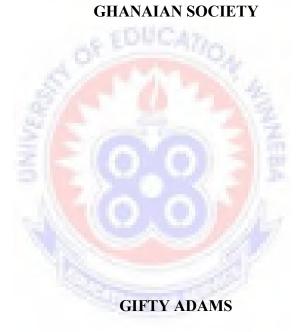
UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

MODIFIED DESIGNS OF DIPO COSTUMES FOR THE CONTEMPORARY



UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

MODIFIED DESIGNS OF DIPO COSTUMES FOR THE CONTEMPORARY GHANAIAN SOCIETY

GIFTY ADAMS

A Dissertation in the Department of Fashion and Textiles, Faculty of Technical Education, submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, University of Education, Winneba in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Master of Technology (Fashion and Textiles) degree.

DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

SIGNATURE

I, Gifty Adams declare that this dissertation, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work, and it has not been submitted, either in part or in whole, for another degree elsewhere.

in part or in whole, for another degree elsewhere.
SIGNATURE DATE
SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in
accordance with the guidelines for supervision of dissertation as laid down by the
University of Education, Winneba.
NAME OF SUPERVISOR: DR. DANIEL DANSO

DATE.....

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is especially dedicated to my beloved parents, Mr. Kingsley Adams and Mrs. Matilda Bediako.



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The performance and adherence of Ghanaian customs and traditions are cherished by society. The Dipo Rite among the Krobos is one such cherished traditions conducted to prepare adolescent girls into womanhood. The study sought to explore modified designs of Dipo costumes for the contemporary Ghanaian society. A descriptive survey was adopted for the study. Qualitative and quantitative techniques were adopted and sample size of 68 (organisers) and 60 (community and other stakeholders) were selected for the study. Data were collected through the use of questionnaires and interviews. The study found that Dipo was meant to prepare girls into womanhood, promote chastity before marriage but this has not achieved its intended purposes since teenage pregnancy continues to rise despite the initiation. Some costumes used for the rite includes red cloths (Sabue), headgear, necklace, wristbands, anklets, wristlets, beads and the like. It was realized that most of the respondents were of the view that costumes used for the rite ought to be modified since it exposes parts of girls to the public which is against fundamental human rights. It is expected that a careful review of the costumes used for the rites are done by the traditional leaders of Krobo incharge of Dipo.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Dipo is a traditional rite performed by the Krobos, a tribe in the Eastern Region of Ghana. It is a very prominent event which has been carried out for years. The practice is held very strongly by this tribal group and that every female in the tribe undergoes this rite. It is performed every year from February to June. Several girls partake in this

event which lasts for a period of four days during which they spend most of their time in the Dipo house where the rite takes place. Girls as young as two also undergo this rite. This is also more applicable to those who do not live in the country and it takes very long time to return if they leave the borders of Ghana and cherish their tradition very well. Adults as old as twenty-five who have not been initiated to the rite are normally advised to go and be initiated. These people exhibit their breasts and other private parts to the public due to the dress or the costumes used. These costume have potentially discouraged other natives from being presenting themselves to be initiated which is gradually killing the tempo of the rite.

Agra and Gbadegbe (2014) stressedthatone cannot dispute the fact that Ghana is one of the countries of Africa that can boast of her rich culture. The country, from North to South is blessed with diverse and beautiful cultures most of which are quite appealing to the international community and one of such cultures is the Dipo rite of the Krobo people in the Eastern Region of Ghana. It is believed that culture of the people forms one of the basis by which they are assessed by others. However, some of our cultural practices must be given the second look to help raise their level of decency and the richness in them. In the past, the initiation process covered an entire year or longer, now they typically last for four days, besides there is a great disparity in the ages of the girls, those who go through the rite include girls as young as five years. If Dipo used to be about home management and protection of virginity of the girls, then it becomes difficult and strange to decipher why girls of such tender ages are now being involved. Christians argue that Dipo Rite is not too bad, but just that the dressing of the initiates is outmoded and therefore needs some modifications. Reverend Ministers, Priests and Pastors at public gatherings regarding the nudity of

Dipo regularly reported in newspapers that the nude girls will present a negative, primitive image of Ghanaians and if care is not taken, this can lead to rape and immoral behaviour (Schroeder &Danquah, 2000).

Dipo festival is the greatest legacy of Krobo land and the dangme community at large. It is celebrated in the month of April by the people of Manya and YiloKrobo in the towns of KroboOdumase and Somanya, in the Eastern Region, located some 80 kilometres north of Accra. The festival is one of the famous and important festivals in Ghana. The Shai and the Ada people also perform this rite. Dipo is an initiative festival also known as Puberty rites. It is a celebration that initiates adolescent girls to womanhood. Beside the pride it brings to the participant and the entire family, it is believed that girls, who go through this ritual successfully, before they? Touch? a man, become very good wives. The objective is for the girls to preserve their virginity before getting married. It is therefore important that those who go through rites have their virginity intact (News-Ghana, 2015).

Boakye (2009) emphasized that the rites have undergone a number of changes over the years. It was previously held for girls who had reached the age of puberty and were of marriageable age but now girls as young as two and four years of age are made to go through the rites. The period for the rites has also lessened. In the past, the girls used to be camped in the Dipo house for a period of a year, then it reduced to some months and then a few weeks and today, a period of four days. Formal education is mostly attributed to this change. Marks used to be made on the back of the hands of the participants. These days, it has been replaced with photography. There have been a lot of discussions about the exposure of the body as the girls are

made to wear the very minimum clothing and have their breasts exposed during the rites. There have been calls for the abolishment of the rites as it is seen as a fetish practice which also exposes girl's nudity to the public. However, the Krobos still hold strongly to this cultural practice which is indigenous to them and is seen as an emblem of the tribe. The rites attract an increasing number of tourists from within and outside Ghana who travel to the Krobo towns every year to witness the event. The bead industry also make more sales during the season of the rites as the girls are made to wear a lot of beads in the last days of the rites. The rites were significant in preventing teenage pregnancy sexual promiscuity until girls were of age and ready to be married. However, with the increasing number of younger participants way below puberty age, it is feared that the Dipo is gradually loosing its significance.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

According to Anarfi (2003), the Krobos are among the few people with the highest rates of HIV/AIDS in Ghana and he attributes it partly to the present cultural interpretation of the Dipo cult particularly the young age at which girls are initiated and the fact that early pregnancy after initiation is not frowned upon. He therefore states that Dipo is "no longer a preparation for good marriage but a license for early sexual activity" (p:32). There are some aspects of the rite, such as the exposure of girls' breast, washing of feet with the blood of a goat among others which are criticised a lot and also go against the 21st Century's sense of women's dignity. These lead to the abuse of human right and freedom of the girls involved, and also amount to more or less maltreatment and embarrassment of the girls.

Anarfi (2003), further points out that "with the misconception of what rites of passage are, Western culture perceives greater aspects of rites as devilish", including Dipo. He also delves into the issue of religion and education by saying that "Christians and Muslims see puberty rites as devilish and the educated elites see it as outmoded" (p:5). The religious discourse in relation to Dipo is a major issue in the Krobo society today. A number of Krobos profess to be Christians and do not wish to be associated themselves with the rite as it is performed within the traditional religion and practices such as ancestral worship, making of libation, among others are contrary to Christian beliefs. This discourse has persisted since the Krobos first had contact with missionaries and with the increasing number of churches springing up in the Krobosociety, it is bound to persist for a long time to come. Meanwhile, the Dipo custom keeps undergoing changes as culture is not static but dynamic. Even though there have been some slight changes in the Dipo rites, the costumes used by the girls in the rites are still provocative for the contemporary Ghanaian society and need to be modified. Therefore, this research is essentially to identify problems associated with the use of the existing Dipo costumes. It is also aimed at designing more improved Dipo costumes for use in the present Ghanaian society.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The study aims to:

- Identify and describe the existing costumes used in the Dipo rite of the Krobos in the Eastern Region of Ghana and their relevance
- ii. Critically analyse the strengths and weaknesses associated with Dipo rite.
- iii. Design and produce modified Dipo costumes for the Krobos in Ghana.

1.6 Research Questions

- i. What are the various costumes used for the Dipo rite and their functions?
- ii. What are the positive and negative impacts of the Dipo rite?
- iii. What best garments can be designed and produced for Dipo rite in the contemporaryGhanaian society?

1.5 Assumptions

The designing and sewing of garments that will cover the breasts and thighs of the girls initiated during the rite can enhance modesty in dressing. The use of footwear and purse as part of the Dipo costumes will be more suitable for the modern Ghanaian community.

1.6 Scope of the study

The study seeks to study the Dipo rituals with special consideration of the costumes used. The rationale for the practising of Dipo and the functions of the various elements that form the outfit for the rite are also considered.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The study was challenged with several constraints. The first has to do with inadequate recording materials for the interviews. It was difficult in conducting the interviews due to faults on recording equipments. Moreover, some of the people were simply reluctant to cope with researcher during the survey. Since the study was centered on Lower ManyaKrobo only, its findings cannot be generalized to cover other puberty rites conducted in other parts of the country.

1.8 Significance of the Study

The results from this study will be important in several ways. It will:

- i. Serve as a reference material for other research works on Dipo.
- ii. Help the people of Krobo land to know actually what improved costume to use as substitute to the existing types.

1.9Arrangement of Chapters

The study has been arranged into five chapters. Chapter One presents the general background of the study, the problem statement, research questions, objectives of the study, scope of the study, significance of the study and the chapter arrangements. This part of the study deals with thorough review of literature relevant to the study. The review considers the findings of other authors who have conducted similar studies related to the study. The theoretical frameworks of the study by other authors were used in the process to get comprehensive understanding of the subject under study. The Chapter Three of the study presents the methodology that the researcher used in the gathering of the data. It also includes the statistical tools that were used in the analysis of the gathered data. The Chapter Four presents the findings of the study as a result of the data analysed. The findings were presented in the form of tables, percentages and charts. The Chapter Five presents the summary of the findings, conclusions, recommendations and suggestion for further studies.



CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The main reason for this chapter is to review literature on the Puberty rites and more specifically rite of passage of Dipo in the global context, (Africa; West Africa; Ghana), and the theoretical framework guiding this study.

2.2 Puberty and its Relevance

Puberty is defined as the age or period at which a person is first capable of sexual reproduction, in other eras of history, a rite or celebration of this landmark event was a part of the culture. This is true of tribal societies that exist today, but for most, puberty as a specific event is part of a much more complicated piece of lives of adolescence (Huber, 1963).

In the early twentieth century, Hall, a noted American psychologist, first defined adolescence as a distinct stage in human development. This great step in the tracking of our evolution affected the rites of passage for puberty in a permanent way. Instead of a rite that focuses on the crossing of a threshold, moving from childhood to adulthood, we have a random series of experiences spanning a period as long as fifteen years. There are many reasons for this, but three factors contribute in a way that has accelerated in post World War II.

First is an increased vigilance in protecting our young. One aspect of this is a genuine desire to protect our children from hardship, combined with a yearning for upward mobility. My parents did everything in their power to prevent me from "going without," as they did growing up during the Depression. Balancing this is a desire to shield ourselves from old age. The changes in the nuclear family have deep roots in this post-war period, and although women were bribed back into the home with the latest in 50's technology manifested in appliances designed to make their lives easier, men were more likely to return from war with expanded skills, access to education, and no small amount of wanderlust. Families packed up and left the old home town, leaving Grandma and Grandpa behind. Over time, our veneration of our elders was

replaced with the adoration of youth. By protecting our children, we keep them "young," thus preserving the fiction of our own youth (Huber, 1963; Turner, 1967).

