premartial education, courageous, career path, career opportunities were the guidance implications for the practice of Dipo rite. Finally, the study unveiled that age bracket should be introduced for the initiation not depending on one firsts menstruation and follow up should be done to check if the "Dipo yo "are practicing the teaching given to them.

Keywords: Career path, career opportunities, courage, dipo rite, premarital education

I. INTRODUCTION

The history of the rite of puberty goes back to the days of ancient Greeks and Romans. The classical source suggests that the Greeks and Romans have several phases that describe the transition from childhood to adulthood. At that point, young men are deemed to be in a precarious condition and thought to be dangerous both to themselves and to society. Therefore, it was mandatory to initiate them ritually. Practices involved giving young men military training and making them go through various ordeals. In those days, children were transformed into adults and returned to society (Reeve, 2008). But the downside of classical literature suggests that women have also been introduced. In accordance with the above, it was compulsory for young women to be transitioned from childhood to adulthood while menstruating for the first time. Puberty rite was the intermediate stage of life for every young female. The puberty process makes society members aware of the individual's ability to get married and the formal readiness to get married. As one awaits the completion of the rite of puberty and marriage before losing her virginity, it brings honor and respect to the whole family and society.

The Akan’s, Krobo’s, Ga’s and Ewe’s perform these puberty rites in Ghana. The most popular ones are that of the Akan’s (Bragoro) and the Krobo’s (Dipo). The Krobo’s are one of the traditional people in Ghana who maintained their own identities, values, customs and traditions for a long time. Like other indigenous societies, the Krobo people have sensitive periods across the lifespan of an individual where rites are held to help the person move from one stage of development to the next. For example, they employ initiation rites to mark female life stage transitions at every critical stage of development and one of these rites is locally known as "DIPO" through which girls are initiated from childhood stage to adolescence. For instance, initiation rites are used to mark women's passage to adulthood at every critical stage of development, and one of these rites is known locally as the "DIPO" through which girls are initiated from childhood to adolescence. For every individual, the first menstruation was a special developmental event in the sense that it occurs spontaneously. Among contemporary cultures, however, there was little formal recognition or ritualization of menstrarche. In addition, in studies (Sasser-Coen, 1996) the importance of initiation rites for identity formation and initiation into social roles and responsibilities was not recognized. As a result of the lack of cultural understanding and well-defined activities surrounding this developmental process, she indicates that menarche experience was met with uncertainty and even anxiety. While there
was a wide range of menarchal and menstrual literature (Delaney, Lupton and Toth, 1988; Weideger, 1975), there was little research in girls’ lives on the psychological sense of menstruation.

The Krobos performed puberty rituals for religious and psychosocial purposes. Nevertheless, recent increases in formal education, as well as the impact of faith on their location, are reshaping the cultural environment of the Krobo traditions. Informal training provided by Krobo parents during girls’ initiation rites is believed to have led to the prevention of premarital sex and disease control. Nonetheless, a study by (Gobana, 1996) on Gumuz reported that in recent years, problems such as teenage pregnancy and premarital sexual intercourse have become more common among Gumuz girls than in the past. These social problems are perceived as a result of the disappearance of indigenous child socialization practices, among which the girls’ puberty rites (Ke Gehaja) are just one. (Gobana, 1996) points out that the disappearance of traditional child socialization practices, including the Ke Gehaja rites, could be attributed to the influence of social factors that caused cultural disruption.

Menarche was an important event in the development of Krobo females in Ghana. The initiation in "Dipo" of pubertal girls after this biological maturation occurrence. In support of this, (Wolde-Selassie, 2004) argues that menarche signifies the sexual maturity of the child to become a woman and the ritual celebration of this normative developmental occurrence. The ritual was prepared after a pubertal girl's first menstruation and was perceived as important not only for the initiation, but also for the overall well-being of her family and community. Others, however, view these sexual practices as barbaric, backward, and dangerous, and a way to oppress women. The researchers are of the view that the issue has to be explored in detail as perceived by the Krobo’s themselves by interviewing women who have experienced the practice.

The purpose of the study was to describe the process involved in puberty rite initiation among Many Krobo group in Ghana. Again, the study sought to find out counselling implications for females who undergo puberty rites.

