

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

THE SYMBOLIC MEANING OF CLOTHING REGALIA OF CHIEFS IN
ANLO STATE IN THE VOLTA REGION OF GHANA

KAFUI AMIVI KUMATIA

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THE SYMBOLIC MEANING OF CLOTHING REGALIA OF CHIEFS IN
ANLO STATE IN THE VOLTA REGION OF GHANA

BY

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Thesis submitted to the Department of Vocational and Technical Education of
the Faculty of Science and Technology Education, College of Education
Studies, University of Cape Coast, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the award of Master of Philosophy degree in Home Economics Education.

AUGUST 2018

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature:..... Date:.....

Name: Kafui Amivi Kumatia

Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Principal Supervisor's Signature:..... Date:.....

Name: Prof. Modesta Efua Gavor

Co-Supervisor's Signature: Date:.....

Name: Miss Irene Ampong

ABSTRACT

This study sought to examine the forms of clothing regalia and its symbolism used by chiefs in Anlo State in the Volta Region of Ghana. Ethnographic research design embedded in qualitative paradigm was adopted for the study. Data was gathered from a purposively sampled eight (8) key informants, two (2) for each chief, through the use of a semi-structured interview guide and a non-participant observation. The results identified various forms of clothing regalia used by the Anlo State chiefs which were; the type of cloth (Ewe *Kete* or *Adanuvor*), jumper, a hat (*Fiakuku*), chiefs' sandals (*Fiafokpa*), a walking stick and must adorn themselves with *Dzonu* (beads). The *Lashi* or *Sorshi* also formed part of their clothing regalia. The results also revealed that, the Anlo chiefs clothing regalia were influenced by the occasion they attended, colour and their role as chiefs. Occasions like installation, confinement and coronation of the chiefs depicted different clothing regalia. The clothing regalia of the Anlo chiefs symbolized spiritual protection for them. It also symbolized a historical event that occurred in the past as well as depicted their affluence and authority. It was recommended that, although society is being transformed rapidly through modernization, there is the need to preserve the culture, traditions and the identity of the Anlo chiefs. It was also important that kingmakers or keepers of Anlo traditions and customs should as much as possible document important aspect of the clothing regalia of the chiefs and not rely solely on oral tradition which can be altered or debunked by others.

KEY WORDS

Acculturation

Anlo chiefs

Clothing

Clothing regalia

Culture

Symbolic meaning

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisors, Prof. Modesta Efua Gavor and Miss Irene Among both of the Department of Vocational and Technical Education for their professional guidance and encouragement that guided this study.

My appreciation also goes to *Torgbui Honi*, the protocol chief to the *Awoamefia* for his support and assistance in the formal introduction to the kingmakers of Anlo State for interviews. A very big thank you to the kingmakers for their time and the useful information provided for the study. I am also grateful to the divisional chief of *Dzodze*, *Torgbui Adzofia V* and *Mama Dzoku* for their warm welcome and assistance during the study.

To my friends, Chris Mawudzo Agbolosu and Lady Barbara Gaisie, I will say thank you for spending your time to proof-read my work.

Finally, to my family, Mary Yevenyo (retired DDNS), Mr. Samuel R. Ziggah (Senior Lecturer, UEW), Dr. Yao Yevenyo Ziggah (Lecturer, UMaT) and Yayra Amitor Kumatia (Tutor, AKATSICO) for their immerse contributions and encouragement which helped me to complete this study.

DEDICATION

To my family,

Mary Yevenyo, Dr. Yao Yevenyo Ziggah and Yayra Amitor Kumatia.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

Clothing explained by Kaiser (1997), as any tangible or material object connected to the human body. Clothing has long been an intimate part of humans as earliest studies in the psychology of clothing distinguished four intrinsic basic functions as protection, modesty, immodesty and adornment (Johnson, Torntore, & Eicher, 2003; Sproles & Burns, 1994). Other researchers have also explained other reasons for wearing clothes as group identity, social status and social affiliation (Barnard, 1996; Davis, 1992; Kawamura, 2005). The early human societies focused on the primary functions of clothing as it was very practical and primitive rather than the symbolic messages that clothing might communicate.

Clothing is an inseparable part of the human body and through clothing a person makes a first step into the nonverbal communication to the world. Clothing not only shows appearance, but also represents an individuals' interior world in which an immense amount of meaning and messages are communicated (Dorrance, 2011). Tijana, Tomaž and Čuden (2014) suggested that, communication through clothing is treated as a basic carrying concept and may imply an aspect of the nonverbal interaction and exchange of information in the society. Clothing can be interpreted as a transmission of information between a carrier and recipient through symbolic messages in the general or specific scope of the dressing culture. Furthermore, Howlett, Pine, Orakcioglu and Fletcher (2013) also affirmed that, clothing is considered as a nonverbal

source of communication in itself, which makes it an important aspect of communication analysis. In the sense that, it provides a plethora of information about the wearer without having to meet or talk to the person. In that open communication, a person creates his or her individuality through his or her appearance and messages and information about oneself are visually sent and received. For this reason, what an individual chooses to wear may communicate a complex array of information about the wearer and to others, even when they may or may not be communicating (Angerosa, 2014).

Throughout history, societies have used clothing and various forms of bodily adornment to nonverbally communicate their rank, gender, status, maturity, occupations, class, wealth and group affiliation, serving as a form of free speech (Dzramedo, 2009). Although the perception through clothing as objects of ethnic identity may be misleading sometimes, (Omatseye & Eneriewen, 2012; Sue-Jenkyn, 2005) have indicated that, clothes still remain a vital tool for the nonverbal communication mode of the language of clothing, indicating the significance that accompanies the motifs and symbols expressed in them. These clothing and various forms of bodily adornment are expressed in the forms of signs, symbols and iconography which served as nonverbal but visual forms of expressing their habits, thought, techniques and conditions that characterized society as a whole (Dzramedo, 2009).

Traditional leaders (chiefs) in our society are embodiment of our culture. They handle many issues ranging from security, community development and settlement of disputes, and provision of social services among others (Dzivenu, 2011). Traditional leaders are at the heart of custom and culture, in the sense that, they play an important role in the efforts to preserve them. They are

described as ‘guardians’ of traditional norms, values and practices that are respected in particular communities from generation to generation (Chinsinga, 2006) and as such important channel through which social and cultural change can be realized.

Osagyefo Amoatia Ofori Panyin (2010) stated that, the chieftaincy institution in Ghana is the most enduring socio-cultural institution that has borne and will continue to bear the thankless task of providing cohesion to strengthen the nation. The Ghanaian chieftaincy has evolved into an institution with both modern and traditional dimensions, backed and guaranteed by the state and the constitution. The chieftaincy institution in Ghana which is highly cherished by most indigenous Ghanaian societies has been very instrumental in the socio-political and economic development in the country (Bewiadzi, 2013). The chieftaincy institution gives a sense of identity and belongingness. It also gives an appreciation of what our predecessors did and enables us to reminisce and deduce the things we want to continue (Kleist, 2011).

Chieftaincy is predominantly defined in terms of tradition, as Senyonjo (2004) defined tradition as any cultural product that was created or pursued in whole or in part by past generations, and that having been accepted and preserved in whole or in part by successive generations, it has been maintained to the present. Schramm (2004) also asserted that, the Ghanaian institution of chieftaincy is epitomized as a guarantor of cultural authenticity and it is in the discourse of cultural nationalism that the institution of chieftaincy functions as a major cultural symbol.

Although chieftaincy has remained a highly contested institution, it is one traditional institution that most Ghanaians identify with. As Ghanaian chiefs are regarded as custodians of the nation's cultural beliefs and practices, their position as intermediaries between the ancestral spirits and the people they represent makes them sacred figures and their regalia sacred objects (Senah, 2013). Chiefs in Ghana, particularly in the Anlo State are traditionally both the political head and the religious head, and the prohibitions relating to their conduct and mannerisms are all intended to remind them, their subjects and others that, the position they occupy are sacred including their regalia. This belief is the source of the great dignity, respect and veneration with which they are always treated (Oku, 2013).

The chieftaincy institution in Ghana including that of the Anlos is characterised by magnificent display of colourful clothing that are symbolic and portrays the cultural values and heritage of the country. The regalia of Anlo State chiefs have various symbolic interpretations which depicts their supremacy and authority (Gavor, 2015). For instance, the stool regalia of the *Awoamefia* depicts the symbol of office of the *Awoamefia* and the symbol of unity, while *Awadada* insignia of the stool '*Dzengba*' which is a hat made of pelican feathers and '*Adzoyibada*' sword when held up during installation of a new *Awadada* symbolizes peace at home (Kumassah, 2009). Culture cannot be devoid of clothing for the reason that, the importance of clothing transcends cultures, times and geography. Culture is important for every society and like history; it provides the basis to assess the past and to provide a compass for the future. Culture as defined by UNESCO (2008) refers to the language, beliefs, values and norms, customs, roles, knowledge, skills and all other things people

learn that make up their way of life especially 'dress'. Anquandah (2013) viewed culture as a totality of the lifestyle of a particular group of people and also described culture as a psychic fabric, a second skin and an organic component of a nation. Hence, clothes are used to express cultural values and social norms that provide shape and structure to society.

Clothing indicates who we are as individuals as well as the society within which we live, thus the Anlo State chiefs' clothing regalia is interwoven in their cultural beliefs. Clothing as part of the Anlo culture identifies the kind of people they are and where they are coming from. Tijana et al. (2014) stated that, the symbolism of clothing determines a person and what is worn in the broader social and cultural milieu as some anthropologists refer to clothing as 'the social skin' (Gilman, 2002). Clothing is also viewed as one of the distinctive and visible parts of culture with each culture having its unique traditional clothing. It is also culture that decides what, when and how to wear certain clothes and guides its members to interpret the messages communicated through them (Larsson, 2014).

Different cultures have different costumes and fashion history that identify them, from the most primitive to the most sophisticated, using clothes and adornments as a means of communicating their social and personal status (Dzramedo, Ahiabor, & Gbadegbe, 2013); it is the culture of the people that marks them out distinctively from other human societies in the family of humanity. Furthermore, Rovine (2009) indicated that, clothing has long been an important medium for negotiating differences across cultural divides, and also provides a means to absorb distant cultures into familiar frameworks or to highlight cultural differences in order to reinforce cultural identity through

contrast with the other. The Ghanaian culture gives distinctive identity including the Anlo culture, which is expressed in ethnic content and manifests in the humanistic dimension of artistic forms which are elaborated on through clothing. Likewise, Kaiser (1997) affirmed that, the way people create and interpret the meaning of clothing and other tangible objects can vary from culture to culture, and the material objects that substantiate cultural categories and intangible values are linked to the cultural belief system. These make references in distinguishing the various ethnic groups' culture during festivals, social gathering as well as funeral celebrations through their clothing.

Clothing is an integral part of culture and through that most nations have developed because they paid attention to their cultures which comprises local languages, beliefs, religious customs as well as costumes in the mist of modernization (Gyekye, 2003). Clothing within indigenous lanes are transmitted from one generation to another, and these are established through relatively long periods of usage, establishing what is known as clothing customs (Akinbileje, 2014). These indigenous arts and customs are caught in the crossfire between the need to protect and project the Ghanaian unique cultural heritage and the adoption of a perceived modernity (Ross, 2004) which is a key factor in creating identity for ourselves as a country.

With regards to the nature and extent of the impact of modernization, Adeyi (2015) mentioned that it was obvious that the negative effects of the modern society has been much more than its positive effects on Africa's indigenous society. Nevertheless, culture has become synonymous with traditional authority and its related institution in today's Ghanaian society

(Asumadu, 2006) and as such regarded as an important economic asset that can be favourably employed as a marketing feature for the tourism industry.

The institution of chieftaincy has played an important role in the denotation of an African identity as a number of anthropological and sociological studies that have been conducted on the Akan chieftaincy royal regalia (Clarke, 2002; Ross, 1998), have projected the *Kente* design, which has become an integral part of the African-American popular culture. Schramm (2004) also indicated that, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah after he had become Ghana's president readopted the 'traditional' style of clothing being aware of its symbolic significance as a powerful identity marker, of which most of the official portraits depicted him in a *Kente*-toga (a clothing that was formerly reserved for Akan and Ewe royalty).

The Anlo State chiefs' clothing regalia is significant and has various communicative messages to the Anlo State which can be relevant in the promotion of tourism (Gavor, 2015). This comes in the form of the different types of clothing they put on during different occasions. It is in the light of these that this study seeks to investigate the symbolic meaning of clothing regalia of chiefs in Anlo State in the Volta region of Ghana in order to document its cultural and communicative values for future reference.

Statement of the Problem

The Ghanaian chieftaincy is characterized by the magnificent and splendour of classical attributes such as the grand durbars, colourful *Kente* cloths and the skilfully design golden jewellery which has become national symbols. The Ghanaian culture including that amongst the Anlo-Ewes is largely dependent upon oral tradition and many of the historical discoveries of the

Anlo-Ewes still remain in oral tradition (Green, 1998; Guerts, 2002 & Shonsey, 1995). Green cited in Kuwor (2013) stated that, when keepers of African oral tradition die, they literally take libraries of African culture into the grave where it is entombed and lost to the world forever. In addition, observations made through literature research identified lack of comprehensive documentation of the Anlo State chiefs clothing regalia, despite the potential distinctive contribution that can be added to national development and the Ghanaian education on cultural sensitivity.

Any cultural and historical significance embedded in the clothing regalia of the Anlo State chiefs needs to be documented as a way of preserving the cultural heritage before they are defunct through acculturation. For Dzramedo, Ahiabor and Gbadegbe (2013), modernity influences through clothing have been embraced within the cultural and traditional setting of our systems that are mandated to hold fast these indigenous beliefs and practices. These trends coupled with the fact that the present generation continues to adorn foreign clothing poses a danger to us as Ghanaians (Aboagye, 2015), and soon we might lose record of the cultural knowledge of our clothing culture and identity and as such that of Anlo chiefs clothing regalia. However, in the face of modernity, our cultural heritage and identity as Anlo-Ewes needs to be protected so as to teach the younger generation and other cultures.

Most scholarly research done by Ewe historians such as Amenumey (2008), Green (1985), Guerts (2003), Ladzekpo (1995) and Mamattah (1978) on the Anlo-Ewes, have mainly focused on the migration process to the present settlement Ghana, the Afa divinity, music and dance while Gavor (2015), Kumassah (2009) and Shonsey (1995) touched on aspect of the clothing regalia.

It is in the light that this research seeks to fill the gap. The foregoing makes it imperative to conduct a comprehensive study into the symbolic meaning of clothing regalia of chiefs in Anlo State in the Volta region of Ghana so as to help document the symbolic meanings, cultural and communicative values of the clothing regalia of the Anlo State chiefs to serve as a reference point for generation yet unborn.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to examine the forms of clothing regalia and its symbolism used by the Anlo State chiefs in the Volta Region of Ghana.

Research Objectives

The study specifically sought to:

1. examine the factors that influence the forms of clothing regalia used by the Anlo State chiefs.
2. discuss the philosophical and symbolic meanings of the forms of clothing regalia used by the Anlo State chiefs and its relevance in Ghanaian contemporary society.
3. investigate the influence of acculturation on the clothing regalia used by the Anlo State chiefs.

Significance of the Study

1. The findings of the study will help the Anlo-Ewes to have an in-depth knowledge and symbolic understanding of the historical antecedents underpinning the clothing regalia used by the Anlo State chiefs in the Volta region of Ghana.
2. The study will also add to the existing literature on clothing regalia worn by the Anlo State chiefs.

3. When published the study will help the youth of Anlo to appreciate and value their culture on the clothing regalia of their chiefs since clothing indicates who they are as individuals and the society in which they live.
4. The study will also benefit the Tourism, Culture and Creative Art industry in the use of appropriate forms of traditional clothing in the production of movies and stage plays.
5. It will also benefit our traditional rulers to preserve our cultural heritage and to make people become conscious about the sustainability of our cultural values thereby promoting indigenous Ghanaian clothing in order to promote tourism.
6. Above all the study will benefit anthropologists and ethnologists by enriching their knowledge about the cultural values of clothing worn by chiefs in Ghana.

Delimitations

The scope of the problem under study was delimited to the four hierarchy of political authority in the Anlo State. They are *Awoamefia*, *Awadada*, *Dusifiaga* and *Miafiaga* who have authority and rule over the entire Anlo State. The study mainly focused on the clothing regalia used by the Anlo chiefs and its related symbolic meanings which included their clothing and adornments but excluded their throne.

Limitations

The limitation of the study was gaining access to observe certain clothing regalia that were deemed sacred as permission were not granted. Those clothing regalia were described vividly by key informants during the interviews. Nevertheless, the main observation was done during the *Hogbetsotso* festival as

the four main political authorities in the Anlo States were present during the occasion. Also this study did not make provision to include Ewe *Kete* weavers and bead makers to be part of the key informants, as they would have provided more information on the names and the symbolic meanings of the Ewe *Kete* and beads used by the Anlo chiefs.

Definition of Terms

Awoamefia is the paramount chief and the ultimate political authority in the Anlo State.

Awadada is the leader (Commander in chief) of the Middle or ‘*Dome*’ division of the military wing in the Anlo State. He is also the second in command and acts as regent for the *Awoamefia* either on his death, during his incapacitation or when the *Awoamefia* at the time of his installation is a minor.

Dusifiaga is the Right wing divisional chief.

Miafiaga is the Left wing divisional chief.

Clothing regalia refers to the insignia, symbols or paraphernalia possessed by the Anlo State chiefs which includes their clothing, headgears, adornments and other symbols of power like the fly-whisk which they hold or is part of their bodily adornment when acting in their chieftaincy position.

Organization of the Study

This study is organized into five chapters. Chapter one is the introduction which includes background to the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study and research objectives, significance of the study, delimitations, limitations, definitions of terms and the organization of the study. Chapter two reviewed the relevant theoretical and empirical issues underlying the study. Chapter three explains the methodology that was used for the study

which looked at the research design, the population, sample and sampling technique, research instruments, trustworthiness, ethical consideration, as well as data collection and data analysis procedures. The results and discussion of the study are presented in chapter four, while chapter five summarizes the key findings and conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter reviews theoretical issues and empirical studies relating to the study. The study was to investigate the symbolic meaning of clothing regalia of chiefs in Anlo State in the Volta Region of Ghana. The empirical review was done for the purpose of comparing the findings of this study with other related studies to either confirm or rebut conclusions drawn by early researchers. For a better understanding, the review is organised under the following headings:

1. Theoretical Framework
2. Empirical Review

Theoretical Framework Underlying the Study

This section presents a discussion on the theoretical underpinnings of the study. In relation to the purpose of the study, two theories guided the study. These are the symbolic interactionist perspective of clothing and cultural perspective of clothing from a semiotic view point.

Symbolic Interactionism Theory

Symbolic interaction comes from a sociological perspective which was developed in the middle of the twentieth century and continues to be influential in some areas of other disciplines. Symbolic interaction is derived from the American philosophy of pragmatism and was conceived by George Herbert Mead and Charles Horton Cooley pragmatic method to interpret social interactions. Blumer (1969) who was a student and interpreter of Mead coined the term ‘Symbolic Interactionism’ and is considered as the founder of symbolic

interactionism. Symbolic interaction examines the meanings emerging from the reciprocal interaction of individuals in social environment with other individuals and focuses on which symbols and meanings emerge from the interaction between people (Aksana, Kısaca, Aydın, & Demirbuken, 2009).

Principles of Symbolic Interactionism

The Symbolic Interactionism theory according to Blumer (1969) consists of three core principles namely meaning, language and thought.

1. Human beings act towards things according to the meanings that things propose to them.
2. Meanings of such things are derived from or arise out of the social interaction that one has with other humans.
3. Meanings are handled in and modified through an interpretative process used by persons in dealing with the things they encounter.

Meaning: Symbolic interaction theory acknowledges the principle of meaning as the centre of human behaviour. Meaning states that humans act and behave towards other people and things according to the significances they have given to them. It is the human consciousness about their environment that leads to the possibility of meaning. Individuals in any situation are surrounded by myriad characteristics in their environment and such things includes everything that human being may note in the world, including physical objects such as trees, other human beings, institutions, actions such as independence or honesty and concepts. The things extricated from the environment are interpreted by the individual as meaningful symbols and are used in action. For Blumer (1969), humans form meaning in two ways that is, meaning is something attributed to

objects, events, phenomenon, etc. and meaning is a physical attachment imposed on events and objects by human.

