CHIEFTAINCY DISPUTES IN AKUAPEM TRADITIONAL AREA: A SEARCH

FOR SOLUTION

KNUST

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own thoughts and ideas to the best of my knowledge, it does not contain any material previously published by another person or material, which has been accepted for the award of any degree of the university, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text.

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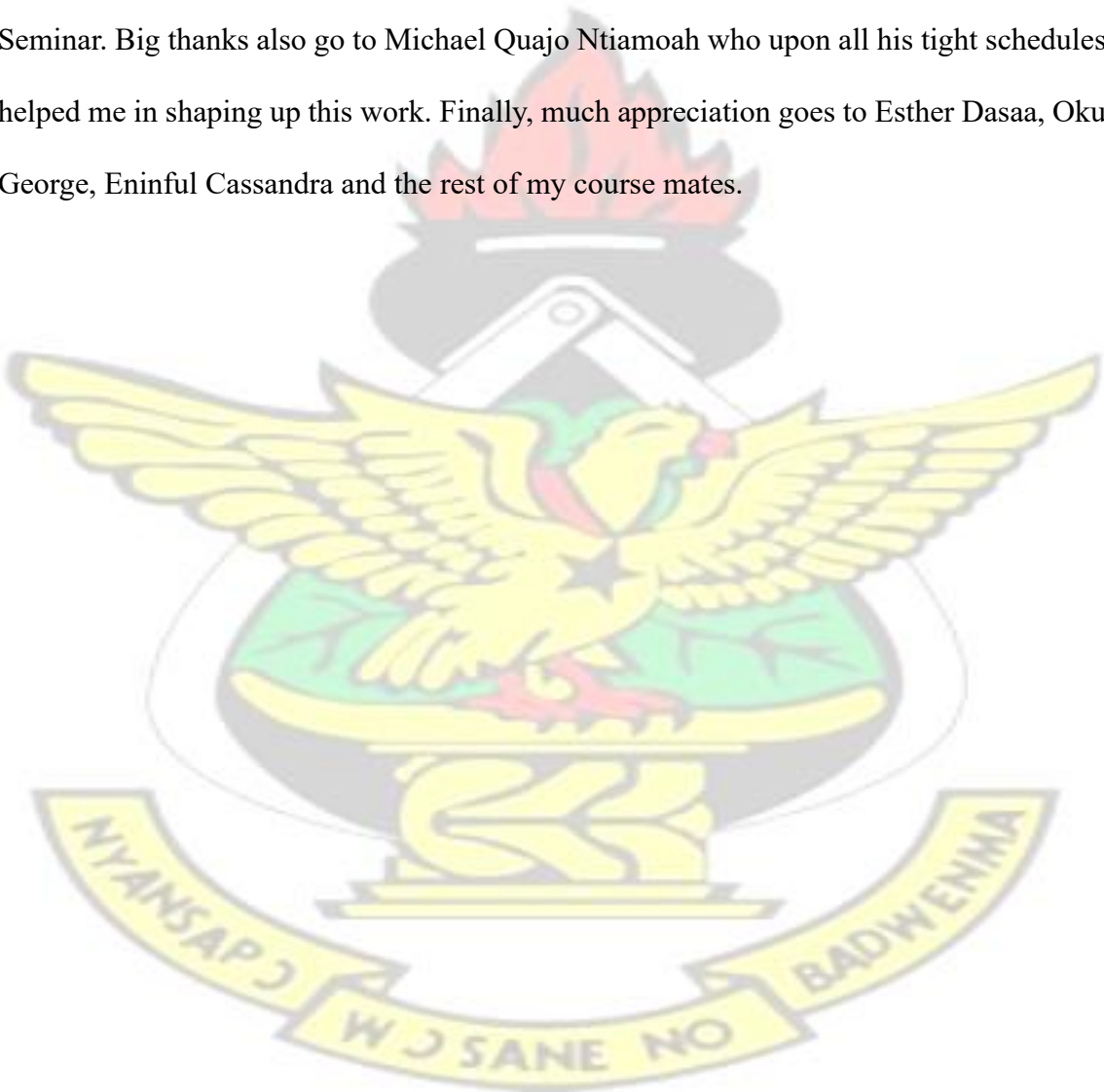
DEDICATION

I wholeheartedly dedicate this research work to the Lord Almighty through whose guidance and protection I have been able to reach this far in my education. This work is dedicated to my wife Mercy Oduro-Awisi and children Kwabena Agyare and Kofi Afosa. It is also dedicated to my parents Rev. and Mrs. Oduro-Awisi, for the encouragement and support they gave me whiles embarking on this project.

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ABSTRACT

Ghana's chieftaincy institution has been one of the best known and the most cherished for centuries. The Chief is traditionally, both the political head and the religious head.

Before colonial era, most dispute in the Chieftaincy institutions were based on failure of Chiefs to consult the elders, and breaching of any of the taboos of the stool. However, in recent times issues like misappropriating of stool lands, government interference, and greed have also been cited as some of the causes of major disputes in the Chieftaincy institution. The thesis seeks to identify the major causes and effects of chieftaincy disputes in the Akuapem Traditional Area. Discussions went into some of the ways of finding solutions to chieftaincy disputes in the traditional area. Some Chiefs, Queens, Palace courtiers, and some Elderly statesmen were interviewed. Some of the causes of chieftaincy disputes identified in the traditional area centred on the differences in the Abotakyi and the Larteh Accords, succession to throne, demarcations of boundaries, government interference in the chieftaincy institution, etc. The research concludes by recommending that, the

Traditional Council and the Regional House of Chiefs needs to be resourced adequately to enable them carry out their mandates effectively. When chiefs realise they can no more hold on to power due to old age or ill-health, they should try handing over to another person. Both the print and electronic media must be circumspect in their reportage of conflict issues.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background to the Study

Settlements all over the world are established through the foresight of courageous people who move round to locate areas that would be conducive and suitable for human living. Some of the things people looks up to are availability of water, easy access to food, protection from external aggression and then provision of shelter. The moment a person or a family finds a suitable place to settle, that person or the head of that family becomes owners to the territorial land found. The chosen leader normally might be the person who founded or who first occupied the area or he might be a person with sterling leadership qualities or one who, in his own special way, radiated respect and confidence which helped the inhabitants to live in peace and harmony (Addo Dankwa 2004: 4). That particular person or family that founded the community becomes permanent leaders to the settlement. Among the Akan people, the family that takes the royal status are known as *Adehye* meaning; the original owners of a land within the confines of boundaries. The title *Nana* is given to the persons who become successors to the throne.

Ghana's chieftaincy institution has been one of the best known and the most cherished for centuries. The Chief of the African state is, traditionally, both the political head and the religious head. The taboos relating to his conduct and mannerisms are all intended to remind him and his subjects and others that the position he occupies is sacred (Gyekye: 1998: 109). Addo Dankwa (2004:1) further affirms that, Chieftaincy as an institution in

Ghana emerged from the social fabric of the land and that the Ghanaian Chieftaincy is nobody's creation and therefore cannot be easily destroyed. Both the Chief and his subjects were to maintain strict accountability to ensure sound government.

Views and opinions of people all the time differ from that of others and again when people with different background, values, education, and lifestyles live or work together, the likelihood of disagreeing on some issues is high. Disagreement may sometimes be based on who, what, where, when, why, and how something happened. There is therefore no community or society which does not go through disputes at some point in time. Disputes may take place when two or more people, or group of people, disagree over something or issue and try to use force, violent behaviour, or other means to resolve the matter. Areas where disputes normally occur in the institution of Chieftaincy are: succession to a vacant stool, greed or self-interest for power, when people beliefs clash, when chiefs do not heed to the advice of elders, when Chiefs breeches any of the taboos of the land, and struggle over land between families and towns. Addo Dankwa (2004: 3) affirms that one common case of disputes in early settlements were boundary disputes.

The more fundamental causes of disputes in the Chieftaincy institution are; the rivalry among royals; the confused state of custom in society in transition from a subsistence to an exchange economy; lack of definiteness about the Chief's functions; his loss of economic resources; the emergence of the educated commoner; and the presence of a superior authority (the central government) are some of the changes that have destroyed the old correlation between the Chief's political power, religious authority, economic

privileges and military strength, with the consequent decline in his prestige and authority (Busia, 1951: 214).

Before colonial era, most dispute in the Chieftaincy institutions were based on failure of Chiefs to consult the elders, and breaching of any of the taboos of the stool. However, in recent times issues like misappropriating of stool lands, government interference, and greed have also been cited as some of the causes of major disputes in the Chieftaincy institution. Several measures have been implemented to address Chieftaincy issues including court proceedings and arbitration processes but to no avail. For the purpose of finding if not all, some ways of solving such conflicts in the institution of chieftaincy in the Akuapem traditional area, this research work seeks to examine some of the pertinent causes of disputes in the Chieftaincy institution, and it effects on the socio-economic, political, and religious lives of the people in the Akuapem traditional area.

1.2   Statement of the Problem

The original inhabitants of the Akuapem Hills were predominantly Guan. From the mideighteenth century, they experienced fundamental political changes which marked a transition from the rule of priest-chiefs to secular chiefs. One weakness of the Guan priest-chief rule was its inability to develop an effective war machinery or defensive force. Views of scholars gave credit to the creation of the new State (Akuapem State) to the leader of the Akyem Abuakwa contingent who came to aid the people who had their settlements on the Akuapem hills from their enemies (the Akwamu's). Ofori Kuma also known as Safori was accredited founder of the present-day Akuapem state in 1733.

After, they agreed to take an oath of the fetish Kyenku of Obosomase at Abotakyi. The Guan, Kyerepong and all the other groups promised they would never withdraw their allegiance to King Safori or any of his successors. The Akuapem state came to limelight at the period the Basel Mission made the capital of the Akuapem state Akropong their base. Their stay helped to open up the development of the state. This was seen in road construction, modern housing, formal education, agriculture, and improved healthcare just to mention but a few.

Chieftaincy as an institution was introduced by the Akyem Abuakwa war lords who agreed to become their leaders after helping to defeat their Akwamu enemies. However, the institution has gone through many transformations after the introduction of Western Education, Christianity and the introduction of British colonial rule (western system of governance). All these had both positive and negative impact on the Chieftaincy institution. British colonial rule for example affected the traditional system of government. Before the emergence of British colonial rule, Chiefs within their own jurisdictions were heads of the traditional governing system as well as custodians of culture and beliefs. But the indirect rule introduced by the British limited the sphere of political activities of the Chiefs to only cultural and social matters.

Another negative impact was the creation of *Salems* by the Basel Mission.Schweizer (2000: 78) posits that, the logic behind the creation of the *Salems* was to make the inhabitants follow strict discipline and religious schedule prescribed by the missionaries, and they were expected to live by the new ethical code. The vision was to settle native

Christians so that they can have their freedom to practice their religion outside the taboos of the traditional area. This brought conflict of interest between the chieftaincy institution and the church.

In time past, even though there were some minor misunderstandings on some petty issues in the institution, the Chieftaincy institution in Akuapem was a symbol of unity, progress, and cultural identity. The inhabitants of the Akuapem traditional area have lived in peace over hundreds of years without any serious chieftaincy disputes. The inhabitants are highly noted of respect for humanity and peaceful co-existence with all people. Therefore, if all of a sudden series of Chieftaincy disputes escalating into wars become the norm of the day, it poses a problem.

1.3   Research Questions

Some of the questions that will guide this research include:

- How did Akuapem traditional area come about?
- What is the meaning of Akuapem that became the name of the traditional area?
- What are some of the causes of chieftaincy disputes in Akuapem traditional area?
  ☐ What has given rise to the chieftaincy disputes in the Akuapem traditional area?
- What are some of the challenges facing the chieftaincy institution in Akuapem traditional area?
- What are some of the steps that could be taken to bring peaceful co-existence in the traditional area?

1.4   Aims and Objectives

The main aims are to:

a. Discuss the institution of Chieftaincy in the Akuapem Traditional area.

b. Identify the causes of Chieftaincy disputes in the Akuapem traditional area.

c. Discuss some of the socio-economic, political and religious effects of Chieftaincy disputes in the Akuapem traditional area.

d. Discuss alternative conflict resolution to Chieftaincy disputes.

1.5   Relevance of the Research

Chieftaincy as an institutionhas played a major significant role as far as politics, socioeconomic, and religious life of people of Ghana is concerned. Therefore, when something goes wrong in the institution of Chieftaincy, it affects the peace of the people because the institution is the focus of the African identity. This research is to help look into the origin of Chieftaincy, how it has operated ever since it was introduced in the Akuapem traditional area, and then investigate into what has gone wrong to warrant the series of disputes in the traditional area. The main aim to this research is to find possible ways and means of finding amicable solutions to solve this problem so that peaceful coexistence will prevail in the Akuapem traditional.

1.6   Methodology

To be able to come out with a detailed and concise work, both primary and secondary sources of collection of data was used. The primary source of data covered interviews of some Chiefs, palace courtiers, Elderly statesmen, king-makers, and ordinary citizen in the

Akuapem traditional area. Personal observations were also employed. In addition, some towns where chieftaincy disputes have occurred in recent times were accessed. Authorities of Chieftaincy institution and conflict resolution who have written on subject area were sought from books, journals and articles. The World Wide Web would also be assessed for information that would be relevant to the research.

1.7 Constrains

The institution of Chieftaincy covers the whole of the country but for the purpose of being able to research into this research topic well, I have limited myself to the

Akuapem traditional area to throw light on what is entailed in the institution of Chieftaincy and find out the causes of disputes and how to find solutions to them. Again, it must be noted that chieftaincy as an institution still has most of its historical events shrouded in secrecy hence keeping important information in the ‚oral tradition' instead of documenting them in the formal way of documenting historical events. Against this background, it is likely that some difficulty may occur in terms of retrieving information from traditional people who have much knowledge in Chieftaincy if question posed to them are not in the right context.

Furthermore, it is also not easy getting access to chiefs (especially Paramount Chiefs) for interviews because of the bureaucratic nature, of Chieftaincy administrative set-up. Against this background, we anticipated that there may be some difficulty assessing information from some of the chief's courts.

1.8   Literature Review

Researchers have authored books on Chieftaincy institution and causes of disputes and their resolutions. For the purpose of this research that is looking into issues of disputes in Chieftaincy institution in the Akuapem traditional area, much will be depended on the writings about the research topic to support this work.

Gyekye (1998:109-110) in his book *African Cultural Values: An Introduction* says, the Chief of the African state is, traditionally, both the political head and religious head. The taboos relating to his conduct and mannerism are all intended to remind him and his subjects and others that the position he occupies is sacred. The stool (throne) he occupies is believed to be an ancestral stool. This belief is the source of the great dignity, respect and veneration with which he is always treated. Gyekye further explains that a Chief is elected or chosen from among the members of the royal family. He by history and custom was recognized and accepted by the people as such.

Discussing how accountable a chief is to his subjects he noted that, in the traditional African political system, the chief holds the central position, but in most polities, his power is severely limited and he cannot embark on any action without the consent of the people. He said further that even though in most polities, the chief is not directly elected by the people; he has to respect the wishes of the people he has to rule in accordance with their will. The people have the moral right to remove a bad ruler or have him removed by those who elected him. This will of the people is politically effective. Adding to the above, he said it seems appropriate to assert that the principle of popular government, though not

that popular sovereignty, is firmly established in the African tradition. The system allow for free participation in making decision that affects the village, town, or state.

Gyekye's work will be useful in that he discusses the position and authority of a traditional Chief and how a Chief is selected and installed in the traditional democratic set-up. His further explanation to the expectations of him to his subjects will help this research to look into some of the things chiefs do to make subject ask of his removal hence breeding conflict.

Furthermore, Addo Dankwa III (2004:5) in looking at the role or qualities of the Chief in his book entitled *The Institution of Chieftaincy in Ghana-The Future* assets that, the main duties of chiefs were the maintenance of peace and unity within their area of jurisdiction and defence of the territorial integrity of the state under their jurisdiction. He further says that, the Chief's powers were limited by the oath of office he swore at his installation. Again, he says that, the chief never took any major steps without the consent and concurrence of his elders who are the representatives of the people.

Relating this statement to modern democratic governance, one could deduce that the chieftaincy institution had all the necessary tenets in the western system of governance where rule of law, and especially checks and balances was a hallmark in their system of governance. Addo Dankwa III observations will help this research to examine and do comparative studies of the chieftaincy institution in Ghana as they were in the past and

people's attitude towards the institution in this modern era and base on that, analyze the future of Chieftaincy in the Akuapem traditional area.

Robertson (1976) in his article *Ousting the Chief: Deposition Charges in Ashanti* states that for the chief, balancing responsibilities at these different levels is no easy political task. The Ashanti distinguish very readily between the office of chief, an established and morally sanctioned part of political structure, and the mortal and fallible individual who occupies the stool. The individual elevated to chiefship is given, and is expected to maintain, a segregated social status. This is less a consecration of the particular office holder than an explicit recognition of the functional com- laxities of holding office within the political community.

The chief remains en- meshed in local networks of kinship and affinity, and other economic, religious and recreational relationships, all of which may be used for or against him in political manoeuvres. He is fully sanctified only after he has died in office, in itself a good indication of his political staying-power, given the frequency of deposition. So long as he is alive he is fair game for the politicians who surround him, and the kind of veneration he is ultimately accorded depends on the material and political benefits he has brought to his realm. We will assess the political, economical, and religious authority of the Chief in the context of the Akuapem traditional area and try to ascertain if they are the same or there are differences.

Gyekye, K. (1997) book titled *Political Corruption. A Physiological Analysis of a Moral Problem* explains some of the consequences and effects of how corruption can do to affect

the social and political lives of people. He defined Political Corruption as illegal, unethical, and unauthorised exploitation of one's political or official position for personal gains or advantage. His view on the word —political‖ in political corruption was intended to refer to public affairs: the official goals, fortunes, agencies, resources, and institutions of the state which is a human community with organised public institution.

His further submission was that political corruption is a feature not only for colonial and post-colonial but also of traditional (indigenous) African polity... The traditional polity, operating within a less complex society, generally evolved simple bureaucracies, with small numbers of officials: officialdom consisted of the chief (and some members of the royal family), his councillors (or elders) and a few other lieutenants. Gyekye, continued in his submissions that there is a great deal of evidence to indicate that corruption was and is rife among the traditional officialdom, and that involvement in corruption practices is certainly one of the causes of the deposition of chiefs in the traditional African societies.

If political corruption as explained by Gyekye has something to go bye, then much must be done to unveil the truth in other to ascertain what really goes on in the traditional palaces of today. This will help to bring to bear whether it is really true that chieftaincy as an institution has some of the traces of corruption as was observed by Gyekye.

Sarbah J. M. (1897) in his book titled *Customary Law*, he noted that —If the family find the chief is misappropriating, wasting, or squandering the ancestral fund, it is to their interest (the kingmakers) to remove him (the chief) at once and appoint another in his

stead. Adding to Sarbah's, Danquah J. B. (1928) in his book titled *Akan Laws and customs*, also said that unwarranted disposal of stool property, including land was another great cause of the deposition of a chief. He further posited that, if a chief ―squandered‖ a substantial part of the revenue in ―unimportant matters‖, he (the chief) would be removed. He stressed again that what applies to the chief also applies to the head of a lineage (i.e a concillor) in as much as he too is a trustee of the property of the village. As regard the councillor, Sarbah observes that ―A councillor holds his office for life, but should he be guilty of treason or receiving bribes to pervert justice, he can be suspended. The views of Sarbah and Danquah would be very useful to this research in the sense that, if upon all the powers and authority invested in chiefs have some means of bringing them to book and to the extent of even being removed from his position indicates some form of checks and balances in the African traditional rule.

Busia (1951:244-245) discussing some of the occurrences that leads to internal wrangling of destooling a Chief in his book titled *The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti* says, Chiefs before 1900 were mostly destooled for the failure to consult the elders or the breaking of customs, though there were other causes. But nowadays, the most common cause is that of ‗misappropriating stool lands'. He further explains that, an important political development during the period of British rule has been the progressive secularisation of the Chief's office. We will base on these observations to further probe into some of the causes of disputes that have ensued in Chieftaincy in these recent times.

In his book entitled *History of Akwapim*(sic) Akuapem(1972) kwamena-Poh posits that recorded traditions give credit of the State to the leader of the Akyem contigent which came to the aid of the mountain rebels, Safori, also known in the traditions as Ofori Dua or Ofori Kae, or Ofori Kumah, is the accredited founder of the present-day Akwapim (sic) Akuapem State in 1733. The likes of Addo Dankwa II, Nkansah Kyeremateng and many other writers states that after the Abotakyi accord, it has been the Akyem overlords who have occupied the Ofori Kuma stool but Kwamena-Poh gives a different or an additional information which contradicts to the views of other authors. He writes in his book *The History of Akwapim*(sic) Akuapem that, Safori after his reign was then followed by five rulers who were supposed to have occupied the Okuapehene's stool before the occasion of Sakyiama or Fianko Betuafo. He posits that Sakyiama should be regarded as the first of the Akim (sic) Akyem rulers in the new state, and that the earlier rulers might belong to an Akwamu dynasty existing before the arrival of the Akyem. The argument here is, if the Akyem overlords have been able to oust the Akwamu out of Akuapem then what will make the new State allow five rulers of Akwamu dynasty to rule in the new state after Safori before another Akyem ruler? All these arguments will help to establish what entailed in the signing of the Abotakyi accord and its subsequent effects to the traditional area.

