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Weaving traditions of Daboya and Yendi communities in Northern Ghana

Benjamin Kwablah Asinyo, Ebenezer Kofi Howard, Raphael Kanyire Seidu¹

ABSTRACT

Narrow strip weaving has been an art and one of the traditional occupations in the northern part of Ghana, which has contributed significantly to the economic development and well-being of the people. Even though strip weaving is common in the North, Daboya and Yendi have unique weaving traditions regarding the origin, types of yarns or materials, tools, processes and marketing strategies hence the focus of this paper. Field research method was used to observe, participate and have face-to-face interactions or interview with weavers, smock makers and retailers in their natural setting to gather relevant data. Results revealed that, though yarns are dyed before been woven, the practice is carried out in dyeing pits at Daboya and in pots half-buried in the ground at Yendi. Findings further indicated the difference in design and loom types (traditional and modernised loom in Daboya and traditional loom in Yendi) with similar yarn types used in weaving. The outcome revealed that traditional strip weaving in Yendi and Daboya had contributed immensely to tourism, the socio-economic and cultural heritage of the indigenes. The study recommends intensive education for craftsmen to understand the need to welcome new technologies in their occupation to boost their production levels and increase their earnings. It is therefore incumbent on government, academia and non-governmental agencies to facilitate research into their weaving activities to boost their economic fortunes.

Keywords: Traditional weaving, Indigo dyeing, Narrow strip weaving, Smock weaves, Northern Ghana. This is an open access article under Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 License.

1. Introduction

Human beings have clothed themselves with woven materials since the dawn of history and civilisation to some extent. There is evidence that Egyptians made woven fabrics over 6000 years ago, and history has it that in prehistoric time, lake dwellers in Europe made nets from twisted threads. Old mural paintings and artefacts in China and other civilisations put forth the evidence, showing that clothing was a vital facet of early man's life (Lord and Mohammed, 1992). This has accounted for the formation and creation of the various weaving traditions around the globe among societies. Strip weaving traditions are common throughout West Africa, from Senegal in the west to Cameroon in the east, from the edge of the Sahara, north and south to the coast, the Gulf of Guinea (Frimpong and Asinyo, 2013). Woven cloth production as an indigenous activity embedded with rich historical and cultural traditions has been an integral part of the people's lives in sub-Saharan Africa.

¹ Department Of Industrial Art, CABE, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Email: seiduraphael@gmail.com

In Nigeria, the Yoruba men and women are noted for their weaving craft and art. According to Oluwakemi (2007), men in Yoruba wove on narrow horizontal loom while the women wove on vertical broadlooms. In Ghana, however, strip weaving is practised in three (3) main areas namely, Ashanti Region, Volta Region and the Northern regions. Strip weaving has grown to be a commercial venture for the indigenes to market, propagate their cultural heritage and make an income. As such, scholars in the academic fields have contributed in preserving this cultural pride of the indigenes through their writings to highlight the symbolism, philosophies and the art of strip weaving to wider readers. Notable amongst are; Essel and Amissah (2015), whose study's focus identified six different types of Dagomba smocks, i.e., sandan yibu (meaning leaving early morning), Yanshichi/Dansichi (sleeveless smock), kpaakuto (smock with wide and large sleeves), bingmbaa bari (smock with sleeves), kparigu (chiefs' smock for enskinment) and yebili (for title-holders), and the symbolic connotations attached to the meanings of the smock cap for events. They further revealed that to achieve the needed weight or heaviness in the smock garment (fugu), weavers double the factory spun yarns at warp and weft preparation. To uncover the different smock weaves produced in Bolgatanga, a popular weaving town in the Upper East Region, a study by Seidu, Howard and Asinyo (2017) identified the symbolism embedded in the indigenous smock weaves (normally 3-5 inches), which based on its end-use or purpose, have specific colour choice. Compared to the indigenous weaves, the contemporary smock weaves (normally 6-12 inches) are made with different colour schemes and materials e.g., metallic yarns without any significance or symbolism. They further revealed that factors such as formal education, modernisation, fashion trends and consumer preferences have contributed to the recurring change in smock production. In unravelling the challenges smock weavers face, a study by Dzramedo and Dabuo (2015) outlined limited funds, decline in cotton production, support policy from the Government and training as major differences for weavers in the West Gonja District of the Northern Region.