Blumer believes that meaning is a condition that emerges as a result of the interaction of group members and not an intrinsic feature of the object (Tezcan, 2005). Therefore, meaning is created as a result of the interaction between people which allows people to produce some facts forming the sensory world. Thus, fact consists of the interpretation of various definitions. Berg (2000) stated that, it is not important whether interpretation are accurate or not but fact are based on personal perceptions which changes in time.

Language: The second core principle gives humans a means by which to negotiate meaning through symbols and interactions that are comprehensible to the mind and which helps in formulating assumptions (Carter & Fuller, 2015). Symbols form the basis of communication and it is symbols that differentiate social relations of humans from the level of communication of animals. In other words, symbols are indispensable elements for the formation of any kind of communication acts. Blumer explained that, people interact with each other by interpreting or defining each other's actions instead of merely reacting to each other's actions. Their responses are not made directly to the actions of one another but instead it is based on the meaning which they attach to such actions. Hence, human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols and signification, by interpretation or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions. This mediation is equivalent to inserting a process of interpretation between stimulus and response in the case of human behaviour. A symbol may be regarded as a stimulus with a learned meaning and value (Redmond, 2015). The person's response to the stimulus is in terms of this meaning and is generally not

isomorphic with its effect upon the person's physical sense organs. This implies that the source of meaning is not intrinsic to the thing that holds it, neither is it a congregation of psychological elements in the person. Instead, meaning arises as a process of interaction between individuals.

Thought: The third core principle of symbolic interactionism is thought, which implies the interpretations that are assigned to the symbols. These meanings are handled in and modified through an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters (Flint, 2006). The foundation of thought is language and thought is a mental conversation about the meanings, names and symbols that requires different points of view. The thought includes the imagination which has the power to provide an idea even about an unknown thing based on known knowledge. The symbolic interaction believes that through interaction with others, the individual understands the common meaning associated with the symbols but may modify and change. The same symbol may have different meanings in different settings, for different individuals depending on how the individual interprets the setting. Blumer also noted how the meanings are as a result of dialogue with oneself. That is, when responding in a particular way to a symbol, the individual notes the symbol and however quickly or unconsciously, develops a particular response. This stage of interpretation between stimulus and response involves some dialogue with oneself, considering what was meant by the symbol, what one wants to portray in a response, how the other person will understand and interpret the response, and what is the most appropriate response in the circumstance.

Symbolic Interactionism Theory in Clothing Context

Symbolic interaction theory in Clothing and Textiles deals with both appearance management and appearance perception, which is a two way interaction. Symbolic interaction theory focuses on social processes related to how meanings are constructed and reconstructed in everyday life and uses the term ‘meaning’ more often in this perspective. Kaiser (1997) explained appearance management as all attention, decisions and acts related to one’s personal appearance that is, the process of thinking about and actually carrying out activities pertaining to one’s looks. Appearance perception on the other hand, is the process of observing and making evaluations or drawing inferences based on how people look.

Kaiser (1997) identified five basic assumptions used to guide the understanding of appearance management and appearance perception.

1. Humans create their own realities, in part, by managing their appearances.

Symbolic interactionist perspective assumes that humans are capable of developing their own ideas and actions (Wood, 1992). Appearance management includes both ideas and actions. Clothing selections in particular, may be altered and modified to fit a given situation or to create a special type of impression. Individuals present their personal information to others through their appearances and convey such messages as age, taste, occupation, philosophy of life, ideas about social conformity and the like.

2. To fit lines of action together, people use symbols.

Symbols have shared meanings for people. They may or may not be physical or concrete, but in either case they do include an abstract component.

Clothing and appearance symbols may be concrete or material objects or they may be stored in memory as an image that evokes meaningful responses. Clothing and appearance are thought of as symbols or ideas that carry meaning. Clothing allows communicating with others (Brym & Lie, 2012). People use symbols to define or represent their realities as they allow for some expression of feelings and for a kind of merging or blending of social experiences. Symbols help to initiate responses, provide cues to behaviour, organise behaviour, focus attention on critical elements in a social situation and permit us to organise our actions as appropriate. Symbols derive their meanings from social context and are sustained in them, that is, they enrich the way we view everyday life (Kaiser, 1997). They serve to provide some degree of continuity and structure from one context to the next as well as to present some variety and change because of the way people are able to manipulate them. By using symbols in this way as they fit their lines of actions together, humans are able to develop a sense of living in a social world that is shared with others. This sense of commonality is fundamental to social interaction.

3. We act toward other people, in part, on the basis of the meanings their appearances holds for us.

This premise was derived from Blumer's assertion that, people act towards objects and other people on the basis of meanings. People use cues provided by their appearances, interpret them and attempt to organize their actions towards others accordingly, and once semblance of meaning of symbols can be agreed on, social interaction can flow along more routine or customary lines. Individuals tend to live in a world of objects or commodities for which they have no responsibility in creating. Clothing and adornment used within a

particular society may have been given a meaning. However, when people have occasion to question these objects or to imagine different uses, new meanings may be constructed. Humans have the capacity to break out of these old routines and develop new frameworks for interacting.

4. Meanings associated with appearance symbols emerge from social interactions with others.

Blumer (1969) noted that, people come to social contexts with a storehouse of meanings and this storehouse is developed and refined overtime based on social interactions. Meanings are not just passively received but each person must learn, discover or develop a meaning on his or her own. This process of discovery is generally linked to social experiences or quasi-social exposure to appearances. A symbolic interactionist perspective accepts change and fluctuation of meanings as normal because humans are creative and dynamic as they attempt to construct meaningful lives for themselves and others with whom they are connected. Within this fluctuations however, there are strands of continuity that seem to influence on-going actions and social order.

5. Meanings are assigned to clothing and appearance, and they are manipulated and modified through interpretive process.

Symbolic interaction explain that, there are often a tentative nature to meaning, in that after a given meaning of a clothing symbol, there is the likeliness to exert some effort in either maintaining or altering this meaning as required by subsequent interactions (Crane & Bovone, 2006.). Therefore, perceived purpose or meaning of clothes in certain contexts is always provisional and subject to revision or reinterpretation. Revision is accomplished through interpretive process or the means by which people define and redefine

clothing and appearance as necessary. The process of orientation in the symbolic interactionist perspective leads us to consider that when people come together with different interpretations some newer or modified joint interpretations are likely to emerge. As individuals are influenced by the images of others with whom they come into contact, individuals construct interpretations and even passively consider ways they could wear similar garments in the same or different contexts. In this way, meaning evolves because of the very nature of social life and human creativity.

A limitation of the Symbolic Interaction is that it is not one theory, but rather, the framework for many different theories. Some authors find the symbolic interactionist framework too broad and general when they are seeking specific theories. As a framework rather than a theory, many scholars find it difficult to use.

The symbolic interactionist theory in relation to the Anlo chiefs clothing regalia are how the Anlo chiefs respond towards their clothing regalia which is based on the meaning they have ascribed to the symbol (clothing regalia). Meaning is given to the clothing regalia based on their consciousness of their environment which is based on their traditions and customs of the Anlo State. The meaning of the clothing regalia are nonverbally communicated as a result of the interaction between the chiefs and the Anlo people during such occasions. As the Anlo people receive the meaning of the symbol, the message derived from the symbol may reflect the true meaning of the clothing regalia. On the other hand, if the message is not properly communicated, the Anlo people can modify and change the true meaning of the clothing regalia based on how they interpret the meaning in their mental thought.

Cultural Theory

The cultural theory used in the field of Clothing and Textiles is interdisciplinary, therefore draws from theories and concept from a variety of disciplines. Cultural theory in this context comes from semiotic point of view as discussed in Kaiser's book, the social psychology of clothing: Symbolic appearance in context.

Semiotics is the study of meaning making, sign process (*semiosis*) and meaningful communication (Danesi, 2004). Semiotics involves the study not only of what is referred to as 'signs' in everyday speech, but of anything which 'stands for' something else. In a semiotic sense, signs take the form of words, images, sounds, gestures and objects (Chandler, 2007).

The Saussurean model

Ferdinand de Saussure's model of the sign is in the dyadic tradition. Saussure defined a sign as being composed of a 'signifier' (sound, object, image, gestures or the like) and a 'signified' (concept). The sign is the whole that results from the association of the signifier with the signified (Chandler, 2007). The signifier which in language is a set of speech sounds or marks on a page and the signified is the concept or the idea behind the sign. The relationship between the signifier and the signified is referred to as 'signification'. This relationship is an arbitrary one which is based on convention in which human beings and or societies have established at will (Sebeok, 2001). Because of this fact, people develop and use codes to help them learn what signs mean. For Saussure, both the signifier and the signified are purely 'psychological'. In addition, he asserted that concepts do not mean anything in themselves, rather they gain their meanings only relationally or differentially. Concepts are purely

differential and defined not by their positive characteristics but negatively by their relations with the other terms of the system (Berger, 2018).

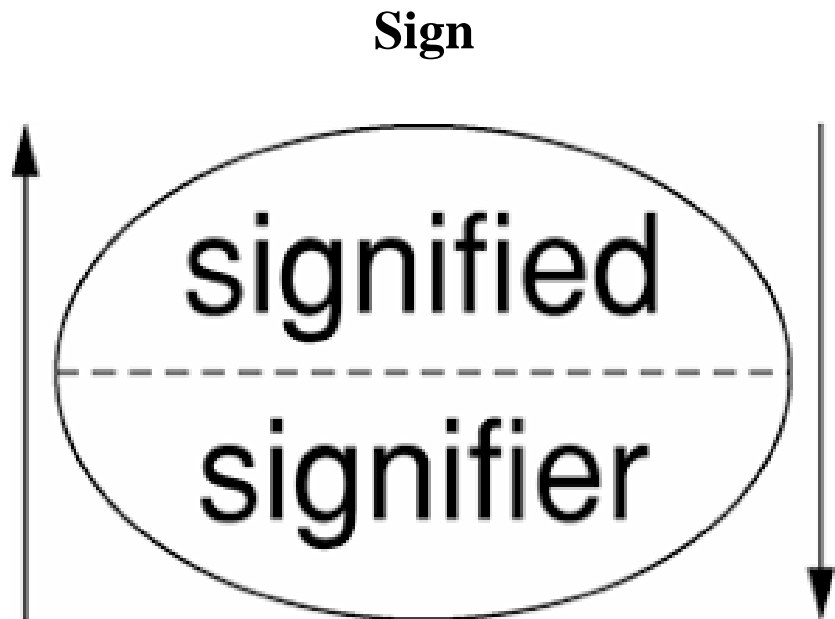


Figure 1: The Dyadic Model of the Sign notion of Ferdinand de Saussure.

A symbol is a subcategory of a sign (Sebeok, 2001). Saussure also referred to the ‘value’ of a sign as being determined by the relationships between the sign and other signs within the system as a whole. A sign has no ‘absolute’ value independent of this context. Saussure used an analogy with the game of chess, noting that the value of each piece depended on its position on the chessboard. Saussure also made distinction between *langue* (language) and *parole* (speech). *Langue* refers to the system of rules and conventions which is independent of and pre-exists individual users while *parole* refers to its use in particular instances. Language is not set of words, but a conventional institution. For Saussure, language is a social institution and a system of values, while speech is its actualization an individual act of selection (Barthes, 2013). According to the Saussurean distinction, applying the notion to semiotic systems in general rather than simply to language, the distinction is between

code and message, structure and event or system and usage in specific texts or contexts (Chandler, 2007).

Cultural Theory in Clothing Context

Kaiser (1997) explained that it has become evident that almost anything can develop cultural significance as it comes to be regarded as meaningful, whether by design or by serendipity. People of all cultures modify their appearances in some way, yet the symbolic systems and codes used to decipher and interpret clothing are likely to vary. In cultural studies, culture is regarded as a kind of 'structure of feeling' (Morreale & Marshall, 2005) or a context within which people experience and evaluate their lives. Evaluation is done using symbolic meanings and codes. Therefore, the social psychology of clothing must consider meaning not only within social contexts, but also within a larger cultural context. The essence of culture from a semiotic viewpoint focussing on how meaning is produced, lies in the interplay between a kind of 'historical' memory (the history of meaning) and social resistance to this memory (Kaiser, 1997). Therefore, cultural perspective enables us to view the meanings of clothing as they have developed over time, as one historical context leads to one another.

Whenever people share a common culture, they are likely to be exposed to a network of tangible products. The buying, selling and wearing of clothes all contribute to signification or the development of meaning associated with cultural objects. Therefore, it is not just the product that results in the process of signification, but also the way people relate to these products and what they do to or with them. The fundamental idea behind cultural perspective derived from

semiotics is that, the perceiver of a cultural message is a vital part of the process of signification (Barthes, 2013). The perceiver is able to make inferences of a cultural products based on their own beliefs and how they relate to the cultural products.

Assumptions of Cultural Theory

Collective values are produced and reproduced through cultural forms. This assumption explains that certain appearances or material artefacts come to represent shared values within a culture. These shared values often are linked to cultural belief systems. Cultural forms then are tangible aspects of culture that somehow represent more abstract ideas that are ingrained within the culture. These forms often refer to social a relation that is, how people relate to one another on the basis of such qualities as gender, social class, age and ethnicity (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004). Some meanings of clothing and appearance symbols are provided and transmitted by culture and we interact with one another within this context of cultural meaning. A cultural form may specifically refer to a kind of abstract, composite appearance or clothing style that is used to socially categorize people.

How cultural forms arises drawing from semiotics view point is that, meaning are regarded as arising from oppositions and contrasts in social life. These oppositions and contrasts might include, youth verses age, masculinity verses femininity, androgynous verses singularity, inclusiveness verses exclusiveness, work verses play, domesticity verses worldliness, revelation verses concealment, licence verses restraint, and conformity verses rebellion (Owyong, 2009). Cultural forms tend to represent or bring to the surface such contrasts. For example, the manner in which gender is socially organised may

be represented by the tendency for women's attire to be less severe than men's attire.

The nature of social relations is subject to change or at least to some cultural expression of tensions based on these relations (Kaiser, 2012). Instabilities may also exist in social identities and fashion provides a forum for expressing these instabilities or tensions thus, bringing them to the surface. Consumers may also respond to collective tensions as they manage their appearance. They contribute to the development of cultural forms by juxtaposing different symbols or transferring symbols from one social identity to another or from one context to another.

Cultural beliefs and values tend to be perpetuated when they are represented on a relatively unconscious level. Ideology consists of the principal beliefs and values that characterize a culture, group or movement. Ideology may be reflected in everyday objects that people do not question and that they interpret with relative ease because of shared meaning. Cultural messages of this sort form the basis of the construction and transformation of cultural knowledge (Kaiser, 2012). These messages are like ideas yet they are expressed through such tangible cultural objects as clothing. Ideological messages deal with more than meaning, they deal with values by defining who or what is more worthwhile. These cultural messages are created through the process of presentation. This process may involve selecting, presenting, structuring and shaping elements of reality by either reinforcing the status quo or creating new meanings.

People have the potential to transform their own realities by manipulating the objects in their cultural worlds. Culture provides clothes and

other tools or objects such as adornments used for appearance management. It also provides images and ideas. However, individuals may use these objects, images and ideas in imaginative ways. Even when one's repertoire of these objects is limited and some of these limitations are based on culture that the individual may reorganise them, find new ways of combining them, juxtapose elements or images that are not often seen together or try out looks in new context. In this way, cultural conventions may be applied in new ways or may be broken or bent. Through individual actions, people make what we commonly think of as 'fashion statement' (Miller & Susanne, 2005).

In terms of appearance perception, people also are able to transform their realities through the means they develop to see the world. Two kinds of perception of cultural images (messages) may be identified as naive and participant. Perceivers are naive in contexts where they are convinced the image observed is a passive picture of reality. In contrast, perceivers are active participants when they are involved in the process of signification. This distinction is important when considering cultural forms that are ideological because these forms are not likely to be hidden. They are out in the open and visible, but they may not seem to be terribly important. An active participant in signification is more likely to become aware of the importance of cultural objects than one who passively endorses reality as it is represented from a semiotic perspective. Hence, it is important to consider contexts in which individuals may be more or less likely to be naive or participant in their perceptions of cultural appearances.

Culture provides abstract pictures or representations of social life. Clothing imagery may be outrageous, fantastic or stimulating to the

imagination. People experience their lives within a larger culture at many levels of experience from the practical to the imaginary. A cultural approach, drawing from semiotics provides a framework for interpreting cultural stories, images, dreams and fantasies that allow people a means for escape or for making sense of who they are and what they are doing (Kaiser, 2012).

Abstract cultural forms may be compared and contrasted with the more specific and concrete clothing styles in everyday life. Although cultural representations of social life may be shared by the public, they are often experienced in private contexts and the experience of being exposed to cultural representations actually become part of everyday life as people interpret cultural appearances. Cultural representations also may provide some ideas for personal appearance management.

People use codes to decipher the meanings of cultural representations of social life. A semiotic approach to cultural representations entails delving into the cultural meanings that lie beneath the surface of messages. This approach also assumes that the world is coded and that meaning abounds in everyday cultural objects as well as in abstract cultural representations. A code is a system of rules of combination and transformation of its elements, and these rules are conventional and culturally established (Mikerina, 2016). A code is not a concrete object in itself, but rather it is an abstract pattern, a type of cultural knowledge that forms the taken-for-granted reality of culture. Clothing stands for something and means something. Clothing meanings are not unravelled by their usage, but by the material things that are correlated to language codes and their meanings are expressed using language (Barthes, 2013). Codes may involve logical relations, associations or networks among clothing and appearance

items. Codes also include the guidelines or culturally provided ways of thinking that enable us to interpret appearance messages similarly to other people. Codes guide the way symbolic materials are patterned so as to shape the creation and recreation of culture. Appearance codes are linked to aesthetics, visual and tactile experiences as a result they are likely to allow for creativity in terms of interpretation. Cultural guidelines underlying the interpretation of messages may be difficult to put into words, when they tap the realm of emotions or feelings rather than tangible rules. Codes can also serve as rules that imply what articles of clothing and accessories should be worn together.

Cultural theory from a semiotic approach in relation to the clothing regalia of chiefs in Anlo State is viewed in terms of their cultural beliefs and practices. The Anlo State chiefs evaluate their lives using symbolic meanings and codes which arise as a result of their beliefs system. The clothing regalia of the Anlo chiefs becomes the signifier and the symbolic meaning given to the signifier becomes the signified. The relationship that exists between the signifier and the signified is the signification and this is based on the cultural beliefs that the Anlos have established. The perceivers (Anlos) are important part of the relationship that exists between the clothing regalia (signifier) of the Anlo chiefs and the symbolic meanings (signified).

Empirical Review

The Anlo-Ewes of Ghana

Based on oral tradition which has been documented by Ewe scholars like Amenumey (1989; 2008), Asamoah (1986) and Mamattah (1978), the Anlo-Ewe speaking people of Ghana who currently live in the south-eastern corner of

the Republic of Ghana settled in their present home around the later part of the fifteen century after a dramatic escape from Notsie in Togo. The Anlo-Ewes trace their origin to the region of Yoruba land *Ile Ife* in Nigeria. They later settled in Ketu, a Yoruba settlement in Dahomey in present day Republic of Benin. In Dahomey, they split into three groups with the first group settling at the bank of the Mono River and named the place *Tado*. The second group also settled between the Mono and the Haho rivers which became Notsie in present day Republic of Togo. The third group settled at *Adele* which later became the Kingdom of Dahomey but then called *Dogbo-Nyigbo* (Dotse, 2011).

At Notsie, the Ewes were referred to as *Dogboawo* due to their earlier association with the settlement at *Dogbo-Nyigbo*. The host King *Adelatorgble* received and treated them well and later married *Mama Asongoe* (a former wife of *Adza Ashimadi* the king of *Tado* and *Amega Wenya's* sister). After his reign, king *Agorkorli* oppressed the people which resulted in many conflict. He imposed his will on the people and generally terrorised them by setting them to a number of impossible tasks to perform. One of the eventful conflicts was when the *Dogboawo* avenged the death of a living man *Aga*, who was alleged to have been killed by king *Agorkorli's* relative. The king executed his own relative to serve as a deterrent to others who committed the same crime. During the funeral rite of *Aga*, some alcoholics bragged about taken vengeance on king *Agorkorli*. They were heard saying “*Miawoe nye Adza fe viwo tso Adzatome, amemakumaku fe hlobialawo*” which literally means “we are the children of *Adza* from *Adzatome*, the avengers for the living”. Unfortunately, the information got to king *Agorkorli* who was so infuriated and made life completely unbearable for the *Dogboawo* (Amenumey, 2008).

