### UNIVERSITY FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

THE CHIEFTAINCY INSTITUTION AS AN AGENT OF DEVELOPMENT AMONG THE DAGAABA IN THE UPPER WEST REGION: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS.

### DOMANBANG IBRAHIM



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BY

### DOMANBANG IBRAHIM

THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT, FACULTY OF PLANNING AND LAND MANAGEMENT, UNIVERSITY FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF SCIENCE DEGREE IN DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT



JUNE, 2011

### **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or else where

Candidate's Signature.	mufbate 30/06/2011
Name DOMANBANG IBI	

### **Supervisor's Declaration**

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision on thesis laid down by the University for Development Studies.

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### **ABSTRACT**

Chieftaincy is perhaps the only indigenous institution which has been able to stand the test of time in the advent of alien cultures. This research attempts to identify chiefs as the main agent of development among the Dagaaba in the Upper West and also to determine the challenges and prospects of the chieftaincy institution.

Both primary and secondary data were collected and collated. Several data were gathered through face-to-face interviews and focus group discussions. The entire research covered 103 respondents. Methods of data analysis include; tables, simple bar graphs, pie charts, Frequency distribution, percentages and content analysis were also employed to analyse and present statistically quantifiable data. They were followed by brief verbal comments.



The study identified certain challenges and prospects of the chieftaincy institution. For instance, political interference and Chiefs serve as traditional leaders in their communities respectively.

The study thus made some recommendations by providing a scope of options to chiefs to improve their efficiency and relevance as chieftaincy institution. The study recommended that, the various Regional House of Chiefs should be tasked to compile and collate all the royal gates of every village, town and city as well as their successors so as to avoid chieftaincy dispute(s). It also

recommended that the chieftaincy institution should be devoid of political interference. It further suggested that the position of the chief should be guided by specific institutionalized traditions with respect to accession to office and performance of functions.

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# VINU

### **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my parents, Mr. Domanbang Bana-e and Mrs. Yelwie Domanbang; my children, Faiza and Faisal Domanbang as well as the entire Domanbang's family.



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### **ACRONYMS**

CBOs Community Based Organisations.

CDR Committees for the Defence of the Revolution.

CPP Convention People's Party.

DA District Assembly.

DDC District Development Committee.

ECA Economic Commission For Africa.

FSM Federal State of Micronesia.

KVIP Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pit

NGOs Non-Governmental Organisation.

PDC People Defence Committee.

PNDC Provisional National Defence Council.

PNDCL Provisional National Defence Council Law.

TEPPCON Tamale Ecclesiastical Province Pastoral Conference



# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Chieftaincy is perhaps the only indigenous institution that has been able to stand on its own feet in spite of its bombardment by alien cultures since our first contact with Europeans and Arabs. Chieftaincy has been described as the embodiment of our culture and the custodian of the best in our traditional institutions. It is an institution from which modem democratic rule can take some fundamental lessons (Abayie, 1997).

Before colonization took firm roots in the country, the indigenous ruler occupied a unique position in his realm. He was accepted by his subjects as the religious, political and judicial head of the kingdom, the spirit and embodiment of the nation, and the custodian of the people's ancestral cultural heritage. The British colonial system did not do away with the traditional role of kings, but made them the central figures for local administration. Considering these rulers as the body which represented the public views and wishes, the colonial system granted the 'commoners' practically no place in the relationship between the indigenes and the colonial government or in the administration at the local level. This policy was backed by what was known in the colonial system as indirect rule; first introduced by Lord Lugard in Uganda, and then in Nigeria under Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg (Buah, 1995).



The system of indirect rule in the country worked as follows: Within a traditional state or a group of smaller states, the paramount chief, his leading sub-chiefs and important counselors were constituted into a Native Administration. This was later named as the Native Authority presided over by a paramount chief. The powers and functions of the Native Authority covered matters relating mainly to traditional and customary institutions and

practices. These authorities operated under the general direction and control of the colonial district commissioner (Buah, 1995).

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Two forces persuaded the colonial authorities to promote indirect rule. Firstly, the authorities were faced with an acute shortage of staff and money to run the machinery of government right down to the local level throughout the country. Secondly, the white authorities realized the need to preserve the people's traditional, political and social heritage. They considered this an effective measure, which would help to avoid detribalising the indigenes, which might in consequence become a threat to the colonial interest.

In pursuit of the policy, the colonial authorities found dependable allies in the chiefs and supported them with a series of Ordinances to the exclusion of the commoners. The first of these laws was the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1878. This was amended and improved upon by subsequent Ordinances in 1883, 1910 and 1924. An important feature of all these Ordinances was that the Chiefs were granted powers of controlling local tribunals, with limited jurisdiction relating to customary and testamentary matters, and to make bye-laws which did not go counter to the British concept of law (Buah, 1995).



In 1927, Governor Guggisberg promulgated the Native Administration Ordinance. Among other things, the new Ordinance set out the processes of the election and disposal of chiefs and the hierarchy of traditional rulers in the country. Each level of authority had courts and the final court of appeal within the paramount chief. The Ordinance also established the Joint-provisional council in Southern Ghana. Having re-instated the occupant of the Golden Stool in 1935, Nana Sir Agyeman Prempeh II as the paramount ruler of the entire Asante kingdom, a body similar to the joint -provincial council of chiefs in the South named the Asanteman council was

established. It comprised all the paramount chiefs of Asante and present day Brong Ahafo. These councils of chiefs were, in theory at least, set up as super-traditional authorities through which the people's views on government policy were sounded and consulted (Buah, 1995).

The creation of State Treasures in 1938, built up from various forms of revenue, helped the Native Authorities not only to pay an enlarged staff but also to undertake some major development projects in the traditional areas.

Nationalism, the struggle for emancipation, had to requisition local allies. The first ally was the chief whose role had been recognized and institutionalized by the colonial administrations. The educated elite in their various political orientations had to compete for support from chiefs in the struggle for independence. The traditional rulers legitimized the claim "the chiefs and people" - calling for independence and claiming to God-given rights to manage or mismanage our affairs" (TEPPCON, 2006).

Chieftaincy as an institution has been affected "qualitatively". There are now many highly educated and qualified people occupying skins and stools as chiefs. They display the same knowledge, ideas, and perspectives that can be described as modern. They manifest concern for stability and progress of the nation state. They similarly aspire to preserve the integrity of their kingdoms. The trend lately has been the preoccupation of traditional authorities with issues of governance, environment, sustainable development and participatory and inclusive decision-making (TEPPCON, 2006).

Chieftaincy in cephalous societies, characteristic of most of the Upper East and Upper West Regions of Ghana, is a grafted institution still learning to wear the symbols and insignia of office. Chieftaincy in most of the two Upper Regions was imported or was an imposition from marauding gangs

of invaders looking for land and/or slaves. These came from more structured and centralised societies organizations with the weaponry and organization for conquest. They likely conquered a place and occupied it, or negotiated with the indigenes for space in return for protection. This has been the case of the Kusasi in the Bawku area where the Manprusis settled and "became" the ruling class (TEPPCON, 2006).

### 1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The institution of chieftaincy has been accused of being anachronistic significantly because of tremendous secrecy or confidentiality which characterizes most of its activities. Consequently, outsiders are completely cut off from some of its activities. The fact that elders refuse to explain certain traditional practices makes the entire institution look weird to the western educated and the so-called modem man. It must be stated that one of the reasons why chieftaincy as an institution has stood the test of time is because of its mystical and sacred nature (Abayie, 1997).

The idea of secrecy surrounding the institution of chieftaincy is not peculiar to it. It is so with a great number of the world's old institutions such as various religions and cultures. The statement that: there is a structure of chieftaincy in Ghana not so much the result of natural and historical development, but government and legal policies, should not be generalized for the entire country.



Before the advent of colonial rule, the traditional leader's role encompassed numerous functions which revolved around the cardinal theme of guiding, protecting, defending and providing for the needs of the society he served. He was the intermediary between the departed ancestors, the living and the yet unborn. These holistic approaches involved religious, military, legislative, executive, judicial, social and cultural features (Economic Commission For Africa, 2007).

Generally today the modern chief faces the problem emanating from the reduction of the apparent absolute power, which his ancestors possessed. These developments started first with the colonial rule and second with political independence. With the emergence of a pure Ghanaian government under the CPP, serious attempts were made to demystify chieftaincy institution. Thus the CPP cowed the chiefs into submission and eroded the powers of the chiefs, which they possessed from the indirect rule of the colonial era. Using the gazette principle, the government withdrew its recognition of those chiefs who were in opposition and elevated its supporters to paramountcies. Some of these chiefs had to run away into exile for fear of detention. Secondly, the chief cannot impose taxes without the express permission from the District or Municipal Assembly (Abayie, 1997).

Arthin (1985) argues in favour of the chieftaincy institution in the modem context and suggested that for peace to exist in the various traditional areas, thus leading to socioeconomic development in rural Ghana, the Institution should be maintained. Chiefs in societies where the institution of chieftaincy is relatively new tended to depend on the power of the modem state. This is done through the power of official recognition and ministry for chieftaincy affairs.



Disputes associated with chieftaincy and lands are widespread throughout Ghana and this has introduced elements of instability and conflict in a key institution of traditional authority. This can affect relationships and partnerships with key chieftaincy institution or institution of traditional authority for promoting the end of good governance and development at the local level.

Hence, the problem the study seeks to address is the continuous weakening position of the chieftaincy institution as an agent of development despite its prospects among the Dagaaba in the Upper West Region.

### 1.3.1 THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS.

To access information on the topic, the research was guided by the following questions.

### 1.3.2 Main Research Question.

What are the challenges and prospects of the chieftaincy institution as an agent of development among the Dagaaba in the Upper West region?

### 1.3.3 Sub-Research Questions.

- 1 What are the roles of chiefs among the Dagaaba?
- 2 Are chiefs actually performing their duties?
- What is the level of knowledge of chiefs in relation to development?
- 4 Are the roles of chiefs relevant to development in this current trend of Political dispensation?
- What are the challenges chiefs faces in the discharge of their duties?
- 6 Is there a healthy relationship between chiefs and politicians?

### 1.4 THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The study was undertaken with the following objectives.

### 1.4.1 General Objective

The study seeks to determine the challenges and prospects of the chieftaincy institution as an agent of development among the Dagaaba in the Upper West Region.



### 1.4.2 Specific-Objectives

The aims of the study are:

- 1.To determine the roles of chiefs among the Dagaaba.
- 2.To access whether chiefs actually perform their duties.
- 3. To examine the level of knowledge of chiefs in relation to development.
- 4.To assess the relevance of the roles of chiefs in relation to development in this current trend of political dispensation.
- 5. To determine the challenges chiefs face in the discharge of their duties.
- 6. To examine whether there is a healthy relationship between chiefs and Politicians.

### 1.5 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The study will generate a baseline data that will be useful to the Ministry of Chieftaincy Affairs, the National House of Chiefs, the Regional House of Chiefs as well as the traditional councils. The study will also provide information for future researchers and other stakeholders involved in the chieftaincy institution. The study will further benefit the chiefs and people of the areas where the research was conducted. Again, the study will give the researcher an in-depth knowledge about the chieftaincy institution.



### 1.6 METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to determine the challenges and prospects of the chieftaincy institution among the Dagaaba in the Upper West Region. This section will deal with the research design, population and sampling procedures, method of data collection, data collection procedures, methods of data analysis among others.

### 1.6.1 Research Design

The design used for the study was descriptive survey. A descriptive survey by way of explanation is basically a design that aims at finding out the existing situation of a particular phenomenon of concern. In descriptive

research, the events or conditions either already exist or have occurred and the researcher mainly selects the relevant variables for an analysis of their relationships (Best and James, 1993). A survey type of research is a systematic attempt to collect information from members of an identifiable population. It can be a sample surveyor census survey.

The rationale for descriptive survey may be seen as:

- (i) It tells what a situation is in a systematic manner.
- (ii) It involves collection of accurate data for the purpose of determining the correct nature of the subject of study.
- (iii) It uses logical methods for inductive-deductive reasoning to arrive at generalizations (Best and James, 1993).

The descriptive survey follows specific procedures and makes possible interpretation of data collected. Here, research questions are raised and answered in a descriptive way. Any other person, therefore, can follow the same procedure and come out with the same results.

The descriptive survey minimizes personality values, beliefs and predisposition of the researcher since there are laid down procedures to follow. It also provides the researcher with an instrument (questionnaire), which is easier for the collection of data for the study (Best and James, 1993).



Notwithstanding these strengths, descriptive survey has its own weaknesses. Firstly, it cannot establish cause and effect relationships. Secondly, it is not sufficiently comprehensive to provide answers. Thirdly, the researcher cannot deduce conclusively the cause of the phenomena or predict what the future phenomena will be. More so, descriptive survey is costly when considered in terms of time and money when the target population is scattered (Best and James, 1993).

### 1.6.2 Population and Sampling Procedure

Both simple random sampling and purposive sampling techniques were used. Simple random sampling gives all units of the target population an equal chance of being selected. It allows computation of accuracy of selection and offers a high degree of representation (Sotirios, 2005). Simple random sampling was used to select the communities where data were collected. This technique gave each community a calculable probability of being selected. This technique was employed because it is scientific and also it gives a fair representation and offers each community an equal chance of being selected (Twumasi, 1986). Five communities were randomly selected in the Nadowli District. These communities include: Kaleo, Sombo, Nadowli, Sankana and Bussie. In all ten communities were considered in the sample frame and five communities were randomly sampled by means of lottery where each community in the sample frame was represented by a piece of paper. These were thoroughly mixed up and five communities were picked out at random without replacement.

However, this method is expensive, time consuming and relatively complicated since it requires a large sample size, and units selected are usually widely scattered (Sotirios, 2005).



Purposive sampling technique was also employed in the selection of respondents. The researcher adhering to the study objectives selected respondents who can provide answers to the research questions.

According to Sotirios (2005), purposive sampling "is the process in which the researcher(s) purposely choose subjects in their opinion that are relevant to the research topic. The choice of respondents is guided by the judgement of the investigator".

Also, according to Oredein (2004), purposive sampling "involves selecting specific elements which satisfy some predetermined criteria. The criteria to be used are usually a matter of the researcher's judgement. The researcher exercises this judgement in relation to what he thinks will constitute a representative sample with respect to the research purpose".

### 1.6.3 Methods of Data Collection

The methods used were personal interviews, which involved face-to-face interviews with respondents, focus group discussions and collection of secondary data.

### A. Personal Interview Survey

Personal interview survey is a procedure which usually requires the interviewer to ask prepared questions and record the respondents or interviewees answers after the potential interviewee might have been located (Oredein, 2004).

According to Moser and Kalton (1971:271), survey interview is "a conversation between interviewer and respondent with the purpose of eliciting certain information from the respondent".

