

**TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY, PEACE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT IN THE DAGBON KINGDOM OF GHANA.**

by

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work towards the MSc. and that, to the best of my knowledge, it contains neither material previously published by another person nor material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree of the university, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text.

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ABSTRACT

The need for a systematic study of the relevance of the chieftaincy institution to socio-economic development, especially the role of chiefs in dispute resolution and reducing poverty at the local level in Africa has long been acknowledged by development partners and professionals. This has become even more important because after The Cocoyoc Declaration in 1974, it was realised that development should place emphasis on the human beings who are the ultimate beneficiaries and not on institutions and physical development. This human centred development approach therefore demands that development policies and implementation be evolved locally by the people.

At the local level, traditional authorities are at the centre of governance and development. It is therefore important to recognise them and involve them in the formulation and implementation of local development policies since to ignore them might lead to project failure. As it is currently, government officials, especially the District Chief Executives (DCE's) feel reluctant in actively engaging chiefs beyond sod cutting and state functions. Studies have shown that the exclusion of chiefs and their people from the development process has often led to poor project results at the local level.

The aim of the study was to examine the relevance of the chieftaincy institution to conflict prevention and socio-economic development at the local level. The study covered the Dagbon traditional kingdom in the Northern Region of Ghana. The case study approach was used. The research was carried out using both secondary and primary data. Questionnaires were designed and administered scientifically to come out with the primary data. Literature review was carried out before the primary data was collected.

The study revealed that with capacity building and training, traditional authorities could play active roles in increasing access to productive assets, encourage popular participation and enhance social and economic development in such areas as health, education, agriculture, conflict management, environment and culture and the protection of the marginalised in society thereby fighting poverty in their jurisdictions.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CONTENTS	PAGE
ABSTRACT	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	ix
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	x
 CHAPTER ONE.....	 1
BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT.....	3
1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	5
1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES.....	5
1.5 SCOPE AND JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY	6
1.6 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY	7
 CHAPTER TWO	 8
FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY, PEACE AND SOCIO- ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	8
2.1 INTRODUCTION	8
2.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	8
2.2.1 Governance.....	8
2.2.2 Traditional Authority	10
2.2.4 Socio-Economic Development.....	12
2.3 BACKGROUND TO TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY AND GOVERNANCE IN GHANA	13
2.3.1 Traditional Authority in the Pre-colonial Era	13
2.3.2 Traditional Authority in the Colonial Era	14
2.3.3 Traditional Authority in the Post colonial Era	14

2.4 CONSTITUTIONAL/ LEGAL BASIS OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY IN GHANA	17
2.4.1 Structure of Traditional Authority system in Ghana’s Constitution	18
2.4.2 Traditional Authority and Partisan Politics	18
2.5 TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY’S RELEVANCE TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	19
2.5.1 The Cases of Some Ghanaian Chiefs in Local Governance and Development .	29
2.6 SUMMARY OF CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	30
2.7 CONCLUSION.....	32
CHAPTER THREE	33
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	33
3.1 INTRODUCTION	33
3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN	33
3.3 UNITS OF ANALYSIS AND STUDY VARIABLES	34
3.4 SOURCES AND METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION.....	34
3.5 METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS.....	35
3.6 SAMPLING.....	35
3.7 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCESS.....	36
3.8 OVERVIEW OF DAGBON.....	37
3.8.1 Location, Physical Characteristics and size of Dagbon	38
3.8.2 The Economy of Dagbon	40
3.8.2.1 Agriculture	40
3.8.2.2 Small Scale Industries	41
3.8.2.3. Markets	41
3.8.3 Demographic Characteristics	42
3.8.3.1. Age and Sex Composition	42
3.9 Political and Cultural Traits.....	43
CHAPTER FOUR.....	45
ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF SURVEY RESULTS	45
4.1 INTRODUCTION	45
4.2 EFFECTS OF CHIEFTAINCY CONFLICTS IN THE REGION	45

4.2.1 Causes of chieftaincy conflicts.....	45
4.2.2 Effects of the conflicts on development.....	48
4.3 ROLE OF CHIEFS IN POVERTY REDUCTION.....	52
4.3.1 Making land available for development projects and other benefits	54
4.3.2 Promoting peace and security.....	54
4.3.3 Cooperating with and lobbying development partners for assistance	55
4.3.4 Motivating and encouraging education, hardworking and generally leading well	56
4.3.5 Seeking divine intervention for the community	56
4.3.6 Lobbying government for support.....	57
4.4 INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN CHIEFTAINCY AND THE MODERN STATE	58
4.5 RESPONDENTS PERCEPTION ABOUT CHIEFTAINCY	63
4.6 CONCLUSION.....	69
CHAPTER FIVE.....	70
FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION	70
5.1 INTRODUCTION	70
5.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS	70
5.3 POLICY IMPLICATIONS.....	72
5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS	73
5.4.1 Recommendations for Further Research.....	75
5.5 CONCLUSION.....	75
REFERENCES.....	76
APPENDIX A: HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE	82
APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES..	85
APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR REGIONAL HOUSE OF CHIEFS	88
APPENDIX D: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DISTRICT AND MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLIES	90
APPENDIX E: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ASSEMBLY MEMBERS.....	92
APPENDIX F: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR NGO's.....	94

LIST OF FIGURES

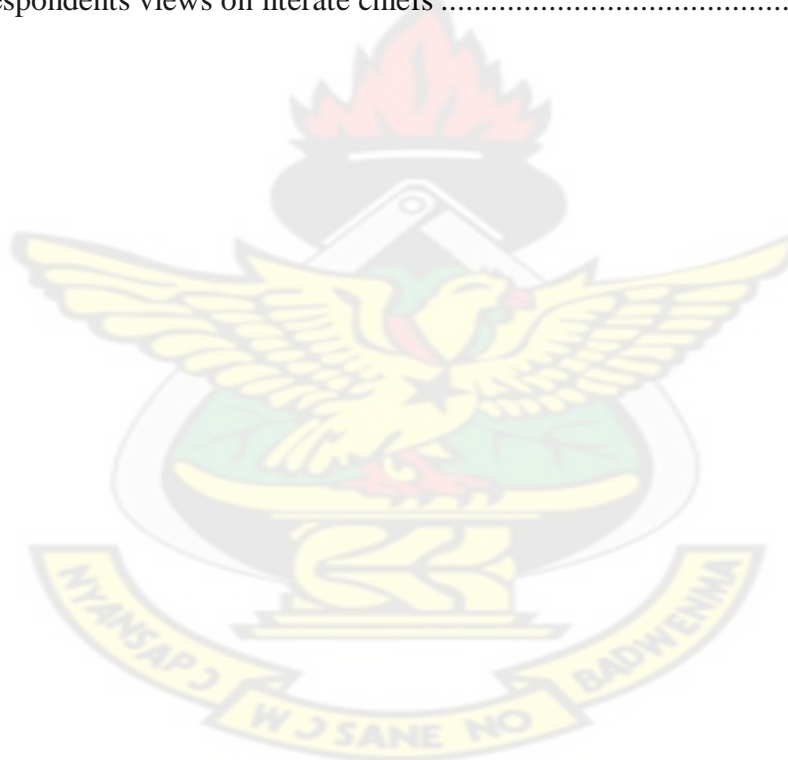
CONTENTS	PAGE
Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework for Traditional Authority and Socio-economic Development	31
Figure 3.1: Research Design and Process.....	37
Figure 3.2: Dagbon in Regional Context.....	39
Figure 3.3: Map showing study paramountcies	39

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LIST OF TABLES

CONTENTS	PAGE
Table 3.1 Paramountcies considered for the study.....	36
Table 4.1 Effects of chieftaincy conflicts on development in the communities	51
Table 4.2 Respondents perception on the role of chiefs in poverty reduction.....	53
Table 4.3 Possible roles of chiefs in poverty reduction.....	53
Table 4.4 Type of governance system depended on by the people.....	58
Table 4.5 Reasons for people depending on both systems of governance	58
Table 4.6 Reasons for chiefs and government working together.....	60
Table 4.7 Respondents perception about chieftaincy	64
Table 4.8 Reasons why People value chiefs	65
Table 4.9 Respondents views on literate chiefs	68



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDRs	Committees for the Defence of the Revolution
CPP	Convention Peoples Party
CSO's	Civil Society Organisations
CVC	Citizens Vetting Committee
DAs	District Assemblies
GDCP	Ghana Danish Communities Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNA	Ghana News Agency
GSGDA	Ghana Shared Growth Development Agenda
HIV/AIDS	Human Immune Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
KNUST	Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MLGRD	Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development
NCCE	National Commission for Civic Education
NDCs	National Defence Committees
NGOs	Non Governmental Organisations
NIC	National Investigation Committee
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PDCs	Peoples Defence Committees
PHC	Population and Housing Census
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WDCs	Workers Defence Committees

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Governance in Ghana is said to be based on a dual system as it pertains in most parts of Africa. On one hand is the modern state system with its institutions and on the other hand are the traditional systems that date back to pre-colonial times and which is still cherished and dependent on by about 90% of Ghanaians, both urban and rural (Linder, 2007). The evolution of the modern system is traceable to British colonial rule that started in the early nineteenth century through some gradual methods of encroachment on the sovereignty that was vested in the indigenous people led by their local rulers. Among the methods used were the gradual introduction of principles of English Common Law in deciding cases and the introduction of tax systems aimed at raising revenue to cover the cost of administration. As the new system evolved, it did not obliterate the earlier indigenous systems by which the people had governed themselves (Donkoh, n.d.).

However, colonial rule halted the evolutionary processes of the traditional administrative structures and undermined the basis of traditional rule that was rooted in moral authority and consultation by making organized physical force the primary locus of authority. On another level, colonial rule gave traditional rulers a new basis for their existence. Indeed, in Ghana, the institution dates back several centuries and remains the prime custodian of Ghanaian culture. The institution is much revered while at the same time it is perceived to be the embodiment of the spirit of the ancestors and a link between them and the living community. Additionally, it provides a renewed sense of belonging as well as being a powerful agent of social cohesion and harmony.

Institutions, as an enduring collection of formal laws and informal rules, customs, codes of conduct, and organized practices, shape human interaction (Mengisteab, 2008). As institutional scholars inform us, when formal and informal institutions complement each other they promote stability and consistency in collective life by creating definite, continuous, and organized patterns of basic activities of human society (Eisenstadt, 1968:409; North, 1990; March and Olsen, 1984; Helmke and Levitsky, 2003; Olsen, 2007). When formal and informal institutions (that is the modern state and traditional authority respectively) are incompatible with each other, however, social instability is

likely to increase, due to increasing uncertainty and disorientation, which necessitate increased incentives or coercion to make people follow prescribed rules (Olsen, 2007).

Traditional authority, or popularly known as the chieftaincy institution occupies an important role in the administration of rural populations. Despite the controversies that arise as to its relevance as a framework of political organization and of action, it is of interest to all sides. States call on chiefs as intermediaries in their relationship with the people (electoral mobilization, tax collection, law and order among others). Consequently, chiefs develop their own strategies and have their own dynamics through which they become agents on the national and local arena.

Traditional institutions have always existed in Ghanaian societies since time immemorial. There is empirical evidence that in Ghana at least 90% of ordinary Ghanaians, both rural and urban (Linder, 2007) believe and depend on traditional authority system for organizing their lives despite modern state structures. The traditional authority system still remains the defacto governance system as the state and its institutions have still not penetrated into the bulk of the population yet. This has been confirmed by empirical research which indicates that formal state institutions may be more repressive and less responsive than 'traditional chiefs' (O'Laughlin, 2000; Logan, 2009). During the 1999–2001 and 2002–2003 rounds of the Afro barometer public opinion surveys, information was collected from over 35,000 respondents in 15 African countries in face to face interviews.

Analyzing the data, Logan (2009) found that about two-thirds of respondents acknowledged a traditional leader'. Respondents generally valued their traditional leaders, and had a slightly better opinion of them than of formal governance institutions. However, the 1992 Constitution categorically bars traditional authorities from engaging in party politics. The Local Government Act of 1992 does not have a provision for the automatic membership of chiefs on district councils, except for a clause that not more than 30 percent of the district assembly membership may be appointed by the President in consultation with traditional authorities and other interest groups in the district. Some scholars therefore characterize decentralization in Ghana as “de-concentration” rather than “devolution,” in which the government built an extensive and powerful state apparatus in rural areas and staffed them with agents deployed from the centre (Boone 2003).

The role of chiefs in social and economic development has been minimal and chiefs appear to have a limited participation in partisan politics because of the 1992 constitutional provision. The alienation of chiefs, however, has led to local development based on the perceptions of government agents and their views of local needs, rather than those of local populations. Consequently, there is an increasingly popular demand for a greater role for traditional authorities as a way to explore more participatory and locally-driven approaches to development (Boafo-Arthur, 2001).

Traditional authorities have an important role in social and economic development, including tourism development, trade and the promotion of peace and order among others. Many traditional authorities have for instance helped in putting up markets for economic activities in their localities. They have not only helped in putting up these markets but have also ensured their functionality. The decentralization of development policies and strategies is creating a further need to improve the ability of local authorities to use policy instruments for integrated, economic, social and environmental development.

It is worth noting that Chiefs are still the allies of successive central powers in whose name they perform a variety of functions within the village society or within the State at large. Currently, the image of chieftaincy is an ambivalent one. Firstly it is perceived as an outdated institution, a vestige of the past which can hardly be reconciled with the basic content of the democratization discourse, which is based on elective representation (even though democracy is relative and for that matter has been westernized). However, it is an institution which guarantees the stability of the socio-political system and respect for customary values within the African State undergoing various processes of social and political changes.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

A firm and lasting peace must be consolidated on the basis of social and economic development directed towards the common good and meeting the needs of the whole population. This is necessary in order to overcome the poverty, discrimination, the feeling of a sense of insecurity and social and political marginalization which have impeded and distorted the country's social, economic, cultural and political development and have served as a source of conflict and instability, especially in the Northern Regions and for

that matter Dagbon. Socio-economic development requires social justice, as one of the building blocks of unity and national solidarity, together with sustainable economic growth as a condition for meeting the people's social needs and their overall wellbeing. This requires a system of governance that is accessible and acceptable to the majority of the people. It is in the light of this that Traditional authorities remain very important in organizing the life of the people at the local levels.

A number of studies have affirmed the legitimacy and relevance of African Traditional institutions in the socio-cultural, economic and political lives of Ghanaians, particularly in the rural areas. The roles that traditional authorities can play in the process of good governance can broadly be separated into three categories:

First, their advisory role to government, (council of state in Ghana) as well as their participatory role in the administration of regions and districts; Second, their developmental role, complementing government's efforts in mobilizing the population for the implementation of development projects, sensitizing them on health issues such as HIV/AIDS, promoting education, encouraging economic enterprises, inspiring respect for the law and urging participation in the electoral process (the Asantehene and the Okyehene are good examples). Their third role is in conflict resolution and this is particularly significant in the case of the Dagbon kingdom which has witnessed a series of internecine conflicts over the years.

Institutions, like cultural values, are rarely static as they change with changes in their socioeconomic context. African traditional institutions are no exception (Mengisteab, 2008). It therefore cannot be denied that the traditional system can be adapted to be more relevant to socio-economic development, especially in maintaining law and order which is a necessary condition for development in every part of the world. The traditional system still remains the centre of decision-making, allocation of resources, and conflict management and it is adhered to principally, although not exclusively, by the population in the traditional sectors of the economy. It is a fact that there can be no national peace without national justice; no national justice without law and order; and no effective law and order without institutions to make, interpret and enforce it. This is where traditional authorities can easily bring their influence and experience to bear.

Unfortunately however, it took longer time for the role of traditional institutions in state society relations to be taken up by development policy makers. It was not until fairly recent reflections on development policy failures, especially in Africa, that the realization dawned that traditional authority is indispensable for peace and socio-economic development in Ghana. Little attention has therefore been paid to the relevance of traditional authority in development by researchers especially in the Dagbon kingdom. It is on the basis of this that, this research is deemed very necessary and will therefore help in assessing the extent to which peace in the chieftaincy institution can promote socio-economic development at the local level in Dagbon. This therefore forms the basis of this study.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study seeks to answer the following research questions.

1. Is traditional authority relevant in contemporary Northern Region?
2. How is chieftaincy conflict affecting development in the area?
3. What is society's current perception on traditional authority in general?
4. What role can traditional authority play in reducing poverty at the local level?
5. How can the institution partner with the modern state, especially the DAs for socio-economic development?

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The research also seeks to achieve the following objectives.

The main objective of the study is to examine the relevance of traditional authority in peace and socio-economic development at the local level.

The specific objectives of the study include the following:

1. To identify the effects of chieftaincy conflicts in the region.
2. To examine society's current perception about the institution in the region.
3. To identify how traditional authority can help in reducing poverty at the local level.
4. To examine the interdependence between traditional authority and the modern state and

5. To recommend or suggest policy options for the way forward.

1.5 SCOPE AND JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Geographically, the study covered the Dagbon kingdom in the Northern Region of Ghana. The content of the study included issues on traditional authority, peace and socio-economic development in the kingdom. There exist two different forms of traditional leadership in the Region. On the one hand are the acephalous societies or tribes such as that of the Konkombas and on the other hand is that of the centralized hierarchical societies such as that of the Mamprusis, the Dagombas and the Gonjas.

This study focused attention on the centralized traditional political systems and specifically the Dagbon state. This kingdom was chosen for convenience of communication between the researcher and the interviewees. It was also chosen because it represents one of the best centralized systems of traditional governance in Africa and it was therefore hoped that the necessary information pertinent to the subject of the study will be obtained from this study area. Traditional authority encompasses chiefs, clan heads, religious leaders and other forms of family heads. This study however focused attention on only the chiefs. Hence, traditional authority as used in the study refers to chiefs also known as traditional leaders, traditional rulers and chieftaincy institution. These are used interchangeably in the study to mean traditional authority.

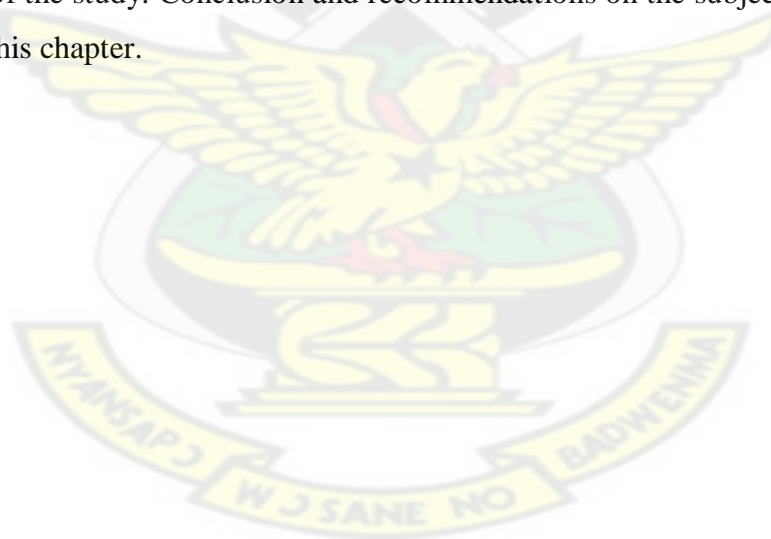
This part of the country is chosen because of the numerous ethnic, chieftaincy and politically motivated conflicts that seem unending in recent times and the strategic role it plays in the development of the Northern sector. Also, according to the Ghana living standard survey in 1998, the data showed that seven people out of every ten in the region are poor. This reveals the magnitude of poverty and for that matter under development in this area. The content of the study will also therefore include the role that chieftaincy can play in reducing this magnitude of poverty at the local level. Hence, the study is of much interest because of development concerns and the fact that chieftaincy is a revered institution in the region.

