
ISSN:

Print - 2277 - 078X

Online - 2315 - 747X

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Journal of
Humanities, Social
Sciences and Creative
Arts

STYLISTIC FEATURES OF CONTEMPORARY ADIRE IN NIGERIAN TEXTILE PRACTICE

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ABSTRACT

With the whole lot of innovation the adire textile is going through, the indigenous craft still maintained and retained its cultural values among its various users most especially the Yoruba people. The paper therefore examines the styles and forms of contemporary adire in Nigeria, its distribution and entrepreneurship. Of further interest is the wide gamut of other product which Kampala technique images have been adapted. From clothing to post-card and house hold decoration items. Examination of contemporary adire and its mellowed design, ease of production and recent acceptance as wearable fashion material and other uses, indicate the diverse direction that traditional art forms may take as it enters the international market, The paper deduced that the different innovations that have taken place in the traditional textile craft is as a result of the formal education been acquired by the very few 7.4% of new generation producers of adire and this innovations has in one way or the other improve the patronage of adire and the calibre of its users. It has also transformed adire into ceremonial attire, other than the usual knockabout. It highlights the differences in the patterning methods of the cloth and also the preference choice of users. The study discovered that adire can play a dual role of a commodity and a gift because of its new variety of uses among the customers, from dress to house hold materials and souvenir.

Keywords. *Indigenous adire, Contemporary adire, Modernisation, Decorative symbols, tourist market, Social arena*

INTRODUCTION

The Yoruba of South-western Nigeria are well known for their artistic prowess. The contribution of the Yoruba people to the world culture through art cannot be over-emphasized. Though, they have different artistic tradition such as: sculpture, painting, bead making, mating, carving, basketry etc. But cloth patterning and dyeing seem to have stood the test of time and till date in spite of modernisation; the industry of adire in South-west Nigeria is waxing stronger. Areo and Kalilu (2013) expressed that of all the artistic traditions, the textile art of adire still remain perhaps the most

decorative. Areo and Kalilu substantiated this that it may be due to the fact that they are deep religious people, and their thinking is influenced by history and deep observations of their natural environment from which most of the traditional decorative symbols are been drawn.

Adire has been defined by scholars in different ways based on their exposure either as a patron, collector, and observer or as a researcher. Carr (2001), Vol (1987), Perani, Fred and Smith (1998), Torntore (2001), Aronson (1999) defined adire in the same light of an accidental discovery, that it points

to the origin of the cloth and that it relates to a specific ethnic people who are producers of the cloth. While some felt that it is a facilitator of a spoken word. Areo and Khalilu (2013) define adire from the etymology of the word as a name coined from two Yoruba words 'adi' meaning to tie and 're' which means to dye. Adire is therefore a creative and artistic form and creative patterned dyed cloths.

Adire is a local handcrafted textile practiced in Nigeria mostly among women with very special tie to the Yoruba people of South West. Adire means tie and dye and have different production techniques from knotting with raffia to hand marking with feathers and pap. With the lots of innovation in adire production, there still remain a fact that the creativity and the design in adire that made it significant both as process and object of communication in the *Emergence of Adire in Nigerian Textile*.

Emergence of adire in Nigeria textile practice is obscure, scholarly opinions regarding these subject matters varies. Some believed that adire is a product of accidental discovery. Polakoff (1982), Lenor Lasen (1976), Wolff (2001) believed that resist dyeing happened accidentally and the unintentional and indefinite patterning has become a basic resist dyeing technique. But the Yoruba philosophies disregard all their accidental claims. Wolff and Stanfield (1971) believed that the origin or emergence of it must be sort in context of indigo dyeing and the world of the Yoruba women who first created this special cloth over a century ago on Kigipa, the hand spun and woven cloth of the women upright loom. Be it as it may Areo and Khalilu (2013) disclosed that Ifa divination oral literature credited the origin of patterned dyeing in various hue to Orun-