The Ewes initiated a secret plan to escape from the unbearable conditions of king *Agorkorli* after scouts had gone ahead to find suitable lands for settlement. They made several consultations with an old man *Tegli* who advised them to instruct their women to throw their waste water against one spot of the wall. The women executed the plan without knowing the reason. One day when the elders found out that the wall was wet and soft enough, they gathered near the wet wall by drumming, singing and dancing. Amidst the jubilation, while the rest of the people of Notsie had gone to bed, the elders of *Dogboawo* gathered including *Tegli* who drew out the ‘*Gligbayi*’ or ‘*Adekpui*’ which is the Sword of Liberation from its sheath, pointed it up and invoked the spirit of the gods and the ancestors and said, “*O Mawuga Kitikata, wu agboa na mi ne miadogo, azo adzo*” which literally means “Oh great God *Kitikata*, open the door for us so that we can walk through it and leave”. With these words, *Tegli* thrust the ‘Sword of Liberation’ into the wet and softened wall and bore a big hole into it (Akyeampong, 2001). The men then pushed the soft wall which fell before them and they escaped by dancing backwards with the women, the sick and children led out first, followed by the elderly, while the energetic youth and middle-aged men stayed behind to continue drumming, singing and dancing. After all the others were gone, the drummers and the few remaining singers and dancers followed them. The last part of the group walked backwards on the exact footsteps of the earlier parties for about two miles so that their footprints might not betray their whereabouts (Amenumey, 2008; Dotse, 2011).

After king *Agorkorli* discovered that the *Dogboawo* had escaped, he ordered a search for them and demanded their return to Notsie. The search party however got confused tracing the footsteps of the *Dogboawo* which always led

them back to the dwelling place of the *Dogboawo* in Notsie. After their escape, the *Dogboawo* people split into three broad groups, which were to populate the northern, central and southern areas of their new home stretching up to the Volta in the West (Ampene, 2012). The southern group were led by *Amega Wenya* and his nephew *Kponoe* (*Kponoe*, son of *Amega Wenya*'s sister *Asongoe*) who was the son of the king of *Tado* who had fled from *Tado* with his father's stool following a succession dispute with his half-brothers after their father's death. *Kponoe* later became *Sri I*, leader and later the first *Awoamefia* of the *Dogbo* group. *Asongoe* also gave birth to a number of girls for king *Adelatorble*, the eldest being *Mama Kokui Wala*, the mother of *Tsatsu Adeladza* who later became the second *Awoamefia* of the *Dogbo* in their new settlement at *Anloga*. This group moved southwards until their leader could no longer move due to old age. Ameevor (1994) account makes us understand that, their leader became very weak and had to be carried in a hammock for the rest of the journey until at a point, when he was lowered to the ground upon his request and there and then, he made this declaration "*Nyea mea Menlo, afiadeke yiyi megale nunye o*" meaning "I have coiled here and cannot move any longer". In similar vein, Kumassah (2009, 36) stated that, "On reaching *Anloga*, *Amega Whenya* made the famous proclamation '*Menlo*' which literally means 'I have coiled' with reference to his advanced age". Clearly, *Amega Whenya*'s exhaustion from the long journey he had had with his people over many years compelled the group to settle at their present home *Anlo*, a name which came out of their leader's curled posture depicting exhaustion. This body posture according to many Ewe historians (Guerts, 2003) constitutes an idea and experience of dualistic phenomena such as freedom and exhaustion, joy and sorrow, humour and grief

and is also recognised as the centre or foetal position signifying the protection of their spiritual and political power (Amoaku, 1975) with which they were able to escape from Notsie. The name is also conceptualised as the rebirth in a new land.

After settling at *Anloga*, *Amega Wanya* and his nephew moved along the sea shore westwards, founding settlements along the way. After many discoveries and settlements, *Wanya's* group reached a sandbar and called it '*kedzi*' which means the top of the sand. It is presently called *Kedzi*. Consequently the group crossed the sandbar and *Wanya* informed his followers, "*Mieva do keta*" meaning they had reached the head or the tip of the sand. Thus, the settlement was named *Keta*. Other groups also split off from *Sri's* party who were his half-brothers, *Adzofia* and *Adzoyi* co-founded *Dzodze*, and *Asem* founded *Mafi-Kumasi*. *Asuma* also settled at *Penyi*, *Eti* settled at *Ave* and earlier group which formed part of *Sri's* party at one time remained and founded *Afife*. *Sri* and his followers took the northern route off the Atlantic coast and settled at present *Klikor* where *Kli* found the settlement. He then continued by canoe through the *Keta* lagoon to settle at *Fiakor* and founded various communities on the northern shore of the great *Keta* Lagoon. The remainder of *Sri's* party went on to find *Kodzi* from where he later re-joined his uncle *Wanya* at *Anloga* to take over his leadership role as king of the Anlo people. Other settlements followed later from additional splits such as *Some*. These are all people of *Dogbo* descent and became part of the southern Ewe (Amenumey, 2008; Dotse, 2011).

The kingdom of Anlo is one of the largest of the Ewe coastal tribes in Ghana which is made up of thirty-six major states. The towns and villages in

Anlo land are referred to as ‘*Anlo Gbota Bla Etor Vor Ade*’, they include *Anloga, Abor, Anyako, Keta, Wheta, Afife, Flawu, Dzelukope, Avenor, Dzodze, Atorkor, Asadame, Woe, Vodza, Srogboe, Kedzi, Tsiame, Atiavi, Denu, Agbozume, Klikor* and *Penyi*. Others are *Whuti, Anyanui, Dzita, Tegbi, Kome, Shime, Ave, Afiadenyigba, Blekusu, Sasieme, Agavedzi, Adina, Adafienu* and *Aborlove*. The seat of the *Awoamefia* is in *Anloga*, which is the traditional home of all the Anlo clans (Kumassah, 2009). These states have been divided into five districts. These are Keta Municipality, Ketu North District and Ketu South Municipality, Akatsi North and South District. The Anlo dramatic escape and subsequent resettlement are commemorated in an annual festival known as *Hogbetsotso Za* thus, migrating from *Hogbe*. At a time when Western style documentation had not started in Africa, they were compelled to store these experience in dance, which included movements, gestures, songs, stories, reenactments, festivals, rituals, religious and political ceremonies, philosophical concepts and names, and these were passed down generations. Indeed, their journey from Notsie to their present home was full of many challenges and experiences that needed to be documented and stored for their younger generations.

Anlo Traditional clans and their functions

The Anlo people adhere to strict traditional practices such as customs, rites and institutions which have become a central theme around which Anlo indigenous knowledge revolves. In that, the continuation of this tradition has become a collective responsibility of individuals, families and the entire state (Kuwor, 2013).

The Ewe term for clan is ‘*Hlo*’ which describes a group of people, male or female, who are believed to have descended from a common putative ancestor. In *Hlo*, there is also the sharing of the same totem and other observances. The clan is the most general level of all Ewe kinship structure which is organized on the system of patrilineal descent. Hence, all Ewes trace their inheritance and inheritable properties through the patrilineal lineage (Gbolornyo, 2009). Anlo-Ewe indigenous scholars such as Ameenor (1994), Amegago (2011), Kumassah (2009) and Nukunya (1997) have documented that every family in Anlo belongs to a special group of identification called *hlor*. Members of ‘*hlo ta wiatoawo*’ (the fifteen clans) are spread throughout Anlo settlements, towns and villages. Although in the olden days, clan membership of others including foreigners, slaves and strangers have been accepted and incorporated. Anthropologist Sandra Greene who did an in depth study on the Anlo-Ewes wrote:

The clan or Hlor is the largest social unit in the Anlo social system and is defined as a group of males and females who observe the same totems and taboos, worship the gods of the particular clans to which they belong and who claim to be the descendants through approximately eight to ten generations of a common putative male ancestor (Greene, 1981, p. 451).

Among the Anlos, the fifteen clans are the source around which the social fabric of the society is woven and every Anlo belongs to one of the fifteen patrilineal clans around which the society is organized (Gbolornyo, 2009). They are *lafeawo*, *Bateawo*, *Adzoviawo*, *Amladeawo*, *Bameawo*, *Ameawo*, *Likeawo*, *Toviawo*, *Kleviawo*, *Xetsofeawo*, *Agaveawo*, *Tsiameawo*, *Dzeviawo*, *Vifemeawo* and *Blu*. The various clans are responsible for the performance of certain

customary rites which are vital to the wellbeing of the members as well as the stability of the traditional state. For instance, the *Adzoviawo* and the *Bateawo* are the royal clans who own the paramount stool that provide the *Awoamefia* of the Anlo State on alternate basis. The *Lafe* clan, founded by *Togbi Wenya*, is the oldest and largest Anlo clan and its members own a large proportion of the Anlo State land. The *Lafeawo* are the priestly clan and the kingmakers who are in charge of *tsifodi* (pouring libation) during Anlo State functions such as the annual *Hogbetsotso* Festival, *Nugbuidodo* (Rite of reconciliation) and *Fiadodo* (Enstoolment of chief). The *Likeawo* have the responsibility of carrying the *Awoamefia* in a palanquin during festivals, while the *Agaveawo* have the sole privilege to be installed as the *Awadada* (the commander in chief of the Anlo State army). *Toviawo* are in charge of firing the first gun shot during wars and also are responsible for punishing criminals under the Anlo ancient justice system called *Nyikofofa* (Kuwor, 2013). The hereditary ritual specialists at the state level are the *Amlade* (founded by *Wenya*'s twin brother *Adedzenyaki*) but the chief priest of the state war god *Nyigbla* is provided by the *Dzevi* who are believed to have brought the god to Anlo from Dangme land west of Anlo (Gbolornyo, 2009).

The Anlo Political Structure

The traditional society including governance and politics of the Anlo-Ewes are described as a centralized one with an official headquarters and a paramount chief. The administrative and political powers and functions of the paramount office are invoked and acknowledged in ceremonial and parasternal contexts that are related to the welfare of the Anlo State as a whole (Avorgbedor, 1994).

The Awoamefia (King of the Anlo State)

The king of Anlo, the *Awoamefia*, traditionally lives in seclusion in the main ritual centre of *Anloga*. The *Awoamefia* which literally means the king who lives in spiritual abode is at the apex of Anlo political authority. *Awoame* is a sacred place associated with political gods and spirits and *Fia* is king (Gilbert, 1982). The *Awoamefia* whose symbol of authority is the '*Fiazikpui*' or '*Fiakpukpo*' (kingship stool or throne) is the supreme political leader, the chief executive and the top judicial officer of the Anlo State (Gbolornyo, 2009). His role is largely ceremonial and sacred, but he has an important practical function as the dispenser of justice. He has many attributes of a divine king. As both king and high priest, he neither appears in public nor goes to war, as he remains at home to perform sacrifices for success in the war. By custom, the *Awoamefia* must not see a dead body since this would spell calamity for his people. As he lived in seclusion, matters came to him through the three senior who had first discussed them with local chiefs under them. Usually, only serious and appeal cases came before the *Awoamefia* (Bluwey, 2000). Conversely, external affairs were communicated to him before they were referred to the chiefs and their subjects. The king was traditionally assisted in his duties and deliberations by three main councils. The *Awalogomefiawo* (military wings council) consisting of the three divisional chiefs and war leaders, *Dufiawo* (the council of chiefs) and *Dumegawo* (the council of elders) represents the fifteen patrilineal clans in the state of which the heads are all normally resident at *Anloga*. In relation to that, Nukunya (1969, 1997) emphasised that, the council of elders appeared to have been the most active of the three partly because, it represented the people

and its members as clan heads all normally reside at *Anloga*, thereby providing a more regular forum for discussion than the military council.

Awalogomefiawo (Military Wings chiefs)

Security among the Anlo-Ewes was a major element in the early history of their settlements. The distribution of the populations on the settlements followed the model of an Anlo-Ewe military culture in which the entire group was divided into three military units for more controllable precision in defence (Ladzekpo, 1995). The socio-political structure of the Anlo State are articulated and presented in three subdivisions (*Dusi*-right wing, *Dome*-centre or forward and *Mia*-left wing). Each subdivision has its own head or chief in which members of each unit would establish their homesteads at the geographical position they would defend in battle. In the Anlo-Ewe system, the *Dusifiaga* leads the right wing while *Miafiaga* leads the left wing. The *Awadada* (war mother) is the commander of the central wing and most senior to the two military divisions. The *Awadada* also doubles as the general commander during war times and is expected to administer all military operations on behalf of the *Awoamefia*. Besides his duties as the central commander, the *Awadada* is the second in ranking and takes charge of the day-to-day administration in the Anlo State and act as *Awoamefia* whenever the *Awoamezi* is vacant (Bluwey, 2000).

Though the divisions were originally military positions, they have been incorporated into the traditional political system. The military commanders have become political heads or chiefs of the communities they led in battles within a centralized state system headed by a paramount chief who is the *Awoamefia*. In the new political culture, the warlike past is only visible in the institution of chieftaincy as mementos of the heroic past or in the regalia of

chiefs as symbols of their royal rights or prerogatives. Presently, the warlike institutions are evolved into institutions of humane and hospitable civilization.

Installation of Anlo chief

Kumassah (2009) explained that the highest and most respectable traditional office in Anlo is that of a chief. He is referred to as *Fia* which literally means vow, swears or pledges to be faithful and loyal to God, the stool, state and the services of the people. The *Fia* in traditional realm is believed to possess two bodies represented in a single unique royal person. He possesses a mortal, immortal, political and mystical body. His immortality is conferred on him through installation rituals. The rites make him an intermediary between the ancestors and the living. The symbols used on and for him during installation sanctify and legitimize the continuity of the royal presence and authority. The stool and the sandals are part of the chiefs' regalia and to appear barefooted in public is considered a taboo which normally results in the destoolment of the chief (Johannes, 2011). These activities are accepted and reinforced by the participation of the general public through procession, the display of stool paraphernalia, the wearing of special clothing and the observation of rituals and sanctions associated with this high office.

Kumassah documented that; the installation of Anlo chiefs precedes some rituals performance which are done late in the night and in the outskirts of the town. After the rituals have been performed, the chief is clad in eight (8) yards of calico and another piece as turban. The use of the white calico expresses joy and victory for successful installation. The *Kakla* a spiritual potent herb is woven into garlands and put on the neck, elbows, knees and ankles of the newly installed chief which serves as spiritual protection during the recession back to

the stool house. Likewise, the installation of the *Awoamefia* elect is preceded by some ritual performance as the cloth worn by the king elect to the ceremonial ground is removed from his body and a brown piece of cloth is tied round his loins. And after he had been seated on the stool, two consecrated native sandals are placed under his feet. The *Awoamefia* now is enrobed in a long flowing velvet gown and a consecrated crown made of dry plaited grass, resembling that of *Nyigblanua* is placed on his head.

Gavor (2015) in her dissertation documented that the *Awoamefias'* clothing comprised the sandals for enstoolment which provide spiritual protection for the king. The sandals are bought by the clan elders whose son is to be enstooled and then sent to Notsie for consecration. Another type of clothing regalia used by the *Awoamefia* is a long garment made of blue-black cotton fabric (*Bishi*) called *Dabawu*. The *Dabawu* is a war garment studded with talisman for protection (Greene, 1985). The *Awoamefia* also uses *Zizikpo*, a walking stick specially fortified for him as the chief priest of the *Nyigbla* shrine. The fly whisk or *Sorshie* is made of a tail of a horse which is an important regalia due to its strength and resilience of the horse and is used as protection. The neckwear of the *Awoamefia* is the *Eshi* made from twisted fibre. It also symbolise the role of the *Awoamefia* as the chief priest of the *Nyigbla* deity.

The *Awoamefia* also uses two types of hats which are the straw hat and the cloth hat. The cloth hat is round made of velvet studded with gold symbols usually closed at the top. The *Awoamefia* is not expected to wear an open hat as it is considered sacred and imbued with powers which could escape if the head is exposed. Gavor however stated that, enculturation has led to the use of open top hats by the *Awoamefia*. The straw hat is in two tiers as the first one is

cylindrical that covers the head and the second looks like a porter knot made of raffia or grass dyed with *Eto* which indicates that he is married to a female deity.

Gavor (2015) also stated that, the *Awoamefia* during the *Hogbetsosto* festival dresses in full regalia which comprises a pair of shorts and jumper worn under the *Kente* cloth. The *Awoamefia* is accessorised with beads, gold necklaces and wrists wears. During his installation and the *Nugbidodo* before the festival, He wears the full *Nyigbla* high priest regalia. The regalia comprise the war dress, raffia or grass hat, the *Zizikpo*, the *Eshi*, and the *Sorshie* which symbolise that he preside the peace-making rites as the high priest of the *Nyigbla* deity and spiritual leader of the Anlos. She further stated that, the regalia of the *Awoamefia* are owned by each individual hence not inherited. The adornments that are of significant in the life of the king are provided by the clan and kinsmen which becomes his personal property. Thus the regalia used by the *Awoamefia* are dictated by the purchasing power.

History of Kente cloth in Ghana

The *Kente* cloth is a very beautiful and unique piece of artistry which is widely known in West Africa and beyond its shores especially in the United State of America. *Kente* is mostly adorned by Ghanaians and other nationals and it is believed to have been originated from the Ashanti's and the Ewes of Ghana. At the end of the 1990s, the history of textiles was debated in the public discourse in Ghana (Kraamer, 2006). The history and origin of *Kente* cloth was debated in the Ghanaian discourse generally on ethnic terms and still remains a controversy. Whiles the Ewes claim to have initiated it, the Ashantis also have a strong view that they are the custodians of the art (Kwakye-Opong, 2011). *Kente* refers to hand woven textile rayon with bright colour contrasts, which are

composed of narrow strips sewn together edge to edge. Today, most of the production of *Kente* cloths are currently concentrated in several villages such as *Adawomase* around Kumasi in the Ashante region with *Bonwire* being the hub while in the Volta region, *Agortime*, *Kpetoe*, *Agbozome* and other coastal villages along the *Keta* Lagoon (Clarke, 2002; Kraamar, 2006).

The origin of *Kente* according to the Ashanti's, is believed to have developed in the 17th Century A.D. which has its roots in a long tradition of weaving in Africa dating back to about 3000 B.C. The origin of *Kente* is explained with both a legend and historical accounts. One version of oral tradition indicated that, two Ashanti hunters named *Ota Karaban* and his friend *Kwaku Ameyaw* observed and learnt the art from the spider weaving its web like the basket (*Kenten*), therefore assuming the name *Kente* (Clarke, 2002). Taking a cue from the spider, they wove a strip of raffia fabric and later improved upon their skill. They reported their discovery to their chief *Nana Bobie*, who then reported it to the *Asantehene*. During his reign, the king approved it as his royal cloth and accelerated *Kente* development as a cloth of standing reserved for very important event. In another version of oral tradition, the art was from the north Ouagadougou now Burkina Faso, with the help of two citizens from *Adawomase*, namely *Nana Sarkodie* and *Nana Amankwa*, they discovered this brand of weaving technique on their usual trade mission to the north of Ouagadougou around the year 1750. *Nana Sarkodie* being a good trader and a prince, decided to go back to Ouagadougou with his friend *Nana Amankwa* to learn the art of weaving. After staying there for so many years they returned to *Adawomase* with the discovery which they brought with them a piece of woven cloth which they named it '*Fufutoma*' the white cloth. As a result of this

valuable achievement by the two sons of *Adawomase*, a special stool *Fufutoma* was created by *Asantehene* to signify the origin of *Fufutoma* designs (Ross, 1998).

