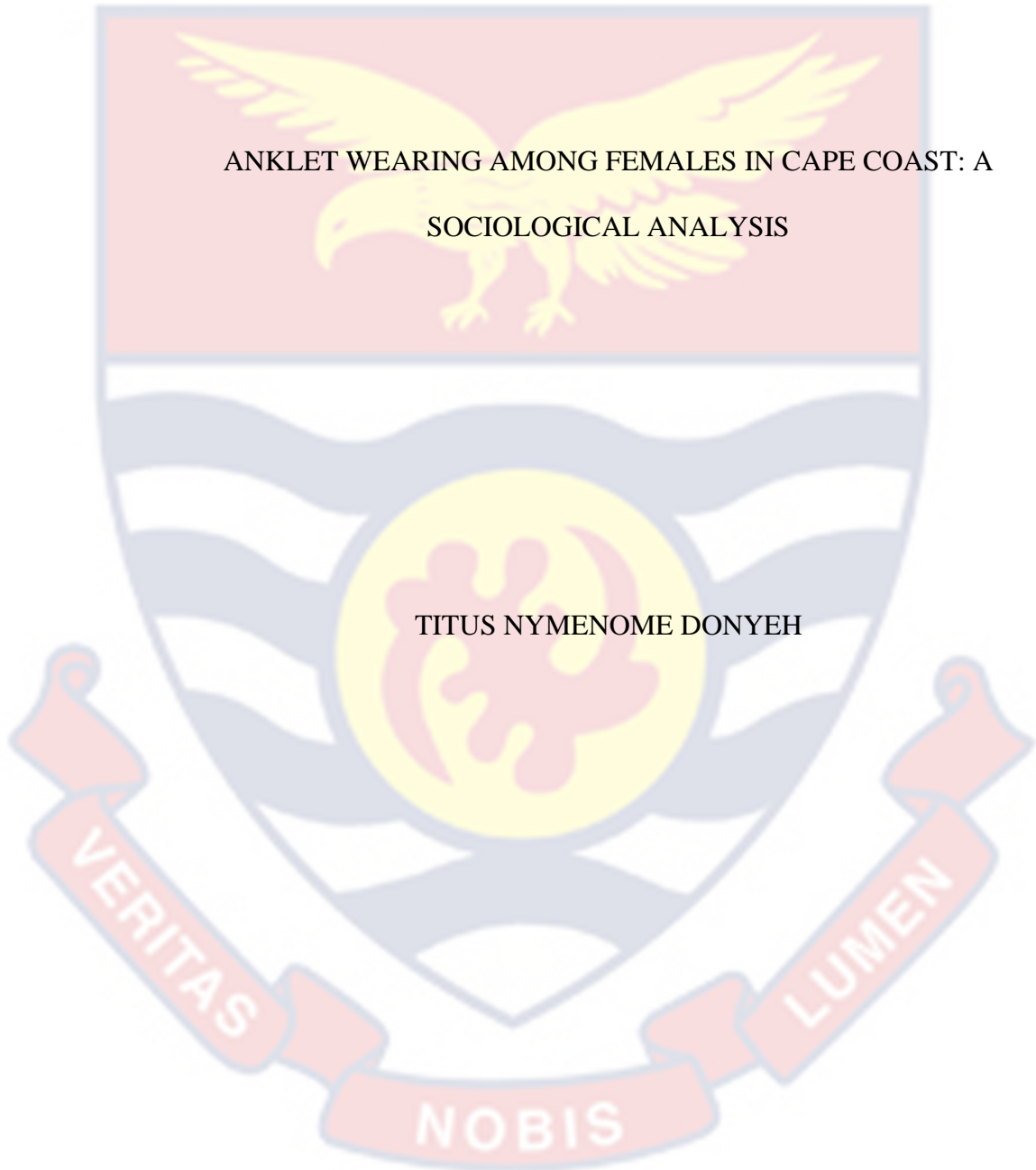


UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

ANKLET WEARING AMONG FEMALES IN CAPE COAST: A
SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

TITUS NYMENOME DONYEH



2023



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ANKLET WEARING AMONG FEMALES IN CAPE COAST: A
SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

BY

TITUS NYMENOME DONYEH

Thesis submitted to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the
Faculty of Social Sciences, College of Humanities and Legal Studies,
University of Cape Coast, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
award of Master of Philosophy Degree in Sociology

JUNE, 2023

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: 25/04/2024
Name: Titus Nymenome Donyeh

Supervisor's Declaration

I 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.

Supervisor's Signature:  Date: 30/04/2024
Name: Prof. Georgina Yaa Oduro



ABSTRACT

There is patronage in anklets wearing among young women in recent times. Anklets are associated with varied meanings, interpretations and corresponding implications. For example, some people associate the wearing of anklets with negative practices such as promiscuity, lesbianism, soul tying, marine spirits and immodest dressing among others. Drawing on cultural feminism, labelling and Bourdieu's habitus and bodily hexis theories, this study employed qualitative in-depth semi-structured interview and photovoice, with exploratory research design to examine the meanings and interpretations given to anklet wearing among females in Cape Coast. Purposive and snowballing sampling methods were used to recruit twenty-five participants for the study. The study revealed the gendered nature of anklet wearing with females wearing it most. The types of anklets worn by the females were mostly the beaded and chain anklets. Fashion emerged as a strong reason for the wearing of anklets by the young women. Both negative and positive interpretations were given to the wearing of anklets with some perceiving wearers as "slay queens". Positively, some people saw anklets as normal ornaments worn everyday just like earrings, necklaces and related ornaments worn by females as a life-style or fashion statement. Sociologically, the findings reflected a duality but also a continuum with practices of modernity co-existing with traditional practices. While with modernity females, wear it to satisfy their fashion taste, there are still traditional practices such as puberty rites where initiates are adorned with anklets. Based on the findings, I recommend the need for society appreciate the changing fashion trend in anklet wearing.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I express my whole-hearted gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Georgina Yaa Oduro for her support towards the writing of this thesis. Her diligent attitude towards the work motivated me to work harder towards the completion of this thesis. I am extremely grateful to her for her dedication to this work. I am also grateful to Dr. Baba Haruna of the Faculty of Art – University of Cape Coast for his contributions to make the work better. His editing skills and suggestions have helped in shaping the work.

Furthermore, I would want to express my gratitude to Rev. Fr. Dr. Wilfred Akakpo and Rev. Fr. Dr. Roger Afaako of Spiritan University College - Ejisu for their unwavering support and counsel during my studies. I would also want to thank the community elders and the females of Cape Coast, particularly anklet users and non-wearers, for volunteering to participate in the study. Thanks to the lecturers of the department of Sociology and Anthropology for their valuable comments during seminar sessions. Special thanks to my mother and siblings for their support and prayers throughout my studies. I wish to thank all those special people I was fortunate to share the lecture theater with. It was a joy knowing you all. Let us maintain our relationship into the future.

DEDICATION

To my mother, siblings, and my late father



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the study

We make assumptions regarding the social status and roles of the people we meet daily based on their presentation and/or what they are wearing (Crane, 2000). So, there is a popular adage that “You are what you wear.” The things we choose to adorn ourselves and how we choose to wear them send out messages that reveal many aspects of our personality. Whatever we wear, is worn for a purpose and we wear them as we dress. Dress is part of a larger context of appearance and relates to the defining of self-identity and interactions with others; the understanding of the self as a duplication of the combination of the opinions of oneself and others (Crane, 2000). This is why Entwistle and Wilson (2001) affirm that dress lies at the margins of the body, marking the boundary between the self and the other, the individual and society. Entwistle (2000, p. 325) adds that “dress is an embodied practice, a situated bodily practice which is embedded within the social world and fundamental to micro social order.”

What one wears forms part of dressing. We dress by wearing clothes in a particular way or of a particular type to cover our bodies. However, sometimes the clothes are not enough to make one look elegant or attractive to suit the occasion, convey the message we wish to communicate or social status or role we occupy. Humans utilize their bodies as artistic mediums, decorating the skin with unique decorations created by carefully selecting images, (Utoh-Ezeajugh, 2021). The human ‘body’ so takes on a message of its own, with its ornamentation signifying a variety of ideas. As such, other aspects of body

adornments are considered to enhance the beauty or status of the wearer (Crane, 2000). In the continent of Africa, body adornment is a significant activity which is widely practiced in many ethnic groups and cultures and beyond from time immemorial, (Utoh-Ezeajugh, 2008).

These body adornments form part of peoples' material and immaterial culture. Material culture includes artifacts, art, architecture, and other tangible goods that people create and to which they assign meanings (Basu, 2020). For example, architecture, clothing, television sets, consumer goods and dress styles. From the same source, immaterial culture refers to the mental blueprints that serve as guidelines for group behavior. They include the collective assumptions, languages, beliefs, values, norms, and attitudes of groups (Hicks, & Beaudry, 2010).

The difference between material and immaterial culture is that it is easier to change the material culture of any society than the immaterial part of it (Ezeibekwe et al., 2016). For example, beads used to make some body adornments such as necklace, bracelets, and others have changed as a result of invasion of other cultures and technological advancement to chain necklace, bracelets, and rings among others. This is because culture is a socially learned and transmitted behavior (Shennan, 2000).

Despite their differences, material and immaterial culture are interrelated in that all societies express their beliefs, values, and understandings in artifacts, architecture, and art (Hodder, 2013). Therefore, in simple societies, material culture usually supports a consistent view of reality. For example, clothing, hairstyles, and jewelry are part of material culture, but the appropriateness of wearing certain clothing, hairstyles, and jewelry for specific

events or occasions reflects immaterial culture (Morgan, 2010). As such, some body adornments such as cosmetics, jewelry, facial hair, fingernail modification, piercing, lip plates, tattooing, braiding, and head gear among others which form part of people's culture are used to reflect immaterial culture regarding the social status or role of the wearer (Utoh-Ezeajugh, 2021). While some of these embellishments are designed as transient body decorations, others are made as permanent body patterns. These bodily shapes highlight imposed religious, political, and societal roles. In most African communities, body ornamentation has been used to validate spiritual experiences, mark the rite of passage into sexual maturity, or grant a special function in the society (Tetteh & Agyei, 2022).

Today, one of the most patronized fashions is the ankle bracelet, which has been symbolic since ancient times, but its meanings may not be the same as they once were (Naveen, 2016). They reflect in silver or gold, chunky or delicate, sparkling or subtle, and have been worn and enjoyed by different cultures and civilizations all across the globe and throughout history. In the United, State both casual and formal anklets wearing became fashionable from the 1930s to the late 20th century (Luc et al., 2021). Anklets form part of the Indian marriage costume as men are expected to gift their wives' pair of anklets to signify their wife's faithfulness in the marriage (Saha, 2015).

Also, anklets are part of African costume and have a long history, and vary from feathers or bone to modern accessories such as beads, (Neva, 2005). This means that anklets form part of the African material culture. For example, in the early-20th century, anklets were commonly worn by Egyptian women of inner cities. They were called *kholkhal* (pl. *khalakheel*) and were most

commonly worn by women of Alexandria: along with a traditional dress covered by a one-piece black cloth called *melaya leff* (Nakamura, 2005). Currently, anklets are not commonly worn by Egyptian women in public due to increased Islamic conservatism that has spread in Egypt where wearing anklets in public is generally perceived as being immodest (Lodi, 2020). This has been attributed to the fact that colonization which came with a foreign religion, ended up influencing the religious and cultural significance attached to the wearing of anklets (Silverman, 2020). This is why Bonisile (2000) asserts that societies and communities become acculturated when western civilization brings its own culture in a country which causes a decline in wearing some aspects of their material culture and value their material culture. As such, a lot of people are fed watered down history influenced by western culture to make them feel or believe that their own culture is barbaric thereby losing their African identity (Ezeibekwe et al., 2016).

In the Ghanaian culture, anklets have been worn by chiefs and queens, traditional dancers (especially the Dagaaba *bewa* dancers and the Ashanti *adowa* dancers), and traditional priests for various occasions like festivals and funerals, and they have their cultural and religious significances (Tetteh & Agyei, 2022). Also, anklets form part of the body costume during rite of passages such as naming ceremony, and puberty rites especially *dipo* among the *Krobos* in the Eastern region of Ghana (Agbezuge et al., 2021). They are mostly found wearing the big beaded anklets made of clay or cowries, animal bones, teeth and skin leather or just a thread. In some Akan communities especially among the Nzema, new born babies are adorned with white pair of anklets (Agbezuge et al., 2021). The significance of this is to check the growth of the

baby, while others believe that it protects the child from anyone who has bad eyes to harm the child. In marriage ceremony among some ethnic groups in Ghana, the bride's ankles are seen adorned with anklets which signifies the queen she is. These form the categories and groups of people who wear anklet for various cultural and religious significances (Tetteh & Agyei, 2022).

In the same context of Ghana now, the kind of people who wear anklet and type of anklets worn seem to be undergoing some changes. The changes reflect in the texture, size and the style or way and manner people wear anklets. Young adults as well as older women, married and unmarried are seen wearing anklets of various kinds; including chain, and beaded anklets. Females in Cape Coast are not immune to this culture. This seems to suggest that culture is fluid rather than static, as referred by the father of Sociology in his social statics and social dynamics (1830) and Herbert Spencer in his social evolution theory (1851), which means that culture changes all the time, every day, in subtle and rapid ways. It draws attention to the dynamic nature of culture.

How to appreciate this change from a sociological angle is of interest to this study. Hence, this research is intended to explore anklet wearing among females in Cape Coast through a sociological analysis, to add to the lacuna of research in this area since available publications largely overlook this component of material culture. Sociological analysis is the systematic and organized analysis of human society, individuals and culture with a sociological perspective. It analyzes the cause and effect of the historical transition of society (Sahay, 2023).

Statement of the Problem

For any scientific research to be timely, relevant, and useful, it must be informed by concrete problems on the ground (Agbeve et al., 2022). There are many ways society has constructed meanings and interpretations for such symbolic ways of dressing including wearing of anklets (Saha, 2015; Nakamura 2005). Some of these constructed meanings and interpretations may be negative or positive. For example, some people associate the wearing of anklets negatively with promiscuity, lesbianism, soul tying, marine spirits and immodest dressing among others (Silverman, 2020).

Despite these varied meanings and constructions, it is common to come across many young ladies wearing anklets in recent times. It is commonly seen during occasions and at functions by these young women. Females in Cape Coast are not immune to this culture. Just like the general public, it is also common to come across females in Cape Coast wearing anklets. According to Naveen, (2016), anklets wearing in some situations can limit the opportunity, as well as accentuate the tendency for discrimination by the wearers. There is a grey literature on the sociological aspect of anklets wearing (Silverman 2020; Saha 2015; Nakamura 2005). Little or no accessible relevant literature has focused on the sociological dimensions of anklet wearing among Ghanaian youth. This creates a research gap, particularly, in terms of analysing the changing trend in the wearing of body adornment such as anklets. This study on anklet wearing among females of Cape Coast was made necessary by this research gap.

Study Objectives

The general objective of the study was to investigate anklet wearing among females in Cape Coast. The specific objectives of the study were to;

1. Describe the categories of females who wear anklets.
2. Explore the types, meanings and perceptions associated with anklets wearing among females.
3. Examine the experiences of females who wear anklets.
4. Investigate the occasions when anklets are worn by females.
5. Examine if the wearing of anklet among females is an emerging group identity or lifestyle.

Significance of the study

The goal of the study is to know the changes that exist in relation to the wearing of body adornment such as anklet. In addition, to identify factors that influence females to wear anklets. Also, explain meanings attached to anklets wearing and whether the wearing of anklets among females is an emerging group identity or lifestyle. Finally, since anklet forms part of material culture, the study will add to the body of literature in the field of material culture studies.

Operational Definition of Concepts

- i. **Body Adornment:** the act or process of making the human body attractive by decorating (DeMello, 2007). In this study body adornment includes anklets wearing.
- ii. **Anklets:** bangles that are worn on the ankle. It can be made of beads, leather, or metal, thus silver or gold (Green, 2016). Thus, anything worn around the ankle is considered as anklet.
- iii. **Group identity:** the characteristics that make a group unique (Chen, and Li, 2009). So, in this work the characteristics that are considered to define group identity are: lifestyle and behaviour.
- iv. **Lifestyle:** the way a person or a group live (Sorensen, 2000). Since dressing is part of the way people live (culture), lifestyle in this context should be understood as how people dress in everyday life.
- v. **Sociological analysis:** the systematic and organized analysis of human society, individuals and culture with a sociological perspective. It analyzes the cause and effect of the historical transformation of society (Silk, 2011). The sociological analysis in the work is based specifically on the changes that could be observed in relation to anklet wearing from traditional to modern.
- vi. **Traditional and Modern:** the former pertains to adhering to established practices or ways of behaving that have persisted within a community or group of people for an extended period of time without modification, whereas the later is more closely associated with the current or recent past (Inglehart, and Baker, 2000). So, the words traditional and modern in this sense are going to be used to

refer to types of anklets and ways they are worn, that have continued to exist for a long time and the latter will focus on the changing trend in relation to anklet wearing that can be observed relating to the present.

Organisation of the study

The thesis is divided into five chapters with chapter one already discussed. This put the background of the study, issue statement, set of study objectives into perspective and highlighted the importance of the research. Chapter Two focuses on the review of relevant literature related to the study. It covered the theoretical framework and empirical literature review. Chapter three focuses on the study's methodology, including the research design, population and sample method, data gathering method, ethics, trustworthiness of the study and data analysis. In Chapter Four, the results and discussion of the study were presented. Finally, the conclusions and recommendations on the study and suggestions for further research were presented in Chapter five.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical perspectives and the literature that guided the study. It starts with the theoretical perspectives, specifically Cultural feminism (1970), Bourdieu's theory of habitus (1977) and bodily hexis (1990), and Becker's labelling theory (1963). These three theories are used complementarily as each of them does not raise enough assumptions to interpret the phenomenon under study. This is followed by empirical reviews of relevant literature on the history and significance of anklets wearing, as well as on anklets and social identity construction from the global, African and Ghanaian perspectives.

Theoretical Framework

Theories are sets of assumptions or statements or hypotheses that provide explanations for real-world experiences, events or phenomena (Asare, 2018). The study on Anklet wearing among females of Cape Coast was guided by cultural feminists' theory (1970s), Bourdieu's theory of habitus and bodily hexis (1977; 1990), and sociologist Howard S. Becker's labeling theory, which he devised and made popular in 1963.

Cultural feminist theory emerged in the 1970s (Bromley, 2012) with the aim of explaining how patriarchal definitions of "woman" devalue feminine attributes. Cultural feminists held the view that there is a "female nature" or "female essence", which was an attempt to revalue and redefine attributes ascribed to femaleness. So, cultural feminism fully embraces and essentialise

the feminine nature of woman, focusing on the importance and value of female qualities (Mills et al., 2010). For example, they suggest that the distinctive qualities arising out of traditional body adornments and women's connection with them give women greater capacity to redefine their female essence. It is therefore suggested that the emphasis within this type of feminist group is on lifestyle issues to portray women's feminine nature or what they call "female essence". So, in a study like this, cultural feminists may argue that adornment with anklets reflects the femaleness of a woman since they tend to enhance the feminine qualities of women. This is because cultural feminists argue that such qualities will not only be different from but also superior to male characteristics. Hence, a return to an essentialist interpretation of gender differences that values the superiority of female characteristics (Bromley, 2012). The cultural feminists' theory was relevant to this study as it served as a framework for understanding the categories of females who wear anklets, the motivations for female's choice of wearing adornments such as anklets as well as the when they wear it.

The limitation of this theory gave rise radical feminists rejection of cultural feminism and the notion that feminine traits are desirable since such notions are used to subdue and disempower women. Therefore, the radical feminists emphasise the emancipation of women from any cultural element that disadvantage women (Mills et al., 2010). Also, the theory is not capable of explaining how people pick up some lifestyles and factors that determine their type of body adornment such as anklets. Bourdieu's theory of habitus and bodily hexis comes in handy to fill that gap for this study.

Habitus and hexis are two Aristotelian vocabularies which mean “habit” and “state of being or disposition” respectively. Hence, Bourdieu’s theory of habitus assumes that the environment within which people find themselves expose them to some common habits within that environment (Lizardo, 2004).