mila, the Yoruba deity of wisdom and divination and Ifa exponent, who was divinely inspired to produce patterned dyed cloths using the material technology of certain boards, Agbe, Aluko, Odidere, Lekeleke and Agbufon. Though the Ifa verse was not specific about where and when Orunmila did the first production, nonetheless tradition avers that it was a conscious attempt made when life on earth was relatively young with creative enterprise intention. This statement is in line with the claims of Allman (1978) that originally, adire production was meant to be a means of economic sustenance. Research and scholarship have variously and consistently proven the reliability of Ifa literature as a reliable form of oral tradition in historical reconstruction of the pre – literate eras of Yoruba history (Abimbola 1973: 41 – 62). A good number of people in Yoruba land engage in adire making business especially in large cities like Ibadan, Oshogbo, and Abeokuta. Abeokuta was mentioned last because dyeing was not originally practiced by women in Abeokuta until some Egba settlers returned to Abeokuta to introduce the occupation (Akpata 1971). She mentioned Oshogbo, Ibadan and Abeokuta as three major dyeing centres in Yoruba land since the 19 century. It re – stated the fact that any other dye centres found in those areas may be as a result of the collapse of the Oyo empire and the war resulted to mass movement of refugees who adopted the dyeing tradition when moving to safer places. Byfield (1993) acknowledge indigo dyeing as the foundation of numerous textile traditions throughout West Africa. Scholars claimed that centuries before the introduction of synthetic dyes, the ability to transform common white cotton cloth to a prized deep blue cloth was a highly valuable skill, passed down from generation to generation to generation among the Yoruba.

Styles and forms of adire in Nigeria.

The design and the decorative elements on the cloth are meaningful part of day to day life, adire cloth therefore functions as visual language. This meanings derived from the patterns on adire today seem lost, though adire cloth is still referred to as a product but the fundamental cultural properties of the pattern on the fabric seem to have been watered down or completely wiped out. Therefore examining the stylistic features of contemporary adire in Nigerian textile practice should be a welcomed idea.

Examination of contemporary styles and forms of adire in recent times indicates the different ways traditional arts forms may take as it enters the International market. With time, lots of changes come up in adire cloth, new forms and styles of this Nigeria textile, whose characteristic pattern is achieved using variety of techniques. Traditionally, colour is applied using vegetable dye (Elu) indigo and wood ash mordant, they are been developed at a slow rate. This contemporary version of adire is generally referred to by their makers and their consumers as *Kampala*, a term that indicates their connection to the cloth that is their inspiration and not tied to any cultural philosophy, religion or environment. While clearly distinct from adire, contemporary adire varieties speculate all of the traditional ideologies of the indigenous adire cloths that its makers deem valuable, marketable and attractive Braide (2012). Akpata (1971) described the various division of labour in indigenous adire preparation, resisting is carried out by *aladire* (designers), dyeing by *aloro* (dyers) and finishing by *ololu* (beaters). She informed that making the traditional adire cloth takes a lot of time than the modern methods. The motifs of indigenous adire types are tiny; the materials used to paint the motifs and to dye the fabrics

are slower than the modern chemicals. This may account for the factors responsible for playing down of the indigenous adire pattern among the present commercial producers. The contemporary adire with its simplicity in production had eroded all the above laid down division of labour by traditional producers.

The term "Contemporary adire" refers to a broad artistic production based on adire [tie-dye], replaying the indigenous pattern through distortion. Contemporary adire designers in a subtle manner consciously or unconsciously had converted indigenous adire patterns into the sphere of temporary 'fine art'. This new concept has re branded adire and has directly or indirectly affected its usage and presentation.

Contemporary technique are folding (adire *kika*), knotted (adire *siso*), starch resist (adire *eleko*), the hand marking process of the indigenous producers has been replaced by stencil technique application by the contemporary producers. Machine stitch (adire *oni machine*), needle stitch (adire *alabere*) that is not so prominent in the contemporary era, it has been taking over by machine stitch. Marbling (Adire *elesun*) and discharge (adire *bibo*), that is commonly referred to as *koko-bilo*.

Adire design elements have retained attention by notable scholars, such as, Drewal (1998), Thompson (1973), and Abraham (1958) noted that beyond colour, design element drew us into the Yoruba creative world view. In decorating adire, segmenting the cloth with line is a deeply significant cultural act and evidence and evidence of internalized Yoruba aesthetic linear connoisseurship. The surface of the fabric is divided into squares a form that does not occur in nature,

this is a device to organize a multiple motif in orderly manner. As recorded by Drewal (1989), Adire design has "seriality" basic organizing principles of Yoruba art. In Adire there is no single focal point on the design surface. The motifs chosen are separate, equal and distinct. The overall serial pattern is made up of discrete units of motifs complete in themselves that can be arranged, expanded or condensed. All this accolade of the indigenous adire is lost to the innovations in production of contemporary adire. Because a good deal of these innovations is technical in nature, a brief description of the process by which traditional adire is made seem very necessary.

