

**The Dynamics of Communal Conflicts in Ghana's Local Government System: A Case Study
of the Adaklu-Anyigbe Conflict.**

by

Noble Kwabla Gati

**Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment for the Award of
Master of Philosophy in Peace and Conflict Transformation
MPCT 2006-2008**



Centre for Peace Studies

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DEDICATION

To

My late Mum, with much love and appreciation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TO GOD BE THE GLORY, HONOUR AND PRAISE!

Diverse contributions by many people have culminated in the writing of this thesis. I therefore deem it fit to render my appreciation to those people.

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ABSTRACT

The recent flaring up of conflicts along ethnic lines in various communities in the Ghanaian society is a source of worry among responsible politicians and citizens as it could threaten the relative peace and stability that the country seems to be enjoying. This study seeks to investigate the causes, processes of escalation and dynamics of recent emerging disputes over the creation of District Assemblies and location of district capitals in Ghana, using Adaklu-Anyigbe District as a case study.

Government's indecision about the location of the capital for the new Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly only triggered latent generational-long conflicts over issues of identity, traditional power struggles, socio-economic deprivation and underdevelopment between the contending communities. The psychological dispositions of the two communities conditioned by ethnic distinctions and historical experiences of Adaklu and Agotime explain the antagonistic approach adopted by the two groups towards the location of the district capital for the newly created Adaklu-Anyigbe District and partly account for the protracted nature of the dispute.

State and semi-traditional institutional failures accounted for the escalation of the conflict in which the leaders of the contending communities mobilized their people along ethnic lines in order to assert what they believe was their socio-cultural, economic and political rights. Indeed, this study shows that the nature of interaction between the state and the local semi-traditional institutions are more of sources of conflict than cooperation in the Ghanaian society.

Dispute surrounding the creation of new districts could be stemmed to some degree if effective institutional mechanisms are established to consciously involve local communities in the political decision-making processes. If semi-traditional institutions could be empowered and well resourced to strengthen their legitimacy they could serve as important institutions for resolving local level disputes.

When state and traditional institutions fail to take political decisions in a transparent and democratic manner, and later fail to mediate conflict between groups in the attempt to allocate limited resources in society, the outcome is manifested through the escalation of latent generational conflicts, which have been sustained by fissiparous ethnic sentiments.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CDD	Centre for Democratic Development
DA(s)	District Assembly(ies)
DCE	District Chief Executive
E.I	Executive Instrument
GNA	Ghana News Agency
L.I(s)	Legislative Instrument(s)
MLGRD	Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development
MP(s)	Member of Parliament(s)
NA(s)	Native Authority(ies)
N.D.C	National Democratic Congress
NDPC	National Development Planning Commission
NEC	National Electoral Commission
N.P.P	New Patriotic Party
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council
PSC	Protracted Social Conflict
SMDCs	Sub-Metropolitan District Councils
TC	Town Councils
UC	Unit Committee
ZC	Zonal Council

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Continuous deteriorating social and economic conditions as well as unstable political environment in most African countries have been a source of worry to many responsible politicians and citizens, and have attracted prolific studies by many scholars (See for example, Bombade, 2007; Otite, 2000; Drucker-Brown, 1995; Konate, 2004; Tonah, 2007). This great challenge confronting the region has been attributed to, among other things, violent ethnic and communal conflicts, which have destabilized many peaceful African countries in the past two decades. The West African sub-region has never been spared this conflict phenomenon. Countries like Liberia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Guinea and more recently Cote d'Ivoire in the sub-region have been plagued with and weakened by violent conflict for the past two decades. Most of these conflicts began as internal strife among certain local communal groups or within regions and then spilled over the international borders, spreading in the neighboring countries. The causes of ethnic conflicts are embedded in historical, socio-economic and political conditions, which motivate the protagonists in the early phases and in later conflict escalation. Additionally, ethnicity plays a considerable role and sometimes becomes a dominant factor in these internecine conflicts. What are other key factors in addition to ethnicity?

Within this troubled region however, Ghana is accorded the image of a country of relative peace and stability. This image is reflected in its past peace-building role as the head of the sub-regional economic body, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union (AU), and the United Nations (UN) making it a popular venue for peace talks and accords, and other socio-economic and political negotiations for development and security. In spite of its accolade as a politically stable country, the country has been witnessing a series of long standing "tribal" and communal conflicts, some of which have quite often resulted in violent confrontations leading to loss of lives and properties (Brukum, 1995; Tsikata and Seini, 2004; Bogner, 2000). This has become a source of great worry throughout the country. In survey conducted by the Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) on democracy in Ghana in 2003, 54% of the respondents said violent conflicts between different groups in the country occurred "sometimes", "often" or "always (Tsikata and Seini, 2004:3).

Almost every community in Ghana has witnessed violent conflicts of any type – inter/intra ethnic conflicts, religious violence (between Islamic factions, Muslims and Christians and Christians and traditional religious groups), political violence between adherents of various political parties, industrial disputes between workers and employers, and sports violence between supporters of opposing football teams. The most frequent, and by far the most destructive ones, are intra/inter ethnic conflicts. These conflicts are usually over succession to traditional political offices or land boundary disputes.

The most prominent of ethnic conflicts include the long established and by far the most devastating and extensive conflict between the Konkombas and the Nanumbas/Dagombas; the protracted Dagbon chieftaincy conflict, the Bawku chieftaincy conflict (currently ongoing), all of which are in northern Ghana. The prolonged boundary dispute between Nkonya and Alavanyo and also between Tsito and Peki, the ongoing and seemingly irresolvable Anlo chieftaincy conflict and the Akropong-Akwapem land conflict, are all in southern Ghana (Tonah, 2007; Bombade, 2007, Tsikata and Seini, 2004; Brukum, 1995; Fred-Mensah, 1999). Most of these conflicts are very protracted in Ghana, showing that they are not easily resolved. These conflicts, as Fred-Mensah has pointed out, revolved around “open-ended claims that entail continuing negotiations and maneuver” (Fred-Mensah, 1999:952).

Ethnic conflicts have been very destructive in terms of human lives and properties. For instance, between February 1994 and March 1996, the Konkomba and Nanumba/Dagomba conflict alone which has come to be known as the ‘Guinea Foul War’ in which modern weapons such as AK47 were deployed and used claimed more than 2,000 human lives. In addition, 178,000 people were displaced, 18,900 domestic animals and birds were lost, 144 farming villages destroyed and thousands of acres of farmlands, and millions of dollars worth of property belonging to Government and affected communities destroyed (Fred-Mensah, 1999:953; NGO Consortium, mimeo – Jönsson, 2007:18; Brukum, 2007: 99 & 112; Tonah, 2007:4)

Nevertheless, in Ghana, unlike in other countries in the sub-region, most of these conflicts occur and are restricted to particular traditional areas or regions and have not directly escalated into nation-wide conflicts. But, many of these conflicts have been widely reported by the Ghanaian

media and their impacts have been greatly felt by the citizenry and have been a source of worry throughout the country.

It could be pointed out, however, that though conflicts and violent conflicts in Ghana are generally similar to that of other countries in the sub-region, it can be generally concluded, though this will not be specifically investigated in this study, that the cases in Ghana have generally been on a relatively lower level of scale and intensity than others in the sub-region, probably, accounting for the relative peace and stability in Ghana. (See for example Tsikata and Seini, 2004)

1.1 THE STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM

In recent times, disputes raged in many communities of Ghana over the creation of new District Assemblies (DAs) in parts of the country¹. The recent disputes emerging from decentralization process in Ghana has been a source of concern and contention among the Ghanaian populace. The creation of more new districts, according to the president, was to give meaning to effective decentralization as a tool for good governance and accelerated development (GNA –Dec. 31, 2003). This noble policy on the face of it has however turned to be a source of conflicts among many communities² in the country.

From various newspaper reports it appears that contentions among communities over the creation of districts centred on three main issues: boundary demarcation, name of the district and location of the district capital³. Confrontation among some communities occurred over a combination of these three issues. The most common among them is the very location of the district capital, which in certain circumstances also involved contention over the name of the district. In 2003/2004 for instance, the chiefs and people of Prang in Brong-Ahafo Region demonstrated against the siting of the district capital at Atebubu (GNA – Jan 1, 2004). At the same time, there was disagreement among communities that constituted North Dayi District (now Kpando District) in the Volta Region over the name. These disputes over creation of districts in

¹ GNA – Jan 1, 2004; Ghana Palaver – November 9, 2007; GNA – February 22, 2008; GNA – February 29, 2008.

² Community used in this work refers to groups whose members share ethnic ‘identity’ characteristics.

³ GNA – Jan 1, 2004; Ghana Palaver – November 9, 2007; GNA – February 22, 2008; GNA – February 29, 2008

2003/2004 were just a tip of the iceberg, as the recent carving of more new districts continued to create more confrontations and hostilities in some communities in the country. The well known ones include the newly created Adenta-Ashaiman municipality with Adenta as the capital, Weija with Mallam as the capital and Ledzekuku-Krowor with Teshie-Nungua as the capital, all of which are located in the Greater Accra Region; Gomoa-East District with Afranse as the capital in the Central Region and Biakoye District with Nkonya-Ahinko as the capital in the Volta Region. In these cases also, the dispute bothered on the demarcation of the district, name of the district and the location of the capital (Palaver – Nov. 9, 2007).

In spite of the common occurrences of these disputes in the country, there seems to be no effective institutional apparatus in resolving them within the local Government set-up or the traditional set-up. In other words, there seems to be no viable institutional structures both at the state, and local levels for resolving these disputes. As a result, many institutions emerge to intervene in settling these disputes. In spite of attempts by the government and these institutions, the conflict issues still persist among the residents of the communities in the country. Is the government itself a party to the emergence of such conflicts in the first place? Why is it difficult to resolve such conflicts in the country? What factors account for the entrenched position taken and the antagonism by the residents of various communities, making it difficult for the conflict to be reconciled?

This study identifies and analyses the causes, processes of escalation and dynamics of violent confrontations among communities in the country over the creation of districts, using Adaklu-Anyigbe District as a case study. The Adaklu-Anyigbe District was one of the three newly created districts in the Volta Region in 2003/2004. This study suggests that the dispute over Adaklu-Anyigbe District was a complex one. The contention was not only over the location of the capital and the name of the district, but also included boundary demarcation that was thrashed out at the initial stage.

This study will describe and analyse how the contention between Adaklu and Agotime, two traditional areas, over the location of the district capital occurred following two contradictory and much debated publications by the 'Daily Graphic', a leading state-owned newspaper. The

publication mentioned different communities in each traditional area, at different times, as the capital for the newly created district. This was followed by the emergence of two Legislative Instruments (L.Is) in Parliament, one stating Adaklu-Waya and the other Agotime-Kpetoe as the capital for the new district. Each community used this as a basis to make legitimate claims and counter claims to the host community for the district capital. Mass petitions, protests, demonstrations and threats of hostility, which called for the heavy presence of the state security apparatus like the police to ensure security in the communities, accompanied these claims. Why this puzzling inconsistency from the policy makers (two L.Is)?

In order to correct the anomaly in the L.I and settle the dispute, an amendment Bill was introduced by the Minister of Local Government and Rural Development and approved by Parliament. This I will show did not resolve the contention, but rather came to escalate it as the people of Adaklu boycotted the inauguration of the district and dissociated themselves from it. This led to stronger confrontation and hostile behaviour between the two communities, which prevented the take-off of the new district in 2004. Why did the conflict escalate and became so protracted?

Is the inconsistency in the L.Is a major cause for escalation of the conflict or are there more hidden contributing factors? In other words, this study aims at interrogating both structural and immediate factors that explain the emergence and escalation of the intra-ethnic conflict between the two communities over the creation of the new district. One may ask whether the location of a district capital as well as the name given to a new district means anything at all to affected communities. These are the issues that are to be explored in this study, in order to understand better the dynamics of ethnic conflicts between communities in Ghana, particularly over the creation of new districts in context of hobbled decentralization process.

1.2 OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The objective of the study is to understand the causes and the dynamics of the Adaklu-Anyigbe conflict since 2004 and suggest possible measures for mediating such conflicts in Ghana.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- ❖ What factors account for the emergence, escalation and protracted nature of the dispute between the Adaklu and Agotime Traditional Areas over the location of the capital for the new district?
 - Does the nature of the relationship between the local semi-traditional institutions and state institutions play any significant role in escalation of the conflict?
 - How do ethnic distinctions and ethnic relations between the two communities influence the dispute over the location of the district capital

1.4 RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

Though there exist divided sovereignty (the Chiefs and the State) in Ghana, much scholarly work has not been done on modern state expansion and its effect on the Chiefs (the traditional state). The study will contribute to academic knowledge in this field. It will highlight how interaction between local and state institutions generate and escalate conflict based on ethnic idioms. Certain measures will also be suggested for mediating such conflicts.

1.5 THE STUDY SITE

The Adaklu-Anyigbe District lies between latitude 6° 45' N and 6° 15' and longitudes 0° 15 E and 0° 4' E'. It is therefore bounded on the east by the Republic of Togo, on the south by Akatsi and North Tongu Districts and on the west and north by the Ho Municipality. The dominant geographical characteristic of this area is Adaklu Mountain⁴ which serves as the main tourist attraction in the area. Other geographical features include river Tordze which serves domestic purposes and also used as a means of irrigation and drainage in the district. There are also strands of borassious palm (Agorti) used for construction works. The district has savannah woodland as its major vegetation type. Few areas, mostly Adaklu mountains and along the banks of the River Tordze, run composed semi-deciduous forest. The Adaklu-Anyigbe District is composed of three separate traditional areas namely Adaklu, Ziope and Agotime. The district has about one hundred

⁴ Adaklu Mountain is 305 metres above sea level and occupies 20% of total land area.

and twenty (120) towns and villages, with a total population of about 52,850 and an average household size of about 4.8 in the larger settlements⁵. According to the 2000 National Population and Housing Census results, the district has a population growth rate of about 1.17%. The major occupation of the people in the district is farming. About 65% of the labour force is made up of predominantly subsistence and few commercial farmers. The farming is done mainly by the use of hoes and cutlasses and characterised by crop and animal production. The major crops produced include maize, cassava, yam, vegetables, etc. The Animal sector involves mainly poultry and cattle rearing. Many other people engage in weaving. The people of Agotime mostly do weaving, hence their Agbamevorza festival⁶. The area has the traditional kente industry located at Kpetoe.

1.6 OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

In chapter two, the methodological framework within which the study is placed is presented. The presentation focuses on the fieldwork carried out to collect data for the study, types of data collected, methods, tools, procedures used in the data collection and steps taken in processing the data. The chapter also discussed fieldwork experiences and lessons.

Chapter three focuses on the explanation of the conceptual and theoretical framework within which the fieldwork empirical data are analyzed.

The presentation of empirical data supplemented by secondary sources occupied chapter four and five. Chapter four discusses the traditional political institutions and governance in the Ghanaian society as well as the past and present roles of traditional authorities in governance. The chapter also presented the migration history of the two ethnic groups and their implications for identity construction and inter-ethnic relations.

Chapter five follows similar pattern but narrows down the study to the conflict between the two communities over the creation of new district capital. The local government system in Ghana is first highlighted and followed by a presentation of the creation of Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly. The chapter narrates the politics of local governance in Adaklu and Agotime

⁵ These data are from the District Assembly. I have not been able to carry out household survey personally.

⁶ Agbamevor festival is an annually celebration used to commemorate their occupation as weavers and to exhibit their traditional Kente cloth.

Traditional Areas, the creation of Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly, the emergence of the contention over the district capital, and the roles of institutions of local conflict resolution in mediating and escalation of the dispute between the communities.

Chapter six focuses on the analysis of the causes and dynamics of the dispute. The discussions are based on the facts gathered from the fieldwork. Analytical arguments are developed within the conceptual and theoretical framework of the study.

The study ends with chapter seven where the principal findings from empirical analysis are summarized and policy recommendations made.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 METHODOLOGY

This chapter addresses the methodological framework within which this study has been conceptualized and undertaken. The chapter focuses on the chosen approach to fieldwork, carried out in Adaklu-Anyigbe District in order to collect data for this study. The study sought to identify and analyse factors that account for the emergence and escalation of disputes over creation of new districts and the location of their capitals in Ghana, using Adaklu-Anyigbe District as case study. Specific issues sought for during my fieldwork include; the role of the relationship between the state and local semi-traditional institutions in the escalation of the dispute and, the influence of ethnic distinction and relations on the dispute over the location of the district capital. In this chapter, attempts will first be made to show how various writers use the term fieldwork differently and also show how it is applied or used in this study. The chapter will go further to explain the general research method that underlies the study. It will also focus on explanation of research techniques and procedures used in the data collection. Steps followed in processing the data collected and the analysis will also be presented. The chapter will finally share experiences and lessons learnt from the field.

2.1 INTRODUCTION TO FIELD WORK IN ADAKLU-ANYIGBE

Social science research uses the term 'Fieldwork' in two different ways. First, it can be used in a general sense to cover several kinds of qualitative methods. Burgess (1982) described it in that sense as "a style of investigation that is referred to as... qualitative method; interpretive research; case study method and ethnography" (quoted in Payne and Payne, 2004:94; see also Burgess, 1990:ix & Burgess, 2005). It is used in the second way by Payne and Payne (2004:94) to refer to an aspect in the qualitative research process where data are collected, over a period of time, in a naturally occurring setting. However, the term could also be used to refer to any data collection trip, be it in a specific social setting or not. Thus, fieldwork "can mean data collection stage of a project (particularly in the qualitative tradition); or researchers go about collecting data; or more narrowly, data collection in a social setting that tries to reflect the naturally occurring order of events and subjective meanings of those being studied" (Payne and Payne, 2004:94).

In explaining what fieldwork entails, some scholars focused on the central role of the fieldworker and of primary data while others emphasized the kind of data or what methods or tools that should be used. For Pole (2005:xx):

Fieldwork is a way of doing research where the emphasis is placed on the collection of data at first hand by a researcher. It relies on personal interaction between the researcher(s) and those been researched in the research setting, during which the researcher(s) will use one or a combination of particular methods to collect data over a prolonged period of time

Chakravarti (1979: 38) also opined similar view. For him, fieldwork is a personal experience because it involves close interaction or “intimate long-term acquaintance” (Wolcott, 2005:45) between the researcher and the subjects of his research (see also Wolcott, 2005:44).

In this present study, fieldwork is seen and employed as a key method of a qualitative research process. This involves the data collection stage of the qualitative research process. Fieldwork in this study focuses on both collection of first hand data, but not in naturally occurring situations, and the role of me as young native researcher in a ‘field’ I knew in advance. Doing fieldwork under this study, unlike the classical fieldwork in social anthropological sense, I went to my home region in my native country and collected interview data through personal interaction with my chosen respondents. In other words, I come from the same region and speak the same ewe language, though with dialectical difference, with my respondents. I arranged and met my respondents in their homes, offices, etc. Fieldwork under this study in contrast to the traditional fieldwork was not conducted over a prolonged period of time (Pole, 2005), neither did it involve “intimate long-term acquaintance” (Wolcott, 2005) though there was some level of close interaction. The fieldwork was carried out for barely two months.

2.2 SOURCES OF DATA COLLECTION

This study is based on both primary and secondary data sources. The primary data is constituted by interview data or what Silverman (2006) calls researcher-provoked data in contrast to natural occurring data. The researcher-provoked data is very crucial since it allows the collection of unexpected data and other information that could not easily be captured in the natural occurring situation. The two types of data should however be seen as complementing each other. Interviews therefore served as the main method to generate data. The researcher-provoked data were created through the actual intervention of me as researcher. This was made possible by the use of interviews and direct observation. A semi-structured interview guide was designed and used as a tool to carry out formal interviews to elicit information from the respondents.

