

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES AND GOVERNANCE: A CASE STUDY OF
KOMENDA TRADITIONAL AREA

BY

FIIFI EDU-AFFUL

THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES,
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR AWARD OF
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

MAY, 2010

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

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

Candidate's Signature..... Date.....

Name: Fiifi Edu- Aful

Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Principal Supervisor's Signature..... Date.....

Name: Prof. S. B. Kendie

Co-Supervisor's Signature..... Date.....

Name: Mr. K. A. Tuffuor

ABSTRACT

Despite the obvious differences between the formal government system and the traditional system of governance, there is the growing awareness that good governance at the local level can only be achieved when traditional rulers are incorporated into the formal system of governance. This study examines the predominant traditional authority systems in the Komenda Traditional Area in Ghana.

The study sets out to assess the roles and relevance of these traditional authorities in relation to the formal government system. Data used for analysis was obtained through qualitative methods like interviews and focus group discussions. The sampling procedure was generally purposive for traditional authorities and assembly persons, while simple random sampling was employed for heads of households. The research design was partly descriptive, explorative and cross-sectional.

The study found that traditional authorities play several roles at the local level. These roles were identified as settling disputes and managing conflict, soliciting and initiating development projects as well as mobilising people for development. The study also found out that traditional authorities are still relevant in local governance. The study recommends the involvement of chiefs in the planning, implementation and execution of projects in their various communities as a way of integrating the chieftaincy institution into the formal governance system to enhance development.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge with sincere gratitude my indebtedness to all who have directly or indirectly contributed to the success of this thesis. First and foremost, my gratitude goes to Professor S. B. Kendie, the principal supervisor, for his patience, exquisite guidance and supervision throughout the study. Special thanks also go to the co-supervisor, Mr. K. A. Tuffuor, for his supervision and constructive suggestions.

I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to the chiefs and people of Komenda Traditional Area, staff of the KEEA Municipal Assembly and all research assistants who contributed greatly to the success of the study.

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to all senior members of the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) who offered constructive criticism and encouragement to make this work a success. I also want to thank Maurice Kukuri, Anita Mensah, Araba Baiden and all my course mates.

My heart felt thanks to my Mum and the whole family for their care, love and support and to Daa, Mr. W. Sam Awortwi, for taking me as his own. To my wife, I say thank you for your encouragement, thoughtfulness and understanding.

I cannot bring this acknowledgement to an end without expressing my sincere thanks to my mentors, Professor Haruna Yakubu, Professor Dennis Canterbury and Mr. Yebo-Okrah, for all their support. I am most grateful, and may God bless you all.

DEDICATION

To my mother (Dr. Dora Edu-Buandoh), my wife (Nana Afua) and my daughter (Maame Araba).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| Content | Page |
|---|------|
| DECLARATION | ii |
| ABSTRACT | iii |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | iv |
| DEDICATION | v |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS | vi |
| LIST OF TABLES | vii |
| LIST OF FIGURES | viii |
| LIST OF ACRONYMS | ix |
| | |
| CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION | |
| Background to the study | 1 |
| Problem statement | 11 |
| Objectives of the study | 13 |
| Research questions | 13 |
| Scope of the study | 14 |
| Significance of the study | 14 |
| Organisation of the study | 15 |
| | |
| CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE | |
| Introduction | 16 |
| Meaning of development | 16 |

| | |
|--|----|
| The meaning of governance | 19 |
| Traditional authorities | 33 |
| Traditional authorities and local governance | 35 |
| The chieftaincy institution | 38 |
| The role of chiefs in local government | 44 |
| Theoretical framework | 47 |
| Conceptual framework | 52 |

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

| | |
|-------------------------------|----|
| Introduction | 61 |
| Study area | 61 |
| Research design | 66 |
| Study population and sampling | 67 |
| Sources of data | 71 |
| Data collection instruments | 72 |
| Pre-test | 74 |
| Data processing and analysis | 75 |
| Issues from the field | 75 |

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

| | |
|--|----|
| Introduction | 77 |
| Demographic characteristics of respondents | 77 |
| Description of traditional authorities in the Komenda Traditional Area | 84 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| The structure of the traditional council | 87 |
| The status of a chiefs in local governance | 89 |
| The status of queens in local governance | 90 |
| The status of clan heads in local governance | 91 |
| The status of asafo companies in local governance | 93 |
| The status of akomfo in local governance | 96 |
| Roles of chiefs | 98 |
| Chieftaincy institutions and local level governance | 102 |
| | |
| CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS | |
| Introduction | 117 |
| Summary of findings | 118 |
| Conclusions and policy implications | 121 |
| Recommendations | 123 |
| | |
| REFERENCES | 125 |
| | |
| APPENDICES | |
| Appendix A: Questionnaire | 139 |
| Appendix B: Interview guide | 147 |
| Appendix C: Focus group discussion guide | 150 |

LIST OF TABLES

| Table | Page |
|--|------|
| 1: Distribution of heads of households | 69 |
| 2: The samples and data collection methods | 71 |
| 3: Category of participants, total number and number of groups formed | 72 |
| 4: Sex of respondents | 79 |
| 5: Marital status of respondents | 81 |
| 6: Educational attainment of respondents | 82 |
| 7: Occupation of respondents | 83 |
| 8: Position and responsibility of Komenda Traditional Council | 88 |
| 9: Relevance of chiefs to local governance | 90 |
| 10: The seven clans and their totem | 92 |
| 11: Relevance of clan heads to local governance | 93 |
| 12: Relevance of Asafo heads to local governance | 95 |
| 13: Roles of chiefs | 101 |
| 14: Reasons why traditional authorities should be incorporated into local governance | 114 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| Figure | Page |
|---|------|
| 1: The new local government system | 29 |
| 2: Determining factors for sustainable local level development | 53 |
| 3: Local determinants of sustainable development | 55 |
| 4: Map of Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abrem Municipality | 62 |
| 5: Age of respondents | 80 |
| 6: Religious affiliation of respondents | 84 |
| 7: Authority structure of Komenda Traditional State | 86 |
| 8: Relevance of queens to local governance | 91 |
| 9: Relevance of Akomfo to local governance | 97 |
| 10: Chieftaincy institution and local level governance | 105 |
| 11: Relationship between traditional authorities and local government agencies | 107 |
| 12: Existence of conflicts between traditional authorities and local government officials | 109 |
| 13: Representation of chiefs at the municipal assembly | 110 |
| 14: Integration of chiefs into local governance | 112 |

LIST OF ACRONYMS

| | |
|-------|--|
| AAG | ActionAid Ghana |
| CDD | Center for Democratic Development |
| ECA | Economic Commission for Africa |
| FGDs | Focus Group Discussions |
| IDEG | Institute for Democratic Governance |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| INGOs | International Non Governmental Organisations |
| JHS | Junior High School |
| KEEA | Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abrem |
| MLGRD | Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development |
| NDPC | National Development Planning Commission |
| SHS | Senior High School |
| WCED | World Commission on Environment and Development |
| WTO | World Trade Organisation |

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the study

Traditional authorities occupy an important place in African life, and historically, in the body politic of Ghana. These authorities embody the preservation of culture, traditions, customs and values of the African people, while also representing the early forms of societal organisation and governance. Although traditional authorities represent earlier forms of governance, they have also been found in contemporary democracies. The existence of traditional authorities in Ghanaian societies predates colonial periods in the form of chiefs, queens, soothsayers, youth leaders and leaders of various age-sects. Even though colonialism found chiefs in particular to be opponents of reforms, they were used to execute the indirect policy in circumstances such as ensuring law and order (Kendie, Enu-Kwesi and Guri, 2008).

The framers of the 1992 constitution of the Republic of Ghana, knowing the importance of traditional authorities, enshrined the independence of the chieftaincy institution and its allied divisions (Ayee, 2006). The Chieftaincy Act of 2008, Act 759, which is in conformity with the 1992 constitution, makes provisions for chieftaincy processes and procedures to guide the institution. In Ghana, the traditional authority system has been treated as being synonymous to

chiefs and queens. However, in this study, the institution of traditional authorities is defined to include, in addition to umbrella chieftaincy entities, structures such as family/lineage/clan heads, Asafo/youth leaders, traditional priests and priestesses (Guri, 2006).

The Ghanaian society has been characterized by fragmentation of various aspects of the social, economic, and political, including the society's institutions of governance. Large segments of the population, particularly those in the rural areas, continue to adhere principally to traditional authorities. The post-colonial state, on the other hand, emulates Western institutions of governance, which are often at odds with traditional African cultural values and the Ghanaian contemporary socio-economic realities. Fragmentation of the institutions of governance, along with economic and social fragmentation, has contributed to Ghana's crisis of state-building, governance, and development.

Despite the modest progress, the post-colonial State has been unable to establish rights-based political and economic systems of governance that would facilitate the consolidation of state-building and promotion of development (Dzorbgo, 1998). To a large extent, this deficiency has been due to the detachment of the state from the institutional and cultural values of its communities. There is no universally acceptable approach for dealing with the accommodation of traditional authorities within established democracies because the manner in which traditional authorities have been studied in the literature has varied from country to country. The persistence of traditional authority as a parallel system of governance, which provides some level of refuge for the rural

population, often alienated by the State, is also another indication of the failure of the post-colonial State.

In recent years, controversy has raged over the role of the chieftaincy institution in the governance process in Ghana. This controversy has been fuelled by the promulgation of the 1992 Constitution which limits the integration of the chieftaincy institution into the governance system of the country. In pre-colonial times, traditional authorities in Ghana were entirely responsible for governance, and chiefs played a crucial and leading role in most communities in Africa. It is an established fact that traditional leadership has been the basis of local government administration in most of Africa throughout history (Rugege, 2003).

According to Kendie and Guri (2004), traditional authorities formed the leadership structures within the community, and their functional role ensured compliance with rules, norms and beliefs on the part of the populace. The advent of colonial rule introduced Western forms of governance that, with their accompanying political and administrative structures, dominate at the national and regional levels in most African countries. Historically, the institution of traditional leadership has performed various governance functions, most especially, at the community level.

Traditional leadership emanates from customs, and generally carries out customary functions. However, it may complement the role of government in rural areas; therefore, there cannot be contestation of authority between the institutions of traditional leadership and the formal government institutions. The interaction between traditional and formal government institutions leads to

efficient governance since both parties learn from each other; while traditional authorities learn more about democracy, rule of law, human rights and civil liberties, government officials learn about the people and their customs.

The concept of governance as explained by the neoliberal perspective is the exercise of the political, economic and administrative authority at all levels in the management of the affairs of a country; a basic principle considered as a crucial requirement for the onward pursuit of development, especially in developing countries (UNDP, 2005). Governance is perceived to operate through a host of formal and informal, state and non-state, national and transnational practices. This theorising is closely related to emerging neo-liberal practices, where market mechanisms and civil society have assumed important roles in the governance of society.

Kokor (2001) outlines two approaches to the issue of governance in development: governance for development and governance of development. Governance for development focuses on the political and institutional preconditions for development. These regime preconditions can be understood as a set of arrangements underlying and reinforcing the work of government. Such arrangements are viewed as the basis for a country's development. For example, when people talk about creating the enabling environment for development they are indeed referring to the governance infrastructure. On the other hand, governance of development examines how the institutions operate the governance structures put in place to carry out the process of development.

Development is a term in current usage, but one with several meanings, even among those who use it. Several important frameworks of thought have been debated in the past decades of thinking in development theory. Neo-liberal development theory, now described as the “Washington Consensus,” reflects the wisdom of neo-classical economic and political theory. This approach to development posits that modern economic development requires free markets, effective systems of law, and highly limited powers of government (Lal, 1985). Neo-liberal structural adjustment reforms in the 1980s, enforced through the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank policies, pushed Third-world governments towards harsh domestic reforms. The reforms included liberalisation of trade practices, currency devaluation, reduction of programmes aimed at the poor, and elimination of subsidies for rural development. Critics have argued that these structural adjustment policies have had the effect of further impoverishing the poorest of many developing societies (Rodrik, 1997). Critical of the neo-liberal consensus is an influential group of development theorists like the Marxists and the Neoclassicals (Lal, 1985). They emphasize the centrality of human well-being in development theorising and the crucial role that public policies and expenditures play in successful efforts to improve the well-being of the poor.

Irrespective of the definition one subscribes to, it is evidently clear that development is intended to be people-centered; it must create the environment for people to act in their own interest, and give people the ability to participate fully in the process of setting up their own development agenda and pursuing them.

Durning (1989) has stated that real development comes about when individuals and societies build their capacities to meet their own needs and improve the quality of their lives. Thus, development at the local level can only be sustainable when the institutions charged with delivering development are themselves capable of carrying out their functions.

Like other development approaches, sustainable development, defined as development that meets the needs of current generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs and aspirations, calls for a strategy that links the environment with development (WCED, 1987). The Brundtlands report of 1987 established the global environment problem as a result of enormous poverty of the south and the non-sustainable pattern of consumption and production in the north. The characteristics of sustainable development present challenges that go beyond the need to promote sound practices of environmental and resource management. As a policy objective, the promotion of sustainable development requires the governance of change; in particular, changes in both production patterns and consumption levels. From a global perspective, promoting sustainable development requires consumption reductions in high consumption societies in order to make way for ecologically legitimate development in the developing countries (Baker, 2006).

Conventionally, development models tend to be based on the introduction of externally developed innovations to local communities. On the other hand, decades of development rhetoric and commercial influences have created a firm association in many quarters that development implies the use of western-style,

alternatives and that the possibilities for building local leadership and resources are limited (Swiderska, 2007). Endogenous development in contrast aims at local control and decision making as a way of moving the local communities forward. Endogenous development acknowledges the importance of the linkages between the regional, national and international processes and the necessity of looking for some level of synergy and partnership rather than dependency, exploitation, homogenisation and external control (Rist, 2007). The central perspective of endogenous development is to allow a development that is owned and managed by communities based on their own resources, values, strategies and initiatives since that is the only way it could be sustainable (Swiderska, 2007).

Decentralisation has become a core issue in development discourse since it provides the medium for effective participation of the rural sector in the governance process. It involves the delegation of authority for the operation of public functions from the general government or its agencies to the lower levels (Rondinelli, 1981). Decentralisation is seen as a key element for the process of attaining democracy, and particularly in the search for a more participatory approach to the development process. It is believed that the growth of democracy is enhanced when national governments devolve political power to the local levels. As argued by Bofo-Arthur and Amponsah (2003), the goal of deepening and sustaining democracy in Ghana is inextricably related to the levels of political participation and inclusion at the local level.

The emphasis on development through people's participation in recent years is another experiment in solving rural problems without fundamental

changes in the existing structures. The 1992 constitution makes provisions that admonish the state to make democracy a reality by decentralising the administrative and financial machinery of government to regions and districts by affording all possible opportunities to the people to participate in decision-making at every level in natural life and in government.

The philosophy of people-based development from below assumes that participation is not only an end in itself, but also a fundamental precondition and a tool for any successful development process (Oakley, 1991). Development is principally considered to be about culture and institutions are the important components that enforce cultural rules, norms and values (Arendonk and Arendonk, 1988). Culture is that whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual, and emotional features that characterise a society or social group. It includes not only arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs (Awedoba, 2007). It is evident that culture has steadily, but gradually, made inroads into the governance process and it is serving as the entering point for achieving sustainable development.

In addition to development, modernisation has also become a key concept in contemporary development discourse due to the transformation of the developed countries from a predominantly agrarian and traditional society into an industrial and a complex one. Modernisation, according to Rostow (1960), refers to the stages of economic growth that provided a dual society made up of 'traditional' and 'modern' and sought to demonstrate that there is a unilinear path

to development that all societies must follow if they want to move from the developing country status (Dzorgbo, 1998).

Modernisation theories therefore argue for the transfer of development experiences into developing countries. Western countries recommend modernisation as the imitation of the western experience which they believe would produce successful societies in the current developing countries. However, Lerner's (1964) account of modernisation is different from the simple model of two societies. Although modernisation theory is supposed to outline how society develops, there is virtually no explanation offered for this process. Although as societies develop, the traditional world gets squeezed out by the forces of modern values and attitudes. The concept of development, and the advent of modernity, does not necessarily mean that traditions, values and belief systems must be abandoned.

It is believed that meaningful development can only be achieved when traditional authorities work in partnership with the government institutions, especially at the local level where traditional leadership is deeply rooted and state agencies are seen only as axis for development. This is evident in the study conducted by Center for Indigenous Knowledge and Organisational Development (CIKOD) and the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) and reported by the Daily Graphic of Saturday the 14th June 2008. In the study, 67 percent of respondents who represented selected communities in the Central and Brong Ahafo regions said chiefs who are principal actors in the traditional authority system were relevant to their lives, as against 57 percent that stated that District

Chief Executives who are viewed as the principal actors of modern day governance at the local level were relevant to their lives (Kendie et al, 2008).

There is empirical evidence to suggest that in Ghana at least 90% of Ghanaians (both rural and urban) believe in, and depend on the traditional authority system for organising their lives (Kendie et al, 2008). Traditional rulers and politicians alike are stakeholders when it comes to the issue of good governance. As Bengdall (1988) argues, development effort can only be sustained over the long haul if strong indigenous institutions are in place. There is therefore the need to study how governance in Ghana can be broadened to include the management and interaction between the state and the principal leaders of traditional institutions.

The ultimate concern of governance is to create the conditions for ordered rule and collective action; it is however, central to achieving political stability even though such a capacity has remained a challenge to Ghana. Ghana's local governance is carried out through the District Assemblies, Area Councils and Unit Committees who make up the decision-making bodies to which the people can elect representatives. Being the lowest level of authority for planning and development, the District Assemblies are expected to engage the people in constant dialogue so as to determine the development goals as enshrined in the 1992 Constitution as well as the Local Government Act 492 of 1993 (AAG, 2002).

Good governance has become an issue of conditionality in promoting accountable and effective governance in aid-recipient countries. Good governance

encompasses respect for, and enforcement of human rights and rule of law, the principles of participation, empowerment, transparency, accountability, the healthy interaction between the state and the civil society and effective management of public resources (UNDP, 1997). The institution of chieftaincy has an immense role to play in the search for good governance in Ghana. Not only are chiefs required by the Constitution to advise government on matters relating to chieftaincy, they are also required to modernise the outmoded customs as well as adjudicate on matters bordering on chieftaincy dispute. The tenets of good governance recognise the important roles played by traditional authorities in attaining this pursuit.

Problem statement

Chieftaincy as a traditional form of political authority in local government administration in Ghana predates colonial rule. The position that Ghana's traditional rulers occupy and play in local governance has been the subject of debate in recent years. Traditional rule represents the indigenous and authentic African form of governance, because it has been with the people throughout history.

The quest for authority between the chieftaincy institution and the political structures of modern governments has not only deprived traditional leadership of its authority but also set in motion a new society whose structures and norms of leadership continue to challenge the authority, status and functions of traditional political leadership. The contest with the formal governmental

system symbolised by the political authority of the central government and its representative structures in the regions and the districts pose the greatest challenge to the political authority of chieftaincy. Whereas the central government has usurped the political authority of chieftaincy and deprived it of its economic resources, it continues to demand from chiefs, roles and functions which chieftaincy in its present state cannot perform because it has neither the political authority nor the economic means (Akropong, 2006).

Not much work has been done concerning the relationship that exists between the traditional authorities and the state institutions in regarding decision-making on development matters since the inception of the New Local Government System in 1988 (Guri, 2006). Traditional authorities have been voicing their discontent at the way they have been neglected by the district assemblies and the state in decision making, especially, at the local level (Crook, 2005). The diminishing authority and resources of chiefs caused by the activities of central government and its local agents and bodies have not made it possible for the chiefs to respond to the demands of the people.

The demands on chiefs to play leadership roles in development by their people in spite of their diminishing authority and resources shows that the prestige and legitimacy of chiefs are deeply engrained in the consciousness of the people. And for many ordinary Ghanaians, Chiefs are their pre-eminent political leaders whom they will rationally turn for help and intervention in situations of need (Akropong, 2006). The increasing erosion of the role of traditional authorities by the

state and the tensions that this has created between these two established institutions presents a situation that this study seeks to examine.

Objectives of the study

The general objective of the study is to examine the role traditional authorities, particularly chiefs, play and can play in the governance process in the Komenda Traditional Area. The specific objectives of the study are to:

- Assess the roles and relevance of traditional authorities especially the chiefs in attaining good governance and sustainable development.
- Examine the nature of the relationship between traditional authorities and local government agencies.
- Assess how traditional authorities, particularly chiefs, could be integrated into the formal local government system.
- Make recommendations on how traditional authorities, particularly chieftaincy, can be integrated into the governance process.

Research questions

The following research questions informed the study

- How relevant are traditional authorities to local governance?
- What are the roles of traditional authorities/chiefs in attaining good governance and sustainable development?
- What is the nature of the relationship between traditional authorities and local government agencies?

- How can traditional authorities particularly chiefs be integrated into the formal local government process?

Scope of the study

The study focuses on assessing the duality of governance as pertains to the traditional system and the formal local government system in the Komenda Traditional Area. The duality certainly has its disadvantages such as confusion of who has the legitimate source of authority in the community. However, this study examines the extent that this duality helps in advancing the realisation of the developmental objectives of the local inhabitants.

The study covered nine divisional areas occupying key positions in terms of governance in the traditional area, as well as staff of the KEEA Municipal Assembly who by their position are responsible for administering the whole district. The study discusses how both traditional authorities and formal local government systems can coexist to bring about sustainable development.

Significance of the study

The purpose of the study is to examine the increasing erosion of the importance of traditional authorities, particularly chieftaincy, by state structures; propose a defined role for chiefs in the decentralisation process; and find out how best traditional authorities can be positioned to contribute meaningfully to improve governance and development in Ghana. The complaints of traditional authorities of neglect by the District Assemblies and state agencies in

development and governance matters at all levels in all major forums set the agenda for this study. At present, the Komenda Traditional Area has seen little development perhaps as a result of lack of understanding between the roles of traditional authorities, particularly the chiefs and the local government agencies.

This study will provide the in-depth information that would be useful to the local government and traditional authorities in their bid to bring the two institutions together to work towards the needed development of the area and other traditional areas. Komenda Traditional Area was selected because such a study has never been done in the traditional area even though similar studies have been conducted in other traditional areas within the municipality.

Organisation of the study

This study is organised into five chapters. Chapter One is made up of the introductory overview of the whole study. This includes background to the study, problem statement, objectives of the study, research questions and the relevance of the study. Chapter Two reviews literature related to the study. The theoretical and conceptual issues bordering on development, local governance, good governance and traditional authorities are discussed. Chapter Three entails the research methodology, which includes a description of the study area, target population, sampling procedures, data collection techniques, data analysis and limitations of the study. Chapter Four presents the results of the study. Chapter Five provides the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter examines theories, perspectives, conceptions and models on development, endogenous development, good governance, traditional authorities and local governance. It ends with a discussion of the synergy model of traditional authorities and formal government that will be suitable for the study.

Meaning of development

The concept of development has been a dominant feature of world economic, social and political life over the past decade. However, there have been several disagreements over how the concept should be defined and pursued. Development can be considered as a change process characterised by increased productivity, equalisation in the distribution of social product and the emergence of indigenous institutions where relations with the outside world are characterised by equality rather than dependence (Burkey, 1993).

Development as a term, more often than not, has been used exclusively in economic sense with the justification that the economy in itself is an index of social features (Rodney, 1972). Whereas all societies have experienced some level of development, it is clear that the rate of development differs from one country to

the other, and that there is no universal path to development. Every society must find its own strategy in the quest to achieve development (Burkey, 1993). In order to determine whether the society is developing, one must go beyond the criteria based on indices of per capita income as well as those which concentrate on the study of gross income. The basic elementary criterion should be whether or not the society is 'a being for itself'; that is whether it's political, economic and cultural decision making powers are located within (Freire, 1972).

