ABSTRACT

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN

GHANAIAN POLITICAL STATUS/POSITION AND DRESS,

1957, 1966, 1969

By

Kathleen M. Corti

The purpose of this study was to explore a relationship between political status/position and dress in one African nation, Ghana, in the years 1957, 1966, and 1969. Ghana was selected for study because its changes in political leadership during the past twenty years provided a background against which to judge dress. The years 1957, 1966, and 1969 became the years of interest to the study, as 1957 saw independence, 1966 a military government, and 1969 a return to civilian government. To understand the influence of the environment on these periods, a general description of the physical and social environment was drawn, along with the political environment and the use of dress from 1400-1969.

While observers agree that dress is influenced and influences political status, no studies have been undertaken to test this hypothesis through observation of the print media. Content analysis, a communications research tool for print and electronic media, was chosen as the method for obtaining

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information about dress and political status. For this investigation, dress, "material items" (Eicher: 1977) were classified according to form: reconstructed, attached, enclosed (Roach and Eicher: 1976: 81-92) and accessory (Eicher: 1977). In addition, dress items were given a cultural meaning: traditional, western and universal (Wass: 1975: 142). Political status was defined as the position of a political leader at the national or local level, designated in the study by political positions such as chairman, president or paramount chief.

After a study of the various Ghanaian periodicals, The Daily Graphic was selected for its clarity and availability. The samples chosen from the photos were Ghanian male political leaders, designated by position and shown full-figured to allow for data collection on all possible dress items. Data collection was completed on The Daily Graphics, using the front and the middle "centerfold" two pages of the Monday edition which appeared to carry a variety of political leaders. A checklist instrument adapted from Wass obtained tabulation on political positions, identity, names, and forms of dress items. Frequency tabulations for dress items and political positions separately and cross tabulations of dress items by form and identity to political positions were counted by hand and computer (SPSS).

Three hundred fifty-two full-figured males were found

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found, yielding 1,656 dress items. A difference in the adoption of dress was found between the national and local statuses and the political positions. National political leaders were observed most frequently in western, enclosed dress while local leaders maintained their own usage of traditional wraparound items. Certain western items of status were positively related to national political positions, as cane, briefcase and handkerchief to the Prime Minister (Nkrumah) and his Cabinet in 1957, and eyeglasses to the President (Busia) and his Cabinet in 1969.

The kente, a symbol of local traditional status but also national costume, was observed worn mainly by national leaders in all three periods, with much substitution of manufactured cloth by local leaders. It appears from the data that the national leaders made no effort to impose their values and dress upon the local leaders. The findings do lend evidence that the value systems, status/role perceptions and interaction of the political leaders influence the adoption of dress.

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN

GHANAIAN POLITICAL STATUS/POSITION AND DRESS,

1957, 1966, 1969

by Kathleen M. Corti

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financial support during the many months of the study.

As one can see, many people participated in the creation of the thesis. These are but a few whose guidance made the task lighter.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

While it has been assumed that dress reflects political status and is manipulated for power, little research has been conducted to test these assumptions. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to explore a relationship between political status/positions and dress in one African nation, Ghana, during the politically critical years of 1957, 1966, and 1969.

Review of the Literature

This section will be concerned with selected theoretical works and research findings pertaining to areas as dress as a symbol of non-verbal communication and social interaction; polity and status; and political stability and change. Dress will be interrelated with polity and status and stability and change when pertinent.

Human beings communicate in two forms, verbal and non-verbal. Harrison (1974) defines four types of nonverbal codes: (1) performance, (2) artifactual, (3) spatial-temporal, and (4) mediated. Each code uses a different medium

for communication: codes of performance use the human body, artifacts objects, spatial-temporal time and mediatory media (75). As an artifact, authorities (Roach and Eicher: 1965; Stone: 1962) note that dress communicates nonverbally about the culture and the self through its physical absence or presence. Dress is used by all cultures with the functions, as Flugel (1930) has specified, of protection, modesty, and differentiation. The meaning of dress has progressed past its original protection base and is now understood as a symbol of social behavior. To Stone, a symbolic interactionist, social interaction involves the manipulation of nonverbal symbols as dress. Stone sees a direct correlation between the meaning of dress for appearance, social interaction and the self. "By appearing, the person announces his identity, shows his value, expresses his mood or proposes his attitude" (1962:110). The appearance, Stone believes, establishes a symbolic program of the wearer's meaning to be viewed and judged by others. If the meaning of the symbols are agreed upon by the viewers, the self will be validated. The policeman's uniform announces him as a policeman and is validated by the others who see him. If the appearance is not mutual in meaning for both the programmer and reviewer, the self will not be validated. Thus Stone sees that the self, through the use of nonverbal symbols of dress, is established, maintained and altered in and through social interaction (1962:99).

Flugel also sees the importance of dress for symbolic

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> Apart from the face and hands--which, it is true
> are the most socially expressive parts of our anato-
> my, and to which we have learned to devote an espec-
> ially alert attention--what we actually see and re-
> act to are, not the bodies, but the clothes of those
> about us. It is from their clothes that we form a
> first impression of our fellow-creatures as we meet
> them . . . (1930: 15-16)

Roach and Buckley viewed dress as a nonverbal commu-

nicator and found that dress was a reflection of individuals'

attitudes toward social and political issues. Using college

students, they found that ". . . all subjects tended to like

and wear clothing consistent with their attitudes" (1974: 94),

with possible inferences for interaction.

While dress is a symbol for interaction, the interac-

tion is related to status. According to Linton, statuses are

ascribed at birth and achieved through personal gain. These

statuses require acceptance of certain norms for acceptance

of the individual into society and validation of his status

(1936: 115). As these statuses are enacted in roles, dress

becomes a symbol for judgment of the status. Bush and Lon-

don note that a change of dress may be indicative of a change

of status. Studying the disappearance of knickers among

young boys, they concluded that abandonment of knickers for

trousers at a certain age signified an age-status differen-

tiation (1960: 359-366). Eicher and Kelley, studying ado-

lescent dress, found a high correlation between adolescent

dress, social class and group acceptance; dress served as a

socialization tool for group and individual identification

and psychological stability (1972: 12-16). With ninth-grade girls Bjorngaard (1962) found that social status and acceptance were highly related to clothing and appearance.

As has been seen, age and sex social organizations have different status positions for the individual with corresponding dress demands. Another such social organization is polity.

Polity differs by definition and its use of symbols. To Max Weber, one of the founders of socio-political theories, any political system is a group of individuals in a society who carry and exercise power and authority, legitimately or illegitimately. Weber further calls illegitimate authority forceful authority and delimits legitimate authority as rational, traditional, and charismatic (1964: 328). Among political scientists whose definitions have been drawn from Weber's original work is the well-known expert on Ghanaian politics, David Apter. Refining Weber, Apter sees a political system as "the system . . . concerned with the source and use of authority in the social system, considered binding upon all members" (1963: 9). To McKee, a sociologist, the political order is a structural pattern of social organization for the "allocation of legitimate power (as authority for social control) within a set of basic rules shared by members of the society." He delineates four particular social effects through the allocation of power.

> (It) provides means for invoking sanctions
> against violations, for the legitimate use of force,
> for redefining and renewing the roles and agreements

that bring consensus to a society and for providing
the means for legitimate decision making (1969:
131).

McKee notes that within political systems, which may be simple or complex in structure, the status of the political leaders may be inherited, elected or appointed, or, the investigator found, self-appointed. The focus of political action may be on the national level as head of state, international as ambassador, or local as a chief and union leader. There may be an overlap of functions as a president acts outside his normal national role as an international ambassador. McKee claims each leader has operative norms of behavior with peers, with subjects and his guardians of power for the prohibiton, regulation and promotion of societal functions.

Langner sees the importance of dress for performance of these societal functions.

> . . . all government is based on the domination
> of the population by an individual or small govern-
> ing group which is, as we say, "clothed in author-
> ity." This authority is generally indicated by
> clothing . . . employed to demonstrate the author-
> ity of individuals or groups to transform this
> authority into the power of government (1959: 127).

Eicher specifies that dress communicates concrete examples of three distinct status-role positions of power: (1) the officials (or rulers), (2) the citizens, and (3) the enforcing agents of government (as the police and the military) (1977).

Langner offers a political use of the dress of the first type, a ruler, the "tribal chief:"

> Superior adornment and finery . . . enabled him
> to surpass in appearance the rest of the tribe,
> which helped to produce the feelings of admiration,
> inferiority and submission among his followers
> which caused them to accept his leadership (1959:
> 127).

Langner identifies another symbol of political power

and status, the uniform (normally used by rulers on their

enforcing agents). He specifies that the use of uniforms

is indicative of power, rank, stratification and an esprit

de corps (1959: 127-128). To Joseph and Alex, the uniform

is viewed as a device:

> . . . to define (organizations') boundaries,
> assure that members conform to their goals, and
> eliminate conflicts in the status sets of their
> members. The uniform serves several functions:
> it acts as a totem, reveals and conceals statuses,
> certifies legitimacy and suppresses individuality
> (1972: 719) . . . The uniform is a symbolic state-
> ment that an individual will adhere to group norms
> and a standardized role and has mastered the es-
> sential group norms and values (1972: 723).

Binkman empirically tested the social power of a uniform,

both as reflected in actual social behavior and in percep-

tions of behavior. The nearly complete compliance of sub-

jects to the requests of a uniformed individual acting out-

side his role led Binkman to conclude that the symbol and

not its inherent power was the cause of the behavior. How-

ever, the subjects actual behavior contradicted their per-

ceptions of behavior; a majority of the sample felt their

behavior would not be affected by the status symbol. Thus,

there was a significant difference between the actual and

perceived performance of individuals to the uniformed indi-

vidual (1974: 49-51).

The uniform is one symbol of status and power of a political leadership. However, Hurlock writes that there is a very direct relationship between political power and the dress of the people, ". . . (for) the sourse of power, whether it be of the people or of the hereditary mobility is clearly reflected in the clothing of the people." She observed that a change of dress is often directly related to a change of political position (1929: 215). Scott details a more specific example of the relationship between the change of political position and the dress of Communist China. The drab, unisex Communist costume symbolized a change of political position and power within China with the ideals of a rankless, statusless society (1958: 92-101).

It has been seen that dress is a nonverbal symbol for social interaction, as Stone specified, and serves as identification of age, social and political position. Within a political position, dress functions as a manifestation of political power and behavior changes, as Binkman found with the uniform.

It is the purpose of this study to investigate the relationship between dress and political position in one African nation, Ghana. Ghana has undergone rapid social and political change in the past twenty years as it progressed from independence to military government. The Ghanaian political leaders appear to be using their position to strive for social change and modernization but also to maintain social equilibrium without compromising cultural differences.

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The political leaders may find themselves torn between two worlds of symbols: the traditional, indigenous or the politically fashionable and powerful. The types of symbols adopted by the political leaders may represent the values, aspirations and life-styles of the leaders for themselves and/ or their country. The review of an individual in a political position through the symbols of dress may affect domestic and international interaction. The importance of this study will be to develop further hypothesis on the relation of dress and political status/position on social behavior and interaction. Initially the study will view dress in relation to political position, as a tool for power, against Ghanaian political history. Data collected will be analyzed according to the present forms and meanings of dress used by national and local Ghanaian political positions.

Definition of Terms

For the purpose of this study, political status/position and dress will be defined as follows.

I. Political Status: A position within a social organization of policy

    A. National leader: An official of a political system who serves the entire nation in a public office[a]

    Position

        1. President: An elected political official who serves as head of state for a legally predetermined number of years

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Source:[a] New American Webster Handy College Dictionary, rev. ed. (1972)

2. Civil Minister: An appointed representative of a branch of a political system within the country

3. Diplomat: An appointed representative of a political system serving abroad

4. Chairman: A self-appointed official of a political system serving as head of state

5. Prime Minister: An appointed official serving as head of the Cabinet

B. Local leader: An official representative of a group within the confines of one particular geographical place

Position

1. Paramount chief: An appointed representative of a political system, operating on regional basis

2. Subchief: An appointed representative of a Paramount chief, functioning as an official on a regional basis

3. Regional Commissioner: "Liaison" person, appointed as a national representative operating at the regional level

II. Dress: Material items which attach to or enclose the body, or reconstructions of the body or accessories carried by the self or for the self by others[e]

A. Identity: Classification by cultural meaning[d]

1. Western: European or American in origin

2. Traditional: Indigenous, Ghanaian in origin

Source:[d] Betty Wass, "Yoruba Dress: A Systematic Case Study of Five Generations of a Lagos Family," published Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1975

Source:[e] Joanne B. Eicher, personal notes, HED 434

3. Universal: World-wide

B. Form: The manner by which the body shape is changed[f]

    1. Reconstructed: A temporary or permanent change in body conformation, texture, color, and odor (e.g., plastic surgery, haircut, dyeing, scarification, tattooing)[b]

    2. Enclosed: A form of dress which is placed or confined on the body contours

        a. Suspended: An enclosing form of dress which slips on the body and stays in place by hanging from the neck or shoulders (e.g., necklace, poncho)[b]

        b. Wraparound: An enclosing form of dress that is shaped by twisting, folding or crushing materials so the form approaches the rectangular (e.g., Indian sari)[b]

        c. Fitted: An enclosing form of dress that fits the body crevices or protuberances by being cut and sewn or molded to conform to body contours (e.g., shoes)[b]

    3. Attached: A type of temporary or permanent body modification, often closely allied with body reconstruction (e.g., pierced or attached earrings)[b]

    4. Accessories: Items carried by the self or for the self by others,[e] separate from the body form.

The next chapter will describe the physical and social

Source:[b] Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne B. Eicher, The Visible Self: Perspectives on Dress (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973)

Source:[e] Joanne B. Eicher, Personal interview, February, 1977

Source:[f] Specific dress items are defined in Appendix B. Specific dress items are classified by form in Appendix C.

environment of Ghana. While Chapter III will outline briefly
the political environment of Ghana, 1400-1969, Chapter IV
will discuss the methodology of the study. Chapter V will
be concerned with an analysis of data using political status
related to dress according to item, form and meaning. The
last chapter details the summary and conclusions of the study.

Fig. 1.1. Ghana Within Africa

CHAPTER II

PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Political leadership and dress in Ghana reflects the
impact of both the physical and social environments. Dress
can be seen as an adaptation by the political leaders to
both these environments. This chapter outlines the influ-
ences of the natural environment and social environment
(economics, religion, family) on Ghanaian polity. In ad-
dition, it provides a brief description of the patterns of
dress among Ghanaian males to facilitate an understanding of
the dress worn in a political position.

Physical Environment

Ghana is a small coastal nation bordering the South
Atlantic Ocean in West Africa. It is bordered to the north
by Upper Volta, Togo to the east, and Ivory Coast to the west.
The primary cities include Accra, the capital on the coast,
and Kumaii in the central region. Boeteng (1966) reports
that Ghana has a tropical climate being so near the equator,
with the temperature influenced by both the Northeast trade-
winds of the Sahara and the Southwest monsoon tradewinds from
the Atlantic. Thus there are two seasons, the wet, monsoon

season and the dry, harnatten season (20). Geographically

Ghana is divided into four regions, according to Agbodeka:

the Gold Coast Colony (southern Ghana), Asante (Asante and

Brong-Ahafo region), Northern Territories and Togoland

(1972: 120). Within Ghana there are four types of vegeta-

tion: forest, savanna woodland, coastal scrub, and strand

and mangrove (Boeteng: 35). The broad forest land, located

in the uplands in the central district of Ghana (in Asante)

contains excellent rich soil. The northern savanna woodland

proves productive for agricultural development of timber and

farming, with cotton being grown for domestic use. The third

region, coastal scrub, is used little aside from some sub-

sistence farming. The strand and mangrove, hardy bushes found

in the Northern Territories, yield little for human consump-

tion due to the closeness and extreme weather of the Sahara

desert.

Although a relatively small country in comparison with

the rest of Africa, Ghana has a varied population with the

difference in ideology, culture and physical appearance. By

1970 census data Ghana has about eight million people, of

which a portion are Europeans, Asians and other Africans.

Of the Ghanaians, sources (Chantler: 1971, Mayer: 1968)

claim that there are more than sixty tribes or ethnic groups,

created into one hundred and eight states. The indigenous

Ghanaian population consists of ethnic groups divided by

language in the southern, central and northern regions (Mayer:

1968: 34). Mayer claims that while English is the official

language, each region has its own particular tongue. In the south and central, Akan or Twi is spoken, in the southeast Ga, in the north, Dagomba, all named for ethnic groups in that area (1968: 43).

Social Environment: Economics

The basic monetary unit in Ghana is the cedi, equal to 100 Ghanaian pesawas or 87 cents in 1976 United States currency. The division of labor within the country is divided into two classes of work: primary and secondary occupations, according to Dickson and Benneh (1970). They define primary occupations as the "direct exploitation or working of the environment to produce food and raw materials." Sixty-six secondary occupations involve those industries not directly related to the physical environment, such as capital, labor, markets and transportation. Of these two types sixty-two percent of the Ghanaian population is involved in primary occupations. Of the sixty-two percentage, ninety-one percent of the group work in agriculture, four percent in fishing and five percent in mining (66).

Agriculture, farming and animal rearing is concentrated in the upper central region, where the land is rich. Cocoa, the primary crop grown for export in Ghana, from which sixty-eight percent of the government revenue is derived, is found there in abundance, reports Boeteng (1958: 134). However, Lloyd notes, with such high national dependence upon the one crop, the economic and political stability of the nation lies on the balance of the fluctuating world demand. Luckily

cotton is plentiful for domestic and export use, as are cas-
sava, coffee, pineapples, bananas, rubber and tobacco and
jute, along with mahogany wood (Lloyd: 1967: 24). Ghanaian
animal rearing has been confined to the savanna region, since
other regions, as the forest, have proved deadly for the cat-
tle with the high occurrence of tsetse flies (Benneh and
Dickson: 83).

The second primary occupation, fishing, provides pro-
tein foodstuffs for the people and allows the Ghanaians to
be self-sufficient in one area. Mining, the third largest
industry within the country, according to Benneh and Dickson
(1970: 83), yields gold, diamonds, bauxite and manganese,
generally concentrated in the Western and Asante regions.

Secondary occupations consist of two types: village
industries (often involving handicrafts) and small-scale
industries (of tiles, chemicals, textiles) (Dickson and Ben-
neh: 1970: 103). The second type, the manufacturing in-
dustries, have been slow in being self-supporting due to
lack of capital, natural resources as coal and oil and skil-
led labor (Boeteng: 83 & 94).

However, Lloyd believes, the craft industries hold
promise for the Ghanaian economy. The craft industries, in
paritcular, wood carving and textiles, are thought by Lloyd
to be ". . . the most highly developed on the continent"
(1967: 24). Cotton for cloth, as mentioned before, is and
has been grown in the savanna and forest regions. According
to Lloyd, "the degree of specialization in agriculture (as

cotton) and crafts leads to the development of a market in West Africa on a far greater scale than elsewhere on the continent" (1967: 24), which figured to Ghana's advantage for trade in colonial times. Currently there is a complex market system, managed by a host of professional traders around the crafts industries, reports Kent, which makes West African loom weaving and cloth dyeing unique (1971: 2).

The two most highly prized textiles relevant to the political environment of Ghana are the hand-woven kente cloth and the hand-stamped adinkra cloth, the skills for both being transmitted often through inheritance (Rouch: 1964: 186). Production being limited to a few traditional centres as Bonwire (Ghana Today: 1957: 2), the kente cloth is woven on narrow looms from string and pieces of wood. Young boys or men only perform the task, weaving cotton and rayon yarn into narrow strips of cloth about four inches wide. The strips are then woven into large panels of cloth, and worn wrapped around the body (Raymond: 1960: 135). Figure 2.1 shows the production of Ghanaian cloth from the spinning, to the weaving and ultimately to the finished kente cloth. Originally in the seventeenth century, the craftsmen of the court imported European cloth, unraveling and reweaving the European yarns into the kente. Sources differ on the types of yarns that were unraveled from the European cloths, Newman claiming gold filaments (1974: 28), Rouch silk (1964: 186). Whatever was used, the cloth produced was expensive and a symbol of the wealthy.

Fig. 2.1. Production of kente cloth

A. West African
type spinning
(Dakar, Sene-
gal, 1975)

B. Young boys
weaving
kente cloth
(Bonwire,
Ghana, 1975)

C. Finished
full-size
kente cloth
(Bonwire,
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There are believed to be four types of weaves

(Kyerematen: 1963: 174) with sixty-three different designs

for the kente cloth (Rouch: 1964: 186). According to most

sources (Rouch: 1964, Newman: 1970), traditionally the

chief of the Asante maintained certain designs for his own

use or as rewards for gifted men, using his political author-

ity to control the growth and use of the cloth. "Each

family or clan had its exclusive kente design, as . . .

the social status or sex of the wearer was represented by

the pattern," says Newman (1974: 62). She claims that gen-

erally any design can be worn today, aside from the restric-

tions placed on certain types of designs governed by the

Asantehene. Due to the labor and time involved in the pro-

duction of the cloth, the cost of a full-length kente is

high, varying from one to five hundred dollars in 1976, the

investigator found while traveling in Africa. Worn in toga-

style, the kente has been adopted as a national costume.

A second type of indigenous cloth is the hand-stamped

adinkra cloth which means "saying good-bye to one another"

(Quarcoo: 1972: 6). Light in color with dark imprinted

figures, adinkra was originally used at funerals but became

in itself a sign of mourning. In the manufacture of the

cloth, the base is a plain cotton cloth, often white or

beige, which has been nailed to the ground. Next a water-

based dye from leaves is developed, as stamps for the de-

signs are carved from calabash pods and backed with bamboo

for handles (Kent: 1970: 66). Using a wooden or bamboo

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comb, only young boys draw vertical and horizontal lines across the cloth, leaving sections open for the stamps; stamps are dipped and pressed quickly on the cloth, then leaving the cloth to dry (Kent: 1970: 66).

Figure 2.2 shows two types of adinkra fabrics: (a) a typical stamped adinkra cloth with the additions of kente strips and (b) a tie-dyed stamped adinkra. In the past, Quarcoo notes, the stamp designs had been commissioned by the Asante chiefs to reflect their beliefs. However, today the stamps tend to reflect general and religious proverbs, the natural environment and politics (1972: 6). Unlike the kente, no one adinkra design is reserved for a particular leader, although both are worn by men as wrappers.

Another type of cloth, called "country cloth," is indigenous to West Africa and particularly Ghana. The striped, narrow-strip weavings are found in two other major weaving regions, the Northern and Volta regions, according to Lamb (1975: 23). Various references have been made to the Northern cloth, with one source describing it as "a course, hand-woven cotton cloth which is lcoally made . . . worn mainly by men . . . (and is) most popular in striped white and indigo" (Chantler: 1965: 24). However, the recent publication by Lamb discounts the work of the Northern weavers and stresses the high weaving qualities of the Ewes in the Volta region. Lamb writes that the Volta region weavings are as important and prolific in production as the kente cloths. However, these cloths are less well-known to

Fig. 2.2. Types of Adinkra cloth

A. Adinkra with
   kente strips
   (purchased,
   Ghana, 1975)
   (Corti Collection)

B. Adinkra with tie-
   dve (seen, Ghana,
   1975)

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the outsiders due to cloth's lack of availability on the
Accra markets (1975:   23).   One type of cloth produced within
the Volta region, which is most unusual and is easily mis-
taken for the striped indigo Northern cloth is made of
". . . locally handspun blue strip with imported red yarns"
(Lamb: 1975:   95-96).