The use of interviews as a qualitative research technique was necessitated by the need to elicit detailed response from the informants about their oral histories of migration and their emotional feelings. A flexible semi-structured interview guide would better help capture these oral histories of migration and emotional feelings than a structured questionnaire. I also had to use the semi-structured interview guide instead of structured questionnaire because not all the respondents are literates.

The secondary data sources for this study included all relevant documents concerning the creation of the district and the location of the district capital, such as Legislative Instruments, reports of committees set up during the conflict, memoranda, press release and conferences. Others included research from books, newspaper articles, journals, internet materials, individual writings, administrative archives, etc. Few of these materials were gathered during fieldwork from the Libraries of the Political Science Department and the Institute of African Studies all of the University of Ghana. The library of West African Network for Peacebuilding in Ghana also provided some of the secondary materials.

2.3 QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH METHODS

There is said to exist two main conventional ways of doing research; quantitative and qualitative. While some scholars see one as more important, others believe that they could be complementary. The two methods are distinguished from each other with regards to how each of them treats data and how data is collected (Brannen, 1992:4). In quantitative research, variables and variable categories are isolated and defined and brought together to generate hypotheses before the data are collected. But qualitative research often starts by defining very general concepts, and changes definitions as the research progresses (Brannen, 1992:4). However, also studies that are mainly qualitatively oriented may make use of hypothesis, which allowed reform to some degree.

Those who see qualitative research as very important argue that quantitative research is about counting and it involves statistical techniques. This has to do with controlling of variables. Qualitative research, on the other hand, seeks to “describe actions within a specific setting and invites rather than tries to control the possibility of a rich array of variables” (Holliday, 2002:2). In other words, qualitative research tends to investigate uncontrollable social variables directly instead of reducing them. In light of this, Denzin and Lincoln (2005) pointed out that qualitative research entails interpretive and naturalistic approach to the world. This according to them means, “qualitative researchers study things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (quoted in Creswell, 2007:36).

Quantitative and qualitative methods, according to Holliday (2002:5), are two separate fields and “do represent very different ways of thinking about the world”. Each of them is a field of enquiry on their own right (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:2). Each or both may be appropriate depending on the research problem one is interested in. This is supported by Silverman (2005:6) who argued that “in choosing a method, everything depends upon what we are trying to find out. No method of research, quantitative or qualitative, is intrinsically better than any other” (See also Silverman, 2006:34; Hammersley, 1992:51). The choice of a method for a particular study may also be influenced by other factors such, the available financial resources, skills of the researcher, political orientation of the research team, etc. (See for example Brannen, 1992). Thus the decision to use either of the methodologies is not to assert any distinction or down play the

importance of the other. Therefore, the alleged dichotomy between quantitative and qualitative methodologies should be questioned. As Hammersley (1992:39) has argued, any distinction “obscures the breadth of issues and arguments involved in the methodology of social research”.

With regards to this study, the choice of fieldwork approach to data collection was based on my initial assessment of research questions and my assessment of what could be the appropriate methodology, taking into consideration some constraining factors. The qualitative method of research was basically chosen for this study based on these assessments. The choice of the qualitative method is however not to infer any distinction or relegate the quantitative method to the background. Combining both methods is appropriate for this study but, has been constrained by a number of factors.

The choice to rely mainly on qualitative methods for the studies was informed by the limited time at my disposal and inadequate financial resources available to collect the data. In addition, being the first person to carry out a study on the recent emerging disputes over creation of Districts Assemblies and the location of their capitals, I found it appropriate and very crucial to do a fieldwork, however short, in order to get to the key people involved, interview them and gather first hand information.

There is also the need for a complex, detailed understanding of the causes of the dispute. As Creswell noted, “This detail can only be established by talking directly with people, going to their homes or places of work and allowing them to tell the stories unencumbered by what we expect to find or what we have read from the literature” (Creswell, 2007:40). For instance, detailed narration of oral history of migration as a basis for land claims made by the two contending communities could better be elicited by talking directly with the people.

2.4 ARRIVING IN ADAKLU-ANYIGBE

As I have already mentioned, this study sought to identify and analyse the causes, processes of escalation and the dynamics of recent disputes over creation of new districts in Ghana, using Adaklu-Anyigbe District as a case study. After choosing Adaklu-Anyigbe conflict as a case for this study, I immediately contacted two of my friends who came from these communities. Though these friends were neither born nor did they grow up in these communities, their parents

were well known and occupied important positions in the communities⁷. I quickly linked up with these parents before I arrived in Ghana. When I arrived in Ghana, I spent three days in Accra, the Capital City, to put things in order and I also arranged and met with my contact person from Adaklu. I then went to my home town to spend another three days with my family and, also met my contact person from Agotime who lives in another town that is about twenty minutes drive from my hometown. I informed them about details of the study including who could be defined as target population. I later returned to Accra and spent two days to put together the equipments I was going to use on the field, and then journeyed to Ho, the Volta Regional capital.

When I met with my first contacts, they also linked me up with some key persons from both communities who could be of immense help. The role of the local intermediaries between the contact persons and me is very noteworthy, since I was not conversant with any of the communities. This facilitated easy access and entry into the communities and to a very large extent the success of the fieldwork. It is however important to point out that the local intermediaries between a researcher and the target population could sometimes be problematic. The intermediaries could lead the researcher to a particular person or group of people who would give information that may not necessarily reflect the views of all those involved. I therefore had to interview few people from the list recommended by the intermediaries and other people outside the recommended list for reliability and representation.

Having being introduced to these contact persons, I arranged to meet them. It is very interesting but sometimes very frustrating to do research in an area of Ghana where I had never been. My first trip to one of the communities to meet the contact person was a terrible experience. I woke up early in the morning, walked along the street in drizzle and got to one of the stations I was directed to only to be told that vehicles do not ply that road during that period⁸. After another bus station to the community was located, interestingly we spent about one-and-half hours at the station before the bus set off⁹ for the forty-five minutes journey. This was however comparatively a better experience as the return journey from the community on that very day was more

⁷ The Person from Agotime is the kingmaker while the person from Adaklu Traditional area is an elder and opinion leader.

⁸ The buses do not ply the roads at that period because the roads got flooded.

⁹ The bus always gets full before they set off unless the passenger(s) on the bus are ready to pay for the empty spaces left.

frustrating. We spent more than three-and-half hours waiting for bus back home but none showed up until a private pick-up pulled up. I and other passengers had to ‘squeeze’ ourselves in this car with some people sitting in the open space even though the same amount was paid as for the public bus. This experience put some kind of fear and uncertainty in me about the success of the fieldwork. However I gathered courage and arranged for a motorbike to ride into the community for the rest of the period.

2.5 SAMPLING PROCEDURES

The target population for the study included opinion leaders, the chiefs and elders, political leaders and commoners from the two communities. The political leaders include assembly and unit committee members, the District Chief Executive (DCE) and Member of Parliament (MP) from the constituency. The study initially set out to interview a total of thirty-six (36) people. In all, I had twenty-nine (29) informants but seventeen (17) in-depth interviews. The respondents were selected based on certain peculiar characteristics. All the respondents except one (male from Ziopé) came from the two ethnic groups that are directly involved in the conflict. The DCE and the MP are also citizens of Adaklu and Agotime respectively. Within the ethnic groups, the respondents were selected from different communities in order to ensure that the views were not concentrated in one area but would reflect the various Divisions¹⁰ in each traditional area.

The gender of the respondents was also taken into consideration in the selection process. But only (6) females out of the total number were interviewed. Most of the females approached either gave excuses that they do not have much knowledge on the conflict issues and therefore refused to be interviewed or were just afraid of being interviewed. Some of them asked me to rather interview their husbands. Their refusal to take part in the interviews could be due to sex differences, since I am a male researcher and wanted to interview females, or it could be due to gender role expectations. Another reason could be the fact that women are generally reserved and it would take time to have close interaction with them. My short stay on the field is therefore a contributing factor and a limitation to the study.

¹⁰ A Division is composed of many clans.

Table: In-depth Interviews

Traditional Areas	Chiefs	Opinion Leaders	Political Leaders	Commoners	Totals
Adaklu	2	2	2	2	8
Agotime	3	2	2	2	9
Totals	5	4	4	4	17

(Source: Author, June-August 2007)

With these characteristics, the respondents were selected by the use of purposive sampling techniques. Quite a number of informants especially opinion leaders were recommended by my contact persons. I therefore used the purposive technique to select few of them. This technique was used due to the fact that I have fair knowledge of the peculiar characteristics of my respondents that are relevant to the study. Due to these qualities, I also employed the purposive technique to select few other opinion leaders, political leaders and government officials for in-depth interviews. Few opinion leaders were also selected outside those recommended by my contact person for verification purposes. In other words, it was intended to ensure that I do not interview only a particular group of people. Commoners were also purposively selected based on their gender, social status, occupation and Division from which they come.

In all, the informants represented, to a large extent, the population under this study and included persons of both gender and with different status within the ethnic groups: the Chiefs, the elders, the assembly and unit committee members, DCE, MP and commoners including the youth. The opinion leaders, chiefs and elders of the communities are in majority and constituted about 70% of the respondents. They formed the core of the respondents since they actively participated in the decision-making processes leading to the dispute over the location of the district capital and, also had the requisite information on most of the things that I sought for. They are abreast with social and political structure of their ethnic groups and are also the custodians and transmitters of the history of the communities.

2.6 CONDUCTING OF INTERVIEWS

The interview process actually began with meetings with the key persons mentioned earlier after they had already been informed about this study in their community. I showed my student identity card to these key persons. They were very particular in knowing where I came from. In other words, each wanted to know whether I came from the other community¹¹. I made them know that I neither come from any of the two communities nor have I stayed in any before and, that was my first time of coming there.

The reactions from the two key persons were mixed. While the person from Agotime gave the go ahead to conduct the interviews in his community, the person from Adaklu asked that I meet a committee of opinion leaders in Accra, and get their approval before coming to conduct the interviews in the community. The reasons he gave was that they were in the forefront and were the people who had the relevant information and documents on the conflict.

While waiting for this meeting, interviews with the selected respondents from Agotime Traditional Area and with the DCE were conducted. Other relevant 'background materials' on the district were also collected from the assembly within this period. A one-day piloting preceded the actual interview with the respondents with two people from Agotime Traditional Area. The essence of this piloting was to test the interview guide. This led to removal and reframing of some questions and making the guide a better one. For instance, questions such as 'How was Kpetoe chosen as the capital?' 'Why was it chosen as the administrative capital'; etc had to be replaced with 'How was the capital for the district decided?' Though the two interviews were not included in the total number of interviews for the analysis, they were used in verifying claims made by the actual respondents. This revised semi-structured interview guide was used to ask open-ended questions to elicit information from the respondents. Upon seeking the consent of the respondents and assuring them of confidentiality, the interviews were tape-recorded and key issues were written down as part of field notes.

The interviews were conducted in Agotime Traditional Area in the company of an uncle of my friend who lived in the community and served more or less as a research assistant. I always

¹¹ I come from Abor, about three hours drive from these communities.

introduced myself and assured them of confidentiality. Assuring them with this confidentiality coupled with the fact that I came from the same region, but not from any of the communities and also spoke the same ewe language with them created some kind of confidence and good rapport. Though some had that confidence in me, others were indifferent. One of them expressed it this way after the introduction: “no problem whether you are journalist or sent by government officials. I will say what I know and the truth, even when they come to arrest me I will one day come back”. With this confidence, they were able to narrate the story of the conflict, what they perceived as the cause of the conflict, issues concerning the district, their history, their relations with other surrounding communities and their views.

After the meeting with the committee of opinion leaders from Adaklu where general information was given on the conflict issues, some of them were later individually interviewed for detailed information not only on the conflict over the location of the district capital, but also on other issues such as the social and traditional political organization of their community and their personal views. At the time of meeting this committee, it was left with only one week for me to leave the field; therefore only three days were spent to conduct the interviews in the community. The interviews in this community were also conducted in company with another person who came from this community. He was also of immense help since I had never been visiting the community and the people did not know me.

Throughout the interview process, it was noted that the chiefs, elders and opinion leaders of Adaklu community felt the government did not do the right thing, coupled with the fact that they are the real owners of the land. The chiefs of Agotime also felt bad about the controversy over the location of the district capital since there was prior agreement, according to them, among the three groups that constituted the district as to where the capital was to be located. This made the submissions from the two groups rather emotional.

2.7 DATA PROCESSING AND PRELIMINARY INTERVIEW ANALYSIS

Processing and analysis of data for this study began on the field with transcription of the interviews. Though about half of the interviews were transcribed, all got lost when the system of my laptop got crushed few days after leaving the field. The interviews were later transcribed,

coded with a well-defined coding system and classified. The classification was done on ethnic and gender basis. The reason was to find out the similarity of opinions and views within each group and the shared group sentiment and also to find out how both genders are involved in issues that concern their lives. The transcripts and other documents collected were later read through.

Due to the long period of grievance and antagonism of the groups towards each other, many of the respondents had taken sides and adopted entrenched positions in favour of their community. I therefore had to take care to verify the authenticity of claims by the informants. Besides, the supporters of the two communities had their own history about the origin and the development of the dispute. This sometimes made them to present information from a jaundiced perspective. It was also evident that some informants were either deliberately concealing information or making claims, which could not be substantiated, which therefore necessitated the need to take the pain to crosscheck information from other informants and documents such as the report of the committees established during the conflict.

The next step was therefore to do early interview analysis, start interpreting and verifying claims from the respondents. In this regard, all the in-depth interviews were thoroughly read through one after the other and I identified and wrote down key events explanation by the informants and their time lines. I also made early analytical comments and identified and recorded the needed supplementary primary and secondary data in order to be able to verify the claims by the respondents. This early analysis was done for all the seventeen in-depth interviews and responses from the rest of the informants were used as part of other primary sources to ascertain the claims. This exercise, though time consuming, was very helpful in interpreting the data and in organising the data presentation chapters and also to ensure consistency in the writing process.

2.8 FIELDWORK CHALLENGES AND LESSONS

It is difficult if not impossible to imagine doing fieldwork in an unfamiliar environment without encountering challenges. The two months fieldwork in Adaklu-Anyigbe to collect data for this study meets with certain challenges. These include methodological, ethical and moral challenges. This section presents the challenges and lessons learned from the field.

There was the challenge of getting the consent of some of the respondents to interview. As mentioned earlier, some were afraid to answer questions simply for the fear of later being arrested or having any problem. This problem does not only apply to illiterates but also literates even in democratic dispensation. In one of the communities, as stated earlier, I had to meet a committee of opinion leaders to discuss the whole project with them and get their approval before entering into the community to carry out the interviews. They even insisted on reading through my interview guide and to start the interview with them before going to the community. Organizing this meeting was a difficult moment, it took three weeks and I was afraid that the inability to meet them might jeopardize my study since I might not be able to conduct the interview in the community and might also not have access to relevant documents.

It is really true that I would not have gotten any one in this community to respond to my questions if I had not met with this committee. Though I got the approval from the opinion leaders it was still a difficult time for me to get the cooperation from the people. This shows how organized the people are and how the subjects have strong allegiance to their opinion leaders. With almost all the people interviewed from the community, I had to call their opinion leaders for them to confirm before responding to any question from me. This did not only have serious constraints on my budget but also affected my interview schedules. It is therefore very important that in order to have easy access to ones prospective respondents one has to first consult with the leaders. Failure to do so could put the whole study in jeopardy.

The problem was more serious while looking for the Regional Minister, the DCE and the Secretary to the Committee set up to investigate and reconcile the two communities to interview. It took two weeks for the Minister to minute the letter and to book an appointment with him. After he gave the go ahead to be interviewed, I got there only to be redirected to the Regional Coordinating Director who also complained bitterly about time and asked me to come back later. All attempts to get him afterwards prove futile. I was also not able to interview any member on the Committee set up to resolve the conflict since they were drawn from different parts of the region. Attempt was made to get the Secretary to the committee interviewed but he refused me permission, citing the reason that they have completed their work and have submitted the report

to the government and that he does not have even a copy of the report with him and if I need any information I should go to the District Assembly where a copy of the report is kept. Though I got the document, these behaviours could seriously affect my study since I might not be able to gather the necessary data.

It is also a serious challenge when a researcher is not familiar with the place where he is collecting data, and the people whom he is dealing with. Payne and Payne (2004) expressed the same view and pointed out that the researcher may do things in unfamiliar way, sometimes responding to events that he has not practiced or prepared for. While on the field, I encountered situations where people were making demands for payment in return for responding to questions. For many people, I am being paid for the work I am doing whether I am a student or not. The fact that I am studying outside the country worsened the situation. In fact, I could not avoid giving some money to a few of them, since it is considered as customarily ethical, though academically it might pose ethical problems. This however poses a great challenge to me since I have to be involved in the field. But one needs to consider how he is involved or detached with the people he studies. This may depend on what the informants expected from the researcher and what he is capable of providing. The challenge is that “researchers’ performances and reactions to them must be constantly reviewed, self-interrogated and re-interpreted” (Payne and Payne, 2004:95).

In addition, some also asked “how do we benefit from your research?”, “will you help bring the district capital back to my community?”, “are you coming to resolve the conflict for us?” and many other interesting questions. My response to them was all the time “I am not coming to resolve the dispute, neither will I help bring the administrative capital back to your community. I am a student and the study is for an academic purpose”. I sometimes added “it will contribute to knowledge by giving political leaders insights into issues to consider in implementing future public policies in order to avoid occurrence of similar disputes”. The latter may really not be true. This is in line with Srinivas et al (1979:11)’s observation that an ethnographer does not do fieldwork with the intention of benefiting the people he studied but rather to enhance his own career.

2.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter basically explained the methodological framework and methods that underpins this study. The study is mainly based on data collected during barely two months fieldwork at Adaklu-Anyigbe District. “Fieldwork” as used in this study refers to data collection stage of a research process. The fieldwork was carried out in Adaklu-Agotime Traditional Areas for barely two months to collect both primary and secondary data for this study. The primary data were mainly generated by in-depth interviews with the help of a well-designed semi-structured interview guide as a tool. In-depth interviews were carried out with seventeen out of twenty-nine informants made up of opinion leaders, chiefs and elders, political leaders and commoners. The respondents were selected through purposive sampling techniques based on their gender, occupation, ethnic group, Division in each traditional area, etc.

Official documents such as Legislative Instruments that established the Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly, committees’ reports, memoranda, press release and conferences, newspaper articles, journals, etc served as secondary data sources for the study.

The study employed mainly the qualitative research methods. This is due to the fact that the use of mixed (quantitative and qualitative) methods for the study has been constrained by limited time and inadequate financial resources.

The two months trip to a rural community to collect data for this study was met with certain challenges. These challenges range from methodological, ethical to moral issues. There were difficulties in getting the consent of some leaders to conduct interviews in their community and also with some respondents especially females to interview. It was also ethically and morally challenging when I have to respond to certain demands made by my respondents. My limited background in anthropology made my stay in the field a more challenging experience. It is therefore very important to always first consult and seek approval from leaders of one’s prospective informants in order to have easy access to their communities to carry out research. A researcher also has to be careful how s/he responds to demands made by their respondents by constantly reviewing, self-interrogating and re-interpreting their reactions to them.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The theoretical framework that underpins this study is general conflict theory. But for the purpose of developing conceptual discussions based on my research topic, different concepts from more specific discipline-based theories that explain how conflicts generate will also be employed. These will include anthropological theories of ethnicity and structural and psycho-cultural theories that may help explain conflict. This chapter is therefore devoted to explaining these theories and concepts within which the contention and antagonism between the two communities studied is analysed. The chapter will begin with conceptual explanation of the term conflict. Many of the influential works on ethnicity are anthropologically oriented. Therefore basic insights from anthropology into kinship and its implications for community organization, ethnicity and the very nature of articulation of local organization with modern state institutions will be discussed. In addition, I have applied social science studies of state-society relations, and specifically of local governance, laws and resistance to state policies and development interventions.