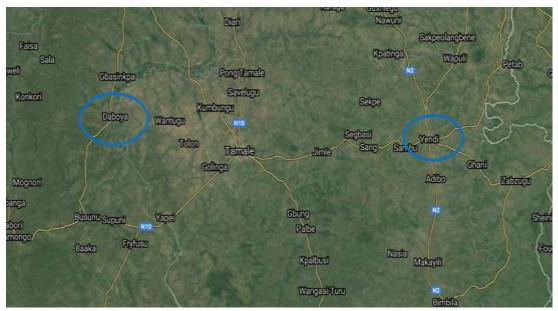


Figure 1. The map of Daboya and Yendi of the Northern Region of Ghana.

The Northern Region of Ghana (the capital is Tamale – Figure 1) has a very rich tradition in strip weaving (smock weaves) just like the popular Ewe *kete* and Asante *Kente*. In order to project the traditional weaving in northern Ghana in terms of awareness creation and documentation of relevant literature on the weaving activities for educational purpose, this study sought to identify the weaving traditions of the two weaving communities that is Daboya and Yendi based on their beliefs, types of materials, tools, processes and marketing strategies of the smock weaves and the *fugu*.

2. Methodology

Yendi and Daboya were chosen from the numerous strip weaving sites and communities in the Northern and Savannah Region, respectively for this study. The justification for the selection of these two communities was based on the premise that they are the most popular weaving towns in the north with large numbers of indigenes engaged in this activity. The study based on the qualitative research approach employed field research using both direct observation and semi-structured interview (Field Research, 2021) in which the research team directly observed and asked questions on the strip weaving and smock making processes during their fieldwork at Daboya and Yendi. This allowed for direct, faceto-face social interaction with "real people" in their natural setting (Neuman, 2007; Jackson, 2009). Herewith are two case studies where the authors interviewed two master weavers namely; Baba Abdulai on October 30, 2019 (a chief weaver in Yendi) and Abudu Abdul Mumin on October 25, 2019 (Master weaver and Opinion leader in Daboya) to solicit information that satisfies the focus of the study. Open-ended questions were mainly used during the face-to-face interactions or interviews for indepth explanations and clarifications related to the focus of the study. These master weavers further assisted to purposively sample other weavers from the two communities to obtain information from other chief weavers directly, smock makers and retailers on the philosophies and beliefs concerning the origin, types of materials, tools, processes and marketing strategies regarding the weaving craft.

3. Results and discussion

3.1 Case Study at Daboya

Daboya is a semi-urban locality in the Gonja area in the Savannah Region. Currently, it is the district capital of North-Gonja. It is about 60km west of Tamale via Nyankpala town road. The major occupation of the people is farming, fishing and weaving. It is described as one of the unique craft villages in West Africa which holds an integral part in the history of Ghana due to its indigo dyeing. It is worth noting that indigo was the foundation of numerous textile traditions throughout West Africa, long before introducing synthetic dyes. The ability to transform everyday white cotton into prized deep blue cloth was a mysterious and highly valuable skill passed on by skilful and seasoned dyers from generation to generation.

According to A. A. Mumin (personal communication, October 25, 2019), weaving in Daboya is believed to have started many years ago when the people migrated from Mende in recent day Mali. It is also known in history that the Hausa people from Nigeria also arrived in the town and introduced not only Islam, but also their weaving to the people. Before the arrival of the Nigerians, however, the Gonja people used pots in their indigo dyeing process. Nonetheless, the Hausas introduced their type of dyeing to the Gonja people mainly due to similarities with their way of dyeing.

3.2 Indigo dyeing in Daboya

Upon the arrival of the people of Gonja from Mende, a special clay body known as *dzata* (Plate 1) was brought which was one of the chemicals used for the pit dyeing. Their arrival at Daboya led to the introduction of different patterns and designs which has contributed so much to the weaving tradition throughout generations which was not the case before. The Hausas left some pits behind upon leaving, but due to some superstitions, the pits are lying fallow. Though new dyeing pits could be created, one needs the *dzata* for dye cohesion. The *dzata* is difficult to come by and the few the ancestors brought is what has been recycled over the years. This *dzata* is used by the relatives of Ndewura Jakpa who are also custodians of the pits.

The extraction of plant dyes for dyeing textiles, especially the indigo plant, has been practiced for many centuries the world over. Indigo is one of the frequently used vegetable dyes by the cottage industry in Daboya in the Northern Region of Ghana. The indigo plant (Indigofera guatemalensis) is an economic plant which has been used by many textile traditions around the world. This is replicated in major parts of Africa, most especially by the Tuaregs of Senegal, Yorubas of Nigeria, and Mandes of Mali. The indigo plant was a strong source of economic income during the sixteen centuries in Mesoamerica predating the Pre-Hispanic times until contemporary time.