Bodily hexis on the other hand assumes that people’s choice of what they attach to their body depends on their state of being or disposition such as skin colour, body type, and shapes (Decoteau, 2016). Therefore, the habitus and bodily hexis views arenas of social reproduction of habits as places where symbols can become meaningful through their association with the body (Treherne 1995, p. 118) with social behaviour being seen as the embodiment of attitudes continually inherited and learned throughout life (Robbins 2000: 28). Bourdieu’s theory of habitus and bodily hexis (1977; 1990) provided a framework for understanding how people pick up such lifestyle and the individual agency in response to the lifestyle of anklets wearing, the types of anklets and determinants. The habitus and bodily hexis theory helped to explain why people pick up certain habits, especially when they contradict their social norms and sometimes results in labelling.

The labeling theory, propounded by the American sociologist Howard S. Becker (1963) in his book “Outsiders,” established a framework for understanding how people are tagged based on the type of anklets they wear and where on the foot they wear them. According to Becker (1963), the behaviour of human beings is influenced significantly by the way other members of the society perceive and label them. As such, the labelling theory holds that agents of social control attach labels to particular groups, and the resultant is that the group labeled change their behavior to match with the label. This hypothesis

implies that the main behavior turns into a self-fulfilling prophesy, in which the labeled act matches the label. Anklets have been worn on important traditional occasions by kings and queens. However, the exploration of foreign cultures has influenced the way anklets were used to be worn on both ankles. So, since modern times people are seen wearing anklet on one ankle, they are labeled because of the fact that the first people found to be wearing single chain anklets were prostitutes and lesbians (Silverman, 2020). When someone is found wearing anklets, that individual may be seen as a deviant, and in extreme cases a prostitute or lesbian. While this may be a negative implication of labeling, labeling can also be positive when someone may also admire an individual who wears anklet. Therefore, according to Becker's (1963) theory, labeling is a result of outside judgments that alter an individual's conception of themselves and alter how others perceive the labeled person. For example, it could also be that a friend wore anklets, and was labeled as nice and/or beautiful thereby triggering the interest of the others to wear.

The scientific status of labeling theory has improved considerably in recent years. Labeling theory became widely accepted during the 1960s as a viable approach to crime and deviance, but a series of critiques that came out during the 1970s undermined its initial popularity (Bernburg, 2019). According to critics (e.g., Tittle, 1980), labeling theory was vague, simplistic, and ideological, and empirical tests had failed to provide consistent support for the proposition that labeling reinforces deviant behavior. In the 1980s, however, scholars began to argue that this critique had led to a premature demise of labeling theory (Paternoster & Iovanni, 1989). These academics said that the labeling theory's critics had exaggerated and oversimplified the claims.

Furthermore, a sizable portion of the studies that had cast doubt on the labeling hypothesis did not represent proper testing of the theory since they had methodological flaws. It has also drawn criticism for believing that labeling happens automatically and ignoring the ability of the individual to refuse it.

Despite its criticisms, labelling theory has fundamentally constituted a part of the cultural framework that people use to define and categorize the social world, labels are special in that they are sometimes stigmatizing markers. For example, deviant labels are associated with stigma, which means that the mainstream culture has attached specific negative images or stereotypes to deviant labels (Link & Phelan, 2001). Hence, individuals labeled as deviants tend to be set aside as fundamentally different from others, and they tend to be associated with stereotypes of undesirable characteristics (Simmons, 1965). Becker (1963) has argued that the deviant status may become a master status for the person; that is, the negative images attached to the deviant label may override other attributes a person may have. "To be labeled a deviant", Becker (1963) writes, "carries a number of connotations specifying auxiliary traits characteristics of anyone bearing the label" (pp. 33-34). The labeled person is seen as unable to "act as a moral being and therefore might break other important rules." Moreover, any future (or past) misbehavior may be seen as an indication of his or her essential deviant nature.

Empirical Review

Anklets are made with threading beads, and are worn or tied around the ankle. They form part of peoples' material culture. They are one of the material items of body adornment. Body Adornment is the act or process of making the human body attractive through decoration. The items used to adorn include cosmetics, jewels, clothing accessories, facial hair, fingernail modification, piercing, lip plates, tattooing, braiding, and head-gear among others. Some of the studies that have examined body adornment include the followings:

Firstly, the assessment of the general attitudes, cultural significance and health risks associated with body arts on the Ewe youth in the Volta Region of Ghana (Agbezuge et al., 2021). Secondly, this study examined the attitude and disposition of University of Ibadan undergraduate students towards tattooing and body piercing (Ezeibekwe et al., 2016). Thirdly, data on demographics, risk behavior, and decision-making among college students with and without body piercings were collected, (Armstrong et al., 2004).

The review will be presented as follows: the historical background of anklets and types of anklets, significance of anklets wearing, gender and anklets, specifically the gendered nature of anklet wearing. The chapter further discuss anklets wearing and identity, social class and anklet wearing, and anklet wearing among different age groups such as infants and young children, adolescents and young unmarried girls, girls of marriageable age, married women and old women.

Historical background of anklets wearing

According to Merriam-Webster dictionary, anklet, also called ankle chain, ankle bracelet or ankle string, is an ornament worn around the ankle. Nearly, all jewelry accessories have a rich and vibrant history, and the anklet is not different. Ankle bracelets, just like any other piece of jewelry, have been worn since time immemorial. Their origins can be traced as far back as 6,000 BC (Marshall, 1931).

Anklets have been worn for thousands of years within different cultures. Historically, according to Alix et al., (1971), the wearing of anklets can be found as early as Sumerian times, which are traced to the 5th millennium BC, and are considered the first ancient urban civilization. This is because unearthed Sumerian graves show that this civilization was the first in recorded history to leave evidence of wearing bracelets, including ankle bracelets. Graves also reveal the Sumerians wore finger rings, toe rings, and necklaces. It is believed that the wearing of jewelry by a wife showed how wealthy her husband was. Therefore, the jewelry worn during this era was representative of demand in luxurious goods by an increasingly affluent society. So, anklets have not been worn just for the sake of its fashion as it is understood now in the trend of anklet wearing.

The literature search further revealed that anklets have been worn for at least over 8,000 years by girls and women in South Asia, Kenoyer (1991), where it was commonly known as *pattilu*, *payal*, *golusu* and sometimes as *nupur*. For example, John Marshall describes dancing girl statue as being adorned with armllets, bangles, and anklets (Marshall, 1931). Neolithic and chalcolithic periods at Mehrgarh indicate the use of anklets (Kenoyer, 1991). Rajasthani

women wore the heaviest type of anklets which were made of silver and signifies tribal adherence. The women wore these as costume jewelry, but also to show their bravery as a tribe against other rival tribes. This is done as they occasionally wore anklets on both ankles joined by a chain to limit their steps.

This practice was once prevalent in Southeast Asia, where the effect was to give a “feminine” short tripping step (Kenoyer, 1991). Nevertheless, the ancient fashion for heavy anklets is declining in India now but is still common in rural areas. Today, a few Indian women follow this practice, but rarely in public. More rarely still, some people wear “permanent” (e.g., soldered) ankle chains and even connecting chains.

The word “payal” (payalak) is a word for the anklet in Hindi and Punjabi. Indians have worn ankle bracelets for centuries, and they are an important piece of jewelry in Indian marriages, worn along with saris. Today’s Indian wedding customs still include wearing ankle bracelets as a part of the ceremonial wedding garments (Saha, 2015). It is not surprising that Indian women wear some of the most extravagant anklets in the world featuring lots of tiny chains, bells, and charms. These anklets that feature lots of tiny chains, bells, and charms are made of silver. This is because according to Saha (2015), silver is a popular medium for Indian ankle bracelets because of its scientific significance. He explained that, silver may be a good conductor of energy and work as a mediator between the two kinds of energy, earth, and the human body and so it makes one feel energetic. Also, traditionally, only Kshatriya (royal/warrior caste) persons can wear gold anklets, and other castes wore silver anklets (Kenoyer, 1991). Also, in the eastern Indian state of Odisha, which is known for its traditional jewelry, there are varieties of anklets known as Paunji

Nupur, which are worn by women. Another variety, which covers the entire foot, is known as Padapadma (Kenoyer, 1991).

Literature review reveals that anklets have also been worn by Egyptian women since pre-Dynastic times (Nakamura, 2005). Anklets were worn as an everyday ornament by Egyptian women of all social classes in ancient Egypt. The name for anklets was not much different from that of bracelets being *menefret* (*mnfret*) except by adding a phrase to denote connection to the feet. During the fourth, fifth, and sixth Dynasties, anklets were usually made of beads threaded in several rows held together with spacer-bars (Alix et al., 1971). According to Neva (2005), unlike India women's anklets that were made from silver, that of Egypt were made of different metals and in multiple shapes, with more expensive metals like gold being more common among the rich, while less expensive ones like silver and iron more common among lower social classes. In the early-20th century, anklets were commonly worn by Egyptian women of inner cities. They were called *kholkhal* (pl. *khalakheel*) and were most commonly worn by women of Alexandria, along with a traditional dress covered by a one-piece black cloth called *melaya leff*, just as the Indian women wear it along with saris. Today, anklets are not commonly worn by Egyptian women in public due to increased Islamic conservatism that has spread in Egypt where wearing anklets in public is generally perceived as being immodest (Lodi, 2020). However, anklets are still commonly worn by dancers in public events.

Bronze anklets as the name suggest from literature reveals that they were visible as early as the Bronze Age in temperate Europe, in an area roughly along the Danube, in the Alpine foreland, up the Rhine to the Atlantic, and also down the Rhône (Sherratt & Forbes, 2001). Bronze anklets were found among hoards

in these areas, along with other bronze items characteristic of this time (c. 1800 BCE onwards), and are attributable to the Tumulus culture that spread across this region. From the same source, anklets wearing and accessories in Europe were inspired by the regions of South Asia as a result of an increasing fascination in eastern cultures in the west, with hordes of hippies embarking on the “hippy trail”: an adventure which began in Europe and ended in South Asia, travelling through Pakistan, India, and Nepal.

In the United States, both casual and more formal anklets became fashionable from the 1930s to the late-20th century (Luc et al., 2021). According to White (2005), there are trends of anklet wearing identified. First, in the 1950s bobby sockers wore jewelry anklets to enhance their white socks. Second, by the 1970s, anklets were a widespread part of fashion. Handmade jewelry became particularly popular during this time, and it was common to wear anklets with charms on them. So, in the 1970s, women began wearing anklets that featured their names or initials. Third, formal anklets (of silver, gold, or beads) used by some women as fashion jewelry have become extremely popular pieces of fashion jewelry during the decades that followed. Now, anklets are considered a permanent fixture of American fashion. Nevertheless, according to Zungu (2000), during the earlier parts of the twentieth century, it was rumored that only prostitutes wore anklets. Because of this, many mothers discouraged their daughters from wearing them. However, there is no sound evidence that this was a cultural practice, but it was believed by many as mere rumors.

In Sub-Saharan African culture, it is found in the literature that the costumes and body design culture of the many ethnic groups found in Africa

evolved through circumstances of geographic location, weather conditions, inter-ethnic interactions, colonial activities, foreign interests, and the impact of local and international migrations (Zungu, 2000). Hence, by the middle of the last century, beads had become deeply integrated into Black African social life and as such, they were highly accepted as an integral part of the African culture. This was due to the fact that trade beads were imported from other countries and some of the visitors came with beads to pay for passing through the country. However, it is quite interesting to note that from time immemorial before the advent of the early white settlers, beads were made locally from natural products such as sea shells, eggshells, wood, and bone, from peels of dried vegetables and from seeds and in some area, they made use of clay (Carey, 1986, p.3). So, Neva (2005), asserts that beads as part of African costume have a long history, around the world, from feathers or bone to modern accessories, such as jewelry.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, as far as beadwork is concerned, wearing anklets is one of the cultures of Africans, especially the blacks. Literature reveals that many museums have collections of old Zulu beadwork dating as far back as the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries (Zungu, 2000). According to Wood (1996, p.145), beads were used extensively almost in all aspects of the Zulu culture as necklaces, bracelets, and anklets. In Burkina Faso or Congo, it is used as a wedding gift. When a young woman is going to get married, ankle bracelets are offered to her as a dowry. For example, in the Congo, the bridegroom gives his future wife several pairs of bracelets to the feet (about 5) before he can discuss the marriage.

Just like ancient Egypt, sub-Saharan African Country like Ghana has long been associated with luxury and opulence as far as anklet wearing is

concerned. Its opulence can be found among most ethnic groups in Ghana, like the Ewes, Akans, Gas, and others. Various kinds of personalities have adorned themselves with anklets as an identity of their ethnicity and as a symbol of African Heritage. In Ghana, anklets have been worn by traditional cultural dancers, kings and queens. During some ceremonies like outdoorings, naming rite, puberty rite, and marriage rite, people are found adorned with anklets on both legs (Tetteh & Agyei, 2022). This explains the fact that cultures in Ghana are not immune to the wearing of anklets. Anklets are worn on both ankles whether single or chunk, gold or silver, leather or beads or cowries (Agbezuge et al., 2021). So, the inappropriateness of wearing it and the type being worn can attract a negative perception (Silverman, 2020). The golden and silver chain anklets are not popular among cultures in Ghana (Agbezuge et al., 2021). Traditionally, cultures in Ghana do not wear chain anklets. Anklets are basically made from beads, cowries, animal bones, and skin. If they are made of gold or silver then they are chunk worn by royals, especially the Ashanti King. Single anklet wearing is foreign to the Ghanaian culture (Tetteh & Agyei, 2022).

Types of anklets

There are various types of anklets based on the materials used to make them. One of them is beaded anklets because they are made from beads such as cowries, teeth, and bones of animals, and a thread. A hole is made in these materials that a thread is passed through to have that circular shape of beaded work as bracelets, necklace, and anklets. Despite the cowries, teeth and bones of animals, the beads are made from clay, which goes through a lot of processes (Zungu, 2000). Beaded anklets are popular in Sub-Saharan Africa like Congo,

Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, and Ghana because of their religious, and socioeconomic significance (Utoh-Ezeajugh, 2021). Beaded anklets are preferred by women who love to play with colours. Beads come in a variety of colours and can be mixed to match almost every outfit. Beaded anklets are very stylish and easy to make. They are worn by traditional rulers, traditional priests and priestesses, and traditional dancers like the “adowa” dancers of the Ashanti and “Bobobo” dancers of the Volta Region. In Ghana beaded anklet is popular among the Ewes, Gas and Akans, while anklets made of cowries, teeth, and bones of animals are predominant among the northern ethnic groups like the Dagaaba, Gonja, and Frafra (Agbezuge et al., 2021).

Metal anklets for women come in various metals like silver, yellow gold, white gold, German silver, nickel, brass and copper. These are usually preferred due to their sturdiness and long life. From a simple metallic ankle bracelet to a sophisticated design, metal anklets come in various sizes and shapes to suit everyone’s taste. Metal anklets also come in an embellished variety, studded with stones and colourful enamel. This variety is very popular with Indian women who prefer to adorn their feet with grand accessories.

These exude class and sophistication, especially if they showcase precious gemstones. Typically, sterling silver anklets are singular chains while golden anklets come as a delicate two dainty ones stacked on one another. It has been known to be worn by affluent and the wealthy in society especially Egyptians and Indians (Hayati et al., 2021). While in Egypt the golden anklet is worn to signify men’s wealth, in India it is seen as a groom’s gift to the bride and the silver anklets for those of the lower caste in India. This type of anklet is popular among Indians, Europeans, and Americans. However, silver and golden

anklets have become the choice of some people from other parts of the world in recent times.

Shell Anklet designs are the latest style in the anklet segment. They come in a variety of pretty shells stringed together or even loose shells hanging sideways. Shell anklets are very fashionable and great for beach parties. However, you can also wear them with casual outfits like shorts and skirts to highlight your feet with some funky accessories. Shell anklets come in a number of designs, from simple ankle bracelet to heavy boho designs paired with coins and beads. Shell anklets are also a great way of preserving your memories of that perfect trip to the beach (Hayati, et al., 2021).

Leather anklets are one of the ancient types of anklets. It is made from leathers of some animals' skin. Sometimes, it has an animal's bone, teeth, or cowries as a knot to lock both ends to form that circular shape around the ankle. This type of anklet is known to have been worn by slaves to distinguish them from their masters. However, in Mali, Niger, and Burkina Faso, it is found to be worn by others as a charm or as a talisman (Zungu, 2000).

Barefoot anklet is a type of anklet based on how it is worn and not the material used. This means it could be made of gold or silver chains, beads, cowries, teeth, and bones of animals, and leather. Barefoot anklets start at the ankle, stretch down the top of your foot, and end with a toe ring (Hayati et al., 2021). This mimic the look of a sandal without a sole, hence the name "barefoot anklet". They have bedazzled the foot of queens as a perfect addition to their traditional festivals (Hayati, et al., 2021).

Significance of anklets wearing

Much as the wedding ring is usually worn on the left ring finger that way to express its owner's marital status, the anklets were also once gifted to the bride by the groom as a symbol of love and the wish to become her official husband. In some African societies, ankle chains have been determinant of the marital or social status of the wearer. So, the first anklet dates back to ancient Egypt when it was a feminine jewelry gifted to women by men, mostly to indicate marital status, just like the wedding and engagement rings (Green, 2016). Hence, just as women and men wear wedding bands and engagement rings on their right or left ring finger, ankle bracelets once symbolized marital status in some societies. For example, in the Congo, the bridegroom gives his future wife several pairs of anklets to the feet (about 5) before he can discuss the marriage (Neva, 2005). Historically, anklets were a gift from the groom to the bride to make their nuptials officially known to the world. Fisher & Angela (1984) affirms this that in the equatorial forests, anklets of great weight, traditionally part of a woman's dowry and symbols of status, were forged onto the women's legs to be worn. Hence, it makes sense that women of long ago adorned their ankles with anklets. This means that the ankle bracelet has a significant meaning though people enjoy the sparkle of a dainty ankle bracelet and wear all types, from a slim silver one to a chunkier costume jewelry anklet without much knowledge of their significance.

Literature reveals that anklets have been used to attract a partner, to show that one has a partner, or just to flaunt wealth. For example, women in Mesopotamia used to wear them to show off their husband's fortune (Green, 2016). In ancient times in Egypt also, anklets were extremely fashionable, and

they were fashionable jewelry for the wealthy classes of women (Lodi, 2020). These women often showed their status with flashy anklets made of stones and metals. In ancient times, Egyptians wore anklets to indicate their social status. A woman wearing a golden or silver bracelet decorated with precious stones on her ankle was obviously stating about her being a wife of a wealthy man, while the slaves or plebeians were usually wearing leather or metallic anklets or else anklets out of shells and in most cases, they served as just amulets and talismans (Neva, 2005). From the same source, women of the poorer working classes typically wore handmade anklets with simple metals. They handcrafted the jewelry to incorporate symbols that they believed would bring them good fortune in their futures. Today anklets are an important element of Middle Eastern belly dancers' outfits. Intricately handcrafted anklets create a subtle but beautiful sound as the belly dancers move their feet (Neva, 2005).

Throughout history, anklets have played a major cultural role in India as well as literature reveals that women have worn them for centuries on their wedding days and are a reward to show their marital status (Saha, 2015). Also, in ancient India, married women would wear ankle bracelets adorned with charms. This way, men could hear them coming and stop talking about the disrespectful things in front of them. Heavy anklets are particularly popular today in rural India. Women in tribal areas of Rajasthan wear handmade silver anklets that are extremely heavy as a display of bravery (Saha, 2015). Anklets have played such a huge role in India's cultural landscape that there is even an epic poem about them. In *Shilappadikaram*, the famous poem, a married man falls in love with another woman who wears anklet. Her anklet has such magical powers that he is powerless to resist her.

In India, anklets are both fashion pieces and signifiers of marital status. It is tradition for married women to wear anklets furnished with charms so family members and other men know that they are spoken for and should be treated with the respect deserving of a married woman. To this day, anklets are one of the most common and traditional gifts for Indian brides as they will not only get plenty of use but are also believed to bring good luck to a new wife and symbolize a long and happy marriage. In Ghana, most women add it to their traditional marriage customs to signify the “queen” being married to a man.

Literature indicates that in the United States, both casual and more formal anklets became fashionable from the 1930s to the late twentieth century (White, 2005). So, anklets have been worn for their fashionable significance. Hence, in western popular culture both younger men and women wear casual leather anklets, and formal barefoot anklets (of silver, gold, or beads) by some women as fashion jewelry.