Osei, E. K. (1999) taking time in explaining the Akan chief and his land, in a book titled *The Akan Chief: His Administration: His People and His Land* opined that the chief has a territorial area over which he rules. It may be quite large or small. If he is a paramount chief, his jurisdiction covers the whole paramountcy that he rules. He further said that, traditional beliefs hold that it is his ancestors who established the area as paramountcy

through war and conquest. In the case of wing chiefs or divisional chiefs and other lesser chiefs, their territorial coverage is the town they rule and the outlying area. Sometimes, these chiefs may have under them some satellite towns or villages where they may exercise direct administration through village chiefs who are related to them. Osei, in his submission further categorised

Obeng E. E. (1986) book *Ancient Ashanti Chieftaincy* said in his book that, when a chief is elected and installed, he is given advice as to how to conduct himself and if after his enstoolment, he behaves in an unbecoming manner, his Elders warn him privately after telling him that his conduct is alienating him from his subjects and bringing the stool into disrepute. The type of unbecoming conduct complained of could be any one or all the of the excessive drinking, chasing other men's wives, overbearing manner in with his subjects, flying into a rage over trivial matters (i.e. being easily and quickly irate, and using his hands on his subjects (i.e. flogging them). Individual complains against the chief are heard *in camera* by his Elders and if found guilty, he would be asked to pacify the offended person or persons privately in cash or in kind. In addition, he further went on to say that, if, after several warning to him by his Elders, the chief continued to offend his subjects, the Elders would confer together privately; and if they agreed that the chief's conduct was such as necessitated his destoolment, they would send a deputation to the paramount chief asking him to destool the chief. Obeng's view confirms to the fact that much as the chief has powers there are checks and balances on him to make him conform to the rules binding his position. We shall assess Obeng's views if such occurrences can really generate into conflicts in the Akuapem traditional

area.

Recent literature on conflicts in Ghana has concentrated on the inter-ethnic and intra ethnic conflicts, since these are the dominant causes of violence in the country. A ―governance deficiency‖ has been cited by some of these works as the cause of the recurring ethnic and communal violence in many parts of Ghana. (Akwetey, 1996: Lund, 2003: Jonsoon, 2007). Akwetey for instance argues that the absence of adequate democratic institutions is to blame for the recurring violence. Avenues for expressing interest and demands are non-existent.

Julia Jonsson (2007), in a CRISE working paper on *Traditional leadership and ethnic conflicts in Northern Ghana*, claims that the link between development and conflict in the region, exist on different practical levels: In the discourse of actors, in the socioeconomic grievances they perceive as important in the causation of the violence, through the effects of the fighting. She concludes that conflicts have disrupted the development of the region: destroyed its resources and development projects. Jonsson, views would be compared to what has been occurring in the Akuapem traditional area.

Kusimi, et al. (2006), in a paper on *conflicts in Northern Ghana*, have expressed the view that violent clashes in that part of the country affect economic development (destruction of farms and produce; prevents cultivation of lands; disrupt economic activities; discourage investment, labour flow and tourism) (see also Brukum, 2007). They also assert that conflicts in the region affect educational levels and divert government‘s

attention from tackling pressing national issues relating to development, to restoring peace and order.

Peter A. Schweizer (2000:20) in his book titled *Survivors on the Gold Coast: The Basel Missionaries in the Colonial Ghana* writes that, the Basel Mission which is now known as the Presbyterian Church of Ghana started its missionary work as a result of a request Governor Johan von Richelieu who was then the Governor of the Danish station of Chistianborg on the Gold Coast after he arrived in Copenhagan on home leave, impressed on His Majesty the urgent need for teachers and preachers in this Danish possession. In 1828, the first missionaries arrived.

Between the years of 1828 and 1835 about eleven of the missionaries had died. The only survivor was Andreas Riis who also nearly died had it not been for a native herbalist who saw him through the worst conversions. It was against this background that in 1835 Riis a survivor among the lot of missionaries that had arrived and perished started building the Basel Mission first inland station on the Gold Coast. It was in the town of Akropong the capital of the small Akuapem state. We will assess Schweizer's observations and see if Riis intention of going into the hinterland was a success to the growth of the church. We will assess the impact of the missionary work on development in the then Akuapem state.

Recent literature on conflicts in Ghana has concentrated on the inter-ethnic and intra ethnic conflicts, since these are the dominant causes of violence in the country. Akwetey (1996) for instance argues in an article titled *Violent Ethno-Political conflict and Democratic Challenges to the Northern States in Africa*, that the absence of adequate

democratic institutions is to blame for the recurring violence. Avenues for expressing interest and demands are non-existent. We will base on this statement to ascertain if Akwetey is justified in giving such statement.

Lund (2003), in further analysis of the longstanding ethno-political conflict between the Kusasi and the Mamprusi in Bawku, has also argued that the politicisation of the Bawku conflict has affected government efforts to resolve the conflict. He asserts that a wide range of political including party-political and economic competition over chieftaincy, land, markets, names of places and other issues are cut to fit the ethnic distinction as conflicts over rights and prerogatives are rekindled accounting for the perennial violence. This observation will be assessed in relation to the recent disputes in the Akuapem traditional area.

To Duetsch (1998: 451) in his book titled *Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice* explains that Conflict is a pervasive aspect of life, but most people have developed only meagre skills for handling the difficult conflicts they confront. This is true for conflicts in our personal and family lives, in groups and organizations, and even in international relations. The emerging theory and technology in the area of conflict resolution provide the possibility of teaching students in schools how to manage conflicts more productively. We will further discuss this idea of teaching people about the theory of conflict resolution in the institution of Chieftaincy and see if it will work.

1.9   Organization of the work

The thesis would be in six chapters. The first chapter entails the general introduction. The second chapter looks at the historical background of Chieftaincy in the Akuapem Traditional Area. The third chapter will deal with disputes, its causes and effects in the Akuapem traditional area. The forth chapter will look at the Abotakyi and Larteh accords and further discuss some of the emerging issues that has befallen the two accords. Chapter five of the work looks at reports collated from field interviews and followed by data analysis and discussions. The last chapter will cover summary, recommendation and conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE AKUAPEM TRADITIONAL AREA

2.1   Introduction

Chapter one dealt with the general introduction of the research. Chapter two of this paper looks at the historical overview of how the early settlers came to settle on the hills formally called the ―Hill Guan‖. A look at what led the various people from different places to come together as one unifying force and how chieftaincy as an institution was introduced would be looked at. Their beliefs, social and religious lives would also be discussed.

2.2   Who are the Akuapems?

Akuapem as a traditional area was formed out of different group of people from different ethnic background who by chance settled on the hills East of Accra. KwamenaPoh (1972) asserts that recorded history of people settling on the ridge of Akuapem goes far back as the beginning of the 17th century. The Guan made up of *Larteh* and *Kyerepong* are believed to be the first settlers. Later some *Akan* groups, *Ewe*, *Ga-Adangbe*, and *Akwamu* joined.

The early settlers were made up of peasant farmers. Chieftaincy as an institution was nonexistent among the early settlers. The absence of a well-structured leadership among the settlers paved way for the Akwamu who had some sort of chiefship structures to

impose themselves as the lords of the area. The Akwamu people later subjected the inhabitants to slavery after realising their weakness of not having a structured leadership. This made the inhabitants to seek help from the Akyem Abuakwa dynasty. After, the Akyem Abuakwa war lords helped the inhabitants to defeat and eject the Akwamu from their territory; they came to an agreement to make the war lord to rule over them. The inhabitants and their new overlord from Akyem Abuakwa sealed the deal at Abotakyi by swearing the oath of allegiance at the Kyenku shrine thus making the Akyem Abuakwa warlords their life leaders. We shall discuss the formation of Akuapem in details in chapter four.

2.3   Language Development

The Akan ethnic groups of Akwamu and Akyem were mainly responsible for the Akanization of the Guan community. The Akans in general were noted for this pragmatic approach. Wilks (1971:367) sums up Akwamu presence in Akuapem as follows: There is still in present-day Akuapem a gradual drift from Guan to Akan/Twi. The change is reflected in the many Twi words in the Hill Guan dialects. This observation has prompted scholars such as James Anquandah to predict that the Guan cluster of languages may be completely taken over by Akan. However, the evidence from the Akuapem ridge gives a more complex picture. While some of the Hill Guan towns remain Guan-speaking, Tutu, Obosomase, Mampong and Mamfe (all to the south of Akropong and believed to be Guan-speaking in the past) have lost any trace of the Guan dialect. The only common Guan characteristic that has been retained by these towns presently is their patrilineal system of

inheritance. On the other hand, the Hill Guan dialects have shown some resiliency partly because its speakers take delight in their ability to speak it fluently (Kropp-Dakubu 1977).

The Akuapem community has different ethnic groups living in seventeen towns, namely, Aseseeso, Berekuso, Aburi, Ahwerease, Obosomase, Tutu, Mampong, Amanokrom, Mamfe, Late-Ahenease, Late-Kubease, Akropong, Abiriw, Dawu, Awukugua, Adukrom and Apirede. The Akuapem people are heterogeneous as the illustration below indicates. They comprise both Akan and Guan communities. The Guans who are from Abiriw, Dawu, Awukugua, Adukrom and Apirede occupying the northern parts of Akuapem speak Kyerepong, whereas Late-Ahenease and Late-Kubease speak Lateh languages respectively.

The Akan in Akuapem who speak Twi are the descendants of the Akyem people who live at Akropong and their relations at Amanokrom. The people of Aburi are also remnants of Akwamu (Akan) and speak Twi but have intermarried with other ethnic groups. The other southern Guan towns of Tutu, Obosomase, Mamfe, Mampong, Aseseeso, Abonse and Abotakyi are predominantly Guan with some Akwamu, who have assimilated different ethnic groups including Ewe and Krobo, who all now speak Twi. There has also been a great deal of inter-marriage with Ga, Shai and former Ewe captives and several others (Gilbert, 1997) in the Akuapem towns. This mixed group of people lived in small independent towns ruled by priests.

2.4   The Beliefs and Culture of the Akuapem

Traditional sub-Saharan African ways of thinking and reasoning differ in many respects from the dominant international approach. Despite generations of Western influence, the decisions about agriculture, health and nature management are still heavily based on the concepts of African traditions. All religions in the world have some beliefs and concepts that guide the people in that religion. Some of them are the belief in the Supreme Being, deities, ancestors, Scriptures, and the concept of death, life hereafter, sin, and salvation among others. The understanding and practice of these beliefs bring the people together, thus establishing social and religious cohesion. According to Mbiti (1969), the existence for Africans is a religious phenomenon; man is a deeply religious being living in a religious universe. Mbiti points out five categories that are consistently mentioned in the various African religious practices: God as the ultimate explanation of the genesis and sustenance of man and all things; spirits, made up of superhuman beings and spirits of ancestors; man, including human beings alive and those not yet born; animals and plants or the remainders of biological life; and phenomena and objects without biological life.

The spiritual elements are believed to be hierarchical. Although (Asare Opoku, 1978) and (Parrinder 1949) disagree on the hierarchical arrangements of the spirit powers, most scholars, notably Rattray (1927) and (Williamson 1965), agree that the spirit powers are hierarchical. (Parrinder 1949, 16) arranges the spirit powers in the following hierarchical order: *nyame* (The Supreme God), *abosom* (the deities), *nananom nsamanfo* (ancestral spirits) and the lower spirit powers (amulets and talisman) which is worn around the waist, *nsuman*, a power believed to be obtained from small forest beings (*mmoatia*) with feet

facing backwards, witches and wizards and the use of magic. Our discussion of the features of the spirit powers will follow Parrinder,s hierarchical arrangement.

2.4.1 Belief in the Supreme Being

The Akan regard the Supreme Being as the one who brought the world into existence and in recognition of this; he is given attributes such as the creator (*oboadee*) and owner of the world (*asaase wura*). He is believed to be active in the lives of mankind. Opoku recalls an Akan myth about the creative powers of the Supreme God. According to (Opoku 1978, 21f), the Akan have a myth about how God created the world. In the myth, *Odomankoma* the creator first created the sky which is followed by the creation of the earth, rivers and plants in that order. God is regarded as the highest among the pantheon of spirits and as such must be approached directly without any intermediary.

Rattray (1923, 139-42) claimed, he found *Onyame dua* in almost every compound of an Ashanti village he visited. It is a three forked branch set upright in the ground with a bowl resting on it. This served as an altar for the Supreme Being (*Onyame*).

2.4.2 Belief in lesser gods

The Akan believe in deities called (*abosom*) as personified spirits. The *abosom* are believed to be the children of God and they have their respective jobs assigned to them by God and it is being monitored by the gods. The deities are believed to inhabit natural objects like water *(nsubosom)* rocks and caves (*bosombo*), house (*fiebosom*). Each of these divinities has their area of competence such as agriculture, morality and fertility, wealth (Omenyo 2006: 27). Some of these gods specialize in healing people who are barren or

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those suffering from impotence. Others are good at combating the negative influence of witches on individuals or on the entire community.

The gods are normally associated with natural objects such as rain, mountains, and as such are offered wine, rum, goats, fowls as sacrifice for the general wellbeing of the community (Wilks 1988, 444). Furthermore, the gods are —means to an end and not an end in themselves‖ because they were created by God to fulfil specific functions (Opoku 1978, 54). The gods are believed to have powers and they are placed above human beings. In his book —West African Traditional Religion‖ Opoku (1979, 156) argues that the gods abhor actions which upset the harmony of the community or ruin family life and are believed to administer punishment to those who infringe upon the moral code.

2.4.3 Belief in Ancestors

The Akan tribes have a very special place for the —ancestor spirits‖ and as such, the ancestors occupy a very unique position in the realm of spirits. —Ancestor spirits‖ are the spirits of the dead who have departed from the land of the living and are believed to be in the land of the dead known in Akan as *asamando*. According to (Parrinder, 1962: 58) —the departed are not so far away and are believed to be watching over their families like a —cloud of witnesses.‖ There are certain qualities that one must assume while he or she was alive before being called an ancestor after his or her death. The person must have led a life worthy of emulation, have had children, died a natural death at a good —ripe age‖ and must have been given a proper burial and funeral rites (Opoku 1978, 36). It is however not clear whether all or some of these qualities must be assumed. Again, the meaning of natural death can be contested as philosophical meanings can be read into that but African

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communities have a way of determining and honouring its people with ancestorship. (Danquah, 1963) in his view on the roles of ancestors among the Akan said, ―They act as friends at the court to intervene between man and the Supreme Being and to get prayers and petitions answered more quickly and effectively‖.

The implication is that ancestors serve as intermediaries between God and man, petitioning on man's behalf when he does something wrong. Libation, a special communicating tool is used when people are communicating to God through the ancestors. The special reverence given to ancestors has led to the misconception that ancestors are worshipped but they are not worshipped because they are not the ultimate spiritual power in the hierarchy. The ancestors always watch the behaviour of family members and they punish those who are evil with diseases and reward those who are good (Opoku, 1978: 52).

2.4.4 Belief in Spirit

The Akan believe in lower spirit powers often called *Asuman*. *Asuman* may take the form of amulets, talisman or beads which may be worn around the waist, neck or the wrist (Omenyo 2006, 28). Among the Akan, it is the belief in these spirit powers that give them vitality, hope and eventually make their life meaningful (Awuah-Nyamekye 2009, 3).

2.5   System of Inheritance among the Akuapem

In the Akan traditional set-up, man is believed to be both physical and spiritual being. The physical part determines his ancestry and right of inheritance whilst the spiritual part *okra* (the soul) is immortal and is connected to God. The physical part of man is represented by

the *mogya* (blood) which may be transmitted through the male in which case the society becomes patrilineal. When the blood is transmitted through the female line it creates a matrilineal society. The *mogya* provides the link between one generation and another and also between man and his lineage. The *mogya* also make a man a member or a citizen of his society and determines his right of inheritance (Quarcoopome, 1987). *Abrabo pa* (living a good life) is the main expectation of every human being. Families, therefore try as much as possible to help and see to it that their people would live *abrabo pa* so that they can acquire some form of property and then try to take good care of it for the use of those who are yet to be born.

Acquisition of property or wealth by an individual member of a family is dear to the heart of the entire family because the concept of hard work is imbibed in the Akan way of life. To Gyekye (1998, 102) ―... hard work is a moral obligation and that human beings should acquire the habit of working hard‖. Wealth creation by an individual also forms part of attaining the status of an ancestor. Akans believe that people who lead *abrabo pa* till death are still deemed to be part of the family in the domain of *asamando* (the spirit world) hence, becoming an ancestor. For that person to be able to relate or liaise well with the living there is the need for somebody (a relative) to represent him/her in the physical world to take care of the property left behind thereby continuing the legacy of the departed. Agyapa de or Apegya de (inheritance) is the process of handing over the property of a dead person to another person. This work seeks to look at the inheritance system of the people of Akuapem traditional area.

The system of inheritance in the Akuapem traditional area is quite unique from all the other ethnic groups in Ghana. The people of Akuapem practices both matrilineal and patrilineal system of inheritance. The various ethnic groups who came together to form the Akuapem State were allowed to continue their system of inheritance. People of Guan, Kyerepong, Krobo, Ewe, Ga background for instance, inherit through their paternal lines. Those from the Akan background like the Akyem, inherit from the maternal lines.

People of Akropong and Amanokrom for example inherit through their maternal lines. Among the people of Dawu, Awukugua, Adukrom Apirede, Larteh, Tutu, Obosomase, Mamfe, Mampong, Aseseeso, Abonse and Abotakyi, people inherit through their father's lineage. The son of a chief in addition to all male born children of the chief's brothers can succeed to the throne of a vacant stool. In terms of choosing a succeeding chief, first sons among all the past chiefs siblings are first considered.

2.6   Festivals

Festivals are annual gathering at which the whole community meets to remember, honour and give thanks to God, the divinities, and the ancestors for their help and protection. Rattray (1923: 203) in giving an insight into Akans understanding of festival defined it as an _annual custom held in connexion with the eating of the first fruits of each crop'. His definition is in line with Quacoopome's (1987: 87) explanation to festival in the context of the people in West Africa. He posited that most West African Traditional festivals are held to mark the end of one agricultural year and to welcome the beginning of another. There are two major festivals celebrated annually in the traditional area (Ohum and

Odwira). With the exception of Mampong that is well known for Ohum festival the rest celebrate Odwira. Discussions would centre on Odwira festival.

People of Akuapem celebrate Odwira festival and it is celebrated every year. It was initiated by the 19th*Okuapehene*Nana Addo Dankwa I (1811-1835) and was first celebrated in October 1826. Its significance was to celebrate their victory over the Asante army during the historic battle of Katamansu near Dodowa in 1826. Rituals are performed to purify the town, the people and most importantly, the ancestral Stools of the Chiefs. Odwira is also a festival to celebrate the harvest of new Yam.

Before the Odwira festival, the people in the traditional area engage themselves in spiritual and mental preparation towards the festival. At the end of the eighth traditional month, a special ceremony takes place. This is termed ―Adae butuw‖ which means that, all and sundry should be allowed a period of rest and should not be disturbed in any way (Addo Dankwa II, 2004: 104). The festival affords the people opportunity to assemble in their places of birth, at least once a year to socialise with friends and family members. Listing the activities that take place on each day in the celebration of the Odwira festival, Addo Dankwa (2004) gives details of the week long ceremonies in the following way:

- **Monday**

    Path clearing: early morning, after preparatory sacrifices, the Adumfo and Ankobea leave the town to clear the pathway leading to Amamprobi, the royal mausoleum. This ―path clearing‖ has a symbolic rather than practical value. It does not only open the gates so that the ancestors may come in and eat but also

keeps the line of communication open between the living and the ancestors so that the ancestors may travel home without hindrances.

 Tuesday

Outdooring the New Yam: This is the day they new yam crop is introduced to the people. The ceremony takes the form of mock battles when young men of the town compete with the fists, pieces of the new yam and scattering them on the main streets of the town. It is after this ceremony that people are allowed, officially, to eat the new yam.

Early in the morning of this day, the Bamuhene, Adumhene, Apesemakahene and Nkonguasoafohene and the members of their teams set forth to the royal mausoleum with a purifying, strengthening mixture or concoctions which has been prepared, as well as other sacred materials all pertaining to the symbol for celebrating the Odwira, and present to the Okuapehene.

