PROMOTING LOCAL DEVELOPMENT IN ATWIMA NWABIAGYA THROUGH   A HYBRID OF CULTURES

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work towards the MA African Art Culture Degree and that to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published by another person nor material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree of the university, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates hybrid cultures of the people of the Atwima Nwabiagya District of the Ashanti region of Ghana and the various ways by which these hybrid cultures have promoted local development in the district. The study is based on the assumption that the culture of the people of Atwima Nwabiagya, and some other foreign cultures have intermingled to create a hybrid of cultures which are being used to promote development in the district. The research also proceeds on the grounds that current cultural practices of the people of Atwima Nwabiagya are predominantly hybrid in form and any discussion of the socio-economic development issues of the district must be approached from the perspective of cultural hybridity. The literature review reveals some important theories upon which the investigations are conducted. These theories include writings on the transformation of culture, cultural hybridity, and development and in totality indicate that cultures that are transformed through cultural loss, acculturation, adaptation, and or replacement lead to the new form of cultures that are termed as hybrid. The study was conducted using an integrated qualitative and quantitative technique which was mainly descriptive. Data collection instruments used for the research include interviews, participant observations of some cultural performances and analysis of some administrative and historical documents. Purposive sampling procedure which dealt with target and accessible population were used. Data in the form of photographs of some selected hybrid products were collected to complement analysis of the phenomenon under study. The findings show that the prevalence of hybrid cultural performances or products could be found in several socio-cultural, political and economic activities in the district. The research also shows that development agenda of the district is spurred by the

existence and engagement of hybrid cultural performance and products. Based on the data obtained and the analysis conducted, the study validates the assumption that the promotion of local development in the Atwima Nwabiagya District is a consequence of the prevalence of a hybrid of foreign and Atwima Nwabiagya cultures.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1.1 Background to the Study

Within the complex emerging culture of globalization, such as that of Atwima Nwabiagya, cultural identities are gradually changing within several communities around the globe. The trend towards the acquisition of material culture is spurred by migration and movements of people across geographic boundaries which have introduced new cultures into indigenous and evolving communities, transforming existing cultures into new forms.

One key factor that affects transformation of indigenous cultures as postulated by post colonial theory especially on the African continent, is the abysmal state of poverty that abounds in several regions and communities in the continent (Obikeze, 2003). Poverty therefore seems to be a driving force behind the relocation, migration and transfer of cultural beings, processes, and products into new environments. Even more pertinent is the fact that poverty is often behind the need to use external cultural processes and products as substitutes for the indigenous and traditional cultural forms, especially where the indigenous forms are regarded as expensive to acquire. On the arrival of the new culture in the local indigenous environment, the existing culture through a system adoption, fusion, coexistence and accommodation may accept the external culture and inculcate it into a new form. The juncture where the two cultures meet may create a new cultural product, *a hybrid*, which despite lacking cultural purity can still perform the symbolic cultural function identified with the original form.

The transfer of cultures across cultural boundaries has made it easier for individuals and groups to experience some realization of their dreams and aspirations in life. It is important to note that culture, whether indigenous or new is the driving force behind development agenda. Therefore, communities that find themselves at the receiving end of migrating cultures must, willy-nilly, shape their development agenda along the new cultural forms.

In Ghana, several indigenous communities, administrative zones and districts including Atwima Nwabiagya District confronted with the spectacle of the influx of external cultures have had no option but to plan their development programmes along new forms of culture - the *hybrid*. This study is based on the concept of hybridity as a phenomenon that evolves from transformation of cultures as a consequence of migration, and the transfer of cultural products into new localities. The space within which the study is conducted is the geographically demarcated zone known as Atwima Nwabiagya District in the Ashanti region in Ghana.

1.1.2 Statement of the Problem

One of the core components for the promotion of development initiatives within any community is the cultural practices of the people living in that community. Since the advent of colonialism many traditional cultural practices have shown both persistence and resistance to external cultural influences. Whilst many of such cultural practices have gone through such persistence and resistance, others have easily bowed to external pressures and in the process some of the old customs have gone into oblivion. Yet, others have, through the phenomenon of acculturation, engaged their external counterparts in a form of fusion that has led to a system of cultural hybridity. Such hybrid cultural practices combine the indigenous culture with the external

(usually western) culture to create a new form of cultural acquisition that becomes an important tool for the promotion of development in the community.

In many communities and districts in Ghana, like the Atwima Nwabiagya, it is this system of 'new' culture that has been used as a tool by government, development advocates, NGOs, as well as members of the community to promote their development agenda. However, it must be acknowledged that whilst this form of cultural fusion has been very successfully utilized as a tool for the promotion of development in several communities, others have become obstacles to such development initiatives. Whilst studies abound in literature on the role of culture in the development of several communities, none of them seems to have identified the phenomenon of cultural hybridity as an important element for the promotion of development in many communities and districts of Ghana. What are these hybrid cultural practices? How do communities create a fusion of these practices? In what ways have they helped in the promotion of community development? These questions form the basis for this study.

1.1.3   Research Objectives

The purpose of this study is to show that cultural performances are always undergoing revolutionary changes that can be acknowledged through research. Though traditional cultural adherents and proponents may bemoan the loss of aspects of traditional forms of culture, the replacement or incorporation of new cultures into new cultural environment may render more positive development patterns for communities that experience them. But until some kind of empirical study is done we may not apprehend the degree to which the new culture has impacted on the

development initiatives of communities. This study, therefore, aimed to achieve the following objectives:

a. To study the current cultural practices of the people of the Atwima Nwabiagya District.

b. To investigate and report on the hybrid cultural practices of Atwima Nwabiagya District and how they have contributed to development in the District.

1.1.4 Research Questions

Flowing from the above objectives the following research questions guided the study,

1: What are the hybrid cultural practices of the people of the Atwima

   Nwabiagya

    district?

2: How have the hybrid cultural practices of the people of Atwima Nwabiagya

    promoted the development of the district?

The study is based on the assumption that the promotion of local development in the Atwima Nwabiagya district is a result of hybrid of cultural practices of the traditional Asante culture and western cultures.

Secondly it is also assumed that the district has undergone some degree of acculturation through which development agenda is pursued. Acculturation, which the

study identifies as hybrid in nature assumes it is one of the mainstays for the promotion of development in the district.

1.1.5   Scope of the Study

The research identifies the hybrid cultural practices of the people of the Atwima Nwabiagya District and investigates how the hybrid cultural practices have promoted development in the District from the year 2000 to 2010. The study is based on theories of culture, hybridity and development in relation to some political and customary performances in selected Akan communities within the Atwima Nwabiagya District. The study also approaches the research from the perspective that demarcated district spaces as administrative boundaries in the Ashanti Region are delineated on grounds of socio-cultural, political, and geographical cohesion of communities that lie within the district. Each district in the region may have some form of cultural practices with homogenous inclinations. It is on this basis that the Atwima Nwabiagya District was chosen for the study. Using the theories of culture, hybridity, and development to interrogate cultural forms in the delineated zone, the thesis is broadened to cover hybrid cultural performances and products that originate or are utilized within the district in the last decade. These forms are further examined in relation to the overall district development agenda.

1.1.6   Limitations of the Study

The study interrogates the role of new forms of cultural performances within the Atwima Nwabiagya district. These cultures, which the study identifies as hybrid in nature assumes that it is one of the mainstays for the promotion of development in the district. Even though the research worked out well in answering the research

questions, it has some limitation that is related to time and financial constraints. But for financial and time constraints, this thesis ought to have covered a large geographical area and longer period of time to have made the study more extensive. The small geographical area and the short period of time covered by this thesis, are attributed to the fact that MA and MSC students of this University are given one year each to write and submit their thesis. Besides, the University does not provide funds to it students to carry out their researches. It is for this reason or predicament that the present writer could not extend her research beyond the confines of Atwima Nwabiagya from the period of 2000 to 2010.

Despite these limitations the research was largely successful. However, the researcher believes that any future research that intends to delve into the area of study will address the limitation that impacted on this study.

1.1.7   Definition of Abbreviations and Terms

CPHRCS:-Culture for Preservation of Historical Relevant Culture Sites

DAS: - District Assembly System

LIL:-Learning on Innovation Loan

MDG's:-Millennium Development Goals

SFP:-School Feeding Programme

Hybridity:-Is the fusion of cultures that combine new technologies and existing social practices and cultural values to create new one

1.1.8 Importance of the Study

The study is significant for several reasons. Firstly, it seeks to fill the gap in the literature on the role of hybrid cultures in development agenda of several communities. In this direction the study becomes an important addition to growing literature on the District Assembly system. Secondly, it is significant because it expands that area of study of the Art and Culture discipline of Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) beyond the existing traditional cultural norms and activities of culture as limited to indigenous acts and products, and opens a new area of research that will prove beneficial to the study of individuals, groups and communities in Ghana. In addition, it paves the way for further academic research for the study of hybrid cultures among other ethnic communities in Ghana. Finally, the research will be an important communication tool for development communication practitioners including District Assemblies, Development Agencies including NGO's, and governmental organizations that routinely use culturally specific communication tools to pursue their programmes.

1.1.9 Methodology

The study employed both qualitative and quantitative study approaches. These methods of data collection and thesis organization focused on individual and societal experiences. Data collection procedure included interviews, participant observation of some cultural practices in the locality, culling information from historical documents of the district, and from the Local Government Act, 462, 1993. All the information collected was then analysed and discussed.

Profile of the Study Area - Atwima Nwabiagya District [1]

1.2.0   Overview

The Atwima Nwabiagya District, a district in the Ashanti Region was carved out of the former Atwima District in 2004 by the Legislative Instrument (L.I) 1738. The District exists to improve the quality of life of every inhabitant that stays in its area of jurisdiction. This development is achievable through the formulation and implementation of realistic policies; while using locally available and outside human and material resources to jointly work with local people to ensure sustainable development.

1.2.1   Location and Size of the District

The Atwima Nwabiagya District lies approximately on latitude 6° 75'N and between longitude 1° 45' and 2° 00' West. It is one of the 21 political and administrative Districts in Ashanti Region. It is situated in the western part of the region and shares common boundaries with Ahafo Ano South and Atwima Mponua Districts (to the West), Offinso District (to the North), Amansie–West and Bosomtwe-Atwima Kwanwoma Districts (to the South), Kumasi Metropolis and Kwabre Districts (to the East). It covers an estimated area of 294.84 sq km. The district capital is Nkawie (See Appendix 1).

1.2.2   Demographic Characteristics

The total population of the District, according to projected population estimates for 2009, was 166,449 with an annual growth rate of 3%. The estimates

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[1] Source: Administrative document from Atwima Nwabiagya District Assembly.

revealed that the District had a sex ratio of 11:10 indicating the presence of more males than females.

The district has a population density of 439 persons per sq. km. The district is third in the region, after Kumasi Metropolis and Kwabre District, which have 5,319 and 659 persons per sq. km respectively. There are six area councils in the district including Abuakwa, Akropong, Nkawie-Toase, Barekese, Afari and Adankwame.

1.2.3 Ethnicity

Asante, a segment of the Akan speaking people is the predominant ethnic group in the district (77.4%), Mole Dagbon (9.1%) is the second major ethnic group in the district, followed by Ewe (2.9%) and others (Gurma, Busanga, Guan etc) constitute 10.6%.

1.2.4 Culture and Economic Activities

The predominant cultural practices in the District is the Asante culture, it is the culture practiced by almost all the people in the Ashanti Region. The main language spoken in the District is Asante Twi, and the most preferred food eaten by the people in the district is *fufu*. It is prepared with boiled cassava and plantain or cocoyam pounded together and served with soup. Others include *ampesi* which may be boiled Plantain or yam or cocoyam served with stew, and roasted plantain/cocoyam that is served with roasted groundnuts.

Socially, the people in the District have various social activities which include naming ceremony, initiation rites, marriage and funeral ceremonies among others which bring the people together in the community.

The cloth is the main traditional attire to all functions; it is worn by males and females to social gatherings like funerals, church, festivals, wedding and naming ceremonies. The main dance is *Adowa* and *kete*. The instruments mostly used by the people of Nwabiagya are drums such as the *atumpan, dondo,* and *fretwua, dehuro, tenten-mmen* among others. There are also traditional musical groups called *Nwomkro* Groups.

The economy of Atwima Nwabiagya District is categorized into agriculture, industry, trading and services. In spite of the peri-urban nature of the District, agriculture is the dominant sector, and it employs about 50.76% of the labour force. This is followed by the industrial sector, which employs about 17.41% of the labour force. Trading, that is buying and selling employs 14.43% of the labour force. The service sector comprises transportation, hairdressing, hospitality and other activities, employs about 17.40% of the labour force.

Crop farming is the principal agricultural activity in the district. The main crops grown in the district are maize, cassava, yam, cocoyam, ginger, oil palm, rice, citrus and plantain. A wide range of vegetables like tomatoes, garden eggs, pepper and okro are also grown. Most of these crops are cultivated on small-scale bases. There are good soils and large farmlands available for the production of these crops on larger scales.

The District can also boast of the presence of large-scale poultry farms. These include Darko Farms at Sepaase, Akropong Farms at Akropong and Mfum Farms at Afari. Other small scale livestock like goats, sheep, pigs, cattle, grasscutter, etc. are also reared.

There are forty-six kindergarten/nursery schools, seventy-eight primary schools and forty-four Junior Secondary Schools. In the secondary sector there are four Senior Secondary Schools which are Toase Senior High at Toase, Nkawie Secondary Technical at Nkawie, Osei Tutu Senior High School at Akropong, and Barekese Senior High School at Barekese in the district. There are four Vocational schools in the District including Antwiwaa Vocational Institute, Maakro; Catab Vocational Institute, Nkawie; Women's Vocational Institute, Afari; and Nerebehin Vocational Institution at Nerebehin.

1.2.5   Health Care

The District has one hospital, four health centers, and four clinics which are at different communities in the district. There are six maternity homes and forty trained traditional birth attendants.

1.2.6   Summary of Discussion

This chapter introduces the issues that underlined the study by providing insights into the areas covered by the research. It provided the background for the study, outlined its objectives, introduced the research questions, the significance of the study, the methodology that was used to collect data, and the limitations of the research. The chapter introduced the hypothesis of the research, the assumption that the recent promotion of local development in the Atwima Nwabiagya District is a result of hybrid cultures. The chapter also provided a brief profile of the Atwima Nwabiagya District Assembly.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.0   Overview

This chapter reviews the literature related to the area and scope of the research. The review of literature is also premised on the basis that the collection of data and its consequent analysis can only be understood from the perspective of works that other writers and researchers have done on the subject. Therefore, the various theoretical issues that underpin the study, inform the collection of data, and influence the promotion of development in the Atwima Nwabiagya in the last decade are fully discussed. Consequently, the researcher reviews the literature on some Akan culture and customary practices including political institutions and customary funeral practices. The chapter also discusses the theories upon which the study is based that include the theories on transformation of cultures, development, and hybridity.

2.1.0   Some Akan (Asante) Cultural Practices

The researcher reviews the literature on some cultural practices of the Asante, limiting itself to the three areas of data gathering- Akan political institutions, the celebration of funeral rites, and the practice of traditional medicine.

2.1.1   Political Institution

This study does not intend to capture a comprehensive narration of the Akan (Asante) political system. The study only describes some salient aspects of the Asante traditional political system in terms of their relevance to the issues of hybridity and local development which form the core area of this research.

The Akan traditional political institution is a centralized political organization. According to Nukunya (2003), this centralized political system operates along a hierarchical structure where authority starts from the family level to the highest point of *Omanhene* or paramount chief. However, in the case of Asantes the level of authority stretches up to the *Asantehene* (the king of the Asante people) as the final authority. Nukunya (2003, pg.68) states, "the important levels are the household, the compound, the lineage, the village, town, the division, the paramount and in Ashanti, the nation".

Each level has a head recognized as the spokesperson for that level of hierarchy. Since the whole political organization is based on kinship, each lineage or level of hierarchy is represented through the head or spokesperson on a higher council that is the highest decision making body. Even though each level of the hierarchy enjoys some form of autonomy, resolution of social issues through well-laid traditional rules and laws can move through all the levels up to the highest decision making body. The highest decision body is a representation of council of elders from various lineages and chaired or presided over by the chief as in the case of village or town and the King as in the case of the Asante kingdom. The village is a symbol of a centralised political system in Asante with all the characteristics of the political nature of the Asante political organization. The political head of a village is the chief residing at the apex of the political structure within the territory.