The earliest form of documentation of weaving by the Ewes dates back to the mid nineteenth century with the oldest extant *Kete* cloth as a royal cloth for a king now in the National Museum of Denmark (Kraamer, 2009). The Ewes trace the origin of the *Kente* cloth to their journey from Notsie. Ahiagble (2004) reported that, the Ewes were the first people to bring the art from Notsie in Togo or possibly from an earlier site. The eventful journey from that period down to the present day within the Ewe culture, thus *Kete* has become a visual presentation of history, oral literature, philosophy, moral principles, religious beliefs and rules of social conduct. Posnansky (1992) also suggested the origin of Ewe textile from the old city of Notsie, with the existence and use of cloths which is portrayed in traditional costumes of women during various festivals celebrated among the Ewes. The Ewe people especially those from *Agortime Kpetoe* of Ghana also claim that, *Kente* which they refer to as *Agbamevor* had always been their traditional cloth. The name *Agbamevor* is derived from two words *Agba* (loom) and *Avor* (cloth) which was therefore replaced with *kee* and *tee* which were put together as *Kete*. Based on oral history of the people, it is also believed that, far back as the Ashanti's engaged in war with the Ewes, some of their ancestors were held in captives of war, among them were skilful weavers. These slaves were asked by their captors to teach them how to weave *Agbamevor*. In order to break the language barrier and be able to teach Ashanti's the craft, the Ewes employed basic Ewe words such as 'Ke' meaning to press the thread in order to create the shed to pass the weft through and 'Te' meaning

using the reed to press the weft yarn and make it compact, which was corrupted as *Kente*. For that reason, the Ewes believe that the name *Kete* originates from the method used to weave such cloths which is also the same name that has been corrupted into *Kente* (Posnansky, 1992).

Amidst the controversy of the origin of *Kente* and differences in social classification, all *Kente* or *Kete* cloths are worn with pride as well as bodily adornment and object of unity associated with rites of passage, installation of chiefs and queens, and ordination of priest or priestesses and other ceremonial rituals.

Factors influencing the forms of clothing regalia of chiefs

Yarns and its colours

Kente cloth is the most commonly bodily wear of Ghanaian kings, chiefs or queens and presidents (re-contextualized rulers) during installations and swearing-in ceremonies, festivals and other important celebratory state events (Dor, 1992). It is not waned that the significance of *Kente* as a symbol of prestige, gaiety and glamour is evident during community celebrations such as festivals and commemoration of historical events when people proudly wear the best of their *Kente* cloths to recto the spirit of the occasion. The type of yarns used in weaving a particular cloth determine the level of prestige associated with the cloth. Ulzen-Appiah (2005) indicated that in the past, cotton and rayon yarns were strictly woven for the *Asantehene* and the royal house. On the other hand, Kraamer (2006) wrote that textiles of Asante's chiefs and the royal family were woven from costly foreign silks yarns. Kraamer also found out that, from the end of the nineteenth or the beginning of the twentieth century, elaborate Asante's textiles were increasingly woven completely from silk or rayon yarns.

Silk cloth which was reserved for royalty and the wealthy in the society were made of silk yarns which are usually considered the most prestigious and are therefore the most highly valued. A typical example is the *Adwinasa*, an Ashanti *Kente* cloth woven with silk yarns which was preserved for royals (Kraamer, 2006).

In contrast to silk or rayon yarns favoured by Ashanti's, the uniqueness of the Ewe *Kete* is confirmed by its warp and weft yarns which many collectors regard it as the highest expression of African weaving artistry. For Kraamer (2006), Ewe textiles generally remained cotton as it is a savannah plant and its appearance in the Ewe region is to be expected. Today, yarns for weaving comes in a variety of forms and qualities. Cotton, silk or spun rayon yarns are obtained from factories in Ghana and outside Ghana whereas in the past, yarns were either spun from locally grown cotton or unravelled from cotton and silk cloths imported from Europe and Asia (Hemmings, 2002).

Colours are important aspect of the beauty of any cloth. Royal cloth are very important for its rich colours and meaningful designs. The *Kente* cloth which is considered as a royal cloth is made with several colours which can be defined within specific cultural context. The Ewe *Kete* produced have distinctive colours which are quite different from the Ashanti's *Kente*. The striking cloths using just indigo blue and white stripes and checks which are the legacy of older weaving styles practised before they came into contact with the Ashanti's. Older pieces of Ewe *Kete* were dyed with vegetable dyes, given them a muted beauty. Although they are no longer using vegetable dyes, many of the weavers still use hand dyed yarns. To Fianu (2007), the Ewe *Kete* looks dull while the Ashanti *Kente* looks vividly bright. In a related account, Asamoah-

Yaw (1994) mentioned that *Kente* was made of two or several colour combinations in its initial stages with black and white cotton yarns in basic patterns called *Ahwepan* for Ashanti chiefs for ceremonial occasions. Impressive discoveries made later in the years provided colourful threads like yellow or gold and red processed from the *Dua-Sika* and *Kasie* trees respectively, resulting in colourful *Kente* cloths with intricate patterns that have given the cloth its honourable status on the local scene and the international publicity.

Motifs and Patterns in Kente cloths

Motifs and patterns in Ghanaian cloths are rendered in geometric abstractions of objects associated with the intended meaning. Sometimes, some of such motifs and patterns are arbitrarily determined and their forms have no direct structural similarities with the concepts or objects symbolized. Their relationship is primarily conceptual rather than representational. In terms of symbols and meanings, a comparable distinction can be drawn between the Ashanti *Kente* and Ewe *Kete* cloths to project some social norms and virtues among the people. Specifically, motifs in the *Kente* cloth of Akan culture are mostly geometric, while the Ewe *Kete* cloth are of figurative symbols (Rovine, 2001). The Ewe *Kete* cloth is characterised by the unique abstract motifs that are woven unto the cloth. Among the subjects depicted on these cloths are animals such as cows, sheep and horses, human figures, ceremonial stools, hats, trees and flowers, and household objects such as dining forks. In recent times, some of the cloths have included written texts which are quite realistic (Kraamer, 2009).

Beads

Adornment through the use of beads are the most intriguing phenomena of the Ghanaian symbolic culture. Beads in Ghana are associated with the Ewes, Krobos, Gas and other Akan tribes which are considered significant in the culture of these ethnic groups. These ethnic groups have peculiar names for beads. The Gas call beads *Ashinong* while the Adangmes call it *Mue*. The Ewes refer to it as *Dzonu* and in the different Akan dialect it is called *Ahene*, *Ahwene* or *Ahondze*. Beads are worn at different social ceremonies related to puberty rites, marriage ceremonies, child naming ceremonies, funerals and the likes (Anquandah, 2006). Beads are considered to be a form of jewellery and objects for adornment as shown in the Fante word for beads as *Ahondze*. *Ho* means self and *ndze* is derived from *ndzembra* things, thus beads, *Ahondze* means bodily things or adornments (Sackey, nd). Beads are used by both males and females but mostly among the female population, especially around the waist, in the hair, around the neck, wrist, knee and ankles. Beads also help to shape up and broaden a woman's hips, and make her buttocks heavy and also differentiate a man from a woman.

Predominantly, beads are considered to be a form of jewellery and objects for adornment for Ewe royals in comparison to the bold, excessive display of gold amongst the Ashanti royals of Ghana. This according to Shonsey (1995) was due to the fact that the eastern land that the Ewes occupied within Ghana, did not have gold unlike that of the central Ashanti region. Thus, beads took over as a precious object of adornment, particularly amongst the Ewe chiefs and queen mothers. It still remains a challenge to trace the paths from where these particular beads were derived and how they entered Ewe land. The

most direct answer points to the path of exodus the Ewe made from Dahomey (Republic of Benin) to Togo, and then to Ghana. Throughout their years of constant travel and resettlement, it could be assumed that the migrators were not able to bring along many of their possessions, except those that were small enough for them to carry. It is probable that many of the older beads came into the Volta Region in this manner. Collections of Ewe royal beads indicated that the majority of beads that are considered as precious are those that have been altered in some way and others in their original form. Although a few of the valuable beads have remained in their original form, including certain types of shells. At one time the beads were ground, shaped and cut, in order to create a particular desired form. Indeed, the most abundant kind of beads that underwent this type of production was the glass bead (Gott, 2013).

In Ghana, beads made vary in material, shape, size and colour. They are made from a variety of materials such as cowries, animal bones and teeth, coral, stones, coconut shells, glass, sea shells, clay, brass, seeds and wood among others. Some are locally manufactured whilst others are imported. There are many stories about the origin of beads in southern Ghana. In the history of oral tradition, certain beads have been considered to be of miraculous origin, while some from sacred waters or beneath the forest often in the company of native gold. *Abodom* bead is the Akan name for the most precious, reproductively powerful beads. The *Bodom* beads and precious stones are believed to have been found at the point where the rainbow meet the earth. Based on these stories, stone beads can be found after heavy thundering rains and are believed to have been rained down during the storm (Gott, 2013). Other stories about the origin of the *Bodom* beads is traced to a particular powerful *Bodom* ancestress. The

generative power of the *Bodom* was expressed in the proverbial saying, 'One *Bodom* bead in time becomes two'. The reproductive capabilities attributed to *Bodom* beads appears to derive from the supernatural origins in the underground home of maternal earth deity *Asase Yaa* in Akan which is a sacred, hidden realm of fertility and generative power. The reproductive powers associated with the precious beads in the Akan beliefs have made women waist beads a particularly evocative means of signifying and enhancing women reproductive capacities (Gott, 2007).

The *Bodom* beads are also called *Akosu* beads which are very big beads. They are usually made for kings or chiefs and queens. The term *Bodom* means barking beads. It is barking because of the role it plays in the assembly of other beads. It is said to support or enhance the presence of the smaller beads. The process of producing these type of beads are similar to the recycled powdered glass beads. The designs on these beads are generally referred to as *Akosu* design (Avotri, 2009). The origin of the *Akosu* bead in Ewe oral tradition is obtained after rainfall when the rainbow strikes. The *Akosu* is deposited at the end of the rainbow where the coloration and form of the bead consists of rounded and oblong yellow bodies, with a variation of thin red, blue, green and black stripes. It is believed that colours from the rainbow coloured the beads. While some sources still believe the *Akosu* beads come from the rainbow, others believe it merely a myth. Although Ewes are said to not possess a distinctive style of eye bead like the Akans, the *Akosu* bead reveals loose patterns of the eye symbol (Shonsey, 1995).

Another type of bead which is highly priced and mostly used in Ghana is the coral bead or ground bead (*Accorri, Kori, Korli or Aggrey*). This type of bead is associated with supernatural or mysterious origin. Ground beads were said to have been formed within the life giving earth. *Aggrey* beads, originated underground in regions that were rich in gold, with their presence signalled by a spiral vapour issuing from the ground. A person discovering such beads was assured of a series of good fortune. The *Aggrey* beads were mysterious blue-green dichroic beads imported from the Bight of Benin, where they are believed to 'grow in the sea like corals'. Some discoveries made by a Nigerian archaeologist indicated that, the *Accorri* so sought after in the Gold Coast trade originated in Nigeria, as various types of sacred beads collectively known as *Kori* were associated with the Yoruba earth and water deities of fertility and abundance. The mystic powers believed to be possessed by *Kori* beads helped explain Gold Coast peoples' desire to obtain and include *Kori* with their own sacred ground beads and other forms of supernaturally empowered adornment (Gott, 2013).

In the Ewe land, the coral bead is known as *Esui* or *Sui* and it is worn by Ewe royalty because they are considered to be one of the rarest and most expensive kinds of beads. In Shonsey's research on beads as an element of regalia, she stated that the Ewe royalty usually adorn themselves with thicker tubular form of beads which are often slightly ground in order to be strung on a necklace. *Esui* is generally of a red or sometimes pink hue and the consistency of the bead sometimes depends on the area from which it is obtained. This has been attributed to the amount of skill and risk that is involved when an expert diver goes to the bottom of the seabed to collect coral. Despite the different

stories about the origin of beads, the important uses of beads in the life of man makes it an interesting cultural subject worthy of consideration.

Royal sandals

Ahenema is a local slipper used as traditional footwear for most Ghanaian chiefs and queen mothers, royals, elders and the affluent in the society. It is a highly valued and cherished particularly by southern Ghanaians as traditional footwear which commands respect, majesty and authority in society. In the past, *Ahenema* was associated with people of royal descent and nobody dared wore the same *Ahenema* as royals (Frimpong, 2015). *Ahenema* derived its name when the footwear was purposely made for chiefs and few queens, as it was supposed to be named after the king but during the era, the name of the king was not supposed to be mention in vain, therefore decided to name the footwear after the kings children as '*Ahene mma*'. It also has another popular name called '*Chawchaw*' because of the '*chauchau*' sound it makes as one walks in it (Owusuwaa, 2015).

In Ghana, the evolution of the footwear has gone through transformations into what is currently referred to and used as *Ahenema*. Historically, *Ahenema* was initially believed to have originated from the use of leaves as soles and climbing plants as upper, until a more convenient way was introduced which made use of tree backs. The *Ahenema* was gradually improved upon until the discovery of leather from various animals. The soles of the *Ahenema* was made with hides of great animals like elephant and cows, and goat skins used for the inner soles and the uppers. However, antelope skins were used as threads for the sewing of the inner sole to the base. During the era of vehicles, car tyres were discovered as a long lasting material for making the

soles of the footwear than other materials (Asubonteng, Boahin, & Azuah, 2016).

The entire *Ahenema* footwear is categorized into three main parts namely; the sole, the uppers and the nose (Boahin, 2005). The sole or base is historically designed in the form of the numerical letter eight (8) which symbolises stability during its usage. The olden type of base made use of skins known as ‘*Tromoo*’ and goat skins for the inner sole. There are two main types of the sole. They are ‘*Asansan tuo*’ which is the general one significantly designed to bear with a curved shape and ‘*Atine*’ which is being used by the chiefs and is identified by its straight shape. Traditionally, the upper part of the footwear keeps the legs of the wearer firm and the shape of the upper and designs displayed on them determine the name given to the footwear. There are three types of *Ahenema* sandals which are ‘*Chawchaw*’, ‘*Mpaboa tratra*’ and ‘*Mpaboa pa*’. The ‘*Chawchaw*’ is lighter in weight whereas the ‘*Mpaboa tratra*’ has an increased number of layers of soles and the ‘*Mpaboa pa*’ is what the chiefs wear till date. However, there has been additions of gold and silver colours to further enhance the position of the wearer. Another important aspect of the sandals for the chiefs are the symbols on the strips of the upper which are mostly ornamented with gold and silver (Boahin, 2008). Other names currently for the *Ahenema* with different messages are the *Sika futro*, *Obama*, *Gye Nyame*, *Se me kete pa* and *Adepa na nwi wo so*.

The philosophical and symbolic meanings of the clothing regalia of chiefs and its relevance in Ghanaian contemporary society

Symbolism has been defined as the process of communication that makes of visible signs, images or objects to represent abstract phenomena such as concept, ideas, beliefs or values. Ghanaian symbolic representations are taken from human and animal behaviours. Symbolic interpretations and meanings are therefore derived through the associative connection of these art products (Ayiku, 1998). Symbolism of the Ghanaian cloth is created not just to please the eyes but has underlying symbolism which actually takes its root in the people's beliefs and value system. In the African belief, cloth goes beyond mere covering of the body to prevent exposure but rather, it has inherent aesthetic in its symbolic usage, motifs and patterns, colours and the communications of the cloth (Omatseye & Emeriewen, 2014).

Symbolism of Kente/Kete names

Clothing in Ghanaian cultural context helps to communicate the social and economic status of the wearer. Ghanaian chiefs predominantly dress to portray their status and economic strength among their subjects in the society. They are usually distinguished with rich cloths and unique styles not used by the ordinary citizen.

Kente in its cultural context of usage is more than just a cloth. To many Ghanaians, the meaning of *Kente* goes beyond its aesthetic appeal but rather exist in its symbolic and useful values as Adjaye (1997) described it as 'communicative capacity of cloth'. *Kente* is a visual representation of history, oral tradition, philosophy, religious and ethical beliefs, social values and political thought. In quintessence, cloth in this context is a nonverbal means of

communication that is well understood by those who use it. Investigations of the Ghanaian *Kente* cloth have gained scholarly focus by writers like Ahiagble (2004), Amoako-Attah (2007), Clarke (2002), Fianu (2007) and Ross (1998), and they have discussed the origin, names, colours, meanings and significance of some *Kente* motifs and how these philosophies are proverbial in building hope and confidence of the wearer. All the writers asserted that *Kente* is a woven material of multiple colours used for ceremonial occasions and each pattern has a name and the message that it conveys.

The Ashanti *Kente Abrempong-ntoma* used during festive occasions easily identifies Ashanti paramount chiefs, while the *Kyemea Kente* was reserved for queen mothers. This type of *Kente* cloth which was originally reserved for royalty and limited to special social and sacred functions was to signal subjects about the mood or social prominence of royals. *Kyeretwie* means the ability to capture a leopard. The name suggest a distinctive power, a strong attitude signifying the might of a great ruler. Ayiku (1998) explained that in the past, the cloth was solely worn by the *Asantehene* or by other chiefs on his permission. The cloth symbolises courage, valour, exceptional achievement and inspiring leadership. *Kyeretwie* combines all the basic designs and patterns and is the most splendid and expensive yet the least popular. This is because it's never produced on sale, rather woven on state commissioned by specially selected weavers for great chiefs. Another type is the *Toku kra toma* literally means *Toku* soul cloth. The cloth is designed and named to commemorate the soul of a warrior queen mother of that name, who was defeated and executed in battlefield with Opoku Ware. The cloth commemorate that historic event and honours the soul of the queen mother for her bravery. In the past such cloth will

only be worn by royalty and people of high ranks during very sacred ceremonies in which the spirits of ancestors are venerated. The cloth symbolises courageous leadership, heroic deeds, self-sacrifice and spiritual vitality and rebirth (Amoako-Attah, 2007).

Sika futro means gold dust (Clarke, 2002). The predominant use of intricately textured patterns in yellows, orange and red replicate the visual characteristics of gold dust. The cloth symbolises wealth, royalty, elegance, spiritual purity and honourable achievement. Consequently, Asamoah-Yaw (1994) reported that in the past, the *Abusua ye dom Kente* cloth was worn by Ashanti kingmakers agitating for the removal of a stubborn chief. Other cloths with similar characteristics include *Emaa Da* which literally means “never seen its likeness before” symbolises novel creativity and knowledge from experience, *Obaakofoo Mmu Oman* symbolises democratic rule (Amoako-Attah, 2007; Asamoah-Yaw, 1994).

Ampofo-Anti (2010) indicated that all Ewe cloths are considered as ‘talking cloth’. Ewe hand woven cloths are *Kete* and a type of Ewe *Kete* called *Adanuvor*. Ayiku (1998) described *Adanuvor* as a hand woven cloth which is as a result of imaginative and creative thinking as well as effective manual dexterities. These cloths teach the community about its history, culture and everyday values. Each Ewe *Kete* cloth has a unique name and its meanings are derived from historical events, individual achievements, proverbs, philosophical concepts, oral literature, moral values, and social code of conduct, human behaviour and certain attributes of plant and animal life (Ahiagble, 2004). A type of Ewe cloth called *Fiawoyome* which means, the chiefs’ retinue or second to kings or next to royals derived from ‘*ma tae manor fiawoyome*’

simply saying, “Let me wear it and follow the chief. It refers to the ability of the chief to protect and see to the survival and continuity of the community (Ayiku, 1998). Chiefs’ retinue wore this cloth in the past to identify themselves from other people in the palace. The designs represent social security, achievement, sustenance and progression. The Ewe *Kete* is also associated with names and meanings such as *Akpedo* meaning unity or togetherness which explains a popular Ewe proverb “two heads are better than one, or one tree does not make a forest”. This old adage symbolises unity and peace and thus expresses the social value of collectively sharing the wealth and knowledge created by individual members of the society who are bound together by their close relationship (Kwakyee-Opong, 2011). *Gbadegbenyo* means “the happy days are gone”. The European Trans-Atlantic slave trade eroded the peace and tranquillity enjoyed by their ancestors, which brought bitterness and separated homes and communities. This cloth therefore symbolises the unity, peace and self-sufficiency which their forbearers once enjoyed as one people with a common ancestry and destiny. *Lorlorwuho* means ‘love is precious’. This cloth is one of the most cherished items used during marriage ceremonies, and always included in paying the bride price to signify love and respect for the bridegroom. It represents love, humility and perfection. *Nlornlordzanyi* literary interprets that ‘writings have come to stay’. This cloth promotes the system of governance where the traditional leaders corporate with the offices of governmental bodies to establish by-laws and regulation to ensure good governance. It therefore represents authority, development and patriotism. *Babadu* literary means termites have eaten. The cloth appears like termites have destroyed it and reaffirms the proverb ‘death is inevitable. The Ewe *Babadu* design creates

awareness on the inevitability of death for people to be retrospect in life. Death can come at any time so people should be mindful of that and plan their lives well. *Wohatsi Nata* means ‘you too can wear it’ and it symbolises contentment and beauty (Kwakye-Opong, 2014).