The current research would have significant contribution in exploring the developmental and social contribution of puberty rites of the Krobo girls as a process of developmental transition. Besides, the study has contributed to exploring how parents help pubertal girls in achieving their culturally defined developmental tasks and responsibilities. Moreover, the study was useful in exploring how the Krobo’s society maintain its unique customs and practices of socializing girls against the ongoing social changes and transmit its values and traditions to the next generation as well as preserving them against the intrusion of non-indigenous customs. Conducting this study also contributed to the academic literature on puberty rites within the discipline of guidance and counselling, sociology, anthropology, developmental psychology, and other related fields that commonly deal with this issue.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A. Sociogenic Theory

The Sociogenic approach defines initiation from the perspective of the society as a body of public rites and functions to perpetuate the individual by supervising the indoctrination of new members and instilling in them social responsibilities (Doherty, 1998). This approach is rooted in Van Gennep’s classification of initiation in terms of social function. That is, to reduce the disruptive effects of change on society and the individual and its social goal is to facilitate change from one social group to another.

In Sociogenic perspective, initiation was meant to publicly incorporate the novice into society and granting the individual a social status. In general, the Sociogenic theory of initiation sees the rite as a social mechanism which serves to indoctrinate and register new members. However, (Young, 1965) argues that initiation does not function solely to society, but it also promotes individual maturation. With the relation of sociogenic theory to Dipo rites, it was inhabited that the Dipo rite registers young adult to adulthood. Again, Dipo rites serves its support to sociogenic theory because it grants children who have menstruated to certain social status and also bring prestige to the individual and family.

B. Psychogenic Theory

The Psychogenic approach in contrast to sociogenic focuses on individual psychological development to be both as a cause and effect of initiation. Proponents of this theory emphasize the pre-eminent function of initiation rite on the personal level and focus on self-evaluation and self-recognition as opposed to Sociogenic ones. Thus, the individual was encouraged to cultivate identity, assert his or her rights and develop all the aspects of the self in terms of the spiritual, sexual and cognitive development (Hovert, 1990). For example, in the Many Krobo and other surrounding communities in which virginity was part of the initiation rites for children to adulthood, parents are strict on their girl child’s virginity to enable her to part take in the ceremony. With this perception attached to the Dipo rite, most parents engage with behavior to deceive the elders that their children have menstruated while they have not. All for the reason of being able
to keep their virginity till the time of Dipo rites.

C. Study Area

The Lower Manya Krobo District (LMKD) is one of twenty-six (26) districts in the Eastern Region, situated in the eastern part of the region along the Volta River’s south-western corner, near latitude 6o. 05S and 6o.30N and 0o.20W and 0o.08E width. It is bordered by the Asuogyaman district to the north-east, the Upper Manya Krobo district to the north, the Yilo Krobo district to the south-west, the North Tongu (Adidome) and Akwapin North districts to the east and west, and the North Tongu district to the south-east. The district covers an area of 1,476 km², representing approximately 8.1 percent of the total area (18,310 km²). Krobo Odumase, Agomanya, Akuse, Kpyonokporpe, Paterwonya, Kpong and Atua are the district's major cities. The total number of people residing in LMKD is estimated at 112,903, according to the population census of 2010. LMKD has more females than males, as in national and regional circumstances. As with the province, farming is the backbone of the local economy of the district. Trade is a minor occupation of people due to lack of resources to expand trade activities, those involved are mostly small traders. Some of the socio-economic problems associated with LMKD are as follows: high prevalence of HIV, high rates of analphabetsism among the poor, low awareness of gender mainstreaming, high incidence of child labour, and child crime. The tradition of initiation rites in the Lower Manya Krobo is the Dipo rite, conducted in April every year.

![Fig. 1. Map of Lower Manya Krobo.](image)

III. Methodology

Interpretive assumptions underpinned the study on how data was collected and method of data analysis guide research process at all stages (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). For the purpose of understanding the complexity of Dipo rite in the Manya Krobo District, the approach adopted was qualitative where case study design was used to investigate the real-life event on how Dipo rite is perform by the people of Manya Krobo.