Also, it has been observed that these days a lot of well educated and resourced personalities are being made chiefs including the chief of Kumbungu (Kumbung Naa Yiri II) and Naa professor J.S Nabila who is currently the president of the national house of chiefs in the country. It therefore helped in examining the difference these elites in

Dagbon make in the chieftaincy institution with regards to development in their various areas of jurisdiction. In short, this study provides an opportunity for stakeholders in the institution, especially the Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture and that of the Ministry of Local Governance and Rural Development to better deal with it with regards to policy formulation and implementation and therefore integrating it in the national sphere for sustainable socio-economic development in the country.

1.6 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

The study has been organised under five main chapters. The first chapter deals with the general introduction of the study including the research problem, research questions and objectives and scope and justification of the study. Chapter two reviews literature on traditional authority and development at the local level and the theoretical foundations underpinning the topic. Chapter three spells out the methodology used for the study and an overview of the study area. Chapter four presents analysis of primary data on the research topic in the Dagbon kingdom. Lastly, chapter five brings out the major findings and policy implications of the study. Conclusion and recommendations on the subject matter are also presented in this chapter.



CHAPTER TWO

FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY, PEACE AND SOCIO- ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on review of relevant literature on traditional authority and socio-economic development at the local level. It provides a general framework of understanding on the relevant literature and also informs the discussion and analysis of the survey results from the study. Having discussed the general background to the study in chapter one, this chapter places emphases on the review of concepts on traditional authority, peace, governance and socio-economic development at the local level. These concepts gave the researcher more insight into the issue under investigation. The last section of the chapter focuses on the analytical framework which provides the basis for the primary data collection and analysis.

2.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This section explains the key concepts used in the study. Among these include governance, traditional authority, peace and socio-economic development. Understanding of these concepts helps in appreciating the existence and the relevance of traditional authority and development.

2.2.1 Governance

The concept of "governance" is not new and it is as old as human civilization. Towards the end of the twentieth century, the concept gained the prominent attention of donor agencies, social scientists, philanthropists and civil society. The questions to be asked though are, what at all is governance, who defines it and for who. The spectrum reaches from a purely state-centred view on governance, equating the term more or less with governing or political steering (Treib et al. 2007), to a much broader definition focusing on the actions of and interrelationships between a plurality of public and private or societal actors and the institutional pattern underlying various modes of governance (Kooiman 1993). This brings into the picture the relativity and dynamic nature of the term.

The concept of governance denotes the use of political authority and exercise of control in a society in relation to the management of its resources for social and economic

development. This broad definition encompasses the role of public authorities in establishing the environment in which economic operators function and in determining the distribution of benefits as well as the nature of the relationship between the ruler and the ruled (OECD, 1995).

It is also said that governance is the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources. In 1993, the World Bank defined governance as the method through which power is exercised in the management of a country's political, economic and social resources for development.

Among the many definitions of "governance" that exist, the one that appears the most appropriate from the viewpoint of the UNDP is "the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences" (UNDP 1997).

Governance comprises the institutions, processes and conventions in a society, which determine how power is exercised, how important decisions affecting society are made and how various interests are accorded a place in such decisions (Institute of Governance, 2002). Also Governance is the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and co-operative action may be taken. It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed to or perceive to be in their interest (Commission on Good Governance, 1995). This definition is more generic and reflects more on the concept of governance.

From the above definitions on the concept of governance given by the various international bodies and scholars, it is evident that the term is relative. It should therefore not be given any strait-jacket definition, especially if it has to suit western ideologies. It can be stated simply that governance is the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented) for a common interest.

In most parts of Africa and for that matter Ghana, there is a dual system of governance; that is the modern system brought in from the west and the traditional indigenous system, both operating alongside each other. Interestingly, both are necessary for socio-economic development in Ghana. Unlike the democratic agenda, which excludes some actors on the grounds of principle, governance theory is inclusive of all stakeholders (UNDP 1995, 1997).

In short, definitions of governance by leading institutions and studies converge on the term as referring to a process by which power is exercised. Governance therefore should be seen as a process and not an end in itself. The argument that should be central is whether the process used in the system of governance is agreed upon and accepted by the majority of the people who are to be ruled by that system but not based on “imported” views and perceptions.

2.2.2 Traditional Authority

Chambers Twentieth Century English Dictionary defines the noun ‘tradition’ as handing over, oral transmission from generation to generation, anything bound up with or continuing in the life of a family or community among others. It defines an ‘authority’ as ‘a person or body holding power or right, permission derived from office or character’. More specifically, according to *Osborn’s Concise Law Dictionary* (1976: 40), ‘authority is a body charged with power and duty of exercising prescribed functions’.

Traditional authority as such refers to an institution or power that is received and handed down or over from generation to generation. Max Weber (Extracts: 328) perceives traditional authority from the perspective of legitimacy; whereby acceptance of the right to rule is based on tradition or custom (Cheka, 2008). This definition is more acceptable as compared to those writers or scholars who view traditional authority as rooted in pre-colonial history and therefore archaic. Moreover, Owusu (1997) and Senjonyo (2004) argue that every society in this world is traditional in as much as it maintains and cherishes values, practices, outlooks and institutions bequeathed to it by previous generations.

To some scholars, ‘traditional authority’ is synonymous with traditional chiefdom/rulership. These experts argue that the adjective ‘traditional’ should not be

understood as hitherto defined because, it was used by colonial masters to contrast with the modern powers that they represented. Its connotation is therefore, denigrating. Crowther and Ikime (1970: 9) assert that the word 'chief' was a distinctive diminutive colonial term meant to reduce the status of great African Kings like the Obase of Benin, who in colonial times considered themselves and were considered by their people as "Kings". This also applied to kings like the Ya Naa (king of Dagbon) and the Asantehene (king of the Asantes) who are both considered as kings in Ghana.

For one thing, the roots of traditional authority are generally ethnic and/or cultural, and do not dilute the fact that 'authority' has to do with power and therefore is unavoidably 'political'. In a nation that is essentially a collection of ethnic groups like Ghana, traditional authority is the foundation of governance to most people.

For the purpose of this study, traditional authority whether created by law, in centralized or in acephalous societies, is a power, or permission, an institution that draws its legitimacy, whether wholly or partially, from tribal/ethnic/cultural values of a group of people (wherever they may be) that share them. Traditional authority therefore contrasts with that based on republican values of accession to power by, say, the application of a constitution, which, for example, embraces democratic principles. Hence, in this study, the terms traditional leaders, traditional rulers, chieftaincy institution or chiefs are used interchangeably to mean the same as traditional authorities. The 1992 constitution of Ghana defines a chief as a person, who, hailing from the appropriate family and lineage has been validly nominated, elected or selected, and enstooled, enskinned or installed as a chief or queen mother in accordance with the relevant customary law and usage.

2.2.3 Peace

Peace is a word that is uttered almost as frequently as "truth," "beauty," "love" and "justice". It may be just as elusive to define as these other virtues. That is its definition is relative. In its most myopic and limited definition, peace is the mere absence of war. That is to say that, when there is no war then there is peace. This definition is the most basic and narrowest definition of peace. It assumes that the elimination of war can bring about peace. This is true in some sense but the elimination of war is only a necessary condition for peace but not sufficient. Peace is not merely the absence of war but the presence of justice, of law, of order-in short, of government (Einstein, 1968). These conditions can be

achieved when chiefs are included in the governance system of the country. Reardon (1988) insists that “peace is the absence of violence in all its forms-physical, social, psychological, and structural. Peace is seen as a sine qua non for development in every civilized nation. It is a condition that is cherished by every sane person.

2.2.4 Socio-Economic Development

Development can be assumed to take place in three naturally highly overlapping and intertwined forms. The forms of development are economic, social, and human development (Little 1995: 124–128). Briefly, economic development denotes increased material well-being, the provision of basic needs, and equal income distribution. Social development is manifested by social integration and security whilst human development means self-actualization and enjoyment of prestige. This dichotomy is based essentially on psychologist Maslow’s (1954) hierarchy of human needs in which he presumed the route to high-stage human development to be initiated from low-stage economic development and to proceed through intermediate social development.

Socio-economic development is the process of social and economic development in a society. It is measured with indicators such as GDP, life expectancy, literacy and levels of employment. Changes in less-tangible factors such as personal dignity, freedom of association, personal safety and freedom from fear of physical harm, and the extent of participation in the affairs of the society are also considered. Hence one of the critical factors in socio-economic development is social capital which has been an essential element of the Ghanaian culture and development.

For socio-economic development to be achieved and be sustainable, it must come from the people themselves. In other words, social and economic development must be driven from the culture of the people. In Ghana here, this may easily be achieved with the inclusion of traditional authorities in the formulation and implementation of development policies since they are the symbols and custodians of culture in the country. This can also go a long way to make the numerous poverty reduction efforts a success in the country over the long-run.

2.3 BACKGROUND TO TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY AND GOVERNANCE IN GHANA

The 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. 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. Chiefs have been so important to the Ghanaian that even acephalous societies which were not having chiefs all now have and revere them.

2.3.1 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 Dagbon kingdom 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. Historically and traditionally, this system of rotation is the way the Dagbon chieftaincy is built on.

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.

2.3.2 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 as it will be seen in subsequent pages.

2.3.3 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 promulgation 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 tranquil 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,

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.

2.4 CONSTITUTIONAL/ LEGAL BASIS OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY IN GHANA

The significance of traditional governance in Ghana has been such that the various constitutions of the country have guaranteed its existence and operation. That is the place of traditional authorities has been guaranteed in the five constitutions which Ghana has had since independence, namely, the 1957, 1960, 1969, 1979 and 1992 constitutions. In addition to these, a Chieftaincy Act, Act 370 was passed by Busia's Progress Party government in September 1971 to amend the statute law on chieftaincy to ensure its conformity with the provisions of the 1969 Constitution and make other provisions relating to chieftaincy. It also created a National House of Chiefs which has been included in the 1979 and 1992 constitutions.

Chapter 22 of the 1992 Constitution guarantees the "institution of chieftaincy, together with its traditional councils as established by customary law and usage". This constitutional provision is very good for the institution and is in sharp contrast to what happened under the CPP government of Nkrumah where a minister could withdraw recognition from a chief and even prevent him from staying in an area if he so wishes.

The constitutional guarantees reflect the relevance of traditional governance in modern democratic governance and clearly justified the inclusion of the institution in any discourse on nation building and development. These constitutional guarantees finally led to the creation of a whole ministry on chieftaincy also pointing to the indispensable nature of chieftaincy in the nation's development agenda.

2.4.1 Structure of Traditional Authority system in Ghana's Constitution.

The Constitution establishes a Houses of Chiefs system which consists of three levels, namely, (i) the National House of Chiefs; (ii) Regional House of Chiefs; and (iii) Traditional Councils.

The National House of Chiefs consists of five paramount chiefs elected by each Regional House of Chiefs. In other words, it has 50 members. Where in a region there are fewer than five paramount chiefs, the Regional House of Chiefs is mandated to elect such number of divisional chiefs to make up the required representation of chiefs for the region. The Regional House of Chiefs, on the other hand, consists of such members as Parliament may, by law, determine. Its functions are complementary to those of the National House of Chiefs. The Traditional Council, the third layer, consists of a paramount chief and divisional chiefs. Its main function is to determine, in accordance with the appropriate customary law and usage, the validity of the nomination, election, selection, installation or deposition of a person as a chief. In other words, it performs functions similar to those of the National House of Chiefs and Regional House of Chiefs at the paramountcy level.

2.4.2 Traditional Authority and Partisan Politics

The 1992 Constitution provides in Article 276 that “A chief shall not take part in active party politics; and any chief wishing to do so and seeking election to Parliament shall abdicate his stool or skin”. This notwithstanding, a chief may be appointed to any public office for which he is otherwise qualified. These two provisions are contradictory. On one hand, a chief is debarred from active party politics while on the other, he can be appointed by a government to hold a public office. There is an implied partisanship in this since in practice, governments have appointed chiefs who are either sympathizers or owe political allegiance. This has compromised the neutrality of some traditional authorities. Even though barring them from party politics is an infringement on their right, the neutrality of traditional authorities is important because of the father-figure role they play in society (Ayee 2007).

However, it cannot also be denied that this will enable them (chiefs) to contribute their quota to development, not only at the local level but also at the national level. Therefore it can be argued that there are chiefs who will not compromise on their neutrality on

development issues even though they may be appointed to public offices by a government. This is supported by other scholars. For instance, in the words of Owusu (1997: 335):

They (chiefs) are ready in the national interest to work with and offer advice in any government in power, whatever its professed ideology. Symbolically, chiefs see themselves as “fathers” of all their people to whom they are ultimately accountable (cited in Ayee, 2007).

2.5 TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY’S RELEVANCE TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Consensus on the relevance of the institution to development in the midst of a modern nation-state may be far from being reached at least in the near future, as the debate on it rolls on. In fact, it appears that some of the analyses seem to be suggesting that the institution is incompatible with modern forms of governance and must therefore be done away with. On the other side of the coin, there are those who think that the institution is indispensable for progress in Africa and for that matter Ghana. This therefore brings into play various strands and schools of thought. It is significant to note at the outset that the history of the debate about the relevance of the institution goes back to the colonial era when the British colonial administrator in the northern Nigerian Caliphates, Lord Lugard, concluded that in view of the fact that the institution was an essential element in Africans’ cosmology, it was to be maintained. This conclusion about the relevance of chieftaincy led to the introduction of the indirect rule system of administration in most of the British colonies throughout our continent including Ghana.

According to Mengisteab (2008), four broad strands can be identified in the chieftaincy-centred discourse on traditional institutions and development. One pessimistic strand contends that chieftaincy is anachronistic, a hindrance to the development and transformation of the continent, undemocratic, divisive, and costly. The arguments advanced by this view include the following: (1) chieftaincy has been corrupted by the colonial state and by the clientelism of the despotic post-colonial state and is, thus, no longer subject to accountability to the populace (Zack-Williams, 2002; Kilson, 1966); (2) the populations under traditional authorities, as in South Africa, live as “subjects” rather than as citizens of the state, and democratic governance would not be achieved while such systems continue to exist (Mamdani, 1996; Ntsebeza, 2005); (3) chieftaincy heightens

primordial loyalties as chiefs constitute foci of ethnic identities (Simwinda quoted in van Binsberger, 1987:156); (4) chieftaincy impedes the pace of development as it reduces the relevance of the state in the areas of social services (Tom Mboya, in Osaghae, 1987); and (5) that the hereditary nature of chieftaincy renders it incompatible with democratic governance, which requires competitive elections as one of its cornerstones (Ntsebeza, 2005). Mamdani perhaps has the loudest voice in this school of thought.

In line with the discourse, several countries including, Uganda, Guinea, Tanzania, Burkina Faso, Zambia, and Zimbabwe attempted either to strip chiefs of most of their authority or to abolish chieftaincy altogether. This also happened in Ghana under the first republic as indicated in the background of chieftaincy in Ghana. These efforts have, however, proved largely unsuccessful. Abolishing chieftaincy does not eradicate its underlying broader institutions and chiefs have been reinstated in most of those countries and even given constitutional guarantees as in Ghana. The resilience of these institutions, when chiefs do not have formal powers to sustain their authority, poses a serious challenge to critics of chieftaincy. Chiefs must either be providing services at lower transaction costs than the state to the members of their communities or they must be providing services in a manner that their communities identify with for them to continue to command the allegiance of large segments of the rural population (Mengisteab 2008). Moreover, the critical view of chieftaincy fails to differentiate between different types of chieftaincies and the different hierarchies within the same types.

Additionally, this view has failed to consider what democracy and accountability actually means to different cultures and people in the world. The above strand also has no grounding in the face of other researches. Chiefs bear responsibility for religious functions, custody over lands, communal well-being, participatory grassroots democracy and settling of disputes (Mireku 1991: 63; Pobee 1991: 11, 25–27; Owusu 1997: 329–333, 335). The chiefs are elected in most cases, with some minor exceptions to their positions. Decisions are made, for instance in the Akan chieftaincy through consulting all the families involved in the issue. Everyone has the right to express his views. A few representatives are then selected to consult the queen mother, who is a very important old lady in the community but not the chief's wife to reach a consensus. The chief must also heed the queen mother's views, and he, finally, pronounces their joint solution.

Despite the power, the chiefs are also removable from their positions (Pobee 1991: 25; Mireku 1991: 64). This shows that traditional authorities are not after all despotic and untouchable.

A second view or strand asserts that traditional institutions are indispensable for political transformation in Africa, as they represent a major part of the continent's history, culture, and political and governance systems. This view attributes the ineffectiveness of the African state in bringing about sustained socioeconomic development to its neglect of traditional institutions and its failure to restore Africa's own history (Davidson, 1992). Englebert (2000) also makes a forceful argument that institutional dichotomy has undermined the legitimacy of the African state. This view adds to the assertion that democracy and development must be adapted but not imported wholesale.

Unfortunately, the studies that view traditional institutions to be relevant provide little detail on the specific dynamics of these institutions and how they might be incorporated or reconciled with the formal institutions (Mengisteab, 2008). A clear policy direction is therefore needed in this direction.

A third, and more balanced strand of traditional institutions, acknowledges their limitations. It notes that the colonial state largely transformed chieftaincy into its intermediate administrative institution, and that the post-colonial state often co-opts chiefs to facilitate the extension of despotic control over its citizens. This view, nonetheless, contends that traditional institutions constitute crucial resources that have the potential to promote democratic governance and to facilitate access of rural communities to public service. This perspective makes the following arguments: (1) chieftaincy can provide the bedrock upon which to construct new mixed governance structures since chiefs serve as custodians of and advocates for the interests of local communities within the broader political structure (Sklar, 1996; Skalnik, 2004); (2) the conception of traditional institutions that the source and *raison d'être* of power is the collective good, enables them to provide a strong philosophical basis for establishing accountable governance, (Osaghae, 1987); and (3) given that over-centralization of power in the hands of predatory states often obfuscates community-based initiatives and democratic practices at the grassroots, good governance can materialise only through the articulation of indigenous political

values and practices and their harmonization with modern democratic practices (AJID, 1996; Ayittey, 1992; Ake, 1987).

A fourth view on the relevance of traditional institutions is provided by legal pluralists. This view acknowledges that African traditional legal systems, customary courts, and customary property rights are an empirical reality and need to be recognised and respected (McAuslan, 1998). In Dagbon for instance, a lot of customary and family cases are settled amicably at the chief's palace/court. Thus without the traditional legal systems, the modern ones would have been overwhelmed with a lot of cases which could lead to instability in the long run. This fourth view does not, however, provide mechanisms for integrating the two sets of institutional systems to correct the problems of institutional duality and conflicts.