Second, for most of us, a gap of varying degrees separates our spiritual lives and our physical lives. This gap is supported by a technological world where more and more energy is consumed in using one's "head." The result is less energy for one's heart and one's instincts. Some parents are exceptional, in that when their daughter got their first menstrual period, they had prepared their children for that. The careful, rather neutral talks with some moms, started at about age ten, were about the changes that their daughter's body would undergo. As stated by Huber, people had more "upfront" talks with their dads about what these changes would elicit from young men, and the changes they would be experiencing at the same time. But at no time was it suggested that one should stop and contemplate what this meant in a spiritual context, although one was now able to bring forth life - connecting hand to hand with numberless women before me, with sacred choices and responsibilities (Huber, 1963; Turner, 1969).

Some rites involved what people call mutilation: scarring, piercing of body parts, and tattooing, all endured in silence. Others revolved around endurance: beating, rigorous fasting, trials of pain, and seclusion, one tribe sequestered their young women for a full year. This seclusion allowed the young women to remove themselves from daily chores and contemplate their new status. In addition, there were rites surrounding the imposition and subsequent removal of taboos, such as single sex mysteries, specific dietary laws, even specific speech restrictions. These things provided a structure for young people to work within. For example, as a child, you can talk to all males, but

when you become a maiden, there exists a whole set of guidelines that ease you into the areas of courtship and mating by designating what conduct is appropriate and safe. Common to all types of rites is the use of ritual paint, special clothing, a new name, and specific instructions from the elders about sacred law, daily life and tribal legends. Honour, loyalty, respect, and how these might be maintained or breached were shared with you. You were initiated into adult privilege (Wilson as cited in Turner, 2009).

Today, at least in Western cultures, there is no such clearly defined threshold, and our "rites" are randomly scattered throughout the mid-teen years. Getting your driver's license, entering college, turning legal age, travelling across are all social rites. But the entrance to this most turbulent period of our lives is vague, and veiled in folktales and low expectations. To further complicate matters, the period of adolescence has probably doubled in length since Huey first identified it, our children mature younger and younger and take longer and longer to prepare for fully engaged membership in the adult sphere. Perhaps we need to look at ways to redefine the doorway so that the circle of adolescence is complete (Huey, 2002).

Adulthood. People give the appearance of having left adolescence behind, but that is a myth. Efforts to integrate the experiences of those years through analysis - personal and professional - occupy vast amounts of time and energy. Shared descriptions of events from that period, most often in single-sex settings, are as vivid as if they had happened recently. Perhaps adolescence is a universal shamanic experience - failing apart, reshaping, agony, ecstasy, coming out new (Eidheim, 1971). With few exceptions, most adult Pagans come from other more established belief systems and quite often had the appropriate religious ceremonies in early adolescence. In

retrospect, however, it is clear that our Christian confirmations or Jewish Bar and Bat Mitzvahs were not entirely fulfilling. This is one place where the gap between what is happening to us physically and what is taking place spiritually is evident.

There is a longing among us to have that time marked in ways we would describe now with Pagan definition. Ritual baths, special cords and robes, new names, vision quests are all thought of as ways to mark this passage. More importantly, however, we wish there had been a deeper connection with one or both parents. Given our general age group, we again see the connection to the Post War era. Our parents' generation was perhaps the first to raise children facing the prospect of a "carefree" teenagehood. The economy was less depressed and middle-class life became the norm. The luxury of a teenagehood must have seemed an alien and confusing thing to our parents, and their confusion is part of the emotional baggage we struggle to shed. Our longing for deeper connections are selfish, both because of our own needs, and also because of a desire to do better by our own young (Ardener, 1972).

When a research was conducted about several Pagan young adults on their teenagehood, it was found very interesting that few of their parents, who are also Pagan, actually say they are raising their children as Pagans, perhaps because of issues about labelling and limiting exploration. These people, too, had very typical moments of pain, confusion and loneliness, offset by the joy and excitement of growing independence. But there was a difference in the pattern or energy, a kind of empowerment. "Empowerment" has become a buzzword, but it truly conveys what that experience evoked. These people have a centre, a focus, rooted in nature and

nourished by a broader vision of the universe than the one conceived of by their peers. It is this empowerment that helped to ground the confusion and loneliness. This feeling of empowerment partially manifested as a more mature viewpoint than the peer group offered and often set the youngster apart. One woman described it as "having an attitude ... some might say a bad attitude!" At a time when most kids could not be more disenfranchised by society, any internal strength sticks out like a red flag (Eidheim, 1971).

Although generally more mature, often less impressed by the surface goings-on, these women do not believe they were angels, or perfect, or superior. But the mantle of an inner wisdom and maturity, and the sense of being part of a whole universe, helped them form a positive attitude that the community will come to rely on as they grow. It is genuine. It is responsible. Responsibility is a key word for these young Pagans. The lessons of connection to Mother Earth, to one's community, friends and family, were all absorbed. Coming of age meant taking on rights and responsibilities, and making informed choices. One man feels that a puberty rite when he was younger would have meant less than the rite he now looks forward to, as he celebrates his separation from the circle of his family and the shaping of the circle of his adult life. Informed choices. Knowing there is always some degree of choice, our young adults realize that they can be and they can do, if they have the will and the intention. Entering adolescence, taking that first leap off the cliff, means a long terrifying fall to most. This new generation of Pagan adults understands that there is a long scary fall, but that in leaping, one can choose to fly (Eidheim, 1971).

Empowerment, Responsibility, Choice. Does this translate at all to the pre-teens with one foot firmly planted in childhood and the other kicking at the door of adolescence? In some ways, it does not translate at all, because we are not truly a physical community. Our kids grow up apart from each other, and often do not see that their cousins, siblings and friends are following the same patterns they follow. In addition, our community is largely made up of adult "converts": as yet we have few children to hand traditions down to (Eidheim, 1971).

A few pre-teens talked about their ideas of what lies ahead. They have an abundance of self-confidence, partly in themselves, but more in their ability to choose and to do. They expressed a deep conviction that Pagan beliefs feel right to them, and seemed to question why other children do not have the choices they do. The young women look ahead to their own rites with uncertainty. The idea of a rite of passage for this particular time in their lives is a little alien to them, but the attention that comes with a special rite of their own is exciting. A young man from Maryland describes his rite as the most powerful experience of his life, and looks forward to the rites that lie ahead of him. Whether having their own rites will produce that same enthusiasm for the young women depends on many things (Ardener, 1972).

In providing the context for puberty rites, there is a mandate on us to establish rituals that include the energy of previous times and tribes, and that also embrace the realities of our children. Some girls bleed as young as nine years old. They need to be able to connect with their own power, while feeling supported in the fact that they are not women in society's terms. Some girls mature emotionally at a young age, and are desperately in need of the transformation that a rite would offer - yet their first menstruation may not come until their mid-teens. Young men fare equally unevenly.

The need for support and acknowledgement may come long before any physical signs of sexual maturation.

Let us consider three rituals that together manifest the energy of growth into adulthood. The first might be a ritual, at age nine or ten, which says, "You are no longer a child. You are a Maiden/Warrior/Youth. and you begin the path that will take you to adulthood." The second ritual, at a girl's first menstruation and some obvious sign of physical maturity in boys, would say, "You have now crossed into young adulthood. You are a young woman/young man now, and can accept some rights and responsibilities." Finally, we could close the circle of adolescence with a third ritual one of separation, which says:

"Now you are a man/woman. and though the circle of your life will always include energy from the one you have shared with your family, it is time to create your own circle".

The rites of passage connect us life to life and generation to generation. By addressing the specific energy of each rite, we recognize the different steps in the transitions from child to adult as they exist now in our culture, honour those steps, and in doing so, we keep the energy of the circle flowing freely (Ardener, 1972).

2.3 Meaning of Dipo

Dipo is a Ghanaian traditional festival celebrated by the people of the Krobo land in the Eastern region of Ghana. The festival is celebrated between the month of February and February every year. The festival is used to usher into puberty, girls who are virgins and it signifies that a lady, who partakes in it, is of age to be married (Anarfi, 2003).

2.3.1 The 'ancient' form of Dipo

The Dipo ceremony used to last a very long time as there was no formal education and it served as vocational training for matured girls. It could last several months and even up to ayear. The girls were camped and made to go through several processes, in the form of a "curriculum" for the training. They were taught how to tend a farm, collect firewood for cooking in the home (they had to have a reserve of firewood in their homes as good women because they could have visitors at night), fetching of water, doing dishes and laundering clothes. They were sent to a riverside and taught how to wash their clothes and learnt personal hygiene in the process. The girls also took turns to do the cooking during the period of seclusion. Pounding of the traditional *fufu*was taught and also how to serve food to the extended members of their husband's family when they were married.

After going through this process, the blessing of the gods were sought for the girls and the 'old lady' gave the consent or approval that the girls have passed the training process and were ready for marriage. Some of the girls may have been betrothed before going through the rite. Their suitors were therefore expected to contribute to the performance of the rite for the girls. They also carried the girls from the shrine after the ultimate test of sitting on the sacred stone as a means of warding off other interested men. This also signified that they would one day carry the girl to their bed. The girls had their bodies exposed during the rite as a form of marketing – to show the members (especially men) of the community that the girls were beautiful and ripe for marriage and therefore attract potential suitors. They were taken to the market place to dance also as a form of exposure to the outside world. It was common in those days, for girls to be married soon after Dipo was performed for them.

In line with this account, Teyegaga (1985) mentions three aspects of the Dipo custom as was originally performed by *Nana Kloweki*— the social, religious and outdooring aspects. The social aspect involved training in home management, housecraft and child-bearing. After this training, they went through three tests. The first was a test of their ability to perform household chores after which marks were made on their wrists. The second was the observation of their naked bodies by *Nana Kloweki*to confirm that she was physical mature for marriage and childbirth. Marks were given on their bellies after this test. The last test was a seal which comprised of incisions on the back of the waist which signified that it was only a girl's husband who should be allowed to hold her waist. The religious aspect involved the climbing of the sacred rock, on which the girls were expected to dance amidst drumming and singing. A girl who fell during this activity was suspected to have conceived, which if confirmed, resulted in her expulsion from the tribe.

The outdooring aspect involved a great feast which served as a family reunion. The girls were dressed in expensive beads and cloths and made to perform the Klama dance. Most girls entered into customary marriages immediately afterwards and as such, "the real aim of establishing dipo custom that is, to train and outdoor grown up girls for marriage" was fulfilled. Teyegaga (1985) further states that "this is the original form of dipo custom in ancient days when Nana Kloweki was living with the Krobos on the Krobo Mountain" There is however a difference in the way it is now performed. A description of the custom as I witnessed it during fieldwork is given in a later section.

2.4 Historical Development of Dipo

Dipo has been said to be a major "integrating element of the Krobo society" (Arlt, 1995). The practice was observed when the Krobos still inhabited the mountain and was continued when they settled in the areas surrounding the mountains. The two Krobo groups observe the practice. There are different versions as to how Dipo originated in the Krobo society. These versions however are not contested even though some Krobos are more inclined to some versions than others (especially the one about the nobleman who had two wives). It is believe that accounts of the origin of the custom would help give a better understanding of its significance and why it is still strongly adhered to, as would be discussed in subsequent chapters. The different versions got are given below. An account from the Queen mothers in Krobo-Odumase refers to Dipo as an informal family life education for a true Krobo girl child. It starts from the first week in February until the first week in April and is done to usher girls into womanhood. It involves training through home management to motherhood in order to make an ideal woman. In the past, the birth of a male child was cherished a lot by the men because of their predominant occupation – farming and hunting.