Symbolism of motifs and patterns

Oftentimes Ghanaians express their world in symbols. These symbols according to Dzobo (2001) serve as sources of insights into the African orientations to life. The African philosophy of cloth is replete with symbols which communicate the thoughts, beliefs and values of the people. In other words, symbols are used to communicate complex knowledge, thus bringing to bear the rich cultural African traditions. The motifs and designs in the cloth essentially express the African sentiments. Motifs and patterns are peculiar to different cultures which identify with their leadership, status, sex and carry particular names. It is this symbolism that is associated with the cloth that makes the motifs in the African cloth quite significant.

Symbolism of Kente motifs and patterns

Notably though, all *Kente* cloth irrespective of their origin in the Ghanaian culture have peculiar names and meanings for the motifs and designs. Such names and their meanings come from the moral values of the people, oral tradition, philosophical concepts, proverbs, individual achievement, and attributes of humans. In essence, the *Kente* cloth and the life of the people symbolically reflect each other (Omatseye & Emeriewen, 2012). Motifs and patterns in *Kente* cloths are generally created by weavers who claim to have obtained them through inspirations, dreams and during contemplative moments in their communion with the spiritual realm. At other times, the names of motifs

are given by the basis of the design arrangement of the warp and weft of the cloth. Sometimes kings and elders may ascribe names to cloths that they specially commission. The Ashanti *Kente* cloth with the sun motif *Owia* also symbolizes life giving energy, cosmic power, divine power, advancement and progress while the zigzag pattern *Nkyimkyim* indicates prudence, balance and vigilance in pursuit of a successful life (Arthur & Rowe, 2001). A *Kente* motif *Adweneasa* which was exclusively made for royals and made popular in the 17th century literally means “all the motifs have been exhausted,” or “completely explored”. This motif exemplifies a conscious critical aesthetic evaluation of the design that occurs in the creative imagination of *Kente* weavers and reflects various degrees of their creativity. This maintains that the creative piece is the best ever made therefore second to none. Others are *Yenni Hene Kwa* which literally means it’s not easy to be chief or king (Adler & Nicholas, 1992).

Traditionally, the Ghanaian *Kente* has always had its designs or weaving pattern expressed in proverbs. This proverbial pattern expresses symbolically, the pinnacle of an artistic weaver. In the Akan culture such patterns declared the weaver a master of his art, which is indeed a prestigious status. The *Kente* pattern *Aberewa ben* took its root from the wise saying “a wise old woman symbolised wisdom and maturity”. Another notable *Kente* proverbial pattern is the *Pepe* meaning, “the balance of the weights of judgements knows no shame”. In all of these, the proverbial patterns of the *Kente* cloth have implication for the wearer as well as the status. It is on record that the largest known *Kente* cloth measuring 12 feet by 12 feet is *Tirkor nko Adjina* meaning “one head cannot go into council”. This cloth was presented to the United Nations by Ghana’s first

President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. The symbolism in a cloth of this nature is a reflection of its proverbial name and meaning (Omatseye & Emeriewen, 2012).

Adinkra symbols

The *Adinkra* cloth is derived from Akan word ‘*nkra*’ which literally means, “To bid farewell” or “to say goodbye”. *Adinkra* symbols are traditional motifs, logos or images that symbolizes indigenous Ghanaian symbols or proverbial expressions (Ventura, 2012). They are visual representations of strong beliefs that are held on to by the Ashanti’s for many generations. Dzobo (2001) explained that, the *Adinkra* symbols convey the way of life of the Ghanaian people and also serve as a communicative tool. Nevertheless, the messages in the *Adinkra* cloths reflect what the motifs represent in the Akan culture. The Ashanti’s link such messages to the soul, with its source from the gods. The use of *Adinkra* motifs were usually done for the production of special type of cloth ‘*Adinkra* cloth’ which was originally used as a traditional mourning cloth for royals (Danzy, 2009). For instance, the motif named *Owu atwedee* done artistically symbolises “the ladder of death, everybody will climb someday to go to Supreme Being”. Typical among the *Adinkra* cloth is one with the motif, *Akokonantia ennkum ne ba*. This is reflective of the Ghanaian saying that “the hen does not tread upon its chicks”. This design is symbolic of a king as royal who protects his subjects. There is also the *Adinkra* motif, *Nkonsonkonson* meaning link or chain. This is derived from the Akan wise saying that human is linked in both life and death. An expression that says that those who share common blood relations never break apart (Adom, Asante, & Kquofi, 2016). This is quite symbolic in the human relationships among the Ghanaians.

Symbolism of Ewe symbols

The symbols used by Ewes are also derived from their proverbs. They are symbols reserved for religious purposes as well as those reserved for the traditional rulers. These symbols are used by royals, traditional rulers, elders and the people within the community. A particular interesting and distinctive type of Ewe woven piece named *Adanuvor* has motifs inserted into the weave structure which features a rich variety of weft float inlaid pictures, often on a plain silk, rayon or cotton background. Ulzen-Appiah (2005) indicated that, the motifs have highly symbolic names and essentially too, the designs and colours put together tend to portray a variety of implied concepts. Worn in the past by kings and people of high status and wealth, the *Adanuvor* cloth symbolises superior craftsmanship, royalty and creativity. For instance, a type of *Adanuvor* which has twenty four small squares with each symbolically referring to the twenty four days used by their ancestors to avoid the pursuit of King *Agorkoli* at Notsie in Togo during their migration. It further explains that the various symbols in the cloth suggest that, even as people are entangled with the numerous challenges in life, balance can be sought through vigilance and prudence (Tamakloe, 2016). Another type is the *Fiayi* which is a symbol for chiefs literally means “the royal sword” and is seen as a symbol of authority and justice. It is derived from the proverb ‘*Nukoe wu ame wotso fiayi sea atie*’ which means circumstances compel one to cut a tree with a royal sword. The symbol is used to teach that there are certain circumstances in life that do not require the same solutions every time but might require going the extra mile to use the impossible to solve whatever problem. *Fiazikpui* which means chiefs’ stool is derived from the proverb *Ziga lolo menye fia o*, which literally means “the

possessor of a big stool is not necessarily a king”. *Adzoya* means chiefs’ umbrella or Parasol comes from the proverb *Xexi menoa kekea yiazu o* which literally means “An open umbrella is not taken to a grove” (Tamakloe, 2016). An umbrella design also establishes the prestigious position of the wearer as one who is capable of providing security for the people. This type of design is usually worn by traditional leaders, signifying that the subjects under their rule are protected by their wise council. It is used to sensitize the people on the need for governance as a required way for the people to be guarded and protected with the rules and regulations of the land. The design is therefore created for the paramount chief of a traditional area to project his authority and supremacy over the whole area (Kwakyee-Opong, 2014).

In Ewe *Kete*, Ahiagble (2004) brought out the cultural symbols and their meanings in some selected *Kete* cloths. The Ewe *Kete* abounds with proverbial symbolism of both animate and inanimate kind. It plays a vital role in adorning the respected during traditional rituals, rites of passages or other such milestones. The cloth is imbued with ancestral spirituality and reflects ones wealth and status. Among the animals that populate the Ewe *Kete* are punctual butterfly, chameleon, crocodiles joined at the back, crabs of determination, bitter scorpions and birds of merriment. The mighty elephant emblem in a *Kete* cloth symbolises successful leadership suggested by the proverb “No one follows the elephant in the bush and gets wet by the morning dew” (Amate, 2011). While the crocodile’s connotes with invincibility and danger, it is apparent upon seeing its thick skin and fearsome jaws. The amphibian nature of the reptilian provides human with insights on which to reflect. As the saying goes, “Crocodiles do not drown in a river no matter how deep the river is”. This

means that, one can prevail even in the most difficult circumstances. This also denotes that no problem is too difficult to drown a person, and this symbolises endurance, enlightenment and confidence. Another motif is the gecko who silently lingers in the most secret places or rooms. The gecko represents and calls for silence. A gecko symbol on a cloth teaches us to be mindful of where we tell our secrets and to whom (LeVine, 2015). The chameleon is a symbol of patience and versatility. The world is a place of change and the chameleon with its careful strides, manipulate colour and implores us to change with it. This teaches that the mere observation of another specie adaptation for survival can have a positive effect on our own. The crab motif is also created to denote firmness or determination. The notion is that when a crab gets hold of something, it holds it with all its strength and will never let go, even under severe forceful circumstances. In this regard, a person must get a proper hold of life, ever determined to even fight with the last drop of his blood. The scorpion design woven in the cloth communicates awareness. The scorpion is a dangerous animal that favours nobody. Its sting does not eliminate close friends, consequently society is cautioned against close associates especially friends, because they are closer to us and thus know our innermost secrets, that when revealed might cause our total destruction. Thus, the Ewe *Kete* is a compelling case of how animals necessitated the development of the human societal structure. Likewise, the human brain can modify the behavioural and physical traits of animals into tools of social governance as demonstrated through proverbs and translated into symbols on cloth (Ahiagble, 2004).

Symbolism of colours

Symbolism of colour in the Ghanaian setting is often understood in the cloth usage and the purpose of the occasion. Colours of the *Kente* cloth has its visual effects as well as its underlying symbolic meaning. For instance the colours of African Union which focused on the association of the colours red, yellow and green are used in today's most popular *Kente* pattern, *Oyokoman* (Berzock, 2000). It is also evident that red is generally worn for funerals for royals as in the case of funeral celebration of *Torgbui Adladza*, the late *Awoamefia* of the Anlo traditional area (Akwetey, 2007).

In the weaving of the *Kente* cloth, when colours of yarns are combined in peculiar way, they tend to reflect the significance of the cloth. A weaver's choice of colours for both weft and warp designs may be dictated by either tradition or by individual aesthetic taste. Also colour symbolism may be determined by gender differences, tradition, individual aesthetic appeal and the occasion. Among the Ewes, colour is a representation of beauty and its symbolic usage. Atiase (2012), Ayiku (1998), Ofori-Ansa (1993), Omatseye & Emeriewen (2012) and Tamakloe (2016) have explained colours used in the Ghanaian setting.

White derives its symbolism from the white part of the egg and from a substance Kaolin which is a type of white clay with fine texture. It is mostly worn by the priestesses, diviners and those who assist in rites such as purification rites, sanctification rites, healing religious practice to signify their contact with divine entities and during festive occasions. In some situations, it symbolizes contact with ancestral spirits, deities and other unknown spiritual entities such as ghosts. White is a sign of joy, virtue or purity, sanctity, spirituality as it is a state of

being without blemishes, signifying faultless of the spirit of God. The white cloth is normally known among the Ewes as *Klala*. When white is combined with either green, yellow or black, it expresses spirituality, vitality and balance. White can also be used during funerals for people who died at old age.

Silver is associated with the moon which represents the female essence of life. Silver ornaments are usually worn by women and are used in the context of spiritual purification, naming ceremonies, marriage ceremonies and other community festivals. It symbolizes serenity, purity and joy.

Black is associated with colour of charcoal or the hard lustrous black wood of the ebony, a tropical African tree. The characteristics of the black colour is imagined in terms of the darkness of the night with its attendant hidden immoral activities of humans as well as myriad of nocturnal spiritual and mystical entities. It represents extreme vitality, old age and maturity since it is believed that new things get darker as they mature and physical aging comes with spiritual maturity. Black symbolizes an intensified spiritual energy, communion with the ancestral spirits, antiquity, spiritual maturity and spiritual potency. It is used to represent the mystery of death and the gloom or state of melancholy and depression it brings with it. Black is used to signify things that belong to the past, old age and history. It is also used to mark all royal relics and other objects of history. An example is the blackening of state stools dedicated to royal ancestors, war booties of the past blackened to show that they are object of history. The Akans and Ewes blacken most of their ritual objects to increase their spiritual potency. Content of talisman worn as charms for protection against evil forces and wild animals are said to have include some black powder prepared from herbs and other items believed to have possess strong spiritual

powers. Black is popularly used as a funeral colour to signify sorrow, grief or sadness. Black overshadows other colours, thus prevents them from being prominent and effective. It is used to tell people that whatever is done in secret would one day be revealed.

Grey colour derives its symbolism from wood ash. The grey colour is used in rites of healing, spiritual cleansing to recreate spiritual balance when spiritual blemish has occurred and it is also used in rituals for protection against vindictive spirits. It also signifies a state of degradation or degeneration as in old age or ill-health.

Red represents blood which symbolises state of alarm, danger, unrest, fear, anger, hatred, aggression, violence and condition relating to death, mourning, calamity or disaster and sacrificial rites. It is also used to symbolize seriousness, heightened spiritual or political mood. Red worn to political meetings by an individual is largely considered to be the colour of death, loss, sadness or dissatisfaction.

Brown is considered the colour of the earth and soil which provides the grounds for plants to be planted for human survival. It is used to signify new beginnings and opportunities. It symbolises decay, a state of deterioration and rottenness. It represents ultimate end of life and the return of mortal remains to the soil. For this reason, the brown colour in its various shades is commonly used in mourning the dead.

Maroon has a close resemblance to red-brown which is associated with the colour of Mother Earth. Red-brown is usually obtained from clay and is therefore associated with healing and the power to repel malevolent spirits.

Purple is viewed in the same way as maroon colour. It is considered as earth and used in rituals and healing purposes. It is associated with the feminine aspect of life and is worn basically by females.

Pink colour is associated with the female essence of life. It is viewed as red, rendered mild and gentle and therefore associated with tenderness, calmness, pleasantness and sweetness. In the Akan social thought, these attributes are generally considered as an essential aspects of the ideal woman.

Green symbolizes growth, strength, productiveness, affluence, vitality, prosperity, fruitfulness, fertility, wealth, good health and spiritual rejuvenation or cleansing. It is also associated with vegetation which provides one of the basic necessities of life, planting, harvesting and herbal medicine. Tender green leaves are usually used to sprinkle water during purification rituals. The Ewes, Gas' and Dangme people adorn newly installed royals and officers of the royal courts with green *Korobo* which signifies the beginning of a new life. *Korobo* is an aromatic plant preparation in the form of myrrh used as a body paint to signify the beginning of new life. Young girls also wear green to signify newness, freshness and puberty.

Blue is seen as the colour of the sky and water, the abode of the supreme creator. It is therefore used in a variety of ways to symbolize spiritual sanctity, good fortune, holiness, joy, virtue or purity, peacefulness, harmony and love related ideas. It also signifies a state of being serene, calm and tranquil. It stands for fidelity and female tenderness and other attribute pertaining to love and affection. Its association with water renders the blue colour as a symbol of fertility of the earth, humans and animals hence life.

Yellow is associated with the yoke of the egg, ripe and edible fruits and vegetables, and with the mineral gold or with the beauty and richness of colour of the fat of a chicken. It is used to signify purity, value, preciousness, beauty, royalty, wealth, spirituality, vitality, productivity and fertility. It also connotes riches, plenty and prosperity of individuals and states. It symbolises gorgeous, pageantry, gaiety, pomp and contentment. In some spiritual purification rituals, mashed yam is rendered yellow with oil palm and served with eggs.

Gold derives its significance from the commercial value and social prestige associated with the precious mineral. Gold dust and gold nuggets were used as medium of exchange and for making valuable royal ornaments. It symbolizes royalty, wealth, elegance, high status, supreme quality, glory and spiritual purity (Edusei, 2006). To Ashantis gold represents wealth, affluence and prominence, therefore it is mostly reserved for traditional leaders. For instance to proof the economic viability of the *Asantehene*, he is mostly dressed in gold coloured *Kente* cloths.

Uses and symbolism of beads

The colour of beads, their shape, size and the materials of which they are made from are all imbued with deep meanings which enable the beads to speak volumes. Beads often depict a deeper and more meaningful message than the mere aesthetic beauty they often portray. Beads represent symbol of link between heritages, creativity and change (Asala, 2015). Throughout the years, beads have been used for different occasions and purposes which have different symbolic interpretations. Beads have played important role in the beliefs and practices of sympathetic magic, love and fertility charms. Africa, the centre of ancient civilizations has a lot to contribute to the development and use of beads.

They have been used throughout ages and in virtually every culture not just for adornment but also to express social circumstance, political occurrences and religious beliefs as a form of currency or as symbolic embodiment of curative powers (Amenakpor, Donkor, Adu, & Horsey, 2013).

Beads can be used to determine the status or the rank of a person in a society. Among the Ewes, a person who has distinguished himself by means of great achievement abroad, in war and or in recent times after successful completion of studies overseas is welcomed with a string of precious beads (Sackey, nd). It has been observed that in respect to the southern part of the Gold Coast, those of the highest distinction wore on their arms and necks, strings of *Aggrey* beads. Beads worn by chiefs are different from those of their subjects. Among the Gas and Dangmes, chiefs adorn themselves with very expensive yellow beads displaying their wealth. Shonsey (1995) indicated that formal ceremonies such as the *Hogbetsotso* festivals of the Anlo-Ewes are regarded as the special moment by which Anlo chiefs and queen mothers put on a pedestal for their subject to view. To that respect, premium is placed on appearance and it is the time in which dignified individuals display their wealth, inheritance and prestige. One of the distinct types of royal beads known in Ewe are *Blotsi* and *Esui*. The coral beads known as *Esui* are worn by Ewe royalty because they are considered to be one of the rarest and most expensive kind of beads. The majority of chiefs and queen mothers choose to adorn themselves with two or three strands of beads around their neck or wrists. However, those of higher ranks showed their elevated status by displaying more strands of beads than the other chiefs and queen mothers, and based on the quantity and types of beads, the community is able to determine the importance of that individual.

Again, Anlo chiefs must not upscale the dress of their paramount chief or a chief of a higher rank. In the past, if a chief happens to overdress a higher standing chief, the result could get a person into serious trouble sometimes even death. This concept has remained an integral part of the Ewe culture.

Again, traditional priests in most southern Ghana are often recognised by the manner in which particular beads are worn. They usually wear flat, rectangular white bone beads as a symbol of their office. An Akan officiating priest wear three precious beads tied below the knee or a bandolier of tiny red bead, while Ga priests wear a string of black round beads and white flat beads as their priestly insignia (Sackey, nd).

Beads were also used in the slave trade in the Gold Coast and their economic value was high as slaves. A necklace of coral beads will cost as much as the value of seven slaves. Also Fantes preferred the plain yellow bead to the blue and yellow for which they give double the weight in gold. It is also known that from the fifteen century onwards the Bono people exchanged gold for the *Bodom* beads.

In most Ghanaian societies especially in southern Ghana, beads are used during the rites of passage. Women use beads to evoke femininity by wearing beads on significant parts of the body. Waist beads are worn as a piece of intimate adornment and they are appreciated very much by some men as an erotic adornment. Waist beads may be composed of one or several strings and may be in different sizes. Among the Dangmes and the Ewes, small strings of white beads are worn as necklaces and wrist bands by nursing mothers during the first three months to depict victory over any misfortune that would have occurred in the process of conception and child birth. On the other hand, a brown

or black string of the same type of bead is worn by a woman who has lost the husband (Asala, 2015). In the Dangme and Ewe culture, a baby is welcomed into the world by the paternal grandmother by giving a bead bracelet. This type of bead is usually one medium sized *Koli* bead, strung on a cord together with a gold nugget and this is usually worn as a bracelet by the baby. Avotri (2009) explained that, the *Koli* bead was used in the naming ceremony of a child in the Krobo land which signifies the expectation of the child to grow and become useful to the family and the society. Hence, the colour blue symbolises wealth in the Krobo land which is the colour of the *Koli* bead. Strings of beads are also worn around the waist and the knee which is believed to help shape the waistline and the calves of the wearer. They also help to monitor the growth of the child when the child outgrows the beads. The waist beads of babies also serve as support for cloth napkins worn by babies. Natural seeds and white plastic beads are also worn by twins in the Ewes and Dangmes cultures to distinguish them from other people in the society. A surviving twin will wear white beads when the second twin is being mourned.

