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Decolonising Ghana Fashion Education and Training History

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Abstract:

Ghana's fashion scene is increasingly expanding and has greatly contributed to clothing the society, yet, the history of her fashion education and training spanning from the precolonial colonial, postcolonial and contemporary times has received little or no academic attention. Telling the history of fashion education and training is a scholarship gap that needs to be filled. It is one of the ways towards the decolonisation of Ghanaian fashion historicity. The study, therefore, traces briefly the art-historical accounts of fashion design and fashion education in Ghana from precolonial, colonial, postcolonial to contemporary times with emphasis on 1920 to present. The study revealed that fashion design education and training in Ghana predates colonialists' invasion. It was handed down from generation to generation through the apprenticeship system, which was indigenous formal education. The erroneous perception that Ghanaian fashion designers had no formal education in fashion design before the coming of the colonialists must be downplayed and contested.

Keywords: Precolonial fashion, fashion history, Ghana, fashion education, decolonisation

1. Introduction

Fashion is universal to all cultures whether ethnic, regional, national or continental. This manifest in the broad base definition of what fashion entails in contemporary times. Fashion remains inseparable from life. One of the key problems in studying fashion is that it eludes clarity about what it is and what it is not (Hopkins, 2012; Kennedy, Stoehrer & Calderin, 2013). Looking at the evidence, Hopkins (2012) theorised that fashion may be understood in the context of wider contemporary phenomena and human behaviour. Rovine (2010, p. 134) added that "Fashion is difficult to define in a global context, requiring a negotiation of the slippery territory between practices classified as 'African' and categories associated with the Western cultures." In whichever way one may view it, fashion, is not a preserve of a specific race or continent. All cultures practise it and have their respective histories that may tell its development across time. But to denigrate the artistic doings of Africa, the Encyclopedia Britannica (1910, p.326) wrote that "... with the exception of the lower Nile valley and what is known as Roman Africa ..., is, so far as its native inhabitants are concerned, a continent practically without a history, and possessing no records from which such a history might be reconstructed."

The early Western scholars who made attempt on researching into African fashion approached it from anthropological or ethnographical standpoint creating a complete boundary of what Rovine (2010) describes as Western and non-Western dress. Painting such a picture retarded progressive fashion research in the Continent and relented on exploring specific local and international markets for African designers. The non-Western fashion history, especially in the case of Africa, were viewed as "objects of ethnographic inquiry" (Allman, 2004, p. 2), an approach which Nkrumah (1963) insists was devised to retard social progress and prolong colonial domination over Africa. The decolonisation of fashion education and training history, in this context, means that independent Ghana must break her academic silence on the historicity of her fashion design education and training in debunking apperception that her fashion art and practice is inferior as portrayed in the case of non-Western fashion. The decolonisation process could be done through adequate study, rewriting and reorienting her peoples about her past and present fashion cultures.

Due to the absence of adequate written documentation on the history of fashion in Africa, her fashion history is seldomly told. Telling the history of evolving fashion of African countries is therefore inevitable. This would help in appreciating their contribution towards global fashion in one way or the other. The world must learn about the historical antecedents of Ghana's fashion education and training. The study, therefore, traces the art-historical accounts of fashion design and fashion education in Ghana from precolonial, colonial to contemporary times with emphasis on 1920 to present. Tracing Ghana's fashion education history would help in filling the scholarly gap in terms of the nature of education existing in precolonial Ghana and its relevance to the people at the time before the advent of colonial education. Belfanti (2008) has established that fashion was not a European invention but it only developed fully as a social institution in Europe. This implies that other cultures including Africa and the non-Western societies also practised fashion, and their respective histories in that regard must be documented. This reinforced the need to delve into Ghana's fashion education history. Rodney (1973) made it clear that precolonial African education matched the realities of the society in that it established close links with the social life of the people and made no separation between education and

productive activity. It created no division between intellectual and manual training. It was fused together and catered for holistic education of the people.

2. Conceptual Framework

Conceptual framework is composed of a collection of useful concepts with coherent linkage that promote understanding of the direction of a research and or determine the lens through which a research is conducted. In other words, it sets the tone for contextual understanding of a study rather than predicting the future (Levering, 2002; Jabareen, 2009). Using conceptual or theoretical frameworks serve the same purposes of helping the researcher identify the main variables and concepts in a particular study; and offering information on the research approach (methodology including research design, target population, sample and sampling technique, instrumentation and data analysis techniques) (Imenda, 2014). This study dwells on the concepts of misperceptions and interpretation of African fashion and its history, and multiculturalism of fashion inspiration.

2.1. Misperceptions and Interpretation of African Fashion and Its History

Western perceptual experiences of non-Western fashion, especially, African fashion is negative. Though fashion practice has been in the African continent since prehistoric times, inadequate written documentation by Africans in telling their fashion art history is one of the key issues that have caused the misperceptions. However, there are remnants of fashionable objects in some African museums and archeological sites, but the presence of inattentive blindness a "phenomenon in which observers fail to notice an object that is fully visible in the display" (Encyclopedia of Perception, 2010, p.640), perhaps, to avoid giving credible account of social reality, in my view, has also contributed to the misperception of African fashion history. From the last two decades, there has been growing interest in the scholarly documentation of African fashion historicity and the contributions of African fashion to global fashion industry. This needs to be sustained and deepened with more scholarly works. Scholars who have contributed in this direction include Hansen (2004), Loughran (2009), Rovine (2010), Jennings (2011), Oberhofer (2012) and Richards (2015). They hold forth that fashion is not a preserve of the Western countries. This study is set on my personal conceptual deductions that:

- African fashion predates colonial hegemony and domination in Africa
- African fashion is not inferior to Western fashion
- Contemporary African fashion system of daily fashion release differs from the seasonal collections of Western fashion.