The male child was expected to accompany the father to the farm, hunt and also get the property inheritance. Males were held in higher esteem than females and as such, some customs were performed for them and their mothers. They were given gifts and a cock was slaughtered for them after circumcision but nothing was done for the female child. The women got jealous and decided to put their heads together with *Nana Kloweki*, a female leader, to come out with something cultural which makes a girl of importance in the society. They therefore decided to shape and mould the lifestyle of the girl-child in order to make her a proper and ideal Krobo woman fit for

the Krobo home, family and society. Some standards were set – the girls had to be virgins and about 27 years of age before Dipo was performed for them. It involved a one-year home training in confinement. During this confinement, the girls were taught housewifery by the old women and this involved; how to shine their pots, clean the drinking calabash, cooking, sweeping, and washing among others.

A similar version is recounted by Teyegaga (1985). Another version revealed about how Dipo started also traces it to a legend that a man had two wives one of whom had only male children while the other had female children. Circumcision is a very important aspect of the Krobo society and every Krobo male is expected to be circumcised. In the past, the circumcision and some rituals were performed for teenage boys after which, they were adorned with nice attire and beads and paraded in the community. A feast was also held in their honour. The woman with female children got jealous of this and as such, an initiation for girls was instituted. Huber (1963) attests to this legend on the origin of Dipo. It is also believed to have been originated by the ancient priestess Nana Kloweki("Klo" meaning the Krobo, "we" meaning people, and "ki" indicating a first-born child) who came with the Krobos in migration. She instituted the practice as a form of vocation. The young girls were brought together and given to aged women. They were secluded and taught the nine arts of domestic science - cookery, personal hygiene, home-keeping, care for members of the family (including the extended family), commercial activities (farming) and marketing, first aid (mainly herbal practices), poetry, singing and dancing.

The girls were thus, prepared for marriage at the end of which, a formal certification was done by the outdooring of the girls. Huber (1963) also reports the origin of Dipo to be linked to the worship of *Nana Kloweki* who eventually became a deity. In another interview, It was revealed that Dipo was initially held as a family affair where all the young girls of marriageable age were gathered for about six months and later reduced to three months. The "old lady" (who was the female family head) took the girls through several processes and training in home management. Due to tribal wars, a lot of fear was created in the Krobo society and as such, the priests gained a stronger hold on the society and Krobo customs, Dipo being one of them. They therefore took charge of the performance of Dipo and introduced certain elements in the rite such as the stone that the girls had to sit on. Huber (1963) relates another version where it is claimed that a ceremony which involved "washing of the girls" was previously observed before the inception of the Dipo ceremony. Water was poured on the head of the girls three times and the water flowed down their bodies. This was carried out by the "old lady" of the house or a priestess. After this, the girls were blessed and their bodies "marked with the powder of the reddish boa stone" Huber (1963) however traces three major sources of the origin of Dipo:

- a. "The worship of Nana Kloweki which appears to have been brought from Togoland by the susui sub-tribe" (one of the Krobo sub-tribes or clans). The elements of *Nana Kloweki's* cult such as wearing of the hats, the use of the Roan antelope's skin and goat sacrifice are therefore observed.
- b. "The worship of sacred rocks which, on the Mountain, probably existed prior to the coming of the Kloweki deity." The Krobos had a rock on the Mountain known as *Totrokuor Tekpete*which were of spiritual significance to the Krobos.

c. "The "washing of the girls" which has its counterpart in the first menstruation ceremonies of the Akan and Guan people, and possibly originated from that side." This assumption is further confirmed by the fact that some groups of the Krobos migrated from the Akan tribe.

2.4.1 Stages of Dipo

The Diporite involve many activities divided into stages. The first stage involves replacing the normal waist beads with a single string with only one reddish bead tied to it. A very large red lion cloth is then affixed to the string both in front and at the back of the girl to cover her genital organ. A guide then leads each girl to stand on a sacred antelope skin in a room saying to her, "inenenedzewakasi-mi peehe ha mo, ne opeeklo-yo" meaning, "I am performing our traditional rite for you, that you may become a Krobo woman" (Agra &Gbadegbe, 2014, p. 23).

This is followed by the guide helping the girls to grind millet. The essence of this ritual is to introduce the girls to one of the most important duties of a Krobowoman, that is, grinding of millet for the household. On Saturday, the girls are sent to a stream where they are cleansed and dressed up. Goats presented by their parents are sacrificed with merry making. The blood of the goat is believed to wash away any evil thing that may be harmful to the healthy development of the girls toward mature womanhood and motherhood (Agra &Gbadegbe, 2014).

2.5. The Dynamic institution of Dipo in Ghana

Dipo is not altogether praised in Ghana. The practice has aroused a number of debates. While some people believe it is a cultural practice that should be continued,

others are of the opinion that it is old-fashioned and has no significance in the modern Ghanaian society. The practice has gone through a number of changes among which is a drastic reduction in the age of participants. Girls as young as two also undergo the rites. According to Anarfi (2003), the Krobos record some of the highest rates of HIV/AIDS in Ghana and he attributes it partly to the "present cultural interpretation of the Dipo cult" particularly the young age at which girls are initiated and the fact that early pregnancy after initiation is not frowned upon.

He therefore states that Dipo is "no longer a preparation for good marriage but a license for early sexual activity" (p.1). Sackey (2001) attests to this fact and advocates that aspects such as shaving of the hair which is a possible cause of HIV/AIDS should be stopped. She however believes that the prevalence rate has increased because of the wane in the performance of puberty rites for girls and suggests that "if the performance of puberty rites were to be enforced, sexual indulgence would be deferred and the youth protected from Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs) including HIV/AIDS... (p. 2)". Schroeder and Danquah (2000) also believe that Dipo could be used as a means of preventing the spread of HIV/AIDs and other STDs in Ghana "if the girls adhere to the teachings" and abstained from sex until they were married. Some other aspects of the rite such as the exposure of initiates' breasts, washing their feet with the blood of a goat among others have also been subject to critique. Tetteh (2006) states that these aspects "offends the 21st Century's sense of women's dignity... abuse human right and freedom of the girls involved, ... amount to more or less maltreatment of a child" and is also embarrassing to the girls and a means for ridicule from their friends. Shroeder and Danquah (2000) further point out that "with the misconception of what rites of passage are, Western culture perceives

all rites as devilish", including Dipo (p. 14). They also delve into the issue of religion and education when they state that "Christians and Muslims see puberty rites as devilish and the educated elites see it as outmoded".

The religious discourse in relation to Dipo is a major issue in the Krobo society today. Profess to be Christians and do not wish to be associated with the rite as it is performed within the traditional religion and practices such as ancestral worship, pouring of libation among others are contrary to Christian beliefs. This discourse has persisted since the Krobos first had contact with missionaries and with the increasing number of churches springing up in the Krobosociety, it is bound to persist for a long time to come. Meanwhile, the Dipo custom keeps undergoing changes as culture is not static but dynamic. These changes, such as the possibility of paying money to avoid shaving of the hair for instance, will be discussed in detail later in this study and they have been made partly in response to the above-mentioned factors.

2.6 The structure of Dipo and symbolism

Turner (1986) writes extensively about the rites of passage practiced by the Ndembus of Zambia. In the liminal period, the initiates are thought to be going through several states and transitions until they are reintegrated as mature individuals fully accepted into the society. Turner therefore presents a model for rites of passage which involves three phases: Separation, Liminality and Reaggregation.

Separation

Separation involves the camping or seclusion of initiates from their normal, everyday lives. It gives them a break from their current state and allows for the transformation to take place. It involves a peculiar form of dressing for identification and food restrictions. Dipo is characterized by this. The first stage of Dipo involves taking all initiates to the Dipo house where they are stripped and dressed in the red lion-cloths, have their hair shaved and have the *sonit*ied on their necks to identify them as initiates. Everyone who sees the girls in this manner immediately identifies them as initiates and they become distinct from other members of the society even though camping does not start immediately.

Their food restrictions also commence at this point. They are not allowed to eat any 'foreign foods' but food mainly indigenous to the Krobo like the *plaintainfufut*hey eat on Saturday after the ritual bath, water yam, and palm oil sauce. They are also not permitted to drink tap water but only water drawn from wells. Some girls like Dede, have a longer period of separation because they were specially chosen by the gods for that purpose. The rest of the girls however, are secluded for the period of four days – Friday to Monday in which it is compulsory for them to spend the night at the Dipohouse on Saturday and Sunday. This seclusion provides a break from a usual routine, creating a period of rest while partaking in activities that brings about transformation – cleansing through washing, anointing with oils and sprinkling of liquids, performance of Klama dance, eating of indigenous Krobo foods and visiting the shrine where they give proof of being a good example of a Krobo woman.

Liminality

During the period of seclusion, initiates go through a period of liminality which is the transformation process - the transition from girls to women. According to Barnard and Spencer (2006), "Turner argued that long periods of liminality lead to the development of a transcendent feeling of social togetherness which he called 'Communitas'" which basically implies "...a generalized and eternal social bond which transcends social structure and brings the ritual participant under the authority of the community. Represented by 'symbolic inversion' during the liminal phase." They further stress that it is these "bonds between people which enable society to exist". Submissiveness and passivity are two very observable features of initiates at this stage of initiation. They simply comply with all instructions. Turner (2009) sums up their situation as follows: The initiates at this stage are not girls and neither are they women. They are in a transitional phase – neither children nor adults and the ritual is meant to help them pass through this transition. Initiates experience this 'feeling of social togetherness' at this point. It is consolation to know that they are not going through it alone. Others are going through it with them – being dressed as they are, restricted from some food as they are, taking part in the activities just as they are. This gives them courage to brave it through the rite which otherwise would have been difficult- possible but difficult.

The ritual bath which is one of the major events in the custom is a symbol of cleansing. Initiates need to be cleansed by taking a bath. The red camwood substance and white chalky water sprinkled on the girls after the ritual bath serve as a sign of purification and protection. The washing with water from a calabash is meant to purify them before the climax of activities. The slaughtered goat also serves this purpose. The blood poured on the feet of initiates is a form of purification. An informant puts it this way, "The blood is poured on the feet for purification,"

cleansing.... like the blood of Jesus to cleanse our sins". Huber (1963) was also given a similar explanation about this and states "the blood is thought to wash away anything in the adolescent girl who could be harmful for her healthy development towards mature womanhood and motherhood".

The blood of the goat is therefore a strong symbol of cleansing and the washing away of impurity. The sprinkling of water by the priest's assistant on the way to the shrine is also meant to ward off any polluting element along the way. The cross-like stick which initiates hold in their hands on the way to the stone has also some purification significance. According to Teyegaga (1985), *Nana Kloweki*, just before her disappearance from Krobo land had a vision in which she saw a man holding a cross and the man said to her "This is the symbol of purification that is coming". The cross was therefore meant to signify the purification of the girls. I was informed that it served as a kind of protection for the girls as they approach the stone which is similar to that given by Huber (1963). Steegstra (2004) on the other hand, mentions that this was "the symbol of Kloweki". However, not all the girls had this cross so its purpose is not very consistent.

Reaggregation

At this stage, initiates are re-incorporated into the society – this time not as girls but as matured women, ready to take their place in society. Among the Krobos, this reentering of the society involves the painstakingly dressing the initiate with a lot of beads on the neck, arm, wrist and the waist especially. They are worn expensive silk cloth, scarves or wigs, light make-up and golden earrings. A durbar is held and initiates are called to perform the Klama dance individually or in groups to the

admiration of all. They are also taken from house to house, to dance, thank family and friends and generally announce to the entire community that they have been initiated and are now full-fledged Krobo citizens. This re-incorporation gives the initiates the license to engage in sexual activities and as such, should pregnancy occur even outside of marriage, it is not seen as taboo. This is, however, one of the reasons the rite has been criticized.