Beads are also used during puberty rites such as *Bragoro* of the Akans, *Gbotowowo* of the Ewes and *Dipo* of the Krobos. The Dangmes, especially the Krobo families purchase and keep an heirloom of beads which they use for their females in the family after they have gone through the puberty rites (Amenakpor, Donkor, Adu, & Horsey, 2013). After a girl's first menstruation, she is isolated for a period of training on home keeping, child bearing and communal responsibilities. At the end of the orientation, the young woman is adorned with colourful beads around her waist, neck, wrists, elbows, knees and ankles. During traditional marriages both the bride and the groom are adorned

with beads even though the bride is more adorned than the groom. Family members as well as friends attending the marriage ceremony also wear beads. The final rites of passage which is death also calls for the use of beads. Beads are used to decorate the dead when laid in state while some also use it to bury their dead. The body laid in state is decorated with the finest beads around the neck and wrists. It is also believed that strings of beads are put around the waist of the dead to serve as a support for a cloth napkin which helps to absorb the fluid being discharged by the corpse. Beads are also used to show the relationship between people in societies. Some beads worn by mourners show the relationship with the deceased. Even though dark coloured beads are used for mourning, parents who have lost their child for the first time may wear white beads and relatives of the person who has reached an age to be venerated may use black and white beads with black and white attire (Gott, 2013).

Beads are also believed to have some powers imbued in them. European accounts from the late fifteenth through eighteenth centuries indicated a wide spread practice in Gold Coast societies of wearing supernaturally charged gold and beads as a means of personal protection and pleasing their deities (Gott, 2013). Older women are often accused of transferring witchcraft to younger ones through strings of beads put on their waist or wrists. In the same vein, oracles and diviners throw beads to foretell, warn and promise clients of their future. In the Akan and Dangme areas, the *Bodom* beads were used in the legal system to ascertain the truth from accused persons and most importantly, these ground beads possessed generative supernatural powers. It is believed to be very powerful and so people cannot lie in the presence of the *Bodom* bead oracle (Adu-Gyamfi, Arthur, & Asubonteng, 2015). The powdered form of the *Aggrey*

bead is rubbed daily on a child destined for royal stool or any rich inheritance. This is believed to hasten the child's growth and maturity (Gott, 2013). The *Bodom* or *Aggrey* bead is also thought of as a living entity with the ability to breathe and reproduce. The reproductive powers of this bead are of such potency that, the bead buried in the earth were reputed to 'not only grow but breed' (Sackey, nd). In the Ewe culture, the cowries' type of beads are known as having the capability of attracting lightning and mostly used by people holding ritual office. The *Akosu* or *Korsu* beads was initially created to protect people from the dangers of evil as well as when coral is worn with the *blotsi* bead, it is believed to hold natural powers of protecting one from evil eyes (Asala, 2015).

Beads also feature in music and dance. Dancers on festive occasions wear beads as hair bands, belts or anklets. The Fante's *Asafo* groups wear beads often made of sea shells criss-crossing their bare chests as they carry the symbolic flags breaking into graceful athletic dance. Similarly, the Dagombas of Northern Ghana wear thick waist belts with cowries and other beads by *Jera* dancers showing the ritualistic nature of the dance. Masquerades in Winneba also use beads as decorations on their costumes. Some musical instruments such as gourds, calabash and rattles are strung with beads to produce good music.

In contemporary Ghana, the use of beads stems out of boldness and continues to play important role in the fashion industry. Beads are used for decorating slippers, dresses, table mats and cloths. They have found their place in the decor and embellishment for pottery, wood, metal, leather, and cloth furnishings. The designs of bead jewellery and couture bring out an ever expanding variety of bead types and designs giving rise to endless uses of the precious gem.

The influence of acculturation on the clothing regalia of chiefs

The earliest definition of acculturation as a cultural phenomenon comes from Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits cited in Lakey (2014), as those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups. In the formulation of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC, 1954), cited in Lakey (2014), acculturation was defined as culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems. Its dynamics can be seen as the selective adaptation of value systems, the processes of integration and differentiation, the generation of developmental sequences, and the operation of role determinants and personality factors. Acculturation involves the psychosocial adaptation of individuals from one culture to another, and thus includes incorporating new values, expectations and beliefs (Ho & Daniels, 2011). Broadly, as applied to individuals, Gibson (2001) referred to acculturation as the changes that takes place as a result of contact with culturally dissimilar people, groups and social influences.

Berry (1980) developed a model of acculturation in which receiving culture acquisition and heritage culture retention are cast as independent dimensions. These dimensions manifest themselves as a relative preference for maintaining ones heritage culture and identity and a relative preference for having contact with and participating in the larger society (Berry, 2003; Phinney, 2003). As acculturation is identified to produce changes in both the non-dominant and the dominant groups, however more changes occur in the non-dominant group than in the dominant group (Inglessis, 2008). In Berry's

model, the two dimensions intersect to create four acculturation categories (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010), with each group referring to a different acculturation strategy.

Assimilation refers to the strategy of non-dominant groups to discard the heritage culture and adopts the receiving culture while separation in contrast, is when non-dominant groups rejects the receiving culture and retains the heritage culture.

Integration strategy is used by individuals who retains the heritage culture yet adopts the receiving culture whereas the marginalization refers to the lack of interest in either the heritage or the receiving cultures.

These authors asserted to the fact that acculturation occurs as a result of contact between two distinctive cultural groups. Generally, globalization has influenced the way of life of everybody as Arnett (2002) argued that, many people develop bicultural identities, as a result of globalization thus combining their local identity with an identity linked to the global culture. Cultural identity is expressed through material objects, including dress (clothing), in individual cultural settings (Lee & Lee, 2015) and as these cultural groups within and outside Ghana interact with each other, these changes may occur.

With the advent of modernization in Ghana, Akwetey (2007) found that, Ashanti queen mothers usually wore lace, brocade, velvet, wax print under their traditional *Kente* top cloths for both formal and traditional functions but hardly so for chiefs who usually wore varied types of weaves and colours of the *Kente* cloth for various functions, apart from the wax print and the velvet cloths. Dzramedo, Ahiabor and Gbadegbe (2013) also indicated that, traditional institutions are facing tremendous modern influences resulting largely from

trade liberalization, entertainment industry and advancement of technology within the textile and fashion industry which local artisans are not matching up to. Generally, striking a balance between traditional and modern forms of clothing are vital to the total development, growth and forward march of Ghanaians to promote national unity and to reflect our common identity. In the state of globalization, influences from other cultures, both within and outside a particular culture are inevitable, but the extent to which it is allowed to integrate with existing culture and imparting on it, should be the concern of all cultures. Acculturation is unavoidable but can be controlled to be in line with values and norms of a cherished culture of any society like Ghana.

The chapter reviewed literature on Symbolic Interactionism Theory, Principles of Symbolic Interactionism and Symbolic Interactionism Theory in Clothing Context. A limitation of the Symbolic Interaction was also discussed. In addition, the Cultural Theory used in the field of Clothing and Textiles was reviewed. Empirical literature review was mainly done on the Anlo chiefs and their clothing regalia, and the Akan royal regalia for comparison. However, there is limited literature on Anlo clothing regalia and this research sought to contribute in filling the gap.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

This chapter deals with the methodological framework of the study which provides the research design, population, sample and sampling procedure, and the data collection instruments employed to conduct the study. The chapter also deals with and discusses issues relating to the trustworthiness of the instruments used, ethical issues, and data collection procedures as well as the method of data processing and analysis of the study.

Research Design

The study adapted ethnographic design embedded in qualitative paradigm to investigate the symbolic meaning of clothing regalia of chiefs in Anlo State in the Volta Region of Ghana. Ethnographic studies is described by Creswell (2013) as qualitative procedures employed to describe, analyse and interpret a culture characteristic. It is used to study a group of people to gain a larger understanding of their lives or specific aspects of their lives. Fetterman (1998) also described ethnographic research as the art and science used to describe a group or culture. Ethnographic research takes a cultural lens to study people's lives within communities by the full immersion of the researcher with the purpose of understanding the culture that the people share (Angrosino, 2007; Sangasubana, 2011). Ethnographers seek to gain an 'emic' perspective of a specific culture that is, to understand the culture under study from the inside point of view (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). That is to say, the central aim of ethnography is to provide rich, holistic insights into people's views and

actions, as well as the nature of the location they inhabit through the collection of detailed observations and interviews, hence ethnographers document the culture, the perspectives and practices of the people in these settings (Reeves, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008).

Aware of these, the design was appropriate and adapted for the study in order to gain insight into the clothing culture of chiefs in Anlo State in the Volta region of Ghana. The design was also used to describe, analyse and interpret the forms of clothing regalia used and its symbolic meanings.

Population

The population for the study comprised all divisional chiefs and the *Awoamefia* of the Anlo State in the Volta Region of Ghana. There are fourteen (14) divisional chiefs under the *Awoamefia* in Anlo State. The accessible population were the four (4) hierarchy of political authority that rule the entire Anlo State and their elders. These chiefs are; the *Awoamefia*, who is the paramount chief of the Anlo State, and the military wing divisional chiefs who are the *Awadada*, *Dusiflaga* and *Miafiaga* and their elders.

Sampling Procedure

The study adopted expert purposive sampling technique to arrive at the sample size. In qualitative studies, sampling is less direct as Emmel (2013) explained that, it is not a single planning decision, but rather an iterative series of decisions taken throughout the process of the research. The intent is not to generalize from the sample to a population but to explain, describe and interpret a phenomenon (Maxwell, 2013). Merriam (2009) also noted that, qualitative approach depends on the research questions, the data collected, the data analysis and the availability of resources.

Consequently, Patton (2015) explained that, purposive sampling involves selecting information rich cases, study objectives and the availability of resources. Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) also explained purposive sampling as identifying and selecting individuals or group of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with a phenomenon of interest. In addition to knowledge and experience, Bernard (2002) and Spradley (1979) also noted the importance of the availability and willingness to participate and the ability to communicate experiences and opinions in an articulate, expressive and reflective manner.

Based on the above arguments, and in order to gain access to the chiefs and solicit the needed information for the study, key informants were necessary in this ethnographic study. Key informants are the knowledgeable persons who are considered as authorities pertaining to the history and culture of the community (Schutt, 2006). Thus, the key informants for the study were the Kingmakers (*Lafe* clan and *Amlade* clan) in charge of certain rites and because they are the custodians of the traditions and customs in the Anlo State. The Kingmakers were the expert or knowledgeable persons to provide the true meaning of the clothing regalia of the Anlo chiefs. In all, eight (8) key informants were used, two (2) for each chief.

Data Collection Instruments

Three modes of data collection are used in ethnographic research and these are interviews, observation and secondary sources (Angrosino, 2007). Aware of these, data was collected using a semi-structured interview guide which was based on the study objectives. In addition, a non-participant observation and reviewing secondary sources was also used. The semi-

structured interview guide involves a prepared questioning, guided by identified themes in a consistent and systematic manner interposed with probes designed to elicit more elaborate responses (Ayres, 2012). Blandford (2013) described semi-structured interviews as planned questions or themes which allows for pursued enquiry within the interview to follow up on interesting and unexpected avenues that emerges. The use of the semi-structured interview guide allowed for flexibility, accessibility and comprehensible, and more importantly capable of disclosing important facets of human behaviour (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

Trustworthiness in the research process

Trustworthiness in qualitative research is often viewed with scepticism (Cobbold, 2015) as concerns which underlie this state of doubt are derived from a perceived lack of representativeness of the (usually small) sample used in qualitative studies and an alleged lack of rigor in the collection, analysis and interpretation of the data. This lack of rigor is linked to the problem of bias introduced by the subjectivity of the researcher (Hamel, 1993). Arguably, there are also concerns as to how to achieve the issue of internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity which are the tenets of quality in post-positivist research (qualitative studies). To ensure trustworthiness of findings for the study, Lincoln and Guba (2000) formulated naturalist's equivalents of internal validity (credibility), external validity (transferability), reliability (dependability) and objectivity (confirmability). With regards to the study, the issues of reliability and validity were achieved in the light of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

Credibility

Credibility construct is the qualitative parallel of internal validity in quantitative research (Cobbold, 2015). To Cobbold, it basically typifies the extent of correspondence between participants' actual view points and how these have been portrayed by the researcher. In the study, credibility was achieved through triangulation (Reeves, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008) as it helped to reduce bias and it cross examined the integrity of participants' responses. The first was methodological triangulation as different data procedures (interviews, observation and secondary sources) were used to compare and contrast findings to help provide more comprehensive insights into the phenomenon under study (Roper & Shapira, 2000). The second approach was through respondents' interviews triangulation, as each respondent with different portions on the subject under study were interviewed twice for verification of findings.

Transferability

Transferability addresses the issue of whether the findings of a study hold up beyond the specific research subjects and the setting involved. Although it does to a degree, the very tenets of its operation are that human behaviour is not random but unpredicted (Cobbold, 2015). Thus, qualitative researchers concern themselves not with the question of whether their findings are generalizable, but rather with the question as to which other settings with which the research findings could be applicable to. To facilitate this, a description and expert purposeful sampling of the study context was provided and the people from whom data was collected and the basis for selecting them.

Dependability

Dependability involves the issue of whether the study findings would be consistent and repeatable if the study were conducted with the same participants in the same context (Neuman, 2003). Dependability is gained through consistency of data, which is evaluated through transparent research steps and research findings. To enable dependability in the study, it was important that a dependability audit was conducted “to attest to the quality and appropriateness of the inquiry process” (Mertens, 2005, p. 257). The researcher carefully documented decisions made in the course of the study to facilitate dependability audit (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of the research process.

Confirmability

Confirmability is concerned with establishing that data and interpretations of the findings are not figments of the researcher’s opinion or belief (Tobin & Begley, 2004) but rather, the data can be tracked to its original sources. The logic that is used to interpret the data are made explicit and the process of synthesizing data to reach conclusions can be confirmed (Mertens, 2005). Again, this was facilitated through methodological triangulation and respondent interviews as most of the statement were stated verbatim to reflect the views of the key informants.

Ethical Consideration

As ethnographic studies involves gathering data in a natural setting, questions of research ethics must be addressed. These includes informing participants about the risk involved in the research, protecting their identities and more generally, paying extra attention to the decisions that are made during

the research process (Li, 2008). Ethical issues considered were informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, and beneficence.

Informed consent is based on the need for participants to enter into research voluntarily, while understanding the nature of the research and any disadvantages or obligations that may be involved (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). It is important to ensure that potential participants have full and open information about what their participation will involve and what will be expected of them (Clark, 1997). Informed consent form was given to participants to inform them about the purpose of the study, method of data collection and their right to withdraw at any time of the study.

Anonymity and confidentiality were also considered as Oliver (2003) described anonymity in research as given respondents the opportunity to have their identity hidden in a research report. However, Bell (2005) defined it as a promise that even the researcher will not be able to tell which responses came from which respondent. In addition, confidentiality is assuring someone that what has been discussed will not be disclosed (Wiles, Crow, Heath, & Charles, 2006). In assuring anonymity, key informants were given pseudonyms and were reminded not to mention their names or say anything that will reveal their identity. On the part of assuring confidentiality, data collected was handled and managed by the researcher and findings were reported based on the data gathered.

Also, the principle of beneficence refers to the need for the researcher to maximize the benefits and minimize any possible harmful effects (Cozby, 2007). Potential harm to participants from participating in research can include psychological, emotional or physical harm, and loss of confidentiality (Dunn,

1999). To ensure beneficence in the study, the researcher worked with participants based on their request of what information to be given out. Information in which participants thought to be sensitive were not given out.

Data Collection Procedures

Data for the study was collected within a period of four months which started from January to April, 2018. An introductory letter was taken from the Vocational and Technical Education Department in the University of Cape Coast to visit the various palaces of the chiefs to formally inform them about the purpose of the study. This was done to enable the respondents to fully elucidate what the research was about and to eliminate all possible issues that might baffle their minds. The formal introduction also helped to establish rapport and to explain how the instruments was to be used that is, one-on-one interview with the respondents and note taking, and the approach of data collection thus, with the permission use of an audio recorder, and also observation by taking photographs of some of the clothing regalia.

After the formal introduction, interview dates were scheduled with key informants. Although, some of the interview dates were cancelled due to their busy schedules, it was later rescheduled. In-depth interviews were held with key informants at their residence on an average duration of 40-50 minutes on a scheduled date. Key informants for each chief was given a pseudonym to protect their identity as portions of the interviews were stated verbatim. Pseudonyms used for the key informants were; *Awoamefia's* respondents (W1, W2), *Awadada's* respondents (X1, X2), *Dusifiaga's* respondents (Y1, Y2) and *Miafiaga's* respondents (Z1, Z2). To check for internal consistency of the data,

each key informant was interviewed twice as saturation was reached for the first section of interviews.

Non-participant observation (observation guide) was also used which helped to enter the social system to observe events, activities and interactions with the aim of gaining a direct understanding of the phenomenon in its natural context. Observation was indirect as the situation was studied in its natural setting without altering the conditions (Parke & Griffiths, 2008). This was done to confirm the description made by respondents regarding the clothing regalia of the Anlo State chiefs. Observation was also overt, as participants understood the role of the observer for research purposes (Liu & Maitlis, 2012). The main observation was done at the annual *Hogbetsosto* festival as all the chiefs were present at the gathering. Aside taking photographs of the chiefs clothing regalia, I also took notes of the vast array of clothing regalia that were displayed at the festival. This made it easy to compare and contrast the clothing regalia used by the Anlo State chiefs during the *Hogbetsosto* festival.

The third method was by reviewing secondary sources on the study setting to have a better understanding of the primary data collected in order to confirm or rebut findings.

Data Processing and Analysis

In ethnographic research, analysis takes place throughout the research process and is tightly connected with interpretation. Data collection for the interviews were done concurrently with transcription of the interviews (Roper & Shapira, 2000) and the reason was to monitor when data saturation point is reached. The first thing was the transcription of the audio data collected. Throughout the process, transcripts were read multiple times and later was

examined to identify and categorise themes and key issues that emerged (Reeves, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008) so as to get a vivid description. All the themes and categories identified were compiled separately and compared in order to establish similarities and differences in their clothing regalia. The observation made through note taking were merged with the analysis of the transcribed interviews corresponding to each chiefs' respondents. The interpretation of important statements were stated verbatim. The data was finally summarized and key issues were selected through this interpretation process.

Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a detailed explanation of the research design employed in conducting this study. This research acknowledged the merits of qualitative research and accounts for the choice of ethnographic design. A detailed description of the research context was provided to justify the inclusion of sampled participants. The research also detailed all processes involved in the data analysis including trustworthiness of the results. Finally, the ethical issues were given consideration in the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter presents the results and discussion of the study. The research sought to investigate the symbolic meaning of clothing regalia of chiefs in Anlo State in the Volta region of Ghana. The study adapted ethnographic aspect of qualitative research in order to describe, analyse and interpret the culture characteristics of the Anlo chiefs and also to gain a larger understanding of their lives or specific aspects of their lives. Participants (key informants) for the study were eight (8), two (2) for each chief and they were purposively sampled. Data was collected using a semi-structured interview guide and a non-participant observation (observation guide) as well as data from secondary sources provided in literature. Data from the interviews together with the observations made were examined in relation to the research objectives and findings are presented based on the following themes.

1. Forms of clothing regalia used by the Anlo State chiefs.
2. Occasions and articles of clothing regalia used by the Anlo State chiefs.
3. Colour influence.
4. Role of the Anlo chiefs and its influence on their clothing regalia.
5. Clan and inheritance influence on the clothing regalia of Anlo chiefs.
6. Spiritual symbolism.
7. Historical and Philosophical symbolism.
8. Social symbolism.

9. The influence of acculturation on the clothing regalia of Anlo State chiefs.

Factors that influence the forms of clothing regalia used by the Anlo State chiefs

This objective sought to examine the factors that influenced the forms of clothing regalia used by the Anlo chiefs. The factors identified included the forms of clothing regalia used and the specific occasions on which they were used, the role of the Anlo chiefs, colour influence, clan and inheritance as an influence on the type of clothing regalia used.

Forms of clothing regalia used by the Anlo State chiefs

The findings identified the forms of clothing regalia used by the Anlo chiefs and these included the type of cloth used, jumper, crown or hat, chiefs' sandals, walking stick, beads for adornment and fly whisk.