In Ghana, anklets are special body adornments of kings and queens, an identity on its own. Literature available shows that queen mothers in Ghana wear ankle bracelets. It can be cowries, beads, leather, metal, silver, precious stones, and a nice chain. Anklets could tell the fortune and the societal status of a man and a woman. Kings and Queen mothers in Ghana wear anklets as a form of social identity. For example, among the Nzemas, Kings and Queens wear beads around their ankle to show their place in the society (Tetteh, & Agyei, 2022). When a woman is seen wearing beads around her ankle, the observer quickly notices that she is a royal. For the Nzemas, and for those mentioned above (Kings and Queens), the beads are worn around both legs or mostly on the left leg. Besides the fact that wearing of anklets shows the place of the

individual in society, for the royals in Nzema, it shows their wealth and their wealth in the society. Beads wearing as a King and as a Queen in the Nzema land shows the kingdom's wealth. It must be noted that Kings and Queens from the Nzema lands are always to be seen wearing anklets when attending important programs. Besides these mentioned reasons, the adorning of Queens and Kings with beads at their ankles make them look beautiful.

Ezenwanyi is a priestess in the cult of Igbo tradition. In Igbo tradition, Ezenwanyi wore anklets to, which signify their status and power (Utoh-Ezeajugh, 2008). For example, some anklets have a sound, signify a woman's bravery and show that a female warrior is around. This is similar to the Nzema traditional priests and priestesses. As they proceed to the village, the sound from the anklet makes way for them to pass through without getting people usurping their duties (Tetteh, & Agyei, 2022). Also, besides pointing to their special place in the society as mediators between the people and the deities, it shows their power and call on the people always to obey messages from the gods and the ancestors. Depending on the type of god, a priestess may have something different attached to the bead worn on the ankle (Utoh-Ezeajugh, 2008). Sometimes some of those additional things include teeth of wild animals, substances from the sea and hair or fur. Anklets are also used by warriors, and by other members of the military to show rank or achievement (Nakamura, 2005).

Anthropological, and sociological analysis relating to personal adornment, social identity, and "rites of passage" highlights the importance of body ornaments in marking life stages and expressing gender- and age-specific roles throughout life and into death (Green, 2016). For example, in Tell es-

Sa'idiyeh in central Jordan, when a child is born, anklets are put on her. These anklets are changed as the child grows, to suggest the 'growing out' and 'growing into' from infancy to adulthood (Green, 2016). In Cote d'Ivoire, among the Senoufous, anklet is worn during initiatory rites, funerals or certain festivals (Fisher & Angela, 1984). It is made mostly of bronze, lost wax and brass. To enhance the beauty or status for an occasion, especially during rites of passage like naming ceremony and puberty rites in some ethnic groups in Ghana, infants to be named and initiates are found adorned with beaded anklets to enhance their beauty or status for the occasion. For example, the Krobos are adorned with beaded anklets to signify purity during the 'dipo' rites (Agbezuge et al., 2021). Among the Nzema, babies are adorned with beads. The wearing of beads around the anklets by babies are for a few reasons. Taking out the beautification of the babies, female babies are worn anklets and this time around the knee to give their legs special shape from their thighs traditionally (Tetteh, & Agyei, 2022). They can wear it for as long as one year though six months is the usual period. Mothers who come out from the labour room successfully, also adorn themselves with the wearing of white beads around their ankles and other body parts traditionally. Worth noting is the wearing of anklet by the 8th successive born on a roll of children. Whether male or female, the 8th born of a family bear the name Nyameke-god's gift. Since they are considered as gifts from deities and ancestors, the wearing of beads around their ankles tie them to the place they were before being born, and hence are considered valuable and loved by their parents. So, they are traditionally the pride of their parents (Von, 2023).

For other people, the anklet is a talisman or good-luck charm (especially for the anklets worn on the left ankle) (Zungu, 2000). These are often made from cowries, animals' skin, teeth, and bones. Sometimes it is worn to serve as a protector or spiritual prowess against one's enemies. They are often a gift from ancestry descent or gain through initiation into a cult.

Anklets are still common in most part of the world, where they are sometimes adorned with jewels and bells and often hollowed and filled with shot, so as to jangle rhythmically when worn by dancers (Chawanda, & Ishchenko, 2013). For example, if one has ever seen traditional dance from India and some cultural dance like "bewa" among the Dagaaba in the Northern part of Ghana, then probably one might have certainly heard the sound of the ankle bells worn on the dancer's feet. The ankle bells draw attention to the dancer's graceful footwork and special steps.

In the contemporary world, however, anklets have come in different forms and shapes and all other types of anklets have become a fashion symbol, with differences in meaning and significance based on colour, type, and design (Silverman, 2020). For example, the woman wearing anklet on her right ankle is referred to as "called girl" in some cultures, while it meant married woman but available for other relationships in other cultures (Naveen, 2016). From the same source, an ankle bracelet on the left ankle also says that the wearer is married, or they have a lover to whom they are committed. In African cultures, for example, the anklets worn by women are often believed to symbolize beauty, and in ancient Egypt, the anklets were a sign of wealth (Nakamura, 2005). It was believed that the anklets worn by women symbolized their strength and courage. And as mentioned above, most cultures use the ankle to symbolize the

wearer's marital status (Saha, 2015). This means that the symbolism and significance behind the anklet one wears will depend on culture or beliefs.

Gender and anklet

According to Green, (2016), women wore anklets as early as 6,000 B.C.-3100 B.C. These early people made anklets from precious stones and metals found in nature and wore them to denote status and social rank (Zungu, 2000). For example, affluent brides and wives flaunted lavish anklets made of precious metals and gemstones to show the wealth of the men they are married to (Zungu, 2000). Men have been wearing anklets and enjoy seeing anklets for millennia, but the practice is not common in modern cultures. Just as women have been wearing them to show that they are married to wealthy men, men have been wearing anklets too as a sign of their wealth. Men wore anklet in Africa and the Middle East, to indicate their social status. For example, in Egypt, single anklets were worn by some high-status males to determine the wealth of the family to which they belong (Green, 2016). This shows that as women wore anklets to indicate marital status, wearing of anklets among men were to determine their wealth or social status. According to Naveen (2016), a man may wear anklets as a fashion statement, but it is rare to see anklets worn by men unlike women. Sometimes the size and weight of the ankle bracelet allows for determining whether it belonged to a man or a woman. Men could have worn massive, cast bracelets, while the delicate ones were probably worn by, women (Bouchot, 2010). That said, wearing a gold anklet can be quite symbolic, and in most cases, a woman who wears a gold anklet shows that she's married to a wealthy man.

Beaded anklets are women's ornamentation. However, wearing of beaded anklets by men differs from that of women because a young man who has not yet found a girlfriend does not wear beadwork. Traditionally men wear beadwork made by their wives or girlfriends (Zungu, 2000). From the same source, wearing an anklet with a gendered symbol, female (beads) or male (leopard's teeth), alongside a feather says a lot. They may be used to tell one's sexuality or even one's willingness towards polyamorous or polysexual relationships.

The gendered nature of anklet wearing

The meaning of ankle bracelets varies from culture to culture, with differences in meaning based on the foot worn on as well as the gender. As such, one of the main questions people seem to have about wearing ankle bracelets is wondering which ankle to wear the anklet on. This is a common question people wonder about for several different jewelry pieces. There is some discussion about the ankle bracelet based on the foot worn on and the gender.

Wearing the anklet on the right ankle symbolizes those girls being "called girls" and unmarried. To some, wearing anklet on the right ankle could signify that you are in an exclusive relationship (Naveen, 2016). Thus, when a woman wears anklet on her right foot, it means they are single and have no lover. Hence, one is interested in a casual relationship, an open relationship, or a relationship with another woman. However, it should be noted here that if a married woman puts it on her right foot, it means that she is looking to have an affair with someone (other men or women) other than the husband (Naveen, 2016). Today, anklet on the left foot may also indicate that the wearer is married

or engaged to a lover (Silverman, 2020). So, these meanings are not followed as they do not hold much weight and are generally regarded as a rumor since millions of people wear ankle bracelets on both the left and right ankles for various reasons.

Men wear anklets on both ankles. However, when a man wears anklets in any of the stated conditions, it is only showing their wealth or seeking attention (White, 2005). Nevertheless, this was so many years ago. It is now rare to see a man wearing anklet. Most cultures believe that an ankle bracelet worn by men on the left foot is a charm or talisman (Zungu, 2000). Such anklets are used as amulets to protect the wearer from diseases and bad omens. They are used as a form of protection.

Anklets wearing and identity

Ornamentation can be used to communicate between group differences such as ethnicity (Eicher, 1995; Wobst, 1977), and within group differences, such as gender, age, and status (Barnes & Eicher 1992). Therefore, according to Morris and Preston-Whyte (1994), certain styles of anklets distinguish males from females as well as the young from the old, the married from the unmarried, commoners from the royal and lords from their servants. So, it means anklet wearing is capable of marking social class. The poorer people in Egypt wore ankle bracelets, but these were inexpensive and may even be used to display amulets or lucky talismans. For example, according to Saha, (2015) in Egypt, leather anklets were worn by slaves and the poor, a stark contrast against the rich who wore gold. However, Egyptian royalty wore anklets made of precious stones and metals. The upper echelon of ancient Egypt was well known for

coveting beautiful pieces of jewelry and were very trendy and interested in fashion. So, ladies decked out in gold or silver anklets with precious stones to signify the wives of wealthy men. This means that the rich and the poor of ancient Egypt both enjoyed wearing jewelry, including anklets. However, the wearing of anklets is significant in differentiating the rich from the poor.

Anklet and different age groups

Anklets have been worn among different age groups. This is because anklets wearing highlight the importance of body ornaments in marking life stages and expressing gender- and age-specific roles throughout life and into death (Green, 2016). Hence the significance of anklets wearing among infants and young children, adolescents and young unmarried girls, girls of marriageable age, married women, and old women may not be the same. This is explained below.

Infants and young children

From an early age, infants are adorned with more beadwork and also during their naming ceremony. According to Magwaza (1999, p.193), this ceremony marks the arrival and the stay of the infant in the family. During this ceremony, therefore, the infants' parents as well as their relatives present them with beadwork of anklets. So, parents have their infants wear anklets. The significance is that the anklets of beads and seeds for babies will facilitate teething infants. According to Morris and Preston-Whyte (1994, p. 34) usually, beads that are preferable for infants are associated with purity such as white beads. This is different for children. This is because children have already grown teeth. So, in their case, these gifted anklets are worn as amulets to protect

children from evil and illness (Magwaza, 1999, p. 193). Hence, medicinal bead strings or armlets are tied in order to cure and also protect children when they are sick. This is because most of the tribal people have a strong belief in ancestral worship and they also have strong superstitious beliefs (Magwaza, 1999, p. 194). When the child outgrows his or her bead string, it is simply adjusted by adding more white beads.

Adolescents and young unmarried girls

As they grow old, pre-adolescent girls may be distinguished by the increasing number of bead ornaments. As such, adolescents wear much beadwork during the transition from childhood to adulthood (Magwaza, 1999, p. 193). This is a stage of life where traditional rites are performed for girls especially, to show that they are adults and may start preparing themselves for marriage. During this stage of life, parents gift their children beaded anklets as the menstrual cycle begins (Zungu, 2000). According to Magwaza (1999, p. 195), during ceremonial dancing of the initiating rites the bead ornaments culminate in their intricate and elaborate finery, dandling around their waist and ankles which signifies purity. Young, unmarried women and girls also wear anklets to symbolize pride and they are not adorned as setting their marital status (Naveen, 2016). For example, in India young unmarried girls wear anklets as fashion which most of them find to be a source of confidence. The anklets they wear are either a gift from their mother or a relative. So, young unmarried girls do not wear anklets because they are marking a stage in life or setting their marital status.

Girls of marriageable age

Readiness for marriage is a stage marked in one's life. So, girls of marriageable age begin to accept anklets from young men who express interest in them for marriage to find a suitor. For example, young Indian girls begin to accept anklets from young men who express interest in them for marriage (Naveen, 2016). Hence, they wear the gifted anklets to set their marital status that they are taken by a suitor unlike young unmarried girls. Sometimes the suiter's name is scripted on it. Hence, the wearing of anklets among girls of marriageable age becomes more significant. Nevertheless, there is a myth that girls of marriageable age who wear anklets are lesbians and others wear them to attract men (Hayati et al., 2021). They wear the anklets on their right ankle to mean that they are single and searching.

Married women and old women

Married women especially new brides are not immune to the wearing of anklets. Literature reveals that married women in India were also gifted with ankle bracelets known as Payal on their first arrival at their husbands' home which symbolized a fruitful marriage (Naveen, 2016). In Ghana, the beaded anklet is part of the traditional marriage costumes for the bride. The beaded anklet is worn by the bride during her traditional marriage to signify the queen she is and nothing else. However, according to (Hayati, et al., 2021) for most married women, it means they like wearing anklet and nothing more and some believe, however, it is a symbol that she is a "hot wife". Traditionally, old women wear anklets for their religious and cultural significance. During traditional festivals, costumes of old women who are related to traditional tools include anklets. Old women who wear "dansikran/dancing crown" wear anklets

to complement their costumes. In India, a gold anklet is regarded as the perfect accessory for the old woman to signify recognition of her faithfulness (Naveen, 2016). According to fashion trends, Hayati et al., (2021) maintain that anklets are commonly worn by old women who are in an open relationship or “swingers” as well. Those wearing anklets for this purpose will commonly have a charm or an ornament worn on the ankle chain as well.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed literature on the historical background of anklets. It touched on the three key theoretical perspectives framing the study by highlighting their strengths and weaknesses and applicability to the research project. The literature reveals that anklets were highly valued in Egypt, India and by Africans and have been used at different stages and periods in their culture and for various significant reasons. While it has been worn in Egypt to signify wealth, in India it was recognized as a gift to a bride. Among the popular anklets were gold and silver metal anklets in Egypt and India with leather and beaded anklets being predominant in Sub-Saharan Africa. Also, the literature reveals that anklets highlight the stages of human development, which help to distinguish people of various stages. It is also evident from the literature that anklets serve as a means of communication between people of different status and sexes. Girls for example, used it to convey certain messages to their lovers and husbands.

With social change and modernization, anklets have assumed varied meanings and significance for young people, with different types worn on different occasions and at different times. Of interest to this study is how young

females construct and interpret anklet wearing. Having established this context and background, I now move to the next chapter to examine how the study was conducted.



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The methodological strategies and procedures used in this investigation are thoroughly described in this chapter. The chapter begins with the research paradigm, followed by the research design, information on the study's target area (the University of Cape Coast and surrounding communities), the population of the study, sample methods, data collection techniques and procedure, data analysis and a discussion of some ethical consideration of the study. The study was exploratory, and the instrument for gathering data was a detailed semi-structured interview guide. The decision to focus on the University of Cape Coast and the surrounding areas was arrived for convenience and after observation revealed that females at the area wear anklets, as is further detailed in the sub-sections.

Research Paradigm

According to Alharahsheh, & Pius, (2020) interpretivism is more sensitive towards individual meanings and contribution rather than being compromised through the positivism research philosophy. So, since the research seeks knowledge by focusing on individuals' meanings, perceptions and motivations to gain understanding of anklet wearing, the study was guided by the interpretivism philosophy. Since the meanings and motivations cannot be measured, it informed the choice of the research design.

Research Design

Research design is one of the key components of a research project since it outlines the overall approach to answering the research questions as well as the direction the investigation will take. The exploratory qualitative design was adopted because it is generally used for understanding views and perceptions. It tries to address the 'how' and 'why' of a phenomenon. Therefore, this approach was adopted to uncover a target audience's meanings and perceptions in relation to the topic. Levitt et al. (2017) affirmed that qualitative research is inductive in nature, and the researcher generally explores meanings and insights in a given situation. Also, the objectives informed the adoption of qualitative research method and exploratory research design including some creative tools which I discussed later in the chapter.

Exploratory research is conducted when little is known about a phenomenon or problem (Saunders et al., 2007). It does not aim to provide the final and conclusive answers to the research questions, but merely explores the research topic with varying levels of depth. Therefore, its aim is to tackle new problems on which little or no previous research has been done (Brown, 2006). Even in the extreme case, exploratory research forms the basis for more conclusive research and determines the initial research design, sampling methodology and data collection method (Singh, 2007).

The exploratory research design was the most appropriate for this study because it placed an emphasis on the interpretive process through which individuals derived meanings from their experiences with wearing anklets. Although the exploratory qualitative research design was beneficial, it presented a problem in terms of the generalizability of the results. This technique,

according to some critics such as Agbeve et. al., (2022), is not statistically representative and can constrain the growth of generalized knowledge. Although the study's conclusions may be restricted to the accounts of a few females in Cape Coast and elders, this did not stop me from drawing conclusions and using inductive reasoning to guide more research efforts in the area. Exploratory research allowed for flexibility in carrying out investigations of this kind despite the difficulties posed by this design. The design was appropriate for and pertinent to the study because it was in accordance with its theme.

The exploratory research design in this study helped to explore anklet wearing among females in Cape Coast. Additionally, this design aided in a better understanding of the issue and provided multiple levels of in-depth analysis of the research topic. The ability to comprehend participants' lives and the significance they attached to anklets was another benefit of the exploratory design.

Study Area

Cape Coast was the site selected for this work. It is the capital town of Central Region. Cape Coast is one of the most historical cities in Ghana (Hove,2018). It was the capital city of the then Gold Coast and the seat of the University of Cape Coast (UCC), Ghana's leading university in teaching and research. Cape Vars, as it is popularly called, lies on a hill overlooking the Atlantic Ocean. The university has two campuses: south and north. Its South campus is opposite the ocean and popularly known as the old site while the North campus is surrounded by communities like Apewosika, Amamoma, Kwaprow, Akotokyire and Kakumdo, also known as the new site and science.

Communities surrounding the University of Cape Coast in the Central region of Ghana constituted the study area. The choice of this study area was based on both convenience and observation which points to the wearing of anklets among females in Cape Coast. In recent times, specifically since 2021, anklets seem to be gaining some popularity among females in Cape Coast. This observation triggered my interest in studying the subject. As a student at the University of Cape Coast who lives in the community, I had a fair idea about females wearing of anklets in the community. I was however, mindful of my positionality as an insider and an outsider at the same time. I was both a community member and a student of the University of Cape Coast. So, I tried to avoid coming across as “knowing too much.” In that regard, I went about collecting data by relying on both my strength as an “insider” (i.e., not being perceived as a stranger) and being directed by the fact that I was acting as an “outsider” (i.e., free of connection to participants), which brought some benefits as well.

Population

The population of interest for the study comprises three categories: wearers (i.e., females), and non-wearers (i.e., males, and females) and few community elders. Since anklet is a body adornment worn by traditional leaders and some persons locally during rites of passage, I decided to include community elders, both males and females in the study, to explore their perspective in determining the changing trend in anklet wearing from a sociological perspective.

Sampling Technique and Sampling Size

Participants were recruited for the study through purposive and snowball sampling techniques. Purposive sampling technique was used because it was effective in identifying potential interviewees who had knowledge about the subject matter (Bryman, 2008). Through preliminary observations of the University of Cape Coast students on Campus and in the surrounding communities (Diaspora), some students who trade in anklets, wear anklets and/or associate with those who wear anklets were identified by the researcher. In this light, a WhatsApp Group was created and the first three participants (i.e. two wearers, and a trader) were identified and were recruited for the study. The first recruits were made administrators of the WhatsApp group to help recruit people who wear anklets. This was a creative procedure adopted because one of the wearers identified during the preliminary study was reluctant to listen to me, as she explained that guys think she is loose. People often approach her with sexual demands because she wears anklet. This method made it easier to find study volunteers who were willing to take part by asking their acquaintances to invite them to the WhatsApp group.

In sum, this method was employed using the snowball sampling technique to recruit more participants for the study. These participants approached their friends who wear anklets and those who do not wear. They willingly joined the WhatsApp group. So, the snowball strategy was used in the study to further increase the sample. The snowball sampling technique served as a helpful referral method to connect with people who share or are aware of others who have some of the study's key attributes. The snowballing strategy assisted me in contacting additional potential participants who were eager to

take part in the study. Despite the snowballing method's limitations in producing samples with the same characteristics because it relies on networks of people with a similar background, it was also helpful in creating entry for people who would otherwise be challenging to reach (Neuman, 2011).

In recruiting the community elders, I visited the various communities to get participants using purposive sampling technique. At the point of entry in each community, I asked for the Assembly man who acted as my key informant in reaching the community elders. I however had the Assemble men in only three communities out of six. I briefed each of them about the study and the kind of participants (i.e. someone who has knowledge about the subject matter) required. So, purposively the community elders were recruited with the help of key informant from Kwapro, Akotokyire and Kakumdo.