The village is a territorially well-defined area whose political head is the chief. Within this territory the authority of the chief is well respected by all those who reside therein. As the head and spokesperson for the village, the chief is also well respected by those residing outside the territory, including other chiefs who head other territories, as well as higher authorities like the paramount chief or the *Asantehene*. In

the pre-colonial era the chief performed legislative, executive, judicial and religious functions. He was the primary law maker, a judge who sat in his court to arbitrate cases and performed religious functions by liaising with the chief priest of the community if there was one. Much of these functions have been whittled down in post-colonial era. However, in several rural communities, including the district under this study, chiefs continue to exercise remnants of these powers.

The chief is supported by a council of elders in his rule over the village who themselves are mostly heads of households or lineages or both or a sub-chief. They perform several functions that may range from finance through defence to administrative responsibilities. The composition of the council membership may vary depending on the size of the territory as in the case of the paramountcy. But, generally, council of elders, among others, include the following designations: *krontihene*- who commands the chief's army to go to war in the absence of the chief; the *adontehene*, who is the general who commands the main fighting body; "*Ankobeahene,* leader of the chief's personal body guards" (Nukunya: 2003,69); *Kyidomhene,* who command the rear guard battalion; *Gyasehene*, who control attendants and oversees the property of the chief's household; and *Okyeame,* who is the chief's spokes person and through whom all announcements (mostly verbal) and messages to and from the chief are communicated. Aside the clear positions in the council, there are several recognized administrative staff which includes the *Nifahene*, *Benkumhene*, among others, who help the chief to run the territory and maintain law and order.

The main responsibility of the chief, as the head of the political unit, is to ensure sanity in his territory by maintaining a regular link between his people and the ancestors, between his territory and other territories, and between his unit and other

higher levels of the political organizational hierarchy. He is a symbol of moral purity of his kingdom and therefore has to lead an upright life. In running the territory the chief's main revenue comes from court fees, fines, royalties, land sales and leases. In the colonial period, chief's authority was absolute with the final say on any issue. Even though this may sound autocratic, there are several mechanisms and checks to limit the powers which he exercises. Much of these powers have either been lost under a new post-colonial democratic political system that has been adopted by many post-independent countries including Ghana. Some of the authorities have been absorbed by new dispensations in a hybrid political system that combines aspects of western political organization with the traditional system of governance.

The role of chiefs in the modern political dispensation is widely dealt with by Neuwall (2005) in a treatise on chieftaincy. His discussion situates the modern chief as a syncretic leader who has become an outcome of a synthesis of state models, global cultures or world views, and traditional cultural imprints. Some of the key features of this syncretism is the use of two languages, one foreign or European, and one indigenous and the acquisition of academic titles. These are illustrations of the two radical worlds upon which the chief astride. Neuwaal (2005, 4) further states;

> In this area the chief is assured of his role as the upholder of
> traditional order and rules and supposed guardian of traditional
> norms and values. He is the supreme dispute settler, allocators of
> rights to land... a kind of spear head accosting the state and trying
> to divest it of its resources, such as markets and development projects,
> but also using new or existing legislation, such as land law reform or
> personal networks to achieve goals.

In terms of development, chiefs are seen as the epitome of development agenda of their communities. They are seen as seriously interested in the economic upgrading of their villages, initiating development projects, establishing themselves

Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) and negotiating with other local and international agencies to promote development in their communities.

Crook (2005) discuses the role of traditional institutions in political change and provides an insight into how the modern conceptualizations of chieftaincy as a post-colonial hybrid institution has become a vehicle for community development. He asserts that chiefs occupy dignified position in modern political set-up because "the undoubted contribution that some chiefs make to local government development efforts" (p.1). He further contests that the development agenda of several communities rest on the ambit of both the post-colonial administrative set-up in conjunction with the chieftaincy institution. It is for this reason that post-colonial district assembly political set-up recognises the special role that chiefs make towards promoting local development and accords them such recognition. Crook further notes that even though chiefs have lost most of their formal governmental, judicial, revenue and land management roles, they still possess such economic, socio-cultural, and political influences. For example, on issues of land administration within several Akan communities including the district under study, chiefs exercise allodia control whereas the District Assemblies have some form of statutory and administrative custody. The release of lands for any developmental projects must have the endorsements of the local chief and the District Assemblies before the commencement of the project. Indeed in both rural and urban areas the customary allocation of lands means that chiefs still sanction the sale of land for residential and commercial buildings.

Again, the District Assembly System (DAS) as a new political set-up has created a form of cultural leadership for chiefs through the performance of cultural rituals including fertility of the land rituals, festivals and practices that involve

invoking the cult of ancestors. Chiefs partially play their political role by giving their communities some form of community identity at the political level. To this end, chiefs become brokers for the mobilization of resources and support for community development. In all cases the new role of chiefs in the new political dispensation puts the chief in a position that provides him with the duty to work for the progress of the community and ensures their participation in collective action of democracy. Crook states,

> The material progress of a community and the maintenance of its peace and unity are seen as the principal duties of chiefs. This is embodied, where a community is united, in the chief's role as symbolic leader and patron of development/youth/hometown associations...At the local level it tends to deepen those local forms of activism and consolidate vertical patronage-based politics (2005: 2-5).

In the wielding of all these socio-political responsibilities the District Assembly System, DAS, are seen as partners for the promotion of local development goals and initiatives.

Despite the presence of several state institutions and administrative machineries established to promote effective functioning of local governance, chiefs continue to utilize available avenues including access to DAS resources to promote development in a variety of ways. They unite the people; settle disputes, lobby and advocate for development for their communities including the construction of market structures, water and sanitation, education and health (Guri 2006; Ampomah, 2009). It is acknowledged that the modern form of development is based on decentralization but the system works more effectively with chiefs as partners since they are known to wield more influence at the local level of governance

Guri (2006) also focuses on some selected Akan chiefs or overlords and discuses their roles towards development agenda of their respective communities. Guri refers to the Asantehene Otumfuo Osei Tutu II whose development agenda and initiatives are deeply rooted in customary local tradition and modern political democratic system. The paramount chief of the Asantes, *Asantehene* has established a charity - Otumfuo Charity Foundation – that incorporates initiatives on education and HIV/AIDS both of which aim to address inequities in education and the health sectors of the economy. He has also forged a relationship with the World Bank, an institution that formerly dealt with formal statutory state institutions and established international agencies and organizations, to implement a lending facility called the Learning an Innovation Loan (LIL) whose main purpose is to focus on contributions and influence of traditional authorities on socio-economic development. The *Okyehene*, Osagyefo Amoatia Ofori-Panin (the paramount chief of Akyem Abuakwa), an Akan chief domiciled in the Eastern Region of Ghana, over the last decade has shown strong activism on environmental protection and HIV/AIDS issues through external sources of funding. Both traditional leaders have prosecuted their community promotion development agenda through a combination of the traditional system of governance and post-colonial political and administrative set. In all these cases what is significant is the utilization of hybrid cultural practices by these traditional authorities as important sources of mobilization of physical, human and financial resources for local development.

2.1.2   Social Event – Final Funeral Rites

One of the most celebrated cultural practices in Asante is the funeral ceremony. This comes from the traditional conception of death as a transition from

one world to another. Asantes therefore conceptualize life as a composition for two worlds - the physical world and the spiritual world (Bame, 1991; Nukunya, 2003; Opoku, 1978). These two worlds are believed to co-exist and in constant touch with each other. Life itself is believed to be in constant cyclic transition from one world to the other which manifests itself through birth and death (Bame, 1991). It is this belief that underlines the elaborate celebration of birth of a newly born and the death of a person. The newly born are believed to have come from the spiritual world into the physical world. On the other hand the death of a person marks the end of a journey in the physical world and the beginning of the spiritual journey. Bame in citing Rattray (1957, 153) captures the underlying reasons for this belief,

> They [Asantes] believe that on the death of a person, one of
> the two basic elements of his personality-the *mogya* (blood)
> turns into his Ghost which in the form of *Sasa*- an invisible
> spiritual power-does influence living people either for good
> or for bad. It may disturb their minds or make them suffer
> in diverse ways by means of its spells.

This is one of the basic reasons why elaborate rituals and ceremonies are performed in a form of funeral rites to peacefully send the dead to the spiritual world urging the sprit not to come back to disturb the peace of people living in the physical world. Bame (1991) asserts this point clearly,

> One of the basic reasons why whole arrays of funeral rites
> and ceremonies are performed in traditional African societies…
> among other things, to placate or appease the dead and also
> to send away quickly a soul which is potentially capable
> of manifesting evils… (p.121)

The funeral rites of a deceased person in the Asante culture begin from the period when he or she is pronounced dead to the period after his or her burial. Bame, 1991; Nukunya, 2003; Opoku, 1978 as stated earlier in this study is interested in aspects of cultural practices relevant to the issue of cultural hybridity. The

performance of the final funeral rites may be done on the same day after burial, a day after, or several weeks or months later.

This research interrogates the post-burial version of the final funeral rites, with emphasis on the climaxed funeral celebrations when people far and wide join the bereaved family to perform the rites. It examines ways through which external cultures have influenced such celebrations. On the day of the final funeral rites, the celebration is marked by gathering and arrival of visitors to the burial grounds. It is normally marked by intense "renewed wailing and lamentation" (Bame, 1991, 127) by deceased family members and other sympathizers. The general mourning cloth is mostly black or red with most of the close family members of the deceased dressed in red. Colour is an important symbolic element of funeral among Asantes (McCaskie, 1992). Crentsil (2007, 14) puts the colour aspects of perspective among the Akan as,

> White is the colour of success, victory, joy, and spiritual purity;
> it is usually worn after successfully giving birth to a child. Black
> (and other dark colours), on the other hand, connotes negativity;
> black is used for death and funerals because it expresses sorrow,
> regret and mourning. Red symbolises the life and death aspects.
> It has a volatile mix of feelings, of strong emotive sentiments
> such as impurity, danger, anger and defiance.

The occasion is also marked by singing drumming and wailing. Most of the singing and drumming are performed in traditional composition and lyrics that either eulogize the dead or console bereaved families. Singing is normally performed by *nwomkro* groups which are communally recognized groups whose performances are witnessed during such festivals. People dance to the music and drumming. Drinks are served to funeral attendants and sympathizers, who in turn pay or contribute token donations by way of money to the bereaved families. This continues until dusk when the rites come to an end.

The celebration of funeral rites has undergone drastic changes in recent times because of hybridity. Many of the changes are attributed to the inclusion of foreign cultures to aspects of the celebration. It also includes discarding what many people termed as outmoded practices that should no longer be entertained. This has led to some concern that funeral rites may be losing its traditional symbolic relevance to a certain level of debasement. According to Crentsil (2007, 23), "Akan funeral events of these days attract much concern, regarding revelry and what many see as the questionable behaviour of mourners".

These concerns and the extent to which the changes can be attributed to infiltration of external cultures or hybrid are discussed further in Chapter Five of this study.

2.1.3   The Practice of Traditional Medicine

Among the Akan, the practice of traditional medicine resides with the traditional priest or in some other cases a reputable herbalist whose reputation was recognized in the entire territory. Both the traditional priest and the herbalist provide medical services to members of the community. Among the Akan, diseases and affliction of illnesses are conceptualised from the spiritual perspective. The priest traditionally referred to as *Okomfo,* diagnoses and treats illnesses through possession and contacts with the spiritual world. Priests and spiritualists are diviners who

> Use methods of possession, divination and other ritual methods
> to diagnose and heal people; they are the intermediaries between
> their patients and the spiritual agents, from whom they derive
> their powers of healing (Brown, 2006,13).

On the other hand, herbalists do not deal much in spiritual realm. Even though some traditional priests may perform the function of the herbalist, the herbalist

according to Brown, "approached the work of healing through the application of herbs with or without ritual manipulation".

It is important to note that both the traditional priest and the herbalist administer traditional medicine in medical and religious contexts. The most important aspect of the practice, for the purposes of this research, is the mode of dispensation as described above, and mode of payment. The traditional mode of dispensation includes performance of rituals and divinations. In recent times the practice incorporates these cultural performances or in some cases totally excludes them. Secondly, the traditional mode of payment for the service rendered was in the form of payment through local produce, such as eggs, hens, goats, crops, or in the form of some token of cash. However, these have given way to modern payment methods that solely involve the payment of cash. These changes which are the result of external cultural infiltrations will form part of the focus of this study.

2.2.0   Overview

The loss of cultural practices among several ethnic groups and populations has called   into study of the notion *transformation* of cultural practices. Such transformations may occur through cultural loss, acculturation, adaptation, and or replacement (Narayan, 1997.). It is important at this level to clarify the use of the expression "transformation" and its relevance to this paper.

2.2.1   Transformation of Cultural Practices

Several writers (Khosa, 1999; Mwammwenda, 1999; Ratz, 1982) indicate that the concept transformation may have differing meaning with different audiences.

These writers opine that transformation goes beyond mere alteration, restructuring or change. Obikeze et al. (2003) also note that the term transformation means more than change or reformation. Obikeze (2003) states that, "transformation entails creating something new or different through the configuration of remolding of the constituent elements of the old". Explaining further, he asserts the afore mentioned writers that "in contrast to change, transformation is more revolutionary, more expeditious and more prone to jolting and convulsive experiences" (Obikeze et al, 2003: 1). This study agrees with the above conceptualizations of the term *transformatio*n and adds that transformation of cultural practices implies a revolutionary change in the culture that brings about a change in the knowledge of production and transmission of that culture and its practices.

It is axiomatic that 'culture' is dynamic and regular transformations and changes that characterize this phenomenon of dynamism may not be clearly perceived unless upon critical observation. The measurement or proclamation of what are *cultural values*, or acceptable as *culture*, has included definitions that have focused on: values, norms, shared knowledge, social organization, language, observed behaviour, and more recently, technology (Boyd & Richerson, 1994; Harris, 2001; Narayan, 1997). Whichever way one acknowledges the dynamics of culture, it is imperative to note that the culture of any group of people undergoes systematic changes and transformation on regular basis. It should also be noted that cultural change and transformation are not easy to determine because some may take 11-200 generations to happen (Boyd & Racherson, 2005). However, one of the best ways to measure cultural change and transformation is to monitor its continual exposure to outside world and the extent to which the outside world culture (external cultures) erodes or dominates the existing culture (Brown and Fernandez, 1991).

Another method of assessing the cultural transformation is to observe the extent to which the existing culture resisted the external intrusive culture despite the powerful appeal of the external culture to the local one (Brown, 2006; Reeve, 1994). A third course of assessment is to measure the existing culture's ability to incorporate selected aspects of the external culture into its general characteristics that make it difficult to isolate the external culture from the existing local culture and treat it as different. In other words, the local culture displays its dynamic ability to adopt foreign objects and foreign customs without losing its identity. Therefore, unless a critical historical study or observation is employed, one may conclude that the culture under observation is locally pure without any external adulteration or incorporation. All these modes of operations may result in cultural transformation and impact the traditional lifestyle of the local practitioners of that particular culture. It is important to note that these forms of culture transformation still lead to the idea that cultural transformation is a form of culture preservation. This is because such transformations are assumed to lead to new cultural practices that are accepted by indigenes and local cultural practitioners as the norm. It also leads to the belief that there is no truth in the assertion that cultures are poised to suffer total eradication and extinction as a result of contact with powerful external ones (Narayan, 1997). It is a generalization that sounds debatable. Nevertheless, it is accepted that if a local culture is sustained, contact with external culture leads to an erosion of the existing local culture and the issue of transformation as preservation becomes questionable.

It has already been asserted that culture implies the values, norms, shared knowledge, social organization, language, and observed behaviour, of a group of people and these phenomena are regularly undergoing transformations in any cultural environment (Harris, 2001). The patterns of transformation of cultural practices are

not easy to delineate. However, certain stages of the culture can be identified as the points from which transformation of cultural practices can be identified. Three levels of cultural transformation can be identified (Dallmayr, 1993).

The first is the transformations that are based on the identifying cultural practice as *primitive*. At this level there is general consensus by local cultural practitioners, the indigenes, that an absolute erosion or total replacement of that cultural practice is inevitable. The continued practice of the particular primitive culture normally created tensions in the society which in turn led to regular resistance by the local people against its practice. The second level of transformation is based on *tradition*. This consists of cultural practice made up of a weakened form of mythic beliefs, and an adherence to existing traditional political steering system. With this system people believed that whilst the belief in myths that surrounded a society existence gave it a certain aura of invisibility and survival, a toned adherence was preferred.

The second aspect of *tradition* is the adherence to an existing political steering system based on kinship. Whilst, the sustenance of the traditional political system represented an important cultural component for social coherence and survival, its totality is reduced to accommodate the changes in social evolution through the acceptance and adaptation of foreign political systems.