2.2. Multiculturalism of Fashion Inspiration

Fashion designers across the world derive their design inspirations from countless sources ranging from nature to man-made, narratives to imaginations, the seen and the unseen phenomenon and ideas. Cultural interactions within and outside a designer's jurisdictions, and proliferation of new technologies influence his/her choice of inspiration for fashion designing. Both performance art and visual art are crucial in the design inspiration selection (Eckert, 1997). Localisation, globalisation, glocalisation, fashion trends and consumer preference are part of the key concepts that affects the development and or adaptation of fashion inspirations in the globalised fashion industry. An inspiration may have historical, aesthetical, socio-cultural (Au, Taylor & Newton, 2003) strings derived from more than one entity or geographical location. This makes fashion inspiration a multicultural affair and allows reciprocal fashion inspiration borrowing and cross-cultural fertilisation as illustrated in Figure 1. For instance, African fashion has served as a source of inspiration for Western fashion and vice versa (Loughran, 2009; Rovine, 2010).

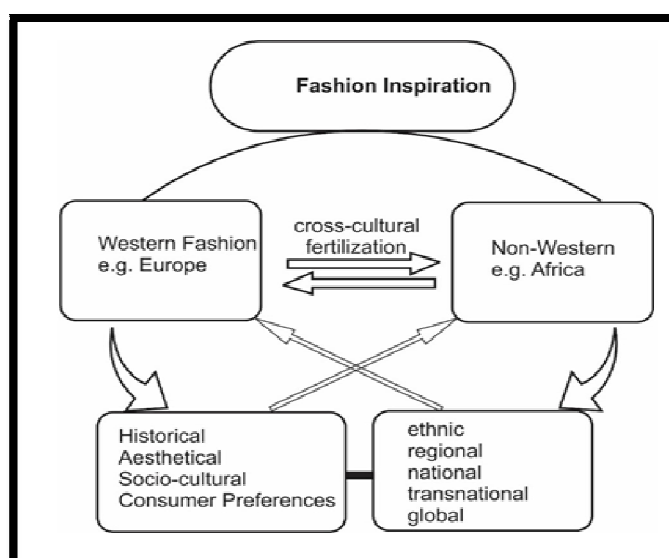


Figure 1: Multiculturalism of Fashion Designing Inspiration
(Courtesy of O. Q. Essel)

3. Methodology

In tracing the historical connections of Ghana's fashion, the historical research and was desirable in investigating the research problem. This is hoped to increase the historical understanding of Ghana's dress fashion and reshape any stereotyped thinking about Ghanaian fashion. There is a strong perception and stereotype thinking that African fashion including Ghana is virtually immaterial and or insignificant. Bringing the evidential proof is one of the constructive silent ways of repudiating that negative perceptual thinking. By so doing, it will offer Ghana the opportunity to tell her own fashion design stories. An art-historical study of this nature was positioned in the qualitative research paradigm. Art-historical study entails vivid description of historical events with recourse to rigorous analysis and interpretation of gathered data, which leads to sound conclusions (Schutt, 2009). Historical research thrives on identification, analysis and interpretation of old texts (Špiláčková, 2012), eyewitness accounts and other oral history and interviews. The focus was to recreate the past through existing records and establish their relationships with the present, which may inform the future. A sample size of 22 respondents were purposively drawn from a population consisted of Heads and lecturers of fashion, art historians and fashion designers. Semi-structured interviews, artifacts and documentary review formed the data collection instruments used. Historical analysis and document analysis were used in the data analysis.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Pre-Colonial History