Apart from the above strands given by Mengisteab (2008), on the relevance of traditional authority, there exists another approach given by Chinsinga. Chinsinga (2006) contends that two broad schools of thought can be distinguished concerning the relevance of traditional authority. The first school of thought perceives traditional institutions as being incompatible with democratisation and decentralisation. This school of thought is the same as the earlier pessimistic strand given above by Mengisteab. The second school of thought argues for co-existence of some kind. This is because traditional leadership institutions are an important part of the historical heritage of local communities and cannot therefore just be wished out of existence (Ray 1996, Blom 2002, Ntsebeza 2003a).

The critics of traditional leadership institutions argue that traditional authority is an anachronism that should not have survived the twentieth century let alone exist in the twenty first. Traditional leaders are thus characterized as leftovers from a time that is swiftly fading away. The thrust of the discourse against traditional leadership institutions hinges on Mamdani's thesis of the bifurcated state (Chinsinga, 2006). The colonial state according to Mamdani (1996) was bifurcated because it had different modes of rule for urban citizens and rural subjects. In his view therefore nothing less than dismantling the bifurcated state would ensure complete democratisation of developing countries, and consequently, facilitate the potential success of decentralisation policy reforms since only then can both rural and urban areas enjoy a common citizenship. This would be impossible to achieve if traditional leadership institutions remain intact since this would

mean the continuity of a “series of binary opposites such as rights and custom, representation and participation, centralisation and decentralisation, civil society and community” (Ntsebeza 2003b).

Traditional institutions are thus seen as instruments of social oppression entirely devoid of progress especially in such areas as political organisation, women’s rights, social mobility and economic rights. But one can argue that this same label of accusation has been brought against the formal state in many countries including Ghana. Besides, it can be argued that this is the time traditional authorities are needed like never before, considering the level of moral decadence in the country.

Customary institutions are further criticized as being undemocratic principally on the grounds that the right to choose one’s representatives is a fundamental and basic human right in contemporary democracies. This is the case because chieftaincy is more or less “a caste in which only birth members can postulate to the role of chiefs” (Ribot 2002: 69). Elected officials on the other hand get their authority by means of a popular vote” (Molotlegi 2002: 1). The issue here therefore is that as long as chieftaincy is based on heredity and ascription then it is inherently undemocratic. The possibility of rural residents having the freedom to choose which institutions or individuals should rule is automatically excluded.

The major concern is that ascendancy to chieftaincy on the basis of ascription makes incumbents hardly accountable to their subjects, and as such, empowering or working with them may not serve the efficiency, equity or development aims so often strongly idealized by somewhat naive decentralisation advocates (Ribot 2002, Ntsebeza 2003a). The argument is that working with or empowering chiefs may simply amount to the continued encapsulation of individuals within communities through the administratively driven empowerment of customary decision makers to represent local people (Mamdani 1996). The hallmark of this school of thought therefore is that traditional and modern forms of leadership cannot co-exist because they draw their legitimacy from two distinct sources (Chinsinga, 2006). Traditional leaders derive their claims to legitimacy, authority and, indeed, sovereignty from their pre-colonial roots while the contemporary African state is a creation of, and a successor to, the imposed colonial state. It can however be

seen that most “so-called” democratically elected leaders in Africa try to stay in power till the rest of their lives as in Zimbabwe and Cote D’Ivoire among others.

On the contrary, the other school of thought; the supporters of traditional leadership institutions contend that these institutions can neither be simply legislated out of existence nor merely be relegated to being part of a traditional social sphere distinct from the modern world of civil society (Owusu 1997; Blom 2002; Senyonjo 2004). The major thrust of the argument of this school of thought is that traditional leadership institutions are not static and frozen in time. Like all aspects of culture and tradition, it is argued that the institution of traditional leaders grows and adapts itself to the changing values and aspirations of its people since it does not exist in a vacuum. It is the ordinary people who condition it and reshape it to be constantly relevant. The values of democracy, participation, respect for human rights, mutuality and cooperation with others all influence the nature and functioning of the institution of traditional leaders in the contemporary society.

In order to appreciate the relevance of chieftaincy, Owusu (1997) and Blom (2002) for instance argue that it is extremely vital to understand how it is based on customary village institutions involving general norms and ideas about leadership. They contend that a ruler’s subjects are fully aware of the duties he owes to them as they are of the duties they owe to him and are able to exert pressure to make him discharge these duties. In some cases, according to Moto (1998), a chief may in fact, by popular will, be stripped of his chieftaincy if his behaviour is not that expected of a chief and associated with the office.

In this sense the power of chieftaincy largely rests with the chief’s subjects and should a chief not live and lead as expected, the subjects have the mandate to ask for their removal. Chieftaincy is therefore widely perceived as an embodiment of virtues of political accountability, transparency, service and probity. It is further argued that traditional leaders play a very critical role in the livelihoods of their subjects in the sense that: 1) they inspire and motivate their people for development in every aspect; 2) advocate cooperative action; and 3) extols the commitment and total involvement of all members of a community in forming and implementing policies for overall community welfare. They are able to achieve these goals because “their word is much respected, their praise is much appreciated, and their example is emulated” (Lule 1995: 18). Lule (1995) in fact argues

that the institution of traditional leaders being part and parcel of the cultural heritage of African people is an essential part of their fundamental right to culture. Once the people who are affected by it freely choose to have it, it can therefore not be legislated out of existence simply because it is incompatible with democratisation and decentralisation (that is the western canon of democracy).

This school of thought takes recourse to the apparent resilience of customary authorities to argue for a critical role that traditional norms, values and practices may play in domesticating the twin processes of democratisation and decentralisation. The fact that the suppression or even the abolition of traditional institutions and leadership could not wipe their importance in the eyes of the grassroots, it is argued, should be taken as a starting point for any attempt to mediate the interface between tradition, democratisation and decentralisation. From this vantage point, domesticating democracy thus entails “a dynamic and continuous process of institutionalisation in which democratic ideals, beliefs, values, practices, actions and relationships, and new forms of political behaviour gain acceptance and popular support in society and become successfully integrated with other features of culture and society endowing them with popular legitimacy” (Owusu 1997: 121; cited in Chinsinga, 2006).

Supporters of this school of thought therefore argue that traditional institutions provide an adaptation mechanism of new ideas through reference and contrast to pre-existing ones. In this sense traditional institutions thus form the foundation on which new concepts are built and this foundation “enables the people to incorporate new ideas into their body politic without losing the essential elements of their own tradition and also makes the new concepts understandable” (Senyonjo 2004: 5). Consequently it is argued that any hope for sustainable democratisation and decentralisation very much depends on “courage, honesty and imagination with which [the interface between tradition, democratization and decentralization] is addressed” (Owusu 1997: 132). The key issue here is that “the western models of governance should be complemented with political forms rooted in African imageries” (Obario 2002: 5) since “to disregard or trample on traditional institutions is to antagonise the people and perhaps even earn their opposition” (Senyonjo 2004: 5) and perhaps even “more critically tradition gives us our identity, our values, and a way of discriminating between change as progress and change for the sake of change” (Molotlegi 2002: 11).

In the light of the above schools of thought, this study proceeds to find out whether chiefs are actually relevant to socio-economic development in Dagbon and whether chieftaincy is still necessary. The study also tries to find out whether the chiefs in the study area could play active roles in poverty reduction since this is core in studying socio-economic development at the local level.

In both the colonial and post-colonial states, traditional leaders have been incorporated directly into varying forms of local government and local governance. This is because of the potential development benefits associated with the institution. As von Trotha (1996) notes, chiefs and village heads under civil chieftaincy constitute a forum where local interests are debated and articulated. Thus, they can constitute a valuable resource in informing the state about the interests of local communities as well as in mobilising rural populations for active engagement, not only in development activities and the distribution of public services, but also in the national political process. Unlike government-appointed administrators, lower-level chiefs and village leaders live in conditions largely similar to those of their communities. They share common interests and think like their people. As a result, they are better equipped to represent the interests of their communities than are government-appointed administrators, who are accountable only to the political élite.

At the district and community levels, national governments share the responsibility of governance with traditional authority, mainly that of the Chiefs. In rural communities, for example, inadequate infrastructure and poverty hamper access to modern or state agencies of security, justice and health. In such a situation, the chief assumes a very central role to the people, being therefore a vital and strategic partner for development.

It has been pointed out that chieftaincy as an institution can be adapted to encourage increased popular participation at the grassroots. This is because Ghanaian chiefs do not, as a rule, see central authority as their adversary but as a partner. In the words of Owusu (1997: 335):

They (chiefs) are ready in the national interest to work with and offer advice in any government in power, whatever its professed ideology. Symbolically, chiefs see themselves as “fathers” of all their people to whom they are ultimately accountable.

Now that the government, Chiefs and the people are rising to the challenges of modernisation, democratisation and the role of the chief as an agent of development, a new initiative is needed to facilitate and accelerate the growth of a system of governance sensitive to the culture and history of Ghana. This may provide the answers for stability, alternative dispute resolution, peace-building, poverty alleviation and wealth generation.

Admittedly, the chief of today cannot act in the way his predecessors behaved. He is neither the military leader nor the legislator that he once was. Except in very limited areas, he has no judicial functions or executive powers of any significance. But this does not mean that the chief has no meaningful role in the modern era. Perhaps, the roles to be played by the modern day chief have been summarized by the Asantehene, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II (2002) as follows:

Our predecessors engaged in inter-tribal wars, fighting for conquest over territories and people. Today, the war should be vigorous and intensive against dehumanization, poverty, marginalization, ignorance and disease. ... Chieftaincy must be used to propel economic development through proper lands administration, through facilitating investments in our communities, and through codification and customs and traditions making it impossible for imposters to get enstooled and creating unnecessary situations for litigation (cited in Ayee, 2007).

This shows that the modern day chief has a vital role to play not just in his own domain, but also at the national level. This fact is recognised in the governmental system of Ghana, where the institution of chieftaincy is given an entrenched status in the 1992 Constitution. Among other duties, chiefs are expected to provide advice to the central government and to participate in the administration of regions and districts.

Apart from these constitutional functions, chiefs have the moral obligation to contribute to the lives of their individual citizens in particular, and to the nationals of their country at large. These days, a chief is expected to lead his people in organizing self-help activities and projects, and take the initiative in establishing institutions and programmes to improve the welfare of his people in areas such as health, education, trade and economic or social development. These institutions and programmes are not intended to replace those that must be provided by the central and regional government, but rather to supplement them, especially in these days when the demands of the people are such that it is unrealistic to expect that they can all be met from central government resources. However, it must be

indicated that this positive role of chiefs can only be actively taken up by chiefs who are industrious, enlightened and development-oriented.

Poverty reduction initiatives in the Northern Region have generally failed to produce the expected long-term results over the years (GNA, 2009). One of the gaps in the literature is the role that chiefs can play in making a success the poverty reduction initiatives in this part of the country. This has largely been understudied.

Poverty reduction is multi-disciplinary and multi-sectoral and therefore requires a combination of culturally acceptable approaches. This would require a leadership that trusts the people and a people that trusts the leadership especially at the local level. Traditional leaders can potentially provide leadership in ensuring that communities utilise available land productively to increase agricultural output and enhance food security which can go a long way to reduce poverty.

In the words of the Report of the Committee of Experts, 1991 it is said that; the institution of chieftaincy at the level of local government has a “more easily perceivable role to play in offering counsel and in mobilising the people for development” (Republic of Ghana, 1992: 150). Similarly, the National Decentralisation Action Plan, 2003-2005 also recognises that “traditional authorities are important partners in ensuring judicious natural resource management” (MLGRD, 2003:17).

In a similar vein as far back as 1978, one Alex Aidoo, a member of the 1978 Constitutional Commission, while contributing to a debate on chieftaincy noted that the moment one talks about grassroots democracy one is already making overtures to traditional authority, because in Ghana one could not realistically implement successfully a programme of empowerment without the involvement of traditional authorities. This is because:

You cannot go to any village and ... start propagating an ideology or political programme or anything in the air ... the chiefs are very important if we are going to think about participation of all the people in Government. We have to use them from the grassroots level to the national level (Aidoo, 1978: 48, cited in Ayee, 2007).

Consequently, the Constitutional Commission's proposals in 1978 contained recommendations on the importance of traditional authorities:

In spite of certain features which have often given cause for serious concern and the not altogether satisfactory record of some chiefs in national life, we remain convinced that the institution of chieftaincy has an important and indispensable role in the life and government of Ghana, both for the present and for the foreseeable future. We, therefore consider it right and necessary that the institution should be protected and preserved by appropriate constitutional guarantees (Republic of Ghana, 1978: 96).

Owusu-Sarpong (2003) suggests that traditional leaders may act as intermediaries between their people and the government ministries. Ray (2003) has argued that traditional leaders may add their legitimacy to Ghana's post-colonial state. Both Owusu-Sarpong (2003) and Ray (2003) agree that not only do traditional leaders possess their own unique sources of political legitimacy and authority, but also that the exercise and co-operation of this legitimacy and authority in co-operation with the post-colonial state is necessary for the more effective achievement of development goals. Owusu-Sarpong (2003) argues that no central government decision directly affecting the Ghanaian people in matters such as communal health, education, use and distribution of land, gender issues among others can be easily implemented without the active involvement of the chiefs. Also, there is considerable evidence that service delivery in rural areas has been smoother in areas where government structures had good relations with traditional leaders than in areas where relations are not good (Miller, 1968). The problem however is that if care is not taken to integrate the two systems of governance properly, a conflict of interest may arise.

2.5.1 The Cases of Some Ghanaian Chiefs in Local Governance and Development

Nana Ofori Atta founded the Abuakwa State College in 1937 in Kyebi at an estimated cost of 10,000 pounds, wholly from Okyenman revenues. He also established Kyebi Primary School or Elementary School later known as Kyebi Government School, Kyebi Trade School and later as Kyebi Government Trade School. Late Asantehene, Otumfuo Sir Osei Agyeman Prempeh II, founded Prempeh College in 1949. Otumfuo Sir Osei Agyeman Prempeh supported missionaries to open schools in Ashanti, and he was instrumental in the establishment of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology

(KNUST). Otumfuo Opoku Ware fought for the establishment of a medical school at KNUST and instituted scholarship schemes for the education of Ghanaians.

The Asantehene, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II and the Okyenhene, Osagyefo Amoatia Ofori Panin, the Paramount Chief of Akyem Abuakwa have instituted projects aimed at promoting local governance and development. The Asantehene, for instance, has established an Educational Trust Fund to cater for basic, senior high school and tertiary education for students with poor financial background. His Fund has been replicated by other chiefs and District Assemblies. He has also ventured into the health sector in the fight against HIV/AIDS. In addition to this, the Asantehene has established the Golden Development Holding Company with the objective of promoting the general economic development of Asanteman. This is the result of a partnership between the Asantehene and the World Bank (Boafo-Arthur, 2006).

The Okyenhene, on the other hand, has led the fight against deforestation and other forms of environmental degradation. In this connection, he has set up the Okyeman Environment Foundation which has stemmed the tide of the devastation of the Atewa Forest Range. He has also contributed to the education on HIV/AIDS and participated in a race organized in connection with HIV/AIDS education; something which in the past would have attracted destoolment (Boafo-Arthur, 2006). He is also currently leading the fight against illegal mining in areas under his jurisdiction. Togbe Afede XIV, Agbogbomefia of the Asogli State in the Volta Region has contributed to the development of education in his area and as Chief Executive Officer of Strategic Initiative Limited, a private equity and portfolio investment firm, he is promoting economic development of Ghana. Togbe Afede is member of Boards of Directors of Aluworks Limited, Bank of Ghana and National Theatre of Ghana. In the Tamale Metropolis too, the *Dakpema*, (chief of the Tamale markets) has recently launched an educational fund to help brilliant but needy students. He has also been instrumental in the fight against youth indiscipline and also preaching respect for the laws of the country.

2.6 SUMMARY OF CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

There is evidence that traditional authorities represent a major source of governance in Ghana and is essential for the development of the country. This has therefore led to a dual system of governance in the country. Thus we have the traditional system and the modern

system as already indicated in the background to the study. The citizens of the country (both rural and urban) depend on these two systems of governance to deliver development to them.

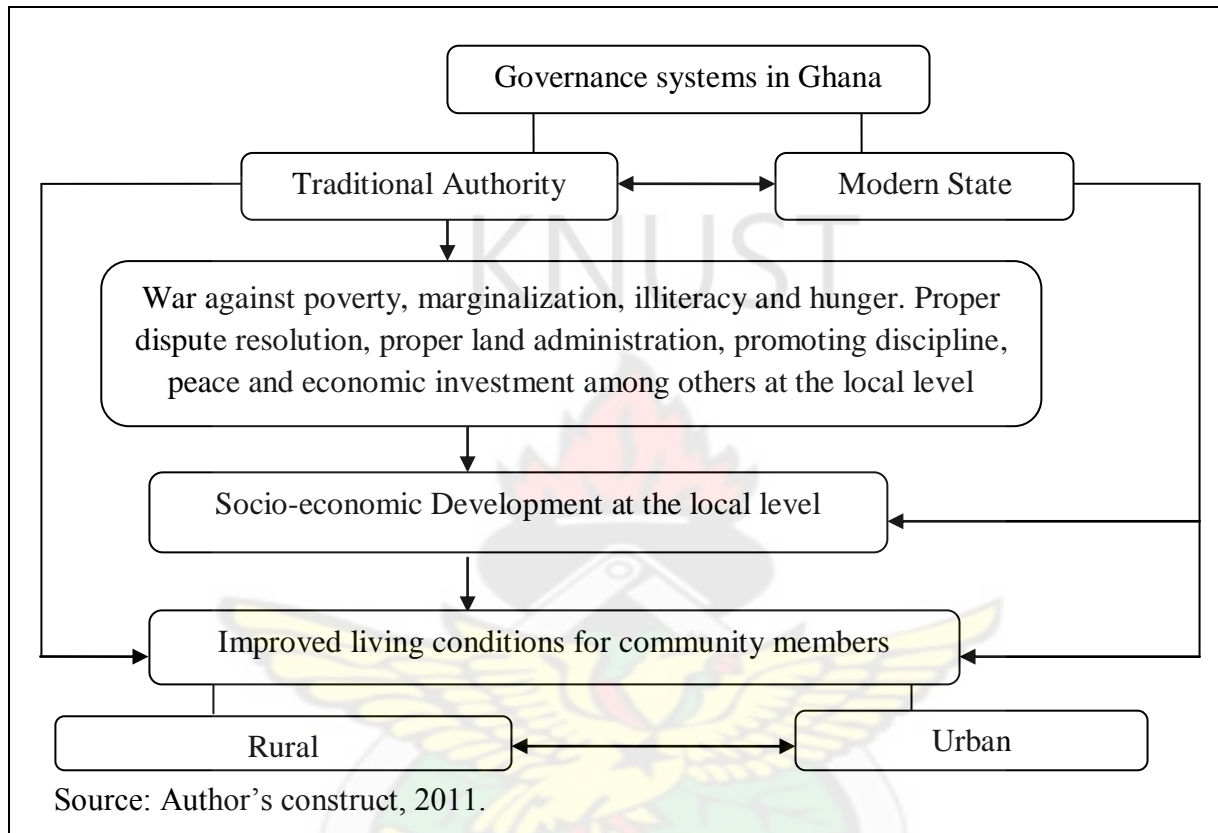


Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework for Traditional Authority and Socio-economic Development

As indicated earlier, both systems of governance need each other for effective development. They are therefore interdependent. At the end of the day, socio-economic development in the country to a very large extent depend on the relationships between the traditional authorities and the modern state. Both actors need each other for effective social and economic development. It can be seen in Figure 2.1 that there is the need for cooperation and mutual interdependence and that no meaningful development can occur with each of these actors operating in isolation.