The personal interview survey was highly structured, with specific questions that were asked of all respondents. This method was used because some of the respondents were illiterates and some were also literates. However, some of the literates could not read and write well.

Personal interview survey has its own weaknesses of being time consuming. There is also, perceived exposure or vulnerability as well as general resistance to being interviewed or a 'quiet-life' response on the part of the respondents.



### **B. Focus Group Discussion**

Focus group discussion is a situation where a focus group moderator keeps a small and homogeneous group of 6-12 people focused on the discussion of a research topic or issue (Oredein, 2004). It involves persons specially selected owing to their particular interest, expertise or position in the community in an attempt to collect information on a number of issues, as well as to brainstorm a variety of solutions, and ultimately facilitate group discussions as a tool of data collection and possibly policy construction (Sotirios, 2005). Five separate focus group discussions were held with five different communities in the Nadowli District. These communities were: Kaleo, Sombo, Nadowli, Sankana and Bussie. The various groups comprised of men and women from the royal families, landlords, some opinion leaders and key informants. Table 1.1 below provides more information about the breakdown.

TABLE 1.1 FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS HELD IN THE COMMUNITIES.

		NUMBER OF
COMMUNITY	GROUP	DISCUSSANTS
Kaleo	People from the Royal family, Landlords,	12
	Key informants (men and Women).	
Sankana	People from the Royal family, Landlords,	11
	Key informants (men and Women).	
	People from the Royal family, Landlords	
Sombo	(men and women)	12
	People from the Royal family, Landlords	
Nadowli	and a key informant (men)	12
	Opinion leaders, People from the Royal	
Bussie	family, Landlords (men and women)	8
TOTAL		55

Source: Field Survey (2009).



Focus group discussion allowed for an in-depth knowledge into the social, economic and cultural roles of the chieftaincy institution. Also, challenges faced by chiefs were gathered by the use of this method. Focus group guide comprising of 11 questions were designed for the target group to ensure that discussions were both relevant to the topic and activities of the target group and as a result, the participants could freely express their views and opinions from their perspectives.

However, this method has the disadvantages of being dominated by one or two participants. It is sometimes expensive in terms of finance, and also time consuming. To overcome the above challenges, every participant was encouraged to answer a question. The researcher was also assisted with funds from his organization. The researcher also trained and engaged the services of research assistants.

### c. Secondary Data

These contain reports of events by someone who was not actually involved in the event for example; text books, departments and so on (Oredein, 2004). The Upper West Regional House of Chiefs was consulted. Information was also obtained from the Internet, the 1992 Constitution of Ghana and Chieftaincy Acts (1961 and 1971). The reason for using secondary data was to crosscheck already existing works in the area of study.



Certain challenges are associated with this method. Firstly, access to some types of content is limited. Secondly, unwillingness on the part of some departments or people to release certain information or documents.

To overcome these challenges, the researcher contacted the Upper West Regional House of Chiefs for written documents from their archives. He was also assisted with vital written documents from his supervisor.

### **Data Collection Procedure.**

The researcher conducted a pilot study within the Wa Township among some selected people. For the actual research, the researcher visited the five selected communities (Kaleo, Sombo, Nadowli, Sankana and Bussie) in the Nadowli District of the Upper West Region

### 1.6.4 Methods of Data Analysis.

This involves summarizing and aggregating information in accordance with relevant themes in respect of the research objectives. Therefore, data gathered from the field were carefully studied to determine their relevance to the objectives of the study. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used. Other methods such as tables, simple bar graphs, frequency distribution, pie charts, percentages and content analyses were also used.

### 1.7 DIVISION OF WORK

The study has been organised into five chapters with details as follows:

Chapter one (1) deals with the introduction and perspective of the study, the problem statement, the research questions, the study objectives, the rationale of the study, the research methodology and limitations of the study. Chapter two (2) deals with the relevant literature review where both conceptual and operational definitions relating to the area of study were explained in detail. In view of this, the meaning, nature, challenges and prospects of the chieftaincy institution, the structure and functions of the institution as well as the linkage between the chieftaincy institution and development were critically examined. Chapter three (3) deals with the District and Community profiles such as location and size, climate, geology and soil, relief and drainage, demographic and age-sex distribution, traditional-political system, socio-cultural, economic and environmental situation. Chapter four consists of data presentation and analysis as well as the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents, age of the interviewees, marital status, educational status and religion. Chapter five.

takes into consideration a summary of the major findings, conclusions and recommendations.

### 1.8 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The researcher had some difficulties in getting the participants interviewed. Some of them had gone to their farms as it was harvesting season. Others too felt the researcher would disclose their information to others and as such were not willing to appear for interview. Financial and time constraints were other problems that confronted the study. Also, the road networks from Naro to Bussie as well as Kaleo to Sankana were very bad. Furthermore, some of the communities selected are far from each other.

To overcome the above challenges, the researcher had to book a date in advance, through the Chiefs and the Assemblymen of the selected communities who helped to organize the respondents. Secondly, the researcher assured the participants of the confidentiality of information they provided. Thirdly, the researcher was assisted with funds from his Organisation (Ghana Post). Furthermore, the researcher trained and engaged the services of research assistants who were dispatched to the selected communities. They were trained in how to administer the questionnaire.



### 1.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter provides the basic information and has given the perspective required to ensure a clear understanding of the study. It spells out the research problem, the research objectives, methodology, justification and the organization of the study. Therefore, the next chapter will review relevant literature on the chieftaincy institution.

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### CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is devoted t~ a critical review of literature relating to the meaning, challenges and prospects of the chieftaincy institution on one hand, and the structure and functions of the chieftaincy institution and the linkage between the chieftaincy institution and development on the other hand.

# 2.2 THE MEANING, CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF THE CHIEFTAINCY INSTITUTION.

Chieftaincy is one of the most enduring traditional institutions in Ghana, which has displayed remarkable resilience from pre - colonial through colonial to post-colonial times. The history of the institution of chieftaincy can be periodized into three major phases: pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial.

According to the Constitution of Ghana, (1992); "a chief' means a person, who, hailing from the appropriate family and lineage has been validly nominated, elected or selected and instooled, enskinned or installed as a chief or queen mother in accordance with the relevant customary law and usage.



Also, according to the Chieftaincy Act, (1961), a chief is an individual who has been nominated, elected and installed as a chief in accordance with customary law and is recognised as a chief by the Minister responsible for local Government. The Minister may by executive instrument at any time withdraw recognition from a chief if the chief has been destooled and his appeal against the destoolment has been dismissed or the period allowed for appealing has elapsed Without an appeal having been brought or the Minister considers it to be in the public interest to withdraw recognition.

The following are categories of chiefs; the Asantehene and paramount chiefs who are not subordinate to the Asantehene; chiefs; and adikrofo and other chiefs not falling within the preceding categories (Chieftaincy Act, 1961).

According to Keulder (1998), "the institution of traditional leaders and its procedures of governance is not only a simple form of government, but also a more accessible better understood, and a more participatory one. It is accessible because it is closer to the subjects than any other system of government; subjects have more direct access to their leaders because they live in the same village and because any individual can approach the leader and ask him to call a meeting; decision making is based on consensus, which creates great harmony and unity; it is transparent and participatory because most people may attend tribal meetings and express their views, directly not through representatives; and lastly harmony and unity prevail because the interests of the tribal unit rather than an individual or group of individuals, are pursued and expressed" (p.ll).



The above description of the institution of traditional leaders and its procedures is relevant to the area of my study because it describes the institution of the chieftaincy and its Socio- cultural and socio-political aspects though the scope of the current study goes beyond that. The scope of the current study covers the religious, legislative, executive and judicial roles of the Chieftaincy institution.

The traditional chiefs still enjoy considerable respect in their own sphere even in this modem political system. In the U S, traditional leaders did have their part to play in the preparations for self - government, however, several of them, as delegates to the Federal State of Micronesia constitutional convention in 1975, and took an active role in framing the

constitution. They were also pressed into service a few years later to visit different islands and campaign for Micronesian unity (Micsem 1994).

Micsem (1994) states that "two councils of chiefs in Yap: the council of Pilung and the council of Tamol, although quite separate from the rest of the apparatus of government can jointly veto any legislation that "has to do with custom and tradition!" What is more their veto may not be overridden. Micsem (1994) further states that "the main role of the councils however seems to provide some forum for the discussion of issues not directly related to governmental authority"

Micsem (1994) goes on to say that, it is not an exaggeration to say that the chiefs are expected to preserve the modern government and that in Tonga and Fiji high chiefs have maintained a strong hold over the modern government either through their membership in the parliament or their monopoly over other political forms.

Micsem (1994) again states that. "in the post - war days of the late 1940s when the first elections were held in Micronesia, chiefs were often picked as the magistrates of their islands or municipalities; soon many of them delegated one of their school teachers or someone else who spoke a little English to stand-in for them though it was not long before the magistrate developed a following of his own and became a more independent voice in the community; As the modern political system developed, the power of elected officials increased. This was in large part due to the increased powers of these officials and the access they enjoyed to government funding. Since then modern and traditional leaders seem to have staked out separate spheres of influence with traditional chiefs retreating to the domain of customary rule and elected leaders becoming the major agent in development programs and the like."

The outline on the role of chiefs by Micsem (1994) is relevant to the current study because in effect it describes the role of chiefs' in terms of social, cultural and political. However the author limited his study to the United States.

Carolyn (2008) states that, "regardless of whether one adopts a "modernist" or a "traditionalist" stance, however, it is difficult to deny that traditional leaders have demonstrated remarkable resilience. Their continuing importance in the social and political life of their communities, whether perceived as a positive or a negative, is virtually indisputable. In many places, they still play a major role in managing land tenure, often even in systems that have supposedly privatized ownership rights. Local justice, property inheritance, and the implementation of customary law as well as conflict resolution; also continue to be important spheres of responsibility, chiefs are often perceived as the guardians of their communities, culture, playing an important role in cultural events and rituals."

### 2.2.1 Chiefs in the Precolonial Period



According to Joseph and Buba (2006), in the precolonial era, the position of the chief, where it existed, and especially in centralized states, was guided by specific institutionalized traditions with respect to accession to office and performance of functions. The office often resided in specific lineages that were genealogically linked to the founding ancestors. He stresses that in cases where there were multiple candidates to a chieftaincy position, merit and qualifications would become important criteria in addition to heredity and that in instances where no single family lineage could establish undisputed claims, a system of rotation whereby the successor would be chosen from the competing houses in turns was preferred.

Joseph and Buba (2006) add that, the chief was the political, social, economic, legal and military head of the traditional state. As political head,

he was responsible for the maintenance of good order in his state. He was them and the spiritual forces. He administered tributes, court fines, market tolls and other revenues. He was also the final arbiter in the administration of justice.

However, Joseph and Buba (2006) continue to say that, the chief ruled with advice of a council that has been variously termed as an inner or Privy Council. Where the system functioned well, these institutional checks as well as the queen mother safeguarded against dictatorial tendencies. He further observes that the chief had to keep strictly the injunction that he was to act only on the advice of his elders. He ruled by consensus and indeed, he could be destooled or dethroned for violating the trust, sanctions or taboos of the state as well as for incompetence.

Similarly, ECA (2007) states that, before the advent of colonial rule, the traditional leader's role encompassed numerous functions, which revolved around the cardinal theme of guiding, protecting, defending and providing for the needs of the society he served. He was the intermediary between the departed ancestors, the living and the yet unborn. These holistic approaches involved religious, military, legislative, executive, judicial, social and cultural features.

ECA (2007) further observes that, leadership was, however, predicated on a set of well-articulated norms and mechanisms. The multifarious functions were exercised with specific functionaries whose role was hallowed by ancient custom. Sometime these were elders or councilors, or communal groups or judicial institutions of state or drummers. Each entity performed its assigned role in accordance with customary law.



Finally, ECA (2007) notes that, the military role of the traditional leader was accentuated by the frequent incidence of inter-ethnic wars or the normal process acquiring territory for statehood. But in this function, the welfare of the people was paramount. Any chief who ignored this forfeited the trust of his people and was liable to deposition.

### 2.2.2 Chiefs Under Colonial Rule

As expansive territories were being brought under colonial control in Ghana, Nigeria and other territories, the British were faced with cost and logistical issues associated with colonial administration. Unable and unwilling to commit the resources necessary to administer their colonies effectively, the British resorted to the familiar policy of indirect rule and devolution. Recognizing that the traditional rulers were the centers of economic resources, they decided that it would be a cheap and pragmatic policy to rule the "natives" through their own leaders. In the process of instituting the colonial administration, chiefs and their councils, especially in Southern Ghana and Northern Nigeria, came to dominate local administration. The key issue for Lord Lugard was finding the best rulers and policy choice to carry out the "harmonious" dual mandate (Joseph and Buba, 2006).



They further state that chiefs made it possible for the colonial government to bring immense, often impassable territories under their control. They carried additional responsibilities of a civic nature, as they were entrusted with responsibility for local infrastructural development, including agriculture, health, education, and livestock farming. Inevitably, as chiefs performed the function of "auxiliaries" to the colonial government, they found themselves in an uncomfortable, often unenviable position. Their relationship with the seats of colonial administration became increasingly ambivalent, as they were the objects of local discontent. Chiefs under the

Native Authorities system were closely identified with the colonial government in almost every area with such political structures.

According to M.G. Smith as cited in Joseph and Buba (2006), "under increasingly bureaucratic procedures, district chiefs were now required to conduct their administrations within the framework of impersonal rules and to live on their salaries or other legitimate incomes". The meager stipends they received from the central government neither compensated for their unpopularity as instruments of taxation nor assuaged their compromised position as salaried officials. The reality is that the colonial government had succeeded in employing the strategy of divide and rule to polarize chiefs and the emergent intelligentsia/nationalists. For their troubles, many chiefs fell victim to destoolment at the hands of the colonial administration, or became collaborators. In the period from 1904 to 1926, for example, Rathborn recorded 109 cases of destoolment in the Akan-speaking areas of Ghana alone.

Buah (1995) states that "before colonialism, indigenous rulers occupied a unique position in his realism; he was accepted by his subjects as the religious, political and judicial head of the kingdom, the spirit and embodiment of the nation, and the custodian of the people's ancestral cultural heritage."



Buah (1995) further states that the British colonial system recognized the traditional role of kings and made them the central figures for local administration; the powers and functions of the native authorities presided over by a paramount chief, covered matters relating mainly to traditional and customary, institutions and practices; that is, the chiefs were granted powers of controlling local tribunals, with limited jurisdiction relating to customary and testamentary matters, and to make bye-laws which did not go counter to the British concept of law (p.l 07).

Again, according to Buah (1995),"a native Administration Ordinance was promulgated in 1927, which among other things, set out the processes of the election and disposal of chiefs and the hierarchy of the native Administration headed by the paramount chief".

The roles of the institution of chieftaincy as outlined by Buah (1995), are relevant to my study because his description of the roles of chiefs covered the religious, political, judicial and the cultural heritage aspects.