History of fashion design education in Ghana could be looked at from the prehistory times; the pre-colonial times (c. 800 – 19th AD); colonial, post-colonial and contemporary times (c. mid 20th AD to present). Prior to colonialists' invasion in the land they named Gold Coast, the refined and well-established art of the people were handed down to its younger ones through apprenticeship system which was a sort of indigenous formal education. No matter the form it took, this system of education shaped the life of the people in many ways including training of young adults in the society with vocational education. The services of the practitioners of this art, was highly patronised by individuals in the society. The 1938 – 1939 and 1942 annual reports of the Gold Coast Apprentice System (1939, p.3) confirms this practice as an 'ancient institution' evolved by the people themselves. That education was passed on to castes groups, and has evolved over time and remained robust in current times. Ethnic affiliations, family ties and acquaintances informed the mode of selecting apprentices. For example, a mother vested in sewing passed on the skills to her children. There were instances where acquaintances of the skill/trade bearers received training due to their relations with the trainer. This system developed to a stage where ethnic, family and acquaintances ideology that determined the acceptance for training was immaterial. One could be an apprentice in any art related trade provided s/he followed to the latter the laid down customs associated with learning a particular trade. The customs surrounding sartorial apprenticeship vary, but included payment of head drink, fee for acquiring the skills and purchasing of basic needed accoutrements. The type of education that was absent in precolonial Ghana (Gold Coast) was Western education, Euro-Christian and Islamic teachings. This does not mean the people inhabiting the country in pre-colonial times were uneducated in formal way. The term education was restricted in a queer sense in many parts of Africa to mean European-type schools (Graham, 1971, p. ix). The stalwart Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford said in his speech presented at London during the meeting of the League of Nations Union and the Delegates National Congress of British West Africa in 1920 that "before the British came into relations with our people, we were a developed people, having our own institutions" (Sampson, 1932, p. 166). Cobbina (2003, p.207) bemoaned about the erroneous impression created by some scholars that before the advent of the colonialists and missionaries of Christianity and Islam, Ghana had no formal education. He maintains that, that view held by some scholars "cannot be sustained" since Ghanaians had evolved an advanced educational system (p.207). This system attached much interest to the hands-on training of learners. Learners were trained in aspects such as sculpture, textiles, leatherwork, beadmaking, smithing, body painting, and fashion in general. Dress fashion art, by its nature could not withstand the natural ruins of the environment for the benefit of posterity. However, the remnants of bones, ivory, wooden and metallic shaped tools and other fashionable accessories of Stone Age quality used in sartorial activities by the prehistoric men in Ghana is credible record of the existence of the art at the time. Examples are the brass bracelets, ivory bracelets (Figure 2), bone comb (Figure 3), clay beads (Figure 4) excavated in Ghana, and currently found in the Ghana National Museum in Accra.



Figure 2: Ivory Bracelets Used as Fashionable Accessories. BC 1700 – 1300
Source: Ghana National Museum, Accra



*Figure 3. Bone Comb. BC 1700 – 1300.
Source: Ghana National Museum, Accra*



*Figure 4: Clay Beads Used as Fashionable
Accessories, BC 1700 – 1300
Ghana National Museum, Accra*

The depiction of clothing on the Neolithic Komaland art in sculptural format also found in the collection of the Ghana National Museum is another example that recorded the sartorial practice of the people of Ghana. Trade, migration, ethnic wars, cross-cultural adaptation are some of the factors that helped in developing the art for the benefit of the people before their encounter with the colonialists in the fourteenth century. Hand sewing or needlework of the time was mainly for women and girls. They sewed animal hides and skins; retted bark of trees; and wove fabrics to cloth themselves and their families. Dress styles of the time were characterised by wrap-around and cover cloths that secured the parts of the human body considered sensitive by the ethnic society that produced and used them. The designs were conceptual, symbolic, communal, functional, communicative and improvised. Dress styles at the time were more influenced by the nation state, and defined status of wearers. Designer anonymity was the order of the day since dress fashion art at the time was communal.

Tracing the migration story of the various ethnic groups in Ghana from within and outside Africa (Essel & Opoku-Mensah, 2014, p.31; Aryeetey, 2002), Anene and Brown (1966) said that majority of these ethnic groups which form present day Ghana had settled in different territories of the country from about the 10th century AD. They also experienced and practised needlework and sewing before they migrated from different settlements to the present locations, and witnessed the spread of Islam (Abu-Lughod, 1975, p.286). The remnants of the excavations of the old Ghana Empire of Kumbi Saleh where some present day Ghanaian ethnic groups trace their root to, tells it all. Heaton (1951, September 12, p. 3, 7) wrote that amongst the interesting articles discovered were "... a pair of scissors, almost exactly in the design of the scissors in use in every home today", fashionable iron copper clips similar to what is used as dress fastenings by dress designers today, copper necklaces, copper brooches and glass beads. There were also tailoring guilds at the then Timbuktu (Rodney, 1973, p.17). The earliest physical remains of humans found in a rock shelter at Kintampo in the 1960s and dated to be about 5,000 years gives a hint of pre-history human settlements in Ghana (Gadzekpo, 2005, p.7). Euro-Christian colonialists later encountered the people in the 14th century followed later by black expatriates.

Schaumloeffel (2015, p.196) hinted that tailoring and dressmaking was one of the refined skills the Tabom descents of Brazil came with to Ghana in the 1800s. He added that the first tailoring shop in the country was the First

Scissors House which later sewn uniforms for the Ghanaian army in 1854 during the reign of Chief Nii Aruna I. Though Amos and Ayesu (2002, p.42) confirmed that the "Scissors House" was built at Swalaba on the said date by an Afro-Brazilian tailor called George Aruna Nelson (also known as Chief Nii Aruna I), the grandson of Azumah Nelson (1829 Afro-Brazilian leader), they were circumspect in conjecturing that it was the first tailoring shop in Ghana. Oral history has it that the early Afro-Brazilians who arrived at Dutch Accra in 1829 (Amos & Ayensu, 2002) were later chosen by the Ga leaders to lead some Ga communities due to their skills in tailoring and Eurocentric dress styles and behaviours amongst others. On the contrary, Essien (2010, p.193) questions the veracity of this account. He finds no evidence before or after the capital was moved from Cape Coast to Accra in 1876 that justifies that account. To him the statement of Afro-Brazilian leadership on the Ga people may be referring to the few affluent elites such as the Riberos who might have gained favour or respect amongst the Ga chieftdom, and played influential roles in the Ga societies in the history of Accra. In connection with the Ga leadership been influenced by the Eurocentric lifestyles, Essien points (2010, p.193) out evidence of studies that were conducted at the time that showed "the Ga leaders did not esteem European cultures above local norms, hence, resistance by Ga leaders such as Mantse Tawiah who opposed European dominance in the area in the early 1900s." However, Essien (2010, p.218) underscored that the Afro-Brazilian expatriates contributed to the spreading of tailoring and dressmaking in pre-colonial Ghana.