Procedure for Traditional Adire Making

Men and sometimes women make the cotton cloth that is the support for adire dyes and majority used are imported white shirting of 36/36 inches width. Majority of the producers of adire are women, for they make the surface tying or free hand application of pap using feathers and apply dye to distinguish it from other cotton cloths. The women first soak the fabric to remove the size (starch) and to soften the fabric for easy manipulations for folding and tying and to give room for good absorption of the watery pap applied with feathers for starch resist technique. The women prepare the dye from the leaves of a plant known as Elu (*indigofera tinctoria*). The leaves are shredded fresh and pound in a mortar; the pounded leaves are formed into balls and dried in the sun for preservation. Woods are burnt into ashes for mordant. The women after resisting the fabric then immerse the cloth in the already prepared dye bath until the desired intensity of colour is acquired but not at a long stretch of immersion. The fabric is kept in the basket or on a grass or cemented floor to oxidise before washing,

sized (starch) and dried. The fabric after drying is given local ironing by the beater (Ololu). These laborious techniques suffered trades secrete. So it is not properly passed on from the older women to the younger girls. The problem of restriction and taboo also affect proper apprenticeship.

Features and procedure for Contemporary Adire Making

Today, contemporary adire appears in a wide variety of social context, few of which relate to adire traditional uses. Contemporary adire is compositional rather than thematic; concerns may dictate the placement of designs as cloths for foreign consumption. Frequently, isolated single designs are very common and patterns are placed on selvedge of fabrics, example of this is the common black cotton fabric used in the market place today to design unisex knickers buckers as wears. The designs are one single piece strategically situated on the fabric either on the chest, breast pocket, neckline and arm taping, back e.t.c.

The technique with which Kampala is made in the tourist market differs from the painstaking traditional methods. For example, the time consuming outlining process has been eliminated. The artist no longer practice the geometric and linear patterns, they create designs by printing, resisting or folding, discharge methods or surface painting; The contemporary adire artist with increasing frequency uses stencil cut from variety of materials including cardboard, sticker papers etc on which wax or pigment is dabbed through. Even Sticker papers are directly stacked unto the dark background cotton and binder (acronal) is used as an additive for fixing the dabbed printing paste. All this innovations are to reduce production time greatly and increase the quantity of cloths

sent into the market. For instance, artists, who produce cloths using stencil and chlorine to discharge colour from fabric to create pattern, *koko-below* as it is commonly called, will be able to discharge at least 30 pieces of 5yards fabric in a day while he could not be able to produce one traditional adire in a day using the indigenous technique. Although most stencilled cloths are mass produced with little variety in their designs but some artists have used these techniques to create innovative effect, learnt in the various schools, such as abstraction, perspective, basic design method [systematic application of dye]. Some of this group of artist has now channelled to training of others, thereby building the second generation of artist in contemporary adire. In this contemporary type of adire, some minor locally designed and fabricated machines are involved and some chemicals. Dyeing technique often times are not through emersion but dispersed method of dye colour application. Some chlorine [bleaching agent] either in its raw or diluted state is poured in a hollow bowl and designed foam on a rolling long stick is deepen into the prepared chlorine solution and stylishly rolled over the industrial dyed Guinea brocade. The contact of the solution on the fabric brings an exciting design and colour change effect; very fast to produce, less space is occupied and no unfavourable weather condition. Abstract shapes are created from the traditional adire patterns which are enlarged, tied and dyed without complete emersion in dye solution (disperse dyeing). The tied areas are either preserved using cellophane nylon or some other water repelling materials. Synthetic dyes are mixed in their varieties of colours in small bowls depending on the ability of the Kampala artist to explore colours, either spoon; perforated cover of

plastic bottles or partial soaking will be used as minor machines to dispense the colours and even rinsing are also done in parts.

Distribution and Entrepreneurship of Adire in Nigeria

Abeokuta a city in South of Lagos has long been a leading producer of the contemporary adire. There, the cloth has become an important industry. Most of the cloths sold in tourist market are from Abeokuta. It has even become a slogan that the only commodity that attracts influx of Nigerians to Abeokuta is adire be it indigenous or modern. Most adire for export are also from Abeokuta. Modern adire has attracted so many youth to practice the trade for commercial reasons and easy production technique.