Although the home craft industries are of importance
to the Ghanaian economy for generating jobs and revenue,
monetarily, Lloyd writes, "The artist is poorly remunerated
since most of the wealth . . . lies in large state and
foreign controlled industries, in farming and trade (1967;
43)."   In trade, much of the wealth is concentrated in the
retail markets operated by women known as "market mammies,"
says Chantler.   Highly successful businesswomen, he believes
that they are the backbone of the Ghanaian economy and keep
networks of communication open with other towns through the
female-driven lorry buses.   These Ghanaian market women have
political clout as a result of their economic power and have
had an impact on Ghanaian political leadership (1967:   8).

Social Environment: Religion

To help the Ghanaians cope with their environment,
religions have begun and co-exist with politics.   Rouch
claims there are three religions in Ghana: Christianity,
Islam and Animism (Rouch: 1964:   182).   While no official
statistics could be found on the number of Ghanaians in each
sect, especially Animism, Christianity is found in all sects,
from Catholicism to Protestantism.   Through the mission

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schools, begun in pre-colonial days, Christianity has deve-
loped a strong political and educational network, helping to
meet the needs for highly educated and trained individuals,
according to one Ghanaian, Kwame Boafo (1977). He says
Christianity appears to be working hand in hand with the po-
litical leaders to prepare Ghanaians for careers in government
and industry. The second religion, Islam, is concentrated
mainly in the Northern Territories (Rouch: 1964: 182).
Mbiti notes that some of the African rulers have accepted
the religious accoutrements of the Islam faith to reinforce
their own political authority (1968: 369). The final reli-
gion, Animism, is the worship of inanimate objects. Since
Ghanaian farmers have such a close relationship with their
natural environment, a religion based on the trees, the
earth and all visible but unmovable objects seems to be a
rational outgrowth of the society. It may be hypothesized
that the values, attitudes and beliefs of a people that are
based on religion influence the social environment and the
political leadership of a nation.

Social Environment: Family

To Mbiti, African society has been based tradition-
ally upon ethnic groupings. "A person has to be born a
member of it and he cannot change" (1969: 135). He further
specifies that a sense of kinship is reckoned through blood
and betrothal (engagement and marriage), governing the whole
behavior of the individual. Each individual within an

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ethnic group is related to one another due to the kinship bond, which includes the departed (the living dead) and the yet to be born. Religious honor and rites are accorded to the ancestors since they are believed all-powerful in the events of the group. Such rituals and belief in kinship, Mbiti believes, give the members a sense of belonging and unity (1969: 135).

Under the heading "ethnic group," Mbiti places a sub-division, clan. Clans are of two types: patriarchial and matriarchial, the former tracing their descent from a male or a father, the latter tracing their descent from a female or mother (Mbiti: 1969: 137). Mayer claims that the direction and behavior of each clan is controlled by an ohene, meaning "head," who is an elected king. However, the word king is not used; instead the rulers use the name of the state or town which they rule and add hene (Mayer: 1968?: 14). Thus one has Asantehene, who is ruler of the Asante region and clan. Known to the outside as paramount chiefs, Mayer believes their territory of power may extend from twenty-five people to two hundred and forty thousand, into a small state (91-92).

The selection of a chief often hinges upon one's position in a royalty class. A council of leaders, either by age or status, choose the new leader of the clan, with re-commendations from the people (Mbiti : 1969). In a matri-archial society, a Queen mother, who is a woman of any age and a symbol of the state, has a deciding role in the final

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selection of the chiefs, notes Mitchison (1958: 172).
Once chosen, the paramount chief, usually male, directs both
the social and spiritual life of his clan with the aid of
his advisors. Politics and religion often unite. For
example, Raymond writes that the paramount chief of the
Asante, the Asantehene, keeps a Golden Stool, which becomes
a sign of his status and power within the clan and religious
symbol (1960: 134). As it can be seen some possessions take
on meanings beyond their mere physical presence. He found
that a chief who has been removed from office is said to have
been "destooled" (Raymond: 1960: 134). The posessions and
regalia of the chiefs have proved important to political
leadership as one author writes:

> For a people who never themselves developed the
> art of writing, the regalia of the Ghanaian chiefs
> was of specific significance not merely as symbols
> of kingly office but served as chronicles of early
> history and evidence of traditional religion, cos-
> mology and social organization. (Kyerematen:
> 1964: 1).

Mbiti (1968) further subdivides the clan into families,
meaning two brothers or sisters (dependent upon the descent
line) living together in a housing compound, housing between
six to one hundred people. Within these extended families
are individual households of wife, husband, children and
often grandparents. A number of individual households may
comprise a village (1968: 139-140). Traditionally, the
allocation of the land for the families has been in the
hands of the chiefs. As Apter writes, "While not the owner
of the land, (the chief) holds and allocates possession of

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the lands on a communal basis" (1967: 95). However, he also notes, the chief cannot sell the land as a source of revenue, since it belongs to all the people (1967: 95). Judging from his analysis of Ghanaian political history, the question of land ownership has been a political problem for past and present leaders of national and local governments which is not easily resolved.

As has been seen, in traditional African society the individual is "a part of the whole . . . Whatever happens to the individual happens to the whole group . . . the individual can only say 'I am, because we are; and since we are, therefore I am'" (Mbiti: 1969: 141-142). Such traditional group identification does create, Mbiti admits, certain social and psychological stability (1969: 141). Yet in modern African society there seems to be a struggle of values as traditional group norms conflict with Western values of individuality and independence.

Patterns of Dress among Ghanaian Males

To understand the dress of Ghanaian political leaders, one must understand what constitutes traditional male dress. The Ghanaian male had a wide assortment of attire. Figures 2.3A and 2.3B illustrate the buba, a loose-fitting shirt with machine embroidery at the neck, along with the types of fabrics used in its manufacture. Wass notes that the buba is worn by both the men and the women in Nigeria yet the shape of the neckline varies with the fashion (1975: 43 & 258). A Ghanaian, Kwame Boafo, agrees that the Ghanaian buba

Fig. 2.3. Fabric and Types of Ghanaian Male Bubas

A. Male Buba
    (courtesy of
    Kwame Boafo)

B. Male Buba
    (Corti Collection: purchased
    in Kumasi, Ghana)

C. Ghanaian machine-
    printed cloth
    used in manufac-
    ture of buba (seen
    in Kumasi, Ghana)

is worn by both sexes; however, he claims that the female
buba is cut and sewn more fitted (1977). Other sources note
that certain garments are distinguished by sex, according to
fabric used and the design of the garment.

If a buba is of hand-dyed blue-white striped fabric
from the Northern Territories, it is called a _fugu_ and worn
primarily by men (Ghana Review: 1975: 22). Figure 2.4
shows one such garment. Another garment worn by men, ac-
cording to Boafo (1977), is the _joromi_. Figure 2.5 shows
the garment, in different fabrics, hip-length, sleeveless,
with machine embroidery at the front and backlines. Panels
of cloth on each side create square-shaped armholes and pro-
vide slit pockets at armhole level for carrying objects. As
the investigator did not learn about this garment until
after the study, it could not be used but does provide another
example of Ghanaian male attire. To all of these shirts
a pair of trousers is usually added along with a pair of
sandals.

For holiday occasions, there are two particular tra-
ditional types of garments. The first and most predominant,
especially among the local chiefs, is the wrapper. Figure
2.6 illustrates the wrapper, which is a piece of cloth wrap-
ped in toga styles. The material varies for the wrapper from
imported to handmade, giving the wrapper different names.
If the cloth is the Ghanaian kente, the wrapper is kente.
If the cloth used is Ghanaian adinkra, it is an adinkra
wrapper. All wrappers are worn usually with short trousers

Figure 2.4

Northern Territories Fugu

(Garment courtesy of Kwame Boafo)
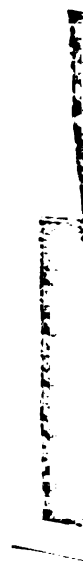
Fig. 2.5. Types of Ghanaian Joromi

(garments courtesy of Kwame Boafo)

Fig. 2.6. Ghanaian Male Wrapper

(Sketch courtesy of Steve Loring)

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underneath (Boafo: 1977). The status of the individual is indicated by the type of material of the wrapper. In the past, photos of the paramount chief show him in an <u>adinkra</u> or <u>kente</u> wrapper with the traditional jewelry of bracelets, armlets and the accessory of the sword for power. For additional holiday events, <u>Ghana Review</u> reports the use of the <u>batakari</u>. The <u>batakari</u> is a three-piece outfit consisting of a long-sleeved <u>buba</u>, <u>jokoto</u> (a baggy pair of trousers), and an <u>agbada</u> (a long flowing gown) (1975: 23). Thus the traditional items of various forms formed the basis for the study of the dress of traditional leaders.

By contrast, the everyday dress of the Westernized Ghanaian male involves more items, forms and layers. The Westernized Ghanaian dresses in tailored, fitted garments, proportioned specifically to his figure type. Figure 2.7 shows the major dress items of the study consist of a <u>jacket</u> (single- or double-breasted), <u>shirt</u>, <u>necktie</u>, <u>trousers</u>, <u>vest</u>, <u>socks</u> and <u>shoes</u>. To complete the attire, an overcoat, such as a <u>Chesterfield</u>, is worn. On holiday or ceremonial occasions, a <u>Black Tie</u> or tuxedo uniform may replace these items. Accessories to either outfit may include an <u>ascot</u>, <u>briefcase</u>, <u>cane</u>, <u>cufflinks</u>, <u>handkerchief</u>, <u>hat</u> (as bowler, homberg, top), <u>tieclip</u>, <u>watch</u>, as well as body reconstruction as <u>hair styling</u> and <u>mustaches</u>. With such rigidity imposed on the body movements by the tailored garments, the mood imposed and elicited from the clothing is one of formality, unlike the traditional Ghanaian attire which is

Figure 2.7

Ghanaian Western Dress of the '60's
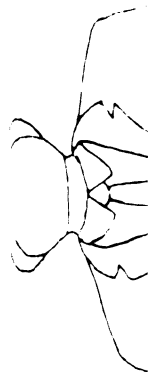
Figure 2.7

Ghanaian Western Dress of the '60's
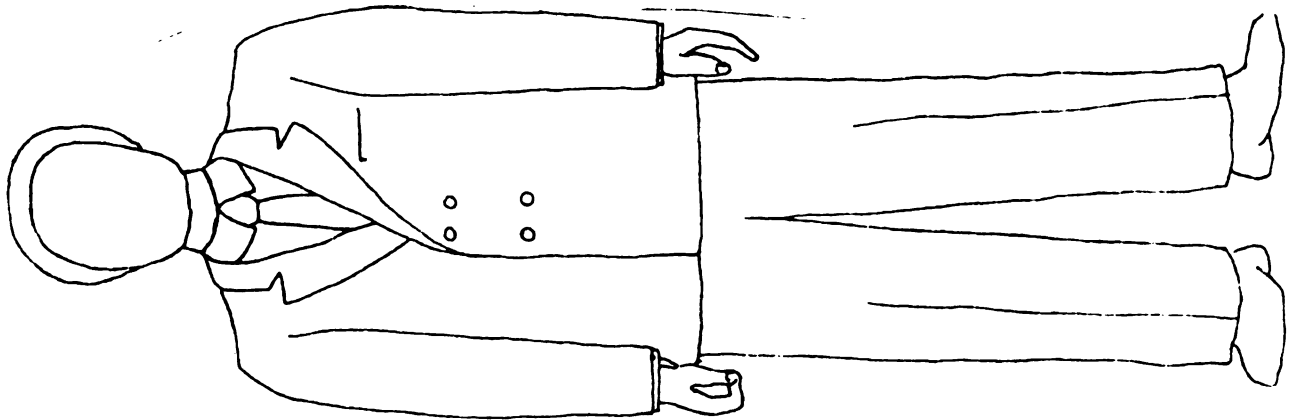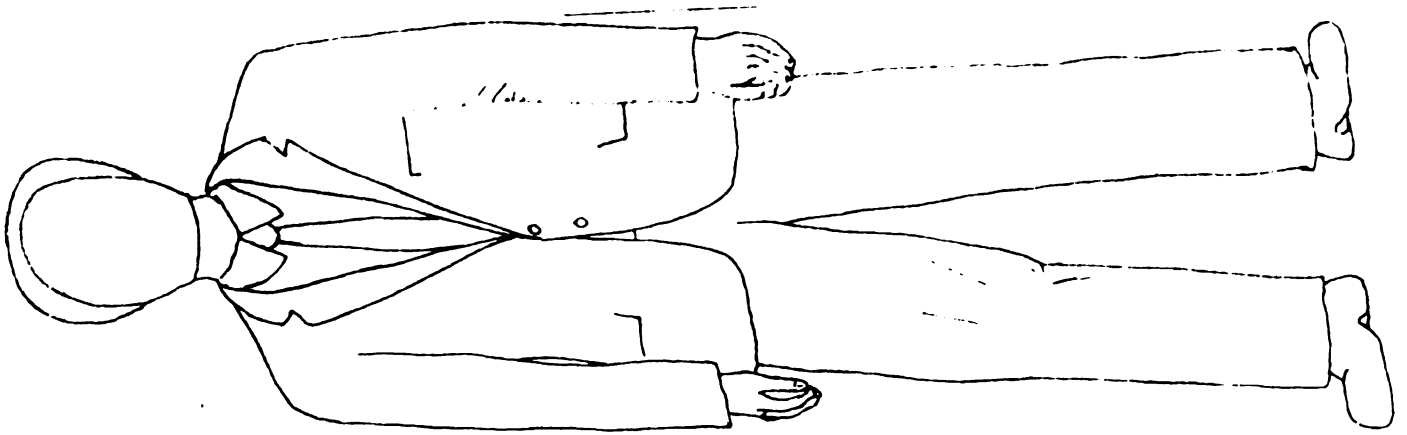
Source: Ghana Today

(Sketch courtesy of Steven Loring)

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informal and loose, allowing the body to cope physiologically with the environment. The media reveal that Western formal dress has become a standard for Westernized Ghanaian males.

Other Ghanaian males, representing the armed services, have a different uniform and an imposed code of dress. Figure 2.8 shows the typical attire of the Ghanaian military of the study, both casual and dress uniforms. Ghanaian military uniforms consist of a <u>military</u> <u>hat</u>, a <u>long-sleeved</u> <u>jacket</u>, a <u>Sam</u> <u>Browne</u> <u>belt</u>, <u>military</u> <u>braid</u>, <u>trousers</u> <u>and</u> <u>shoes</u> and <u>socks</u>. On warmer days, the military jacket may be changed in favor of a <u>short</u> <u>bush</u> <u>jacket</u>, an <u>Eisenhower</u> <u>shirt</u> or a <u>military</u> <u>shirt</u>, the media reveal. For special occasions the upper ranks may substitute the basic jacket for a fitted <u>military</u> <u>dress</u> <u>jacket</u> of fine material, adding the accessories of <u>gloves</u>, <u>cane</u>, <u>medals</u>, <u>saber</u> and <u>sabercase</u>. These military uniforms dominate many Western countries and have been adopted by the Africans, Ghanaians in particular, for political power.

Fig. 2.8. Ghanaian Military Dress

Ghanaian Casual Military Dress

Fig. 2.8.   Ghanaian Military Dress

A.   Ghanaian Casual Military Dress
     (1966-1969)
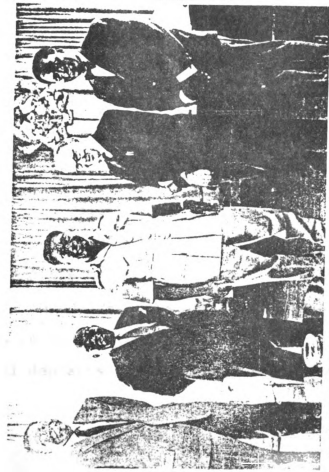
B.   Ghanaian Military Dress
     Uniform (1966-1969)

Lt-Gen. J. A. Ankrah, Chairman of the National Liberation Council and Commander-in-Chief of the Ghana Armed Forces, formally opens the gates of Flagstaff House. Looking on are from left Major-General C. C. Bruce, Commander of the Ghana Army, and Major-General E. K. Kotoka, Officer-Commanding the Ghana Armed Forces and Member of the National Liberation Council.

Source: Ghana Today

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CHAPTER III

POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT OF GHANA

INTRODUCTION

According to Wass, changes in dress occur through
selected or forced cultural contact (1975: 42). The his-
toric cross-cultural contact of Ghana with European powers
and the resulting effect on political dress will be the
topic of this chapter. The chapter is divided into three
periods: (1) Pre-Colonial, 1400-1897, (2) Colonial, 1897-
1947, and (3) Pre- and Post-Independence, 1948-1969. The
first treats the exploration and exploitation of Gold Coast
by traders, the second views the effect of British Colonial
authority on Ghanaian life-style and the third watches the
rise of political parties, leaders and their use of dress as
a symbol of power.

Pre-Colonial Period
1400-1897

The recorded history of Ghana usually begins as told
by the Europeans. Ghana was first settled by the Portuguese
from the outside in the fifteenth century. For a people in
search of mineral deposits for the motherland, Ghana literally

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provided a gold mine with its rich deposits of gold and diamonds. As Ghana Reborn reports, "so much gold was obtained . . . that the Portuguese named the country 'mina' meaning mine" (1966: 47). The French, who later came exploring, named the country "Cote de l'or," or Gold Coast, which came to be the established name until the twentieth century.

In 1482, Mayer reports, the Portuguese built the first European settlement on the coast, Sao Jorge de Mina castle. Soon called Elmina by the natives, the castle became the base from which to conduct business in mining and trade. The Portuguese traded cloth, iron, copper and firearms for gold, reports one source (1968?: 11).

Another authority notes that textiles were traded early in West Africa by the Portuguese:

> The Portuguese, by 1500, had found it profit-
> able to establish cotton and indigo plantations
> on Saint-Antoine in the Cape Verde Islands where
> they employed Wolof captives from the mainland to
> turn out quantities of blue cloth used to exchange
> for slaves and other items with the people of the
> interior (Boser: 1970: 154)

Davidson notes, other items traded, such as firearms, brought a new source of technology and political power. These tools allowed those who possessed them control over others; the colonists dominated the natives, and the chiefs subordinated their subjects with the weapons (1976: 7). For much of the fifteenth century the Portuguese maintained a military and commercial monopoly on Ghana. However, Ghana: Past and Present records that, in 1850, Portugal became a province of Spain and the Spanish neglected the Portuguese

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colony of Ghana in favor of the Spanish colonies in the New
World. The Dutch, noting the lack of interest in Ghana,
sought to capture the Ghanaian slave market for their sugar
plantations in Brazil (1968?: 13). Thus by 1593, Mayer
notes, the Dutch had become the second European country to
colonize Africa (1968?: 13). Until then, few Europeans had
actively investigated Africa, since little was known of it,
except for its diseases. Typhoid, diptheria, malaria, and
cholera were common occurrences, and the "Dark Continent" was
feared by Europeans (Botchway: 1972: 12).

By the sixteenth century, Lloyd (1967) reports, Euro-
pean nations visiting the "Americas" had seen a chance for
economic development in agriculture through plantations. The
countries which held African colonies saw these colonies as
a new market to exploit, especially for human resources as
slaves which could be used to work the fields of the Ameri-
can cotton plantations. The slave trade began to draw more
and more European ships. The Dutch were followed by the
Swedes, the Danes, the English and the Germans. The Euro-
peans built castles along the coast and used them as bases
". . . for the capture, recapture, exchange and supply of
slaves . . . ," as well as for the trading of other goods
(Lloyd: 51). In 1662 the British established themselves in
Ghana by building James Fort in Accra and established an
English trading company (Mayer: 1968: 14). Kent reports
that Europeans trading on the west coast sold velvets, silks
and other textiles in exchange for African goods such as

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indigenous West African cloth. These cloths became so popular with the European traders that they became a major trade item from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century (1970: 3).

Each of the European nations sent Christian missionaries to build and maintain religious, social and educational communities on the Gold Coast. While espousing European values, the Christian missionaries strove, as Mitchison notes, ". . . to redeem the Africans of their sinfulness." Clothing or the lack of it was viewed only on moral grounds. "Nakedness and innocence meant a state of sin, clothing and shame meant a state of Grace" (1958: 70-71).

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century the slave trade was brisk, with reports of 13,000 to eight million humans traded (Lloyd: 1967: 51, Mayer: 1968?: 12). Out of the misfortunes of the exploited Gold Coasters, there arose a new African elite, according to Lloyd. Most Europeans were confined to their coastal castles, having little contact with the Africans, so the middlemen or agents who bartered for the Africans and the Europeans created a new position of leadership. These Africans had adopted the outward signs of a European: they spoke a bit of French or English and assumed certain aspects of European dress, while maintaining allegiance to their ethnic groups (1967: 52). This new class may have formed the beginnings of an elite class which would become a nucleus of political power among the Africans.

As the nineteenth century began, authorities (Apter: 1967, Botchway: 1972, Davidson: 1976) agree that European

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eyes were focused on Africa, with the scramble for land, trade routes from the coast to the interior savanna and continuing search for men and minerals. Europe, led by Britain, was experiencing an Industrial Revolution and needed its African colonies for exploitation again. Europeans obtained raw materials from Africa, and returned to sell the manufactured product to the Africans. With the increasing population of Europeans and the conquest of malaria, Botchway notes, Africa's great size seemed to offer promise for European settlement (1972: 12).

According to Apter, treaties were drawn up to control the trade and to improve the Africans' position in commercial transactions. He further notes that a certain group of Ghanaians, the Asante, had considerable wealth in gold, diamonds and timber within their region. For economic purposes they consolidated their small chiefdoms into a kingdom, known as the Asante Confederacy, which became "a powerful political organization," complete with a bureaucracy and a militia. Based on its activities, Apter concludes that the Confederacy's main intentions were both economic survival and global conquest (1967: 60). According to McKown, the Confederacy regulated its own trade of slaves and minerals with European nations but was often embroiled in battles with neighboring clans and the British (1973: 7).

By 1820 The British were debating withdrawal from the Gold Coast for a number of reasons, according to Brown and Arnonoo. They had grown weary of competition with other

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nations as well as the constant battles with the Asante. In addition, the results of a strong anti-slavery movement in the eighteenth century caused the British government to abolish slavery in 1806, voiding their use of the Gold Coast and Africa. Besides, any slaves needed were found to be cheaper in India or Cuba. However, the desire of the British government to leave the Gold Coast was denied, as British merchants persuaded the government to remain for trade purposes (1964: 12 & 24).

By 1828, the British withdrew from the country except for two merchant governments in Accra and Cape Coast ". . . to be ruled by an elected council and the English government," Davidson claims (1976: 135). The British still maintained control of the country and in 1843 "they assumed official control through the government of Sierra Leone (Mayer: 1968?: 21)." Thus, Davidson concludes, they enacted the infamous Bond of 1844 to document their political position within the Gold Coast. The Bond, uniting eight Fanti rulers with neighboring rulers, was a protection device for foreign trade and against attacks of the Asante (1976: 137). Applicable only to the coast, the Bond granted the British "exclusive trading rights and the right to try cases in law and to bring the customs of the people into agreement with British law," according to Brown and Arnonoo (1963: 17). They claim the Bond gave the British the legal claim to impose its judicial system on the Gold Coast although the Bond did not dictate ownership of the state as a

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The financial state of the new area of rule was not strong, claim Brown and Arnonoo. In 1854, the British imposed a poll tax to obtain more revenue. At first the taxes were collected without complaint, but certain people were soon discontent with the British and their political authority. Some Gold Coast natives rallied for change and marched on Christianbourg Castle, the home of the British Governor-General (Brown and Arnonoo: 17). The march did not yield any manifest results but the group may have served as role model for subsequent political parties and leadership activities.