Abayie (1997) notes that with the enstoolment of highly educated person as chiefs at all levels in Asante, chieftaincy is undergoing a subtle metamorphoses geared towards effective and sustainable socio-economic development because the chieftaincy system in Asante is the most effective vehicle for dissemination of ideas from the top to the bottom and vice versa.

The chiefs as natural leaders are respected by the populace and this makes the idea of governance effective. The chiefs are accountable not only to the ancestors, but to the people. A chief whose leadership is not clear to his subjects or whose leadership lacks transparency is always in trouble; the Asantes by nature are a freedom loving people therefore so long as a chief rules with respect for his elders and subjects, he is likely to enjoy peaceful reign. The respect for an effective chief is reflected in the way his subjects rely on his court for redress; in all the Asante settlements, the chief is the president of the town development committees (with the exception of the urban centers and the city of Kumasi) as such he is the pivot around which the development programmes revolve.

The modern Asante chief is always interacting with government agencies for assistance in social development, provision of schools, primary health care facilities, sources of good drinking water and accessible roads are their major pre-occupations (P.21).



Abayie (1997) statements on the roles of chiefs are in consonance with my area of study because he emphasizes on the chieftaincy systems as the most effective vehicle for the dissemination of ideas, accountable to both ancestors and the people, the pivot around development programs as well as agent for assistance in social development. However, his study is mostly limited to the Ashanti region of Ghana.

More so, according to Ayertey (1994), "traditional rulers assisted British colonial treasurers in collecting taxes from the people. Part of these taxes collected were paid to the central government whilst a portion was used by district commissioners in the provision of amenities to their people. Chiefs were also made to keep some of the amount collected for the administration of their native institutions".

He further states that, in the colonial era, chiefs were responsible for settling traditional native disputes within their areas of jurisdiction through courts under the supervision of the district commissioners. Ayertey's (1994) views on the roles of chiefs during the colonial rule are relevant to the current study in that he outlined the financial mobilization and judicial aspects of chiefs.



Ayertey (1994) says, "A local chief in the colonial structure of the French was responsible for the collection of taxes for the French administration. He further states, "Chiefs were responsible for the provision of force labour or organized labour force for the construction of bridges and roads, as well as to work in the plantation farms of the French". He stresses that, French local chiefs related between the subjects and French officials as agents and gave information to these French officials on the state of affairs in the areas under their jurisdiction and that information needed by the subjects was likewise obtained and disseminated to them.

He finally states that, French chiefs performed certain judicial functions in areas where the French administration defaulted. The definition by Ayertey (1994) is very necessary to the current study because in effect it describes the roles of chiefs in terms of cultural, economic, physical, social, land and political aspects. However, the author limited his study to chiefs under French colonial rule. Also, chiefs did not have privilege like legislative powers; as such, they could not make byelaws.

In conclusion, since the colonial era, chiefs have been dependent on the central government for recognition of their legitimacy as representatives of their people as well as for obtaining economic and political favours in the interest of the people they represent.

### 2.2.3 Chiefs Under Post - Colonial Era.

Since independence, the Head of State in Ghana has had the authority to withdraw official recognition from a chief, particularly those who publicly opposed the government. Thus the government has directly controlled chiefs since independence. With the creation of House of Chiefs, government could now recognize or withdraw recognition from a chief. It could destool a chief and it was even empowered to control his finances. By the Ashanti lands bill, for example, the Kumasi stool lands and their revenues were removed from the Asantehene and now placed directly under the control of the central government. The final administrative blow to chiefly authority came when chiefs were placed under the authority of the Regional Commissioner (Joseph and Buba 2006).

They further state that the independence constitution of Ghana (1957) reinforced the authority of the central government to recognize or withdraw recognition from chiefs and deliberately drew no formal distinction between "ordinary" and "paramount" chiefs, thereby arrogating to itself the authority to elevate or demote any chief. Although government could seek the advice



of the House of Chiefs, its consent was not required. Thus, with political independence came a further erosion of the political and economic autonomy of the chiefs.

Lawson (2002), as in Afro Barometer Report 2008 states that, the institution of traditional authority is complicated by the fact that in the modern context, neither side (traditionalists or modernists) can deny that the content of tradition, and often the identity of traditional leaders themselves, is very often contested. After decades of manipulation by colonial and postcolonial governments and response by indigenous leaders, there are many questions about what really is "traditional" or how historically - rooted so-called "traditional institutions" really are. There is no doubt that the machinations of national leadership, including colonial authorities, have often had deep impacts on both the status, and the very nature of these institutions. For example, by intervening in leadership selection processes by naming their own "traditional" chiefs, or endowing these leaders with new powers and responsibilities to collect taxes or produce labourers cooptation by colonial governments into the British system of "indirect rule", for example, could both strengthen and weaken the hand of traditional leadership, sometimes at the same time and the efforts of modem African leaders to either undermine traditional leaders and allegiance or to politicize and thereby co-opt these potential "vote brokers" have further affected their standing.

Carolyn (2008) adds that most recently, the chieftaincy in South Africa certainly emerged from under the cloud apartheid with at best a mixed reputation. Some viewed traditional authorities largely as complicit collaborators, while others (including, naturally, the chiefs themselves) sought to paint a more positive picture of their essential importance to the stability, solidarity and dignity of their communities. The shifting



allegiances of traditional authorities are sometimes characterized as being primarily self-serving.

Van Kessel and Oomen (1997) observe that "chiefs often align themselves, whether wholeheartedly or for tactical reasons, with the powers that seem to offer the best chances of safe-guarding their positions" (p.562).

Williams (2004:121) suggest that, the "ability of chiefs to straddle the state-society dichotomy" and serve as necessary intermediaries for their people is a strength of the institution that helps to explain its survival.

Abayie (1997) observes that, "the modern chief faces the problem emanating from the reduction of the apparent absolute power which his ancestor possessed. These developments, he noted, started first with the colonial and second with political independence. Today if a citizen fails to respond to a chiefs call, the chief is impotent to deal with such a person. A chief s only source of power in a situation such as this is the law court, which should decide whether such an act by an individual constitutes an offence. This is a clear sign of the weak position of the chief'.



Abayie (1997) further states that "the chief cannot impose taxes without the express permission from the District Assembly. The Assembly must clear all special levies.

Buah (1995) declares, "A new native Authority Ordinance passed in 1944 introduced a revolution in respect of the position of the traditional rulers. Native Authorities were to be appointed by the government, and members remained in office at the pleasure of the governor. Furthermore actions taken by the native Authorities could be nullified by the government: the governor could also direct the local administration to initiate actions they had not thought of or were even opposed to".

He further states that "the two main objectives the system's promoters aimed at were not fully achieved, namely the grant of power to chiefs to control their own local affairs and thereby preserve the traditional heritage of the people and the preparation of the people for self-rule. Quite apart from the control, which the colonial district commissioners exerted over the operation of the Native Authorities, up to 1944, the chiefs and their authorities could not issue any executive orders for their own subjects. The position became worse under the 1944 Ordinance, which transferred the power of appointing the Native Authorities to the colonial government and re-enforced the governor's veto over their actions".

Buah (1995) again says "majority of the chiefs were not only illiterates but extreme conservatives who became easy prey to the power granted them in their seat in the colonial amphitheater".

TEPPCON (2006) notes that, chiefs in those societies where the institution of

chieftaincy is relatively new have tended to depend on the power of the modem state, which is done through the power of official recognition, Ministry for Chieftaincy Affairs and more subtle patronage overture. There is a kind of symbiotic relationship between chiefs and political parties, with the chief needing government recognition to be chief and political parties requiring the continuing power and inference of the chief to get elected. It further observes that, important chiefs actively court good relation with governments, and that they are among the first to congratulate governments when they win elections. Some lobby for the appointment of people from their traditional area to ministerial and other high

public positions. They invite presidents and other state functionaries to traditional

festivals; even death of an important chief is announced to government.



TEPPCON (2006) further declares that," the issues of ascription associated with chieftaincy in the context of scant or no documentation, and lack of documented traditional jurisprudence, opens the contest for succession to various stool and skins very wide. The inadequacy of traditional adjudicatory mechanisms and institutions has exposed some chieftaincies to long drawn conflicts and disputes and this can affect relationship and partnership with traditional authorities for promoting the ends of good governance and development at the local level".

According to Abayie (1997) with the emergence of a pure Ghanaian government under the CPP, serious attempts were made to demystify the chieftaincy institution. The CPP came out with an axiom, which became very popular. "Chiefs will run away and leave their sandals behind". Thus the CPP cowed the chiefs into submission and eroded the powers of the chiefs, which they possessed from the indirect rule of the colonial era. A great deal of confusion occurred in the system during this period. Using the gazette principle, the government withdrew its recognition of those chiefs who were in opposition and elevated its supporters to paramountcies. Some of the chiefs had to run away into exile for fear of detention, a tool that Nkrumah employed to silence his opponents. Thus any chief who wanted to have his peace had to join the CPP.



Abayie (1997) further stressed that corruption within the institution makes it possible for people with dubious royal background to ascend to stools/skins in some traditional areas. This phenomenon is causing a great deal of chaos, instability, bloodshed, misery and lack of progress in some traditional areas. Judicial committees of National House of Chiefs and Supreme Court of Ghana has records of individuals who were not royals but found their way to stools/skins.

Furthermore, Abayie (1997) states that through the same corrupt practices some communities have two factional chiefs instead of one substantive personality as the chief. There are even some localities where the chiefs are unable to perform their traditional roles, such as being in possession of the stool regalia, chairing of their local traditional meetings and more importantly having constant relations with the ancestors as demanded by custom.

In addition Abayie (1997) notes that, conflict of interest between chiefs and local government structures serves as a challenge to the chieftaincy institution. In the period just preceding the coming into force of the constitution, the revolutionary organs looked at the chieftaincy institution as anachronistic and operated by reactionary elements. At that time the CDRs especially sought to control everything at the grassroots, while the respect for the elderly and the natural leaders was regarded as a thing of the past.

Abayie (1997) further adds that, with the coming into force of the constitution, the chief s position has been weakened by these organs of government, that is, the Assemblyman, the District Chief Executive and the Regional Minister. The chief must now have to consult these organizations before certain things can be done. For example chiefs cannot levy special rates for development projects without permission from the District Assembly. Those organizations on the other hand, act without any serious consultation with the traditional rulers. Even though the District Assembly is said to be a grassroots structure, issues discussed there are not thrown out to the village level fora for exhaustive deliberations. The Assemblymen and women virtually rely on their own idiosyncrasies in the discharge of their duties. These people do not owe any allegiance to the chiefs and the communities where they reside (p. 35).

Also, Ninsin (1989), as cited in Boafo-Arthur (2001), points out that the CPP government of Kwame Nkrumah adopted several measures aimed at stripping chiefs off the powers to control revenues from land because chiefs were perceived as the staunchest allies of the opposition group. Secondly the government did not favour the control and management of stool land as well as the appropriation of revenues accruing from it. Thirdly, the party wanted to invest land in the people instead of it being controlled by few powerful chiefs at the expense of the masses.

Amongst these measures include the promulgation of the local Government Ordinance of 1951, in which elected local councils replaced native authorities. Powers of chiefs were consequently eroded. Again, the CPP Government enacted the Administration of Lands Act, 1962 (Act 123) and the Concessions Act, 1962 (Act 124). Furthermore, the government enacted the following laws: The Akim Abuakwa (Stool Revenue) Act, 1958 (Act 8), the Ashanti Stool Act, 1958 (Act 28), the Stool Lands Control Act, 1960 (Act 79).



Through these laws, the state assumed powers "to authorize the acquisition and to regulate the collection and use of stool revenue" (Ninsin, 1989: 168). These laws, apart from undermining the economic base of the chiefs, created a dependency syndrome whereby most chiefs looked up to the government for economic handouts. To ensure absolute subservience of chiefs, the CPP government had earlier in 1959 enacted the chiefs (Recognition) Act which empowered the minister to withdraw recognition of chiefs; direct any chief to refrain from the exercise of his functions; and even prevent the chief from residing in a specific area, if need be (Ninsin 1989).

Also according to Hansen (1991:74-75), the People Defence Committees (PDCs), later re-christened Committees for the Defence of the Revolution

(CDRs) threatened the traditional power base of chiefs by virtue of being at the grassroots, in towns and villages. In areas where there were economic assets, the PDCs had head on collision with not only the chiefs but also the bourgeoisie whom the chiefs had empowered to exploit the resources.

As noted by Hansen (1991), a classic case was the conflict that erupted between the PDC of Ada and the chiefs over the songor lagoon salt industry. The PDCs, condemned the mechanisms some chiefs and elders of the Ada Traditional Area used to parcel out portions of the Songor-Lagoon - a source of high quality salt, to W. G. Narty and K. M. Apenteng and "their foreign collaborators". In line with the general revolutionary fervour and pronouncement by the PNDC, the PDCs of Ada district called for the nationalization of these assets. The position of the Ada PDC highlights the nature of various conflicts between chiefs and the revolutionaries on the ownership of economic assets. Calling for nationalization implied depriving the chiefs of their source of revenue and was bound to stir the ire of the chiefs concerned' and heighten the existing conflict.

In addition, Hansen (1991) stressed that, the populism of the people based on class realignment was set to be conflictual especially where chiefs were construed as part of the ruling class. The class connotations of the era could only mean the existence of a latent conflict between chiefs and those in support of the revolution, especially members of the PDCs. The militants understood the class dimensions of the revolution and this explains some of the conflicts that emerged between them and the chiefs.

Hansen (1991) further notes that, specific steps were taken by those in authority to deprive chiefs of their livelihood in certain parts of the country during the revolutionary era because members of the PDCs and other organs of the revolution had the power and authority to take any action for and on behalf of the central government. He says that, the most common form of



attack on chiefs was the termination of the payments of royalties to them and that in March 1982, the Western Regional Secretary announced the setting up of a peoples' Emergency Development Fund into which all stool revenues such as royalties paid on land, minerals, timber and other natural resources were to be paid.

Hansen (1991), again argues that, the early revolutionary years witnessed the erosion of the powers of some chiefs as PDC members arrogated to themselves the judiciary powers formerly enjoyed by the chiefs and as such they came into conflict with chiefs who opposed their arbitrary usurpation of powers belonging traditionally to chiefs as well as their excesses in dishing out punishment to alleged offenders.

The 1969 constitution established the National House of Chiefs and also reserved one third of the membership of District Councils for chiefs. Additionally, a provision was made for the inclusion of not more than two chiefs from the Regional House of Chiefs in the Regional Council. However, the local Government Law (PNDCL 207) of 1988 restructured the composition of the District Assemblies that came as part of the decentralization process. Therefore, chiefs lost their one-third membership because "the PNDC government regarded the representation or active participation of chiefs in decentralized institutions, such as the District Assemblies (DAs), or the organs of power, as undemocratic and counterrevolutionary. In other words, "the PNDC decentralization reform did not set aside a place for chiefs within the structures of local government" (Ayee, 2000).