3.2 CONFLICT

Conflict is basically a struggle between individuals or groups over a range of issues such as scarce resource, claims to status, power and prestige, etc. Galtung, (1996) defines the term conflict generally as incompatibility of goals, or a clash of goals or 'mere' disagreement. Coser (1995) also defines social conflict broadly "as a struggle over values or claims to status, power and scarce resources, in which the aims of the conflicting parties are not only to gain the desired values, but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. Such conflicts may take place between individuals, between collectives, or between individuals and collectives" (quoted in Tonah, 2007:11). Hagan, 1995 complemented this definition by pointing out that conflicts are not primarily aimed at eliminating the opponent, but rather serve "to determine the relative standing, status, or balance of power or share in scarce resources that divergent interest groups can secure

in a given domain of competition. In this kind of conflict, a party may lose a position of dominance but may not be totally denied, or left bereft of status, power or resources, or excluded and eliminated from the field of competition” (Ibid).

Political scientists also perceive conflict in terms of struggle for access to opportunities and life chances within the existing political order. Conflict is therefore seen as a competition for rights and privileges that define citizenship within the nation-state. Some of these “rights” and “entitlements” in Ghana according to Ninsin (1995) include land, electoral rules and regulations, taxation, education and health policy, wages and salaries, chieftaincy, the location of development projects, demand for participation, etc. The denial of these “rights” or “entitlements” is a denial of citizenship and an invitation for conflict. In this connection, conflicts therefore, persist since institutionalized inequalities that have been socially and politically imposed exist (Tonah, 2007:12). As it shall be shown, each of the two contending communities believes they are entitled to the location of the district capital in their various communities and therefore tend to mobilize their group to defend it.

Conflict is therefore an expression of life and an inescapable reality of every society. They are not necessarily socially undesirable. In fact, some conflicts are not only inevitable but also vital for social change.

3.3 THE CONCEPT OF ETHNICITY

Ethnicity has been a debated yet useful concept. Its definition typically points to a group of people who can be said to share certain common cultural traits such as common ancestor, culture, language, etc. Its precise conceptualization nevertheless, varied according to different researchers and scholars. Ethnicity involves mobilization of or the creation of differences among social categories and groups. These differences could be real or fictitious. This could be seen as a delineation of the social environment into “we” and “them” classification. Brass (1996) defines ethnic groups in three ways: in terms of objective attribute, with reference to subjective feeling, and in relation to behaviour.

For the purpose of this study, I will dwell on the first two aspects of how the term is conceptualized. Schilder (1994) also supported this as important elements in defining ethnic groups. The objective definition of ethnicity asserts the existence of distinguishing cultural

features that clearly separates one category of people from another. Van Den Berghe (1978:97), who has much influence in the study of ethnicity, defined an ethnic group in an objective sense as a “collectivity that defines itself, and is defined by others, as possessing certain distinguishing cultural attributes in common”. These cultural characteristics may include language, religion, kinship pattern, territory, and physical appearance.

In the subjective sense, ethnicity or ethnic groups have to do with the consciousness of belonging to the same group as different from others. Max Weber’s (1968) definition of the term emphasized the subjective dimension of ethnicity. According to Weber, ethnic groups are “those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of custom or both or because of memories of colonization and migration” (Quoted in Croucher, 2004:117). The emphasis in this definition with regards to ancestry is not the objective fact of common blood, but the subjective belief of common descent. From these perspectives, ethnicity as a concept according to Cornell and Hartman (1998) can both be asserted and assigned.

From the above explanations of the different aspects of ethnicity, it could be argued that neither the objective attribute nor subjective feeling/belief can solely explain what an ethnic category is constituted of. As it shall be seen from this study, it is the interplay or combination of both dimensions that truly describes what constitute ethnic categories and groups. To contextualize my findings, the two traditional areas under this study qualified to be described as ethnic groups based on the above definitions. The objective and subjective elements are reflected in each of the two traditional areas. They originally have their own language¹² distinct from each other. As it shall be shown, though almost all the members in the two communities have been speaking the same ewe language for centuries as a result of ethnic assimilation, there is a dialectical difference. My investigations have revealed that they claim they have their distinct history, culture, and migration history. They consider themselves as separate entities. As will be documented their history of migration is one of the salient characteristics, on the basis of which they conceive of one another as distinct categories. However, I need to find out whether this notion of being

¹² The people of Adaklu Traditional area speak ewe language while the people of Agotime claimed to have originally had Ga Adangme as their language.

separate and distinct is socially constructed or based on “objective” features of historical differences.

In order to clarify this analytical challenge that is very crucial to this study, the study of the ‘boundary’ concept to ethnicity is useful. The term introduced by Barth (1969), seeks to differentiate between the notion of ethnicity and that of culture. Barth considers ethnicity as an aspect of social organization subject to environmental constraints, in which existing differences among people are selected out and serve to mark a ‘boundary’. As he pointed out, the “critical focus for investigation becomes the ethnic boundary that defines the group rather than the cultural stuff it encloses” (Barth, 1969:15). He maintained that these boundaries are social boundaries, which are sustained through continual expression and validation even though it may be based on occupation of exclusive territories.

The boundaries of ethnic groups are, thus constituted through the feature of self-ascription and ascription by others. In other words, ethnicity according to Barth (1969)¹³ and Wallman, (1979) depends on ascription from both sides of the group boundary. In other words, these are boundaries relationally constituted. These features, according to Tonah, (2007:7) who referred to Bartfield (1997), Vermuelen and Govers (1994), are bound up with ideologies of descent.

A boundary in this analytical sense therefore serves as a conceptual tool in understanding group relations. These boundaries may be latent and usually not talked about. Identification of these boundaries however results in drawing out the differences between categories (perhaps creating a dormant ethnic category), which might through processes of incorporation around common interest become groups. This usually occurs when there is political, social or economic interest at stake. These boundaries when asserted and emphasized in a resource competition of some sort are capable of producing either constructive or destructive actions. The two groups claimed they have different migration history and originally have different language. These distinctions were not talked about, but become important issues due to competition for location of the district capital by each group in their community.

¹³In Barth’s classical study among the Pathans and the Baluchi in Swat, Pakistan, the boundary was based on the use of different ecologic niches, so that in crossing the boundary a pathan became a Baluchi.

Though the two communities under this study share common geographical boundary and form part of the larger Ewe ethnic group and co-existed peacefully for a very long period of time, they currently identify themselves as different ethnic categories with different salient features such as descent, migration, culture and language. The drawing of these social boundaries and the process of incorporation into two ethnic groups has been made possible by decades' long process of claims of ownership to land and recent disagreement over the location of the administrative capital for the newly created Adaklu-Anyigbe Districts in the Volta Region.

Regardless of how ethnicity is defined, one fundamental debate about how groups acquire their characteristic and unique identity still persists. The debate has been ensuing mainly between the primordialists and the constructivists or social constructionists. According to the primordialists, there exists some primordial quality to ethnic identity. In other words, the distinction between people assumes something that is deeply rooted in the past. According to Isaac (1974), ethnicity is a form of "basic group identity" which in his words "consists of the ready-made set of endowments and identification that every individual shares with others from the moment of birth by the chance of the family into which he is born at that given time in that given place" Croucher, 2004:122). The assumption is that ethnic identity is located in common or shared descent which according to Barfield (1997) is "established through narratives of origin, migration and especially suffering at the hands of others" (Tonah, 2007:7).

Constructionists on the other hand, argue that ethnicity is changeable and subject to manipulation. It is constructed by elders of every group and transmitted unto the next generation. In other words, ethnic identity is not ancient, unchanging or inherent in a group's blood or misty past. It is rather according to Cozen et al (1992) "a cultural construction accomplished over historical time" (Croucher, 2004:128). The adherent of this school of thought such as Elwart (1989), Lenz (1998) therefore perceived ethnicity as an expression of short-term (economic interests and the cover for which individuals and groups pursue their self-interest (Tonah, 2007:8 & 9).

How has the anthropological concept of ethnicity been theorized by conflict theorists for the understanding of conflict between two or more ethnic groups? This is discussed below.

3.4 SOCIAL CONFLICT THEORY

In order to explain the kind of emerging/latent conflict between the two communities studied and its causes, I draw on social conflict theory, particularly protracted social conflict theory. Azar (1985:59) used the term ‘protracted social conflict’ (PSC) to designate “the type of on-going and seemingly unresolvable conflict”. Ryan also defined protracted conflict as “usually conflict between ethnic groups which have been going on for sometime, and which may appear to be unresolvable to the parties caught up in them”. Decades’ litigation between the two communities and the current contention over the location of the district capital under this study could be regarded as protracted social conflict. This dispute has been going on for sometime, though not in a violent form and seems to be irresolvable. There exist certain preconditions that are very crucial in shaping the genesis of such conflicts and that account for their prolonged nature. They are more likely to occur in societies that have, in the words of Azar (1985) “multicommunal compositions”.

According to Azar (1986:305) “the root of PSC are to be found at the interlocking nexus of underdevelopment, structural deprivation (political, economic and psychological) and communal or identity cleavages”. This implies that there is no single cause for or dimension to PSC. Many factors account for its emergence and the prolonged nature. The factors may include economic, political, institutional, cultural, geographical, psychological, and colonial. Protracted social conflict usually occurs when a specific group is discriminated against by those in authority or deprived of their basic human needs based on their communal identity. For example, the people of Adaklu pointed out that they were discriminated in terms of development by the Nkrumah-led government due to their communal identity with and support for the Progressive Party after independence. Azar argued that, “it is at this juncture of actual physical and psychological deprivation that structural victimization bursts into hostile and violent actions” (Azar, 1986:397).

Though this theoretical concept is interesting and actually to some degree underscores the kind of conflict under this study, it however fails to explain the role of different kinds of institutions in

triggering the contention. Thus for a comprehensive explanation and analysis of the causes of the dispute under this study, infra-theories namely structural and psycho-cultural conflict theories will serve as supplementary theories.

3.5 STRUCTURAL CONFLICT THEORY

Structural conflict is defined by Woodhouse (1996) as “an outcome of incompatible interests based on competition for scarce resources; it is objective because it is defined as largely independent of the perceptions of participants and emanates from power structures and institutions”. The structural theory recognises the competing interests of groups as the most important motivation for conflict. The competing interests however do not necessarily result in conflict between the competing groups. The emphasis here is the identification of power structures and institutions as causes of conflict. These institutions could be local or state institutions. In other words, they could be formal or informal institutions.

The structural factors can be triggered by immediate reasons or what Brown (1996) called the ‘proximate causes’. These factors change latent conflict into overt and sometimes violent conflict. Under this study, characteristics such as weakness in decision-making institution/institutional failures, lack of clear-cut decisions on the part of local and national political leaders, or failure to involve traditional authorities in making decisions that concern the areas under their jurisdiction are some of the factors that could be pointed to as constituting the triggers.

In reality, structural factors are very important in identifying the target of the hostile action by the groups engulfed in it. It may however not explain the intensity and the prolonged nature of that hostile behaviour, but another disposition namely; psycho-cultural may help for better explanation. This is what I now turn to.

3.6 PSYCHO-CULTURAL CONFLICT THEORY

Gunther (2004:135) pointed out that what people are negotiating or fighting about is a fundamental question in analysis of conflict. But there is another equally fundamental question

that remains poorly understood, namely, who is fighting whom and why? Rural communities and their members are, in fact, connected by “multiple networks and over the range of issues and concerns that constitute social life” (Turner 2004:870). Ross argued that “people do fight about real interests, but the way this is done, the intensity of feelings, and the lengths to which disputants go to defend or acquire what they believe is their due are evidence that pursuit of interests has an important psychological component which is not well understood”. The Psycho-cultural theory according to Ross “[e]mphasises the role of culturally shared, profound ‘we – they’ oppositions, the conceptualization of enemies and allies, and deep-seated dispositions about human action stemming from earliest development” of human society (Utterwulghe, 1999:4).

Protracted social conflicts quite often have ethnic dimension though the mere existence of ethnicity does not give rise to the conflict. As noted earlier, protracted conflict could occur as a result of discrimination against or deprivation of a specific group of their basic human needs on the basis of their communal belonging. One aspect of these human needs is the recognition and protection of identity. Identity is about psychological self-conception in which the self is identified with specific social and cultural attributes. It serves as a link between a specific category or group of people and at the same time differentiate one group from the other (Duijzings, 2000:18; Jenkins, 1996:3&4).

From the definition of ethnicity or ethnic group, it is clear that ethnicity is a special form of identification in which group’s history and cultural traditions are emphasized. Ethnicity as a form of identity formation plays an important role in escalation, duration and intensity of conflict. Identities associated with ethnicity constitute part of the psychological process that leads to the formation of psycho-cultural dispositions that cause groups to enter into antagonistic and, worse of it, violent interactions. According to Jenkins (1996:47), “identity is an aspect of the emotional and psychological constitution of individuals, correspondingly, bound up with the maintenance of personal integrity and security, and may be extremely resistant to change”.

Protracted conflicts, according to Azar (1986), are “identity-driven” (Crighton and Iver 1991:127.) In these conflicts, there is the ‘fear of extinction’ (Horowitz, 1985), ‘fear of the future’ (Rothchild, 1996), all of which has the same underlying element, ‘the fear of threat of loss of identity’ (Crighton and Iver, 1991; Utterwulghe, 1999). This usually results from history of

humiliation, oppression, victimhood, feeling of inferiority, persecution of one's group and other kinds of discrimination. The histories usually present the origins of different groups, the nature of their relationships, and their place in the social structure. The role of history, the 'past', in shaping the beliefs of one group over the intention of another cannot be over emphasized. Lake and Rothchild (1996:51) observed that "[a]ctors form beliefs subjectively, largely on the basis of past interactions". These subjective beliefs, either real or perceived, are distorted, exaggerated over time and usually portrays one's group as heroic and superior while denigrating the other.

As it shall be seen from this study, oral histories, including histories of migrations, are subject to reinterpretation related to new occurrences. They are used in identity formation in order to differentiate one group from the other and used as claims of ownership to land and entitlement to other development opportunities. The identity politics is becoming very crucial to every individual or groups. In order to protect it, individuals or groups behave in a distorted and possibly violent way. When the feeling of inferiority, 'backwardness' and helplessness become part of a group's feeling according to Utterwulghé (1999:5), "it will induce the group to react by initiating violence or using the political system to transform the situation".

It is important however to point out that just as one or more structural component(s) cannot be used as the only source of protracted ethnic conflict, so also the psychological disposition cannot be cited solely as a source. Horowitz also argues this out. According to him, "[t]he sources of ethnic conflict are not to be found solely in the psychology of group juxtaposition, but they cannot be understood without a psychology, an explanation that takes account of emotional concomitants of group traits and interactions" (Horowitz, 1985:181-182). Both structural features of social and political institutions and psychological dispositions together could therefore better explain the source of protracted ethnic conflict.

3.7 CONCLUSION

Conflict is basically conceptualized in terms of disagreement over or competition for scarce resources, status, power, etc. In other words, conflict may occur as a struggle between individuals or groups over what the parties' involved believe is their rights or entitlements. From the above discussion, conflict can be seen in both negative and positive perspectives, since it permeates the fabric of society. It is socially desirable, an indispensable and crucial part of every society.

The “objective” characteristics and subjective feeling of a group provide insights in understanding the concept of ethnicity and ethnic group. They however pose serious analytical challenge as it is difficult to determine the ethnic boundaries with the “objective” features, and difficult, if not impossible, to determine how a group of people arrives at the subjective consciousness in the first place. The introduction of “boundary” concept, which differentiates between the notion of ethnicity and that of culture, provide a more interactional approach to the study of ethnicity. Ethnicity has thus been considered as an alternative form of social organization, but a contingent and changeable. Ethnic groups thus may use ethnicity to make demands in order to alter their status, their economic well-being, their civil rights, etc. in the political arena.

The social conflict theory holds primary relevance for the analysis of the study. Notwithstanding its usefulness for understanding the underlying causes of conflicts among contesting groups, the theory fails to help explain the role played by institutional structures in conflicts.

The weakness identified with general social conflict theory called for the structural conflict theory and the psycho-cultural theories as supplementary theories to help with the comprehensive analysis and understanding of conflict beyond the remotely interlocking nexus of underdevelopment, structural deprivation, and communal or identity cleavages deprivations propounded by social conflict theories as factors that explain conflicts.

The structural conflict theory highlights failures in institutional structures that lead to the violent eruption of latent generational conflict that had built up within groups as a result of factors better explained by social and psycho-cultural conflict theorists. Psycho-cultural theorists lay emphasis on the politics of identity cleavages as drawing of boundaries of ethnic conflict among groups. It is from the complementary understanding of the independent variables emphasized by these three theories of conflict that the Adaklu-Anyigbe conflict can better be analyzed and understood by the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 TRADITIONAL POLITICAL/SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND HISTORICAL ISSUES IN ADAKLU-ANYIGBE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the past and the present historical and political issues concerning the two communities and their connections with the current conflict. The political issues will centre on the traditional political institutions that govern local communities in the Ghanaian society with particular reference to Adaklu and Agotime Traditional Areas. It will also discuss the past and present roles of traditional authorities in governance in the Ghanaian society. This is aiming at understanding the role played by traditional authorities in the dispute between the two traditional areas over the location of the district capital. The location of the district capital became contended by the two communities, among other things, based on opposing claims of ownership to land. These claims that featured prominently in the dispute were based on migration history of the ethnic groups. The chapter will also therefore discuss the oral history of migration of the two traditional areas and the subsequent land litigation between them.

4.2 SEMI-TRADITIONAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND GOVERNANCE

In this study, I refer to the current traditional political institutions in Ghanaian society and in many Africa countries as “semi-traditional” political institutions. This is due to the fact that the institution that existed before colonization has been influenced and transformed by modern colonial administration. In order to fully understand the dispute over the location of district capital for the Adaklu-Anyigbe District, it is important to have a thorough knowledge about the semi-traditional political institutions that govern life in Ewe communities in particular and Ghanaian society in general. The political organization of each of the traditional areas could be described as a centralized system. Centralized political system used here could be understood, to some degree, in the sense of Fortes and Evans-Prichard’s definition of centralized society (Nukunya, 1992:67 & 68; Arhin, 2002:4). They used it to refer to a society with rulers or a

society with a chief or king whose authority was recognized by all those who fell within clearly demarcated boundaries over which he exercised his authority. The territory over which the chief/king exercised his authority also had administrative machinery and judicial institutions that were defined and well developed.

The areas under this study in the same sense have their various chiefs who exercised jurisdiction over wide areas and have clear-cut boundaries¹⁴. It is however important to point out that the political organization of the two communities under this study and of the Ghanaian society in general is not exactly the same as those societies described by Fortes and Evans-Prichard in the 1940s and 50s. There are considerable differences between the two societies in terms of the size of territory, attitudes of the subjects to, and respect for, the chief and the chief's influence over his subjects and sub-chiefs. For example, the territories of many of the traditional states in Ghana are smaller than those territories in Fortes and Evans-Prichard's society. That is, the territories over which many of the Ghanaian chiefs wield their authority are relatively smaller. The well defined and developed administrative and judicial institutions have also undergone tremendous changes due to the influence of the colonial and modern state institutions.