Symbols and meanings

Symbols, according to Turner (1967) is "a thing regarded by general consent as naturally typifying or representing or recalling something by possession of analogous qualities or by association in fact or thought." With this definition in mind, symbols may be understood to be representations due to the quality they possess to be compared or identified with some things which are deemed similar. Symbols in a ritual are therefore used to typify something and therefore carry along with them some meanings. A property of symbols Turner highlights is their ability to give several meanings and represent a number of things which he terms the "polysemy or multivocality" of rituals. People may share symbols but the meaning of these symbols may vary among them. The Dipo custom for instance, is a symbol of the Krobos which they all share but they have different understanding of the various aspects of the custom and for that reason there are quite several explanations for some of the features observed in the custom.

To effectively interpret symbols in a ritual, Turner advocates three standpoints "(1) the level of indigenous interpretation... (2) the operational meaning and (3) the positional meaning" Native informants give the indigenous interpretation while the positional meaning can be inferred from observing not only how people talk about the

symbol but what they do with it (p. 123). The meaning therefore has to be inferred from its use. The positional meaning on the other hand would stem from its relationship to other symbols a whole, very much pointing to the ability of symbols to give off different meanings. It is with this background that the discussion of symbolism in Dipo was carried out. Turner (1967) gives examples of symbols he observed during the Ndembu rituals as "objects, activities, relationships, events, gestures and spatial units in a ritual situation".

Being barefooted throughout the initiation also had an implication aside being a form of identification. It was claimed by an informant that there was a leaf, which, when stuck under the feet or any footwear for that manner, was capable of driving away all spirits in the household shrines. Since some people had bad intentions, it was a strategy to remove the spirits in shrines by sticking the leaf to their footwear. The leaf however had no potency if placed anywhere else but under the feet. Another interpretation was the fact that the ritual house was a holy place, just like a mosque and so everyone present there had to be barefooted. Though the appearance of initiates serves ritual purposes, it is a major issue of contention against the Dipo practice as it is deemed outmoded.

The red-loin cloth worn by initiates symbolizes menstruation which of course is a sign that a girl is capable of conception. This red cloth is worn most of the time and only interchanged with the white for some rituals like the visit to the stone. The white cloth is also a sign of fertility, purity and holiness. This is in line with having gone through purification. The charcoal marks given before initiates visit the stone imply that initiates are participating out of a "free heart" and so enter marriage out of a "free

heart". The marks also signify fertility. Initiates are given the permission to give birth to as many as possible. In the past, marks used to be made on the waist along with those on the back of the hand also as a sign of fertility. Waist beads also represent the fecundity of initiates.

The symbolic entry into womanhood inspires the leaf placed in their mouth on the way to the sacred stone. As Krobo women, they are not supposed to speak unless invited to. They are supposed to be discreet and think through their words before they are said. Discretion on the part of women seems to be strongly emphasized in the society but Steegstra (2004) also noticed that is the case even with the ceremony itself as not everything is revealed. The white, square-shaped piece of cloth placed on the head of initiates as they visit the shrine represents the value of the victorious thing being performed for them. It is not supposed to fall off because it should be treated like an egg which should not break. This indicates that their lives were precious and so should not let it fall, or better still, mess it up. Some activities and objects also serve the important function of determining if a girl is pregnant for instance; the antelope skins they are made to stand on. It is believed that a pregnant girl or one that has previously aborted would go mad if she stood on the skin (Huber, 1963; Steegstra, 2004).

Huber (1963) and Steegsra (2004) also mention this. During the focus group discussion with three generations of women, it was revealed by the elderly women that a millet drink was prepared from the millet ground by the girls. Fermentation of the drink was an indication that one of the girls was pregnant. In another interview, their informant claimed that meat or soup was boiled in a clay pot, if one of the initiates was pregnant, the pot got broken. The stone is also believed to determine this.

It is claimed to reject any girl who has conceived or aborted. The success of these activities was therefore an indication that no girl had defiled herself by conception or abortion prior to the performance of Dipo. Upon emergence from the shrine, the initiates are carried, shoulder high or on the back, hurriedly back to the Dipo house amidst shooting in air. In addition, people encourage the carriers to fun faster by shouting that the Akans were at their heels.

The Klama dance performed by the girls which involves intricate movement of the hands and toes with the head bowed is also an indication of womanhood (Huber, 1963; Steegsra, 2004). It implies that as women, they are to "dance gorgeously and not throw their legs about when they dance. They had to bow their heads when dancing so the men could not see their faces properly because they were virgins (p. 64)." Even in dance, a woman is expected to display some form of decorum. A lot of time is spent teaching the girls this dance and this is the order of the day during the outdooring ceremony. Marks given in the past served the purpose of signifying that a girl had been through initiation. Those given at the back of the hands, called "sweeping marks" indicated that a girl had gone through the training in housekeeping skills taught during initiation. This is the essence of passing a blade over initiates' hands (without making cuts) after they swept and imitated cooking with traditional cooking utensils before the outdooring (Huber, 1963; Steegsra, 2004). That mark served as a kind of certificate to show that the girl was capable of performing the household duties required of her as a Krobo woman. Marks were also made on the belly and they signified that the girls were matured enough to bear children. These marks were given after physically examination of their naked bodies by the priestesses, basically relying on their indigenous ways of knowing. Another set of

marks were made on the waist which indicated that the girls have been given permission to engage in intercourse and bear children. She was therefore to permit only her husband to touch her waist. A woman, who could show these marks, gave clear evidences that she had been initiated. This is no longer the case as discussed earlier. The initiates are worn straw hats after their visit to the shrine. These hats are also worn by the priests. According to Huber (1963), these hats were indicative of the girls' initiation into the priestly cult of *Nana Kloweki*. One priest, however, pointed out that it served to signify that the girls have been through initiation. This was due to the possibility for people to dress up and take pictures without passing through initiation. The hats however could not be worn "anyhow" and so served as a sign that one had really been through the custom.

Turner (1967) classifies symbols as being dominant or instrumental. In the Ndembu ritual he observed, the dominant symbols identified were a series of trees or plants and shrines. He claims that dominant symbols in life-crisis rituals represent "kinds of efficacy" in other words, their ability to produce a desired outcome. The examples he gives from male rituals are trees and medicines which may represent strength, virility, masculinity, an erect phallus among others. In the same vein, it can be inferred that dominant symbols in the Dipo custom are the sacred stone and the loin-cloths used by initiates. Dominant symbols are regarded as such because of their ability to produce a desired outcome. The visit to the stone serves as the climax of the ritual and is the main focus of the initiation. A girl who successfully emerges after her visit to the stone is the one who is regarded as a Krobo woman and she is reinstated into the society as such. The loin-cloths worn by the girls symbolize fertility and purity which is a major theme of the ritual. These are regarded as such because, as will be

discussed in a later section, it is a woman's fecundity that establishes her place in the patrilineal society.

Instrumental symbols on the other hand, are those which are used as a means of accomplishing the goals of rituals. Turner (1967) gives examples of this in the context of women's rituals as trees that bear fruit or have a large number of rootlets. Since the focus of the ritual is fertility, these symbols are used as a means to an end - the emphasis on fecundity. As earlier pointed out, the goal of the Dipo custom is to make women out of the girls - proper Krobo women who would be able to perform the roles and responsibilities expected of them. The activities such as the washing of the loin cloth during the ritual bath and the grinding of the millet depict gendered roles and responsibilities and serve as instrumental symbols. It is through these activities that the goal of Dipo can be achieved and is also the reason why they are activities that are still observed despite the short period in which the initiation is carried out. Mendonsa (2001) also draws attention to the fact that symbols could either represent "continuity or change, tradition or modernity (p. 16)". Giving an example from the Sisala of Northern Ghana, the use of traditional symbols such as a headscarf may indicate a couple's desire to have a relationship that leads to marriage and a man's ability to provide for his wife.

On the other hand, when a young man decorates his home with modern furniture and uses this as a means to attract girls, he indicates his attainment of a modern status, independence and ability to support a girl to live the modern life. This clearly indicates how symbols may be used to indicate a change in thought pattern and/or social status or the adherence to traditional norms and values. It further illustrates the point that people may not totally agree upon what symbols should mean even though

they share them. It was also common for female relatives to spray expensive designer perfumes on the girls as they danced; an obvious indication of the modern life. An entire ritual could also be a symbol. The performance of an initiation gives off a message- entry into adulthood. The Dipo ceremony itself therefore carries a meaning and not just aspects of it such as the objects and activities performed during the initiation. It depicts the transformation of Krobo girls into Krobo women and the perception of who an ideal Krobo woman should be (Mendonsa, 2001; Richards, 1982).

Turner (1967) and Richards (1982) also draw attention to colour symbolism. In the Chisungu ritual, Richards brings out the importance of colour in the rite. She indicates the use of red camwood powder which symbolizes blood and that the colour red in most rituals represents menstrual blood. White on the other hand, represented cleaning or washing and white beads were representative of fertility. Turner (1967) also noted the use of red and white clay in the Ndembu ritual and the fact that these two colours may sometimes carry gender connotations for example, red representing femininity and white masculinity. However "color symbolism is not consistently sexlinked, although red and white may be situationally specified to represent the opposition of the sexes" (Ibid: 61). Similarly in the Dipo custom, the colour red represents fertility while white stands for purity, victory and holiness. The red colour of the goat's blood, however, symbolizes cleansing and purification.

Another important feature of the Dipo custom is the triple repetitions observed when initiates grind the millet, are placed on the stone and worn straw hats among other situations. My informants claimed it was simply 'custom'. Adjaye (1999), however, interprets it this way; "the triple repetition of certain actions not only had a dramatic,

affirming effect, but also underscored the propitiousness of the number three in ritual situations. Purposive repetition was a deliberate action to enhance dramatic effectiveness." It can therefore be inferred that such repetitions serve to place a marked emphasis on the activity being performed especially pointing to the fact that the girls were transformed to Krobo women by the process.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses its attention on the procedures that was used in the collection of data to achieve the studies objectives. It comprises the study design, target population, sampling procedure, sample size, sources of data, data collection instruments and data analysis techniques.

3.2 Research Design

A research design is a plan, structure and strategy of investigation so conceived as to obtain answers to research questions or problems. The plan is the complete scheme or program of the research which includes an outline of what the investigator will do from writing the hypotheses and their operational implications to the final analysis of data. The research design chosen for this work is the descriptive survey design. A descriptive research design asks who, what, where, how. It is designed to provide further insight into the research problem by describing the variables of interest and can be used for profiling, defining, segmentation, estimating, predicting, and examining associative relationships. Cross-sectional survey design was used in this study. This design was used because data were collected on the study variables at a single point in time with a questionnaire for analysis. In addition, the design was deemed appropriate because the study involves different people of different age, experiences, and status as well as other stakeholders. Also, the study utilises questionnaires and interviews as the main tool for data collection. In addition, the study is multivariate in nature, involving a set of two independent variables and a dependent variable.