Much interest was demonstrated towards girls' education in the 1800 – 1850s in precolonial and colonial Ghana which resulted in the establishment of Domestic Science school that taught needlework and sewing. A Domestic Science school for girls' education was started in 1821 at Cape Coast under the headship of Mrs Harriet Javis who was the instructor for needlework (Graham, 1971, p.72). Schools with similar educational focus sprang up shortly though the one started in 1821 closed down at seven years of its existence. Examples of schools that sprang up included Basel missionaries girls' boarding school started at Akropong around 1850 and later relocated to Aburi in 1854; Cape Coast girls' school started in 1826 with total enrolment of twenty-four; Wesleyan girls' school in 1836 at Cape Coast; school that taught reading and sewing at Anomabo and Accra in 1840 (Graham, 1971). In 1876 Wesley Girls' High School at Cape Coast was opened with twenty girls. Needlework was among the key subjects taught in addition to English Grammar and composition, Scripture, Science and Geography. Mission schools continued to deepen girls' education by starting teacher training centres for girls by 1933 with needlework featuring as a major subject of study (Graham, 1971).

4.2. Fashion in Colonial and Post-Colonial Times

Though Ghana's encounter with the colonialists was in the fourteenth century, her formal journey to colonialism was signed on March 6, 1844, popularly known as The Bond of 1844. Hitherto, pawning of Ghanaians by their fellow Ghanaians because of ethnic wars to display superiority was invigorated by the slave trade that scattered many of the experienced Ghanaian practitioners of needlework or sewing. They found themselves in foreign lands due to the slave trade. That notwithstanding, the migration, conflicts, slavery, urbanisation, globalisation and globalisation has not totally truncated African fashion history.

The genesis of Eurocentric formal education was in castle schools pioneered by the Portuguese in 1529 at Elmina castle. Later, the arrival of four Catholic Augustinian Missionaries in 1572 to educate the mulattoes and selected few children of full black parentage fostered colonial education but it educated the selected few to read and write to assist them in their trading (Cobbina, 2003, p. 207; Graham, 1971). The school established was skewed towards Grammar education. The Basel mission set up technical schools that offered carpentry and joinery, shoemaking, blacksmithing and few other trades. Tailoring and Dressmaking did not find space in the curricula of the Basel mission education. Tailoring and Dressmaking was learnt on apprenticeship bases from the master craftpersons. Some new female Christian converts received the training from the missionaries (Ross, 1957).

Colonial governments of the then Gold Coast enacted several ordinances and educational reforms in 1882, 1887, 1909, 1925 and 1927 (Cobbina, 2003). Of all these, formal school sartorial education was given little or no attention in the curricula. During the First World War (1914 – 1918) through to the World War II (1939 – 1945), there was retrenchment and scarcity of middle-class white-collar job for those youth who completed elementary and secondary schools in Ghana and other British West African countries that were also under the British protectorate. Besides, the orientation of the youth toward been clerks changed to vocational-based careers. As a result, a long term solution proposed was to train craftsmen in handicrafts courses in elementary and secondary schools; and technical colleges and vocational education be provided for the youth in British West Africa including Ghana (Technical Training and Education, 1944, para 1). Meanwhile, Governor Guggisberg, had lamented in 1921 about the Grammar School education offered at the primary schools at the time in his address to the Britain's Royal African Society. He pointed out the salient issue regarding the general outcome of graduands who turn out from the schools, saying "we are turning out annually between six and seven thousand youths who are fitted for employment as clerks and very little else. We are, in fact, being flooded gradually by what can only be described as a semi-educated class of Native" (Guggisberg, 1922 as cited in Palmer, 2007, p.121). The disconnect, as Guggisberg noted, was that the kind of education given to the learners was bookish instead of handiwork oriented. It was a general academic education with no direct link to Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) education. Many Ghanaians attended these schools to be literates (able to read and write) and avoided the blue-collar jobs. During his tenure of office as governor (1909 – 1927), Guggisberg favoured technical and agricultural subjects with the aim of providing immediate employment after completion by learners. He established four trade schools in Yendi, Asante-Mampong, Asuantsi and Kibi to augment the effort of government technical schools built in Accra in 1909 (Kimble, 1963 as cited in Palmer, 2007; Cobbina, 2003). Guggisberg's Ten-Year Development Plan according to Kay (1972) created more employment avenues for the school-based artisans in the 1920s to the extent that Guggisberg complained about

inadequacy of artisans to work. But shortly after his governorship, the training in trade schools was abandoned because it was considered as capital intensive in relation to the so-called academic education. Besides, some African nationalists critiqued TVET as inferior to academic education that provided white collar jobs (Palmer 2007, p.124). It was obvious that the 1944 technical training education was turnaround effort to reinvigorate the achievement of Guggisberg in the 1920s. There was correspondence from London on April 16, 1934 about vacation courses organised for education officers on these courses to beef up their knowledge. The training programme was intended to fulfil the 1929 Educational Conference resolution made at Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika Territory, by the Advisory Committee on Education in the colonies, for upto date information regarding these courses (Cunliffe-Lister, 1934, April 16). The courses listed in the 1944 report did not include dressmaking/tailoring or needlework. It was more of technical-based education.