The population constitutes all female Krobos who have undergone puberty rites initiation and selected key informants from the Lower Manya Krobo chief palace. However, the study targeted population consist of females between the ages of 45-60 who underwent the puberty rite initiation during their adolescent stage. The researcher chosen to use female under that age bracket because it was said that during the 1970s and 1980s the puberty rite initiation ceremony was compulsory and those who did not participate were banished from their villages. The sample size was five (5), which consisted of four (4) female Krobos who had undergone Dipo rite, and one (1) key informant who was selected from the Lower Manya Krobo palace. Snowball sampling was used to select female participants and purposive sampling method was used to identify the main informants from the chief palace. In qualitative analysis, a small sample size was chosen because it was manageable. In addition, a sample must be selected in qualitative study to allow the phenomenon being studied to be explored for a better understanding (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

Due to the sensitive nature of the study, the researchers began the data collection as an outsider since they have not lived nor worked in the context of the study area. For ethical reason, the researchers wrote a letter to the respective body in the chief’s palace to ask for their convent. A date was schedule to come and see the elders to discuss the intension and the purpose of the study to them. The researchers first visited the context of the study and got acquainted with the authorities that he would be working with. After series of calling and acquaintance with the informant from Lower Manya Krobo chief’s palace he decided to assist them locate one participant who was fit for the study. The key informant commented that granting interview using English language would be difficult, since the participants he got for the researchers was not literate. With this, the researcher decides to use Ghanaian Language as the medium of communication with the
participants in both communities. With the series of communication and interaction with the participants before and during the interview session offering them a sense of security and freedom, thus wanting to know what the study was meant for (Patten & Newhart, 2017). The researchers’ position as ‘outsider’ changed to ‘insider’ through the series of communication and interaction with the participants which made them familiar with participants and even know them by names. The researcher’s positionality as a ‘pseudo-insider’ was successful when the participants saw that the research work was for academic purposes, so they perceived them as harmless and therefore discussing issues openly and dispassionately was not a problem. Lastly, the researchers took advantage of their ‘unfamiliarity’ with the issues in the context to ask many questions and sought for further clarification. The researchers administered unstructured interview instrument to collect data from respective participants for the study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

By way of ensuring credibility of the study, the researchers followed these procedures. Two (2) lecturers who have knowledge about the topic, and qualitative data analysis were given the instrument to check for flaws (Patten & Newhart, 2017). Comments made were favourable which does not necessitate massive changes of the instrument. To grant the validity of the instrument, it was given to two (2) Krobo native who have knowledge about Dipo rite to examine the instrument. The interviews were conducted using language that could be understood by both the researcher and interviewees to avoid misunderstanding. The researcher tried to ensure that no distortion took place while the interviewees were interviewed, by allowing for free flow of information. To check consistency or dependability of the study, the researchers asked the respondents to confirm or disconfirm their statement after each interview schedule. Again, clarifications were made by the researchers on issues or terms they found difficult to understand during data transcriptions (Kusi, 2012; Patten & Newhart, 2017).

The data was analysed using content analysis. After the data were collected, the researchers looked at all the protocols and categorised into common themes. Furthermore, to attribute comments to the interviewee females and Key informant, the interview transcripts were assigned some serial codes. For example, Interviewee Key Informant from Manya Krobo Palace (IKIMKP) and Interviewee Females from Manya Krobo District was (IFDC1-4).

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section describes the process of Dipo rite from the key informants from the chief palace. The researchers aim was to check the procedure Krobo women undergo during their initiation rite of Dipo.

A. Process of Puberty Rite (Dipo) Ceremonies among Manya Krobo’s Groups in Ghana

Researcher: Please can you brief me about the general idea or meaning of Dipo?

IKIMKP: Dipo is the name of puberty rites performed to initiate girls who have reached puberty into womanhood and is called "Dipo-yo" (Dipo girl) girls who engage in puberty rites.

Researcher: When does it take place and how can one take part in the Dipo Rite?

IKIMKP replied:

Dipo rite is conducted every year in the month of April. During this time, on behalf of the Earth Goddess (Nene Kloweki), an announcement is made that any parent with daughter at the puberty stage should participate to make their girls Dipo woman. He further clarified that after the announcement they were presented by parents with such a daughter to their clan priest or Dipo priestess. Then the priest pours out libation and asks them for blessing.

Researcher: Do they pay some money, or it is done for free?

IKIMKP: I am sorry, No! There's no monetary problem here, it's done free of charge, so people are proud to do that.

Researcher: How long does the initiation of the Dipo rite take to complete?

IKIMKP: Usually around a week or two weeks, just because the five stages of the rite have to be completed.

Researcher: Please can you brief me on what it entails in each stage of the Dipo rite ceremony?

IKIMKP: The ceremony's first day usually begins on Thursday, which is "Nene Kloweki's holy day" and ends on Sunday.

Researcher: Why! Thursday but not any other days?

IKIMKP: That's what we came to meet because Thursdays are named "Nene Kloweki" Holy Day. "Kpawomi" (a cord binding) is the first part of the ritual.