In addition, Ayee (2000:3) further states that, the legislative instrument 1589 of 1994 did not make any provision for the automatic inclusion of chiefs in the sub-district structures such as the Urban, Zonal, Town Councils and unit committees. The Metropolitan, Municipal and District



Chief Executives are, however, enjoined to consult the chiefs in the appointment of five persons ordinarily resident in the urban area, zone, town or unit to be members of such administrative set up. Unfortunately, the groups to be consulted on behalf of the president in the appointment of five representatives on the various administrative levels is broadened to include the presiding Members of the District Assembly (DA) and organized productive economic grouping in the urban area, zone, town or unit. As Ayee aptly argues, "the lack of institutionalized representation of chiefs in the local government structure has resulted in strained relations between some chiefs and functionaries of the DAs and their sub-district structures. In some districts, the District Chief Executives and the chiefs are not in good terms, while in other districts it is the chiefs and the Assemblyman or unit committee members who are at logger heads".

According to Article 276 (1) of the 1992 Constitution, "a chief shall not take part in active party politics; and any chief wishing to do so and seeking election to parliament shall abdicate his stool or skin". Article 94 (3) (c) reinforces this by noting "a person shall not be eligible to be a member of parliament if he is a chief'. By such specificity, some latent talents of chiefs that could be exploited in development terms for the nation may not be tapped.

Therefore, the manipulation and curtailment of chiefly authority by central government has continued in the post-Nkrumah era in Ghana. Although the 1992 Constitution theoretically removed the right that the government had reserved to itself in recognizing or de recognizing newly appointed chiefs, the signs were quite evident that chiefs would continue to suffer a diminution in autonomy.



# 2.3 THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE CHIEFTAINCY INSTITUTION IN GHANA

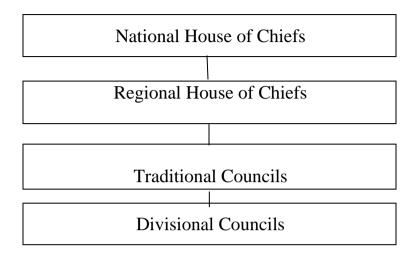


Figure 2.1: The structure of the Chieftaincy Institution in Ghana.

Article 270 (1) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana states that, "the chieftaincy institution, together with its traditional councils as established by customary law and usage, is hereby guaranteed".

However, the 1992 Constitution unambiguously states the specific role the chieftaincy institution and for that matter chiefs are to play in our new democratic dispensation.



### 2.3.1 The National House of Chiefs

According to Article 272 of the constitution, the National House of Chiefs which represent the interest of all chiefs at the national level shall: "advise any person or authority charged with any responsibility under this constitution or any other law for any matter relating to or affecting chieftaincy; undertake the progressive study, interpretation and codification of customary law with a view to evolving, in appropriate cases, a unified system of rules of customary law and compiling the customary laws and lines of succession applicable to each stool or skin; undertake an evaluation

of traditional customs and usages with a view to eliminating those customs and usages that are outmoded and socially harmful, and perform such other function, not being inconsistent with any function assigned to the House of Chiefs of a region, as parliament may refer to it" (151).

Also, according to the Chieftaincy Act 370 (1971), the National House of Chiefs may appoint such committees comprising such persons as it may determine to assist it in the discharge of its functions and subject as aforesaid may delegate to any such committee such of its functions as it may think fit; the National House of Chiefs shall be responsible for advising any person or authority charged by the constitution or any other enactment with any responsibility for any matter relating to chieftaincy; the National House of Chiefs may make standing orders for the regulation and orderly conduct of its business"(7).

However, Chieftaincy Act, 370 (1971) states that "No person shall be qualified to be president or vice president of the National House of Chiefs if he has been sentenced to death or to a term of imprisonment exceeding twelve month without option of a fine or has been convicted of an offence involving dishonesty or moral turpitude and in each case has not been granted a free pardon; or if he is adjudged to be a person of unsound mind; or if having been declared as an insolvent or bankrupt under any law for the time being in force in Ghana or in any other country he is an un discharged insolvent or bankrupt".



### 2.3.2 The Regional House of Chiefs

Next after the National House of Chiefs is the Regional House of Chiefs. A Regional House of Chiefs shall consist of such members as parliament may by law determine (Article 274 (2) of the 1992 Constitution).

According to Article 274 (3a-f) of the 1992 Constitution, a Regional House of Chiefs shall "perform such functions as may be conferred upon it by or under an Act of Parliament; advise any person or authority charged under this constitution or any other law with any responsibility for any matter relating to or affecting chieftaincy in the region; hear and determine appeals from the traditional councils within the region in respect of the nomination, election, selection, installation or deposition of a person as a chief; have original jurisdiction in all matters relating to a paramount stool or skin or the occupant of a paramount stool or skin, including a queen mother to a paramount stool or skin; undertake a study and make such general recommendations as are appropriate for the resolution or expeditious disposition of chieftaincy disputes in the region; and undertake the compilation of the customary laws and lines of succession applicable to each stool or skin in the region".

### 2.3.3 The Traditional Councils

Below the Regional House of Chiefs is the Traditional Councils. According to the Chieftaincy Act, 81 (1961), a traditional area is the area within which a paramount chief or, in the case of the Kumasi traditional area, the Asantehene exercises jurisdiction and which is specified in the chiefs list as a traditional area; and such areas shall no longer be known as states".



Chieftaincy Act 18 (1961) states that, a traditional council is responsible for hearing and determining any cause or matter affecting chieftaincy which arises within its area not being one to which the Asantehene or a paramount chief is a party (7). The Act (1961) further stresses that, "a traditional council may consider the customary law in force within its area; and if the law is uncertain or it is considered desirable that it should be modified, or assimilated by the common law, the council shall make representation to the House of chiefs having jurisdiction over the area" (17).

### 2.3.4 The Divisional Councils

Under the Traditional Councils are the Divisional Councils. A division is a part of a traditional area, which is specified in the chiefs' list as a division specified in the National Register of chiefs as a division (Chieftaincy Act, 1971).

The Minister may, acting in accordance with the advice of the Traditional Council concerned or where there is no Traditional council for the area, acting in accordance with the advice of the National House of Chiefs, assign functions to a Divisional Council including functions with respect to any cause or matter affecting chieftaincy such as the functions of hearing and determining any cause or matter affecting chieftaincy within the division (Chieftaincy Act, 1971).

It is because of the important role chiefs are supposed to play that parliament is not allowed to make a law: which gives any person or authority the right or power to accord or withdraw recognition to or from a chief; which diminishes the honour and dignity of the institution of chieftaincy; and which affects chieftaincy, without having secured the prior approval of the National House of Chiefs (Boafo-Arthur, 2001).



### 2.4 THE LINK BETWEEN CHIEFTAINCY AND DEVELOPMENT According

to Keshav (2004) in Botswana, chiefs as traditional leaders and traditional structures are expected to play an active role in local development. He notes that, in the process of decentralized development planning at the district level, the contribution of chiefs becomes significant. Chiefs have to give their active participation in the deliberations of the District Development Committee (DDC), which consists of representatives of all the district level organizations involved in district level development administration. The District Commissioner as chairperson of DDC needs

the cooperation of chiefs in coordination of district development plans and their implementation.

In addition, Keshav (2004) states that, traditional leaders and for that matter chiefs, can contribute towards protection, management, and allocation of natural resources by lending support to the Community Based Organizations (CBOs) in the concerned districts. He adds that, they can be instrumental in resource mobilization and in enhancing revenue for the state by informing and educating the community for timely payment of taxes and service levies and by explaining the significance of cost-recovery or cost sharing principles in service delivery. They can give active and effective leadership to the Community and VDCs in organizing self-help projects and in engaging the NGOs. Their leadership could be a source of education for prudent use of local resources like water, firewood among others.

He further stresses that, traditional leadership and traditional structures have contributed to the political stability in the country during the period of transition from colonial period to independence.



He adds that, traditional structures complemented the administration of justice in the country through the customary courts, which handle 80 to 90 per cent cases of the country. Although the administration of customary courts is faced with severe limitations and needs to be strengthened, these traditional structures have not posed any serious threat to the independence of the judiciary enforcing common law.

The writer further states that, in Botswana, contemporary political institutions and administration have used the traditional structures to enhance the legitimacy of public policies, development plans and decisions, which require people's participation at the grass-roots in a democracy. Traditional institution of Kgotla is used for consultation, communication

and public participation and for enhancing the legitimacy of public policies and plans formulated at higher levels.

Furthermore, Keshav (2004) states that, although migration from rural to the urban areas is increasing constantly as a result of economic development, the people residing in urban areas continue to have their links with the rural areas (some members of their extended families continue to live in rural areas) and continue their allegiance to the tribal structures of the areas from where they originate. This phenomenon helps to bridge the gap between urban and rural societies.

Keshav (2004) emphasizes that, realizing the significance of people's participation in development planning, the government of Botswana has expressed its commitment to bottom-up planning and has developed decentralized planning machinery at the district level. The traditional leaders and structures (Kgotla) are associated closely with the process of formulation, implementation and monitoring of district plans. Traditional leaders are members of District Development Committee (DDC), which coordinates the district plans and monitors their implementation. Kgotla serves as a forum for consultation with people and their participation at different stages of formulation and implementation of development plans. This traditional forum serves as a channel of two-way communication between the government and the people in the process of bottom-up planning.

Keshav (2004) concludes by saying that, customary laws have facilitated resource management traditionally in so far as these have been instrumental in promoting community spirit and a sense of belonging. For instance land, a major resource, was not privately owned. The chief held the tribal land in trust on behalf of the tribe and allocated it to members of the tribe for use. Legally land could not be sold. Land as a commodity was to be valued for



the benefit of all. The Chief saw to it that every family had land. Extended family system operated as social insurance and safety net. With those values and norms the uncles could pay for the school fees or medical expenses of the children of brothers or other members of extended family. The unemployed, disabled and destitute were looked after within the family. There were no orphans. Trust and cooperation within the family and the community facilitated resource management and resource creation. However, customary law has also been a constraint as a result of being based on customs, traditions, values and norms, which have inhibited economic development and required social change. If customary law has to facilitate resource management and resource creation, it has to be adapted and interpreted in a progressive manner by the traditional leaders and chairmen of customary courts who need to be conversant with developments taking place in society and who can promote a healthy balance between tradition and modernity. Survival of customary law will depend on the dynamism and responsiveness it displays in the face of changing realities in the society.



In Sierra Leone, the role of the institution of chieftaincy in the management of local administration and development and in the broader body politic requires a critical unbiased introspection and analysis as to its continued relevance and centrality in the lives of their people.

Kortor (2008) states that, in Sierra Leone, the inordinate concentration of socio-economic, political and administrative decision making powers in the hands of the paramount chiefs has not always been used as a force for good or development in the chiefdoms throughout the country. Rather the institution and its protagonists have allowed themselves to be misused by governing political parties and politicians and as tools for perpetuating their governance especially during elections. He stated for example, that in the 2007 elections, the role of most paramount chiefs was highly instructive as

chiefs throughout the country were used mostly as surrogates of the ruling SLPP party bent on ensuring its continued rule despite the majority of the electorate having already decided on the need for change of administration.

Kortor (2008) further states that, the traditional chieftaincy institution in Sierra Leone failed to challenge not only the centralization policies of the government in the face of usurpation of their institutional authority, but it also show- cased the institutions collective total lack of initiatives and vision, as to how to administer a modem community by administering to its economic developmental needs. He emphasizes that, one such consequence of this policy was the creation of a void in the machinery of local government administration and development with its resultant lack of accountability to the local people and that, locally generated revenues were forwarded to the central government treasury and appropriations for developmental projects and basic services subjected to the whims and caprices of central government politicians and corrupt civil servants.

Not only that, but he also notes that the role of paramount chiefs, for that matter chiefs in identifying, attracting and effectuating development in their various chiefdoms have as yet to be appropriately defined. For example, he observed that, as custodians of their chiefdom resources including lands and mineral rights, chiefs have tended to view these community resources as theirs with all remuneration inuring for their sole benefits instead of revenue derived from these resources be used for the large community development.

Therefore, the relevance of the institution of chieftaincy as representing the political, cultural, socio-economic and administrative aspirations of the local people in Sierra Leone seems to have been greatly undercut in the current modem political dispensation.



Maloka (1996) notes that, Africa's process of state building is one critical area that can benefit from the application of the traditional mechanisms of conflict - resolution and consensual decision - making. Thus, the traditional conflict resolution and consensual decision - making mechanisms can enhance state -building by creating possibilities for accommodating the interests of different sub-state entities and the protection of minority interests. Decentralization of decision - making and adherence to term limits of leaders are other mechanisms with traditional roots that can facilitate state building. Incorporation of traditional values also makes it possible for the adoption of power-sharing arrangements as a strategy of state - building. This strategy was effective in the transition to post - apartheid South Africa.

In addition, the ECA study (2007) reveals that, Democratization of the state, along with the incorporation of Africa traditional institutions, can contribute to the improvement of service-delivery in various ways.

The ECA study (2007) states that traditional authorities can mobilise local

communities for political participation thereby empowering them to play a part in influencing policy on the distribution of public services. Traditional authorities also have the potential to support the efforts of governments in service-delivery by participating in the administration of justice and by mobilizing human and financial resources for expanding educational and health services. They can also bring marginalized groups of society, including the peasantry, into the political process and

enhance access to public services for such communities.

In Ghana, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II Asantehene in his presentation at the fourth African Development Forum (2004), states that he has set up an education fund called Otumfuo Education Fund under an independent body. In order to harness contributions from all sectors of society and support



bright but needy children in our communities and those contributions have come from Ghanaians overseas. He adds that over two thousand children have benefited from scholarships offered by the Fund.

Otumfuo (2004) further states that through his efforts under the partnership project, the World Bank is assisting Asanteman with a grant of US \$4.5million to build the management capacity of chiefs: rehabilitate schools and build sanitation facilities in 41 communities; develop health education modules for traditional authorities to lead in awareness creation on HIV / AIDS; and build programmes designed to preserve traditional values and culture.

In Ghana, the institution of chieftaincy contributes in diverse ways towards development in the Country. Donald (2004) observes that, chiefs appeal directly to government to initiate and extend electrification projects and water systems as well as others such as construction of roads and ports to facilitate the transport of goods to and from markets, construction or rehabilitation of hospitals, police station and barracks as well as construction of bridges. He stated for example that, Nana Kofi Nti, chief of Kotokuom in the Ashanti Region once appealed to the government to rehabilitate a bridge that was on the verge of collapse.