The traditional political institution of the areas under this study, in Ghana, as in African society in general, is usually referred to as chieftaincy. The institution revolves around traditional authorities generally referred to as Chiefs¹⁵. Traditional authorities derived their legitimacy from immemorial customs sanctioned by religious, cultural and historical divine rights. At the top of the hierarchy of the chieftaincy institution, is a Paramount Chief who is the traditional and political head and the president of the Traditional Council. The Paramount Chief is also the Commander In Chief of the Traditional Council and a direct representative of the State. The Paramount Chief of Agotime is referred to as the Konor while that of the Adaklu is referred to as Togbega (literally the big Chief).

¹⁴ This is supported by Nukunya 1992 who cited the the Ga, Adangbe etc. as an example. The clearly demarcated geographical area over which the chiefs exercised political power as rulers in the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods is referred to as the Traditional State.

¹⁵ Others use Indigenous Authorities, Customary Rulers and also referred to as Native Authorities by the British colonial administration.

Below the Paramount Chief is the queen mother called Manye and Mama at Agotime and Adaklu Traditional Areas respectively. Each town has a queen mother. In other words, wherever there is a chief there is also a queen mother. The Paramount queen mother is the traditional head of all the queen mothers. She is responsible for issues concerning women. She and other queen mothers are responsible for rituals concerning women such as Dipo¹⁶, Fu nyinyi¹⁷, and Vidzikpe¹⁸. They also settle petty disputes among women to ensure that all women live in peace and harmony.

In each of the two traditional areas there are three main Divisions¹⁹ with their Divisional Heads. The three Divisions of Agotime include Adonten, Nifa and Benkum Divisions while that of Adaklu includes Abuadi, Govia and Hlekpe Divisions. At Adaklu Traditional Area, these three Divisions are referred to as Senior Divisions²⁰. This is because under each of the three Senior Divisions there are two other Divisions. This implies that there are six Divisional chiefs that assist the three Senior Divisional Chiefs. At Agotime, the Chief of Adonten Division, as earlier, mentioned is referred to as Adontenhene which has twelve Asafoatseme (Clans) under him at Afegame²¹. He occupies the Ogyawu Stool of Bedze Kpenu Clan of Agotime Afegame and acts as the president in the absence of the Paramount Chief.

It is important to note the Adontenhene of Agotime claimed that his Division does not recognize the Paramount Chief whose palace is located at Kpetoe since Kpetoe is not their original settlement. He therefore claimed that he is either the Paramount Chief over the area or there are four paramountcies to one of which he is the Paramount Chief. Nifa (Right Wing) Division is headed by Nifahene. He occupies the Leanini Stool and has seven Asafoatseme under him. Benkum (Left Wing) Division is headed by Benkumhene. There are various other divisional chiefs that perform special functions such as caring for the children aged for the orderly functioning of a traditional area.

Within each Division there are clans and sub-clans (kpornuwo/ehlor). In every kpornu there is a lineage and family head (fome tator or fome metsitsi/ wem tse/hlortator) usually the oldest male

¹⁶ Puberty rites performed for girls at their puberty stage of life.

¹⁷ Rites performed for women in their maiden pregnancy.

¹⁸ Rites performed for women after their first child birth.

¹⁹ A Division is a number of clans put together.

²⁰ Seniority here implies higher status. That is, the Senior Division is a combination of two Divisions whose Divisional Heads are directly responsible to the Senior Divisional Head.

²¹ Afegame was the first settlement of the people of Agotime Traditional Area on their arrival at the present home.

member of the clan or lineage. The clan leader organizes the members of the clan, helps to settle disputes among the members within the clan, serves as a custodian of the property of the clan and therefore performs rituals on behalf of the clan.

4.2.1 THE PAST AND PRESENT ROLE OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES IN GOVERNANCE

It is instructive to note that like the semi-traditional institutions mentioned earlier, the role of traditional authorities in Ghana and Africa as a whole has obviously never been static. During the pre-colonial days traditional authorities performed the executive, legislative, and the judicial functions of the state through well-established structures. The constitutional executive authority and an administrative machine provided by the political system comprised the Paramount Chief, War Leader, the Right Wing, Left Wing and the Central Wing²². The central traditional authority was involved in serious cases such as war, judicial matters and cleansing of the Stool. The judicial institution was referred to as Council of Elders comprising the Clan Heads and Divisional Chiefs. This Council exercised judicial powers in matters concerning chieftaincy such as enstoolment, destoolment, stool disputes and land cases between clans and tribes.

This prestige and sovereignty enjoyed by the traditional authorities was however re-shaped by the imposition of colonial rule which had been legitimized by Orders-in-Councils and Ordinances. The institution transformed and became only a sub-unit of the colonial administration judicial system, adjudicating breaches of by-laws, which had been sanctioned by the British. Some of the policies and activities of the traditional authorities such as collection of levies for development had been perceived by the colonial government as extortionate and instruments of oppression and therefore regarded as despotic acts (Brempong, 2006:28). The role of the traditional authorities in governance was therefore seriously curtailed. This diminished role attracted the displeasure of the traditional authorities and their reactions were reflected in their support and active role in the nationalist and independence movements in Ghana in the 1940s. However the Order-in-Council

²² The three Wings are the three main Divisions of the traditional area.

of 1951 following the recommendations of Watson 1948 and Coussey 1949 reports²³ recognised the traditional authorities, though in a diminished role, in the Legislative Assembly and in the Local Government.

Additionally, the 1957 Independence Constitution later provided for the establishment of Regional Assemblies who were mainly given local government functions and House of Chiefs in the regions who were to resolve chieftaincy disputes involving traditional areas. The formal legislative, judicial and local government functions were however taken from the traditional authorities when the Local Council Act (1958) under Nkrumah abolished the Native Authority Tribunals. The Nkrumah-led government thus reduced the role of the traditional authorities to customary and social leadership, thereby making them public agents of the government.

Interestingly, the 1969 Constitution that ushered in the second Republic revived the institution by affirming the formal role of National House of Chiefs. The chiefs were assigned specific functions within the regional and local government structures. Their participation in local government was however subject to the will of the elected members of the council. In the District Councils, the traditional authorities were given the power to choose one-third of the membership in accordance with traditional customary usage. Provisions were also made for the inclusion of two chiefs from the Regional House of Chiefs in the Regional Councils. The 1979 Constitution also retained the Regional and National House of Chiefs as provided for in the 1969 Constitution. There was also no significant change in its provision on local government as contained in the 1969 Constitution.

This however changed under the 1992 Constitution of the Fourth Republic, which rather assigned more specific and limited roles to traditional authorities in the executive branch of government at all levels. Though the Constitution made provision for two chiefs for the Regional House of Chiefs to serve on the respective Regional Co-coordinating Councils, it did not make any provision for automatic membership of chiefs in the Districts. Thirty per cent of the total membership is to be appointed by the president in consultation with traditional authorities and

²³ Watson commission was set up to investigate disturbances in the Gold Coast in 1948. The Coussey committee was set up to study and make recommendations on the reports of the Watson Committee. The committees recommended that chiefs should have place in the governance of the country.

other interest groups in the district but chiefs can only serve if they are included in this thirty per cent. Chiefs are also excluded by the constitution from taking part in “active” party politics.

Though the 1992 Constitution prescribed specific roles to the chiefs, the facts on the ground presently do not completely reflect that diminished role. Though the leaders and officials of the state including the DCEs, the hub around which the present decentralized system of administration revolves, who work at the grass root level, the traditional authorities still exercise great influence in the local communities. They regard themselves as the legitimate authorities. This usually leads them into conflict with the DCEs, who also consider themselves as the rightful authorities in the local communities. Traditional authorities also serve as agents of socio-economic development and maintain law and order in their areas of authority. Culturally, they make their own laws sometimes without regard to the District Assemblies. In the Traditional Councils, Regional and National House of Chiefs provided for by the 1992 Constitution, the chiefs arbitrate disputes outside the regular court involving traditional leaders and also serve as advisors to the central government on customary laws and practices. The Constitution also provided for the appointment of chiefs to important government agencies. This portrays them as joint-guardians with the government of the day, which is very crucial for the interest of the state (Brempong, 2006:27).

In fact, as already suggested, the chiefs in the present Ghanaian society exercise more power and influence than the 1992 Constitution envisaged. In deed, Ghana is perceived as a unitary state in international relations, but it could be seen as a state of divided sovereignty – the modern Ghanaian State and the semi-traditional State (See for example Ray, 1996). This is due to the dual nature of state making, a kind of colonial legacy. In Africa, the restructured traditional state was allowed by the colonial administrators to exist alongside the modern state (Mamdani, 1996) while in Europe, the traditional institutions were dismantled and the traditional state subjugated to the modern state (Tilly, 1990).

4.3 HISTORY OF MIGRATION OF THE EWE ETHNIC GROUPS

The collection of the oral history of migration of the two communities was necessitated by the conflicting claims over land between the two communities. The two traditional areas used the

claims of ownership to land extensively, particularly the Adaklu Traditional Area, to justify why the district capital should be sited in their respective areas. In order to probe these claims, during my fieldwork I asked the respondents from both communities how they came to reside on and own the land. They therefore openly resorted to their early history of migration to substantiate their claims. The case between these two communities is not an isolated one. As far as Ghana is concerned, many societies have similar oral histories of migration. This is sometimes used as a customary practice to determine who owns a particular area or a piece of land. In many circumstances, the group that arrives first and settles there or farms on the land usually claims ownership over that land.

In spite of these claims, no documented history of migration on the two traditional areas in government archives, or in colonial or post-colonial historical works was found during my fieldwork research. I therefore have to rely on oral history from the two groups. However, authorities of Agotime Traditional Area are currently in the process of documenting their oral history of migration²⁴. The oral histories of migration between the two ethnic groups run contrary to each other in certain respects. While all the informants from Adaklu and the DCE who is also a native of Adaklu claimed to have arrived first on the land, most of the respondents from Agotime also claimed to have arrived early and occupied an uninhabited land. A few of my informants from Agotime however believed that the Adaklus might probably have been on the land before their arrival since they are part of the Ewe ethnic group²⁵ that occupies the whole area.

Oral history of the Ewes, Gas and Adangmes holds that these groups and other groups migrated from the east in the region of ancient western Sudan²⁶. The Ewes are believed to have descended from east of the River Niger, traveling westward. However oral tradition and identifiable ritual

²⁴ One of the chiefs is documenting the history of Agotime Traditional Area. The chief once wrote on the oral history of the group which was taken from verbal legend as an academic work. He is currently documenting it because the legend is being distorted by many people even among the people of the traditional area and also believes that very soon the legend will get lost.

²⁵ The Ewe people inhabit the territory equivalent, roughly to the south-eastern quarter of Ghana and the southern half of Togo. The Ewe country is bounded by the rivers MONO, VOLTA and extends from the Atlantic coast inland up to about latitude 7,6'N in the east and latitude 7,20N in the west. Across the south-eastern boundary live a related people – the FON of Benin (formerly Dahomey) (Amenumey, 1986).

²⁶ The area known as western Sudan encompasses the broad expanse of savanna that stretches between the vast Sahara Desert to the north and the tropical rain forests of the Guinea coast to the south. The Region is drained by River Niger (www.metmuseum.org). Accessed on 15th June, 2008.

objects of the Ewes have also confirmed that the Ewes migrated from Ketu, a Yoruba town currently located in the state of Benin, and the Gas from the Benin state of Nigeria (Nukunya, 1992:5). According to the accounts, while the Ewe group settled at Ketu and later moved to settle briefly at Tado also presently located in Benin (Amenumey, 1986), the Ga-Adangmes including the people of the present Agotime also moved from Oyo Empire to settle at Ile-Ife, in Nigeria. The Ewe group²⁷ however traced their ancestral origin from Notsie in a federated region currently located within the state of Togo. According to the legend of the Ewe group, they were led by an elderly man called Togbe Wenya to escape from the wicked rule of king Agorkoli in Notsie. The fugitives left Notsie in three major groups. The first group moved to settle in the north and north-western part of Notsie; the second group went directly westwards and; the third group went southwards to settle in the coastal region. The settlements of all the three groups are located in the present day Togo and Ghana (Amenumey, 1986)²⁸. When the accounts of the Ewes were first recorded in the 20th Century, tradition dated the arrival of the Ewes in their new home ten or more generations back. In addition, the tradition of the Ewes with regards to their arrival is evidenced in identifiable sites, recorded history and archaeological reconstruction. Based on these facts, the Ewes must have acceded to their new home during the early seventeenth century (Amenumey, 1986).

4.3.1 THE ADAKLU PEOPLE

The people of Adaklu, who according to the account were the original prayer leaders (Gbekorwo) of the Ewe group from Notsie, were part of a second group that moved directly westwards. They claimed to have first settled at Tsrefe around the mountain, which is now referred to as Adaklu Mountain. According to the people of Adaklu, they share boundaries with Ave (another Ewe group) and Togo. The Adaklus claimed that Ziope, the third Traditional Area in the district was named after one Torgbui Zior, a citizen of Adaklu whose farm village became a resting place for travelers. According to the oral history of the Adaklu, the current people of Ziope are settlers from different Ewe groups especially the Anlos and Avenors²⁹. The Adaklus claimed that the people of Agotime are migrants from Lekpoh who fled from war and came to ask for land from

²⁷ This excludes the people of Agotime who traced their origin different from other ewe-speaking groups.

²⁸ See also www.metmuseum.org. Accessed on 15th June, 2008.

²⁹ Anlo and Avenor belong to the Ewe group that went southward and shared boundary, and speak the same language but with dialectical difference.

their forefathers who directed them to go and stay among the fan-palm trees (known as Agotime in the Ewe language), which became their name till the present day.

4.3.2 THE AGOTIME PEOPLE

The account of Agotime is quite different from the version given by the people of Adaklu³⁰. Although the people of Agotime agreed with the Adaklus that the Ziope tribe was formed by scattered remnants of Anlos and Avenors, they however formerly disagreed with the Adaklu about how Ziope tribe was formed and their own origin. The Agotime people claimed that the Ziope Traditional Area was formed after a war between the Agotimes and Ashantis during which the Anlos supported the Ashantis.

The Agotimes who, according to their oral history were referred to as the Lehs, traced their origin to the Nuer clan of the ancient Sudan. The Lehs believed to have been among the Neolithic (later referred to as Negro) race that settled in the Oyo Empire³¹, and later settled at Ile-Efe of the present day Nigeria. They later moved southwards in small canoes and settled at Poni and Lahe (both simply referred to as Lekpon now known as Kpon) in the present Tema, Osudoku, Ningo and Ada³² in Ghana. The Lehs were believed to have been the first people to settle on the coast between 1300 and 1400 AD where they mined salt from the Songhor lagoon³³. They believed their Stool³⁴ produced the salt by supernatural means, and therefore referred to it as Ntsrifo (Salt Giver) which is the present Paramount Stool of the Agotimes.

Due to strong commercial interests of other tribal groups in the Songhor lagoon, the Lehs met a strong revolt from the people of Akwamu and other tribes³⁵ who drove them away towards the Volta estuary. They fought the Akwamus for over twenty years, but could not re-establish their power. The Lehs later fought the people of Beh and Fon³⁶ and drove them away beyond the Popo

³⁰ This account is based on the oral history from all the respondents and a rough draft history of Agotime.

³¹ Oyo Empire was one of the largest West African ancient states that existed between 1600 and 1836.

³² These are names of towns situated at the southern coast of Ghana.

³³ Songhwa lagoon is currently located at the south-eastern coast of the present Ghana.

³⁴ A small black object usually rapped in Calico and used as a fetish.

³⁵ The Akwamu tribe is located at the southern part of Ghana.

³⁶ Beh and Fon are tribes in the present day Togo and Benin.

River³⁷. The Lehs took possession of the land and made Glidzi their capital. The Lehs also claimed that they defeated the Dahome army and thus finally settled on lands occupied by the people of Fon and Dahome.

After the Lehs came into contact with the Ewe speaking tribes in the nineteenth century, a process of ethnic assimilation took place between the vassal states who are ewe-speaking groups and the original Lehs. As a result, the Lehs, except those who still reside in their first settlement (Afegame), lost their language to the dominant Ewe language. The Ewe-speaking tribes used to refer to Leh people as the ‘war-like tribes living among the fan-palm tree’ (Agotimea wo), which became the name of the Lehs till the present day. This means that the Lehs (Agotimes) dispute the claim by the Adaklu that they were given land by the forefathers of the Adaklu people, but rather got their present land after defeating the tribes of Ando, Atsyi, Ave, Edji, etc. – tribes that had been part of the Ewe speaking groups that migrated from Notsie. Is this their basis for claiming legitimate ownership of their land and not as “migrants” living on Adaklu land?

With the appearance of the Germans in Ewe land around 1880, the Agotimes state³⁸ was seriously disturbed, as many vassal states regained their independence from Agotime through mere declarations by the German Governor. The Germans gave autonomy to some of the weaker states and liberated others and gave them equal recognition as states. Though this led to loss of status by most of title holders and affected the powers of the Paramount Chief, it made the area peaceful. According to their account, this saw the Adaklus reentered parts of the lands towards the Agotime territory, laying claim to many areas (including Agotime, Mafi, Adidome and Abutia).

The area became more peaceful since 1888 when the British signed treaty with Agotime to live in peace with other tribes and also acknowledged the local Head Chief of Eweland as their Head king. They were also made by the British to declare that they would not enter into treaty with any

³⁷ Popo River is located at Anexo in the present day Togo.

³⁸ The state was formed through subjugation of smaller states through war.

other foreign powers³⁹. The Agotimes thus co-existed peacefully with all other tribes including Adaklu.