In Figure 2.1, the item at the start of an arrow causes or influences the item at the arrow's head. From the figure, it therefore means that traditional authority can and should fight

poverty and marginalization among others at the local level. They can also promote peace and economic investments in their communities and when this is done, it will go a long way to also enhance socio-economic development at the local level. This will in turn translate into improved living conditions for community members (rural and urban). The double headed arrows show a level of interdependence and so it can be seen that the traditional authority and the modern state are interdependent in the development process of the communities. Thus, there is a split between the traditional system and the modern system of governance in terms of the way they govern. However, both need to work collaboratively in order to better the lot of the people.

2.7 CONCLUSION

From the above, it is evident that the modern state and especially Ghana's District Assemblies need to get the cooperation of traditional authorities to enable them be more efficient and effective. Traditional authorities and the District Assemblies are both involved in local development and governance and both need each other than never before in the development process of the country. Indeed, as a dynamic institution, chieftaincy can either be a positive or negative force for development in the 21st century Africa depending on the way stakeholders relate with it.

The thrust of this chapter has been the views and conceptual underpinnings of the study. The concepts of governance, traditional authority and socio-economic development have been reviewed. The section has revealed the relationship between traditional authority and socio-economic development.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The processes of gaining understanding on traditional authority and its relevance to socio-economic development as well as the validity of conclusions derived, depend to a large extent on the methodology adopted. With the discussion of the background and the theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of the study in chapters one and two, this chapter focuses on the research methodology. It includes the research design, sampling units and sources of data as well as the analytical processes adopted for the study.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The study is based on the case study approach. Frankfort- Nachmais and Nachmais (1996) maintain that a case study is a useful approach for understanding the complexity and dynamism of social issues that require lasting responses.

According to Kumeckpor (2002), case study enables understanding of an individual, a group, a community, a social situation or an issue in order to take decisions that take into consideration the special and peculiar circumstances surrounding the case investigated, or practical solutions relating to the case in question.

Kumeckpor (2002) again states that case studies investigate issues from all possible sources and angles. Yin (1994, 13) also points out that case studies investigate a contemporary phenomena within their real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomena and their contexts are not clearly evident. Clearly, it is undeniable that these days, the debate on the relevance of traditional authority to local level development is contemporary and within a real life context. The case study approach therefore enriches the findings of the study and for that matter provides useful information for development policy formulation to foster development in the country.

Fisher (2007) states that case studies enable one to give a holistic account of the subject of the research. In particular they help the researcher to focus on the interrelationships between all the factors such as people, groups, policies and technology that make up the case studies. He further states that a case study is written up as an account or a narrative. In other words, you are required in a case study to tell the story of what happened from as

broad a perspective as is necessary. The case study form is also very adaptable. This therefore helped in unearthing the pertinent issues involved in the study.

3.3 UNITS OF ANALYSIS AND STUDY VARIABLES

The units of analysis constitute the most basic part of the phenomenon under study. Kumekpor (2002) indicates that the units of analysis in any investigation refer to the actual empirical units, objects and occurrences which must be observed or measured in order to study a particular phenomenon. In other words, the unit of analysis is a single member of the population. In order to fully understand how this could be done appropriately, Patton (1987) points out that the key factor for making the decision about the appropriate unit of analysis rests on what unit the researcher wants to discuss and draw conclusions at the end of the research. To this effect, the units of enquiry in this research included the chiefs or traditional authorities, community members, personnel of the District Assemblies within the study area, assembly members, NGO's and the Regional house of chiefs.

The key variables under the study includes the functionality and relevance of traditional authority to development, the role traditional authority can play in reducing poverty at the local level, the relationship between the modern state - especially the DA's and chieftaincy, traditional authority and democracy - especially with regards to decision making in relation to gender and the youth, and last, but not least, government's attitude towards traditional authorities and their role in development. These variables to a large extent helped the research in determining the relevance of traditional authority.

3.4 SOURCES AND METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

The Sources of data include both primary and secondary. The secondary sources include both published and unpublished articles, journals and publications from renowned organizations and international bodies on the topic of traditional authority. Other theses and research reports by students and research fellows were also relied upon. The secondary data enabled the research to explain the conceptual issues in the topic under investigation.

In the case of primary data, questionnaires (semi-structured) were used to elicit the required data from chiefs, community members, personnel of the DA's, NGO's, assembly

members and the regional house of chiefs. Focused group discussion was also employed. The primary data enabled the research to establish the relationship between traditional authority and socio-economic development. The study is basically in a qualitative form. This provided more information on the research.

3.5 METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

The data collected from primary and secondary sources were more of qualitative nature. The analysis of the data provided answers to the research questions and research objectives. The qualitative data analysis therefore involved gaining comprehensive understanding and analytical descriptions of statements made by respondents. This analysis gave more insight and support to results from quantitative data analysis. The quantitative data obtained was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS).

3.6 SAMPLING

According to Bailey (1982), survey of any kind requires resources, time and organization that may be very expensive and may be beyond the means of the researcher concerned. Samples, according to him can however help the researcher draw precise conclusions representative of all the units. He further argues that by concentrating resources on only a part of the population (sample) the quality of the data will be superior to and guaranteed than that of a complete enumeration. In view of this, the researcher carefully selected a part of the population for the interview.

The sample frame included the total number of households within the study area. From the sample frame the study employed a statistical model to determine the sample size at a 90 percent confidence level with 10 percent margin of error.

The study first chose the Dagbon kingdom from the four traditional kingdoms in the region. Officially, there are twenty paramountcies in Dagbon. Out of these paramountcies, six were considered for the study. The rest of the paramountcies were not considered because they fall within paramountcies in the Dagbon traditional area that are considered sensitive and volatile with regards to chieftaincy affairs especially after the Dagbon crises of 2002 and were therefore excluded on security grounds. This took into consideration the research topic and the fact that the volatility emanated from chieftaincy affairs. From the

paramountcies, households were then selected. The number of households in each paramountcy was obtained from the 2000 PHC using simple random sampling.

From the sample size, quota sampling was used to assign quotas to the chosen paramountcies depending on the population size of these areas. The total number of households in the six studied paramountcies was 8,879. Thus to get the sample size of a particular paramountcy, you divide the number of households in that paramountcy by the 8,879 households and multiply the result by 100. Therefore the total number of questionnaires assigned to each paramountcy represented the number of questionnaires administered in that area.

A sample size of 99 households was used for the interview as shown in table 3.1. This was spread throughout the study areas using proportionate quota sampling as already indicated above. The sample size of 99 was obtained scientifically from the statistical model:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(\alpha^2)}$$
 where n = the sample size, N = the sample frame, 1 = a constant, and α is margin of error. Thus, $N = 8,879$ and $\alpha = 0.1$

Table 3.1 Paramountties considered for the study

No.	Name of Paramountcy	Total Household	Sample size covered
1	Savelugu	4,471	50
2	Karaga	1,154	13
3	Kumbungu	1,466	16
4	Tampion	650	7
5	Nanton	614	7
6	Tolon	524	6
Total		8,879	99

Source: Constructed from 2000 PHC.

3.7 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCESS

The research was carried out through various stages in the quest to obtain the required data. The first stage involved the statement of the problem followed by research questions. From the research questions, the research objectives were formulated to respond to the questions. Literature was then reviewed on the study topic. Here, various key concepts of

the topic were explained to clearly establish the analytical framework for the research data. This was then followed by a design of research instruments for data primary data collection (see figure 3.1).

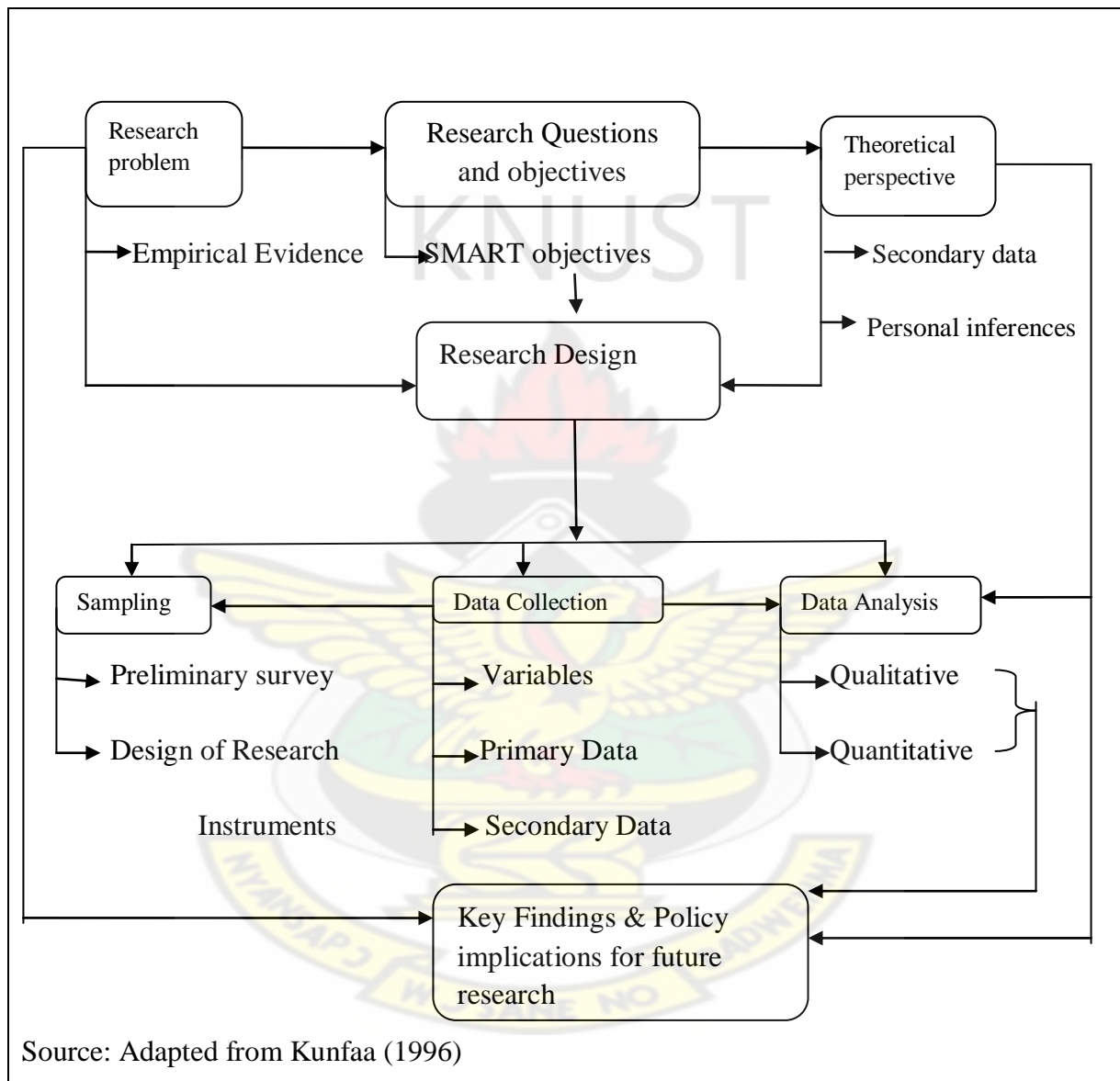


Figure 3.1: Research Design and Process

3.8 OVERVIEW OF DAGBON

The traditional state of the Dagomba is called Dagbon. It is one of the four traditional states in the Northern Region and it has the largest population among the four. Even though the Dagbon kingdom is inhabited mainly by the Dagombas, there are other tribes

from other parts of the country and in fact people from other countries. So the kingdom is a home to people from all walks of life. There is therefore cultural tolerance in the kingdom as it is inhabited by people from other ethnic groups and nationalities. The kingdom of Dagbon predates colonialism and it is one of the earliest kingdoms in Ghana.

3.8.1 Location, Physical Characteristics and size of Dagbon

The Dagbon state is in the Northern Region of Ghana. It lies between latitudes 8°, 47'N to 10°, 16'N and longitude 1°, 25'W to 0°, 32'E. It is 9,611 square miles in area and it has the second largest land area in the region after Gonja land. The land area of the kingdom is also about the size of the Ashanti Region. According to Mahama (2004), in length, Dagbon runs from Kubelim in the South East in the Zabzugu District to Zantani in the Northwest in the Tolon-Kumbungu District, a distance of about 200 miles. In width, it is 100 miles.

The Kingdom lies in a fairly well wooded plain of the savannah orchard type or Ghana savannah woodland, watered by the White Volta and its tributaries in the West and Oti and its tributaries in the East. The climate of the kingdom is relatively dry, with a single rainy season that begins in May and ends in October. The amount of rainfall recorded annually varies between 750 mm and 1100 mm. The dry season starts in November and ends in March/April with maximum temperatures occurring towards the end of the dry season (March-April) and minimum temperatures in December and January.

The harmattan winds, which occur during the months of December to early February, have considerable effect on the temperatures in the kingdom just like the other parts of the region, and may vary between 14°C at night and 40°C during the day. Humidity, however, which is very low, mitigates the effect of the daytime heat. The rather harsh climatic condition makes the cerebrospinal meningitis thrive, almost to endemic proportions, and adversely affects economic activities in the area.

The main vegetation is classified as vast areas of grassland, interspersed with the guinea savannah woodland, characterised by drought-resistant trees such as the acacia, baobab, shea nut, dawadawa, mango and neem.

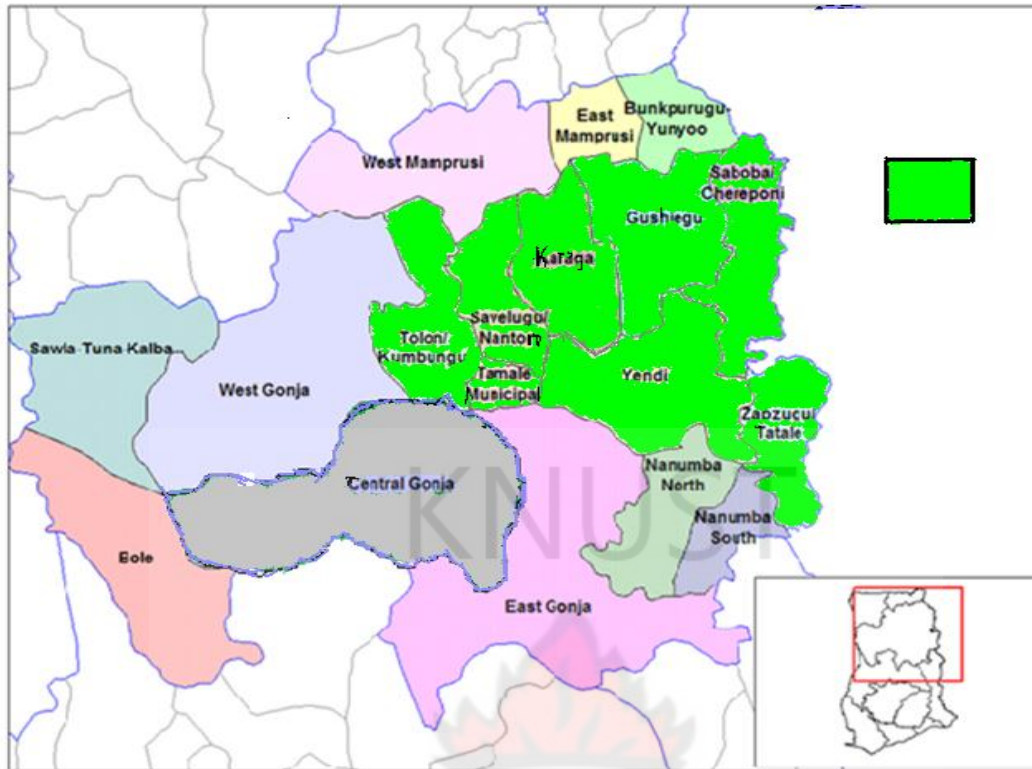


Figure 3.2: Dagbon in Regional Context

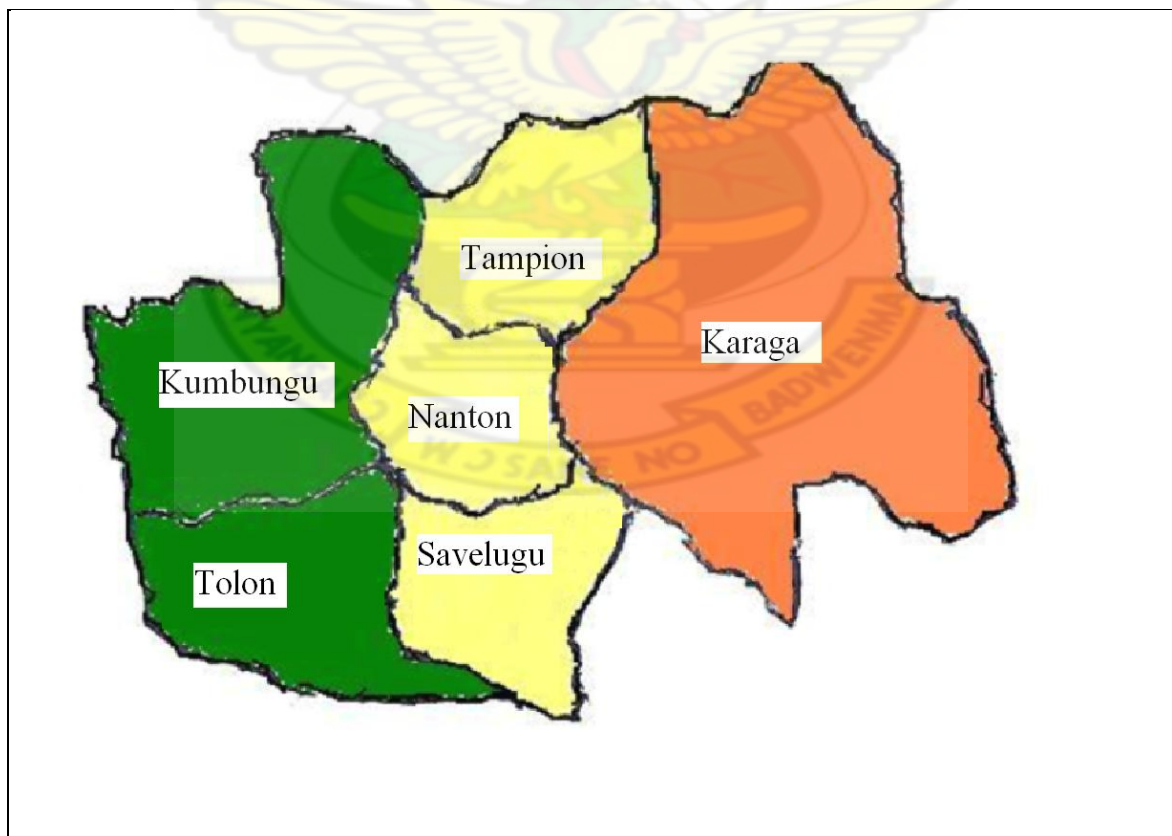


Figure 3.3: Studied paramountcies in Dagbon

3.8.2 The Economy of Dagbon

The analysis of the economy discusses agriculture, industries and markets for goods and services in the traditional state.