There is continuing discussion about the ideal participant count for qualitative research procedures, because no clear consensus exists (Mason, 2010). Therefore, there were no rigid guidelines for determining the sample size in this study. However, according to (Subedi 2021; Buttina 2015; Patton 2015) researchers are autonomous to select the participants in qualitative research and they can choose from a single to twenty samples that can be varied upon the depth of the information required and the nature of the inquiry. It must be noted that a small size allows the researcher to concentrate on a thorough understanding of a particular social and cultural context, which is typically not possible when studying larger samples, according to (Subedi, 2021). Therefore, a total of 25 participants were recruited for the study using purposive and snowball sampling technique. They are made up of 5 community elders, 10

female students who wear anklets and 10 other non-wearers (5 male and 5 female) students who do not wear anklets.

Data Collection Instruments

The study combined two data collection methods: in-depth interview guide and Photovoice. In-depth interview guide was derived from the study objectives to generate a thread of responses for each question on the guide. Separate interview guides composed of different sets of questions employed for the different target groups (i.e., female wearers, community elders and non-wearers) to bring out their lived experience on the phenomenon under study. The interviewing manuals were organized into six sections for the female wearers, and five sections for the targeted group of non-wearers (i.e., males, females, a trader) and also three sections for the community elders.

For the wearers, the first part focused on the socio-demographic characteristics of the interviewees such as age, religion, ethnicity, programme, level, hall, etc. The second section focused on the category of female university students who wear anklets. The third section asked for information from interviewees on the types of anklets and their meanings and perceptions attributed to anklets wearing. This is where the photovoice technique was adopted as a complementary data collection technique to complement the interviews. Photovoice is a term consisting of two words, photo, and voice. Photovoice is an innovative data collection method that can provide deep and rich information for researchers. It was first introduced as a data collection method for community-based participatory research (CBPR) by Wang and Burris in 1997 (Evans-Agnew, & Rosemberg, 2016). According to these

researchers, people use their cameras to take photos of their daily facts and focus on issues with the highest importance in this process (Jason, & Glenwick, 2016), this process is considered by researchers of qualitative studies as a data collection method for a deeper understanding of phenomena with a combination of voice and visuals. So, photovoice simply means expressing life experience through photography. Photovoice is a process in which participants are able to record several issues in their society by cameras and they can play roles as potential facilitators to make a difference in their society (Oduro, 2018; Ebrahimpour, Esmaeili, & Varaei, 2018). One of the goals of photovoice is to promote critical dialogue and knowledge about important issues through large and small group discussions of photographs. So, in scheduling interviews with participants, I asked them to use their phones to take photos of the anklets they wear, for sharing and to guide the discussions during the interviews. Hence the photovoice technique complimented the interviews. The fourth section of the interview guide for wearers also focused on the experiences of female students who wear anklets. The fifth and the last sections focused on the occasions when anklet are worn by female university students to determine if the wearing of anklets among female university students is an emerging group identity or lifestyle.

Similar to the instrument for the wearers, the non-wearers interview guide also captured the socio-demographic characteristics, categories of students who wear anklets, types, meanings and perceptions attributed to anklets, and the occasions that require the wearing of anklets, the possible social groups that wear anklets and whether anklet wearing is a lifestyle or group identity? For details, see appendix 2.

Likewise, the interview guide for the community elders had three sections. The first section captured the socio-demographic characteristics, followed by the category or backgrounds of the community elders who wear anklets in terms of their gender, whether they are royals, dancers, slaves, the rich, people who want to feel more feminine etc., as well as those who patronize anklets often. The questions also touched on traditional types of anklets and their meanings. The community elders were involved to help us to learn about the changing trends in anklet wearing, in terms of what pertains in the cultural setting and the interpretations given to the act by the students. For details, see appendix 3.

Pretesting of Interview Guide

In April 2022, I did the pretesting of interview guide at the University of Education, Winneba underwent. The choice of the University was because it shares similar characteristics with University of Cape Coast. There are a lot of student hostels there for university students. Five (5) interviewees were involved in the pretesting. All five (5) interview sessions lasted for an average of one hour and thirty minutes.

The Pre-test enabled the researcher to carefully review and eliminate several pointless things from the initial interview guide, which assisted in redesigning the interview guide's final version (Grosh & Glewwe, 2000). The pre-test was helpful overall since it enabled me to focus on my interviewing and questioning techniques throughout the real data gathering. I eventually became more adept in probing interviewees, which allowed me to get more detail on other topics that came up. As a result, I was able to fully comprehend the

concerns brought up by the interviewers and had the freedom to delve deeper into any particular difficulties that surfaced throughout the interviews.

Data Collection Procedures

The technique for gathering data was in-depth interviews (IDIs). Due to the nature of the interview questions, each interview followed its own winding path. This was a crucial element that gave me the latitude to investigate related issues that the interviewees themselves had brought up. By employing this strategy, the researcher also learned to actively listen, which encouraged interviewees to share their stories and helped the researcher consider when it was acceptable to stop asking questions. The in-depth interview technique used in the study gave the researcher the chance to use probing techniques so that understanding of the responses could be achieved through exploration as well as an explanation. The use of probing questions as a follow-up to what they said made them “open up” further on topics that were addressed which allowed me to explore other perspectives from special people who have knowledge and expertise using this technique, which also gave me the chance to learn more about them. The in-depth interview technique was used in this study to gain a thorough understanding of anklet wearing and the experiences of persons who wear them. Additionally, using this technique allowed researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences, sentiments, and collective meanings that participants associated with wearing anklets. Twenty-five (25) people in all participated in the one-on-one interview sessions. Responses from participants who were open to sharing their thoughts on the wearing of anklets by female university students throughout the survey were what drove participation.

In-depth interviews were conducted with participants (i.e., wearers and non-wearers including community elders) in July 2022 at the University of Cape Coast and close communities, within the Central Region. For the participants, (i.e., wearers and non-wearers) were members of the group created on WhatsApp.

Table 1: Summary table of participants

No. of Wearers (Females)	No. of Non-Wearers (Females)	No. of Non-Wearers (Males)	No. of Community Elders (Females)	No. of Community Elders (Males)	Total
10	5	5	3	2	25

Participants in the WhatsApp group received an explanation of the rationale behind the group's formation. The researcher started gathering data after exchanging pleasantries and receiving the necessary approval. Arrangements were made with participants for the time and venue for the interview. I used four weeks to collect the data. I used two weeks to interview the wearers and non-wearers, interviewing one participant a day. Each interview section lasted between one hour 30 minutes and one hour forty-five minutes.

With regards to the community elders, I had already been introduced to them by the informant as described in the sampling procedure. Hence, upon arriving in each community (Kakumdo, Akotokyire, and Kwaprow), I contacted the community elders (two Obaapanyin, one Ebusua Krakye, one member of the Royal family, and a traditional dancer) to seek for their permission and willingness to participate in the interview. I started collecting data after exchanging pleasantries and receiving the necessary consent. Each interview

took place for one hour and 30 minutes. Three individuals were interviewed on the second day, whereas two people were interviewed on each of the two days.

My first participant introduced a few possible study participants to the WhatsApp group who wear anklets and are knowledgeable about the practice among female university students in order to recruit volunteers for the study. I approached these potential participants in the WhatsApp group and introduced myself. I carefully presented the subject to them through casual talks (such as whether they are staying on campus, the programme they are offering, and how they like university life). I was able to draw attention to the topic with the use of this strategy. I then set up a time for each of them to participate in the actual interview separately.

For a participant interview to be successful, rapport-building was essential. This method was crucial to the study's effective recruitment of participants, especially for those I did not directly solicit. This strategy gave me important insight into participants' discussions about wearing anklets. For instance, I struck up polite talks and discussions (i.e., those pertaining to social life) with students I met at the shuttle station and the resident hall in order to establish rapport. I was able to get to know them a little better by doing this. This offered me the chance to discuss the subject with them and get their opinions. I approached the female students who were wearing anklets respectfully and introduced myself on WhatsApp. They saw me as one of them because I was a student at the university, which strengthened the bond I felt with the participants. This offered as a way for participants to freely talk about and open up to me about their perceptions, meanings, and experiences wearing anklets.

As an alternative, rapport was also used to open up the discussion with participants on the topics raised. For instance, some claim that wearing anklets denotes immodesty and promiscuity. What do you think of the things that these folks say? Would you concur with them? Why do you wear anklets and what has your experience been like? These were all carried out using the WhatsApp system.

As previously mentioned, all prospective interviewees were informed of the nature and goal of the study and asked if they would be willing to participate. Participants' verbal consent was obtained, and it was recorded on the tape recorder. The rights of the participants were explained to the participants. For instance, the participants were given the assurance that taking part in the study would not hurt them, and they also had the option of declining to have their voices recorded during the interview and ending the session altogether. Participants received guarantees of anonymity and secrecy in order to preserve their right to free will. To protect their identities, I gave all the interviewees pseudonyms. Other than their real names, they were given codes and names. Additionally, in order to protect the privacy of the data, no participant information was given to outside parties who were not directly connected to this study.

English was the language used for the interviews with the students. This is because the participants could communicate better in it and it was their preferred language.

Data Processing and Analysis

I manually transcribed every audio recorded conversation, and I gave each interviewee a pseudonym. The names used (W for wearers, NW for non-wearers, and CE for community elders) highlighted the distinction between a wearer, a non-wearer and community elders. This was done to preserve the transcript's authenticity and make it simple to distinguish what each interviewee stated. Interviews and transcripts in general were saved on secured storage device to ensure confidentiality. The format of the transcripts was determined by the study's goals. Since I completed all of the transcriptions, I had a good idea of everything the interviewees said. To comprehend the facts, the transcripts were read two (2) times. Based on the goals of the study, emerging themes, sub-themes, and codes were subsequently discovered. Following the development of codes, I was able to use the thematic analysis approach to highlight the emerging themes (Bryman, 2008).

With regard to the photovoice section of data processing. The photos shared with me by the wearers during the interview through WhatsApp were extracted to my computer device. Each participants photo was uploaded on their respective transcripts with the responses each gave about the photo. At that section of the transcript, photos with different responses were grouped thematically in relation to the type of photo and responses elicited for the analysis.

The data processing and analysis followed the thematic analysis framework approach of interpretative phenomenological analysis (Yardley, 2000). Thus, Familiarization, Construction of a thematic framework, Indexing and sorting, Data summary and display, Mapping and interpretation (Yardley,

2000). This framework approach helped me to immerse myself in the qualitative data, which increased my understanding of participants' views and experiences.

Based on the data, themes that were developed included the categories (i.e., traditional people and female students) who wear anklets, the types, meanings (i.e., from community elders and students perspective) and perceptions of anklets anklet wearing, positive and negative experiences of female students who wear anklets, the occasions when anklets are worn, and the wearing of anklet among female university students whether it is an emerging group identity or lifestyle (see Table 1). Excel was used to construct two distinct worksheets. The themes and sub-themes that emerged after reading the transcripts were documented on the second worksheet, the coding frame/codebook. Even though academics like Fiaveh (2019) contend that codes should be developed before themes are identified, I conducted the codes and themes development concurrently. This is because I did all the interviews and transcriptions myself and I was familiar with the transcript. So, according to Agbeve et al., (2022), to identify, analyze, and interpret the patterns of meaning (or themes) that emerged from data, one has to simply conduct the interviews and verbatim transcribe the same.

The created codes were built on the corresponding participant responses. For instance, the goal with sources of perceptions and meanings of wearing anklets was to identify the numerous sources from which each participant learned about the significance and perception of wearing anklets. Another category used to distinguish the different experiences participants reported on wearing anklets was experiences of issues related to wearing anklets. Generally

speaking, the codes assisted me in recognizing the many topics that were discussed with participants.



Table 2: Coding Frame for anklet wearing among female in Cape Coast

Categories of female students who wear anklet	Types, meanings and perceptions of anklets	Experiences of female students who wear anklets	Occasions when anklets are worn	Anklet wearing and group identity or lifestyle
Categories of females who wear anklets	Type of anklets and meanings	Negative Experiences	Time	Group and Identity
Motivation for wearing anklet	Determinants of the choice of anklet type The ankle that wears the anklet Perceptions of anklet wearing Sources of the perceptions	Positive Experiences Experiences that prevent the wearing of anklets	Events	Group and lifestyle

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Trustworthiness of the study

Trustworthiness refers to the ability to be relied on as honest or truthful. Therefore, reliability in qualitative research is equal to the concept of trustworthiness in relation to the actions connected to the study data (Golafshani, 2003). I ensured this by using the member check approach to confirm some of the responses I got from the participants to make sure the data I got were reliable. Additionally, I revisited the categories of themes I had created, and my supervisor and I came to an agreement on the themes required for the analysis of the data after discussing emerging themes derived from the research objectives in an open process. The quotes are also exact, as you will see in the chapter after this one.

Positionality

Positionality is a crucial component of the study to guarantee validity and get rid of any kind of bias. The study problem's formulation, design, and participant recruitment all depend on the researcher's stance. According to Brydon-Miller and Coghlan (2014), positionality might encompass gender, age, religion, culture, ethnicity, and lived experiences.

Some of the participants' responses might have been impacted by the fact that I am a student at the University of Cape Coast and a part of the university community. The replies that were received may have also been influenced by the data collection technique and the rapport-building process that involved oral vignettes with participants. Because of my moral training as a seminarian, I could have been more sensitive to the theological implications in my conversations with female university students who wear anklets when I was

younger. I was wary of the study process because I was conscious of these values and interests, which made me less likely to introduce biases into the analysis and interpretation of the data. Thus, to ensure that the data collected were not intuitive, a thorough interview guide was used.

Ethical Considerations

To safeguard the researcher and participants from unexpected harm and to ensure that the study is carried out ethically and professionally, some ethical and moral issues that arose during research investigations must be recognized and resolved. The study complied with the ethical requirements of the University of Cape Coast's Institutional Review Board (IRB). The study received ethical approval from University of Cape Coast IRB. After receiving consent to participate, participants were made known of the purpose of the study before being contacted for an interview. Before the start of each interview, I verbally asked for their consent to record the interview on tape. Participants were also made aware of their rights and ability to voluntarily end the interview process at any time.

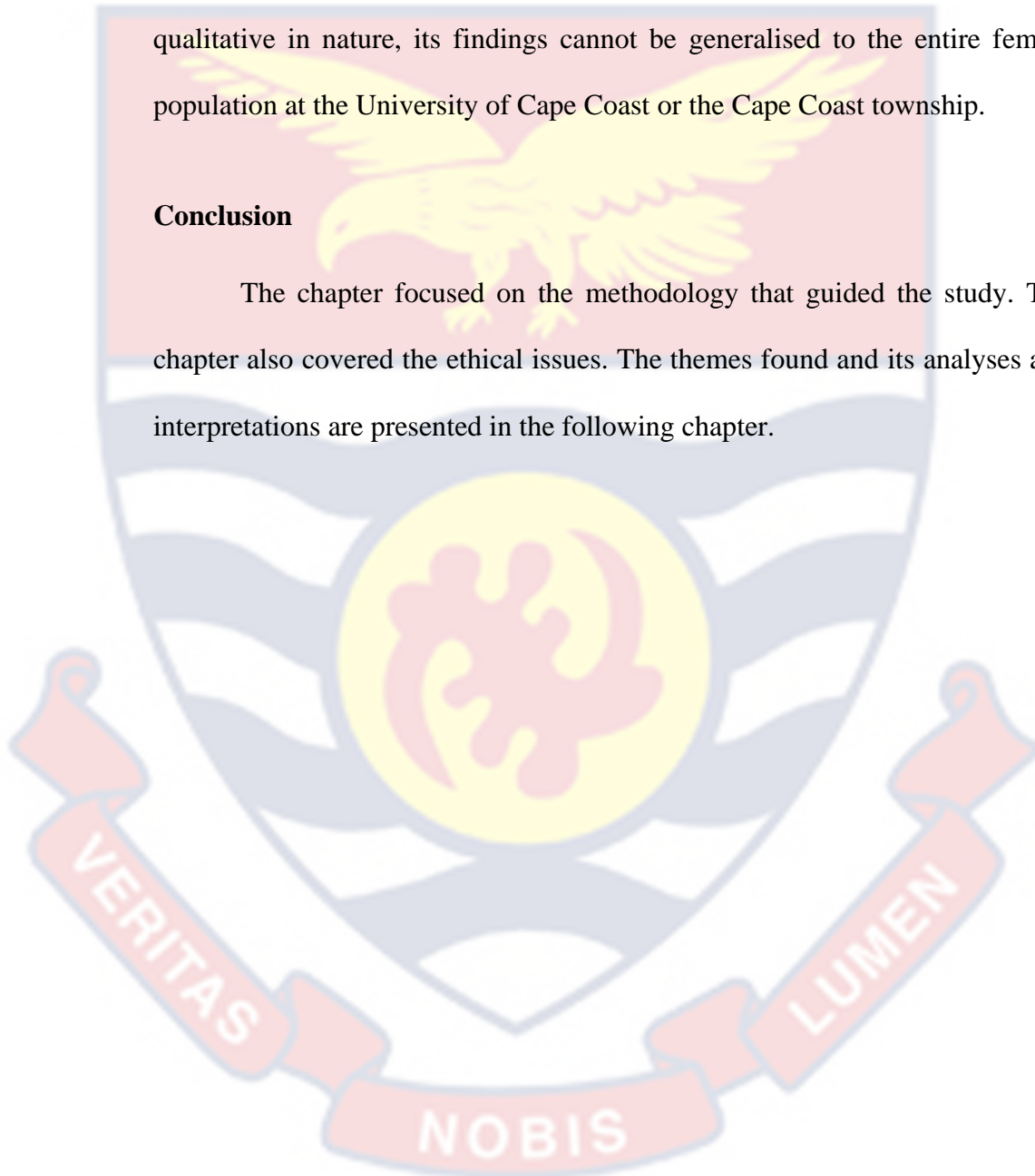
Due to the personal nature of some of the information, interviewees were also given the assurance of a high level of secrecy. For this reason, no third parties who were not directly involved in the study were given access to the information collected from interviews. By using pseudonyms instead of the interviewees' true identities, anonymity of participants was further protected.

Limitations of the Study

The surrounding communities of the University of Cape Coast served as the sources of the study's samples. Since the purposive and snowballing techniques were used to select these samples and the study's data were qualitative in nature, its findings cannot be generalised to the entire female population at the University of Cape Coast or the Cape Coast township.

Conclusion

The chapter focused on the methodology that guided the study. The chapter also covered the ethical issues. The themes found and its analyses and interpretations are presented in the following chapter.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Introduction

This chapter addresses the five research questions that guided the study. It begins with examination of the demographic characteristics of the participants, followed by discussion of data collected on the five key objectives of the study. The first section discusses the categories of females who wear anklet which is the first objective. The subsequent sections discuss the second, third, fourth and fifth specific objectives respectively (i.e., types, meanings and perceptions of anklets, experiences of female students who wear anklets, occasions anklets are worn and anklet wearing: a matter of group identity or lifestyle).