In 1871 there followed the rumblings of political change disguised under another cause. Brown and Arnonoo report that with the continual Asante battles between the British and the Fantis, despite the Bond of 1844, the Fantis met to resolve the issue in Anmkesim. They formed the Fanti Confederation, and drew up the first consitution written by the people of the Gold Coast (1963: 17). While the constitution was a far-sighted progressive attempt at self-regulation, the British did not accept the document (Brown and Arnonoo: 29). The rejection of the proposal may have stemmed from a threat to British power as well as to British apprehension of Ghanaian inexperience in self-government. The Gold Coast remained under British domain.

By 1872, Mayer concludes, the Danes and the Dutch became the last Europeans to withdraw from the Gold Coast.

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The British now had virtual economic and political control
of the Gold Coast, declaring the coastal region a crown col-
ony in 1874. In 1876 Accra was made the capital of the
colony (1968?: 23). Apter terms the British behavior at
this period as "paternalistic," for they wished to present a
"benevolent benefactor" image to the world. The British tried
to involve the Africans in their government by appointing
an African to the British Legislative Council to serve as an
African representative. The action was hardly sufficient
either to represent the entire African continent or to ap-
pease the new discontent among the growing elite class of
merchants and educators (1967: 119).

By 1897 political dissent had grown into bona fide
political party organization. The British attempted to
pass the Public Lands Bill putting all unoccupied traditional
or "stool" land into crown, British-ruled land, says McKown.
The Aborigines Rights Protection Society was organized as a
political party and succeeded in seeing the bill withdrawn
(1973: 8).

Colonial Period

1897-1947

By the turn of the century, authorities (Apter: 1967,
Austin: 1964, Lloyd: 1967) say, the British maintained
control through indirect rule of the three territories of
the Gold Coast Colony, Asante and the Northern Territories.
Lloyd writes that indirect rule by British terms meant that

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"the colonial administration attempts to work through the traditional structure so that ideally there is only one system of local administration" (1967: 19). Appointment or nomination to these councils were dependent upon the favor of the Queen's representative, the colonial governor, who was advised by the present members of the Legislative Council (Lloyd: 1967: 57). The administration of the local regions lay in the hands of the Provincial Commissioners who worked closely with the local rulers. It is claimed that the local leaders were given the authority to ". . . make by-laws and exercise limited civil and criminal jurisdiction in local courts" (Lloyd: 1967: 57). Lloyd reports, some attempt was made by the government to include the local rulers with councils of chiefs set up to discuss governmental policies. These councils served only in an advisory capacity, with the main base of power at the top in the governor (1967: 63).

In time the British colony of the Gold Coast became a copy of England, by law and dress. Photos of the colonial period reveal that the British maintained use of their own formal, cotton khaki military attire for the exercise of power rather than adopting the chief's traditional wraparound attire. Much has been written about the British role in the Gold Coast with the general consensus of opinion positive toward Britain. As Strand writes, "the British did not attempt the transformation of an alliance into subjection; rather, the process of transformation for the British colony was gradual, slow and hesitant" (1976: 135). It has been

seen that the British provided both the educational and political systems for the future leaders. However, since the Gold Coast did provide more natural resources than the motherland, Britain along with other foreign huge monopolies did exploit the Gold Coasters and squeezed out small African traders (Strand: 1976: 135). In human resources, Brown and Arnonoo record that the British turned to the Gold Coast in 1914 for assistance in its battle against Germany. There Gold Coast men formed the first Gold Coast army, the Gold Coast Regiment. Waging war in Togo, in the Cameroons, the war had its human and economic tragedies on the Coast in lost men and revenues, along with a scrutiny of the purpose of British domination in the Gold Coast (1964: 71).

Political developments were taking place internationally that raised the consciousness for nationalism in West Africa and the Gold Coast. The West African Congress of 1917 declared itself to be the "first interterritorial political movement in British West Africa," and requested the granting of self-government. Their desire for self-government was pushed so that "the peoples of African descent should participate in government of their own country" (Botchway: 1972: 92). The Congress campaigned for their cause in the backdrop of WWI, hoping to incur changes after the war. However, the war ended with little benefits to the West Africans, claim Brown and Arnonoo. As for the British, with the defeat of Germany came the acquisition of Germany's colony, Togoland. Togoland was conceded to the

British and French. They split the country (along with the ethnic group Ewes) into two sections. The British section became a British mandated territory and was absorbed into the Gold Coast Colony. The French section became the present day state of Togo. As a result of WWI, the state of the Gold Coast is as it stands today: the Gold Coast Colony, Ashanti, Northern Territories, and Togo (1964: 75).

Sir Gordon Guggisberg administered the Gold Coast from 1919 to 1927 as Governor. He made progressive reforms which are said to have aided independence. He laid the modern day infrastructure of Ghana with the establishment of new roadways, railways and a harbor at Takoradi. Through this transportation system, the Gold Coast was able to transport crops more cheaply, thus the country was able to acquire more wealth and improve its standard of living (Anderson: 1972: 83). In addition to improving education and health, Guggisberg set forth a new constitution in 1925 for setting up a Provincial Council of Chiefs and expanding the Legislative Council to nine Africans to enlarge African political power (Nkrumah: 1957: 69). As the representation on these councils was believed elite-based, the Aborigines Protection Rights Society returned, ineffectively, and died.

With Guggisberg's support, it has been noted that a belief in Gold Coast self-worth and independence flourished (Anderson: 1972: 83). Another man responsible for its development was Dr. Aggrey, believes Anderson. Educated in

the United States, Dr. Aggrey undertook to create under-
standing among races through his teaching in the following
quote: "You can play some kind of tune on the black notes
alone. You can play some kind of tune on the white notes
alone. But for real music with full, rich harmony you must
play both the black and white keys" (Anderson: 1972: 90).
Recognizing Aggrey's potential use for the Gold Coast,
Guggisberg appointed him Vice Principal of the first Gold
Coast administered co-ed elementary school at Achimota.
The idea was controversial among the local leaders who desired
neither the adoption of western ideas through education nor
the education of their women. Aggrey argued that western
ideas were a needed supplement to African ideas as well as
for needed improvements in science and medicine for health-
ier people, notes Anderson (1972: 91). Aggrey recognized
the socio-political power of women with the statement:
"If you educate a man, you educate one person; if you educate
a woman, you educate a family" (Anderson: 1972: 91). These
educational concepts were eventually accepted with the con-
tributions of Aggrey still felt in the Gold Coast.

While education flourished, "the economy developed
slowly . . . with one-third of its exports to Britain"
(Lloyd: 1967: 68). Lloyd elaborates that the economic
system under Guggisberg organized the production of a small
amount of a few raw materials with a large amount of migrant
labor from Upper Volta, Ivory Coast and Nigeria. There was
little manufacturing of consumer goods due to the lack of

availability of semi-skilled or skilled laborers. Without
an industrial base expending capital investment, the country
had little financial revenue upon which to draw for taxes
and growth. The Gold Coast had its natural resources, but
not enough for economic stability and social change (1967:
68).

By 1942 the British had laid the base for political
power, as well as change, with ". . . a fairly efficient
administrative machine, reaching down to villages in most
remote areas . . . a functioning infrastructure and service
organizations," claims Lloyd. Recovering from the depression
he notes "West African exports of primary products brought
considerable wealth (and power) to the people" (1967: 81).
However, WWII came to disrupt the Gold Coast, which was used
by the British for its Gold Coast Regiment and as a contact
point for the Allied forces, according to Brown and Arnonoo.
With Italy monitoring the Mediterranean Sea, the trade routes
from India and the Far East were diverted to the West coast
of Africa with the merchants and shippers benefiting from
the exchange of cloth and other articles (1964: 107). The
war years produced a new British governor, Sir Arthur Burns,
to administer the Gold Coast, who aided in the appointment of
the first African member to the Executive Council (Anderson:
1972: 109). Through the measures introduced by the gover-
nors of the pre-independence period, the Gold Coast seemed
to be slowly progressing to British recognition through re-
presentation.

Pre- and Post-Independence

1947-1969

There has been much discussion on the rise of nationalism and political organization in the 1940's. The chief factors for the rise appear to be mainly economic problems involving all social classes. The prime factors are listed below:

1. There was an increasing number of educated Gold Coasters who had studied abroad. They returned with a knowledge of "the rights of other humans" and were eager for social change (Kenworthy: 1959: 71).

2. Within the same group were the frustrated Gold Coasters who saw the British as impeding their aspirations for a rise in status, in civil service or public employ- ment (Lloyd: 1967: 81).

3. Further down the social scale were the growing number of traders and farmers who resented the continued intrusion and competition from the large foreign companies (Ghana Reborn: 2: 48; Kenworth: 1967: 71). Having acquired some wealth the new middle class were eager to maintain it rather than have it siphoned off by the British (Raymond: 1960: 233)

4. The government workers and wage earners were discontent with lower wages, a scarcity of goods and "higher prices on impor - ed consumer goods" (McKown: 1973: 45; Botchway: 1972: 28).

5. The Gold Coast servicemen, who had served abroad in WWII, returned with new technical skills and ideas that they had learned. Thus, the servicemen of the Gold Coast, working beside white soldiers as equals in the war "were unwilling to accept (being) second-class citizens again with inferior jobs and pensions" (Anderson: 1972: 159; McKown: 1973: 45).

6. In 1941 an agreement was reached between Britain and the U.S. known as the Atlantic Charter. The Charter guaranteed "the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live . . . any government was to be approved by the people and the people were to be consulted before any territorial changes were to be made. While applicable to others, the Africans saw the charter as a base for further demands for independence. The Atlantic Charter later became the basis for the United Nations" (Anderson: 1976: 160).

7. A major political development occurred in 1947 when Pakistan and India received their independence. The Africans saw the possibility of independence and used the fact of the two countries' freedom as an impetus for change (Strand: 1976: 140).

A continued sense of discontent toward the colonial system gave the Gold Coast people a feeling of unity and self-conscience, but with no legitimate political instrument to voice their grievances. The problems of colonial control were exacerbated with the maneuvers of the present British Governor Burns.

Burns, believed by some as "progressive," introduced various reforms, one of them being the appointment of two Africans as unofficial members to the Executive Council (Nkrumah: 1957: 69; Anderson: 1977: 168). A group of intelligentsia opposed the appointments, believing that the selection of the individuals was political, based on alliance with the British (McKown: 1972: 69).

After these elite worked through the proper channels for changes and failed, they formulated plans for a political machine, creating the first official political party

of the Gold Coast--the United Gold Coast Convention (U.G.C.C.)
(McKown: 1972: 69). The U.G.C.C. was founded in 1947 with
the pledge of "self-government for the peoples of the Gold
Coast at the earliest opportunity." Headed by an attorney,
Dr. Danquah, authorities believe that the party was composed
of elitists as merchants, lawyers, doctors. While the men
in the party were thought to be "patriotic men who desired
progress," their definition of progress was based on the
European concept of an elitist hierarchy bestowing privileges,
with independence the vehicle for improvment of their status,
according to the most authorities (Strand: 1976: 139;
Apter: 1963: 25; Botchway: 1972: 29). With the party
base in the educated elite, the party did not maintain or
solicit mass grass roots support. In addition, the party
lacked "internal discipline and structure," with a real
need for an organizer (Botchway: 1972: 29). Realizing the
obstacles to acceptance of the party, the U.G.C.C. sought
aid from Kwame Nkrumah.

From his autobiography we learn that Kwame Nkrumah
was a native Ghanaian, educated at missionary schools and
Achimoto College. During his college years Nkrumah became
interested in making speeches and debating which proved to
be useful training for a political role (1957: 18). As a
teacher for several years, he gained personal experience
in handling himself and crowds of people, necessary for
political leaders, as well as the type of image necessary
to command attention.

Abandoning serious thoughts of becoming a priest,
Nkrumah attended Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, re-
ceiving a B.A. in philosophy (Nkrumah: 1957: 41). Sub-
sequently he recorded in his autobiography that he received
a second B.A. in sacred theology from Lincoln University and
M.A. and M.S. in philosophy and education from the University
of Pennsylvania. While at the University of Pennsylvania
Nkrumah was instrumental in founding the Institute of Afri-
can Language and Culture and starting a branch of the Afri-
can Student Association. As Nkrumah espoused Gold Coast
independence, the student association was a testing ground
for Nkrumah as a political leader (McKown: 1973: 31;
Nkrumah: 1957: 45).

Nkrumah had lived in the United States for ten years,
absorbing western politics, symbols and ideals of beauty.
In all his political endeavors he realized the importance of
physical appearance on western political acceptance and
relates a body modification done in his autobiography:

> When I left (Gold Coast), my two front teeth
> were divided by a fairly wide gap. In the U.S. I
> found this (the gap) a handicap because whenever
> I made public speeches, it affected my delivery,
> especially where s's were concerned. I therefore
> decided to have them (the two front teeth) removed
> and replaced by two false ones (Nkrumah: 1957: 68).

After receiving two advanced degrees in the United
States Nkrumah writes that he decided to seek a doctorate
in philosophy at the London School of Economics. While in
London Nkrumah met George Padmore, a West African advocate
of independence with whom he formed "the Circle," a political

organization striving for African liberation with its
tenets in Marxian socialism. Thoroughly enmeshed in the
Circle, Nkrumah abandoned plans for a doctorate. Nkrumah
continued to test and refine his political skills until
he was called back to the Gold Coast in 1947 (1957: 39).

The Ghana to which Nkrumah returned was ripe for a
leader. Botchway writes that while most of Ghana was weary
of colonialism no one group of individuals seemed capable
of uniting both the masses and the elite, the different
geographical regions, and varied ethnic groups, to propel
the country into independence. The leaders of the U.G.C.C.
brought Nkrumah back to Ghana believing he could unite these
groups by means of his past political experience and his
understanding of the two different life-styles (1972: 29).
As General Secretary of the U.G.C.C. Nkrumah evaluated the
entire operations and drew up a proposed program for the
U.G.C.C. which were presented in January of 1948 (1957: 72).
The proposals were barely being implemented before civil
riots occurred which impeded their progress.

Armed with a petition of civil grievances, a delega-
tion of ex-servicemen marched on Christianbourg Castle to
meet with the Governor-General. Shots were fired between
Government soldiers and the servicemen, leaving a number of
dead (Nkrumah: 1957: 124). The Governor-General, anxious
about the test of his power, believed that the riot was
the result of a Communist conspiracy and began investigating
political dissidents (McKown: 1973: 48-51). In March,

Nkrumah was found with a Communist Party card from the Circle, was arrested and jailed along with his U.G.C.C. associates (McKown: 1973: 48-51).

As a result of the riot, the British government assembled the Watson Commission to investigate the causes of the event. In discovering both economic and political motives, the Commission recommended further constitutional advances. The Labor Government created the Coussey Commission to investigate further reforms (Woronoff: 1973: 25). The Coussey Report issued a report August, 1949, that met with approval by the elite and the chiefs. Carrying no provisions for self-government, Nkrumah was not satisfied with its results, he writes in his autobiography. When Nkrumah and the other members of the U.G.C.C. were released from jail, his autobiography relates, he began campaigning for independence, using every means possible. Using the print media to hit the literate people he launched the Accra Daily News (Nkrumah: 1957: 118). For the semi- or illiterate people he used the basic tools of political communication-persuasion through interpersonal contact. Given his political background, Nkrumah had learned that personal contact and speeches (his voice and his body) were the most effective weapons in his fight against colonialism. He realized that the meaning and benefits of independence on the national level must be understood by the people in the local villages and towns. Apter believes that "Nkrumah offered the populace, which was bound by relatively limited

choices and options, a sense of the future" (1967: 373).
With Nkrumah's promises for change, his affinity for both
the common people and the elite, authorities (Lacouture:
1972, Apter: 1967) believe he became the charismatic figure
to lead the Gold Coast to freedom. However, according to
his autobiography, Nkrumah saw that the U.G.C.C. did not offer
the leadership he desired to lead the country to independence,
nor, as McKown implies, that he was in good standing with its
members. Handing in his resignation to the U.G.C.C.,
Nkrumah launched his own political party, the Convention
Peoples Party (C.P.P.), with himself as Party Chairman, in
June, 1949 (1957: 108).

Nkrumah chose and formulated the symbols of the new
party, its colors being red, white and green (1957: 108).
The members of the C.P.P. identified each other with a
"'Freedom Sign:' right hand raised, palm forward and fingers
outstretched" (1973: 58). The strength of the organization
lay with Nkrumah in the adoption of symbols and in the plan-
ning and magnetism, according to Botchway. However, he dis-
cusses how the age status of the members and the organization
affected Nkrumah's direction:

> The members of the C.P.P. were generally young-
> er, more militant and less affluent, drawing from
> youth organizations, cocoa farmers, trade unions.
> They . . . did not . . . reject the traditional
> values of Ghanaian society, although it (the C.P.P.)
> questioned them and aimed at changing them. To
> achieve independence, the C.P.P. . . . (sought) a
> course between the position of the U.G.C.C. and that
> of the colonial government . . . Any other tactics
> would cost the C.P.P. the mass support it needed
> and would probably have caused a split in the
> leadership (Botchway: 1972: 45).

In his autobiography Nkrumah designated the actions
of the C.P.P. into two periods, as he had done with the
U.G.C.C. The first period, "Positive Action," was based
on Ghandi's nonviolent political principles. The second
period, "Tactical Action," was designed as a series of
overt political activities for independence (Nkrumah: 1957:
preface). Nkrumah reports that "Positive Action" was called
for in 1950 after the issuance of the Coussey Report, with
action including a shut-down of civil services and strikes
by workers. The Gold Coast newspapers championed the cause
of independence, but were closed down by the government
(Nkrumah: 1957: 118). Nkrumah was rightly assumed to be
the instigator of the plan and was seized while campaigning
in the Northern Territories dressed in a Northern tunic
(Nkrumah: 1957: 117).

While he was in prison for a designated term of
three years, authorities (Anderson: 1972; Jones: 72: Ap-
ter: 1967) note that the government announced a new consti-
tution based on the Coussey Constitution recommendations,
which included appointment of eight Africans to the Legis-
lative Council and replacement of the Legislative Council
by Legislative Assembly, with thirty-eight elected African
members. The first general Gold Coast election for selec-
tion of these seats was chosen for February, 1951 (McKown:
1972: 66). Nkrumah rallied his party from jail and placed
his name on the ballot (McKown: 1973: 66). The C.P.P. won
thirty-four of the thirty-eight Legislative Assembly seats,

one of them being Nkrumah. As a result, Governor-Sir

Arden Clarke released Nkrumah from jail (McKown: 1972: 66).

Judging from journalists' accounts of the spontaneous

welcome Nkrumah received from his supporters with his re-

lease from jail, one writer believes that the imprisonment

had a positive effect on the perceptions of Nkrumah in his

political position of a new Ghanaian leader. Lacouture

writes that Nkrumah was seen:

> . . . as a martyr, a witness to his political
> creed. He is suffering for the cause of his people.
> His people will look at his act as the incarnation
> of the ideas that they lack the courage to express
> . . . his courage leads to merit and is seen as
> resurrection, he becomes a demi-god (1970: 142).

After Nkrumah's release from jail he was appointed

Leader of Government Business with duties similar to a

Prime Minister, but requiring the final approval of the

British. While Nkrumah did not accept the terms of his

new position, he accepted the office (McKown: 1972: 69).

Anderson records that as Leader of Government Business,

Nkrumah was to form a new government and nominate members to

the new Legislative Assembly, at the national level. How-

ever, one of his first proposals for change was introduction

of a local government ordinance setting up three types of

councils: district, urban, local, which were designed to be

self-maintaining and raise taxes for the government. The

District Commissioners were excluded from membership on the

councils but could act as "liaisons" between the councils and

the governor. The chiefs were excluded from membership and voting rights in the councils although they could be invited to join. Although the chiefs had the Provincial Council of Chiefs through which to voice their complaints, resentment of the exclusion was seen as a political faux pas by Nkrumah (Nkrumah: 1957: 155). The councils became a new means for the exercise of political power by Nkrumah and the C.P.P. as the C.P.P. won 90% of the seats of the two hundred and seventy councils (Anderson: 1972: 169).

To implement further social change, Botchway believes that Nkrumah saw education as positively related to technological and economic transformation. By Marxian ideals, education led to social improvement and a narrowing of the gap between the workers and the elite (Botchway: 1972: 114). He issued the 1951 manifesto proposing that education be provided by the government for fifteen years, at the primary and secondary levels. The general election of 1951 showed little support for the plan although it was implemented with the aid of Russian teachers.

During the same years, Nkrumah records that he returned to the United States and received an Honorary Degree from his alma mater, Lincoln University. After his return home, Nkrumah recalled that he was addressing an audience "for the first and last time in an army tunic" (Nkrumah: 1957: 67).

Throughout 1952, Nkrumah and the C.P.P. coordinated forces to unite the country toward independence, after

learning that the British would consider independence after a joint proposal of the people and the chiefs. By 1953, as national leader, Nkrumah started the machinery toward independence through the introduction of a motion for constitutional reforms, the "Motion of Destiny." He requested, as is recorded in his autobiography:

1. that the assembly introduce an Act of Independence into the British Parliament declaring the Gold Coast a sovereign and independent state within the Commonwealth.

2. that the assembly be enlarged to 104 members . . . and eliminating the power of the Provincial Council of Chiefs to choose their own members.

3. that the name of the Gold Coast be changed to Ghana. Ghana was an ancient West African Kingdom which had reached an advanced level of civilization before it was destroyed. Nkrumah took pride in the name, seeing it as an inspiration for the future (Nkrumah: 1957: 131).

Such motions required a new general election. The opposition, headed by the Asante-backed National Liberation Movement, saw the decentralization and loss of power possible and demanded "a weak central government with regional government through which they could govern" (Woronoff: 1973: 33). Their needs were unmet as the motion passed and the C.P.P. won seventy-one of the 104 seats in the enlarged Legislative Assembly. The following day Nkrumah met with Governor Sir Clarke and was asked to form a government as the Prime Minister of Ghana (Nkrumah: 1959: 209). His status had changed through adoption of a new title; no longer was he a local "leader of government business" but now a national "prime

minister." As a liaison between the British and the Ghana-
ians, the media records him carried through the crowds
as the new Prime Minister dressed in a western business suit,
rather than an army tunic.

The new 1954 constitution brought Ghana its first
Prime Minister and an all African Assembly and Cabinet
(Raymond: 1964: 200). Yet, with independence so near, all
were not united behind Nkrumah and the C.P.P. as the party
to carry the country to independence. Seeing from raw
data that the C.P.P. was not the unanimous choice in all the
regions, the opposition sent a delegation, led by Dr. Kofi
Busia, to London to delay the granting of self-government
until a federal constitution could be worked out (Jones:
1965, Woronoff: 1972). The British government saw the
political dissension and declared to Nkrumah that "inde-
pendence would be accepted only if a general election is held
with a reasonable majority (approving it)" (Raymond: 1960:
258). Woronoff records that a general election was held
July 17, 1956, and the C.P.P. won seventy-two of the 103
seats. In August, Nkrumah introduced a motion for indepen-
dence to the National Assembly, which passed with only C.P.P.
votes (1972: 33). The British saw both election results and
granted Ghana independence on March 17, 1957. Nkrumah's
motto for the C.P.P., "We prefer self-government with danger
to servitude in tranquility," had come to pass.