3.8.2.1 Agriculture

Dagbon has largely an agrarian economy consisting mainly of subsistence farming with some commercial farmers also dotted around the kingdom. Agriculture is therefore the backbone of the economy of the Dagbon state engaging the majority of the people. Agricultural activities are facilitated by the Directorates of Agriculture in the various Districts within the kingdom through an efficient, effective and well-trained staff. These directorates provide extension services to farmers in the area. Operational areas are carefully demarcated so as to ensure that every part of the state is catered for and farmers' needs served better. There exists Agricultural Extension Agents also and they provide information on appropriate technology for improved productivity and production.

Crop Development

Agriculture is centred on crops and livestock production. Crops such as maize, millet, guinea corn, cowpea, groundnut, rice, yam, cassava and cotton thrive very well in most parts of Dagbon. Most of these crops, especially rice, maize and yam are also produced on large scale basis by many farmers. Some vegetables such as tomatoes, beans and pepper are also grown. The erratic rainfall pattern coupled with the long hot (North East Trade winds) dry season has been a major hindrance to an all year round agriculture which has undermined the various efforts and interventions in the crop sub-sector. This has therefore sometimes reduced the agricultural potential over the years. However, on the whole, there is always enough for the people to consume if not for sale.

Livestock Development

Goats and sheep production seem to lead the production levels. Cattle rearing is also visible in Dagbon and it in fact shows the wealth level of an individual in the kingdom. Some families rear the cattle in large numbers with the assistance of the Fulani herdsmen. Other individuals also take care of their property without the Fulani men. It has however been observed that over the years some Fulani herdsmen in connivance with some butchers have been stealing cattle within the area and this has raised many security concerns.

Poultry and goats are the most commonly reared livestock species. Poultry continues to dominate the attention of the youth and farmers alike since little labour is required for an excellent income. The commonly reared poultry are chickens, guinea fowls and ducks. Some few individuals do also rear turkeys but not in large quantities.

3.8.2.2 Small Scale Industries

There exist a large number of local craftsmen who have expertise in carving, basketry and local furniture making. A good number of the men are also into weaving, especially the smock. Those weaving the smock are called *Kpaluu* and this occupation is high in the towns of Yendi, Gushegu, Kpatinga and Tamale. There also exist quite a substantial number of men engaged in blacksmithing. They produce farm implements such as hoes, cutlasses, sickles and locally manufactured guns for farmers and hunters alike. A few other men also are into the making of the local leather boots and other forms of simple local sandals. Local crafts women exhibit high degree of dexterity in making the yarn for smock making and they are also good in pottery.

There is a large mass of iron ore deposit in the Zabzugu area that has been discovered and is about to be mined in commercial quantities. The shea and dawadawa industries have high investment potential due to the fact that these trees are ubiquitous in Dagbon, coupled with the fact that women have the skills to promote large scale processing. Shea Butter Extraction and Petty Trading also form part of the economic activities of Dagbon. Shea Butter extraction associations have been formed by the women in various parts of Dagbon, especially in Tamale in order to take advantage of the economic advantages associated with the industry.

3.8.2.3. Markets

Market days in Dagbon fall on every sixth day of the week. There are many markets in the area but the most traded and busiest are in Tamale, Gushegu, Karaga, Kumbungu, Tolon and Katinga. Other markets are located in Yendi, Tampion and Savelugu among others.

The infrastructure of the other markets would be up-graded systematically to provide adequate stores and stalls as well as providing congenial environment for all market users to operate. There are two major Rural Banks within this area. These are in Tamale,

Kumbungu, Savelugu and Zabzugu. There are many other national and foreign Banks located in Tamale.

3.8.3 Demographic Characteristics

As already indicated, Dagbon has the largest population in the Northern Region. The 2000 population and housing census put the population at 945,664. The total population of the region within the same period was 1,820,806. It can therefore be seen from these two figures that Dagbon alone contained more than fifty percent (50%) of the population of the Northern Region in the year 2000.

Mahama (2004) indicates that there are some Dagombas who live outside Dagbon not as strangers but as indigenous people of the area. They are located in the neighboring Gonja state. The big villages serving as home to this category of Dagombas are Jenton, Buheja, Fuo, Dabogshee, Kpalbe, Kpanshegu and Sankpagala. These villages do not fall under the nine administrative districts within the Dagbon traditional area but are within the Gonja state.

The main towns of Dagbon are Yendi, Tamale, Karaga, Gushiegu, Zabzugu, Sang, Savelugu, Nyankpala, Kumbungu, Diari, Tolon, Nanton and Chereponi. The biggest town is Tamale which is in fact a metropolis and the capital of the Northern region with a 2000 PHC population figure of 202,317. Yendi which is also the capital of Dagbon has the second highest population of 40,336. Savelugu is the third largest town with a population of 24,937. Saboba and Chereponi which are inhabited by Konkombas and Chekosis have populations of 3,687 and 6,241 respectively.

3.8.3.1. Age and Sex Composition

The population is dominated by the economically active age group of 15-64 years with a small population of the elderly persons comprising 64 and above. The sex composition of the population indicates that there are 50.4 percent females and 49.6 percent males in Dagbon. As the female form the greater proportion of the population, there is the need for a conscious involvement of women at all levels of decision-making process. There must be the need to make adequate provision for the education of the girl child.

3.9 Political and Cultural Traits

One of the major and most conspicuous features of Dagomba society is chieftaincy. It has a major influence on the lifestyle of the people and every community within Dagbon. No matter how small a community is, it has a chief. The overlord of the Dagbon Traditional Kingdom is the Ya Na, whose court and administrative capital is at Yendi. The Ya Na officially has 20 paramontcies under his jurisdiction which are all answerable to him.

Culturally, Dagbon is also heavily influenced by Islam. Islam was introduced into the Dagomba society towards the end of the 1700s, and while it has exerted a strong influence on their customs, they still retain many of their pre-Islamic beliefs; Islam can be seen in the way they practise their tradition and likewise their tradition is evident in the way they practise Islam. Inheritance is patrilineal. Important festivals include the Damba, Bugum (fire festival) and the two Islamic Eid Festivals (Eid Fitr and Eid Adha). Dagombas have a rich, intricate musical and oral tradition that has allowed them to preserve their history. This is done by a group of people known as *Lunsi* (literally translated as talking drums).

The clothes of most of Dagbon people are homespun, especially in the rural areas. This is particularly so of the clothes of men. “The apparel often proclaims the man” says Shakespeare. Dagombas seem to think so (Mahama, 2004). Many Dagombas are usually seen in their homespun clothes on ceremonial and festive occasions. Men’s dresses include the smock (the big and small types known as *bingmaa* and *dansiki* respectively). There is also the baggy trouser known as *kurgu*.

A Dagomba man’s dressing is incomplete without his cap. Some of the caps are long and others are short. Some of the long ones are worn standing erect or bent. The cap and the top may have on them silver ornaments shaped in various ways- rectangular, round or triangular. Leather boots are always worn by horse riders. Sometimes a man may wear them even though he does not ride a horse. A fully dressed Dagomba man always has on his left shoulder a clean towel for the purpose of wiping sweat on his face.

According to Mahama (2004), Dagomba women are molded by a culture that conditions them from early age to accept the role of obedient wife. The husband usually has the last word on everything. Dagomba women themselves have the view that in war and in the

house the man and not the woman must be in charge. Majority of Dagomba men and women would probably echo the words of a Northern Nigerian novelist, Zaynab Alkali when she said in answer to a question on feminism “I advocate togetherness, co-existence, because I believe, by our very nature we are created to be together, and co-existing is not the same as being equal. The question of equality is irrelevant. There are more than enough roles in life to us all. I always draw the analogy of the heart and the brain. How can these two strive to function the same way when by their very nature they are made differently? A woman can never be anything else but a woman. Her role in life is as important as that of the man but not the same”. Cited in Mahama(*ibid*). Dagomba men and women are united in their thinking that it is the different roles they play that make Dagbon what it is today.

Mahama again states that women are very much respected in Dagbon and that the rights of women have never been questioned. The women dominate in the retail trade in Dagbon. A visit to any market in Dagbon reveals that women are the main controllers of market forces. The right of the Dagomba woman to own property has also never been questioned. The ancient view of some societies that “a woman cannot own property as she is herself the property of her husband and father” has never found favour with the Dagombas. The right of some Dagomba women to become *Tindamba* or chiefs indeed makes the role of Dagomba women a complex one. The Gundo-Na (paramount chief of the women chiefs) and several other women are chiefs not just over women, but over men and women just like the men chiefs ruling over men and women.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF SURVEY RESULTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Following from understanding of the various perspectives on the relevance of traditional authority to local level development in chapter two, this chapter presents an analysis of the data gathered on traditional authority, peace and socio-economic development at the local level in the Northern Region. The analysis discusses the effects of chieftaincy conflicts on development in the region, peoples' current perception about the chieftaincy institution, chiefs and poverty reduction and the level of interdependence between traditional authority and the modern state.

4.2 EFFECTS OF CHIEFTAINCY CONFLICTS IN THE REGION

This section presents issues regarding chieftaincy conflicts and its effects on the development of the area. The section starts with an assessment of the causes of chieftaincy conflicts in the region and particularly, the study area. This is necessary in order to get a clear understanding of the effects of the conflicts.

4.2.1 Causes of chieftaincy conflicts

The major causes of chieftaincy conflicts in the area as gathered from primary data include political interference, illegitimate enskinment/injustice and disregard for rules of enskinment and succession, poverty and joblessness, illiteracy/ignorance and attitude of the public, intruders in the chieftaincy institution, quest for power and fame at all costs and dishonesty and influence from some affluent persons in the study area. These causes are further highlighted as below.

All the people interviewed about the causes of chieftaincy conflicts in the region and particularly Dagbon, indicated that interference by political leaders in the country and especially politicians from the area is the major cause of the conflicts since modern politics got space in Dagbon. Some of the respondents even went ahead and mentioned some of the regimes under which several misunderstandings led to these conflicts. However, for security reasons, this cannot be produced here. The people believed that until politicians wash off their hands from chieftaincy affairs, there will always be conflicts. This is what one respondent had to say;

Our traditional politics (chieftaincy) was peaceful and it helped us. It is older than the “Whiteman’s politics” and we respect and believe in it. So why are we now using the “Whiteman’s own to cripple what we have evolved ourselves over centuries ago? It is not helping us and it will never help us until we separate these two (chieftaincy and modern politics) into their respective roles. You people (apparently referring to educated elites) must act honestly.

This view was echoed by most people and they felt very bitter about the status quo. Some of them were pessimistic about a solution to this, once modern politicking continues to thrive. However, those who were optimistic also indicated that once the institution is disentangled from political influence, then all the confusion will be resolved. That is a bold decision and determination is needed by the kingmakers and the people not to allow politicians to twist rules in the chieftaincy institution and thereby creating the confusion.

The next most mentioned cause was illegitimate enskinment/injustice and disregard for rules of enskinment and succession. Under this, people were of the view that wrongful installation of people in the chieftaincy institution also creates a lot of confusion and normally leads to conflicts. This is the case where the one who is enskinned is not the choice for the community but the kingmakers and other elders try to force him on the people. In most cases the community members resist the entry of such a chief into their communities and this is normally met with similar resistance by the newly enskinned chief and his supporters leading to confrontations which normally ends in conflict. Even though this was mentioned as a major cause, the respondents were quick to add that it was a recent phenomenon as a result of the fact that the chieftaincy institution is gradually being monetised. This normally occurs during the enskinment of sub-chiefs. They also however contended that this is not yet widespread.

Another major cause that was mentioned is the level of poverty and joblessness in the area. This is as a result of the fact that most of the people and especially the youth idle about during most part of the year because they have nothing to keep them busy. While this is the situation, they also need money to buy their needs and in fact food in particular. The tendency therefore is always that anyone who promises them money to create a tensed atmosphere, easily succeed so far as they will receive some money irrespective of the costs afterwards. This situation however started as a result of the Dagbon episode of

2002 and the alignment of the youth to the two royal gates. It was therefore realised that the conflict has polarised the people and the youth in particular.

One man asked me this question: *will you leave your job or business to go and fight someone when you know that you will be losing at the end of it? Certainly you will not do that. So if everybody is engaged and earns something decent, nobody will go and fight anybody.*

Illiteracy/ignorance and the attitude of the people themselves also came up as major causes of the conflicts. The people accepted the saying that “illiteracy/ignorance is a big disease to anyone and any community”. According to the survey, the people indicated that because most of the people do not have any form of education, they hardly consider what their actions or inactions do to their communities. It was indicated that some people see fighting as a sign of one’s level of bravery. There are also those who always go about inflaming passions about emotional issues in their communities and this normally degenerates into unpleasant exchanges in the communities.

It was also revealed that these days, there are a lot of people who try to become chiefs by virtue of their economic standing when in actual fact they are not from any royal family. When such people succeed in being enskinned as chiefs, they create other royal gates and this brings in a lot of misunderstandings between such gates and the original gates. The respondents also indicated that in Dagbon, there are royal families who are legitimate to become chiefs and kings. So anyone outside these royal families is an intruder and always has the potential of creating confusion in the institution.

The quest for power and fame at all costs has also been cited as a major cause of the conflicts in the area. It was established that even people who are legitimate heirs to their respective skins lack the patience of waiting for their turns to be made chiefs. Such people will normally like to influence the system and thereby bypassing the norm. When this happens, people get irritated and they feel that they must fight to get what rightfully belongs to them. While they try to win back their positions, there is resistance from the other side and this leads to confrontations which normally ends in conflicts. As the saying goes; “power corrupts but absolute power corrupts absolutely”, the people try to strengthen their grip on power and thereby controlling the system. They therefore make all efforts to prevent their rivals from ascending to the skin.

Last, but not least, it was also revealed that dishonesty and influence from some of the affluent in the society, especially the highly educated ones is a major cause. These people, it is believed use their enlightenment to twist rules in the chieftaincy institution to favour their candidates. This is in line with the argument in the literature that chieftaincy is divisive. It was indicated that once such people remain partial and are not prepared to speak or defend the truth, there will always be problems in the chieftaincy institution and the solution is for such people to come together and reach some form of compromises. When this is done, the people they normally influence will also compromise thereby solving these problems.

4.2.2 Effects of the conflicts on development

After knowing the major causes of the conflicts in the study area as presented in the section immediately preceding, this section now presents the effects of the conflicts on development in the study area. As per the study, the major effects identified include loss of lives and property, negative effects on education in the community, development partners and other professionals are driven away, productivity is lowered and poverty and other social ills increase and there is disunity and social breakdown in the community. These were the major effects identified and are highlighted as below.

i. loss of lives and property

From the survey, 74.8% of the people indicated that the conflicts lead to destruction in human lives and property. Accordingly, this was seen as the major effect of conflict hampering development in every part of the world and not the study area alone. This is because development is caused by people and it is the people who benefit from the output of development. Therefore in cases where precious lives are lost, there will be nobody to cause development or in cases where development has already taken place, the loss of lives implies that there will be nobody to benefit from this development. One of the respondents asked a rhetorical question as to whether development benefits the living or the dead. The implication gathered was that once lives are lost, development also comes to a standstill. In this case, one can say that the chieftaincy institution is anti-developmental as proposed by some scholars in the literature review.

To protect these precious lives and property, governments spend a lot of money providing and maintaining security, law and order in the area. According to the then Finance Minister, Yaw Osafo-Maafa, as at the end of December 2002, the government had

expended ₦6.3 billion (approximately \$741,177) on the Yendi crises alone. An amount of ₦1.25 billion (approximately \$120,589) was spent every quarter in keeping security personnel composed of 372 soldiers and 240 policemen (Daily Guide, 2002). As can be seen, there is therefore no doubt that this is throwing the development of the area backward as this colossal amount could have been used to build schools and other development projects. The various DA's also indicated that in times of these conflicts, the budgets of the Assemblies are thrown overboard and this affects the ability of these assemblies to reduce poverty and promote development.

ii. education is negatively affected

It has also been found out that as the conflicts persists, education in the affected areas is halted. This was one of the major worries of the people because they also share in the view that, today education is the key to development for everybody and every community. They contend that the teachers and other educational workers in their communities are not natives and would therefore desert the classrooms and in fact the whole community for fear of their lives. When this happens *our children are left to their fate and most of them lose interest in schooling afterwards. Even the teachers who run away sometimes take transfers never to return to our communities again. So for months, educational activities in the communities are brought to a standstill. Do you think this is good for us?*, indicated, one of the respondents.

Thus as per the survey, 44.5% of the respondents held the view that the conflicts have a negative impact on educational development in their communities. These people were all of the view that once conflicts abound, their children and for that matter their communities will continue to be denied of the opportunities of education. This has the potential of increasing the illiteracy rate which will ultimately affect the level of development in the area.

iii. development partners and other professionals are driven away

Development is needed all time by every normal person in order for him/her to live a decent life. In this part of the country however, the level of underdevelopment is very high and needs intervention by not only the government but also from other development partners and professionals. Unfortunately however, it has been found out that the persistence of the conflicts drives away these development partners, especially the NGO's

that were operating in these areas. According to the people, when these NGO's vacate the communities, they normally do not want to operate in the communities again. The development assistance they use to get from these organisations is therefore minimised or stopped altogether and this goes a long way to perpetuate the level of underdevelopment.

Additionally, because of the absence of peace, organisations that were preparing to enter these communities are also scared away. A further probe showed that professionals such as Doctors, Nurses and Agricultural extension officers who work in the communities to improve the health status of the people and their animals also desert these communities thereby worsening the plight of the people. Once their health conditions deteriorate, productivity can be affected and this goes a long way to affect welfare in these communities. This situation was particularly felt greatly in communities where a lot of NGO's and these professionals were in active operation. From the survey, 69.7% of the respondents held the view that development partners are driven away as a result of conflicts. As argued in the literature, it can be seen here that with conflicts, chieftaincy actually reduces the pace of development.

iv. productivity is lowered and poverty and other social ills increase

As indicated in the profile of the study area, most of the people are farmers. During the farming season, most people go to their farms as early as 5.am and also leave late. In the presence of conflicts, curfews are normally imposed and this limits the amount of working time people can spend on their farms. The imposition of curfews limits the time available and the individual has no choice than to spend only a little time on the farm and in other business activities whilst much part of the time is wasted in the house. This obviously affects the level of input by the people thereby reducing productivity and increasing the poverty levels of the people. Accordingly, 62.8% of respondents held this view.