Shortly after the arrival of the Odwira,, the official ceremony of the lifting of the ban on drumming, singing, weeping and all forms of noise, which was imposed six weeks earlier, is performed.

Wednesday

Remembering the Departed: Starting from dawn, there is general mourning in remembrance of dead relatives in almost every household. This continues until dusk. This day is marked with drinking, weeping and wailing and, in many homes no cooking takes place.

Thursday

Symbolic cleaning of the traditional area: early in the morning before dawn, the Black Stools of the paramountcy are taken to the Adami stream for purification. The ritual of purification is done to symbolise the cleansing of the traditional area. This is one occasion on which the Black Stools are taken out of the stool house. After, renewing of allegiance, general feasting, feeding the ancestors and customary blessing follows.

Friday

Grand Durbar of Chiefs: from the morning, preparations are made towards the highlight of the the festival, which is the holding of a grand durbar of chiefs at which the Omanhene addresses the people.

Sunday

Thanksgiving Service: The Omanhene, his chiefs and people attend a service in thanksgiving to the Almighty God and take part in an Odwira Harvest, part of the

proceeds of which are used in financing development projects in the traditional area.

2.7 Socio-economic life in Akuapem

Regarding the economic life of the people of Akuapem community (Akuapem North District), agriculture, industry and service are the most sectors which contribute to the economic growth of the district. It must be stated here that the inhabitants are predominantly farmers. Subsistence farming seems to be the common system of farming practice of the inhabitants. Major crops produced are cassava, cocoyam, plantain, banana, yam, potatoes, maize and other produce like cabbages, carrots, pineapples, lettuce, and water melon among other vegetables. Cash crops like cocoa, coffee, pawpaw, oranges are also produced but not on large scales. Others also engage in livestock and poultry, and other economic activities like services and industry.

About 67.4% of the total population engaged in agriculture whiles the service sector also employs about 23.6% and about 9.0% also engaged in industry in the district. Again, the following figures also show the sectors total income contribution to the district's economic growth; Agriculture29.8%, Industry 31.5%, Service 38.7%. From the ongoing, service sector contributes highest to the income in the district providing 38.7of total income whiles the agricultural sector is the least contributor to the economy contributing 29.8%. Even though most of the people within the district are engaged in agriculture, its contribution to the district's income is relatively low thus contributing to the low living standards of the

people. The service sector can therefore be used in the fight against poverty in the district if it is promoted.

With regards to the social life of the people, cultural practices like *bragoro* (puberty rites) an initiation that passes a young girl into womanhood was in practice but presently, it has coincided with the Christian confirmation with the latter seeing highly patronage than the former which seems to be relegated to the background but customary marriage is still under strict observance. Again, Akuapem traditional area is noted for the celebration of the famous *Odwira* and *Ohum*festivals (a period of cleansing and purification) where various rituals are performed to mark the beginning of a traditional year, to offer thanks to the Supreme God for His care and protection, and also to the ancestors and the spirits for their protection during the past year and to perform the customary purification of the land and the people by the chiefs and the traditional priests. This purification is to strengthen them spiritually and socially to enable them to face the coming year successfully. Other social programmes of the people that have remained over the years include; funeral rites, out-dooring and naming ceremony. Due to modernity and technological advancement, programmes like video games, internet cafes, television have taken the place of traditional social gathering and entertainment like, *anansesem* (folktales), *ampe* (women's game) among others.

Even though, agriculture has been the traditional occupation of the people of Akuapem, increase in population size has taken parts of the lands meant for agriculture for housing projects. Again due to re-demarcation of Regional and District boundaries by the Central Government, majority of their fertile lands in the plains around Dodowa has been

demarcated for the people of Great Accra. Hence making the people of Akuapem loose much of their agricultural lands. Much has also affected the social lives of the people in the traditional area on the grounds of people preferring for example Christian baptism and confirmation in place of initiating the young ones into adulthood. The joyful celebrations of the major festivals being *Odwira* and *Ohum* are no more seen as compared to how they use to celebrate in the olden days. All these are caused by the emergence of chieftaincy disputes that has befallen the traditional area.

2.8 The Religious life of the people of Akuapem

The religious traditions of our forefathers that sustained them throughout the millennia and gave poignant significance and meaning to their lives, satisfying their innermost yearning for direct experience with the sacred, were an integral part of their _way of life', or _custom', or _tradition'. Their spirituality, which has its source in the invisible, did not stand alone but was deeply integrated with every aspect of their lives. African spirituality, needless to say, is part of the spiritual heritage of humankind. Born out of the experiences and deep reflections of our African forebears, it provides answers to the stirring questions of the human spirit and to the ultimate questions posed by men and women in Africa (Opoku, 2010). The worldview of the African made it easy for Christian missionaries who arrived in the southern part of Ghana in the early 17th and

17th century. Right from the time the first Europeans set foot to the Gold Coast now Ghana in 1482 till date chiefs have been having cordial relationship with all Christian denominations in the country.

When Missionary Andreas Riis decided to move the Basel Mission to the hills of Akuapem in 1835, it was at the help of Nana Addo Dankwa I, who was the *Okuapehene* then that the Presbyterian Church of Ghana chalked success in the spread of the gospel.

Agbeti (1986:69) attest that the ―chief and his elders at Akropong were always ready to listen to the gospel and they appreciated the efforts of the missionaries in educational work, but they could not break with the ancestral religion and were unwilling to break with the social solidarity upon which their whole philosophy of life depended‖. There is also evidence that after Riis had moved to Akropong in 1835, his relations with the chief was very cordial.

This shows that chiefs had the liberty to become Christians but decided to be nominal Christians in other to satisfy their traditional norms. But it must be noted that as Ghanaian Christians, we are also members of our various ethnic groups and lineages. If for example, an Akuapem man is a member of the Asona lineage and does not cease to become an Asona when he is a Christian, then what ceases a chief to be a staunch Christian? In the Akuapem traditional area, church service has become part and parcel of the annual Odwira festival and chiefs are normally seen attending church services all the time.

Observations made in the traditional area showed that most of the Chiefs are staunch Christians who are seen all the time at Church services and people seem not to see anything wrong with it. For instance, Nana Dokuaa, the Queen-mother of Akropong was a Pastor House of Faith Church at Akropong and after her enstoolement she is a Patron to the

Church. Nana Akuffu Asante, the *Okuapemhene"s* linguist was ones the president of Men's fellowship in the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. The late Nana Wereko Ampem of Amanokrom was the Chairman of the building committee of Presbyterian Church in his jurisdiction.

The fate of the chieftaincy institution was also complicated by the emergence of a new social class of the western educated, and generally Christianised, Africans. With education from the missionary and colonial schools, as well as from higher educational institutions in Europe and America many of these —educated elite‖ found it difficult to submit to the authority of their chiefs, a majority of who were —illiterate‖ (without formal education) in the colonial period.

2.9   Political and Administrative Life of Akuapem

The chieftaincy institution is one of the oldest institutions in Ghana and its history can be traced way back to the advancement of Ghana. Its existence in Ghana today can be chronologically divided into three; the pre-colonial era, the colonial and the postcolonial. In all these periods, chiefs have gone through a chequered history and this has added to its legitimacy and resilience over the years. It is worth mentioning that the history of chieftaincy differs among the various ethnic groups in the country and that the power and authority of any chief does not transcend the boundaries of his jurisdiction. The institution represents the early form of societal organization. It embodies the preservation of culture, traditions, customs and values which have made the Ghanaian society what it is today.

2.9.1   Traditional Authority in the Pre-colonial Era

Chieftaincy is one of the most enduring traditional institutions in Ghana, which has displayed remarkable resilience from pre-colonial through colonial to postcolonial times. The position of the chief and especially in centralized states such as the Akuapem State was guided by specific institutionalized traditions with respect to accession to office and performance of functions. The office often resided in specific lineages that were genealogically linked to the founding ancestors. However, in cases where there were multiple candidates to a chieftaincy position, merit qualifications would become an important criterion in addition to heredity. In instances where no single family/lineage could establish undisputed claims, a system of rotation whereby the successor would be chosen from the competing houses in turns was preferred.

Adjaye and Misawa (2006) indicate that the chief was the political, social, economic, legal and military head of the traditional state. As political head, he was responsible for the maintenance of good order in his state. He was the guardian of the fundamental values of his people and mediated between them and the spiritual forces. He administered tributes, court fines, market tolls, and other revenues. He was also the final arbiter in the administration of justice. It can thus be seen that in the pre-colonial era chiefs commanded a great deal of autonomy. However, the chief ruled with the advice of a council that has been variously termed an inner or Privy Council. Where the system functioned well, these institutional checks as well as the queen mother safeguarded against dictatorial tendencies.

2.9.2   Traditional Authority in the Colonial Era

As more territories were being brought under colonial control in Ghana, the British were faced with cost and logistical issues associated with colonial administration. Unable and unwilling to commit the resources necessary to administer their colonies effectively, the British resorted to the familiar policy of indirect rule and devolution. Recognizing that the traditional rulers were the centres of economic resources, they decided that it would be a cheap and pragmatic policy to rule the natives through their own leaders. In the process of instituting the colonial administration, chiefs and their councils, especially in southern Ghana came to dominate local administration.

The key issue for Lord Lugard was finding the best rulers and policy choice to carry out the ―harmonious‖ dual mandate. The association of the chiefs with the colonial administration in this way is what has made some people to despise chiefs and that they are unworthy partners in development.

2.9.3   Traditional Authority in the Post-colonial Era

According to Boafo-Arthur (2001), it is trite to note that the chieftaincy institution has been the embodiment of political power in pre-colonial, colonial, and post- colonial times. It must be admitted, however, that the traditionally unfettered powers of chiefs have undergone transformation as a result of formal colonial rule and the introduction of parliamentary democracy after independence. Since independence, the Head of State in Ghana has had the authority to withdraw official recognition from a chief, particularly those who publicly opposed the government. Thus chiefs have been directly controlled by

the government since independence. With the creation of the House of Chiefs, government could now recognise or withdraw recognition from a chief (Adjaye and Misawa, 2006). It could destool a chief and it was even empowered to control his finances.

The Independence Constitution of Ghana in 1957 reinforced the authority of the central government to recognise or withdraw recognition from chiefs and deliberately drew no formal distinction between ―ordinary‖ and ―paramount‖ chiefs, thereby arrogating to itself the authority to elevate or demote any chief. This phenomenon also occurred during the colonial rule. Although government could seek the advice of the House of Chiefs, its consent was not required. Ninsin (1989), points out that the CPP government of Kwame Nkrumah adopted several measures aimed at stripping chiefs of the powers to control revenues from land.

The policies adopted by the government aimed at enfeebling the economic base of ―the politically most powerful chiefs‖, and to appropriate land unto the state. Consequently, measures were taken between 1951 and 1957 to enhance the party's control over the chiefs and their main economic base. During this period, several local government reforms were taken to this effect. These included the circulation of the *Local Government Ordinance of 1951*, *the State Council Ordinances of 1952* and the

Municipal Council Ordinances of 1953. Under the Local Government Ordinance of 1951, elected local councils replaced native authorities. Powers of chiefs were consequently eroded.

These laws, apart from undermining the economic base of the chiefs, created a dependency syndrome whereby most chiefs looked up to the government for economic handouts. To ensure absolute subservience of chiefs, the CPP government had earlier in 1959 enacted *The Chiefs (Recognition) Act* which empowered the Minister to withdraw recognition of chiefs; direct any chief to refrain from the exercise of his functions; and even prevent the chief from residing in a specific area, if need be.

Perhaps, to overturn some of the measures taken by the First Republic to deprive chiefs of their livelihood through orchestrated attempts to deprive them of land, the 1969 Constitution vested all stool lands in the appropriate stools. Article 164 (1) of that Constitution provided that ―all stool lands in Ghana shall be vested in the appropriate Stool on behalf of, and in trust for, the subjects of the Stool‖. More significantly, the 1979 constitution safeguarded the chieftaincy institution, guaranteed its existence, and also restored its economic basis. Article 177 (1) emphatically stated that ―the institution of chieftaincy together with its traditional councils as established by customary law and usage is hereby guaranteed‖. In pursuant of this, subsection (2) stated, ―Parliament shall have no power to enact any legislation: a. which confers on any person or authority the right to accord or withdraw recognition to or from a chief; or b. which in any way detracts or derogates from the honour and dignity of the institution of chieftaincy‖. However, the seemingly peaceful state of the chieftaincy institution which the 1979 constitution guaranteed was given a violent jolt by the 1981 revolution that brought the then Flt.Lt. Rawlings into the centre stage of Ghanaian politics for the second time (Boafo-Arthur, 2001).

The creation of institutions such as Workers Defence Committees (WDCs), the Peoples

Defence Committees (PDCs), the National Defence Committee (NDC), the Citizens

Vetting Committee (CVC), the National Investigative Committee (NIC) and the Public

Tribunals was to ensure parallel state institutions to counter existing ones. However, so far

as the chieftaincy institution is concerned, it was the PDCs, later re-christened

Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDRs) that threatened the traditional
power base of chiefs. By virtue of being at the grassroots, in towns and villages, the

PDCs challenged chiefly authority.

Specific steps were taken by those in authority to deprive chiefs of their livelihood in

certain parts of the country during the revolutionary era. It appears that members of the

PDCs and other organs of the revolution had the power and authority to take any action

for and on behalf of the central government. The most common form of attack on chiefs

was to terminate the payment of royalties to them. However, the government later changed

its attitude to favour chiefs.

In a nutshell, unlike the First Republic during which every conceivable effort was

expended by the government to cut the chiefs to size, the swing of the political pendulum

later favoured the chieftaincy institution. Some of the succeeding governments recognized

the status, role, and economic base of the institution. This recognition was not gained on

a silver platter. It was the culmination of astute political brinkmanship by leading chiefs,

and the wish of most subjects to let the age-long institution remain intact (Boafo-Arthur,

17 2001). Nonetheless, the institution also had to take into consideration the dynamic

nature of society in general and the need to adapt to changing societal circumstances.

Clearly then, it can be seen from the above that the chieftaincy institution in Ghana is so important to the history and development of the country that no government including the British has been able to abolish it. The above background shows that traditional authorities cannot be eliminated and that chieftaincy is the root (evolution) of Ghana as various ethnic groups were led into the country by their traditional leaders. The institution therefore remains critical in the development process of the country.

2.9.4 Challenges and changing roles of Chiefs

Traditional authority among the various ethnic groups in Ghana has evolved over the years. Through a series of regulations the colonial authority became the final arbiter on matters of chiefship and the chiefs' roles were defined by these various legislations. In this regard, not only did the basis of a chief's authority shift from the indigenous people whom he served to the colonial authorities who ironically did not fall within the ambit of the chief's customary jurisdiction. The chief now served not his peoples' interests as dictated by tradition but that of the colonial authorities who ruled the people through them.

The Native Jurisdiction Ordinance (N.J.O) of 1883(N.A.G Adm. 4/1/25) which sought to ‗‗facilitate and regulate the exercise of certain powers and jurisdiction by Native Authorities‗‗ made that evident by granting limited legislative and judicial powers to chiefs and their councillors and the Governor the power to suspend, depose or exile chiefs. Under the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance, chiefs and their councillors were granted the power to make bye-laws (N.J.O 1883 As Amended by 7 of 1910, s.5). These laws were

however not only to be ‗‗consistent with the laws of the colony‖ which meant the people were subject to British law and not their traditional laws and usage, but also the subject matter of these bye-laws was regulated by the ordinance. In effect, the colonial authorities prescribed issues that the chiefs could legislate on. These limited bye-laws which the chiefs could pass even when passed had to be reported to the Governor for his approval as ‗‗No bye-law which the Governor in Council disallows shall have any force or effect whatsoever.‖ (N.J.O 1883 s.6, 1) Consequently, the colonial authorities arrogated the right of legislation, which had hitherto resided in chiefs and their elders before colonial rule.

There was also some transformation with respect to the exercise of the judicial functions of the chief. Native tribunals (N.J.O 1883 as amended by 7 of 1910, s.2) which were authorized by the colonial authorities had limited civil and criminal jurisdictions. For instance, in civil jurisdiction, chiefs were limited to affiliation actions, custody of children, land and marital issues. In personal suits and succession, the amount involved was not to exceed seven ounces of gold or twenty-five pounds sterling and fourteen ounces of gold or fifty pounds sterling respectively or such other sum to be determined by the colonial authorities. The chiefs‗ authority with relation to criminal jurisdiction was to be determined by the authorities. ‗‗Native custom‖ which was applicable in determining the rights of parties was only acceptable if not ‗‗inconsistent with the principles of justice or with this ordinance.‖(N.J.O 1883(s.40) In other words, punishment to be imposed on any convicted person was not to be ‗‗repugnant with natural justice or with the principles of the law of England.‖(N.J.O 1883s.13) Fines to be imposed by chiefs too were regulated by the colonial authorities with penalties for violation. (N.J.O 1883 s.38).

Significantly, the exercise of such powers was only in respect of __natives" unless the party not a native consented in writing to being tried by a native tribunal. (N.J.O 1883, as amended by 7 of 1910, s.7). This was very important considering the fact that traditionally any person under the jurisdiction of a chief was subject to the laws of that community. Besides curtailing the power of chiefs in civil and criminal matters in their area of jurisdiction, the decisions of chiefs and the native tribunals were also subject to appeal to the British courts hence making the latter superior to the traditional ones. This meant that, the chiefs had to rely on the British courts for affirmation of their judicial authority.

The total subjection of chiefs to the colonial authorities was evident in the authority granted to the Governor to approve even meetings called by chiefs. Every head chief may call the chiefs, captains, headmen and others who are the councillors of his stool as aforesaid to meet together (subject to any order of the Governor, who, if he thinks fit, may disallow or suspend the right of meeting or any particular meeting) for the purpose of consultation on the affairs of his division or any part thereof, and for making bye-laws as aforesaid. (N.J.O 1883 s.54)

A chief's jurisdiction was also affected by this ordinance with the power given the Governor to subdivide every head chief's division or part thereof if he thought fit, __into such convenient groups of villages under the supervision of such chief subordinate to the head chief as the Governor with the advice of the Executive Council appoint. (N.J.O 1883 as amended by 7 of 1910, s.4). Immediate postcolonial governments continued along

similar lines. The pre-colonial executive, legislative, and judicial powers were never restored. Rather, attempts were further made to weaken the chiefs and limit their role in the administration of the modern nation state.

The following examples are worth considering. For instance, under Kwame Nkrumah, though Article 13 of the 1960 Constitution stated, __Chieftaincy should be guaranteed and preserved" the form was determined by the government. Recognition as a chief was left to the Minister. The Chieftaincy Act(No.81) defined a chief as an individual who (a) has been nominated , elected and installed as a chief in accordance with customary law; and (b) *is recognized as a chief by the Minister responsible for Local Government* (emphasis mine). The Nkrumah government not only weakened the political and judicial roles of the chiefs but also made them appendages to the central government by breaking their financial backbone. For example, through an enactment of laws such as Akyem Abuakwa (Stool Revenue) Act, 1958 (Act 8) Ashanti Stool Act, 1958 (Act 28) and the Stool Lands Control Act, 1960 (Act 79) it usurped the regulation of the collection and usage of stool revenue.

The second Republican Constitution (1969) guaranteed the chieftaincy institution and further established the National House of Chiefs to have appellate jurisdiction in all chieftaincy matters from the regions and subject to appeals to the Supreme Court. Its functions included the progressive study, interpretation, and codification of customary law with a view to evolving, in appropriate cases, a unified system of rules of customary law, and compiling the customary laws and lines of succession applicable to each stool or skin.

Chiefs were to participate in local government but subject to the will of the elected leadership.

The 1979 Constitution maintained the provisions of the 1969 Constitution except that it added in Article 176 (2) that: Parliament shall have no power to enact legislation which confers on any person or authority the right to accord or withdraw recognition to or from a chief; and which in any way detracts or derogates from the honour and dignity of the institution of chieftaincy. This significant departure invested the power of recognition in a Minister of State. The 1992 Constitution also guarantees and maintains the functions as set in the 1979 Constitution in addition to chiefs being barred from active party politics. Among other things, the 1992 Constitution of Ghana states: ‗‗The Institution of Chieftaincy, together with its traditional councils as established by customary law and usage is guaranteed.‗‗ The constitution recognizes the establishment of the National House of Chiefs. This is made up of elected representatives from the ten Regional Houses of Chiefs. These Houses of Chiefs play a pivotal advisory role in the government of the nation and also exercises the prime jurisdiction in all matters concerning the institution of chieftaincy itself.