All the symbols of social change were recorded and
used. A new flag for Ghana was flown--red, white, and green

stripes (C.P.P. colors) with a five-pointed star on the white strip (McKown: 1973: 92). One author reports the impact of independence upon the businessman: "European firms, seeing a quick profit, imported caps, shirts and dress material in (red, white and green) colors." The same author also notes that there was "Kwame Nkrumah" cloth imported, printed with his photo on the cloth. Known as political cloth, "men wore shirts of 'Nkrumah' cloth; women used it for their wrap-around skirts" (McKown: 1973: 58). Figure 10.3 shows a type of 'Nkrumah' cloth that is believed dated to 1957.

During and after independence Nkrumah and his colleagues adopted symbols of meaning with clothing. It is reported by Raymond (1960) and Rouch (1964) that at midnight of independence eve, Nkrumah and his ministers changed from their formal, western attire into white or striped smocks from the north. The media show that the men also wore white caps with the letters P.G. (for Prison Graduate) embroidered on them, to signify their 1950 jail term. The media show Nkrumah had worn both of these items often since his jail release. However, there is question as to whether any of these items were actually worn by any of the C.P.P. members during their prison terms (McKown: 1973: 68). It was thought that Nkrumah used both of these items to symbolize his role of martyr and freedom fighter for Ghanaian independence. The appearance of the smock and cap on independence day was used, says Raymond, "as a gesture which

Fig. 3.1 Political Cloth

(courtesy of Val Berryman, Curator
of Historical Artifacts
MSU Museum)

distinguished the men jailed (during the Postiive Action era) the veterans for the '11th hour independentists'" (1960: 219).

According to Lacouture, Nkrumah and his cabinet, from 1957-1959, wore western dress until about 1960 when thev adopted the traditional chief's symbols of the kente wrapper and sandals (1967: 262). The chief's accoutrements were adopted by Nkrumah as "symbolic referent and an integration-al integer" (Botchway: 1972: 81). As a sign of local "unity and continuity," and a manifestation of traditional power and authority, the kente was a symbol of status. Botchway believes that the adoption of the kente by Nkrumah and his cabinet was an attempt to supersede the power of the chiefs, replacing them as central figures of unification with Nkrumah and his cabinet (1972: 81). As Apter reports that Nkrumah had lost his charismatic appeal after 1954 (1967: 342), it may be thought that the adoption of the kente was a desire to regain lost political power.

As the new Prime Minister of the fifth independent African nation, it can be seen through political histories of Ghana that Nkrumah as the new Prime Minister faced many new domestic socio-cultural and economic problems, for which he had little experience or appropriate role models. Yet he exercised the new power within his position with the creation of the Workers Brigade.

According to Apter, initially the Workers Brigade grew out of a social need to end civil violence among

unemployed primary school leavers. "The Brigade members were engaged in public works like road building or state farms," with built-in assumptions that they would be employable later (1967: 344). The organization proved popular with 10,000 members by 1960. The Workers Brigade was structured like an army, complete with drills, regular lectures on the ideology of the state, and uniforms. Their clothing reflected Nkrumah's beliefs on the use and power of dress: "Why shouldn't the workers of the state . . . be put in uniform? . . . This would give them an added incentive to serve the state and a reason to feel proud of their service and a sense of belonging" (Apter: 1967: 344). While the organization fulfilled its functions, it soon disintegrated due to high cost and poorly defined purposes (Lloyd: 1967: 239).

Nkrumah had definite feelings about clothing. According to a close friend of his, Genoveva Marais, he perceived clothing as a second skin that revealed the person. She recorded his thoughts on its use:

> As human beings, . . . we need the company of our fellow human beings. We are so delicately balanced, psychologically, that we react to their presence and behavior. But why? If we think about it carefully we realize that we are not reacting to their bodies but rather to the clothes with which they conceal their bodies . . . We can inspect clothes from a more convenient distance (for) it is the movement which a man's body or his limbs impart to his clothes which gives him away. It is not exactly the way he moves that does it; it is the way his clothes move with his body that tell if he is friendly, angry . . . (1972: 54)

Nkrumah was an acknowledged bookworm, and apparently he read Veblen and Flugel, as he noted:

> I can tell the sex, occupation, nationality
> and even social standing from a person's clothes
> . . . (with respect to nationality) if (one) is not
> wearing his national costume he is uneasy in his
> borrowed plumes. If one is not accustomed to
> meeting his social equals, even his new plumes
> won't conceal the fact . . . Psychologists maintain
> that clothes serve three main purposes of deco-
> ration, modesty and protection. (Thus) we all
> differ as to which of these is most important
> (Marais: 1972: 54)

Well read though he might have been, he had his idiosyncracies toward certain items of dress, in particular wigs. He disliked them intensely and banned them at one time. According to Marais, he felt that they were "ridiculous--fancy wearing someone else's hair! You don't even know what the person died of!" (1972: 87) From his statement, it appeared that his main objection was for hygienic purposes, but there may have been other underlying reasons, such as a personal dislike for the Western item.

However, the West and its moral code had an influence on Nkrumah and his use of power through sumptuary laws. Langner reports that a visit by native dancers from Ghana in Les Ballets Africain in 1959 caused a license commissioner to order the dancers to wear brassieres. "Taking the hint from New York, the Prime Minister later ordered all Ghanaian girls to cover up" (1959: 168).

In moving from a sumptuary policy to domestic and foreign affairs, Nkrumah appeared ambivalent. Stressing that "capitalism was too complicated a system for a newly independent nation," Nkrumah sought socialism (Nkrumah: 1957: preface). According to Thompson (1969), at the same time,

Nkrumah encouraged the entry and investment of public and private capital into the country to provide training and jobs for Ghanaians. Nkruma's desire to combine Eastern socialism and Western capitalism became a foreign policy of neutral non-alignment, which sought economic trade with any nation. Such political strategy allowed Nkrumah to maintain status with all nations Ghana's entrance into the U.N. gave Nkrumah a tool for power, a voice in world matters, and diplomatic relations in New York.

The U. N. became a platform for Nkrumah to speak for Pan-Africanism, a philosophy for a self-sufficient and united Africa. As he writes in his autobiography, Nkrumah foresaw eventual independence for all African states into a union similar to the United States of America. According to most authorities (Apter: 1967, Thompson: 1969), Nkrumah was perceived and perceived his status as prime minister of Ghana as a stepping stone to the presidency of the United States of Africa.

The perceptions and motivations of Nkrumah as a public political leader were subject to scrutiny even in his personal life. In 1957, at the age of forty-eight, Nkrumah married an Egyptian woman, Madame Fathia Halen Ritzk. While she could have had an important Arabic impact on Ghanaian society and dress, Thompson notes, she rarely appeared in public (perhaps due to Moslem custom) but bore Nkrumah three children. Thompson, claiming that Nkrumah said she was an embarrassment to him, it was believed that Nkrumah sought

the union to improve his position in Egyptian/Ghanaian

foreign policy, since a Ghanaian embassy was opened in

Egypt in 1958 (1973: 49). It can only be hypothesized

that the marriage was political.

From 1957-1959, the media recorded that Nkrumah, both

as head of Ghana and as self-appointed diplomat, tried to

establish relations with Ivory Coast, Guinea and Mali.

These unions failed politically though they were economically

advantageous to Guinea and Mali. It appears that Nkrumah

sought to improve his image on the African continent through

sponsorship of a conference with all African states. While

the conference proved successful in arousing attention for

African unity and did evolve into the OAU (Organization of

African Unity), outsiders were wary of Nkrumah's rationale

for the conference (Thompson: 1972: 35).

In other foreign policies in general, ". . . there

was little involvement (of Ghana) in Asian affairs (for

the first five years after independence)" (Thompson: 1972:

46). However, the media show that Nkrumah did visit India

in 1959 and later adopted his mentor Nehru's dress. The

Indian or "Nehru" jacket was described by Lacouture as a

military tunic, "long and pinched at the waist" (1973: 236).

While the investigator found that the Nehru costume was not

seen in the media until about 1963, the adoption of the dress

may be both a symbol of Nkrumah's allegiance to Indian prin-

ciples of passivity as well as to the western fashions of

the 60's.

By 1960, both Nkrumah and his party had changed, claims Botchway. The C.P.P. had ceased to be a mass-based party, becoming instead bureaucrats favorable to Nkrumah with party membership restricted. Opposition had nearly ceased to exist with the enforcement of Nkrumah's restrictive measures (Botchway: 1972: 107). Ghanaian resources had been quickly absorbed and debts accumulated with Nkrumah's rapid commercial expansion and foreign loans (Apter: 1967: 357). While it appeared that Nkrumah had nearly absolute power, the media notes that he decided to change the structure of leadership with the proposal of a new constitution. The features of the new constitution included changing Ghana into a Commonwealth Republic, and having the Head of State and the Head of Government combined into one office, President and Life Chairman of the Party (Afrifa: 1966: 57, McKown: 1973: 101-102). The constitutional proposal brought out the remains of the opposition, who felt that the proposal was ". . . window dressing of a dictatorship . . ." (Apter: 1963: 343). When election was held for the new constitution, Dr. Danquah, former head of the U.G.C.C., stood election to appoint a committee to create a more acceptable constitution. Nkrumah jailed the opposition, rendering their desires inoperable (Apter: 1963: 343; Afrifa: 1966: 57-58). Thus, Nkrumah created a new position and became the new President of the Republic of Ghana. He requested that he be addressed as Osagyefo, "meaning 'warrior,' 'victorious one,' interpreted by the world press as 'savior,

redeemer'" (Thompson: 1972: 111). Apter writes that
loyalty and unity to Osagyefo were the code words of the
regime, although the constitution guaranteed democracy
(1963: 354). In a further attempt to change society and
show the extent of his power, Nkrumah created the Young
Pioneers.

With nearly a million members of both sexes between
the ages of four and twenty-five, the Young Pioneers was set
up to "look after the children's mind, body and soul, to
promote love and devotion of Ghana, to training in technical
skills and to inculcate the ideology of Nkrumahism" (Woro-
noff: 1973: 258). The activities of the Pioneers were
varied, Woronoff records: on weekdays they held club meet-
ings with Saturdays devoted to voluntary service for Nkrumah.
The para-military side trained the youths in different mili-
tary skills.

The Young Pioneers organization is believed to have
acted to undermine the traditional leadership roles of the
traditional elders, as the chiefs. With chants of "Nkrumah
is our Messiah, Nkrumah is immortal . . . will never die,"
it appears that Nkrumah became their new role model and god.
Dressed as Ghanaian boy scouts, the young Ghanaians took
their role seriously, claims Woronoff, and often disobeyed
their traditional elders (1973: 258-258). Figure 11.3 is
an example of the uniforms worn by these youths. However,
the military government that followed Nkrumah dissembled
the group.

Figure 3.2

1960-1966

YOUNG PIONEERS
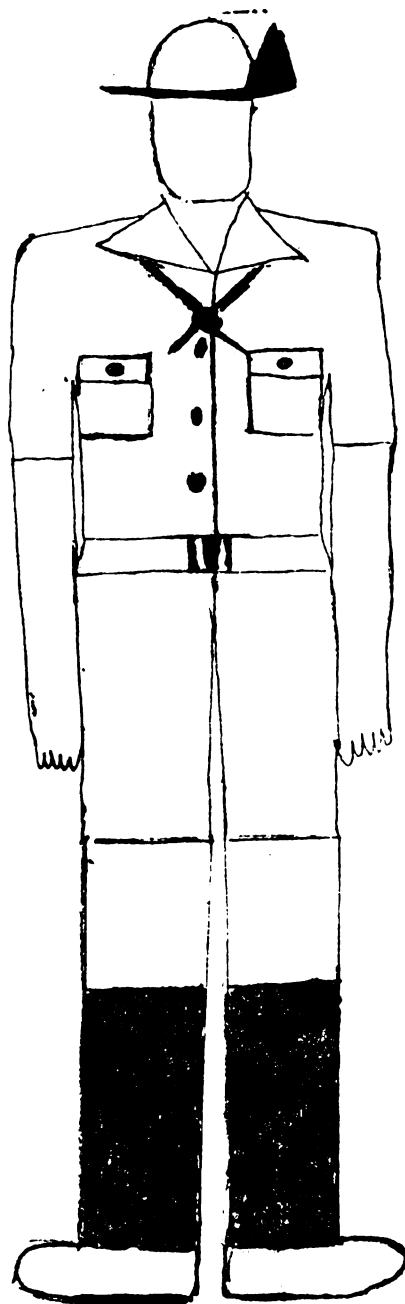
(courtesy of Kathleen M. Corti)

From 1960-1965 Nkrumah was judged by many as Afrifa
did:

> . . . (Nkrumah was) like Hitler (who performed)
> the functions of supreme legislator, supreme judge.
> State party, party and nation were united in his
> person. He was the sole power to approve or to
> abrogate legislation, to convene Parliament, to dis-
> miss judges, to revoke sentences. (Afrifa: 1966:
> 19)

Given the history of the country and its leader, the inter-

national media gave Nkrumah much coverage for his political

policies and performances. The French newspaper, Le Monde,

observed:

> Before the Osagyefo's Rolls-Royce had come out
> on the landing strip, preceded by his fifty-two man
> motorcycle escort, the "stocking-knitters" of the
> party's female sections, wearing pagnes as Nkrumah
> did, had been hopping around for a solid hour, sing-
> ing "Lead us, kindly Light" and "Osagyefo (thrice
> repeated), I want to see you, Kwame Nkrumah." In
> the stands hundreds of militants intoned slogans
> behind a wall of diplomats who appeared deaf and
> indifferent. An extraordinary figure wearing a
> jockey cap and indescribable costume in which white,
> green and red predominated--the colors of the Con-
> vention People's Party (CPP)--cut through the crowd
> at a run chanting a froth of syllables addressed
> to the "father of the country." (April: 1962)

During the period of 1960-1962, Nkrumah practiced a

double standard of neutral non-alignment to obtain full

economic benefits from both the East and the West for

nearly bankrupt Ghana (Thompson: 1969: 244). The Volta

Project, a hydro-electric plan, was being jointly funded by

the U.S. and Germany. A technical economic agreement was

signed between the Russians and Ghana (Thompson: 1969: 164).

Nkrumah allowed Communist Chinese representation in Ghana

(Thompson: 1969: 186). However, with the Congo crisis,

Nkrumah's previous reluctance to become involved in the Cold War, according to Thompson, changed as rumor of cases of Soviet arms and ammunitions bound for the Congo through Ghana proved true. He claims that "because of the polarization of world power at that time, the West alarmingly saw Ghana as a possible port of Soviet entry, (and) . . . considered it essential to block Soviet gain in Africa" (Thompson: 1969: 160). As the Congo crisis and talk of socialism was alienating the West and grass roots support, Nkrumah decided to visit eleven Eastern countries (Thompson: 1969: 193).

As he embarked on his tour as ambassador it was evident that there was no coordination of functions or information flow between Nkrumah and his ambassadors. One diplomat noted that he learned about Ghana through the BBC (Thompson: 1969: 249). While it is reported that many of the Ghanaian diplomats were frustrated with little power in their positions, there was excellent cooperation between the Ghanaian and other African diplomats, especially in the U.N. (Thompson: 1969: 201, 235, 427).

During the second period, 1962-1965, Nkrumah moved closer to the Communist ideals with suspension of habeas corpus and the creation of a one-party state (Thompson: 1969: 249). The East was duly impressed with his policies and awarded him the 1962 Lenin Peace Prize. Nkrumah's world image was raised further as Ghana joined the Security Council of the U.N. However, an assassination attempt in 1962 caught

Nkrumah by surprise, quickly destroyed his illusion of power, and led to more repressive measures.

Relations with the West and other African nations worsened during this period as Ghanaian subversion camps were found to be supplying men to independent African states as Niger in distrust of Ghana. Ivory Coast, Dahomey and Upper Volta closed its borders to Ghana. As a result, says Apter (1963), "Ghanaian trade with African states was down 50%," supplemented with the problem of "mismanagement and corruption in import licensing." The Russian trade agreements had become fruitless due to Ghanaian lack of funding and dissatisfaction with the Russian goods (Thompson: 1969: 399). With such economic tension in the country, Nkrumah's leadership was challenged by another assassination attempt in 1964. It was reported that Nkrumah sought to safeguard his health afterwards by "wearing a military jacket which is said to conceal a bullet-proof jacket" (Lacouture: 1962: 236).

By late 1965, Chinese influence was strong on Nkrumah, though more ideological than practical. Adopting the Mao tunic, he also created a Mao-like people's army, which died from lack of funding (Thompson: 1969: 401). Figure 12.3 shows Nkrumah wearing a Mao Tunic. Thompson claims the Russians were cautious of Nkrumah, perhaps for his adoption of the Chinese symbols, but also of his personality cult leadership. The West believed that Nkrumah was in the Eastern camp (as evidenced by his Mao tunic) yet thought that he swayed between the Russians and the Chinese (Thompson:

Fig. 3.3 Nkrumah in Mao Tunic, 1965
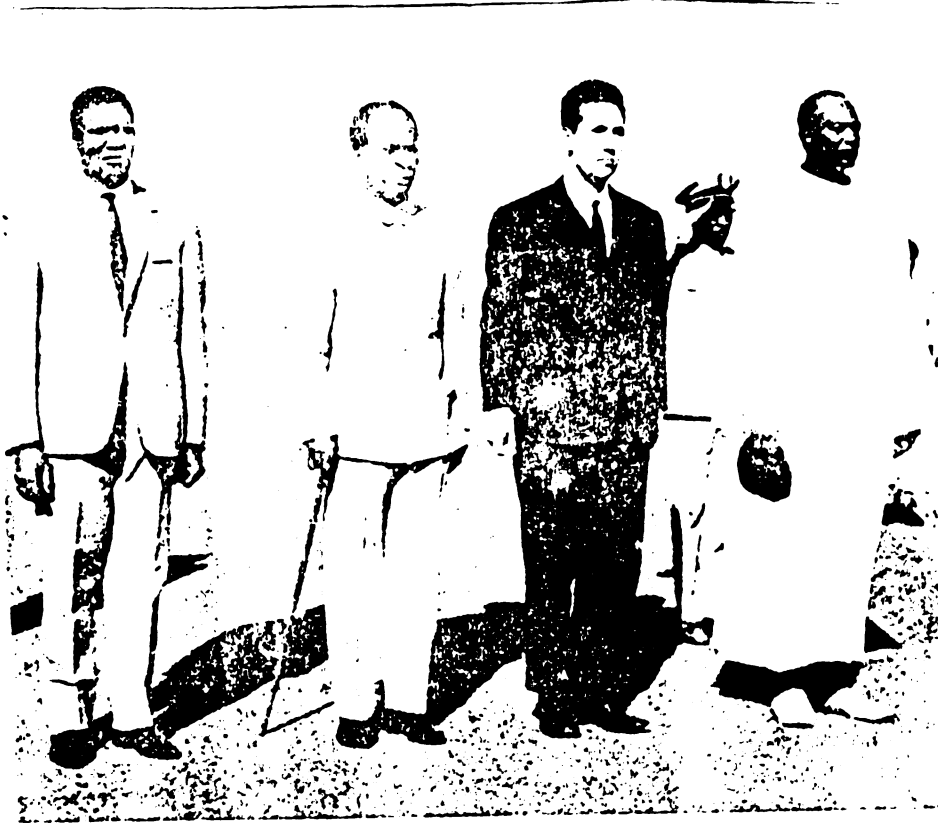
(courtesy of <u>Ghana Today</u>)

1969: 131).

By the end of 1965, Nkrumah's position of power was weak. His social programs for industrial and agricultural expansion had failed. By ". . . creating paramount chiefs above the heads of natural divisional chiefs . . .," Nkrumah lost what little approval he had had originally from the chiefs (Apter: 1963: 115-116). While the media believed that Nkrumah was a self-serving manipulator of the political system, some believe that his behavior was the effect of the social situation. Botchway believes that the behavior of Nkrumah was a manifestation of confusion and ambiguity in status/role definitions of his position, along with a clash between traditional and modern ideals and groups (1972: 80). As suggested by Bush and London, the conflict of his status/position was evident in his dress of 1960-1965. Lacouture notes that Nkrumah wore Western dress, Ghanaian wrapper, a loose-fitting pilgrim's smock, and the two types of military tunics (1967: 262), as well as Western dress on occasion. His military dress in the latter periods evoked meaning by and for observers. In wearing the Mao tunic on a trip to China and Russia, in early 1966, Nkrumah could have been signifying his alliance with China, rather than desiring to "strike an accord" between the two, as Thompson describes (1969: 409). Yet his dress nor his credentials with the East were not an obstacle as the media record that Nkrumah was chosen to be a member of a peace team to Vietnam in 1966.

Sending a delegation ahead, Thompson notes that

Nkrumah scheduled an itinerary of a trip for Hanoi and Pe-
king. His ministers urged him "not to go," for there were
rumors of a coup planned by officers. Yet Nkrumah left
February 21, 1966, for Peking--with reports of diplomats
placing bets on the possibility and time of a coup (1969:
412). When Nkrumah arrived in Peking on February 24, he
learned he had been deposed by a joint venture of the mili-
tary and the police. Thus, Nkrumah took refuge in Guinea
until his death of cancer in 1972.

Public photographs of the coup show Ghanaians rejoic-
ing in the streets over Nkrumah's overthrow. Women were seen
carrying off chunks of a demolished statue of Nkruma. McKown
quotes Nkrumah as saying he believed that the photo was pol-
itically posed; the women may have been actually Ghanaian
soldiers in female garb (McKown: 1973: 136).

By 1966 Nkrumah's government had expanded the army
and the police into a powerful group. It was believed that
Nkrumah had improved the efficiency of the armed forces
through better management and better uniforms. McKown re-
ports that the uniforms of the military and the police had
been imported ipso facto from the British--in its entire
tailored form and woolen fabric. The uniforms were not
suitable physiologically to the tropics, causing discomfort
and spells. Thus, Nkrumah maintained the basic uniform, but
changed the material, allowing for physiological and psycho-
logical comfort (1973: 71-72).

The Ghanaian army, which was completely Ghanaians,

consisted of 600 officers and 14,000 men in the ranks

(Dowse: 1969: 163). The police numbering 6,000 in 1960

had grown to include 14,000 members by 1966 (J.M. Lac: 1963).