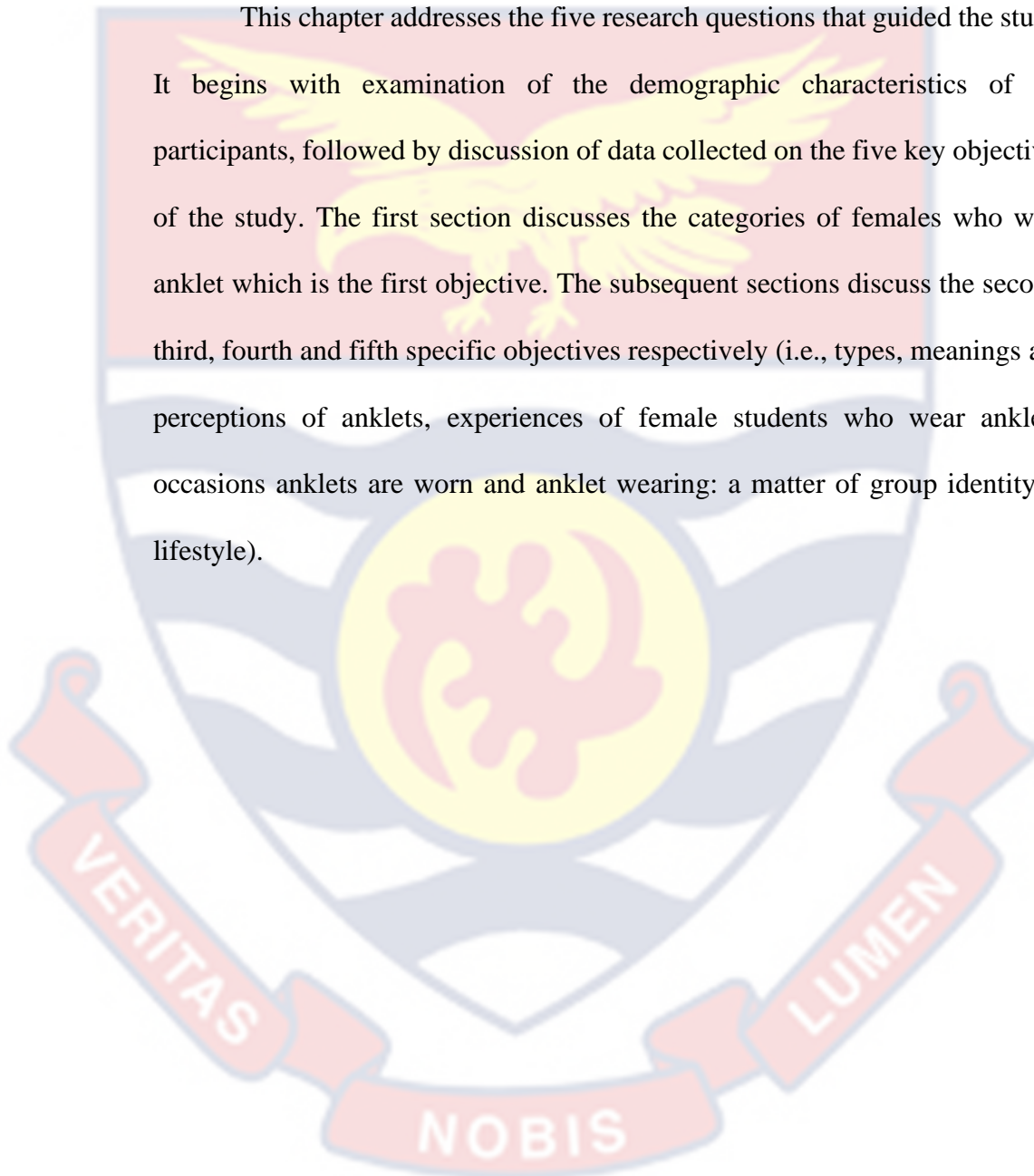


Table 3: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Participants (Wearers)

#W	Pseudo Names	Programme	Ethnicity	Hall of Residence	Religion	Age	Level	Gender	Relationship
W1	Esi	Tourism Management	Ga	SRC Hall	Christian	21	100	Female	Dating
W2	Enyonam	Geography and regional planning	Ewe	Private Hostel	Christian	22	200	Female	Dating
W3	Adwoa	Supply Chain Management	Akan	Adehye Hall	Christian	21	200	Female	Dating
W4	Salamatu	Social Science	Hausa	Atlantic Hall	Muslim	20	100	Female	Dating
W5	Hajia	Computer Science	Ewe	Valco Hall	Muslim	19	200	Female	Dating
W6	Alice	Theater and film studies	Ga	Private Hostel	Christian	27	400	Female	Dating
W7	Yaa	History, Music and Theater Studies	Akan	Private Hostel	Christian	23	200	Female	Single
W8	Fusena	BSc. Psychology	Sisalla	Atlantic Hall	Muslim	20	100	Female	Dating
W9	Ama	BSc. Psychology	Ewe	Valco Hall	Christian	19	100	Female	Dating
W10	Grace	Social Science	Akan	Valco hall	Christian	20	100	Female	Dating

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 4: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Participants (Non-wearers)

#NW	Pseudo Names	Programme	Ethnicity	Hall of Residence	Religion	Age	Level	Gender
NW11	Lizzy	Communication Studies	Akan	SRC Hall	Christian	21	200	Female
NW12	Yaya	Nursing and Midwifery	Gonja	Ogua Hall	Christian	24	400	Male
NW13	Ganu	post first degree bachelor of law	Ewe	Casford Hall	Christian	27	800	Male
NW14	Kwesi	Geography and Regional planning	Akan	Private Hostel	Christian	24	400	Male
NW15	Kadijah	Social Science	Gonja	Private hostel	Muslim	21	300	Female
NW16	Akua	Ghanaian language and linguistics	Akan	Private Hostel	Christian	24	400	Female
NW17	Kosivi	MPhil. Population and Health	Ewe	Valco Trust	Christian	29	800	Female
NW18	Kofi	BSc. Psychology	Akan	Private Hostel	Christian	21	100	Male
NW19	Ebo	BSc. Nursing	Akan	Private Hostel	Christian	22	200	Female
NW20	Fuseni	Geography and Regional planning	Sisalla	Private Hostel	Muslim	25	300	Male

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Table 5: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Participants (Community Elders)

#R	Pseudo Names	Community	Ethnicity	Status	Religion	Age	Occupation	Gender
CE21	Adwoa Bonkra	Kakumdo	Akan	Obaapanyin	Christian	68 years	Typist (Retired)	Female
CE22	Egya Mensah	Akotokyire	Akan	Royal	Christian	64 years	Lotto Agent	Male
CE23	Nana Aba Atta	Kwapro	Akan	Traditional Dancer	Christian	57 years	Court Clerk	Female
CE24	Kofi Mmbro	Kwapro	Akan	Ebusua Krakye	Christian	64 years	Teacher	Male
CE25	Ama Agyiewa	Akotokyire	Akan	Obaapanyin	Christian	61 years	Teacher	Female

Source: Fieldwork, 2022

Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Tables 3, 4, and 5 present data on the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants. A total of twenty-five persons took part in the study comprising of 10 female wearers, 10 non-wearers made up of both males and females, and five community elders who were also of both genders from the neighbouring communities. All participants except the community elders reported being students of the University of Cape Coast. Five of the wearers were in level 100, four in level 200 and one in level 400. Out of the ten non-wearers only one reported to be in level 100, two in level 200, two in level 300, two in level 300, three in level 400 and two postgraduate students. The community elders have completed various levels of education and are engaged in various occupations. Two of the community members had teaching background, one typist, one court clerk, and one lotto agent. Among the five community elders two are Obaapanyin, one Ebusua Krakye, one Royal, and a Traditional Dancer.

Among the wearers two were offering Bachelor of Science Psychology, two also reported offering Bachelor of Education Social Science and the rest offered Tourism Management, Geography and Regional Planning, Supply Chain Management, Computer Science, Theater and film studies, and History, Music and Theater Studies. Two of the non-wearers reported offering BSc. Nursing and Midwifery, two offered Geography and Regional Planning and the rest offered B.Ed. Communication Studies, Post First Degree Bachelor of Law, B.Ed. Social Science, Ghanaian language and linguistics, MPhil. Population and Health and BSc. Psychology.

The age distribution of the wearers ranged between nineteen and twenty-seven years with mean age of twenty-three years. The age of the non-wearers also ranged from twenty-one and twenty-nine. The age of the community elders ranged from fifty-seven and sixty-eight. Out of the ten female wearers, three were Muslims, the remaining seven were Christians. The non-wearers, eight of them reported to be Christians and two who reported to be Muslims. The community elders reported to be adherents of the Christian faith.

Two of the wearers were Ga, three were Akan, three were Ewe, one Hausa and one Sisalla. The non-wearers, two were Gonja, five were Akan, two were Ewe and only one was Sisalla. The five community elders were Akan. All these differences were due to the cosmopolitan nature of the study area, (i.e., University of Cape Coast is an institution of learning where people travel from all over the globe for academic pursuit). However, the Akan ethnic group was the most dominating one and this could be attributed to the geographical location of the University which is an Akan community.

Categories of females who wear anklet

This section addresses research question one, on the category of females who wear anklets. However, to know the categories of females who wear anklets, it was important to appreciate the categories of people who wear anklets in the traditional society to inform the sociological analysis from the perspective of tradition and change or the former and contemporary lifestyles. The participants (i.e., community elders) mentioned that anklets are worn by people such as royals (i.e., chiefs and queen mothers), priest and priestess, slaves, traditional dancers, and initiates as one community elder said:

“The anklet is worn by specific people because of their status like chiefs, queen mothers, priest and priestess and traditional dancers” (Adwoa Bonkra: 68 years). Another added that:

“In the olden days slaves wore anklets and royals: chiefs and queen mothers. Also new born babies and their mothers” (Egya Mensah: 64 years). To conclude on this, one community elder said:

“Sometimes traditional dancers like those who dance “apatanpa” or “adowa” wear anklets and during rites of passage like bragoro, initiates wear anklets” (Nana Aba Atta: 57 years).

Drawing from the description of people who wear anklet in the traditional society by the community elders, the participants (both wearers and non-wearers) also identified females as those who generally wear anklets. They describe such females as “slay queens”, with the argument that “slay queens” exhibit distinctive characteristics or features (i.e., people who look flashy and have taste for fashion) in the way and manner they carry themselves and dress wearing anklets. One non-wearer said:

“Usually I see it among the female but me when I see it I see them to be people should I say... people who are “slay queens”. (Yaya: male, Christian, 24 years, L. 400, NW12).

Just like the non-wearers, the wearers attested to the fact that they have been categorized as “slay queens”. Highlighting on some of the categories one wearer had explained:

“Let me say it is not like a category but it is the way they have tagged us “Slay Queens” and the rest”, (Yaa: female, Christian, 23 years, L. 200, W7).

However, for them this is not why they wear anklet so they cannot be categorized as such because anklet is a body adornment anyone can wear. Two wearers commented as follows:

There is no strict category of women that wear anklet. I purposely wear it because I love it (Salamatu: female, Muslim, L. 100, W4).

Oh, everybody can wear just that people have their perceptions about it and me like this I am a fun of it just because of fashion not for anything (Enyonam: female, Christian, 22 years, L. 200, W2).

Motivation for anklet wearing

While in the cultures of traditional societies people are motivated to wear anklets because of their status or participation in an activity or occasion, for young female wearers, their motivation is to satisfy fashion taste which is influenced by the family, among friends and media. This was a sub-theme that emerged to help us understand what motivates some females to wear anklets. One explained: *“I learnt it from my aunties and the social media”* (Fusena: female, Muslim, 20 years, L. 100, W8). Another added:

I learnt it from social media at age 18. I saw someone wearing it. Also, my sisters wear anklet, (Yaa: female, Christian, 23 years, L. 200, W7).

That has been a long time because I have a taste for this fashion. I started wearing anklet when I was in class six. It is a very long time. I don't even know where I learnt it from. It is something I had like for fashion (Alice: female, Christian, 27 years, L. 400, W6).

Inferring from the sociological perspective, the narratives show that anklets are worn in the traditional society by some categories of people for various cultural and religious significance. For example, in the traditional societies, royals, slaves, priest and priestess, new babies and their mothers, traditional dancers and initiates wear anklets. Among university students those who wear anklet do not fall under these descriptions, however they are tagged as “slay queens” in recent times. From the findings reveal that there is an expansion of the persons (i.e. royals, slaves, priest and priestess, new babies and their mothers, traditional dancers and initiates) who wear anklets in the traditional society to include “slay queens” in contemporary times. It is no longer only a traditional body adornment worn by chiefs and queens and for special programmes as opined by (White 2005). Also, in traditional society anklet wearing is associated with social status or roles and cultural practices. Among females it forms part of people’s dressing style or habit. Hence, sociologically there is a duality in terms of practices of modernity co-existing with traditional practices. Additionally, there is an expansion in terms of persons who wear anklets in this present age which is motivated by fashion rather than its cultural or religious significance. The findings people are influenced by the family, friends and the media to learn the habit of wearing anklets. This is why their labels do not fall under the traditional descriptions of persons who wear

anklet. The findings concur with Bourdieu's theory of habitus which assumes that the environment within which people find themselves make them learn some habits common to the environment. Hence, the family, friends and media in this case are the arena of social reproduction of habits such as anklet wearing among females in Cape Coast.

The controversy surrounding these findings is the tag used to label the females who wear anklets. For the wearers, they know that the society in which they find themselves have labeled them, but these labels are not accurate descriptions of who they are except that they wear anklets to satisfy their fashion taste just like other body adornments (bracelets, necklace, earrings etc.). Therefore, the implication of the labelling theory where the central feature becomes the self-fulfilling prophecy, in which the labeled actions correspond to the label is not true (Becker, 1963). None of the wearers reported to be lesbians or prostitutes because they are labeled as such. This is why in a literature as established in previous studies (Green, 2016; Saha, 2015) anklets wearing has many significances other than labeling people as prostitute. For example, women in Mesopotamia used to wear them to show off their husband's fortune (Nakamura, 2005). Throughout history, women have worn them for centuries on their wedding days and are reward to show their marital status (Saha, 2015). This assertion typifies the cultural feminists' theory that argues that adornment with anklets reflects the femaleness of a woman since they are capable of bringing out the significance and the essence of female fashion qualities. The reason for this is that cultural feminists contend that these attributes will not only be superior to those of men, but also distinct from them.

Types, meanings, and perceptions of anklets

The section addresses the second objective of the study. The interview data was complemented by photovoice data. Since photovoice is a visual method, participants specifically, the wearers were asked to use their phones to document the types of anklets they wear and associated meanings. The photovoice unlike the interviews, was limited to only the wearers.

Types of Anklet

From the participants (i.e., wearers and community elders), anklets can be in the form of a chain which could be gold or silver, rubber, elastic and band, beads, cowries, thread, animal skin, bones and teeth, others with beads and chain combined and charm. However, community elders indicated that there are distinctions (i.e., traditional and modern) depending on texture, size and/or the material used. Hence, some are traditional and others modern. One community elder said:

The anklets made of cowries, big beads, and tied thread are the traditional ones whiles the one made with the small, small rubber/plastic beads like the one, women put around their waist, chains, rubber are elastic the modern ones
(Nana Aba Atta: 57 years).

Traditional anklets



Modern anklets

*Determinants of the choice of anklet type*

In response to the determinants for the choice of anklet types, the wearers mentioned various types and explained the factors (i.e. colour of anklet or skin and dress) that informed their choice of anklets and preferences as reported here:

The colour determines the type of anklets I wear. Because there are some anklets that wouldn't match with my colour (Adwoa: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 200, W3).

The dress I am wearing determines the anklet I choose to wear because I have anklets of different colours. I chose different colours because I can't say let me have one with all red or one with no... I mix the colours with any so that it will match any costume that I wear (Alice: female, Christian, 27 years, L. 400, W6).

The narratives reveal that when it comes to the choice of the type of anklet it is based on individual preferences. It was revealed that attributes/colour of anklets (i.e., gold, silver, shine and bright), skin colour and dress were the determinant factors for the choice of anklet type. These findings are affirmed by Bourdieu's theory of bodily hexis (1990), that assume that people's categorization of what they attach to their body depends on their state of being or disposition such as skin colour, body type, and shapes. Therefore, the bodily hexis views arenas where symbols can become meaningful through their association with the body.

Meanings of Traditional and Modern anklets

The types of anklets came with corresponding meanings according to the participants. The participants (i.e., community elders) reported that the traditional ones: beads, charm, cowries, thread, animal skin, bone and teeth have their meanings depending on the one wearing it. For example, participants

indicated that anklets made of cowries, charm anklets, and thread anklets are worn by traditional priests and priestess, for protection and also as a treatment as one community elder said:

“In this community, when you get a fracture on your ankle and they are giving you traditional treatment they tie a thread anklet around your ankle to check the reduction of the swollen ankle” (Egya Mensah: male, 64 years).

On the modern types, wearers shared images of the types of anklet they wear and further expressed the meanings they attach to their individual type of anklet. The type of anklet shared were the chain and the beaded anklets. Below are samples of images of types of anklets shared:



Figure 1: Source: Fieldwork, 2022



Figure 2: Source: Fieldwork, 2022



Figure 3: Source: Fieldwork, 2022*Figure 4: Source: Fieldwork, 2022*

From these images, it is observed that the type mostly worn by female university students are beaded anklets. To know the meanings wearers attached to these anklets, most wearers could not find any meanings of the anklets they wear. However, one indicated that, for her, she lives in both traditional and modern worlds so the beaded anklet means she is traditional and the chain anklet means she is modern as she said:

“I feel like the beads are traditional anklets, the chain one is the modern types of anklets. I wear both because in this world we are both living in traditional and modern world”
(Esi: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 100, W1).

Another indicated that from her readings these types have symbolical and aesthetic meanings as she said:

I think when I read about that of the chain, most men like it and I think in one religion, a man gives it to the wife to symbolize like the love he has for the woman or to symbolize he has married the woman so that when the woman is outside it shows that she is married, she is not a free woman. That is what I read about it (Enyonam: female, Christian, 22 years, L. 200, W2).

The narratives revealed the type of anklets people generally wear (i.e., traditional and modern). The findings show that anklet type is based on the texture, size and/or materials used. Also, there are significant meanings based on the type (i.e., traditional and modern). The meanings of these types of anklets revealed concur with literature that the beaded anklets are traditional, as they are worn by traditional rulers, traditional priests and priestesses. For example, among the Nzemas, kings and queens wear beads around their ankle to show their place in the society (Tetteh & Agyei, 2022). Also, traditional dancers like the “adowa” dancers of the Ashanti and “Bobobo” dancers of the Volta Region wear anklets (Agbezuge et al.,2021). Nevertheless, through the complementary data collection technique (i.e. photovoice) it is known that the chain and the beaded anklet are the types of anklets female students wear which are considered as modern type of anklets. However, unlike the traditional ones, there are no special meanings they attach to the type they wear despite the various meanings discussed above.

This is an important contrast for a sociological analysis. It helps one to appreciate that there is a change in trend regarding the types of anklet people wear. Also, the type of anklet people wear in contemporary times according to the student participants are mainly for fashion.

Perceptions about anklet wearing

While some associate anklet wearing to fashion, others imbue immorality with it. Therefore, one of the main questions people seem to have about wearing ankle bracelets is which ankle to wear the anklet on and interpretations to it. This section investigates the choice of ankle the anklet is

worn on, what determines the choice of the ankle and the interpretations to it. Hence, the perception focuses on the interpretations of people about anklet wearing. The sources of their perceptions also emerged. This section is heavily guided by the labeling theory of Becker (1963) which provides a framework for understanding how people (i.e., wearers) are labelled based on certain characteristics such as on the foot they wear it on.

The ankle that wears the anklet

Majority of the wearers said that they wear anklets on the left ankle. This is personal preference and influence as reported here: “*I always wear it on my left because they say when you wear it on your right it means you are a lesbian*” (Yaa: female, Christian 23 years, L. 200, W7). Others added:

“I don’t know. I just picked, I think I felt like maybe because I am a left-handed person so I just said left leg” (Esi: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 100, W1).

“I wear it on my left, I always wear it on my left ankle. My mum wears it on the left. So, by conversion when you learn something from someone else you turn to do it the way it is done by them. I have never seen her wear it right on ankle,” (Hajia: female, Muslim, 19 years, L. 200, W5).

Exploring the reason for the ankle anklet is worn on, the participants (i.e. wearers) reported their reasons for their preferred ankle as follows:

I think for the left, it symbolizes love or so because when you want to wear your ring, it’s for the left hand that is why I

have my piercing on the left (Enyonam: female, Christian, 22 years, L. 200, W2).

As I said earlier, the left ankle means that I am engaged, I do not know of the right ankle (Adwoa: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 200, W3).

I wear it on my left ankle just for fashion, I am a straight person and, I am not a lesbian (Yaa: female, Christian, 23 years, L. 200, W7).

The perception of others was in contrast to these reasons expressed about the ankle that wears the anklet, when the researcher explored the general and personal perceptions about anklet wearing. For the general perceptions about anklet wearing, participants (i.e., wearers and non-wearers) reported that:

“Others are saying it is not good and others are also claiming that if you wear it you are prostitute but I do not reason with them” (Salamatu: female, Muslim, 20 years, L. 100, W4). Another added that:

“They say it is for the prostitutes. If you wear an anklet you will not get a husband to marry” and “they say people who wear anklets they are bad children. Some say we are lesbians depending on the leg you wear it on”, (Fusena: female, Muslim, 20years, L. 100, W8; Yaa: female, Christian, 23 years, L. 200, W7).