More often than not, weaving in Daboya is preceded with dyeing of yarns. The dyeing process involves preparation of the yarn, dye pit (*Garramang* in Gonja, meaning 'indigo pit') and soaking of the yarns. To begin dyeing, one needs cotton yarn, indigo leaves, dzata and a chemical, locally called *baba* (catalyst). In preparing the dye pit, *dzata* is mixed with wood ash which are then moulded and burn to ashes. This is added to the freshwater of a new dyeing pit. The depth of the pit is between 8 to 12 feet,

which determines the number of *dzata* to stock. For instance, a pit of twelve (12) feet, according to Mumin, takes thirteen (13) buckets of *dzata* and nine (9) feet pit takes ten (10) buckets of *dzata*.









Plate 3. Dye pit

(Source: Field Research at Daboya, 2019)

Subsequently, an appropriate quantity of indigo leaves is added until it gets to a working ratio. On the first day, a long stick is used to stir the pit for about 30 minutes. This process is repeated on the third day to find out if there is a change in colour. When the water turns greenish, froth formed on the surface as a result of effervescence is an indication that the dyebath is ready for dyeing. The prepared warp yarn (in a hank form, Plate 2) is dyed on the sixth day. In a resist dyeing process, a rubber band usually cut from discarded inner-tube of car tyres is used to tie some portions (Plate 2) of the yarn to resist the dye. The resisted (tied) portions are held to the sticks above the pit (Plate 3). The prepared yarn is then put in the dye pit with the rest of the yarn steeped in the bath throughout the dyeing cycle which often last about three (3) days. A chemical known as *baba* is added to the dyebath to increase its potency for dyeing more yarns. It further gives sheen or lustre to the yarns.

The yarns are periodically pull-out to access the depth of shade and then steeped again to develop the intense blue of indigo. As with all vat dyes, the colour is realised after oxidation. The yarn is removed and it is dried in open-air for oxidation to take place. Mumin indicated that in the past, dyeing a batch of yarns could take about one month and the sheen effect was achieved by hanging the dyed yarns in a kitchen for smoke to blow over. Recently however, most of the dyers add synthetic indigo dyes purchased from Burkina Faso to the natural dyebath. This, they claim leads to an intensity of shade and lustre.

3.3 Preparation of the Warp in Daboya

In most weaving processes, the design of the woven cloth is determined when the warp is laid, a process known as *katente* in the local dialect. It determines the arrangement of the colours that will make up the design, the length and width of the fabric to be woven. The process is that ecru yarn (unbleached or undyed) which is packed in cheeses, is stretched around four metal rod pegs fixed in the ground. Crosses are created around one peg to carefully arrange the warp to prevent entanglement at dyeing and heddling on the loom.



Plate 4: Warp preparation using the ecru yarn (unbleached or undyed) (Source: Field Research at Daboya, 2019)

3.4 Strip designing in Daboya

In designing, two (2) hanks of a yarn that is *ecru* (undyed) and dyed are held together. These two (2) different rolls of yarns are held in place with a stick so that during designing, they do not entangle to cause difficulties. During the designing process, yarns are counted based on the design to be created. For instance, if one wants to design a cloth of blue and white strips, *ecru yarn* is divided into three equal groups where the *ecru* and blue coloured threads are placed at the top and down, respectively during the designing process. To design a blue and white warp sheet with eight (8) whites and four (4) blues, one picks eight (8) white, four (4) blue, four (4) white across, four (4) blue yarns in that order until the entire set is finished.



Plate 5: Indigo and white strips from Daboya. (Source: Field Research at Daboya, 2019)

In designing, weavers in Daboya as stated by Mumin, use

a warp that often consists of two (2) major colours; white and indigo, light blue and variations of shades of blue with the weft yarn often in indigo and white (Plate 5). Other colours are sometimes employed during political seasons where colours of the various political parties are used to get more market. Weaving in Daboya is practised by many regardless of the season but it is widely affected in the rainy season. This is because weavers would have to occasionally pack and unpack the stretched yarns placed on the narrow loom.

The yardage of fabric woven is relatively dependent on the speed of the weaver. On the average, one can use two days to weave twelve yards of the strip. Historically, the men were engaged in the weaving process whereas the spinning of the yarns was done by the women. Traditionally, the smoothness of the weave shows the maturity of the weaver (A. A. Mumin, personal communication, October 25, 2019).