These changing roles of chiefs as determined by central political authorities from colonial to post-colonial times have posed challenges to chiefs to effective contribution to the development of the nation. This is very vital if one considers the fact that most Ghanaians live in rural areas where the most visible political authority is the chief who the people still look up to in the provision of their wants and needs even though he lacks the resources

to do so. It is very clear that in the colonial era and immediately after independence, the greatest challenge to chieftaincy was the attempts by the state to reduce the power of the chieftaincy institution. The underlining argument was that two contending forces could not co-exist so one had to overshadow the other in terms of power and influence. Allied to this was the challenge of sustaining the chieftaincy institution in the face of political assaults by the central government. It must be stressed that within the institution itself, there were challenges of succession disputes some of which defied solution and lingered on in various forms to date. Much attention was paid to the activities of the central government because that had the potential of completely doing away with the cherished tradition of chieftaincy in the country (Busia, 1968).

2.10 Contribution of the Basel Mission to the Development of Akuapem

Just about a century later after the establishment of the Akuapem state, during the reign of Nana Addo Dankwa 1 in 1835, a young man by name, Andreas Riis arrived in Akropong with his Mulatto friend who served as his interpreter to begin a mission work. This was after almost seven years of fruitless efforts of the Basel Mission at Osu. It could be recalled that at the invitation of the then Danish Governor, Richlieu to the Basel Evangelistic Mission in Basel, three Germans and a Swiss were sent and on 18th December, 1828, they arrived in Osu in the then Gold Coast.

Very unfortunately, they all died within a short span of three years. Andreas Riis with two others, one of them, a Medical Doctor was sent to replace the pioneers. Hardly had those missionaries started work when two of them died, which incidentally included the Medical

Officer. The only survivor was Andreas Riis. Riis had once read about the cool and the salubrious weather of the Akuapem Hills. In the company of his friend Lutterodt, a Mulatto, Riis journeyed to the hills in January 1835. The paramount chief and his elders warmly accepted Riis. The typical African hospitality, which is deeply embodied in the Akuapem were made manifest by Nana Addo Dankwa I and his elders, especially Nana Kwaw Kutruku, who was made to seek the welfare of Riis and his friend. And so on 26th of March 1835, the late Rev. Andreas Riis moved to live in Akropong. He was his own building, which earned him the obriquet, „*Osiadan"* (a

builder).

For a couple of years Riis was the only Christian in Akropong. That is to say, he had no convert. Nana Addo Dankwa had the impression that, Christianity and for that matter, the Bible was for the white and idolatry and its related primitive customs were for the dark-skinned person. He therefore told Riis that he believes if his people see a darkskinned person who believes in the God of the white and also reads the Bible, it would go a long way to change their perception about Christianity. When Riis went back home for holidays, he shared this with the Home Committee. This made the Basel Mission to go to Jamaica and Antigua to recruit Christian families. On 17th April 1843, six families and three bachelors arrived in Osu and proceeded not long afterwards to Akropong. Their presence helped change the face of the mission work in Akropong but none the less there were some shortfalls. Though they were black the Jamaicans did not understand the vernacular of the local people because they had lost their mother tongue and used only English as their language (Abgeti 1986:65). The English language spoken by the

Jamaicans made them look down upon the indigenous Africans and this attitude kept them aloof from the people they were recruited to serve.

The Basel mission after making Akuapem-Akropong their missionary headquarters helped in many divers' ways in making the Akuapem state one of the most recognise traditional area in the country. According to the World Health Organisation and the United Nations Children Fund (1978), implies progressive improvement(s) in the living conditions and quality of life enjoyed by society and shared by its members. It also implies a thoughtful attempt to assist a commodity of persons to achieve an existence in which the economic, social and spiritual domains are brought together at a level befitting the dignity of an individual, as one made in the image of God. These thoughts and many others made the missionaries try to brighten the corner where they were. Some of their contributions towards the development of the state are discussed bellow;

2.10.1 Infrastructure

The Basel mission making Akropong their headquarters brought massive and unprecedented development in Akuapem. At the period Riis arrived in Akropong and revealed his plans of establishing a Mission, Nana Addo Dankwa I the Okuapehene then offered to build him a house. The people of Akropong and its environs built with mud and roofed with grass. These buildings had no formal doors or windows. Finding their buildings unsuitable, it turned out to be more of Riis own construction; a novel stone based building with an elevated floor, door, and windows. The admiration of Riis buildings made the natives nicknamed him *Osiadan* (the house builder).

Much improvement was observed after the arrival of the technical mission staff made up of Ramseyer and Kuhn in the 1869. They built with stones, broken from local rocks, and plastered with local redlatiride subsoil. It was whitewashed with _Kaalo' and painted with coal tar towards the base to check erosion and destructive ants (termites). Roofing was done with split wood (shingles) or boards.

In addition to the new style of building was construction of roads that linked all the various towns on the ridge and beyond. The Basel mission built roads to connect Aburi to Accra, Accra to Abokobi: Abokobi to Aburi and Accra to Dodowa. And so when the mission factory imported the first motor truck in 1904, roads were available to be plied. For this gesture, the Basel mission earned for itself the distinction of being the very first builders of roads from the coast into the hinterlands. They had strengthened and widen all the foot paths that connected their stations on the Akuapem ridge and in the Accra plains between the years 1850 and 1860's.

2.10.2 Education

No account of the Presbyterian Church in Ghana would be complete without a survey of the part played by the mission and the church in the development of education in the country (Smith N: 1966). During the missionary era, the primary objective was to convert people from heathenism [...] to a living faith in Jesus as the Way, the Truth, and the Life and to nature them to orientate their lives towards this new centre of gravity. The missionaries therefore paid great attention to the provision of schools to provide education.

In Akuapem, a school was opened in September 1843 at Akropong. Students were originally recruited from a group of Jamaicans relocated to the area by the

Moravian mission in order to model Christian living for local people. In order to obtain Akuapem students, missionaries literally had to purchase children as slaves and enrol them in school, housing them at the mission. Coe (2005:37) reports that in this process, ―schooling became equivalent to servitude to and labour for a patron‖. Children and their relatives viewed schooling as a way to access European power, which was only sometimes desirable. Nukunya (2003) points out that many leaders would at first send children of relatives or associates rather than their own children because local customs were devalued as teacher's emphasized Christian ethics, seeking to recreate European towns in the Akuapem region. However, missionaries promoted the use of the local Twi language inside and outside of school, specifically establishing a newspaper, the *Kristofo*

Sɛnkekafo, to ―form Christian nations out of the tribes of the gold coast‖ (Coe, 2005: 36). The missionary idea of nationhood around a conglomerate of Twi-speaking peoples was distinct from the previous local understanding of an ethnic nation state such as

Akuapem.

As the literacy rate of the people started improving and seeing the benefits from education, Smith N. 1966 says that by 1909 the local people had placed a high value on education so much so that various communities had started building schools with teacher's quarters and then handing them over to the church to manage. All these brought one of the most potent factors in accelerating the pace of social change and in the minds of the people. Some of the schools they helped establish are listed bellow;

- Vocational school 1847

- Teacher training college 1848

- Secondary school 1867

- School for the blind 1934

- School for the deaf 1957

2.10.3 Agriculture and Commerce

The West Indies Missionaries who were brought by Riis to help in the missionary work were mainly farmers. They brought along new food crops such as cocoyam, sugarcane, avocado-pear, oranges, breadfruit, banana, yam, and beans to cultivate. Its survival and good yield after cultivating upon their arrival made the West Indies Missionaries to introduce their new crops to the people, who were mostly church members, teachers and Catechist. They were taught how to cultivate the new crops.

To help improve upon agriculture, John Rochester introduced the cutlass to Akuapem farmers as well as helping them to cultivate coffee and palm trees. Joseph Morh between the years 1862 and 1864 established a cotton farm at Anum and also taught the local people how to build a hencoop and latrine. The people of Akuapem also embraced cocoa cultivation. Its proceeds made inhabitants rich and the Basel Trading Company was the first exporter of Cocoa from Ghana in 1891with shipment weighing 80 pounds destine for Hamburg but it landed in Basel. By 1911, Ghana the then Gold Coast was the most important exporter of cocoa in the World.

2.11   Conclusion

Akuapem, formally known as ―Hill Guan‖ used to inhabit people from different ethnic background with Guan and Kyerepong in majority. All the settlers were living independently from each other. Majority of the settlers were led by traditional religious leaders. Later developments made them come together to seek for help from Akyem Abuakwa. Their success story gave birth to the formation of the State called Akuapem. The chapter tried to discuss the culture and beliefs of the people in the traditional area. Their system of inheritance, festivals, language development was also discussed. Final discussions centred on some of the developments that helped in the sustenance of Akuapem. In the next chapter of the research, disputes, its causes and effects on chieftaincy would be discussed.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 DISPUTES, ITS CUASES AND EFFECTS ON CHIEFTAINCY

3.1   Introduction

Chapter two of the thesis discussed the historical background of the Akuapem traditional area. A summary of who the Akuapem were was looked at. Further discussions also touched on their culture which centred on their beliefs, system of inheritance, festivals, etc. Again, the socio-economic, religious and political lives of the people were discussed. Some of the changing role as far as the chieftaincy institution is concern was discussed. This was to help assess if such changing roles of their duties had any effect on their functions.

In chapter three of the research, looks at the meaning of dispute, its causes and effects on chieftaincy. Emphasis would be laid on how some of the chieftaincy disputes have affected the socio-economic, political and religious lives of the people of the Akuapem traditional area.

3.2   Meaning of dispute

A review reveals confused usage of the basic terms: ―dispute‖, and ―conflict‖. These terms are sometimes used separately or in pairs and frequently without clear indication of the precise meaning of each. There is often a lack of clarity as to whether the researcher is referring to a dispute or a conflict. In order to fully unearth the sources of chieftaincy disputes, these two terms need to be understood properly. There is often a lack of clarity as to whether the researcher is referring to a conflict or a dispute. In order to fully find the sources of chieftaincy disputes, these two terms need to be understood properly.

A dispute is defined by Brown and Marriot (1993) as a class or kind of conflict, which manifest itself in distinct justifiable issues. It involves disagreement over issues capable of resolution by negotiation, mediation or third party adjudication. Gardiner and Simmons (1992) define conflict as any divergence of interest, objectives or priorities between individuals, groups or organizations. The Oxford Advance Learner‗s Dictionary (2005) defines conflict as a serious disagreement or argument between people, groups or society. Such disagreement may come from differences in opinions, rules or norms and others between the people, group or societies over a particular claim. In a similar vein, Lowe et al. (1997) suggests that ―Conflict exist where there is an incompatibility of interest. When

a conflict becomes irreconcilable and the mechanisms for avoiding it are exhausted or inadequate, techniques for resolving the disputes are required‖. It is seen to be unavoidable fact of organizational life and can be managed possibly to the extent of preventing a dispute.

The Oxford Dictionary also defines dispute as a misunderstanding between two parties, either contractual or non-contractual. According to Ammer (1997) dispute is an assertion of opposing ‗views', ‗claims', ‗a disagreement' as to right; especially one that is subject of proceedings for resolution. Foskett (1989) says an actual dispute does not exist until assertion of a claim by one party and disputation has occurred by the other. This disagreement may be resolved by mediation, negotiation, or any other dispute resolution mechanism, which may involve a neutral third party. According to Patterson and Seagold (2001) dispute is part of human interactions. This happens whenever people gather; it could be a family gathering, club, teams, political parties, nations and international collations.

3.3   Categories and Levels of Disputes

Dispute in nature has many categories;

- Organisational dispute
- Labour dispute
- Corporate dispute
- Commercial dispute
- Interpersonal dispute arising between individuals

- Property dispute including those between landlords and tenants, rent review, boundary dispute etc

- Other family dispute including inheritance act claims, family business and other disputes within families.

(Brown & Marriot 1993: 2, Mwenda 2006:16-17)

This research limits itself to disputes related to chieftaincy among the people of Akuapem traditional area.

3.5   Causes of Chieftaincy Dispute in Akuapem

Prior to the founding of Akuapem State, leadership role of the various communities on the ridge consisted of traditional Priest and Priestesses.The institution of chieftaincy as was non-existent. Against the background of depending on traditional Priest whose interest was mostly in the spiritual activities of their people made the Akwamu who had a well organised administrative set-up to subject the settlers to inhumane treatment.

Conflicts like land litigation, invasions of communities by other communities, tribal wars, selection of a chief to occupy a vacant stool and all forms of disputes at this period in time were hardly seen or experience on the ridge of Akuapem. On the other hand, at least some minor disputes use to occur but were always solved quickly. Multiple factors underlie chieftaincy disputes and conflicts, the most prominent being the following:

3.5.1 Succession to a vacant throne

One of the major causes of dispute in the chieftaincy institution is succession to a vacant stool. For a vacant stool to be occupied among the Akan (Akuapem's are among the Akan), it is only from among the members of the royal family thus, it is the family that by history and custom was recognised and accepted by the people as such who can succeed a throne. Customarily, when a stool is vacant, it is the responsibility of the *Kurontihene* to summon a meeting of the *Nkowasonfo* (kingmakers). After, a message is conveyed through the *Gyaasehene* to the Queen so that she can begin looking for a nominee among the royals for acceptance from the *nkowasonfo* (the kingmakers). It is only the Queen who has the mandate to nominate a royal to be selected as chief. They have the sole right to choose a nominee because it is presumed that she is a mother to all the royals and therefore the best person to choose from among her children who could handle the position to perfection.

3.5.2 Misuse of stool properties and revenues

The struggle over land and its control is one important aspect of dispute between families and towns. The nature of the land mass on the Akuapem ridge makes all inhabitants take much care in protecting their lands. For instance on the 28th November, 2011, the Daily Guide run a story of a land dispute between Dawu and Abiriw. In the story one Sammy Yomah told Daily Guide that a group of 10 young men sought permission from his uncle, Nana Kwame Henaku II, who is the chief of Abiriw, to go there and farm. According to him, even though the land in question was a disputed land, the people of Dawu had always been farming on it so they also found it prudent to ask for permission to go there and farm too. He said a group of young men, led by one

Okyeame Adu from Dawu who were armed to the teeth, came and started firing at them.

On the other hand, Okyeame Adu told Daily Guide that a group of seven young men had sought permission from the chief of the town to go to the land to farm and while they were clearing the bush, two people from Dawu came and warned them to leave the land but they explained to them that they had been given authority by the Abiriwhene to farm there. He explained that the two went and organized armed youth from Dawu to come and attack them. He said most of them were lucky to have escaped unhurt while the three were hit by bullets, resulting in the death of one of them. The chief of Abiriw, Nana Kwame Henaku II, confirmed that he authorized the young men to go there and farm because the land belonged to the people of Abiriw. Aside this current event, people of Abiriw have also fought over portions of land they claim to be theirs.

3.5.3 Ethnic identity and recognition

Identity is the primary issue in most ethnic conflicts based on people's culture, values, common history and beliefs. Conflicts over identity arise when group members feel threatened or are denied their lawful existence. This conflict centres on matters of security, fair treatment, and a sense of control over land and livelihood. For example, the conflict that ensued between Abiriw and Akropong could be described as *wars of liberation* or freedom. The Abiriws who were among the first indigenous people to have settled on the ridge were not satisfied with their overlords.

3.5.4   Land Disputes

The struggle over land and its control is another important aspect of conflicts in Ghana. Land disputes between communities and State agencies have turned violent. These

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conflicts have arisen from government acquisition of vast tracts of land for which little or no compensation has been paid. This has created long-term disputes with the agencies that have been allocated the land.

3.6   Ways of Managing and Preventing Dispute

Conflict management refers to the use of various plans and methods to reduce tension during periods of conflicts to make peace possible. Conflict prevention on the other hand is the process of identifying signs of conflicts and encouraging people to work out their differences to avoid clashes. The aim is to prevent conflict before they start or lead to verbal, physical, or legal stages.

Conflict resolution is a step-by-step process to help people solve a dispute or a conflict. Conflict resolution helps people to talk to each other to see different factors contributing to the conflict, and come up with solutions that benefit everybody. Instead of finding faults people listen to each other and work together for solutions. Conflict resolution provides an efficient means of settling personal, business, community, and international disputes. Conflicts can be managed in ways such as: negotiation, mediation, and arbitration. These three methods of conflict resolution are also known as Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR). For the purpose of this work, these three concepts or methods will be explored.

3.6.1 Negotiation

Negotiation in simple terms is a discussion between two or more people who are trying to work out a solution to their problem. It takes place directly between the people in the dispute, but could be assisted by a trained negotiator. In negotiation, the people admits that

there is some conflict between them and they prefer to look for agreement rather than fight openly, give in or break off. When parties decide to negotiate, they are usually expected to display a give-and-take attitude. Each disputant will either attempt to convince the other side to comply with his opinion, to modify the opposing wishes and move toward a settlement, or to create a solution that meets the needs of all sides (Adu-

Yeboah, Obiri Yeboah, 2008:97).

As negotiation go on, each side suggests changes to the other party's point of view and makes its own. Negotiation is a good first step for almost all types of disputes, including business, organisational, international and in personal situations such as family, marriage and divorce as well as chieftaincy disputes. This I believe is the surest way of dealing with disagreements between conflicting parties thus the —jaw jaw is better than war‖.

3.6.2 Mediation

 Mediation is a process in which a neutral person (the mediator) helps people to negotiate with each other and resolve their disputes. Often, the mediators have a good knowledge of the issues and the types of disputes. In mediation, every person involved in the dispute comes together for a face-to-face meeting. The people in the dispute decide what they want to talk about. Each of the parties is allowed to explain its position in the dispute. The mediator then helps them identify issues or problems. He does not decide the result of the dispute but helps the parties talk about their problems. The people in dispute therefore work out a solution with the help of the mediator. Mediators often use persuasion to get people to soften strong stance (Adu-Yeboah, Obiri Yeboah, 2008: 98).Mediation may be

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very useful when parties have a relationship they want to preserve. So when family members, neighbours, business partners, or colleagues have clear conflicts with one another, mediation may be the best process to use.

3.6.3 Arbitration

Arbitration is a process in which the people in dispute present their case to an independent person (the arbitration), whose decision the parties to the dispute have agreed will be final and binding. Binding in arbitration means that, the parties surrender their rights to a trial and agree to accept the arbitrator's decision as final.

The parties must agree to use arbitration, and on their choice of arbitrator, but more often one person will apply for arbitration and the other person is required to participate. The people in disputes present their case to the arbitrator. The arbitrator then makes the final decision. The people in the disputes are bound by the arbitrator's decision. Arbitration is used where the parties want another person to decide the results of their disputes for them. It may be appropriate for complex matters where the parties want a decision maker who has training or experience in the issues of the disputes (Adu-

Yeboah, Obiri Yeboa, 2008: 98).

In this particular situation we believe that all parties involved in the disputes in the Akuapem traditional area can resort to this method so as to get a lasting solution to the land disputes in the area.

3.7   Conclusion

It has been established that the words ‚dispute' and ‚conflict' can be used interchangeably because their meanings are the same. The chapter has been able to give insight into what disputes are, their causes and effects on the chieftaincy institution. Further discussions went into how far the discussions has influence the socio-economic, political and religious lives of the people in the Akuapem traditional area. The next chapter gives an overview of what respondents say about chieftaincy disputes and how best to resolve them.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 THE ABOTAKYI AND LARTEH ACCORDS: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

4.1   Introduction

Chapter three of the research centred on the meaning of dispute. It further looked into some of the causes and effects of chieftaincy disputes on the lives of the people of the Akuapem traditional area. Discussions channelled on how such disputes affect the socioeconomic, political, and religious lives in the Akuapem traditional area. Chapter four aims at assessing the Abotakyi accord of 1733. It would further discuss the 1994 Larteh accord and assess the difference between the two accords. This would include the circumstances upon which such accords came into being and how their outcome development has affected the people of Akuapem.

4.2 The early Settlers

Kwamena-Poh (1972) opined that recorded history of people settling on the ridge of Akuapem goes far back as the beginning of the 17th century. The Guans are believed to have begun to migrate from the Mossi region of modern Burkina around A.D. 1000. Moving gradually through the Volta valley in a southerly direction, they created settlements along the Black Volta, throughout the Afram Plains, in the Volta Gorge, and in the Akuapem Hills before moving farther south onto the coastal plains. Some scholars postulate that the wide distribution of the Guan suggests that they were the Neolithic population of the region.

Later migrations by other groups such as the Akan, Ewe, and Ga-Adangbe into Guansettled areas would then have led to the development of Guan-speaking enclaves along the Volta and within the coastal plains. The Guans have been heavily influenced by their neighbours. The Efutu, a subgroup of the Guan, for example, continue to speak Guan dialects, but have adopted (with modifications) the Fante version of some Akan institutions and the use of some Fante words in their rituals. As far as the other Guan subgroups are concerned, the Anum-Boso speaks a local Ewe dialect, whereas the

Larteh and Kyerepong have customs similar to Akuapem groups.