Donald (2004) further notes that, chiefs provide some funding for infrastructure projects. According to him, the most notable example of this is in the Eastern Region of Ghana where Nana Ako Frimpong II, the chief of Akim Asene personally financed the rehabilitation of two bridges in the area.

Okumah (2010) also states that, chiefs supervise progress in their areas and work towards socio-economic development of the people such as provision of roads, water, schools, markets, health facilities and other infrastructure.



For example, according to him, Otumfuo Sir Osei Agyeman Prempeh II, supported missionaries to open schools in Ashanti, and he was instrumental in the establishment of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) and instituted scholarships for the education of progressive Ashanti citizens and that he also supported initiatives towards improving social life and public health.

Okumah (2010) states that, Osagyefo Amotia Ofori Panin II, the Okyehene, is fighting against destruction of the country's forest resources and environment and is working hard to prevent the spread of HIV / AIDS in Ghana.

Chiefs also contribute towards increase in agricultural activities and productivity in Ghana. In the Upper West Region, the paramount chief of the Gwallu Traditional Area, Kuoru Kuri Limann who was also the interim chairman of the cotton Farmer's Association, called on cotton farmers to take advantage of new producer prices on cotton seed as a way to increase production. He also called for the education of farmers on the proper use and application of fertilizers and pesticides in order to minimize health problems (GNA, 2001b).

GNA (2003) also observes that, in the Ashanti Region, Nana Obinfo Osei Kwadwo II, Akwamhene of Anwiankwanta made an appeal to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture to send extension officers to the area regularly to educate farmers on new techniques in agriculture to raise food production. In making the appeal, the chief noted that since agriculture "was the backbone of the nation's economy, there was the need for constant education."

GNA (2001a) notes that, the chieftaincy institution and for that matter chiefs contribute to the development of tourism in Ghana. It cited that, in



the Central Region, the paramount chief of the Assin Apimanim Traditional Area, Barima Kwame Nkyi XII, went on a tour of the United States to promote the potentials of the 'Slave river' and 'Slave market', designated a UN World Heritage site, to African-American tourists. During the tour he especially lauded the site to African-Americans "who want to reconnect with their African heritage".

Certainly the above examples confirm that chiefs are involved in a variety of areas and initiatives of economic development in Ghana.

### 2.5 CONCLUSION

In effect, on the basis of the literature that have been reviewed above, the meaning, challenges and prospects of the chieftaincy institution, Joseph and Buba (2006) state that since independence, the Head of state in Ghana has had the authority to withdraw official recognition from a chief, particularly those who publicly opposed the government. Abayie (1997) observes, that the chief cannot impose taxes without the express permission from the District Assembly. Other writers and organizations, who considered the challenges of the chieftaincy institution include, Lawson (2002), Van Kessel and Oomen (1997), Buah (1995), TEPPCON (2006), Ninsin (1989), Hansen (1991), Ayee (2000) among others.



In line with the prospects of the chieftaincy institution, Joseph and Buba (2006) note that, in the pre-colonial period, the chief was the political, social, economic, legal and military head of the traditional state. Similarly, ECA (2007) states that, before the advent of colonial rule, the chiefs role included, religious, military, legislative, executive, judicial, social and cultural wellbeing of his subjects.

With the structure and function of the chieftaincy institution in Ghana, we have the National House of Chiefs, which among other functions shall be responsible for advising any person or authority charged by the constitution or any other enactment with any responsibility for any matter relating to of Chiefs which hears and determines appeals from the Traditional Councils within the region in respect of the nomination, election, selection, installation or deposition of a person as a Chief among other functions. After the Regional House of Chiefs are the Traditional Councils which are responsible for hearing and determining any case or matter affecting chieftaincy which arises within their area of jurisdiction. Finally, under the Traditional Councils are the Divisional Councils, which are responsible for hearing and determining cases or matters affecting chieftaincy within their respective Divisions.

With the link between chieftaincy and development, the following writers made the following remarks; Keshav (2004) stated that, in Botswana, Chiefs contribute towards the protection, management and allocation of natural resources by lending support to the Community Based Organizations as well as resource mobilization in the concerned districts. Kortor (2008) stated that in Sierra Leone, the relevance of the institution of chieftaincy as representing the political, cultural, socio-economic and administrative aspirations of the local people seems to have been greatly undercut in the current modem political dispensation. In Ghana, Okumah (2010) said that, Chiefs have the potential to support the effort of governments in service delivery by participation in the administration of justice and by mobilizing human and financial resources for expanding educational, infrastructural and health services. The next chapter will deal with the district and community profile of the study area.



## CHAPTER THREE NADOWLI DISTRICT AND PROFILE OF THE STUDY AREAS

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION.

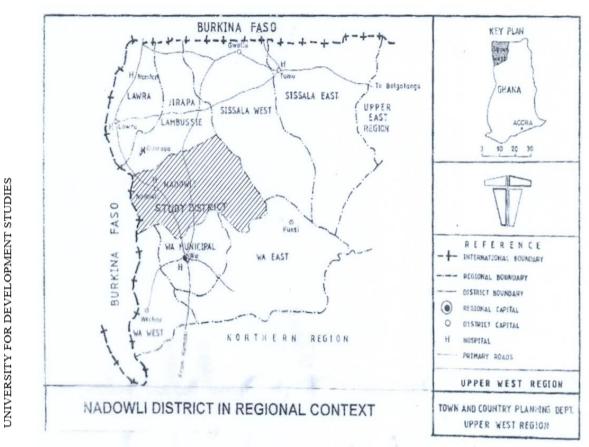
This chapter presents an overview of the Nadowli District in general and the study Communities in particular. This overview will expose the reader to the location and size, vegetation and climate of the District in general and the study areas in particular. It is also intended to throw more light on the geology and soil, demographic and age - sex distribution as well as the traditional political system and socio-cultural aspects of the study communities specifically and the district as a whole. Furthermore, it is intended to elaborate on the economic activities and environmental situation of the study district as well as the study areas.

### 3.2 LOCATION AND SIZE

Nadowli district is centrally located in the Upper West region of Ghana. It lies between latitude 11°30" and 10°20" North and longitude 3°10" and 2°10" West. It is bordered to the South by Wa Municipal, West by Burkina Faso, North by Jirapa district and to the East by the Wa East District. It covers a total land area of 2,742.50km2 and extends from the Billi Bridge (4km from Wa) to the Dapuori Bridge (Almost 12km to Jirapa) on the Wa – Jirapa-Hamile main road and also from West to East it extends from the Black Volta to Wahabu. The distance between the district capital and the regional capital covers about 40km. The location of the district promotes international trade between the district and neighboring Burkina Faso (Nadowli District Assembly, 2006).



The map below shows the location of the district as well as that of the Region





### 3.2 VEGETATION

The district lies within the tropical continental or guinea savannah woodland characterized by shrubs and grassland with scattered medium sized trees. Some economic trees found in the district are kapok, shea-nut, baobab, mango and dawadawa, which are resistant to both fire and drought. These trees provide a major source of income to households particularly women who play important roles in the provision of household needs. These economic trees provide a potential for the establishment of

processing industries to increase employment opportunities for the people (Nadowli District Assembly, 2006). The above characteristics of the vegetation in respect of the district are also applicable to the study areas.

### 3.2 CLIMATE

The district in general and the study communities in particular have a mean annual temperature of 32°c and a mean monthly temperature ranging between 36°c around March to 27°c around August. The district is found within the tropical continental zone and annual rainfall is confined to six (6) months. That is, May to September and is also unevenly distributed. Mean annual rainfall is about 110mm with its peak around August. Between October and March, there is virtually no rain and this long dry season is made harsh by the dry northeasterly Harmattan winds. This unfavourable climate condition promotes only rain fed agriculture and has been the major underlying reason for the chronic food insecurity that is a major problem facing the district. This climatic condition calls for the construction of dams to support irrigation agriculture to reduce migration of the youth to the southern parts of the country in search of employment (Nadowli District Assembly, 2006).

### 3.5. GEOLOGY AND SOIL

Three main types of rocks underlie the district. These are Birimian and granite to the West and some parts of the east and basement complex to the east. These rocks hold a considerable quantity of water, which is a good potential for the drilling of boreholes and sinking of wells.

The soil types are laterite, sandy and sandy loan (savanna ochrosols). They are generally poor in organic matter and nutrients as a result of the absence of serious vegetative cover due to bush burning, overgrazing, over cultivation and protracted erosion consequently, the soil are heavily leached.



Relatively fertile soils (sandy loam) occur to the, east of the district around Issa and Tabiasi and support crops such as yams, cereals, legumes and rice. On the other hand, soils in the west are generally poor and support limited agricultural activity. This situation is responsible for the seasonal migration from the west to east for farming purposes and partly responsible for skewed distribution of socio-economic services (Nadowli District Assembly 2006).

### 3.6 RELIEF AND DRAINAGE

The topography of the district is low lying and undulating at altitudes ranging between 150m - 300m above sea level though some parts average 600m. The only major stream, Bakpong and several ephemeral streams, flow into the Black Volta. These limited number of rivers and stream coupled with the seasonal drought seriously hampers dry season farming resulting in low output levels and food insecurity that is experienced almost every year.

### 3.7 DEMOGRAPHIC AND AGE - SEX DISTRIBUTION

The population of the district in general was 65,529 in 1984 with male population of 30,799 representing 47% and female population of 34,730 representing 53% and in 2000 the population increased to 82,716 with male population of 39,375 representing 47.6% and female population of 43,341 representing 52.4%. This indicates a growth rate of 1.5% per annum (Population and Housing Census, 2000). The district share of the region's population is about 14.3%.

The study communities in the district include: Kaleo, Sankana, Sombo, Nadowli and Bussie. The population and projections of the study communities are indicated in table 3.1 below.



Table 3.1: Population of Selected Study Areas

					Population Projections			
Community Year		Population Male		Female	2007 2008 200		2009	
Kaleo	2000	3,037	1,402	1,635	3,384	3,443	3,504	
Bussie	2000	2,656	1,233	1,423	2,959	3,011	3,064	
Nadowli	2000	2,813	1,269	1,544	3,134	3,189	3,246	
Sankana	2000	2,079	928	1,151	2,316	2,357	2,399	
Sombo	2000	1,902	839	1,063	2,119	2,156	2,194	

Source: Population and Housing Census (2000)

The table below indicates the total population of the study district.

**Table 3.2: Population of the study District** 

Year	Male	Female	Total Population	Growth Rate
1984	30,799	34,730	65,529	1.50%
2000	39,375	43341	82,716	

Source: Population and Housing Census (2000).

While about 45% of the population is aged between 0-14years, the economically active population also constitutes 49% with the remaining 6% being the aged. This gives an age dependency ratio of approximately 1:1 indicating less pressure on the working population and the high propensity or ability to save.



Table 3.3: Age Distribution of Study District

Age Group	2000	2002
0-14	37,222	39,550
15 -64	40,531	43,066
65+	4,963	5,274

Sources: Population and Housing Census (2000) and NDA (2006).

### 3.8 TRADITIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEM.

The traditional political system of the study communities is indicated in table below.

**Table 3.4: Traditional Political System** 

Community	Traditional Political Leader						
Kaleo	Paramount chief with sectional chiefs who are not recognized outside Kaleo such as chief of the market chief of farmers and chief of dancing.						
lBussie	Paramount chief						
Nadowli	Paramount chief						
Sankana	Divisional chief under the paramountcy of Kaleo Naa.						
Sombo	Divisional chief under the paramountcy of Kaleo Naa.						

Source: Tampuori et al, (2009).

There is a clear distinction between the role of the chief, local administrator, and the Tendana. The tendana performs sacrifices to the "earth God" and arbitrates in land matters.



### 3.9 SOCIO - CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

Nadowli district has two major tribes, the Dagaaba and the Sissala. The Dagaaba constitute 96% of the total population and the sissala represent 4%. The Sissala are confined only to the Southeastern parts of the district (NDA, 2006). The people of the study communities practice patrilineal system of inheritance, while marriage is practiced on interclan basis.

There are also three religious groups in the district including Christians 59%, Moslems 18% and traditional believers 23% (NDA, 2006). The Roman Catholics dominate the Christian population. In spite of this heterogeneous religious composition, there is religious tolerance and peaceful co-existence among the people in the district. This is a major pre requisite for development in the district.

The major festivals celebrated in the district are the Wilaa- Takpo and the Zumbenti Festivals - Kaleo. The district has a strong tourism potential, even though this is yet to be developed to contribute meaningfully to the district's economy.

Some of the sites that have been identified to be viable in the district include:



Rocks and caves - Sankana,

Ombo Wura Rock - Ombo near Kaleo,

• Crocodile pond - Kaleo,

• Bonesetters' clinic - Duong,

• Mushroom Ant-hill colony (Falintan) - Nanvili

• Zukpiri Integrated wildlife project - Zukpiri

In all these Communities, the chiefs are perceived as the guardians of their communities, their culture and playing important roles in cultural events and rituals.

### 3.10 ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES.

Agriculture forms the basis of the study communities in particular and the district in general. Agriculture is the mainstay of the people in the district employing about 85% of the population (District Agric Development Unit, Nadowli, 2005). The main activities practiced in the area consist of food and cash crop production as well as animal rearing. This district lies in the guinea savanna zone and has one main rainy season for agricultural production thus from May to September. The rest of the year is dry and can only be used for dry season gardening. However, the low development of the irrigable agriculture has limited productivity during the dry season where farmers become dormant and have no major farming activities to undertake.

During the wet season, the major food crops that are grown in the district include millet, rice, sorghum (guinea com), maize, cowpea, potatoes and yam. Cash crops cultivated include groundnuts, cotton, soybeans, beans, cassava, tiger nuts and pepper. However, the cultivation of cash crops has not received much attention as a result of market uncertainties. Economic trees like the shea, dawadawa and baobab, which constitute a major source of income for women, are still wild and prone to destruction by annual bushfires.



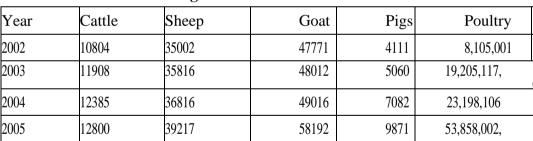
Table 3.5 Trend in major crops production

Year	MAJOR CROPS											
	Maize Millet			Sorgh	um		Yam	Groui	nd nuts	Cowp	ea	
	Hec	Mt	Hec	Mt	Нес	Mt	Hec	Mt	Нес	Mt	Нес	Mt
2002	9510	17188	16173	12938	22827	21444	4700	47000	28007	28655	18481	15579
2003	9040	16270	15890	11120	24390	21950	5270	58650	31670	47500	23350	16350
2004	9551	12500	14213	10120	24490	22546	5189	54050	33101	44170	23547	15820
2005	9560	16821	14110	11200	24428	23019	5154	53110	33340	41881	20811	15079

Source: Dist. Agric. Development Unit (Nadowli, 2006).