According to Dube (1988), third world development process has undergone at least three phases namely imitative, reactive and experimental. Even though they overlap at certain points they do not necessarily represent a linear progression. In the imitative phase, western ideas and models were adopted wholesale without looking at the peculiarity of the individual countries that were going to use them. The reactive phase was more of the projection of African socialism, basic democracy and the Indian path of development. The experimental phase had to do with trying many different development strategies such as import substitution, export promotion, industrialisation, poverty eradication, population control and employment generation. In all of these, developing countries are still searching for a more viable, organically linked and comprehensive strategy of development.

Ghana's post independence development process has been a chequered one since the country has lacked a clearly defined development goal and strategy that is acceptable to all, and one that provides a framework for public policy. In the words of Dzorgbo (1998), Ghana's development process has become

something like a 'social philosophy' dealing with what 'ought to be' rather than 'what is' the reality.

Governments over the years have pursued different and often conflicting development ideologies ranging from socialism, capitalism, revolutionary popularism, neoliberalism, structural adjustment programs and more recently highly indebted poor country (HIPC) initiative (Dzorgbo, 1998). All these development ideologies are geared toward achieving social change. However, social change on the other hand is seen to include the erosion, perhaps destruction, of existing social structures and human relations (Van Nieuwenhuijze, 1982). The question is whether it is possible to pursue a development agenda within a social change without destroying the social structure. Endogenous theorists like Millar, Kendie, Apusiga and Haverkort (2006) believe that the shape of development paradigm in the coming years must focus on depending less on resources from outside.

Endogenous development

Development that is seen as an endogenous process of social change springs from cultural roots deep down inside each society (Swiderskar, 2007). Endogenous development is therefore defined to encompass development based on people's own resources, strategies and initiatives (Rist, 2007). This type of development requires a move away from the often prevailing notion that for true development to occur, innovations need to come from outside. It thrives on the

fact that local people, with their own resources, values, knowledge and organisation could drive local development.

In as much as conventional development seeks primarily to achieve economic growth, endogenous development addresses the wellbeing of the marginalised people in many cultures of the world by not just looking at income, but also at social cohesion, natural resources and good relations with traditional authorities that seek to promote their welfare. The key criterion for endogenous development is that it is locally determined, it tends to lead to higher levels of retained benefits within the local economies, and it can also revitalise dynamism to local resources and institutions which might otherwise be ignored or dismissed as being of little value (Rist, 2007). To achieve development goals, therefore, issues of cultural embeddedness, participation of the people and accountability of resource use are essential and these have to do with good governance.

The meaning of governance

Governance as a concept was proposed by the World Bank in the 1989 report entitled “Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crises to Sustainable Growth”. The World Bank’s interest in governance was derived from its concern about the sustainability of the projects and programs it sponsored. In the Bank’s view, sustainable development can only occur if there exists a transparent and predictable framework of rules and institutions for the conduct of private and public business.

The World Bank (1989:60) defines governance as “a manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resource for development”. The African Development Bank (1993), in defining governance, identifies three notions of governance at various levels of government. These three levels include Macro governance which is governance at the national level; Meso governance which is governance at the middle level and Micro governance which is governance at the lowest or grassroots level. However, Fitzgerald, McLennan and Munslow (1997) see governance as a process of listening and working with public resources and responding to the needs, aspirations and the expectation of individual citizens, interest groups and the society as a whole. It is deduced from the above definition that governance must be a bottom-up, decision making and participation process that is undertaken at all levels of organisation, be it governmental or non-governmental.

However, the meaning of governance embraces not only efficient management, but also the quality of civic engagement in the processes and structures of governance. This engagement allows the various actors to link their potential together to deal with the development problems which hitherto would have been neglected. Canterbury and Tuffour (2008) explain that two modes of governance exist in developing countries with respect to the nature of the relationship between the actors and the rules that govern their actions. The first mode refers to the procedures and operating principles which are based on the state and the centralised management of public affairs. The second mode is the relationship between rulers and the ruled in the political setting which instigated

the emergence of modern state. The above seems to emphasise that governance is a shared process which is centered on the partnership between the rulers and the ruled in the management of a society's developmental needs.

Good governance

The concerns raised on the imposition of Western concept of governance and good governance by international development agencies on developing countries, and the inconsistencies in the achievement of the application of 'good governance' among developing countries bring the concept of governance and good governance into the centre of any development debate.

Good governance, a neo-liberal policy, has been identified globally as a crucial litmus test for the attainment of development, peace and security. It connotes a situation whereby citizens, state institutions and business enterprises work harmoniously within a framework of rule of law tasked with providing a better standard of living for all (AAG, 2002). The argument is that good governance should not only be seen as the organisation and activity of government, but also the ends to which activities of government are pursued in order to achieve higher levels of economic, human and institutional development which would benefit the population as a whole.

The main principles of good governance as identified by Sodaro (2001), UNDP (1997), and Canterbury and Tuffour (2008) include:

- The democratisation of the economic, socio-cultural and political spheres of society to make citizens the prime beneficiary of development.

- Accountability and transparency of elected public officials in the disposition of public resources.
- Protection of the fundamental human rights of the people; a society governed by the rule of law.
- The guaranteed existence of a strong and a vibrant civil society.
- Decentralisation of power, participation at all levels of society and the guaranteed empowerment of the less privileged.

Since the 1990s, good governance has become an issue of conditionality in promoting accountable and effective governance in aid-recipient countries. In its totality, good governance is an ideal which may be difficult to achieve; however, to ensure sustainable human development, actions must be taken to work toward this ideal to make it a reality. The reality is what Burkey (1993) meant when he said that development should be needs-oriented, geared towards meeting material and non-material human needs, endogenous, and stemming from the heart of each society. In effect if development is geared towards the needs of the people, then they will be motivated to participate in decision-making processes.

Governance in Ghana

Good governance in Ghana has come to mean almost anything directly or indirectly associated with the sustenance of democratic institutions. Good governance encompasses three major components: first is the form of political authority that exists in the country; second is the means through which authority is exercised in the management of economic and social resources; and third is the

ability of governments to discharge its functions effectively, efficiently and equitably through the design, formulation and implementation of sound policies (World Bank, 1992).

According to the World Bank (1992), six aspects of good governance are of particular importance: political accountability, freedom of association and participation, a fair and reliable judicial system, bureaucratic accountability, freedom of information and expression, and an effective and efficient public sector management.

Good governance in Ghana was promoted by the introduction of the decentralisation policy in 1988 which afforded the local people the opportunity to participate in the decision making processes that were important to them (Ghana, 1988). The 1992 Constitution is the foundation on which good governance is institutionalised in Ghana. The Constitution provides the guidelines for democratic governance, rule of law and the pursuit of transparency and accountability.

Decentralisation and participation

Decentralisation and participation have been recognised as key components in democratic governance since they provide the enabling environment in which decision making and service delivery could be brought close to the people. The power and authority relations had traditionally been centralised around traditional authorities before the onset of colonisation. Decentralisation as a concept was first introduced in Ghana's governance process

by the British colonial government in 1878 through the indirect rule system. It was instituted to provide the legal basis for the institutions of chieftaincy to carry out some limited local government functions (Agyeman-Duah, 2001). The process of decentralisation therefore seeks to empower local populations to take charge of their development as part of the integrated development agenda of the nation. It is in the light of this that the 1992 Fourth Republic Constitution has provided for Ghana a system of local government and administration which shall, as far as practicable, be decentralised.

Decentralisation from the local governance stance is analysed in terms of how it is applied and how the various structures and units operate at the district and sub-district levels to identify their strength, weakness, opportunity and threats (Kokor, 2001). According to Agyeman-Duah (2001), decentralisation as a process of economic and political empowerment thrives on two assumptions in its quest to achieve development. Firstly, development should be a bottom-up rather than a top-down approach. Second, there should be popular participation in the development process instead of decisions being taken at the center. The main thrust of the policy to decentralise the governance system in Ghana was to promote popular participation and ownership of machinery of government, by shifting the process of governance from the command to consultative processes, and by devolving power, competence and resources to the district level (Kokor and Kroes, 2000).

The aims of the decentralisation process are laudable but as argued by Brown and Brudney (1998) and Heeks (1999), decentralisation as a process does

not lead to equal and reciprocal partnerships between the state and its citizens. These authors maintain that the realisation of genuine partnership between central and local government is contingent on other variables such as the degree to which decision making authority is distributed among partners, the extent of resources available to them and the kind of commitment displayed by leaders of the partnership. Participation in development context includes people's involvement in decision-making processes, implementing programmes, sharing in the benefits of development programmes and their involvement in the effort to evaluate such programmes (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977).

The central issue for the search for development alternatives has been the fact that development had become capital-centered as opposed to people-centered. It has by-passed or even marginalised people in its concern to build and construct. Participation must rather be seen as harnessing the existing physical, economic, and social resources of people in order to achieve the objectives of development programmes and projects (Oakley, 1991).

Popular participation in decision making at the grassroots level is embedded in devolution, and by extension democracy. Bluhm (1965) does not share the view that popular participation is needed for development. He rather supports Plato, the ancient political philosopher, who was skeptical about popular participation because in his view it did not augur well for society. Plato contends that "society can be rescued from its formlessness, chaos and its necessity only by men who have seen and understood the form of the polis" (Bluhm, 1965:56). He identified three groups of people in the society namely the philosopher kings, the

military and the citizenry, and he prescribed that for the smooth and orderly administration of the state and for the common good, philosopher kings (the platonic guardians) must constitute the ruling body and take charge of running the state. Other critics who share Plato's view feel that universal unrestrained participation is neither possible nor desirable. They argue that by encouraging the involvement of people who are uninformed and uninterested in the decision making process, the losses might outweigh the gains (Sills, 1968).

However, in the judgement of Busia (1967), the best kind of democracy is the one that enables as many people as possible to share in the making of decisions and in the actual functions of government. Involving the masses in governance means empowering them in decision- making. Empowerment as a concept goes beyond the issue of participation. As has been suggested by Gajanayake (1993) empowerment is about people gaining the ability to understand situations so as to set their own agenda to change events. Empowerment does not only resonate on the ability to make decisions but also, it entails the ability to address the power imbalances that the relatively marginalised in societies are confronted with on a daily basis. Chambers (1997) and Kendie and Guri (2004) draw on the notion that empowerment can be weak and short-lived unless it is embodied in the institutions that exist in the society. These institutions ought to be contextualised and embedded in norms, rules and organisational units that have the capacity to ensure orderly living.

Local government structure

As Stigler's (1957) jurisdictional design states, the closer a representative government is to the people the better it works. Ghana's decentralisation objectives are geared towards improving resource allocation, utilisation, and management as well as integrating central and local government units' functions at the district assembly level. Also in meeting the basic needs, the local populations are encouraged to participate fully in programmes and activities, and above all extend effective political and economic decision-making to the local level. According to Kokor (2001), two main objectives underpin Ghana's local governance for development. These two are:

- Creating opportunities for the majority of rural Ghanaians in the village and towns in order for them to take part in collective decision making and gain access to political authority, and
- Promoting local development with the involvement of the people, as a special preoccupation to improve the living conditions in the country.

The importance of the institutional framework of local government administration in ensuring effective decentralisation in Ghana cannot be over emphasised. Ghana's decentralisation policy devolves central administrative and discretionary powers to the district level by merging government agencies in any region, district or locality into one administrative unit. This policy diverts the centre of implementation and assigns functions and responsibilities to the districts (MLGRD, 1996). Central government ministries/departments are tasked to undertake policy planning, monitoring and evaluation of programmes and policies

while Regional Co-ordinating Councils perform the important role of co-ordinating to ensure consistency, compatibility and coherence of district level development among the various Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (Mensah and Kendie, 2008).

The District Assembly (DA) is the basic unit of government as well as the statutory, deliberative and legislative body for the determination of broad policy objectives and critical assessment of development progress. The DAs consist of Metropolitan/Municipal/District Chief Executive, two-thirds of its members directly elected by universal adult suffrage, the Members of Parliament (MPs) representing constituencies within the district, and not less than 30% of the members appointed by the President in consultation with traditional authorities and interest groups in the district. The new local government system is made up of a Regional Coordinating Council and a four-tier Metropolitan and a three-tier Municipal/District Assemblies structure as shown in Fig .1.

The classification of this system into Metropolitan, Municipal and District is done according to the size of the population of the area, demographic characteristics and the ability of the area to generate revenue for development. Currently, for a population of over 250,000, an area would be classified as Metropolitan; Assemblies with populations of over 95,000 would be classified as Municipal, and Assemblies with population of 75,000 and over would be classified as districts (MLGRD, 1996).

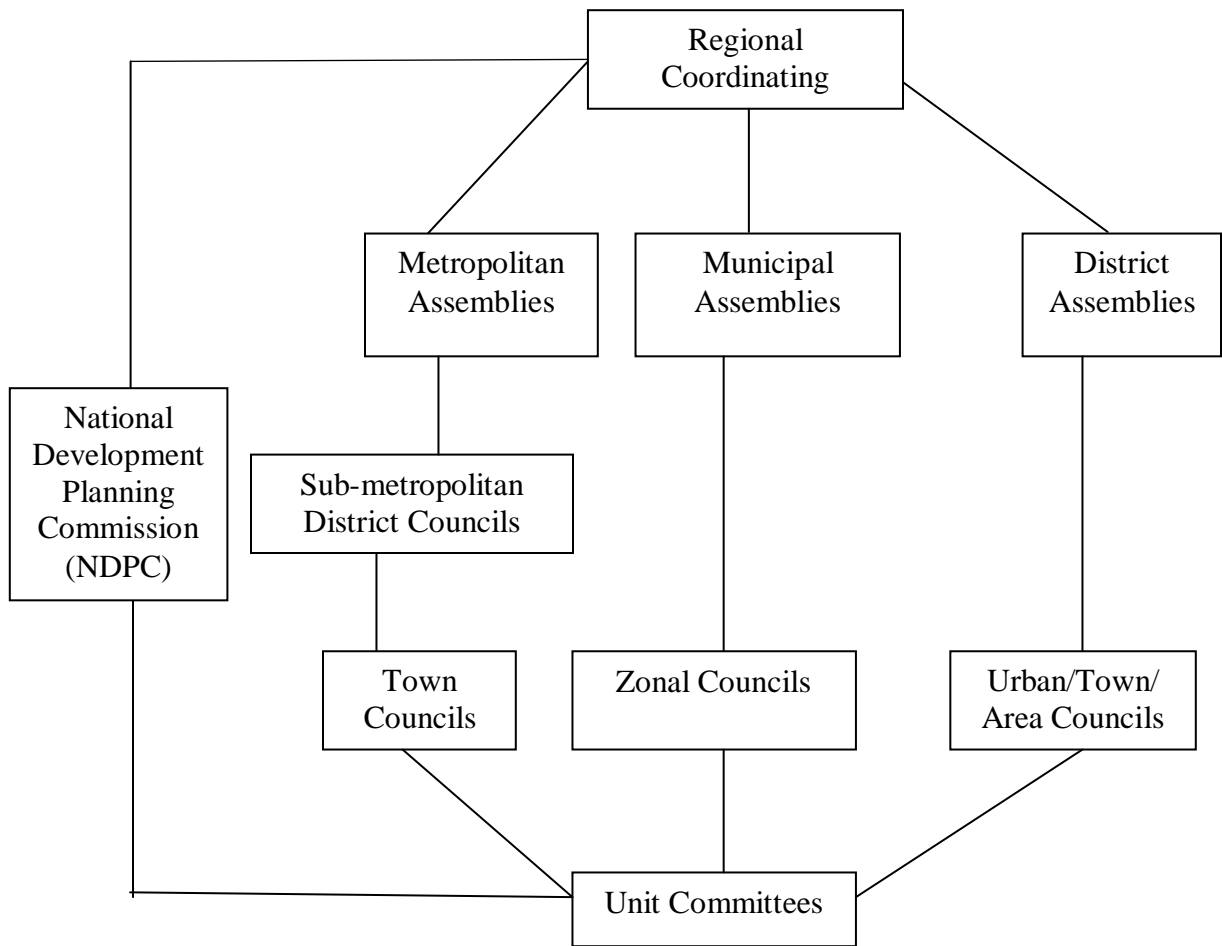


Figure 1: The New Local Government System

Source: Adapted from Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development

(1996)

The Regional Coordinating Council (RCC) serves as the primary link between the District Assemblies and the central level agencies and sector ministries in the decentralised political, public administration and development planning system. However, the RCCs have no direct executive or legislative authority over the DAs; rather they are tasked to:

- Co-ordinate, monitor and evaluate performance of district assemblies in the region.
- Monitor the use of funds allocated to the DAs by any agencies of the central government.
- Provide the district planning authorities with such information and data as is necessary to assist them in the formulation of district plans.
- Review and co-ordinate public services generally within the region. (MLGRD, 1996).

According to Mensah and Kendie (2008), the 1992 Constitution and the Local Government Act of 1993 outlines the broad functions of the DA as follows:

- Acting as the planning authority of the district;
- Making decisions on administrative and development policies in the district and acting as the basic unit of government administration
- Performing with deliberate, legislative and executive functions
- Bringing about integration of political, administration and development support needed to achieve a more equitable allocation of power, wealth and geographically dispersed development.

There seems to be a clear intent that the District Assemblies are to act as the principal authority, with overall responsibility for development activities, inclusive of coordinating and integrating those of other development actors. Although District Assemblies are supposed to be the lowest level of government with legislative, administrative and formal planning powers, their geographical areas of responsibility are still too large. However, sub-district structures such as

the unit committees, town/zonal/urban and area councils are highly decentralised bodies that act as implementing agencies for the DAs, performing administrative functions such as revenue collection, the registration of births and deaths, public education campaigns and the organisation of communal labour for local projects. In the words of Ayee (2000:17) the role of these sub-district structures is to serve as a “rallying point of local enthusiasm in support of the development objectives of the DAs”, and essentially, they are implementing agencies of the DAs.

Further, it is recognised that local self-help projects have been stimulated by the DA system, often in collaboration with national and international Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs), for example, the construction of clinics, schools, water resource projects and small scale industries. Nkrumah (2000:64) suggests that these “NGO activities have expanded both in scope and intensity” under decentralisation. However, the increased operation of NGOs at the grassroots level, as noted by Nkrumah, could be due to the withdrawal of the state, both at the central and local levels, from the provision of certain facilities as has been encouraged by neoliberal donor-driven agenda, coupled with the increased availability of donor funding for these NGOs.

The structures of governance and participation at the local level as has been captured in the local government Act 462 of 1993 provides the legal backing for the establishment of 16 Departments under the Metropolitan Assemblies, 13 Departments under the Municipal Assemblies, and 11 Departments under the District Assemblies to serve as the technical wings of the DAs (Mensah and Kendie, 2008). The National Development Planning Commission (NDPC), on the

other hand, is tasked to provide guidance and assistance to DAs in producing district development plans, and also to ensure that district and regional decentralised development plans conform to the overall national plan. The sub district authorities on the other hand must prepare a sub district plan to feed into the national plan. This they must do through public hearing; the unit committee areas provide the lowest possible level at which all persons within Ghana can play a part in the national development planning process. The Act establishing the NDPC Act 479 summarises the functions and roles of the NDPC to include (Republic of Ghana, 1994).

- Issuing guidance for the preparation of development plans by regional coordinating council, district assemblies, and sector agencies and ministries.
- Assisting DA's in the preparation of their development plans.
- Regulating decentralised development planning system and advising central government on related issues.

The institutional framework for local governance (Fig.1) provides an effective structure to actualise decentralisation and bring on board traditional authorities into governance. Despite the representation of chiefs on the Regional Co-ordinating Councils, the same cannot be said about the district level where they appear to be accorded a mere consultative status. The whole fabric of Ghanaian society is based on traditional leadership; therefore it would not be out of place for traditional authorities to feel sidelined, coming from a tradition where they have been extensively involved in the governance systems.

Traditional authorities

Weber (1964) addresses the issue of legitimacy of governments by identifying three types of authority, namely charismatic, traditional and rational authority. He defines traditional authority as authority based on everyday belief in the sacred traditions in force since time immemorial and the legitimacy of those who are called to govern by the said traditions. Traditional authorities, according to Kendie, Ghartey, and Guri (2004), are vested in the chieftaincy institution tasked to exercise spiritual power and provide secular leadership. However, the pattern of traditional authority varies from community to community.

The word “tradition” itself is defined by Fleishchaker (1994: 45) as a “set of customs passed down over generations, and a set of beliefs and values endorsing those customs”. However, norms, values and beliefs are not enough to determine the role traditional authorities play. The roles played by traditional authorities are sensitive, especially when it comes to the relationship between traditional and modern structures and powers of governments. Millar and Bonye (2005) argue that traditional authorities are indispensable in the governance process and it is almost impossible to achieve sustainable development without situating development plans in the culture of the people which is built on the institutions, the rules, the norms and the life pattern of the society. Most often than not, traditional authorities in Ghana have been treated as if the concept is synonymous with the institution of chieftaincy. However, Kendie et al (2008) contend that traditional authority system in Akan-speaking areas comprise the

institution of chiefs, queens, clan heads, elders, youth leaders, traditional priest and priestesses.

Democracy and Akan traditional systems

Democratic governance in the Akan context must be viewed against the background of indigenous political rule and power as manifested in our traditional system of governance. The indigenous African system of governance as depicted by the Akan system had a tradition of participatory democracy and government by consensus (Ayttey, 2002). The Akan traditional political system is clearly decentralised since chiefs exercise jurisdiction over wide areas. Their political units have demarcated boundaries within which developed administration, legislative and judicial institutions for governance could be operated. Every Akan town is made up of several clans and the extended family system formed the basic political units. The organisational structure is generally based on kinship and ancestry. There are no written constitutions, however, customs and traditions establish the procedures for government (Ayttey, 1991:37).

The qualifications for the head of a lineage are one's age and wisdom, a sense of civic responsibility and logical persuasiveness, although the absence for formal voting and the fact that the office of head of lineage is for life seems undemocratic in the modern sense (Ayttey, 2002). It is significant to note that as the representative of the lineage on the governing council, the family head is duty-bound to hold consultation with the adult members of the lineage regarding important matters. In relation to chieftaincy, the role of chiefs in democracy could

centre on their role as intermediaries between the subjects and central government, and their role as agents of development by making lands available for development projects, and requesting infrastructure facilities for their areas (IDEG, 2007).

Both Frempong (2006) and Wiredu (1995) have argued that no discussion of democratic strand in the traditional Akan system would be complete without highlighting the “consensual democracy” that the Akan system thrives on since government was by consent and control of the people expressed through their representatives. One advantage of consensual democracy is that it does not only allow for participation at all levels of the decision-making process, but it also ensures that the will of the minority is always reflected in the given decision. It could therefore be observed that traditional institutions have a system that is participatory in nature and shows signs of decentralisation in governance at the grassroots level.

Traditional authorities and local governance

In the view of Mukyala-Makiika (1998), there exists some form of duality of authority at the local level of governance. One form of the authority consists of people who derive their legitimate right to govern from the fact that they have been elected and they consider the people as collection of individuals, each with a set of specific rights. The other group comprises those who derive their right to govern from inheritance and tradition and perceive people to be part of a cultural unit with collective rights. Traditional authorities belong to the latter group and

continue to remain important in areas such as cultural leadership, control of natural resources, community identity and political leadership.

Arguments advanced for the institutional representation of traditional rulers in the local government system have been demonstrated by their ability to mobilise support for local level development projects. They also have the capacity to encourage participation at the grassroots level. This is evident in their democratic credentials where they are seen as the last resort when the central government and the district assemblies have failed (Ayee, 2006). Closing the gap between the district assemblies and the sub-district structures on one hand, and the traditional authorities on the other, has the potential of reviving the enthusiasm of the traditional rulers in the operations of the DAs and the sub – district structures. As has been explicitly expressed by Ayee (2006:57) “the moment one talks about grassroots governance one is already making overtures to chieftaincy, because in Ghana, implementing a successful programme without the involvement of the traditional authorities is nearly impossible”.