In the past, Apter notes, the army and police had been kept

at a distance from politics in order to increase their ef-

ficiency. He believes that Nkrumah may have caused his own

downfall by creating and encouraging such a separation of

power, with party regulars on one side and the military on

the other. As Nkrumah rewarded the achievements of the party

regulars over the military, resentment among the military

was strong (1963: 100). Dowse hypothesizes that the army

and police were moved to the coup out of ". . . a combination

of fear and resentment" (1969: 16). He believes that a

crushing blow was dealt to military pride with the creation

and maintenance of the President's own private army, the

President's Own Guard Regiment. Figure 13.3 shows the uni-

forms of the group. To Dowse, the P.O.G.R., "built up by

Nkrumah with Russian help, (was disliked since) it might re-

place regular units of the army in presidential favor" (1969:

16). A. A. Afrifa, one of the military personnel involved in

the coup, states that the maintenance of the army vs. the

P.O.G.R. was a contributing factor in the coup. Afrifa saw

the P.O.G.R. soldier given higher pay, better equipment and

an elaborate costume, while the regular army soldier was in

a "tattered and ragged uniform and sometimes without boots"

(1966: 104). As Afrifa observed the situation as of Decem-

ber, 1965, the condition of the army had deteriorated to a

Figure 3.4

President's Own Guard Regiment
(P.O.G.R.)
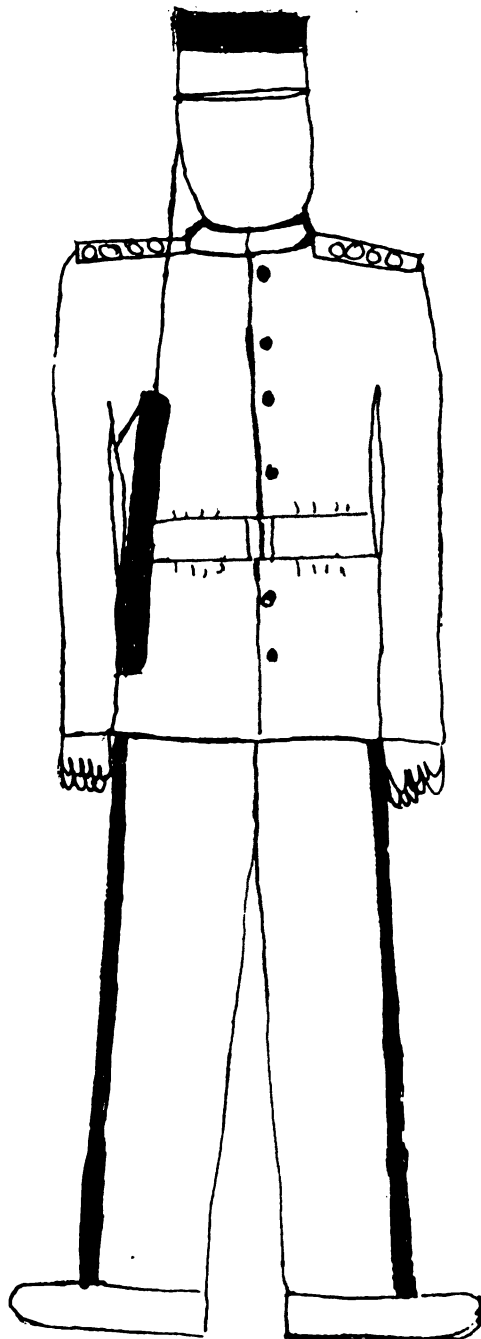
(courtesy of Kathleen M. Corti)

point where ". . . a number of our troops were without equip-
ment and clothing, things essential for the pride of the
army . . ." (1966: 103).

Dowse (1969) says another reason for resentment of
Nkrumah by the military was Nkrumah's "meddling" in its in-
ternal affairs, in particular the Congo and Rhodesian crises.
A. A. Afrifa supports such a hypothesis in his autobiography.
According to him, Nrkumah's proposal that the Ghanaian army
be sent on a mission to Rhodesia without consultation with
the military caused an even lower dip in Nkrumah's popularity.
The final turning point for the army, he claims, was the dis-
missal by Nkrumah of two "respected" generals, Ankrah and
Otu (1966: 101). Justified by a need to liberate the coun-
try from tyranny and economic mismanagement, the military
planned the defeat of Nkrumah with the cooperation of the
police.

The media records that the new government was formed
with the title of National Liberation Council. The main body
of the Council consisted of seven men, reports Ghana Today.
Headed by the formerly deposed Lt. General Ankrah as Chair-
man, the Council included three soldiers (Kotoka, Ocran and
Afrifa) and three policemen (Harlley, Yakubo, Nunoo). As
the Council had an uneven balance of soldiers another member
of the police force was later added. It was generally be-
lieved that the council saw themselves as a temporary, in-
terim government until the people selected a civilian govern-
ment (Austin and Luckham: 1975: 62). The N.L.C. outlined

a plan toward this end.

However Austin and Luckham note the similarity in
policies between the former colonial and the new military
government:

> (There was) support for policies at the centre
> in favor of administration and administrators, with
> rule at the local level by a combination of chiefs
> and centrally appointed advisors with government
> rule through consultation with various selection
> groups. (1975:   22)

However, they note that the social stratification of the
country was changing in comparison with colonial days.   In
the past the society appeared to be a pyramid--with a small
number of elite at the tip and farmers and the poor at the
bottom.   Between 1960-1969 there was a steady growth of
secondary and university educated persons in Ghana, especial-
ly lawyers (sixty in 1948 and 600 in 1969) to whom the N.L.C.
appealed.   These elite formed the newly created Committee
for the construction of a new civilian government.   The
image of the elite was reinforced by the Chairman, Akufo-
addo.   A former U.G.C.C. member, he appeared ". . . with a
red rese in his buttonhole, a cigar at his fingertips,
dressed in a black coat and pinstripe trousers with Edward-
ian sideburns and a liking for champagne" (Austin and Luck-
ham: 1975:   67).

The new Committee advocated new offices and bills to
prevent a repeat of the abuse of political power, as for-
bidding the levying of taxes and the raising of armed forces
without the authority of Parliament (Austin and Luckham:
1975:   77).   The results of the Committee were published

January, 1968, along with a decree for appointment of an election on April 3. The draft of the new constitution was forwarded to the Constituent Assembly, a newly constructed office of elites also (Austin and Luckham: 1975: 91).

While the committees drafted new legislation, the N.L.C. attempted to alleviate the insolvency of Ghana. They appointed a civil National Economic Commission which appealed and received from the I.M.F. aid in international debts (Austin and Luckham: 1975: 95). With the creation of the West African Common Market in 1967, Ghana joined to reap the benefits in customs and trade (Statesmen Yearbook: 360). Domestically, cocoa, timber and mining exports increased (Austin and Luckham: 1975: 45) to improve the economic situation. In the fiscal policies, one author reports a four-million pound increase of military expenditures the first year of the new government. Such an increase was contributed to promotions of military personnel, as well as the purchase of new military accoutrements (McKown: 1966: 156).

In domestic policies, the Council attempted to eliminate foreign technical and business interests through the expulsion of the Eastern technicians and the passage of the Ghanaian Enterprise Degree (1968) (Thompson: 1969), placing business in Ghanaian hands.

The new government also promoted the ideals of Western beauty upon the Ghanaian ideals of beauty as can be seen:

> The term "black" was in general disrepute.
> Nkrumah's Black Star Shipping Line now became the
> State Shipping Line. Billboards advertising a
> bleach with the slogan "Be Beautiful by Being
> Light-Skinned." Straight-haired wigs were fashion-
> able. (McKown: 1966: 159)

While the N.E.C. was managing the domestic and fiscal

affairs, the N.L.C. was trying to maintain political con-

trol of striking workers and its own internal problems.

With an abortive countercoup by a Ghanaian soldier, the

N.L.C. had an internal "housecleaning." It was evident to

Austin and Luckham that there were serious divisions within

the N.L.C. as the police (as Harlley) and the military (as

Afrifa and Deku) foresaw the state and their power different-

ly (1975: 30).

The final blow to the unity of the N.L.C. was the

enforced resignation of the Chairman, Ankruah, in April,

1969, on subversion and bribery charges. Whether or not the

charges were true, one soldier was replaced with another as

Afrifa took Ankruah's position as Chairman of the N.L.C.

(Austin and Luckham: 1975: 31). While the government was

racked with problems, the Assembly considered the proposals

of the new consititution proposed by the Commission. As a

political unit, the Assembly gave approval to the basic

structure of the Commission's proposals and the various

bodies advocated by the Commission.

The Assembly approved measures to safeguard national

power by denying Parliament the right to establish a law

for a one-party state, as Nkrumah had done. At the local

level, the chiefs lobbied and received a Regional and

National House of Chiefs from the Assembly. As the N.L.C. had banned all political parties until the election (seeing no need for them), thus the Assembly was not blatantly used as a political forum for aspiring political leaders (Austin and Luckham: 1975: 130).

After many months, Austin and Luckham note, the Constitution was approved by the Constituent Assembly and Electoral Commission, giving everyone over the age of twenty-one the right to vote. The ban on political parties was lifted, freeing the way for a democratic election. The N.L.C. oversaw the election, taking care that the election had no resemblance to past regimes. For example, a decree was passed with stipulations on the parties. "Parties were forbidden to use identifying symbols or names which resembled those of a previous registered party" (1975: 141); as a result, the People's Popular Party was banned for its obvious resemblance in name to the C.P.P. "Parties also were not allowed to use 'flags, standards, banners or ensigns,' the use of such devices in the past having been a futile source of tumult" (1975: 141). With the enforcement of these rules, it may be thought that the N.L.C. could control political images and potential leadership.

By election time, Austin and Luckham observed, there were a select five parties on the ballot out of a possible twenty who had applied. The two most important parties were the Progress Party (P.P.) headed by the former opposition leader, Dr. Kofi Busia, and the National African League (N.A.L.)

headed by Gbedemah, a former C.P.P. minister. While their party platforms were similar their slogans and alloted symbols varied (1975: 141).

Each party had equally dramatic symbols. The Progress Party had a "red sun rising from black clouds on a white background," a symbol of a better world coming. Their slogan was "Progress in Unity, Liberty and Justice." The N.A.L. adopted a "full morning sun with nine jagged rays in red over a gold background," representing the birth of a new era. Their slogan was "With humility and loyalty we serve our nation." Interesting enough, still another·party, which did not win the election, proposed the slogan "One country, one people, one nation." This slogan today is a highly prominent sight throughout present-day Ghana rather than either of the former two slogans (1975: 130).

Each party rallied for its cause as the election commission regulating election registration. However, difficulties were encountered in the urban areas. "Attempts were made to buy and sell the forms and . . . a number of those under 21 tried to register by all kinds of devices, using lipstick, wigs and makeup to look older," so reports Austin and Luckham (1975: 127). As planned the election took place in August with no military or police evident. Since there were far too many polling places to allow proper security, "regular patrols" were taken with the military and police on standby (1975: 135).

Election results showed that 63.5% of those registered

voted, with a victory for the Progress Party and Busia.
While most authorities judged both Busia and his main op-
ponent, Gbedemah, as equally competent, Austin and Luckham
believe that each had control of different political tools.
As head of a select commission in the Constituent Assembly,
Busia used his weekly meeting for debate to advantage in
forming a nucleus for a political party. In addition, Busia
had grassroots support from the Sekondi-Takoradi workers,
after conducting a sociological survey team there previously.
Busia's former opposition to Nkrumah had been a vehicle for
his exposure and now was a positive tool to use for the new
political office. Austin and Luckham believed that Busia's
image as an educated man (seen in his Western suit and eye-
glasses), nicknamed "The Prof," caused him to be "looked upon
in the image of a (new) prophet . . . (The) constant refrain
. . . was : Busia said so and so . . ., let us give him a
chance" (Austin and Luckham: 1975: 8).

On the other hand, Gbedemah was too closely identified
with Nkrumah and the C.P.P. As a former minister of Nkrumah,
Gbedemah could not escape his image although he had left the
C.P.P. and Ghana in 1961. In addition, the disturbances over
his validity as a political candidate may have caused a shift
in political votes to Busia (1975: 147).

As the new president of the second Republic, Busia
formed his new government using former anti-Nkrumah men as
his ministers, with Gbedemah becoming the head of the op-
position party in the cabinet. Busia attempted to bring

direction to the country, but his government was soon troubled by economic mismanagement and corruption. By 1972, the military intervened again to change the government and Busia was deposed.

To many, military government appears to be a way of life now to the Ghanaians. Austin wondered about the average Ghanaian's reaction to the radical changes in leadership. From the political scientist's viewpoint, the average Ghanaian lived on the hope of each election.

> What mattered, therefore, was to survive each castle revolution. The ordinary elector waited hopefully, while those who claimed to act for him, when their time came around, did what they could to capitalize on the resources which they could offer to the new rulers. (Austin and Luckham: 1975: 6)

Summary

Political leadership is often fragile in any country and is dependent on intervening variables of culture, economy, personal habits, motivations, and international perceptions. Ghana has had a wide variety of national and local leaders, from traditional chiefs, to colonial governors, to a "personality," and ultimately the armed forces. Dress, a tool for the regulation of political power, has been used in Ghana since the 1400's.

During pre-colonial times, 1400-1892, the merchants and the Ghanaians used both the sale and purchase of cloth, and firearms, for barter and physical control. Certain Ghanaians became middlemen in the sale of cloth and other goods,

adopting for themselves the European clothing of their trad-
ers. The adoption of the clothing served not only as a tool
to facilitate interaction with the Europeans, but as a
status symbol and sign of power among their own people. Euro-
pean missionaries who came with the traders preached the
virtues of being clothed. The missionaries' attempts to
wield their religions' influence in social and political
spheres to make social changes in the dress and life-styles
of the Ghanaians but were only able to do so gradually. How-
ever, by the colonial period, dress was strongly linked with
politics.

When the British became the final owners of Ghana, it
was their influence which determined urban life-style and
dress. The British maintained political power by the utili-
zation of their own political system and symbols. Photo-
graphs of appointed governor-generals show them clothed in
British military uniforms, often the summer outfits of
cotton khaki cloth. There governors also attired their
agents, the military and the police, in woolen uniforms of
the British armed forces. However, local leaders maintained
their traditional, loose-fitting wraparound dress. Clearly,
costume indicated distinctions in political status.

Acceptance and gradual assimilation of the British did
not deter the rise of Ghanaian leaders and political parties.
By 1947, Kwame Nkrumah, a Ghanaian educated in the U. S. and
England, and highly conscious of the interaction of politics
and dress, returned to Ghana. He adopted many symbols to

identify himself as a freedom fighter in his drive for an independent Ghana. As Ghana's first prime minister and president, he attempted to unite the country, and was seen in the dress of different regions, from the Northern Territories' striped tunic to the Asante kente wrapper. Officially, when in power, Nkrumah replaced the woolen fabrics of military uniforms and banned certain types of dress, such as wigs. Personally, Nkrumah, illustrating his own political ideology, adopted the Nehru and Mao tunic.

After Nkrumah, there was a psychological and visual adjustment as the enforcing agents of government, the military and the police, became the new national leaders. While Nkrumah encouraged traditional kente dress as national symbol, the armed forces which deposed him promoted western identification by use of western uniforms. By the time that elections were held for a new civilian leader, a strong western influence prevailed; various devices, western in origin (lipstick and wigs), became a means of obtaining voting privileges. Dr. Busia perhaps personified western influence in background and appearance. Nicknamed "The Prof," his uniform was a business suit and eyeglasses.

Superficially, to an outsider, these symbols of dress appeared to represent Ghana and variations in its political leadership. Thus each person used the political office and its symbols to maintain political control to his advantage. (It may be hypothesized and inferred from the political history that dress was of primary importance for the maintenance

of status and behavior and interaction in political roles.)
The next chapter will treat the methodology of the study.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this study is as follows: (1)
selection of procedure, (2) selection of country and years,
(3) sample selection, (4) selection of sources, (5) develop-
ment of instrument, (6) data collection, and (7) method of
analysis.

I. Selection of Procedure

Since dress is a non-verbal mode of communication,
content analysis, a research method used in communication,
was selected for use in the study.

Content analysis is defined by Budd, Thorpe and Dono-
hew as:

> . . . any technique for making inferences by
> objectively and systematically identifying spe-
> cific characteristics of messages . . . it is in-
> tended for anyone who wished to put questions to
> communication (pictorial and musical, as well as
> oral and written) to get data that will enable him
> to reach certain conclusions. (1975: 26)

Berelson and Lazarsfeld, the founders of the methodo-
logy of content analysis, define content analysis as "a
research technique for the objective, systematic and quanta-
tive description of the manifest content of communication"
(1948: 6). In defining content analysis, Berelson and

Lazarsfeld identified three types of content analysis test-
ing: (1) precondition, (2) content, or (3) effects of
communication.

Given the limitations of the primary sources and the
objectives of this study, an orientation toward the content
of a medium was chosen as the best procedure for use in the
study.

II. Selection of Country and Years

Ghana was selected for use in the study because the
country's rapid change in political status between 1957-1969
provided a basis for testing the hypothesis between political
status and dress.

Particular years were singled out not only for draw-
ing historical comparative analyses of political dress but
also to narrow the sample size for manageability in time and
number. Three significant years, 1957, 1966, 1969, pivotal
points in Ghanaian history, became the focus of attention for
the study. 1957 was the year of Ghanaian independence from
British colonialism. The year was chosen to study the dress
and determine the possible effects, short- and long-term, of
the political leadership of one man, Nkrumah, on the local
and national leaders. As part of a time-study on dress, 1957
also provided a baseline of internal control against which
to judge any change in dress over the next two periods. 1966
was the second year of importance to historians, for that
year saw the downfall of Nkrumah and the rise of a military
government. The year was chosen to yield data on the change

of dress among the political leadership since 1957. 1966 was
also studied to see what effect, if any, the leadership of
the military had on the dress of local political leaders.
The last date of importance historically was 1969, when the
military government stepped down to a civilian government
headed by Dr. Busia. 1969 was used to determine not only any
present effect of civilian government dress on the political
leaders but also to study any possible long-term effects from
previous political leaders.

III. <u>Sample Selection</u>

The most visible, viable and available source of in-
formation on Ghanaian male political leaders for 1957, 1966,
1969 were the photographs of newspapers and magazines. Clar-
ity in the photographs sought was a necessary criteria for
selection of the photos since the investigator desired infor-
mation on <u>all</u> dress items.

Periodicals were checked for possible use of photo-
graphs. While current statistics list five daily, seven
weekly, eight fortnightly and five monthly newspapers, only
certain editions were available to the investigator through
the Michigan State University Library through inter-library
loan service. A survey of accessible Ghanaian periodicals
revealed four sources for photos: three newspapers (<u>The
Ghanaian Times</u>, <u>The Daily Graphics</u>, and the <u>Evening News</u>)
and one magazine (<u>Ghana Today</u>), all printed in black and
white.

Each newspaper and magazine was studied as a possibility, according to the criteria of clarity of photos, inclusion of all types of Ghanaian male political leaders in full-figures, and availability of issues of the total years 1957, 1966, 1969. The Ghanaian Times was discarded because it began publication one year too late (1958) for use in this study. The Evening News was eliminated since it contained too few full-length photos. The periodical, Ghana Today, offered promise because its numerous photos had great clarity, and showed examples of political leaders at both national and local status. In addition, its bi-weekly publication was an asset for the management of a research project in terms of sampling and time. However, Ghana Today ceased operation in March, 1969, after only four issues for that year. Therefore the magazine was discarded since it would not provide data for the total year 1969. Instead The Daily Graphics was selected as the newspaper medium for use in the study. Available to the investigator on microfilm, The Daily Graphics proved to meet the previous established criteria. The newspaper was available for use in the years 1957, 1966, 1969, having begun operation in 1952 and still presently operatihg. The newspaper offered full-figured photos and a good representation of Ghanaian male political leaders at both national and local levels, identified by political positions. The Daily Graphics was published Monday through Saturday with a Sunday edition called the Sunday Mirror, which produced a vast number of issues for use. The

Sunday Mirror proved invalid for use in data collection of political leaders because it contained mostly social news of weddings, beauty care, entertainment and sports. However, the weekday editions of The Daily Graphics devoted two full middle pages to full-figured photos of national and local political leaders. The variety of photos and political leaders seemed concentrated on Monday and Tuesday. Monday and the middle two pages of The Daily Graphics were arbitrarily chosen for use in the study, supplemented by the front page.

V. Development of Instrument

The instrument for data collection was adopted from Wass' case study of Yoruba dress (1975: Appendix B). The instrument served in her study as a checklist of photographs to name the person and identify dress items, their use and meaning by culture, aesthetics and occasion. The investigator adopted the checklist format, naming the person, identifying dress item, using Wass classification of cultural meaning: traditional, western and universal (1975: 98). Since the investigator was not dealing with aesthetics or occasions, these categories were deleted from the instrument and the variables political status and position were substituted. The new instrument was to record the date, page and year of the figure (to distinguish between years), the name of the leader, his status (national or local), and his position: president, chairman, prime minister, minister, diplomat, paramount chief, subchief, and regional commissioner

(Appendix A).

Dress items were further classified according to form: reconstructed, enclosed, attached (Roach and Eicher: 1975: 81-92), to determine what function form played on the meaning of dress items within Ghana.

The instrument was used initially for data collection but revised shortly thereafter to allow for collection of more information. The political positions were expanded since they were not proving to be complete. To both national and local status were added a new political position, the Other, which now included national political positions such as chief justice, speaker of the house, and local political positions such as the union president. The forms of dress originally included three major types of dress as defined by Roach and Eicher: reconstructed, enclosed and attached (1973: 81-92). However, these three major types of dress did not allow classification for such items as a briefcase, umbrella or any other accessories that did not fit into the three previous categories. Thus a fourth category, called accessory, was added to dress to permit the inclusion of these accessories, "as carried by or for the self" (Eicher: 1977). The forms of dress now include four major types: reconstructed, enclosed, attached and accessory (Eicher: 1977). With the revised instrument, data collection was re-initiated (Appendix A).

VI. Data Collection

Data collection was completed by the investigator in
the fall of 1976, using microfilm of The Daily Graphics for
1957, 1966, 1969, available through inter-library loan of
Michigan State University. The data on political figures and
their dress seen in the photographs of The Daily Graphics
were tabulated by hand on the instrument. Indicators of the
status and positions of the political figures were obtained
from sentence descriptions and name recognition of The Daily
Graphics. Names, forms and meanings of dress items were
collected from basic identification of items (Appendix B)
with reference to constructed tables of Ghanaian dress items
by form and meaning (Appendix C).

As data collection was undertaken, the photos present-
ed some problems inherent in the medium of photography itself.
All political figures were not shown full-figured in all
photos in The Daily Graphics; other political leaders were
pictured sideways which did not allow for accurate data col-
lection. Some leaders were automatically eliminated since
the newspaper failed to identify them by name or position.

The information drawn from these instruments was
coded and punched on computer cards for use with SPSS (Stat-
istical Package for the Social Sciences). SPSS gave frequen-
cy tabulations for political status, position, and dress
items according to name, identity and form. While it also
ran cross-tabulations of political positions by names of
dress items, it was unable because of constraints of money

and computer time to run cross-tabulations of political position by dress items according to form and identity. The investigator completed these tabulations by hand.

VII. Method of Analysis

To determine the relationship between political status/role, titles and dress items by name, form and identity, it was the intention of the researcher to use the chi-square test of significance. However, difficulties with the computer for a complete analysis of these relationships along with the nature of the data and the study made such possibilities unfeasible. Therefore, a descriptive analysis was made of the study, which follows in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

POLITICAL STATUS/POSITION AND DRESS:
AN ANALYSIS OF DATA

This chapter is concerned with the relationship
between political status/position and dress. The first sec-
tion of the chapter describes the system of data analysis;
the second, political position, meaning of dress, and its
pattern of usage; and the third section, the forms of dress
of Ghanaian political positions. Findings were presented
descriptively to show similarities and differences of dress
among political positions.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was completed by drawing frequency tabu-
lations by computer (SPSS) on each political position and
dress item to gain a basic understanding of our sample. These
dress items were then placed with particular political posi-
tion by year and tabulated by computer to determine any
difference between dress of a political position within a
year and between years. Each item within a political posi-
tion was labeled with a form and an identity, which was hand-
tabulated. The labeling of the item allowed the investigator
to observe similarities and differences in form and meaning

of the dress of particular political positions.

Political Position

The collected data yielded 352 political figures with 1,656 visible dress items. Across the years, 1957 appears to have the largest sampling of figures, with 1969 the smallest, which may indicate a political influence on the media itself. Of the total sample across the years, the appointed agents of the national government, the civil ministers, were the most frequently observed. Table 5.1 indicates that the civil ministers comprised 30% of the total sample, with a range of 29-45% across the years. The frequent observance of them and their dress may have a possible influence on the dress of their viewers.