Livestock rearing also plays an important role in the provision of reliable sources of protein as well as income to both males and females in the district. The main animals that are reared by most households include; Cattle, sheep, goats, pigs and poultry as indicated in the table 3.6 below.

Table 3.6 Livestock Census Figures - 2006



Source: District Agric. Development Unit (Nadowli, 2006).

According to DADU, the quality of animals (indigenous breeds) kept in the district in terms of size, weight and other physical features leaves much to be desired and that this is due to problems such as inadequate improved breeds and improper animal husbandry practices (Nadowli, 2006). Most of the livestock farmers do not have access to veterinary service thereby increasing the incidence of diseases among farm animals.



Other economic activities in the district, and for that matter the study areas are petty trading involving food selling, pito brewing, shea butter extraction, repair works, charcoal burning, milling, chop bar, carving, carpentry, hunting and teaching.

### 3.11 ENVIRONMENTAL SITUATION

### 3.11.1 Condition of the Natural Environment

Traditional belief systems and human activities in the district tend to regard the land as a reservoir of unlimited resources. Human activities particularly annual routine bush burning, indiscriminate tree felling for fuel wood, charcoal and other purposes and poor animal husbandry practices have led to decreasing vegetation cover and increasing soil erosion and depletion of soil fertility.

Inappropriate farming practices such as shifting cultivation, road construction, sand and gravel winning increases land degradation. Farming along, and in watercourses has also resulted in the silting of water bodies' like dams and ponds and the destruction of vegetation protecting the water bodies.



However, there is growing awareness of the need to maintain and sustain the environment. Individuals in the district have adopted the habit of planting trees around these buildings. Also, developing economic tree plantations, for example, cashew and mangoes etc. have gained popularity over the years (Nadowli District Assembly, 2006)

### 3.11.2 Condition of the Built Environment.

There is improvement in the housing sector in the district. Most of the traditional house types with earth roofs are giving way to land Crete and block houses with zinc and aluminium roofing sheets. There has also been remarkable improvement in the quality, quantity and design of privately

owned houses. The use of cement blocks in construction of houses has increased and provision of wide windows have improved ventilation in the houses.

Several staff buildings in the district especially for the education and health sectors have been rehabilitated. The District Assembly has also improved its housing stock by building twelve units' 2 - bedroom houses and 5 units' 3 - bedroom houses in Nadowli, the district capital.

The Social Security and National Insurance Trust (SSNIT) has also built ten units 2 - bedroom houses in Nadowli that provide suitable accommodation for departmental staff and few indigenous people (NDA, 2006).

### 3.12 CONCLUSION

From the foregoing analysis, it could be safely concluded that the profile of the study areas were examined in detail. What is to be considered in the next chapter is the presentation and data analysis.



# UNIVERSITY FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

### **CHAPTER FOUR**

### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

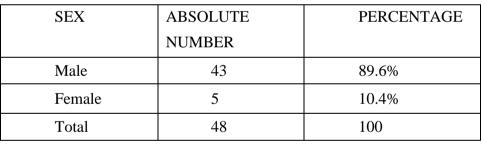
This chapter presents the analysis and findings of the study. For easy analysis and presentation, the chapter is sub-divided into two main sections. These include: The socio-demographic characteristics of respondents and analysis of the research questions.

### 4.2 SOCIO - DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS.

### 4.2.1 Sex Distribution

Table 4.1 depicts the sex distribution of respondents. It indicates that out of the 48 interviewees, 89.6% and 10.4% of the respondents are male and female respectively.

TABLE 4.1 SEX COMPOSITION OF RESPONDENTS





Source: Field Survey (August, 2009).

### **4.2.2** Age Structure:

Four main age groups dominated among all the respondents. These were; the age group between 25-29 was the highest consisting 18.8%; 30-34 was the second highest which consisted 16.7%. The other two groups were 21-24 and 45-49 in which each represented 14.6% of the total respondents. Details of the age structure of the interviewees are indicated in table 4.2 below.

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**TABLE 4.2: AGES OF THE INTERVIEWEES** 

Age Range	Percentage
20 and below	8.3
21 - 24	14.6
25 - 29	18.8
30 - 34	16.7
35 - 39	10.4
40-44	
45 -49	14.6
50 - 54	6.3
55 - 59	2
60 and above	8.3

Source: Field Survey (August, 2009)

### **4.2.3 Educational Status**

### **TABLE 4.3 EDUCATIONAL STATUS**

Status	Frequency	Percentage
Middle School	0	-
JHS	1	2.10%
O- Level	4	8.30%
A -Level	3	6.30%
SHS	23	47.90%
First Degree	6	12.50%
Second Degree	0	-
PhD	0	-
None	11	22.90%
Total	48	100.00%

Source: Field Survey (August, 2009).



As indicated in table 4.3 above, 47.9% of the interviewees were Senior High School leavers, 22.9% were illiterates, 12.5% had first degree education or certificates, 8.3% were ordinary level certificate holders 6.3% were Advance level certificate holders and 2.1% had Junior High School education. However, none of the interviewees had middle school, second degree and Ph.D. education.

### 4.2.4 Religion

There are three main religions that exist in Nadowli District in general and the study areas specifically. These include: Christianity, Islam and Traditional religion. Out of the 48 interviewees, 87.5% were Christians, while 8.3% were traditionalists and only 4.2% were Muslims.

### 4.3 FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS.

Apart from the face-to-face interview with respondents, focus group discussion was also applied in the collection of data. Eleven (11) main items guided this focus group discussion. In all, five communities were involved and 55 people participated. Out of the 55 participants, 43 representing 78.2% were males and 12 representing 21.8% were females.

### 4.4 CHALLENGES FACED BY THE CHIEFTAINCY INSTITUTION.

In both face to face interviews with respondents and focus group discussions the following challenges were identified:

Political interference was revealed as one of the challenges confronting the Chieftaincy institution. It was argued that most people who are not from the royal family end up being instooled/enskinned as chiefs due to their affiliation with a particular political party or high profile politicians. As a result, many chiefs tend to engage in active politics in order to consolidate their positions and that other chiefs even invite their MPs, District Chief Executives and

Regional Ministers to their traditional festivals. Illiteracy and ignorance were also identified as a challenge faced by the Chieftaincy institution. This results in most chiefs having low or no knowledge of the laws, rules and regulations governing the chieftaincy institution and the communities they rule.

Some chiefs are imposed on their people either by the government or kingmakers leading to chieftaincy disputes. This is as a result of Conflict of interest among chiefs, Assembly Members, Unit Committee Members, and Tendaana (Landlords) as well as conflicts among royal gates with regard to which gate a chief is due to be nominated and enskinned leading to difficulty in organizing and controlling their people or subjects. They added that certain rich people who are not royals end up by occupying chieftaincy position in their communities.

Bribery and corruption are associated with the chieftaincy institution especially the Regional House of Chiefs. The respondents explained that chieftaincy disputes are mostly compounded by the Regional House of Chiefs because members of the Judicial Committees who are supposed to investigate into chieftaincy disputes to ascertain the truth of claims by parties involved in disputes end up taking bribes either through their own request or otherwise, from the parties concerned thereby making it difficult if not impossible to pass judgement and that such cases may finally be pending in the Regional House of Chiefs for years without being resolved. According to them, it is not only the Judicial Committee members who take bribes from parties involved in chieftaincy disputes but also other officials in the Regional House of Chiefs including the President of the House, the Registrar and the counsellor.



One other challenge the research came out with is inadequate or lack of logistics such as means of transport and offices for the chiefs. They added that, due to the transportation problem, many chiefs find it difficult to attend certain important gatherings or meetings.

Furthermore lack of funds that were generated through the imposition of some taxes was identified as a challenge. According to the respondents, those days chiefs could impose fines on people who committed crimes and were found guilty. They could impose fees and also collect taxes on other properties and revenues realised from the above were used for developmental projects to the benefit of all the community members. They lamented that nowadays chiefs do not have the authority to impose tax on the people and other properties as a means of generating revenue for developmental projects.

The respondents further stated that the monthly pay given to chiefs as allowance is woefully inadequate and need to be reviewed. The research also revealed that chiefs are not considered or consulted when it comes to decision-making by Government. They argued that it is only the District Assembly, comprising of the Assemblymen, Unit Committee members among others who meet to decide on developmental issues (such as construction of KVIPs, Schools, boreholes dams roads to mention but a few) for their communities in the absence of their chiefs. Chiefs are only consulted when Government needs land for projects.



It also came up that most of the chiefs have low level of education, as such, they do not have fair knowledge of the Constitution that is governing the country and for that matter, their communities.

The research also established conflict of interest as a challenge. They stated that some chiefs deviate in the course of performing their traditional duties and tum into politicians. According to the respondents, some chiefs accept bribes from politicians and pledge to rally behind them.

The modem judicial system was also identified as a source of challenge to the traditional authority. Most cases that were supposed to be handled by chiefs at the community level find their way at the law court.

### 4.5 PROSPECTS OF THE CHIEFTAINCY INSTITUTION

This section looks at the prospects of the chieftaincy institution among the Dagaaba in the Upper West Region. In the face-to-face interviews and focus group discussions, the respondents came out with the followings as prospects of the institution:

Chiefs serve as traditional leaders in their communities. They formulate and implement byelaws in their communities. People respect these byelaws made by chiefs, thus, signifying a sign of authority. They also sit on cases and pass judgement and also represent their communities at meetings.

The research further revealed that in those days, at the end of every farming season, the community members used to contribute foodstuff and animals as gifts to chiefs and that the community members, through communal labour used to assist chiefs in their farms as well as do renovation works at chiefs' palace or mobilize to build chiefs palace.

It also came up that chiefs were not supposed to eat outside their homes. They were not supposed to be rapists, thieves, liars, bachelors among others. As such they are accorded recognition and popularity by virtue of their status.

Most chiefs receive gifts and presents from Non - Governmental organization (NGOs), government, politicians and other visitors.

They act as custodians of land, owners of all strange items including animals and custodians of the people in their traditional area.



Chiefs are always first to receive information before their community members. According to the respondents, before a politician can mount a platform in the community, he/she must first seek the consent of the chief. He/she may also brief him on the agenda of the platform.

During festive seasons sub chiefs, community members and visitors pay homage to chiefs, to the extent of presenting animals, foodstuff and even money.

Chiefs preserve the tradition and culture of their communities

### 4.6 ROLES OF CHIEFS AMONG THE DAGAABA

During the focus group discussions and interviews, respondents mentioned the following below as the roles of chiefs.

Chiefs are responsible for judging cases in their communities. They added that, chiefs normally follow customary laws when judging cases. According to them punishment is meted out to various offenders who are found guilty of the crime committed and that these offences range from defilement, rape, stealing, fornication, adultery among others. However, they lamented that of late the law court system has taken over the judgement of the above cases thereby making chiefs powerless in terms of handling offences in their communities.



They maintain and promote peace and unity among the people. They settle various forms of disputes including land disputes.

They act as the mouthpiece between their people and the government. The study also revealed that chiefs serve as intermediary between their communities and the government. They consult Unit Committee Members and the Assemblymen on matters bothering them and their communities. They initiate development projects such as lobbing for schools, boreholes, dams and construction of roads.

They consult the ancestral gods and also preserve the cultural heritage. According to the research, chiefs act as a link between the departed soul, the living and the yet unborn. They make sacrifice to the gods during festivals. This is done through the Tendaaba.

They supervise sub-chiefs under their jurisdiction. The respondents stated that chiefs monitor and control the activities of sub chiefs under them to ensure that they operate within the laid down rules and regulations.

They are custodians of ancestral land and stools and ensure that those laws are adhered to. They also argued that chiefs ensure that, the established lineage of successions to the skin or stool are respected and obeyed by those who are concerned. They added that chiefs often operate as custodian of customary law and communal assets, especially land.

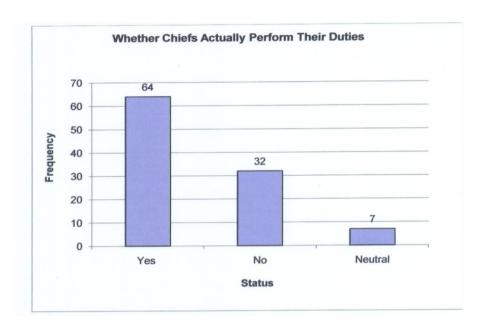
It also came up that chiefs are responsible for making byelaws in their community. Thus in events of drought during farming or rainy season, chiefs normally make laws preventing people from going to their farms to work. They believe is that if they do not go to farms, the ancestral spirits will sympathize with them and let it rain. Also, during dawadawa season, chiefs impose laws restricting their community members from harvesting it until the ban is lifted and that in all chiefs make laws to govern the general behaviour of their community members.

## 4.7 ARE CHIEFS ACTUALLY PERFORMING THEIR ROLES EFFECTIVELY IN THEIR COMMUNITIES?

This section looks at whether chiefs are really performing their roles effectively in the communities. In both face-to-face interview and focus group discussions, a grand total of 103 people responded to this statement. They were to respond Yes or No. 64 out of the 103 representing 62.1 % said yes



indicating that chiefs were actually performing their duties, whilst  $32^{7}$  representing 31.1 % said No indicating that chiefs were not performing their duties and 7 representing 6.8% were neutral. This is shown in figure 4.1 below.



Source: Field Survey (August, 2009)

FIGURE 4.1: Whether Chiefs Actually Perform their Duties



Those who said yes added that chiefs ensure peace and order among the people in their communities. Chiefs resolve conflicts in their communities between one community and another through the application of the norms of customary laws and for that matter, they settle disputes in their communities.

They represent their people in the house of chiefs. They state that the House of Chiefs from time to time organise meetings to sensitise chiefs and their

communities on certain policies and issues concerning their traditional systems and that it is the chiefs that attend such meetings on behalf of their communities and send the massage back to their people as such they receive and disseminate information.

They are able to bring development to their communities through negotiation assist in building schools, hospitals, and markets among others in their communities through communal labour.

They dispense justice and resolve conflicts in their communities through the application of customary laws.

The respondents who said chiefs did not perform their roles gave the following reasons:

Some chiefs are influenced by certain factors like politics, favouritism and corruption, which do not bring about development and peace. It came up that, most chiefs were engaged in active politics thereby creating disunity among their people. Also, chiefs accept gifts from certain parties that are interested in some criminal cases brought before them. The respondents therefore concluded that some chiefs were corrupt and bias in their rulings.

Some of the respondents further stated that, some council of elders mostly dictate to their chiefs thus, making their subjects to lose trust and confidence in them.

Some of the respondents also argued that some chiefs cannot afford to buy their own means of transport to enable them discharge their duties to the benefit of their people



The research also revealed that instead of some chiefs lobbing or negotiating for development projects for their communities, they sit unconcerned and expect other people to bring development projects/programmes to their communities.