Kente is a ceremonial cloth for most chiefs in the southern part of Ghana and the Anlos have their own special type of *Kente* called *Ewe Kete* or *Afe Kete* which is used by the Anlo chiefs. The *Kete* is also called *Agbozume Kete* or *Klikor Kete* and the name is assumed for the *Kete* due to the fact that the local weaving industries are sited in these areas. The *Awoamefias'* *Kete* is usually woven by special weavers upon his request or already designed *Kete* to depict the status of a king. One of the respondent said, "Our tradition is not like the Akan tradition. In our part of the region, there is no particular cloth which is meant for a chief. Our chiefs in our part of the region use *Kete* which is also called *Agbozume Kete*, *Afe Kete* or *Klikor Kete*". Some of the names of these *Kete* used by the Anlo chiefs are *Fiyome*, *Babadu*, *Kalenyako*, *Easter Sunday*, *Agbedoe* and *Ehianaga*.

Adanuvor is another type of *Kete* cloth used by Anlo chiefs. *Adanuvor* simply means design or woven motifs e.g. is the *Kpevi*. This type of Ewe *Kete* cloth is designed with Ewe symbols woven onto the cloth. These symbols are sword (*Fiayi*), stool (*Fiazikpi*), hunters, palanquin (*Apaka*), umbrella, linguist staff, and gun (*Edugo*).

The Anlo chiefs also use white cloth or calico called *Klala*. The *Klala* is used during the installation of Anlo divisional chiefs. The Anlo chiefs also use expensive cloth (*Hogavor*) specially designed to depict the affluence of a chief and by so doing, making the cloth the most expensive to purchase by ordinary citizens except for the chiefs.

The findings also identified the type of yarns used in weaving the cloths. These yarns are factory produced cotton yarns which are of two types namely *Ka nyuito* (quality yarns) and *Nevelia* (dyed yarns). The quality yarns are *Dzisa* and *Con* which are produced with its colours whereas the second type of yarns are locally dyed with vegetable dyes which usually fade after washing and is mostly used as *Amedivor* (funeral cloth). The Ewe *Kete* weavers usually use two yarn colour combination for their cloths, these are black and white, black and blue, white and blue, pink and gold, pink and green, black and green, and these colour combination sometimes determine the name of the cloth. A respondent view is captured below:

...Although we are all Ghanaians, our colours are different from the Ashanti's Kente, Ashanti Kente usually use yellow, green and blue. But for us Anlo-Ewes we use black and white for Easter Sunday, white and blue as Ehianaga, black and blue, pink and gold, pink and green, black and green, or gold used in the middle but the design is different from the Ashanti's Kente. Ewes don't use yellow, whenever yellow is used then it

is Ashanti Kente. With our Kete when two colours are used it is called (Ale) not like the Akans who use motifs and proverbs or other things for the names. We usually use two colours and even when one colour is used, the design is different. This is how we name our cloth.

The jumper was identified as an important clothing regalia used by the Anlo chiefs. An Anlo chief does not appear in public or even in the house without wearing a jumper under a cloth. This statement was made emphatically by all the respondents and one of the statement is captured verbatim:

...the difference in appearance of any Anlo chief is that we put on jumper. You cannot go out to any place without wearing a jumper as it happens in the Akan or Ga areas, we normally put on jumper before we put on the cloth. Even when you are in the house you must put on jumper under a cloth and that decision was taken by Togbui Sri II. He decreed that Anlo chiefs should appear in jumper before they put on the Kete cloth.

The *Fiakuku* is the headgear (crown or hat) which is an important clothing regalia used by the Anlo chiefs. The Anlo chiefs use either the crown or the hat depending on the occasion. On ordinary occasions, the hat made of any cloth to match their outfit is used while on festive occasions, the crown made of velvet fabric and sometimes studded with gold motifs is used. Aside these, the *Awoamefia* has two types of headgears which are the *Batemi kuku* made from raffia and the crown made of a velvet fabric studded with gold motifs. The *Batemi kuku* is worn during his installation and the reconciliation rites before the *Hogbetsosto* festival while the crown is worn during *Hogbetsosto* festival or on other ceremonial occasions. The *Awadadas'* hat is quite different from the other chiefs as it is always white in a fluffy style. The

Dusifiaga and *Miafiaga* also use crown but not in the design of the *Awoamefias'* crown.

The *Fiafokpa* is the footwear or sandals used by the Anlo chiefs. The *Fiafokpa* is also an important clothing regalia used in the installation of chiefs especially that of the *Awoamefia*. The *Awoamefias'* sandals is provided for by his kingmakers and then sent to Notsie for spiritual consecration. The *Fiafokpa* is then brought back from Notsie and used for the installation of the *Awoamefia*. The *Fiafokpa* is usually made of the skin of an animal. The initial design of the *Fiafokpa* was made in the design of the *Oheneba* with no motif except for the *Awadadas'* own with the motif of a gun or gun powder.

The findings also revealed the walking stick as an important feature that constitute the clothing regalia of the Anlo chiefs. It is believed that, a chief does not walk alone therefore, the walking stick is used to support the chiefs whenever they go out even when they are in the company of others. Based on this believe, some of the walking sticks are filled with spiritual protecting herbs serving as protection for the chiefs.

Another type of the clothing regalia used for adornment is the beads. Anlo chiefs basically adorn themselves with *Dzonu* (beads). The most commonly used beads are *Adzagba*, *Sui* and *Blotsi*, others are *Hego* and *Togomegbodzi*. The beads are always worn on the right hands to signify their status as chiefs. The source of the beads points to the place of settlement as they believe it was deposited by God. Respondents explained that, they did not migrate with the beads but rather found it on the land they had settled on, as they believe it was deposited by God. The beads usually used are made from glass (*Atsukpa*) and chemicals, others are from stone (*Ekpedzonu*).

The Fly whisk (*Lashi* or *Sorshi*) is an important clothing regalia used during the installation of a chief. The *Lashi* is made of a tail of an animal and is occasionally used. A respondent view is stated below:

...the Lashi these days are used for (function) aesthetic purposes that everybody carries on ordinary days but it is not commonly used here. The only time the Lashi is used, is when the chief is coming from the installation grounds, he waves it to clear bad people or evil spirits that want to bring him down. Therefore, it is not an ordinary fly whisk but rather it is fortified for the chief so that no one can bring him down.

Occasions and articles of clothing regalia used by the Anlo State chiefs

The results found a major factor that influenced the forms of clothing regalia used by the Anlo chiefs. Occasions were found to be an important factor in the selection of the clothing regalia. For Anlo chiefs, cloths usage varied depending on the function they attended hence, it is not one cloth or one colour that was used. Occasions like installation, confinement, coronation, reconciliation, festivals, burials and funerals, war times and casual days all portrayed different clothing regalia.

Installation

In the Anlo traditional setting, installation rites are performed for chiefs before confinement. Installation rites performed for the *Awoamefia* is different whereas the rites performed for the divisional chiefs are the same. During the installation rites for the *Awoamefia* with most of the rituals performed late in the night and in secrecy, the *Awoamefia* wears a black or blue-black cotton gown (*Bishi*) and a type of hat called *Batemi kuku*. This type of hat is used by fetish priests which means that the *Awoamefia* plays the role of a spiritual leader of the Anlo State. The *Awoamefias'* sandals *Fiafokpa* is provided for by his

kingmakers and then sent to Notsie for spiritual consecration. There is also a herbal creeping plant called *Kakla* or *Kakli* that is woven and worn around the head, neck and around the joint elbow. The *Kakla* leaves are known as *Nyanya* in *Twi* and African cucumber in English, and the botanical name is *Momordica charantia* (*Cucurbitaceae*). There also, the *Awoamefia* is given a long walking stick called *Dzizikpo* or *Trokpo*. He can only use this form of clothing regalia during the reconciliation rites before *Hogbetsostso Za* or when he finally joins his ancestors. During this period he is sent to all the major shrines in Anlo state which their great grandfathers brought from Notsie.

The installation rites performed for the *Awadada*, *Dusifiaga* and *Miafiaga* are the same except for the cloth used. During this period, a white cloth *Klala* is used. That white cloth is worn over the shoulder and a strip tied around the waist. The white cloth signifies victory for the successful installation. The *Kakla* leaves are also woven and worn around the head, neck and joint elbow before wearing the cloth.

After the installation, the chiefs are confined for a period of time. It is that white cloth that will be on them for the seven days during the confinement period.

Coronation

Coronation is when the newly installed chiefs are outdoored to the public. It is a joyous moment to celebrate the successful installation of the chiefs as most of the cloths used for this occasion are white or any other multi-coloured cloths in combination with the white cloths, but mostly white cloths dominate. The chiefs must at all times be in Jumper, with a hat and walking stick and as well as adorn themselves with beads.

Reconciliation rites

Reconciliation rites, *Nugbidodo* are special rites performed before the *Hogbetsosto* festival. During this period, the *Awoamefia* plays a dual role, thus he is the spiritual head (fetish priest) and the political head (ruler) of the Anlo State. The *Awoamefia* wears the black or blue-black cotton gown (*Bishi*), *Batemi kuku* with the *Dzizikpo* or *Trokpo* and *Sorshi* worn during his installation. This clothing regalia is worn once in a year during the reconciliation rites before the *Hogbetsosto* festival but the other chiefs can be in any multi-coloured cloths but white cloths dominate except for the *Awadada* who is always in white clothing regalia.

Festivals

The Anlo people have one major festival that is the *Hogbetsosto Za* to celebrate their exodus from Notsie. Customarily, the *Awoamefia* is carried in a palanquin to the durbar grounds. The *Awoamefia* is dressed in full clothing regalia for this occasion and his clothing regalia must always be above his sub chiefs. He dresses in a nice *Afevo* that is *Hogavor* which means the most expensive cloth specially designed by weavers that he chooses from or a special cloth woven for him upon his request. The *Awoamefia* must always wear white jumper under the *Kete* cloth, with his *Fiakuku*, walking stick and the *Fiafokpa* which was brought from Notsie during the installation, and as much as possible adorn himself with old original beads which are the most expensive.



Figure 2: The Awoamefia Torgbui Sri III in his clothing regalia at the annual Hogbestosto festival.

Source: Field work, Kumatia (2017)

The *Dusifiaga* and *Miafiaga* must also dress elegantly in Ewe *Kete* but not as the *Awoamefia*. They must also be in jumper, *Fiakuku* but not as the design of the *Awoamefias'* crown, sandals, walking stick and adorn themselves with beads. The *Awadadas'* clothing regalia must at all times be white, white cloth, white jumper, white hat, walking stick and white sandals. He does not appear in any expensive jewellery.



Figure 3: The Awadada Torgbui Agbesi Awusu II in his clothing regalia at the annual Hogbestosto festival.

Source: Field work, Kumatia (2017)



Figure 4: The Dusifiaga Torgbui Gbordzor III in his clothing regalia at the annual Hogbestosto festival.

Source: Field work, Kumatia (2017)



Figure 5: The *Miafiaga Torgbui Nyaho Tamakloe V* in his clothing regalia at the annual *Hogbestosto* festival.

Source: Field work, Kumatia (2017)

Burials and Funerals

The *Awoamefia* does not attend funerals, likewise he does not even hear about the announcement of any funeral or his name being used to announce a funeral as this might spell doom or calamity for the Anlo people. The *Awoamefia* can use the black or blue-black cotton gown (*Bishi*) worn during his installation rites when he finally joins his ancestors. The rest of the chiefs attend funerals and the cloth mostly used are black, red or black and or red multi-coloured cloths.

War times

The Anlos practice the grid system during warfare. The military wing divisional chiefs led by the *Awadada* goes to war. The *Awoamefia* is always in seclusion and is protected by the military wing chiefs. The right and left wing divisional chiefs organise the men who fall under their jurisdiction to take control of the right and left settlement whereas the *Awadada* takes control of the middle division as the commander in chief to prepare for battle. The cloth they usually use is the *Adewu*, a war garment which is a red cloth.

Casual days

On casual days, any type of cloth can be worn but for Anlo chiefs, anytime they put on cloth, they must always be in jumper, even when they are in the house along with a hat and a walking stick.

Colour influence

Colours were identified as a significant factor in the determining the type of clothing regalia that the Anlo chiefs used. Given that, when a chief uses red cloth as it was during war times, then it signified war, danger and or bloody situation. Black cloth worn with red cloth denotes mourning or sorrow. Predominantly, when white cloth is being used, it symbolises peace and victory. Green symbolise plenty farm produce or good harvest.

Role of the Anlo chiefs and its influence on their clothing regalia

The role performed by the Anlo chiefs plays an important factor in determining the type of clothing regalia used. For the Anlo State, the role of the *Awoamefia* as both the spiritual head and the political head is very sacred. The role of the *Awoamefia* as the paramount chief of the Anlo State is shown in the type of clothing regalia that he uses as he must dress above all his sub chiefs

and must be the most expensive because he is the overall authority in the Anlo State. This statement was emphatically made by all respondents and one of the views is expressed below:

...During festivals before the Awoamefia wears any cloth, he displays three different cloths and quickly he sends his kinsmen's to spy at the durbar grounds to find out what the other chiefs will be wearing so that he does not wear the same cloth...and any chief who attempt to wear the same cloth is regarded as competition to the Awoamefia...

The *Awadadas'* role is similarly significant since he is the war leader and the second in command, in addition to that, he act as *Awoamefia* whenever the *Awoamefia* joins his ancestors. The *Awadadas'* clothing regalia is heavily influenced by the position he holds in the Anlo State. The *Awadada* usually sit very close to the *Awoamefia* and his clothing regalia must always be white. The *Awadada* wears a white jumper and a white cloths over the shoulder, a white fluffy hat, white sandals and white walking stick. The *Dusifiaga* and *Miafiaga* being part of the military wing of the Anlo State also sit on the right and left hand of the *Awoamefia* respectively. They must also dress appropriately to fit their status as military wing divisional chiefs but not to upscale the dressing of the *Awoamefia*.

Clan and inheritance influence on the clothing regalia of Anlo chiefs

The findings also revealed that the clan of which the *Awoamefia* comes from which is either the *Adzovia* or *Bate* clan did not have any influence on the type of clothing regalia that was used. They emphatically stated that, it did not influence their clothing regalia in any way, in that all *Awoamefias'* should dress elegantly to fit their status. Although they admitted having clan cloths, they

were not used for a special purpose as in some Akan culture. In similar vein, no Anlo chief inherits the clothing regalia, all Anlo chiefs must procure their clothing regalia upon assuming the role as a chief. A respondent view is expressed below:

Although Bate and Adzovia clans have clan cloth they do not use them in our part of the region as it happens in the Akan areas. No, no, there is no influence of the clan on the clothing regalia of our chiefs. All Awoamefias' must just dress elegantly to fit their status.

The philosophical and symbolic meanings of the clothing regalia used by the Anlo State chiefs and its relevance in Ghanaian contemporary society

This objective sought to discuss the philosophical and symbolic meanings of the clothing regalia used by the Anlo chiefs and its relevance in Ghanaian contemporary society and from the outcome of the data emerged three distinct meanings. The themes derived from these outcomes are spiritual symbolism, historical and philosophical symbolism, and social symbolism.

Spiritual symbolism

Everything among the Anlo-Ewes has spiritual meanings or is understood in a spiritual sense. Spirituality of an Anlo chief is of great significance to the entire Anlo State. The authority of a chief is imbued in the rituals performed for the chief and the clothing regalia worn during such occasions to transform him into a ruler. The *Awoamefia* of the Anlo State is a human being, but after he had gone through the necessary rites, transforms into a 'god of the people'. The installation rites performed for the *Awoamefia* are different from his divisional chiefs as he plays a dual role as a spiritual leader and a political ruler. The black or blue-black cotton gown (*Bishi*), *Batemi kuku*,

Fiafokpa and the *Dzizikpo* or *Trokpo* used during his installation and the reconciliation rites before the *Hogbetsostso* festival signifies that, he is the head of all the fetishes in the Anlo State. The *Awoamefia* does not remove his clothing before entering any shrine thus, he has authority over all the gods in the Anlo State. His status as a political ruler also symbolises his authority, that is, he is the overlord and his supremacy transcends the entire Anlo State. The *Awoamefias'* sandals *Fiafokpa* has spiritual connotation. The *Awoamefias'* *Fiafokpa* is always sent to and brought back from Notsie for spiritual fortification and consecration. The *Lashi* or *Sorshi* which is used during the installation symbolises spiritual protection for the chief. The *Lashi* or *Sorshi* is waved by the newly installed chief from side to side in order to ward off bad people or evil spirits intention against the newly installed chief. The *Kakla* or *Kakli* leafs woven and worn around the neck and elbow joints also symbolises spiritual protection for the newly installed chief.

Anlo chiefs usually adorn themselves with beads but the usage of some particular beads have spiritual protection for the wearer. The *Sui* and *Blotsi* beads worn together is believed to hold supernatural powers of protecting one from evil eyes.

The walking stick used by the chiefs are filled with spiritual herbs for protection, and as the walking stick leads them, it protects or ward off evil spirits or bad peoples intention against the chiefs.

Historical and Philosophical symbolism

The Anlo chiefs believe in their traditions and the legacy their forefathers left behind and therefore they strive to continue those legacies. The three most important clothing regalia are the jumper, the hat and the walking

stick. The jumper was decreed by *Torgbui Sri II* that, Anlo chiefs must always be in jumper before they put on the cloth and a hat to match their outfit. It is also believed that a chief does not walk alone therefore, the walking stick is used as support or leads the chiefs even when they are in the company of others. An Anlo chief must always be with these three important clothing regalia whenever they step out and that is their legacy.

The *Awadadas'* white clothing regalia proceeds a historical event which were the wars fought in the past. The Anlos in the olden days were at war with almost all their neighbours and they were not defeated in those wars. The reason for the *Awadadas'* white clothing regalia today symbolises peace and the victories over the wars fought in the past.

Social symbolism

The social significance of the clothing regalia used by the Anlo chiefs are that, it communicates to the Anlo people about the specific occasion for them to dress appropriately to suit such occasion. It also demonstrate joy and happiness amongst the Anlo people during occasions like the installation, coronation of chiefs and especially during the *Hogbetsotso* festival as they celebrate their freedom over the ordeal in Notsie.

Kente plays a dominant part in the chieftaincy institutions as it is a formal garment worn on special occasions and during festivals in Ghana. Traditionally, for the Anlos the Ewe *Kete* or *Afe Kete* is used by royalty and persons with significant status in the Anlo society. The paramount chief of the Anlo State who plays a dual role as a spiritual leader and a ruler usually uses this important occasion to communicate with the entire Anlo State. This is because he usually lives in seclusion. The *Awoamefias'* social eminence is

identified by the special cloth made by special weavers, beads for adornment and other important clothing regalia. The special cloth woven for the *Awoamefia* is worn only in times of great importance especially during the *Hogbetsotso* festival to show his nobility. It is an expensive cloth '*Hogavor*' purposely designed for him to communicate his affluence and authority over the Anlo State.

The clothing regalia of the Anlo chiefs during such important occasions depicts their supremacy and authority in the Anlo State. Their role as chiefs being influenced by the type of clothing regalia used shows the different positions and authorities that the Anlo chiefs hold.

The clothing regalia worn by Anlo chiefs does not only distinguish them from their subjects but also differentiates them from chiefs from other parts of the country. The clothing regalia of the Anlo chiefs shows the uniqueness of their tradition and culture, thus the difference in their clothing regalia is the jumper worn under any cloth, the hat and a walking stick and the beads for adornment.

The influence of acculturation on the clothing regalia of Anlo State chiefs

This objective sought to investigate the influence of acculturation on the clothing regalia of Anlo State chiefs. The findings under this objective revealed that the clothing regalia of the Anlo chiefs has undergone social change as a result of cultural contact and interaction with other Ghanaian cultures. They admitted that, modernization has impacted on the mode of everyone's dressing including that of the Anlo chiefs. It was evident that modernization had essentially impacted on the clothing regalia of the Anlo chiefs as they use modern types of cloths. These changes have come as a result of the difficulty in

acquiring old original Ewe *Kete* making the Anlo chiefs fall on other cloths like *Agbamevor* and Ashanti *Kente*. Also due to new discoveries and different types of design in *Kente* production, the Anlo chiefs are using modern types of *Kente* cloths used by other chiefs as part of their clothing regalia.