While the ministers of state were most predominant totally, certain national leaders were absent or present in certain years than in others. The 1957 prime minister and the 1969 chairman received coverage because they were the national heads of state during these periods. Other national leaders, as diplomats, whose dress would have been of interest to see any cross-cultural differences, yielded only 3% of the sample.

At the local status level, the paramount chiefs were most frequent, providing about 15% of total general sample but 50% of the total local sample, with ranges of 45-55% across the years. With such a high print media occurrence of traditional leaders, it appears the print media still

TABLE 5.1

*GHANAIAN POLITICAL STATUS/POSITION OF
SELECTED POLITICAL FIGURES IN
THE DAILY GRAPHICS
1957, 1966, 1969

Status/Position	N	%	1957 N	%	1966 N	%	1969 N	%
	(352)	(100)	(142)	(40)	(97)	(28)	(113)	(32)
National								
President	6	(2)	0		6		0	
Chairman	38	(11)	19		19		0	
Prime Minister	28	(8)	7		0		21	
Min. of State	106	(30)	45		29		32	
Diplomat	12	(3)	2		7		3	
Other	57	(16)	24		3		30	
Total	247	(70)	97		64		88	
Local								
Paramount Chief	52	(15)	23		15		14	
Subchief	3	(3)	3		0		0	
Regional Comm.	29	(8)	15		8		6	
Other	21	(6)	4		10		7	
Total	105	(30)	45		33		27	

*Selection of photographs limited to Monday issues, pages 1
and middle 2. Selection of figures in photographs based on
criteria of clarity of photographs (for later tabulation of
total dress items) and types of political positions.

consider local status/positions important. The political position of Other, added later, accommodated 22% of the total sample, although the political positions found within this category were not of primary interest to the study.

The frequency of political positions was drawn mainly to determine which political positions would influence the total frequency of dress items. The next section treats the frequency of these items.

Patterns of Usage and Meaning of Dress

The frequency tabulations of each dress were taken in general and by year (see Appendix A). The selected photographs of The Daily Graphics showed the items of jacket, shirt, necktie, and trousers were most common among the civilian leaders in 1957 and the military in 1966. These dress items were further classified according to Wass categories: western, traditional, and universal (Appendix B). Table 5.2 showed that, among all the political positions, items of western meaning were found by mathematical frequency in nearly a 13/1 ratio to traditional or universal items. By year, the western items provided a range of 82-84%. Although the western items were heavy in use, the items with traditional meaning did not drop in use but remained nearly constant for the three years (from 8% in 1957 to 6% in 1969). However, the universal items showed a gradual incline, which seems to be attributed to usage of bracelets, necklace, crown, usually worn by the local chiefs (Table 5.3). It appears

TABLE 5.2

*MEANING OF GHANAIAN DRESS ITEMS ACCORDING TO POLITICAL
STATUS/POSITIONS OF SELECTED FIGURES IN
THE DAILY GRAPHICS
1957, 1966, 1969

	Year					
Meaning	1957		1966		1969	Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Traditional	38	(8)	32	(7)	44	(6)	114
Western	424	(84)	369	(83)	582	(82)	1,375
Universal	40	(8)	45	(10)	82	(12)	167

*Classification of items by meaning derived from Wass (1975:
98). Selection of photographs limited to Mondays, pages 1
and the middle 2. Selection of figures in photographs based
on criteria of clarity of photographs for later tabulation
of total dress items and types of political positions.

TABLE 5.3

*GHANAIAN DRESS ITEM AND MEANING ACCORDING TO POLITICAL STATUS OF SELECTED POLITICAL FIGURES IN THE DAILY GRAPHICS, 1957, 1966, 1969

FREQUENCY OF GHANAIAN DRESS ITEMS BY MEANING

POLITICAL STATUS	N	TRADITIONAL	N	WESTERN	N	UNIVERSAL
A. NATIONAL						
a. Garment	15	Buba	10	Black tie	3	Tunic
	8	Fugu	12	Bush jacket		
	14	Kente	1	Chesterfield		
	6	Wrapper	9	Eisenhower shirt		
			114	Jacket		
			15	Jacket, military		
			30	Jacket, mil. dress		
			4	Mao tunic		
			146	Shirt		
			4	Shirt, military		
			9	Shorts		
			195	Trousers		
			1	T-shirt		
			10	Vest		
b. Accompanying item	4	Sandals	30	Belt, Sam Browne	15	Belt
			6	Boutonniere	2	Bracelet
			1	Bowler	7	Cap
			1	Bowtie	16	Hat
			7	Braid	9	Ring
			42	Braid, military	4	Stole
			3	Briefcase	1	Umbrella
			15	Cane		
			1	Cufflinks		
			80	Eyeglasses		
			2	Golf club		

TABLE 5.3 - Continued

FREQUENCY OF GHANAIAN DRESS ITEMS BY MEANING

POLITICAL STATUS	N	TRADITIONAL	N	WESTERN	N	UNIVERSAL
A. NATIONAL						
b. Accompanying item (cont'd.)			5	Glove		
			1	Hair reconst.		
			38	Handkerchief		
			54	Hat, military		
			13	Medal		
			6	Mustache		
			137	Necktie		
			7	Saber		
			3	Sabercase		
			57	Shoes		
			7	Socks		
			20	Sunglasses		
			2	Tieclip		
			30	Watch		
			1	Wig		
TOTAL	47	(4)	1130	(91)	57	(5)
B. LOCAL						
a. Garment	5	Adinkra	1	Black tie		
	1	Batakari	5	Bush jacket		
	2	Buba	2	Eisenhower shirt		
	3	Fugu	24	Jacket		
	5	Kente	5	Jacket, military		
	37	Wrapper				
b. Accompanying item	5	Armlet	9	Belt, Sam Browne	5	Amulet
	5	Sandals	1	Boutonniere	3	Belt

TABLE 5.3 - Continued

FREQUENCY OF GHANAIAN DRESS ITEMS BY MEANING

POLITICAL STATUS	N	TRADITIONAL	N	WESTERN	N	UNIVERSAL
B. LOCAL						
b. Accompanying item (cont'd.)	4	Sword	4	Braid, military	27	Bracelet
			8	Cane	5	Cap
			9	Eyeglasses	1	Choker
			1	Golf club	26	Crown
			8	Handkerchief	6	Hat
			9	Hat, military	23	Necklace
			2	Homberg	6	Ring
			1	Medal	3	Stole
			27	Necktie	4	Umbrella
			1	Saber		
			1	Sabercase		
			34	Shirt		
			19	Shoes		
			3	Shorts		
			4	Socks		
			4	Sunglasses		
			1	Tieclip		
			17	Watch		
TOTAL	67 (16)		245 (58)		110 (26)	

*Categories of meaning derived from Wass (1975: 98). Where applicable, certain dress items classified as defined by Wass. Other items classified by investigator.

that the meaning of an item changes with its usage; the gradual increase of universal items as bracelets and stoles when used by local chiefs may actually represent an increase in traditional items.

Counting the total frequency of all dress items by political status and meaning, it appeared that the national status/positions led the high incidence of Western items, as jackets, shirts, trousers, eyeglasses, neckties and shoes, in a ratio of 24/1 over traditional or universal items (Table 5.3). The local political positions exhibited 58% of their items as Western but in a ratio of only 1/12 of the total usage of Western items by the national positions. There was a definite contrast in the pattern of usage of items of traditional meaning between the national and local status positions: 4 to 16% respectively with traditional items as bubas and wrappers of adinkra, kente cloth. Thus it appeared that much of the items were used by national status/positions probably because of their large occurrence in the sample. With their dress Western in meaning, the items of traditional meaning were confined to local leaders. Tabulating the total frequency of items of universal meaning at each status, the local status/positions outweighed the national in a 2/1 ratio.

The frequency of dress items by meaning was further classified by political position and year (see Appendix E, Tables 5.11-5.13). During 1957-1969, the civil minister accounted for the majority of Western items (12-22%) by

national status/positions. However, in 1966 the incidence of
Western items used by the National Chairman Ankrah came
close in frequency to the ministers of state (105 to 137)
(see Appendix D, Table 5.13). Such a finding may be indica-
tive of two causes: first, there may have been an armed
forces influence on the newspaper media which produced a
large number of photos from which to draw data. More import-
antly, evidence of his Western dress reinforces the emphasis
on Western ideals of beauty seen in political history.

At the local status/positions, the paramount chiefs
used the highest proportion of items of traditional meaning,
accounting for a range of 30-35% of each year's sample. The
ratio of items of traditional meaning by paramount chiefs
to national status/positions were in a range of 4/1 to 6/1.
However, in 1957, the use of items, traditional in meaning
by the national prime minister, Nkrumah, nearly equaled in
number the traditional items of the paramount chief. Thus
the data seems to verify journalists' accounts of Nkrumah's
heavy use of traditional items in that year.

The liaison person between these two groups, the
regional commissioner, most often adopted the Western dress
(see Appendix E, Tables 5.11-5.13, Political Position B3).
Although they were residing in and representing a local re-
gion, their primary function was as an agent of the national
government and these individuals in the sample, wore Western
dress which was reflected by the regional commissioners. The
next section will analyze the similarities and differences

in form by the status/positions.

Form of Dress of Ghanaian Political Positions

Four major dress forms were used for analysis of the data, enclosed, attached, reconstructed (Roach and Eicher: 1973) and accessory (Eicher: 1977). Enclosed was subdivided into three classifications: enclosed fitted, enclosed sus- pended, enclosed wraparound (Roach and Eicher: 1973). Each item was classified into these forms, then tabulated by year initially. The data showed the enclosed fitted yielded 79% of the total sample, with a range of 28-41% across the years (Table 5.4). In observing that types of items within this form are clearly Western (see Appendix E, Tables 5.11-5.13), which was the most frequent identity of items of the sample, enclosed fitted appears related to items of Western meaning. The enclosed suspended yielded 8% of the total sample with a wide range of 22-56% of the total sample for each year. In 1969, enclosed suspended represented 56% of the sample be- cause of the high incidence at the national level of eye- glasses and sunglasses (Appendix E, Table 5.13). In other classes, the accessory, a category added later, was found slightly more often than the enclosed wraparound or attached form, 6% vs. 5% and 3% respectively (Table 5.4). The ac- cessories were highest in 1969 because of the use of Western items as canes and handkerchiefs at both local and national status/positions (Appendix 3, Table 5.13) and the large number of items found for 1969 (n = 708). The attached and

TABLE 5.4

FORMS OF GHANAIAN DRESS FROM SELECTED
POLITICAL FIGURES IN
THE DAILY GRAPHICS,
1957, 1966, 1969

	Year			
*Dress Form	1957	1966	1969	Total
	N %	N %	N %	N %
Accessory	34 (35)	22 (23)	40 (42)	96 (6)
Attached	5 (16)	10 (31)	17 (53)	32 (2)
Enclosed Fitted	406 (31)	362 (28)	537 (41)	1,305 (79)
Enclosed Suspended	31 (22)	31 (22)	79 (56)	141 (8)
Enclosed Wraparound	25 (34)	17 (23)	32 (43)	74 (5)
Reconstructed	1 (12)	4 (40)	3 (38)	8 (0)
	502 100%	446 100%	708 100%	1,656 100%

*Classification of dress forms, attached, reconstructed and
enclosed adopted from Roach and Eicher's The Visible Self:
Perspectives on Dress (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973)
pp. 81-92. Accessory category provided and defined by
Eicher (1977: interview).

reconstructed categories were small in general (2 and 0%) yet were most frequent in 1966 and 1969 (38 and 40% of sample). In 1966 the attached form is related mainly to usage of cufflinks and medals and braids, by national status/positions. The attached forms can be traced in 1969 national status/positions (Table 5.5-5.6), where the military government of the titles used medals as designation of their status (Appendix E, Table 5.13).

By political position it was seen that the national status/positions provided highest usage of enclosed fitted forms in a range of 21-32% for each year (Tables 5.5-5.6). In general the civil ministers, who represented the largest number of figures seen for the sample, provided these forms (Table 5.6). The enclosed forms for these ministers were shirts, jackets, trousers, shoes which were Western in meaning (Appendix E, tables 5.11-5.13). The enclosed wraparound, representing 8% of sample items, was generated by 68% of the local leaders (Table 5.5), in a range of 15-35% per year (Table 5.6). While it appears that in 1966 and 1969 the usage of the enclosed form was stronger at local status/position than national by usage (18/5 and 35/8 forms respectively), in 1957, the reverse is true (Appendix E, Tables 5.11-5.13) in 1957. The national status/position usage of enclosed wraparound slightly outweighs the local usage (19/15%).

Table 5.8 indicates for 1957 that the national status/positions had about an equal distribution of wraparound forms, with the prime minister, Nkrumah, leading the class. As

TABLE 5.5

GHANAIAN DRESS FORMS ACCORDING TO STATUS

Dress Form (n=1656)		National		Local	
		N	%	N	%
Enclosed Fitted	(n=1305)	1005	(77)	300	(23)
Enclosed Wraparound	(n=74)	24	(32)	50	(68)
Enclosed Suspended	(n=141)	100	(71)	41	(29)
Accessory	(n=96)	69	(72)	27	(28)
Attached	(n=32)	29	(91)	3	(9)
Reconstructed	(n=8)	7	(88)	1	(12)

*Classification for enclosed, reconstructed and attached adopted from Roach and Eicher (1973: 81-92). Accessory category provided and defined by Eicher (1977: interview).

TABLE 5.6

GHANAIAN DRESS FORMS ACCORDING TO POLITICAL STATUS
OF SELECTED FIGURES IN THE DAILY GRAPHICS,
1957, 1966, 1969

POLITICAL STATUS

DRESS	1957				1966				1969				TOTAL
	National		Local		National		Local		National		Local		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1. Accessory	25	(26)	9	(9)	17	(18)	5	(5)	27	(28)	13	(14)	96 (100)
2. Attached	3	(10)	2	(6)	9	(28)	1	(3)	17	(53)	0		32 (100)
3. Enclosed Fitted	312	(24)	94	(7)	273	(21)	89	(7)	420	(32)	117	(9)	1305 (100)
4. Enclosed Suspended	21	(15)	10	(7)	26	(18)	5	(4)	53	(38)	26	(18)	141 (100)
5. Enclosed Wraparound	14	(19)	11	(15)	4	(5)	13	(18)	6	(8)	26	(35)	74 (100)
6. Recon- structed	1	(12)	0		4	(50)	0		2	(26)	1	(12)	8 (100)
													1656 (100)

TABLE 5.7

FORMS OF GHANAIAN DRESS ACCORDING TO POLITICAL STATUS/POSITION
OF SELECTED FIGURES IN THE DAILY GRAPHICS
1957, 1966, 1969

POLITICAL STATUS ACCORDING TO POSITION

*FORMS OF GHANAIAN DRESS	NATIONAL						LOCAL				TOTAL
	Prime Minister N (%)	President N (%)	Chairman N (%)	Minister N (%)	Diplomat N (%)	Other N (%)	Paramount Chief N (%)	Subchief N (%)	Regional Comm. N (%)	Other N (%)	N (%)
1. A	9 (10)	2 (2)	12 (12)	29 (30)	4 (4)	13 (14)	12 (12)	3 (3)	8 (9)		96 (6)
2. AT	0	0	8 (25)	14 (44)	0	7 (22)	1 (3)	0	0		32 (2)
3. EF	102 (8)	18 (1)	174 (13)	437 (34)	45 (4)	229 (18)	101 (8)	5 (0)	93 (7)		1305 (79)
4. EW	6 (4)	0	1 (1)	9 (12)	3 (4)	4 (7)	41 (56)	4 (5)	3 (4)	2 0	74 (5)
5. ES	6 (8)	0	26 (18)	42 (30)	7 (5)	19 (13)	28 (20)	0	9 (6)		141 (8)
6. R	0	0	6 (76)	1 (12)	0	0	1 (12)	0	0		8 (0)
TOTAL	123 100	20 100	537 100	22 100	60 100	237 100	184 100	12 100	12 100	12 100	1656

*A-Accessory; AT-Attached; EF-Enclosed Fitted; EW-Enclosed Wraparound; ES-Enclosed Suspended; R-Reconstructed.

TABLE 5.8

FORMS OF GHANAIAN DRESS ACCORDING TO POLITICAL STATUS/POSITIONS
OF SELECTED FIGURES IN THE DAILY GRAPHICS, 1957

POLITICAL STATUS

*FORMS OF GHANAIAN DRESS	NATIONAL				LOCAL			TOTAL	
POSITION	Prime Minister	Minister	Diplomat	Other	Paramount Chief	Regional Comm.	Other		
	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	%
1. Accessory	8	11	1	5	3	3	3	34	(7)
2. Attached	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	5	(1)
3. Enclosed Fitted	72	115	12	113	35	25	34	406	(81)
4. Enclosed Suspended	0	12	1	8	5	3	2	31	(6)
5. Enclosed Wraparound	6	4	0	4	10	0	1	25	(5)
6. Reconstructed	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	(0)
TOTAL	86	146	14	120	53	31	42	502	(100)

*Categories of form (reconstructed, attached, enclosed) adopted from Roach and Eicher's
The Visible Self: Perspectives on Dress. (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973) pp. 81-92.
Category of accessory provided and defined by Eicher (1977: interview).

these enclosed wraparound forms were traditional in meaning, their incidence verifies previous findings in the study. The data analysis of the enclosed wraparound form produced an interesting fact about the type of fabric used in the traditional, wraparound wrapper. The wrapper was found in both hand-made and Ghanaian or imported machine print cloth as used by the local status/positions. However, in 1957, the hand-woven kente wrapper was used mainly by the national leaders as a sign of national identity in a ratio of nearly 4/1 (Table 5.3). In 1966, the ratio of the use of kente by national to local leaders was nearly equal, around 3/2, while in 1969 it was reversed 1/2 (Appendix D, Tables 5.12-1.13).

The other indigenous cloth, the adinkra, appears very infrequently; but it seems to be maintaining status, as it is seen only on paramount chiefs in 1966 and 1969 (Appendix D, Tables 5.12-5.13).

The use of the wrapper in machine-made prints in all three years remained constant, however. In general, it appears that there had been a decline in the use of the kente by both national and local leaders since 1957. Considering the large number of Western fitted items found at the national and local levels, the data seem to support the use of the Western business suit as the new identity of Ghana. In addition, one might question whether the popularity of the kente among tourists, and the ease of replicating the cloth by machine, may not be changing the meaning of status behind the original cloth. The leaders may be abandoning the kente cloth in

favor of other symbols, as accessories or Western dress.

In enclosed suspended form, 71% of the sample was found at the national status/positions (Table 5.9), with a range of 15-38% by year. 1969 contributed the largest percentage because prime minister, chairman and ministers wore eyeglasses and sunglasses (Table 5.6). As the previous chairman, Ankrah, the present prime minister, Busia, and ministers Afrifa and Harlley all were seen in glasses, the glasses may have represented a symbol of their status. As glasses were Western in meaning and expensive, they may have been visible proof of their Western ideals. In addition, the strong incidence of glasses by the ministers (30-41%) may indicate an emulation of the national heads of state, Busia and Ankrah for political purposes.

The next form found in 6% of the items was accessories, represented by mostly Western items as briefcases and canes and handkerchiefs (Table 5.8). The national status/positions provided the majority of the accessories in a nearly 3/1 ratio. However, interestingly enough, the local status/positions were quite strong in usage of accessories in 1969 (14%), with a 2/1 ratio to national status through the use of the canes (Appendix E, Table 5.13). By year 1969 showed the largest number of accessories at national status/positions as canes, handkerchiefs and sabers. Such incidence of Western accessories may be caused by sampling size and the status of the individuals. As Nkrumah, the prime mimister, was seen with his ubiquitous cane and handkerchief in the media of

TABLE 5.9

FORMS OF GHANAIAN DRESS ACCORDING TO POLITICAL STATUS/POSITION
OF SELECTED FIGURES IN THE DAILY GRAPHICS, 1966

GHANAIAN POLITICAL STATUS

POSITION

FORMS OF GHANAIAN DRESS	NATIONAL														LOCAL						TOTAL	
	President		Chairman		Minister		Diplomat		Other		Paramount Chief		Regional Comm.		Other							
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%					N	%
1. Accessory	2		7		4		2		2		2		2		1						22	(5)
2. Attached	0		2		6		0		1		1		0		0						10	(2)
3. Enclosed Fitted	18		86		127		27		15		27		20		42						362	(81)
4. Enclosed Suspended	0		14		7		4		1		12		1		0						31	(7)
5. Enclosed Wraparound	0		0		2		2		0		4		1		0						17	(4)
6. Reconstructed	0		0		3		1		0		0		0		0						4	(1)
TOTAL	20		109		149		36		19		46		24		43						446	(100)

1957, it was clear why 1957 had a large percentage of Western accessories in national status/positions, particularly under prime minister (Appendix D, Table 5.13). 1966, the smallest sample, showed some connection between political status/position and Western accessories: with the usage of 18 Western accessories nationally to 5 Western items locally.

Attached forms, including mainly Western items as cuff-links and medals, were found in general at national status/positions (Table 5.10). By year, 1966 and 1969 clearly had the largest proportion, 28% and 53% respectively. In 1966 the military government became the national rulers of the country and used medals as an indication of their status (Appendix E, 5.13). In 1969, some of the photographs still showed the military and their medals as they watched the change-over to civilian government. However, in 1969, Western attached forms, as boutonnieres, were evident.

The last type, reconstructed, was most often found among the national status/positions, in particular in 1966 and 1969 (Table 5.10). In 1966 and 1969, the same man in different status/positions, A. A. Afrifa, was seen in the Western mustache. Thus it appears that all items of dress, inclusive and exclusive of the body, are related to dress. The next chapter will present a summary and conclusions, limitations and recommendations.