For the personal perceptions, most of the participants (i.e. wearers and non-wearers) reported that anklet wearing is a trending dressing style because

of the reasons of: fashion, niceness, love for jewelry, and elegance as one reported:

“For me I will say elegance, elegance yeah. I feel like if I wear, maybe I wear a type of dress, it matches, it looks really good with the anklets, the shoe I will wear, it just makes it nice. I don’t know any perception whether it is a relationship something or religious. I just wear it because it is nice” (Esi: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 100, W1). Another added:

“People who wear anklets are only doing so to satisfy their fashion desire, I think this shouldn’t be a reason for us to tag people negatively. I don’t see any cogent reason why we should develop negatives about people who wear anklet”, (Ganu: male, Christian, 27 years, L. 800, NW13).

Sources of perception

The participants (i.e., wearers and non-wearer) cited friends, the internet, people (society), sister, religion and lecturers as various sources of their knowledge about anklet wearing. These sources serve as socialization agents by passing along prevalent knowledge on anklets wearing. The society was the main source of knowledge about anklet wearing among participants. Most of them indicated that their knowledge about anklet wearing is from society as one of them said: *“I just hear that these things are for prostitutes and it is coming from society”* (Fusena: female, Christian, 20 years, L. 200, W8). Another added that:

“I think I got it from society Yes... Because where I come from or where I stay at the moment, if people see you with anklets they will say this girl is a bad girl. So, I got it from society”, (Lizzy: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 200, NW11).

From the narratives, it is obvious that anklet wearers just do not wear anklet. Before they wear anklet, they decide on which ankle to wear it on and there are reasons for the choice of the ankle. However, the reasons are not based on the traditional conventional meanings or reasons some people have about anklet wearing on the right ankle, left ankle or both ankles. For example, most cultures believe that an ankle bracelet worn on the left foot is a charm or talisman, (Zungu, 2000). Therefore, the findings do not correspond to the statement that wearing anklets on the left ankle could signify that you are in an exclusive relationship, and if a married person puts it on their right foot, it means that they are looking to have an affair with someone (other men or women) other than the husband (Naveen, 2016).

From the narratives, it is realized that there are perceptions about anklet wearing. These perceptions can be categorized as general and personal. From the general perceptions there is the observation of stereotypical perceptions about anklet wearing as most of the participants reported that people who wear anklets are immoral, bad girls, immodest, prostitutes, lesbians, etc. This finding affirms the assertion that wearing anklets in public is generally perceived as being immodest (Wikipedia contributors, 2021). The labeling hypothesis (Becker, 1963), which holds that social control agents assign labels to specific groups, supports this as well. This is true because labels are a result of outside

judgments that alter an individual's conception of themselves and how others view them (Becker, 1963).

Nevertheless, from the perceptions of wearers, the narratives reveal that fashion, niceness, love for jewelry, elegance, and confidence were the personal reasons for wearing anklets. For example, this affirms the literature that in India young unmarried girls wear anklets for fashion, which most of them find as a source of confidence (Naveen, 2016). Hence, these are some of the reasons given for anklet wearing by wearers rather than a perception. Also, the narratives reveal the controversy between the general perceptions and the individual perceptions since the former was negative and the latter positive. From the responses, it is observed that to avoid this controversy people must ask before they call people names as lesbians, prostitutes and they should not be stereotypical based on the general perceptions.

This result is not consistent with the labeling theory's self-fulfilling prophecy that labels would match their labeled acts. The responses are the evidence that the wearers do not act to correspond to the label. This is because none of the labeled (wearers) lives by these labels of perceptions. In light of this, Becker's (1963) claim that those who are tagged encounter novel issues as a result of the label that alter their perception of themselves and how they react to it conflicts with this finding.

From the narratives it is observed that perceptions about anklet wearing are obtained from various sources (i.e., people (society), friends, internet, sister, religion and lecturer). The society constituted the primary source among them all. Even though people who wear anklets were a vital source of knowledge about anklet wearing, society had the established knowledge already, been a

reason why wearers were not cited as sources of knowledge about anklet wearing. The downside of people (society) getting the knowledge about anklet wearing from the wearers was not possible. Awusabo-Asare et al. (2006) provide an explanation for this, stating that certain subjects in society are still taboo and hard to change because of socio-cultural norms and restrictions.

Experiences of female students who wear anklets

The third objective for this study focused on the experiences of females who wear anklet in Cape Coast. For many wearers, anklet wearing comes with both positive and negative experiences such as name-calling (negative) and expressions of accolades (positive). Also, the wearers reported that people have been mistakenly approaching them as prostitutes and lesbians. These experiences prevent them sometimes when they want to just wear anklets to satisfy their fashion taste. The discussion follows an order beginning with the experiences of wearers, the experiences that will prevent them from wearing anklets and their confident level in wearing anklet despite being vilified. The wearers revealed that the experiences are as a result of the general perceptions people have about those who wear anklets. The society, family, friends, boyfriends, religion and opportunity limitation were some of the avenues of positive and negative experiences as cited by the wearers.

In the society, some of the negative experiences of people who wear anklets are name-calling, mockery, face frowning, and mistakenly being approached as prostitutes and lesbians. These experiences were reported as:

I can't tell...but name calling. The name calling is general for everyone. I have heard it I am tired. Even my mum wears

anklets, yes so, the name-calling is normal (Alice: female, Christian, 27 years, L. 400, W6).

People mock you or like they say because you are wearing this you are a bad person but with the good aspect, someone will say the anklet is nice (Yaa: female, Christian, 23 years, L. 200, W7).

Someone will just meet you a be like “Maame me p3 wo” meaning “woman, I like you”. Sometimes I just think it because of the bead (Fusena: female, Muslim, 20 years, L. 100, W8).

In the family, the experience is very different unlike the experiences in the general society. Most of the wearers reported that it is something that is tolerated in their family since some elderly people in the family wear it. However, there are limitations as some parents are worried about wearing anklet to other places. One participant reported her experience of wearing anklet in the family as:

Oh, now they are used to me. They know that this girl de3 that is her lifestyle so... (Enyonam: female, Christian, 22 years, L. 200, W2). Another added:

My mum and my dad know I wear anklets but when we are going for this family gathering that they ask me to remove it (Alice: female, Christian, 27 years, L. 400, W6).

However, with some wearers, the experience is different. This is because it is not a family usage. One wearer reported that she receives scolding and negative comments from parents and family members as she responded:

Well, you see I am a Muslim and my dad doesn't like it so whenever I am inside and he calls me I have to go and get something to cover it or maybe I have to remove it and when I am outside a lot of grown-ups will be like this thing is not good remove it. I will be like okay I will remove it, the next day I will wear it (Fusena: female, Muslim, 20 years, L. 200, W8).

For experiences with friends, some wearers made it known that friends relate with them normally while others revealed that some friends are judgmental towards them and advise them to remove it. One of the wearers who reported that friends relate with them normally said this:

We relate normally because what you like is not what I like and I cannot also force you to like what I like... So, relationship is normal (Salamatu: female, Muslim, 20 years, L. 100, W4). To attest to this as an affirmation a non-wearer added that:

Normal... as normal as I will meet any other person (Lizzy: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 200, NW11).

For the wearers, who revealed that their friends are judgmental towards them, they shared their experiences as:

When I was in level 100, I used to walk with those who are like tom-boys, tom-boys stuff and I was tagged as a lesbian. But I didn't care about it because I didn't know why you should judge somebody. We are all sinning but the fact that the person is sinning differently doesn't make you holy. Me

I am not a lesbian. I have a boyfriend. No! fiancée (Alice: female, Christian, 27 years, L. 400, W6).

Yeah, even my class mate some see me wearing an anklet they tell me “Eei you are a bad girl, it is not good people may think you are a prostitute.” (Adwoa: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 200, W3).

Due to these experiences, some anklet wearers mentioned that most of their friends try to stop or discourage them from wearing anklets. A simple question that was asked is, when friends advise you not to wear anklets what do you tell them? This elicited the following response from one wearer:

“I told them that there is nothing they can say that will make me change. It is what I want so they understand” (Adwoa: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 200, W3). Another added:

No...Everybody and whatever they want you cannot force me (Yaa: female, Christian, 23 years, L. 200, W7).

Some wearers also reported that their boyfriends like anklets so much and even some of the anklets they wear are bought by their boyfriends as one said: *“Yeah...He is okay with it...He even bought it for me” (Adwoa: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 200, W3).* Another added: *“The last person I dated likes it a lot, he even used to buy me some to wear and people still approach me yes” (Hajia: female, Muslim, 19 years, L. 200, W5).* Another participant interestingly added that:

He even loves it more than me. There are times that I want to be free with my legs and I take them off he complains that

“I should wear it, it makes my legs look cute”. So, he doesn’t have a problem with me wearing anklets or other jewelry. He also made the sister do one anklet for me (Alice: female, Christian, 27 years, L. 400, W6).

So, it is not a big deal as their boyfriends tolerate them wearing anklets. Nevertheless, one of them reported that the boyfriend left her because he did not like her to wear anklets as she said: *“He said he doesn’t like ladies with anklet but he thought he could let me stop wearing it”* (Yaa: female, Christian, 23 years, L. 200, W7).

There was a strong theme on the relationship between Christian religion and anklet wearing. Many people believe that religious holiness is based on appearance. Hence, appearance is much important to them than what a believer holds pure in heart. Based on these premises, many people have had experiences of segregation, discrimination, rejection, and judgementalism because of their outward appearance for religious activities. So, anklet wearers are some of the believers who experience situations like this. These are some of the experiences of wearers reported:

Okay, I have actually got someone. It was here in this school.

I think he wanted to invite me to the church but he was like

before I come to church, he wants me to remove my anklets.

And I told him that I don’t want to remove my anklets. If it is

the church, we are going, we are going to church, no one

should judge. If you are going to judge me based on the

anklets I am wearing then why should I come to church. I

didn’t want to insult him but it was like you people are kind

of like hypocrites. Because if you are trying to change the person's life, change the person's life but not to look at the person's leg or how the person dresses, everybody and how they show their personality (Esi: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 100, W1).

My mum doesn't want me because she said the church people also talk and my dad is a chief usher in church. Though most of them understand that I am into this fashion stuffs but they will not consider that but say your dad is an usher and you still be wearing this. Yes, sometimes because I don't know why, this is me I don't know why you said because of the church or probably because of the position my dad has in church I should remove the anklet. Basically, even God above knows that I wear it, so you going to the church removing it doesn't make any sense at all. Yes, I fake my identity in the church (Alice: Female, Christian, 27 years, L. 400, W6).

Confidence level of people is partly informed by their dressings, adornment and presentation of the self. Hence it was interesting to explore the confidence level of anklets wearers to ascertain whether their confidence had been affected due to the vilifications. However, all the wearers reported to be hundred percent confident and more as one said: *"I am very confident I don't feel shy. Sometimes I even forget that I am wearing anklets"* (Esi: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 100, W1). Another added that:

My confidence level is 100 %. I wear it for everything it is only this morning that I removed it. I don't even know why I removed it. It came on me that I should remove it. (Salamatu: female, Muslim, 20 years, L. 100, W4).

Finally, one of the experiences wearers expressed is limited opportunities. The wearers revealed that sometimes because of the anklets they are wearing they do not get access to some opportunities (i.e., job, class presentation) unless they remove it. For them, this hurts because it appears they are faking their identity. However, for some, it creates job opportunities rather than limitations while others since it is removable if they are going somewhere that requires that they remove it.

On those who have lost opportunities due to the fact that they wear anklets, one participant reported this hurtful situation about job opportunities as:

Actually, I love to act and model but let me say about two weeks ago I got some link because I asked some friends to just try and give me a link and the friends got me the link and according to the directions for you to be picked you don't have to wear anklets and nose pierced and I was like really something that I want to do seriously and you are telling me I don't have to wear anklets or have nose piercing. So, I will say over there it didn't help in a way but I know other chances will come up (Enyonam: female, Christian, 22 years, L. 200, W2).

However, for some participants, the anklets opened employment opportunities in the entertainment and art industries for them. For example, one of the participants said:

Because of my anklet some people will be like I want you to make some for me so I will also wear it. I love the anklet. I love the way you have been blending your colours. And some also because of the anklet they will be like if I get you for a photoshoot or something it won't be bad at all. It has even created some kind of employment like that” (Alice: female, Christian, 27 years, L. 400, W6).

For some wearers, they cannot wear anklets for lectures and more especially for class presentations. As argued by a non-wearer: *“They are having problems. They are having issues with their lecturers and when they come to class their lecturers will be like they are “slay queens”. It makes them uncomfortable” (Akua: female, Christian, 24 years, L. 400, NW16).* This was affirmed by a wearer: *I was told I shouldn't wear them when I am having a presentation, but after the presentation I put them on. (Yaa: female, Christian, 23 years, L. 200, W7)*

For those who feel that it is removable, once they get to know that wearing anklet will serve as a hindrance or going somewhere that requires that they remove it they will remove it as said:

So far as it is removable so in case, I am going somewhere higher will require for me to remove it, it is removable, I will remove it and go to wherever I would have to go but when I come back... and it is not something I like to wear always. I choose to wear it when I am comfortable with it. And sometimes I have no reason though but I choose to remove it” (Salamatu: female, Muslim, 20 years, L. 100, W4).

Factors that will Prevention one from wearing anklets

The experiences that emerged in this study included factors that will prevent the wearers from wearing anklets. Some of the experiences covered instructions from fathers, fear, lost anklets, class presentations and, national service. However, to some wearers nothing will prevent them from wearing anklets. These are their respective responses:

I don't know, till my father says I should stop wearing anklets. If he does, I will stop but since he hasn't said anything I don't think I will stop (Esi: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 100, W1).

The only experience that will ever get me not to wear anklets is if it gets lost I don't have one in my hostel or just feel like I don't want to wear anklets because my heel has a buckle so I am thinking why will I wear something with a buckle and wear anklet (Hajia: female, Christian, 19 years, L. 200, W5).

I wear it to Church so maybe during presentations and my father, is the only one who is not comfortable with me wearing it (Yaa: female, Christian, 23 years, L. 200, W7).

For those wearers who reported that nothing will prevent them from wearing anklets, a participant said: *"None of them...Nothing will prevent me from wearing anklets"* (Adwoa: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 200, W3).

The narratives have so far revealed that anklet wearers experience negative perceptions at the UCC campus. Some of the sources through which

anklet wearers have these negative experiences are society, family, friends, boyfriends, institutions (school), and church. Though these avenues are arenas of anklet wearers' experiences not all of these avenues enforce the negative experiences. For example, friends, family, and boyfriends sometimes tolerate and support anklet wearing. However, in the society and, institutions (i.e., school, church) these experiences are mostly negative such as name-calling, mistakenly being approached as prostitutes or lesbians, break up of relationships and opportunity limitations like employment. Although the wearers experience these reactions from society which are sometimes embarrassing, they do not allow these experiences to discourage them from satisfying their fashion desire. This implies that the wearer has the well-meaning of what she is wearing better than the perceiver. The perceiver is only relying on what he/she has heard in society. It is, therefore, wrong to generally assume that someone wearing an anklet is a prostitute, a lesbian, or be mocked and called names. This is because whether they are being called names or mocked, they still wear it.

Further, the narratives reveal that wearers are not willing to easily give up the wearing of anklets. Also, it is for a wearer to adhere to a friend's advice to stop wearing anklets. So, for wearers nothing will prevent them from wearing anklet except in some circumstances of parental instruction or knows that there is a place anklet is not tolerated there and they have to go there. In addition, the narratives show that people who wear anklets are confident. This finding affirms an Indian study which established that young unmarried girls who wear anklets are confident (Naveen, 2016).

Occasions when anklets are worn

This fourth objective examines the occasions (i.e., time and events) when anklets are mostly worn, and determine if anklet wearing is an emerging group identity of life-style. This section is guided by the cultural feminist theory. Both wearers and non-wearers affirmed that anklet wearing has no specific time or event, for example, one Non-wearer observe: *“It is an everyday wear.... Hmmmm because they wear it every day. My roommate wears to take her bath... nothing special”* (Lizzy: female, Christian, 21 years, L.200, NW11). To affirm this another non-wearer added: *“Some people, they have been wearing it every day, they don’t remove it”* (Akua: female, Christian, 24 years, L. 400, NW16). To verify this claim, wearers were asked whether there are specific times they wear anklets? The responses affirmed the earlier observations from the non-wearers as one of them said:

No, I wear all the time, 24/7. I don’t remove it unless it is spoilt or maybe I want to change it. The chain one I bought it last week. I thought like the old one I have been wearing for so long, so I just wanted to change, so I bought another one (Esi: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 100, W1). Another added: *All the time oooo...unless I don’t have it or I don’t feel like wearing it* (Hajia: female, Christian, 19 years, L. 200, W5).

However, not all the participants held the same view. Some had alternative views. For example, three out of five non-wearers had contrasting views. They reported on the occasions and events when anklets are worn by female university students, as one non-wearer said:

Events... when there are events like artiste night or some other entertainment programme, mostly you see the ladies standing with their shorts and they put on their anklets. Sometimes it is very few you see them wearing it to church (Akua: female, Christian, 24 years, L. 400, NW16). Another added that: When they are going for parties, jubilant occasions, scarcely during lectures (Yaya: male, Christian, 24 years, L. 400, NW12).

For most wearers, though occasions such as parties, wedding ceremonies and funerals, have their required dressing styles or costume, they do not wait for an event before they wear anklets since they wear it all the time and as an everyday wear as one said: *“Hmmm people wear maybe when they are going for parties, some even wear it for wedding ceremonies, some students even wear it for lectures” (Enyonam: female, Christian, 22 years, L. 200, W2).*

Another added:

I don't know. For me I do not wait until it is occasion, it is always on my ankle, I bath with it, sleep with it, and do everything with it. I do not remove it, it is always on my ankle. Sometimes I do not even remember I am wearing ankle” (Adwoa: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 200, W3).

The findings generally show that there are no specific times when female university students wear anklets though few participants had alternative views. This is because they wear it every day; to sleep and bath. The times that anklets would not be worn will be a moment when it is torn or the feeling to wear is not there. The findings further revealed that there are events that female university

students wear anklets most. Some of these events include parties, wedding ceremonies, and funerals. However, some wearers reported that since there is no specific time for wearing anklets, they do not wait for an occasion before they wear anklets. Following cultural feminist theory, anklet wearing is a life-style to portray “femininity” or “female essence. This probably explains why there are no specific times for anklet wearing just as females wear earrings, bracelets, and necklaces. So, just like earrings, bracelets and necklaces, anklets are worn to reflect the femininity of a woman since they are capable of bringing out the importance and the value of female qualities.

Anklet wearing: A matter of group identity or fashion trend?

The final objective was interested to know if anklet wearing could be associated with a group as a form of identity or fashion trend. Therefore, understanding the group dynamics among the participants was key to determining whether anklet wearing is an emerging group identity or an emerging life-style especially among the university students. The university as a microcosm of society is made up of individuals with different characteristics and interests with some categorized on religious, social, and political lines. Some of these groups are recognized by the University authorities because they are registered while others are unrecognized because they are not registered. Some registered groups cited were: New Patriotic Party Tertiary Students Confederacy – University of Cape Coast (TESCON UCC), National Democratic Congress Tertiary Education Institution Network – University of Cape Coast (TEIN UCC), Pentecostal Students Association of Ghana – University of Cape Coast, Volta Region Students Association, Rotary club,

Debate Society as one reported: *“We have Debate Society, Ga-Adanbge Student Union, Volta Region Students Union, Rotary, TEIN UCC, TESCON UCC...a lot* (Hajia: female, Muslim, 19 years, L. 200, W5). Other participants also indicated that there are some groups but they do not have names or are not known because they are unrecognized as one reported: *“Yes, there are unrecognized groups on campus and some members wear anklets* (Yaa: female, Christian, 23 years, L. 200, W7). Other three participants added these: *“They have those girls, girls’ group, they create a page, they normally go out, go here, go there,* (Alice: female, Christian, 27 years, L. 400, W6); *if it is about girls, girls I think there are but I don’t think they have any name to it,* (Adwoa: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 200, W3), and *“When I was doing my undergrad studies our classes we had a group that it was made up of boys and girls so it was not specifically for one gender. At least every two weeks we go out to the pool side just to swim, take some meat, take some drinks”* (Ganu: male, Christian, 27 years, L. 800, NW13).