The widespread tailoring and dressmaking (Figure 5 and 6) apprenticeship system in pre-colonial and colonial times in urban and city centres in Ghana had a strong influence on the introduction of sartorial subjects in Ghana's school curricula. Some of the youth from both rural and urban centres who had ambitions of becoming tailors and dressmakers through the apprenticeship system served as house-helpers for years in exchange of sewing machines (F. Owusu, personal communication, April, 28, 2016). Once the sewing machine was acquired, they learned the trade through apprenticeship. There was longing appetite for sewing machines, especially by both literate and illiterate youth to pursue dressmaking/tailoring.



Figure 5: Y.M. Gyamfi (Fourth from Right) in a Group Photograph with Workers and Colleague Apprentices at S. K. Donkoh Tailoring Shop, Korlewoko, Accra Ca. 1941
(Source: Courtesy of Y.M. Gyamfi)



Figure 6: Master Seamstress Offering Training Assistance to a Female Apprentice in Her Workplace in 1961 in Accra
Source: Information Services Department, Accra

In the school curricula, sartorial education experienced gradual introduction from basic to the tertiary levels. Depending on the level where it was taught, sartorial educational subjects have witnessed several name changes in the school curricula. These names include sewing, housecraft (needlework), dressmaking, tailoring, and clothing and textiles,

and of late, fashion design. Sartorial subjects begun to feature more prominently in the curricula under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah – Ghana's first president. In addition, his government offered scholarship to many to learn fashion design overseas. On September 3, 1951, Nkrumah's government advertised in the Daily Graphic (p.6), scholarship for a hundred artisans and tradesmen including tailors for further studies in UK. Many tailors who met the criteria of possessing Standard Seven Certificate, and being below age thirty applied. Of the hundred tradesmen and artisans selected, four namely Quarshie, Awuku, Manikuri and Dan Morton were tailors who enjoyed the scholarship to be trained as fashion designers in UK. They left for UK on December 1952. Upon their return in 1955, some took up teaching appointment while others established their own fashion business (D. Morton, personal communication, July 15, 2015). The scholarship scheme continued under which different batches of persons interested in fashion design got trained overseas. One of the pioneer contemporary fashion designers of Ghana, Juliana Norteye who worked under the label Chez Julie was one of 1958 beneficiaries of the scholarship scheme (Richards, 2015, p.3). She schooled at Ecole Guerre-Lavigne, a renowned fashion school in France. Juliana Norteye was not the "Ghana's first professionally trained, post-independence fashion designer" as Richards (2016, p.8) claimed. Before Norteye completed and returned to Ghana in January 14, 1961, Dan Morton and others had been professionally trained as fashion designers. Even, it is possibly erroneous to speculate that Dan Morton and friends were the first Ghanaian professionally trained designers. By the circumstantial evidence that Ghanaian fashion had been firmly established before pre-independence era, it is likely that others who were professionally trained without governmental scholarship schemes but have received no documentary attention.

Needlework syllabi were drawn for primary and middle schools in 1953 and 1954. The primary school syllabus was sectioned into Course A and B. Course A was meant to expose learners to essential stitches and processes involved in making simple articles. It was taught by untrained teachers to schools where there were no special facilities for needlework under the housecraft course. Untrained teachers in this context refer to teachers who had not completed the specialist housecraft course at Achimota or Kumasi College of Technology (now Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology). Certificate 'A' teachers were referred to as 'Ordinary housecraft teachers' (Housecraft Facilities in Middle Schools, 1954). Course B on the other hand was taught parallel to Course A with increased number of articles to be produced by learners, and was taught by trained teachers. It was also centred on stitches and basic article construction processes. The courses began at upper primary (Primary 4 -6).

There was stringent measure spelt out in the middle school needlework syllabus to reinforce universal participation of all girls in the course. The syllabus warned that pupils who did not partake in the course automatically forfeit other courses. The main aim of the course at the middle school level, amongst others, was to:

...To train useful independent citizens and good homemakers. Teachers should therefore try to teach girls how to make and mend unaided by the end of their middle school course all their own clothes and also to make simple clothes for children and articles of use and beauty for the home. Girls should learn how to be thrifty in matters of dress, but at the same time they should be encouraged to take pride in a neat and attractive appearance, and the work they do should not only help them to become good wives and mothers but perhaps might also enable them to earn money by doing simple dressmaking, needlework and embroidery (Needlework Syllabus for Use in Middle Schools, 1954, para, 2).

The course spanned from Middle School Form 1 to Form 4. It encompassed both theoretical and practical components. The practical component required from learners, basic darning skills, basic block pattern (waist and side dart of the front bodice, waist and shoulder darts in back bodice, varying necklines, dart styles, sleeves and others), simple stitches, cutwork and rudiment in fabric decorative techniques namely embroidery and crocheting. Care and maintenance of sewing machines, care for clothing items; and choice of clothing formed part of the theory aspect. The structure of the course was an autosuggestion that it was to train girls for basic sartorial chores in the homes of their parents and or will-be-suitors. Employability of the learners who took the course was not much prioritised in the design of the syllabus.