4.4 LAND LITIGATION IN ADAKLU-ANYIGBE

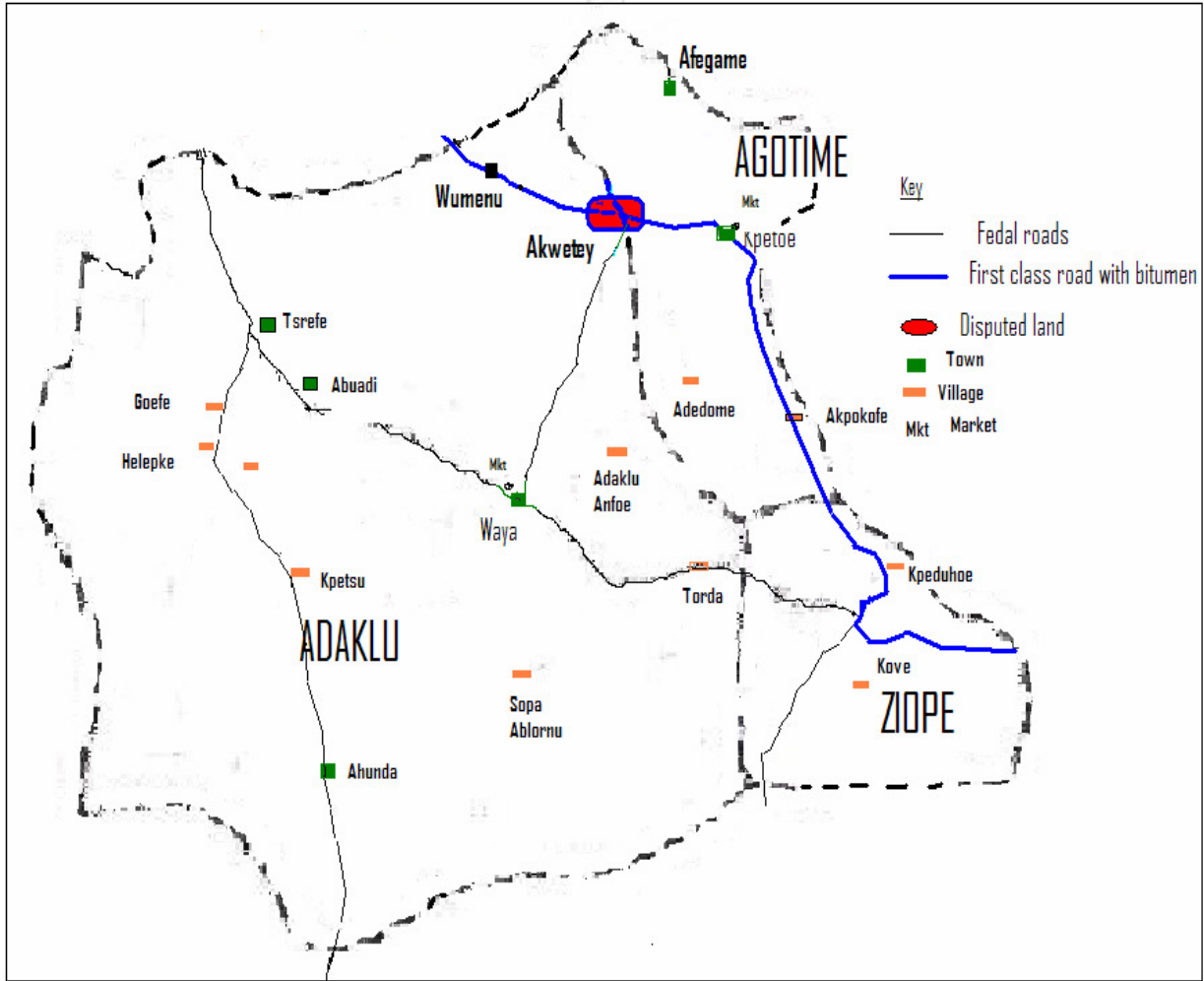
Since the colonial period, there have been claims of ownership to land by the two communities. Based on their oral history, the people of Adaklu Traditional Area claimed that they are the original owners of the land presently occupied by the people of Agotime, Ziope, Abutia and Mafi Traditional Areas. Agotime and Ziope Traditional Areas have rejected this. There were, however, claims over specific vast farming land lying between the two communities called Akwetteh (map attached). The claims over the land are being made between the Wemenu clan of Adaklu and Atsati clan of Afegame within Agotime. This piece of land was once part of state-owned commercial farm and a central market. The land was good for arable farming and had sheabutter trees, which are used for economic purposes. Hunting for species such as grasscutter⁴⁰ is also done on this land and trees on the land are used for burning charcoal. This piece of land is also being used for cultivation of cassava, yam and groundnut on a large scale⁴¹.

³⁹ Extracted from one of such treaties signed on July 3, 1888 in the memorandum from Agotime to the committee on Adaklu-Anyigbe District.

⁴⁰ Grasscutter meat is a delicacy for the people in the area.

⁴¹ Source: Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly; Situational Analysis of the Adaklu-Anyigbe District.

Map I: Adaklu-Anyigbe District showing disputed land.



Source: This is a sketch by the author (2007).

These claims, in the mid 1980s, became a serious litigation case between the two traditional areas. The residents of both traditional areas claimed ownership over the land, but none of them was able to provide any written document in support of their claims. It can be argued that inability of societies to provide legal documents of entitlement of land could be a source of conflict in Ghana. Many societies rely on oral tradition to justify their claims to land.

If land litigation between Agotime and Adaklu was not new to land conflicts in modern Ghana; neither is the institutional procedures used by litigants for the resolution of land conflicts. The litigation between the two communities traveled from the Local Court to the Court of Appeal

where judgments were given. The judgment at the Local Court was given in favour of Agotime. However, that of the Appeal Court was in favour of Adaklu. While Adaklu claimed that the Appeal Court judgment of 15th July 1985 (Civil Division No. 85/85)⁴² ended the case between them, the Agotime indicated that, as at the time of my fieldwork in 2007, the case was recently revived and still pending at the Supreme Court⁴³.

The above introductory historical narratives of the almost contradictory oral tradition of migrations form the context in which, both latent and overt conflicts for territorial control and dominance, and counter claims to land ownership were made. One could understand why the two traditional areas competed for, as well as lobbied government political elites over, the sitting of the district capital in their respective traditional areas when Government in 2003 created the new Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly. The sitting of the district capital was perceived by each traditional area as something that affirms their traditional supremacy over the other rival group. The discussion in the next chapter turns to the politics of the establishment of local government structures in the Adaklu-Anyigbe.

4.5 CONCLUSION

The two traditional areas under this study as discussed have separate but similar semi-traditional political and social organization. The social organization is closely linked to the semi-traditional political institution. The basic unit of organizing people in the two communities is from the family through lineage, clans, sub-Divisions and senior Divisions to the Paramountcy.

From the oral historical narratives of migration, it is difficult to clearly establish claims of ownership over land by each contesting traditional area. These claims have thus led to litigation between the two communities for a long period. Perhaps, the conflict analyst would have to move beyond unverified oral histories of migrations to a focus on the traditional political and social organization of the people to understand the multiple reasons for the dispute between the communities, as well as its dynamics over time.

⁴² Cited in the Report of the Committee on Adaklu-Anyigbe District (2005:33).

⁴³ This is confirmed in the report of the Committee set up by the government to investigate the crisis (ibid).

From the above discussions, the cause of the dispute over the location of the district capital between the two communities could therefore be characterized as having both historical and contemporary causes. The historical cause of the dispute points to the earlier claims of ownership and the subsequent land litigation between them. The creation of the new district and the location of the capital could be pointed to as the immediate trigger of a more overt conflict. Two elements in this chapter also stand out; objective and subjective elements (an ethnic dimension) as a likely central cause of the dispute. This will be further discussed in chapter six.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 GHANA'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM AND THE CREATION OF THE ADAKLU-ANYIGBE DISTRICT ASSEMBLY

This chapter discusses the nature, structure, and functions of Ghana's local government system to understand the rationale for its creation to govern local communities. The chapter also looks at the politics of local government preceding the conflict in the study areas. A chronological account of the creation of the new Adaklu-Anyigbe District by the Government, and the subsequent stages of the conflict between the Adaklu and Agotime Traditional Areas over the sitting of the district capital will be presented.

5.1 THE CURRENT LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM

Extending governance to the grassroots has been the concern of successive governments over the years in modern Ghana. After the assumption of political power by the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), a military government in 1981, the structure of local government in Ghana saw a comprehensive change with the subsequent promulgation of PNDC Law 207 in 1988, which aimed at encouraging more grassroots participation. (Ayee and Amponsah, 2003:52). The PNDC Law 207 was succeeded later by Chapter 20 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, and repealed by the Local Government Act, Act 462 of 1993. Act 462 of 1993 provided the overall framework for the current decentralization programme in Ghana⁴⁴. The total number of the District Assemblies remained at 110 until the ever first democratically changed of government occurred.

⁴⁴ *Legislation on Ghana's Decentralization Programme*

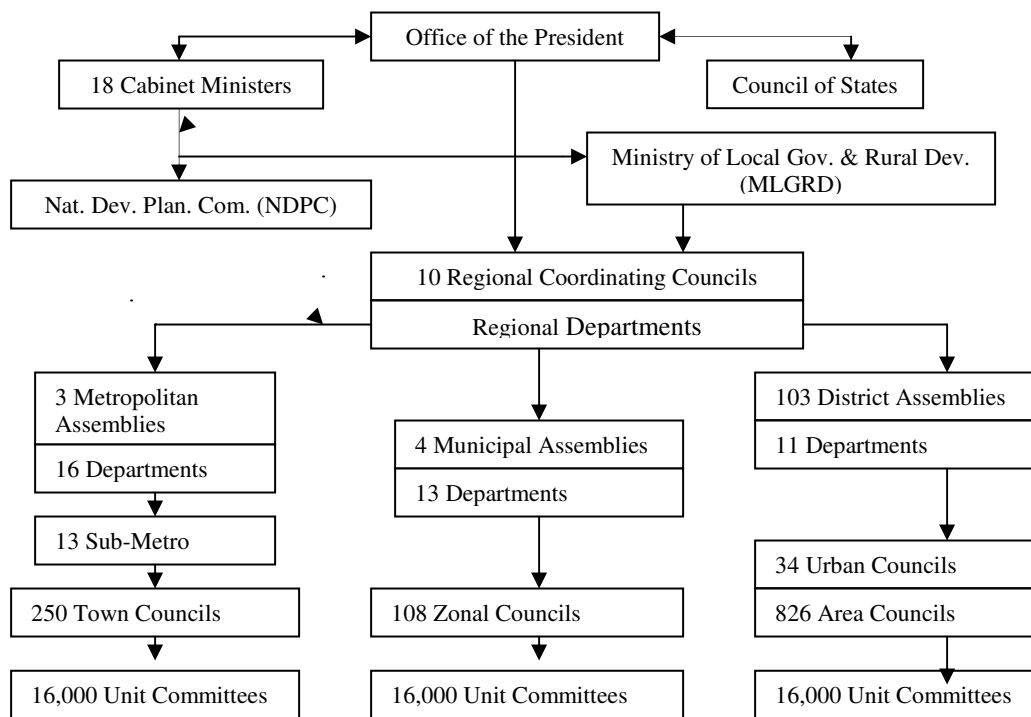
The 1992 Constitution (Chapters 8 and 20); PNDC Law 207, 1988 which has been repealed by Local Government Act (Act 462), 1993; The Civil Service Law (PNDC Law 327), 1993; Legislative instrument (LI) 1514, 1991, which has been repealed by LI 1589, 1994; District Assembly Common Fund Act (Act 445), 1993; the National Development Planning Commission Act (Act 479), 1994; the National Development Planning (System) Act (Act 480) and the Legislative Instruments of 1988/89 that created the 110 District Assemblies (DAs). Source: Ayee and Amponsah, 2003:53

The local government structure contained in the 1992 Constitution, provided for the creation of DAs in the rural areas, Municipal and Metropolitan Assemblies in the urban centres. Adaklu, Agotime, Ziope and Ho were prior to this period one district and still remained the same during this period.

The composition of a DAs includes the following: one person from each electoral area elected by Universal Adult Suffrage on non-partisan basis, a Presiding Member elected by the members, one DCE appointed by the President who must be approved by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting at the meeting, MP(s) from the constituencies that fall within the DA and thirty per cent of the total membership of the assembly appointed by the president in consultation with traditional authorities and other interest groups (Act 462, section 5 and 20; Boateng, 1996:129).

Below the District Assembly are sub-district structures which are mainly consultative bodies with no budgets of their own and do not have the power to tax. These include Sub-Metropolitan District Councils (SMDCs) established for settlement with population above 100,000, Urban Councils (UCs) for settlement with population above 15,000, Town Councils (TCs) created for settlement with population between 5,000 and 15,000, Zonal Councils (ZCs) for population of 3000 and finally Unit Committees (UCs) for settlements with a population of between 500 and 1,500 (Ibid; Ayee and Amponsah, 2003:64).

The Structure of Decentralization in Ghana⁴⁵



Source: Ayee and Amponsah, 2003:71

5.2 THE POLITICS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE ADAKLU-ANYIGBE

The introduction of Indirect Rule by the British imperial authorities in 1878 opened for a significant role of chiefs in the decentralization process in Ghana⁴⁶. Indirect rule was a policy aimed at creating opportunity for chiefs to exercise local government functions in order to modify the indigenous system to suit modern conditions of local government (Ayee and Amponsah, 2003:50). This saw the establishment of Native Authorities (NAs)⁴⁷, who performed both judicial functions within their jurisdiction and serve as local government units with the powers to make bye-laws that concern local matters. The judicial powers involved trying and resolving of cases

⁴⁵ The number of District/Municipal/Metropolitan Assemblies is constantly reviewed by Central Government. Currently the number is 138. Even new ones are being created across the country as at the time of writing this thesis.

⁴⁶ The Indirect Rule policy was introduced by the British upon the realization that they lacked the necessary resources and institutions to administer the territories by themselves.

⁴⁷ The Constitutions of the Republic of Ghana replaced it with "Traditional Councils" (see for example Brempong, 2006).

that relate to disputes over ownership, possession or occupation of land. They were composed of non-elected paramount chiefs, sub-chiefs and elders who portrayed themselves as “an enlightened and benevolent oligarchy” (Ayee and Amponsah, 2003:50).

During this period, Adaklu, Agotime and Ziope Traditional Areas were brought under Asogli Traditional Area to form Asogli Native Authority with oversight responsibility from the District Commissioner. Following the promulgation of Gold Coast Ordinance of 1951, a new form of decentralized government was introduced in 1952 based on the recommendations of the Watson Commission (1948), the Coussey Committee (1949), as noted in the previous chapter, and later reinforced by Greenwood Commission (1956). The areas were re-demarcated based on population and economic viability of the area (Ibid; see also Arhin, 2002:111; Brempong, 2006:29) unlike the NA which was based on chieftom. Economic viability of the area meant potential capacity of the area to generate local revenue for the local government units.

Traditional areas that were large and strong enough were constituted as one council and recognized as such. Where they were too small and weak, they were added to a bigger one or amalgamated with neighbouring ones to form a viable council (Nukunya, 1992:118). Three local government councils were established in the current study area namely, Djigbe Local Council, Asogli Local Council and Anyigbe Local Council⁴⁸ which had its headquarters at Kpetoe. Adaklu had a separate Local council with its Headquarters at Tsrefe. Though Adaklu has a large population, which could be the basis for it having a separate council, it has been argued by the people of Agotime that they were given separate council due to claims of ownership over land and they did not agree to go along with any other area.

The government of Kwame Nkrumah later merged the Adaklu Local Council and the Anyigbe Local Council into the Adaklu-Anyigbe Local Council⁴⁹ with their administrative office at Kpetoe (Agotime Traditional Area). There are two divergent views with regards to why the two councils were merged and the capital was located at Kpetoe. While the people of Agotime

⁴⁸ Made up of Agotime, Ziope, Dakpa and Djalele

⁴⁹ The name ‘Adaklu-Anyigbe’ for the current district, as claimed by the people of Agotime, originated from this development. This is however disputed by the people of Adaklu who argued that ‘Anyigbe’ means south in Ewe language, therefore the association of this word with Adaklu suggests ‘South of Adaklu’.

claimed the Adaklu Local Council was not performing well and was therefore added to Anyigbe Local Council, the people of Adaklu argued that the District Commissioner at the time who came from Agotime used his influence to merge the two councils and move the capital to Kpetoe. Boateng (1996: 128) pointed out that government of the day appointed District Commissioners on party line without taking into consideration their professional backgrounds. In other words, the position was made available for party affiliates. On the other hand, Arhin (2002:113) stated that many of the councils and for that matter local government system in Ghana failed for financial reasons because their expenditure usually outweighed their revenue.

Under Acheampong's military regime (1972-79), the local government system was reformed as part of political measures aimed at giving certain government functions of administration such as the exercise of deliberative, legislative and executive functions to local government units. The local government units were charged with the responsibility for the overall development of the district. This resulted in the establishment of 65 District Councils nationwide in 1974. During this period Adaklu, Agotime, Ziope and Ho were amalgamated again to form one district. The Agotimes point to this period as the beginning of their alienation with regards to development project and grassroots participation in governance. A chief from Agotime, in an interview with him, noted that the three traditional councils were added to Ho to form one district assembly since there were claims of ownership over land between Adaklu and Agotime Traditional Areas. In a sense, they were merged with Ho to avoid conflict between the two traditional areas in the district.

5.3 THE CREATION OF THE ADAKLU-ANYIGBE DISTRICT ASSEMBLY

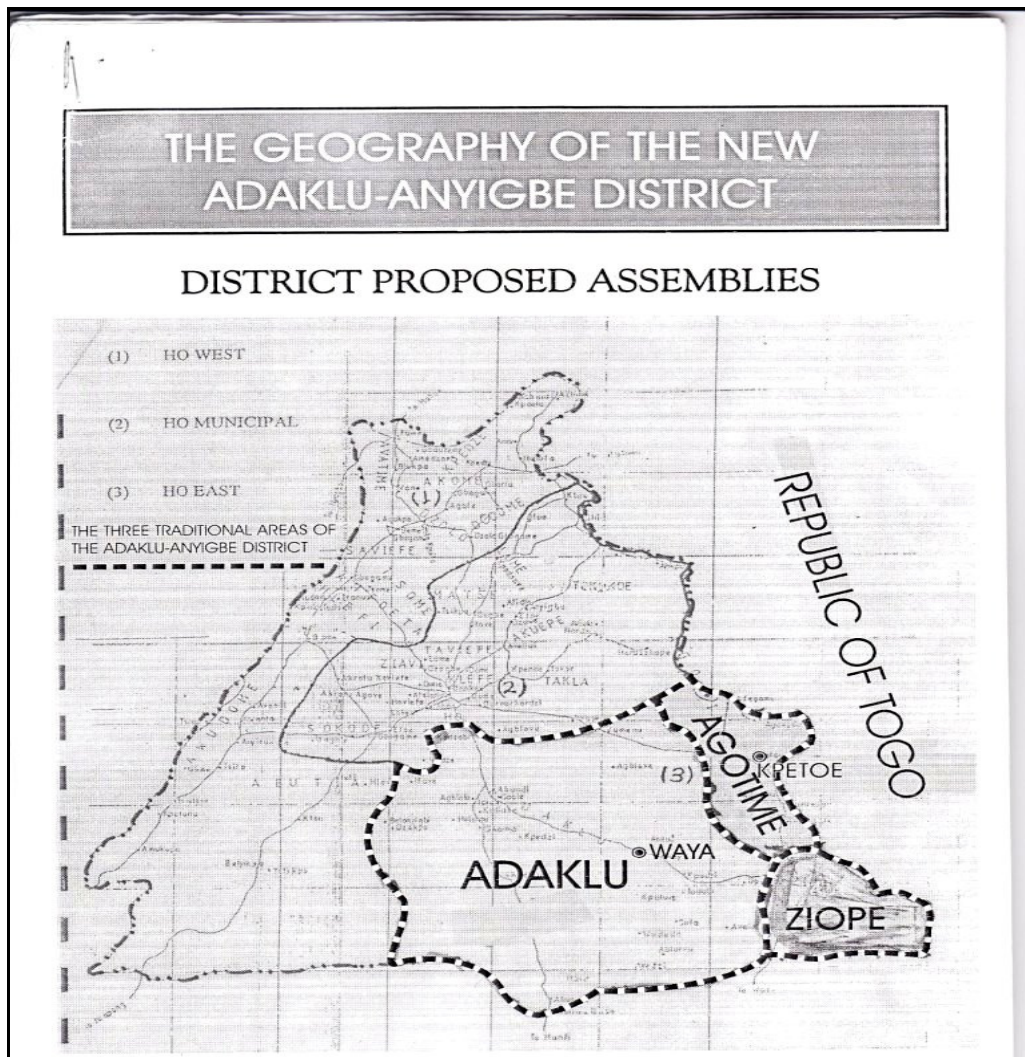
The Local Government structure as provided by the Local Government Act (Act 462 of 1993) remained the same until 2000 when the National Democratic Congress (NDC) party lost power to the New Patriotic Party (NPP) in the general elections. The NPP Government in 2003 announced the creation of additional Districts Assemblies in the country with the aim of bringing governance closer to the people and to hasten development.

With the powers conferred on the president by subsection 2 of section 1 of the Local Government Act of 1993 (Act 462), the Cabinet created 28 District Assemblies in the country through

Executive Instrument No. 9 (Creation of Districts Instrument 2003). This Instrument has a gazette notification of 14th November 2003.

Adaklu-Anyigbe District was one of the new districts created in the Volta Region. The Adaklu-Anyigbe District was carved from Ho District Assembly, which was established by L.I 1461 of 1988. The Ho District was made up of three constituencies namely; Ho Central, Ho East and Ho West; had a land area of 2389sq. km and a population of 235,331 according to the 2000 National population census⁵⁰.