The quantity and the popularity of modern adire is manifested in the Alhaji Masha cluster of Lagos, Kemta, Itoku adire market in Abeokuta and Oje market in Ibadan, these attest to the reaction of modern adire artist to the new market forces altering a pre-existing art to suit particular opportunities offered by a changing market. Asero International adire market is the result of a balancing act, the starters are moving in new direction to attract foreign consumers.

Nigerian contemporary adire (Kampala) divides the topic into three categories namely (Tourist market kampala, Private shops and Social arena). Tourist or commercial market Kampala, are not impermeable, for the makers often move from one market to the other according to whim and commercial demand. Nevertheless, these markets are distinct from each other; the style of the cloth and the product into which it is fashioned are adjusted to attract a particular set of consumer and realize the intention of a specific group

of Artist.

Tourist as well as commercial market, Kampala shops in Itoku, which represent the traditional cluster in Abeokuta, the conventional shopping complex at Asero, this represent the contemporary cluster, other traditional markets for indigenous adire and private shops in Lagos, large central markets where some areas are just for tourist e.g. Tejuosho market, filled with Kampala. The cloth is also sold in gift shops or hotels, airport and other social arena and at the various adire carnivals that are being organized by individuals, organizations or culture stakeholders. The Kampala appears in a wide variety of designs from shapes to abstract, and adire is used as clothing among the elitist group. It also serves traditional purposes, Oyelola and Osose (1999) endorsed that some deities used adire for their costume. It is also used during important ceremonies like coronation; adire is used as commemorative fabrics for important occasions as independence, burial, wedding e.t.c. In interview with one of the old practitioner of the craft Aribidesi (2008 pers. Com.) informed that some of the adire patterns and names are medicinal; she mentioned a specific type called JOJO that it derives its mystical healing power from a deity called Ogun (the god of iron), and she backed it up with a Yoruba adage that says "O jojo nsogun ara Ogun o le". This means the god of iron is indisposed, his body is weak. The myth revealed it that it was the JOJO fabric that was used to cover him when he was sick, it is a hand woven un - patterned glossy twill weave fabric dyed with natural indigo. She recalled that the fabric became expensive and scarce but every mother who can afford the fabric call for it because the fabric was mostly used for paediatric cases. A member of TRAMOKAM (Traditional &

Modern Kampala/Adire Manufacturers Association) popularly referred to as Iya Eleja (2009 pers. Com.) expressed that fabrics carry the strength of its wearer, Nigeria as a pre-industrial nation adire production is attributed to spirits. Wolf (1985) buttressed the above point that the costume itself, when not worn, act as a shrine to egungun spirit, which may be called upon throughout the year as need arises.

Today, contemporary adire appears in a wide variety of social context, few of which relate to adire traditional uses. Since the introduction of European textile, adire has been worn less frequently. This is particularly true among the people who live in Abeokuta, a world accredited centre for adire production and innovations in Nigeria. In this area, European fabric and styles are common due to its closeness to Lagos, once the capital and now the commercial centre of Nigeria. Allman (2006) submitted that adire production among the present generation has become a sustainable business unlike the leisure craft of old. Akinwunmi (1981) is of the opinion that the cumbersome nature of sourcing materials, dyes and fabric, production technique, patterning and dye application made most of the craft men to turn it to a leisure time business because of the difficulty in meeting large production that can be more profitable. However, a recent development, in terms of very wide acceptability and usage of adire has upturned production to an attractive commercial business beyond Abeokuta metropolis, where the production of quality adire originated (Rovine 1997).

The availability of the imported materials, fabrics, dyes, machine printed fabrics etc. ironically encouraged innovation and expanded the textile industry. Initially, adire was produced, found and worn among rural

dwellers and this was why Kayes Adenaike (1993) referred to it as *aso araoko*, cloth worn in the inter land. But with the contemporary inspiration of producers that seem to be influenced more by introduction of better production materials, this took adire from its village orientation to the city. A totally new form of techniques emerged as the imported cloth provides a softer and smoother texture for easy manipulation, unlike the coarse and heavy hand woven fabric (*kigipa*). The effect of this improvement or exposure is more demand for the product which task the designers to look for a faster means of production so that the supply can meet the demand. 1920 witnessed a great boost hither to not experience in this Yoruba art tradition and the economy of it. For example studies indicate that, as of the 1920, in Abeokuta centre alone, up to two thousand wrappers were been bought daily by senegaleses merchants (Bayfield 1993). Then adire was made with two piece of cloth of five yards each and which constitute the size of wrapper used by women. The contemporary patterning of adire because of its new status watered down the indigenous design by enlarging them to occupy more space so that more space can be filled within a very short period of time. This therefore affected the production price which may cause reduction in sales price thereby making it affordable to more people. This drew more people to the selling aspect of the craft (Braide 2012). Braide discussed further that reports has shown that we have more traders in adire business than all other arms of the business. Artist in Southwest cities of Nigeria may work in several spheres simultaneously, not adhering to conventional divisions between fine art and fashion or home furnishings. Some make clothes for sale in tourist markets while some other sell in