Researcher: What is done on that day?

IKIMKP replied: The traditional beads that women wear around their waist on the day of the ceremony are replaced by a simple string with only one reddish bead. An elderly woman('Yomoyo') does this. The second part is done by shaving the bottom of the head of the child ("yi-si-pomi"). The raffia fiber is wrapped around her chest after she has shaved. The girl is now a "Dipo-yo."

Researcher: So, does it mean that if the girl becomes Dipo girl then she has finished with the rite right?
Oh, oh! That's just the start. Instead, she was sent to the nearby river for a spiritual bath. The discipline of grooming is also taught to older women performing rituals. They are made to taste three times non Krobo foods, such as groundnut and sugar cane, upon their return from the river. After that, they eat a special meal called "Ho-fufui." In the evening, the Dipo girls shaved their hair.

IKIMKP further stated that:
libation is poured out with millet beer, palm wine and snacks where the family gods are called to bless and protect women. It's called the threefold libation. The parent of each Dipo girl presents sacrifices a castrated goat. The goat is killed in the night and the blood can flow under every Dipo woman's feet.

Researcher: Why! do they spill blood onto their feet?
IKIMKP: Such a practice is believed to wash away anything that would hinder them from becoming a woman and a motherhood. That Dipo girl is sitting with a white cloth on a special stool.
Researcher: What activities are performed on the third stage?
IKIMKP: The third day is the day of reality, when the priestess performs other rituals to learn about women's virginity.
Researcher: How do they do it?
IKIMKP: They are colored with clay and placed on each girl's head a pot made of clay. If the woman is not a virgin, the pot is expected to break. Any girl found lying about her virginity is sent home, and members of her family are made to face the consequences.
Researcher: What happens if girl fakes its virginity?
IKIMKP replied:
They were expelled from the city in ancient times, but if they did, they were tested to pay a penalty for deceit. Those who are virgins are going to live in the evening to continue the process. The girls are sent for another ceremony to a place known as the House of the Old Lady. To them, libation is being poured out. These are followed by old women carrying gifts such as millet beer and flour, and dried fish offered to the priest or priestess performing the initiation. Upon arrival, they will receive another libation, and they will be brought to a holy pot filled with the medicine they are washed with. Throughout their bodies they are given signs to prove they are ready for the final rite. The final step is the climbing of "Te-kwowi Tegbete-yami" (the sacred Dipo Stone).
Researcher: What activities take place after climbing the sacred stone?
IKIMKP replied:
Before they go to where the holy stone is, they are made to sit three times in the middle of singing and dancing on the skin of an antelope. They then decorate their bodies with white clay. We wear around their necks as well as hollow goat intestines filled with air over their back. They march to the compound of the chief or priest of their clan. There are rituals done. Prayers are said and they are mixed with holy water. They are brought to the sacred Dipo stone after this rite, on which they sit. The old women who are in charge of the ceremony are placing them on the stone three times. This "Te-kwowi Tegbete-yami" ritual of sitting on the stone is what is known as. The rite is supposed to make Krobo women the Dipo people.
Researcher: Where is the sacred stone located?
IKIMKP replied:
The sacred stone is on the mountains of Krobo in the past, but now every clan has a piece of it. After that, in the middle of jubilation, the girls are brought back home, and the goat intestines are removed. The remainder of the hair is rapped. Each Dipo girl’s head is placed on priest-like hats. Until the whole party is over, they are not allowed to talk to anyone. Their brothers or male neighbors carry them back to the village.
Researcher: So, do the girls become "Dipo-yo" Dipo girl when they have finish with this stage?
IKIMKP said,
"No! They are then confined to a room and go through lessons with the priestess about womanhood. We are taught how to become successful mothers, sex problems, relationships, child-bearing opportunities, career opportunities and family responsibilities. The experienced old women also teach the tradition and practice of Krobo girls, Krobo songs, dance, and dressing. We have been confined for the teaching in a room for a week in the past. Several incisions are made on each girl's thumb and wrists before the end of the ceremony.
Researcher: What do the incisions of thumb and wrists of girl’s mean?
IKIMKP: This is to prove that the girls were initiated by the Dipo and thus became mature women of Krobo. Finally, "Gani" is tied around the head of the Dipo-yo. This is intended to protect her fertility and to ensure it.
Researcher: What happens if the elephant’s hair is tied around the Dipo-yo's head?
IKIMKP replied:
It's the final stage of the initiation. The girls are dressed in their parents' bright and costly traditional
Kente clothes and beads. They are grouped with a durbar. They are sent to the durbar ground; in celebration of attaining womanhood, they sit at one position and later dance (Dipo dance). It gives their families respect and recognition. The stage is an opportunity for the males witnessing the opportunity to feast on them with their eyes and make selection for those who consider themselves to be 'potential' future wives. Then, the girls go around the city to thank parents and friends who helped make the initiation possible.