The third level connects the transformation of cultural practices to the concept of modernity- *modern society*. According to Dallmayr (1993) the onset on modern society heralds a cultural transformation that affects the autonomy of several cultural systems, especially in the area of economic market systems. Modern society tries to create a certain level of universal culture through the engagement of global world in a

common economic market system that revolves round capitalism. This universal culture impacts all other cultures that come into contact with it and as a result induces a high degree of transformation in indigenous cultural practices - political systems, economic markets and development needs.

Rajan (1986) postulates that any society that moves along these lines of cultural transformation aim to accomplish three main basic ideals: (1) "the task of survival"- during which the society seeks to transform to avoid its total extinction, or bring it into fusion with the global world order, p. (2) "the task of maintaining the structure and normative order of the [cultural] group"- during which the transformation ensures internal coherence and adherence to acceptable norms and values of the society; (3) "the task of making it possible for individual members a tolerable degree of personal fulfilment and happiness"- during which the transformations allows and encourages individuals in the society to live lives that fulfil their dreams and aspirations in consonance with societal harmony. These forms of transformations, according to Rajan (1986) must operate on three levels of societal competencies- adaptation, interaction, and innovation.

Transformation of cultural practices may not manifest as a result of conscious actions on the part of any group or society because the transformation or change is normally gradual, slow, and imperceptible. The grounds upon which we can observe, perceive, and acknowledge the existence of such transformations and identify them as having come into being have discussed been in the preceding paragraphs.

2.2.2 Culture

This paper, within its limited scope and space, cannot provide comprehensive definitions and analyses of the term "culture". Nevertheless, since this expression is very vital to the study, attempt is made to capture some of the essential meanings of the expression and how it is connected to the topic under discussion. These basic but essential contexts of the term will be very useful in assessing the relationship between culture and development and how the concept influences the developmental processes in any society or cultural environment. The term culture has become so expansive in meaning and definition that it would be difficult to capture all the limitless scope of this concept under one paper. This is because *culture* means different things to different individuals and writers. However, this paper will attempt to capture some of the definitions that generally capture the broad ingredients embodied in the concept.

According to Ukeje (1992) a culture is the sum total of a people's way of life that includes the values, beliefs, thoughts, feelings, customs and all the material and non-material aspects of their existence. Andah (1982), as cited by Mbakogu (2004 37), projects a more comprehensive definition of culture. The writer states,

> Culture embraces all the material and non-material expressions
> of a people as well as processes with which the expressions are
> communicated. It has to do with the entire social, ethical,
> intellectual, scientific, artistic, and technological expressions and
> processes of a people usually ethnically and or nationally related,
> and living in a geographically contiguous area; what they pass
> on to their successors an how these are passed on.

Oyeneye and Shoeremi (1985) present some basic features of culture. The writers indicate that culture is shared by members of a society; not genetically transmitted but historically derived and transmitted from one generation to another, created through the process of adjustment to social setting; universal and found in

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every human society; and lastly, that culture is dynamic. Harris (2001) also adds that culture is the observed behaviour, values, norms, shared knowledge, language, and social organizations that are found in a particular society. To all these, Mbakogu adds that "culture is a network of traits that could be learned based on interactions and derived from history." (2004:.37). She also states that no matter how one conceptualizes the term culture, it is without contention that culture regulates our lives, shapes our attitudes and behaviours, and defines our personality. Ikpe (1999 71) defines culture as,

> The learned, adaptable symbolic behaviour, based on a full fledged language, associated with technical inventiveness, a complex of skills that in turn depends on a capacity to organize exchange relationships between communities.

We can deduce from the above definitions that every personality, every society and what it prides itself on is a product of culture. The totality of life and every society can be discussed from the perspective of its cultural imprints. This also means our discussion of the development of any society culture must be approached from the perspective of the culture- the culture of a particular group of people. Ikpe (1999, 67) emphasizes this point by stating that, "every aspect of a person's existence illustrates his culture whether or not such behaviour is purposively projected". This means that development processes can only be approached and understood from the perspective of culture

2.2.3   Hybridity

The term hybridity has become an important concept in the study of culture, languages, ethnicity and media studies in the last two decades. The term originally began in biology. Under this situation selective breeding of two different varieties of plants and animals were put together to produce specific qualities of improved

performance. However, in many instances the hybrid product was always stigmatized as inferior and lacking purity.

Hybridity has also become a symbol of the transformations of cultures. The concept of hybridity is also synonymous with cultural fusion and difference. The concept has proved useful in describing the multipurpose nature of culture in as much as that culture is derived from several sources aside the original. It is a concept that can best be used to describe postcolonial cultures- from which many post-independence African countries can attribute their cultures. According to Kraidy (2005: 8) it resonates "with the globalization mantra of unfettered economic exchanges and the inevitable transformation of all cultures". According to Garcia-Canclini (1989:11) Hybridity "includes diverse intercultural mixtures… and … includes the modern forms of hybridization…." The issue of "intercultural mixtures" is one reason why hybridity can be found in many academic disciplines including, literature, anthropology, sociology, architecture, tourism, sports, economics, and popular culture. Hybridity of culture is typically the fusion of cultures that combine new technologies and existing social practices and cultural values. In the current globalization era individuals, communities, countries and continents have been compelled to adopt foreign cultures n order to fit into the global world. During such period of adoption an intermingling of cultures develops during which new cultures are created.

Different authors have made varied attempts to explain the concept from its fusion perspective. Kraidy (2005) believes that hybridity is a fusion of two relatively distinct styles, forms, or identities that occur across national or cultural boundaries through cultural contact. The cultural contact that results in hybridity requires some

kind of movement either of people, especially during migration, the exchange of goods and services, or some cultural products.

According to Hall (1986: 21),

> Hybridity is a phenomenon in Cultural Studies that gives meaning to how dominant cultures impact other cultures and vice versa. Cultures that appear dominated by a dominant culture do not become totally acculturated. Instead, they always find counter hegemonic ways to reaffirm their identity. . . . it's important to note that a dominant culture also intertwines from dominated cultures to enrich its own. Thus, there is "semi fluid" cultural interaction always going on. Cultures do not exist in vacuum.

In this case, the hybridization happens because some cultures, especially the local ones normally resist the external cultures which always try to dominate them. This resistance may not be total and is compromised by an assimilation of the local cultures with aspects of the external culture. In many cases the individual groups and communities that have assimilated parts of the foreign culture into their mainstream culture engage in the cultural practices without much notice of the inherent external influences. What hybridity does is to exercise a mutual intermingling of the two cultures into a single cultural commodity or practice.

Obikeze (2003) discusses hybridity from the perspective of hybridization. He explains that there are several forms of cultural dynamics through which different cultures come together to create something new. He asserts that through a series of cultural dynamics,

> Two or more culture products of the same type but of different origins (one foreign, the other indigenous; for example, two types of cooking pots, or two different methods of predicting weather storms) are brought together in one social space, a dynamic system of interaction ensues between them resulting in a situation of domination, marginalization, or coexistence".

One result of this process of interaction is hybridization during which something uniquely new is produced out of the blend of the two cultural products. According to him,

> *Hybridization* occurs, when elements of the interacting culture products fuse and blend together to form a distinctively new culture product. The hybrid culture product created by this process, while indigenous to the locale, is neither pure nor genuine (p.7)

As a result of the fusion of two rival cultural products propelled by the dynamics of cultural interaction, a new cultural product born out of fusion, adaptation or coexistence may occupy social space. Sometimes the interactive nature of the foreign and indigenous cultural product may lead to a situation where each product loses part of the purity of its original form and becomes modified so as to ensure their acceptability in the social space. In essence a new cultural product is created out of the modification and blending of the rival cultures.

Kraidy (2005) identified two ways through which cultural contact and dynamic interaction of the foreign and indigenous cultures occur:

1) This mainly occurs through commerce: the strategic movement and exchanges of people, ideas, and practices across geographic boundaries. The boundaries may be local or international.

2) This happens as a result of poverty and the quest to be accorded recognition for moving up the social ladder. It manifests in the desire to adopt behaviours and act out practices that lead to individuals being recognized as having moved upward in the social structure either as 'learned' 'elite' or 'civilized'.

In the first instance hybridity occurs as a result of cultural exchanges which lead to the borrowing and adoption of new cultures outside local boundaries. Through commerce, foreign goods and services and practices are relocated into indigenous cultural environments. With time, the new cultural products may show persistence because of their aesthetics, quality, or durability of the product. Yet such product may not be considered as having the capacity to replace the original indigenous culture for which the new product acts as substitute. Indigenous cultural practitioners, desirous of maintaining the purity of the original cultural product and at the same time holding on to the new culture, blend some aspects of the purity of the original with the 'not-so-genuine' external cultural product. This leads to a new product that is acceptable to the indigenous population. It is also given the recognition and capacity to symbolically perform the cultural functions for which the original is accustomed.

In the second instance, poverty may cause foreign cultural products to relocate into indigenous culture to create a new affordable cultural product. In many cultural environments the cost of buying original cultural product or elements that relate to it may be so expensive that local people may decide to forgo the use of that product in local cultural performances. An external product may lend itself as an alternative affordable cultural commodity capable of performing the symbolic function of the indigenous cultural product. The local people renew their dedication towards the original cultural performance by turning to the new product as a substitute for the indigenous product. The desire to maintain aspects of cultural purity of the original leads people to blend the two to create a new hybrid product in a manner that makes the new one financially affordable and culturally appropriate for the performance of the intended cultural practice.

The result of these forms of hybridization can also lead to two distinct patterns of the hybrid products: (1) a modified form of the original whose content is changed but whose form remains the same as illustrated by some of the cultural practices that, in modern days, occur during marriage and religious ceremonies in the Akan culture; (2) the cultural product that is a pure hybridization in which the local and the foreign are clearly indistinguishable as exemplified in Akan farming activities. In this example, even though a lot of foreign or western farming practices have found their way into traditional farming patterns, it is difficult to draw a line between the "domestic" and the "foreign". In all these cases, the local indigenous population seems to engage in a conscious or unconscious negotiation of fusing the external and internal cultures into a culturally acceptable symbolic product- the *hybrid*. In Africa many peoples' life experiences are uniquely influenced by cultural practices that are the blend of cultures that invariably emanate from hybridization.

2.2.4   Development

Development implies change or modification to a more advanced form what is already in existence. Individual groups in any society modify their physical and social environment, their behaviour, and ways of lives by altering aspects or their culture to bring about development (Zapf, 2003). In other words, there cannot be any development without a modification, alteration, erosion, and replacement of an existing culture or its inclusion or blend of it with a new one. The World Conference on Cultural Policies (MONDIACULT) defined culture in relation to development as "the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual, and emotional features that characterize 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" (as cited by Mbakogu, 2004, 41). Through the inclusion of such post-modern development tenets such as "human rights issues" in the definition of culture, *development* was intrinsically related to culture.

Development has been generally ascribed to the notions of growth and progress. The concept or term, like that of *culture,* might have different meanings for different individuals and groups. For economists, development means increasing productivity based on economic growth indices. Osagie (1985, 25) states that,

> Development is more inconclusive concept with its social,
>
> political and economic facets. It is the qualitative and
> quantitative transformation of the life of the person that
> does not enhance only their material well-being but also
> ensure their social well being including restoration of
> human dignity.

The above definition of development is largely made up of three basic quantitative and qualitative elements of transformation: *the lives of the people; their material well-being*, and the *restorations of their human dignity*. These are elements that can only be derived and embodied in the culture.

During the era of colonization, under the guise of modernization, many countries were ushered into new programmes of education, industrialization, health initiatives and agricultural mechanization systems that were characterised as being the channel to development. More pertinent was the taste for European and western goods, behaviour, values and norms that were erroneously adopted and presented too many African countries as symbols of development. Thus many African communities considered the adoption of western behaviour, attitudes and tastes as what constitutes development and progress.   Cultural norms and activities that had historically been the embodiment of African societies, including those activities that relate to religion and worship; social activities including the observance of funerals, marriage and

naming ceremonies; economic activities such as market systems, farming, trading and commerce, housing and construction; the arts including music, painting, and sculpture carvings, were replaced, modified, or radically changed to reflect the western culture. These social cultural-activities represent the culture of the people. To the proponents of the modern development initiatives, it was only when these had been actualized in societies, that any meaningful development was said to have been achieved (Zapf, 2003). What can be seen from the above explanation is that bringing development to any community entails a change or transformation of that community's culture. Promotion of development implies an alteration, transformation, erosion transformation of the culture of that society. Development could not be delinked from culture.

During the post-independence era many African countries began to question the notion of development that had sought to supplant western culture on African cultures as a form of development. They questioned the persistent notion that development means westernization- the adoption of European cultural norms and practices. Indeed the tendency to define development to include the erosion of the rich cultures of developing countries led to agitation from the populations of these regions to find a more acceptable definition of development that responds to the traditions and cultures of local communities. These agitations have led current development practitioners to include expressions of culture in the definitions of development. The UNESCO Secretary-General accepted this challenge and threw more light on the relational links between the term development and culture. He stated, "in the concept of development the centre of gravity has thus shifted from the economic to social, and we have reached a point where this shift approaches the cultural" (n.d). In doing this UNESCO went further to acknowledge the cultural dimensions of development, and

the enriching cultural identities of the different people's of the world. The world's body was just affirming the notion that every society's existence is deeply seated in its culture. Change, transformation, or development of any society can only happen only through an alteration or modification of the culture.

Development also implies policies and interventions which are directed towards improving the physical, economic and social conditions of people living in a demarcated community. It also implies facilitating sustainable improvement in the lives of people by addressing issues of poverty and social exclusion. Olayiwola and Adeleye (2005) discuss development from the perspective of rural development promotion and in initiatives. According to these writers the most important definitions of local development include the following; the provision of social infrastructures as catalysts for the transformation of local communities; addressing the problem of poverty by giving opportunities for local people to enjoy the benefits of development through improved education, health and nutrition; bringing local communities into active economic state through the transformation of their inferior socio-economic nature into something more superior in terms of activities. Local development promotion implies "a broad-based re-organization and mobilization of the rural masses in order to enhance their capacity to cope effectively with the daily task of their lives and with changes consequent upon this" (p. 58).

Development can also be conceptualized as improvement in the living standards of local community members by allowing them to engage in activities that improve their income and provide them with opportunities to develop their full potentials (Abakare 1977; Lele, 1975; Mobogunje, 1981). According to a World Bank perspective of development, the term is defined to include the modernization of and monetization of local communities and their consequent transition from

traditional rural isolation and to integration with national economies (World bank 1975, 9). It also means increased agricultural production for both local and international markets.

Development, according to the Community Development Foundation in the United Kingdom, is "the structured intervention that gives communities greater control over the conditions that affect their lives. This does not solve all the problems faced by a local community but is does build up confidence to tackle such problems as effectively as any local action" It can be said that development from the community or local perspective seeks to develop the power, skills, and knowledge and experience of individuals and groups so that they can take initiatives to do their own to combat social, economic, political and environmental issues which affect them. Development in totality is about growth and change, the creation of the spirit of sharing, and participation in governance and democratic processes, all in accordance with the needs and priorities of community members.

Olayiwola and Adeleye (2005), in addition, view development as a form of package inputs and institutional inputs or welfare services that encourage increased economic production and allow them to contribute to the national economy. The physical inputs include provisions such as feeder roads, water, and electricity; social inputs include health and educational facilities; institutional inputs include credit facilities, agricultural research facilities, and rural expansion services. Development from the local perspective is also conceptualized as how communities effectively use their potential in relation to its own social and historical identity as well as the capacity of local communities to shape their own destiny with the use of social capital for common causes (Putnam, 1996; Fukuyama, 1996; Brusco & Solinas, 1999). Ferraz (2001) and Andion (2003) are of the opinion that local development involves

choices and decision that only arises out of an interaction between the local and global cultures. It is this concept that provides an articulation for groups and individuals to pursue their personal and social development agenda.

The above underlying concepts of local development provide a basis for any analysis on the contribution of hybrid cultural practices towards local development. It is important to note that improvement in the standards of living of community members and their potential to undertake developmental projects as part of the package inputs that can lead to sustained economic and social improvement can be conceptualized from the perspective of hybrid cultural practices. In other words, the discussion of the promotion of development within the Atwima Nwabiagya District, in the context of this study, interrogates the application of hybrid cultures as vehicle for the provision of package inputs- physical, social, institutional, and welfare services in the form of developmental projects that have led to productive activities and provided opportunities for the people to develop their potential.