Coussey’s Constitutional Commission of 1949 emphatically stated in reference to the institutional representation of chiefs in local government that chiefs are closely intertwined with the life of the communities and that their disappearance would spell doom for the country. Despite this caution, critics have argued that the representation of chiefs in the DAs system would be in contravention of the constitutional provision that debars chiefs, especially from participating in active partisan politics even though in principle DAs are supposed to be non-partisan (Ayee, 2006). However, Kendie et al (2008) maintain that the

non-embracement of ideas from the traditional sources could explain the neglect of traditional indigenous knowledge systems that are essential for sustainable development.

Traditional institutions

Traditional institutions present the platform on which traditional authorities express their authority. These institutions in turn form the leadership structures within individual communities. Their roles and functions ensure that people comply with rules, norms and beliefs. Despite several years of western domination, the decisions about governance and sustainable development still rest on traditional institutional concepts because the powers of traditional authorities are best expressed in these institutions. As has been rightly stated by Kendie and Guri (2004), the inability to reduce the growing incidence of poverty and underdevelopment could be attributed to the tendency of formal development organisation's approach to local knowledge systems and practices without recourse to including indigenous knowledge.

Various people are opposed to traditional institutions for a variety of reasons. Some see them as backward instruments of social oppression and lack of progress in areas such as political organisation, women's rights, social mobility, and economic rights (Senyonjo, 2002). Some critics also see them as instruments of exclusion (Nkwi, 1976). The underlying fears in all these perceptions are the assumption that traditional institutions are static, frozen in time, and cannot be modified. Nonetheless, critics of traditional institutions have not provided

convincing argument to explain why the people choose to continue to adhere to the institutions of chieftaincy (Ayee, 2006).

The chieftaincy institution

Before the emergence of colonisation in Ghana the indigenous ruler occupied a unique position as the religious, political and the judicial head of the kingdom. He was the spirit and the embodiment of the nation, the custodian of the people's cultural heritage, and a unifier. Busia (1951:196) summarised the position of the chief before colonial rule as:

A leader revered as the lineal successor of the founder of the state, its sub-divisions, divisions and the village. His subjects felt beholden to him for their well being. He was the custodian of the lands of the political community of which he was the head. He exercised judicial functions in relation to offences classified as hateful to the ancestral spirits and other spiritual beings, to which he offered prayers for the prosperity of the community.

The primary duties of the chiefs included the maintenance of peace within the community, defence against external aggression and performance of religious rites. The British colonial system did not do away with the traditional role of chiefs but made them central figures for local administration through the indirect rule system (Nukunya, 2003). At the district level, together with their elders, chiefs were constituted into a Native Administration headed by the Paramount Chief which was given wide jurisdiction even though it was exercised within the

framework of British law. By the exercise of wide jurisdiction, the traditional rulers managed to maintain law and order.

They set up courts which were presided over by Paramount Chiefs with the mandate to try civil and minor criminal cases. Full jurisdiction was however exercised in accordance with established customary laws and practices in cases concerning marriage, land, succession disputes, among others. When the Native Treasuries were established, the Chiefs imposed and collected taxes on the advice of the government, received fines and fees from the traditional courts, and some Chiefs even sat in the Legislative Council to enact laws at the national level (Buah, 1998). At the local level, they could make bye-laws subject to the approval of the Governor. In effect, the traditional rulers served as a link between Central government and the local people, and all the policies which the colonial administration wanted to implement were carried to the people through the Chiefs. On the other hand, whatever grievances the people had were channelled through the Chiefs to the government. The success of the indirect rule as spelt out by Buah (1998) was as the result of the centralised system of governance where chieftaincy and other traditional institutions had been established and the recognition of the colonial authorities to preserve the people's traditions, political and social heritage maintained.

Chieftaincy, as an institution, wields a customary legitimacy in its areas of jurisdiction because it holds unifying and stabilising tenets. Chieftaincy institutions have legislative roles whereby in the normal course of governance, chiefs, in consultation with their elders make rules governing the social,

economic, and political life of their communities. Chieftaincy institutions are also central to the nation's cultural heritage because chiefs control lands. Chiefs wield enough influence and are major stakeholders in the quest for development (Crook, 2005).

Chiefs also interpret rules and laws governing social, political and economic life, while passing judgment in arbitration and influencing resource management as part of their judicial roles. Spiritually, these institutions are seen as intermediaries between the living and the dead and they hold the powerful symbols of authority to evoke sanctions on members of the societies (Hinz, 1996). Indeed chiefs are the first to know when there are conflicts, environmental degradation, bushfires and epidemics. The influence of traditional authorities has been summarised by Arhin (1972) who suggests that a chief is the warrior of the society, an educator of his people and a man among men.

Chieftaincy and the modern state of governance

Traditional authorities are indispensable, because they form a major part of the country's history, culture, political and governance systems. According to Odeneho Gyapong Ababio II, former President of the National House of Chiefs (2001-2008), in a speech delivered at the Second Tripartite meeting of Chiefs, Members of Parliament, and Ministers of State in Elmina on the 6th of December 2003, "the institution of chieftaincy is a basic vehicle for mobilising people for development. It also serves as the most effective link between the people at the grassroots level and the central government" (Odeneho Gyapong Ababio II,

2003). Although, some people may hold a different view and would not consider this potential, there is evidence to suggest that service delivery in rural areas has been smoother in areas where government structures had good relations with traditional leaders, than in areas where relations were not good (Miller, 1970).

Research shows that chieftaincy constitutes crucial resources that have the potential to promote democratic governance and to facilitate access of rural communities to public services (ECA, 2007). Among the arguments advanced by proponents of this view are that:

- Chieftaincy can provide the bedrock upon which to construct new mixed governance structures since chiefs serve as custodians of and advocates for the interests of local communities within the broader political structures (Sklar, 2003);
- Good governance can only materialise through the articulation of indigenous political values and practices and their harmonisation with modern democratic practices (Ayttey, 2002).

Understanding the dynamics of traditional authorities entails distinguishing between the social positions of the chiefs and that of the elders in providing some protection for the interests of their communities in order to maintain the legitimacy of their leadership. The claim by Van Nieuwaal, (1987) that a chief commits political suicide if he fails to perform what his/her community expects is largely true since a chief cannot stay in power for long if he/she does not gain legitimacy within the community. In this era of democratisation, many societies are engaged in an intensive struggle for popular

political participation. Chiefs who lag behind a progressive state in advancing the interests of its social populace expose themselves to extinction (ECA, 2007:16).

Van Nieuwaal's notion is based on the premise that under a democratic state, chiefs have to contribute to the empowerment of their communities in order to sustain their legitimacy, and the more empowered rural communities become, the more likely traditional authorities are pushed to becoming agents of development and democratic governance. The absence of strong traditional systems in some African states, with particular reference to Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire, could explain the instability those countries have experienced in recent years; an assertion made by the Asantehene, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, in a speech delivered at the 4th African Development Forum in Addis Ababa in October 2004.

Irrespective of the powers they wield, some chiefs are not pleased with the fact that they have not been given direct role in the governance at the local level. Although the Local Government Act of 1993 (Act 462) provides for consultation with traditional authorities in relation to the 30 per cent of district assembly members who are government appointees, the reality is that over the years chiefs have not been consulted (IDEG, 2007). Even when they are consulted, their nominees are usually not considered on the final list of appointment by the President (Ayee, 2006). This exclusion has not been well accepted by chiefs.

The 1992 Constitution and the New Chieftaincy Act 759, of Ghana

The 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution guarantees chieftaincy in Ghana. Article 270(2) of the Constitution states that Parliament shall have no power to enact any law which

- Confers on any person or authority the right to accord or withdraw recognition to or from a chief for any purpose.
- In any way detracts or derogate from the honour and dignity of the institution of chieftaincy (Republic of Ghana, 1992).

The institution of chieftaincy together with its allied divisions has found its place in modern governance with well demarcated functions and roles. Article 276 (1) of the Constitution and Section 57(3) of the Chieftaincy Act 759 of 2008 also states that “a chief shall not take part in active party politics; and any chief wishing to do so and seeking election to parliament shall abdicate the stool or skin. If the desire of chiefs to enter politics stems from the point that their entrance would provide the necessary footing in their quest for lobbying for development in their various areas, then article 276(2) and section 54(4) has provided the umbrage for that desire to be achieved. Boafo-Arthur (2006) agrees that the neutrality of chiefs can be guaranteed only when they desist from descending into the muddy arena of partisan political activities and rather channel their energies and influences into other development activities. However, he acknowledges that the constitutional provisions that prevent chiefs from actively participating in partisan politics have been a challenge to the chieftaincy institutions (Boafo–Arthur, 2006).

The role of chiefs in local government

The advent of modern centralised government in Ghana under the colonial rule did reduce the unique position and role that traditional rulers occupy in local governance. Among the major objective of establishing the district assembly system was the recognition that chiefs would serve the crucial purpose of promoting participation in the planning and implementation of development programmes and policies at the local level. In local communities, for example, inadequate infrastructure and poverty hamper access to modern or state agencies of health, justice and security. In such a situation, the chief assumes a central role to the people, being therefore a vital and strategic partner for development.

At this point in time when society is seeking to redefine its values, priorities, attitudes, and evaluating traditional and customary practices, the substantial role of the chief cannot be overemphasised. The constitution for instance recognises chiefs as owners of stool lands in Ghana; therefore it is only appropriate for district assemblies who are responsible for development at the local level to consult with traditional authorities for the release or acquisition of land for development purposes. The review of the role of chiefs in local governance is very important since the assemblies need their help in the pursuit of development and modification or abrogation of customs that militate against development.

Chieftaincy and conflict resolution

One of the oldest and formal mechanism for conflict resolution lies with the institution of chieftaincy. This is demonstrated by their stabilising and unifying way of dealing with the conflicts (Kasangbata, 2006). The nature and seriousness of the conflict determines where it is resolved. Normally the lineage or family head and his elders resolve conflicts within a lineage or family members while matters involving the community are brought before the chiefs and their counsellors to settle (Ayee, 1995).

Traditionally the people from Akan communities use non-violent means in resolving conflict. They specifically employ the use of arbitration, mediation, negotiation and conciliation. However at certain times violence and crude methods are used to settle disputes provided the issue at state calls for that sort of action (Moses, 2000). Much as one appreciates the role of chieftaincy in conflict resolution, their role is however limited since their decisions can not be enforced unless the parties involved are prepared to respect the decision, and also because some chiefs indulge themselves in certain activities that undermine their role in resolving conflicts.

Chieftaincy and resource management

Traditional authorities particularly chiefs have been known to be very good stewards of nature however the emergence of colonial administration reduce the authority with which chiefs had control over resources, particularly land (Alhassan, 2006). According to Repetto and Gillis (1988), ever since natural

resources were taken away from traditional authorities and handed over to the state and its agencies common pool resources have been exploited by various segments of the society without recourse to sustainability. The concept of land, environment and the earth has been seen as assets whose exploitation was governed by strict rules and severe penalties metered out to offending citizens in the traditional setting (Kasangbata, 2006).

The chief as a custodian of resources is enjoined to manage, protect and conserve these resources for the future use whiles at the same time accounting for its use. As succinctly put by Danquah (1968:120), “thus in our culture, we do not only hold in trust for the present and the future generations all the natural resources in which our welfare and continuance of the community depend, but also we are accountable to the ancestors for the proper management of the resources”.

In Ghana, like in many African countries, one strategy which has helped in the protection and conservation of many of these resources is the reverence of totems that are widely held by traditional authorities. It is not surprising that almost every traditional ruler, be it a chief or a clan/family, head has a totem (Alhassan, 2006). However, due to modernisation, traditional values and beliefs such as the belief in totems no longer command the respect to the same extent that they did to the founders of the traditional state. Chiefs can actualise themselves as custodians of the stools provided they uphold such beliefs in order to control and keep the communities and societies together.

Theoretical framework

In the period of decolonisation after World War II, development programmes rested on modernisation theory which was an all encompassing process involving not only economic, but psychological, social, cultural and political dimensions. Modernisation could be visualised as a process whereby developed western urban centres were concerned with the problem of underdevelopment in the developing countries, and therefore generated prescriptions that could serve as a guide for social action (Wright, 1990).

Durkheim (1984) asserts that, there are two basic types of society: the 'traditional' and the 'modern', with each maintaining a different form of social cohesion. The author contends that for a society to move from traditional to modern, there must be a change in attitude, norms and values of the people. Webster (1990) has a similar view on modernisation, but he argues that the change that he terms development can only be achieved when 'traditional' primitive values are displaced by modern ones. In effect, he also considers a movement from the traditional to the modern through some processes.

In the traditional society, the values, norms and beliefs of the society form a dominant force. These norms, values and beliefs date back to the histories of the people. Due to the historical origins of the social tenets, most people may be oriented to the past and thus lack the cultural ability to adjust to new circumstances. The kinship system for example, is a decisive reference point for all social practices because it is the primary path through which economic,

political and legal relationship are controlled (Webster, 1990). As Dube (1988:75) says, traditional societies are,

Characterised by the predominance of ascription, particularistic and diffused pattern; they have stable local groups and limited spatial mobility; occupational differentiation is relatively simple and stable; the stratification system is deferential and has a diffused impact.

The arguments advanced by modernisation theorists are that traditional societies are anachronistic, a hindrance to the development and transformation of a country, undemocratic, divisive and costly. Some of the related issues are that

- Populations under traditional rule live as subjects rather than as citizens of the state and democratic governance would not be achieved, while such systems continue to exist.
- Traditional authorities impede the pace of development as it reduces the relevance of the state in the area of social services. (Economic Commission for Africa, 2007:10).

Modernisation theorists such as Mair (1984), Ortiz (1970) and Rostow (1960) contend that the transition from the limited economic relationship of traditional society to the innovative, complex economic associations of modernity depends on a prior change in the values, attitudes and norms of the people. Eisenstadt (1966), Learner (1964), and Bauer (1981) advanced the view that modernisation is primarily a cultural process which involves the adoption of values and attitudes suited to entrepreneurial ambition, innovation, rationality and

achievement orientation in place of contrary values and lifestyle of traditional societies.

Modernisation theories were seen as problem-solving and policy –oriented theories of social change and economic development since it was first mentioned in President Truman’s Point Four Program of Development (Peet, 1989). Building on this premise, modernisation as outlined by Huntington (1976:30) has five thematic assumptions. These are:

- A phase process that all societies must travel. Societies must begin with the primitive, simple, undifferentiated traditional stage and end with the advanced, complex differentiated modern stage.
- A homogenising process that produces convergence among societies.
- An irreversible process. Once it is started it can not be stopped.
- A progressive process which is not only inevitable but desirable.
- An evolutionary change which is a lengthy process.

There is the contention that modernisation is just an improvement of traditional practices, but modernisation in the political sphere means the spread of democracy, rule of law, good governance, popular participation, the weakening of traditional elites and the widening differentiation between the various cultural and value systems (Peet, 1989). From Peet’s assertion it is evident that:

- Societies can be compared in terms of the extent to which they move from tradition to modernity.

- With time both the developed and the underdeveloped countries would resemble each other provided the underdeveloped countries become highly modernised.
- Modernisation would become something like a universal social solvent that dissolves the traditional traits of underdeveloped countries.

Although modernisation is of great value in current development thinking it is important to note that categorisation of societies into traditional and modern is of limited usefulness. At present, almost all societies are at least, partially modernised. On the other hand, no society is ‘completely’ modernised because the rate of modernisation varies between societies and between systems in a society. Critics have alluded to the fact that modernisation has created a centre of power and a dependent periphery which has provided a global structure inimical to the progress of the underdeveloped world (Peet, 1989).

The terms of trade at the global level which favour the high cost products of the centre while devaluing the lower cost exports of the periphery have prevented the peripheral countries from achieving development. As it has been rightly suggested by dependency theory, more often than not underdevelopment is caused by external factors rather than internal factors. Much as it might sound nationalistic, de-linking peripheral countries from the world capitalist system so that it could develop autonomously might be the only way out (Hunt, 1989).

Rees (1950:170), while criticising modernisation, resented the Anglicisation of Welsh cultures which he took modernisation to represent stating that:

They are changing the completeness of the traditional rural society - involving the cohesion of the family, kindred and neighbors -and its capacity to give the individual a sense of belonging. Modernisation is bringing what he conceives to be the characteristic of urban society, the weakening of social ties such that the person lacks 'social wholeness' with consequent disintegration into formless masses of rootless nonentities.

The development in the advanced industrial countries is as a result of exploitation of economic surplus of traditional underdeveloped countries. While developed countries can advance through self growth, underdeveloped countries can only expand if the dominant developed countries expand (Rapley, 2007). Indeed the key outcome of the unequal exchange has seen underdevelopment in the periphery contributing to further development in the advanced core countries (Hoogvelt, 2001). Tradition is not necessarily at variance with modernity especially in the area of governance since the ultimate concern is to create the condition for ordered rule and collective action.

Endogenous development which forms the theoretical frame of reference suggests the strengthening of the resource base of the local population, enhancing their ability to integrate selected external elements into local practices and to broaden the options available to the people, without romanticising their local views and practices (Rist, 2007). Endogenous development can only thrive when a conducive environment is created for local people to use their own resources, values, knowledge and organisations to drive local development (Swiderska, 2007).

Conceptual framework

Prior to colonisation, governance was characterised by traditional leadership rule. Traditional leaders and institutions dealt with all sorts of issues which were related to the communities. The colonial and post-colonial eras have brought an awakened emergence of a dual governance society which is characterised by traditional rule on one hand, and the modern system of governance on the other. Governance must be seen as a system of values, policies and institutions by which a society organises collective decision-making and actions related to political, economic, social, cultural and environmental affairs through the interaction of the state, civil society and traditional authorities. It must also encompass both the modern and the traditional institutions and mechanisms that ensure development.

Kasangbata's model fits into this study since it expresses the relevance of the interaction between external agents and local agents which may be likened to government actors and traditional authorities respectively in this study. As shown in Figure 2, Kasangbata (2006) contends that the interaction between participation, transparency, empowerment and accountability is the path to good governance and sustainable development. In searching for an appropriate development paradigm for Ghana, Kasangbata's model suggest that a greater participation of rural people in development processes will not only change the nature and direction of development intervention, but will lead to a type of development which is more respectful of people's positions and interests.

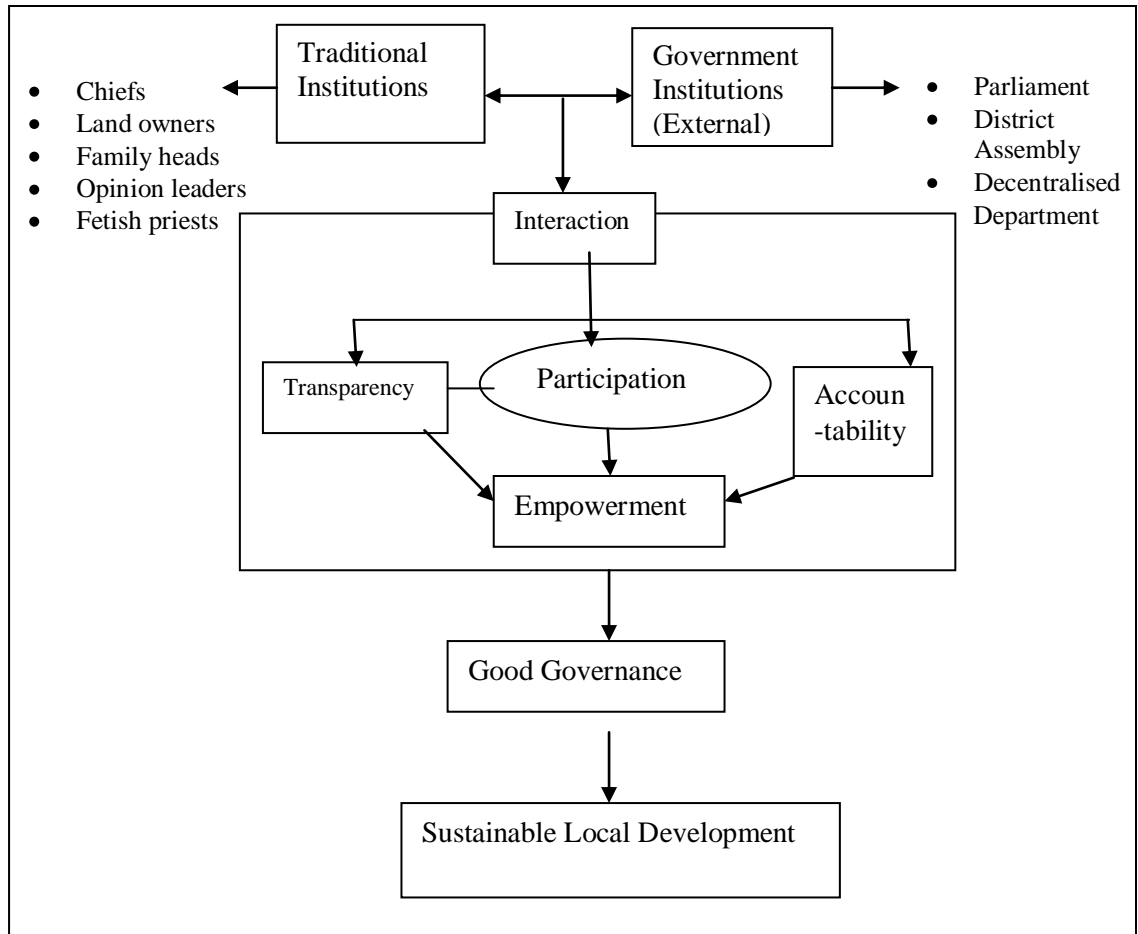


Figure 2: Determining factors for sustainable local level development

Source: Kasangbata (2006:44)

As shown in Figure 3, multinational institutions, as represented by donor agencies and the political class of the advanced countries, seeks to promote the ideals of good governance across the globe. With its activities, multinational institutions support economic and social reforms of government institutions, strengthen the role of indigenous traditional institutions, as well as promoting broad-based participation of the citizenry in decision making through decentralisation programmes. The partnership between the traditional authorities

(internal actors) and government institutions (external actors) as depicted in Figure 3, facilitate organisation of the local people to take active part in the development process with the common objective of promoting the rule of law, good governance and sustainable development (Kasangbata, 2006).

Traditional authorities and state agencies govern with people and through the communities. Partnership between them in a dual governance atmosphere may encourage the use of the people's own resources, strategies and initiative which may lead to sustainable development, as portrayed in Figure 3. Development involves every aspect of governance and the social activities of the people. While decentralisation has the potential to promote local democracy, enhance public policy-making, and improve service delivery, from a good governance perspective, decentralisation also entails restructuring or reorganising authority so that there is a system of co-responsibility between and among institutions of governance at central, regional and local levels. The growth of democracy is enhanced when national governments are seen to devolve political power to the local levels, because decentralisation has the capacity to ensure the growth of democracy.