The introduction of the course had interesting socio-cultural consequences on the nation at large. It caused a change in the marital customary rites by including sewing machine as part of the key items required for the performance of marriage rites, especially in southern Ghana. Since the course trained girls as homemakers, providing them with sewing machine became the burden of the would-be-suitors. With sewing machine becoming a common equipment in many marital homes, darning, popularly referred to as *ɔyɛadɛɛ yie* (darning) in Akan language, became a rampant business, especially, for those who could not further their education after middle school education and even school dropouts in both rural and urban centres. Both male and female adults took to the darning business as one of the easy ways of making a living. This also portrayed, in general terms, sartorial work as non-academic and so mean for the brainy learners. Anyone who pursued the subject was, therefore, considered academically weak by section of the public. In one of Ghana's early popular films in 1970s titled, *I told You So* (Adjesu, 1970), Kwesi Twuweei and his friend, in unison, made humoresque allusion to the darning business popular among the elderly at the time with their song:

ɔyɛadɛɛ yie with his machine
Went out for some clothes to sew
When he shouted *ɔyɛadɛɛ yie*
People started to laugh at him

This song was a reflection of the perception of some Ghanaians about sartorial career. Apart from it being perceived as subject for the less brainy learners, it was also seen as subject for the poor and needy since one needs no professional training to venture into darning. Besides, it was considered as a job for females, so, males who practised it were mocked at. As a result, it took the youth with extreme interest in fashion to pursue it as an academic subject. The World War II experienced a campaign to retouch, mend clothes and turn wastes into adorable objects. Women across the globe were encouraged to engage in adding decorative touch to waste textiles products such as knitwears, woven fabrics

amongst others to remain stylish. Doing decorative patching and darning was an activity many women partook in (Calderin, 2011, p.102).

4.3. National Vocational Training Institute

When Nkrumah's government realised the deficiencies in Ghana's education, in general, in terms of deficit in job creation and absorption of graduates, they tried to rectify the situation through the Seven Years Development Plan (1963 – 1970). One of the objectives of the plan was to equip learners with readily employable skills in their last two years of middle school such that graduates who completed became self-employed or be employable. Consequently, this plan, amongst other things, necessitated the change in focus of needlework course (Cobbina, 2003, p. 217). The National Liberation Council (NLC) regime that overthrew Nkrumah's government on February 24, 1966 was discontent with the educational policy and therefore, set up Kwapong educational review committee to look into the entire educational system of the country. One of the major recommendations was the conversion of many middle schools into technical and vocational based continuation schools (Cobbina, 2003, p. 219). Much interest expressed in technical and vocational education manifested in the formation of a national tripartite board in 1967, which consisted of representatives from government, employers and employees who met to plan on how to train and utilise the human resource of the country. Based on the recommendations of the board, funds were sourced from the United Nations Development Programme Special Fund (UNDP/SF) and supported by funds from the Ghana government for establishing a National Vocational Training Institute (NVTI). The institute was finally established by an Act 351 of Parliament on January 12, 1970 to legalise the establishment of the Institute (National Vocational Training Institute, 2009).

The Institute runs, amongst others, school-based apprenticeship training and 'traditional' apprenticeship training. The school-based apprenticeship training is a course that leads to award of Certificate I or Certificate II based on the educational background of learners upon entry. Eligibility criteria for applicants include BECE Certificate, Middle School Leaving Certificate (MSLC) and evidence of at least two years Secondary School or SHS education (National Vocational Training Institute, 2009). Apprentices of street tailors/dressmakers are also certificated upon passing the Trade Test from the Institute. Apprentices who had learnt tailoring/dressmaking from private individuals or institutions were made to take the trade test. It was meant to test trade theory, trade science and calculations, trade drawing and trade practicals. Tailoring and dressmaking were amongst the newly introduced vocational subjects in the Junior Secondary School (JSS) concept proposed by the Dzobo committee educational reform whose implementation begun in 1974. The reform, amongst others, was geared towards predisposing Junior Secondary School graduates with self-employable skills, which might need little further apprenticeship after completion (Great Pola Africa Foundation, n.d). However, the pilot experimental implementation of the JSS concept was frustrated by bureaucratic snafu and inadequate financial commitment on the part of government, and poor administrative management by educational administrators. Provision of needed educational logistics for the effective implementation was in a stalemate. With the aim of solving the problem of effectiveness in implementation, the Evans Anfrom Committee reviewed the Dzobo educational reform report in 1986, which resulted in the 1987 educational reform (Great Pola Africa Foundation, n.d).

4.4. Public Tertiary Fashion Design Education in Ghana

Sartorial subjects such as needlework, tailoring, dressmaking, and clothing and textiles were introduced in Ghana's school curricula in primary, middle school, and vocational training centres in colonial, post-colonial and contemporary Ghana. When the JSS and secondary/technical schools' concepts were later introduced in 1987 educational reform, clothing and textiles that stomach aspects of sewing was perused at these schools. At the basic level of education (primary, Junior Secondary Schools), sartorial related subjects had little or no employability focus of the learners. Though the JSS concept harboured readily employability intentions for learners', the implementation could not yield the intended results as in the case of the Secondary Schools/Secondary Technical Schools that were meant to equip learners with self-employable skills. The subjects rather gave the learners the basics upon which some opted to study fashion design when it was introduced at the tertiary level in 1990s.