2.3   Summary of Discussion

This chapter reviews the literature related to the study. The review is on cultural and theoretical dimensions of the study. It first discusses the Asante culture as the indigenous culture of the people of Atwima Nwabiagya. It also reviews the literature on some Akan customary practices including their political institutions and customary funeral practices. The chapter further discuses concepts from the perspective of hybridity and local development. Also discussed are the theories upon which the study is based. They include theories on culture, transformation of cultures, and hybridity.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0   Overview

In this chapter the researcher discusses the methods and research design used for the study. It indicates that qualitative and quantitative research methods are used. The chapter also undertakes to validate, through discussion, the research design used to collect data which includes district documents, interviews, participant observation, and perusal of administrative documents relating to the profile and establishment of the district. The details of the processes and procedure for the data collection are discussed. Also provided in the chapter are the details of other research tools such as tape recorder used to tape all interviews and a digital camera used in taking still pictures of developmental projects.

Data collection also focused on the core areas of cultural performances where combinations of local and external cultures have led to changes in the development of the district. These core areas include:

1) The political system: chieftaincy, assembly members and unit committee

2) Social ceremonies & social amenities: post-burial final funeral ceremony, traditional marriage ceremony, education, water and sanitation

3) Agriculture: traditional and modern farming activities

4) Economic: trade and industry; roadside sellers and local restaurant popularly called *chop bar* keeper

5) Health: herbal medicinal practice.

The methods and collection of data were guided by the research questions that were asked in chapter one.

Again, in this chapter all research tools that were used to conduct the study are discussed. They include research assistants, Kumasi Public Library, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology Library, Nkawie Community Library, tape recorder, digital camera, administrative documents from the Atwima District Coordinating office and the internet or the World Wide Web. Other major tools that were used to collect data were the English and Asante Twi languages that were used to conduct interviews.

3.1   Research Design

The study employed a research approach that combines qualitative and quantitative (Emerson et al, 1995; Fraenkel & Wallen, 1990; Kumekpor, 1999; Leedy, 2005; Opoku, 2005: Taylor & Lindlof, 2002). However, qualitative technique was used and precisely descriptive. This combined approach utilizes personal contact and insight and focuses on individual experiences as well as human interaction as the central elements of study. In this kind of research, Leedy (2005, 504) asserts that,

> Qualitative researchers operate under the assumption that reality is
> not easily divided into discrete memorable variables. Qualitative
> researchers are often described as being the research instruments
> because the bulk of their data collection is depend on their
> personal involvement (interviews, observations) in the setting…
> Both verbal (interview comments, documents, field notes) and
> non-verbal data (drawings, photographs, and video tapes) may
> be collected.

3.2   Library Research

At Nkawie, the researcher visited local Nkawie Community public library to gather historical and literature materials on the District. The search for more literature on the study also sent the researcher to the Kumasi Public Library and Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology Library. These visits yielded some positive results, especially on literature relating to the theories that underpin the studies. Some of the literature was gathered from various online sites on the internet or the World Wide Web.

3.3   Population Sampling

The researcher used accessible and target population sampling method. The researcher visited fourteen villages where interviews were conducted with twenty-five research participants and informants (see Appendix 2). Among some of the interviewees were office holders including, the District Coordinating Director of the Atwima Nwabiagya District Assembly, the Chief of Toase, who is also a former assembly member of the Atwima Nwabiagya District Assembly; the District Cultural Officer, a herbal practitioner resident at Abuakwa within the district; the Atwima Nwabiagya District Agricultural Officer. Also interviewed were community elders, teachers, farmers, artisans, food sellers and traders. Some of the villages visited including Wurampong, Kobeng and Barekuma the researcher employed the services of research assistants to allow entry into some research sites. The services of research assistants facilitated location of sites and the taking of photographs. For example, at Wurampong, the research assistant, Mr. John Amoah, led the researcher to the local river site where the community used to fetch water for domestic consumption, and

later to the sites where boreholes and stand pipes have been constructed as the new grounds where the community collect water.

Lastly, the researcher participated and observed the cultural performances of two social activities in two separate towns. First, she participated and observed a post-burial final funeral rite at Barekuma, and a traditional marriage ceremony at Atwima Koforidua.

3.4   Data Collection Procedure

The data collection procedure adopted by the researcher of this thesis included interviews, comments with informants/participants, field notes, documents, and photographs. It also included participant observation of a post-burial final funeral rite, a traditional marriage ceremony, and some historical and current analyses of existing documents relevant to the administration of the Atwima Nwabiagya District including the Local Government Act.

Data gathering and field work that helped to address these questions were conducted from three sources which are documents, interviews, and participant observation. First, the researcher visited the administrative offices of the Atwima Nwabiagya District assembly where through the District Coordinating Director; she obtained documents and literature on the profile of the district as well as newspaper clippings on media coverage of some of the socio-cultural and political activities of the district.

Data collection for the entire period lasted from July, 2009 to January, 2010. There were three phases of data collection. The first phase of data collection was conducted at the offices of the Atwima Nwabiagya District Assembly and from the

aforementioned libraries. It was at this phase that the researcher was able to access documents and literature pertaining to the district assembly. All the major documents on the district including the annual district reports were obtained from the public relations office of the district assembly while other literature including the Local Government Act, and authorities on the DAS and the areas related to the study were obtained from the libraries listed above. The second and third phases of data collection were conducted over a twelve-week period from October 21, 2009 to January16, 2010 during which interviews with all the twenty-five research participants were done. The third phase of the data involved the researcher as participant observer in two separate cultural performances. On November 28, 2009, the researcher participated and observed a traditional marriage ceremony at Atwima Koforidua, and on January 16, the researcher was a participant observer in the post-burial final funeral rites of Opanyin Yaw Mensah at Barekuma.

3.4.1   Interviews

This formed the major qualitative aspect of the study. The interview as the major part of this study was important for many reasons. Firstly, in qualitative research, reliance on a single method of data collection normally renders the work very subjective (Leedy, 2005). Since this study incorporates other qualitative research including participant observation, and document analysis using interview as part of the research methods ensured a high degree of objectivity on the part of the researcher. With particular reference to the subject under study which sought to discover the hybrid aspects of a culture, the use of multiple methods of data collection known as triangulation (Leedy, 2005), becomes methodically appropriate. According to Leedy, (2005), in triangulation "Multiple sources are collected with the hope that

they will all converge to support a particular hypothesis or theory. This approach is especially common in qualitative research… Triangulation is also common in mixed-method designs, in which both quantitative and qualitative data are collected to answer a single research question". In this instance interviews served as part of the multiple method that ensured that data collection and analysis achieved a high level of validity and reliability. Secondly, interviews allowed the researcher to check the accuracy of data, verify or refute the impressions that a researcher gathers through other methods of data collection such as participant observation (Fraenkel & Wallen; Ofori-Birikorang, 2009).

In addition, there are other issues that cannot be observed directly by the researcher, and interviews allow the researcher to collect unobserved data from individuals through interviews. In addition, Lindlof and Taylor (2003) indicate that interviews allow researchers "to understand the social actors' experience and perspective" (p. 173). In this study all the interviewees are major social actors within the site of research, and their perspectives helped to enrich the data collection and analysis. The interviews also allowed me to gain insight into the motives for certain theoretical issues and foundations that underlay their activities and the research questions.

In Chapter One the researcher asserted that the development of the Atwima Nwabiagya District is a result of hybrid of cultures. It is therefore important that information from social actors who help prove the assertion is taken. In the circumstances, this research used in-depth and face-to-face interviews to collect data from the twenty-five social actors. The in-depth interviews provided a very rich source of data because the information provided is first hand, presumably accurate and revealed the world of the participants and their emotions and thoughts about their

inner world around them (Agbese 2006; Patton, 1990; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). The structure and approach of the interviews were conducted through interview guide questions. The interview guide questions were also based on each interviewee's area of specialization. Cumulatively, about 520 minutes that translates into eight and a half hours of interview time was conducted for the twenty-five participants.

All the interviews were conducted personally by the researcher and tape-recorded. Interviewees were informed and their permission sought before each recording was conducted. The interview followed an interactive approach and even though it was done along the question guide (see appendix 3 for Interview Guide), the interactive nature of meeting allowed the interviewees to freely respond to the questions without any interruptions or hindrances. To ensure the ease of information flow and the desired unhindered narrative from interviewees, letters of introduction and permission to set up appointments for the interviews were sent ahead of interview dates to the would-be interviewees. Interviewees also "gained control of the discussion in a manner that allowed them to tell their own stories in an interestingly unhindered narrative" (Ofori-Birikorang, 2009). This method elicited a lot of useful vital information that enriched the data.

3.4.2   Participant Observation

Between the middle of July 2009 and January 2010, the researcher observed five cultural events that relate to this study. Three of the events relate to the celebration of funeral rites while the other two relate to the traditional marriage ceremonies. Three of the events, two funeral activities and one marriage ceremony, were attended as part of my exploratory studies to explore the sites of my activity and to know what data, in my final field work collection, would be necessary and relevant

to this study. The other two activities- a traditional marriage ceremony and a final funeral rite, were the actual ceremonies where I finally collected data for this study. She attended the first exploratory event, a traditional marriage ceremony, on July 19, 2009 at Nkawie in the District. The second and third exploratory studies involved funeral ceremonies. The researcher observed the two events on August 22, 2009 and November 12, 2010 at Atwima Koforidua and Toase in the District. When it comes to using exploratory methods as a prelude to final field entry, Lindlof and Taylor (2003, p.111) have this to say,

> The self-questioning and scene-questioning activities…enable researchers to decide whether they should embark on a project. Once a commitment is made, more systematic means of sizing up social scenes can be used by researchers to inform research design… The exploratory methods are useful when little is known about a scene in advance or when the social action is too elusive to document directly….

The exploratory studies gave me insights into what would confront me when I finally decide to engage in the actual participant observation of the cultural performances. Three things became clear to me as I undertook these exploratory studies. Firstly, I realized that I would need to negotiate my access into the sites of performances if I wanted to collect rich and valuable data. Secondly, I also realized that, in some situations informal discussions with some cultural performance participants or attendants would help me collect data that would otherwise have been lost to me. This was because the exploratory studies proved that in some cases attendants other than the hosts or gatekeepers of the event were valuable resources because they were more informed about the symbolic importance of the traditional acts and cultural artefact present or represented at the event. The investigator also got to know the extent to which major stakeholders of the event were willing to cooperate. Thirdly, the exploratory studies allowed me to test some of the theories and

research questions that the researcher asked at the beginning of her study. The researcher also examined her readiness and quality of the research design as well as the instruments that she would carry into the sites of observation. At the end of the exploratory studies from the three cultural events, she had learned enough lessons and readied myself for the final and actual participant observations that were conducted.

The final data collection of data through participant observation on the final funeral rites and traditional marriage ceremonies were conducted with reference to my exploratory studies. The researcher negotiated her access into both sites through some close friends can be referred to as "gatekeepers" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2003). During the celebration of both events my identity as a researcher was made known to these gatekeepers.

In both cases the researcher's prior acquaintance lived up as in Lindlof & Taylor's (2003) assertion that a researcher can explain the social-good of a study to research participants by explaining to them how the end result of the research will be of benefit to the community and society in general. The researcher's close relationship with her gatekeepers gave her the opportunity to live up to this research finale. During the actual data collection, the researcher was amazed at the level of cooperation given to as a participant observer from all objects of her observation at the two separate events. The gate keepers were equally impressed with her "desire to understand their expertise, their thoughts and emotions, or the interesting qualities of the world around them' (Lindlof & Taylor, 2003).

The researcher entered all the sites with a field note dairy in which all the observations and informal discussions with participants and informants were recorded in short and long hands. She also used the digital camera to take photographs of

worthy artefacts or performances that throw more light on the phenomena gathered. Most of the recordings were done in free narratives allowing me to construct representation of cultural performances and their relevance to the theoretical issues that underline my research.

3.4.3   Documents

This also formed another section of the data collection. The main documents that helped to inform this project were collected from the Public Relations Office of the Atwima Nwabiagya District Assembly and Nkawie Community Library, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology Library, and Kumasi Public Library at Kumasi Cultural Centre. The documents included collected include the Local Government Act of 1999, and online and unpublished documents on the profile of the district. The documents helped to explain some of the contexts of my study. A typical example was my interview with the chief of Nkawie and his role as a chief and member of the district assembly. My understanding of the context under which this system worked out was also highly enhanced by the Local Government Act, 1993 (462). I was also able to construct the developmental aspect of the study in a relatively meaningful manner.

Several villages and towns were visited by the researcher to ascertain the degree to which the manifestation of hybrid cultural practices have promoted or led to developmental projects. Developmental projects which incorporate aspects of hybrid cultures were studied. These areas include education, trade and industry, water and sanitation, judicial system, and health. These areas of investigation are an outcome of primary data collected from the Atwima Nwabiagya District Assembly and formal and informal interviews conducted with twenty-five informants. As indicated earlier,

in all fourteen villages were visited by the researcher to conduct investigations on the hybrid nature of these projects and how they have promoted development in the respective communities and the entire Atwima Nwabiagya District. The towns and villages visited include Nkawie, Mim, Barekese, Barekuma, Abuakwa, Sepaase, Akropong, Kobeng, Koforidua, Toase, Esaase, Owabi, Yawanokrom, and Wurampong. Most of the projects that were studied are the products of hybrid cultures and materials which have by their deployment promoted growth, transformation and development in the entire district. The researcher, using the digital camera as a research tool, took photographs of some of the hybrid products, artefacts, and or developmental projects that are the focus of the study or are related to it. In all, the researcher took about seventy-two pictures and selected the ones most relevant to the research goals. Some of the photographs that are indicated in the appendixes are the subject of discussion in Chapter Five.

3.5   Summary of Discussion

This chapter discussed the methods and research design that were used for the study. It indicated that an integrated qualitative and quantitative research approach was used. The research design that was used to collect data included interviews, participant observation, and perusal of administrative documents relating to the profile and establishment of the district. The details of the processes and procedure for the data collection have been discussed. Also provided in the chapter are the details of other research tools that were used to facilitate data collection.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.0   Overview

This chapter presents the findings and discussion of the data obtained from the field including interviews conducted with five informants, the researcher's participant observation of a traditional marriage, and a post-burial funeral ceremony, and documents and literature on the profile of Atwima Nwabiagya District. The findings and discussion are the result of investigations conducted into whether local development in the Atwima Nwabiagya District is a result of hybrid cultural practices. The findings and discussion are based also on the core areas of cultural performances that were outlined in chapter three including, political practices, social system practices and deployment of amenities, agricultural practices, economic practices, and health (herbal) practices.

In addition, the chapter presents the findings and discussion in relation to two major theoretical areas that formed the areas of the literature review, namely, transformation of cultural practices, culture and development, and the concept of hybridity. In Chapters One and Two the researcher asserted that local development in the Atwima Nwabiagya District is a result of hybrid cultural practices. Flowing from this assertion two research questions were asked,

1) What are the hybrid cultural practices of the people of the Atwima Nwabiagya District?

2) How have the hybrid practices of the people Atwima Nwabiagya promoted the development of the district?

First, the analysis of the findings is based on the above research questions. The examination of the phenomenon under study is done from the perspective of the research questions. Second, the analysis draws its strength from the theoretical perspectives discussed in Chapter Two on which the research is focused, namely, development, transformation of culture, and cultural hybridity. Thirdly, each of the areas of cultural performances is then analyzed within the context of the theoretical perspectives discussed in Chapter Two.

The analysis and discussion are presented from the perspective of the most important developmental projects that have happened in the district as a result of cultural hybridity. The questions we ask are, has the DAS promoted growth and progress? Has it led to the qualitative and quantitative transformations of the lives of the people in the community? The analysis that follows responds to these questions by looking at the areas of education, water and sanitation, trade and industry and judicial system.

4.1   Education

Education is one area where the adoption of hybrid cultures has promoted development in the district. Developmental growth was seen in both the physical inputs and service inputs of education. The history behind education as gathered from the District Assembly documents, and other interviewees from some of the villages including Wurampong, Kobeng, and Essase where research was conducted showed that initial enrolment in basic education in most of these towns and villages began in mud or thatch-roofed houses or make shifts structures that consisted of wooden or bamboo products procured totally from the local environment (see fig. 1a and b)

Fig.1a and b: Thatch-roofed school block at Essase – pictures by the researcher.