TABLE 5.10

FORMS OF GHANAIAN DRESS ACCORDING TO POLITICAL STATUS/POSITIONS OF SELECTED FIGURES IN THE _DAILY GRAPHICS_, 1969

POLITICAL STATUS ACCORDING TO POSITION

POSITION

FORMS OF GHANAIAN DRESS	NATIONAL										LOCAL								TOTAL	
	Chairman		Prime Minister		Minister		Diplomat		Other		Paramount Chief		Subchief		Regional Comm.		Other			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Accessory	5		1		14		1		6		7		3		3		0		40	(6)
2. Attached	6		0		5		0		6		0		0		0		0		17	(2)
3. Enclosed Fitted	88		30		195		6		101		39		5		56		17		537	(76)
4. Enclosed Suspended	12		6		23		2		10		10		0		5		2		79	(11)
5. Enclosed Wraparound	1		0		3		1		1		19		4		2		1		32	(4)
6. Reconstructed	0		0		2		0		0		1		0		0		0		3	(1)
TOTAL	112		37		242		10		124		85		12		66		20		708	(100)
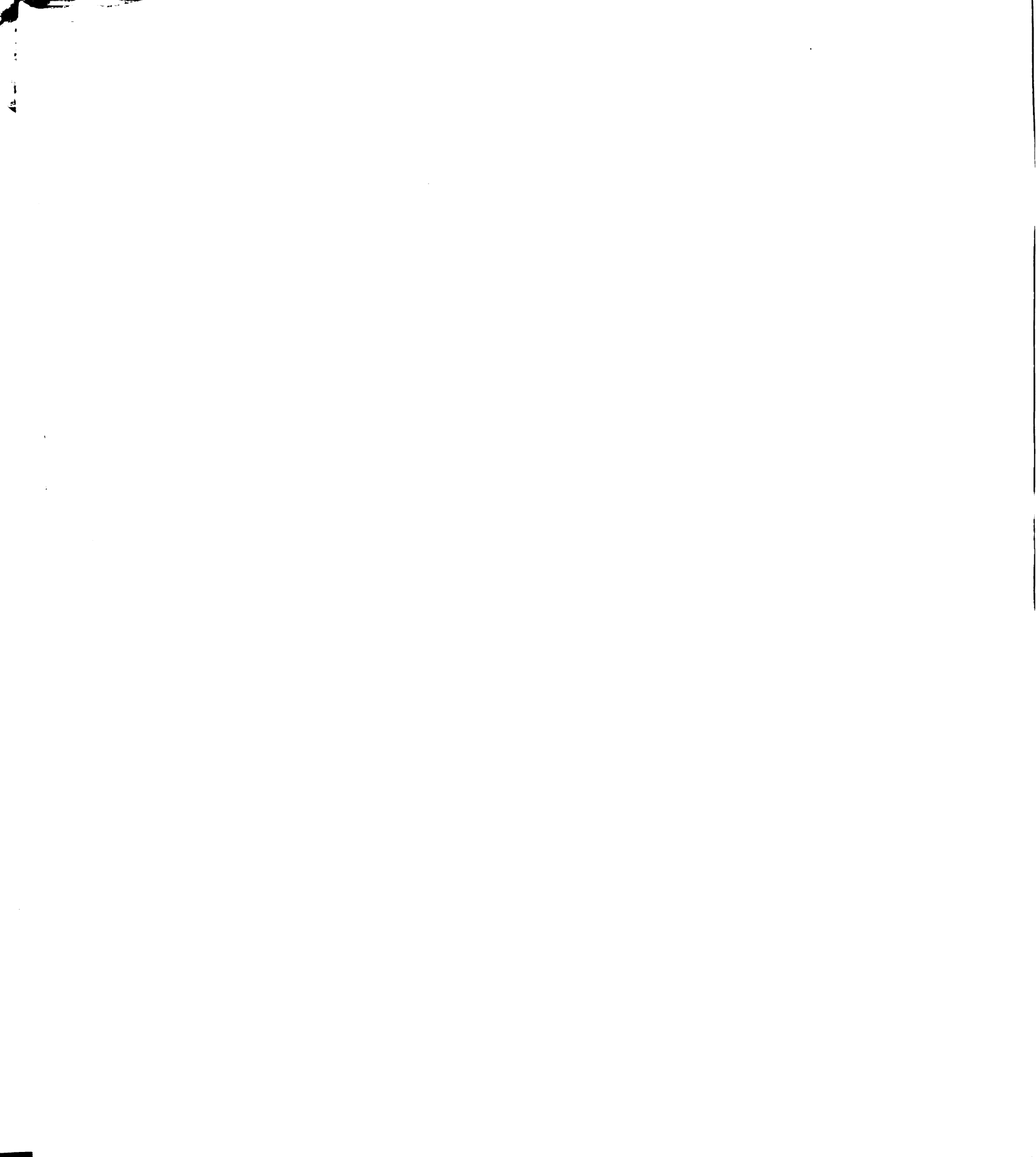
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary and Conclusions

This study was conducted to determine the relationship between dress and political status/position in one African nation, Ghana.

Ghana was selected for study because it has had rapid social and political position changes over the past twenty years against which to judge change. The years 1957, 1966, and 1969 were chosen for use in the study, as they were dates of political change: 1957, the year of independence and a prime minister; 1966, a military government; 1969 a civilian government. The sample desired were political positions of national or local status, designated by political positions such as chairman or paramount chief, in total dress, to obtain accurate tabulation about all dress items used. A content analysis of the political figures within select photographs of a Ghanaian newspaper, The Daily Graphics, for 1957, 1966, 1969, was used to obtain information about dress and political position. An instrument adapted from Wass was reconstructed for data collection according to four categories: (1) political status (national and local), (2) political

position (as chairman and chief), (3) dress forms (recon-
structed, enclosed, attached and accessory), (4) cultural
meanings of dress according to Wass (1975: 198) (tradition-
al, Western and universal). Data was collected through use
of the instrument for tabulation of political figures and
dress items seen within selected photographs of The Daily
Graphics. Using computer (SPSS) the data collected was tabu-
lated by frequencies of political status and position, and
dress items. Cross tabulations of political position to
dress items by form and meaning were completed by hand.

Conclusions

From the data it appears that political leadership is
positively related to dress in cultural form and meaning.
The modal frequency of dress items presented the striking
differences between the political leadership of 1957, 1966,
1969, by dress, as was expected. The dress items of 1957 and
1969 presented the image of a Western civilian leader which
the government of Ghana was during those time periods. In
contrast, the dress items of 1966 showed dress items of a
military regime, which was an accurate representation of the
1969 government. Further sampling showed other comparison
by leadership types, and dress forms and identity.

The political leader most frequent were the national
leaders, of which the ministers of state were most evident,
rather than other heads of state. The high frequency of
the national leaders may be an indication of media bias which

should be taken into account. However, it appears that these ministers would seem the most likely agents of social change in dress, given their constant exposure through the media.

The national leaders provided the largest sampling of Western, enclosed fitted and suspended forms, which was linked to the different political leaders. The local leaders exhibited the largest percentage of traditional, enclosed wraparound forms, though often not indigenous in fabric.

The frequency of dress items revealed that the use of traditional items by the local leaders has remained almost constant. However, the usage of traditional items by national leaders has declined sharply since 1957, and Nkrumah. This information verifies the influence of the political leadership of Nkrumah on dress which had been mentioned in political history.

1957 was the year of independence, with Nkrumah continuing his high use of the traditional items as the kente for national identity. With the fall of Nkrumah in 1966 the traditional items appeared limited to local leaders as the subsequent governments promoted Western ideals of dress.

Each of the political leaders, Nkrumah, Ankrah and Busia, had the political power to change the dress of the local leaders through sumptuary laws or role modeling. However, aside from adoption of the kente, the data did not support such a proposition. In particular there was no evidence of a replacement of traditional items by Western items at the local level, even during 1966 or 1969 when the

military and Western dress was strong. The data show that
the national leaders confined the use of Western dress to
themselves, as 80% of the total Western items are found in
national leadership. In addition, such heavy usage of West-
ern items seems to infer a direct relationship between "the
presentation of self" and international interaction.

As "clothing documents the impact of cultural contact
. . ." (Eicher: 1970: v), the political leaders of Ghana
served as models against which to judge change.

Recommendations for Future Study

1) As only three years were studied here, a future research
    project might examine the total history of political cos-
    tume over a 20-year period, from independence to the
    present day.

2) As it was apparent that Nkrumah and the paramount chiefs
    had an influence in political dress, an in-depth study
    of the changes of dress by each leader separately or the
    interplay of the two types of leaders from 1957-1966
    would provide further information on the political dress
    of Ghana.

3) As there have been few studies on the relationship of
    political leadership and dress, in the U.S. or in Africa,
    the study might be replicated to further our knowledge
    of the influence of political leaders on dress.

Other general questions that might be asked in future
studies include:

4) What is the relationship between political roles and dress? How is behavior influenced by dress?

5) Is there a relationship between the age of a political leader and the political dress adopted? Will an older leader adopt traditional items whereas a younger leader adopt more Western items?

6) What influence do the wives of the political leaders in Africa have on the women of Africa?

7) What is the relationship of women political leaders, at both the national and local level and dress? How does dress affect their role and behavior? What is the influence of political leaders, both male and female, on the clothing of their sex? Do these political leaders become opinion leaders of fashion?

Limitations of the Study

The study itself yielded significant information on the relationship of political status/position and dress in Ghana. However, being a pioneer study, the methodology had several faults which need to be remedied for future replication of the study.

The medium chosen, photography, presented problems with clarity and body position which made data collection difficult at times. As Wass has noted that photos may be posed rather than the actual reality, the data results may not represent the true dress of the political leaders. Another problem with photography was the lack of feedback that

is possible with such a tool. The medium does not present any other data than is present at "face" value and thus can only be analyzed on certain "visible" variables. Photography does not provide any type of feedback about the socio-psychological impact of dress on role behavior or interaction as might be possible in a personal interview.

The instrument itself needed further delineation of categories. While it was assumed that other types of leaders outside the given categories would occur, others were found in 22% of the total sample. The instrument might have been revised and refined further to include more types of national and local leaders.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

APPENDIX A

Instrument for Data Collection

Person pictured _____   Date & page of issue

_____

Types of status/position

National   Local

President _____   Paramount chief _____

Minister _____ of _____   Subchief _____

Foreign diplomat _____ of _____   Reg. Commiss. _____

Chairman _____   Other _____

Other _____

Names of clothing items:

Cultural identity:

Traditional

Western

Universal

Form:

Reconstructed

Enclosed
   Suspended
   Wraparound
   Fitted

Attached

Accessory

126

Appendix B

APPENDIX B

Specific Items of Ghanaian Male Dress

I. Traditional Ghanaian

   Adinkra: indigenous cloth, often of cotton, hand printed
             with symbols, worn wrapped around the body
   Armlet: bracelet of antiquity, usually of silver or gold
             but may be of wood[a]
   Batakari: (or agbada) indigenous three-piece suit, with
             a long pair of trousers (jokoto), long-
             sleeved shirt (buba) and wide flowing gown
             (agbada)[d]
   Buba: Loosely fitted indigenous garment constructed of
           rectangles of cloth which form sleeves. Materials
           used of soft fancy prints or lace[h & d]

Source:[a] Wilcox R. Turner, The Dictionary of Costume (Lon-
            don: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1969)

Source:[b] Alan Mansfield & Phyllis Cunnington, Handbook of
            English Costume in the 20th Century 1900-1950
            (London: Faber & Faber, 1973)

Source:[c] C. W. & C. E. Cunnington & Charles Beard, eds. A
            Dictionary of English Costume 900-1900 (London:
            Adams & Charles Black, 1960)

Source:[d] _____, "It's a Man's, Man's World," Ghana Re-
            view, Vol. 1, no. 8, 1975.

Source:[e] New American Webster Handy College Dictionary, rev.
            ed. (1972)

Source:[f] American College Dictionary, rev. ed. (1951)

Source:[g] Funk & Wagnalls College Dictionary, 1963.

Source:[h] Betty Wass, "Yoruba Dress: A Systematic Case Study
            of Five Generations of a Lagos Family," published
            Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1975.

Fugu: Short hip-length indigenous garment of hand woven coarse material, dyed in blue, leaving white vertical stripes. Embroidery is at neck as an opening is formed in the front in the shape of a T.[d]

Jokoto: Baggy trousers, similar to Western shorts, worn under the kente or as part of batakari[d]

Kente: indigenous cloth, made of hand-woven stripes and worn wrapped as a toga

Sandals: a shoe consisting of a sole attached by straps of leather or cloth arranged over the foot[c]

Sword: a weapon with a long-edged blade,[e] traditionally a symbol of a Ghanaian chief's power

Wrapper: a straight cloth wrapped around the body to cover the trunk or part of the trunk[h]

II.   Western

Ascot: a long tie or scarf with wide, square or pointed ends twisted or tied once in front and the ends overlapped at angle and held by a tie (or scarf) pin[b]

Battle jacket: waist length, single-breasted garment worn by military; adaptation of WWII Eisenhower jacket with turned collar, buttoned cuff sleeves, two pockets at chest[a]

Black tie: semi-formal evening wear consisting of dinner jacket (tuxedo), black waistcoat or cummerbund, and black bowtie worn with white shirt[a]

Boutonniere: single flower or small spray of flowers attached on jacket lapel

Bowler: hard, dome-shaped felt hat found in England; known in U.S. as derby when worn at horse races[a]

Bowtie: a man's small tie in a bowknot having two loops and two short ends[a]

Braid: a narrow, flat strip of woven, pleated or interlaced wool, cotton, silk, linen or metallic thread[a]

Braid, military: a flat, silk braid of diagonal basket weave, worn in ropes on military dress[a]

Briefcase: a leather bag for carrying documents[e]

Bush jacket: hip-length, single-breasted, short-sleeved garment of corduroy, linen or cotton, originally used for hunting with numerous hip and chest pockets[a]

Cane: the stem of a plant similar to bamboo and used as a walking stick[c]

Chesterfield: a single- or double-breasted coat worn as a top coat; usually fly-fronted, slightly waisted with back vent, long to calf with various pockets

Cufflinks: a pair of gold, silver or pearl buttons con-
          nected by several chain links or a shank or
          bar which fastens the turned-up shirt cuff
          of a man's blouse by means of two button-
          holes[a]

Golf club: a long-handled instrument used in the game of
          golf

Glove: a garment covering the hand and ending at the
          wrist, often found in pairs[d]

Hair reconstruction: temporary or permanent change to
                    hair on head (ex.: haircut)

Handkerchief: a square of material, often silk or cot-
              ton, used to wipe the face; seen often
              tucked in outside of jacket breast pocket[e]

Hat, military: a head covering, with crown and brim, with
              military insignia attached on crown, worn
              by members of armed services

Homberg: (or fedora) a stiff felt hat with crown dented
          in, from front to back, and turned-up silk-
          bound brim[b]

Jacket: a hip-length, long-sleeved single- or double-
        breasted outer garment

Jacket, military dress: fitted, hip-length, long-sleeved,
                        single- or double-breasted outer
                        garment. It is mainly seen on
                        dress occasions with additions
                        of braid, medals and sabers as
                        worn by upper ranks of armed
                        services

Jacket, military: fitted, hip-length short-sleeved outer
                  garment with two pockets at hip and
                  Sam Browne belt; worn as everyday at-
                  tire by armed forces

Mao suit: fitted garment with single-breasted stand-up
          collared jacket and trousers

Medal: a small disk of metal, bearing a device, usually
        a commemorative of some event; may be attached
        to military garment for status[g]

Mustache: the hair on a man's upper lip[e]

Necktie: a band of varying width and material wound
          around the base of shirt collar

Saber: a one-edged curved sword; attached to belt it
        is worn by military on dress occasions

Sabercase: a covering of leather or cloth in which to
            carry saber

Shirt: a fitted garment usually single-breasted, short-
        or long-sleeved with collar of light-weight ma-
        terials as cotton or linen

Shirt, military: short-sleeved, hip-length fitted gar-
                ment with pockets at hip but no belt.
                Similar in appearance to military jac-
                ket but lighter in fabric weight with
                less accessories

Shoes: a covering of the foot, usually a leather sole
       with leather and fabric upper, the shape varying
       according to fashion and function[c]

Shorts: a garment similar in form to trousers but ex-
       tending from the waist to mid-thigh or knee

Sock: a close-fitting covering for foot and leg extend-
     ing to mid-calf or knee[c]

Sunglasses: spectacles with colored lenses to protect
       the eyes from sun

T-shirt: a close-fitting, hip-length short-sleeved
       garment, usually of cotton knit and worn as a
       man's undergarment

Tieclip: a clasp of gold or silver used to hold the
       ends of a four-in-hand tie to the shirt front[a]

Top hat: a stiff felt hat with sides slightly concave[b]

Trousers: a fitted garment encasing the legs in two
       tubular forms with a fly opening extending
       from the waist to the ankles

Vest: a short, waist-length, tight-fitting, single- or
     double-breasted sleeveless garment

Watch: a small portable timepiece with spring-driven
     mechanism (worn on the wrist or carried by chain
     in pocket)[f]

Wig: an artificial covering of hair for the head[f]

III. Universal

Amulet: a piece of jewelry worn around the neck to ward
       off enchantments, accidents or ill luck[a]

Belt: a band to encircle the waist or hips, of leather,
     cloth, chain links, or decorative cord, plain or
     jeweled. It may serve to carry gun, sword or
     money bag[a]

Bracelet: an ornament fitting the wrist which may be in
       ring or chain form, of gold, silver or other
       metals or materials, plain or set with jewels[a]

Cap: a small head covering, usually of soft material, and
    often fitting closer than a hat[c]

Choker: a close fitting neck chain

Crown: a royal or imperial headdress worn by sovereignty[a]

Earring: an ornament worn on the ear[e]

Hat: a head covering, generally consisting of a crown
    and brim[e]

Necklace: any flexible ornament worn around the neck[e]

Ring: a circular band or hoop, an ornamented band for
    the finger[e]

Scarf: a decorative strip of material worn loosely at
    the neck[e]

Stole: a long, straight shoulder scarf of various mater-
    ials, often with fringed ends, worn at the shoul-
    ders as well as draped around the head

Tunic: a hip-length, loose-fitting outer garment with or
    without sleeves

Umbrella: a screen of material for protection of rain
           and sun with shaped ribs

Appendix C
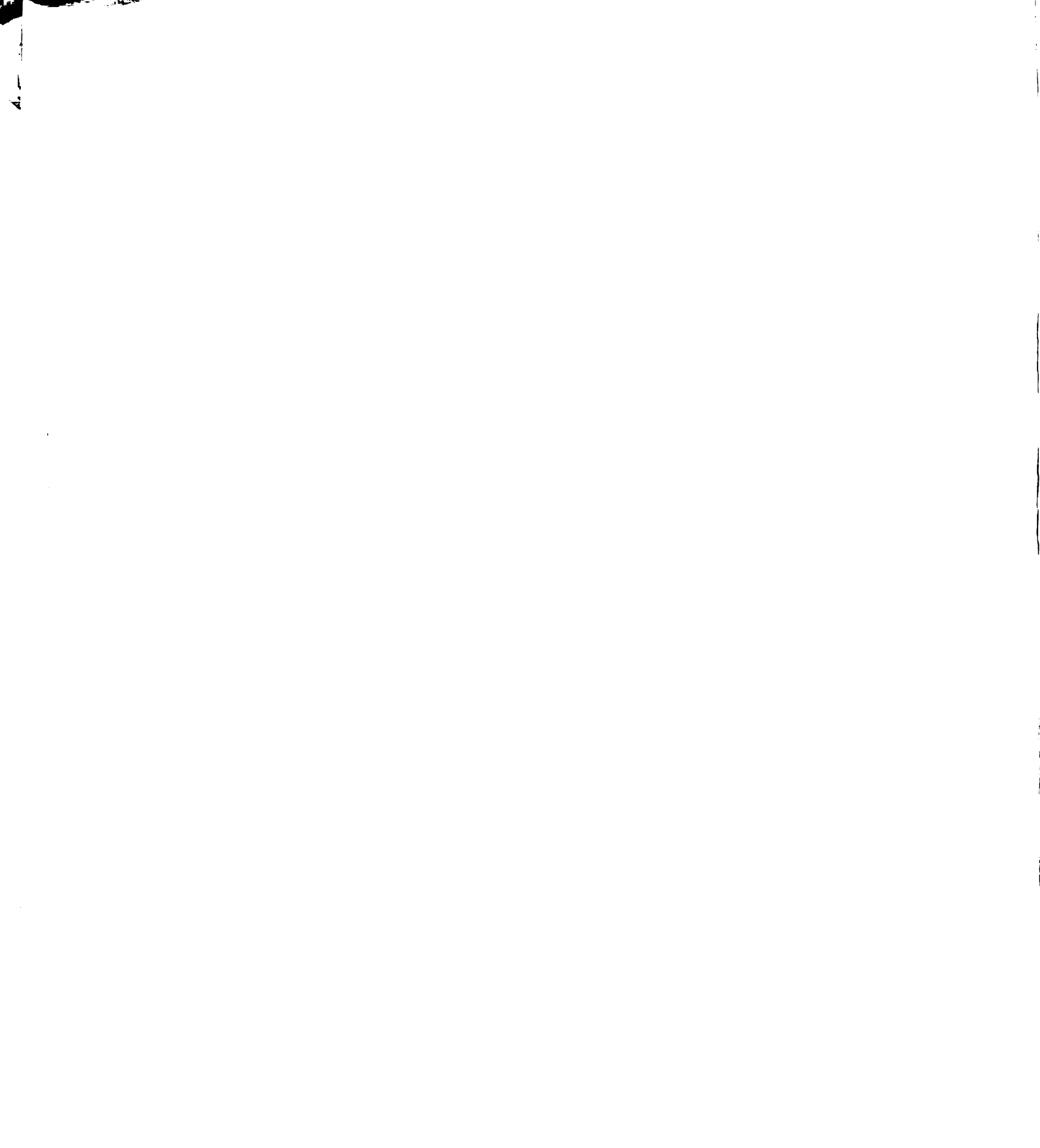
GHANAIAN DRESS ITEMS BY FORM AND MEANING

DRESS FORMS

DRESS ITEMS *Meaning	ACCESSORY	ATTACHED	ENCLOSED FITTED	ENCLOSED SUSPENDED	ENCLOSED WRAPAROUND	RECON- STRUCTED
A. Traditional			Armlet Batakari Buba	Fugu Jokoto Sandals		Adinkra Kente Wrapper
B. WESTERN	Boutonniere Briefcase Cane Golf club Handkerchief Saber Sabercase	Braid Cufflinks Medal Tieclip	Ascot Battle jacket Black tie Bowler Bow tie Braid, mil. Bush jacket Chesterfield Eisenh. shirt Glove Hat, mil. Homberg Jacket Jacket, mil. dr.	Jacket, mil. Mao suit Shirt Shirt, mil. Shoes Shorts Socks T-shirt Top hat Trousers Vest Watch Wig	Eyeglasses Sunglasses	
C. UNIVERSAL	Umbrella	Earring	Belt Bracelet Cap Crown	Hat Ring Scarf Tunic	Amulet Necklace	Stole

*Cultural meaning of items according to Wass' classification of dress items (1975: 198).

Appendix D

Frequency of Items According to Year

	1957	1966	1969
Adinkra (5)	0	3	2
Amulet (5)	0	0	5
Armlet (5)	0	2	3
Batakari (1)	0	1	0
Belt (18)	2	1	15
Belt, Sam Browne (39)	1	18	20
Black tie (11)	11	0	0
Boutonniere (7)	1	1	5
Bowler (1)	1	0	0
Bowtie (2)	1	0	1
Bracelet (29)	10	10	9
Braid (7)	0	6	1
Braid, military (46)	0	17	29
Briefcase (3)	3	0	0
Buba (17)	10	5	2
Bush jacket (17)	1	0	16
Cane (23)	1	8	14
Cap (12)	4	0	8
Chesterfield (12)	1	0	0
Choker (1)	0	1	0
Crown (26)	6	7	13
Cufflinks (1)	0	1	0
Eisenhower shirt (11)	2	1	8
Eyeglasses (89)	22	23	44
Fugu (11)	1	4	6

Gloves (5)	1	4	0
Golf club (3)	3	0	0
Handkerchief (46)	21	10	15
Hat (22)	4	10	8
Hat, military (84)	0	33	29
Homberg (3)	2	0	1
Jacket (138)	61	21	56
Jacket, military dress (30)	0	14	16
Jacket, military (20)	0	20	0
Kente (19)	11	5	3
Mao tunic (4)	0	4	0
Medal (14)	1	2	11
Necklace (23)	5	4	14
Necktie (164)	65	31	68
Ring (15)	3	9	3
Saber (8)	1	2	5
Sabercase (4)	1	2	1
Sandals (9)	3	3	3
Shirt (180)	72	34	74
Shirt, military (4)	0	3	1
Shoes (74)	43	8	23
Shorts (14)	9	1	4
Socks (11)	10	1	0
Stole (7)	3	0	4
Sunglasses (24)	4	4	16
Sword (4)	2	0	2
Tieclip (3)	3	0	0

T-shirt (1)	0	1	0
Tunic (4)	1	3	0
Trousers (239)	67	73	99
Umbrella (5)	2	0	3
Vest (10)	5	0	5
Watch (47)	8	22	17
Wig (1)	1	0	0
Wrapper (43)	11	9	23
Mustache (7)	0	4	3
Hair reconstruction (1)	1	0	0

Appendix E

TABLE 5.11

GHANAIAN DRESS ITEM, FORM AND MEANING ACCORDING TO POLITICAL STATUS/POSITION OF SELECTED FIGURES IN THE DAILY GRAPHICS, 1957

POLITICAL POSITION	FREQUENCY OF GHANAIAN DRESS ITEMS BY FORM AND MEANING							
	N	TRADITIONAL	*FORM	N	WESTERN	FORM	N	UNIVERSAL FORM
A. NATIONAL								
1. PRIME MINISTER								
a. Garment	7	Buba	EF	1	Eisenhower Sh.	EF		
	6	Kente	EW	13	Jacket	EF		
				13	Shirt	EF		
				14	Trousers	EF		
b. Accompanying item				1	Cane	A		
				7	Handkerchief	A		
				13	Necktie	EF		
				8	Shoes	EF		
				1	Socks	EF		
				2	Watch	EF		
TOTAL	13			73			0	
2. MINISTER								
a. Garment	1	Buba	EF	4	Black tie	EF	1	Tunic EF
	3	Kente	EW	21	Jacket	EF		
				23	Shirt	EF		
				23	Trousers	EF		
				1	Vest	EF		

*Forms: EF, enclosed fitted, ES, enclosed suspended, EW, enclosed wraparound, AT, attached, R, reconstructed; classifications adopted from Roach & Eicher, The Visible Self: Perspectives on Dress (New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1973), pp. 82-91. A, accessory, classification attributed to Dr. Joanne Eicher, personal interview, February, 1977.