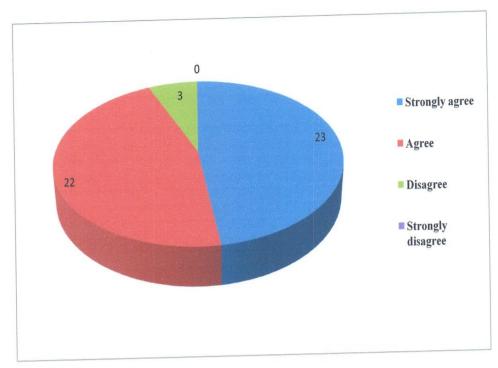
In short, more than half of the respondents, said yes, indicating that, chiefs are really performing their roles.

## 4.8 LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE OF CHIEFS IN RELATION TO DEVELOPMENT

This section looks at whether chiefs have knowledge in relation to development. In the face-to-face interview, respondents were to agree, strongly agree, disagree or strongly disagree with reasons. Out of the 48 interviewees, 22 representing 45.8% agreed that chiefs had knowledge in relation to development, 23 representing 47.9% strongly agreed, whilst 3 representing 6.3% disagreed. No respondent strongly disagreed with the statement. The results are presented in the figure below.



68



Source: Field Survey (August, 2009)

Figure 4.2 Level of Knowledge of Chiefs in Relation to Development

The respondents who agreed and strongly agreed during the interview as well as in the focus group discussion gave the following reasons.

Chiefs are always consulted before any development policy is implemented in the communities. This is done in collaboration with Assemblymen and politicians (MPs) or NGOs. It is the Chiefs who normally issue parcels of land to government to build schools and other projects and indicate where the development project should be sited.

Most chiefs are literates and therefore have a sense of direction in relation to development. They added that, chiefs help to mobilize their people to undertake self-help projects like clinics, Kumasi ventilated improved pit (KVIP).

Some chiefs undertake Agricultural productivity and Agro-processing such as farming, establishment of factory, clinics among others. Some of the



discussants added that, certain chiefs especially, Sombo Naa (chief) has a factory for processing shea nuts. They further stated that, he has a number of acres land for farming soya beans where the youth of the community go to labour for money and, therefore, this prevents them from travelling down South to farm for money.

Chiefs have knowledge in conflict resolution. They stated that chiefs employ customary law to resolve land, chieftaincy, succession, criminal and civil cases.

However, those who disagreed with the statement that chiefs have knowledge in relation to development gave the following reasons:

Most chiefs are dormant, tribalistic and not co-operating with their community members. Government put up projects in certain communities without the knowledge of the chiefs.

Chiefs are powerless and some chiefs need advice from their council of elders. They added that, chiefs; perse do not contribute significantly to development. In general, chiefs have knowledge in relation to development.

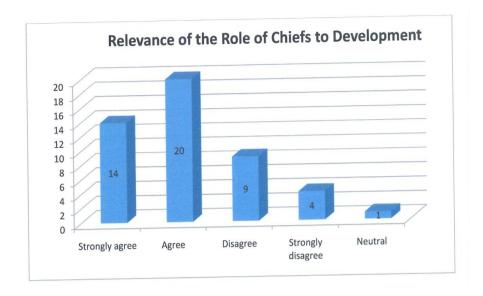


# 4.9 RELEVANCE OF THE ROLE OF CHIEFS TO DEVELOPMENT IN THIS CURRENT TREND OF POLITICAL DISPENSATION

This section considers whether the roles of chiefs are relevant to development in this current trend of political dispensation. Respondents were to agree, strongly agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. Out of the 48 interviewees, 20 representing 41.7% agreed to the statement, 14 representing 29.2% strongly agreed, 9 representing 18.8% disagreed, while 4 representing 8.3% strongly disagreed. One person representing 2.1% was neutral. This is shown in figure 4.3 below.

### Relevance of the Role of Chiefs to Development

8.



Source: Field Survey (August, 2009)

FIGURE 4.3: Relevance of the Role of Chiefs to Development

Those who agreed or strongly agreed gave the following reasons:

Chiefs are always consulted before any political activity can take place in the community. They further stated that no activity could proceed without the knowledge of the chief. The respondents argued that, the assemblymen in their communities from time to time meet the chiefs to discuss developmental issues. It was also observed that, chiefs were the first point of contact in the communities and that they help politicians to discharge their development projects.



They serve as the official mouthpiece of their people through which policies and other developmental issues are implemented. They represent their people in meetings and give feedback.

Chiefs represent the traditional council while politicians represent the government. The respondents explained that chiefs normally meet at their various traditional councils to discuss issues pertaining to their operations and how to handle them as well as how to develop their communities. On the other hand, politicians aim at educating the people on government policies and also

Bring development projects to the communities. They further argued that both chiefs and politicians share and solve development problems in their communities.

Government has set up the ministry of culture and chieftaincy affairs to educate chiefs on how to carry out their duties. The ministry ensures that chiefs operate in accordance with customary law.

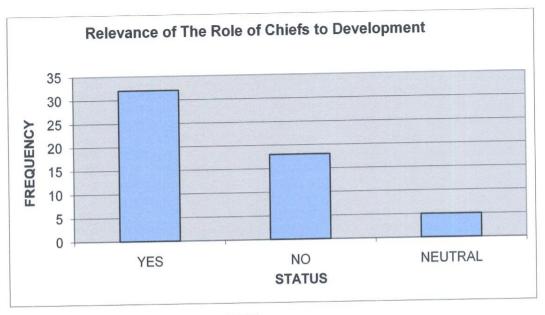
However, those who disagreed as well as strongly disagreed stated that:

Chiefs sometimes create conflicts among their community members. During the discussion, it came up that, some chiefs were automatic and as such tend to dictate to their councils members or elders and that others too were actively involved in politics thereby causing disunity and conflict between them and some of their community members.

Some chiefs were enskinned by particular political parties and when that party was out of power, they had no influence in development projects.

Similarly, in the focus group discussions, discussants were to respond Yes or No to the above mentioned statement. 32 out of 55 discussants representing 58.2% said yes, 18 representing 32.7% said no, while 5 representing 9.1% were neutral. This is indicated in figure 4.4 below.





Source: Field Survey (August, 2009).

FIGURE 4.4: Relevance of the Role of Chiefs to Development

The reasons given by those who said yes include the following: The politicians for instance, assemblymen still consult chief(s) for guidelines. They stated for example, that when land is needed for construction of schools, Kvips, clinics among others, the assemblyman or unit committee members cannot give it out without involving or consulting the chief. When the assemblymen are to attend District Assembly meetings they seek the views of the chiefs.



The chiefs still resolve disputes including land, succession, and chieftaincy, criminal and civil cases through the application of customary law. It was observed that, at the local level, the chief is even more important than the President. They argued that the chief is closer to his subjects than the government; subjects have more direct contact with the chief because they live in the same village and any individual can approach the chief. They lamented that, only the court system has interfered with their roles.

On the other hand, those who said no stated that politics had lessened the roles of chiefs due to constitutional provisions. For example, they stated that, we have the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice, Unit Committees, the police, courts and all these institutions have taken away the functions of Chiefs. All in all, the research revealed that the roles of chiefs are relevant to development in this current trend of political dispensation.

### 4.10 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHIEFS AND POLITICIANS

A grand total of 103 people participated in both the face-to-face interviews and the focus group discussions about Chiefs and Politicians. Out of that number 75, representing 72.8% said there was a healthy relationship between chiefs and politicians, 27 representing 26.2% said there was no healthy relationship between chiefs and politicians, while 1 respondent, representing 1.0% could not tell. This is shown in figure 4.5 below.

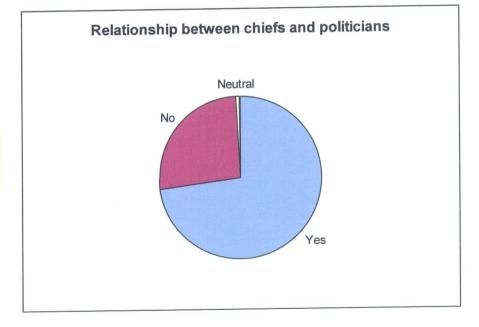


FIGURE 4.5: Relationship between Chiefs and politicians



hold rallies in the communities. They explained that before any politician goes to a community to present his manifesto to the people, the chief is always informed and that without the knowledge of the chief no politician will be allowed to hold any rally in the community. Chiefs and politicians, especially, assemblymen and unit committee members unite to bring development to their communities. They meet to discuss matters relating to development and it is through chiefs that politicians are able to implement their development agenda. Chiefs normally release land to politicians for development projects.

Chiefs are non-partisan and therefore accept all party colours within their areas of jurisdictions. The respondents stated that the constitution of Ghana does not allow Chiefs to get actively involved in politics and for that matter Chiefs embrace any political party found in their communities. Any Chief who gets involved in active politics normally has problems with his subjects.

However, those who said there was no relationship argued that Chiefs stand by the truth but politicians deceive. Most Politicians, especially MPs make empty promises during their campaign tours in order to win votes from the people. They stated that after voted into power, the politicians may not even surface in their constituencies to brief their people on government policies and development agenda not to talk of fulfilling their campaign promises. However the respondents argued that because Chiefs serve as leaders of their communities they hardly deceive or make empty promises.

Politicians always want to use chiefs for their personal gains, in that when they are to visit a community to campaign, they offer drinks and monies to the Chiefs and people in order to gain popular support from them. In most cases they end up bringing chiefs and their people into conflicts especially youth groups.

There is too much political interference in the Chieftaincy institution, which retards development and encourages chiefs to openly go into politics. Politicians at times influence the enskinment of some chiefs and when that political party is out of power, the affected chiefs become unpopular.

From the above analyses, there is every indication that, there is a healthy relationship between chiefs and politicians.

### 4.11 CONCLUSION

The findings of the study have revealed certain challenges confronting the chieftaincy institution: some prospects associated with it, roles of chiefs as well as the relationship between chiefs and politicians.

The next chapter will however state clearly the major findings, conclusions and recommendations.



# UNIVERSITY FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

# CHAPTER FIVE SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

This final chapter of the study report presents a summary of the major findings and discussion of results. It also draws relevant conclusions and makes recommendations aimed at making the chieftaincy institutions more effective and relevant to development. It also makes recommendations to the ministry of culture and chieftaincy affairs to enforce the customary laws governing the institution.

### 5.2 SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF MAJOR FINDINGS

The study has revealed the following findings:

### 5.2.1 Challenges Faced By The Chieftaincy Institution

The study revealed political interference as a challenge facing the chieftaincy institution and for that matter, Chiefs. Abayie (1997) supported this view in a statement that with the emergence of a pure Ghanaian government under the CPP, serious attempts were made to demystify the chieftaincy institution. With the slogan that, "Chiefs will run away and leave their sandals behind", the CPP cowed the chiefs into submission and eroded the powers of the chiefs, which they possessed from the indirect rule of the colonial era. Using the gazette principle, the government withdrew its recognition of those chiefs who were in opposition and elevated its supporters to paramountcies. Some of the chiefs had to run away into exile for fear of detention, a tool, which Nkrumah employed to silence his opponents and thus any chief who wanted to have his peace had to join the CPP.



Joseph and Buba (2006), also supported this view, when they stated that, the independence constitution of Ghana (1957) reinforced the authority of the

central government to recognize or withdrew recognition of chiefs and deliberately drew no formal distinction between "ordinary" and "paramount" chiefs, thereby arrogating to itself the authority to elevate or demote any chief and that although government could seek the advice of the House of chiefs, it's consent was not required. Thus, with political independence came a further erosion of the political and economic autonomy of the chiefs.

Also, the study established that, some chiefs were imposed on their people either by the government or kingmakers leading to chieftaincy disputes. They added that, certain rich people who were not royals ended up occupying chieftaincy positions in their communities. Abayie (1997) confirmed this view when he stated that the judicial committee of the National House of Chiefs and Supreme Court of Ghana had records of individuals who were not royals but found their way to stools and skins.

It was further revealed that, bribery and corruption were associated with the chieftaincy institution especially the Regional House of Chiefs. This idea was supported by Abayie (1997) where it was gathered that, some communities had two factional chiefs instead of one substantive personality as the chief through corrupt practices.



Conflicts of interest between Chiefs, Assembly members and unit committee members were also revealed by the study as a challenge confronting chiefs. This finding is in line with Ayee (2000) when he stated that lack of institutionalized representation of chiefs in the local government structure had resulted in strained relations between some chiefs and functionaries of the District Assemblies and their sub district structures. Thus in some districts, the District Chief Executives and the chiefs were not in good terms while in other districts, it was the chiefs and the Assemblymen or unit committee members who were at loggerheads. Also, this view is supported by Abayie (1997) where he noted that conflict of

interest between chiefs and local government structures served as a challenge to the chieftaincy institution. In the period just preceding the coming into force of the Constitution, the revolutionary organs looked at the chieftaincy institution as anachronistic and operated by reactionary elements.

Furthermore, it was established that illiteracy and ignorance of most chiefs resulted in they having low or no knowledge of the laws, rules and regulation governing the chieftaincy institution and the communities they rule. This finding was supported by Buah (1995), where it was gathered that majority of the chiefs were not only illiterates but extreme conservatives who became easy prey to the power granted them than in their seat in the colonial Amphitheatre.

Abayie (1997) revealed that, chiefs could not levy special rates for development projects or impose taxes without the express permission from the District Assembly. This view was confirmed by the finding that lack of funds generated through the imposition of taxes by chiefs, served as a challenge to the chieftaincy institution.



Some other challenges facing the chieftaincy institution as revealed by the study include the following:

Conflict between chiefs and Tendaana (Landlords), leading to difficulty in organizing and controlling their subjects.

Conflicts among royal gates, different clans and kingmakers with regard to which gate a chief is due to be nominated and enskinned.

Inadequate or lack oflogistics such as means of transport and offices.

Chiefs are not considered or consulted when it comes to decision-

making by government. This view was again shared by Abayie (1997) where he noted that with the coming into force of the Constitution the chiefs position has been weakened by the organs of government, such as, the Assemblyman, the District Chief Executive and the Regional Minister. The Chiefs now have to consult these organisations before certain things can be done. Those organisations on the other hand, act without any serious consultation with the traditional rulers. Even though the District Assembly is said to be a grassroots structure, issues discussed there are not relayed back to the village level fora for exhaustive deliberations. These Assemblymen and women do not owe any allegiance to the chiefs and the communities where they reside.

As noted by Abayie (1997), disputes associated with chieftaincy and lands were widespread throughout Ghana and this has introduced elements of instability and conflict in the chieftaincy institution. This, he noted can affect relationships and partnerships with key chieftaincy institutions for promoting good governance and development at the local level.

### **5.2.2 Prospects of The Chieftaincy Institution**



The study revealed that, chiefs act as custodians of lands and all strange items including animals and custodians of the people in their traditional area. This view was supported by Carolyn (2008), where it was gathered that chiefs act as property inheritors in their communities.