Map II. The Geography of the New Adaklu-Anyigbe District



(Source: Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly)

⁵⁰ This is extracted from a Situational Analysis of Adaklu-Anyigbe District.

5.4 THE CONFLICT OVER THE DISTRICT CAPITAL

The people of Volta Region are active users of the mass media, both print and electronic in Ghana. As part of the people of the region, the people of Adaklu, Agotime and Ziope, three different traditional areas sharing boundaries in the latter part of 2003 and early 2004, received striking news through the mass media on the creation of new districts by the President with E.I No. 9. in the country. There were two issues by the ‘Daily Graphic’⁵¹ on the creation of the new districts by the E.I No. 9. The first issue was on 20th November 2003, which pointed out among other things that one of the newly created districts in Volta Region is Adaklu-Anyigbe with its capital located at Kpetoe within Agotime Traditional Area. The second issue, which came out on 13th March 2004 interestingly, located the capital at Adaklu-Waya within Adaklu Traditional Area for the Adaklu-Anyigbe District.

In response to the first issue, a press conference was organized by the people to commend the government for creating the new District. The press conference was led by Paramount Chief of Agotime Traditional Area and also in attendance was a representative from Ziope Traditional Area. There was however no representative from Adaklu, but the Paramount Chief of Agotime claimed to have duly consulted the Paramount Chief of Adaklu on the subject of the conference (Daily Graphic, December 18, 2003). In his address, the Paramount Chief of Agotime remarked: “[w]e are convinced that the creation of Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly will not disturb the hegemony, unity and peace prevailing in our traditional areas. Rather it will promote the spirit of socio-economic development and exploit the existing but untapped potential for the development of the area”. The subsequent announcement of Adaklu-Waya as the capital for the district in the second issue of the Daily Graphic was however contended by the people of Agotime and Ziope who sent petition to the Speaker of Parliament and the Regional Minister for an immediate relocation of the capital to Kpetoe (Daily Graphic, March 19, 2004).

After the E.I No. 9 created the Districts, a draft Bill of Legislative Instrument 1741 Local Government (Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly) (Establishment) Instrument (2004) was among fifty-one (51) Legislative Instruments introduced by the Minister for Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD) to parliament. In this Instrument, the Adaklu-

⁵¹ The ‘Daily Graphic’ is a daily nationwide newspaper in Ghana.

Anyigbe District had its capital located at Adaklu-Waya. This was approved by Parliamentary Committee on Subsidiary Legislation and was presented to the house for approval. A similar draft bill now with Kpetoe as the capital, was however found in the pigeonholes of the MPs. As to who printed and circulated the Instrument, which had Kpetoe as the capital, nobody would tell. This was spotted and the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Subsidiary Legislation noted the House that the Instrument with Kpetoe as the capital was not considered when they took decision and gave approval to the Instrument. The House therefore approved the Instrument with Adaklu-Waya as the capital. Both Instruments have their date of gazette notification of 27th February 2004.

There is however a significant difference between the two Instruments. While the Instrument with Adaklu-Waya as the capital has eighty-six functions in the second schedule with no date of entry into force, the one with Kpetoe as the capital has eighty-eight functions in the second schedule with the date of entry into force as 25th June 2004 (Appendix II & III). However, from personal study of the two Instruments, I observed that the function at the 30th position of the Instrument with Kpetoe as the capital has been repeated at the 88th position of the same Instrument. From this observation one could argue that the Instrument was probably tempered with at a certain point. The emergence of these two Instruments therefore set the platform for the antagonism between the people of the two traditional areas.

5.5 INSTITUTIONS AND LOCAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Following these controversies, the sector Minister for MLGRD with the powers conferred on him by subsection (1) of section 3 of the Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462) and with prior approval by Cabinet made another Instrument (L.I 1807) on 13th August 2004 to amend the L.I 1741 by substituting for Adaklu-Waya which appeared in regulation 6 of the name Kpetoe. This new L.I had date of notification of 27th August 2004 and date of entry into force 4th November 2004. These amendment Instrument was met with a lot of protests and petitions from the chiefs and people of Adaklu Traditional Area to Parliament and the Minister. As a result, Parliamentary Committee on Subsidiary Legislation was tasked to investigate and recommend on the district.

According to the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Subsidiary Legislation, the committee had recourse to petitions presented by Adaklu Traditional Area against the decision to relocate the capital for Adaklu-Anyigbe District from Adaklu-Waya to Kpetoe. Three main concerns were raised in this petition:

(i). That upon coming into force of L.I 1741, they had invested resources in creating various structures and facilities... for the successful take off of the new District and that, moving the capital to another town would disturb this arrangement.

(ii). That whereas Adaklu Traditional Area is far larger in size as compared to Kpetoe, and its locations very central to the Adaklu-Anyigbe District..., Kpetoe is a rather small town located very close to the Togo border which in itself could pose security risk.

(iii). that Kpetoe is located on lands ceded to them by Adaklu Traditional Area part of which is within Republic of Togo.

(Source: Memorandum by Chairman of the Committee on Subsidiary Legislation).

The Chairman also pointed out that the Committee held series of fact-finding meetings and invitations were sent to the National Electoral Commission (NEC), the Sector Minister and Members of Parliament to assist in its deliberations. The Chairman and the Deputy Chairman of the NEC attended the meetings, but the Chief Director and one other Director represented the Minister at only two of the meetings. According to the Chairman, the Minister's representatives who attended the meeting were not ready to review any of the concerns except with authorization from the Minister himself.

In another development, the Committee on Subsidiary Legislation observed that during one of his visits to the Region at the time, the President of the Republic indicated that he had referred the concerns associated with the L.Is 1741 to Volta Regional House of Chiefs for consideration and advice. The House of Chiefs recommended that the government should maintain L.I 1741, which had Adaklu-Waya as the capital for the Adaklu-Anyigbe District. According to the Chairman, the

Electoral Commissioner who was a member of a technical committee set up to advise the government on the creation and demarcation of district boundaries also advised the committee that the L.I 1741 which has Adaklu-Waya as the capital for the Adaklu-Anyigbe District should be maintained.

Based on the advice received from various stakeholders, the Chairman of the Committee in its memorandum to the Speaker of Parliament dated 2nd November 2004, recommended to the Speaker to entreat the Minister to withdraw the L.I 1807 (amendment) and maintain L.I 1741 which had Adaklu-Waya as the Capital.

However, another letter dated 9th November 2004 from the office of Parliament and signed by the clerk of the Committee on Subsidiary Legislation was sent to the Honourable Attorney General on the amendment instrument L.I 1807. In this letter, the Committee informed the Attorney General that the Local Government (Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly) (Establishment Amendment) Instrument L.I 1807 laid before Parliament on 5th October, 2004 in accordance with Article 11(7) of the Constitution and its subsequent referral to the Committee for consideration and report had been allowed by the House to come into force on 4th November 2004.

The coming into force of L.I 1807 (Amendment) resulted in an indefinite boycott of the Assembly by the Chiefs and people of Adaklu, which stalled the take-off of the Assembly in 2004. This protests led to the formation of another investigation committee by the government. The committee and its recommendations are discussed below.

5.6 THE COMMITTEE ON ADAKLU-ANYIGBE DISTRICT ASSEMBLY

Following the government's directives, a seven member Committee on Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly was inaugurated on 27th May, 2005 by the then Minister for Local Government and Rural Development at the instance of the Volta Regional Coordinating Council to go into the issues emanating from the establishment of the District (Daily Graphic, May 30, 2005; The Committee's Report).

The Committee was tasked with the following:

- ❖ *To investigate the causes of contention in the siting of the District Capital*
- ❖ *To meet all the 3 traditional areas to reconcile them*
- ❖ *To suggest possible ways of enhancing development based on the population and land mass of each of its 3 traditional areas*
- ❖ *To create an avenue of dialogue among the 3 traditional areas*
- ❖ *To suggest possible ways of maintaining peace and harmony and cordial relationships amongst the 3 traditional areas*
- ❖ *To study the legal aspect of the Legislative Instrument and to suggest possible ways of its practical application*

(Excerpts from Committee's Report)

The Committee was given twelve weeks to complete its work and submit its report to the Minister for Local Government and Rural development through the Regional Minister. The three traditional areas appeared before the Committee and presented both oral and written memoranda to the Committee on different dates. The Committee also visited the three traditional areas to see the communities and to take note of the facilities they have put in place in preparations for having the capital. The Committee completed its work and came out with the following recommendations:

- ❖ *That Agotime-Kpetoe should be retained as the Capital of the Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly.*
- ❖ *That the name of the District should be changed to Adaklu-Agotime-Ziope District Assembly to reflect equal representation of the three traditional areas and to foster unity among the Constituents.*
- ❖ *That Adaklu area should be given a fair share of the Assembly's development projects in tune with its size, population and relative deprivation. This could be along the lines discussed in this report.*

- ❖ *That the inauguration of the District Assembly should take place at the earliest opportunity notwithstanding the recommendation that the name of Adaklu-Anyigbe District should be changed to Adaklu-Agotime-Ziope District Assembly.*
- ❖ *That the media must be circumspect in its reportage, publications and broadcast of reports that have the potential of generating conflicts and breakdown of law and order. In this regard, the Media Commission's attention should be drawn to inaccurate and sometimes misleading reports of the media that have contributed to this crisis over the location of the Capital of the Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly.*
- ❖ *That huge sum of money sank hurriedly into projects by Adaklu and Agotime Traditional Areas for their quest for the capital require sympathetic consideration. In this regard, due audit of these expenditure should be undertaken and movable properties such as office furniture and computers should be absorbed and paid for; buildings meeting required standard could be completed for use by the Assembly, and acquisition of al lands freely donated must be acknowledged in line with the Customary Practices of the people of the area concerned and the acquisition regularized.*
- ❖ *That the peace blocks initiated by the committee should be strengthened and continued. Chiefs, Youth and Opinion Leaders in and out of the area should continue to work for the greater good of the people of Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly.*

(Committee's Report, 2005:39 & 40; Daily Graphic, August 22, 2005; Ghanaian Times, August 18, 2005)

Following these recommendations, the District was inaugurated in August 2005. However the people of Adaklu indefinitely boycotted the Assembly. With regards to this, many questions arise: why do the people of Adaklu boycott the Assembly? Has the Committee fulfilled its tasks including reconciling the people? What factors informed the Committee's recommendations? These and other issues shall receive careful attention in the next chapter.

However, in their second memorandum to the Committee, the People of Adaklu noted:

The people of Adaklu Traditional Area believed... that the proposed Adaklu-Anyigbe District was not going to be considered an isolated case, but alongside all twenty-eight (28) districts proposed at the time. We believed that in accordance with the constitution and Local Government Act, the decision of the Electoral Commission and Parliament would settle the issue of the capital... which all the three Traditional Areas agreed to abide by. The people of Adaklu did not indicate that they would agree if Government's decision on citing the capital should be changed capriciously. ... it is exactly in the vein of the above standing that the Chiefs and people of Adaklu would not succumb to any change to relocate the district capital from where parliament initially approved it ... to be, namely at Adaklu-Waya.

One could infer from the above argument that there was prior agreement between the traditional areas concerned on the choice of the capital for the district. At the moment, the presentation looks at the views of the two traditional areas on the conflict. The two traditional areas have their versions of the story on the creation of the district, pointing out how the capital was decided for the district from the beginning and the subsequent contention. In the next two sections, I will chronologically present the different and partly conflicting versions of the story by the two traditional areas. The findings presented here are based on the memoranda submitted by both communities to the committee set up by the government to investigate the crisis. The narrations in the memoranda are also highlighted in the Committee's report. The findings are also in line with my own interviews conducted with the opinion leaders, especially the leaders of the two communities who wrote the memoranda.

5.7 THE 'INSIDE STORY' OF AGOTIME ON THE CONFLICT

According to opinion leaders of Agotime with confirmation from the MP for the area, agitation for the creation of separate districts in the area went as far back as 1997/98 under the NDC government. At that time a special committee was formed by the Ho District Assembly under the chairmanship of Togbe Kpangbatriku III, the Paramount Chief of Dodome Traditional Area to

petition the Minister for the MLGRD to upgrade Ho District to a Municipal Assembly. They also advocated for the creation of two new districts for Ho East and Ho West constituencies.

The people submitted their petition to the Minister for MLGRD, but the government could not work on it before they lost power to the NPP. When the new government assumed office, the issue was raised again and the report of the Committee was submitted to the Minister through the Ho District Assembly in July 2002. It is instructive to point out here that in this report no names were mentioned as the capitals for the proposed districts. The report states:

“We are aware that in the location of district capital, certain factors have to be taken into consideration.... We are confident that between the experts of the Sector Ministry and Local Government and Traditional Authorities, the settlements to be selected as district capitals would be acceptable to all.”

(Sources: Petition for Establishment of Ho Municipal Assembly, Ho D.A)

However, an addendum was submitted in December 2002 in which two towns, Kpetoe and Dzolokpuita, were proposed for consideration as the capitals for Ho East and Ho West Districts respectively. A chief from Agotime Traditional Area submitted that there was a meeting between the special Committee and the Deputy Minister for MLGRD on 8th December 2002 to discuss the addendum, but the Minister pointed out that the government could create only one District Assembly in addition to Ho Municipal.

This was later followed by a forum organized by the NEC in February 2003 for stakeholders⁵² on the creation of one district out of Ho District in addition to the proposed Ho Municipal. In this forum the District Electoral Commissioner proposed Adaklu-Anyigbe District to be made up of Abutia, Adaklu, Agotime and Ziope and proposed Adaklu-Waya as its capital. All the participants rejected this, according to the people of Agotime, and the general consensus was that Ho East, which is the least developed, should be given the new district excluding Abutia, which is part of Ho West constituency. He remarked that Prof. Dumor, a member of the NEC, also

⁵² Made up of chiefs, and opinion leaders, assemblymen and MPs

rejected the idea of including Abutia in the proposed district. With regards to the proposed name and the capital according to him, Prof. Dumor advised that the Traditional Areas that make up the district should submit independent memoranda on their proposals to the MLGRD or rely on Togbe Kpangbatriku III committee's report. Following this advice, Agotime and Ziope in March 2003 jointly sent a petition to the Chairman of the Committee⁵³ in charge of the creation of the new districts proposing Kpetoe as the capital due to existing suitable infrastructural facilities in the town coupled with its historical and administrative attributes in the area.

On 20th November 2003, however, the Daily Graphic published that government by E.I No.9 had created 19 new Districts out of which three were located in the Volta Region. One of these three was Adaklu-Anyigbe District with Kpetoe as its capital. Following this announcement, Agotime and Ziope Traditional Areas jointly held a press conference to thank the government. This press conference was reported in Thursday December 18, 2003 edition of the Daily Graphic. A similar press release reported to have been signed by a citizen of Adaklu was published in February 2004 edition of the Daily Graphic commending the government on behalf of Adaklu Traditional Area for carving the new Adaklu-Anyigbe District from the Ho District. He was also reported to have mentioned that the capital for the district should have been sited at Adaklu-Waya instead of Kpetoe due to its centrality to other traditional areas and neighbouring districts.

In January 2004, there was a Cabinet reshuffle and the new Minister for Local Government and Rural Development was charged to draft an L.I to parliament for consideration to establish the newly created districts. During the drafting process according to the people and chiefs of Agotime, well-interested and influential Adaklu citizens under the pretence of correction manipulated the drafted L.I and changed the district capital from Kpetoe to Adaklu-Waya. This claim has however not been substantiated with any evidence by all my respondents from Agotime.

A petition was sent to the government and Parliament by the people of Agotime and Ziope to protest against the change. A story captioned "Creation of New Districts: Volta Region chiefs grumble" was published in Monday March 1, 2004 edition of "the Chronicle". In this story, a

⁵³ The Committee which includes members from EC and MLGRD is chaired by the Sector Minister.

citizen of Adaklu was alleged among other things to have said that the “the Sector Minister promised the people of Adaklu Traditional Area to change the location of the District capital from Kpetoe to Waya”. The people of Agotime pointed out that if this story is true then the “government by that single act has set the stage for and drawn the battle line between the Agotimes and Adaklus for generations to come”.

Surprisingly, on March 13, 2004, the Daily Graphic reported again among other things that three new districts were created in Volta Region of which Adaklu-Anyigbe District is one but, at this time, with the capital at Adaklu-Waya. The people of Agotime and Ziope contended and sent a petition to the Speaker of Parliament with reference to E.I 9, which created Adaklu-Anyigbe District with the capital at Kpetoe. This petition was forwarded to the Parliamentary Committee on Subsidiary Legislation to investigate and advise the House. In its investigation, the Committee visited Adaklu-Waya but only drove through Kpetoe⁵⁴. However, the sector Minister attempted to effect the correction in the L.I, which has Adaklu-Waya as the capital. When the corrected L.I, which has Kpetoe as the capital, was distributed to the MPs, it was strongly rejected by the opposition in parliament as contradictory to the L.Is with Adaklu-Waya as the capital. Later, the Chairman on Subsidiary Legislation Committee on a local radio station, Peace FM, on July 7, 2004, reportedly condemned the sector Minister’s attempt to change the capital from Adaklu-Waya to Kpetoe and thereby urged the public to continue to recognize Adaklu-Waya as the capital.

When it was time to inaugurate the newly created districts, the sector Minister was interviewed on Joy FM, a local radio station, as to where the inauguration of Adaklu-Anyigbe District would take place. The Minister made the public aware that the government had decided to locate the capital at Kpetoe. In a phone-in programme on the same radio station the following day, the Chairman on Subsidiary Legislation Committee and the then MP for the area challenged the Minister pointing out that the L.I 1741 that established the District located the capital at Waya and not Kpetoe. The Minister ended the argument by pointing out to them that an amendment

⁵⁴ This claim was made by one of the chiefs from Agotime in an interview with him and was also stated in memorandum from Agotime to the investigating Committee and also highlighted it in the Committee’s report.

Bill was to be passed with the main Bill and this amendment Bill was refused when the main Bill was hurriedly passed.

5.8 THE 'INSIDE STORY' OF ADAKLU ON THE CONFLICT

According to the account of the people and chiefs of Adaklu, the location of the capital right from the onset was a contest between Adaklu and Agotime. The three traditional authorities therefore had a series of meetings to decide on where the capital should be located. However they could not agree on any specific place and the consensus among them was that they will not belabour the point and wherever the government sites it they would all accept. There was no documentation to that effect; therefore this agreement existed only in principle.

In another development, the NEC, which was part of a technical committee to advise the government on the creation and demarcation of district boundaries, after a series of consultation with the stakeholders, recommended Adaklu-Anyigbe District with the capital at Adaklu-Waya. As noted earlier, in 2003, with the powers conferred on him by section 2, 3 and 4 in the Local Government Act (Act 462) of the 1992 Constitution, the President created new districts and Electoral Areas with E.I No. 9. This Instrument did not name any district capital. However, the Deputy Minister for MLGRD, was reported on November 20, 2003 edition of the Daily Graphic as saying the E.I No. 9 mentioned Kpetoe as the capital for the Adaklu-Anyigbe District. This allegation was reported to have been denied in a radio programme by the substantive Minister who emphasized that the Instrument did not mention any name as the capital (Highlight of Adaklu Traditional Area's submission in the Committee's report).

The substantive Minister later drafted an L.I (L.I 1741) sitting the capital at Adaklu-Waya which was laid before parliament after approval by Cabinet. After the L.I 1741 was approved by Parliament, the Minister later distributed in the pigeonholes of the MPs a fake instrument with the same number (L.I 1741) in which Waya was changed to Kpetoe as the capital for the Adaklu-Anyigbe District. This was nevertheless detected and withdrawn by Parliament. Later on Joy Fm radio news on 22nd August 2004, the Minister for MLGRD was reported to have mentioned Kpetoe as the district capital and admitted that he submitted two L.Is to Parliament. This was challenged by Adaklu on the same radio as fictitious and unconstitutional and argued that though

he presented two L.Is, one (with Adaklu-Waya as the capital) was approved by Parliament. In the process, the Chairman on Subsidiary Parliamentary Legislation was called to clarify the issue and he maintained that Adaklu-Waya is the capital for Adaklu-Anyigbe District.