The Akuapem people are heterogeneous as the illustration below indicates. They comprise both Akan and Guan communities. The Guan Okere (Abiriw, Dawu,

Awukugua, Adukrom and Apirede) who occupy the northern parts of Akuapem speak Kyerepong, whereas Late-Ahenease and Late-Kubease speak *Late*, all belonging to the larger Volta-Comoe group of languages (Dolphyne and Kropp Dakubu 1988: 77-79). To

illustrate this diversity further, the people of Abiriw comprise different ethnic origins among which are former Akan including Akwamu, Denkyira and Asante (Gilbert 1997: 511-512). The Akan in Akuapem who speak Twi are the descendants of the Akyem people who live at Akropong and their relations at Amanokrom. The people of Aburi are also remnants of Akwamu (Akan) and speak Twi but have intermarried with other ethnic groups.

The other southern Guan towns of Tutu, Obosomase, Mamfe, Mampong, Aseseeso, Abonse and Abotakyi are predominantly Guan with some Akwamu, who have assimilated different ethnic groups including Ewe and Krobo, who all now speak Twi.

There has also been a great deal of inter-marriage with Ga, Shai and former Ewe captives and several others (Gilbert 1997: 504) in the Akuapem towns. This mixed group of people lived in small independent towns ruled by priests until the Akyem arrived and were given the mandate to rule in 1733.

4.3   Early Leadership Style

Prior to the founding of Akuapem State, the institution of chieftaincy as we know of today was non-existence. The leadership of highland community made up of Guans and the Kyerepons consisted of Priest and Priestesses. Kwamena-Poh gives three reasons for the early settlers not having chiefs. The first reason was that, the early Guan communities were predominantly a farming population and farming communities have seldom had political ambitions and have been usually dominated by immigrants well versed in the institutions of political authority.

Secondly, the lack of minerals such as gold or diamond provided no incentives for the establishment of a political unity to control the overflow of these commodities of trade which was so vital in the seventeen and early eighteenth century. Lastly, the political leadership of the shrine-priest did not promote unity of a wider area; like the Ga people, the Guans communities were theocracies. It was against this background that Priests, *dede,* or *asofo* were the heads of the Guan communities previously called Hill Guan, now known as Akuapem. This means that the early Guan settlers were organised militarily and politically under *odede,* or *asofo.* The *odede* wielded and exercised legislative, executive and judicial arms of government as well as religious, ceremonial and secular functions.

4.4   Akwamu Invasion

Sutton (1979:5) suggests that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries represent the critical period during which Akan prestige and identity became effectively established in Akuapem and outside it at the expense of Guan. The Akan ethnic groups of Akwamu and Akyem were mainly responsible for the Akanization of the Guan community. Akwamu initial presence on the ridge may have been one of peaceful infiltration, as there is no evidence to suggest a violent intrusion (Wilks 1964:401). Akwamu's original homeland had the Atewa hills as its spine. By 1646, the Akwamu territory extended far beyond the River Densu eastwards into Akuapem (Wilks, 1957). Hoping to build up a powerful state, the Akwamu soon tried to expand their territory and began to control the trade routes between European forts in the Winneba and Accra districts and inland states.

By 1600 Akwamu had expanded extensively in southern Ghana. Traders were probably the earliest Akwamu elements on the Akuapem ridge to establish themselves on new trade routes leading inland from the various European ports of call between Accra and the Volta River. The Akuapem area lay along an important trade route that linked the Accra Coast with the Akan interior (Ozanne 1962:66). These early Akwamu elements on the Akuapem ridge may have become wealthy and socially powerful through trade and other activities. They were able to buy arms and ammunitions for wars of expansion winning the support of the Europeans on the coast and led by able rulers, the Akwamu spread their sphere of influence down to Accra and the neighbouring countries (Buah,

1980). Both the oral and written sources agree that through plunder, threat and war, the Akwamu were able to extend their dominion over the surrounding areas to include the Ga who came under Akwamu sovereignty as a result of a war which they were defeated by the latter in 1680 (Ako-Brew, 1981). They extended their suzerainty over the Guan and Kyerepong in the region to the east. Thus the Akuapem range became part of the Akwamu Empire.

By the first decade of the eighteenth century, the Akwamu had been able to organise themselves into a potential power. They secured effective control over all the trade routes leading to both the interior and to the coast, thus making those traders who plied these routes economically dependent on them. Much of Akwamu's success depended on the ability and bravado of her able leaders. The first of the great rulers of Akwamu, after the founder *Otumfuo* Asare, was King Ansa Sasraku who ruled from 1660 to 1689 (Wilks, 1957). He extended the frontiers of the Akwamu Kingdom by subduing, among other

people, the Gas and Adangbes. He also established friendly and prosperous trading relations with European merchants in what is today known as the ―Greater Accra Region‖ whose kingdom was under Akwamu‗s hegemony up to 1730 (Wilks, 1957).

4.5   The Creation of Akuapem State and Introduction of Chieftaincy

As already stated, prior to the founding of Akuapem state, the institution of chieftaincy as we know of today was non-existent. Nana Ofei Kwasi Agyeman of the Aduana fame,a trader from Gyakiti, had already left Akwamu with his people to live at a village called Adenya. He later settled at Boampong (Kaabi) the Northern part of present day Akropong. When the Akwamus brutalities on the Guans and the Kyerepongs had gone beyond control and intolerable the leadership had these settlers summon a meeting to discuss a way out of their predicaments. Gyadu Nkansa, then the leader of the Guans and in that capacity the leader of Akuapem in whose old age and at his hour of death just at the beginning of his successor Ohene Berentiri gave authority to Ofei Agyemang, chief of Gyakiti and Sediesa, leader of the Kyerepong to extend an invitation to the Akyem for assistance to fight the Akwamus.

The delegation to Akim was led by Opanyin Ayeh Kissi, an elder of Nana Offei Kwasi Agyeman. The Okyenhene and elders readily agreed to help. He therefore dispatched his warriors led by his nephew Safori to join the bandwagon of the Guans and the Kyerepong. A thousand forces (Akuw apem) thus swooped down the hill unto the Akwamus regiment at Nsakye as they advance. Unable to withstand the shock of this highland change, the

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Akwamu forces broke, scattered and fled across the Volta River to the present day Akwamufie.

This was the famous battle of Nsakye (1730) after which the Akwamu's unspeakable acts of cruelty and depredation on the highland community came to an end. The bits and pieces of Akwamu, the people of present Aburi and its envious readily submitted themselves to the new power, and thus paved the way for the establishment of Akuapem

State as enshrined in the famous Abotakyi Accord in 1733.

4.6   Akuapem

Akuapem traditional area was formally known as ‗Hill Guans'. Two schools of thoughts have been established by authors as to how the traditional area had the name *„Akuapem"*. One school of thought holds that through raid, threat and war, the Akwamu were able to extend their dominion over the surrounding areas to include the Ga who came under Akwamu sovereignty as a result of a war in which they were defeated by the latter in 1680 (Ako-Brew, 1981). They extended their suzerainty over the Guan and Kyerepong in the region to the east. Thus the Akuapem range became part of the Akwamu Empire.

This area they called ―*Nkoa Apem"* (thousand slaves) which was corrupted to *"Akuapem"* (the thousand subjects) after they got it under their control (Kwamena-Poh, 1973).

The second school of thought says that *Akuapem*, was derived from the words *akuw apem* (thousand groups). It came into use in the eighteenth century to describe the settlers who

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first occupied the high hills north east of Accra. At the early stages of their stay on the hills, they lived independently from each other. This gave the Akwamu's free room to oppress them. Later, they saw the need to come under a unified force to fight for their freedom. They sorted assistance from Akyem Abuakwa. The Okyehene by then offered one of his son's called Ofori Kuma (Safori) from Akyem Akropong who organized the *akuw apem* into an efficient military force with which he routed Akwamu in 1733. Be it the first or the latter, the name has remained as such (Kyeremateng, 2004).

4.7   Chieftaincy: The Process of selecting, Confining, and Enstoolment

Chieftaincy as an institution was introduced in the traditional area after the Akyem Abuakwa war lords sealed an unconditional pact with the settlers of Akuapem. To give a better picture of how the system works, it will be very beneficial to discuss how chiefs are selected, through to the time they are enstooled or enthroned.

4.7.1   Process of selecting a Chief

Selection of a new Chief among the Akan of which the Akuapem traditional area is part starts when there is vacancy. Vacancy to a throne comes about through the following; when a sitting chief passes on to his ancestors (dies), when a sitting Chief is destooled, or when a sitting Chief abdicates his throne. It is only from among the members of the royal family, thus the family that by history and custom was recognized and accepted by the people as such are those who can succeed to a throne. Again, that person should be able to trace his lineage, be of sound mind and also be of good conduct before he can be selected. Customarily, when a stool is vacant, it is the responsibility of the *Kurontihene* to summon a meeting of the *Nkowasonfo* (kingmakers).

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After, a message is conveyed through the *Gyaasehene* to the Queen so that she can begin looking for a nominee among the royals for acceptance from the *nkowasonfo*. It is only the Queen who has the mandate to nominate a royal to be selected as chief because among the Akans, the adage *obeatan na onim ne ba biara papa* (It is only mothers who knows their children's father) makes it her sole right to choose so that no mistake would be committed.

The Queen with the help of her immediate advisors meets to nominate a candidate by investigating into the life styles of all royals who are of age and can take up the throne. Here, they look at a person with good character, of sound mind and without any form of deformity or disability. They also look out for some character traits like the person not being a drunkard, arrogant, bully, miser and treat subjects as fools, and not going after women. In addition, that person must be a true royal without any blemish. When the Queen with the help of her immediate advisors comes to a compromise, she then presents one among the lot to the king-makers through the *Gyaasehene* for the final approval because their decisions in the selection of a new chief represent the mouthpiece of the whole State or community. In case the nominee is not accepted by the kingmakers, the Queen then has two more chances to nominate from among the royals. It should be noted that in each step of the process of getting a new Chief, religious activities such as pouring of libation and other rituals are not left out. Libations (traditional prayers) are said all the time for the intervention of the Supreme Being, the ancestors, and the gods of the Land to prevail so that they can come out with good decisions.In order for the selected chief to begin with

his new position, an official introduction is made to all the royal family members at a gathering. The purpose of this gathering is to settle all forms of disputes between the selected chief and the rest of the family members.

The final stage in the nomination process ends at the nominee's father's home where the kingmakers seek for the consent or approval from the father. If he gives the light, some gifts and bottles of Schnapps is presented to the father as a token for taken good care in his upbringing. After, the selected Chief is searched for and they always make sure he is picked up in public and carried shoulder high. This goes with drumming and dancing accompanied with songs parading him through the main streets in the town. He ends up in the palace where libations are poured to the Supreme Being, the ancestors and the gods of the land for protection, guidance, and good life for the selected Chief as he is about to embark on new role. After this event, he is not seen in public for some time.

This is known as the period of confinement.

4.7.2 Period of confining a selected Chief

The selected chief is confined and taught all about the customs, core values, norms, taboos, and all forms of formation patterns so that he will be able to conform to traditions of the land and the stool he is about to occupy. The confinement can sometimes last for seven days, fourteen days, twenty-one days or forty days depending on how fast the selected chief can learn and adapt to his environment and position. This makes the number of days of the confinement discretional to the people preparing the selected chief for the throne. Here all people who hold position in the Chiefs court, high priest, kingmakers, and some of the key elderly states men come in to teach him. In the cause of giving tuitions to the selected Chief, they deem all lessons taught as *Som* (rendering service) to the Chief and

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the throne but not teaching per se. They believe that it is a great honour and blessing to render services in the Palace and the more a person render his services well, the more the ancestors give blessings and protection both spiritual and physical to the person.

Where more or special attention is given as the selected Chief goes through his lessons in the period of confinement is the area of spirituality. The chief in the Akan traditional setting for example occupies a special religious position. He is believed to be the representative of the ancestors on who's stool he is about to sit. For him not to fault, the *Osofo* (the person in charge of administering all the rituals in the stool house), the High Priest, and the *Okyeame* (the spokesperson of the Chief) painstakingly take him through with him about the taboos of the land and the Black stool (represent the ancestors)and represent the soul of the town on which he is about to occupy. It is also believed that the ancestors also take part in the grooming process through dreams.

All taboos have sacred connotation, and because chieftaincy have a lot of connections to spiritual purity, to-be chiefs are painstakingly taught about taboos of the institution so that the selected chief will not fault when he fully occupies the throne. Some of the taboos a Chief must adhere to are as follows;

1. A chief must not strike any one and should not be stroke by anybody. If this taboo is broken it is believed that the ancestors will bring a misfortune to the community or the town.

2. Again, a Chief should not walk bare foot because if his foot touches the ground some misfortune would befall the community or the town.

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3. Neither in public nor private should he speak or greet a woman who is in her menstrual period.

4. He is also not allowed to eat certain foods and should not also be seen eating in public.

5. When he sits in state, he may not speak directly to the audience but through *Okyeame.*

Although, every good citizen is expected to live morally good life, the ordinary citizen is not under any such multiplicity of religio-moral rules privately and publicly as a chief. This does not negate the fact that there are certain individuals who observe their own private moral rules on the basis of their religious beliefs and practices. However, the chief is under both private and public obligation to observe many moral precepts because of his religious position—his special religious relationship with the ancestors.

4.7.3 Oath Swearing and Installation of a selected Chief

On the day fixed for installation, the elders and the people meet at the Palace and the chief-elect is brought to the meeting for the installation ceremony accompanied by the members of the royal family. The *Akyeamehene* (the head of the spokesperson of the chief) on behalf of the elders and the people officially informs the chief-elect that the stool of his ancestors has been given to him. The injunctions given to the chief-elect at this stage of the rites are of moral and religious significance. The injunctions as given by K. A. Busia(1951: 12) states:

> Konti, Akwamu, Bokoro, Konton, Asere, Kyidom, Benkum, Twafo, Adonten, Nifa, all the elders say that I should give you the stool. Do not go after women. Do not become a

drunkard. When we give you advice, listen to it. Do not gamble. We do not want you to disclose the origin of your subjects. We do not want you to abuse us. We do not want you to be misery we do not want one who disregards advice; we do not want you to regard us as fools; we do not want autocratic ways; we do not want bullying; we do not like beating. Take the stool. We bless the stool and give it to you. The elders say they give the stool to you.

After, the chief-elect has been given all the necessary moral injunctions, he then takes the oath of office before all the others. Standing before the *Krontihene* and *Akwamuhene* he says;

I ask your permission to speak the forbidden oath of Thursday. Today you have elected me, if I do not govern as my ancestors who came before me, if I do not listen to the advice of my elders, if I run away from battle field, I commit the great oath of *Nananom*.

In the oath, the chief-elect vows to abide by the moral and religious injunctions attached to chiefship position, which he has willingly accepted to hold. He is then under moral and religious obligation to observe all the moral and religious precepts attached to his position. And this he declares publicly in the rites of oath taking. He concludes by affirming his moral and religious obligation to fight and to defend his people in times of war and declares his preparedness to die for his people in battle field rather than to run away from his enemy. After the oath, all the elders each in turns take the oath of allegiance to the chief-elect.

4.7.4 Enstoolment of a Chief

After the installation, comes the solemn rite of enstoolment which takes place in the stool house. The chief-elect and the queen and the elders enter the stool house. The *Okyeame* informs the ancestors that a new chief selected from their own royal lineage has been installed to take their place and that they are there to perform the enstoolment rites. Four (4) people are directly involved in the actual enstoolment rites namely;

- the chief-elect

- the Queen

- Okyeame

- One of the elders usually the *Krontihene*

Krontihene holds the right hand, the *Okyeame* holds the left handand the Queen holds the waist. They lower him and raise him up three times on the black stool of the most senior of the past rulers or the 1st chief of the state, town, village or area. After this, libations are poured by the *Okyeame* who prays for the new chief for long life, prosperity and abundance of all good things and peace during his reign.

A special and mystical relationship between the chief and the ancestors is believed to be established through the solemn rite of enstoolment and this is symbolised or dramatised by bringing the chief-elect into contact with the ancestors by way of lowering and raising him up three times on the blackened stool of the most senior of the ancestors. It is believed by the traditional Akan that the ancestral spirits are present in the blackened stools of the departed rulers. By lowering and rising up on the stool, it is believed that the chief-elect is brought to a special contact with the ancestral spirits. Ones this has been done, the

traditional belief is that the body of the chief becomes sacred and this is emphasised by the many taboos, which he is required to observe after his enstoolment.

By virtue of powers enshrined in the institution of chieftaincy, Chiefs everywhere in Ghana have some duties to perform. The moment he neglect or flouts on any of his duties, it affects the social well-being both physical and spiritual of his community and can lead to his destoolement. The following are some of the duties of chiefs:

1. He enforces the core values and norms of his state or community.

2. He is a peace officer, a judge, and a counsellor to all his subjects. No matter the limit to the type of cases that are brought to him, he makes sure fair judgment is given all the time.

3. He is the link between the living and the ancestors and therefore must make sure all necessary rituals that bond the living and the dead together are always done at their appropriate time.

4. He informs his people about government policies and also seeks and promotes the welfare and prosperity of his people and in return receives their homage, reverence, services.

5. He must attract development projects to his community or traditional area.

6. He encourages his people in agriculture and in sitting of industries, where they are needed most within his area.

7. He has to listen to every report, some very personal and delicate, and he directs what needs to be done.

4.8   The various Divisional Heads of the Akuapem State

When the Akwamu were driven away, the fear that they might return was undisputed because the inhabitants never had any military force to fight their enemies until the Akyem Abuakwa warlords came to help. To be able to maintain the internal peace they had started enjoying; need to institute an internal security system to face any future eventuality was very important. The Akyem warlords thus arranged a meeting among the *Guan* and the *Kyerepong* at Abotakyi. The purpose was to organise the territory into a military order. Five divisions were created to rule the State under King Safori, with the later as *Okuapehene*.

The five divisions are:

- Adonten number went to the people of Aburi for occupying the central position of the ridge.

- The Gyase position went to Amanokrom for being an uncle to the Okuapemhene, the position was to be the custodian of Okuapehene palace regalia and paraphernalia.

- The Nifa position was given to the five Kyerepong towns with its headquarters at Awukugua for the role of negotiating the meeting that gave birth to Akuapem.

- The Benkum division was given to the Guans at Larteh.

At the first traditional council meeting the people of Gyakiti were crowned as the senior divisional chief and next commander-in-chief whenever the Okuapehene is away. In 1934, the then *Okuapehene* Nana Ofori Kuma decided that the Adontenhene Number1 title re-

designated to Krontihene, a title which did not change his position and status in the hierarchy of Akuapem, even though Nana Yaw Boafo the then Krontihene abdicated in protest over the change. The *Krontihene* remained as the second-in-command to the Okuapehene. He owns Akropong, as such he is the *Akroponghene*. The *Krontihene* in concert and collaboration with the Okoman elders and the *Ankobeafo* administers the affairs of Akropong.

4.8 The Abotakyi and Larteh Accords

4.8.1 Background to the Abotakyi Accord

Akwamu rule over the inhabitants of the Hill Guan had lasted for long (1681-1730). After a series of wars with some of the Hill Guan communities in the early eighteenth century, another one broke out in September 1729 with Ansah Sasraku, *Akwamuhene,* coming out victorious. This victory compelled the Guan losers to gather at Abotakyi to swear an oath at the *Kyenku* shrine to unite and expel the Akwamu. Furthermore, it moved them to invite the long-standing enemy of Akwamu, Akyem, to join them in the fight against Akwamu (Kwamena-Poh 1973: 34-37). The situation on the hills changed when Ansah Sasraku plunged into war in September 1730 with the Akyem. Within twenty-four hours the Akwamu were defeated. They were hotly pursued and fled across the Volta River to settle at their present location called Akwamufie (Wilks 1958: 110).

The continued stay of the Akyem after the fall of Akwamu is recounted in two traditions. One tradition narrates that after the expulsion of Akwamu, the Hill Guans feared that the proverb "if you have no master, someone will seize and sell you" might be fulfilled. So,

they sent messengers to the Akyem king to appoint someone to rule over them (Kwamena-Poh 1973: 46). They realised the dangers in their loose federation and were prepared to come under a centralised political authority. The second tradition has it that the Akyem were asked to rule the Guan due to their inability to pay off the debt they had incurred by inviting them *to* assist in the war. The negotiations went on until 1733 when the Akyem dynasty finally established itself on the hills.

The Guan community met at Abotakyi where an oath was administered with a promise that they would never throw off their allegiance to the Akyem or any of their successors (Rcindorf 1966: 89-90).

The name of the Hill Guans was changed to Akuapem. The etymology means *nkoa apem,* a thousand slaves, a name that the Akwamu used to refer to the Hill Guan during their rule, or *akuw-apem,* a thousand companies as they called themselves (KwamenaPoh 1973:34). The invitation of Akyem to establish political authority over the Hill Guan was a major turning point both politically and artistically. The Akyem set out to establish an Akan political state with accompanying elaborate art and regalia. This was intended to project, enhance, glorify and enforce the image of chiefship in Akuapem, The Akan black stool became the single most important item of regalia, which transformed the political structure and introduced new art forms among the Guan. This has eventually come to run parallel to the stone seats sometimes used by the Guan *odede* or *asofo* as their politico-religious seats.