It was also revealed in the interviews that there are groups or some members of groups that wear anklets as reported: *“Yeah...yeah, people who usually move in groups you are likely to see all of them in it”*, (Yaya: male, Christian, 24 years, L. 400, NW12). To affirm that this is true, participants were asked: Do you belong to any group that members wear anklets? The answers were reported as: *“Yeah...there was one, she doesn’t wear it regularly but occasionally”* (Ganu: male, Christian, 27 years, L. 800, NW13); *“In students’ parliament I am the only one, TEIN UCC there are a lot, among the executives I am the only one that wears”* (Hajia: female, Muslim, 19 years, L. 200, W5). Another added: *I have noticed this category of girls, they are three and they*

have the same anklet on. It is black, so I am like maybe it is because they are three friends so they want to do everything together, (Esi: female, Christian, 22 years, L. 100, W2). This was affirmed by a non-wearer as he said: “Oh, like I know some group of people who wear anklet, though they are not my friends I have been meeting them always and they are almost always in it” (Yaya: male, Christians, 24 years, L. 400, NW12).

Since there are various forms of groups and some members wear anklets, the discussions further explored the rate of patronage which later formed the basis to determine whether it is an emerging group identity or lifestyle. On the rate of patronage, some participants reported that there is a high increase of anklet wearing on campus as one argued: *“There is this girl I know she sells anklet and people patronize it a lot” (Alice: female, Christian, 27 years, L. 400, W6); “Yes, very high”, (Yaa: female, Christian, 23 years, L. 200, W7). Another added:*

Hmmm...I just saw one passing here right now. I think it is increasing because people are getting open minded, some people do it because they want to show that they don't really have any bad idea about it, so try to make people who wear anklets comfortable around them and sometimes too you are in a room with someone who wears anklet you grow this attachment to it. So, I think it is increasing because people are getting to know people the more, they are seeing it all around and the perception is not actually as bad as it used to be in the past so people are patronizing it. And people that they follow on the internet wears anklet sometimes maybe

they follow this person and the person wears anklet a lot so the internet too has influence in relation to that (Hajia: female, Muslim, 19 years, L. 200, W5).

Based on the above narratives, the researcher wanted to find out if the wearing of anklet could be as a result of it being an emerging group identity or fashion trend. On finding out if the wearing of anklet is as a result of it being an emerging group identity it was reported that it cannot be a group identity with the following reasons reported:

No...because not all of them that wear” (Yaa: female, Christian, 23 years, L. 200, W7).

No... anyone can wear it if the person has interest in it not because you are in this group by force you have to wear (Adwoa: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 200, W3).

No, I don't think so, if they were I am sure hahaha they would have found me and taken me (Esi: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 100, W1).

On determining if the patronage is as a result of it being an emerging lifestyle it was reported positively as a lifestyle (fashion) as reported: *“I think it is a lifestyle, fashion”* (Alice: female, Christian, 27 years, L. 400, W6). Others added:

Yeah, so to say it is something that is emerging as a lifestyle but people are not confident enough to come out with it (Ganu: male, Christian, 27 years, L. 800, NW13).

I see it as a life style because it is a personal life-style. I do not think it is a group something that by force you are in this group so you have to wear anklets (Adwoa: female, Christian, 21 years, L. 200, W3).

I see it as a lifestyle we came to meet it. It is just that in the olden days we wear using the beads one but now we are using the metallic ones (Yaa: female, Christian, 23 years, L. 200, W7).

The narratives reveal that there are social groups wherever there are two or more people in the social environment, formed based on similarities and interdependence. Sometimes, groups are easily identified with certain characteristics common among the group. This can be the way they dress, interact with one another etc. This is capable of distinguishing one group from another. Though, according to (Eicher, 1995; Wobst, 1977), ornamentation can be used to communicate between group differences, in the findings there was no such observation as such. This is because there is a high rate of patronage in anklet wearing and group members are found wearing anklets. This cannot be considered as a group identity to differentiate one group from another, since not all group members wear anklet but individuals who personally choose to wear anklets. Further, there are some groups of people that could be found wearing anklets, this does not make them a group that identifies themselves with anklet wearing but friends who will like to do everything together. This finding supports Bourdieu's theory of habitus which assumes that people will be willing to learn and live certain lifestyles common to the environment they find

themselves. So, people are wearing anklet because they have seen their friends wearing it and not because they belong to a special group that identifies themselves with anklet wearing.

Also, the narratives revealed that there is a high rate of patronage in anklet wearing. However, this patronage is associated with the fact that people are now having a taste for fashion and they want to satisfy this fashion taste which anklet is not exclusive. Therefore, the patronage is associated with an emerging life-style (fashion).

Summary

In this chapter, I have presented the category of female students who wear anklets, types, meanings and perceptions about anklet wearing and the experiences of female students who wear anklets. The chapter further examined the occasions (i.e., time and events) that anklets are been worn by female University students and anklet wearing in relation to group identity or lifestyle.

Females are mostly noted for anklet wearing. However, these females are often categorized as “slay queens” informed by societal perceptions and because how their motivation for wearing anklet does not conform with the traditional sense of body adornment. Society believes that “slay queens” have taste for flashy things so when a lady attaches body adornment such as anklets to look flashy she is a “slay queen”. The observation made in relation to the sociological analysis is that there is an expansion as far persons who wear anklet is concern from traditional categorization through to modern.

Many types of anklets are available in terms of modern and traditional for body adornment, but female university students mostly wear the modern

ones (i.e. chain or beaded anklet). According to my student participants, there is no specific meaning assigned to the choice of a type of anklet except the reason that they make one's appearance colourful. There are general and individual perceptions about anklet wearing. Generally, it is believed that people who wear anklets are bad girls or immoral. The individual wearer has her own perception other than what the society perceives about them.

The experience of people who wear anklets are both negative and positive. Sometimes they are mistakenly approached by people who think that they are lesbians or prostitutes and they want to express interest in them. The experiences with friends are very positive as friends acknowledge how nice the anklets look and sometimes they feel to wear but afraid of their parents.

Participants reported that there are no specific times that anklets are worn because it is something they wear for various daily activities. Some wear it to bath, sleep and even sometimes forget that they are wearing anklets. On anklet wearing in relation to group identity or lifestyle, participants reported that there are various groups in the University community. Some members of these groups are found wearing anklets. However, this cannot be used as the basis to conclude that anklet-wearing is an identity for a particular group. Rather, it is attributed to the fact that people are having fashion taste for anklets and they are wearing it for fashion purposes.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The summary, conclusion, and recommendations are highlighted in this chapter to give a recap of the study. The summary begins with the main research findings informed by the objectives. It further covers the conclusions drawn from the summary. This is followed by the recommendations and other considerations for future studies.

Summary of Main Research Findings

The study explored anklet wearing among female university students and community elders through a sociological lens. Specifically, the study sought to find out the category of females who wear anklets, types, meanings and perceptions of anklet wearing, experiences of females, particularly students of the University of Cape Coast who wear anklets, occasions when such females wear anklets and to determine if anklet wearing is an emerging group identity or lifestyle.

The techniques of purposive and snowballing sampling were used to find interview subjects. Twenty-five people in all, including ten wearers and fifteen non-wearers, participated in the study. The techniques of photovoice and in-depth interviews were employed to elicit information from the participants. English was used for all of the interviews. Participants gave their informed consent before the interviews could begin. The research complied with the necessary ethical standards established by the University of Cape Coast's Institutional Review Board (IRB). The data was processed and analyzed using

interpretative phenomenological analysis's thematic analysis framework (Yardley, 2008). I was better able to understand the participants' perspectives and experiences because of the framework method, which allowed me to immerse myself in the qualitative data. This process was carried out in accordance with the five stages of familiarization, theme framework construction, indexing and sorting, data summary and display, mapping and interpretation. The developed themes of the study objectives formed the basis for the conclusions. The themes included the category of female university students who wear anklets, types, meanings, and perceptions of wearing anklets, as well as experiences of female university students who wear anklets. There were also topics regarding the occasions (i.e., times and events) wherein female university students wear anklets, as well as the wearing of anklets as a mode of dress or a way of life. The major findings that emerged are discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

The inclusion of the community elders in the study revealed that there is an expansion in terms of the kind of people who wear anklet in traditional societies and in modern times. The participants referred to them as "Slay Queens" defined as women who like flashy things and want to look flashy. Hence, once a female is seen wearing anklets, she is a "Slay Queen".

The participants also had knowledge about the types of anklets available and worn by female university students which are different from the types people with various traditional status wear has distinguished by the community elders. The common and preferred ones were, modern (i.e. beaded and chain anklets) since the other types (i.e. traditional) made the wearers looked awkward

according to the participants. There are no special meanings attached to the anklet type apart from satisfying a fashion taste.

The perceptions regarding anklet wearing were categorized as general and individual perceptions. The general perceptions reported were generally negative with examples like, people who wear anklets are immoral. The individual perceptions, wearers and non-wearers felt that anklet is a body adornment just like bracelets, necklace, earrings among others, that people wear to look colourful.

The content of experiences of female university students who wear anklets are both negative and positive. Some of the negative experiences mentioned were limited opportunities, not allowed to participate in religious activities, and often mistakenly approached as prostitutes or lesbians.

Occasion (i.e., time and events) do not determine the wearing of anklet. Anklet is worn all the time unless it is torn, it is missing or the feeling to wear it is not there but not for specific times or events. There wearing of anklet cannot be associated with any group but a fashion taste people want to satisfy.

Conclusions

Even though female students considered to be “Slay Queens” wear anklets most, the wearers see this as a societal tag and reject that there is no category of people who wear anklets apart from the fact that people wear anklets for various reasons with theirs being mainly for fashion.

Bead anklets, chain anklets, rubber anklets and thread anklets were types of anklets wearers wear, however, bead anklets and chain anklets were the preferred choice of the participants and mostly worn by female students of the

University of Cape Coast. These anklets do not have any meanings attach to them. However, the knowledge about anklet wearing was often negative reflecting Becker's (1963) labelling theory.

The experiences are not different from the perceptions from society. Hence, the negative perceptions become the negative experiences of wearers from society, religion and in terms of opportunity limitation. However, this does not prevent wearers from wearing anklet.

During occasions people would want to distinguish themselves using body adornments. However, anklet is not one of the body adornments people wait till there is an occasion before they wear it. It is something they wear every day. The high patronage in anklet wearing is observed and members of various groups wear anklet but cannot be associated with group identity but rather can be considered as an emerging lifestyle since there is a growing taste for fashion.

The narratives provide evidence that anklet is a female adornment of a lifestyle and not as a group identity. Hence, the claim by cultural feminists' theory in the 1970s that lifestyle issues portray "female nature" or "female essence" is supported by the findings. Although this has its own implications on people who wear anklets through societal perceptions, cultural feminist's theory sees anklets to reflect the femaleness of a woman since they are capable of bringing out the importance and the value of female qualities. Therefore, dispelling misconceptions influencing the discourse on anklet wearing and providing society with adequate information about wearing anklets can aid in eradicating unfavorable perceptions and experiences of those who wear anklets.

Recommendations

The following suggestions are given in light of the findings and conclusions of the study:

Institutions like the media (radio and TV) and or Centre for Gender Research, Advocacy and Documentation (CEGRAD) of the University of Cape Coast can make a documentary or sensitization programmes on anklets wearing, to disabuse people's mind on anklets and enable people to appreciate the fashion trend of anklet wearing.

Stakeholders (such as religious groups, traditional authorities, governments agencies or institutions) should develop strategies and unified approaches people can use to tolerate those who wear anklets.

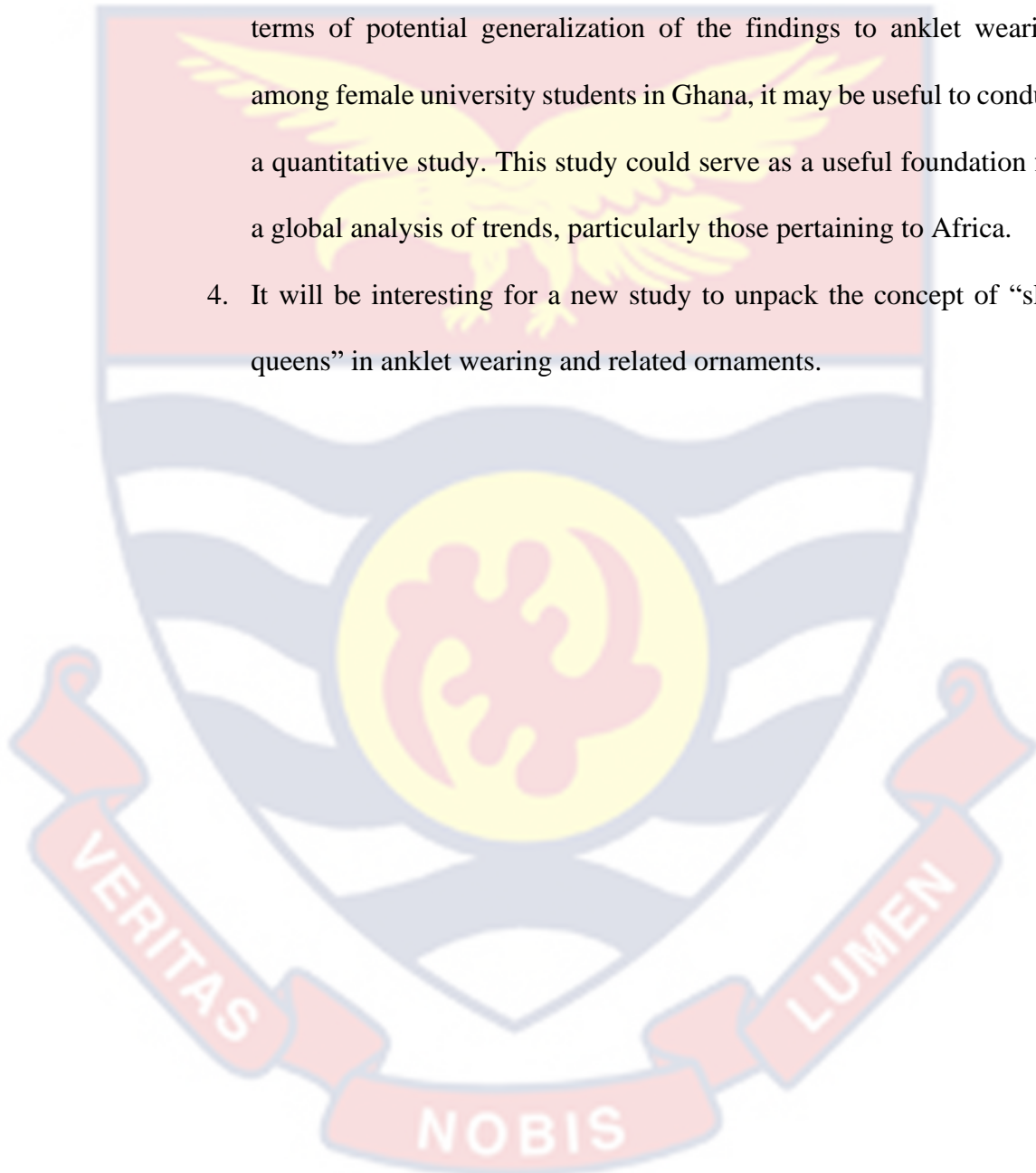
It is recommended that society should tolerate it, to demystify and correct negative perceptions regarding anklet wearing is bad and immoral to culture.

Future study

The following recommendations for additional research can concentrate on:

1. Extending the current design's scope for future work, not just in terms of participants from a university or small community perspective within the Cape Coast Metropolis, but also by starting a more thorough and all-encompassing investigation to involve stakeholders like teachers, parents, proponents of art and lifestyle, religious leaders, and policy actors in the general society.

2. Future research can concentrate on the dynamics of views and experiences between these categories by examining females in general society who wear anklets, including married women.
3. To compensate for the limitations of the qualitative approach used in terms of potential generalization of the findings to anklet wearing among female university students in Ghana, it may be useful to conduct a quantitative study. This study could serve as a useful foundation for a global analysis of trends, particularly those pertaining to Africa.
4. It will be interesting for a new study to unpack the concept of “slay queens” in anklet wearing and related ornaments.



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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: In-Depth Interview Guide (Female/traders & Anklet Wearers)

Introduction

Good day/afternoon. I attend the University of Cape Coast, Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Please take a moment to answer a few inquiries about “Anklet Wearing Among Females in Cape Coast, through a Sociological Analysis.” I guarantee that all information you provide will be kept private. The conversation may go on for 45 to an hour. I appreciate you deciding to take part.

SECTION A: Socio-demographic Profile

1. Would you mind providing me with some information about yourself (e.g., name, age, gender, religion, ethnicity, place of birth, program, level, and hall)?

SECTION B: Categories of students who wear anklets.

1. What is anklet (Probes: something worn around the ankle: chain, rubber, leather)?
2. How did you learn about anklets and its wearing (Probes: peer group, parents, school, social media, religion etc.)?
3. In your perspective, are there categories of university students who wear anklets? (Probes: Gender, Muslims, Christians, Traditionalists, fashionistas, people who want to feel more of a woman, etc.)
4. Which of these categories do you belong to?
5. Which category of people patronize it most (Probes: Gender, Muslims, Christians, Traditionalists, fashionistas, people who want to feel more of a woman, etc.? Why?)

SECTION C: Types, meanings and perceptions of anklets wearing among female university students.**Types of anklets and meanings (Photovoice)**

6. What types of anklets do you know of? (Please mention)
7. What type (s) do you wear?
8. Can you show me images of the anklets you wear?
9. Are there special meanings attached to them?
10. What determines the type of anklets to wear (Probes: Skin colour; Protection; Occasions: birthday, club, peer group meetings, beach, going on a date; Peer group, religion, family, personal reasons, etc.)?

Perceptions of wearers

1. What are some of the general perceptions about anklets wearing?
2. What are your perceptions about anklets wearing (Probes: fashion, religious significance, etc.)?
3. People are seen wearing anklets on the left or right ankle and some on both ankles. On what foot do you prefer to wear anklets on (Probes: left foot, right foot, or both)?
4. Why or what determines the foot and the way to wear it (Probes: peer group, religion, family, personal reasons)?
5. What does it mean to wear anklets on the left foot, right foot, or both? How about the doubles?
6. What is your source of information about the meanings and perceptions about anklet wearing (Probes: religion, family, personal, media)?

SECTION D: Experiences of female student who wear anklets/ Labeled

7. What are some of the general experiences of people who wear anklets (Probes: Positive/Negatives)?
8. What have been some of your experiences wearing anklets? Any attitudes of people towards you wearing anklets? (Positives/negatives) (Probes: Fashion accolades/compliments: beautiful, elegant, charming; Stigma, opportunity limitations, etc.)?
9. Do you have friends who do not wear anklets? Any ideas why they/do not wear anklets? How do they relate with you since they/do not wear anklets, have you ever been advised by them not to wear anklets)?
10. Have you ever been approached as lesbian, prostitute, immodest?

11. How confident are you in wearing anklets in public (Lecture Hall, Lecturer's office, Administration, Shuttle station, Church, etc.)? How is the reception like?
12. What are some of the experiences that prevent you from wearing anklets (religion, society, shyness, fear as prompts)

SECTION E: Occasions for wearing anklets

13. On what occasion(s) do people wear anklets (Probes: wedding, birthday, love date, church service, club night etc.)?
14. What about you, on what occasion(s) do you wear anklets (Probes: birthday, club, peer group meetings, beach, going on a date, religious activities)
15. Are there specific times you wear anklets (Probes: time in the day or time in the night, why)?

SECTION F: Anklet wearing and group identity or lifestyle

16. Are there any kind of social groups in the University (Probes: Girls, Girls movement, Ladies circles etc.)?
17. Do you belong to any of these groups on Campus?
18. Are you the only one that wears anklet or there are members of this/these groups that wear anklets? Is the anklet your group identity?
19. Are anklets worn by specific group of people (Probes: religious group, roommates, hall mates, models, lesbians, etc.)
20. Are there any association of anklets wearers (Probes: Hall mates, friends, clicks etc.)? Which type of anklets to they wear (Probes: leather, chain, beads, etc.)?
21. Do you observe the high increase of anklet wearing on Campus? So, do you see this as an emerging group identity or lifestyle?
22. Any other information that I have missed out?
23. Thanks for your time...

Appendix 2: In-Depth Interview Guide (Non-wearers: males/females and traders)

Introduction

Good day/afternoon. I attend the University of Cape Coast, Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Please take a moment to answer a few inquiries about “Anklet Wearing Among Females in Cape Coast, through a Sociological Analysis.” I guarantee that all information you provide will be kept private. The conversation may go on for 45 to an hour. I appreciate you deciding to take part.