3.5 Materials

In Daboya, hand spun yarns made from cotton were used in the past but recently, due to nonavailability of cotton in the Northern Region, they resorted to the use of factory processed yarns. Historically, northern weavers made use of the hand spun cotton yarns which were dyed and used to weave the smock (Frimpong and Asinyo, 2013). According to Mumin, the hand spun cotton yarns are far stronger than the factory produced type (Plate 6). He further reiterated that strips and smocks produced from the hand spun yarns are heavier and of good quality than what is being used today.



a- Hand spun cotton yarns



b- Factory processed yarns (cheese)

Plate 6: Yarn types used in Daboya (Source: Field Research at Daboya, 2019)

3.6 Looms and accessories

The narrow loom, locally called *kpalua*, is made by the Dagbani people in Daboya. These looms are constructed with at least eight (8) pieces of cut wood either sawn or not. In Daboya, two (2) kinds of looms are used: the traditional loom and the modernised one. The traditional loom (Plate 7a) is made from ten (10) pieces of wood. Six (6) wood pieces are used as post fixed to the ground. With this, two (2) long wood pieces are fixed in front and four (4) short wood pieces (Y-shaped) are behind. Four (4)

sidebars are either nailed or placed in the Y-shaped upright posts with two (2) rounded sticks which serve as the warp and cloth rollers are attached to make up the framework of the loom. The reed and heddles are connected to a top crossbar or sometimes connected to the shed's roof that provides shade. The reed and the beater are made from bamboo or raffia branches. However, the modernised loom (Plate 7b) has four (4) upright posts and it is built just like the looms used by the people of Ashanti and other *kente* weaving communities in Ghana. This modernisation came about as a result of the people of the North coming into contact with *kente* weavers in the southern part of Ghana. Due to trade activities, northern weavers who moved down to the south observed the loom structure and constructed same upon their return to the communities. From observation, it can be concluded that the modernised loom in Daboya is mostly used by the youth while the traditional ones are used by the adults.





Traditional Loom b– Modernised loom Plate 7: Loom types used in Daboya (Source: Field Research at Daboya, 2019)

3.7 Case study at Yendi

a-

Yendi which is about 99km from Tamale the capital town of Northern Region, is one of the towns with most of its indigenes as subsistence farmers. However, smock weaving has also become a major income venture which employs both the young and old in the community. The people of Yendi are noted for their rich culture in traditional smock weaving where smocks woven are believed to be the best in the country. The weaving tradition in Yendi was started by their great grandfathers, an art brought in by the Mossi people of Burkina Faso (Frimpong and Asinyo, 2013). Supporting this, according to B. Abdulai (personal communication, October 30, 2020), a chief weaver, historically, their great grandfather, Ayuba and his people settled in many places, including Ouagadougou, the capital of Burkina Faso, Bolgatanga, Tamale, before arriving in Yendi. He further stated that when they arrived in Bolgatanga, they had information about the Paramount Chief of Dagbon in Yendi so they moved there. Ayuba was received by the Chief of Yendi on the basis of teaching the people Islam which paved the way for the introduction of strip weaving in Yendi. Great and hardworking weavers were given chieftaincy titles such as *Kanshaw*. During the enskinment, the person to receive the title is supposed to weave a length of cloth that can spread to the chief's palace.

3.8 Strip weaving in Yendi – Dyeing and design

Yarns in Yendi are dyed in pots which are half-buried in the ground. Plants for the various colours according to Abdulai, were collected and soaked in different pots. These plants called *galango* and *dazure* are burnt to ashes and mixed with the colour giving plant by pounding. The ashes help to maintain the fastness of the dye. This method of fixing the colour is not different from that of the Tuaregs of Mali (Prasse, 1995) where a similar procedure is employed to wash fastness. The colour palette (Plate 4) in Yendi appears to be broader using brilliant colours, thus making their woven strips and smocks fanciful.

Now, most of these coloured yarns are factory processed and dyed and thus colourfast. The indigenous dyeing activity seems to be fading out gradually, especially in Yendi, which explains why there is little use of locally dyed indigo yarns. Traditionally, the names given to designs are normally attached to the titles of chiefs such as Wasipe Wura and Yabon Wura. Other designs have names such as kpaangkogba (guinea fowl), bolonso (cover our secret) are standard designs found in Daboya and Yendi.