Interviews with some elderly informants including Nana Osei Bonsu from Wurampong, Madam Akosua Boatemaa from Esaase and Akwasi Oduro from Kobeng all indicated in separate interviews that the earlier physical structures that used to accommodate school children in their respective villages were constructed through community labour and all the construction materials were taken from the local environment. The structures also incorporated traditional architectural design based on indigenous knowledge of family house construction. The utilization of community labour meant that cash as payment for labour was totally absent. However, in the last decade the introduction of hybrid cultures and products into the local environment has changed the face of education in all the villages. The mud or thatch-roofed structure for learning has given way to sandcrete block structures with almost all the construction materials procured from outside the district or the country. In an interview with Nana Osei Bonsu of Wurampong, he said,

Everything that went into the construction of the school over here came from the government- iron sheets, cement, iron rods, nails, paint, windows and everything. They brought their own contractors, their labourers, only two or three local Wurampong boys were employed to work with the contractor. But it is good for us because it has opened the village, modernized us and all the children want to be in that building... enrolment has increased because there is more space and better learning environment.

In Essase, the researcher's informant, Akosua Boatemaa indicated that apart from incorporating the village into modern world of education, the construction of the modern classroom blocks allowed some women who worked as water couriers with the contractor to make additional income for their families. She also indicated that children from other hamlets surrounding Esaase have trekked to enrol in the new school because of the bigger space and cleaner learning environment.

In Wurampong, Esaase and Kobeng enrolment numbers for basic school, according to the district report for 2009, went up by 63%, 42% and 56% respectively, figures that represent important development promotion indices for the local district assembly. In addition, some local indigenes opened convenience shops to meet construction workers' demand of some basic goods and groceries. Some individuals have acquired refrigerators where soft drinks, ice block, and "iced" water are sold to construction worker and school children. It must be noted that apart from the physical school structures, many other additional products new like new convenience shops that trade in imported assorted goods and services, that have come into all the villages as a result of the construction of the new school blocks are the product of hybrid cultures. The indigenes also attest to the fact that the presence of the new schools has promoted growth and development in the respective towns and villages and for that matter the entire Atwima Nwabiagya district. It has, to some extent, given them

greater control over their own lives and provided them opportunities to develop their potential.

Another interesting finding that emerged as a result of an interview with Nana Afriyie Opoku-Asiamah, the chief of Toase traditional area, was that hybrid culture, as a result of western education, has infiltrated the role and core function of chieftancy. He indicated that as a royal who was growing up in the post-independence era the family's main concern was that western formal education and traditional palace training would work better for future occupiers of the royal stool. It was also believed that the development of villages or traditional area could be accelerated and enhanced by an educated chief. In his assertion, his ascension to the throne had vindicated the belief and stand of his forbearers on these issues. He had acquired education to the tertiary level, served as an officer in the military, served in the DAS as an assembly member and now holds court in his palace based on the Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) that combines the western system of adjudication with the traditional system of adjudication. These positions and the authorities he wields would not have been more effective without western education. This is reiterated in his following statement:

> I speak more than one language, my native language Twi and the English language and I manage my traditional area with both languages. I use either language depending on which subject(s) or person(s) I'm addressing and this is a deviation from what used to happen long ago by our forefathers. In fact, the English language has become an important tool for me when it comes to mobilizing external resources to promote development in traditional area-Toase whilst, as you know, Twi helps me to forge unity and promote peace among my people.

The above statement also justifies two assertions made by van Rouveroy van Neuwaal (2005) on the role of chiefs in the modern economy. It underlines their syncretic or hybrid leadership status, and their position as epitome of development.

The Atwima Nwabiagya District has also shown that hybrid educational inputs and structures are at the centre of educational development. According to data collected from the offices of the Atwima Nwabiagya District Assembly, in the last decade- from 2000 to 2010 more communities have from year to year benefited from the construction of new educational facilities including the construction of classroom blocks and toilet facilities for basic schools. The Atwima Nwabiagya District Assembly Report on development projects for the year 2008 indicates that more than 21 communities including Wurampong, Abira, Kyekyewere, Nketia, Amakye-Bare, Kobeng, Nkonteng, Kyerease, Adagya and others benefited from these modern educational facilities including the construction of several 3-unit classroom blocks for primary education (see fig.2).

Fig.2: A 3-Unit modern classroom block at Kobeng – picture by the researcher.

4.2   **Water and Sanitation**

Another developmental arena that incorporates hybrid input is in the area of water and sanitation. Three main areas of sanitation studied as signs of development promotion were waste disposal, provision of toilet facilities, and water. According to data collected from the field more communities have adopted and embraced new

healthier forms of waste disposal. Most of these forms of waste disposal are purely hybrid inputs that have come to replace or fused with traditional methods of waste disposal.

Before the adoption of these forms, waste disposal in several communities had their own traditional methods of waste disposal. In terms of refuse disposal, most villages and towns had traditionally adopted a central spot usually located at the fringes of the village where refuse from individual houses were deposited (see fig. 3a and b).

Fig.3a and b: Central refuse dump at Akropong – picture by the researcher.

Once in a while when the refuse accumulates into an acknowledgeable heap, it is set on fire. Another cultural practice was that community members periodically gathered at the refuse to clean up the area to acceptable healthier standards[2].

In the last decade several communities have migrated from these traditional forms of waste disposal to the new hybrid forms of disposal in line with modern notions of development. The refuse disposal comes in two forms. In the first system, each household or demarcated zone of few households is assigned waste bins into which they deposit household refuse. The bins are either placed in front of houses or a central spot within the vicinity. In the second system, huge refuse dumpsters are placed at the traditional refuse dumps. Instead of dumping the refuse on the ground and leaving it to grow into a heap and later for it to be burnt down, the refuse is deposited into the huge dumpster. Once these bins or dumpsters become full a waste company or agency that have been assigned to collect these refuse come round with heavy duty waste trucks, and for a fee, take the refuse and send them to unknown destination. The researcher noted that communities such as Nkawie, Akropong, Abuakwa and Toase had adopted this fee paying method or refuse collection. In some cases, as is the current practice in Nkawie, a waste agency, Zoomlion had been contracted by the district assembly to lift the waste (see fig. 4 and 5a and b).

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[2] Interview with Madam Yaa Achiaa and Akosua Yeboah at Akropong

Fig.4: Central refuse dump at Akropong.   Fig. 5a and b: Household waste bins at
   Abuakwa Pictures by the researcher.

The disposal of solid waste followed similar pattern. Most communities had a central location at the fringes of the community, and normally close to the refuse dump, where toilet facilities had been constructed for community members to attend to nature's call. The facility was in the form of a dugout pit latrine with wooden planks or logs spread across the pit to create different holes and with enough squatting room for each attendant. This was either open-spaced or sometimes fenced with three to four feet mud wall, bamboo, wood, or old disposed aluminium roofing sheets (see fig.6).

Where the facility is open-spaced, there is little room for privacy. Separate constructions are done for men and women. Once the pit is deemed to be full, another location, normally not far from the old one, is designated and a new toilet facility constructed.

In terms of provision and construction of toilet facilities, the research noted that three different forms of hybrid practices have been adopted by community members or households. In the first instance individuals households have adopted and

constructed inside the household, the purely western toilet facility known as Water Closet (WC) (see fig. 7).

Fig. 6: A dugout pit latrine at Toase

Pictures by the researcher

Fig. 7. A Water closet latrine at Toase.

This practice was more prominent in several households in Abuakwa, Akropong and Nkawie and Atwima Koforidua. In the second system, some individual households appropriate the traditional public latrine technology and aspect of WC technology. The facility comes as fully-walled and roofed deep single narrow-holed pit located inside or outside the household (see fig 8).

The third system as in figure 8, also combines the traditional technology of pit latrine described earlier with some aspects WC technology, and is popularly known as KVIP

(Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pit). The facility is well ventilated and bigger, more environmentally friendly, fully walled, and assures a high degree of privacy because each pit hole is separated from the other by a three to four feet wall and a door. Each

facility on the average can accommodate fifteen attendants simultaneously. Attendance to the latter facility attracts a token fee (see fig. 9).

Fig. 8: A single pit with WC technology in a house at Akropong.

Fig. 9: Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pit (KVIP) at Akropong – picture
by the researcher

These forms of waste disposal, it can be argued, have hybrid and development promotion orientations. Obviously, almost all the new forms of waste disposal

facilities that have been adopted by household and communities as described above have hybrid contents. The facilities have also changed the face of communities, the environment, and promoted development in the district. In the review of literature it was noted that an aspect of community development was the skills and knowledge that community members acquire to combat social and environmental issues. The research gathered that the adoption of these new forms of waste disposal have allowed several communities in the Atwima Nwabiagya district to acquire knowledge and skills that combat social and environmental issues. The new methods of waste disposal have promoted healthier environment, reduced the incidence air-borne diseases that could result from accumulated refuse, and eliminated the incidence of burning of refuse such as acts that pollute the environment. Another development promotion practice is seen in the payment of cash for refuse disposal or toilet attendance. The fee payment incorporates the communities into the cash economy and provides sources of revenue for the district assembly, the maintenance of the facilities and sustenance of these environmentally friendly forms waste disposal.

In terms of water, several communities have moved from the indigenous system of accessing water to modern hybrid forms of water collection and storage. With the indigenous form of water collection, community members usually accessed water from a stream located some hundreds of meters or a few kilometres outside of the village or community (see fig.10).

Fig.10: The stream that serve the people of Barekuma – picture by the researcher.

The District Assembly has moved several communities from this indigenous system to newer hybrid form of water collection and storage. The Atwima Nwabiagya District Assembly has constructed over 115 boreholes in several communities on the entire district between the year 2008 and 2009. According to Nana Oppong Mensah a resident of Barekuma, on daily basis, individuals carry their pots, pails, trays and other containers to the stream to collect water and return to their household to store them in larger pots and drums. He intimated that the coming of pipe-borne water, stand-pipe, and boreholes has changed the culture of water collection and storage. Nana Oppong Mensah added that the village faced its biggest problem in the dry season when the stream almost dries up and the little water left flowing in its bank was so muddied, brownish and so full of filth that it was not healthy for drinking. The Atwima District Assembly through the Ghana Water Company connected the village to pipe-borne water from the Barekese Dam and constructed three main stand pipes at

different locations on the village to ease access to water. Two other boreholes were also drilled at other locations in the village (see fig.11).

According to Nana Oppong Mensah, "Now even old folks can get up and walk to one of the stand- pipes to collect water any time during the day". In Afari, the study showed that some well-to-do individuals have adopted a more modern hybrid form of water collection and storage. They have constructed boreholes inside or outside the compound of their houses and pump water into large capacity overhead plastic tanks (locally referred to as Polytank) from which water is distributed to the entire household (see fig. 12).

Fig.11: Borehole with stand pipe at Barekuma.   Fig. 12: Borehole connected to a
          plastic tank. Pictures by the researcher.

The development promotion implications of these hybrid forms of water collection and storage are varying. First, the practice ensures an all-year-round access to water. Secondly, because the new form of water is normally treated and purer than the previous form, it eliminates the incidence of water borne diseases that come from drinking the dirty stream water, especially, in the dry season. This means healthier

community members. Thirdly, some members of the community have commercialized the water collecting activity, popularly known as the 'sachet' water or 'pure' water business and added additional income to their earnings. One informant told me that some women in the Barekese village fetched water from the stand pipes and boreholes and sold them to local small scale building contractors in need of that service.

4.3   Governance through the District Assembly System (DAS)

The local DAS is a hybrid political practice that incorporates aspects of the traditional system of governance into its framework. The Act which established it, Local Government Act, 462 (1993) composes the DAS membership through the western electoral system with the traditional system of appointment through *traditional authorities[3]*. The fusion manifests through the composition of the District Assembly as stated in Section 5 (1),

> *A District Assembly shall consist of the following members...*
> (d) Other persons not exceeding 30 percent of the total membership
> of the Assembly appointed by the President in consultation with the
> traditional authorities and other interest groups in the district.

Even though the degree of fusion is marginal, it nevertheless underscores the fact that the DAS, as foreign institution, has been imported into the traditional area recognised the dynamism and strength of the traditional concept of governance- the chieftaincy institution. Indeed, according to one of my informants, Nana Opoku-Asiamah, a traditional leader and the chief of Toase, due recognition is given to traditional rulers in both law and practice of the DAS. He remarked that,

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[3] According to the Local Government Act, 462 1993, 'traditional authority" means a House of Chiefs or any council or body established or recognized as such under customary law.

> We the chiefs are accorded some recognition under the district
> Act 462 that one third of government nominees should come
> from the traditional council... whatever they intend doing they
> consult us chiefs for approval.

This view is further supported by another interviewee, Mr. Thomas Okra, a Deputy District Coordinating Director at the Atwima Nwabiagya District Assembly, who indicated that,

> By the Act the district Assembly works with the local authorities
> or what we call the traditional political system. So in terms of
> governance even though like you said we have modern
> administrative system where the western culture and the western
> form of administration is being introduced or being used, it works
> perfectly hand in hand with our traditional political system.

The statement also is an acknowledgement of the fact that the hybrid political system is at play here since the DAS is an institution of both a foreign political system and the local traditional system.

Investigations by the researcher showed that the traditional political set-up has undergone a lot of transformations. All the three processes of acculturation, adaptation, and replacement are at play (Jove et al.). At the base of this transformation is the Local Government Act, 1993 (462) which seems to have largely come to shake the foundations of the traditional system of governance. Most of the administrative, legislative and judicial functions that were hitherto performed by traditional leaders/ chiefs have been taken over by the District Assembly in accordance with Act, 1993 (462) through the cultural transformation process of "replacement". This usurpation of the powers of the traditional chiefs is captured clearly as stated in this manner in article 10, section 1 which states:

> Subject to this Act, a District Assembly shall exercise political
> and administrative authority in the District, provide guidance,
> give direction to, and supervise all other administrative
> authorities in the district.

Sections 1(b), and 1 (g) state that the District Assembly shall,

> formulate and execute plans, programmes and strategies
> for the effective mobilization of resources necessary for the
> overall development of the district... (Section 10, Ib) ensure
> ready access to courts for promotion of justice (10, 1g)

However, Nana Opoku-Asiamah acknowledged that despite the erosion of much of the powers of chiefs under the district political system of governance, chiefs are still accorded some recognition under the same district Assembly system under Act 462, and whatever the government nominees intend doing, "they consult us chiefs for approval".[4]

This position is again reiterated by Mr Okra when he also adds that,

> Whatever polices the assembly takes in terms of development, or whatever government brings for the assembly to undertake, the Assembly does it in consultation with the traditional leaders. Why? Because they are the true and the bona fide owners of the land in which we are operating. So there is that cordial relationship between the Assembly and traditional authorities.

However, in another breadth Nana Opoku noted some degree of erosion of the powers of chiefs by discounting the effect of the level of consultation to mere paper guarantee. He said,

> But the assembly does not; they just pick some people who are not recognized like sub-chiefs instead of overall traditional chiefs... The assembly does not go to the traditional council for them to give their representatives and that has in a way weakened the traditional rulers' power in the district assembly system... the assembly is actually not going by the concept of percentages in representatives given in the act. All one could realize is that they just select people who are government appointees who do not know anything about local governance.

In effect the chief underscored the degree to which the DAS has reduced and "replaced" the traditional governing authorities.

Again, the interviewee, who had ever served as a Presiding Member of the Assembly, remarked that chiefs have accepted and adapted the DAS as part of the

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[4]Interview with Honorable Captain Nana Poku Asiamah Poku Afrifa, chief of Toase traditional area, Toase in the Atwima Nwabiagya District on 23rd February, 2010.

traditional set-up since it did not totally reduce the powers and authority of chiefs in the eyes of the general public. He asserts that, "… but the inception of the DAS has in no way affected the power of chiefs" This according to him is because "The traditional system is broad-based."

Despite these assertions, it is without any shred of doubt that chieftaincy as a traditional political practice and a cultural phenomenon in Atwima Nwabiagya has undergone huge transformations. Chiefs no longer wield the same power they used to wield years ago. To some extent the chieftaincy institution has managed to resist the powerful intrusion of the external political system such as the DAS which attempts to erode the power and authority of chieftaincy within the local environment. By accepting to be co-opted into the DAS the institution has shown its dynamism for survival because of its ability to adopt foreign views and customs without losing its identity.

It was noted in chapter two that development implies a change or modification to what is already in existence, and there cannot be any development without a modification, alteration, erosion and replacement of an existing culture or its inclusion of a new one. From this position it can be argued that attainment of a hybrid status by the DAS is by itself alone an indication of development in the district. The composition of the District reveals some degree of "replacement" and "inclusion" of new political practices formerly alien to the traditional system of governance. But development has also been ascribed to the notions of growth and progress as noted by Osagie (2002),

> Development is more inconclusive concept with its social,
> political and economic facets. It is the qualitative and
> quantitative transformation of the life of the person that
> does not enhance only their material well-being but also

ensure their social well-being including restoration of
human dignity.