It has been established that the early settlers (the Guans) of Akuapem never had anything to do with chieftaincy. Kwamena-Poh (1973: 33-34) in explaining why the early Guans never had chiefs, he based his explanations on the following reasons. Firstly, the early Guans- communities were predominantly a farming population who have seldom had political ambitions. Secondly, the lack of minerals –gold, or diamond provided no incentives for the establishment of a political unity to control the overflow of these commodities which was so vital in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The last reason was that, the political leadership of the shrine-priest did not promote unity of a wider area; like the Ga people, the Guan communities were theocracies. After, being under the rule of the Akwamu and their sufferings, they saw the need to start with a proper political authority after merging with Akyem authority.

4.8.2 Purpose of the Abotakyi Accord

The main purpose of the Abotakyi accord was to seal the memorandum of understanding signed between the Akyem (the Akan), Guan and the Kyerepong on the conferment of Akuapem leadership to the Akyem Abuakwa (Ofori Kuma). History has it that Safori upon the Akuapem's request to be their head chief informed the *Okuapeman* that their request for the Akyems to come and stay and rule them has been accepted by Nana Ofori Panin. This means that the Akyem people in the helm of leadership of the Akuapem came as a result of the latter's request to be ruled as their paramount chief in order to bring all the different ethnic people living along the ridge without a unifying leader together under one leadership vested in the Akyem.

A durbar was organised according to history at Abotakyi and was attended by all the traditional priest as well as the entire *Okuapeman* to make an accord to seal the arrangement already made to make Akyem (Ofori Kuma) and his generations occupants of the *Okuapeman* stool, which also bears the first occupants name *Ofori Akonwa* (Ofori Stool). During the said durbar an official oath of the allegiance was taken publicly to each other to serve the *Ofori Akonwa*.This was witnessed by all the people assembled to assure him (Ofori Kuma) that they would keep to the oath. To further confirm their allegiance to Ofori Kumah as occupant of the Ofori Kuma stool, they planted a stone (*abonsammo*) as a symbolism in the centre of the durbar grounds with a saying that ―that stone was their will and testament that they would serve and recognised Nana Safori and his descendents as their paramount chief until the day that the stone will germinate and grow‖ (Mawunyo and Ofei-Nkansah, 2004:14).

The rationale behind this act was that the people knew the stone would not germinate and therefore their pledge deemed the Akyem Abuakwa royals to remain their paramount chief to protect and unite them forever. This seal of peace and unity among the people at Abotakyi in 1733 marked the birth of Okuapeman and this act is also a reference point of entrusting the Okuapeman leadership in the care of Akyem Abuakwa descendants.

4.8.3 Achievements of the Abotakyi Accord

The Abotakyi accord of 1733 sealed between the inhabitants of the Hill Guan and the Akyem Abuakwa warlords achieved a lot in the development of socio-economic lives of the people of Akuapem. The following are some of the achievements in the accord;

- The classless state of the settlers on the ridge became a unifying force after they all agreed to be under the Ofori Kuma stool.

- Leadership role of the early settlers was managed by priests and priestesses but after the accord, Chieftaincy as an institution was introduced.

- A new language known as *Akuapem* was developed.

- The traditional area is the only area both maternal and paternal inheritance was practiced and accepted by all. Thus, while the people with Guan and Kyerepong background inherit through the paternal line the Akan speaking line inherited through the maternal line.

4.8.4   Historical Background to the Larteh Accord

There have been many instances where some of the indigenes of Akuapem (especially people of Guan and Kyerepong background) felt that had been sidelined. On May 8

1994, the indigenes (Guans, Kyerepongs and Akan Kamanas) of Akuapem, told the Akyem, whom they had generously made them their overlords after helping to defeat the

Akwamu's (online document;available at Wikipedia.org/wiki//.com).

The Akuapem then known as the Hill Guans were living very peacefully with their neighbours; Agona, Ga, Krobo, Akyem and the Dutch until the Akwamu came to the scene and started brutalising them. When the Akwamu brutalities on mainly the Guan, and the Kyerepong on the Hills had gone beyond control and intolerable, the leadership of the settlers met to discuss a way out of their predicaments. Gyedu Nkansa, then the leader of the Guan in whose old age and at his hour of death just at the beginning of his successor Ohene Berentiri initially thought those maltreating them were Asantes and so sent a

message to Asante Mampong, then the capital of Asante to enquire whether they were those carrying out the atrocities. They responded negatively and to show their commitment sent a delegation including troops to Akuapem. They are the present day

Akuapem Mampong. Later Gyedu Nkansa gave authority to Ofei Agyemang, chief of Gyakiti and Sediesa (Asare Diedsa), chief of the Kyerepong to extend an invitation to the Akyems for assistance to fight the Akwamus. The delegation to Akyem was led by Opanyin Ayeh Kissi, an elder of Nana Offei Kwasi Agyeman.

The Okyehene and elders readily agreed to help. He therefore dispatched his warriors led by his nephew Safori to join the bandwagon of the Guans Agonas, Gas, Krobos, Kyerepongs and the Dutch. A thousand forces (*Akuw apem*) thus swooped down the hill unto the hopeless Akwamus regiment at Nsakye as they advance. Unable to withstand the shock of this highland change, the Akwamu forces broke, scattered and fled away from *Nyanawase*, their capital across the Volta River to the present day Akwamufie.

This was the famous battle of Nsakye (1730) after which the Akwamu's unspeakable acts of cruelty and depredation on the highland community came to an end. After the defeat of the Akwamus, the Akyems connived and convinced the Akuapem to allow them to permanently stay on their land so they can avail themselves to help ward off potential Akwamu resurgence. Given the loose settlement set-ups of the Akuapem, the Akyem used their chieftaincy and political skills to their advantage when the Abotakyi Accord was signed in 1733. Since then, the Akyem rule, under the leadership of Ofori Kuma Stool, was never different from that of the Akwamus, if not worse.

The Akuapem State never tasted peace and tranquillity. To the Akyem, the name of the game was —Divide and Rule‖ compounded by suspicion, frustration, corruption, selfishness, arrogance, territorial expansion and putting the Guan and the Okere down. The seemingly peace and tranquillity on the Akuapem Hill was brought about by the timely arrival of Christianity and fear of God. The Akyems' obnoxious attitudes and cruel treatment of the Guans and Okere generated many protests.

Based on the supposed Akyem dominance, the Benkum, Nifa and Adonten divisions revoked their allegiance from the *Omanhene* at Akropong repeatedly in 1770, 1885, 1896, 1906, 1915 and finally in 1994. In 1915 for instance, the Secretary for Native Affairs was instructed by the British to settle the distressing differences between the *Omanhene* and his divisional Chiefs. A mediating meeting was held by the Secretary in Amanokrom. In 1994, all the bottled-up and pent-up bitterness, coupled with the violent clash between Abiriw and Akropong over a disputed land resulting in loss of lives and properties, became the final straw that broke the camel's back. The Larteh Accord was born.

The Abotakyi Accord of 1773 was permanently replaced with the Larteh Accord on 8 May 1994. The new Accord, which was signed by Nana Asiedu Okoo Ababio III, Otutu Ababio IV and Nana Gyan Kwasi II, created the following autonomous Akuapem Paramountcies: Akuapem Guan, Akuapem Okere, Akuapem Anafo, and Akuapem. The Chief and Elders, who designed the Larteh Accord, wisely included the following

provision to ensure ongoing consultation with all stakeholders in managing overall interests and affairs of all Akuapem citizens.

4.8.5   Purpose of the Larteh Accord

The accord was to create autonomous Paramountcies within *Okuapeman*. It redemarcated *Okuapeman* into four independent paramountcies:

a. Akuapem Okere with the Paramount seat at Adukrom

b. Akuapem Guan with the Paramount seat at Larteh

c. Akuapem Anafo with the Paramount seat at Aburi

d. Akropong with the Paramount seat at Akropong

The Chiefs and Elders, who designed the Larteh accord, included the provision of a Council of Akuapem Paramount Chiefs with a two-year rotating presidency.

4.8.6   Critical Assessment of the Abotakyi and Larteh Accords

After two hundred and sixty-one years (1733-1994) of a pact that sought to entrust the leadership of *Okuapeman* to Ofori Kuma for his enviable role in the conquest of Akwamu dominance to his endless generations, why the Larteh accord? What made it relevant to withdraw their allegiance from a pact they were committed to? What was entailed in the pact? Were there any conditional clauses in the pact that could make any withdraw? History has shown that, despite some skirmishes that have brought some forms of misunderstanding in the Akuapem traditional area since the state was established; there has never been a case where a section of the people in the traditional area have sought to opt out from the accord.

4.8.7   Why the Larteh Accord?

Many scholars like Kwamena-Poh (1993), Addo Dankwa III (2004), Nkansah

Kyeremateng (2004),among many others have observed the nature on how the Akuapem

State was established in relation to the nature of her leadership formation patterns which

was purely based on theocratic system of leadership where traditional priests rule.

However, it seems that these authors made little mention about the unforeseen

circumstances that brought about some confusion leading to disputes after all the

settlements in the traditional area had sealed the accord (the 1773 Abotakyi Accord) that

mandated the Akyem Abuakwa warlords first class citizenship and_life leaders' of the

traditional area. However, the recent withdrawal of some of the sections of the traditional

area from the Ofori Kuma stool, which gave birth to the new accord (the 1994

Larteh accod), needs reassessment.

Mention should be made here that there were varied accounts on the process of the creation

of the Akuapem state, which give an impression of distorted historical narratives.

Notwithstanding, it must be noted that the nature of how the Akuapem state was

established with its background of having different ethnic groups coming together as a

unified group will have the tendency of different stories to how the state was formed.

Existing literature, and respondents revealed various schools of thought on event leading

to the attempt of withdrawal from the Ofori Kuma stool hence the Larteh accord.

According to Kwamena-Poh (1976), one side of the story portrays well-arranged

consultations before the Abotakyi accord was sealed. Whiles other sources also portray

some form of imposition from the side of the warlords (Akyem Abuakwa) on the settler

groups after the war.

4.9 The Remote Cause

As we have argued in the preceding paragraphs, the first settlers on the ridge of Akuapem were the Guan, Kyerepong and the Kamena (mixture of Ewe, Ga, Krobo and Akwamu). The various communities were led by traditional priest and were not politically organised along Akan chieftaincy lines. The Akwamu after they have also settled in the area imposed themselves as overlords and subjected the rest of the settlers into inhuman treatment.Against this background, the settlers sought help from Akyem Abuakwa. At the end of the war between the inhabitants on the ridge and the Akwamu's, the Guan and Kyerepong communities who were in majority feared that the Akwamu might come to reinstate their power over them hence, the sealing of the ―Abotakyi Accordǁ.

The first School of thought has it that after the defeat of the Akwamu with the help of the Akyem Abuakwa warlords, it brought some unity among the various communities in the traditional area. The old-established Guan communities, the Akwamu settlers around Aburi and the Kamena had become more united than before. This new unifying force made them meet to strategise the way forward. Knowing their weakness of not having a well-structured political administrative set-up (the institution of chieftaincy), the decision they took was to make the one who led the contingent their leader and to convince them to take up the mandate of being their leader. They swore an oath of allegiance before the *Kyenku* shrine (they knew the potency of a shrine because of their theocratic beliefs) making Safori (Ofori Kumah) and his descendants the leader of the traditional area. The story again has

it that a stone was planted to signify a total handing over of authority of the traditional area to the Akyem Abuakwa overlords.

4.9.1 The Immediate Cause

We have established in this work that after *Okuapeman* State was established, the state experienced one of the fastest growths in terms of development and recognition despite the fact that there were some skirmishes that resulted into some of the remote cause of disputes in the traditional area. The development and recognition came to bear after the first missionary group (the Basel Mission) decided to start the first hinterland missionary work in the traditional area. As discussed in chapter two(2.10), the Basel Missionary's aim of introducing the Christian religion brought in a lot of other help that immensely contributed to the development in the Akuapem state. Improvement in housing and roads linking all the towns in the traditional area, modern agriculture practice that helped the inhabitants to increase yield, formal education that helped to increase people knowledge, helped the state immensely to improve upon human life.

The causes have been in a existence for so long a time, which some have resulted into wars, the inhabitants have always tried as much as possible to contain their differences by trying to seek redress from the *Okuapeman* traditional council. One major event that blew the Camel's back was the land dispute that ensued between Abiriw and Akropong in 1993. The genesis of the matter was about a piece of land on the borders between the two towns which was earmarked for an expansion of Akropong cemetery. This did not go down well with the people of Abiriw because they had also claimed ownership of that land. What

happened was that while Akropong had already started with its intension of using the land, the people of Abiriw tried all possible means to prevent them. It was as against some of these developments that resulted into the death of a native of Abiriw which did not go down well with the Guan communities hence started reorganizing themselves against the instructions of the Okuapehene. This and many other reasons gave way to the Larteh accord, which according to respondents did not even involve all the guan groups.

4.9.2 The Way Forward

Comparing the two accords, the first accord involved all the settlements on the ridge with an oath swearing backing the agreement. On the other hand, the latter accord did not bring all the settlers together. Yet they were able to make their voice heard even though the accord binds only those who were at that meeting. The outcome of the Larteh accord has made the Akuapem traditional area very volatile hence the need to find ways and means of settling all the shortcomings that has befallen the traditional area.

Recently, many organisations and institutions have come out with strategies and good will messages that will help solve the problem. The Akuapem Traditional Council has appealed to the government, as a matter of urgency, to intervene in resolving the protracted chieftaincy disputes in the area to foster peace and unity among the people. Such intervention, the council noted, would help bring together all the traditional leaders and people together to foster socio-economic development of the traditional area. They appealed to the government not to continue to countenance the act of illegality on the part

of a few of the people who were apparently putting their personal interests ahead of the interest of Akuapem.

The Krontihene of the Akuapem Traditional Area, Osahene Ofei Kwasi Agyeman IV, made an appeal on behalf of the traditional council at a durbar organised by the council at Akropong-Akuapem in honour of the Minister of Chieftaincy and Culture on the 26th of September, 2008.He said in his submission that the long protracted chieftaincy dispute in the area has affected them so much and if it was allowed to continue unchecked, it could one day create a big security problem. He was on the conviction that, the Akuapem had for centuries been noted to be humble and peace-loving due to their early experience with the Presbyterian Church and other religious bodies. In his opinion, such religious encounter had enabled the people to be educated and God-fearing as well as enriched the culture of the people.

He further blamed the protracted chieftaincy dispute on the various successive governments, the traditional authorities and the people of the area. He posited that, the unfortunate act that has brought disunity among the chiefs were from a few of them. But has also continued because of the indifference shown by successive governments on the issue and the excuse that we normally hear is that the government does not want to meddle in chieftaincy affairs.

The Akuapem Traditional Area had for many years been constitutionally known as one ―Traditional Council‖ with one paramount chief by law. ―If we believe in law and order, which is the only way to go by, then any attempt to violate this arrangement spelt out in

our constitution, becomes a criminal violation, which should not in any circumstance be countenanced. The Krontihene, therefore, expressed the hope that with the passage of the new Chieftaincy Act, the government would exercise the political will to deal with such issues.

Another platform that gave chance for some of the key people in the traditional area to highlight on how to make peace in the traditional area was at the installation on January 5th, 2012 that brought to a close a twenty four year old chieftaincy dispute in Awukugua. Osabarima Opese Konadu was blessed by Oseeadeyo Addo Dankwa II, who directed the ceremony and poured libation to the ancestors to guide the new chief. Addressing the people of Awukugua at a durbar, the new chief expressed his appreciation to the kingmakers for the confidence reposed in him and said he would bring development to the area and unite the people.

Osabarima Opese Konadu said he was saddened by the protracted chieftaincy dispute in the town, which had stalled the development agenda of the area. He appealed to the people to forget the past and support him to lift the image of the town, urging them to see themselves as one people with a common destiny. The chief gave the assurance that he would operate an open door policy to welcome all views to promote the community in diverse ways to restore its lost glory. He expressed dissatisfaction that Akuapem, which used to be a peaceful area, had now been plagued with chieftaincy disputes, adding: ―I wish all the disputes would come to an end for the people of Akuapem to come together once again.‖

In assessing issues from both the remote and the immediate causes, there were so many issues that needed clarity. For instance, it has been established that a stone was planted to signify total rule over the inhabitants by the Akyem Abuakwa overlords. If the Guan and the Kyerepong themselves sold that idea to their new leaders signifying total submission to them then the question that needs an answer is whether the stone they themselves planted as a sign of total support to Akyem has germinated? Traditionally, it must be noted that the planting of the stone, which would never grow as the people themselves were aware signifies traditional wisdom in the sense that we have given power to you forever. It must be noted that in the Ghanaian traditional set-up swearing of —forbidden oath‖ is binding.

Oral tradition also has it that, before the acceptance of the leadership position by the Akyem Abuakwa warlords, the new leader made it known to them that in traditional administrative rule a traditional priest cannot be a chief. Two options were laid before the inhabitants. Either they give them new chiefs from their own people or they (the Akyem) would choose from their people to take the position of the chief so that the traditional priests would have their time to administer their religious roles. All these arrangements were made without any imposition so that both parties would be satisfied and fully committed to the new agreement.

After the establishment of the Akuapem state, people of Akyem descent and all the other groups making the state have two major unique things that need to be stressed as a hallmark that should not bring any form of disunity. Firstly, the people were able to

develop a new language called ―Akuapem Twi‖ which is spoken by all the people in the traditional area. The Guan and the various Kyerepong groups have maintained their language in addition to the Akuapem Twi. If the Akyem have been able to change their mother tongue to speak a new formulated Akuapem Twi all in the name of unifying the people in the state without forcing the Guan and the Kyerepong to stop speaking their mother tongue then where lies the problem that would make some of the people decide to part away their allegiance with the Ofori Kuma stool.

Secondly, right from the inception of the Akuapem state, intermarriages have been another unifying component among the people. The people of Akyem descent get married to the non-Akyem and the vice versa. A clear example can be the move of the current occupant of the Ofori Kuma stool, Nana Addo Dankwa III (Okuapehene)who married from the Abiriw division of the traditional area.

Meanwhile, recent upheavals which arguably can be said to have been facilitated in the 1994 Accord have led to a rift between Akropong (Akyem) and the Abiriw (Kyerepong). More so, majority of the people from the Guan-Kyerepong communities have resettled in the Akyem lands embarking on various agricultural activities and have also intermarried from such place, which could be attributed to the bond that existed among or were entered to by the people.

4.10   Conclusion

The Abotakyi accord signed in 1733 gave birth to a new State (Akuapem). This new State brought the various people on the Guan hills and the people of Akyem Abuakwa together as one people. Leadership role of the new State was assigned to the people of Akyem Abuakwa who were consulted to help them to defeat their enemies (the Akwamu). After they had agreed and accepted the offer to take up the royalty of the traditional area, they introduced chieftaincy which was a new form of leadership to the inhabitants. Even though there have been some occurrences of misunderstandings that led to some levels of dispute, the traditional area have been peaceful and together for so long a time.

Recently, there have been some developments that have made some of the inhabitants to question the leadership of the seat of the traditional area. A section of the people who were aggrieved in the traditional area sign a new accord in 1994 after they realised that their demands were not met. The content of the new accord made the traditional area lose its formation. The accord mandated them to create new paramountcies which were independent of the original (Ofori kuma) one.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 PRESENTATION, ANALYSES AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1   Introduction

Chapter four of the research looked at a critical assessment of Abotakyi and Larteh accords. Assessments were on the developments that led to the accords. Further discussions were on the purpose of each accord. Chapter five of the research gives an analyses and discussions of findings of the research.

5.2 Methodology

Prior to making the trip for the fieldwork, the researcher conducted a background research into the chieftaincy institution, its causes and dynamics and the development situation of the Akuapem traditional area. Efforts were also made to contact prospective respondents. The purpose of the field research was to observe at first hand, the causes and effects of the conflict on the socio-economic, political and religious development of the Akuapem traditional area. The research was also to sample views and perceptions on the ground on the effects of the conflict. For the purpose of this research, the researcher used both primary and secondary data.

The principal method of collecting the primary data has been through in-depth interviews. The interviews were designed for key personalities whom the researcher believed would have a good knowledge of the implications of the chieftaincy conflict in the traditional area. In all, twenty-three people were interviewed. Eight chiefs, three

Queens, five palace officers, and ten statesmen were interviewed.
The interview guide had questions that were strictly based on the objectives of the study for easy categorization. The basis of the questions primarily involved the careful reviews of the relevant theoretical framework and the objectives and hypothesis of the study. Every researcher has personal perceptions, beliefs and values that can influence the decisions making process during research and the data analysis process. Weber (1946) has pointed out that all research is contaminated to some extent by the values of the researcher. The conclusion and implication to be drawn from the study are also largely grounded in the moral and political beliefs of the researcher (Silverman: 2000, 257). I certainly did have

personal preconceptions about how the chieftaincy conflict in the Akuapem traditional area has affected its socio-economic, political and religious development. As a result of the above, in order to conduct a scientific research, one needs to de-construct stereotypes and misconceptions so as to become open to new ideas.