3.9 **Materials**

Essentially, weavers in Yendi relied on locally produced (hand spun) yarns in the early stages in their

weaving tradition when cotton was in abundance in Northern Region. According to Abdulai, the production of cotton was seasonal where the weavers produce the cotton and sold them to the spinners. The spinners then spun the cotton yarns on spindles which were subsequently sold to weavers. This trend has changed in recent times due to the scarcity, dwindling cotton production and inactiveness of cotton factories in the north (Asinyo, Frimpong & Amankwah, 2015); weavers have resulted to the use of factory produced yarns similar to those used in Daboya. These yarns come in cones, hanks and are mostly rayon and polyester.

Looms and accessories 3.10

In Yendi, the traditional loom (Plate 9) is locally called kpalua, is different from that of Daboya structurally, although they wood are all earth pegged. The traditional loom is very simple and short as compared to Daboya looms. It is made from four (4) short posts in Y-shaped form fixed to the ground. Two (2) rounded wood or sticks are used as cloth roller. The warp roller is placed in front of the two (2) Y-shaped posts. These sticks are round to prevent breakages of the warp during weaving. The loom is made up of two heddles and a reed connected by a cord to the shed's roof. A long metal rod is used as a pawl and ratchet mechanism fixed in a hole in the cloth roller to control the flow of the woven material on the cloth roller, thereby bringing in more warp yarns to the weaving Research at Yendi, 2019) area.



Plate 9: Traditional loom in Yendi. (Source: Field

With accessories, both communities use similar loom accessories. These accessories have different and notable names with similar functionality depending on the community. The weaving accessories used by these two (2) weaving communities include bobbin (kuku alga, in Dabgani, meaning bullet), bobbin winders, shuttle which is called gambo, spool rack, skein, heddle (danse also in Dabgani), reed (piele in Dabgani meaning to hit or beat), pulleys, among others. Weavers in Daboya use wooden shuttle made in a canoe form. They make use of a wooden structured bobbin winder which is used to wind the weft yarn onto the bobbin. In Yendi, skein winder is used during warp and bobbin preparation.

Relevant sectors within the Weaving traditions 4.

Apprenticeship 4.1

In most of the weaving traditions in Africa, weaving skills are passed on from one generation to another through apprenticeship. Mostly, the training spans from three (3) months to ten (10) years, depending on what the apprentice wants to achieve. Olaoye (1989) postulates the system of apprenticeship in the vocation has no strict plan or arrangement. A person can be enrolled into an apprenticeship in any month of the year and the duration for graduation is based on the seriousness of

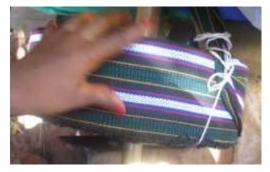


Plate 8: Woven strip from Yendi with various colours. (Source: Field Research at Yendi, 2019)

the apprentice. The practise of pit dyeing and weaving at Daboya is normally done by the youth. For the continuity of dyeing and weaving tradition, the young ones in the community are trained to take over from the older generation. This apprenticeship system is the same as the one practice in Yendi.

4.2 Taboos

Traditional weaving in Daboya was not without taboos. It was taboo for someone to dip his or her hands into another weaver's sack or bag without his consent. The consequence was that a scorpion would bite the person. It was also taboo for someone to cross or jump over a laid warp. The effect was that if the weaver pulls the warp at the time the person is crossing, the victim would be crippled. The ultimate objective of such taboos, as found with others elsewhere was to preserve the integrity and sustainability of the tradition.

4.3 Marketing

Strip-woven cloth which began in the former Gold Coast, now Ghana as a festive dress for special occasions – worn by men as a kind of toga and by women as upper and lower wrappers, has over the past forty or more years been transformed into bags, shoes, hats, ties, and many other types of apparel, including jewellery. This means that its usage has expanded over the years and in view of this development, marketing of the product is crucial. Basically, smock is marketed at retail shops and the production sites. The weavers in Daboya and Yendi as part of marketing their products receive buyers from Tamale and others from different parts of the country. The traditional weaver gets patronage from tourists who visit these weaving communities and customers who buy the strips and sew compared to others who buy the complete smock. Some customers also place special orders for certain designs which are most cherish by their customers for special occasions such as marriage ceremonies or festivals. The political season also serves as a catalyst for the sales of smock in the Northern Region. On this score, weavers design their smock base on the colours of the various political parties and they are patronised by party officials and sympathisers. Social media has played a pivotal role in marketing their products to a much broader customer base. Baba Abdulai in Yendi and Abudu Abdul Mumin in Daboya all attest to their benefits as weavers and their colleagues use these platforms to get orders and sale of their products. In fact, they revealed in some instances, new clients get in touch with them after seeing their creative work on these platforms.