Another influence that has heavily impacted on their clothing regalia is the adaptation of Ashanti culture. They admitted that some of the Anlo chiefs now adorn themselves with gold ornaments just to show off instead of using beads. Also the chiefs sandals called *Fiafokpa*, is now being called *Oheneba* because the Ashanti's call it *Oheneba*, and also to the fact that production of the *Oheneba* are mostly from the Akan areas. The *Fiakuku* has also being corrupted into using the Ashanti's type of crown with *Adinkra* and gold motifs. This assertion of one respondent is expressed below:

...Hmm nowadays, you know adulteration has come into our traditional setting. The Awoamefia's crown now is mostly of Ashanti origin. In the olden days, it was the hat made of cloth with no gold motifs and the Fiafokpa is also called Oheneba because the Ashanti's call it Oheneba.



Figure 6: Influence of acculturation on the clothing regalia of Awoamefia Torgbui Sri III.

Source: Field work, Kumatia (2017)

Discussion

Objective one sought to examine factors that influenced the forms of clothing regalia used by the Anlo chiefs. It was shown that, the *Awoamefias'* installation was different in terms of cloth usage from the military wing divisional chiefs. The military wing divisional chiefs are installed with calico *Klala*, and the *Kakla* symbolises spiritual protection for the chiefs. This was similar to Kumassah (2009)'s findings that white calico is used by Anlo chiefs during installation and the *Kakla* a spiritual potent herb is woven into garlands and put on the neck, elbows, knees and ankles of the newly installed chief which serve as spiritual protection. It also confirms (Myren & Andel, 2011) statement that the *Momordica charantia* (*Cucurbitaceae*) is believed to have spiritual protecting powers against evil spirits for a newly installed chief. This leaf is also

worn by fetish priests to bring good luck and spiritual protection, and as well as used by adults and children against bad spirits.

The *Awoamefia* is installed with a black or blue-black (*Bishi*) cotton gown, the *Batemi kuku* made from raffia which is worn by fetish priests, the consecrated sandals (*Fiafokpa*), and with a long walking stick *Dzizikpo* and the *Sorshi*. This clothing regalia is also worn during the reconciliation rites and this symbolises that he is the head of all the fetishes in the Anlo State. The consecrated sandals sent to Notsie may be due to the fact that Notsie is their ancestral home and the last place of migration. It confirms Gavor (2015) findings that, the *Awoamefia* during his installation and reconciliation rites wears the full *Nyigbla* high priest regalia. The regalia comprises the war dress (*Bishi*), raffia or grass hat, the *Zizikpo*, the *Eshi*, and the *Sorshie* which symbolise that he preside the peace-making rites as the high priest of the *Nyigbla* deity and the spiritual leader of the Anlos. *Nyigbla* deity is the most revered god of the Anlos which is the war god. This also confirms Kumassah (2009) findings that, two consecrated native sandals are placed under the feet of the newly installed *Awoamefia* and a consecrated crown made of dry plaited grass resembling that of *Nyigblanua* is placed on his head. But contradict Kumassah's finding that the *Awoamefia* is clad in a brown piece of cloth tied round his loins during his installation and after he is enrobed in a long flowing velvet gown.

Festivals were important occasions for the Anlo chiefs to display their affluence as they dress in full clothing regalia. Their role as chiefs is also influenced by the type of clothing regalia they use and this is shown in *Figure 2, 3, 4* and *5*. The *Awoamefias'* clothing regalia is always above his sub chiefs'

whereas the *Awadadas*' clothing regalia is always white. The *Dusifiaga* and *Miafiaga* also dresses in full clothing regalia but must not upscale the dressing of the *Awoamefia* who is the overlord of the Anlo State and this support the statement of Shonsey (1995) that, chiefs of lower ranks must not dress to upscale the dressing of chiefs of higher ranks. **Figure 2, 3, 4** and **5** shows the Anlo chiefs in their full regalia at the annual *Hogbetsosto* festival which depict their ranks. This also shows that the importance of rank in chieftaincy is not only shown by the name of the chief but must be shown publicly without necessarily using words; thus clothing being a good means of nonverbal form of communication in this case is of the means used. This also conforms to practices of other ethnic groups in Ghana like the Ashanti's where the *Abrempong-ntoma* used during festive occasions easily identifies Ashanti paramount chiefs.

Finally, Anlo chiefs do not inherit their clothing regalia, all Anlo chiefs must procure their clothing regalia upon assuming the role as chiefs and this agrees with Gavor (2015) assertion that, the regalia of the *Awoamefia* are owned by each individual hence not inherited. Thus the regalia used by the *Awoamefia* is dictated by the purchasing power.

The third objective sought to investigate the influence of acculturation on the clothing regalia of Anlo State chiefs. It is quite evident that acculturation has had an impact on the type of clothing regalia that the Anlo chiefs use. **Figure 6** shows the *Awoamefia* in modern type of Ashanti embroidered *Kente* cloth with vividly bright colours like yellow, blue and orange as Fianu (2007) describes the Ashanti *Kente* as vividly bright as compared to the Ewe *Kete* which looks dull. Notably the motifs and patterns in the *Awoamefias*' *Kente* are

mostly geometric which confirms (Ahiagble, 2004; Rovine, 2001) statement that motifs in the *Kente* cloth of Akan culture are mostly geometric, while the Ewe *Kete* cloth are of figurative symbols. **Figure 4** also portrays the *Dusiflaga* in Ashanti *Kente* with vividly bright colours and geometric patterns.

In the Anlo culture, beads are preferred form of bodily adornment for Anlo chiefs as compared to the bold excessive use of gold ornament in the Akan culture. The *Awoamefia* at the annual *Hogbestotso* festival in **Figure 6** is adorned with some gold ornaments together with beads which is not the preferred form of adornment for Anlo chiefs. Also the *Awoamefias'* headgear is an open top crown studded with *Adinkra* motifs of *Dwannini Mmen* (which literally means rams horn and signifies strength with humility) and *Bi nka bi* motif (literally means no one should bite the other signifies peace and unity). This confirms Gavor (2015) statement that enculturation has resulted in the use of open top hat by the *Awoamefia*. Also, the *Awadada* shown in **Figure 3** has adorned himself with silver ornaments which is contrary to his role as the commander in chief of the Anlo state and should not appear in expensive jewellery. The *Miafiaga* shown in **Figure 5** also has gold nugget studded on his headgear. These discoveries have indeed established that acculturation has imparted on the clothing regalia of the Anlo chiefs.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter gives a summary of the entire study. It also draws conclusions from the findings and provide the necessary recommendations as well as suggests areas for further studies.

Summary

This study sought to investigate the symbolic meaning of clothing regalia of chiefs in Anlo State in the Volta region of Ghana. The purpose of the study was to examine the forms of clothing regalia and its symbolism used by the Anlo State chiefs which specifically sought to:

1. Examine the factors that influence the forms of clothing regalia used by the Anlo State chiefs.
2. Discuss the philosophical and symbolic meanings of the forms of clothing regalia used by the Anlo State chiefs and its relevance in Ghanaian contemporary society.
3. Investigate the influence of acculturation on the clothing regalia used by the Anlo State chiefs.

The study adapted ethnographic aspects of qualitative research method in order to gain understanding into a specific aspect of their lives. The population for the study were the four (4) hierarchy of political authority in the Anlo State and the key informants (kingmakers) interviewed for the study were eight (8), two (2) for each chief. Semi-structured interview guide was used to conduct the interviews. Non-participant observation was also used to observe their clothing regalia in order to verify the description given by key informants

in the interviews conducted. This was done using an observation guide and taking photographs of some clothing regalia. Finally data was transcribed and emerging themes and patterns were analysed in relation to the research objectives.

Main findings of the Study

Based on the first objective which sought to examine the factors that influenced the forms of clothing regalia used by the Anlo State chiefs, the findings identified the various forms of clothing regalia that the Anlo State chiefs used. These were the type of cloth used (Ewe *Kete*, *Adanuvor* or *Klala*), jumper which must be worn under any cloth, a hat to match their outfit on casual days and the *Fiakuku* on festive occasions. The Anlo chiefs also used the *Fiafokpa*, a walking stick which must always be with them whenever they go out, even when they are in the company of others and also they must adorn themselves with *Dzonu* (beads). The *Lashi* or *Sorshi* also formed part of their clothing regalia and was basically used during the installation of a chief.

The Anlo chiefs clothing regalia were influenced by the occasion or the function they attended. Occasions like installation and the reconciliation rites depicted the *Awoamefia* in a blue-black cotton gown (*Bishi*), *Batemi kuku*, a long walking stick (*Dzizikpo*), *Sorshi* and the consecrated sandals from Notsie. The military wing divisional chiefs were installed differently with a white calico and that is used for the confinement period. Coronation of the chiefs portrayed them in mostly white clothing regalia to celebrate the occasion. The Anlo chiefs dress in Ewe *Kete* and adorn themselves with *Dzonu* during the *Hogbetsotso* festival but sub chiefs must not upscale the dressing of the *Awoamefia*. Clothing regalia used for war times were red cloth (*Adewu*) and black or red cloths for

funerals but the *Awoamefia* does not attend funerals as it might spell doom for the Anlo State. On casual days, the Anlo chiefs dress in any cloth with jumper underneath, a walking stick and a hat to match.

Another finding was the influence of colour on the type of clothing regalia used by the Anlo chiefs which showed different symbolism during different occasions. Colour combination of yarns was also an important factor in determining the name of some Ewe *Kete*.

Furthermore, the role of the chiefs played an important factor in determining the type of clothing regalia that was used. The status of the *Awoamefia* as the overlord of the Anlo State influenced his dressing, therefore must dress to depict that status. His sub chiefs were not to dress to compete with the *Awoamefia*, as this might result in serious consequences such as death. The role of the *Awadada* as a war leader is heavily influenced by the type of clothing regalia that he uses as his clothing regalia must always be white.

Conversely, the clan of the chiefs did not have any influence on the type of clothing regalia used, likewise the clothing regalia of the Anlo chiefs were not inherited.

The second objective sought to discuss the philosophical and symbolic meanings of the clothing regalia used by Anlo State chiefs and its relevance in Ghanaian contemporary society. The meanings derived were spiritual symbolism, historical and philosophical symbolism, and social symbolism. The *Awoamefias'* blue-black cotton gown (*Bishi*), *Batemi kuku*, *Fiafokpa* and *Dzizikpo* worn during his installation and reconciliation rites symbolised that he is the head of all fetishes in Anlo State. The *Sorshi*, *Kakla* leaves and the walking stick which are filled with spiritual protecting herbs signified spiritual

protection for the chiefs. Beads such as *Sui* and *Blotsi* worn together hold supernatural powers to protect one from evil eyes.

The clothing regalia of the Anlo chiefs' preceded some historical events that occurred in the past which account for the *Awadada* white clothing regalia which symbolise peace and the victories over the wars fought in the past. It also symbolised a legacy their forefathers left behind thus the three most important clothing regalia is the jumper, hat and walking stick. Finally, the clothing regalia of the Anlo chiefs communicated to the Anlos the specific occasion. It also symbolise their affluence, supremacy and authority which is shown in the different positions held. The Anlo chiefs clothing regalia also distinguish them from other ethnic groups which gives them a unique identity.

The third objective was to investigate the influence of acculturation on the clothing regalia of Anlo State chiefs. It was evident that modernization has imparted heavily on the clothing regalia of the Anlo chiefs as they have adopted modern types of *Kente* cloths. Again, the influence of Ashanti culture is gradually being adopted in the use of the clothing regalia of the Anlo chiefs.

Conclusions

Having investigated the symbolic meaning of clothing regalia used by chiefs in Anlo State, the study revealed the different clothing regalia used and the factors that influenced the choice of the Anlo chiefs, but the spiritual implications attached to some of the clothing regalia made it difficult to probe further and observe those clothing regalia.

Again, modernity influence has been integrated into the Anlo chiefs clothing culture, and it is likely that the original clothing regalia and its symbolism may be extinct. In addition, the adaptation of some of the Ashanti's

chiefs clothing regalia may affect the true meaning of the Anlo chiefs clothing regalia, and gradually be defunct.

Nevertheless, the clothing regalia of the Anlo State chiefs cannot be undermined, while it is prominent in the history of the Anlo-Ewes and shows their cultural heritage, there is the need to continue to investigate and document the unknown in order to comprehend and gain a deeper meaning into their lives.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are made based on the findings and conclusions drawn from the symbolic meaning of clothing regalia used by Anlo State chiefs.

Traditional leaders must continue to use occasions like durbars, festivals and other ceremonies to sensitize their subjects on the importance of preserving their culture. This will educate the Anlos about the symbolic meanings of the clothing regalia used by their chiefs and also provide good sources of reference materials for the future generation to continue the legacy.

Finally, although society is being transformed rapidly through modernization, there is also the need to preserve the culture, traditions and the identity of the Anlo chiefs. Acculturation cannot be avoided, but its integration must not dominate the heritage culture. The clothing regalia of the Anlo chiefs are not just for adornment but also have communicative values which are educative and must be upheld as a culture that can be passed on to the younger generation. It is therefore essential that, kingmakers or keepers of Anlo traditions and customs should as much as possible document important aspects of the clothing regalia of the Anlo chiefs and not rely solely on oral tradition which can be altered or debunked by others.

Suggestions for Further Research

The study has essentially discovered other problems that needs to be investigated. Scholarly works on clothing about traditional leaders in Ghana are generally narrow therefore, there is the need to conduct an in-depth clothing anthropological or ethnographical research into the historical evidences of clothing used and its symbolism of traditional leaders in Ghana.

An area for further study is to investigate the effect of modernization on the clothing regalia of traditional leaders in the Ghanaian contemporary society.

Another area is to examine the impact of Akan culture on the clothing regalia of Anlo chiefs and its implications on the traditions and culture of the Anlo State.

Furthermore, a comparative study can be conducted to find out the similarities and differences between the symbolism of clothing regalia of chiefs in Anlo State and other ethnic groups (Guans) in the Volta region.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX-A

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

My name is Kafui Amivi Kumatia, and I am a graduate student at University of Cape Coast. I am conducting a qualitative research study on the topic “**The symbolic meaning of clothing regalia of chiefs in Anlo State in the Volta Region of Ghana**”.

Email: kafuiamivi1@gmail.com

Contact: 0502272501

PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to identify forms of clothing regalia and its symbolism used by the Anlo State chiefs.

BENEFITS

The benefits of the research is to document the different clothing regalia used by the Anlo chiefs and its symbolism for future referencing.

METHOD

Your participation in the study will involve a one on one interview with an estimated length of 40 to 60 minutes. Participation is voluntary and the interviewee has the right to terminate the interview at any time. The interview will be audio taped for analysis and there may be additional follow-ups through phone calls. You are encouraged to ask questions or raise concerns at any time about the nature of the study or the methods being used.

CONFIDENTIALITY

All of your information and interview responses will be kept confidential. Your

name and identifying information will not be associated with any part of the written report of the research. The researcher will not share your individual responses with anyone other than the research supervisor. Though direct quotes from the interview may be used in the paper, your name and other identifiable information will be kept anonymous.

By signing this consent form I certify that I agree to the terms of this agreement.

Participant name:

Place:

Date:

Signature:

APPENDIX-B
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION STUDIES
FACULTY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
DEPARTMENT OF VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION
INTERVIEW GUIDE

Dear respondent,

I am a graduate student of the University of Cape Coast conducting a research on the topic **“The symbolic meaning of clothing regalia of chiefs in Anlo State in the Volta Region of Ghana”**. I would need your responses on the following questions to enable me to conduct this study. I will be very grateful if you express your candid opinion on the interview guide. Your identity will not be disclosed, for this purpose you will be given a pseudonym during the interview.

Pseudonym **Date** **Duration**

Research objectives	Questions	Probing questions
<p>1. Factors that influence the forms of clothing regalia used by the Anlo State chiefs.</p>	<p>1. What type of clothing regalia does the Awoamefia use?</p> <p>2. Describe the forms of clothing regalia worn by Awoamefia on these occasions: Installation Confinement Coronation Reconciliation Festivals During burial and funerals War times Casual days</p> <p>3. What materials are used in making the different clothing regalia used by the Awoamefia?</p> <p>4. What type of cloth does the Awoamefia uses?</p> <p>5. What type of motifs and patterns are used in the clothing regalia?</p> <p>6. What type of ornaments does the Awoamefia uses for adornment?</p> <p>7. How does colour influence the choice of clothing regalia being used?</p>	<p>1. Why those materials?</p> <p>2. What are the names of the cloth?</p> <p>3. What are the motifs and patterns based on?</p> <p>4. Explain the meanings of the colours?</p>

	<p>8. How does the role of the Awoamefia influence the type of clothing regalia being used?</p> <p>9. How does the clan from which the Awoamefia belongs to affect the type of clothing regalia being used?</p> <p>10. Does the Awoamefia inherit the clothing regalia?</p>	<p>5. Are there any other clothing regalia that we have not discussed, that you find very important?</p>
<p>2. The philosophical and symbolic meanings of clothing regalia used by Anlo State chiefs and its relevance in Ghanaian contemporary society.</p>	<p>11. What are the various meanings associated with the different clothing regalia used by the Awoamefia?</p> <p>12. What messages do these different clothing regalia sends to the Anlo State?</p> <p>13. How relevant are these clothing regalia in Ghanaian contemporary society?</p> <p>14. How does the clothing regalia of Awoamefia differentiate him from other Ghanaian ethnic group chiefs?</p> <p>15. How does the clothing regalia of Awoamefia differentiate him from his sub chiefs?</p>	

3. The influence of acculturation on the clothing regalia of Anlo State chiefs.	16. How has the clothing regalia of Awoamefia evolved over time? 17. How has foreign influence or modernization impacted on Awoamefias' clothing regalia? 18. How has the influence of other Ghanaian ethnic groups impacted on Awoamefias' clothing regalia?	
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Conclusion of interview

Do you want to add anything on the clothing regalia used by the *Awoamefia* and its symbolism?

NB. All questions asked applied to the four main political authority in the Anlo State. They are *Awoamefia*, *Awadada*, *Dusifiaga* and *Miafiaga*.

APPENDIX-C
OBSERVATION GUIDE

Name of clothing regalia	Description/Observation notes

APPENDIX-D



The Awoamefia Torgbui Sri III in his clothing regalia at the annual *Hogbestosto* festival.

Source: Field work, Kumatia (2017)



The *Awadada Torgbui Agbesi Awusu II* in his clothing regalia at the annual *Hogbestosto* festival.

Source: Field work, Kumatia (2017)



The *Dusifiaga Torgbui Gbordzor III* in his clothing regalia at the annual *Hogbestosto* festival.

Source: Field work, Kumatia (2017)



The *Miafiaga Torgbui Nyaho Tamakloe V* in his clothing regalia at the annual *Hogbestosto* festival.

Source: Field work, Kumatia (2017)



The Awoamefia Torgbui Sri III.

Source: Field work, Kumatia (2017)

APPENDIX-E

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20th November, 2017

Awoamefia Palace
Volta Region

Dear Sir,

INTRODUCTORY LETTER

We have the pleasure of introducing to you Ms Kafui Amivi Kumatia who is an M. Phil Student of this Department.

We would be very grateful if you could grant her ethical clearance to enable her obtain data for her thesis on the topic "The symbolic meaning of regalia of Anlo State Chiefs in the Volta Region of Ghana".

We are counting on your cooperation.

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Dr. Augustina Araba Amissah'.

Dr. Augustina Araba Amissah
HEAD OF DEPARTMENT

DEPT. OF VOTEC
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
CAPE COAST

APPENDIX-F

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
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Cape Coast, Ghana

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15th March, 2018

The Chairman
Institutional Review Board
UCC



Dear Sir,

INTRODUCTORY LETTER

We have the pleasure of introducing to you **Ms. Kafui Amivi Kumatia** who is an M. Phil student in the Department.

We would be very grateful if you could furnish her with the necessary information she needs on for her thesis topic "**The Symbolic Meaning of Clothing Regalia of Anlo State Chief in the Volta Region of Ghana**".

We are counting on your usual cooperation.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, likely belonging to Dr. Augustina Araba Amissah.

Dr. Augustina Araba Amissah
HEAD OF DEPARTMENT