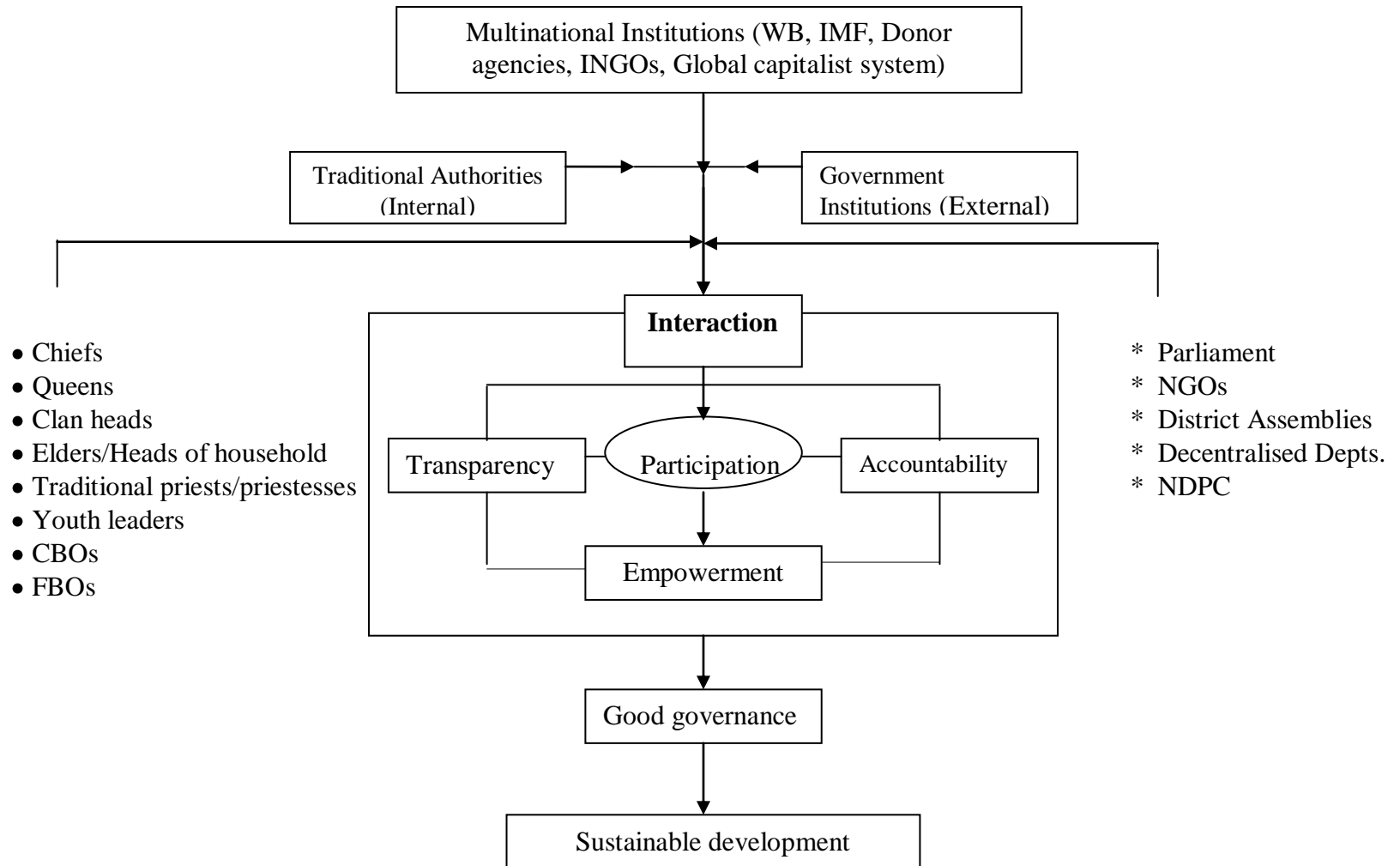


Figure 3: Local determinants of sustainable development

Source: Adapted from Kasangbata, 2006: 44

Oakley (1991:8) argues that there are essentially three broad interpretations of participation:

- Participation as contribution which implies voluntary contributions of people to pre-determined programmes and projects which are fundamental for achieving success;
- Participation as organisation which is seen as a fundamental instrument that ensures that, the origin, nature and structure of the organisation are very important because local people must be seen to dictate and determine its nature and structure.
- Participation as empowering-This has two sides. One concept is that empowerment develops skills and abilities of people to manage better and have a say in negotiating with existing development delivery systems. The others contend that participation as empowering is essentially concerned with enabling local people to decide and take actions which they believe are essential to their development.

In discussing participation of local people in development processes, the issue of empowerment and its relation to participation is crucial. As Fetterman (1996) observed, participation without empowerment is an untenable proposition. This observation shows that for genuine participation to occur, the local people must first be empowered. While participation is about bringing groups, often deprived groups, to the table (Friedmann, 1992), empowerment focuses on enabling these groups to engage in intelligent and shared decision making. Dependence theorists are of the opinion that, the poverty of the countries in the

periphery is not because they are not integrated into the world system, or not 'fully' integrated but because of how they are integrated into the system. Although the theory is arguing on integration at a global level, it also explains the danger of integrating the local people in the development process without first enabling them to understand the framework conditions in which development takes place.

The United Nations has identified good governance as perhaps the single most important factor in the eradicating of poverty and the promotion of development. The major gap in the good governance agenda appears to be at the local level, where the major issues of popular participation, accountability, transparency and support for an active civil society remain largely unaddressed. It is also at the local level that indigenous knowledge appears to have the greatest potential to contribute to sustainable development. Emphasis has been placed on the need for a home-grown model of self-reliant development; however, that can only be achieved when government institutions cooperate with traditional institutions to solve the problems that confront the local people. As has been identified, building on indigenous institutions with the help of state institutions is the most probable way of achieving sustainable development. Ake (1988:19) concludes that:

We build on the indigenous by making it determine the form and content of development strategy; by ensuring that developmental change accommodates itself to these things, by the values, interests, aspirations and/or social institutions which are important

to the life of the people. It is only when developmental change comes to terms with them that it can become sustainable.

Dia (1996) has also recommended that the most promising way to overcome the shortcomings of the state system and its alien formal institutions is to recognise the structural and functional disparity between the informal, indigenous institutions rooted in the history and culture, and formal institutions mostly transplanted from outside. The remedy, he argues, is to ensure some sort of interaction between state and civil society and to identify the opportunities within indigenous institutions for building a more pluralistic and participatory form of governance and development.

While admitting that some traditional practices are outmoded and ill-suited to present-day conditions, traditional leadership in its form before external interferences operated on the principle of community participation, consultation, consensus, and an acceptable level of transparency. These principles are not too different from the ones which modern democracies prescribe as essential for democracy. It might serve the purpose, therefore, that while we strive to gain good governance, there must be a renewed detail explaining the role traditional leader's play. Specific attention must also be paid to the similarities between the principles of traditional governance and the aspirations of the modern democratic governance (Venson, 1995).

Indigenous knowledge may not be the panacea for the multiple problems of governance and development, but it is certainly a useful resource that can strengthen local governance, and promote a more self-reliant, endogenous, and

sustainable form of development. The state, traditional leadership and societies must exist since it is necessary that all parties to sustainable development of human societies must be integrated towards growth and development. Governance, though complex, becomes easy to coordinate if considered in an integrative manner. Rooting indigenous knowledge in state governance is therefore a necessary impetus for growth and development. Achieving sustainable development requires an effective use of both traditional leadership and state governance since communities are mostly controlled by elders, clan heads and chiefs.

Making chiefs responsive in state governance would ensure that government policies are easily accepted and observed by the various communities. In such dimensions, an effective scenario that seeks to promote good governance and development would be created. Communities would also gladly accept government policies whilst working hard to ensure that they are achieved. A bottom-up governance strategy involving local authority and central government would also encourage communities to own policies developed, since they would be part of the planning and implementation of such projects. Above all empowerment is about power; therefore, changing the power relations in favour of those who previously exercised little power over their own lives is very crucial.

Batliwala (1993) identified power as having two key components namely control over resources (physical, human, intellectual, financial, and the self), and control over ideology (beliefs, values and attitudes). If power means control, then by inference, empowerment is the process of gaining control. Empowerment as a

good governance principle may be achieved through the enhancement of the abilities and capacities of those who are lacking in power, or through the development of collective organisation and decision-making with an overall aim of achieving sustainable development.

In producing knowledge, epistemological decisions have to be made about what constitute knowledge given one's theoretical framework, and where this knowledge might be situated. This is influenced by the precise methods or techniques employed to gather data. Given the conceptual underpinnings of this chapter, and the overall interest in assessing the role of traditional authorities in the governance process, certain methodologies become necessary in the collection of data.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter gives a detailed explanation of the research methodology. It describes the study area, research design, the study population and sampling, the sources of data, data collection instruments, pretesting of instrument, data processing and analysis as well as issues from the field.

Study area

Found in the Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abrem (KEEA) Municipal Assembly area, the Komenda Traditional Area (as shown in Figure 4) is one of four distinct traditional areas which have been put together to constitute the political municipality of KEEA. Oral history has it that Nana Komeh, the founder of Komenda migrated with his people from Tekyiman in the Brong Ahafo Region through Kwaman to Mankessim, and finally settled in the Eguafo kingdom.

The Eguafo king by name Takye Anka gave Nana Komeh a task of conquering a marauding warrior by name Ekyi and his people who were terrorising his (the king of Eguafo) people at Kanka (now Dutch Komenda), and hindering trade between Eguafo Kingdom and the Yabiw Kingdom (now Shama traditional area). Ekyi was captured and beheaded by Nana Komeh who handed

over his head to the king of Eguafu. The king, Takyi Anka, on seeing the head of Ekyi exclaimed “Komeh Ekita Ekyi” literally translated as “Komeh the conqueror of Ekyi” hence the name Ekitakyi for the people of Komenda.

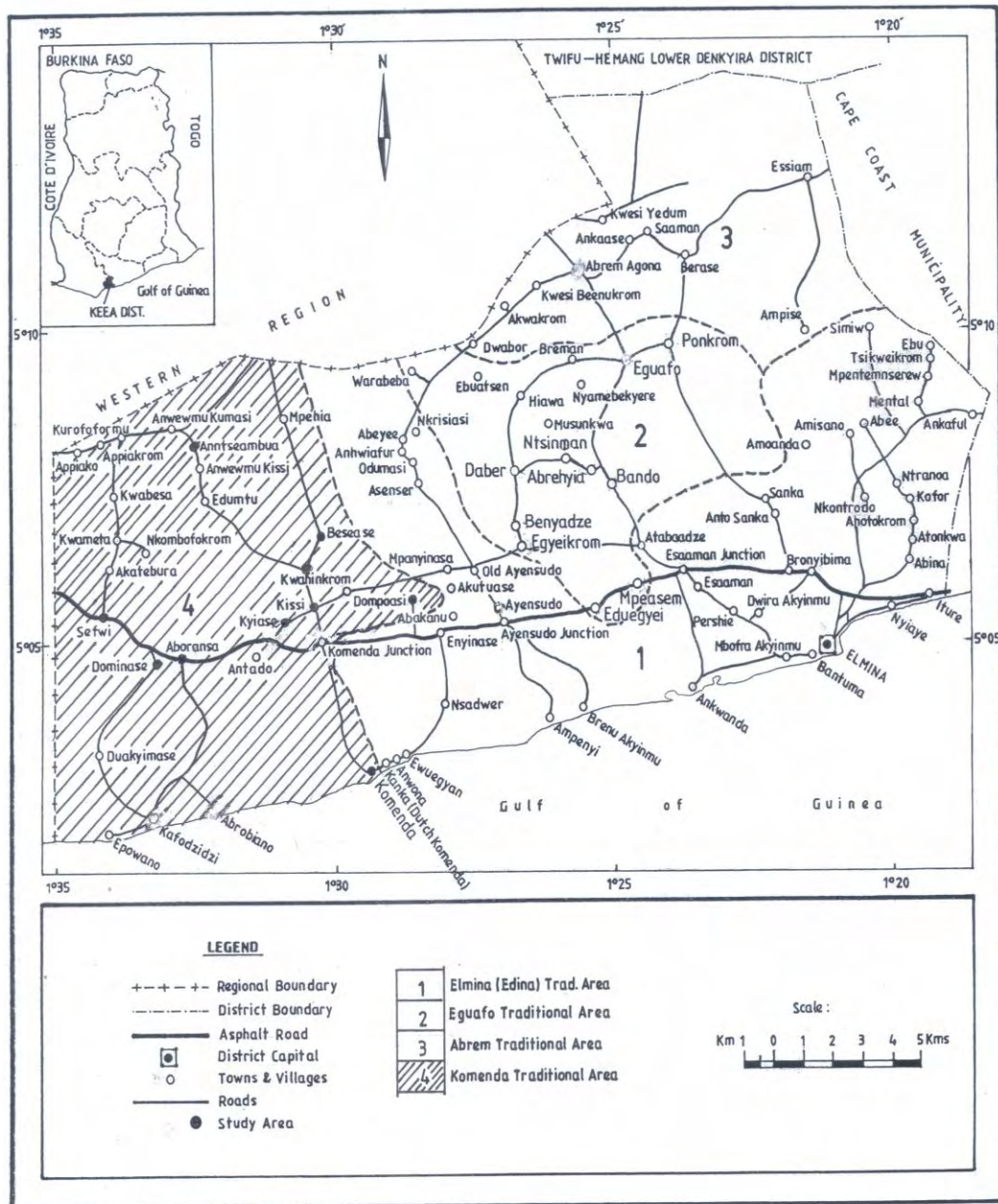


Figure 4: Map of Komenda-Edina-Eguafu-Abrem Municipality

Source: Department of Geography and Tourism, 2009

The king of Eguafo rewarded Nana Komeh with a parcel of land stretching from Susu lagoon to the Pra River. The jurisdictional boundaries of the traditional area has the Gulf of Guinea to the south, Edina traditional area to the east, Abrem traditional area to the north-east, Wassa Fiase traditional area to the north-west and the Shama traditional area at the west. There are about 22 communities that constitute the traditional area namely Komenda, Kissi, Kwahenkrom, Dompoase, Kokwaado, Besease, Kyease, Antado, Aboransa, Domenase, Sefwi, Abrobiano, Kafodzidzi, Anntseambua, Duakyimase, Akatebura, Anwewmu, Mpehia, Nkombofokrom, Kwabesa, Kurofoformu, and Appiako. The ruling clan Komeh Ebiradze family produces the paramount chief (Omanhene) who resides in Komenda and governs with six divisional chiefs, three sub-divisional chiefs and 13 headmen.

The people, ethnicity and settlement pattern

The total population of KEEA municipality as at 2000 census is 112,437 consisting of 158 settlements of varying sizes. Out of these settlements, there are two major towns with population of over 5000. These are Elmina (21,103), and Komenda (12,278). There are six other settlements with population figures of over 2000, which can be described as small towns. They are Agona Abrem (4990), Kissi (4,874), Besease (2,267), Abrobeano (2,201), Domenase (2,198), and Abrem Berase (2,152). The proportion of urban population for the municipality is 29.7% (Ghana Statistical Service, 2002).

The population of Elmina and Komenda collectively constitute about one-third of the district's population. The situation is further worsened by the fact that more than 50% of the 158 settlements have population less than 500 persons meaning that in effect, a large portion of the population live in the two urban and six small towns. On the other hand, the rest of the settlements (about 97%) occupy the vast stretch of the district each with population less than 2,000. The spatial settlement pattern is such that there is preponderance of villages scattered over a wide area of the district has implication for the provision of services. According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2002), there are about nine tribes in the district, with Akan constituting the dominant ethnic group, and forming about 93 percent of the population, followed by Ewe (3.4%), Ga-Dangme (1.0%), Mole-Dagbani (0.8%), Guan (0.7%), Grusi (0.74%), Gurma (0.1%), Mande (0.1%) and other tribes (0.1%).

Climate

The coastal areas of the district form part of the littoral anomalous zone of Ghana and experience a lower rainfall compared with the interior locations. Temperatures are generally high and so the variability in climate and vegetation is influenced more by rainfall than temperature. Annual rainfall total in the coastal locations range from 759 to 1,000mm while in the more interior areas, it ranges from 1200 to 1500mm. The district is generally humid; relative humidity in the morning varies between 85% and 99%, in the afternoon it can decline to 50-85% (Arhin, 2004).

Vegetation and soils

The vegetation varies according to the rainfall pattern. In the coastal areas, the vegetation consists of shrubs of about 1.5m high, grasses and scattered trees. In the interior, secondary forests occur but human activities are fast depleting the forest base. The district is mainly characterized by the Birimian rock type consisting of schist and granites as well as pegmatite. On the slopes of the hills, the overburden soils are sandy clayey while the valleys have gravely sandy colluviums (Arhin, 2004).

Economic activities

The people of Komenda Traditional Area are predominantly farmers, fishermen and fishmongers with very few salary workers, petty traders and artisans. The farmers produce cash crops, food crops and also engage in animal husbandry. The area is endowed with natural resources such as the sea, rivers (Ohowa and Anta), lagoon (Abrobi), Quarries (Kwahinkrom, Kissi and Appiakrom), forest, and gold deposits. The area is noted for the manufacturing of locally prepared gin (Akpateshie) because of the abundance of sugarcane.

Social services

The KEEA Municipal Health Directorate has health facilities in all the four traditional areas in the district. The district also has a district hospital and the Ankaful Leprosarium and Psychiatric hospital. There are four Community Health Planning Services (CHPS) compounds in the district, each with one residing

Community Health Officer (CHO) who attends to clients with minor ailments, immunisations and also does home visits. The district has two functioning private maternity homes namely Paa Waterbury Maternity Home at Elmina, and Nyametsease Maternity Home at Komenda.

There are three private pre-schools, 19 government and five private primary schools, 17 government and four private junior high schools (JHS), two senior high schools (SHS) and a teachers' training college. Between 2001 and 2004, the rate of increase in enrolment of pupils at the primary level was 10% while that of the JHS was 4%.

Many areas earmarked for recreation in the traditional area have been encroached upon for residential and business purposes. However, the beaches along the coastal communities have served as an important alternative for recreational activities. The Komenda Traditional Area has three peculiar endowment festivals namely Eguadoto (stool festival), Dwowdzi (yam festival) and Nyeyi (remembrance of ancestors).

According to the 2000 Population and Housing Census, the average household size of 3.8 for the traditional area is lower than the national average of 5.1. This may be due to the fact that the traditional area has a high out-migration rate.

Research design

The research design employed for this study is qualitative inquiry. Qualitative methods used included a combination of descriptive, explorative and

cross-sectional surveys. It was descriptive in that it involved in-depth and holistic mapping of the types, roles and functions of traditional authorities, and the linkages between the traditional authorities and the formal government institutions at the local level. According to Berg (1989), the underlining principle of descriptive research is to describe social events by providing background information about the issue at stake, as well as eliciting explanations. In line with Berg's assertion, the descriptive nature of qualitative design was used to provide background information to the setting and other relevant parts.

The study was explorative because it provided the researcher the opportunity to analyse the relationship between traditional authorities, and formal government institutions in their quest to promote development. As Morgan (1997) contends, explorative research helps to develop an accurate picture of the research topic and also in the formulation and modification of theories. Again, the study was partly cross-sectional in the sense that the samples drawn from the nine communities included communities along the coastal belt and communities from the hinterland. This cross-sectional design was used to establish whether there were any differences in the perception of participants on the roles and relevance of traditional authorities to the governance process based on the location of these communities.

Study population and sampling

In all, a total sample size of 190 respondents was considered from a population of 5909. The sample size was determined using the table for

determining sample sizes from a given population as proposed by Krejcie and Morgan (1970). From the table a sample size of 357 should have been used considering the population marked for the study. However, due to limited resources, a sample size of 190 was used instead. According to Patton (1990), in qualitative studies, theoretical sampling does not mean numerical boundaries to determine the size of the sample; furthermore a smaller sample size will not have much effect on the results provided the target population is homogenous. The mode of selecting the sample has been displayed in Tables 1 and 2. Stratified sampling was used to select nine communities out of 22 communities that have a chief on the advisory council of the traditional area. This advisory council is made up of the paramount chief, six chiefs of divisional areas and three chiefs of sub-divisional areas of the Komenda Traditional Area.

Stratified sampling was employed because there was the need to get representation of all communities whose leaders are part of the advisory council of the Komenda Traditional Area and are responsible for specific roles in governance. The target population of heads of households, traditional authorities and local government officials were categorised into three groups. Table 1 shows the selected communities and their total households as well as the sample chosen. The first group was made up of heads of household who were defined as persons in the household recognised as such by other household members and generally responsible for the upkeep and maintenance of the household.

The rationale for selecting 130 heads of households was to give a greater proportion of the respondents to individuals whose opinion is representative of

majority of the households they head, and are responsible for decision making at the lowest level in the traditional area. The total number of households in these communities was 5973 and the sample chosen from each community was proportional to the total number of households. For example, the sample chosen for Kissi had a total number of 1208 households and a sample of 27 heads of households were sampled as respondents. Consequently, simple random sampling was used to select the heads of household in each community.

Table 1: Distribution of heads of households

| Communities | Total households | Sampled households | Percentage |
|-------------|------------------|--------------------|------------|
| Komenda | 2584 | 58 | 44.6 |
| Kissi | 1208 | 27 | 20.9 |
| Besease | 532 | 12 | 9.2 |
| Domenase | 501 | 11 | 8.6 |
| Aburansa | 386 | 9 | 6.7 |
| Dompoase | 195 | 4 | 3.3 |
| Kwahenkrom | 172 | 4 | 3.0 |
| Sefwi | 159 | 4 | 2.7 |
| Antseambua | 56 | 1 | 1.0 |
| Total | 5793 | 130 | 100.0 |

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2002

The second group of traditional authorities comprised the Chiefs, Queens, Clan heads, Fetish Priests and Priestesses and Asafo/Youth Leaders (Supi). These

were purposively sampled from the nine communities. Only five Queens, five Asafo leaders, four traditional priest/priestesses and 23 Clan heads in the nine communities were available to be interviewed as some communities either did not have a queen or traditional priest/priestesses. Also some of the clan heads and asafo leaders had other engagements and so were not in town when the study was conducted. Purposive sampling, according to Sarantakos (1998), gives the researcher the opportunity to choose respondents who, in his opinion, are relevant to the research topic, the assumption is that with good judgment and appropriate strategy, one can select cases to be included in the sample that are satisfactory in relations to one's needs.

The last group of local government actors was made up of the core staff of the Municipal Assembly namely: the Municipal Chief Executive, the Coordinating Director, the Deputy Coordinating Director, the Planning Officer, the Finance Officer and the Budget Analyst. There were also the heads of Decentralised Departments and Agencies who by law are required to work closely with these core staff together with Assembly Members who are expected to play the role of decision makers, communicators, facilitators, negotiators and overseers of development at the local level. With the exception of Assembly Members whose opinions were used to confirm data from both local government actors and traditional authorities, the rest of the local government actors were purposively selected for the study. There were interactions, interviews using structured and unstructured questionnaire as well as focus group discussions in each of the nine

communities. Table 2 shows the sample category and the data collection method used.

Table 2: The samples and data collection methods

| Sample category | Total | Total in sample | Sampling method | Data collection methods |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| Household in community | 5793 | 130 | Random | Interview |
| Traditional authorities | | | | |
| Chiefs | 9 | 9 | Purposive | Interview |
| Queens | 9 | 5 | Purposive | Interview |
| Elders/clan heads | 63 | 23 | Purposive | Interview |
| Asafo leaders | 9 | 5 | Purposive | Interview |
| Akomfo | 9 | 4 | Purposive | Interview |
| Local government actors | | | | |
| Core staff | 6 | 6 | Purposive | Questionnaire |
| Heads of Department | 11 | 8 | Purposive | Questionnaire |
| Total | 5909 | 190 | | |

Source: Field survey, 2009

Sources of data

Data was sought from both primary and secondary sources. The primary source included government actors and staff of the Municipal Assembly, traditional authorities, opinion leaders, and inhabitants of Komenda Traditional

Area. Secondary sources included journals, published reports of discussions and conferences of chiefs and queens, local government agencies, the internet, as well as related published work by scholars.

Data collection instruments

Data collection in qualitative study usually involves techniques such as interviews, questionnaire, focus group discussion and observation. A combination of methods such as household surveys using interview guide for heads of households and traditional authorities was adopted for the collection of data for this research. Questionnaire was adopted for collecting data from local government officials. In addition, eight focus group discussion sessions was organised. Each group of participants was made up of seven individuals with similar characteristics (Table 3).

Table 3: Category of participants, total number and number of groups formed

| Category | Total number | Number of groups formed |
|-----------------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| Inhabitants | 21 | 3 |
| Elders | 14 | 2 |
| Assembly members | 7 | 1 |
| Headmen (care takers) | 7 | 1 |
| Opinion leaders | 7 | 1 |
| Total | 56 | 8 |

Source: Field survey, 2009

The participants of the focus group discussion were contacted through interactions with local leaders of the Traditional Area. The participants were briefed on the focus of the study and given a week notice and a reminder the day before the focus group. Primary data was collected from all three categories of respondents namely heads of households, traditional authorities and government officials (Appendix A-B). The questionnaires for all the groups covered the roles of traditional authorities in local level development. The questionnaires were mostly open ended. The questionnaire comprised seven sections. Section A considered the background characteristics of respondents; Section B covered the data on traditional authorities; Section C considered the relevance of traditional authorities in local governance; Section D assessed the roles and efficiency of chieftaincy systems in governance; Section E assessed the nature of the relationship between traditional authorities and local government system; Sections F assessed the integration of traditional authorities into formal local government system and Section G sought for recommendations and suggestions on how traditional authorities can be integrated into the formal local government process at the local level to achieve development.