The researcher gathered from her interview that the DAS has led to some steady but modest developments. Almost all her informants discussed the DAS as a useful political process that has promoted growth and development of the people in the District. For example, Nana Opoku-Asiamah, one of the interviewees who is a chief and a former presiding member of the DAS indicated that the establishment of the statutory planning committee which has chiefs represented on it has led to the eliminations of land and boundary disputes among traditional leaders. He was also emphatic that the DAS has ensured equitable distribution of growth and development in the district. He remarked,

> Oh yes. They have distributed development fairly, I was once
> a presiding member and with the development it was shared
> equally in the zonal aspects. For example with Atwima, we
> have Nwabiagya in the Barekese area, Atwima No.1which is
> Akropong, Mponua which is Nkawie, and Amanano, and
> whenever there is a development project we first give to the
> first two then the subsequent one is given to the next two and it
> goes like that. So it was noticed that the developmental projects
> which the DAS took such as the construction of staff quarters
> was shared among all the districts. The assembly does not
> discriminate. There are at times it does happen but when we
> draw their attention to it, it is quickly rectified.

This is supported by Mr. Okrah, the Deputy District Coordinating Director of the Atwima Nwabiagya District Assembly, another interviewee. He gave accounts of the positive and development oriented approach of the DAS stressing its collaborative approach to traditional leadership especially when it came to policy and project implementation. He said,

> Whatever policy that the assembly takes in terms of
> development-infrastructural development or whatever
> policy government policies we are supposed to implement,

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whatever policies that the government brings for the assembly
to undertake, the assembly takes it in consultation with the
traditional leaders and the DAS works in that order.

In terms of the qualitative improvement of the lives of the people, Mr. Okrah disclosed that the activities of the DAS have helped improve the lives of the people. He indicated that apart from several projects including the establishment of schools, and the building of infrastructure, the Assembly continues to support the work of several artisans spread over the entire district as well as individuals engaged in rural enterprise projects. The engagement of the assembly in several ventures such as farming, trading and commerce, housing and construction has immensely improved development in the district. He also indicated that the Assembly is a major player and facilitator of the National health Insurance Scheme that helps to bring affordable health to people in the district.

It is also important to state that the notion of development as gathered from the interviews and observation of the operation of the DAS went beyond the western notion of development as conceptualized in several Africa's communities. This notion places development on the acquisition of western tastes and habit. By adopting a hybrid cultural mode through the intermingling of the traditional and western political system, the DAS has been able to use traditional authorities to bring human and physical development to the people. Mr. Okrah explains in detail how this manifests practically at the policy and development planning levels of the Assembly,

Within the district, for example in Atwima Nwabiagya District,
we have also further divided the district into six area councils;
it is further deepening decentralization, bringing governance to
the doorstep of the people. So the district has been divided into
six area councils, each area council is also further divided
into Unit Committee levels. It is made up of sometimes may be
one town or one village or one community, sometime it may be
one or two communities put together to form the unit committee.

At the Unit Committee Level, the chief is *perse* the head of that
committee. So the chief or his representative is a member of
the Unit Committee, for that matter the Unit Committee members
and the chiefs have something in common. They sit down, they
plan for their communities. They come out with what they want
and how they want the community to move, the direction   they
want to take and when they bring it up they parcel it through
the area councils. Through their assembly members they bring it
to the district assembly at the general assembly; then we mould it
to suit the developmental plan of the assembly.

Decentralization is an important development concept that spurs positive growth in democratic societies. It is clear from the above narrative that the DAS through its decentralization objective has brought "governance to the doorstep of the people".

We can state that the DAS as a hybrid political culture has impacted the Atwima Nwabiagya district positively through its collaborative approach to governance, its emphasis on construction of development projects, and its overall aim of bringing governance to the doorstep of members of the communities.

4.4   Economic Activities

Data gathered also revealed hybrid adoptions in the area of trade and commerce sectors of Atwima Nwabiagya District economy. The hybrid cultural practices are more prominent in the local market structures and designs and local poultry industry. The indigenous market forms of selling and trading involve spreading products on the open spaces of the floor of market of designated grounds from which prospective buyers come to make their offers and bids. Most towns in this area where the researcher gathered data from local markets depict indigenous forms of selling and trading in open spaces alongside new structures of selling in stores and

stalls. For example, at Nkawie a block of new stores overlook a huge space of open grounds where traders spread the goods on the ground to sell (see Fig. 13).

At Abuakwa several small enclosed wooden stalls have been erected over the hitherto open ground. These wooden stalls appear as the meeting point between the fully enclosed store system and on-the-floor open space style of selling goods.

In the same Abuakwa market, the researcher also identified a few isolated spots where selling on the ground floor and in open spaces abound. The new structures have been constructed in line with modern demands for a more serene atmosphere of trading and selling. In addition, one trader, Madam Hawa, an occupant of one of the new stores told me that the new stores provided better environment for storage and security for goods (see fig. 14).

The District Assembly also found the new hybrid forms of facilitating sale of goods in the market a convenient avenue to encourage and improve revenue collection. The District Coordinating Director informed the researcher that the new stalls and block of stores have improved revenue collection from two angles. First, traders are more willing to pay market tolls and taxes because of the immense physical and financial convenience and benefit they derive from the new structures. Second, it has become easier for the Assembly to make budget projections on revenue collections from such similarly designed markets within the district. The new market designs also create more room for the accommodation and passage of people and goods within the market.

Fig. 13: Open floor market at Nkawie.   Fig.14: Block and table top stores at
Abuakwa Pictures by the researcher

Hybrid culture was also seen in the area of poultry farming. The traditional method of rearing of chickens in the home or neighbourhood is to keep them in free range for them to wander about the neighbourhood and seek feed on their own. In the evening the chickens come home to roost on the branches of trees, stumps, any physical stand in the neighbourhood or in any makeshift coop specially made for them (Fig.15). Again, data gathered revealed that most of the chickens that were reared were of purely local breed referred to in the local language as *Efie Akoko* (local or homebred chicken). The rearing of chicken has been heavily influenced by western culture. Even though the free range chickens still abound, most of them are no more of the local or homebred chicken stock.

Fig. 15: makeshift coop at Yawanokrom – picture by the researcher.

At Yawanokrom, Maame Adwoa Nkrumah, a home-bred chicken famer told me that she now buys six-week old chickens, popularly known as 'Abrofo Koko' (Whiteman's chicken) from large scale poultry farmers and rears them by keeping them in free range or uses the same traditional method described above to raise them. She indicated that the new hybrid chickens were economically better than the home grown ones. They sold at higher prices, had more meat and matured quickly within few weeks. It was also gathered that because of the higher economic gains that come from raising the foreign-oriented or foreign-bred chickens, some farmers have switched from other farming activities into large scale poultry farming that rears only foreign or hybrid birds. The researcher located some of the large scale poultry farms at Afari, Akropong and Abuakwa (see fig. 16).

Fig. 16: large scale poultry farms at Sepaase - picture by the researcher

In terms of development promotion the benefits that have accrued to the Atwima Nwabiagya District form these poultry farms are immense. Apart from acting as sources of revenue for the District Assembly, they also provide direct and indirect employment avenues for many people. The farms also supply poultry products to individuals and organization with large scale demands for the products.

One of the basic theoretical underpins of transformations of culture and hybridity is commerce (Kraig, 2005). Through commerce, external cultural products or commodities are introduced into the local environment and with time the indigenous populations accept the new product or commodity especially if it can perform the cultural function for which the original indigenous cultural product is known for. However, my investigations showed that one area where external infiltration has had little impact is on roadside food sellers. In an interview with

Madam Yaa Agyeiwaa, owner of a popular local restaurant also known as *chop bar* at Abuakwa, it became clear that apart from where customers sit and enjoy their meals, the actual production and sale of traditional meals by *chop bar* owners within the Atwima Nwabiagya District have least suffered from external cultural impact (see fig 17).

Fig. 17a, b and c: Depicting different local restaurants in the Atwima Nwabiagya District – pictures by the researcher.

One reason for this phenomenon stems from the kinds of food that are processed and prepared for sale. The foods are mainly traditional dishes including, *fufu, banku*, rice and beans popularly known as *waakye*, *ampesi*, *jollof* rice, for which all the resources and ingredients were procured from the local environment. This was reiterated by Madam Agyeiwaa as follows,

> We prepare *fufu* mainly with cassava and plantain and we get
> the plantain form here. The cassava too is gotten from here. Pepper,
> is from this place, garden eggs are also from this place. Tomatoes
> are also from here so as far as *fufu* is concerned all the ingredients
> are gotten from this area. Even rice, we get some from here, maize
> for *banku*, we get that too from here. I can say that we get virtually
> most of the things from here.

She however acknowledged that, in the preparation of soup and sauces that go with the main menu, few external products have found their way into the local culture and have over the periods achieved a normal status as a local product. The foreign products are spices such as *maggi cube, jumbo, royco shrimp*, curry powder and others most of which are manufactured or imported products.

Some issues are fundamental here. It can be stated that within the local restaurant industry in the district there have been no major cultural transformations in the sales of indigenous dishes. Secondly, it can be inferred that the production of the above mentioned indigenous dishes in the local restaurants have over the years been able to resist external cultural elements and kept some form of cultural purity. Thirdly, where new foreign products such as spices have found their way into the cultural environment, they either have been assimilated or have been kept on the fringes of culinary cultural practices within the traditional restaurants of Atwima Nwabiagya. They also could have been absorbed into the mainstream culture of food preparations in the *chop bars* as indistinguishable part of the local and without any notice of the external constituents in the final cultural product. Madam Agyeiwaa presents another perspective of how her trade contributes to development in the district.

> My meals promote development in this area. If someone is hungry,
> he or she can buy and eat without her preparing food on her own.
> If the person has no food to eat, it can even affect his/her work
> performance. I also eat some and also get money for my needs.
> The ingredients I buy from our local people have also helped
> some indigenous farmers in the farming system. This is because
> when they harvest their crops, those of us who prepare food in
> the locality buy from them. I buy all the ingredients for the food
> preparations from the farmers and others come and buy my
> prepared food for their consumption.

Madam Agyeiwaa also provides a modest view of her development oriented role as basically, social. She provides meals for sale to workers many of whom would go hungry without such food. She gains physically and financially from her work and contributes to the economic gains of farmers who sell their produce to her.

From the social, financial, and environmental perspectives, it is clear that hybrid economic practices of the people of Atwima Nwabiagya have promoted development in the district.

4.5   The Judicial System

Another major developmental project that is the consequence of hybrid culture was identified in the administration of justice. Under the pre-colonial traditional political dispensation, the chief, in addition to his legislative and executive functions, also performed judicial functions. The chief sat in court in his palace and with the assistance of his elders adjudicated over all civil and criminal cases sent to him from his subjects. Most of the judicial powers of the post-colonial chieftaincy institution in Ghana have been eroded. The post-colonial administration of justice is wholly placed under western court system and headed by a Chief Justice (The 1992 Republic Constitution of Ghana). However, chiefs still perform some minor judicial functions including settling land disputes and other minor offences especially in civil cases. Recognition has been given to the important role chiefs played and continue in the administration of justice. The establishment of the Alternative Dispute Resolution system (ADR) which combines the western system adjudication with the traditional system of adjudication has incorporated chiefs into the modern administration of justice. The researcher collected data from one of the sittings of the ADR at the court of the Toasehene in the Atwima Nwabiagya District. A complainant before the ADR,

Agya Kofi Asare an indigene of Yawanokrom a village near Toase revealed that, in his opinion, the ADR was more convenient than the orthodox system. Under the ADR, One does not need the services of a lawyer to prosecute his case. Cases are disposed-off more quickly at the ADR than the normal court system. In addition, financial and time constraints that come with complainants' regular treks to the normal courts at Nkawie, the district administrative capital, and the consequent frequent adjournments of cases due to several technical reasons is reduced. More importantly, because the ADR is customised on local customs and traditions, arbitration becomes easy for members of the court and attendants, especially, if the parties in dispute come from the same traditional area.

Nana Afrifa, the chief of Toase traditional area whose court the researcher visited, indicated that the ADR has promoted development in several dimensions. First, in terms of land dispute, the ADR has helped in reducing the number of land cases pending at the Circuit Court at Nkawie. One reason for this is that the ADR court is seen as a more credible system for adjudication of land disputes because in many cases, the disputing parties, the chief who sits in court, the elders who help him decide cases, and witnesses who appear before the court all come from the traditional area and, normally, have first-hand knowledge of boundary demarcations of the particular land at the centre of dispute. This makes it easy for parties to accept the resolution that is reached the end of each sitting.

4.6   Social: Traditional Marriage and Post-Burial Final Funeral Ceremonies

The research showed that these two significant areas of cultural performances in the district have undergone so much transformation. The resultant effect of these cultural transformations is the creation of hybrid cultural practices. The traditional

marriage ceremony the researcher participated in and observed was clearly infused with hybrid practices.

The marriage ceremony has incorporations of aspects of western marriage. First, there is an infusion of Christian concept of marriage into the Traditional system. The event itself was overseen and officiated by a religious leader of the couple's religious denomination. On the contrary the pure traditional marriage ceremony was overseen by the groom and bride's heads of families. The lack of opposition by either side of the family to the leadership and officiating role assumed by the church leader showed that the audience and families gathered had adapted, and acculturated the role of the pastor as important and intrinsic part of the ceremony.   There was a Bible and a ring which were to be dedicated to the bride from the groom to symbolize the betrothal of the bride to the groom. Both dedications were, in orthodox Christian rites, performed by the groom who offered the objects to the bride and physically put the ring on the finger of the bride. Both objects, according to an elderly informant who also witnessed the ceremony, were not by tradition, part of Akan marriage rites.

Again, in traditional concepts, consummation of the marriage was pre-approved by the groom's sisters who must tacitly indicate their approval of the marriage at the ceremony. My observation of the event I participated in revealed that this pre-approval role by the   groom's sisters had taken a hybrid turn through the offer and insertion of the ring onto the finger of the bride, a performance that was undertaken by one of the groom's sisters instead of the groom. The acceptance of these external additions as part of traditional marriage rites reveals the hybrid nature of the cultural practice.

Another interesting observation that revealed the hybrid nature of the event was captured in another episode. The groom had been requested to point out from a parade of veiled ladies (mainly sisters and family members of the bride) which of them was his bride. The groom later correctly unveiled the bride and remarked "this is my wife" whereupon the officiating minister responded, "until you go to church for blessing, she is still not your wife". The minister's remark was greeted with laughter and shouts of approval. In typical traditional marriage rites, the ceremony would have marked the consolidating moment of the marriage to be immediately followed by consummation.

There were also a lot of western paraphernalia that indicated a display of opulence but did not raise any disapproval from attendants. These included imported western padded chairs, handkerchiefs with portraits of the new couple printed on them for distribution to guests as thank you presents, western imported canopies, interior and exterior decorations that spotted vases of beautifully decorated flowers, different colours of balloons, disposable plates and cutlery, cartons of bottled water, ten bottles of Champaign, packets of tissues and beautifully scented hand washing liquid soap.

The observation revealed that the concept of hybridity was highly at play. Most of the objects at the event were presented and displayed without any question or resentment from any family member or guest. While major portions of the ceremony could be categorised as having traces of external culture, aspects of the traditional marriage concepts remained visible at the event. Hall (1997, 21) asserts that in hybridity, "cultures always find counter hegemonic ways to reaffirm their identity...it's important to note that a dominant culture also intertwines with dominated culture to enrich its own" . In essence despite the huge displays of external

culture at the event, the traditional marriage rite showed an adaptation of external cultures to "enrich its own".

The researcher's observation of an event at the post-final funeral rites of a senior citizen revealed similar elements of cultural transformation and hybridization processes. When the researcher arrived at Atwima Koforidua, the village where the researcher observed the event, the first thing that struck her when she got to the deceased's family house was the intense culinary preparations that were actively going on. It was as if a party was going to be thrown for a large number of guests. This in itself was amazing since the traditional method of funeral as cultural performance was hinged on abstinence from food or showing a lack of it (Rattray, 1957). Another intriguing observation of the food that was being prepared was the inclusion of foreign foods in the menu such as fried rice, and vegetable salad. There were also local menu that were prepared in equal proportion to the foreign dishes. They included *kenkey*, fried fish, khebab, and *fufu,* which is traditionally not served to guest who have come to help the family morn the dead, was being prepared. Drinks that were served also revealed a great deal of transformation in the particular cultural performance. There were canned soft drinks, imported alcoholic drinks such as whisky, schnapps, and wine. It is instructive to note that the serving of canned drinks and wine have never culturally played any cultural roles in funeral celebration. While the serving of alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks during funerals are deeply rooted in the celebrations, their presence have normally been limited to local drinks such as palm wine, *akpetsehie* (brewed palm wine) and some locally brewed beer. The latter still continue to serve useful functions during funerals but have, in recent times been marginalized or totally dominated by foreign or imported drinks. In essence when it

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comes to the serving of drinks what transpires is a purely cultural practice that is centred on coexistence.