TABLE 5.11 (cont'd.)

FREQUENCY OF GHANAIAN DRESS ITEMS BY FORM AND MEANING

POLITICAL POSITION	N	TRADITIONAL FORM	N	WESTERN	FORM	N	UNIVERSAL FORM	FORM
A. NATIONAL (cont'd)								
2. MINISTER (cont'd.)								
b. Accompanying item			1	Boutonniere	AT	1	Bracelet	EF
			2	Briefcase	A	1	Cap	EF
			9	Eyeglasses	ES	1	Stole	EW
			9	Handkerchief	A			
			1	Hair Reconst.	R			
			24	Necktie	EF			
			13	Shoes	EF			
			1	Socks	EF			
			3	Sunglasses	ES			
			2	Tieclip	AT			
			1	Watch	EF			
TOTAL	4		138			4		
3. DIPLOMAT								
a. Garment			1	Black tie	EF			
			1	Chesterfield	EF			
			2	Jacket	EF			
			2	Shirt	EF			
			2	Trousers	EF			
b. Accompanying item			1	Eyeglasses	ES			
			1	Handkerchief	A			
			2	Necktie	EF			
			2	Shoes	EF			
TOTAL	0		14			0		
4. OTHER								
a. Garment	1	Buba	EF	5	Black tie	EF		
	1	Fugu	EF	1	Eisenhower Sh.	EF		
	1	Kente	EW	14	Jacket	EF		
	1	Wrapper	EW	20	Shirt	EF		

TABLE 5.11 (cont'd.)

FREQUENCY OF GHANAIAN DRESS ITEMS BY FORM AND MEANING

POLITICAL POSITION	N	TRADITIONAL	FORM	N	WESTERN	FORM	N	UNIVERSAL	FORM
A. NATIONAL (cont'd.)									
4. OTHER (cont'd.)									
a. Garment (cont'd.)				6	Shorts	EF			
				17	Trousers	EF			
				4	Vest	EF			
b. Accompanying item	1	Sandals	EF	1	Bowler	EF	1	Belt	EF
				1	Bow tie	EF	1	Bracelet	EF
				1	Briefcase	A	3	Hat	EF
				7	Eyeglasses	ES	2	Ring	EF
				1	Gloves	EF	2	Stole	EW
				2	Golf club	A	1	Umbrella	A
				1	Handkerchief				
				14	Necktie	EF			
				11	Shoes	EF			
				4	Socks	ES			
				1	Sunglasses	EF			
				2	Watch	EF			
				1	Wig	EF			
TOTAL	5			114			11		
B. LOCAL									
1. PARAMOUNT CHIEF									
a. Garment	1	Buba	EF	1	Jacket	EF			
	1	Kente	EW	3	Shirt	EF			
	9	Wrapper	EW	2	Shorts	EF			
				1	Trousers	EF			
b. Accompanying item				3	Eyeglasses	ES			
				3	Handkerchief	A			
				5	Necktie	EF			
				2	Shoes	EF			
				1	Socks	EF			
				1	Watch	EF			
TOTAL	0			31			0		

TABLE 5.11 (cont'd.)

FREQUENCY OF GHANAIAN DRESS ITEMS BY FORM AND MEANING

POLITICAL POSITION	N	TRADITIONAL FORM	N	WESTERN	FORM	N	UNIVERSAL FORM
B. LOCAL (cont'd.)							
2. REGIONAL COMM.							
a. Garment			1	Black tie	EF		
			5	Jacket	EF		
			5	Shirt	EF		
			5	Trousers	EF		
b. Accompanying item			3	Eyeglasses	ES		
			3	Handkerchief	A		
			5	Necktie	EF		
			2	Shoes	EF		
			1	Socks	EF		
			1	Watch	EF		
TOTAL	0		31			0	
3. OTHER							
a. Garment	1	Wrapper EW	1	Bush Jacket	EF		
			5	Jacket	EF		
			6	Shirt	EF		
			1	Shorts	EF		
			5	Trousers	EF		
b. Accompanying item	1	Sword A	1	Belt, Sam Browne	EF		
			2	Eyeglasses	ES		
			1	Medal	AT		
			6	Necktie	EF		
			1	Saber	A		
			1	Sabercase	A		
			5	Shoes	A		
			1	Socks	EF		
			1	Tieclip	AT		
			1	Watch	EF		
TOTAL	2		38			0	

TABLE 5.12

GHANAIAN DRESS ITEM, FORM AND MEANING ACCORDING TO POLITICAL STATUS/POSITION OF SELECTED FIGURES IN THE DAILY GRAPHICS, 1966

POLITICAL POSITIONS	FREQUENCY OF DRESS ITEMS ACCORDING TO MEANING* AND FORM							
	N	TRADITIONAL FORM		N	WESTERN	FORM	N	UNIVERSAL FORM
A. NATIONAL								
1. PRESIDENT								
a. Garment	1	Buba	EF	1	Jacket, mil.	EF		
	1	Fugu	EF	4	Mao tunic	EF		
				6	Trousers	EF		
b. Accompanying item				2	Cane	A	1	Hat EF
				1	Hat, mil.	EF		
				1	Shoes	EF		
				2	Watch	EF		
TOTAL	2			17			1	
2. CHAIRMAN								
a. Garment				5	Jacket	EF		
				5	Jacket, Mil. dr.	EF		
				6	Jacket, mil.	EF		
				8	Shirt	EF		
				3	Shirt, mil.	EF		
				20	Trousers	EF		
b. Accompanying item				2	Belt, Sam Browne	EF	2	Hat EF
				8	Braid, mil.	EF	2	Ring EF
				4	Cane	A		
				1	Cufflinks	AT		
				14	Eyeglasses	ES		
				2	Gloves	EF		
				1	Handkerchief	A		

*Categories of meaning adopted from Wass (1975:98)
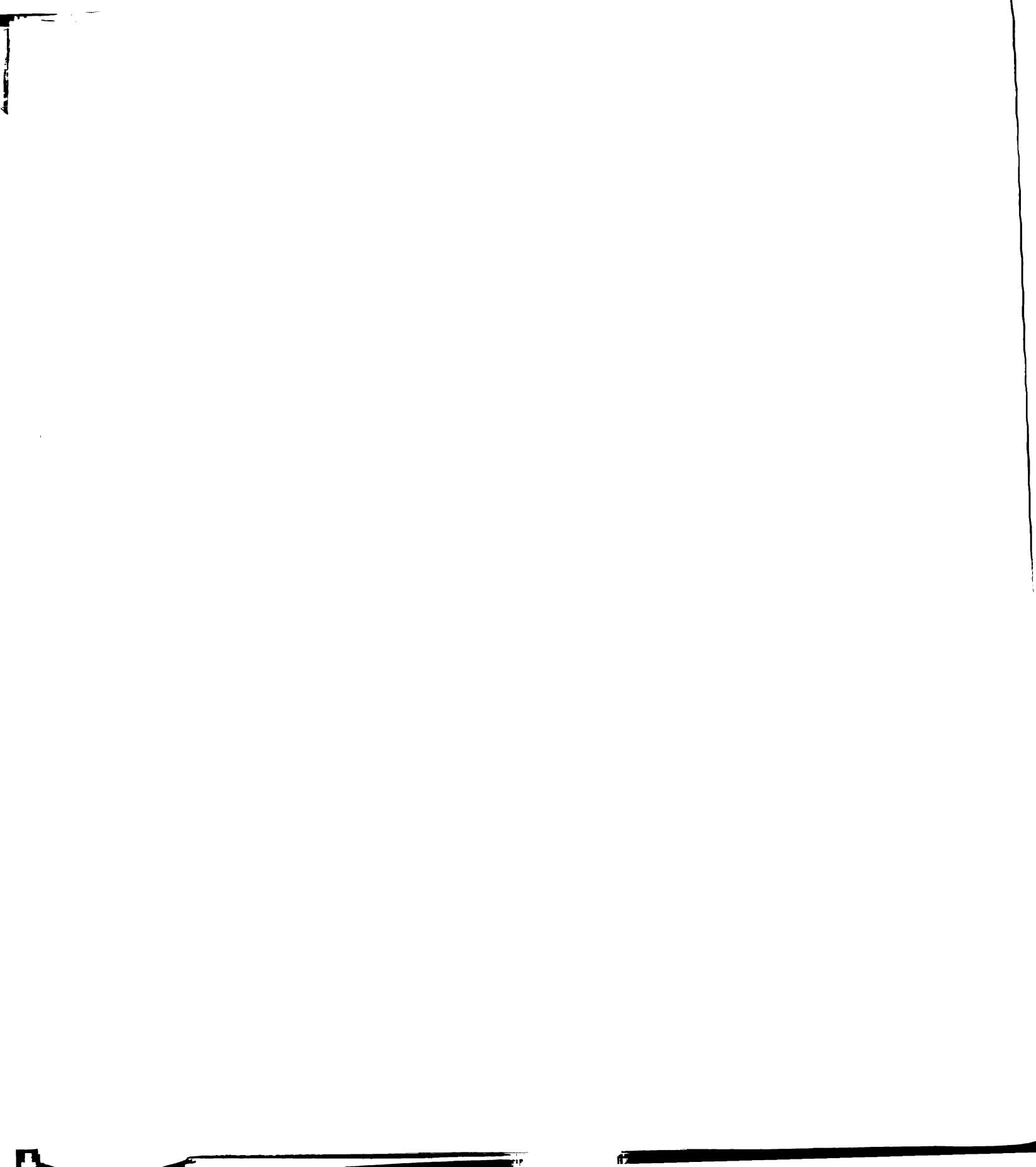
TABLE 5.12 (cont'd.)

FREQUENCY OF DRESS ITEMS ACCORDING TO MEANING AND FORM

POLITICAL POSITION	N	TRADITIONAL	FORM	N	WESTERN	FORM	N	UNIVERSAL	FORM
A. NATIONAL									
2. CHAIRMAN									
b. Accompanying item (cont'd.)				10	Hat, mil.	EF			
				1	Medal	AT			
				8	Necktie	EF			
				1	Saber	A			
				1	Sabercase	A			
TOTAL	0			105			4		
3. MINISTER									
a. Garment	1	Buba	EF	7	Jacket	EF			
	1	Fugu	EF	9	Jacket, mil. dr.	EF			
	1	Kente	EW	7	Jacket, mil.	EF			
	1	Wrapper	EW	13	Shirt	EF			
				1	Shorts	EF			
				24	Trousers	EF			
				1	T-shirt	EF			
b. Accompanying item	1	Sandals	EF	11	Belt, Sam Browne	EF	1	Hat	EF
				6	Braid	AT	1	Ring	EF
				9	Braid, mil.	EF			
				1	Cane	A			
				7	Eyeglasses	ES			
				2	Gloves	EF			
				1	Handkerchief	A			
				15	Hat, mil.	EF			
				3	Mustache	R			
				13	Necktie	EF			
				1	Saber	A			
				1	Sabercase	A			

TABLE 5.12 (cont'd.)

POLITICAL POSITION		FREQUENCY OF DRESS ITEMS ACCORDING TO MEANING AND FORM							
	N	TRADITIONAL	FORM	N	WESTERN	FORM	N	UNIVERSAL	FORM
A. NATIONAL									
3. MINISTER									
b. Accompanying item (cont'd.)				3	Shoes	EF			
				1	Socks	EF			
				1	Watch	EF			
TOTAL	5			137			2		
4. DIPLOMAT									
a. Garment	2	Buba	EF	5	Jacket	EF			
	2	Kente	EW	4	Shirt	EF			
				6	Trousers	EF			
b. Accompanying item	1	Sandals	EF	1	Eyeglasses	ES	1	Hat	EF
				2	Handkerchief	A	1	Ring	EF
				1	Mustache	R			
				5	Necktie	EF			
				3	Sunglasses	ES			
				2	Watch	EF			
TOTAL	5			29			2		
4. OTHER									
a. Garment				1	Jacket	EF			
				1	Jacket, mil.	EF			
				2	Shirt	EF			
				3	Trousers	EF			
b. Accompanying item				1	Belt, Sam Browne	EF	1	Hat	EF
				1	Cane	A	1	Ring	EF
				1	Handkerchief	A			
				1	Hat, mil.	EF			
				1	Medal	AT			
				1	Necktie	EF			

TABLE 5.12 (cont'd.)

POLITICAL POSITION	N	TRADITIONAL	FORM	N	WESTERN	FORM	N	UNIVERSAL	FORM
A. NATIONAL									
5. OTHER (cont'd.)									
b. Accompanying item (cont'd.)				1	Shoes	EF			
				1	Sunglasses	ES			
				2	Watch	EF			
TOTAL	0			17			2		
B. LOCAL									
1. PARAMOUNT CHIEF									
a. Garment	3	Adinkra	EW				1	Tunic	EF
	2	Kente	EW						
	7	Wrapper	EW						
b. Accompanying item	2	Armlet	EF	1	Boutonniere	AT	10	Bracelet	EF
	1	Sandals	EF	2	Handkerchief	A	1	Choker	EF
				1	Watch	EF	7	Crown	EF
							2	Hat	EF
							4	Necklace	EF
							2	Ring	EF
TOTAL	15			4			27		
2. REGIONAL COMM.									
a. Garment	1	Batakari	EF	1	Eisen. Shirt	EF			
	1	Buba	EF	2	Jacket	EF			
	1	Fugu	EF	2	Shirt	EF			
	1	Wrapper	EW	4	Trousers	EF			
b. Accompanying item				1	Eyeglasses	ES	1	Hat	EF
				2	Hat, mil.	EF	1	Ring	EF
				2	Handkerchief	A			
				2	Necktie	EF			
				2	Watch	EF			
TOTAL	4			19			2		

TABLE 5.12 (cont'd.)

FREQUENCY OF DRESS ITEMS ACCORDING TO MEANING AND FORM

POLITICAL POSITION	N	TRADITIONAL FORM	N	WESTERN	FORM	N	UNIVERSAL FORM
B. LOCAL							
3. OTHER							
a. Garment	1	Fugu EF	1	Jacket	EF		
			4	Jacket, mil.	EF		
			5	Shirt	EF		
			10	Trousers	EF		
b. Accompanying item			4	Belt, Sam Browne	EF	1	Ring EF
			1	Handkerchief	A		
			4	Hat, military	EF		
			2	Necktie	EF		
			3	Shoes	EF		
			7	Watch	EF		
TOTAL	1		41			1	

TABLE 5.13

GHANAIAN DRESS ITEMS, FORM AND MEANING ACCORDING TO POLITICAL STATUS/POSITION OF SELECTED FIGURES OF THE DAILY GRAPHICS, 1969

POLITICAL POSITION — FREQUENCY OF DRESS ITEMS, FORM AND MEANING

POLITICAL POSITION	N	TRADITIONAL FORM	FORM	N	WESTERN	FORM	N	UNIVERSAL	FORM
A. NATIONAL									
1. CHAIRMAN									
a. Garment	1	Buba	EF	2	Bush jacket	EF			
	1	Kente	EW	6	Eisen. shirt	EF			
				2	Jacket	EF			
				5	Jacket, mil. dr.	EF			
				9	Shirt	EF			
				15	Trousers	EF			
b. Accompanying item				4	Belt, Sam Browne	EF	7	Belt	EF
				1	Boutonniere	AT	2	Cap	EF
				9	Braid, mil.	EF	1	Hat	EF
				2	Cane	A			
				8	Eyeglasses	ES			
				1	Handkerchief	A			
				9	Hat, mil.	EF			
				5	Medal	AT			
				8	Necktie	EF			
				2	Saber	A			
				4	Shoes	EF			
				4	Sunglasses	ES			
				3	Watch	EF			
TOTAL	2			100			10		
2. PRIME MINISTER									
a. Garment				6	Jacket	EF			
				7	Shirt	EF			
				6	Trousers	EF			

TABLE 5.13 (cont'd.)

POLITICAL POSITION	FREQUENCY OF DRESS ITEMS, FORM AND MEANING								
	N	TRADITIONAL FORM		N	WESTERN	FORM	N	UNIVERSAL FORM	
A. NATIONAL (cont'd)									
2. PRIME MINISTER (cont'd.)									
b. Accompanying item (cont'd.)				6	Eyeglasses	ES			
				1	Handkerchief	A			
				7	Hat, mil.	EF			
				7	Necktie	EF			
				2	Shoes	EF			
				1	Watch	EF			
TOTAL	0			37			0		
3. MINISTER									
a. Garment	1	Buba	EF	6	Bush jacket	EF			
	3	Fugu	EF	25	Jacket	EF			
	2	Wrapper	EW	8	Jacket, mil. dr.	EF			
				29	Shirt	EF			
				39	Trousers	EF			
				2	Vest	EF			
b. Accompanying item				7	Belt, Sam Browne	EF	3	Belt	EF
				1	Boutonniere	A	2	Cap	EF
				1	Bow tie	EF	3	Hat	EF
				1	Braid	A	1	Stole	EW
				13	Braid, mil.	EF			
				3	Cane	A			
				17	Eyeglasses	ES			
				7	Handkerchief	A			
				11	Hat, mil.	EF			
				3	Medal	AT			
				2	Mustache	R			
				27	Necktie	EF			
				3	Saber	A			
				1	Sabercase	A			

TABLE 5.13 (cont'd.)

FREQUENCY OF DRESS ITEMS, FORM AND MEANING

POLITICAL POSITION	N	TRADITIONAL FORM	FORM	N	WESTERN	FORM	N	UNIVERSAL FORM	FORM
A. NATIONAL									
3. MINISTER									
b. Accompanying item (cont'd.)				8	Shoes	EF			
				6	Sunglasses	ES			
				7	Watch	EF			
TOTAL	6			227			9		
4. DIPLOMAT									
a. Garment	1	Wrapper	EW	1	Jacket	EF			
				1	Shirt	EF			
				1	Trousers	EF			
				1	Vest	EF			
b. Accompanying item				1	Eyeglasses	ES			
				1	Handkerchief	A			
				1	Hat, military	EF			
				1	Necktie	EF			
				1	Sunglasses	ES			
TOTAL	1			9			0		
5. OTHER									
a. Garment	2	Fugu	EF	4	Bush jacket	EF			
	1	Wrapper	EW	1	Eisen. shirt	EF			
				12	Jacket	EF			
				3	Jacket, mil. dr.	EF			
				15	Shirt	EF			
				2	Shorts	EF			
				19	Trousers	EF			
				2	Vest	EF			
b. Accompanying item	1	Sandals	EF	5	Belt, Sam Browne	EF	2	Belt	EF
				3	Boutonniere	AT	2	Cap	EF

TABLE 5.13 (cont'd.)

POLITICAL POSITION	FREQUENCY OF DRESS ITEMS, FORM AND MEANING								
	N	TRADITIONAL	FORM	N	WESTERN	FORM	N	UNIVERSAL	FORM
A. NATIONAL									
5. OTHER									
a. Accompanying item (cont'd.)				3	Braid, military	EF	2	Hat	EF
				1	Cane	A	1	Ring	EF
				9	Eyeglasses	ES			
				5	Handkerchief	A			
				5	Hat, military	EF			
				3	Medal	AT			
				14	Necktie	EF			
				4	Shoes	EF			
				1	Sunglasses	ES			
				2	Watch	EF			
TOTAL	4			113			7		
B. LOCAL									
1. PARAMOUNT CHIEF									
a. Garment	2	Adinkra	EW	2	Jacket	EF			
	1	Fugu	EF	2	Shirt	EF			
	1	Kente	EW	3	Trousers	EF			
	15	Wrapper	EW						
b. Accompanying item	3	Armlet	EF	3	Cane	A	5	Amulet	ES
	2	Sandals	EF	1	Mustache	R	9	Bracelet	EF
	2	Sword	A	2	Necktie	EF	12	Crown	EF
				1	Shoes	EF	13	Necklace	ES
				1	Sunglasses	ES	1	Ring	EF
				1	Watch	EF	1	Stole	EW
							2	Umbrella	A
TOTAL	26			16			43		

TABLE 5.13 (cont'd.)

FREQUENCY OF DRESS ITEMS, FORM AND MEANING

POLITICAL POSITION	N	TRADITIONAL FORM	FORM	N	WESTERN	FORM	N	UNIVERSAL FORM	FORM
B. LOCAL									
2. SUBCHIEF									
a. Garment	2	Wrapper	EW	2	Trousers	EF			
b. Accompanying item				3	Cane	A	1	Cap	EF
				1	Shoes	EF	1	Hat	EF
							2	Stole	EW
TOTAL	2			6			4		
3. REGIONAL COMM.									
a. Garment	2	Wrapper	EW	2	Bush jacket	EF			
				1	Eisen. shirt	EF			
				7	Jacket	EF			
				10	Shirt	EF			
				13	Trousers	EF			
b. Accompanying item				2	Belt, Sam Browne	EF	3	Belt	EF
				2	Cane	A	1	Cap	EF
				2	Eyeglasses	ES	1	Crown	EF
				1	Hat, military	EF	1	Hat	EF
				8	Necktie	EF	1	Necklace	ES
				3	Shoes	EF	1	Ring	EF
				2	Sunglasses	ES	1	Umbrella	A
				2	Watch	EF			
TOTAL	2			55			9		
4. OTHER									
a. Garment	1	Kente	EW	2	Bush jacket	EF			
				1	Jacket	EF			
				1	Shirt	EF			
				1	Trousers	EF			

*TABLE 5.13 (cont'd.)

POLITICAL POSITION	FREQUENCY OF DRESS ITEMS, FORM AND MEANING					
	N	TRADITIONAL FORM	N	WESTERN	FORM	N	UNIVERSAL FORM
B. LOCAL						
4. OTHER						
b. Accompanying item			2	Belt, Sam Browne	EF	
			4	Braid, military	EF	
			1	Eyeglasses	ES	
			2	Hat, military	EF	
			1	Necktie	EF	
			2	Shoes	EF	
			1	Sunglasses	ES	
			1	Watch	EF	
TOTAL	1		19			0

*Classification of meaning of dress according to Wass (1975: 198)

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