3.3Target Population

The Krobos are part of the Ga-Adangbe ethnic group and are among the residents of the Eastern Region of Ghana. The target population for this study as already stated are Krobos and non-Krobos mainly residing in Krobo- Odumase. Krobos and people from other ethnic groups in Ghana were also interviewed outside of this area, mainly in the regional capital – Koforidua. Information was also sought from officials at the Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture, National Commission on Culture and Center for National Culture. Respondents at Odumase comprised of organizers of the rite (the priests and priestesses), parents\guardians of initiates, initiates themselves, three generations of women, church groups and clergy, students at the Krobo Girls Senior High School, the Queen mothers.

3.4 Sampling Technique and Sample size

In the words of Kumar (2005), sampling is the process of selecting a few from a bigger group to become the basis for estimating or predicting the prevalence of an unknown piece of information, situation or outcome regarding the bigger group. Thus a sample is a subgroup of the population you are interested in. The convenience sampling technique adopted by the researcher facilitated quick responses from the respondent. The selection was done to cover all the various stakeholders mentioned in the population at the time of the study. Thus the selection was done to cover only people who were available at the time the researcher visited the communities, tourist sites and the department of tourism. Thus the higher the number of the people within a particular department/community and tourist site, the higher they were selected for the sample size. Respondents were randomly selected by purposive sampling which was most appropriate for this study. The snow-ball effect – where one respondent referred

me to others also occurred. My friends and relatives were also helpful in linking me with potential informants. One of them, a very close friend in Accra, referred me to a particular Queen mother whom she had had previous contacts with. Another also referred me to a staff at the Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture, who granted me an interview on the spot. A total of 128 people were selected for the sample size. Sixty eight (68) organisers of Dipo were selected to answer questionnaires while 60 respondents from the general public were also given questionnaires to answer.

3.5 Sources of Data

Both primary and secondary sources of data were employed for this study. The secondary data consists of information in the form of literature review (from annual reports, presentations at key conferences, half year reports, policy documents, books and other documents pertaining to Puberty rite in the Lower ManyaKrobo Municipality. The primary data on the other hand was obtained from respondents in Lower ManyaKrobo Municipality through questionnaire and interviews (semi-structured interview guide). The use of this technique gave the researcher the chance to appraise the validity and reliability of the respondents' answers. It also gave the investigator access to vital information which the secondary data could not provide.

3.6 Research Instruments

The researcher adopted the use of questionnaire and interview guide as the main data collection tools for the survey. The questionnaire was developed to elicit information from targeted interest groups to the study. It was meant for literate potential respondents for the study whilst the interview guide was designed to get responses from respondents who might find it difficult in answering the questionnaire. The

interview guide was also meant to elucidate on critical issues the questionnaire might fail to capture from respondents by giving opportunity to respondents to give responses deemed fit.

3.7 Pretesting of Questionnaire/Interview and Data Collection Procedure

The researcher carried out a pre-test on the questionnaire and interview to ascertain primary data authenticityto ensure the validity and reliability of the instruments before the start of actual field work. Pretesting is the process of carrying out an initial survey to test the validity and reliability of a survey to obtain quality data. Perecmanand Curran (2006) indicated that is carried to translate and retranslate the questions until the desired responses intended by the researcher are obtained. A total of ten (10) items of questionnaires and two (2) interviews were carried out during the period of pre-test. The questions were then restructured and the necessary corrections were made before the actual field work was carried out. To avoid false information during the actual field study people used for the pre-test were different from those used for the actual study. Two sets of questionnaire were constructed to collect data from all the stakeholders involved in the study.

The questionnaire was made up of closed-ended items (where respondents were offered options from which they were to select those items that they deemed appropriate) and open-ended questions (those that participants provided their own responses). Each questionnaire was made up of three parts. The first part sought information about the personal background of the respondents. The second part focused on knowledge on Diporite. The third part concentrated on the positive and negative impacts of Diporite. The section 4 comprises ways of improving costumes

and activities of Diporite. In order to obtain in- depth reliable information, interviews were conducted for the community leaders on Diporite and it was structured in-line with the items and information in the questionnaire. This is aimed at collecting in-depth data that could not be collected with a questionnaire.

3.8 Data Analysis

The study used the trend analysis as its source of data analysis. This arises out of the type of study being carried out. Rosenberg (1997) states the selection of a strategy for analyzing trend data depends in part on the purpose of the analysis by the researcher. She indicates once there is a sound conceptual framework, tables, graphs and statistical analysis are tools for examining and analyzing trend data; graphs, in particular, are an effective tool for presenting the pattern of change over time. Moreover, in analyzing the data, descriptive measures such as percentages were employed. This was supported in some cases with tables and pie charts to bring out any comparisons that the researcher wishes to make. Data collected from respondent is meaningless unless it is processed into information in order to be used for making analysis and subsequent conclusions drawn. Primary data obtained from respondents were first edited to ensure consistency and accuracy in the responses and to make easy entry and organization of the information. Qualitative explanations were made about the quantitative data to give meaning to the data collected. Consequently, in the qualitative analyses, the responses from the interviewees were summarized and reported in accordance with the research questions. This was done in consonance with the research objectives.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

Chapter Four of this study presents results and discussion of data gathered during the survey. It entails the demographic characteristics of respondents and issues concerning dipo rite among Krobo's in the Eastern Region of Ghana. From the study, it was found that 57 organisers responded out of 68 who were selected for the study.

4.2 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents (Organisers of Dipo Rites)

This includes the presentation of background information on respondents such as age, gender, and number of years worked as organiser of Dipo rite.

4.2.1 Gender of Respondents (Organisers)

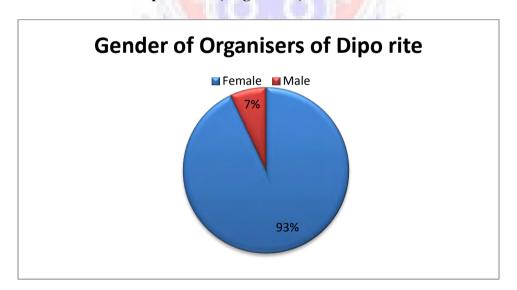


Figure 4.1: Gender of Respondents (Organisers)

The results in Figure 4.1 shows that most organisers for Dipo rite happens to be females (54) and this was asserted with 93% whilst 7% of them were males (4). The

result implies that organisation of Dipo rite is highly done by females since it has to do with mostly girls.

4.2.2 Age Interval of Respondents (Organisers)

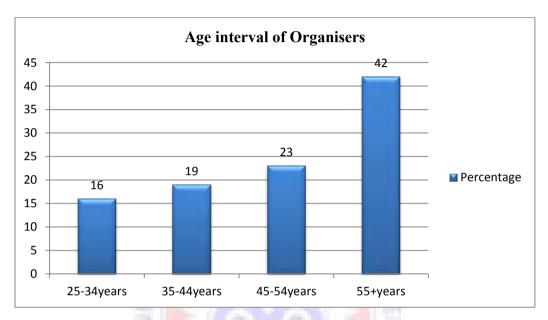


Figure 4.2: Interval of Respondents (organisers)

The results from Figure 4.2 depict that majority of organisers (24) were 55+years representing 42%. Next to this is organisers (13)who happen to be those within 45-54years constituting 23%. Some of the organisers (11) are found to be 35-44years and obtained 19%. The least (9) were found to be within 25-34years are represented with 16%. The results show that majority of them are matured and therefore were conversant with issues under study.

4.2.3 Years worked as Organiser of Diporite

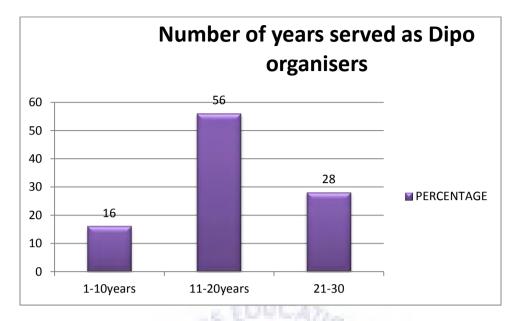


Figure 4.3: Years worked as organiser of Dipo rite

The responses in Figure 4.3 show that majority of organisers (32) had been in their work for 11-20years and they constituted 56%. A number of them (16) were of the view that they had worked as organisers for 21-30years and represented 28% and 16% had worked for 1-10years who were found to be 9 people. The results imply that quite a number of them have had enough experience on their job. The long experience was crucial to contributing accurate and better information towards the study. For instance, the interview with one of the queenmothers of Krobo helped in the understanding of practical activities undertaken during the Dipo coupled with provision of pictures of past Dipo conducted.

4.3 Demographic characteristic of the Respondents

Table 4.1 Demographic characteristics of Respondents (The public)

Variable	Category	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	17	40
	Female	25	60
	Total	42	100
Age	15 – 24 years	4	10
	25 – 34 years	6	14
	35 – 44 years	10	24
	45 – 54 years	14	33
	55 – 64 years	8	19
	Total	42	100
Religion	Christian	23	55
	Muslim	5	12
	Traditional	14	33
	Total	42	100
Educational background	Tertiary	15	36
	Second cycle	9	21
	Basic	6	14
	No formal education	12	29
	Total	42	100

Source: Field survey, 2015

It can be seen in Table 4.1 that majority of respondents were females (60%) and males (40%). It was indicated that Dipo rite was commonly done for adolescent girls to usher them into womanhood among the Krobos with the exception of adolescent twins (boy and girl). Teyegaga (1985) stressed that Dipo rite was reserved for mostly Krobo girls to initiate them into womanhood. Majority of respondents were 45 - 54 years, constituting 33%, followed by 35 - 44 years (24%), those with 55 - 64 years

constituted 19% whilst the least been 14% (24 – 35years) and 10% (15-24years) respectively. The responses indicate that majority of respondents were in their youthful ages. Moreover, majority of respondents were Christians (55%), followed Traditionalist (33%) and Muslims being (12%). It was realized that most of respondents had completed tertiary education (36%), second cycle (21%), basic (14%) and those with no formal education (29%). There was no positive link between a person's educational background and that of Dipo rite performed by the Krobo's.

4.4 Reasons for Dipo Rite (Organisers)

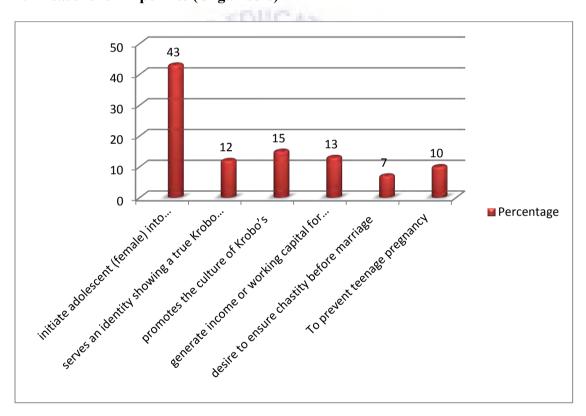


Figure 4.4:Reasons for Diporite

From Figure 4.4, it was realized that majority of respondents (53%) indicated that Dipo rite is conducted to initiate adolescent (female) into womanhood. This is done with the purpose of preparing female adolescents into marriage. As part of preparing

adolescent girls into adulthood, the girls are sent to the queenmother's house to learn house chores such as cooking, sweeping, washing of cooking utensils, washing of cloths and tidying of rooms. The girls are also taught of sanitary measures during their menstrual cycles. These are done to equip the adolescent girls with all the necessary skills to enter into marriage after the initiation rite.