Fashion design education in public tertiary institutions started with some of the trade schools which were established in colonial and post-colonial Ghana that were later elevated to tertiary status by legislative instruments. It resulted in the enactment of the PNDC Law 321 in 1992 that gave legal backing to review the status of the schools and necessitated the enforcement of the educational reform programme. The first pioneering trade schools who had their status upgraded were Accra, Kumasi, Ho, Cape Coast, Takoradi and Tamale Polytechnics. Hitherto the review of their status, these polytechnics were running Fashion Intermediate and Advanced Fashion programme following the reinvigoration of technical and vocational education by the national tripartite board in 1967. For instance, Takoradi Polytechnic (now Takoradi Technical University) was running Intermediate and Advanced Fashion Design courses which it begun in 1974 (K. Boateng, personal communication, Sep, 22, 2016) while Ho Polytechnic (now Ho Technical University) was running same Fashion programmes in 1968 and 1989 respectively. Table 1 gives account of the tertiary institutions that were running fashion design related programmes in Ghana. In October 1994, Takoradi Technical University began to run Higher National Diploma (HND) programme in Fashion and Textiles Studies alongside the Intermediate Fashion and Advanced Fashion programme. Of the nine pioneering female students it begun with in the HND, six graduated in 1997 (Takoradi Polytechnic, 2016).

Tamale Polytechnic was elevated to the status of a Polytechnic on August 23, 1992 and began the Intermediate Fashion programme 2000 with thirty-six students. Four years later the polytechnic run the Advanced Fashion programme.

In the year 2016, the Polytechnic expanded its fashion programme to include HND (Fashion Design and Textiles). Nine students began the HND programme in Fashion.

Name of School	Year of Inception	Category of Programme
Takoradi Technical University	1994	HND (Fashion and Textiles Studies)
	1974	Intermediate Fashion*
	1974	Advanced Fashion*
Ho Technical University	1993	HND (Fashion Design and Textiles)
	1968	Intermediate Fashion*
	1989	Advanced Fashion*
Accra Technical University	1995	HND (Fashion and Textiles Studies)
	2005	Advanced Fashion*
	2010	Bachelor of Technology (Fashion)***
Cape Coast Technical University	2007	HND (Fashion Design and Textiles Studies)
	1999	Advanced Fashion*
	1999	Intermediate Fashion*
Kumasi Technical University	1986	Intermediate Fashion*
	1989	Advanced Fashion*
	1993	HND (Fashion Design and Textiles)
Koforidua Technical University	2015	B.Tech (Fashion Design and Textiles)**
	2016	HND (Fashion and Textiles Design)
	2012	Advanced Fashion & Textiles*
Sunyani Technical University	2012	Certificate Fashion & Textiles*
	2014	HND (Fashion Design Technology)
	2013	Fashion Advanced (Fashion Design and Textiles)*
Tamale Technical University	2016	HND (Fashion Design and Textiles)
	2000	Intermediate Fashion*
	2004	Advanced Fashion*
Bolgatanga Polytechnic	2008	HND Industrial Art (Fashion & Textiles option)
	2013	Advanced Fashion*
	2015	B.Sc. (Fashion Design and Textiles Education)
University of Education, Winneba (Winneba Campus)	2004	B.ED (Votech Education – Fashion Option)*
	2010	B.Sc. (Fashion Design & Textiles Education)
	2011	M.Tech. Ed. (Fashion Design & Textiles)
Kwame University of Science & Technology	2017	B. A. (Fashion Design)

Table 1: Public Tertiary Fashion Design Related Programmes in Ghana

Key: Programmes with asterisks (*) had a duration of two year, those with double asterisks (**) had one-and-half years duration while those without asterisks are a four year programmes, except HND programmes that have 3years. Programmes with three asterisk (***) are top-up run for 18 months. (Source: Fieldwork, 2017).

4.5. Private Tertiary Fashion Design Educational Institutions

With the enactment of the Education Act of 1961, it permitted the establishment of private schools. Consequently, some private school came into existence to augment the effort of government in providing education for the populace. Of the numerous private schools, some of the accredited tertiary fashion design education related ones are Joyce Ababio College of Creative Design (JACCD), Radford University College and Bluecrest University College.

Joyce Ababio College of Creative Design (JACCD) formerly called Vogue Style School of Fashion Design (VSSFD) was began in 1995 by Madam Joyce Ababio who is a fashion designer. It began with five students, which increased gradually to twelve, and later to fifteen. By the year 2000, the enrolment had increased to a student population of two-hundred. Though it began in 1995, it was officially opened in 2000 (JACCD President and Leadership, 2016). It has, and continues to train Ghanaian students and many others from West Africa, many of which are operating on their own in their respective specialised areas in fashion. Affiliated to the University of Cape Coast, it moved beyond offering certificate course to diploma and degree in both fashion design and graphic design. It looks forward to adding textiles design and accessory

design to its courses in future. It is the first private tertiary institution to introduce online learning platform in fashion design education in Ghana in the year 2015. It has produced many top practising designers for Ghana's fashion industry.