Structured interviews were used as a data collection tool for traditional authorities and heads of households; however, focus group discussions remained the best tool of data collection from headmen, elders, assembly members, opinion leaders and inhabitants. Focus group discussion is a data collection technique extensively employed by social science researchers. It involves persons specially selected because of their expertise or position in the community in an attempt to

collect information on certain issues, as well as brainstorm on a number of solutions. As Patton (1990:224) points out, multiple sources of information are sought and used because no single source of information can be trusted to provide a comprehensive perspective. In addition, a combination of interviews, questionnaire and focus group discussion provides the researcher different data sources for triangulation in order to validate and cross-check its findings.

Pre-test

The researcher conducted a pre-test at Ekon and Efutu following the development of the questionnaire and interview schedules. These two communities in the Oguaa Traditional Area were selected for the household survey based on the similarities they share with communities within the Komenda Traditional Area. The initial questionnaire and interview models were administered by four field assistants who were recruited from the University of Cape Coast, who understood and could translate the instruments into the local Fanti dialect. The four field assistants were given a day's training on the instruments.

The questionnaire and interview schedules were administered to a representative sample of five chiefs, ten elders, ten heads of households in the two communities and eight officials from the Cape Coast Metropolitan Assembly with the view of detecting problems associated with question wording, format and relationship. The pre-test study revealed inconsistency and inaccuracy in the responses for certain questions indicating that perhaps some of the questions were

not properly framed or translated to elicit the right responses. For example, respondents did not understand who a government actor was but they were quick to identify government officials. The final schedule was revised based on the findings of the pre-test; the revised version helped a lot to increase the validity and reliability of the data collection instruments.

Data processing and analysis

Data gathered from the field was edited and coded to ensure that all interviews and focus group discussions were completed and transcribed containing relevant information needed for the study. The questionnaire were given serial numbers based on who was responding, and the community in which the person resides, with the ultimate view of facilitating easy identification. The responses were cleaned and grouped into identified emergent themes that were recurring in all the responses before inputting into the Statistical Product and Service Solutions (SPSS) software version 12 for analysis.

Issues from field

The field work began on the 3rd of February, 2009 and was intended to last for four weeks. However, the study took seven weeks due to the inability of the researcher to meet some of the traditional authorities in their home towns. Their regular absence was due to the fact that they were working in the formal sector and were residing in areas that were quite distant from the traditional area. They visited their traditional areas mostly on weekends.

Some traditional authorities also demanded to be paid before granting any interviews. This problem was resolved when the paramount chief invited the researcher into one of the traditional council meetings and formally introduced him to the council. As a result of the formal introduction the researcher only had to provide a bottle of schnapps in each community visited as a way of fulfilling the tradition of not visiting a traditional ruler empty handed.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter presents data gathered from the research survey on the nature of the institutional components of traditional authorities and how chieftaincy in particular functions in relation to governance and sustainable development. Frequency distributions are used to analyse all the responses gathered in each of the four sections of this chapter. The first section analyses the socio-economic and demographic profile of the respondents. The second sub-section describes the predominant traditional authority system in the study area. The third sub-section considers the various roles played by traditional authorities and examines the nature of the relationship between the traditional authorities and local government officials. The fourth and the final sub-section examines how traditional authorities, particularly chiefs, can be integrated into the formal local government process.

Demographic characteristics of respondents

Knowledge of the socio-cultural and economic characteristics of the respondents is very critical to this study in that it has an implication on the way respondents perceive the roles of decision makers and how their actions or

inactions inadvertently affect the well being of the respondents. The demographic characteristics considered relevant to the objectives of this study include sex, age, marital status, educational attainment, occupation and religious affiliation.

Sex distribution of respondents

Sex is a basic category by which the social world is organised and it also lays the framework within which individuals gain identities and formulate ideas, hence the need to analyse the sex of the respondents. The sex distribution of the respondents as shown in Table 4 shows that on the average there are more male (82.6%) than female (17.4%) traditional authorities. The most probable reason for this may be the age long tradition where leadership in the traditional society is male-value driven. Also, the most probable reason for the near equality of male heads of household (52.3%) and female heads of household (47.7%) may be due to the high out-migration of males from the study area. The proportion of male local government officials (78.6%) is higher than that of females (21.4%). The most probable reason for this may be the low education background of females in the district.

Table 4: Sex of respondents

| Responses | Heads of household | | Traditional authorities | | Local govt officials | | Total | |
|-----------|--------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | Freq. | % | Freq. | % | Freq. | % | Freq. | % |
| Male | 68 | 52.3 | 38 | 82.6 | 11 | 78.6 | 117 | 61.6 |
| Female | 62 | 47.7 | 8 | 17.4 | 3 | 21.4 | 73 | 38.4 |
| Total | 130 | 100.0 | 46 | 100.0 | 14 | 100.0 | 190 | 100.0 |

govt = government

Source: Field survey, 2009

Age distribution of respondents

In all societies, age is a standard measure used for entering or leaving social positions. It also serves as an influence on the perception of people. Based on these notions, the ages of the respondents were obtained. The ages of the respondents as displayed in Figure 5 shows that 66.4% of the respondents were above the age of 60 years. Since wisdom is associated with old age in the culture of the people it was not out of place to see most traditional authorities (76.1%) in the sample being 60 years and over.

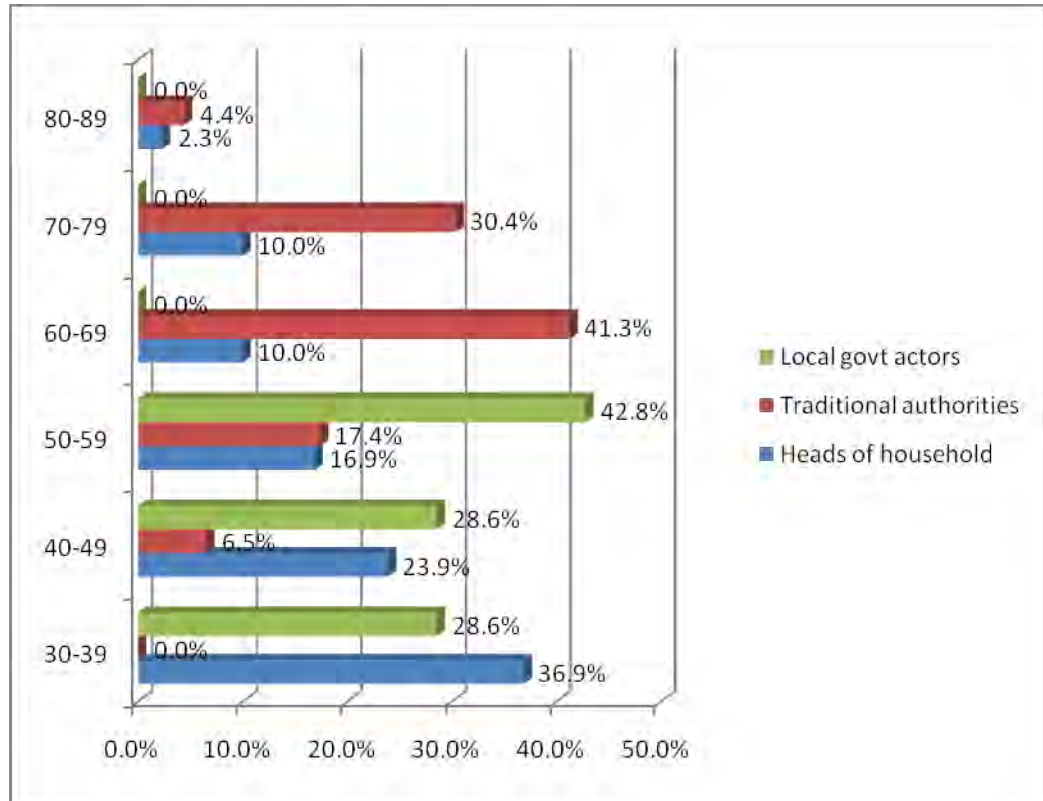


Figure 5: Age of respondents

Source: Field survey, 2009

Marital status of respondents

Respondents were classified according to their marital status because of the roles they play in decision making in the household. It is evident from Table 5 that although 47.9% of the respondents were married, the percentage of divorced traditional authorities (30.4%) was on a higher side. Again, no traditional authority respondent was found to be single confirming an already held notion that for one to become an advisor to any traditional authority one must have been married before since individuals who are married are tagged as being responsible.

Table 5: Marital status of respondents

| Responses | Heads of household | | Traditional authorities | | Local govt officials | | Total | |
|-----------|--------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | Freq. | % | Freq. | % | Freq. | % | Freq. | % |
| | Married | 71 | 54.6 | 10 | 21.7 | 10 | 71.4 | 91 |
| Divorced | 22 | 16.9 | 14 | 30.4 | 0 | 0.0 | 36 | 18.9 |
| Separated | 4 | 3.1 | 12 | 26.1 | 1 | 7.1 | 17 | 8.9 |
| Single | 21 | 16.2 | 0 | 0.0 | 2 | 14.3 | 23 | 12.1 |
| Widowed | 12 | 9.2 | 10 | 21.7 | 1 | 7.1 | 23 | 12.1 |
| Total | 130 | 100.0 | 46 | 100.0 | 14 | 100.0 | 190 | 100.0 |

Source: Field survey, 2009

Educational attainment of respondents

As far as educational attainment is concerned, Table 6 shows that the majority (66.3%) of the respondents have had some sort of education. However, a little above 54% of traditional authority respondents had no formal education. “No formal education” in this context means they have never been to school. However, as expected, all the local government officials had achieved a tertiary educational attainment, defined to include post secondary, polytechnic and university education.

Table 6: Educational attainment of respondents

| Responses | Heads of household | | Traditional authorities | | Local govt officials | | Total | |
|---------------|---------------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|----------------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| | Freq. | % | Freq. | % | Freq. | % | Freq. | % |
| | No formal education | 39 | 30.0 | 25 | 54.3 | 0 | 0.0 | 64 |
| Primary | 21 | 16.2 | 7 | 15.2 | 0 | 0.0 | 28 | 14.7 |
| Middle/ JHS | 17 | 13.1 | 5 | 10.9 | 0 | 0.0 | 22 | 11.6 |
| Secondary/SHS | 46 | 35.4 | 9 | 19.6 | 0 | 0.0 | 55 | 28.9 |
| Tertiary | 7 | 5.4 | 0 | 0.0 | 14 | 100 | 21 | 11.1 |
| Total | 130 | 100.0 | 46 | 100.0 | 14 | 100.0 | 190 | 100.0 |

Source: Field survey, 2009

Occupational distribution of respondents

The occupational distribution of the respondents as presented in Table 7 reveals that about 21% of the respondents are farmers although almost 24% of traditional authorities were either retired or on pension. Most local government officials were civil servants (92.9%), while 24.6% of heads of households were artisans involved in dressmaking, carpentry, hairdressing and masonry.

Table 7: Occupation of respondents

| Responses | Heads of | | Traditional | | Local govt | | Total | |
|-------------------|------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| | households | | authorities | | officials | | | |
| | Freq | % | Freq. | % | Freq. | % | Freq. | % |
| Farming | 28 | 21.5 | 12 | 26.1 | 0 | 0.0 | 40 | 21.1 |
| Fishing | 18 | 13.8 | 3 | 6.5 | 0 | 0.0 | 21 | 11.1 |
| Trading | 22 | 16.9 | 6 | 13.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 28 | 14.7 |
| Civil servant | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 13 | 92.9 | 13 | 6.8 |
| Teacher | 9 | 6.9 | 2 | 4.3 | 1 | 7.1 | 12 | 6.3 |
| Artisan | 32 | 24.6 | 7 | 15.2 | 0 | 0.0 | 39 | 20.5 |
| Retired/Pensioner | 12 | 9.2 | 11 | 23.9 | 0 | 0.0 | 23 | 12.1 |
| No response | 9 | 6.9 | 5 | 10.9 | 0 | 0.0 | 14 | 7.4 |
| Total | 130 | 100.0 | 46 | 100.0 | 14 | 100.0 | 190 | 100.0 |

Source: Field survey, 2009

Religious affiliation of respondents

From Figure 6, most (nearly 80%) of the respondents were Christians of various denominations namely, Catholic, Pentecostal, Protestant and Charismatic. Among this group the Protestants were the largest with 34.2% which is sharply different from the municipal average of 16.3%. Traditional religion accounted for 11.1% while those who professed to have no religion were about 5.8%. Only 3.7% adhered to the Islamic faith.

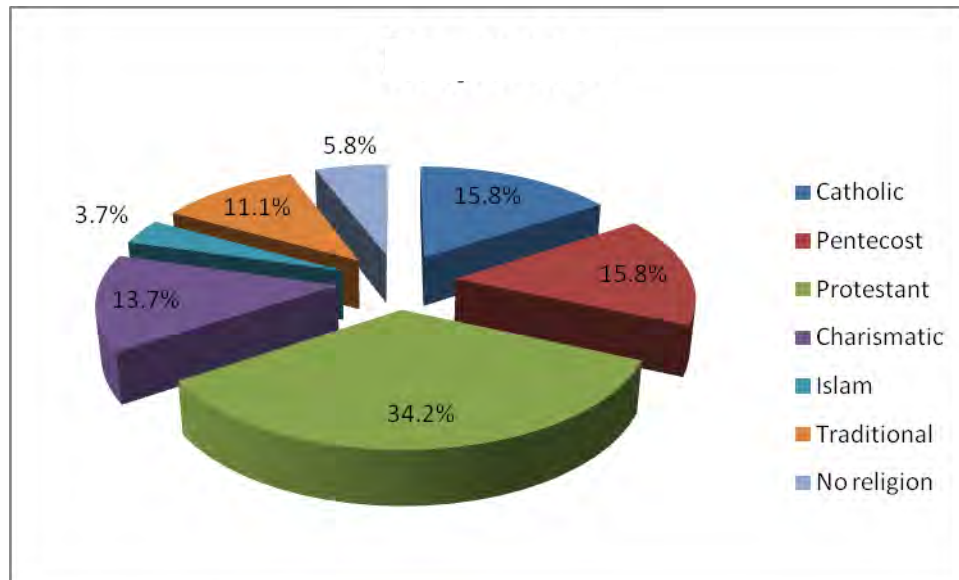


Figure 6: Religious affiliation of respondents

Source: Field survey, 2009

Description of traditional authorities in the Komenda Traditional Area

This section outlines the prevailing traditional authority system in the Komenda Traditional Area. The purpose of this section is to examine the traditional authority structures and how it can be integrated into the decentralisation process to ensure a sustained development and efficient local level governance. The traditional authority system in the Komenda Traditional Area is made up of the following institutions:

- Chiefs (Ahenfo)
- Queens (Ahembaa)
- Clan heads (Ebusuapanyinfo)
- Elders (Mpanyinfo)
- Asafo/youth leaders (Supi)

- Traditional priest/priestesses (Akomfo)

The leadership and authority of the Komenda traditional area is vested in these institutions. Before the arrival of colonial rule, these institutions formed the bedrock of local governance and were tasked to ensure peace and development in the traditional state (Oman). All towns, villages and hamlets in the traditional area had their places within these institutions to make for balance and effective administration.

The leadership hierarchy of the Komenda State as depicted in Figure 7 shows that the head of the state (oman) is the “Omanhene” or paramount chief, the overall overlord and the ultimate unifier of the land. It is the highest position any chief can assume in the “oman”. The “omanhene” is at the apex of all the chiefs in the traditional area. Next after the “omanhene”, as in the case of most Akan states, are the semi autonomous divisional chiefs (Ohene) and the “Odikrow” who are very powerful and have overall responsibilities of the divisional areas. The divisional chiefs have authority over a number of “odikrow” who owe allegiance to them. In practical terms, every category of chiefs has its own village chiefs. The divisional chiefs are appointed based on the historical antecedent, the vast area they occupy and their commitment and sense of duty to the state. The divisional chiefs are sometimes referred to as “Apankanmuhene” because they are, by virtue of the position, allowed to ride in palanquins just like the “omanhene”.

However, some “odikrowfo”, at the discretion of the “omanhene”, are also allowed to ride in palanquins even though they are not divisional chiefs. Below

the odikrow are the various village chiefs or headmen who are caretakers tasked to oversee the land and properties of the divisional chiefs. The smallest units made up of between four to ten huts in hamlets like Kwadaso, Kokwado and Moto are headed by clan/lineage heads (Ebusuapanyinfo) who are elders of the family group that traces its ancestry through the same matrilineage. All chiefs/heads have their female counterparts called “ahembaa” and “obaapanyin” which correspond to the “omanhene”, “ohene” and “panyin” respectively.

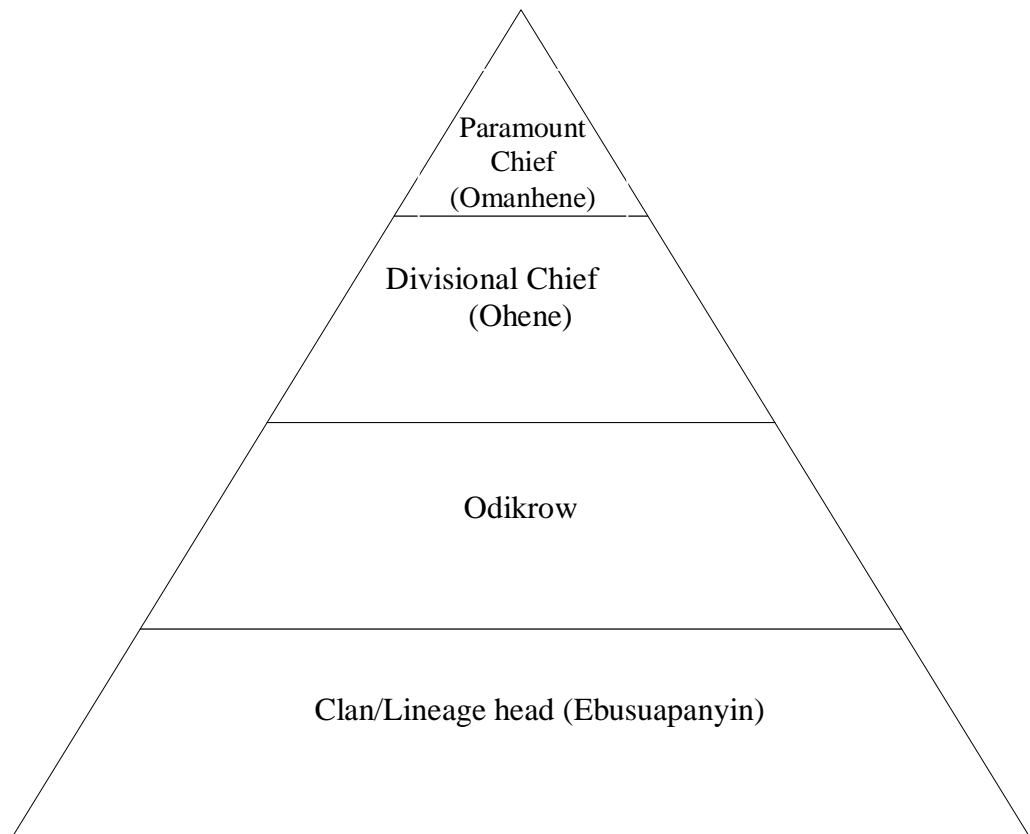


Figure 7: Authority structure of Komenda Traditional State

Source: Field survey, 2009

The Komenda State has a council of elders with which the traditional authority governs the various communities. At the paramountcy level, the traditional council comprises the permanent members namely the “omanhene”, “ohembaa”, divisional chiefs and non permanent members appointed by the “omanhene” which includes the sub-chiefs in charge of finance and fisheries.

The divisional level is made up of the divisional chief (Ohene) in charge of the division, his “ohembaa”, “odikrowfo” (ohene) and “ebusuapanyinfo”. At the village level it is the “odikrow”, “obaapanyin”, “ebusuapanyinfo” together with headmen who are responsible for governing the village. The power and decision making authority shows the “omanhene” at the apex and the clan/lineage heads at the bottom of the pyramid. The “omanhene” draw’s his authority from the various layers of the structure. However, he does not necessarily control the daily administration of the other layers.

The structure of the traditional council

The wars that existed in pre-colonial times ensured that Komenda was modelled around the military pattern to ensure the security and safety of the resources within the state. Table 8 shows the titles and responsibilities of all the members of the Komenda Traditional Council. Even though most of the occupants of these titles were expected to play a particular role during war times, others were created to ensure utmost efficiency in the administration of the state, the chief’s palace or the chief’s household.

Table 8: Position and responsibility of Komenda Traditional Council

| Position/Title | Responsibility |
|----------------|--|
| Omahene | Overlord of the state (Commander- in-chief) |
| Ohembaa | Nominate candidates for the position of a chief as well as a wise counsel, especially on issues relating to women. |
| Adontenhene | Captain of the advance guard command |
| Twafohene | Lieutenant of Reconnaissance force |
| Nifahene | Captain of the right wing command |
| Benkumhene | Captain of the left wing command |
| Kyidomhene | Captain of the rear guard command |
| Sanaahene | Treasurer of the traditional council |
| Gyaasehene | Administrator/Chief of Staff of the Omahene |
| Tufohene | Chief legal Advisor to the Omahene |
| Sarakyi | Chief of the Zongo community |
| Apofohene | Chief Fisherman |
| Okyeame | Chief Linguist/ Spokesman of chief |
| Registrar | Secretary of the council |

Source: Field survey, 2009

In recent years, because of the diversity of people that reside within the state, other leaders, such as the chief of the Zongo community, have been allowed to join the traditional council to further the interest of their followers.

The status of chiefs in local governance

The chieftaincy institution in Ghana, as described by Oseadeeyo Addo Dankwa III (2004), is nobody's creation and therefore cannot be easily destroyed. In the traditional governance set-up, the chief has legislative, judicial, administrative, political and executive functions. Before any one ascends to the throne to become a chief, his life is his own; however, the moment he ascends the throne his way of life is tied to the demands of the stool which he occupies and the traditions and customs of the people he is supposed to lead. A chief is supposed to be a man with an unblemished character, one whose character embodies decency, hard work and diligence. A role model for the community, a chief is highly respected because he is considered very capable to lead and speak on behalf of his people. In recent years, modern institutional frameworks have taken over virtually all the functions that chiefs performed, leaving the position of the chief as merely ceremonial and ineffective. Chiefs have been the unifying factor not only in their communities but also the nation as a whole. Chiefs and religious leaders have been relied upon to mediate disputes at all levels of the nation. However, the numerous chieftaincy disputes have also projected the institution and its principal actors as problematic and a time bomb ready to explode.

The question on the relevance of traditional authorities to local governance was posed to all three categories of respondents. In the case of the chiefs as shown in Table 9, an overwhelming 95.8% of the respondents felt that chiefs were still relevant to their needs; just over 3% felt that chiefs were not relevant. One person

representing 0.5% of the respondents could not state whether chiefs are relevant or not.

Table 9: Relevance of chiefs to local governance

| Responses | Heads of household | | Traditional authorities | | Local govt officials | | Total | |
|--------------|--------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | Freq. | % | Freq. | % | Freq. | % | Freq. | % |
| | Relevant | 122 | 93.8 | 46 | 100 | 14 | 100 | 182 |
| Not relevant | 7 | 5.4 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 7 | 3.7 |
| Don't know | 1 | 0.8 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 1 | 0.5 |
| Total | 130 | 100.0 | 46 | 100.0 | 14 | 100.0 | 190 | 100.0 |

Source: Field survey, 2009

The status of queens in local governance

The study established that the institution of queens was parallel to that of the chiefs and queens play a prominent role in the administration of the state. The hierarchy has Ohembaa (queen mother) as the female counterpart of the “Omanhene” and “Ohene”, and “Obaapanyin” as the female counterpart of Odikrow. The majority (92.6%) of the respondents confirmed the status of queenmothers in local governance. The assigned reasons for their relevance included the promotion of the welfare of women, educating young girls on traditional values and seeing to the preservation of societal and cultural values. A minority (4.2%) that saw queens as not relevant in modern day Ghana alluded to

the trouble they cause in the selection of successors to occupy the chieftaincy stool. However, 3.2% of the respondent did not know whether queens were relevant or not.