Some of them (12%) indicated that the initiation serves an identity showing a true Krobo lady. Thus by the rite, a Krobo girl can be easy separated or identified among a group. For instance, it was stressed by some respondents that girls who do not pass through the initiation and gets pregnant are sacked from their various homes. Anarfi (2003) stated that even though Dipo rite has been performed severally but the rate of teenage pregnancy continues to be on the rise despite the ceremony. It was emphasised by some of the respondents during the interview that Krobo people (women) in overseas are not recognised and accepted as being part of the society when they arrive home unless they perform the rite. In view of this, elderly persons who fail to be initiated are not recognised as Krobo women. One the interviewee stated that:

"My grandchildren were brought from USA to be initiated since people refuse the rite when grown up and to avoid this, my daughter was advised to bring the kids to perform the rite".

It was emphasized by sections of respondents (15%) that, Dipo rite promotes the culture of Krobo's in the Eastern Region of Ghana. The Dipo has been associated with the people of Krobo and any time it is mentioned, what comes into mind is the people of Krobo. Foreign and local people travel to Ghana to witness the performance of Dipo and this elevate the concept and performance of Dipo to other parts of the

world and Ghana as well. Through the rite, interested parties witness activities involved in the Dipo and share it to the outside world.

It was further stressed by some of them that the ceremony was meant to generate income or working capital for the initiate. Families and love ones contribute generously to girls who undergo the rite initiation. This serves a working capital to some girls and they are able to use them judiciously in gainful employment activities. For instance, the monies put on a plate on Saturday night during the festivity by parents or guardians of the initiates are given back to them. On Monday and Tuesday where Kente and other cloths as well as custumes are worn by the initiates, gifts are given to them and this includes cash which can served as capital or promote their education. Some of the reasons were attributed to the desire to ensure chastity before marriage and avoid teenage pregnancy. The rite serves as a medium to instill chastity life in adolescent girls before marriage and prevent early pregnancy. For instance, it was found that there was a belief that girls who are pregnant and undergo the rite would go mad and this deter anyone from such acts before the initiation rite. However, the chastity purpose of Dipo has been frowned upon since adolescent girls usually engage in sexual practices which lead to early pregnancy which the Dipo was intended to prevent. Some adolescent girls get the impression that once they have performed Dipo, it gives them the license to engage in sex and this usually to lead to pregnancy. It was stressed that a person who undergoes the rite is accorded with some form of respect by the society (Krobo community). The rite is conducted to ensure and prepare young girls into womanhood by passing through appropriate initiations before marriage. It was emphasised by some of the organisers that it gives girls a wealthy marriage and make them real Krobo woman. The responses furthers indicate that the rite teaches girls to be good wifes or persons in future. Turner (1969) was of the view that Dipo rite is a signal acknowledging a tribes custom and tradition that its young women are of age ready to take responsibility, fertile and being productive in the community..

4.5 Qualification for Dipoinitiation rite

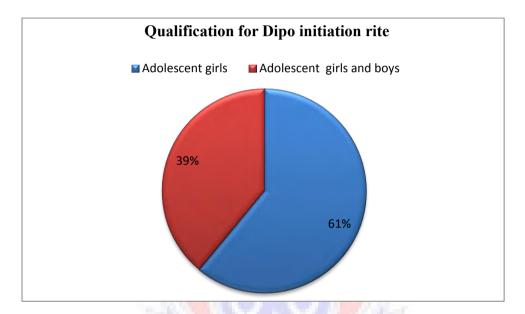


Figure 4.5: Qualification for Dipoinitiation rite

It is evidenced in Figure 4.5 that girls can be initiated to the Dipo rite in the Krobo community. Majority of the respondents (96) constituting (61%) held the view that Dipo rite is meant for adolescent girls. Some of the respondents (61), representing 39% were however of the opinion that, Dipo was meant for adolescent girls and boys. This was only possible in the event where the adolescents happen to be twins (one boy and girl). The boy was included in the rite but was limited to some of the activities. For instance, the boy was not allowed to join the initiates (girls) sent to the house of the queenmother to learn house chores such as cooking, sweeping and other training such as cleanliness during menstrual cycles.

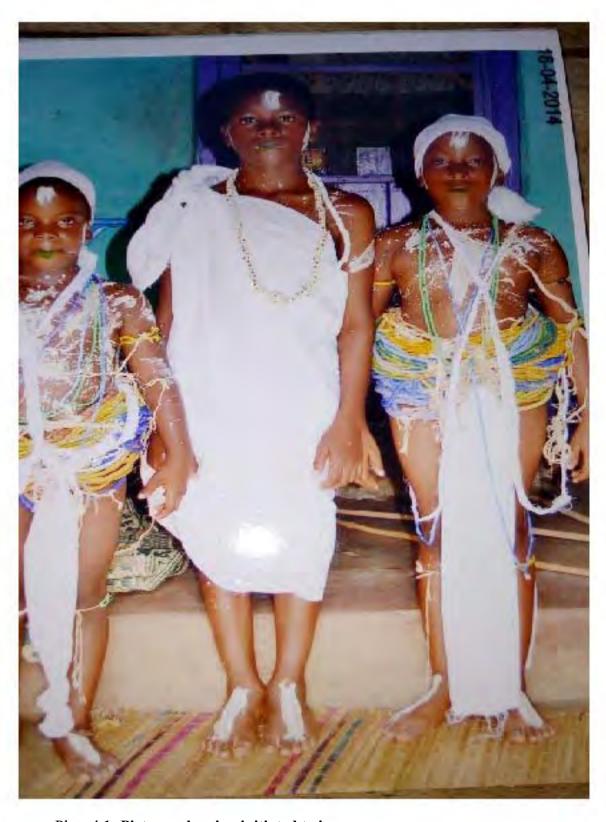


Plate 4.1: Pictures showing initiated twins

4.6 Stages in life at which a person can be initiated

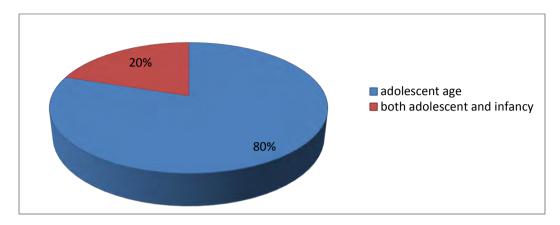


Figure 4.6: Stages in life that one can be initiated.

The responses from the study as shown in Figure 4.6 indicate that 80% of the organizers held the view that persons can be initiated mostly during adolescent ages whilst some indicated that both, adolescent and infancy qualifies a person to be initiated. Based on the interviews conducted, it was emphasised by a queen mother that:

"the era of adolescent age for performing Dipois gradually changing since nowadays the girls feel shy to be initiated during adolescent stages and in view of this many parents are developing interest in ushering their wards into the Dipo at infancy (DedeSom, 2015)".

This is quite acceptable than during adolescent stages which some girls in order to avoid been exposed to the public run from homes to other communities which has repercussions on development and status of women in future in the area. This is because their education and quality of standard of living are affected.

4.7 Period for which Dipo rites are usually organized

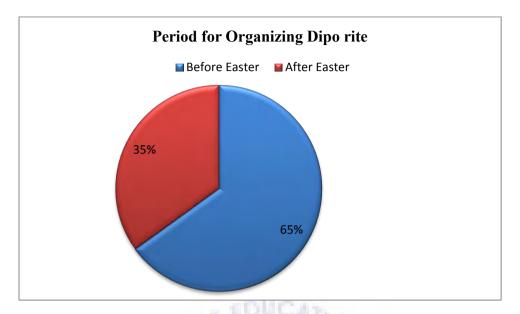


Figure 4.7: Period for Organizing Diporite

From Figure 4.7,majority of organisers (37) were of the view thatDipo rite is undertaken before Easter celebration (65%). The people of Somanya perform Dipo before Easter. It was found that 35% alluded that Dipo is performed after Easter. The people of Odumase-Krobo conduct Dipo after two weeks of Somanya's. The results indicate that though Dipo is practiced by all Krobo's but its period of performance is subjected to locations.

4.8 Costumes used for Diporite

The responses indicate that white cloths were used during Dipo rite as part and this signifies or symbolizes cleanliness. White cloth was worn to signify fertility. This means that girls who undergo the initiation rites are blessed to have children in their marriages. Headgear was used as scarf on the head meaning an expensive woman. The headgear is an indication that girls undergoing the rite has satisfied all necessary tradition and customs in Krobo and worthy of being married. Having gone through the

initiation rite, it paints a positive picture that girls have performed the necessary rite and therefore cannot be taken for granted by men. However, the massive teenage pregnancies defeats the symbolism of using the hreadgear. Some of the adolescent girls are not able to keep this symbolism by waiting for proper initiation before marriage. In addition to these, anklets (cowry) which means release from bondage and symbolizes cleanliness from any dirty thing in life. The wearing of anklet is believed to free initiates from any unsavoury bondage in the society and promotes cleanliness. Neckclace (any gold colour) meant for beautification and symbolizes success was adopted for the initiation rite. Wrist band (Powa) is used to prevent one from evil and this is a symbol of cleanliness and faithfulness. Wristlets was used for

the initiator to be identified as a Krobo girl and symbolize cleanliness. With regards to gendered use of colours, it was found that the male initiates did not wear the red lion-cloth. They mainly wore the wax-print cloths and the white cloths. This is not surprising as the red cloth is mainly associated with women as a symbol of menstruation and fertility. This is the only case in the Dipo custom where there is a marked difference in the use of colours between the genders.



Plate 4.2a: Beads



Plate 4.2b: Beads



Plate 4.2c: Initiate wearing red cloth

4.9 Positive Impact Associated with Diporite

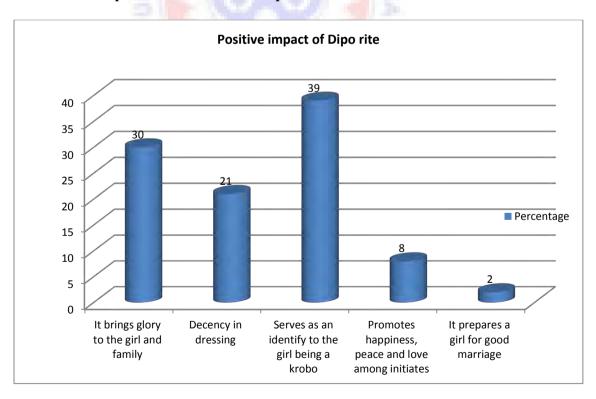


Figure 4.8: Positive impact associated with the use of Dipo Costumes

Source: Field survey, 2015

The responses from the respondents indicate that customes bring glory to the girl. Moreover, it was emphasized by 60% of respondents that dressing style of initiated girls changes after the rites which portrays some kind of maturity in their life. Some of the respondents (organizers/ parents) alluded that the initiation rite instils some form of discipline among the girls and they dress decently which is a sign of good attitude and behaviour. The study also found 9% of the responses showed that the costumes identify an initiator as a Krobo girl. This serves a major source of identity to the community. The rite makes a young girl who passes through the rite feels she is a real Krobo. This promotes happiness to the initiates. The girl who undergoes the initiation becomes happy for the activity and this makes them feel very proud of themselves because of the recognition given to them. It was also evidenced from the survey that Dipo costumes used is said to prepare girls towards marriage and some further stressed that it enables a Dipo girl to marry from any community without being discriminated against. It was further emphasized that it helps girls which are of age to get good husbands.