SECTION A: Socio-demographic Profile

1. Would you mind providing me with some information about yourself (e.g., name, age, gender, religion, ethnicity, place of birth, program, level, and hall)?

SECTION B: Which categories of students wear anklets?

1. What is anklet (Probes: something worn around the ankle: chain, rubber, leather)?
2. In your perspective, are there categories of females who wear anklets? (Probes: Gender, “Slay Queens”, fashionistas, people who want to feel more of a woman, etc.)
3. Which category of people patronize it most (Probes: Gender, “Slay Queens”, fashionistas, people who want to feel more of a woman, etc.? Why?

SECTION C: Perceptions on anklets wearing among female

Perceptions of non-wearers/Labeling

4. What are some of the general perceptions about anklet wearing?
5. What are your perceptions about anklets wearing (Probes: fashion, religious significance, etc.)?
6. People are seen wearing anklets on the left or right ankle and some on both ankles. Do you know what determines the foot and the way to wear it (Probes: peer group, religion, family, personal reasons)?
7. What does it mean if one wears anklets on the left foot, right foot, or both? How about the doubles?
8. Do you have friends who wear anklets? How do you relate with students who wear anklets?

9. Do you have any stereotypical perception about female students who wear anklets?
10. What is your source of information about the meaning and perceptions about anklet wearing (Probes: religion, family, personal, media)?

SECTION D: Occasions for anklets wearing among females in Cape Coast

11. On what occasions do you see female students wearing anklets (Probes: birthday, club, peer group meetings, beach, going on a date, religious activities)
12. Are there specific times they wear anklets (Probes: time in the day or time in the night, why)?

SECTION E: Anklet wearing and group identity and/or lifestyle?

13. Are there any kind of social groups in the University (Probes: Girls, Girls movement, Ladies circles etc.)?
14. Are there members of this/these groups that wear anklets?
15. Are anklets worn by specific group of people (Probes: religious group, roommates, hall mates, models, lesbians, etc.)
16. Which type of anklets to they wear (Probes: leather, chain, beads, etc.)?
17. Do you observe the high increase of anklet wearing on Campus? So, do you see this as an emerging group identity or lifestyle?
18. Any other information that I have missed out?
19. Thanks for your time...

Appendix 3: In-Depth Interview Guide: Community Elders

Introduction

Good day/afternoon. I attend the University of Cape Coast, Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Please take a moment to answer a few inquiries about “Anklet Wearing Among Females in Cape Coast, through a Sociological Analysis.” I guarantee that all information you provide will be kept private. The conversation may go on for 45 to an hour. I appreciate you deciding to take part.

SECTION A: Socio-demographic Profile

1. Would you mind providing me with some information about yourself (e.g., name, age, gender, religion, ethnicity, place of birth, program, level, and hall)?

SECTION B: Traditionally, which categories of people wear anklets?

1. In your perspective traditionally, are there categories of people who wear anklets? (Probes: Gender, Royals, Dancers, Slaves, the Rich, people who want to feel more of a woman, etc.)
2. Which category of people patronize it most (Probes: Gender, Royals, Slaves, the Rich, people who want to feel more of a woman, etc.?)

SECTION C: Traditional (Types, meanings and perceptions on anklets wearing)

Types

3. What types of anklets do you know of? (Please mention)
4. Are there special meanings attached to them?

Appendix 5: Consent Form

Title: Anklet Wearing Among Females in Cape Coast: A Sociological Analysis

Principal Investigator: Titus Nymenome Donyeh

Address: University of Cape Coast, College of Humanities and Legal Studies,
Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Sociology and Anthropology

General Information about Research

I am Titus Nymenome Donyeh; an MPhil candidate at the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast. I am researching on the topic, “Anklet wearing among females in Cape Coast: A Sociological Analysis”. The thesis aims at knowing the types of anklet females wear and understanding the perceptions and meanings about anklet wearing as well as the experiences of female students who wear anklets. This is to seek your acceptance to participate in a study which intends to explore anklet wearing among females in Cape Coast from a sociological perspective. Though anklet wearing have been significantly researched on in the fields of material culture, there is a grey literature on the sociological analysis of anklet wearing.

Procedures

I cordially welcome you to participate in this study endeavor in order to discover answers to some of these queries. Should you agree, you will have to take part in an interview with Titus Nymenome Donyeh to help us know the types of anklets female of Cape Coast wear and understand the perceptions and meanings about anklet wearing as well as the experiences of female students who wear anklets. I am pleased to announce to you that you have been selected as one of such individuals whose views will be useful to the execution of the project.

You can indicate throughout the interview that you do not want to respond to any of the questions, in which case the interviewer will move on to the next one. We shall both agree that the interview will take place in a secure setting with just the interviewer present. The information you provide during your interview will be kept private and confidential, accessible only to the members of your team. We will have an hour or so for the interview with you.

Possible Risks and Discomforts

No risk is foreseen, but you may feel uncomfortable sharing some personal or confidential information with the researcher. It is likely that you may feel uncomfortable responding to certain topics raised during the interview, but I do not wish this to happen. So, you can refuse to respond to the questions that you feel are personal or bring back sad memories.

Possible Benefits

There will be no direct benefit to you personally, but it is likely that people's perceptions and meanings attached to anklet wearing will be broadened. When this happens, it may encourage others to patronize in anklet wearing which will boost the business of those in that area of entrepreneurship.

Confidentiality

Be rest assured that any information given will be kept confidentially. Data collected from you will be stored in a password protected electronic database called REDCap without your name attached to it but a unique code will be assigned to it. Thus, your details will be known to only the researcher, but not the wider society.

Compensation

You will not be given any financial reward for participating in this study. This study is for academic purposes only.

Voluntary Participation and Right to Leave the Research

There is no need to participate in this study if you are not willing to since this will not affect you in any regard. No benefits will be denied you because of your decision not to continue with the study. Also, your decision to withdraw from the study will not cause you to lose any rights as a member of the University community. To put it briefly, your decision to withdraw from the study at any point or your reluctance to participate will not have any impact on your standing within the university community.

Termination of Participation by the Researcher

This is to let you know that the researcher has the right to end or discontinue the interview at any time if the investigator senses that you are not collaborating or are giving false information that would not support the research findings.

Contacts for Additional Information

Should you have questions now or later, you can speak with the researcher, Titus Nymenome Donyeh on 0243460370, tmcdonyeh@gmail.com.

Your rights as a Participant

The University of Cape Coast's Institutional Review Board (UCCIRB) has evaluated and approved this research. You can get in touch with the Administrator at the IRB Office by phone at 0558093143/0508878309 or by email at irb@ucc.edu.gh between the hours of 8:00 am and 4:30 pm if you have any issues concerning your rights as a study participant.

VOLUNTEER'S AGREEMENT

The document mentioned above outlining the advantages, dangers, and steps involved in the research project "Anklet wearing among females of Cape Coast: A Sociological Analysis" has been read and explained to me. I have been given an opportunity to have any questions about the research answered to my satisfaction and I agree to participate as a volunteer.

Volunteer's Name:

Volunteer's Mark/Thumbprint:

Date:

If volunteer cannot read the form themselves, a witness must sign here:

I was present while the benefits, risks and procedures were read to the volunteer. All questions were answered and the volunteer has agreed to take part in the research.

Witness's Name:

Witness's Mark/Thumbprint:

Date:

I certify that the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research have been explained to the above individual.

Researcher's Name:

Researcher's Signature:

Date:

Appendix 6: Sample Interview Transcript**R #5 W****Date: 16th October 2022****Duration: 1hr: 28 minutes****Conducted by: Titus Nymenome Donyeh (Researcher)****Transcribed by: Titus Nymenome Donyeh (Researcher)****Part 1: Socio-demographic data****Interviewer:** Tell me about yourself, like your name, age if you don't mind, programme and your hall of residence, etc.**Interviewee:** I am Salamatu, I am 19 years old, Computer Science student, level 200. I come from Volta region and I am affiliated to Valco Hall.**Part 2: Categories of students who wear anklets****Interviewer:** What is anklet?**Interviewee:** Erm any ring or chain we wear around the ankle. So, it could be in a bead form or in a chain form.**Interviewer:** When, where or how did you start to wear anklet?**Interviewee:** I think after SHS, my mum had one and I just took it and wore it**Interviewer:** So, it means it is not when you came to school that you started wearing anklet. You were wearing it back at home**Interviewee:** Yes**Interviewer:** Your mother use to wear it?**Interviewee:** Yes**Interviewer:** Are there category of women that wear anklet in the university community?**Interviewee:** At this point maybe in the past we are told that you have some segment but at this point I think at this point people wear anklet just because they want to or because it is nice. We do not necessarily have a particular fraction that I am a Muslim and I must wear anklet, I am a Christian I must wear. At this point people wear anklet for fashion, people wear anklet because it is nice. Some people have some backings behind it so dependence on the reason for which they wear the anklet they do.**Interviewer:** How about... Is it for people who wants to feel more like a woman**Interviewee:** Errm..I wouldn't know because with mine it's just because it is nice that I wear. Like I said everybody has their reasons so it could be that that person wants to feel more of a woman or feminine is why they are wearing it. Some people think when a Muslim wears anklet it is okay but they see a Christian wearing it and they have a problem with it. There are plenty reasons people want to wear anklet.**Interviewer:** Have you seen a man wearing anklet before?**Interviewee:** No...but if I did I would laugh**Interviewer:** You will laugh...why will you laugh?**Interviewee:** Because my notion guys don't wear anklet**Part 3: Types meanings and perceptions of anklets wearing among female university students****Types of anklets and meanings (Photovoice)****Interviewer:** So, what type of anklet do you know of?**Interviewee:** The one with the beads and the one with the chain**Interviewer:** Do you know of any other**Interviewee:** No

Interviewer: So, which one do you wear?

Interviewee: Any of the two I mentioned depending on the dress I am wearing or what I have available. Maybe I am wearing a watch like a chain I wear the chain one. If I feel like wearing the bead anklet, I wear it.

Interviewer: Can you show me an image of the anklet you wear?

Interviewee:

Interviewer: So, are there special meaning attached to the type of anklet you wear?

Interviewee: Personally, I have none... I just wear them. I don't have any special meaning to it. I just wear them depending on the dressing

Interviewer: So, what determines the type of anklet to wear?

Interviewee: That is the one I have said... depending on the dress I wear.

Interviewer: Why don't you wear the traditional one?

Interviewee: The big, big ones they are not nice for me. I feel they look like bracelet on the hand but this one is slim and it is nice and the one with the chain to they have this... I like this one

Interviewer: Do you wear them doubles or single?

Interviewee: I have mixed them before and they were nice so with that one I have this very tight beads one that goes up and then the chain one is loosed a little, it very nice.

Interviewer: Have you seen a man wearing anklet before?

Interviewee: I will laugh...I will laugh. Anklet is women thing so why will a man wear anklet?

Perceptions of wearers

Interviewer: What are some of the general perception about anklet wearing?

Interviewee: So, erm in general, I think some people are stereotypical about anklet yes and when I was a kid I stayed at Lapaz... they see people wearing anklet as a prostitute. Sometimes they see you wearing anklet and they think you are a bad girl but then I think they also have exceptions with it they see you wearing a veil and anklet and they think oh this is okay she is a Muslim, just like nose piercing, they see someone wearing nose piercing and they have a problem with it, the person has a veil on and they think oh Muslims can do this. So, I think people are stereotypical when it comes to anklets. They create their own perceptions and they just push it to you as the individual they don't get to know you better once you are wearing an anklet their perception about anklet is prostitution, then you are a prostitute. But there are also people that... I will say people are getting diverse and accepting things, so sometimes they see you wearing anklet and they are like this is a fashion, it is nice. So, generally, it is dependent on the society from which the person is coming from and the person groomed with that perception about the anklet.

Interviewer: What is your perception about anklet as a wearer?

Interviewee: Like as I said earlier for me it is nice, it makes my leg very nice so I see anklet as a form of fashion just like I wear ear ring, chain and watches. I see that one to as an accessory.

Interviewer: People are seen wearing anklet on the left ankle or the right ankle. On what foot do you prefer to wear anklet?

Interviewee: I wear it on my left, I always wear it on my left ankle

Interviewer: What determined you wearing anklet on the left?

Interviewee: My mum wears it on the left. I have never seen her so by conversion when you learn something from someone else

Interviewer: What does it mean for you to wear anklet on your left?

Interviewee: I do not have any meaning. I just wear it by conversion because my mum wears it on the left.

Interviewer: What is your source of information about the perception about anklet wearing?

Interviewee: The general perception, my source is from the people themselves. You see, sometimes I don't wear anklet at all, so say you are in the mix of people and they see someone wearing, the kind of words they say so I hear them and I get to know that. But you see the thing is if it is something I wear and I am with you and you want to say something bad I won't sit down and watch you so I try my best to justify the fact that this is this but mostly I hear it from people this is what they are saying people have the perceptions about... Sometimes they even see you personally and they will say that eei na wei de3 eny3 ashawofo) 3nyoma "eei is this not things for prostitute". And my general one relation to the fashion I don't think my mother has any meaning she doesn't wear it all the time sometimes she is wearing things that anklet will fit she just go by it and so me too.

Part 4: Experiences of female student who wear anklets

Interviewer: What are some of the general experiences of people who wear anklet?

Interviewee: Like I am saying there are stereotyping. Mostly when I came to level 100 most of my comments were "Eiei it is nice where did you buy it from and when you tell them they buy some. Those that had bad comments couldn't actually come to me. And because when I came to level 100 I was a lot into Ghana Muslim Students Association (GMSA) so most of my people liked it, so they asked me where I buy it. They like it a lot.

Interviewer: So, what has been some of your personal experiences

Interviewee: That is just what I mentioned to you...

Interviewer: Has it ever limited some opportunities you would have gained?

Interviewee: Hmmm anklet... No maybe my answer is not yet because maybe one day I will encounter so I haven't.

Interviewer: You have never had any negative

Interviewee: Even in parliament I hear that they have some small code of ethics but I went for vetting with my anklet and I still got the clerk position. I am a clerk now and I wear it to sitting. So, I want to believe that it is not in specific standing orders that you should not wear anklet, I want to believe that sometimes they use their own perspective if they think you wear it all the time it is something you do or once out of the blue you want to wear it and they have a problem with you. From the onset I have always been wearing it, I do not think they have the right to ask me why I am wearing anklet. I even send it to the dean's office for dean's meetings, I don't think I have had any experience maybe I will in the future.

Interviewer: Do you wear it to the Mosque?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: How is the reception like?

Interviewee: Nobody has ever said anything about it

Interviewer: So, it is more like a religious thing among the Muslims?

Interviewee: I would say that where I was, normally when you go to Nima, Batsona people there wear anklet and it is most Muslims that are there so when you grow up in a society that is accepting to that you find the joy in wearing it.

So, I want to say that most Muslims that grew up there have gotten the affection for it and why would you talk bad about something you like. So, it is something that they grow up to.

Interviewer: So, do you have friends who do not wear anklet?

Interviewee: Like I said I am the only one among my friends that wears anklet

Interviewer: Why don't they wear?

Interviewee: I don't know maybe they don't like it

Interviewer: Have you ever advised them to wear anklet or not to wear?

Interviewee: No

Interviewer: Have they ever advised you to remove it?

Interviewee: No...not at all maybe I have forgotten let me think about it. No one time, one time someone gave me anklet one weird man and a friend of mine had a problem with the fact that he gave me the anklet why she had a problem with it not necessarily because it was anklet but the person that gave it to me that was the only problem one of my friends had.

Interviewer: Did you ask him why he is giving you the anklet?

Interviewee: Because he sees me wearing some so he just bought one for me

Interviewer: Really?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: But do you know that in Congo before someone will toast a lady the person has to buy the lady a pair of anklets?

Interviewee: But we are not in Congo?

Interviewer: It could be that he is getting the knowledge from there and he wants to practice it here.

Interviewee: So, when you buy a person anklet and you propose to her that does not mean ideally the person should accept

Interviewer: It is a sign that he is interested in the person

Interviewee: Okay...it makes sense because he actually proposed to me I didn't accept but I kept the anklet because it was nice.

Interviewer: In relation to the fact that you don't have a boyfriend is that they are not approaching you because you wear anklet?

Interviewee: So, with the boyfriend issue I have actually dated on campus two but as at now, I am tired, tired of boy drama, this is why I am single not because of my anklet. The last person I dated likes it a lot he even used to buy me some to wear and people still approach me yes.

Interviewer: They were not thinking you were doing something behind?

Interviewee: I am thinking why on earth it will you meet someone wearing an anklet from afar have a problem with it and approach the person. So, obviously anybody that approached already had a perception and had no problem with it.

Interviewer: What are some of the experiences that prevents you from wearing anklet?

Interviewee: The only experience that will ever get me not to wear anklet is if it gets lost I don't have one in my hostel or just feel like I don't want to wear anklet because my heel has a buckle so I am thinking why will I wear something with a buckle and wear anklet.

Interviewer: Have you ever been approached as a prostitute or lesbian before?

Interviewee: No... wonderful, back in SHS we had this group that people used to tag as lesbians and sometime I walk with them but I don't know what it is they all get tagged and I don't because sometimes they have meetings under their tables and chair and I gossip, I want to hear what they are saying because

may be they actually are and they have this so I want to know because I haven't seen some before so curiosity. I sit with them they talk a lot but I haven't actually been told... they accuse them in school general assembly meeting, they have been reported, never have I been tagged as one before, never has one approached me as lesbian or prostitute. I think with prostitution it comes with how you carry yourself and some people have this maybe I am also stereotyping some people have this way they go about... whether or not you like it you will get the perception that they are prostitute. With mine I see people with very long billion colourful hairs red, green, orange, orange, the person has this boy-girl friendship dressing... I know that it is being stereotypic someone like that generally maybe I am part of the bad one I see them and I think... but with that one it related to how you carry yourself. Lesbianism too I never believe someone is a lesbian until I actually see it myself. Honestly, I haven't seen one before so if you tell me someone is a lesbian I don't believe it at all even if the person is all over a particular lady. Once I haven't seen I don't believe because it could just be that the person they are so close or something, I don't believe you. With such things I don't think it is something that you should tag someone in relation to hear say, it will be very bad for you to do that.

Part 5: Occasions for wearing anklets

Interviewer: On what occasion do people wear anklet?

Interviewee: I think it is relative because recently we went for a programme, the commonwealth debate at Ghana parliament and the lady that organized it had anklet on. I think for her it is like today I want to wear anklet it will fit my dress, she had red nails and the anklet wear red. It was very nice so I wanted to buy a red anklet. I think aside such things it is relative.

Interviewer: You on what occasion do you wear it?

Interviewee: All the time oooo...unless I don't have it or I don't feel like wearing it or like I said I have something that has buckle

Interviewer: So, there are no specific time you wear

Interviewee: No

Part 6: Anklet wearing and group identity or lifestyle

Interviewer: Do you have social groups in the school?

Interviewee: Yes

Interviewer: Can you mention some?

Interviewee: We have debate society, Ga-adanbge student, Volta students, Rotary, TEIN UCC, TESCON...a lot.

Interviewer: Which of them do you belong?

Interviewee: Parliament, TEIN UCC

Interviewer: Are you the only one who wears anklet?

Interviewee: In parliament yes, TEIN UCC there are a lot, I wouldn't know there are a lot but among the executives I am the only one

Interviewer: Can you associate anklet wearing as an identity for a particular group?

Interviewee: I want to believe that if they have a traditional dance association then they would wear it for rehearsal or something but I don't have any specific people or I haven't been paying much attention.

Interviewer: Do you observe the rate at which people are now patronizing the wearing of anklet on campus?

Interviewee: Hmm...I just saw one passing here right now. I think it is increasing because people are getting open minded, some people do it because

they want to show that they don't really have any bad idea about it, so try to make people who wear anklet comfortable around them and sometimes too you are in a room with someone who wears anklet you grow this attachment with. So, I think it is increasing because people are getting to know people the more, they are seeing it all around and the perception is not actually is not as bad as it used to be in the past so people are patronizing it. And people that they follow on the internet wears anklet sometimes maybe they follow this person and the person wears anklet a lot so the internet to has influence in relation to that.

Interviewer: So, would you say that it is emerging as a group identity or as a fashion trend?

Interviewee: Now I think it is a fashion trend

Interviewer: You can't use it to identify a particular group?

Interviewee: No...I haven't been able to do so, so because of my perception in relation to fashion, I believe those who are wearing it see it to be something nice and they are wearing it.