The importance of colour has a strong symbolic significance in Akan funeral celebrations. Two colours that have historically been of strong symbolic connotations have been black known in the local Akan dialect as *birisi* and red, locally called *kobene* (Rattray, 1954). Crenstsil (2007) discuses the colour symbols in Akan as follows:

> Black (and other dark colours), on the other hand, connotes negativity; black is used for death and funerals because it expresses sorrow, regret and mourning. Red symbolises the life and death aspects. It has a volatile mix of feelings, of strong emotive sentiments such as impurity, danger, anger and defiance.

While these colours were dominantly in display at the funeral, I also observed the wearing of other colours that were mostly drown at the funeral. The wearing of the colour brown was very significant because some of the close relatives of the deceased who by tradition and culture were supposed to wear *birisi* or *kobene*. The researcher's investigations and informal interviews conducted revealed that these individuals chose these colours in accordance with the practice of their Christian religious faith which admonished them to distance themselves from worldly people- non-Christians during funeral occasions. The explanations from their Christian perspective was that the wearing of the black colour has become synonymous with "being in the world" from which, according to their faith they are not part. The brown colour had cultural significance in celebrations and created a different identity for them- as people of faith with a higher calling. (Fig.18 and 19)

Fig. 18 and 19: section of in-laws and a priest in different colour cloths at the funeral grounds at Barekese – picture by the researcher.

The theoretical significance of this colour display lies at the heart of the concept of transformations and hybridity. Culturally it showed the extent to which the Akan funeral celebrations and colour significations have undergone transformations to include shades of colours other than black and red. Another theoretical significance is rooted in Rajan (1986) as it is stated that, "task of making it possible for individual members to enjoy a tolerable degree of personal fulfilment and happiness" (p.2). In terms of hybridity, almost every scene the investigator observed at the funeral was hybrid related. The foods that were prepared and the drinks that were served to the guests showed an intermingling of two cultures- one local and the other external. The prevalence of other colours other than red and black showed that the Akan funeral culture is gradually assimilating some aspects of other cultures into its mainstream practice; bringing two elements into one space in line with hybridization concept (see fig.20).

Fig.20: Assimilation of other cultures at final funeral rite celebration at
          Barekese – picture by the researcher

In Chapter Three it was also noted the various transformations and hybridizations that, in recent times, have characterised the conduct of marriages and funeral ceremonies. It can be stated that these transformations have produced these hybrid cultural forms have promoted development .The first is that if we construct development from the perspective of the contribution of these ceremonies to the overall district agenda they seem quite significant. The reason is that much of these cultural performances are conducted from personal or family group levels and have various ways impacted positively on the lives of participants. it has already been noted that development can be conceptualized as a qualitative and quantitative transformation of a person if it enhances their material well-being. Flowing from this angle, the observations the researcher made showed that these new hybrid cultural performances have positive impact of the lives of the people. For example, during observation of the traditional marriage I noted that most of the guests at the event regard the display of foreign products, the serving of western dishes and expensive foreign drinks, the expensive padded chairs that were used and many others as signs

of improvement in the quality of life of the couples' families and by extension to the gathered guests. For these individuals most of whom I observed had achieved some form of tertiary education, development and progress are conceptualized as the adoption of western behaviours, tastes and attitude. Even though in informal interviews conducted with some of the guests such as Madam Margaret Duah, among others, acknowledged the dominance of western products over local ones at the event, majority of the researchers informants theorised that those products literally symbolized human growth, movement up the social ladder and a dream come true for most people. Some indicated that the products that adorned the event represented the modern individual's ideal notion of improved life. What can be gathered here is that individual ideal notion of any meaningful growth and development is conceptualized from the position of better improvement in personal resources and increased in material gain.

The funeral celebration provided similar angles of development conceptualization similar to the marriage ceremony. The display of western dishes and drinks alongside the local counterpart symbolized a transformation from the traditional outmoded ways of celebrating the departed in modern trends. Again, the idea that such display was a sign of development was seen in how funeral guests discussed the dishes that were served. Prior to the beginning of the last decade, the serving of dishes at funeral were limited to important guests and especially those who had travelled from far away destinations. The main dish that was served to these guests was *kenkey*, either mashed or served with gravy. However, the current trend, as the researcher gathered from informants at the funeral, is that both funeral organizers and guests would not countenance the unavailability of western dishes, disposable cutlery set, tissue, bottled or sachet water at such events. The absence of the foreign

oriented cultural products at any funeral event nowadays will mean a lack of civilization and a descent into the primitive and outmoded way of organizing funerals. The event the researcher observed had all these products in abundance and their display seem to have taken on an air of familiarity and forgone expectation. The products showed improvement in the economic and social lives of the people. Economically, the organizers of this type of hybrid funeral are seen to be financially sound and socially more modern and civilized.

It can also be argued from another position that if development is discussed from UNESCO's perspective which puts more emphasis on cultural dimensions of development than the economic dimensions, then the hybrid cultural activities that were at play at both events can measure up to the development standards. The actualizations of the various cultural transformations that have been acknowledged as intrinsic part of the two cultural performances and or celebrations are grounds upon which development can be promoted.

4.7   Agricultural Practices

In the review of literature it was noted that sometimes the local indigenous population seems to engage a conscious or unconscious negotiation of a fusing of external and internal cultures to create culturally acceptable symbolic products with the capacity to perform the functions for which the original cultural product was used. In other cases to the hybrid product lends itself as a financially affordable product. One area where this phenomenon was more at work was in some of the agricultural practices of the indigenous population in the district. It became clear through the interview with the district agricultural officer that this was indeed an unconscious effort for which the people had no clue of the presence of the hybrid commodity in the

midst. For example, in the cultivation of some food crops such as onions, the practice of cultivating external species has become so normative that its history as a foreign crop seems to have been lost. The most popular of these was the cultivation of onion species popularly known as *Alata Gyeene* a foreign vegetable breed that through the concept of transformation and replacement has assumed the position of indigenous local onion. In other words its origin as a foreign crop that has found its way into the local community as a widely cultivated crop is simply forgotten. The cultivation of the locally known indigenous species, Asante *gyeene* - or shallots are either becoming outmoded or marginalized.

The interviewee, Mr. Stephen Amankwah, The District Agricultural Officer, indicated that when it came to the agricultural practices "a lot of our farmers are going into the foreign products especially the production of cabbage". He attributed this to the financial prudence and profit maximization. In a response to whether local farmers were shifting to external or foreign crops and discarding the indigenous ones, he stated,

> Some of the farmers, especially the vegetable farmers, many of
> them have shifted from tomato and garden eggs to cabbage...
> like I mentioned, the onions, the '*Alata*' onions, are the big ones
> that are what we normally call onions. But over here we have the
> shallots and they are also onions.   Over here we don't cultivate
> shallots   if we say we are cultivating onions. We cultivate the
> *Alata* onions more than the shallots; the shallots are in
> the Keta areas. They import them for us only for few people, the
> traditionalist, our old women, they normally make some small
> beds and cultivate shallots but extensively young men cultivate
> the *Alata* onions and these are foreign or external or imported
> crops.

He confirms the relegation of some of the cultivation of indigenous vegetable crops to the fringes of vegetable farming. According to Hall (1986), "hybridity is a phenomenon in cultural studies that gives meaning to how dominant cultures impact

other cultures and vice versa". Mr. Amakwah further discusses the hybrid product as a consequence of migration and human movements. He states,

> I will say we need to be proactive to introduce many new things
> into our culture. You know many of our people have travelled outside
> and they have learnt and known foreign cultures, eaten foreign food
> and so have helped introduce new varieties into our farming behaviour.
> I don't think we are done yet.

He also discusses the issues as a conscious effort on the part of individuals including farmers to engage in the cross breeding of foreign with local ones to produce new varieties, and therefore says this about pepper among others:

> In the olden days for instance, there was this type of pepper we used
> to call *'ahenemmansatia'*, now you cannot see *'ahenemmansatia'*
> in the market. You rather see *'legon 18'* and others. They are all
> cross-breeds. They are hybrids. Cross our traditional plants with
> the foreign ones and they get the hybrid and they name it
> *'legon 17, 18'* and others.

It is clear that the hybridization of vegetable cultivation transpires within the vegetable farming community in the Atwima Nwabiagya District. It also underlines the basis of the hybrid process "elements of interacting cultural products fuse and lend together to form distinctively new culture product" (Obikeze, 2003, p.7). However, it also clear that foreign vegetable crops have had a major impact on the cultivation of vegetables by completely replacing the indigenous ones or relegating them to the margins.

Another area where transformation and hybridity are at work is in the actual tilling and preparation of land. Mr Amankwaah discussed extensively how the introduction of foreign methods of land cultivation has profoundly fused into the local practices. He said,

Initially you know our farmers were used to the slash and
burn system. That is they use the cutlass to weed and later burn
the weeds but now they are practicing the tilt concept. In local
dialect we call it '*proka*'. They slash the trees and allow the debris
to cover the surface of the land; allows it to re-grow and then
apply herbicide. After ten days, then, they start transplanting or
even planting. Because of this concept it has been able to sustain
our land for some time now because they use fertilizer, poultry
manure and many others to help build the fertility of the land. So
currently, I will say because of the introduction of this
practice of ploughing and tilling of the land our farmers are
doing well with the crop production.

It is important to note that the original method of preparing the land for
farming communities in the local Akan communities including Atwima Nwabiagya
was purely the "weed and burn". The researcher's investigation and the response from
the informant disclosed that while the weeding with cutlass is still predominant the
newer external methods of preparations have been adopted as the more economically
viable ways of farming. It is an example of "coexistence" in the hybridization process
(Obikeze, 2003, p.7).

The interview the researcher had with the District Agricultural Officer
revealed the extent to which farming activities, especially vegetable farming, have
become hybrid products and processes. However, one notable reason for the farmers'
indulgence in this hybrid culture was financial motivation. He asserted that through
the new hybrid processes of ploughing and tilling the land to the hybrid crops that
were cultivated, the farmer had achieved enormous financial gains from which they
never looked back. Ever since farmers adopted the new ways of farming and
incorporated existing hybrid methods they witnessed enormous improvement in their
personal and family lives. He narrated,

Currently, many of our farmers are going into the foreign
crops especially onion and cabbage production. A lot of farmers
are also maximizing profit from that. Well, I will say positively,

> for it is helping our farmers because they are getting a lot of
> produce, making income out of it and some of them are paying
> school fees from that, so positively it is helping our farmers.

Many of the farmers have become responsible citizens empowered to cater for the needs of their families more than before. Indeed the inclusion of the ability to pay school fees has important social dimensions. It has the tendency to reduce truancy and child labour and as well promote universal basic education within the district. More children in school also mean improvement in the human development indices for the district. It is the financial gain that is at the core of the development promotion and in this area the hybrid cultural practices are impacting positively on development. As discussed earlier these and other development activities such as the new school infrastructure and the School Feeding Programme (SFP) have to increase in school enrolment figure by an average of 45%.

Another issue that strongly argues for the hybrid cultural practice as a development oriented phenomenon is seen in the way such practices protect the environment from destruction and degradation. He asserts,

> Because the farmers are using the new farming system they are
> able to conserve land. You know here we are peri-urban because we
> are very close to Kumasi and population pressure is catching in so
> land is a problem here. But because they are able to sustain the little
> land they have, they are able to crop almost throughout the year. It's
> all due to the fact that they are using the very good system that is the
> no tilt concept mentioned. So now we can say that because they
> cultivate a bigger portion of land they are able to break even and
> they get profit out of whatever they do.

Environmental sustainability is one of the major goals of the *Millennium Development Goals (MDG)[5]*. Therefore any cultural practice that seeks to promote

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[5]The 8 MDGs derived from the 2000 Millennium Declaration by 189 UN member countries. Ghana has accorded the MDG in the three main pillars of the National development frame work, Ghana Growth and Strategy Development Strategy (GPRS II).

the objective of the MDG must be seen as laudable and development promotion oriented.

4.8   Health: Herbal Medical Practice

This research, through the interviews conducted with Dr. Kwaku Ampomah, a herbal medicinal practitioner, revealed the underlying issues that border on theories of transformation of cultures and hybridization. First, Dr. Ampomah indicates that his practice is purely based on indigenous knowledge and practice. He states,

> I deal in herbal products; the herbs our forefathers used as
> medicine are those I am also continuing with. None of my
> medicine is orthodox. They are our own herbal medicines that
> are taken from the forest, boiled and even if we are treating
> anybody, we treat him or her for seven days because our
> forefathers also gave treatment to patients up to seven
> days.

However, even the above seem to indicate devotion towards pure traditional health practice its subsequent remarks showed a fusion of foreign or external cultural practices into traditional practices of his 'forefathers". He intimated,

> I concentrated on herbs that is what I use most unless there is a
> sickness that the orthodox medicine will help, then I prescribe for
> the person to buy from outside. Then I give him or her time to take
> the herbs alongside the orthodox medicine. Even if the person has
> been to the hospital and wish to use my medicine, he takes
> the hospital medicines alongside mine within some period.

What the researcher recognize here is that even though, gradually, western or external medical practices have become part of Dr. Ampomah's trade, he downplays the impact of the foreign cultures on his practice and loves to characterise the general practice of his trade as traditional.   Over the years his trade has experience gradual

infiltration of external elements but it seems the movement is so gradual and imperceptible that he has become unconscious of its impact.

Secondly, as stated earlier, one of the fundamental grounds upon which transformation of cultures become manifest is through the migration and the strategic movement of people across geographic boundaries. His practice was highly attributable to his sojourn in France where he learned the tenets of his practice. He states,

> I travelled to France where I stayed with a Whiteman who used the orthodox and herbal medicine for healing. I was glad he was using both, so he always sent me to Ghana for the herbs... What I noticed and learnt in France is that, they trust herbs more than the orthodox medicine, because the hospital that I worked with, though they practice other forms of medicine, it was the herbs they used most.

It is this singular movement that seems to inform the kind of hybrid practice that undergirds Dr. Ampomah's practice. The concept of hybridity is even more pronounced in his routine practice of diagnosis of patients' ailments, the processes that one goes through before the one-on-one meeting and resources that are available for healing. He indicated that on arrival of a patient to his health centre,

> First we issue a card to the person, and then his or her vital statistics are taken - Blood Pressure (BP), and pulse rate are checked and analysed. We take the results and where necessary further tests are conducted in our laboratory on blood, urine, stool and so on. Based on the reports then if it is the body that will need rest we advise and if it is diagnosed the herbal medicine that will help in healing him is given.

This clearly underlines the hybridization of the processes of healing under the current herbal practitioner's mode of practice. Laboratories check of blood, urine and stool screening and the taken of vital statistics were not inherent parts of the practice of

herbal medicine in traditional contexts which on arrival of the patient and on telling the problem is directly given herbs and its precautions. However, fluid flow of western medicine into the local counterpart and its assimilation as acceptable cultural component of medicinal practice has in the process led to a hybrid cultural product. What is also very significant is the way and manner in which the two different practices– one local and one the foreign have mutually intermingled into a unique acceptable cultural practice.

Dr. Ampomah, the herbal practitioner, also categorised the impact on his profession on the district from the three perspectives of social, financial and personal considerations. First, he discusses the huge role that his hybrid professional practice plays in the delivery of health to the people. One of the reasons, he acknowledges, is that many individuals cannot afford the fees they would have to pay if they had to go the orthodox western health delivery centre. His centre provides an avenue for healing to those who otherwise would have been left without access to health. He said,

> Herbalists also provide long term treatment, one week, one
> month, six months, one year and even up to three years. Each
> has its procedure for the patient... I could attend to as many
> as over one hundred people in a month but with the inception
> of the health insurance which does not cover herbal treatment,
> the number has reduced drastically. Sometimes in a week I may
> have to treat up to ten patients. Averagely, in a month, I can see
> about thirty to forty patients.

The interviewee, Dr. Ampomah, also discussed the developmental aspect of his practice from his personal improvement, mentorship, philanthropic and educational view points. He said that he has experienced financial fulfilment through his practice, that it has personally helped him to build life on his own and with God on his side, through the moneys he makes and have been able to take care of his children and extended family.

He has established a nursing institution that is imparting the knowledge and practices of his profession to young men and women and said he has established Herbal Nursing School at Abuakwa-Maakro and has graduated forty-five trainees in 2009. To his credit he has a hotel, which was built from his proceeds from the herbal treatments he gives to other, which also has given job opportunities to others.