4.10 Negative impacts associated with Dipo Rite

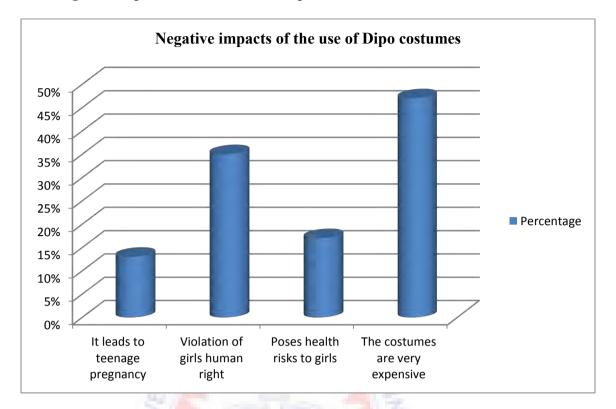


Figure 4.9: Negative impacts associated with Diporite

Source: Field survey, 2015

Based on the qualitative approach and using content analysis, it was found that most parents find it different to buy the costumes and they therefore borrow which at times some of there are misplaced causing additional cost burden on them. Some of the respondents (47%) were of this assertion and further indicated that it is believed that borrowed costumes can be a source of transferring bad spirit to girls from the owners. They were of the view that some people possess bad spirit and when parents borrow costumes from these people for the Dipo rite, they bring misfortunes to the girls in question who use the costumes. It was stressed by some of them that there have been some instances in the community where these perceived people have confessed on galvanising misfortunes for the girls who acquire costumes from them.

It was emphasized by some respondents that the early stages of the Dipo rites dress code diminishes the value of the culture portrayed in daily life. Majority of young men take an advantage of carrying them from the royal stone to engage them in early sex. Anarfi (2003) stressed that this is a fundamental human right abuse. It was also posited by some respondents (17%) that usage of common knife to shave their hair is too barbaric and unhygienic. It was emphasized by Sackey (2001) that aspects of Dipo rite such as shaving of the hair which is a possible cause of HIV/ AIDS should be stopped. Some of the respondents were of the view that they think rights of girls are violated by exposing their breast to the public, the use of animal blood on their legs and tongues. Some indicated that there is the belief that impact of demonic powers, through the usage of these things and possibility of the girls being disobedient. Moreover, allowing the girls to walk bare-footed can cause irritation and foot rot and this has possible health implications for the girls who undergo the initiation rite.

It was posited by some respondents (8%) that after the rites, young girls think of getting married and that brings about many teenage pregnancy. Eventhough the Dipo is meant to instill chastity in adolescent girls, but usually girls are involved in early sex which leads to teenage pregnancy and other sexually transmitted diseases. Some girls initiated feel they have the right to have sex and this leads them into early sexual activities and this sometimes influence their decision to move to neighbouring communities and other parts of the country to fend for themselves. It was realised from the interview that in most cases, girls who out of this notion move to other areas come back with HIV/AIDs and other health related diseases which do not improve quality of life for the victims and families. Anarfi (2003) stated that Dipo rites have not been able to curb teenage pregnancy levels among the Krobos.

4.11 Modification of Dipo costumes

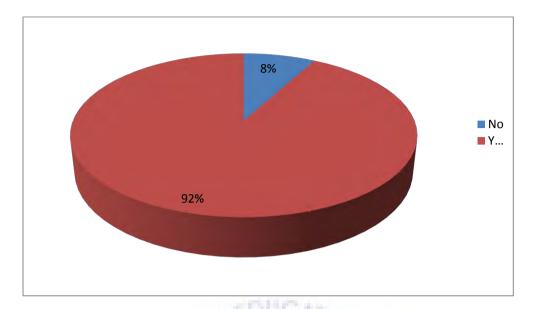


Figure 4.10: Modification of Dipo Costumes

The results from Figure 4.10 show that majority of respondents (92%) were of the position that there was the need for opinion leaders, organizers and traditional leaders of Krobo to have a second look at the kind of costumes used for Dipo. However 8% were not in tune/ support of this proposition and stressed that they were content with existing ones. The expensive nature of some of the costumes used for the Dipo rite sometime compel the less endowed parents to borrow from others. Due to the busy nature of the ceremony, some of the costumes do get misplaced and this attracts cost which pushes additional burden on parents to bear. Figure 4.13 presents sewn dress that can be used to replace existing ones used for Dipo rite.





Plate 4.3a: Top to cover breast Plate 4.3b: Complete costume

Plate 4.3: Suggested modification of custome for Dipo rite

4.12 Suggestions to help in the Production of the Right Outfits for Dipo Rite and Curb shortfalls of Dipo Rite

It is imperative that the dipo girl should be well dressed with very simple modern fabric that will not cost them so much and expose parts of their bodies. The use of high cost of cloths for the initiation rite should be discouraged. It is not economically prudent for parents to stress themselves over acquiring expensive cloths and other materials for the girls when most people find it difficult to make ends meet. A garment that will cover most sensitive parts of girls should be worn instead of the one's that expose the private parts e.g. the breast. White cloth was proposed by some respondents to cover the breast to avoid exposing their breast. Also, food prepared for the ceremony should be well cooked. The clothing that are used should not be so expensive. Some respondents were of the view that Krobo's should not concentrate on traditional issues too much, rather emphasis should be placed on modernization of available materials to enhance beauty. The use of multiple sharp objects on dipo girls

should be avoided. This will go along way preventing spreading of diseases such as HIV/Aids among girls initiated. Girls should be at least 16 years of age before embarking on the rite.

4.13 Witnessing the performance of Dipo rite

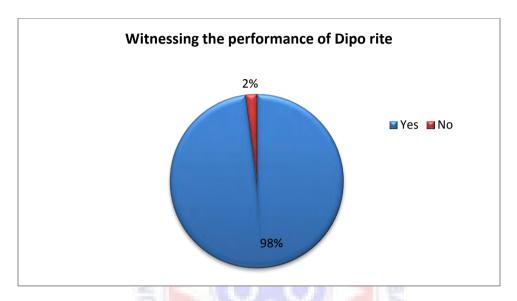


Figure 4.11Witnessing the Performance of Dipo Rite

It was found from the study that 98% of respondents had witnessed the performance of dipo rite ceremony by the Krobo community. It was however indicated by 2% that they have heard it but have not seen how it is performed. Witnessing the ceremony better place the respondents in elucidating issues on under study. This implies that majority of respondents had adequate knowledge on Dipo rite and were capable of dealing with issues understudy.

4.14 Participation of Dipo Rite

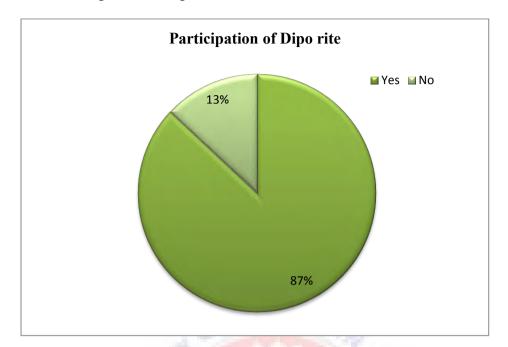


Figure 4.12: Participation of Diporite

It was realized from in figure 4.11 that 87% who responded had been initiated in the dipo rite before. This implies that majority of respondents had adequate knowledge on issues concerning the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This part of the study presents summary of findings emanated from the study. The conclusions drawn from the findings as well as recommendations were presented in this section plus suggestions for further research.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The study found that majority of respondents had witnessed performance of aDiporite in the Krobo community. Aside this, most of them have participated in the initiation rite before during their adolescent age. Some of the reasons for Dipo rite ceremony were: it serves as avenue for ushering young girls into womanhood. It was also carried out with purpose of preparing young ladies towards marriage. The ceremony entails teaching of girls on how house chores should be handled at the homes. The ceremony is carried out to promote the culture and identify of the people of Krobo community. Thus it identifies them as being true Krobo. Dipo rite was done to prevent teenage pregnancy and promote chastity before marriage. However, responses from the study indicate that the intention to prevent teenage pregnancy among the girls have not been fruitful in achieving its purpose. The rate which girls who undergo the rite continue to get impregnated have been on the rise. The study indicated that adolescent girls are qualified to be initiated into the ceremony and this is done during every February in every year or before Easter celebrations.

Some of the costumes used for Dipo rite include kente cloths, white cloths (Calico), red cloths (subue) which function is to protect menstruation and symbolizes cleanliness and danger headgear, necklace (any gold colour) meant for beautification and signifies success. Other costumes found from the study were wristbands, anklets, wristlets, and footwear with their various symbolisms discussed earlier in the fourth chapter.

Some respondents were of the view that among the positive impacts of Dipo rite were decency in the dressing study of girls who have undergone the initiation and this portrays maturity in life. The ceremony helps in generating working capital for the girls to start gainful employment. It prepares the girls towards marriage. It serves as some form of glory to the girl and her family. Parents of children who undergo such rite pride themselves for good parental supervision and guidance and proper child upbringing. Some negative effects of Dipo rite were violation of fundamental human rights of the girls initiated. Exposing their breast to the public is something unpalatable and needs to be discouraged. Because of the exposure given to the girls initiated, they feel prepared for marriage and the absence of this lead some of them into prostitution. It was emphasized by some respondents that the youngmen who carry the girls to the royal stone sometimes propose to love the girls and this eventually lead to sexual harassment and immorality against the initiate.

Most of the costumes used for the Dipo rite are expensive and this compel parents to borrow from other people and there were instances of misplacement after the rite which attracts additional cost burden to the parents/ families of the initiates. Since the girls are made to believe that they are prepared for marriage they usually engage in

sexual misconduct and this leads to teenage pregnancies. The use of sharp knives for many girls during the rite have the tendency to spread HIV/ AIDS and other diseases and thereby posing health risks to the girls involved in the rite. It was agreed by majority of respondents (92%) that the outfit for the Dipo rite should be modified to suit contemporary society of Ghana.

5.3 Conclusions

The concept of Dipo rite ceremony among the Krobo appears to be guided by good intentions but the purpose of the ceremony/ rite has not adequately achieved it purpose. On one side, it prepares the girls towards marriage with its associated prestige and honour to the girl and family. However, the issue of Hiv/Aids have consistently increase in the Krobo community with many teenage pregnancy. In view of this, it is appropriate to stress that there are so many good intentions associated with the performance of Dipo rite for the girls but it appears there have been minimal significance impact on the girls initiated. For instance, if an initiated person after some few days of the rite gets pregnant through unsafe sex or in the case of prostitution, the ceremony could not achieve its purpose as intended. It is therefore imperative for opinion leaders in the area to consider rebranding Dipo rite to achieve its goals and objectives for adolescent girls in Krobo community.

5.4 Recommendations

The following recommendations have been presented based on the findings:

It is important to note that, there should be review by traditional authorities (Krobo)on the kind and type of materials used for Dipo rite since it was indicated by majority of respondents that they are high in cost and this put financial pressure and burden on parents/guardians who want their wards to be initiated.

- There should be enough education on the need for girls to maintain their chastity after the Dipo rite due to the alarming teenage pregnancy of girls initiated during the ceremony. Since the rite have not been able to achieve some of its goals of preventing teenage pregnancy among girls, it is incumbent on opinion leaders and organisers of Dipo to ensure adequate sensitisation and education on the need to promote chastity after the rite.
- The use of one sharp object for shaving many girls should be highly discouraged and abandoned by the organisers. This would help prevent the possibility of spreading diseases like Hiv/Aids.
- The fundamental human rights of the Dipo girl should not be taken for granted and infringed. The act of exposing the girls, breasts in public should be abandoned coupled with walking bare-footed.