In extreme cases, according to one respondent, *you either arm yourself when going to your farm or you don't go at all if you want to be alive*. The reason given is that you could be attacked on your way to your farm or on the farm by people you differ from in terms of being aligned to a particular chieftaincy gate. This fear of losing one's life on the farm or on the way to the farm also makes people reluctant to go to the farm or any other business centre and this lowers the level of food produced. Accordingly, because farm produce is low, you normally do not have much to feed on and the people are sometimes compelled

to sell their animals and other valuables just to make up for their feeding needs. All these affect their income levels and perpetuate poverty in these communities.

v. disunity and social breakdown in the community

One of the major effects of the chieftaincy conflicts in the study area is that it disunites the community, fosters mistrust among people and in fact the social system is broken down. It was indicated that this unfortunate development is so strong that even people within the same families may not see eye to eye again because they support different royal gates. In the society, it leads to marital breakdown and solutions are normally hard to come by.

Moreover, because of the level of mistrust, social control is normally difficult and this leads to other social ills such as teenage pregnancy, youth indiscipline and other forms of deviance. The implication of this is that a system of lawlessness and social disharmony is created and it goes a long way to affect development in these communities. This is as a result of the fact that when development responsibilities are assigned, there is nobody to carry it out or when found will not be done well because of the level of apathy. The survey results indicated that 48.5% of the people held the view that conflicts disunite the communities. The above effects of chieftaincy conflicts can be seen in the table below.

Table 4.1 Effects of chieftaincy conflicts on development in the communities

Effects of chieftaincy conflicts	Frequency	Percentage
Loss of lives and property	74	74.8
Drives away development partners and other professionals	69	69.7
Lowers productivity and increases poverty	62	62.8
Disunity/social breakdown	48	48.5
Negatively affects education	44	44.5

Source: Field survey, April 2011

From Table 4.1 above, it can be seen that loss of lives and property was the leading effect of the conflicts, followed by development partners and other professionals being driven away. The negative effects of the conflicts on education came up as the least mentioned effect. These effects as presented under this section, shows that presently the chieftaincy institution and the problems it is currently going through in the study area is negatively

affecting development. This section is therefore in contrast to the submissions in the literature. This is particularly in reference to the school of thought that has it that chieftaincy is indispensable for local level development.

4.3 ROLE OF CHIEFS IN POVERTY REDUCTION

Poverty is generally seen as a social problem in every human society throughout the world and because of its negative implications on development, individuals, groups, communities, governments and international bodies have all tried to minimise this social problem in order to make the world a better place to live in. No wonder it is one of the MDG's and in fact the first goal.

Todaro and Smith (2009) indicate that no civilised people can feel satisfied with the state of affairs in which their fellow humans exist in conditions of such absolute human misery, which is probably why every major religion has emphasised the importance of working to alleviate poverty and is at least one of the major reasons why international development assistance has the universal support of every democratic nation.

Although the proportion of Ghana's population defined as poor fell from 51.7% in 1991/92 to 39.5% in 1998/99 and further to 28.5% in 2005/06, poverty still remains an important challenge. This challenge means that Ghana must optimally harness the necessary resources including aid inflows in implementing its growth agenda (GSGDA, 2010). This therefore means from the above that poverty reduction is a shared responsibility of many stakeholders. It is in the light of this that the study sought to see the role chiefs could play in reducing poverty, especially at the local level.

During the survey, respondents were asked whether chiefs could help in the fight against poverty and if they could, how they think the chiefs could do it. There were varied opinions on this. Some of the respondents contended that chiefs were at the centre of poverty reduction efforts in their communities while others also simply contended that there was little chiefs could do to help in the fight against poverty. The table below represents the number of people in these two response categories.

Table 4.2 Respondents perception on the role of chiefs in poverty reduction

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Chiefs could contribute to poverty reduction	80	80.8
Chiefs cannot contribute to poverty reduction	19	19.2
Total	99	100

Source: Field Survey, April 2011

From Table 4.2, it can be seen that 80.8% of the people indicated that chiefs could help in reducing poverty in their respective communities by playing certain roles. Also, as can be seen from the table, 19.2% of the people said that chiefs could not help in the fight against poverty. Among some of the reasons advanced by this group of people is that reducing poverty is the work of God Almighty and not the responsibility of man. Others also indicated that the chiefs do not simply have the resources to help their communities even when they are willing to do so. This reveals the various strands/perception people hold about poverty. The 80.8% of the people who contend that chiefs could actually assist in the fight against poverty were also asked to indicate how they think the chiefs could do it and the results are shown in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3 Possible roles of chiefs in poverty reduction

Possible roles	Frequency	Percentage
By making land available for development projects and other benefits to their people	14	17.5
Promoting peace and security in their communities	8	10.0
Cooperating with and lobbying development partners for assistance	18	22.5
Motivating and encouraging education, working hard and generally leading well	30	37.5
Seeking divine intervention for their communities	6	7.5
Lobbying government for support	4	5.0
Total	80	100

Source: Field Survey, April 2011

As seen earlier in Table 4.2, 80.8% of the respondents indicated that chiefs could assist in the fight against poverty and this is also reflected in table 4.3 with the various roles that

each respondent thought chiefs could play in poverty reduction. The responses in Table 4.3 represent the views of only those who think positively of chiefs. These are discussed below.

4.3.1 Making land available for development projects and other benefits

According to the people, no human activity and for that matter development can take place without land. Land in the communities is accordingly vested in the hands of the chiefs. Since the chiefs are the custodians of the land, any development requiring the use of land must therefore seek approval from the chiefs. If a conflict of interest arise in the use of the land, or the chief even refuses to offer land for projects that are meant to benefit his people, then the whole project will be brought to a standstill or even carried away from that community.

What the refusal of a chief to offer land for development means is that the people will be denied the opportunity of employment and other benefits associated with such a project. In the long run, poverty levels of the people will be exacerbated thereby leading to underdevelopment. However, if the chiefs can readily make lands available for development projects, especially for the youth to go into commercial farming, it will go a long way to improving upon employment and the income levels of individuals, families and groups thereby reducing poverty in the long-run. The readiness of chiefs to make land available for development projects and other benefits to their people was therefore seen as one of the crucial ways by which chiefs will be contributing their quota to poverty reduction at the local level. Accordingly, 17.5% of the people interviewed believed that this can help in the battle against poverty. The assemblies, the NGO's and the chiefs also shared this view.

4.3.2 Promoting peace and security

Security, in which ever society one finds himself or herself is the bedrock to which development and general well-being of the citizen is anchored. The presence of insecurity is a classic case of potential conflicts and underdevelopment, hence the likelihood of poverty staring into the faces of the people which go a long way to undermine the welfare of the people.

In the absence of peace and security in a community, development agencies such as the NGO's and other professionals are not ready to work in such a community as has been

revealed in section 4.2. The operations of those development partners already in such a community come to an abrupt end and this is likely to continue for a long time. Also, government spends the few resources that could have been invested into infrastructure and other development projects in the community on the maintenance of peace and security and this goes a long way to affect development. The people were therefore of the view that since the chiefs are the custodians of the land and culture and they are revered by their people, there is the need for them to create an atmosphere free of insecurity and lawlessness. This will not only attract people into their communities to help in development but will also give the natives peace of mind to increase their productivity levels, hence increasing incomes and at least reducing the level of poverty. Also, the NGO's and the DA's alluded to this fact.

From the study, it was found out that most of the conflicts were chieftaincy related. It was either about land disputes which the chiefs superintend over or disputes between different chieftaincy gates or at least a dispute over which the chiefs could easily resolve to maintain law and order in their communities. Subsequently, from the study, 10.0% of the people maintained that it was imperative upon chiefs to ensure peace and security in their communities if they are to help in reducing poverty.

4.3.3 Cooperating with and lobbying development partners for assistance

Throughout the world over, cooperation has become a global weapon for individuals and countries in solving their development needs and thereby reducing poverty to improve upon their wellbeing. This view was also held by the people interviewed. From the survey, 22.5% of the people indicated that chiefs could help in fighting poverty if they give their support and commitment to development partners anytime this is necessary. According to some of the people, some chiefs normally are not accommodating to investors and strangers and as a result development projects suffer. This implies that not all the chiefs necessarily contribute positively to poverty reduction. It was therefore necessary for the chiefs to cooperate with development agencies in order to better the lot of the people.

The people were also of the view that not only should the chiefs cooperate with development agents, but they should also be active in looking for them and lobbying them into their communities to assist in development. Mention was made of a chief in the Kumbungu paramountcy who has helped in maintaining NGO's such as the Ghana - Danish Community Programme (GDCP) and the Dalun Simli Centre which have both

helped tremendously in fighting poverty within the Dagbon traditional area. It was therefore the view of the people that if other chiefs could emulate this noble idea, then they could contribute to help in the fight against this social problem (poverty). Some of the chiefs therefore defy the assertion made by some scholars in the literature that chiefs have no role in governance and development.

4.3.4 Motivating and encouraging education, hardworking and generally leading well

Chiefs have the moral obligation to contribute to the lives of their individual citizens in particular and to the country as a whole. As portrayed by the Asantehene Osei Tutu II, these days, a chief is expected to lead his people in organising self-help activities and projects, and taking the initiative to motivate the people in terms of their education, health and trade or economic development and social development. This is to complement government efforts in reducing poverty. This contrasts with scholars who claim that chieftaincy reduces the relevance of the modern state in development.

To this effect, the people also maintained that the way their chiefs act with regards to development in their communities have a lot of influence on the lives of the people. It was indicated that if for instance, all the children of their chiefs are sent to school, it can influence other household heads to do same thereby improving education in these communities and reducing the level of ignorance.

In Nanton for instance, which is one of the study areas, the respondents indicated that their chief is a hardworking farmer and in fact a commercial farmer whose effort has been recognized at the national level. To them, the way this chief is working serves as an inspiration for the rest of the people and they are all doing their best. This chief, according to them also uses his personal funds to support people who want to farm but lack the required inputs. From the study, 37.5% of the people interviewed concede that leadership by example from chiefs can go a long way to increase economic activities and for that matter enhance incomes. This may be a way to reduce poverty. It was therefore found out that if all chiefs could lead well and motivate their people to work hard, it could help reduce the intolerable levels of poverty at the local level and for that matter the country at large.

4.3.5 Seeking divine intervention for the community

Under this role, respondents believe that the chief is the custodian of the land and for that matter the spirit of the community reside in him. It is therefore the responsibility of the

chief to pray hard for his community in order that God can send down his mercy and blessings upon the people in whichever productive activity they find themselves. This according to them will ensure that no calamity of any form will befall the community. From the survey, 7.5% of the people believed that chiefs seeking divine intervention for their communities could enhance prosperity in their communities and thereby reduce poverty. The chiefs also cited this as one of their main roles in their communities.

It was also indicated that the people themselves are already hardworking and that their chiefs only need to pray to God to bless the land so that any economic activity undertaken by any individual will yield the best of returns. In a way, this role may seem similar to those who indicated that fighting poverty was the work of God and not any individual. However, the difference is that those who think chiefs could play this role maintained that somebody must pray for the community and that has to be the chief. The chief performs this spiritual role through his religious leaders such as the imams and the earth priests.

4.3.6 Lobbying government for support

This role in a way relates to those who indicated that chiefs must cooperate with and lobby development partners for assistance. The difference however is that, here, the people indicated that their chiefs do not have the resources to help fight poverty so it is the sole responsibility of government to provide assistance in terms of schools, health facilities, water and farm inputs, especially tractors and fertilizer.

They however, contended that chiefs should be able to make the appropriate moves for government to lend its support to their communities. This is because government may not know the real problems facing these communities and it was therefore incumbent upon the chiefs to make the presence of their communities felt on the development agenda of government. Thus, from table 4.3, 5.0% of the respondents felt that if chiefs were able to influence or win the sympathy of government, their communities would benefit from development projects and this could help in reducing poverty. In sum, the survey results reveal that currently, the chiefs in the study area were not actively contributing to poverty reduction. Only a few of them, notably the chiefs of Nanton, Dalun, Kumbungu and Karaga were directly contributing to poverty reduction in their jurisdictions. Therefore, if the other chiefs can emulate these four chiefs and actively pursue the roles outlined above, they could actually become active agents of poverty reduction.

4.4 INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN CHIEFTAINCY AND THE MODERN STATE

The objective here was to find out whether the modern state and the chieftaincy institution were mutually exclusive or both needed to complement each other in order to deliver development to the people in the most desired form. Thus, the research was also interested in finding out whether the modern state consulted chiefs in implementing its policies and whether this consultation was necessary and if so the benefits. The respondents were asked to indicate between the traditional system of governance and that of the modern state the one they depend on for their welfare or whether they depended on both. Below is a table showing the response.

Table 4.4 Type of governance system depended on by the people

Governance system	Frequency	Percentage
Traditional	13	13.1
Modern	9	9.1
Both	77	77.8
Total	99	100

Source: Field Survey, April 2011

From Table 4.4 above, only 13.1% and 9.1% of the people indicated that they depended on the traditional and modern systems of governance respectively. As can be seen from table 4.4, 77.8% of the people also indicated that they depended on both systems of governance for their welfare. This gives an indication that these two systems were inevitably interdependent so far as the people who are the ultimate beneficiaries or losers of these two systems were concerned. The Table 4.5 below shows why the people depended on both systems of governance.

Table 4.5 Reasons for people depending on both systems of governance

Reason	Frequency	Percentage
Both systems complement each other and are therefore necessary	46	46.5
Comparative advantage in problem solving	18	18.2
Demands of the social system	13	13.1
Total	77	77.8

Source: Field survey, April 2011

The above three reasons were the major ones advanced by those who believed that there was the need for some form of interdependence between the modern state and the chieftaincy institution. These three reasons are now elaborated on below.

i. both systems complement each other and are therefore necessary

The people believed that it was necessary for the development of their communities because chiefs help in maintaining local security and this can enhance good governance. They also felt that when government wants to provide schools and other amenities to their communities, there is the need for chiefs to give their support by offering land. Additionally, when chiefs actively support development projects, it can go a long way to encourage participation which can lead to project sustainability. From the survey, 46.5% of the people believed that the two systems complement each other.

ii. comparative advantage in problem solving

Some of the respondents also indicated that some of their needs were best served by the modern state while others were best solved by the traditional system. According to them, the modern state had the money to provide schools, clinics, potable water and electricity among others whereas their chiefs are not in a better position to do this. On the other hand too they contended that when it comes to judging communal disputes, the chief palace was accessible and fast. This was especially good for them in cases of spiritual matters such as the accusation of witchcraft in the community.

It was also indicated among other things that spiritual matters such as praying for the community is normally not tackled by the modern state and so it was necessary for the traditional system to do that. Therefore, 18.2% of the respondents said that those things that can be best tackled by the modern state should be left to it while those that can also be best solved by the traditional system should be left to it. To them, when this happens, the problems of the people can be tackled holistically.

iii. demands of the social system

As indicated earlier, Ghana practices a dual system of governance and both were considered necessary, as this view was expressed by the respondents. From the survey, 13.1% of these people said that the traditional system precedes the modern system and that there was the need for both to coexist because of the benefits the people derive from

these two systems. They indicated that the modern state was very good because of the numerous development benefits associated with it. They also however maintained that the stark reality was that they could not do without chieftaincy in the communities because any attempt to do so could create a governance vacuum in the country and this could lead to social disharmony and underdevelopment.

To further establish the interdependence between the traditional system of governance and that of the modern state, the respondents were also asked whether they felt there was the need for these two systems to work together and in fact all the respondents said there was the need. The table below shows the reasons advanced by the people.

Table 4.6 Reasons for chiefs and government working together

Reason	Frequency	Percentage
Ensures project sustainability	65	65.7
Felt needs of the people can be solved	52	52.6
Makes both the chiefs and the government more responsible	24	24.3
Makes the chiefs more proactive in development	20	20.2
Government policies can easily be explained to the people	17	17.2
Development is a shared responsibility	8	8.1
Cooperation in society is good	2	2.0

Source: Field survey, April 2011

From Table 4.6, it can be seen that project sustainability, development as a shared responsibility, felt needs of people, responsiveness in terms of responsibilities and benefits to both government and the chiefs were raised as the major reasons for the need for chiefs and government to work together. These are highlighted below.

- i. ensure project sustainability

Development projects can be well maintained in order to achieve their full benefits if there is full participation and commitment from the beneficiaries. From the study, the respondents indicated that they were ready to commit themselves to any project that their chiefs gave their support. It was therefore realized that by participating in development projects and committing themselves to taking good care of these projects, the people would have been helping in sustaining such projects which future generations can also benefit from.

Moreover, the mere fact of seeing their chiefs in good working relationship with the modern state is an assurance to the people of the positive impact of such a relationship. In such instances, a sense of project ownership is assured which is one of the necessary requirements of project sustainability. In fact, 65.7% of the respondents indicated that by seeing their chiefs working with the modern state, they are prepared to follow them for any decision they take concerning their communities. This supports the assertion made by proponents of the chieftaincy institution that it is still relevant to contemporary development. This therefore shows that there is the need for the modern state to deal with the chiefs in order to ensure that projects and programmes implemented at the local level receive the necessary commitment from the beneficiaries for enhanced project sustainability.

ii. development as a shared responsibility

In order for communities to actually disentangle themselves from the negative effects of poverty and underdevelopment, there is the need for every community member to perform diligently his/her responsibilities well. This view was expressed by 8.1% of the people. They contended that both the modern state and the traditional authorities share the responsibility of developing their communities. Thus, the chiefs now share the desire of the modern state to promote the development of their communities.

Also, it was realized that the modern state and the traditional state may both be failing by trying to work in isolation at the community level. This is because the role of each partner is indispensable and they can therefore be described as mutually inclusive if local level development is to be a reality. There is therefore the need for both parties to work collaboratively for the development of the communities.

iii. solving the felt needs of the people

Development projects in many rural parts of Ghana have often failed over the years because of inadequate or lack of proper needs assessment in these areas. To overcome this challenge, both the modern state and other development partners accepted decentralization as a policy that can help address it. At the community level, the chief is at the centre of local governance. Living in the community with his people, he knows the felt needs of his community.

Accordingly, 52.6% of the people interviewed expressed the view that with the modern state and their chiefs working together, they hope that the chiefs will make their actual problems known to the modern state. To them, by doing so, any help from the modern state will therefore be geared towards providing for their felt needs.

- iv. makes chiefs more proactive in development of their communities

In this part of the country (Dagbon), the survey revealed that most of the chiefs do not know much about modern development trends because most of them do not have any form of formal education. This has rendered them incapacitated in taking initiatives that can propel local level development in their communities. These chiefs are mostly confined to their palaces and performing only their traditional functions.

Through the study, 20.2% of the people indicated that if the modern state and their chiefs work together, it will offer the chiefs an opportunity to learn more about how to help in improving upon the living conditions of their people. For them, this will whip up the interest of the chiefs in development issues thereby making them more proactive in the development process.