4.4 Challenges

In the strip weaving communities, it was revealed that scarcity of cotton and other yarns is one of the major challenges resulting in the rise in the cost of production. The weavers explained that the high cost of materials is making them not break-even, though their products are patronised. They travel far and wide to purchase threads for weaving. Due to the scarcity, middlemen have also taken advantage of selling the yarns at exorbitant prices. Furthermore, the two communities relatively lack the needed infrastructure for the weaving process. This situation essentially puts them out of business resulting in some financial losses most especially during the rainy season due in part to their looms been stationed under trees. Daboya, generally described as an island, relatively lacks proper access road making accessibility to the town very difficult. One of the access routes is via canoe on the White Volta river. Therefore, a bridge needs to be built on the rivers to facilitate easy access by tourist and the entire community.

4.5 Economic benefits

Unlike the past, where weavers were tasked to only produce woven stripes for the royals in the community, the changing times have ended this cultural restriction to allow weavers to produce for everyone. This coupled with the use of smock weaves by many for events has made the venture very interesting for the youth and master weavers to make a living out of it. In Yendi, Abdulai revealed that indigenous weaving had provided some economic venture for the community to earn some living. He recounted that, during the election era, weavers are engaged to weave party-coloured smock weaves. This activity helps to bring in some cash-flow to the weavers used in providing the needs of the households and education of their children. He further recounted how monies from the strip weaving aided in educating his children and other relatives through the university. With the proliferation of

social media, most weavers exhibit their crafts online, of which clients contact them from every corner of the world. This has further improved their market space for more economic gains for weavers. Mumin revealed similar thoughts in Daboya on how weaving had helped weavers to provide for the needs of their families. Even though the people in the community are predominantly farmers, due to the economic benefits from strip weaving, most of the farmers are learning the craft for some extra finance.

4.6 Prospects

The future of strip weaving in the North looks bright due to the fact that smock is been worn within and outside Ghana. Dariamoah (2009) is of the view that smock was a preserve of the northern people, but today it has become a national attire at funerals, durbars and even at political rallies. An observational survey revealed that there is no single function or gathering that takes place in Ghana today, one may not spot somebody in smock. In this regard, the government of Ghana, as part of its job creation or youth employment programme through the 1D1F (One District One Factory) initiative (1D1F, 2021), should invest in the infrastructure and human resource development to promote socio-economic development of the weaving communities. This should form part of the government's strategy to alleviate abject poverty from the northern part of Ghana. Dariamoah (2009) intimates that smocks are extraordinary in quality and can serve as foreign exchange earner to satisfy the national call for diversification and creativity of the traditional export sector. Annku and Lodonu (2012) underscore the point that the consumption of visual art forms in contemporary Ghana is based on the philosophies and traditions attached to it. The visual art forms are being patronised by the African Americans in the diaspora and trace their roots back to Ghana. It was further reported in an online news portal, Peacefmonline, on April 5 2012 that, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) is leading the formulation of ideas that would come out with a blue print on a craft centre to be established for all smock weavers in Daboya, Yendi and Tamale.

5. Conclusion and policy implication

It can be concluded that strip weaving in both communities in the northern part of Ghana was introduced mainly through inter-tribal migrations from different parts of the world and practiced purposely for the economic welfare of the people. The tools and materials used are similar, though with some level of difference. Essentially, with the right government policies and investment in the weaving industry, the quantity and economic standard of the indigenes will be improved in the three northern regions of Ghana. This affirms Dariamoah (2009) view that economically the production of smocks in greater and large quantities will go a long way to provide revenue for the Ghanaian economy. It is, therefore incumbent on government, academia and the appropriate agencies to facilitate research into new materials and tools that will aid the weavers to modernise the weaving tradition in terms of tools and materials (Olaoye, 1989). According to O'Hear (1985) as cited in Olaoye (1989), the poor craft man will not in any case spend his money on new technology unless he is made to appreciate the benefits that will accrue him when embarked on such a venture. The study further recommends intensive education for the weaving communities and craftsmen to understand the need to welcome new technologies in their occupation, boosting their production levels and increasing their earnings. The study further recommends that the Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture, Ministry of Trade and Industry (MOTI) as well as the Ministry of Tourism (MOT) should institute annual smock festival and fairs in the three northern regions on rotational basis as is being done for Kente in the Ashanti Region (Frimpong and Asinyo, 2013). This will go a long way to aid the promotion of smock locally and internationally.

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