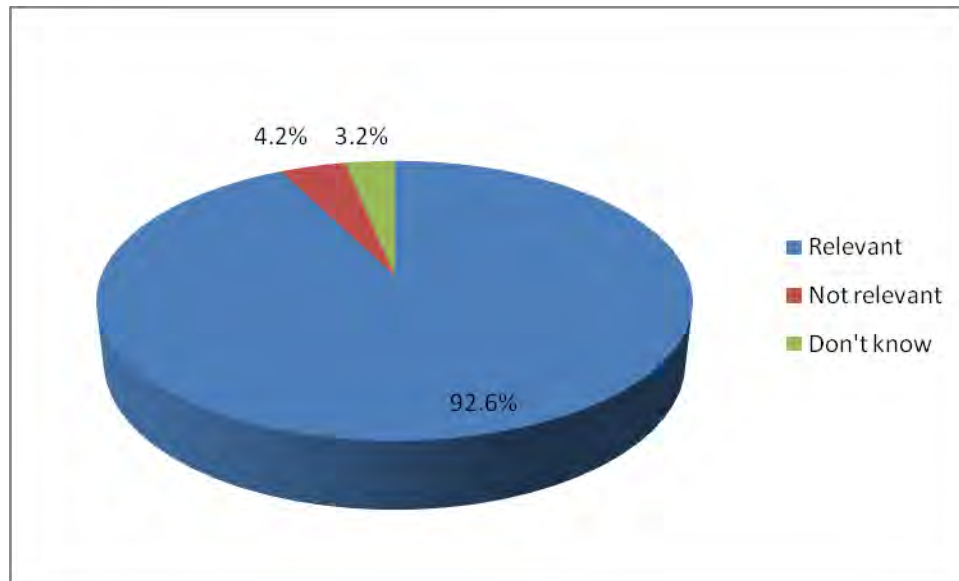


Figure 8: Relevance of queens to local governance

Source: Field survey, 2009

The status of clan heads in local governance

The status of the clan heads in local governance cannot be over emphasised. Clan/lineage heads are leaders of groups of families who trace their ancestry to a common matrilineage. The Komenda State has seven clans each headed by an ebusuapanyin who, most often than not, is the eldest in the family. There is also a distinctive symbol to differentiate one clan from the other. Table 10 identifies the seven clans in the Komenda Traditional Area and their totems.

Table 10: The seven clans and their totem

| Clan | Totem |
|-----------|--------------------|
| Nsona | Akonkoran (Crow) |
| Kwona | Eko (Buffalo) |
| Aboradze | Boredze (Plantain) |
| Anona | Ekoo (Parrot) |
| Twidan | Twii (leopard) |
| Ntwa | Bodom (Dog) |
| Adwenadze | Adwen (Mudfish) |

Source: Field survey, 2009

When the respondents were asked about the relevance of clan/lineage heads in local governance in the traditional area, 98.4% said clan heads are still relevant in local governance. The reasons given for their relevance included settlement of disputes and conflicts between family members, helping chiefs in decision making and most importantly providing land for development purposes. Commenting on the roles of clan heads, majority of the contributors to the focus group discussion mentioned the key involvement of clan heads in the burial of a family member, and considered them as relevant to local governance. In an interview, one queen mother stated that “since governance is about the welfare of the people and the clan heads are always there for the people it wouldn’t be out of place to say that they are relevant to local governance”.

As shown in Table 11, one percent of the respondents were of the view that clan heads are not relevant in local governance. The reasons why they said

clan heads were not relevant included the manner in which clan heads dispose of family resources such as land placed in their care and the fact that they do not operate an ‘open door policy’ in accounting for these resources.

Table 11: Relevance of clan heads to local governance

| Responses | Heads of household | | Traditional authorities | | Local govt officials | | Total | |
|--------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|----------------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| | Freq. | % | Freq. | % | Freq. | % | Freq. | % |
| | Relevant | 128 | 98.5 | 46 | 100 | 13 | 92.9 | 187 |
| Not relevant | 1 | 0.8 | 0 | 0.0 | 1 | 7.1 | 2 | 1.1 |
| Don't know | 1 | 0.8 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 1 | 0.5 |
| Total | 130 | 100.0 | 46 | 100.0 | 14 | 100.0 | 190 | 100.0 |

Source: Field survey, 2009

The status of Asafo companies in local governance

The Asafo institution is one of the age-long institutions that have co-existed with the chieftaincy institutions. Komenda places a lot of emphasis on the asafo company as a feature of the political and organisational structure of the state. The Asafo companies identified in the Komenda State included Ankobea (home guard), Enyampa (search party), Anfer (not shy of anything), Wombir (Scouting guard) and Akyem (small but beautiful). All these companies are located at each level of the traditional structure of the state namely divisions, towns and villages. As was illustrated by the Supi of Enyampa in an interview in

Komenda, “No Fante is allowed to belong to his father’s lineage (ebusua). However, in the case of asafo you are allowed to join your father’s asafo company”. Membership of these asafo companies is patrilineal and both sons and daughters belong to their father’s asafo group. The overall head of all the asafo companies is the Tufuhene who is the divisional chief with oversight responsibility on arms and war matters. In times of war, each asafo company is expected to provide a number of their members to form the Omanhene’s asafo company to defend the Oman.

The asafo group has its own structure. The Supi is the supreme commander followed by asafohene (commander of each group) who are appointed by the Odikrow in consultation with the council of elders. The asafo groups have their own linguists, drumbeaters and disciplinarians who are taken to support the asafohene in the administration of the group. The respondents were asked if asafo leaders were relevant to local governance administration, considering the fact that their core functions were military in nature and geared towards protecting individuals and resources, a responsibility that is handled by the police. Most (80.0%) of the respondents were of the opinion that asafo leaders are still relevant to local governance. The reasons assigned included the maintenance of societal cohesion, spearheading communal labour and a point of contact for the dissemination of information. The asafo leaders were also seen as vital group in cases of emergency.

A divisional chief contributing to the relevance of asafo in local governance praised the crucial role played by the members and the leaders of the

asafo groups in the search and rescue of a young lady who went missing for three days after visiting her parents' farm. However, 17.9% of the respondents were of the view that asafo companies are not relevant in local governance as more often than not, they are used by other traditional authorities to foment trouble in the community. Just about 2% of the respondents did not know whether asafo companies were relevant or not (Table 12).

Table 12: Relevance of Asafo heads to local governance

| Responses | Heads of household | | Traditional authorities | | Local govt officials | | Total | |
|--------------|--------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | Freq. | % | Freq. | % | Freq. | % | Freq. | % |
| | Relevant | 94 | 72.3 | 46 | 100 | 12 | 85.7 | 152 |
| Not relevant | 32 | 24.6 | 0 | 0.0 | 2 | 14.3 | 34 | 17.9 |
| Don't know | 4 | 3.1 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 4 | 2.1 |
| Total | 130 | 100.0 | 46 | 100.0 | 14 | 100.0 | 190 | 100.0 |

Source: Field survey, 2009

The focus group discussion involving the elders and opinion leaders revealed that the vibrancy of the asafo company has dwindled because most young men and women have moved out of the communities to seek for jobs; as a result, the membership drive has gone down.

The status of Akomfo in local governance

The traditional priests/priestesses (Akomfo) even though are part of the traditional council, rarely attend traditional council meetings. The institution of Akomfo can be found at all levels of the traditional authority structure. The Akomfo who are caretakers of the various shrines in the traditional area are the spiritual leaders who serve as a line between the ancestors and the living. They are tasked to intercede on behalf of the living and communicate with the omnipresent who cannot be seen. The chief priest, in an interview, stated that the chief shrine in the Komenda Traditional Area is “Dadziban” who has siblings at Kormantsi and Abandzi, both fishing communities along the coastal line. The chief shrine has rites performed bi-annually; one after Easter and the second one in the second week of December. During this time, nobody is allowed to pound fufu at night, go close to the shrine wearing sandals, or wear black clothing. There are smaller shrines like Nana Kobril, linguist of all the shrines in the traditional area, which is located at the Komenda Training College, and Asaba situated at the Komenda police station.

Each Okomfo has special duties; there are those in charge of fishing who are supposed to ensure bumper harvest or consulted to speak to the gods when there is any problem related to fishing. There are also those in charge of protection, such as warding off epidemics like cholera and chicken pox. In the olden days, the Okomfo was consulted by the chiefs in times of war or on the outbreak of an epidemic. In recent times, their role has been limited to the protection of natural resources and healing the sick. The majority (71.7%) of the

respondents were of the view that Akomfo are still relevant to local governance. The reasons assigned for this assertion includes their provision of spiritual support for the community, discovering herbal treatment for certain sickness and influencing the morality of the people.

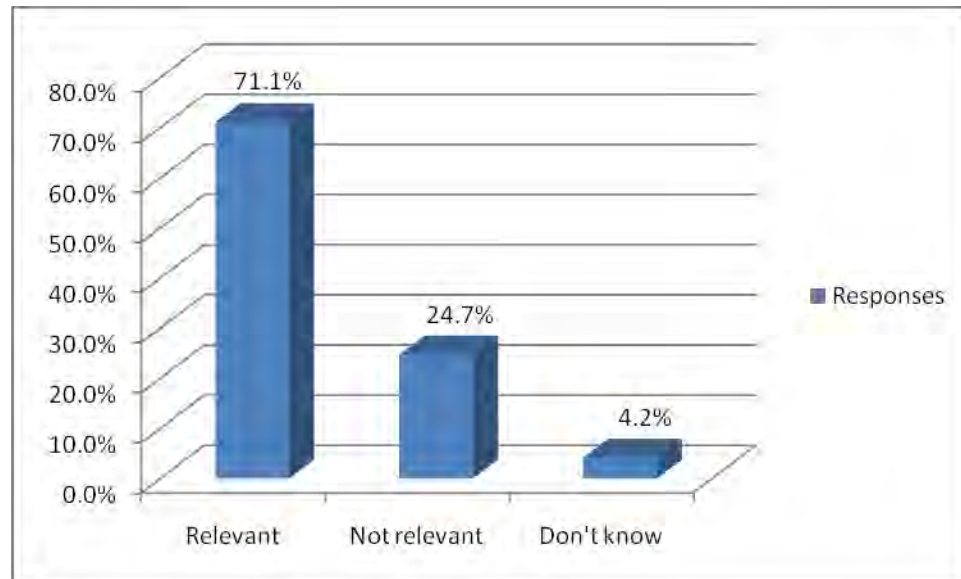


Figure 9: Relevance of Akomfo to local governance

Source: Field survey, 2009

However, about 24.7% of the respondents were of the view that Akomfo were not relevant to local governance, citing reasons such as the unnecessary fear they impose in people, the confusion they create and the aggravation of people's illness due to their lack of knowledge in herbal medicine. One major problem that came out of the focus group discussion held for inhabitants and headmen was the rapid decline of the Akomfo institution as a result of the proliferation of Christianity and Islam in most of these communities. Komenda seems to be the only town in the research area that still holds Akomfo in high esteem. One elder,

in an interview at Komenda, complained about the lack of interest of the Omanhene in the activities of the traditional priest/priestess because he, the Omanhene, claims to be a Christian. Even though majority of the respondents claimed that Akomfo are still relevant in modern day Ghana, they wish that Akomfo remove the fetish aspects of their herbal treatment of the sick.

Roles of chiefs

Presented in Table 13 is the list of suggested roles identified by the respondents as those performed by chiefs in the traditional area. The roles mentioned include maintaining law and order, mobilising people for development, disseminating information, managing community resources and mobilising people for development projects. Although, the discussion outlined the specific roles played by all categories of chiefs the common goal was to seek the overall well being of their people.

The roles played by the paramount chief to ensure good governance and development included enacting and enforcing bye-laws, settling disputes, especially those that are thorny in nature, promoting and sustaining traditional values, and providing financial support to the needy in the communities. The respondents also mentioned the invaluable support that queenmothers give to the chiefs in terms of advice at all levels of the traditional hierarchy as the most crucial role played by these queens in the community. The focus group discussion held for elders revealed that queens were generally accepted together

with chiefs and other traditional authorities as playing a critical role to the overall well being of their communities.

As the female counterpart of chiefs, queens were identified to play roles such as enstooling and destooling chiefs, settling disputes, especially between women, intervening in marriage conflicts, advocating for the welfare of women in areas such as loan sourcing and unemployment, and educating young girls on reproductive health issues like HIV/AIDS and teenage pregnancy. However, it came to light during the focus group discussions that some of the villages did not have queens and as such did not see the essence of the roles they perform. An elder in Kwahenkrom during the focus group discussion held in that community stated that “we know the essence of the roles performed by queens; however, all those who are currently in line to the stool are uneducated so we have decided to wait until we get an educated person before we enstool her”. This assertion confirms the importance the community attaches to education and the educative roles played by queens.

The discussion revealed further that the roles of the divisional and sub-divisional chiefs include supporting the paramount chief in the administration of the traditional area, managing the resources of the communities they oversee, receiving visitors and ensuring unity among various families within their jurisdiction. Settling disputes, managing community resources and royalties, promoting and sustaining traditional values were mentioned by respondents as roles played by the divisional and sub-divisional chiefs. Similarly the roles of elders and headmen were mentioned as supporting chiefs in their administration,

managing family resources, promoting and sustaining traditional values, settling dispute, liaising between the chief and his people and above all ensuring unity among family members.

The roles as illustrated in Table 13 were seen to facilitate political development through the advice they offer to government officials on issues of major concerns to their various communities for action to be taken. For instance, a household head in Sefwi in the Komenda traditional area confirmed the role played by the Sanaahene and chief of Sefwi in securing a Junior High School for children of the Sefwi community who, before then, had to travel along the dangerous highway to attend Junior High School in the nearby village, rather than a public toilet facility. The political role of the chief in the past used to be associated with its military functions as the commander in charge of security. That political role is now limited to helping his people to understand government policies and programs, taking decisions that would promote the welfare of his people, and ensuring peace and harmony that would create the enabling environment for development.

Table 13: Roles of chiefs

| Roles | Heads of household | | Traditional authorities | | Local government officials | | Total | |
|---|--------------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|----------------------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| | Freq. | % | Freq. | % | Freq. | % | Freq. | % |
| Settle dispute and manage conflict | 37 | 28.5 | 4 | 8.7 | 1 | 7.1 | 42 | 22.1 |
| Mobilise people for development | 13 | 10.0 | 8 | 17.4 | 4 | 28.6 | 25 | 13.2 |
| Making customary law | 7 | 5.4 | 5 | 10.9 | 1 | 7.1 | 13 | 6.8 |
| Maintains law and order | 12 | 9.2 | 1 | 2.2 | 0 | 0.0 | 13 | 6.8 |
| Protect and manage community resources | 14 | 10.8 | 5 | 10.9 | 3 | 21.4 | 22 | 11.6 |
| Disseminate information | 8 | 6.2 | 7 | 15.2 | 2 | 14.3 | 17 | 8.9 |
| Link between the community and outsiders | 6 | 4.6 | 3 | 6.5 | 0 | 0.0 | 9 | 4.7 |
| Solicit and initiate development projects | 26 | 20.0 | 10 | 21.7 | 2 | 14.3 | 38 | 20.0 |
| Preserve traditions and customs | 5 | 3.8 | 3 | 6.5 | 2 | 7.1 | 9 | 4.7 |
| No comments | 2 | 1.5 | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 2 | 1.1 |
| Total | 130 | 100.0 | 46 | 100.0 | 14 | 100.0 | 190 | 100.0 |

Source: Field survey, 2009

The chiefs facilitate economic development by mobilising local resources such as the branding of fort, historical caves and the sugar factory to promote tourism, collecting royalties and levies accruing from the quarry, and providing land and other natural resources for development purposes. Funds realised from the imposition of fines by the traditional courts and royalties received on certain local resources are used in the provision of developmental projects, such as the provision of electricity poles and potable drinking water.

Similarly, the chiefs contribute to the social development of their people by mobilising the community for communal labour and helping to keep societal values, norms and practices. The contribution of chiefs to social development as identified in the study contradicts the claims of ECA (2007) that traditional authorities impede the pace of development as they reduces the relevance of the state in the area of social services. One divisional chief in an interview on the social role of chiefs maintained that “As a person, the chief is considered an embodiment of cultural heritage, and to build on community cohesion he brings his people together during the traditional festivals”.

Chieftaincy institution and local level governance

Chieftaincy in Ghana, as already stated, is modelled in a hierarchical structure with different levels of authority. One of the divisional chiefs, reacting to the question of the structure of chieftaincy and local governance stated that

The paramount chief still holds that power in terms of governance and so when you are taking any decision which you think borders

on the traditional area you need to first inform him. If you look at the indirect rule system, the colonial masters saw the important roles chiefs play in governance hence the desire to use them. If you want to manage the affairs of the people, you need the chief; that was why the indirect rule used them to push certain policies and they were successful (Field survey, 2009).

This statement confirms what Bacho (2001) said in relation to the wide range of powers that were given to the traditional chiefs under the native authority system. According to Bacho (2001), the administrative, legislative and judicial functions of chiefs in the native authority system ensured local development with regards to how customary issues, revenue mobilisation and expenditure were controlled for the effective governance of the traditional state.

In the normal course of local governance, the legislative roles of chiefs are projected by the way they, in consultation with their elders, make rules bordering on the political, social and economic well being of their people. In the course of performing their judicial roles, they give judgment, arbitrate, and influence resource management. Chiefs are indeed regarded as intermediaries between the living and the dead, and together with the fetish priest they present a symbolic authority that is capable of evoking sanctions on members of the community. One opinion leader, in emphasising the chieftaincy institution in relation to local governance stated categorically that “chiefs are the first to know when there is any disaster such as bushfires, pollution or environmental degradation because the people believe in their capability as leaders in the local area to solve the

situation”(Field survey, 2009). This statement made by the opinion leader supports what Gyapong (2005) said when he stated that chieftaincy and all that goes with it is bound within the fabric of social, cultural and spiritual life of the people. As already mentioned, for most people, particularly those in the rural areas, the only authority visible in their community is the chieftaincy institution.

Although the role of chiefs in local governance has changed over the years, many individuals and communities still appreciate the sort of leadership this institution presents at the local level. In this respect, respondents were asked to state how they perceive the institution of chiefs in relation to local level governance. From Figure 10, it is evident that with the exception of traditional authorities, 85.7% local government officials and 33.1% heads of households perceived the role of chiefs in relation to local level governance as bad. The reasons assigned for these responses include their inability to consult widely before decisions are taken, their inability to settle dispute amicably and the fact that chiefs do not follow laid down rules in the governance of the traditional state. As expected, traditional authorities (93.5%) perceive the institution of chiefs in relation to local level governance as very good. The reasons assigned for this response includes creating equal opportunity for all individuals in the state, explanation of their actions or inactions and impartial enforcement of bye laws in the traditional area.

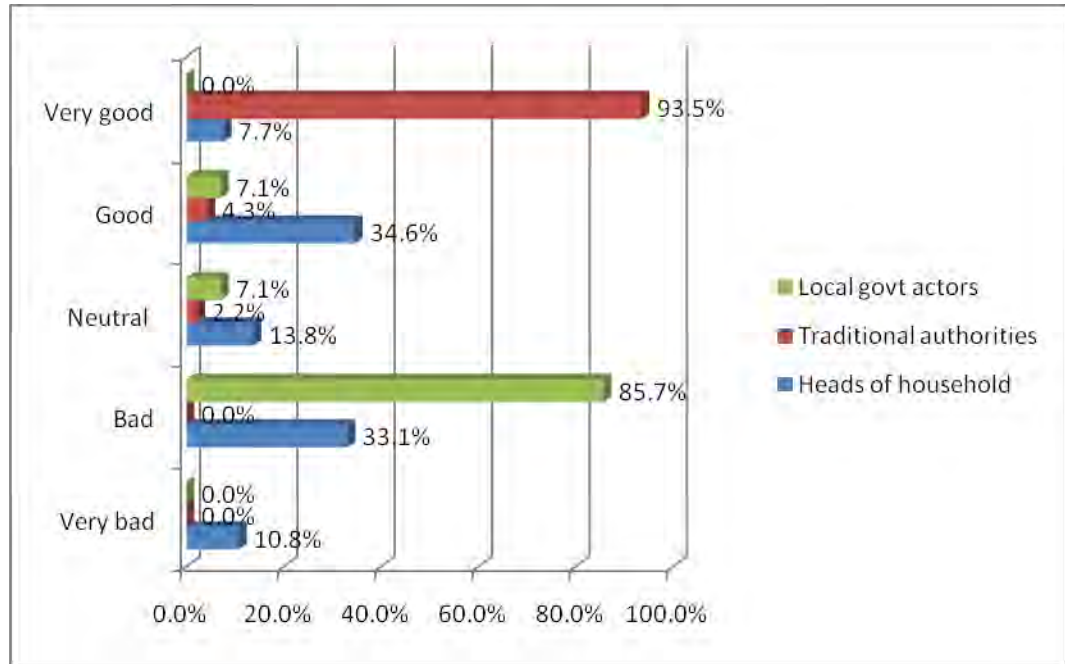


Figure 10: Chieftaincy institution and local level governance

Source: Field survey, 2009

The responses of the local government officials confirms the widely held perception that the chieftaincy institution is fraught with a lot of conflicts and disputes and as such can not govern the local people without running into serious difficulties. The focus group discussion held for assembly members and inhabitants confirmed this perception and even came out with additional reasons such as the chief's inability to consult widely in decision-making, and the fact that they are neither transparent nor accountable for their actions. This was strongly disputed by one divisional chief. According to him, decisions taken in the traditional area are subject to thorough discussion at the various community centres and also they render accounts to the people and they are transparent in all their dealings.

The next issue considered was to examine the nature of the relationship between traditional authorities and local government agencies. It became clear during the interviews and focus group discussion that the relationship between traditional authorities and local government agencies was on the whole cordial. This view was aptly expressed by the paramount chief in an interview at Komenda. Placing their relationship into context, the paramount chief said “traditional chiefs do not have what it takes in terms of resources to meet the development needs of their people; however, the municipal assembly on the other hand hold the public purse so we (the chiefs) are bound to work cordially with them if we want to get any development projects”. According to the District Coordinating Director, the Assembly works together with the traditional authorities because they see themselves as partners and perhaps have the same goal of bringing development to the local people.

Figure 11 shows that 66.4% of the respondents were of the view that the nature of the relationship between the traditional authorities and the local government agencies were either very cordial, cordial or fairly cordial. The reasons assigned for these responses include the respect they show for each other’s office, the trust that exist between the traditional authorities and the government agencies, and also because, they both seek the welfare of the people. They are therefore seen to be working together cordially for mutual benefit. One elder commenting on the relationship between traditional authority and local government agencies in an interview indicated the fact that the relationship between them is fairly cordial. He said “it is like we are begging them to give us a

role to play, they have the people they deal with, and they only come to us when they need us to provide land and communal labour”.