B. Guidance Implications of Puberty Rite (Dipo) to the Community Members

The study suggests that during the Dipo rite, female groups go through some guidance services which help them to prepare for the initiation. To the females, it shows that the lady is matured for marriage and procreation. Again, they also believe that the individuals are prepared for physical and spiritual aspect of marriage. This also implies that she is now ready to take responsibility of marriage and parenting. In the quest of answering this research question; the themes that came out were on courage/endurance, good manners/grooming, check immorality or premarital sex etc. The interviewees described how Dipo initiations have helped build their marital status and prepared them towards their marriage. Almost all the IFDCs believe that without Dipo rite, their marriage could have been worsening by now. For instance, IFDC-3 said, that Dipo rite practice in the community has helped check and maintain morality upright or eschew premarital sex since one must remain chaste before she goes through the rite. IFDC-1 added:

At the ancient days, it was very real to find a pregnant Krobo girl who has not undergone Dipo rite. This was because the community instils discipline in them and also Dipo rite was associated with good moral behavior. This rite made easy to find virgins in Krobo land.

IFDC-2 Indicated that the Dipo rite instituted brought about sanity and respect to Krobo women, because it was believed that to marry real African women or virgin is possible in Krobo land. She further explained that the pre-marital teachings given to them made them unique among their colleagues outside Krobo land. IFDC-1 share similar comment with IFDC-2 because she postulated that premarital teachings given by the elderly women when she was having her Dipo have helped her stay longer in her marriage. Other IFDCs testify to the comment made by IFDC-1 on how Dipo rites help enjoy their marriage. Similarly, data obtained from both initiated girls and mothers suggest that Ke Gehaja rite has multiple perceived purposes. The major ones are to save the family from anger of spirits and to teach the young girl about the skills of womanhood which includes sexuality, good manners, fertility, childcare, and menstrual taboos as well as to ascribe a new identity (Wohabie, 2014).

IFDC-4 believes that during their Dipo rite, the elderly women help them through their cultural norms and other marital values were explained to them. When asked about the marital values; she said sexual matters, child rearing, local meal preparing and how to perform their household chores as Krobo woman. IFDC-3 confirms that during the Dipo rite, they were taught important skills, virtues, morality and how to perform their household chores. She further stated, they learn how to sing, dance, and play some local musical instruments. A study conducted by (Wohabie, 2014) found out that the perceived psychosocial advantages of being initiated through Ke Gehaja rite is that the ritual is a means by which a young girl would be given lessons about delivery, childcare and so on. Hence, those initiated girls and mothers perceive a non-initiated girl as the one who faces birth complications in the future.

Almost all IFDCs interviewed shared similar view that Dipo rite taught them good manners and grooming to help endure in their marriages. The second most reported guidance implications were on courage/endurance, generates working capital for career purposes and commitment to God. IFDC-2 believes the teaches imbedded in them to be courageous and endurance. She stated that Dipo rite was stressful and demanding, so if one went through it successfully, it was an indication that she has matured, had endurance, fearless and courageous to face the future. IFDC-4 added that before her Dipo rite initiation, she was a shut person. After the ceremony, she has become outgoing and able to speak in public and relate well with colleagues and the general public.

IFDC-1 said she remembered asking why they are stressing them like that. She recalled the initiators said they were to be baked well to endure stressful life in future. IFDC-3 committed that vocational training or apprenticeship given on beads making made her learn a trade on beads making which she now depends on as livelihood career. She further explained, the money generated during the ceremony helped some of her colleagues to establish themselves with a trade.