The Minister however afterwards introduced L.I 1807 at the commencement of the third meeting of Parliament on 5th October 2004 with the intention to amend L.I 1741 to change the capital from Adaklu-Waya to Kpetoe. Adaklu contended this and petition was sent to Parliament pointing out that no memorandum was attached to the amendment to explain the circumstances for the change. In response to this, the issue was referred to the Parliamentary Committee on Subsidiary Legislation. The Committee invited the NEC, the Sector Minister and MPs to meetings to assist in resolving the issue. In its memorandum to the Speaker of Parliament on 2nd November 2004 as noted already, the Committee requested for the withdrawal of the L.I 1807 and to maintain L.I 1741 which had Adaklu-Waya as the Capital.

The president was reported to have indicated that he referred the issue to the Regional House of Chiefs⁵⁵ to deliberate and advise the government. The House of Chiefs also recommended that the government should maintain L.I 1741 which had Adaklu-Waya as the capital for the Adaklu-Anyigbe District to avoid any further conflict in the Region, which is already plagued, with conflicts ranging from land disputes to chieftaincy disputes⁵⁶. In addition, the Asogli Traditional Council also set up a mediation committee to bring peace in the formation of the new district. This Committee also recommended that the capital be maintained at Adaklu-Waya since Adaklu is a deprived area. But these recommendations were not respected.

5.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter have presented and discussed the past and present local government structure in colonial and postcolonial Ghana. The local government system in Ghana has gone through checkered stages since colonial periods. The current comprehensive three tier local government structure provided for by the 1992 Constitution created District Assemblies in the rural areas,

⁵⁵ Regional House of Chiefs is composed of Paramount Chiefs of all the Traditional Areas in the Region.

⁵⁶ Highlight in the report of the Committee set up by the government to resolve the conflict and interviews conducted with opinion leaders.

Municipal and Metropolitan Assemblies in the urban centres, which aimed at encouraging grassroots participation in governance. It has been clear from the presentation and discussion how local government institution featured in Adaklu and Agotime Traditional Areas and the politics surrounding it during colonial and post colonial periods. The discussion revealed that throughout the periods, the two communities either have separate administrations or are brought under single administration.

The chapter has also presented and discussed the empirical research findings on the recent creation of Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly and the stages of the conflict that ensued between Adaklu and Agotime Traditional Areas over the siting of the administrative capital for the newly created district within the local government structure. From the presentation and discussion, the two announcements by 'Daily Graphic' on the creation of Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly and the subsequent appearance of two L.Is in Parliament which also mentioned the two communities separately as the location of the capital set the stage for the dispute between the two communities over the location of the capital. Behind the inconsistency of the L.Is is the decisions and actions of state and local institutions.

The location of the district capital for the newly created Adaklu-Anyigbe District became a contention, among other things, based on claims of ownership over land by the two communities. Various questions arise from the dynamics of the conflict. The first is, to what extent does local people and their leaders have influence in the creation and functioning of local government structures? What institutional mechanisms are established by government to resolve inter-communal conflicts and how effective are they? These and many other issues shall receive attention in the next chapter of the study.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES AND DYNAMICS OF ADAKLU/AGOTIME CONFLICT

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims at identifying and analysing the causes, escalation and the dynamics of Adaklu-Anyigbe conflict over the siting of the administrative capital for the newly created Adaklu-Anyigbe District. The analysis will be based on two months fieldwork conducted in the two contending communities. This study sought to identify and analyse factors that account for the emergence, escalation and dynamics of disputes over creation of new districts and the location of their capitals in Ghana, using Adaklu-Anyigbe District as case study. With the aid of the conceptual and theoretical framework presented in chapter three, an attempt will be made to develop some theoretical arguments on the sources of the antagonism between the two groups.

6.2 ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION AND UNDER DEVELOPMENT

In conflict analysis, conflict theories point out that there are objective reasons that usually serve as a motivation for two or more groups to get locked up in contention. The social conflict theory discussed earlier, argues that at the base of social conflict is underdevelopment and structural deprivation. This may trigger conflict when there are differential opportunities to have access to particular resources/services. In this study, the triggering factors were differential proposals for the location of the administrative capital for the newly created Adaklu-Anyigbe District. The keen contention over the capital which seems to be a zero-sum game between Adaklu and Agotime could be understood against the backdrop of the socio-economic development of Volta Region in general and the contending communities in particular. For instance, in Regional Analysis of Incidence of Poverty survey conducted in Ghana in 2005/2006, Volta Region recorded the forth-highest incidence of poverty (31%), a situation above the national average (29%) (Ghana Statistical Service, April 2007:13)⁵⁷.

⁵⁷ Ghana is divided into ten regions. The first three regions that recorded the highest incidence of poverty constitute the Northern Ghana. In other words, Volta Region recorded the highest incidence of poverty in Southern Ghana.

The Adaklu-Anyigbe District is one of the most deprived districts in the region due to poverty and underdevelopment. As confirmed by the findings of the Committee on Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly, the three traditional areas that form the district are typical rural areas lacking several basic amenities. All the respondents from both communities have also admitted this, and made reference to their relative deprivation as the reason behind the creation of the Adaklu-Anyigbe District. They noted that they were not having access to enough fund from the District Common Fund⁵⁸ to develop their areas when they were under Ho District. This is due to the fact that the District is large – made up of many traditional areas. Even according to them, who should have the district to be carved from Ho Municipal Assembly was a contention between Ho West and Ho East Constituencies. But there was a general consensus between the two constituencies that the district should be created for the Ho East constituency (now Adaklu-Anyigbe District) due to the fact that it is the less developed and due to its continuous deteriorating socio-economic situation.

Against the background of this deprivation and underdevelopment of the three traditional areas that constitute the district, the location of the district capital has been perceived by the residents of each area as an opportunity to salvage their deteriorating socio-economic situation. When I asked my respondents from both communities what the district capital meant to them, the spontaneous response is ‘development’⁵⁹. A commoner from Adaklu responded the same way and went further to explain that: *“When we have the capital, standard of living will improve in Adaklu because when they are doing construction, local artisans will have jobs and they will work and get money. When the capital is there you can quickly convey your food stuffs to the market to sell, plants and Machines will be brought and you don’t have to depend on cutlasses and hoe anymore on the farm”*.

These perceptions are based on the evidence in the Ghanaian society that wherever the capital of a district is sited becomes a centre of attraction for economic activities. Most of the socio-

⁵⁸ District Common Fund is 5% of total national revenue allocated to districts for developmental projects.

⁵⁹ This term according to the respondents connotes improved infrastructural base, improved standard of living through provision of basic social amenities, enlightenment, etc. This is in line with the conceptual shift in the meaning of development since 1960s with “basic human needs” approach as the key indicator (Archives, ghanadistricts.com).

economic activities in the district and beyond take place within the capital-hosting community. This gives the impetus to that community to develop faster in terms of infrastructure and improved standard of living than other communities that constitute the district. In other words, the location of the capital in the community will help accelerate the provision of basic infrastructural amenities like portable water, tarred roads, electricity and social services through educational institutions, health care centres, telephone facilities, and all other development projects. Most of these facilities are quite often located in the administrative capital, not necessarily due to its poor facilities as compared with other towns and villages. Perhaps, the capital-hosting town is used as the starting point for spreading these basic amenities to other places in the district. It could also be due to the fact that those who work in the district reside in the capital-hosting town. As evident in the country, these modern facilities may only be located in other communities if these modern facilities already existed in the capital-hosting community. To put it succinctly, development in every district begins from the capital-hosting community. Though the DAs are to ensure that development is evenly distributed in the districts, one could see that more facilities are allocated in the capital-hosting community than others.

From the foregoing analysis, there is no doubt that the socio-economic problem of the district in general and both communities in particular lay at the heart of the strong contention by each community against government's decision on the location of the capital for the Adaklu-Anyigbe District. The socio-economic problem of the two communities became the basis for social and political mobilization by leaders of each community to assert what they feel is their due. When conflict is the result of competition for scarce resources, there is the tendency for the contending stakeholders to pursue whatever they want. Coming back to social conflict theory, Azar (1986) has argued that underdevelopment and physical deprivation in economic terms coupled with other factors may lead to emergence of hostile actions and violent interactions between communal groupings.

It could be pointed out that the socio-economic problems of the people of Adaklu and Agotime existed long before the location issue came up, and could not by themselves alone have led to the confrontation through ethnic idioms between the two groups. It is the combination of the problems of deprivation and underdevelopment and the opportunity presented that triggered the

confrontation. It could be argued that when communal groups become conscious of their socio-economic problems, given their scarce resources, the escalating situation may lead to hostile relationship and interaction between them. In such situations, it is easy to mobilize those who are affected within one's group against other groups.

Each traditional area wanted to seize the opportunity to develop their community. It is therefore not surprising that during the contention between the two communities, the third traditional area, Ziope, initially supported the retention of the capital at Kpetoe later announced its readiness to host the administrative capital. The people of Ziope presented a petition to the President on 22 March 2004 in which they raised two issues, one of which states: "Offer of Ziope as a capital, should the current struggle for the capital continue to prevent the smooth operation of the new District Assemblies" (Report of the Committee on Adaklu-Anyigbe District, 2005:17). Though these statements seem to suggest alternative solutions due to the impasse between Adaklu and Agotime, there is no doubt that Ziope also has other interests and wanted to take the advantage to have the capital in their community.

Indeed, the socio-economic problem of Adaklu and Agotime coupled with available scarce services serve as the trigger of the confrontation between the two communities. But how sufficient are these factors alone to account for the escalation of the conflict between two communities that have lived side-by-side for a very long period? From this, it could be argued that underdevelopment and deprivation as an underlying cause of conflict as suggested by the social conflict theory could not by itself account for the escalation of the conflict. Thus, it will be pertinent to look beyond these factors to analyse the role of various institutions, the resource allocating authorities and the media in the escalation of the conflict between the two communities.

6.3. INSTITUTIONAL FAILURES IN DECISION-MAKING IN MODERN GHANA

For the analysis of the roles of institutions in triggering the Adaklu-Anyigbe conflict, it is important to recall the structural theory that explains conflict. Though competing interests of groups are important motivations for conflict, the structural theory sees the conflict as independent of the perceptions of participants. It rather perceives conflict as emanating from political power structures and institutions. Institutional failures in handling competing interests could indeed play

crucial roles in conflict generation, escalation and mediation, an important factor that is quite often forgotten in identifying causes of conflicts. This section of the study will analyse the role of various institutions in the escalation and mediation of Adaklu-Anyigbe conflict. This discussion will be done at two levels: formal (state) institutions and informal (local traditional) institutions.

6.3.1 STATE INSTITUTIONAL FAILURES AS CAUSES FOR LOCAL CONFLICTS

While some conflicts generate and escalate over localized issues, others could be over constitutional issues that are of national importance. However, Adaklu-Anyigbe conflict occurred over a combination of both localized political and economic issues and constitutional issues. While the localized issue pertains to land, the constitutional issue relates to the practical application of a Legislative Instrument that established the Adaklu-Anyigbe District. The conflict resulting from constitutional issue is inexplicably linked with state institutional failures in policing and adjudication of conflicts. In this study, the failure of the state institutions could be explained at different levels. Azar and Moon (1986:397) notes, "... the state as the legitimate legal institution with a monopoly on force could play an important role in resolving conflicts. In reality however, the state in most protracted social conflict-laden countries fails to resolve the conflicts".

State institutional failure was evident in the handling of the Legislative Instrument that established the Adaklu-Anyigbe District. The emergence of two L.Is 1741, with one stating Adaklu-Waya and the other stating Kpetoe as the capital was the bone of contention and indeed, set the platform for the confrontation between the two traditional areas. This is in line with the finding of the Committee on Adaklu-Anyigbe District that "the cause of the contention in the siting of the capital was the emergence of two L.Is bearing same number L.I 1741" though with significant difference. The emergence and mishandling of the two L.Is pointed out somehow ineffectiveness or lack of political will in those institutions that handled the Legislative Instrument. This attracted protests from both communities and the subsequent confrontation between them. Based on this failure, an opinion leader from Adaklu observed: "...that is why we are saying that we don't see it as a conflict between us and Agotime but as between us and the government because the government was not firm or the functionaries of the government were not firm". All the leaders interviewed from Adaklu supported this position.

In addition, there seems to be lack of effective mechanisms by the state to mediate the conflict. The Local Government Act, Act 462 seems to be silent on location of capital for a district. As stated in the Local Government Act, the criteria for the creation of new districts include, among other things, a population threshold of about 10,000 people, economic viability with an impressive volume of market tolls, the ability of an area to provide basic infrastructure and the potential for sustainable revenue generation, as well as geographical contiguity and ethnic homogeneity. Though the criteria for siting of the capital for a district could be deduced from this, there are no laid down specific criteria. As a result, the people of Agotime used their better off infrastructure base and security to claim entitlement. The people of Adaklu, on the other hand, defended their claim by pointing to their population, geographical contiguity and their revenue generation capacity⁶⁰.

The absence of effective mechanism for locating the capital has been complicated by politicization of the dispute. The two dominant political parties, the incumbent N.P.P and the main opposition NDC, have been perceived by the local people as supporting one group or the other. In addition, each political party has been suspicious of the political calculation of the other. The people of Agotime pointed to the MP for the constituency at the time and the Chairman of the Parliamentary Subsidiary Legislation Committee, who are members of the NDC, as using the location of the district capital to win total support in the area for their party. The people of Adaklu on the other hand accused the incumbent party of intentionally creating the confusion in order to win the support of the people of Agotime and thereby break through the overwhelming support of the NDC in the Volta Region⁶¹. It is therefore no surprise that a chief from Agotime Traditional Area observed “We can clearly see the government’s effort to provide the rural folks with the basic necessities of life and by bringing governance to their doorsteps. We wish to pledge our support for President Kufour and call on Ghanaians to vote the NPP government back to power to continue the rural development policy” (Daily Graphic, August 16, 2004). The role of this politicking in the escalation of the dispute between the two groups cannot be glossed over,

⁶⁰ The people of Adaklu Traditional Area claimed they were generating the highest revenue when they were under Ho District. This has been confirmed in the report of the Committee on Adaklu-Anyigbe District

⁶¹ The Volta Region usually referred to as the “World Bank” for the NDC provides an overwhelming support for the NDC during national presidential and parliamentary elections. The NDC for instance won 83.83% of the vote cast in the Region in the 2004 presidential elections (GNA, January 11, 2005).

since the emergence of the L.Is, the protest and confrontation occurred during an electioneering year which was keenly contested by the two dominant political parties. In line with this politicking, Bombade (2007) has observed that “politicians seeking votes always seem to manipulate the anxiety and expectations of people. Such manipulations would normally not be a party official policy but it does not minimize the ingrained suspicion and counter suspicion in communities”.

In addition, some state institutions involved in the mediation and resolution of the conflict lacked credibility, contributing to the escalation of the conflict. For instance, the failure of the Local Government Ministry to clearly and firmly state where the capital of the district should be located raised question of credibility in the eyes of the local people who were in contention. This called for the involvement of other institutions to mediate the conflict. This in effect did not reconcile the two groups. In other words, though many institutions including Parliament and numerous committees were involved in adjudicating the dispute between Adaklu and Agotime, the contentious issues persisted as Adaklu Traditional Area indefinitely boycotted the inauguration of the District Assembly.⁶²

The proliferation of other institutions intervening in the conflict could lead to conflict among the institutions themselves, which in effect will not make any significant positive impact on the conflict. In the process of mediating the dispute for instance, there was conflict between the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Subsidiary Legislation and the Local Government Ministry over which of the L.Is 1741 was right. For instance, during a phone-in radio programme, the Chairman pointed out to the Minister that the capital was sited by law, and that the Minister by oral statement cannot do anything. The Minister also replied that if that is the case he would send an amendment L.I to change the capital to Kpetoe without giving any reason leading to introduction of an Amendment Bill by the Sector Minister. In another instance, there have been conflicting roles between the Local Government Ministry and the NEC in relation to the creation of districts and the choice of the capital. The Sector Minister once pointed out that according to the Constitution, the NEC is only an institution to advise the government on where

⁶² The report of Situational Analysis of the Adaklu-Anyigbe District indicated that the uncooperative attitude of some people pose a serious threat to smooth running of the District Assembly and development in the District.

districts should be created and help demarcate them, and that it does not lie within its powers to determine where the capital of a district should be sited (GNA, Feb. 25, 2008). The location of the capital, according to him, is the sole prerogative of the concerned Minister. These misunderstandings or conflicting views of formal responsibilities among these state institutions themselves prevented amicable resolution of the issues at the state level, and attracted stronger protests from the local communities, which in effect led to the escalation of a latent generational conflict.

In another development, the inability of the national and district government to actively involve and resolve disagreement among the three traditional areas and their agencies in the choice of the district capital at the initial stage contributed to the escalation of the protest and the confrontation. There seemed to be no transparency in the choice of the capital for the district. According to the MP⁶³ for the constituency, until the two traditional areas vehemently protested against the decision by the government and the subsequent confrontation between them, they were not actively involved in deciding where the capital was to be located. Underscoring the important role of traditional authorities, contrary to the diminished role prescribed by the 1992 Constitution to chiefs, in local communities and in policies that affect them as presented and discussed in chapter four, one would expect that taking decisions of this nature would involve them. And as it is evident in this case, anything short of this could attract their protest and thereby bring confrontation between the communities involved. In line with this, the MP for the constituency observed that she would have expected the government to

“...call these two people and tell them that we have taken this decision because of this and that. But they didn't. In the beginning nothing was transparent, that is how I saw it. They should have come out clearly and tell them where they are going to site the capital. *They did not even give the people the chance to speak themselves.* They should have made it known to each of them that you are going to take the capital because of these reasons and you cannot take the capital because of these reasons. Give clear-cut line drawn between them so that you don't bring the communities into conflict. But I believe originally transparency wasn't there” (Italics are emphasis from the respondent).

⁶³ She was not the MP at the time the district was created.

It can be argued from this point that any local conflict mediation that does not recognize the role of traditional authorities of the groups in conflict and involve them in the resolution of such conflict could be a failure.

As noted earlier while different institutions have been involved in trying to resolve the conflict, concerted attempts at resolution have only followed strong protests, indefinite boycott of the District Assembly and threats of hostility. A typical example was the ad hoc committee formed by the government to go into the conflict issues and reconcile the groups. The formation of the Committee and its work also attracted criticism from the people of Adaklu who questioned the credibility of the Committee. The credibility of the Committee was undermined by many factors in the eyes of the people of Adaklu and it is therefore not surprising that they rejected its recommendations. Though a full analysis of the Committee and its work in resolving the issue is outside the scope of this study, it will suffice to mention few reasons why the people of Adaklu doubted its credibility.

Though the report of the Committee indicated that the Committee was inaugurated in the presence of chiefs, elders and youth from the three traditional areas constituting the district, the people of Adaklu rejected this claim. An opinion leader from Adaklu observed: *“We don’t know how the committee was formed. We were only invited and we went”*. All the chiefs and opinion leaders interviewed from Adaklu supported this view. Their non-involvement created the perception among the people of Adaklu that the Committee was prejudiced against them.