- v. makes both the chiefs and government more responsible

The survey results also revealed that a system of interdependence between the modern state and the traditional authorities has the potential of making both authorities more responsible. This is because of the fact that each of them is likely to serve as a check on the other. According to the people, when their problems are laid before their chiefs they expect them to impress upon the modern state to intervene. By impressing upon the modern state, it is likely that the government will not renege on its development promises to the people and this would have helped in keeping both the chiefs and the modern state more focused. Thus, 24.3% of the people indicated that interdependence between the modern state and the traditional authorities will make both of them more responsive and responsible.

- vi. dissemination of government policies

Information dissemination is seen to be a very critical element in the development process. Well planned policies may fail if it is not well communicated to the implementers and the beneficiaries. As indicated earlier in this study, it has been realized that at the

local level the people believe in their chiefs and listen to them. They also respect their decisions and this makes it easy for information dissemination from government to the people.

At the local level, the people normally gather at the chief's palace to listen to issues bothering on the development of their communities. This, according to 17.2% of the respondents makes it easy for the state to explain its development policies to the people. When this medium of communication is used, there is the likelihood that there will be high participation from the people with regards to how these policies will be implemented.

vii. cooperation in society is good

Throughout the world, resources are said to be scarce and no individual or group is said to be an island operating independently. For this reason, people need to cooperate in order that they can help one another. The people simply believed that once it is good for people in society to work together to help each other, there was the need for the modern state and the traditional authorities to also do same because by doing so, both parties will benefit and this will help the larger community in terms of development. However, only 2.0% of the respondents held this view as the reason why they think the modern state and chiefs are interdependent.

4.5 RESPONDENTS PERCEPTION ABOUT CHIEFTAINCY

This section presents people's current views or perceptions about the institution of chieftaincy at the local level. Table 4.7 below shows some indicators and the people's response to that regard.

Table 4.7 Respondents perception about chieftaincy

Indicator/Variable	Responses (%)		
	Yes	No	Other
Do you think chiefs are necessary in your community	100	-	-
Do you respect chiefs	100	-	-
Is chieftaincy democratic	47.5	52.5	-
Do you think chiefs respect women and the youth	97.0	3.0	-
Is chieftaincy a legitimate system of governance	97.0	3.0	-
Is chieftaincy a force in governance	92.9	7.1	-
Do you think literate chiefs are necessary for your community	65.7	26.3	8.1
Can chiefs ensure social equity	78.8	21.2	-
Can chiefs promote discipline and morality	96.0	4.0	-
Can chiefs control the Fulani menace in the country	94.9	5.1	-
Can chiefs help in the fight against poverty	80.8	19.2	-
Is chieftaincy uniting your community	72.7	12.1	15.2
Should chiefs be engaged in partisan politics	-	100	-
Should chieftaincy continue to exist	100	-	-

Source: Field Survey, April 2011

It has been indicated in chapter two that people hold varying views about the institution of chieftaincy. Some hold the perception that the institution does not respect women and the youth and it is also undemocratic. This group further indicates that the institution is archaic and is therefore not relevant to modern day concept of development. Yet, another group holds certain views contrary to the former. According to this group, the institution of chieftaincy is still relevant and has kept society together since time immemorial. To them, the institution if well adapted to modernity can still complement the state's efforts in local development. These views led to two major schools of thought as indicated earlier. The following gives the survey results on the perception people hold about chieftaincy.

In Table 4.7, a yes response indicates that the people think the chieftaincy institution positively correlates with the variable/indicator in question whiles a no response indicates the contrary. So as can be seen from the table, all the respondents indicated that chiefs were necessary in every community. A further probe from them revealed that irrespective

of the type of society, (whether urban or rural), the institution was necessary for that society. They held the view that leadership that was acceptable to the people was the only one that could elicit the support of the people for it in order to propel development. This was especially the case in the rural areas. In this regard, chieftaincy could be considered indispensable. This also shows why all the interviewees indicated that they valued their chiefs and for that matter the institution of chieftaincy. Table 4.8 below shows the reasons why the people said they valued chiefs.

Table 4.8 Reasons why People value chiefs

Reason	Frequency	Percentage
Chiefs are the custodians of land and culture and they are also the fathers of their communities for general social order	73	73.7
Every leader must be respected because of peace and security and for progress in communities	19	19.2
Cultural, political, religious and historical factors	7	7.1
Total	99	100

Source: Field Survey, April 2011

From Table 4.8, it can be seen that among the various reasons why people said they valued chiefs include chiefs as the custodians of the land and culture, chiefs as the “fathers” of their communities and as moderators of social order, the fact that leaders in general should be respected for peace and security, historical, cultural, political and religious reasons among others.

Table 4.8 further reveals that 73.7% of the respondents held the views that as custodians of land and culture and as people serving as the “fathers” of their communities, chiefs must be valued. According to them, just like a father will take care of his house and for that matter his family, so the chiefs should take care of their communities and this ensures that the welfare of their people are taken care of. Moreover, as custodians, the people also believed that the communities and for that matter the people are more or less the properties of the chiefs, hence there was the need for them to value the chiefs since they also promote the interest of the people they superintend over. In addition, the survey also shows that the same number of people indicated that for them, the mere presence of chiefs in their communities ensures that people who would have taken the law into their own hands are controlled. This ensures order in the communities thereby bringing about

harmonious relationships which can promote development if utilised. For this, there was the need to value chiefs.

Also, from Table 4.8, 19.2% of the people held the views that chiefs were valued and for that matter, necessary in every community because every form of leadership in society must be given the due respect. This is because for them, most leaders are representatives of their people and are leaders over the people because they accept to be ruled by those leaders. Taken this view into consideration, one can see that if at the national level too leaders could be seen this way, then it could enhance good governance and minimize the level of obsession to power by self-satisfying individuals who would like to lead at all costs. The people further indicated that chiefs promote peace and security in their communities and protect the people. As peace was a sine qua non for development everywhere, there was the need to value chiefs and rally support behind them in order to maintain a peaceful society. This coupled with other roles makes chiefs shoulder a lot of responsibilities on behalf of their people. For this, the people felt that chiefs were necessary and that was why they valued them.

A further 7.1% of respondents indicated that for cultural, political and religious reasons and historical factors, they think that chiefs are necessary and must be valued. For them, in the tradition of Dagombas and in the Islamic context, it is believed that it is dangerous to stay in a community without a leader. That is in a community without a leader, every form of untoward behaviour can be put up because nobody moderates anything. According to them, when this happens, such a community can incur the wrath of God and this can spell doom for that community. It is therefore necessary that every progressive society must have a leader to moderate behaviour and to direct affairs for improved wellbeing.

The people also said that the evolution of the Dagbon kingdom can be traced to the hard work of chiefs who helped in building the kingdom. Therefore, as chiefs are the root of their societies, they cannot be ignored in anything, hence the need to value them. A further probe indicated that politically, the presence of chiefs in the communities ensures that modern politicians do not take people for a ride as the chiefs will not condone with politicians to implement decisions that are unfavourable to the people. This means that the presence of chiefs also serves as a check on the authority of politicians.

Another indicator that was used in trying to examine the current perception about chieftaincy is democracy. In Table 4.7, 47.5% of the respondents thought that there is democracy in the chieftaincy institution whereas 52.5% also held the view that there is no democracy in the institution. This view is in line with the school of thought that the institution of chieftaincy does not conform to democratic principles and hence limiting people's participation in chieftaincy. However, all the respondents agreed that the community had the option of accepting or rejecting a chief chosen for them. From the table, it can also be seen that 97% of respondents said the institution of chieftaincy respected women and the youth. This is why in Dagbon, there are female chiefs who rule not only over their colleagues but also over men and there are also youth chiefs (known as *Nachin Naa* in Dagbani).

Table 4.7 also shows that 97% of the respondents said that chieftaincy is a legitimate system of governance in their communities. This is because chieftaincy is rooted in the culture of the people and once it is accepted by the society, there was no basis for doubting the legitimacy of the institution. For this reason, 93% of respondents also felt that chieftaincy is a force to reckon with in the processes of governing their communities. In the table, it can also be seen that 98% of the people indicated that chiefs were important in the development process of their communities. This shows the magnitude of the importance of the institution to these communities. Hence it could be inferred from this that development policies could easily succeed or fail depending on the way development partners relate to chiefs.

One would have thought that considering the relevance of formal education, all the respondents would have favoured that literate chiefs would be good for their communities. Interestingly however, the response was not unanimous. Some felt otherwise. In table 4.7, 65.7% of the people felt that a literate chief will be good whereas 26.3% said they did not support the idea of literate chiefs. Also, 8.1% had other reasons. Table 4.9 below summarizes the reasons.

Table 4.9 Respondents views on literate chiefs

Reason	Frequency	Percentage
Educated chiefs can easily promote education and development in their communities	59	59.6
Educated chiefs are easily influenced by politicians	5	5.1
Educated chiefs don't know much about the tradition, are mostly absent in their communities and sometimes the cause of chieftaincy conflicts	23	23.2
Depends on whether the chief is industrious or not	4	4.0
Education is necessary for everybody	6	6.1
Indifferent, once the person is a legitimate heir	2	2.0
Total	99	100

Source: Field Survey, April 2011

The table shows that 59.6% of the people were of the view that a literate chief was the one who could serve as a motivation for the people to educate their children. They were also of the view that once the chief was educated, he would know the importance of education and would therefore do anything to promote education. This can help in raising the literacy rates in such communities. The people also indicated that a literate chief will find it very easy in communicating with development partners. This can offer him the opportunity to influence development projects into his community. Only 5.1% of the respondents were of the view that educated chiefs were sometimes easily influenced by politicians and this according to them may not auger well for their communities. The survey also shows that 23.2% of respondents were of the view that literate chiefs do not know much about the tradition. At other times too they were mostly absent in their communities. Furthermore, they indicated that their experience with some literate chiefs in Dagbon has not been palatable over the years. According to them, such chiefs were the bane of the chieftaincy conflicts in Dagbon because they use their status to influence chieftaincy rules thereby creating a lot of confusion in the institution. This means that over the years, some of the early literate chiefs have not been helpful to the course of development in Dagbon. It would therefore be helpful for the people and their level of development if the chiefs who are currently literate in the area could put up appropriate conduct in the institution without influencing it negatively.

Some of the respondents (4%) also held the view that whether a literate chief or an illiterate chief, it will depend on the personal attitude and values of the chief in question. So for them, the level of education of a chief did not really matter. They cited an example of an illiterate chief who has been able to bring NGO's into his community whereas in some communities the chiefs are educated but have not been able to do this. In the survey, 6.1% of the respondents said that education was necessary for everybody. So if their chiefs were educated, it would be for the good of both the chiefs and their communities. Lastly, 2% of the respondents felt indifferent as to whether they thought a literate chief was good or not. They simply indicated that once the chief was a legitimate heir to the throne, they would be satisfied with his leadership.

Finally, from Table 4.7, 78.8% of the respondents indicated that chiefs could help in ensuring social equity, whereas 21.2% of the respondents held a contrary view. Also, 96% of the respondents indicated that chiefs could help in promoting discipline and morality in society. On whether the institution was dividing or uniting society, 72.7% indicated that chiefs unite society and 12.1% think that chiefs divide society, whilst 15.2% of the respondents had mixed feelings. On chiefs engaging in national politics, all the respondents said it was dangerous for the country and that chiefs should therefore desist from engaging in partisan politics. All respondents also felt that the institution of chieftaincy was needed at all times and must therefore continue to exist. In a nutshell, considering both the positives and negatives from the responses concerning the various indicators, one can say that the positive views are greater and it can therefore be concluded that society's perception about the institution of chieftaincy was positive.

4.6 CONCLUSION

The chapter presented the results of the survey and this was done in line with the objectives of the study. As could be seen from the discussion of the results, the institution of chieftaincy has both strengths and weaknesses that could promote or undermine development. It could be seen that there were more than enough roles that chiefs can play in the development process. There was also a general consensus from the research that the chieftaincy institution was good for society. Consequently, it was incumbent on all actors in the chieftaincy institution, especially government to introduce policies that would strengthen the institution and make it more useful to contemporary development issues.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the key research findings, the policy implications for governance and local level development, recommendations and conclusion. The findings are presented in line with the objectives of the study.

5.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

According to Adjaye and Misawa (2006), the chief was the political, social, economic, legal and military head of the traditional state. The study reveals that this is still much the case in the rural areas as the modern state and its presence in these areas is not much felt like the traditional system thereby living most community problems in the communities to be solved by chiefs. Legal pluralists such as McAuslan (1998) also indicated that African traditional legal systems, customary courts and customary property rights are an empirical reality and need to be recognized and respected. The study reveals that community members first of all send their cases to the chief palace for resolution because of factors such as physical and financial accessibility, speedy resolution of disputes and customary beliefs. The study therefore revealed that the chieftaincy institution is still dear to the people in terms of their local problems.

In the literature, there is one pessimistic stance that the chieftaincy institution is an instrument of social oppression entirely devoid of progress especially in such areas as political organization, women's rights, social mobility and economic rights. Tom Mboya (in Osaghae, 1987) for instance argues that chieftaincy impedes the pace of development as it reduces the relevance of the state in the areas of social services. The study actually found out that currently, the institution of chieftaincy in the study area is not that proactive in promoting development. However, the research also revealed that in the study area, the rights of women were never trampled upon whether politically or economically. It showed that women were substantive chiefs ruling over both men and women in at least three towns in Dagbon.

The study also revealed that the chieftaincy institution was still cherished and respected by the people it represents. This is as a result of the fact that the institution is related to the culture of the people of Dagbon and they therefore believe in it. It has been found out that the existence of the institution inspire and motivate the people in every aspect of their life. It has therefore been revealed that once the institution's existence is related to the people's belief in it, any attempt to legislate it out of existence will be suicidal for governance in the country.

It has also been found out that chiefs were still indispensable for governance and development. Certain limitations were however found to be inhibiting the efforts of most of the chiefs in the area. One of this is the high illiteracy rates among the chiefs which makes it difficult for most of them to actually appreciate the relevance of modern development trends. Apart from land, the chiefs lack the economic resources that could actually enable them to carry out local development. These factors were seen as major limitations for the effective participation of chiefs in development.

In addition, it has been found out that the chieftaincy institution, as it currently exists in Dagbon is full of conflicts with serious implications for peace and stability, distribution and utilisation of resources and development benefits, wealth creation and poverty reduction. Thus until the institution is able to do away with the chieftaincy conflicts that is tainting its image, efforts at poverty reduction and development will be exercises in futility. The study revealed that chieftaincy conflicts negatively affect all aspects of development thereby exacerbating the already high poverty situation in the region. It shows that if chieftaincy conflicts were to be done away with, the institution could actually support development and help in the reduction of poverty and promote social and economic development.

The 1992 constitution of Ghana categorically bars chiefs from engaging in partisan politics. This position was strongly supported in the study as all respondents indicated that chiefs should not be involved in national politics. In fact, all the respondents also believed that political interference in the chieftaincy institution was the most frequent cause of chieftaincy conflicts in the area. This shows why all of them indicated that chiefs should desist from engaging themselves in partisan politics.

Finally, the study revealed that a close working relationship between the chieftaincy institution and the modern state was a very good option that could help fight the Fulani

menace in the country. This is because some of the chiefs traded the blame of this menace on the modern state and indicated that the state should use the security agencies to handle the situation. The assemblies also indicated the unwillingness of some of the chiefs in cooperating to find solutions to this problem. The accusation and counter accusation therefore revealed that by working together, the two systems could easily solve the Fulani problem which is now impoverishing people in the affected areas.

In conclusion, the study has established that society's perception about the chieftaincy institution was a positive one. It indicates that the institution is indispensable as far as local level governance and development in the country is concerned. It has also been established that the institution has its pitfalls and is currently not the best for development in the area. However, if it is well adapted, it could be more reliable for development at the local level which can help in bridging the urban-rural inequality that exists in the country.

5.3 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Given the high level of recognition and support for the chieftaincy institution at the local level, it means that if development policies are to inure to the benefit of the people at this level, then these policies must be well fashioned taking cognizance of the traditional systems. The fashioning and implementation of local development policies therefore requires the inclusion of chiefs. Failure to recognise this may not auger well for development.

Governance and development are two dynamic and multidimensional concepts. The presence and persistence of both the modern system of governance and the traditional system of governance in the country implies that there is the need to put in place measures that can help make the two systems mutually beneficial in development. This is because most Ghanaians owe allegiance to traditional institutions, especially chieftaincy and this subsequently influences national politics.

Also, the overwhelming support that the institution enjoys from the public has implications for security, peace and development. This is as a result of the fact that majority of the people still revere the institution. So any policy measure that attempts to abolish the institution may end up leading to a security dilemma in the country.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The study has revealed a number of issues which either makes the chieftaincy institution developmental or anti-developmental. The following recommendations would therefore make the institution more useful to local level development if implemented by stakeholders.

Separation of Modern Politics from Chieftaincy Affairs: It has been seen that chieftaincy conflicts impedes development and the most frequent cause of these conflicts in the study area is political interference. It is therefore recommended that politicians should desist from using affairs in the chieftaincy institution to gain political power. This can be done by developing a framework for political parties which spells out clearly the limit to which they can make promises to chiefs and their people. The framework should be developed by all stakeholders to ensure that it is legally binding. Also, the people and the chiefs must be mindful of politicians who meddle in chieftaincy affairs and say no to them. The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) can also take up the campaign to educate people on political affairs. This might also help to reduce the vulnerability of the chiefs and their people to political manipulation.

Prevention and Amicable Resolution of Conflicts: The research revealed that the chieftaincy institution is bedevilled with mundane and serious disputes which undermine development in the area. As the conflicts undermine the development of the region, there is the urgent need to prevent the eruption of further conflicts and to find appropriate solutions to the already existing ones. This should be done by involving all stakeholders including government, NGO's, CSO's, religious bodies, the international community, the people themselves and the House of Chiefs. The inclusion of the women chiefs in conflict management could also help in promoting peace in the Dagbon kingdom. The house of chiefs is for instance mandated by the chieftaincy Act 2008, Act 759 to hear and determine cases affecting the chieftaincy institution. It adjudicates in cases of chieftaincy matters. Also the Research Committee of the National House of Chiefs is tasked with the evaluation of existing traditional customs and also compiling and codifying the lines of succession in the various traditional areas in order to deal with the deadly succession disputes that has become the bane of the chieftaincy institution. It is therefore recommended that to avoid chieftaincy cases being ruled by the legal courts which do not know much about chieftaincy affairs and from whose rulings even sometimes compounds the problem, government should empower the House to play a leading or coordinating

role in bringing on board all the above stakeholders. This may help to amicably find solutions to these conflicts which will make the chieftaincy institution more developmental.

Cooperation between the Modern state and the Traditional state: Given the importance of the institution of chieftaincy at the local level, there is the need for the modern state to go beyond just involving chiefs in only sod cutting and other state functions to include them in the implementation of local development policies. The District Chief Executives (DCE's) and the Members of Parliament (MP's) in particular should take up the initiative of working closely with their chiefs. This will help in enhancing project sustainability. A good working relationship between the two systems of governance will also go a long way to promote good governance. There is therefore the need for government to put in place measures that will ensure a smooth working relationship. Care should however be taken in order to avoid a possible conflict of interest between the two systems. This is to avoid a situation where the modern state sees the chiefs as competing with it to bring development or reducing its relevance at the local level. This will ensure that the modern state does not see the chiefs as rivals in development or the vice versa.