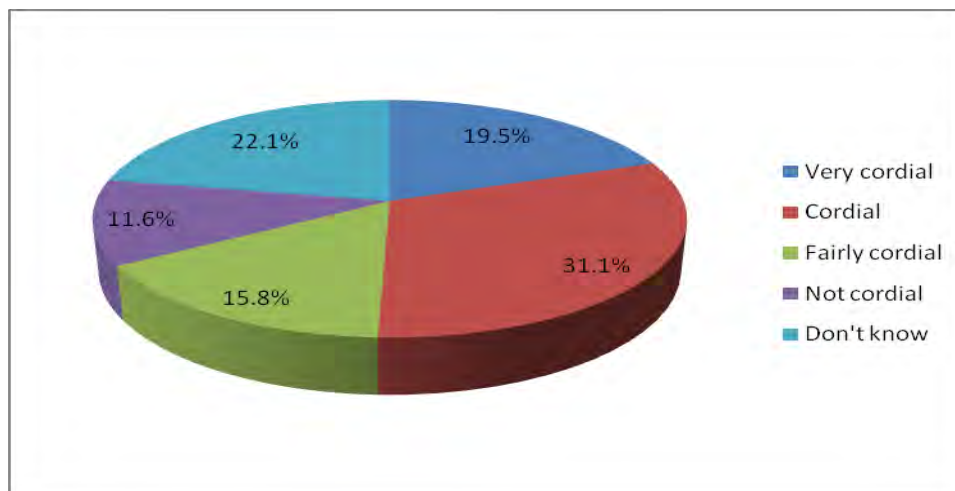


Figure 11: Relationship between Traditional Authorities and Local Government Agencies

Source: Field survey, 2009

However, 11.6% of the respondents were of the view that the relationship between the traditional authorities and the local government agencies were not cordial. Reasons assigned for this response include the lack of respect that the local government agencies exhibit in their dealing with the traditional authorities and also their inability to agree on most developmental issues. One local government official reiterated the fact that there is no trust between the Assembly and the traditional authorities so he would not consider the relationship as cordial since they are always at loggerheads when it comes to taking vital decisions.

A divisional chief, commenting on the relationship between the traditional authorities and the local government agencies, stated that the Heads of Departments in the Assembly do not show them (the chiefs) any respect

especially the sub-divisional chiefs. According to this divisional chief “any time you go to the Assembly for help on issues that concern your area you are made to wait for several hours like any other visitor and they sometimes do not even give a listening ear to your problem, they will just tell you that we will work on it but they never do”. Also, 22.1% of the respondents said they did not know the nature of the relationship between the traditional authorities and the local government agencies because they were not privy to the way they relate to each other.

Issues of conflict between Traditional Authorities and the Municipal Assembly

Respondents were also asked whether there was any conflict between Traditional Authorities and the Municipal Assembly. Figure 12 shows that 43.7% felt that there was no conflict while 34.2% did not know whether any conflict existed. On the other hand, 22.1% of the respondents felt there was conflict. The issues raised to buttress the point that conflict exists include the non-involvement of traditional authorities in the decision making process, allocation of development projects, collection of revenue, and legislative issues. For instance one of the queenmothers in an interview recounted the tension that ensued between her and the Assembly on issues relating to women in her community accessing poverty alleviation funds, and the lack of respect showed her when she tried to follow up at the Assembly.

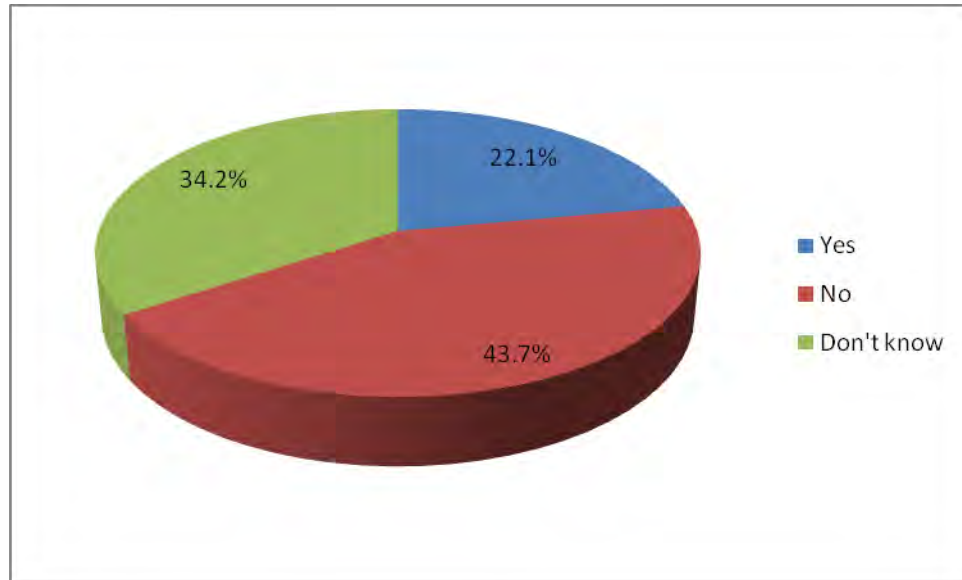


Figure 12: Existence of conflicts between Traditional Authorities and Local Government Officials

Source: Field survey, 2009

Similar sentiments were expressed by a divisional chief who said “Surely there is conflict; it is a form of cold war. You wouldn’t see it, but it exists. We the traditional authorities see ourselves as the overlord and rulers of the people while the Municipal Chief Executive and the Assembly members also see themselves as representing the people and the president; as such whatever they say must be final”. It is clear from the comments from the various sources that conflict existed in the traditional area. The Supi of Anfer asafo company in an interview complained about unit committee members and assembly members who, according to him, have taken over the roles of the asafo companies, rendering them ineffective in decision-making.

To this end, respondents were asked if it was important to have a representative of the chief serving in the Municipal Assembly. Figure 13 shows

that an overwhelming 76.3% said that chiefs must be represented at the assembly, 11.1% said no while 12.1% were uncertain. Only one respondent gave no response, an indication that majority of the people would want to see some sort of representation of traditional authorities at the Municipal Assembly level.

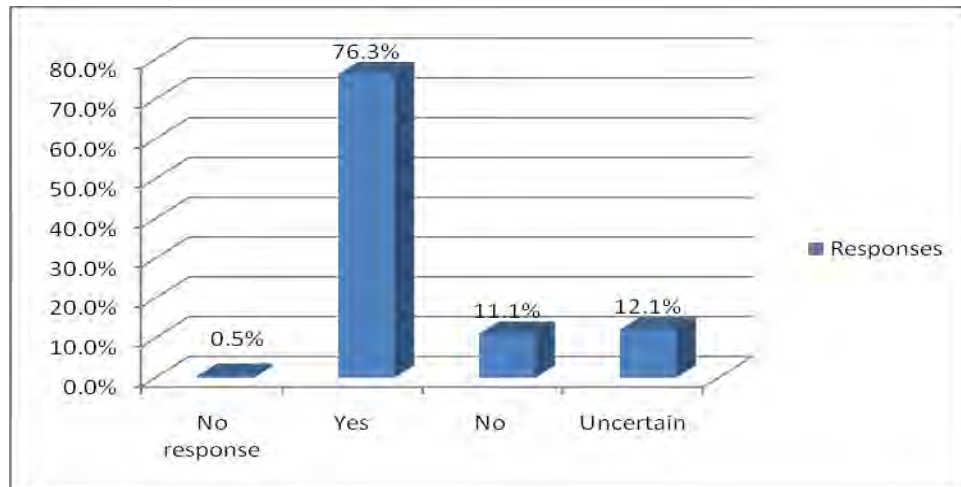


Figure 13: Representation of chiefs at the Municipal Assembly

Source: Field survey, 2009

Those respondents who said that chiefs should not be represented at the Municipal Assembly explained that since there is litigation within the chieftaincy institution itself, some chiefs might be tempted to bring their differences into the assembly deliberation which will reduce the drive for accelerated development. A 42-year old assembly woman, in an interview said:

“We tried this thing some time ago but it did not work because most of the chiefs were not educated and therefore did not know how to handle the business of the assembly. Instead of giving them representation at the assembly, I suggest we create a second chamber or an upper house at the local level to be made up of traditional authorities serving as co-opted

members with the primary role of advising the municipal assembly on critical issues”.

This view is supported by Sklar (2003) that in Africa today, it is normal for traditional political jurisdiction to occupy a second dimension of political space; a dimension that lies behind the sovereign state. Contrary to the views expressed above, one of the queenmothers agreed to the view that chiefs should represent their people at the Municipal Assembly. According to the queenmother, normally the Assembly members, especially the elected ones, do not interact with the people as much as they should but the chiefs, on the average, interact with the people daily and so will be better placed to represent their people. It became clear during the focus group discussion held for opinion leaders and elders that all the respondents in the focus group agreed that the representation of chiefs at the Municipal Assembly level would increase their involvement in the decision making process and ensure good governance at the local level.

Integration of chiefs into local governance

The whole idea of integration is to tie chiefs more closely with the formal government systems to enhance good governance at the local level. To this end, respondents were questioned on whether chiefs should be integrated into local governance. More than half of the respondents (55%) were of the view that chiefs should be integrated into local governance whereas 31.6% were of the view that chiefs should not be integrated into local governance. On the other hand, 13.7% of

the respondent did not know or were not sure whether chiefs should be integrated into local governance.

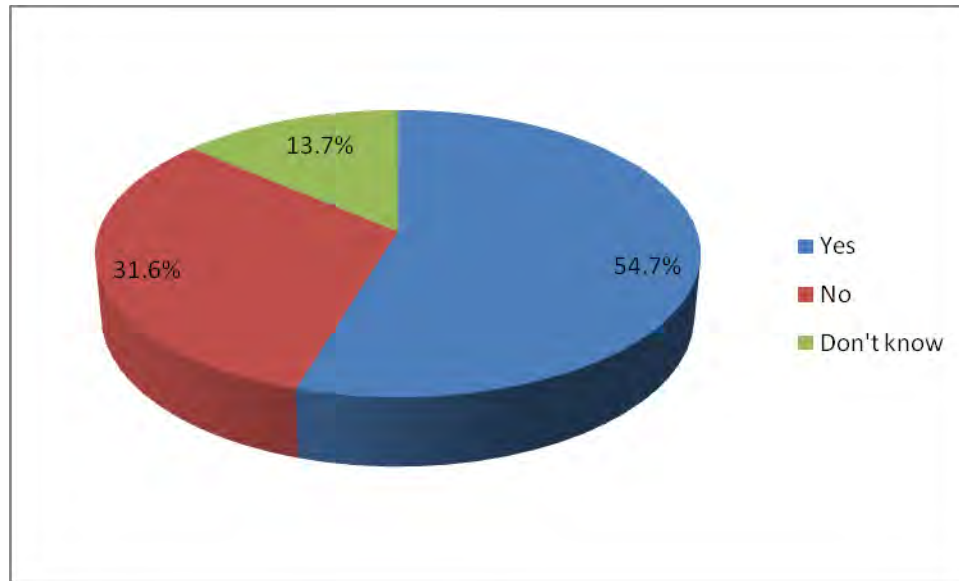


Figure 14: Integration of chiefs into local governance

Source: Field survey, 2009

Table 14 presents the responses given as to why Traditional authorities should be integrated in local governance. More than half (60.0%) agreed that chiefs should be integrated because they have rich experience in local governance. This notion confirms the widely held view that traditional institutions are indispensable when discussing issues of governance, especially at the local level. Also, an overwhelming 74.7% agreed that chiefs should be integrated because chiefs know the local terrain better. The clan head of Nsona contributing to the focus group discussion in Komenda stated categorically that working with chiefs is the only way to succeed in the traditional area. According to him “chiefs understand the local dynamics and know how to govern effectively in what can be an extremely challenging environment.”

On the other hand, 66.8% agreed that chiefs should be integrated into local governance because traditional knowledge is tried and tested. The paramount chief in an interview stated that although classified as non-scientific, traditional knowledge have been accumulated after centuries of extensive trial and error experiences from which people have learned. This, according to him, has resulted in people using traditional knowledge to live off the environment on which they depend for food, shelter, medicine and culture. An appreciation of some of the traditional knowledge will provide an insight into how the people can be governed to bring about development.

Nearly 62% agreed that chiefs should be integrated into local governance because chiefs are the custodian of resources. This view is supported by Danquah's (1968) statements that chiefs do not only hold in trust for the present and the future generations all resources, but are also accountable to the ancestors for the proper management of these resources. About 54.2% of the respondents agreed that chiefs should be integrated into local governance because chiefs are the representatives of the people. This view is supported by Arhin's (1972) summary of the position of the chief as a warrior of the society, an educator of his people and the man among men.

Table 14: Reasons why traditional authorities should be integrated into local government (percentage)

| Reasons | Responses | | | |
|---|-----------|----------|-----------|-------|
| | Agree | Disagree | Undecided | Total |
| Rich experience | 60.0 | 26.8 | 13.2 | 100.0 |
| Know the local terrain | 74.7 | 19.5 | 5.8 | 100.0 |
| Traditional knowledge is tried and tested | 66.8 | 23.7 | 9.5 | 100.0 |
| Custodian of resources | 61.6 | 31.1 | 7.4 | 100.0 |
| Represent the people | 54.2 | 32.1 | 13.7 | 100.0 |
| | | | | N=190 |

Source: Field survey, 2009

It was generally agreed throughout the focus group discussions held for inhabitants and assembly members that for good governance to be achieved at the local level, there must be some sort of rapport between the chiefs and the local government agencies. The following were reasons offered by the respondents as possible ways by which the relationship between these two institutions can be improved to achieve good governance and local level development:

- There should be wider consultation in decision making.
- They should live in peace and respect each other's office.
- There should be joint meetings/ discussions to find solution to problems confronting the people.
- They must be accountable and transparent to each other.

- They should complement each other's effort.
- They should share ideas on a common platform.

On the issue of how traditional authorities, particularly chiefs, can be integrated into the formal local government process, it became clear during the focus group discussion held for opinion leaders that whereas at the national level traditional leaders are often limited to cultural, ceremonial or frequently undefined advisory roles, at the community level they may be competing with local government officials for real power over land, tax revenues or other resources, responsibility for dispensing justice, and influence over community activities and decisions.

All the respondents were asked to respond to how traditional authorities, particularly chiefs, could be integrated into the formal local government process. The following are the responses:

- Chiefs can be involved in the implementation and executions of projects in their communities.
- Chiefs can be invited to join the assembly in the planning of the development programs for the various communities.
- Chiefs can serve as heads of the various sub-committees of the Assembly.
- Chiefs should have automatic representation at all assembly meetings and deliberations.

The modalities of integrating chiefs into the formal system of governance as suggested by a divisional chief in an interview, was the creation of an upper house of chiefs to run alongside the district assembly. He reiterated that

maintaining the upper house of chiefs includes giving chiefs the powers to legislate and maintain the traditional courts, with chiefs performing judicial duties and having the authority to enforce their ruling.

One opinion leader in the focus group discussion called for chiefs to be resourced financially by way of monthly allowance and other incentives like vehicles to enable them to discharge their duties effectively and efficiently. Notwithstanding the reasons for integrating traditional authorities into the formal governance system, funding is very crucial in any administrative and developmental endeavour at the local level (Kendie et al, 2008). The quantum of resources available to traditional authorities and the utilisation of these resources could help to solve basic community problems and enhance the developmental process.

In summary, the relevance and efficiency of traditional authorities in local governance, to a very large extent, is not in doubt. However, traditional authorities, like any other human institution, may be tainted with conflict and shortcomings. The major challenge now is for development practitioners to develop a roadmap for the smooth integration of the traditional system of governance and indigenous institutions into the formal local governance systems to bring about good governance and development.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The study set out to identify the traditional authority systems that existed in the Komenda Traditional Area and the role they play in the governance process at the local level with the view of achieving sustainable development. The focus was on the roles and relevance of traditional authorities in their pursuit of good governance and the nature of the relationship between the traditional authorities and local government agencies. The purpose was to examine the increasing erosion of the importance of traditional authorities, particularly the institution of chiefs by state structures, and propose a defined role for chiefs in the decentralisation process. This chapter presents the summary of findings, conclusions, recommendations and areas for further research.

The study used 190 respondents, including traditional authorities, local government Officials and heads of households. Interviews, focus group discussion and questionnaires were used to illicit information from the respondents. The sampling procedure was generally purposive for traditional authorities and local government officials while simple random sampling was employed for heads of households. Focus group discussions were organised for assembly members,

opinion leaders, elders, headmen and inhabitants. The research design was partly descriptive, explorative and cross-sectional.

Despite the apparent imperfections of traditional authorities, the total exclusion of the chiefs in particular in the governance process is likely to create an undesirable vacuum in the governance of the country (Addo-Danquah, 2004). This vacuum as identified in this study can only be filled when chiefs work together with government agencies to satisfy local government needs without sacrificing any of the tenets of good governance. This was what the Coussey Committee (1949) meant when they suggested the synthesis between the chiefs and the local government authorities. The Committee encourages the emergence of a system in which a predominantly illiterate population could gradually but steadily learn to participate in, and shoulder the responsibilities of, modern administration without losing the heritage of the past. Given the modern touch, without destroying the basic attributes, the chieftaincy institution will be able to play a major role in the development of the country.

Summary of findings

Predominant traditional authority system

The traditional authority system in the Komenda Traditional Area, like any Akan speaking area, has a well structural hierarchy comprising the following institutions namely Chiefs (Ahenfo), Queens (Ohembaa), Clan heads (Ebusuapanyinfo), Elders/Headmen (Mpanyinfo), Asafo leaders (Supi/Asafohenfo) and Traditional Priest/Priestess (Akomfo). It was observed that

the institution of chiefs as a political system has a pyramidal political structure with the Paramount Chief (Omanhene) at the apex and the Heads of Extended Families (Ebusuapanyinfo) at the lowest level. Chiefs co-ordinate the activities of other allied traditional authorities to ensure effective traditional governance of the Komenda Traditional Area. In the traditional set-up, chiefs together with other allied traditional authorities were found to perform judicial and adjudicating functions, executive and administrative functions, as well as legislative and political functions. This suggests the practical demonstration of grass-root participatory democracy.

Suggested roles of chiefs

Chiefs were identified as having several roles and these were listed one after the other by the respondents. The findings revealed that most people saw the roles of the chiefs as settling disputes and managing conflict, soliciting and initiating development projects as well as having the capacity to mobilise people for development. This therefore, suggests that if chiefs can actualise their roles as identified, they would be in the position to control and keep their communities and society together. About 1% of the respondents did not comment pre-supposing they did not know the roles performed by chiefs or would not want to make any comment.

The relevance of traditional authorities to local governance

Generally, the respondents perceived traditional authorities as still relevant in local level governance. Also traditional authorities were seen as generally efficient in the performance of their governance roles at the local level. This finding supports Ayee (2006) claims of institutional representation of chiefs in local governance. According to Ayee even in this modern era of democracy rural folks still turn to chiefs as last resort in areas where the central government and District Assemblies have failed.

Relationship between traditional authorities and local government agencies

The findings revealed that the majority of the respondents felt that there was a relationship between traditional authorities and local government agencies. This relationship could be described as being fairly cordial, cordial or very cordial. However, some traditional authorities complained about the fact that they are hardly consulted on issues pertaining to their local areas and their roles have been taken over by these local government agencies. Some respondents confirmed the presence of conflict between traditional authorities and local government agencies. About 44% of the respondents were convinced that no conflict exists between these two institutions. Some of the issues identified as the root cause of the conflict between traditional authorities and local government agencies include allocation of development projects, collection of revenues, legislative issues and non-involvement in decision-making. Employment and poverty alleviation funds assessment were also identified as reasons for the conflict. However, an

overwhelming majority of the respondents were of the view that chiefs should be incorporated into the local governance system whereas few respondents were either not in favour or uncertain. An average of 63.5% of the respondents agreed that chiefs have rich experience; they know the local terrain better and also they hold resources in trust for the people. Interestingly, about 66.8% of the respondents were of the view that traditional knowledge is tried and tested and as such could enhance endogenous development.

Integrating traditional authorities into the formal local governance process

The ways by which chiefs could be integrated into the formal system of governance as identified in the study included the involvement of chiefs in the planning, implementation and execution of projects that concern their various communities. Also, the representation of chiefs in sub-committees and in the deliberations of the assembly was seen as a requisite for the integration. The creation of an upper house of chiefs to run along side the District Assembly was seen as important for the integration of chiefs in the formal local government process. This integration will provide a dual governance atmosphere which will encourage local people to use their own resources, strategies and initiative to drive development.

Conclusions and policy implications

Studies have shown that community projects that infuse the suggestions and contributions of indigenes have culminated into the success of these

developments. Based on the findings of the study, the following conclusions were drawn:

- Traditional authority system presents an indigenous well-structured leadership hierarchy which is deeply woven into the social fabric of the society, with consultative structures of Chiefs, Queens, Clan heads, Asafo and Akomfo. Chieftaincy which is at the apex of traditional governance remains an important institution in contemporary Ghana. As rightly spelt out by Oseadeeyo Addo Dankwa II “Chieftaincy is nobody’s creation and therefore cannot be easily destroyed”.
- In the past, Chiefs combined administrative, executive, legislative, judicial, military, economic and religious roles. Even though this was not consistent with democratic principles, it enabled them to lead their people and protect their territories. At all levels of the state (Oman), division, town or village, traditional rulers are generally seen as holders of customary authority and as such, they collectively or individually command lots of influence in their areas of jurisdiction and are stabilizing factors in local governance qualified to operate at the grass roots level.
- Chieftaincy as an institution is deeply rooted in the local communities. Thus, the institutional representation of chiefs on the District Assemblies must be considered as a necessary process of integration into the formal local governance system.
- The traditional system has also proved to be a very important source of mobilization of physical, financial and human resources for development. It is

evident that the institutions of Chiefs together with local government officials are involved in local governance and development. As such there must be a framework instituted for the two institutions to work hand in hand and cooperate with each other to improve the well-being of the people. If Chiefs are to play any meaningful role in the governance of the local people, they must be integrated into local governance and be resourced in order for them to carry out their roles in governance effectively.

Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusions from the study, these recommendations are made:

- The roles and functions of traditional authorities and local government officials must be well-defined and agreed upon and the public must be made to understand this delineation of responsibilities.
- Traditional authorities must be fully involved in the implementation of programmes and projects in their area of jurisdiction to enhance the legitimacy of those projects and programmes to the local people.
- There should be frequent workshops and fora to educate traditional authorities on the state of affairs of the municipal area to ensure some form of accountability and transparency in the governance process.
- There should be participation of traditional authorities at all stages of decision making to hold them in identifying with those decisions and help their people to understand it.

- Traditional values, traditional ruling systems and traditional legislation must interact with the structures of the formal government system in such a way that harmony, coexistence and complementary effectiveness are ensured.
- Since the playing field is obviously skewed in favour of the assemblies in terms of resources, traditional rulers must be given the needed capacity as well as human and material resources to enable them to work effectively and efficiently.
- Chiefs must be open in their administration of their areas, especially on issues bordering on resource management, collection of royalties, enacting bye-laws and adjudicating customary justice.
- Chiefs should be empowered by the state to enforce certain bye-laws but they must also undergo refresher courses and be abreast with modern trends of arbitration and negotiations.

REFERENCES

- ActionAid Ghana (2002). *Local governance performance: A case study of five districts of Ghana*. Accra: Buck Press Ltd.
- African Development Bank (1993). *Governance and Development: Issues and the Role of African Development Bank and other Multilateral Institutions*. African Development Bank: Abidjan
- Agyeman-Duah, B. (2001, 2nd-3rd May). *Overview of decentralization in Ghana*. Paper presented at the conference of Institute of Local Government Studies, Accra.
- Ake, C. (1988). Building on the indigenous. In P. Fruhling (ed.). *Recovery in Africa: A challenge for development cooperation in the 90s* (Stockholm), pp.19–22.
- Akrong, A. (2006). Religion and traditional leadership in Ghana. In I.K. Odotei & A.K. Awedoba (eds). *Chieftaincy in Ghana culture, governance and development* (pp. 193-212). Accra: Sub-Saharan publishers.
- Alhassan, O. (2006). Traditional authorities and sustainable development; chiefs and resources management in Ghana. In I.K. Odotei & A.K. Awedoba (eds), *Chieftaincy in Ghana culture, governance and development* (pp. 527-546) Accra: Sub-Saharan publishers.
- Arendonk, J. V. & Sony, A. M. (1988). *Development for what, or which culture are we serving? Approaches that work in rural development –emerging trends, participatory methods and local initiatives*. Muenchen: K.G. Sauer.