IFDC-2 gave a divergent view by saying the pouring of libation; sacrifices and purification rite associated with the initiation signify the commitment of God or the gods to their marriages. Again, they were taught how to pray for ancestral blessing and protection. In conclusion, the IFDC-1 discovered that the Dipo rite provides career opportunities for some women who undergo the initiation during their time. Similarly, (Mudhovozi et al., 2012) argue that puberty rites have lost their significance in many cultures. As a result, the transition from childhood to adulthood has been complicated by the developmental phase of adolescence. On the contrary, (Kakungwe, 2003) as cited in (Wohabie, 2014) found that in Zambia, initiation rites are still prevalent in both rural areas and cities and towns including Lusaka.
V. Conclusion

1. The study uncovered and documented the wealth of knowledge exclusivity of Dipo rites and rich culture of the indigenous Krobo ethnic group of Ghana. Dipo rite constitutes traditional mechanism which guarantees socio-cultural cohesion apart from its wealth creation for the girl child in the area.

2. The study also concluded that the "Dipo yo" ceremony teaches the girls child a lot about premarital issues, career development opportunities and socio-cultural ways of maintaining virginity in preparation towards the marriage home.

3. The study discovered that the Dipo rite initiation help females to remain single apart from been virgin till the time Dipo rites ceremony is performed on them to be well equipped to join the adulthood and the marriage institution without ill-informed.

4. The study also concluded that Dipo rite initiation should be encouraged because it is deemed workable for inculcating moral values and good upbringing for the girl child.

VI. Recommendations

1. The study therefore recommended that the chiefs and people of Lower Manya District should educate parents on the need for the girl child to participate in Dipo rite ceremony.

2. The community leaders should introduce age bracket that one can participate in Dipo rite to become "Dipo yo". For consistency in career achievement the elders should do follow up to check if the training given during to the "Dipo yo" has been put to good practice.

3. The study recommended that the teachings given to the "Dipo yo" during the Dipo rite period should include sexual transmitted diseases (STDs) such as HIV and AIDS education and sexual transmitted infections (STIS), because study conducted in the Lower Manya Krobo area establishes high records of HIV prevalence in the area than another district in Ghana.

4. The study discovered that Dipo rite initiation enhances unity, cultural preservation, as well as foster social cohesion among the Krobo people and should be supported by all stakeholders to ensure sustainability.

VII. Social and Counselling Implications

1. An aspect of the training of social workers should focus on how to assist parents and family about the benefit they would derive from the Dipo rite when their wards are being initiated.

2. The government through the needed ministries and agencies should create a social support system to assist female groups in the Manya Krobo District on how make this initiative ceremony attractive to tourists/general public.

REFERENCES

Boateng, F. (1983). African traditional education: a method of disseminating cultural values. Journal of Black Studies, 13(3), 321-336.

Cresswell, J. W., & Cresswell, J. D. (2018). Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approach 5th ed. Sage Publications.

Delaney, J., Lupton, M., Toth, E. (1988). The curse: cultural history of menstruation. University of Illinois Press.

Gobana, J. (1996). Contextual Family Therapy and Counselling For Marriage And family life among the traditional Gumuz and Gumaz Christians and the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus. Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: Unpublished Master Thesis. Kapungwe, A. (2003). Traditional cultural practices of imparting sex education and the fight against HIV/AIDS: The case of initiation ceremonies for girls in Zambia. African Sociological Review 7(1): (PP.35-52).

Kusi, H. (2012). Doing qualitative research, a guide for researchers. Accra, Ghana: Emmpong Press.

Mudlovzoi, P., Ramarumo, M., Sodi, T. (2012). Adolescent sexuality and culture: South African mothers' perspective. Journal of African Sociological Review 16(2): 119-138.

Ramkoppa, M. (2001). Developmental stages of an African child and their psychological implications. [Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Raad Afrikaans University].

Patten, M. L., Newhart, M. (2017). Understanding research methods: an overview of the essentials. Taylor and Francis.

Reeve, T. (2008). Luke Luke 3:1-4:15 and the rite of passage in ancient literature: liminality and transformation [Doctoral dissertation, University of Notre Dame].

Sasser-Coen, J. (1996). The point of confluence: a qualitative study of the life-span developmental importance of menarche in the bodily histories of older women [Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Oregon State University].

Weidiger, P. (1980). Menstruation and menopause: the physiology and psychology, the myth and reality. New York: Knopf.

Wohabie B. B. (2014). Puberty rites for girls (ke gehaja) among the gumuz of northwestern ethiopia: practices, developmental and psychosocial contributions [Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Addis Ababa University].

WoldeSelassie, A. (2004). Gumuz and highland resettlers: differentiating strategies of livelihood and ethnic relations in metekel northwestern ethiopia. Emers Press.

Young, W. (1965). Initiation ceremonies: a cross cultural study of status dramatization. New York: Bob-Merrill.