It was also realized that, chiefs preserve the tradition and culture of their communities. This was again confirmed by Carolyn (2008) where chiefs were perceived to be as the guardians of their communities, their culture and playing important roles in cultural events and rituals.

The study revealed that, most chiefs receive gifts and presents from Non-Governmental organizations, government, politicians and other visitors. Otumfuo (2004) supported this view when he asserted, that through his

efforts under the partnership project, the World Bank is assisting Asanteman with a grant of US \$4.5million to build the management capacity of chiefs: rehabilitate schools and build sanitation facilities in 41 communities; develop health education modules for traditional authorities to lead in awareness creation on HIV / AIDS; and build programmes designed to preserve traditional values and culture.

The study also established that people respect rules passed or made by chiefs in their communities, thus signifying a sign of authority. Furthermore, the research established that at the end of every farming season the community members contribute foodstuff and animals as gifts to chiefs.

The study revealed that, through communal labour, community Members do renovation work at chiefs' palaces or mobilize to build chiefs palaces.

The study established that, chiefs attend meetings on behalf of their communities and are always first to receive information before their community members. It was revealed that paramount chiefs co-ordinate with their sub-chiefs who organize community members to assist the paramount Chiefs in their farms. The study finally, established that, chiefs are accorded recognition and popularity by virtue of their status.



### **5.2.3 Roles of Chiefs**

Ayertey (1994) asserted that in the colonial era, chiefs were responsible for settling traditional native disputes within their area of jurisdiction through court under the supervision of the district commissioners. Findings were not different from literature review as respondents agreed that, chiefs are responsible for judging cases in their communities. They added that chiefs normally follow customary laws when judging cases. Also, they stated that, chiefs were responsible for settling land disputes.

The study also revealed that, chiefs act as the mouthpiece between their people and the government and that they receive and disseminate information. This was confirmed by Ayertey (1994) where it was gathered that, French local chiefs in the Colonies related between their subjects and French officials as agents and gave information to these French officials on the state of affairs in the areas under their jurisdiction and that information which was needed by the subjects was likewise obtained and disseminated to them.

Furthermore, the study established that, chiefs were responsible for consulting the ancestral gods and also preserving the cultural heritage and that chiefs made sacrifices to the gods. Buah (1995) supported this view when he stated that, before colonialism, their subjects accepted Chiefs as the custodian of their ancestral cultural heritage. Also, this view was shared by Carolyn (2008) where it was gathered that chiefs are often perceived as the guardians of their communities, their culture and playing important roles in cultural events and rituals.



Again, the study revealed that, chiefs were responsible for making byelaws in their communities. This view was confirmed by Buah (1995), where he asserted that, during the colonial rule chiefs were empowered to make byelaws that did not go counter to the British concept of law.

Moreso, Joseph and Buba (2006), asserted that, chiefs were responsible for administering court fines and that they were the final arbiters in the administration of justice. The findings of this study supported this view where it was gathered that chiefs administered justices and gave punishments to offenders of the law.

Also, the study established that, chiefs maintained and promoted peace and unity among the people. Joseph and Buba (2006) supported this view,

when they stated that chiefs served as political heads and as political heads they were responsible for the maintenance of good order in their states. Abayie (1997) found that in all the Asante settlements, the chief is the president of the town development committee apart from the urban centers and the city of Kumasi. As such he was the pivot around which development revolved and that the modern Asante chief is always interacting with government agencies for assistance in social development, provision of schools, primary health care facilities, sources of good drinking water, accessible roads among others. This view is in support of the finding of the study because it was gathered that chiefs initiated development projects like lobbing for schools, provision of boreholes or dams and construction of roads.

The study further established that Chiefs consult landlords. Unit Committee members and Assemblymen on matters bothering them and the communities.

Chiefs lead their people in terms of war. ECA (2007) noted that, the military role of the traditional leader was accentuated by the frequent incidence of inter-ethnic war or the normal process of acquiring territory for statehood. In this function, the welfare of the people was paramount. Any chief who ignored this forfeited the trust of his people and was liable to deposition. They supervise sub-chiefs under their Jurisdiction.



### 5.2.4 Are Chiefs Actually Performing Their Roles Effectively?

During interview and focus group discussion with the five communities in which 103 people participated. 62.1 % of the respondents agreed that chiefs were actually performing their roles. 31.1% said that chiefs were not performing their duties while 6.8% were neutral.

The above analysis, therefore, revealed that chiefs were actually performing their roles effectively in their communities. They added that, chiefs ensured peace and order among the people in their communities; they settled disputes in their communities as well as judged criminal and other cases among others.

### 5.2.5 Level of Knowledge of Chiefs in Relation to Development.

In an interview with respondents, 45.8% agreed that chiefs had knowledge about development, 47.9% strongly agreed whilst 6.3% disagreed, No respondent strongly disagreed with that statement.

More than half of the respondent's agreed/strongly agreed that chiefs had knowledge in relation to development. The following reasons were given during both interview and focus group discussion to support the fact that chiefs had knowledge of development.

Chiefs are always consulted before any development policy is implemented in their communities.



Most chiefs are literates and, therefore, have a sense of direction in relation to development. This finding has been confirmed by TEPPCON (2006), when it stated that, there are now many highly educated and qualified people occupying skins and stools as chiefs. They display the same knowledge, ideas, and perspectives that can be described as modern and that they manifest concern for stability and progress of the nation state.

They have knowledge in conflict resolution. The 1992 Constitution of

Ghana, Article 274 (3a-f) supported this finding when it stated that, the Regional House of Chiefs undertakes a study and makes such general recommendations as are appropriate for the resolution or expeditious disposition of chieftaincy disputes in the region.

Some chiefs undertake Agricultural productivity and Agro-processing such as farming, establishment of factories, clinics among others.

The Sombo Naa (chief) has a factory for processing shea nuts. This view was confirmed by Donald (2004) when he observed that, chiefs appeal directly to government to initiate and extend electrification projects and water systems as well as others such as construction of roads and ports to facilitate the transport of goods to and from markets, construction or rehabilitation of hospitals, police stations and barracks as well as construction of bridges. Also, Joseph and Buba (2006) supported this view when they stated that chiefs under colonial rule carried additional responsibilities of a civic nature, as they were entrusted with the responsibility for local infrastructure development including agriculture, health, education, and livestock farming.

### 5.2.6 Relevance of The Role of Chiefs to Development

During an interview, with 48 people, 41.7% and 29.2% respectively agreed and strongly agreed that, the roles of chiefs were relevant to development in this current trend of political dispensation, 18.8% disagreed while 8.3% strongly disagreed.



Similarly, in a focus group discussion with 55 people in the five communities of the study areas, 78.2% of the discussants said that the role of chiefs were relevant to development in this current trend of political dispensation, while 21.8% said their roles were not.

Therefore, the study revealed that the roles of chiefs were relevant to development in this current trend of political dispensation.

During both focus group discussions and interviews, those who agreed/strongly agreed as well as said yes explained that, chiefs were always consulted before any political activity could take place in the community. They meet assemblymen in their communities from time to

time to discuss developmental issues; they represent their people in meetings and give feedback; they serve as the official mouthpiece of their people through which policies and other developmental issues are implemented; chiefs represent the traditional council while politicians represent the government; both chiefs and politicians share and solve development problems in their communities and that chiefs still resolve disputes including land dispute. This finding is similar to that of Isaac (1994) when he stated that in the colonial era, chiefs were responsible for settling traditional native disputes within their areas of jurisdiction through court under the supervision of the district commissioners.

However, those who disagreed/strongly disagreed explained that chiefs sometimes create conflict among their community members. Some chiefs were enskinned by ruling governments/political parties and when that party/Government was out of power, they have no influence in development projects. Politics has lessened the roles of chiefs due to constitutional provisions. For example, the discussants argued that, we have Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice, Unit Committee Members, police station, courts and all these institutions have taken away the functions of chief(s).



### 5.2.7. Relationship Between Chiefs and Politicians

During both interviews and focus group discussions, 72.8% said that there was a healthy relationship between chiefs and politicians while 26.2% said there was no healthy relationship between chiefs and politicians.

Those who said yes explained that, politicians need approval from chiefs before they can mount platforms or hold rallies in the communities to campaign. Chiefs and politicians especially assemblymen and unit committee members unite to bring development to their communities. Chiefs normally release land to politicians for development projects. They

are non-partisan and therefore, accept all party colours within their areas of jurisdiction. Chiefs and politicians meet to discuss matters relating to development and it is through chiefs that politicians are able to implement their development agenda.

On the other hand, those who said no explained that, chiefs stand by the truth but politicians deceive; politicians always want to use chiefs for their personal gains; politicians mostly bring chiefs and their people into conflict especially, youth groups; and that politicians at times influence the enskinment of some chiefs and when that political party is out of power, the affected chief(s) become(s) unpopular.

The study established that, there is a healthy relationship between chiefs and politicians.

### **5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS.**

This study results and recommendations are intended to provide a scope of options to chiefs to improve on the efficiency of the chieftaincy institution. It is also intended to help make the chieftaincy institution more sustainable and beneficial to chiefs in general and people in the study area. Again, it would enable chiefs know the relationships between them and politicians. In addition, appropriate recommendations would be made to the Ministry of Culture and Chieftaincy Affairs in the design of a control programme to make chiefs operate effectively.



### **5.3.1 System of Rotation**

The position of a chief should be guided by specific institutionalized traditions with respect to accession to office and performance of functions. In cases where there are multiple candidates to a chieftaincy position, merit and qualifications should become important criterion in addition to heredity

and in instances where no single family/lineage could establish undisputed claims; a system of rotation whereby the successor would be chosen from the competing house should be preferred.

## **5.3.2** Check and Balances on Minister of Culture and Chieftaincy Affairs

There should be check and balances on the Minister responsible for chieftaincy affairs. Both National and Regional House of Chiefs should perform this function by ensuring that, the Minister does not use his position to influence any unlawful enskinment or deskinment of any chief. The divisional council or traditional council, or regional house of chiefs or the national house of chiefs, where necessary, should be allowed to handle chieftaincy disputes within their areas of jurisdiction first. However, in a situation where that particular Council or House of Chief fails to settle the dispute amicably, then it should be referred to the next authority for redress.

### **5.3.3 Formal Education**

People who are royal members with formal education background and without dubious character should be enskinned or enstooled as chiefs. This will enable them dispose of the necessary knowledge, ideas and perspectives that can be described as modem towards the achievement of good governance, development, participatory and inclusive decision making. This will facilitate receiving and disseminating of information between chiefs and their elders as well as members of their communities.

### **5.3.4 Political Interference**

There should be no political interference in chieftaincy affairs. There should be clear distinction between developmental issues and chieftaincy matters. The nomination, selection, and enstoolment, enskinment or installation of a



chief must be done based on customary laws and not on political merit or political affiliation.

### **5.3.5 Documentation of Royal Gates**

The regional house of chiefs should be tasked to compile and collate all the royal gates of every village, town and cities as well as their successors through research. This is to curb intruders: that is, people who are not members of the royal family but who by virtue of their wealth or political affiliation want to over throw or violate the traditional order. This will eventually reduce and eradicate the current spate of chieftaincy disputes.

### **5.4 CONCLUSION**

In effect, if the above recommendations are put into practice by the National House of Chiefs, Regional House of Chiefs and the Ministry of Culture and Chieftaincy Affairs, the numerous challenges confronting the institution of chieftaincy to a large extent will be reduced and some eradicated.



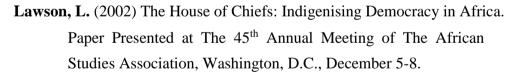
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### APPENDIX I.

### UNIVERSITY FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

### SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES WA-CAMPUS

### FACULTY OF PLANNING AND LAND MANAGEMENT.

### STUDY TITLE:

THE CHIEFTAINCY INSTITUTION AS AN AGENT OF DEVELOPMENT AMONG THE DAGAABA IN THE UPPER WEST REGION: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS.

REGION: UPPER WEST

DISTRICT: NADOWLI

DATE OF INTERVIEW: DAY MONTH YEAR

15TH AUGUST 2009

DATE ENDED: 22TH AUGUST, 2009.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE.

This survey seeks to obtain information on the challenges and prospects of the Chieftaincy Institution in the Upper West Region of Ghana.

Whilst the study is an academic exercise, the findings may propose measures to help the Ministry of Chieftaincy Affairs, the National House of Chiefs, the Regional House of Chiefs as well as the traditional councils to improve on the efficiency of the chieftaincy institution and help make the chieftaincy institution

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more sustainable and beneficial to chiefs in general. Also, some relevant recommendations will be made to the Ministry of Chieftaincy Affairs and Culture in the design of a control programme to make chiefs operate effectively. Not only would your responses be vital in obtaining relevant data for the study, but also, the responses would be treated as confidential.

Thank you for your co-operation.

2.

### A. RESPONDENTS'PERSONAL INFORMATION.

1.	COMMUNITY	
2.	What qualification do you hold? (Ple	ease tick one below
	Middle school leaving certificate	
	JHS certificate	
	SHS certificate	
	Ordinary level certificate	
	Advance level certificate	
	First Degree	
	Second Degree	
	PhD	
	None	



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3. What is your age? Please tick one below.

4.

Please tick one.

20 (	or young	ger	
21	-	24	
25	-	29	
30	-	34	
35	-	39	
40	-	44	
45	-	49	
50	-	54	
55	-	59	
60	and a	bove	
Sex	Male [		Female ☐ Please tick one.
Marit	al status	s: Single	e □ Married □ Please tick one.



# 2 CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF THE CHIEFTAINCY INSTITUTION.

Vhat are t	the challenges faced by the chieftaincy institution?
i.	
ii.	
iii.	
iv.	
v.	
2. Wha	t are the prospects of the chieftaincy institution?
ii.	
iii.	
iv.	

### 3. THE ROLE (S) OF CHIEFS.

1. W	hat are the roles of c	chiefs among the Dagaaba?
i.		
ii.		
A. 3		enterona is developerent in the control
iii	· ene u parlina un	
iv	Supres.	
v.		
2. Are	e chiefs really perfor reason (s).	ming their roles? Yes or No. Give your
3 Chie	efs have knowledge	in relation to development.
). Cili	ors nave knowledge	
A	. Agree	unione de la companya
В	s. Strongly agree	
C	. Disagree	

4. The roles of chiefs are trend of political dis		opment in the current
A. Agree		
B. Strongly agree		
C. Disagree		
D. Strongly disagree		
In each case give your	reason(s).	

- 3. Are chiefs actually performing their roles effectively in their communities?
- 4. What is the level of knowledge of chiefs in relation to development in your community?
- 5. Are the roles of chiefs relevant to development in this current trend of political dispensation?
- 6.Is there healthy relationship between chiefs and politicians? Thank you.