boutiques, and still wish to display in museums abroad and in Nigeria. In Yoruba culture, adire has played a very important role. Past records of exhibition and study provide a measure against which to evaluate the immense innovation that has taken place in recent years. Because contemporary adire today takes so many forms and appear in so many contexts, it cannot usefully be examined as homogenous subject instead, one must distinguish between the various strains of this adire inspired art movement. The revitalization of adire is taking place in a number of markets; from tourist art to fine art, all of which are in continual flux, the artist, vendors and consumers change constantly as the style and forms of *Kampala* itself.

RESULTS

The demographic characteristics of producers of adire and the preference choice of users of adire as revealed by Braide (2012) in her research on "Assessment of Quality Characteristics of Indigenous and Contemporary adire made in Abeokuta, shows that most producers of adire are middle ages of between 41- 50years old this represent 32% of the 50 random purposively selected respondents. Those below 30 years of age are just 25% of the total respondents while those between 51-60years and those above 60 are 2 out of 50 representing 7.4%. 59.3% were married while 22.2% were single. Majority (81.5%) of the producers were female while only 18.5% were male indicating that the adire business is still currently female dominated. A total of two-third have some formal kind of education ranging from primary to tertiary education while one-third (33.3%) have no formal education.

Table 2 revealed that 32 representing 63% of the respondents still use the manual indigenous technology to produce their con- temporary styles while majority do not own their production site.

Table 1: Distribution of *Adire* producers by socio-demographic characteristics, n=50

Description	Frequency	Percentage
AGE GROUP		
Below 30 years	7	25.9
31 – 40 years	6	22.2
41-50 years	10	37.0
51-60 years	2	7.4
Above 60 years	2	7.4
MARITAL STATUS		
Single	6	22.2
Married	16	59.3
Divorced	3	11.1
Widow/Widower	2	7.4
SEX		
Male	5	18.5
Female	22	81.5
EDUCATION		
No Formal Education	9	33.3
Primary	9	33.3
Secondary	7	25.9
Tertiary	2	7.4

Table 2: Distribution of *Adire* producers on based Infrastructure. N=50

Description	Frequency	Percentage
Level of Technology		
Manual	32	63.0
Machine aided	7	14.8
Mass Production	4	7.4
Manual and Machine Aided	7	14.8
Do you own a production Site		
Yes	13	25.9
No	37	74.1
Do You Rent A Production site		
Yes	19	37.0
No	31	63.0

Table 3 show that majority of the producers have adequate knowledge of the modern production ethics such as pre – fabric treatment, sun and complete drying. With respect to bleaching, only 26 out of 50 representing 51.9% do not bleach their fabric before patterning while only 7 out of 50 bleach their fabric before patterning.

Table 3: Distribution of Adire Producers based on production ethics n=50

Description	Frequency	Percentage
Are you aware of Pre-fabric Treatment method	28	55.6
Yes	22	44.4
No		
Do you size your fabric		
Yes	35	70
No	15	30
Do you desize		
Yes	35	70
No	15	30
At what temperature do dry your fabric		
Room temperature	20	40
Sun dry	28	56
23.00	2	4
Do you do		
Complete drying	26	33.3
Damp drying	22	29.6
12.00	2	3.7
Do you bleach before patterning		
0.00	17	33.3
Yes	7	14.8
No	26	51.9
Are you aware of various principles of designs		
Yes	39	78
No	11	22
Do you use them		
Yes	30	59.3
No	20	40.7
How do assemble your design		
Element of design	19	37.0
Conceptualization	16	32
Inspiration	4	7.4
12.00	7	14.8
23.00	2	3.7
24.00	2	3.7

Majority of the producers, 39 out of 50 (66.7%), have the knowledge of the principles of design and 30 representing 59.3%, use the knowledge.

In the area of design assemblage, more producers, 19, use design element to assemble designs while 16 used conceptualization methods, very few design using other design assemblage method.