Positive Self-image: There is the need for the chieftaincy institution itself to do away with all forms of attitude that are damaging the reputation of the institution. This is especially needed in the conflicts for which the chieftaincy institution is deeply involved. Chiefs should not allow themselves to be influenced by politicians, the highly educated in society, the rich and in fact any person with some form of influence. The chiefs should be firm, transparent, just and incorruptible in handling problems in their areas. This is especially needed in the areas of land administration and dispute resolution. Chiefs should also continue to inspire and motivate their people, represent their interest at all times and lead well. The chiefs should also emulate the good examples of the Asantehene and other industrious chiefs in order to be active agents of poverty reduction and development.

Consolidation of Chieftaincy: It has been seen that chiefs are the first level of political authority that their subjects know. They are in touch with their subjects at the grassroots and the people therefore expect that they should be the champions of their social and political development. Also, people still prefer to have their cases adjudicated at the chief's palace instead of the modern courts. It is therefore recommended that all

stakeholders in the chieftaincy institution, especially the Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture and the NGO's who deal directly with chiefs should support and promote the institution. This they can do by putting in place measures that will ensure that chiefs live up to modern development challenges in order to make them more relevant. Capacity building in Resource Mobilisation and Management can be helpful for the chiefs.

5.4.1 Recommendations for Further Research

The research revealed that a good working relationship between chiefs and the modern state can help in achieving socio-economic development at the local level in a desirable manner. It is therefore recommended that studies be done to come out with possible policies and ways of linking the traditional system of governance to that of the modern state without any integration lapses in the governance and development process.

5.5 CONCLUSION

China and Japan have successfully used traditional institutions to achieve socio-economic development. Also, the UK, the Netherlands, Belgium and Norway are all countries operating constitutional monarchies and these countries are all matured democracies. There is therefore ample evidence to show that the traditional system of governance and the modern state could coexist to foster development if well managed.

For development policies to be effectively implemented and to make development benefits realistic and sustainable, the implementation must be appreciated and owned by the target beneficiaries. The study revealed that at the local level, the institution of chieftaincy is no doubt in a strong position to elicit participation and commitment from the rural folk for these development activities. A close working relationship between the institution and development partners such as government and the NGO's will make chiefs more proactive in the development process at the local level.

Though confronted with a lot of challenges especially with regards to finance and conflicts, most of the chiefs are now coming to the realisation that the central government alone cannot do everything for their communities. Some chiefs have therefore taken up the initiative of mobilizing their people for community-self development. The enthusiasm with which most chiefs are now encouraging development in their communities has therefore ensured that the predictions of modernization theorists never came to pass. The chieftaincy institution will therefore become more relevant and appreciated if the recommendations are effectively implemented.

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APPENDIX A: HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE

Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology

College Of Architecture and Planning

Department of Planning

MSc (DEPP)

Research Topic: Traditional Authority and Socio-Economic Development at the Local Level in the Northern Region of Ghana.

Household Questionnaire

Name of respondent:..... Date of interview:.....

Name of community:..... House Number:.....

1. Sex of respondent: Male [] Female []
2. For how long have you been staying in this community?.....
3. Do you have a chief in this community? Yes [] No []
4. Do you think it is necessary to have him? Yes [] No []
5. Do you value chiefs? Yes [] No []
6. Kindly state three reasons for the answer in (5) above.....
7. Which of the governance systems do you depend on for your welfare? Traditional [] Modern [] Both []
8. Give your reason for the answer in (7) above.....
9. Is chieftaincy democratic? Yes [] No []
10. Do you think traditional Authorities respect women and the youth? Yes [] No []
11. If no, what are your reasons? Give three.....
12. List three challenges women and the youth face with regards to chieftaincy.....
13. Do you think chieftaincy is a legitimate system of governance? Yes [] No []
14. Do you think chiefs are important for your welfare? Yes [] No []
15. Is chieftaincy a force in the governance system of the country? Yes [] No []
16. What is your reason for the answer in (15) above? Briefly state below
.....
17. Are chiefs important in the development process of your community? Yes [] No []

18. If yes, mention some of the roles you think they should play in the development process.....
.....

19. Do you think there are any consequences for chieftaincy gates being aligned to political parties? Yes [] No []

20. If yes, mention some of the consequences

21. What do you think are the causes of chieftaincy conflicts? State three below.

.....

22. Mention three effects of these conflicts on the development of your area.....

23. Do you think a literate chief will be good for your community? Yes [] No [] Indifferent []

24. Give your reason for (23) above. Please state below

.....

25. Can chiefs help in ensuring social equity? Yes [] No []

26. Can they help in promoting discipline and morality? Yes [] No []

27. If yes, how do you think they can do it? Indicate below

.....

28. What is your opinion about chiefs and the Fulani “menace” in the country? Please indicate below your view

.....

29. Do you think the chiefs can stop it? Yes [] No []

30. If yes, indicate below how you think they can stop it

.....

31. Do you think chiefs can assist in the fight against poverty? Yes [] No []

32. If yes, kindly indicate below how you think they can do it

.....

33. Where do you send your grievances for redress? (a) Chief palace [] (b) modern court [] (c) others (specify)

34. Why the choice in (33) above? Mention below some of the cases you send there

.....

35. Is chieftaincy dividing or uniting the community? (a) Dividing [] (b) uniting [] (c) others (specify)

36. Give your reasons for the answer in (35) above. State three

.....

37. Should chiefs play national politics? Yes [] No []

38. What are your reasons for the above answer? Please State below

.....

39. Should the chiefs and the government work together? Yes [] No []

40. State below two reasons for the answer in (39) above

.....

41. Should the chieftaincy institution be maintained, abolished or refined? (a) Maintain []
(b) abolish [] (c) refine [] (d) don't know [] (e) others (specify)

42. Should the institution still exist in the 21st century? Yes [] No []

43. What is your reason for the above answer? State below

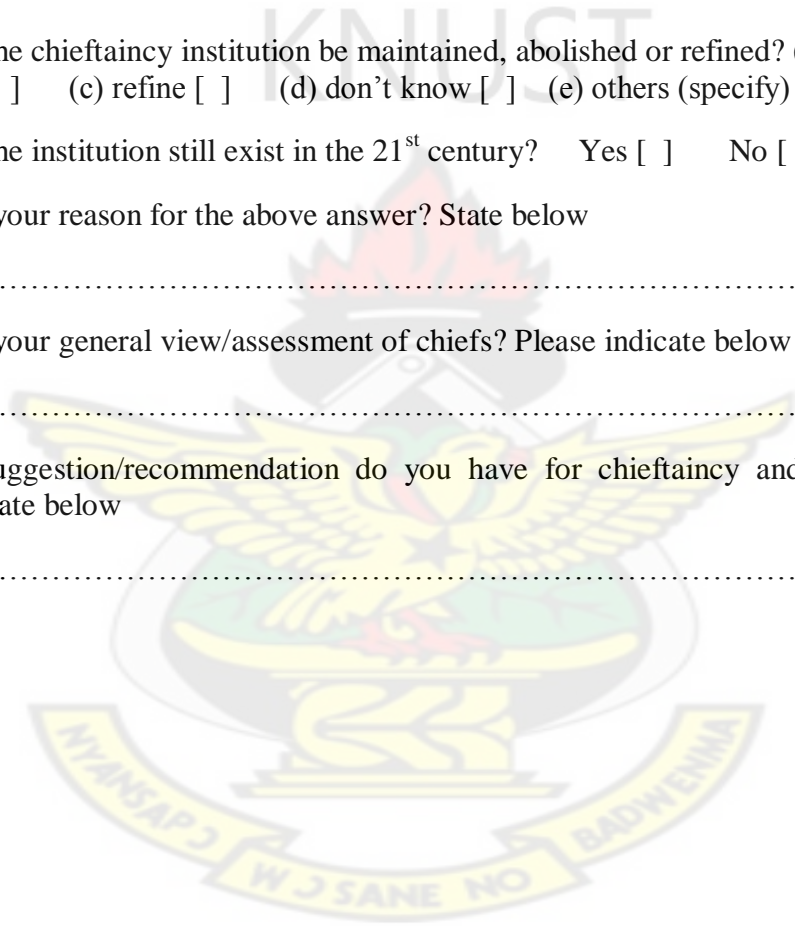
.....

44. What is your general view/assessment of chiefs? Please indicate below

.....

45. What suggestion/recommendation do you have for chieftaincy and development?
Kindly indicate below

.....



APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES

Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology

College Of Architecture and Planning

Department of Planning

MSc (DEPP)

Research Topic: Traditional Authority and Socio-Economic Development at the Local Level in the Northern Region of Ghana.

Questionnaire for Traditional Authorities

The questions are designed to seek your view on traditional authority and socio-economic development. The confidentiality of your information is highly guaranteed. Thanks in anticipation of your co-operation.

Name of chief.....

Community.....

Position.....

Date.....

1. Do you think you have a role in the development of your area? Yes [] No []

2. If yes, mention some roles you play.....

3. Have you initiated any development project before for your community? Yes [] No []

4. If yes, mention two.....

5. If no, what are the reasons for not initiating? Please list two.....

6. Do you intend to initiate some? Yes [] No []

7. If yes, how do you intend to do that? Please indicate below

.....

8. Do you assist in the fight against poverty? Yes [] No []

9. If yes, how do you do it? Please indicate below

.....

10. How do you see your position in relation to the people you govern? Please state below briefly

.....

11. How do you keep in trust the resources of your community? Please indicate below

.....

12. Should chiefs like you engage in national politics? Yes [] No []

13. What are your reasons for (12) above? Please indicate below

.....

14. Does the government consult you on development issues? Yes [] No []

15. If yes, on what issues? Please indicate below

.....

16. If no, what do you think are the reasons? Please state briefly below

.....

17. Do you think it is good for you to partner with the government for the development of your area? Yes [] No []

18. How do you finance your administration? Please indicate below

.....

19. Do you need support from the modern state? Yes [] No []

20. If yes, what kind of support? Please indicate below

.....

21. How were you enskinned? Please state below

.....

22. Has your father been chief for the area before? Yes [] No []

23. Do you have a system of grooming your heirs to become good leaders? Yes [] No []

24. If yes, indicate below how you do it

.....

25. Do you have female chiefs? Yes [] No []

26. If no, why are women not allowed to be chiefs? Please give reasons below

.....

27. Do you consult women in your decisions about the community? Yes [] No []

28. If no, what are the reasons? Please indicate below

.....

29. How can you help avoid/minimize gender discrimination? Please state below
.....
30. Do you have youth leaders? Yes [☐] No [☐]
31. If yes, what do you engage them in? Please indicate below
.....
32. What do you think are the causes of chieftaincy conflicts? Please list some
.....
33. Why is the chieftaincy institution relying on the modern state to solve its crises?
Please indicate below
.....
34. Can the conflicts be solved by the chiefs themselves? Yes [☐] No [☐]
35. If yes, how? Please indicate below
.....
36. What is your view on the Fulani “menace” in the country? Please indicate below
.....
37. Are chiefs supporting them? Yes [☐] No [☐]
38. Do you intend to help solve it? Yes [☐] No [☐]
39. If yes, how will you do it? Please state briefly.....
40. How do you see your role “today” as against “yesterday”? Please indicate below
.....
41. Should chieftaincy be maintained, abolished or refined?
 (a) Maintained [☐] (b) abolished [☐] (c) Refined [☐] (d) others (specify)
42. If refined, how should it be done and by who? Please indicate below
.....
43. What suggestions/recommendations do you have for traditional authority’s role in
development? Please indicate.....
.....

APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR REGIONAL HOUSE OF CHIEFS

Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology

College Of Architecture and Planning

Department of Planning

MSc (DEPP)

Research Topic: Traditional Authority and Socio-Economic Development at the Local Level in the Northern Region of Ghana.

Questionnaire for members of the Regional House of Chiefs

The questions are designed to seek your view on traditional authority and socio-economic development. The confidentiality of your information is highly guaranteed. Thanks in anticipation of your co-operation.

Name

Position.....

Date.....

1. Do you think chiefs are important for the development of the country? Yes [] No []

2. Please give your reasons for the answer above. Briefly state below

.....

3. What are the issues over which the modern state requires chiefs? Briefly state below

.....

4. Should the modern state deal with chiefs? Yes [] No []

5. What are your reasons for the answer in (4) above? Please indicate below

.....

6. Should chiefs play national politics? Yes [] No []

7. Briefly state below, your reasons for the answer in (6) above

.....

8. What do you think accounts for the numerous chieftaincy conflicts in the region? Please state below

.....

9. What is the house doing about the conflicts? Please indicate below

.....

10. Do you think chiefs can help in the fight against poverty? Yes [] No []

11. If yes, how do you think they can do it? Please indicate below

.....

12. As a house of chiefs, do you play any active role in promoting chieftaincy?

Yes [] No []

13. If yes, what are some of the roles you play? Please indicate below

.....

14. How is the house dealing with the issue of chiefs and the Fulani “menace” in the region? Please briefly state below

.....

15. Should chieftaincy be maintained, abolished or refined?

(a) Maintain [] (b) abolish [] (c) Refine []

16. Give your reasons for the answer in (15) above. Please indicate below

.....

17. Kindly indicate below some of the challenges you face as a house in dealing with the chiefs

.....

18. What is your general view about chieftaincy? Please indicate below

.....

19. What recommendation do you have for chieftaincy and development? Please indicate below

.....

**APPENDIX D: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DISTRICT AND MUNICIPAL
ASSEMBLIES**

Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology

College Of Architecture and Planning

Department of Planning

MSc (DEPP)

Research Topic: Traditional Authority and Socio-Economic Development at the Local
Level in the Northern Region of Ghana.

Questionnaire for District and Municipal Assemblies and Heads of Departments

The questions are designed to seek your view on traditional authority and socio-economic development. The confidentiality of your information is highly guaranteed. Thanks in anticipation of your co-operation.

Name of district

Position of respondent in the assembly.....

Date.....

1. Do you think traditional authorities are important in local governance? Yes [] No []

2. If no, what are your reasons? Please indicate below

.....

3. Do you consult them on development issues? Yes [] No []

4. If yes, on what issues? Please list some below

.....

5. Do you think the chiefs can assist in the fight against poverty? Yes [] No []

6. If yes how do you think they can do it? Please indicate below

.....

7. Is the relationship between the assembly and the traditional authorities cordial?

Yes [] No []

8. If no, how does it hamper development in the district? Briefly state below

.....

9. Do you partner with the chiefs to bring development to the communities?

Yes [] No []

10. If yes, what are some of the potential benefits? Please indicate below

.....

11. What are some of the challenges you face in dealing with the chiefs? Please indicate below

.....

12. Do you see the chiefs as rivals or development partners?

(a) Rivals [] (b) development partners []

13. Do you think the modern state should work with chiefs? Yes [] No []

14. Which areas of development will you like to see chiefs in? Please indicate below

.....

15. Do you think traditional authorities can help in enhancing social equity?

Yes [] No []

16. Do you support the idea of literates becoming chiefs? Yes [] No []

17. What are some of the effects of chieftaincy conflicts on the assembly? Please indicate below

.....

18. What is your opinion about chiefs and the Fulani “menace”? Please state below briefly

.....

19. Should chieftaincy be maintained, abolished or refined?

(a) Maintain [] (b) abolish [] (c) Refine [] (d) others (specify)

20. What is your reason for the answer in (19) above? Please state briefly below

.....

21. What is your general view about chiefs? Please indicate below

.....

22. What suggestion/recommendation do you have for chiefs and development? State below

.....

APPENDIX E: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ASSEMBLY MEMBERS

Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology

College Of Architecture and Planning

Department of Planning

MSc (DEPP)

Research Topic: Traditional Authority and Socio-Economic Development at the Local Level in the Northern Region of Ghana.

Questionnaire for Assembly members

The questions are designed to seek your view on traditional authority and socio-economic development. The confidentiality of your information is highly guaranteed. Thanks in anticipation of your co-operation.

Name of district

Community/area.....

Name of Assembly member.....

Date.....

1. Do you think chiefs are important for the development of your area? Yes [] No []

2. Kindly indicate below your reason for the above answer

.....

3. Do you work with the chiefs? Yes [] No []

4. If yes, on what issues do you work with them? Please indicate below

.....

5. Is there any development benefit for working with the chiefs? Yes [] No []

6. If yes, what are some of them? Please state below

.....

7. Do you think chiefs can assist in the fight against poverty? Yes [] No []

8. If yes how do you think they can do it? Please indicate below

.....

9. What are some of the challenges confronting you in dealing with them? Please indicate below

.....

10. What role do you think chiefs should play in the development of the area? Briefly state below

.....

11. Do you see the chiefs as rivals with regards to the areas' development? Yes [] No []

12. What are some of the effects of chieftaincy conflicts in the community? Please state below

.....

13. Should chiefs be engaged in national politics? Yes [] No []

14. What is your opinion about chiefs and the Fulani "menace"? Please indicate below

.....

15. Can the chiefs help stem it? Yes [] No []

16. If yes, how? Kindly indicate below

.....

17. Should chieftaincy be maintained, abolished or refined?

(a) Maintain [] (b) abolish [] (c) Refine [] (d) others (specify)

18. Give some of your reasons for the answer in (17) above. Please indicate below

.....

19. What is your general view about chieftaincy? Please indicate below

.....

20. What suggestion/ recommendation do you have for traditional authority and development? Please indicate below

.....

APPENDIX F: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR NGO's

Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology

College Of Architecture and Planning

Department of Planning

MSc (DEPP)

Research Topic: Traditional Authority and Socio-Economic Development at the Local Level in the Northern Region of Ghana.

Questionnaire for NGO's

The questions are designed to seek your view on traditional authority and socio-economic development. The confidentiality of your information is highly guaranteed. Thanks in anticipation of your co-operation.

Name of organization.....

Name of respondent.....

Position.....

Date.....

1. Do you think chiefs are important for socio-economic development? Yes [] No []

2. Give your reason for the above answer. Please indicate below

.....

3. Do you involve chiefs in implementing your development projects? Yes [] No []

4. What are your reasons for the answer in (3) above? Please indicate below

.....

5. Do you think the chiefs can assist in the fight against poverty? Yes [] No []

6. If yes, how do you think they can do it? Please indicate below

.....

7. What do you consult the chiefs on? Please state below

.....

8. What are the potential benefits in involving them in your development projects? Please indicate below

.....

9. What challenges do you face in dealing with the chiefs? Please state below

.....

10. Should chieftaincy be maintained, abolished or refined?

(a) Maintain [] (b) abolish [] (c) Refine [] (d) others (specify)

11. What are your reasons for the answer in (10) above? Kindly state three

.....

12. What is your general view about chiefs? Please indicate below

.....

13. What suggestion/recommendation do you have for chiefs and development? Please indicate below

.....