- Arhin, C. (2004). *Komenda- Edina- Eguafo- Abrem in perspective*. Accra: Maks Publications and Media Services.
- Arhin, K. (1989). *Theories of development: An analysis of competing paradigms*. UK: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Awedoba, A.K. (2007). *Culture and development in Africa: With special references to Ghana*. Accra: Historical Society of Ghana.
- Ayee, J.R.A. (1995). Conflict resolution and grievance redressing mechanisms at the district level in Ghana: Myth or Reality? In M. Ocquaye (ed.), *Democracy and conflict resolution in Ghana* (pp. 12- 42). Accra: Friedrich Ebert Foundation Gold-Type Publication Ltd.
- Ayee J.R.A. (2000). *Decentralization and good governance in Ghana*. Unpublished paper of May 2000 prepared for the Canadian High Commission. Accra: Ghana.
- Ayee, J.R.A. (2003). Decentralization and local governance in Ghana. In N. Amponsah & K. Boafo-Arthur (eds.). *Local government in Ghana: Grassroots participation in the 2002 local government elections* (pp. 19- 47). Accra: Uniflow Publishing Ltd.
- Ayee, J.R.A. (2006). Some thought on the Institutional representation of chiefs in the district assemblies and the sub district structures. In I. K. Odotei and A. Awedoba (eds), *Chieftaincy in Ghana, culture and development* (pp. 55-63) Accra: Sub- Saharan Publishers.
- Ayee, J.R.A. & Amponsah, N. (2003). The district assemblies and local Governance: reflection on the 2002 local elections. In N. Amponsah & K.

Boafo-Arthur (eds.). *Local government in Ghana: Grassroots participation in the 2002 local government elections* (pp. 49-98). Accra: Uniflow Publishing.

Ayittey, G.B.N. (1991). *Africa betrayed*. New York: St Martins Press.

Ayittey, G.B.N. (2002). *Why democracy is important for African Development*.

Retrieved September 15, 2008 from

<http://www.responduganda.org/respondugandaspeech.htm>

Bacho, F. Z. L. (2001). Decentralized development in Ghana: The role of traditional authorities. In G. Kroess & J.Y. KoKor (eds.). *Community development in Sub-Saharan Africa* (pp. 39-53). *Spring Research Series*, (31).

Baker, S. (2006). *Sustainable Development*. London: Routledge

Batliwala, S. (1993). *Empowerment of women in South Asia: Concepts and Practices*. New Delhi: Asian-South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education and Freedom from Hunger Campaign.

Bauer, P. (1976). *Dissent on development*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson.

Berg, B.L. (1989). *Qualitative research methods for the social science*. London: Allyn and Bacon.

Bergdall, T.D. (1988). *Strengthening indigenous institutions: Approaches that work in rural development- Emerging trends, participatory methods and local initiatives*. Munchen: K G Sauer.

Bluhm, W. (1965). *Theories of political system*. London: Prentice Hall International.

- Boafo-Arthur, K. (2006). Chieftaincy in Ghana: Challenges and prospects in the 21st Century. In I. K. Odotei, and A. K. Awedoba, (eds.), *Chieftaincy in Ghana: Culture, governance and development* (pp. 145-168). Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers.
- Boaten, A. (1996). Gender relations in traditional administration: The case of discrimination against women. *Institute of African Studies Research Review* (NS). 12 (182), 32-41
- Brempong, A. (2007). *Transformation in traditional rule in Ghana (1951-1996)*. Legon: Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana.
- Brown, M. L. O. & Brudney, J. (1998). Implementing information technology in government: An empirical assessment of the role of local partnerships. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 18 (4), 499-525
- Buah, F. K. (1998). *A history of Ghana: Revised and updated*. London: Macmillan Education Ltd.
- Burkey, S. (1993). *People first: A guide to self-reliant, participatory rural development*. London: Zed books.
- Busia, K.A. (1951). *The position of the chief in the modern political system of Ashanti*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Busia K.A. (1967). *Africa in search of democracy*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Canterbury, D.C. & Tuffour K.A. (2008). Linking good governance and sustainable development: issues and perspectives. In S. B. Kendie, and P.

Martens (eds.), *Governance and sustainable development* (pp. 41-57).
Cape Coast: Marcel Hughes Publications.

Chambers, R. (1997). *Whose reality counts? Putting the first last*. London: ITDG
Publishing.

Cohen, J.M. & Uphoff, N. (1977). *Rural development participation: concepts
and measures for project design implementation and evaluation*. Ithaca,
NY: Cornell University.

Crook, R. (2005). The role of traditional institutions in political change and
development. *CDD/ODI Policy Brief* (4).

Danquah J.B. (1968). *The Akan doctrine of God*. London: Frank Cass & Co.

Dia, M. (1996). *Africa's management in the 1990s and beyond—Reconciling
indigenous and transplanted institutions*. Washington DC: World Bank
Publications.

Dube, S.C. (1988). *Modernization and development: The search for alternative
paradigms*. New York: Zed Books Ltd.

Durkheim, E. (1984). *The division of labour in society*. London: Macmillan and
New York: The Free Press.

Durning, A. (1989). *Strengthening indigenous institutions. The approaches that
work in rural development –emerging trends, participatory methods and
local initiatives*. Muenchan: K.G. Sauer.

Dzorbgo, D.S. (1998). *Ghana in search of development. The challenge of
governance, economic management and institution building*. Aldershot:
Ashgate Publishing.

- Economic Commission for Africa, (2007). *Relevance of African traditional institutions of governance*. Retrieved November 20, 2008 from <http://www.uneca.org>.
- Eisenstadt, S.N. (1970). *Readings in social evolution and development*. Oxford: Pargamon.
- Fetterman, D.M. (1996). Empowerment evaluation: An introduction to theory and practice. In D. M. Fetterman, S. Kaftarian, & A. Wandersman (Eds.), *Empowerment evaluation: Knowledge and tools for self-assessment and accountability*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Fitzgerald, P., McLennan, A. & Munslow, B. (eds.) (1997). *Managing sustainable development in South Africa*, 2nd Rev Ed edition, Oxford University Press, Southern Africa.
- Fleischacker, S.I. (1994). *The ethics of culture*. Itaca: Cornell University Press.
- Freire, P. (1972). *Cultural action for freedom*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.
- Frempong, A.K.D. (2006). Chieftaincy, democracy and human rights in pre-colonial Africa: A case of the Akan system in Ghana in I. K. Odotei and Awedoba A.K. (eds.), *Chieftaincy in Ghana Culture, governance and development* (pp. 379-393). Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers.
- Friedmann, J. (1992). *Empowerment: The politics of alternative development*. Cambridge, Oxford: Blackwell.

- Gajanayake S. & Gajanayake J. (1993). *Community empowerment: A participatory training manual on community project development*. New York: PACT Publications
- Ghana Statistical Service (2002). *2000 Population and housing census*. Accra: Ghana Publishing Corporation.
- Guri, B. (2006). *Traditional authorities, decentralization and development: A concept paper for strengthening the capacity of traditional authorities for good governance and development at the local level*. Accra: Center for indigenous Knowledge and organizational Development (CIKOD).
- Gyapong S.K. (2005). The role of chieftaincy in Ghana's democratic experiment. In I. K. Odotei & A. K. Awedoba (eds.), *Chieftaincy in Ghana culture, governance and development* (pp. 183-191). Accra: Sub-Saharan publishers.
- Heeks, R. (1999). The tyranny of participation in information systems: Learning from development projects. *Development Informatics Working Paper Series*, (4), Institute for Development Policy: Manchester
- Hinz, M. (1998). The traditional of traditional government: Traditional versus Democracy-based legitimacy. In F. M. d'Engelbronne-Kolff, M.O. Hinz and J. L. Sindano (eds). *Traditional Authority and democracy in Southern Africa*. University of Namibia
- Hoogvelt, A.M. (2001). *Globalization and the postcolonial world: The new political economy of development*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

- Hunt, D.M. (1989). *Theories of development: An analysis of competing paradigms*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf
- Huntington, S. (1976). The change to change: Modernization, development and politics. In C. E. Black (ed.), *Comparative modernization: A reader* (pp. 25-61). New York: Free Press
- Institute for Democratic Governance (2007). *Ghana: Democracy and political participation: A discussion paper*. Dakar: Open Society Initiative for West Africa
- Kansagbata, C. (2006). *Traditional institutions and governance in the Jirapa traditional area*. Unpublished Mphil Thesis, Center of Development Studies, University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast
- Kendie, S.B., Gharthey, N.K.T. & Guri, B.Y. (2008). *Mapping indigenous institutions in southern Ghana*. Cape Coast: Centre for Development Studies, University of Cape Coast, Ghana.
- Kendie, S.B. & Guri, B.Y. (2004). *Traditional institutions, culture and development: The Asafo group in the Mankessim-Nkwanta traditional area*. Cape Coast: Centre for Development Studies, University of Cape Coast, Ghana.
- Kendie, S.B., Enu-Kwesi, F. & Guri, B.Y. (2008). *The role of traditional authorities in the decentralized system in the Brong Ahafo and Central Regions*. Accra: CIKOD and GTZ
- Kokor, J.Y. (2001). Local governance of development in Ghana. *Spring Working Paper Series* (3) Dortmund: Spring Centre.

- Kokor, Y. & Kroes, G. (2000). Central grants for local development in a decentralized planning system, Ghana. *SPRING working Paper Series* (3). SPRING Centre, Dortmund.
- Krejcie, R.V. & Morgan, D.M. (1970). Determining sample size for research activities. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*. 30, 607-610.
- Lal, D. (1985). *The poverty of development economic*. Cambridge, MA: Havard Meeting University Press.
- Lerner, D. (1964). *The passing of traditional society*. New York: The Free Press.
- Mair, L. (1984). *Anthropology and development*. London: Macmillan.
- Mensah J.V. & Kendie S.B. (2008). Decentralized department of state, the district assembly and local level development in Ghana. In S.B. Kendie & P. Martins (eds.), *Governance and sustainable development* (pp. 306-326). Cape Coast: Marcel Hughes Publications.
- Millar, D. & Bonye, S.Z. (2005). Policy dialogue processes. *Ghana Journal of Development Studies*, 2 (2), 11-19.
- Millar, D., Kendie, S. B., Apusiga, A. & Haverkort, B. (eds.) (2006). *African knowledge and sciences: Understanding and supporting the ways of knowing in Sub-Saharan Africa*. BDU Publications.
- Miller, N.N. (1968). The political survival of traditional leadership. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 6, (2) 183-198.
- Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (1996). *The New Local Government System*. Accra: Global Communications.

- Morgan, D.L. (1997). *Focus groups as qualitative research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Moses, M.O. (2000). *Tradition, ethics and conflict Resolution in Ghana: An ethical analysis of the traditional processes of conflict resolution among Akuapem Anafo People of Ghana*. Unpublished MPHIL thesis, University of Ghana. Legon.
- Mukyala-Mukiika, R. (1998). Traditional leader and decentralization: Decentralization and civil society in Uganda. In A. Nsibambi (ed.), *The quest for good governance*. Kampala: Foundation Publishers.
- Nkrumah, S.A. (2000). Decentralization for good governance and development: The Ghanaian experience. In *Regional Development Dialogue*. 21 (1), 53-67
- Nkwi, P.N. (1976). *Traditional Government and Social Change: A Study of the Political Institutions among the Kom of the Cameroon Grassfields*. Fribourg: The University Press.
- Nukunya, G.K. (2003). *Tradition and change in Ghana: An introduction to sociology*. Accra: Ghana University Press.
- Oakley, P. (1991). *Projects with people: The Practice of participation in rural development*. Geneva: International Labour Office
- Ortiz, S. (1970). The human factor in social planning in Latin America. In R. Apthorpe (ed.). *People and planning and development studies*. London: Frank Cass.

- Odeneho Gyapong Ababio II (2003). *Welcome Address: Strengthening the chieftaincy institution to enhance its performance*. Proceedings of tripartite seminar by the national house of chiefs. Accra: Konrad Adenauer Foundation.
- Oseadeeyo Addo Dankwa III (2004). *The institution of chieftaincy in Ghana- The future*. Accra: Konrad Adenauer Foundation.
- Patton, M. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage
- Peet, R. (1989). *Theories of development*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Rapley, J. (2007). *Understanding development: Theory and practice in the Third World* (3rd ed.). London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Rapetto, R. & Gillis, M. (1988). *Public policies and the misuse of forest resources*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rees, A.D. (1950). *Life in Welsh Countryside*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Report to His Excellency The Governor by the committee on constitutional reform (Chairman: Mr. Justice J. H. Coussey), *Colonial* (248), 1949
- Republic of Ghana (1988). *Local Government Law, 1998 (P.N.D.C.L.207)*, Accra: Ghana Publishing Corporation
- Republic of Ghana (1992). *Constitution of the Republic of Ghana*. Accra: Ghana Publishing Corporation
- Republic of Ghana (1993). *Local Government Law (Act 462)*. Accra: Ghana Publishing Corporation.

- Republic of Ghana (1994). *National Development Planning Commission Act, Act 479*. Accra: Ghana Publishing Corporation.
- Republic of Ghana (2008). *Chieftaincy Act, Act 759*. Accra: Ghana Publishing Corporation.
- Rist, S. (2007). Endogenous development and Bio-cultural diversity. In B. Haverkort & S. Rist (eds.), *The interplay of world views, globalization and locality* (pp. 14-23). Leusden: ETC/COMPAS Series.
- Rodney, W. (1972). *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, D.C: Howard University Press.
- Rodrik, D. (1997). The paradoxes of the successful state. *European Economic Review. Elsevier*, 41(3-5), 411-442.
- Rondinelli, D.A. (1981). Government decentralization in comparative perspective: Theory and practice in developing countries. *International Review of Administration Science (IRAS)* 4, 71, 22-42
- Rostow, W.W. (1960). *The stages of economic growth*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Rugege, S. (2003). Traditional leadership and its future role in local governance. *Law Democracy & Development Journal*. 7, 171-198
- Sarantakos, S. (1998). *Social research*. London: Macmillan Press.
- Senyonjo, J. (2002). *Traditional institutions and land*. Retrieved November 15, 2008 from http://federo.com/pages/Traditional_Institutions_and_Land.htm.

- Sills, L.D. (ed.) (1968). *The International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*. 12, New York: Macmillan.
- Sklar, R.L. (2003). The premise of mixed government in African political studies, in O. Vaughan (ed.), *Indigenous political structures and governance in Africa* (pp. 3-25). Ibadan: Sefer Books ltd.
- Sodaro, M.J. (2001). *Comparative politics: A global introduction*. New York: McGraw Hill, Inc.
- Stigler, G. (1957). *The tenable range of functions of local government*. In *federal expenditure policy for economic growth and stability*, (ed.) Joint Economic committee, sub committee on fiscal policy, U.S Congress, 213-219. Wasington, D.C: US Government Printing office.
- Swiderska, K. (2007). Endogenous development and Bio-cultural diversity. In B. Haverkort & S. Rist (eds.), *The interplay of world views, globalization and locality* (pp. 358-360). Leusden: ETC/COMPAS Series.
- UNDP (1997). *Governance for sustainable human development*. UNDP policy document. New York.
- United Nations Development Programme Ghana (2005). *Terms of reference for governance programs outcomes evaluation*, Accra: UNDP.
- Van Nieuwaal, E.A.B. (1987). Chiefs and African states: Some introductory notes and an extensive bibliograhpy on African chieftaincy. *Journal of Legal Pluralism*, (25 and 26), 1-46.
- Van Nieuwenhuijze, C. A. O. (1982). *Development begins at home: Problems and Prospects of the Sociology of development*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

- Vension, P. (1995). *Traditional leadership in Africa*. London: CLFG.
- WECD (1987). *Our Common Future*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Weber, M. (1964). *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology*. 1, Berlin: Kiepenheuer & Witsch.
- Webster, A. (1990). *Introduction to the sociology of development* (2nd ed.). London: Macmillan press.
- Wiredu, K. (1995). Democracy and consensus in African traditional politics: A plan for a one-party polity. *The Centennial Review*, 39, (1). Retrieved November 29, 2008 from <http://www.polylog.org/then/1.21fasZien.htm>
- World Bank (1989). *Sub-Saharan Africa: From crises to sustainable growth*. New York: Oxford University press.
- World Bank (1992). *Governance and Development*. New York: Oxford University press.
- Wright, S. (1990) Community action as a mechanism for rural policy. In H. Buller and S. Wright (eds.). *Rural development: Problems and practices* (pp. 151-164). Aldershot: Avebury Gower Publishing.

APPENDIX A
QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire below has been designed to collect data on the topic: Traditional Authorities and Governance in the Komenda Traditional Area. This research is purely an academic study and will not be used for any commercial or other purposes. I would be grateful if you could answer the questions as accurately as you can to enable the researcher to get enough information for the study. Please tick (✓) appropriate cell where necessary.

SECTION A: PERSONAL DATA

| No. | Item | Response options |
|-----|------------------------|--|
| 1 | Name of community | |
| 2 | Gender | Male <input type="checkbox"/> 1 Female <input type="checkbox"/> 2 |
| 3 | Age | |
| 4 | Educational background | No formal education <input type="checkbox"/> 1 Primary <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Middle/ JHS <input type="checkbox"/> 4 Secondary/ SHS <input type="checkbox"/> 3 Higher <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
| 5 | Religious Affiliation | Catholic <input type="checkbox"/> 1 Protestant <input type="checkbox"/> 3 Pentecost <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Charismatic <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |

| | | | |
|---|----------------|--|--|
| | | Muslim <input type="checkbox"/> 5 | Traditional <input type="checkbox"/> 6 |
| | | No religion <input type="checkbox"/> 7 | |
| 6 | Occupation | | |
| 7 | Marital status | Married <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | Single <input type="checkbox"/> 4 |
| | | Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | Widowed <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
| | | Separated <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | |

SECTION B: DATA ON TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES

8a. Do you know of any traditional authorities in this traditional area?

No response Yes No
 Uncertain

b. If yes, name them

.....

8. Do you have any relationship with any traditional authority? Yes
 No

b. If yes, what is the nature of the relationship?

.....

SECTION C: RELEVANCE OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE

9. Would you say traditional authorities are relevant in local governance?

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------|------------------------------|
| Traditional Authorities | Relevance 1.Relevant | Reasons | If no, suggestion for change |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------|------------------------------|

| | | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|--|--|
| | 2. Not relevant 3. Don't know | | |
| Chiefs | | | |
| Queens | | | |
| Clan heads/ Elders | | | |
| Asafo/youth Heads | | | |
| Priest/ Priestesses | | | |

SECTION D: ROLES OF CHIEFTAINCY SYSTEM

10. In general what roles do chiefs play in this area?

.....

.....

11. How do the following roles facilitate development in the traditional area?

Political.....

.....

.....

Economic.....

.....

.....
 Social.....

12. What are the roles of the various office holders of the chieftaincy institution in this traditional area?

| Office holders | Roles/functions in the traditional setting. | How efficient are they in performing these roles? | | |
|----------------------|---|---|-----------|----------------|
| | | Not efficient | Efficient | Very efficient |
| Paramount chief | | | | |
| Queens | | | | |
| Divisional chief | | | | |
| Sub-divisional chief | | | | |
| Headmen | | | | |

13. How would you rate the structure of chieftaincy with respect to governance at the local level?

Very bad Bad Neutral Good
 Very good

b. Explain answer.....

14. What practices of chieftaincy would you want to see changed or strengthened?

| Traditional Authorities | Practices to be changed | Practices to be strengthened |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| Chiefs | | |
| Queens | | |
| Asafo/youth leaders | | |
| Fetish priest and priestesses | | |

SECTION E: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRADITIONAL AUTHTHORITIES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM

15a.What is your view about the relationship between traditional authority and local government agencies? (Tick appropriate cell)

Very cordial Cordial Fairly cordial Not cordial

Don't know

b. Explain answer

.....

16a. Are there any conflict between traditional authorities (TA) and the Municipal assembly (MA)?

Yes

No

I don't know

b. If yes, what are the issues of conflict between TA and MA

| Relationship | Issues of conflict |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Chiefs and MA | |
| Queen and MA | |
| Elders and MA | |
| Asafo/youth and MA | |
| Women's groups and MA | |

17. What type of relationship in your view facilitates good governance between the traditional authorities and the local government system (DA)?

.....

.....

18. What should be done to improve the relationship between TAs and DA?

.....

.....

SECTION F: INTERGRATING TRADITIONAL AUTHHORITIES INTO FORMAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM

19a. Do you think it is important to have representatives of chiefs in the municipal assembly.

No response Yes No Uncertain

b. Explain answer

.....

20a. Should chiefs be integrated into local governance?

Yes No I don't know

b. Explain answer

.....

21. Indicate whether you agree or disagree that the following are good reasons why chieftaincy should be incorporated in local governance

1 = Agree 2 = Disagree 3 = Undecided

| | 1 | 2 | 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| They have rich experience in local governance | | | |
| They know the local terrain better | | | |
| They know the culture of the people | | | |
| Traditional knowledge and wisdom are tried and tested | | | |
| They are the custodians of resources e.g. land | | | |
| They represent the interest of the people | | | |

SECTION G: RECOMMENDATION

22. How would you describe overall performance of Traditional Authorities (TAs) in local development?

.....
.....

23. With examples state how TA particularly chiefs can be integrated into the formal governance structures at the local level

.....
.....

24. What should be done to improve the links between TA and DA's?.....

.....
.....

25. Any comment on chieftaincy and local level governance

.....
.....

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

SECTION A

Introduction: Self introduction of respondent, which includes age, occupation, sex, religion, marital and educational status.

SECTION B: DATA ON TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES AND GOVERNMENT ACTORS

1. Please mention traditional authorities that exist in the Komenda traditional area?
2. How would you rate the structure of traditional authorities with respect to governance at the local level?
3. What are your views about local government officials in this traditional area?
4. What ways do they interact with you?
5. How would you rate the structure of the municipal assembly with respect to governance at the local level?
6. Would you say traditional authorities are relevant in local governance?
7. What do you like about the modern system of governance and what do you not like about them?

SECTION D: CHEIFTAINCY SYSTEM; ROLES, FUNCTIONS AND EFFICIENCY

8. What roles do chiefs play in this community?
9. What are the roles of the various office holders of the chieftaincy institution?

10. How do the following roles already mentioned facilitate development in the area? (Look at it in terms of Political, Economic and Social).

11. How efficient are they in performing these roles?

**SECTION E: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRADITIONAL
AUTHORITIES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM**

12. How would you describe the relationship between you and the local government officials?

13. Is there any conflict between you and the local government officials?

YES/NO

14. If yes, what is the nature of the conflict?

15. How does any of the roles of government officials limit or enhance your performance?

16. Given the opportunity what would you do to the government structures that conform to your roles and those that do not?

17. Do you think it is important to have representative of chiefs in the municipal assembly?

SECTION F: RECOMMENDATION

18. How can traditional authorities be integrated into the formal governance structures at the local level? (Illustrate with an example).

19. What should be done to improve the links between traditional authorities and assembly men/women?

20. Apart from the issues raised, what would you say about chieftaincy, governance and development in this area?

APPENDIX C

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

1. Please mention any traditional authorities in the Komenda Traditional Area?
2. Can you please tell me the role of these authorities in the Komenda Traditional Area? (Pick one traditional title at a time)
3. Please tell me the relevance of the roles of these authorities to modern governance (probe for how and why)?
4. Could you please tell me how these authorities facilitate community development?
5. Could you please mention any local government official that you know?
6. How have any of the roles of government officials aided or limited the performance of the roles of traditional authorities?
7. Generally, what can you say about traditional authorities, local government officials and local governance? (Probe for more information on issues raised by participants that are relevant to the study, seek clarifications and explanations)
8. Are there any conflict between traditional authorities and local government official?
9. What do you like about the modern local governance systems and what do you not like about them?
10. What general comment do you have on governance in the Municipality? (Find from participants the possibility of merging the two institutions)?