Table 4 also showed that 88 out of the total number of respondents representing 88.0% were able to identify the adire types. In terms of patronage, 83 of the respondents, representing 83.0%, patronize contemporary adire while about 70% patronize indigenous adire. Majority of the patrons of adire are in the mix sector. They represent

58.0% making up 58 of the total respondents.

On the basis of preference choice of the local and tourist consumer of adire, the table shows that the tourist prefers indigenous adire type dyed with natural indigo having indigenous pattern, this group represent 33.0% totalling 33 out of the total respondents (Table 2)

The local consumers, 83 in number, representing 83.0% prefer the Modern types of adire. Majority of the respondents, 79 in number representing, 79.0% perceived indigenous adire as having greater cultural value than Modern ones and 56% claimed not to have knowledge that adire is used to commemorate occasions.

Table 4: Distribution of *Adire* patron's by patronage pattern and preferences, n=100

Description	Frequency	Percent
Ability to Identify Adire types		
Can identify Indigenous Adire	88	88.0
Can Identify Modern Adire	84	84.0
Can Identify Adire made in Abeokuta	78	74.0
Type of Adire Being Patronized		
Patronizes Indigenous Adire	70	70.0
Patronizes Modern Adire	83	83.0
Mix of Adire Types Being Patronized		
Patronizes Only Indigenous Adire	7	7.0
Patronizes Both indigenous & Modern Adire	58	58.0
Patronizes Only Modern Adire	24	24.0
Preference of Local consumers		
Indigenous tie dye with indigenous surface decoration	18	18.0
Modern ones with a minute part of old surface decoration	83	83.0
Preference of Tourists		
indigenous tie dye with indigenous surface decoration	33	33.0
Modern ones with a minute part of old surface decoration	67	67.0
Perceive indigenous adire as having greater cultural value than modern ones		
Yes	79	79.0
No	21	21.0
Know that Adire is used to Commemorate some Occasions		
Yes	44	44.0
No	56	56.0

DISCUSSION

Adire is a fabric that has gone through so much innovation without necessarily losing its cultural value. It is worth noting that the foreign intervention and all the changes it brought has giving adire cloth both the indigenous and contemporary an unprecedented prominence all over the globe.

The major innovations that came into the production of the local textile adire were as a result of the few 7.4% that acquired formal education in the production of the craft at tertiary education level. With the various innovation and bicultural interventions, technologically there had been little improvement because 63% of the producers still use indigenous technology to adapt to the changes. In the market place today and even among users, the contemporary adire has moved the fabric from its former wearable identity to all other uses such as souvenirs, house hold functional material even as jewellery and various other items displayed in malls and other highly esteemed places both at home and abroad.

The effect of trade secretes seem still very prominent in the production of adire though the industry seem to be attracting more of younger males than females, presently we have more women the industry but very few young women are interested learning the technique. With the new trend, more young men acquiring the adire making skills and adapting the cloth to an entirely new range of products, the statement that adire production and sales is a sole business for women may change very soon. Adire produced for traditional uses are patterned with rows of geometrical designs that carry messages for those trained in their interpretation while contemporary adire exhibits a lot of distortion using abstract designs. Adire is the product with complex and meticulously

arranged motifs with very detailed edges referencing some specific historical events or proverbs. The plain weave with meticulous design and indigo blue dyeing on white background in the tourist market signifies the handmade and clearly distinguish it from factory made cotton cloth frequently used by kampala makers. Expatriates interviewed declared that their preference for indigenous adire is as a result that the patterns have specific meanings as a result of the interesting details that are added to the cloths exoticism. The study enumerate new devices to enable production time reduce, to increase the quantity and quality of the cloth presented for sale in the market place. The study presented some mass production techniques using template without necessarily destroying the cultural value of the cloth. The study revealed that modern adire (kampala) had attracted more youths to practice the trade for commercial reasons and easy production techniques. Adire is therefore both an expression of national pride and response to economic exigencies Indigenous adire is perceived as having greater cultural values than modern ones

NOTE:

Personal communication, March 30 and May 12, 2009 with *Alhaja Safurat Aribidesi*, a renowned merchant of indigenous *Adire* in *Itoku* market (famous market for the sales of *Adire* in Abeokuta).

Personal communication, September 22, 2013 *Alhaja Basirat Aileru* alias *Iya eleja* who is the head of *Adire* design and dyeing guild in *Itoku* market in Abeokuta Metropolis

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(Manuscript received: 17th February, 2017; accepted: 14th September, 2015)