Radford University College was established in 2010 with fashion design as one of its departments. Five students began the fashion design programme in 2010. The enrolment keeps increasing. The school's annual graduate fashion shows that outdoor new fashion design talents of its graduating class rather than presenting them as mere student-designers, has, and contributed to building the school's reputation in fashion education in Ghana. The annual show brings together key industry players including designers, stylists, merchandisers and fashion enthusiasts that come in support of new student-designers and present them as club of creative designers the world must rely on for their new fashion designs.

BlueCrest College and its partner NIIT have gained popularity as one of the top IT education and training in Ghana. They are acclaimed the largest IT training school in Ghana. Established in 2000, Blue Crest College expanded its training in Certificate and diploma programmes to include undergraduate degree programmes. The school's affiliation with the University of Education, Winneba paved the way to include the degree programmes. The College introduced a Bachelor of Science in Fashion Design under the School of Fashion Design of the BlueCrest College in 2014. It started with twelve students. The programme, amongst other things, is to train creative and responsible designers capable of solving fashion problems of the society. To make the programme flexible and attract many learners interested in fashion education, the school runs evening (nocturnal sessions) and regular (daytime) sections. BlueCrest runs certificate, HND and degree programmes in fashion.

In addition, there are hundreds of private institutions that give training to beginner-fashion-designers. Ghana's renowned designers own some of these schools. The number of private based schools and institutions in fashion training in Ghana far outweigh the government-sponsored ones.

5. Implication to Research and Practice

Africa was described as a continent without history. Early Western scholars presented fashion as a Western phenomenon, a position that tagged the non-Western fashion including that of Africa as anti-fashion. This position has been contested by Hanssen (2004), Belfanti (2008) and Loughran (2009). Both Hanssen (2004) and Belfanti (2008) have put forward that fashion is not a preserve of the Western world. Loughran testified that African form and design have inspired the creativity of European fashion designers for centuries. These scholarly viewpoints from the authors necessitated a search for the history of fashion in Ghana. The study, therefore, traced the history of formal school fashion design education in Ghana from precolonial to colonial times with the focus on 1920 to present. It revealed historical information about pre-colonial times (c. 800 – 19th AD) which had received no scholarly attention. This study has also contributed to fashion history research in Ghana. Through empirical evidence, it has given some traces of fashion practice Before the Common Era, 800 – 19th AD and 1920 to present. It has, amongst other things, brought to the fore prehistorical evidence of Ghanaian fashion art, the apprenticeship mode of fashion education before colonial contacts, the colonialists early sartorial curricula introduction in 1800 – 1850 for only girls, and the pre-independence sartorial curricula in 1953/1954 which had little employability focus. The historical sweep of Ghanaian fashion education in higher institutions of learning has been presented in this study.

Since this historical knowledge of Ghana's fashion is in exhaustive, there is the need for further studies into those time periods (c. 800 – 19th AD) in deepening the scholarly contributions to fashion design education history in Ghana. Besides, Afro-Brazilian expatriates' contributions to Ghanaian fashion needs further investigations.

6. Conclusions

Long before colonialists' invasion in Ghana, fashion design education was handed down from generation to generation through the apprenticeship system, which was indigenous formal education. There are remnants of credible Stone Age quality fashion accessories whose thorough study confirmed the prehistory of Ghanaian fashion art. Neolithic Komal and sculptural art of Ghana gives a hint of fashion art practice at the time. The erroneous perception that Ghanaian fashion designers had no formal education in fashion design before the coming of the colonialists must be downplayed and contested. Fashion historians should pay scholarly attention to the study of prehistoric fashion art of Ghana in rewriting her fashion history.

Sartorial subjects begun to feature in the curricula of early 1800 – 1850 girls' education centres established by the missionaries in precolonial Ghana and post-colonial Ghana. But it featured more prominently in the school curricula of 1953/1954 with little employability focus. It was compulsory for all girls in schools at the time with the purpose of training them as homemakers. It created a perception of sartorial subjects as a preserve for females. Intermediate Fashion and Advanced Fashion programmes have been run since 1968 and 1989 respectively; HND have been run since 1993 while the degree programmes in fashion begun in 2010. The erroneous perception that Ghanaian fashion designers had no formal education in fashion design before the coming of the colonialists must be downplayed and contested. Fashion historians should pay scholarly attention to the study of prehistoric fashion art of Ghana in rewriting her fashion history. The focus of making sartorial subjects in 1953/1954 compulsory and a preserve for girls was given generally as training them as homemakers with little employability pathway, it would be prudent to explore in details what influenced the curriculum planners and the then government in making that policy decision.

Private tertiary educational institutions that have contributed to fashion design education included Joyce Ababio College of Creative Design (JACCD), Radford University College and Blue Crest University College. JACCD was established in 1995, Radford University College was in 2010 and School of Fashion Design of the Blue Crest College in 2014. There is the need

for governmental incentives such as tax waivers and consideration of private tertiary schools for subvention to encourage more of such schools to be established and to contribute to the expansion of tertiary fashion design education in Ghana. To expand Ghana's fashion industry, scholarships schemes for the youth in fashion must be established for more education and employment purposes since the industry employs millions of people in developed economies. The scheme would draw more youth and also support brilliant but need students with keen interest in fashion careers. Tertiary institutions running fashion programmes must conduct tracer studies from time to time to ascertain the employability of their graduates and to figure out the connection of their school-based training to the world of work in fashion.

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