He also discussed his philanthropic contributions towards development in the district. He also has provided funds for renovation of national security agencies offices, invested in basic education where children can pay low school fees to attend school, and supported the needy in the society. He said he helped in renovating Nkawie-Toase police station; has built a school at Nkawie-Mpasatia with low fee paying to accommodate the needy in the community; and also help disabled and nursing mothers in the district in the hospital who cannot afford their bills in the form of money and material things.

It can further be contended that the selected hybrid cultural performances that form the basis of this research including the DAS, the marriage and post- burial funeral rites, the farming system, herbal practice, and *chop bar* operators have contributed immensely to the various development agenda of the district. Even if the gains in the performance is at the personal level its short and long term effect on the positive development efforts of the district cannot be downplayed.

4.9   Summary of Discussion

This chapter discusses and analyzes the findings obtained from the field. It discusses the findings in relation to the research questions: what are some of the hybrid cultural practices of the people of the people of Atwima Nwabiagya District?

To what extent have these hybrid cultural practices promoted development in the Atwima Nwabiagya District? The discussions are related to cultural performances including political system, social activities including funeral and marriage ceremonies, infrastructural development, herbal medicinal practice, agricultural activities, and trade and commerce. The findings showed that all the activities sampled for the study had undergone transformation to render them hybrid. The analysis also showed that all the hybrid cultural performances identified in the study promoted development. It also proved the assertion that the promotion of local development in the Atwima Nwabiagya District is the result of cultural hybridity.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0   Overview

This study investigated some hybrid cultures of Atwima Nwabiagya and foreign cultural practices that are performed in the Atwima Nwabiagya District of the Ashanti Region of Ghana. The study was based on the theory that a hybrid of Atwima Nwabiagya culture and foreign culture promote the development of the Atwima Nwabiagya District. The study has revealed that the new cultural forms may not be clearly perceived unless some kind of critical, historical, or empirical observation is conducted. It has also been revealed that these cultural transformations have led to new cultural performances in the Atwima Nwabiagya District that, over the years, has become acceptable to the indigenous populations as the norm.

This study proceeded from the assumption that the culture of Atwima Nwabiagya is now predominantly hybrid in nature and this helps to promote development in this district. It also assumed that discussion of the socio-economic development of the district must be approached from culture. However, communities in the Atwima Nwabiagya can only pride themselves on hybrid cultural products and performances. The assessment of development patterns in any modern community can be observed or approached from the culture as hybrid perspective. This study was conducted on the above assumption. It asserted that the promotion of development in the Atwima Nwabiagya District is a result of cultural hybridity.

The study began by reviewing the literature related to the research. It discussed the importance of some Akan cultural practices in relation to the five core areas of research, political institution, social ceremonies, economic activities, commerce and herbal medicinal practices. The literature also reviewed some important theories upon which the investigations were conducted. These theories

included writings on the transformations of culture, culture and development and culture and hybridity. The overall import of these theories on the research was that in several African communities individual and group life experiences are shaped by several factors including those that emanate from hybrid cultures. It is these theories that are used to prove the hypothesis that promotion of development in the Atwima Nwabiagya District can be attributed to cultural hybridity. Based on this hypothesis two research questions were asked; (1) what are the hybrid cultural practices of the people of Atwima Nwabiagya District? (2)   In what ways have these cultural performances promoted development in the district?

To prove the assumption and answer the research questions, investigations were conducted using an integrated qualitative and quantitative research approach. This method of data collection focuses on the development of Atwima Nwabiagya through hybrid cultural practices using   triangulation or the mixed-method of data collection. Data collection was done through interviews, the research participant observation of some cultural performances, and review of some historical documents relating to the district. Twenty-five individuals who reside in the district and perform activities that hinge on hybrid cultures were interviewed for the study. Their insights, in addition to the researcher's participant observations of two major social ceremonies formed the major grounds upon which the research questions were answered.

The findings and analysis of the data validated the assumption that the promotion of development in the Atwima Nwabiagya District is a result of cultural hybridity. The findings and discussions are comprehensively discussed in chapter four, using the research theories of development, transformations of culture and hybridity to interrogate the data. The major finding showed that the prevalence of hybrid cultural performances or products could be found in several socio-cultural,

political and economic activities in the district. Furthermore, finding and discussions also provides insights into how the development agenda of the district has been spurred by the existence and engagement of hybrid cultural performances and products.

Based on the data obtained and the analysis conducted, the study validates the assumption that the promotion of local development in the Atwima Nwabiagya District is a consequence of the prevalence of a hybrid of foreign and Atwima Nwabiagya cultures.

5.1 Recommendations

These recommendations will be useful for any future research that wishes to further interrogate the phenomena understudy. The recommendations are categorised under the areas of community database, research, development, cultural preservation and DAS-academia relationship.

5.1.1 Community Database

In the course of the study it was realized that there was no library on archival materials on assemblies at the district level. Searching for literature on the district took me to other libraries outside the district. First, the study recommends that the district establishes its own library and archival units from where researchers, members of the general public and interested parties can easily access information pertaining to the district. Second, this study recommends the setting up of a District Assembly database where information concerning the district and all the communities within can be stored and retrieved. In addition, such database could also be used useful

information development and cultural artefacts in the district. In this direction, District Assemblies could in furtherance of the database idea and as a way of incorporating those into global economy develop individual websites to ease global upload and retrieval of archival materials on individual districts.

5.1.2   Research

In the areas of research the study provides the following recommendations:

1) The study suggests that researchers should direct more attention towards the cultural dimensions of the DAS. Evolving trends and new forms of culture encountered in the field revealed very rich but unexplored repertoire of cultural activities at the community level. For example, researchers could explore the influence of hybrid cultures in other fecund areas such as local drama performance, choral group, language use, new religious group performances, and local festivals.   These cultural activities can be researched and used as appropriate tools for community development.

2) District Assemblies, government, environmental agencies, research institutions and NGOs should come together to preserve some cultural sites of research and historical importance. It was realized during the research that some of the cultural site such as the river basins where indigenes used collect water is drying up. This is because citizens have no immediate domestic need for the river and have as a result neglected. The consequence is encroachment on its valley by farmers and land developers. Some of these rivers have important historical, research, and cultural significance and must be preserved. This study therefore suggests the setting up of Centre for the Preservation of

Historically Relevant Cultural Sites (CPHRCS), to protect such important cultural settings.

3) The Faculty of Art and Centre for Cultural Studies of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi should establish a resource centre where information on the cultural components of the development processes of District Assemblies could be archived for future research and references. Such resource centre could also be resourceful for the tracking of historical antecedents and forms of transformations that have produced new cultural forms and products to aid community development. In recent times the promotion of new health communication campaigns are designed as culturally specific models. In this direction a resource centre of such model could be of significant utmost significance to health campaigners.

4) It is further suggested that the resource centre also could be used as a platform to establish a sustainable working relationship with District Assemblies and other local communities to ease researcher's entry into communities and the facilitate the collection and archiving of data material relating to cultural artefacts and products. The resource centre can work closely with religious institutions, schools and community and social workers to build up a comprehensive data on the role of hybrid cultures toward community development.

5) Finally, the data collected from research and archived in the resource centre should not be left as a preserve of people in the academia or organizations. It must be shared with community leaders and should be used as a catalyst to mobilize the community into action.

5.1.3   Development

The study has shown that the prevalence of several developmental projects in the Atwima Nwabiagya District and their consequent improvement in the lives of the people are attributable to the hybrid nature of products. Almost all research participants acknowledged the positive impact of these cultural forms in the lives of the people.   The study therefore recommends that the following developmental projects should be spread across all districts in Ghana:

1) Justice Delivery System: the ADR seems to provide faster and friendly customary environment for resolution of civil disputes among local parties. The research revealed that many communities visited by the researcher did not have the system in place. Indigenes still had to travel to other places where the western system or ADR system is located to seek justice. However, almost all communities in Ghana have the basic traditional system upon which the ADR is built. This is because every community in Ghana is traditionally headed by a chief who, customarily, is the head of that village or town. It is recommended that government devolves the ADR system to all communities to ease quick access to this hybrid efficient judicial system.

2) Water and sanitation: From the data collected, it became clear that the new hybrid forms of water distribution and collection as well as refuse disposal has led to cleaner environment and health improvement in the lives of the people. However, of the fourteen communities where data was collected only three communities had migrated to the new hybrid forms of waste disposal and water distribution. The study recommends that the DAS in conjunction with government and NGOs

explore ways of ensuring that more communities get connected to hybrid forms of water distribution.

3) Education: The positive impact of education in any community is quite obvious. However, in challenged rural communities the positive rippling effect on the individual members of the local community due to the construction of an ordinary school block must be emphasised. The research showed that the mere construction a 3-unit classroom block in one community introduced new income making avenues for some of the indigenes. As seen in the study, for example, the construction of a new school block had introduced new commercial ventures into the community. Some individuals own refrigerators where soft drinks, ice and ice, and cold water are sold. It is recommended the opportunities of creating new income avenues through as the promotion and construction of social amenities should engage the urgent attention of local authorities and the central government.

4) Health: Most rural communities lack access to modern health facilities due to poverty and lack of development in their communities. Some continue to rely on herbal medicine and practitioners for their ailments. Fortunately, traditional herbal medicine has achieved high recognition and acknowledgement in several communities because of their hybrid nature of combining western medical practice with traditional medicine. It is recommended that all health promoting agencies including government, NGOs, District Assemblies, and philanthropists should be encouraged to explore this new form of health promotion and extend them to the rural communities. One method of ensuring this extension is to train more herbal practitioners, integrate their practice into the National Health

Insurance Scheme (NHIS) and post them to deliver health in local communities that lack the modern health facilities.

5.2   Summary

This chapter draws the curtain down on the study that began on the assumption that hybrid cultures have promoted development in the Atwima Nwabiagya District in the Ashanti Region of Ghana. The chapter provides an overview of the study and suggests recommendations for interested parties and future research. Some of the recommendations include suggestions that future researchers should direct their attention towards cultural preservation of historical sites, establish resource enters to study evolving new hybrid cultures, and help create a community database base on culture at the district level. In addition the study counsels interested parties and agencies to quicken the pace of development at the local community level through a vigorous promotion of hybrid products in all the local communities.

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APPENDIX 1

The Map of Atwima Nwabiagya District.
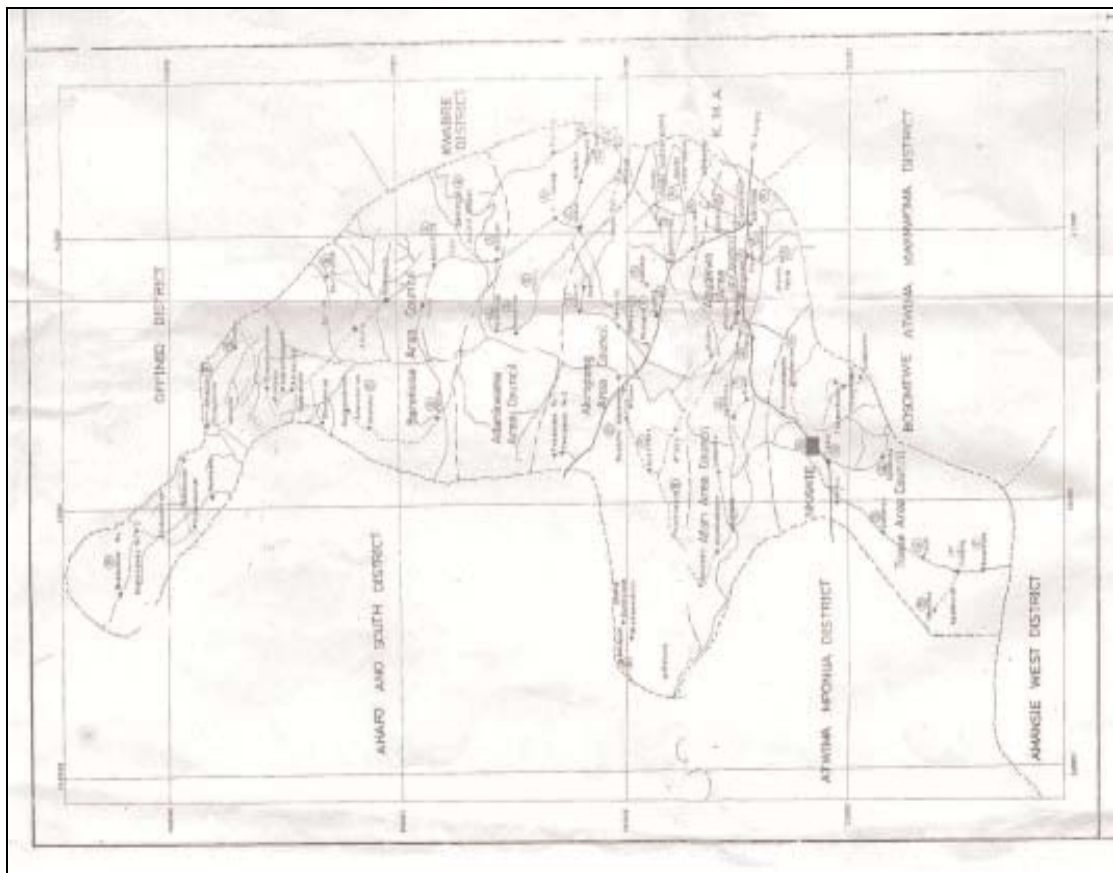
APPENDIX 2

List of Interviewees/Informants

Name	Location- Atwima Nwabiagya District	
1. Yaa Achiaa	Akropong	
2. Miss Akosua Yeboah	Akropong	
3. Nana Owusu Afriyie	Akropong	
4. Nana Oppong Mensah	Barekuma	
5. Margaret Duah	Barekuma	
6. Madam Hawa	Abuakwa	
7. Yaa Agyeiwaa	Abuakwa	
8. 'Dr.' Kwaku Ampomah	Abuakwa	- Herbal Practitioner
9. Mr. Stephen Amankwaa officer	Nkawie	- District Agricultural
10. Thomas Okrah officer	Nkawie	- District Coordinating
11. Adwoa Frimpomaa	Nkawie	
12. Adowa Nkrumah	Yawanokrom	
13. Kofi Adjei	Yawanokrom	
14. Nana Osei Bonsu	Wurampong	
15. Opanin Kwaku Fosu	Wurampong	
16. Akosua Boatemaa	Esaase	
17. Yaa Anokyewaa	Esaase	
18. Akwasi Oduro	Kobeng	
19. Nana Asiamah Poku Afrifa	Toase- Chief	
20. Cecilia Boateng	Toase-Trabuom	

21. Rebecca Kwarteng   Mim

22. Kofi Adjei   Sepaase

23. Serwah Frimpong   Koforidua

24. Bismark Arko   Barekese

25. Animatu Abubakari   Owabi

Research Assistant

1. John Amoah   Wurampong

APPENDIX 3

Interview Guide

I

1. Can we say that the district assembly system (DAS) is a combination of traditional political system of governance and the modern or western system?

2. What is local and what is foreign in the DAS?

3. How does the traditional political system fit into District Assembly?

4. Do chiefs have a strong voice in the DAS?

5. To what extent has the new DAS promoted development in this District?

6. What is the relationship between chiefs and Unit Committee members?

Traditional Leader

6. What recognition are you accorded under the DAS?

7. Has the DAS weakened your powers as a traditional leader?

8. In your opinion, has the DAS promoted development in this district?

9. What aspects of traditional political system do you see in the DAS?

10. How does your trade promote local development?

II

1. How long have you practiced your trade?

2. Which raw materials of your trade are foreign/ external and which are local?

3. Which aspects of your profession are purely traditional?

4. Do you have any medicine that combines foreign product with local, especially on issues of preservation?

5. Do you think people patronize your products because it combines traditional with scientific methods of dispensation?

6. Do you have an idea of the number of people who patronize your product, on the average, in a month?

7. How does your profession that combines traditional cultural practices with scientific methods of dispensation contribute to development in the district?

III

1. How has the introduction of foreign agricultural crops affected farming practices in the district?

2. In terms of the cultivation of vegetables, how widespread is the growing of new vegetables like carrots, lettuce, green pepper, cabbages etc?

3. How does the practice affect the cultivation of traditional known vegetables crops like garden eggs, pepper, tomatoes etc?

4. Do we have a combination of the cultivation of the foreign and traditionally known ones?

5. To what extent does the practice promote development?

IV

1. What do you sell?

2. Which of your products are imported and which are locally produced in this District?

3. Which of the products is highly patronized by local people?

4. Is there a combination of the foreign and the local in the sale of a single product?

5. How does your trade promote local development?