In accessing information the researcher used both structured and semi-structured method. The study was mainly through observations and one on one interview with some chiefs and Queens from the Akuapem traditional area. Interviews were conducted in some selected towns within the traditional area. Towns covered include Akropong, Larteh-Kubease, Amanokrom, Aburi Dawu, and Mampong. This interview guide was used with flexibility regarding sequence and formulation. Modifications were made to questions when important issues beyond previous planning came up during the interviews.

5.3 Research Questions

- How did Akuapem traditional area come about?
- What is the meaning of Akuapem that became the name of the traditional area?
- What are some of the causes of chieftaincy disputes in Akuapem traditional area?

  ⬜ What has given rise to the chieftaincy disputes in the Akuapem traditional area?
- What are some of the challenges facing the chieftaincy institution in Akuapem traditional area?
- What are some of the steps that could be taken to bring peaceful co-existence in the traditional area?

5.4   Field Report and Findings

The following are some of the answers given by respondents in the Akuapem traditional area.

5.4.1 Why is the traditional area call Akuapem?

On the question on how the name ***Akuapem*** came about, almost all the respondents interviewed gave the same information which was similar to what scholars have written referring to the name Akuapem to mean ‗*Akuw apem*‖(thousand groups)or ‗*Nkoaapem*‗ (thousand slaves). Nana Kwatei Agyenfena Okatakyi II (Larteh-Kubeasehene) whose people are believed to be among the first settlers of the traditional area and a retired Justice by name Justice H. M. Ntow Agyekum gave a different account about how the traditional area had the name Akuapem. According to Nana Kwatei, the name emerged as a result of atrocities meted against settlers on the ridge by the leaders of the Akwamu‗s who had imposed some sought of overlords over them. The ridge had become the shortest enroot to the shores of Accra for trade hence, using the inhabitants to perform all the odd jobs for a fee at the expense of the settlers.

Nana Kwatei said in his submission that, among the chiefs of the Akwamu‗s, the one who made their stay on the ridge most difficult and unbearable was Ansah Sasraku. He said because his people and the other settlers had no substantive leaders and were peasant farmers who had no might to defend themselves, the Akwamu‗s did anything they wanted in their area to the extent that they could harvest their farm produce without any provocation. When they realised that they can no more bear the hardship from the

Akwamu's especially in the reign of Ansah Sasraku, they decided to find a means of redeeming themselves from such hardship.

Nana said one of their natives by name Ofei Kwasi Agyemang who at that time had links with the Akyem became their saviour when he sold the idea to his people to seek for help from the Akyems who were a well organised state. The idea was accepted by all leaders of the fragmented settlers and so he led a delegation to Akyem Abuakwa. The Akyem Abuakwahene consented to their proposal and he delegated his brother Ofori Kumah who led the war to be the leader of new State. On their arrival to help fight the Akwamu's, they wanted to know how far they have prepared to fight Ansah Sasraku. They realised the settlers had bought thousands of guns and ammunitions, there they said *wokura apem* (they have thousands) and it corrupted to Akuapem.

Justice Ntow in explaining what corrupted to Akuapem opined that, settlers on the ridge were predominantly farmers with a few hunters. To him the settlers on the ridge were the food basket of the people living in the coastal area of Accra. Again, it was also one of the shortest routes used by people from the forest regions of Ghana especially the Asantes to the coast to trade. He said during that period those who used to pass through the ridge to the coast see people scattered all over the hills working in their farms. This made those who used that route to refer to the inhabitant's as *Akuafo apem* (thousand farmers) and it corrupted to Akuapem.

Wokura apem and *Akuafo apem* gives additional meaning to what corrupted to

Akuapem. It could be realised that, each of the phrases that corrupted to Akuapem has *Apem* (a thousand) to it. This means that no matter how one tries to give meaning to Akuapem some evidence shows that people who were living on the ridge before and after the formation of the State were in their thousands hence _Apem' found in all the phrases that corrupted to Akuapem.

5.4.2 The Abotakyi accord

On the question about the Abotakyi accord, Nana Kwatei Agyenfena II said that, the Akyem Abuakwa war bands led by Ofori Kuma were successful in helping to defeat the Akwamu's. At the time the Akyem Abuakwa warlords were bidding farewell to the settlers on the ridge, they demanded from them to pay for the guns, gun powder they used in cause of the war. What made the settlers more worried was a demand to replace one hundred and eighty-seven (187) of their men who had died in the war. This made Ofei Agyemang who led the delegation to the Akyem Abuakwa for help call for a meeting of leaders of all the scattered settlements on the ridge to find a means of attending to the demands of their benefactors.

Not having any means of meeting the demands of the warlords, and in addition having the fear that Ansah Sasraku might reorganise to take over their territory again, they came to a final agreement that they will negotiate with Akyem Abuakwa and make Ofori

Kumah who led the war their leader hence a first class citizen. So that their fear of Ansah Sasraku taking over the area in the near future and also not having the means to pay for the demands of the warlords to end.

On their arrival at Akyem Abuakwa led by Ofei Kwasi Agyemang, an agreement was made and this led to the meeting of all leaders from all the towns in Akuapem and their counterparts from Akyem Abuakwa at Abotakyi to finalise the agreement. After the agreement to make Ofori Kumah their overlord, they sealed the agreement at the *Kyenku* shrine at Obosomase. According to Nana Kwatei, because Abotakyi which at that period had developed was the place they sealed the agreement with the people of Akyem Abuakwa, the name of the town was used to serve as a reference point hence, Abotakyi accord.

On his part, Nana Osim Kwatia II (Amanokromhene and *Gyasehene* of *Okuapeman*) gave account on the Abotakyi accord. He said that, after Ofei Kwasi Agyemang led a delegation to Akyem Abuakwa for help and the Akwamu's were defeated. Ofori Kuma who led the Akyem Abuakwa warlords demanded to be paid. Not having anything they decided to make Ofori Kumah and his family —first class citizens‖ and rulers of their settlements. To convince Ofori Kumah and let him know that they meant what they were saying, they planted a rock saying that —until the rock grows beard he and his household should remain rulers of the settlements on the ridge‖. This agreement was sealed at Abotakyi in 1733.

5.4.3 The Larteh accord and the Abotakyi accord

Nana Osim Kwatia II of Amanokrom (Gyaasehene of Akuapem and chief of

Amanokrom) opined that, there are statutory laws on chieftaincy in the laws of the land. ‖We have a traditional council where all documentation about each chief could trace his lineage‖. This means that where a chief cannot trace his position and lineage in the statutory books of the traditional council, that chief would not be recognised. ‖What I want to say is that the so called Larteh Accord has no backing at the traditional council because the accord cannot be found in any books of the traditional council (this means that the Larteh Accord has not been gazetted). According to him, the Larteh Accord does not exist for reasons as we have noted above.

To Nana Kwatei Agyenfena II of Larteh-Kubease said that, the so called‖Larteh Accord‖ is something that was strange to him. He said, Larteh is a twin town made up of Larteh-Kubease of which he is the chief and Kyidomhene of Okuapeman and LartehAhenase. Each of the town has its chief therefore if the other side of the town holds a meeting without informing the other, then where stands its authenticity? He then asked a question ‖if you call for a meeting of all Guan and all are not given a notification where stands the Accord? Again, he said that ‖if Larteh is declared an independent Paramount seat outside Okuapeman (Ofori Kuma) which I am part of, then where does the territorial demarcation of the Larteh paramountcy stand? Let us take it that a small misunderstanding made some Guan communities in the Akuapem traditional area to declare autonomy but it could not hold. Tried as they would, it could not materialise.
They have exhausted all the courts of the land but to no avail‖.

5.4.4 Causes of chieftaincy disputes

For the purpose of this work, the causes of chieftaincy disputes was obtained from the respondents during study and thus reflect how chieftaincy disputes occurred most often in the Akuapem traditional area. Nana Nyarko (Akrodehene of Mampong-Akuapem) in his view said that in the olden days, the common cause of chieftaincy dispute was mainly who owns or the real owners of lands. According to him, the success of a ruler or a chief was seen as mighty and powerful solely in terms of stretch of lands under their jurisdiction. For that reason chiefs and their subjects always put much attention on the protection of their boundaries.

He added that, to ward off intruders from encroaching into an already found territory, *Ntomme* (a type of plant that always looks green and at the same time very difficult to destroy) were always planted on the boundaries. This means that, people were made to check on the boundaries and give report to owners as the case may be. He further explained that, boundary disputes since time immemorial has been the key to many of the misunderstandings that generates into violent clashes in many of the towns in the traditional area. To him, majority of the cases put before the traditional council, regional house of chiefs, and the statutory courts of the land were linked to land disputes.

Further, most of the chiefs interviewed in the Akuapem traditional area attributed some of the causes of chieftaincy disputes to the artificial demarcation of lands by the government due to the enormous powers giving to them by the 1992 constitution of the fourth republic of Ghana.

These boundaries, according to the respondents believe were the intentional creation of boundaries to reduce the powers of the traditional rulers over their subjects. For example, Nana Kwatei stated that all the lands from Larteh through to the Dodowa Plains belong to Larteh, Mamfe, Amanokrom and Mampong. However due to political demarcations larger portions of the Dodowa lands and other lands belonging to Akuapem have been given to the greater Accra Region which in effect should have been part of Eastern region where these communities are found. The boundary created by the central government therefore, creates tension among chiefs who share boundaries within very close areas.

In his opinion, Nana Kwatei said he has petitioned the Ghana government to reclaim Larteh lands that has been demarcated to the Greater Accra Region. He emphasised that if the District Police Command in Dodowa and its environs are under the Divisional Command of Akuapem. Then it clearly shows that lands in contention in such areas should be giving to Larteh people.

Again, respondents' revealed that generally, chiefs in their respective traditional area in Ghana are the sole custodians of the lands and these lands were termed as the stool lands. However some of these stool lands were given to families for farming and housing purposes, thus becoming the family's property. In spite of the powers of the chiefs as the custodians of the lands, the 1992 constitution of the Republic of Ghana mandates chiefs to part with some of their stool lands for government use when needed. All the chiefs interviewed were not satisfied with what the laws of the land state on how government takes stool lands. The Nkosohene of Larteh-Kubease (Dr. Derrick Akyeampong) said that,

the Akuapem showed concern about some of the stool land that the government has taken for certain projects which did not bring any benefit to the community as well as the nation due to the lack of coordination between the chiefs and the district assemblies. He believes that when they are given the opportunity to utilise their own lands for development purposes they can do it better since they will be in a better position to come out with projects that are beneficial to the people.

Respondents maintained that traditionally, all territorial lands are communal property that is held by chiefs and community elders in trust for the people and generations to come. An individual therefore cannot use his own powers to lease or sell a portion of land at his own will without the consent of the entire family (at least the elders). What have been observed in recent times are that, most chiefs due to their selfish interest sell lands that belong to the entire family to people without any approval from family members concerned. Instead of making good use of the proceeds from the sales to the upkeep and development of the town, they most of the time use those monies for their own selfish interest.

In addition, it was realised from the field that one of the major factors that have resulted in the chieftaincy disputes in the Akuapem traditional area, borders on the selection of heirs to leadership or throne. Traditionally before a chief is selected to occupy the throne the said person must come from the royal family and should be able to trace his lineage from his ancestors. Information received from respondents affirms that, some people try to influence kingmakers to be enstooled as chiefs. This according to Nana Kwatia II ―leads to chieftaincy disputes‖. He further explained that inter marriage is one of the

causes of the chieftaincy disputes in the Akuapem traditional area. He indicated that, in the olden days royals were not allowed to marry from outside their tribe. These arrangements were put in place to foster a good and conducive environment in choosing a royal to occupy a vacant throne or stool whenever the need be.

A retired educationist Mr. Odei Agyiri of Aburi in his submission urged the Queens to do extensive consultation before nominating candidates for enstoolment as chiefs to prevent chieftaincy succession disputes. He observed that lack of proper and transparent consultation by the Queen and king-makers in the installation of royals had been a major contributory factor bedevilling the nation's chieftaincy institution. He noted that —a chief must be someone from the appropriate royal lineage who has been validly nominated, selected or elected and enstooled in accordance with the relevant customary laws of the traditional area‖.

Mr. Agyiri further said the old practice of kidnapping a royal irrespective of his educational background and forcibly installing him as chief had become a thing of the past. He therefore urged the Queen and her king-makers to place higher premium on education, explaining that a chief with the requisite educational background is an asset to facilitate rapid socio- economic development

5.4.5 Challenges in chieftaincy institution in Akuapem traditional area

In trying to find out some of the challenges in the chieftaincy institution, information gathered centred on issues bordering on economical constrain, lack of education, system

of western governance, territorial demarcations of traditional lands by government, and religious beliefs of people.

According to Nana Atekoasere Boadu II (*Nfoahene* of Akuapem Mampong), traditionally, issues of economic activities for the wellbeing of the people centred on communal mutual responsibility of the lineage. This is because the traditional Akan believes that there should be mutual cooperation among the people to enhance harmony and sharing of responsibilities. According to Nana Boadu under no circumstances should there be shortage of food at the palace. There should be food all the time so that subjects and strangers' who are not able to prepare food in their homes may get something at least to quench their hunger from the palace. He used the adage which says; *mukaase gya nndum wo ahenfi* (under no circumstance should fire used in cooking at the palace go off) to buttress his argument. It was therefore mandatory for subjects to help in the upkeep of the chief's household and so farmers and hunters upon returning from their work part with just a small portion of whatever was brought from the farm. All other items that were needed to help in the upkeep of the palace were provided by subjects without any complains. This he stress that people did it with joy.

He said in those times, the communal system (economically) of living was very much the responsibility of all: what belongs to one person is deemed to be for all and for that matter there was nothing like selfishness among people. This made the chief find no difficulty in running his home and the community as well. His conclusion to this observation was that, because there has been a new trend in our standard of living, the traditional communal style of living has been phased off. This system of living as have been observed by Nana

Boadu has not being valued by constitutional governments of the country, which has created tension and pressure on the limited natural resources thereby, chiefs nowadays are faced with many economic challenges in their respective communities.

Nkosohene of Larteh-Kubease on his part compared the traditional system of governance to the western democratic system of governance. According to him, when we look at the western system of governance being practiced today, it can be equated to that of the chieftaincy institution in Ghana: the chief represents the president, the kingmakers represent the parliament, sub-chiefs represents minister's etc. But ever since the western system of governance was introduced, it has downplayed the powers of the chief to nothing whiles our colonial masters ―the British‖ who introduced the system of governance we practice today still maintain the powers of the king or queen in their governance system.

Nana Ama Asabea (*twafohemaa* of Larteh-Kubease) reccounted that our traditional setup has its own way of educating her royals on the important cultural practices such as norms, values, beliefs, customs, drum language, taboos etc. But after the introduction of western education, peoples approach towards some of these traditional practices has changed. What have worsened the case more are the belief systems of people who are Christians or Muslims. Most of such people do not want to associate themselves with the traditional practices because they think that Akan traditional practices are against their religion. Due to this, some true royals who should have succeeded a vacant throne have allowed unqualified people to take over.

According to her, during the demarcation of regional and district boundaries by the central government, they did not take into consideration traditional boundaries. For instance Asesewa is part of Akuapem lands but it has now been demarcated as part of Dodowa meanwhile Dodowa has been demarcated as part of Greater Accra, which

according to her, is in contention in the state court for redress. It was the same thing that would have happened in the Okwahu traditional area when the local government had wanted to demarcate the whole of the Afram Plains to the Volta Region she added.

Another observation made was on the issue of the central government decreasing the chieftaincy institution to nothing. Through the various constitutional acts and making the institution to be performing minor roles (such as ceremonial roles in their jurisdictions) as against their original powers, central government has reduced the significance of the institution.

5.4.6 Solutions to some of the chieftaincy disputes

In probing into how best to solve chieftaincy disputes in the traditional area, three main observations were realised. The first one is on the issue of installation of chiefs. If royals can record and keep their lineage very well and make their people know who are capable of becoming the next of kin to succeed a vacant stool it will help reduce chieftaincy disputes that arise from succession. Nana Osim Kwatia said he was advice by Otumfuo Osei Tutu II that he should begin to attend all marriage and naming ceremonies of his

entire lineage and record them. He said if good records are taken it takes people who are not royals and want to infiltrate the system out.

He further averred that it is the prayer of the institution that a day will come when Ghana will have a second Parliament that will be made up of chiefs from the various traditional areas to help build a better nation. Their view was that if successive governments will stop their negative influence on the chieftaincy institution in the lines of stool lands, and installation of chiefs, it will go a long way to make the institution take back its good image.

Okyeame Ofei Kwasi said it is high time *Okuapehene* stands on his feet and call a spade a spade by pronouncing punishments where necessary. In his submission, he further noted that some selfish chiefs have taken advantage of the old age and ill health of the *Okuapehene* which has made him inefficient in performing most of his duties to do what they want leading to conflicts. He said, what is worsening the situation is what some of the king-makers in the traditional area are doing. ―The moment they smell a problem somewhere, instead of waiting for such parties to convey their petition to the appropriate quarter, they rather go in to give advice on how to win such case for a fee. He concluded that when chiefs feel they are too old for the throne, it will be better to hand over to another person.

One major observation made in the cause of the field findings was on the issue of making peace among the people in the traditional area. Almost all the respondents were of the view that, because they have realised the series of tensions building up in the traditional area, what they do nowadays is to preach peace any time they get the platform. To sum

their views on how they go about preaching peace at various durbars and gatherings, a sample of what goes into it was the speech the Akuapem *Kurontihene*, Osahene Ofei Kwasi Agyeman IV gave in the celebration of the Kronti Odwira festival. He called on chiefs in the Akuapem Traditional Area to use consensus building and negotiations to help resolve the numerous chieftaincy disputes undermining development in the area.

He further stated that ―When we look at the number of chieftaincy disputes we experienced in the traditional area over the past year, we wonder how much longer we can afford to waste precious time and resources on issues that we can more easily resolve through the cultivation of good relationships among ourselves,‖. He further observed that one of the tenets of the chieftaincy institution was for all traditional leaders to recognise and respect the hierarchy of institutional jurisdiction and where they

fit in.

―Trying to be somebody that you are not is bound to infringe on another chief‗s prerogatives; and trying to assume a role belonging to someone else is bound to create unnecessary problems. We just create problems for ourselves and our communities whenever we attempt to assume the posture and prerogatives that we are not entitled to‖.

5.5 Discussions of Research Findings

This section of the chapter discusses and analyse view and opinions obtained from the field of study.

5.5.1 The history of the name Akuapem

Kwamena-Poh, Addo Dankwa, Nkansah Kyeremateng, and many other authors have given several views about the formation of the Akuapem state. Majority of the respondents interviewed shared the views given by the authors depending on their background as to how the traditional area came to be known as Akuapem. Four major views were given. The first two views are what many authors have been depending on to explain how the original meaning to the area corrupted to Akuapem.

One of the stories states that, the name _Akuapem' as used for the traditional area corrupted from the words *Akuw Apem*, meaning _a thousand groups'. The *akuw apem*, described the many scattered settlements that were seen on the ridge before the formation of the state. The second group posits that the words *Nkoa apem* meaning _a thousand slaves corrupted to Akuapem. Thus, at the period the Akwamu's were the overlords of the traditional area, they had access to uncountable slaves at their disposal. The third school of thought also states that, upon the arrival of the Akyem Abuakwa contingents who were consulted to give assistance to oust the Akwamu out from the ridge enquired from them how prepared they were. To prove their preparedness and how serious they were, a large number of weaponry made up of guns, and gunpowder were showed to them hence the saying *wokura apem* meaning they have in thousands.

The fourth phrase that corrupted to Akuapem was that, the early settlers were predominantly farmers, who all the time spends almost the whole day working in their various farms. People who used the route through to the coastal plains of Accra started calling them *Akuafo apem*; the phrase described the major occupation majority of the

inhabitants did. People always see that as either in their farms all over the hills or returning from their farms in their numbers.

From the views given by authors and respondents interviewed, revealed that they took their background and biases to explain the various phrases that corrupted to Akuapem. For instance, Addo Dankwa (2004) as confirmed by Nana Osim Kwatia II (Amanokromhene and *Gyasehene* of Akuapem) whose descent are traced from the Akyem Abuakwa overlords used the *Nkoa apem* as what was corrupted to Akuapem. On the other hand, Nana Kwatei Agyenfena II (Larteh-Kubeasehene and Kyidomhene of Akuapem) preferred *wokura apem* which could mean that even though they were weak in fighting wars; they had the mind of preparation. Assessing the biases on the name *Akuapem*, observation made was that, people with Akyem and Akwamu background use the Nkoa apem whiles, the Larteh's and the Kyerepong's use the *Akuw apem*, *Wokura apem* and *Akuafo apem* respectfully. So far as all the various schools of thought used in describing how the name *Akuapem* came about have *Apem*, which proves that there were

a lot of people living on the hills.