5.5 Suggestions for future Studies

The study concentrates on costumes and impact of Dipo rite on girls in the Krobo community in eastern Region of Ghana. It is advised that future studies are geared towards challenges and health implications of Dipo rite among the people of Krobo.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ORGANISERS OF DIPO RITE

SECTION A: Demographic Data on Respondents

Age			
15-24 years		25 – 34 years	
35-44 years		45-54 years	
55-64 years		Above 65 years	
1-10 years		11-20 years	
21-30 years 41 and above years		31-40 years	
21-30 years 41 and above years SECTION B: Backgrou	nd Informa	31-40 years	-
21-30 years 41 and above years SECTION B: Backgrou	nd Informa	31-40 years tion on the Dipo Rite	-
21-30 years 41 and above years SECTION B: Backgrou	nd Informa	31-40 years tion on the Dipo Rite	-

5. At	what stage in a p	erson's lif	e do you initiate him	/her into the	e Dipo rite?
	Adolescent ago	e			
	Infancy				
	Both Adolesce	ent Age and	1		
	Infancy				
		riod) in a y	ear do you normally	organise th	e Dipo rite in your
comr	nunity?				
	Before Easter				
	After Easter				
	Any day of the	e year	0 4		
	20		7	2	
Others (p	olease specify)				
SECTIO	ON C: Costumes	used for	Dipo rite		
Please in	ndicate by ticking	ng in the	appropriate boxes,	the custom	es you use in the
organisat	tion of the Dipo	rite and sta	te their functions and	d symbolism	n.
Name o	f Costume Fund	ction Sym	<u>bolism</u>		
7. Afrin	ican Prints				
8. Kente	e/Kente Cloths				
9. Whit	e Cloths				
10. Red (Cloths				
11. Head	gear				
12. Neck	lace				
13. Wris	t bands				

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14. Anklets			
15. Wristlets			
16. Footwear			
17. Others (please s	specify)		
SECTION D: Stre	engths and Weal	knesses in the Dipo l	Rite
18. What positive in	mpact associated	with Dipo rite?	
	E	SUCA?	
	877		
		sociated with Dipo rit	te?
			<u> </u>
			at .
			Y
		Dipo Costumes	
			o rite be modified for the
		a) Yes	b) No
contemporary s	ocicty in Ghana:	a) I cs	<i>b)</i>
21 What are ways		1 : 41 41	u of the contito for the Dire
•		-	n of the outfits for the Dipo
rite?			

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNNAIRE FOR THE PUBLIC ON DIPO RITE

SECTION A: Demographic Data on Respondents

1	\sim 1
1.	Gender
ı .	Ciciidei

Male	
Female	

2. Age

15-24 years	25 – 34 years	
35-44 years	45-54 years	
55-64 years	Above 65 years	

3. Number of years worked as an organiser of Dipo rite.

1-10 years	11-20 years	
21-30 years	31-40 years	
41 and above years	100	

4. Religion:

Christian	
Muslim	
Traditional worship	
Others (please specify)	

5. Educational background

Tertiary	
Second cycle	
Basic school	
None	

SECTION B: Knowledge on Dipo rite

6. Have yo	u witnessed the performance of a Dipo rite before?
a) Yes [b) No
7. If yes, w	where was it?
8. Have yo	u been through the Dipo initiation rite before?
a) Yes	b) No
9. Please st	tate the age at which you were initiated in the Dipo rite, if you answered
'Yes' to	question 10
10. State an	y reason(s) for Dipo rite that you know.
	E COLICAD.
	25/4
••••••	
••••••	E COO E E
	C: Positive and negative issues associated with costumes used for
	E COO
SECTION Dipo rite	E COO
SECTION Dipo rite	C: Positive and negative issues associated with costumes used for
SECTION Dipo rite 11. Are you Ghana?	C: Positive and negative issues associated with costumes used for pleased with the current costumes used for Dipo rite by the Krobos of
SECTION Dipo rite 11. Are you Ghana?	C: Positive and negative issues associated with costumes used for pleased with the current costumes used for Dipo rite by the Krobos of a) Yes b) No
SECTION Dipo rite 11. Are you Ghana?	C: Positive and negative issues associated with costumes used for pleased with the current costumes used for Dipo rite by the Krobos of a) Yes b) No
SECTION Dipo rite 11. Are you Ghana?	C: Positive and negative issues associated with costumes used for pleased with the current costumes used for Dipo rite by the Krobos of a) Yes b) No
SECTION Dipo rite 11. Are you Ghana? 12. State any	C: Positive and negative issues associated with costumes used for pleased with the current costumes used for Dipo rite by the Krobos of a) Yes b) No
SECTION Dipo rite 11. Are you Ghana? 12. State any	C: Positive and negative issues associated with costumes used for pleased with the current costumes used for Dipo rite by the Krobos of a) Yes b) No yreason(s) if yes to Question 12
SECTION Dipo rite 11. Are you Ghana? 12. State any	C: Positive and negative issues associated with costumes used for pleased with the current costumes used for Dipo rite by the Krobos of a) Yes b) No yreason(s) if yes to Question 12

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14.	What is/your suggestion(s) to help improve Dipo rite among the Krobos?

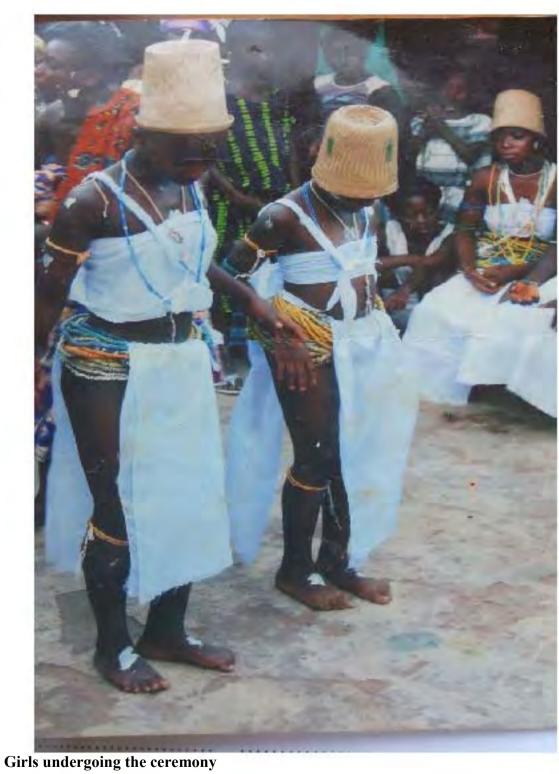


APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ORGANISERS OF DIPO RITE

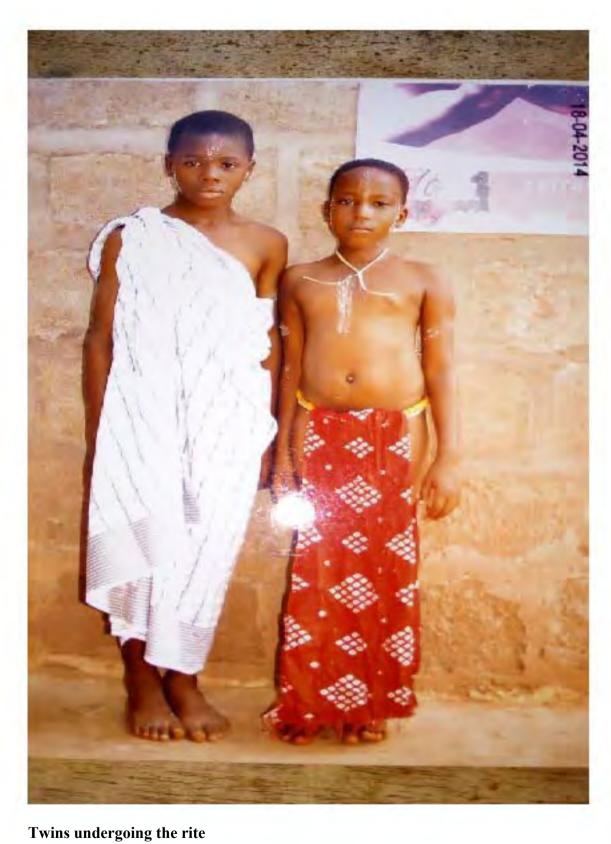
1.	How old are
	you?
2.	What is your educational
	level?
3.	How long have served as a Dipo
	organiser?
4.	What are purposes of Dipo rite?
5.	At what stage do a person qualify for Dipo rite?
6.	In what season in a year is the Dipo performed?
7.	What are the costumes used for Dipo rite?
8.	What are the functions and symbolism of the costumes?
9.	What are the effects of Dipo in your community?
10.	In your view, has Dipo achieved its intended purpose?
11.	If Yes how?
12.	If No why?
13.	In what ways can Dipo be improved?

APPENDIX D PICTURES ON DIPO RITE



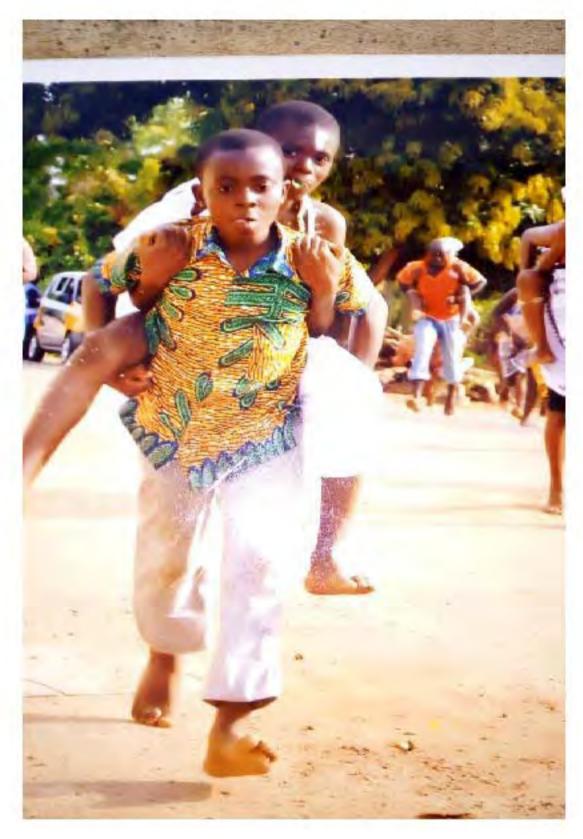


Initiated girl with costumes



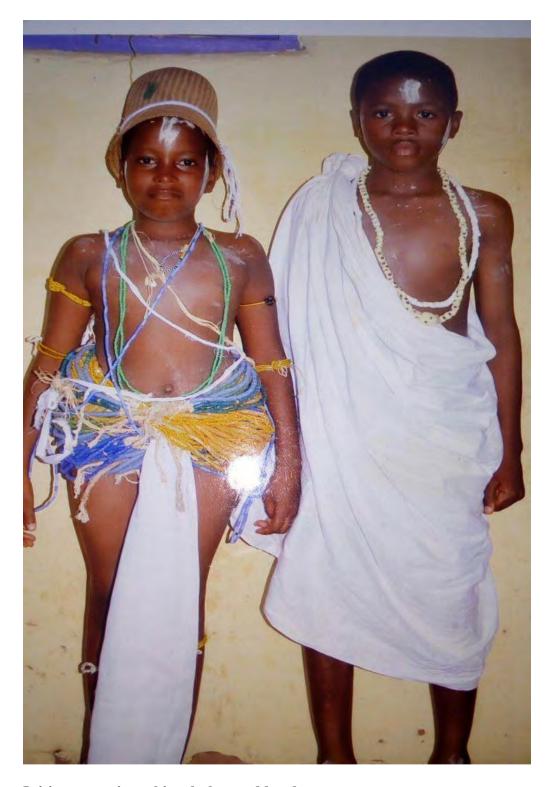


Initiates displaying leaf in mouth



Initiates being carried to the SacredStone





Initiates wearing white clothes and beads



Walking barefooted