5.6   The Difference between Abotakyi and Larteh Accords

Comparing the Abotakyi accord of 1733 to the Larteh Accord of 1994, what we realised was that, apart from news print that gives information on the Larteh Accord, there seems to be no clear cut authoritative documentations to that effect. Again in the books of National House of Chiefs and the Akuapem traditional council, no such accord or agreement has been gazetted as compared to 1733 Abotakyi Accord. That the Larteh

accord not being gazetted was confirmed by Nana Otubour Djan Kwasi II, in his final address as the head of the ―Council of Akuapem Chiefs‖ in 2004. He observed that since the signing of the Larteh Accord in 1994, there had been significant improvement in the area in terms of peace and corporation.

After a brief historical account of the Akuapem State, Nana Djan Kwasi II said what was left to be achieved was the gazetting of the autonomous paramountcies of the Akuapem states by the National House of Chiefs. He said even though it had not been easy, he was confident that the task would be achieved soon. This speech was given after he (Nana Otubuor Djan Kwasi) had spent ten years as the head of the council. It must be noted here that, Nana Otubuor Djan Kwasi‘s ten years as the head of the council breached one of their laws; a paramount chief was to chair the council for two year when elected yet, they allowed one person to run affairs for ten years running without effecting any change.

Adding to Nana Djan Kwasi‘s II assessment of the Larteh accord, Nana Asiedu Okoo Ababio III, in his acceptance address, condemned the basis of the Abotakyi Accord saying, ―It was fraudulent and deceitful and therefore of no effect‖. He praised the Larteh Accord that, the Larteh Accord which called for autonomy was not a call to a secession, but rather a genuine call for an end to the Ofori Kuma rule. He further called on Nana Addo Dankwa III, Omanhene of Akuapem to ensure that any proposal for the reorganisation of the Akuapem state should have the Larteh Accord as the basis for the negotiations. He further named the cessation of chieftaincy disputes, deceit, cheating, disrespect and greater unity

as some of the greatest achievements of the Larteh Accord. Nana Ababio III is expected to hold the presidency of the Joint Consultative Council of the Akuapem State Paramountcy for two years.

Observations and deductions made from the field shows that among all the group of people who came together to form the Akuapem state, the *Kyerepon''s* and a section of the Larteh's feel that the *Ofori Kuma* stool is not treating them well. It has been proven by both authors and respondents interviewed that these group of people were among the first settlers on the ridge (the area used to be known as Hill Guan).

5.7   Causes and effects of Chieftaincy Disputes

Busia (1951) has said that, chiefs before 1900 were mostly destooled for the failure to consult the elders or the breaking of customs, though there were other causes. He further emphasised that nowadays, the most common cause of chieftaincy conflicts is that of _misappropriating stool lands' and wealthy people who use their wealth to manipulate kingmakers for a stool. Majority of the respondents were also in agreement with the above assertion by Busia. However most of the respondents interviewed added that the current causes of chieftaincy disputes are not only what Busia attributed, but they further indicated that the artificial creation of boundaries by the government has led a large portion of land belonging to the original owners being taken over by the central government.

Further to the above, almost all of the respondents attributed the recent occurrence of chieftaincy disputes to the nature of the selection and enstoolment of chiefs in the

Akuapem Traditional Area. They claimed that due to increase in population that also has effect in the number of the possible candidates to a throne, what some of the prospective candidates try doing was to distribute gifts to some of the kingmakers. This in effect makes some of these kingmakers to select incompetent or irresponsible chiefs.

5.8   Challenges of Chieftaincy Conflicts

Most of the respondents said that the traditional leaders are faced with the issue of lands forcefully taken away from them by the government as far as the management of the land is concerned. They claimed that the intention of the government to take the lands away from the chiefs for developmental purposes only benefit sections of the community at the detriment of the entire community. The respondent further stated that some of these lands taken by the government are later sold to government officials thereby defeating the original intention for the land use by the government. This they said makes the chiefs feel cheated and decide to fight back for their lands and the result is always a disaster in these communities.

5.9   Solutions to some of the Chieftaincy Disputes

In the quest of finding possible solutions to the various chieftaincy disputes in the Akuapem traditional area, Traditionally, keeping historical events under chieftaincy has always been in the ―oral tradition‖ where all important information about chieftaincy was recorded in the minds of people. Addo Dankwa III (2004) for instance made it clear that

―our ancestors, who in their time had not developed the art of documenting their thoughts and history in writing, gave a special significance to their culture and rituals using such sculptural items as idols , stools, etc as symbol by which they chronicled their early history and practices for their posterity‖. This system of keeping information is

still in existence in the chieftaincy institution.

The bone of contention that kingmakers find difficulty choosing a candidate for enthronement to a vacant stool lies, now in the expansion in population of qualified royals who are all eligible to the position of the throne. If most of the information in the institution of chieftaincy are still kept or documented in oral tradition, then the need to restructure the institution to use modern ways of documenting information. The chieftaincy institution can only survive if it adapts itself to changing its documentation methods. Nana Kwatia II was able to show a chart that has the entire ancestral lineage to the throne of Amanokrom. This chart is always updated when a new child who is

eligible to take up the throne is born.

Adding to the above, traditional demarcation of lands must be properly done by making surveyors mapping out all territorial areas of lands belonging to a stool, family, individuals, and the central government so that clarity will prevail in terms of each party knowing where his or her boundary begins and ends. Throughout the research, we realised that, majority of the disputes that turns bloody with some resulting to death were as a result of boundary demarcations on the part of government, towns, families and individuals as well. Currently, the people of Larteh are claiming their traditional lands that the central

government has demarcated for the Greater Accra Region and if proper care is not taken this can lead to war. Government must therefore cease in imposing its powers on her people just for political gains but rather do the right thing by negotiating with the parties concern before embarking on any project. Observations and deductions made from respondents interviewed revealed that, the Traditional Council, the Regional and the National House of Chiefs delay a lot in attending to cases brought before them hence, a major contribution to the numerous chieftaincy disputes in the traditional area.

One significant mechanism that can be used to reduce chieftaincy disputes is to look into the role of the traditional council as well as the regional house of chiefs in matters relating to pending and outstanding disputes. The traditional council and the National House of chiefs should be well resourced by the State to deal with all the chieftaincy disputes in the Akuapem traditional area. We believe that when the traditional council and the regional house of chiefs are provided with all the necessary things demanded of their work, it goes a long way to assist them in dispensing justice devoid of any bias.

Again the government should play a neutral role in dealing with disputes. The reason is that, over the years political parties align themselves with some of the chiefs in the Akuapem traditional area with intention of soliciting for more votes and this behaviour leads to divisiveness among the people in the area instead of uniting them for better development. For instance, ever since the Larteh accord was signed by chiefs of Aburi, Adukrom, and Larteh- Ahenase, outside the *Ofori kuma* stool, politicians have been attending durbars organised by chiefs in the traditional area regardless of where each is

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coming from. The government should be the father for all therefore officials responsible for the execution of developmental projects in the Akuapem traditional area should not side with one particular tribe or family.

The responsibilities of Queens with the help of kingmakers in nominating potential candidate for approval and enthronement have been penetrated into making most of them to be corrupt all due to economic hardship. Queens and kingmakers are highly respected by their community members. Therefore it is important for King-makers to maintain this respect and trust by playing their roles such that they are not being influence or bribed to select the true occupants of the throne. This will help strengthen the chieftaincy institution in the Akuapem traditional area.

5.10 Conclusion

We tried in this chapter to assess views from respondents about the thesis. The findings added further clarity to some of the causes of chieftaincy disputes in the Akuapem traditional area. What they see to be challenges and ways of finding solutions were also attended to. Various suggestions were made to help reduce and do away with such occurrences of chieftaincy disputes in the Akuapem traditional area.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION FOR FURTHER STUDIES

6.1 Introduction

Information gathered from the field of study was given in the previous chapter. Respondents threw more light on questionnaires that were administered to them. Analyses on the field report were also done. This final chapter sums up all the discussions in the thesis with recommendations.

6.2 Summary

In the general introduction, we saw that Chieftaincy in the Akuapem traditional area as in various traditional areas in Ghana has gone through many transformations after the introduction of western education, Christianity and British colonial rule. These had both positive and negative impact on the Chieftaincy institution. Before colonial era, most disputes in the Chieftaincy institution were based on failure of Chiefs to consult the elders and breaching any of the taboos of the stool. Misappropriating stool lands and greed have also been cited as some of the causes of major disputes in the Chieftaincy institution in recent times. Several measures have been implemented to address Chieftaincy disputes including court proceedings and arbitration processes but to no

avail.

Even though the people of the Akuapem traditional area are believed to have arrived from different places to settle on the hills, they have coexisted, hence the formation of

Akuapem state since 1733 after ousting the Akwamu's with the help of the Akyem Abuakwa warlords. But notwithstanding, the traditional area has experienced if not all, most of the forms of dispute that are associated with Chieftaincy. Many chieftaincy disputes were not seen or did not occur in the period of pre and colonial eras as compared to what is pertaining now.

This research is to help look into the origin of Chieftaincy, how it has operated since its inception, and then investigates into what has gone wrong to warrant the series of disputes in the Akuapem traditional area. The main aim to this research is to find possible ways and means of finding amicable solutions to solve this problem so that the peaceful coexistence that prevailed in the Akuapem traditional area will rekindle. Oneon-one interviews and observations were used to collate the data for this work. We had the chance to interview some chiefs, courtiers and some elderly statesmen in the traditional area. A review on some books on the research topic was done. Finally, the various chapters that would help make the thesis have easy reading were given.

Chapter two of the thesis gave a historical background to the formation of the Akuapem State and how leadership roles (chieftaincy) started in the traditional area. In this chapter, it was made known that, prior to the founding of Akuapem State, the institution of chieftaincy as we know of today was non-existent. The leadership of highland community made up mainly of Guans and the Kyerepongs consisted of Priest and

Priestesses. Later, the Akwamu's who were well organized and had chiefs joined the natives on the ridge. Upon realizing their weaknesses, they imposed themselves on them and took up the leadership role in the area.

When the Akwamu brutalities on the Guans and the Kyerepongs had gone beyond control and became intolerable, the leadership of the settlers summoned a meeting to discuss a way out of their predicaments. Nana Offei Kwasi Agyeman who was at the meeting and had personal knowledge and cordial relationship with the Akyem Abuakwa state, recommended to the Guans and the Kyerepongs to extend an invitation to the

Akyems warlords (known for their proficiency in warfare) for assistance to fight the Akwamus and his suggestion was accepted. The Okyehene and elders readily agreed to help. He therefore dispatched his warriors led by Ofori Kuma (a nephew of the Okyehene then) to lead the inhabitants of the settlers living on the —Hill Guan‖. A thousand forces (Akuw apem) thus swooped down the hill unto the hopeless Akwamus regiment at Nsakye as they advanced. Unable to withstand the shock, the Akwamu forces broke, scattered and fled across the Volta River to the present day Akwamufie.

The remnants of Akwamu, the people of present Aburi and its environs readily submitted themselves to the new power,and thus paved the way for the establishment of Akuapem State as enshrined in the famous Abotakyi Accord of 1733. The settlers who were mostly made up of the Guan and the Kyerepong arranged a meeting with the Akyem Abuakwa warlords at Abotakyi. A pact was signed giving the leadership role to the warlords. For the purpose of making their administration effective, they introduced the institution of

chieftaincy in the traditional area. All the procedures in enstooling a chief was also looked at.

With the introduction of Christianity and modern system of governance, a lot of changes occurred that affected the powers of the chief. Discussions were based on the powers of the chief in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras. The Basel mission after establishing their mission stations at the capital of the traditional area Akropong, helped to improve upon the lives of the people in the field of education, agriculture, commerce, infrastructure etc.

Chapter three dealt with the meaning of dispute.We realised that its relations with ‗conflicts‘ are the same and can be used concurrently because both involved a disagreement over something. There is often a lack of clarity as to whether the researcher is referring to a conflict or a dispute. The thesis limited itself to disputes related to chieftaincy within the people of Akuapem traditional area since there were a lot of categories of disputes or conflict. Some of the causes of disputes discussed in the thesis were; succession to a vacant stool, misuse of stool properties and revenue, greed or self-interest, clash of beliefs, political interference and the functions of the national house of chiefs. Explanations with examples were given to each point made.

Chieftaincy institution is one of the oldest institutions in Ghana and its history can be traced way back to the evolution of Ghana. Its existence in Ghana today can be chronologically divided into three. That is we have the pre-colonial era, the colonial and the post-colonial. In all these periods, chiefs have gone through a chequered history and

this has added to its legitimacy and resilience over the years. This chapter also dealt with some of the challenges and effects of chieftaincy disputes. Traditional authority in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial were discussed. In each of the periods, we realised that the position of the chief as far as authority and powers were concern, gradual reduction of powers was at its ascendancy in the periods between colonial and post-colonial era. All these in effect affected the institution of chieftaincy hence the emergence of a lot of disputes.

The effects of chieftaincy disputes as they pertain in the Akuapem traditional area, the effects were looked at in terms of socio-economic, political and religious. Each of the effects had a lot of repercussions on the lives of the people in the traditional area. For instance, the traditional area was made known to be made up of *Akuafo apem* but due to scarcity of land, a lot of disputes have emerged out of it. Most of the rich agricultural lands are now being allocated for housing projects. Under political and religious effects, we realised that the introduction of formal education and Christianity brought a new face of people who were highly educated.Majority of such people lost faith and belief in many of the traditional customs and values all because of their Christian faith. These new developments made it difficult and very uncomfortable for the chiefs. Chapter four discussed the differences between the Abotakyi Accord of 1733 and the Larteh Accord of 1994. Discussions centred on purpose of the accords their achievements and the way forward. Chapter five also discussed some of the views of respondents who were interviewed to give their views on the subject area for this thesis.

6.3   Conclusion

Chieftaincy as an important social institution which binds the people together is burdened with numerous disputes. Chieftaincy disputes are the misunderstanding, that occurs between two or more factions on the enstoolment or enskinment of a chief or the misunderstanding between an incumbent chief and some of his subjects. It has been established that at the beginning, settlers in the Akuapem traditional area were having traditional priests as their leaders. The Akwamus finding them weak imposed themselves on them and subjected them to bad treatment which made them to seek for help from the people Akyem Abuakwa. Their success in helping to defeat their enemies

(the Akwamus) helped them to gain an offer of leading the people of Akuapem.Eventually, they helped in changing the leadership role which was in the hands of traditional Priest to the pure Akan system of leadership known today as the chieftaincy institution.

The settler's agreement signed with the Akyem Abuakwa's after the war mandated them to rule over the traditional area. Success was made in terms of structuring the leadership formation of the traditional area; each settlement or town had a chief enstooled using the proper procedure of either choosing the chief from the family that first settled in a particular place of choosing some of the people who showed exceptional bravery in cause of the war that ousted the Akwamus out of the ridge.

What has been the cause of chieftaincy disputes in the Akuapem traditional area which also affects many of the traditional areas in Ghana are; when two families are claiming the right to a stool or a skin. In traditions where chieftaincy runs through multiple families

there is likely to be a chieftaincy disputes that will arise between the families. This is in tradition where there are multiple royal families to inherit the throne. It requires that when the chief dies the next family is to inherit the throne and it runs through all the families in the same manner. But in certain cases the ruling family will want to continue ruling instead of allowing other families to rule as customs demand. Disputes arise since the rest of the families think is wrong for only one family to rule all the times.

Another cause of chieftaincy disputes is misappropriation of stool lands. When stool lands leased or sold to individuals or companies indiscriminately for money which goes into the chiefs own pocket. When stool lands are sold or leased the people expect the chief to use these monies for profitably business that will creates jobs and other activities to the town to improve Standard of living. In most cases the chiefs uses the peoples monies for their own gains. Disputes arise when the people notice that their funds are being misused. Other subsequent causes of chieftaincy disputes are clash of beliefs, misplacement of the functions of the National House of Chiefs, and political interference.

The moment dispute set its face in a particular traditional area, it affects the socioeconomic, political and religious live of the people and Akuapem traditional area has been a victim of such predicament. For instance, the land dispute between Abiriw and Akropong in 1993 which resulted into loss of lives has made some portions of arable lands for both farming and housing are lying bare till date. The effects to all the problems brought by the chieftaincy disputes in the Akuapem traditional have left an immense vacuum of the respect and recognition of the people of Akuapem. What is now left is

suspicion, mistrust and disrespect which does not promote sustainable and development of the traditional area.

6.4   Conclusion and Recommendations

The inability of the traditional council and the regional house of chiefs as well as the state to resolve the dispute is further epitomised by the lack of cooperation from the disputants in agreeing to certain pertinent issues regarding land ownership and the enstoolment and destoolment of chiefs has brought about the present stalemate of the disputes in the Akuapem traditional area.

Even though several efforts, including the involvement of the National Security, have been expanded to bring about a peaceful settlement to the chieftaincy disputes in the Akuapem traditional area, little has been achieved in this regard. The police and the national security, for instance, have been involved in the resolution of the chieftaincy disputes since1993. Their roles have largely been limited to facilitation of meetings for the disputants. On the contrary, not much has been seen of the traditional council and the regional house of chiefs, portraying the impression that the traditional leaders care less about the conflict. However given the present stalemate, the conflict thus lends itself to a resolution and this is the time that the traditional council and the regional house of chief's involvement would be most ideal. Looking at the present state of the *Okuapehene* regarding his old age and his health (he has been bedridden for some time now), he is not able to control his subjects in terms of dealing with the variousdisputes; it is time that the traditional council and the regional house of chiefs to be proactive to intervene so as to bring about amicable solution among the conflicting parties.

Again it is important to note that the traditional council and the regional house of chiefs needs to be resourced adequately to enable them carry out their mandates effectively. This will help them deal with all the parties involved in the conflict without any fear or favour. Further, the traditional council must play a neutral role without aligning itself to any political party or the conflicting parties and this we believe will help build the confidence and trust among their people.

Furthermore, the National Peace Council must play a significant role in resolving the long standing disputes among the people in the Akuapem traditional area. It is quite time that the National Peace Council must collaborate the traditional leaders in these communities to bring about a lasting solution to the problem. Again the National Peace Council and the National House of Chiefs should employ all legitimate tactics to resolve the situation at stake through a collaborative effort to meet the needs of the conflicting parties.

Peace education should also be the outmost priority by the government for not only the people of the Akuapem traditional area. Rather it should transcend to the entire country so as to create the awareness about the need to resort to dialogue rather than taking of arms. I will recommend that the government should make it compulsory to include peace related courses in the school curricular at all levels of education in the country. Teachers should be updated about the possible methods of resolving disputes so as to help them improve upon their horizon to impart this knowledge to students to help them resolve minor conflicts among themselves even at the school level.

Moreso, the media both print and electronic do have a significant role to play as far as achieving peace at the Akuapem traditional area is concerned. The media should educate the public about the need to relate to each other peacefully. They should be mindful about their reportage so as not inflame the passion of the conflicting parties. The media should really go down to ascertain the real facts of the issues on the ground before they come out with their reports. I will recommend that the various television stations in the country must include in their programs peace drama and role play to sensitize the people. Media men should not take sides but rather should play a neutral role to avoid misleading reports to the general public so as to prevent the existing conflict from escalating further.

Further to the above, we would recommend that all the royal families in each of the traditional areas in the country should try to inculcate the habit of documenting all events that goes on in the palace. For instance, if proper records are kept on eligible royal who could succeed a vacant throne; it would go a long way to help reduce a lot of the in fights whenever a new chief is to be chosen.

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APPENDIX

Interview Guide for Data Collection

This is a research being conducted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of a Master's degree (MPhil) on the topic *Chieftaincy Disputes in Akuapem Traditional Area: A Search for Solution*. Respondents are assured of confidentiality and anonymity of the information they provide. You are further assured that any information you provide will be purely treated for academic purposes only.

Bio data:

Name of Town and Place ....………………….

Position of respondent ...…………………….

Age ……………………   Sex………………...

1. How did Akuapem traditional area come about?

2. What is the meaning of Akuapem that became the name of the traditional area?

3. What are some of the causes of chieftaincy disputes in Akuapem traditional area?

4. What has given rise to the chieftaincy disputes in the Akuapem traditional area?

5. What are some of the challenges facing the chieftaincy institution in Akuapem traditional area?

6. What are some of the steps that could be taken to bring peaceful co-existence in the traditional area?

Thank you for helping to add up to knowledge. May Nana Nyankropong, shower all his blessing upon you. Thank you.