According to the people of Adaklu, the utterances of some government officials who were also involved in the formation of the Committee severely undermined the Committee’s credibility. In their opinion; *“The Regional Minister, for instance, would go and make comments that the people of Adaklu would not take kindly. Then we heard that they have set up a committee; first to investigate the siting of Adaklu-Anyigbe District capital. Then the Regional Minister decided to write that there was nothing to investigate so there should rather be a reconciliation committee. But we also said we are not fighting with them to be reconciled, so if it is a reconciliation committee we will not be part of it.... Then the then Local Government Minister called and said*

that it is not a reconciliation committee but an investigation committee. We even had the suspicion that the Regional Minister may have an influence on the Committee set up.

In another development, the people of Adaklu pointed out that when the Committee submitted its work to the government they expected a White Paper on the findings of the Committee and that “to our surprise, there was a release in the papers stating extracts of the recommendations of the Committee. To make matters worse, a day after this, a letter was being circulated in the region that the assembly was to be inaugurated today at Kpetoe. The rushing of things leaves room for suspicion” (Daily Graphic, August 22, 2005). According to them, they were not served with a copy of the report, there was no discussion of the report and no further consultations were made. The leaders of Adaklu also claimed that they were not even invited to the inauguration.

All these concerns have contributed to the escalation of the conflict as the people of Adaklu indefinitely dissociated themselves from the assembly making it difficult for the two communities to be reconciled. However, it could be argued that the indefinite boycott of the Assembly by Adaklu might not necessarily be based on the lack of credibility of the Committee’s work, but rather on the perception of both communities regarding the district capital as a zero-sum game. This could be deduced from the statement of the people of Adaklu in a memorandum submitted to the Committee. They observed: “We want to end our submission by re-affirming our commitment to religiously standing by our resolution not to have anything to do with the Assembly should we be robbed of the District capital” (See also the Report of the committee on Adaklu-Anyigbe District, 2005:7). It is evident in this statement that the leaders of Adaklu had already take an extreme position prior to the work of the Committee.

On the other hand, when I asked a chief from Agotime whether they would have agreed if the Committee had recommended Ziope or Adaklu to host the capital, he observed: “We would have accepted it if they had recommended Ziope.... But if they had recommended Adaklu we would have also put up a lukewarm attitude towards the whole thing...” In addition, the people of Agotime also observed: “We the two contesting traditional areas are unable to resolve the issue of where to site the capital, Ziope Traditional Area are in a position to host the capital of the Assembly” (Report of the Committee on Adaklu-Anyigbe District, 2005:11). It could be implied from these statements that the people of Agotime would have likewise perceived the Committee

as not credible and bias towards them if Adaklu were recommended. From these statements, there must be certainly some reasons why the two communities are against each other in hosting the capital for the new District. It is therefore important to go beyond the credibility of the Committee and explore other contributing factors that might account for the extreme positions of the two communities. In any case, if state institutions failed in mediating the conflict between Adaklu and Agotime, one should also ask what local traditional institutions were available to resolve the conflict, and what contributions did they make to the conflict.

6.3.2 THE ROLE OF LOCAL TRADITIONAL (INFORMAL) INSTITUTIONS IN CONFLICT GENERATION AND MEDIATION

Institutional failure at the local level has also contributed to the escalation of the conflict between the two communities. At the initial stage of the creation of the district, attempts were made by the three traditional authorities to decide among themselves on where the capital was to be sited. These important efforts however all ended in a deadlock. In this regard, an opinion leader from Adaklu observed:

“I think when the three traditional authorities met then they agreed that they are not going to belabour the point and wherever the government puts it they will all accept and they decided to draft an agreement to that effect. They drafted the agreement, my people signed it, they called the Agotime chief to come and sign it, but he refused. So that agreement was not documented though they agreed in principle that because they themselves cannot agree, wherever it was sited by the government they would agree to it”.

In another development, though the leaders of Agotime admitted that they first did not agree on a specific place for the capital and left it in the hands of the government to decide, they (chiefs of the three communities) later agreed that since Kpetoe was the headquarters of the merged Adaklu-Anyigbe Local Council and currently hosts the offices of political parties of all the three communities or the constituency, it should be retained as the capital for the district. He also pointed out that this agreement was not documented because when it was time for the Paramount Chief of Adaklu to sign the agreement he did not turn up and later gave the excuse that he was

sick. From the foregoing analysis it can be argued that inability of local traditional institutions to document unanimous decisions and claims has learned support to the escalation of the conflict.

From the above statements, one could also see the intention of the leaders of both communities. Each side perceived the location of the district capital as a zero-sum game and has taken extreme positions making it difficult for them to amicably break the deadlock. The leaders of the groups, more or less, desired room for manipulation and manoeuvring. It is therefore not surprising that the Legislative Instrument that established the district was moving back and forth with each side making claims and counter-claims to it. This indecision on the part of the traditional authorities therefore partly contributed to the escalation of the conflict between the two communities.

The failure of the three traditional authorities to reach an agreement among themselves coupled with the inability of the government to firmly decide on where the capital was to be sited led to confrontation between the residents of the two traditional areas. The conflict prompted the Asogli Traditional Council⁶⁴ to form a committee to resolve the issue. Subsequently, the Regional House of Chiefs⁶⁵ also set up a committee to delve into the issue. Though these committees did not receive any official directives from the government to investigate the issue, they acted in their own capacity as traditional authorities who according to the Constitution are responsible for issues concerning traditional areas that fall under their jurisdiction. They also acted, especially the Regional House of Chiefs, based on an open comment made by the President of the Republic that he had referred the concerns associated with the L.Is 1741 to Volta Regional House of Chiefs for consideration and advice and therefore called on traditional authorities to step in and resolve the issue with the two concerned communities.

Though the recommendations from these committees were presented to the government, they were not acted upon. In this regard, many questions arise: were the recommendations not implemented due to lack of credibility and trust for the local semi-traditional institutions to mediate conflict among local communities? If the government rejected the recommendations of the committees due to incredibility and mistrust for the institution, to what extent are the semi-

⁶⁴ All the three traditional areas that constitute the Adaklu-Anyigbe District are members of the Asogli Traditional Council. According to the Chieftaincy Act of Ghana, Traditional Councils are mandated to resolve disputes involving traditional areas.

⁶⁵ The Regional House of Chiefs is made up of all the traditional areas in the region. The House also has the duty to settle disputes on appeal from Traditional Councils within its jurisdiction through its ad hoc judicial committee.

traditional local institutions and the chieftaincy institution in general empowered and resourced to deal with such local conflicts? These are pertinent questions, which could not be shelved if resolving local conflicts is to be effective in Ghana. The refusal to implement the committees' recommendations did not only contribute to the escalation of the conflict, but also undermines the local semi-traditional institution by the government. This goes to confirm attempts by post-independent governments to limit the powers of the institution by challenging both their authority and influence, and thereby subjugates them to the state institutions (Ninsin, 1989; Ray, 1996; Mamdani, 1996; Boafo-Arthur, 2003; Jönsson, 2007). It also portrays the state institutions as the sole conflicts resolution institution of the state even at the local levels. From this analysis, it appears that inter-communal or ethnic conflict resolution in Ghana that excludes traditional authorities from the process has little chance of success.

The failure of both state and local traditional institutions to mediate the conflict between the two groups lends support to Ninsin's argument that communal conflicts in Ghana are intractable to resolution due to lack of a proper institutional framework and institutions for their resolution (Tsikata & Seini, 2004:49). The absence of a proper institutional framework and institutions to appreciate and address inter and intra-ethnic relational issues and resolve disputes arising from such relations created more unrest and a hostile environment.

6.4 THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

Another institution pressed into service apart from the state and local traditional institutions, which also accounts for the escalation of the conflict, is the media. The role of the media in Ghana as a young country under democratization is very noteworthy. There has been a significant progress in media proliferation and diversity since 1990s due to the increase in freedom afforded to the media by the state. This remarkable transformation has contributed to consolidating democracy in the country by creating the platform for citizens to express their opinions and setting the agenda for public debate on a wide range of issues (See for example Temin and Smith, 2002).

However, the conduct of the media in the country has attracted many criticisms over the years due to polarization of the media houses, inauthentic publications, inaccurate reporting and other

misconducts⁶⁶. These are evident in the case studied. The first two publications of the ‘Daily Graphic’ set the basis for each community’s claim of legitimacy to host the capital. Though the E.I 9 created districts including Adaklu-Anyigbe District without mentioning any district capitals, as noted earlier, the ‘Daily Graphic’ published that the E.I indicated Kpetoe as the capital for Adaklu-Anyigbe District. At another time, the same ‘Daily Graphic’ published that Adaklu-Waya was chosen as the capital for the District. These two contradictory publications have been the reference point for the two communities for claim of legitimacy to the capital.

Since Kpetoe was first mentioned by the publication as the capital, the people of Agotime believed that mentioning of the Adaklu-Waya later was a result of some manipulation of the newspaper by the people of Adaklu. The people of Agotime went further to contend that when the Bill was being drafted “some well-placed Adaklu citizens went under pretence of correction to manipulate the draft L.I and changed the capital for the Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly from Kpetoe to Adaklu-Waya” (Memorandum from Agotime Traditional Area to the Committee on Adaklu-Anyigbe District). The people of Adaklu also based their claim to legitimacy on the second publication and the subsequent approval of the Bill with Adaklu-Waya as the capital by Parliament.

The blame-game between the two communities based on the publications were further deepened by the media, by regular publishing of writing of letters/articles, organising press conferences of interest groups from both communities, with each side trying to portray the other as provocateurs and contemptuous of peace, law and order and by organizing confrontational radio phone-in debates. In line with this, the Committee on Adaklu-Anyigbe District (2005:37) observed: “indeed their [media’s] role in the current confusion cannot be glossed over. What appears to be inaccurate reporting and shifting patronizing of various interest groups to hold conferences when the situation was at boiling point level, were all actions that could escalate conflicts and lead to breakdown of law and order”. It may not be far-fetched to assume that the leaders of the two

⁶⁶ In their zeal to fan democratic values in the country the media trump upon democratic culture, which they aim at achieving. This has been acknowledged by Mr. George Mac Badji, Executive Secretary of the Constitutional body National Media Commission. According to him, in 38 cases brought to the Commission by aggrieved members of the society in 2004, 98% of the case went against media practitioners because they did not do the basic cross-checking of information (www.ghanaweb.com). Published: April 19, 2004. Accessed: June 10, 2008.

communities were actively trying to use the Ghanaian mass media to present their version of events and highlight the alleged wrongdoing of their opponents.

One will ask why both communities were using the media, manipulating and maneuvering the political system to have the district capital sited in their communities? Is it only because of their socio-economic ambitions and problems? Do the socio-economic problems and aspirations of the two communities and the institutional failures account for the protracted nature of the conflict? In other words, are the objective and immediate factors (including causes and escalating factors) sufficient to explain the dynamics of the Adaklu-Anyigbe conflict? In order to fully understand the antagonistic behaviour between Adaklu and Agotime towards each other and the dynamics of the conflict, it is important to go beyond the socio-economic problems of the two groups and the institutional failures to explore the ethnic factor. Focusing solely on the socio-economic problem to explain the extreme position they took over the location of the capital could not be enough and could be misleading. Therefore, to understand the intra-ethnic secret antagonism in Adaklu-Anyigbe District which, culminated in the confrontation between Adaklu and Agotime, group perceptions of history, tradition and ethnic identity must be taken into consideration as they interact with perceptions of land rights and poverty due to discrimination by successive governments

6.5 ETHNICITY AND ITS SUBJECTIVE AND OBJECTIVE DIMENSIONS

Throughout the conflict, the people of Adaklu constantly claimed and maintained that they own all the lands including that of Agotime and thereby regarding the Agotimes as later coming settlers, to whom their forefathers ceded part of their land. This land 'owner' versus 'settler' distinction has assumed an ethnic dimension and therefore raises vital questions: did the confrontation and antagonism between the two communities occur over the location of the district capital merely because of their socio-economic problems? To what extent did ethnic motivation of the two communities influence the dispute over the location of the capital? Ethnicity as noted in chapter three involves mobilization of or the creation of differences whether real or fictitious among social categories and groups.

Since the Adaklus and Agotimes have lived peacefully side-by-side for centuries, sharing the same ewe language, life style and geographical territory, it is difficult especially for outsiders to describe them as “objectively” ethnically different. They however differentiate themselves. It is therefore important to understand how Adaklu and Agotime perceive themselves as ethnically different. The two groups asserted certain cultural characteristics such as language and migration history as different from each other. This distinction also carries ethnic undertone and specifically an asserted “objective” dimension of ethnicity. Here, there is at play a collective definition of ‘self’ and ‘others’ by active use of these distinguishing attributes.

The two communities to ethnically differentiate themselves combine these “objective” characteristics with the subjective perceptions. As Gurr (1993:3) observed, “the key to identifying communal group is not the presence of a particular trait or combination of traits, but rather the shared perception that the defining traits, whatever they are, set the group apart”. This emphasized the subjective dimension of ethnicity. As pointed out in chapter three, neither the objective nor subjective attribute alone could explain what set a group apart as an ethnic group. As Schilder (1994:2) argued, “The subjective dimension of a consciousness of being members of the same group as distinct from comparable groups is combined with objective dimension of a group’s name, shared notions about collective past and/or common cultural trait”. The identification of the two ethnic groups is in itself conflict inducing and also served as a basis for mobilization to defend the location of the capital in their community, which each of them believed they are entitled to. In other words, each group began to form psychological dispositions based on this ethnic distinction towards the other.

The formation of each group’s psychology was aided by continuous drawing of boundaries with the help of their almost contradictory narratives of migration history, language, etc. These boundaries according to Barth (1969) are social boundaries. They are constructed, and sustained through continual expression, negotiation and validation. The oral migration history of each group is ascribed by the group itself and by the other group. The dormant ethnic dimension, by cultural assimilation and a common geographical boundary, became mobilised through a process of incorporation around common interest in hosting the capital. These constructed ethnic boundaries were drawn and they became significant to both the newly incorporated groups due to the interest at stake – land and subsequently the district administrative capital. The emphasizing

of these boundaries as difference creating explains the hostile behaviour and psycho-social distancing between the two groups which led to a situation of latent conflict between them. The psychological dispositions of Adaklu and Agotime were later to be shaped by their perceived historical experiences.

A chief from Agotime Traditional Area revealed that prior to colonization; the road linking the area and the southern part of the region passed through Adaklu. But the German colonial administration later constructed a first class road through Agotime to link the south. This according to him attracted the displeasure of Adaklus since their road was neglected and not tarred, coupled with the perceptions among the Adaklus that civilization was drifting from their place to Agotime. The local governance process in the area also shaped the two group's psychological dispositions since colonial period.

A pertinent point at hand, as presented and discussed in the previous chapter, was the creation of separate Local Councils for the two groups – Anyigbe Local Council with Kpetoe as the headquarters and Adaklu Local Council with Adaklu-Tsrefe as the headquarters. These were later merged to form Adaklu-Anyigbe Local Council and the capital located in Kpetoe by the immediate post-independence government. This has created discontent among the people of Adaklu, as they believed the people of Agotime masterminded it. This was later followed by a nationwide reform of the local government system in 1974. As a result, the Adaklu-Anyigbe Local Council was merged with Ho to form the Ho District Assembly with the capital sited in Ho. This also peeved the residents of Agotime as they pointed to this change as the beginning of their development woes.

All these factors combined have certainly conditioned their psychological dispositions and contributed to the early build up of mistrust and dislike in their co-existence and to a situation of latent conflict. These psychological dispositions were therefore mobilized and reinforced in the ensuing dispute over the location of the district capital. As Friberg (1993) observed, “When governments fail to address basic needs and recognize the participation of all communities in decision-making and especially ensure a fair distribution of national resources, the sense of identity could become a salient issue among some communities” (Bombade, 2007:201).

6.5.1 FEAR OF LOOSING GENERATIONAL POWER

The “objective” and “subjective” ethnic distinction and the psychological dispositions of the two communities also created a competition between them for relative power and prestige in their relations prior to the creation of the new district and the location of its capital. The location of the capital for the district is therefore perceived as an opportunity to score a point over the other. In other words each group implicitly entertained the fear of domination or loosing generational power. This implies that each group perceived the district capital not only as a means of changing the socio-economic problems in their community over their opponents but also as a means of wielding generational power over the others.

In addition, while the people of Adaklu perceived the district capital and the conflict as means of changing and improving their power status, the people of Agotime saw it a means of maintaining power and dominance. For instance, when I asked the people of Agotime that would it not be an opportunity for Adaklu to also have some infrastructure and social amenities since they claim they have more than the people of Adaklu, they responded that what they have is through their own efforts and that many Adaklu citizens are more well educated than them and richer but do not contribute to the development of their community. The informants from Agotime for instance pointed out that the two biggest hotels in Ho, the Volta Regional Capital, are owned by two of Adaklu citizens, but they do not have even a guest house in their own community. In another instance, a chief from Agotime blamed the manipulation of the legislative instrument on the desire for ethnic supremacy by the Adaklus. He observed: “... you could see that they were fighting for ethnic supremacy. Because of that ethnic supremacy, that they wanted to gain through politics, they manipulated the Legislative Instrument by inserting Adaklu in place of Kpetoe for the capital”.

It is evident from these arguments that there exists a kind of power struggle between the two communities. There was an already existing tension between them for prestige, power and dominance prior to the debate over creation of the district and the location of its capital. In every society, while the disadvantaged groups see conflict as a means of improving their status, the advantaged groups also see it as a means of maintaining power and their dominance. As Rosenhead (1986:1200) pointed out there will be resistance at some level by or on behalf of those

who see themselves threatened by that change, or by the increasing self-confidence of the previously submissive. The siting of the capital therefore triggered the politics of resistance by the two groups. In relation to this, Gurr (1993:37) has opined that "...any action or policies that seem likely to alter the balance of power and well-being among groups provide one or both affected parties with an impetus to conflict, the disadvantaged seeking to improve their lot, the advantaged aiming to consolidate theirs"

There is therefore an institutional inability to reach a solution that is acceptable to both parties because all proposed solutions were interpreted and used by both sides as mechanisms for gaining relative power advantages. In such situations, an already relatively undemocratic and nontransparent political system and process become more distorted, to the extent that they are no longer used as means of reconciliation, but rather as means of promoting each side's own positions and legitimizing subsequent actions (See for example Azar and Moon, 1986). This usually gives rise to more hostilities and the process becomes institutionalised. As the process becomes institutionalized the conflict becomes more protracted and not amenable to resolution. As discussed in chapter three, citizens have certain "rights" and "entitlements" which they will compete to have access to within the framework of nation-state. The effective denial of these "rights" and "entitlements" is a denial of citizenship. In such a situation, the affected people find other means to mobilize in order to assert and redeem these rights. As evident in the dispute over the location of the capital, each community believes they are entitled to the district capital but being denied by the state and their opposing group. This has been worsened by the failure of the state to create an opportunity for the citizens of the two groups to participate in the political process in choosing the capital for the district. As a result, each community tends to mobilize along ethnic lines to demand the location of the capital in their various communities.

6.6 CONCLUSION

In view of this analysis, the causes of the Adaklu-Anyigbe conflict are multiple; socio-economic, historical, institutional, ethnic, etc. They could be categorised into immediate and historical causes. The immediate causes of the conflict pointed to the socio-economic disparities and underdevelopment of the two protagonists, coupled with the presence of a scarce public service and providing of a range of institutional failures both at the level of central state and district. The

media, both private and state-owned, lent support to these institutional failures in the escalation of the dispute through their inaccurate reporting, organizing of press conferences for various groups from the communities and organizing of confrontational debates. It could be argued from this point that the conflict between Adaklu and Agotime is a resource-driven conflict facilitated by institutional failures of the Ghanaian state to serve its citizens and the failure of local political institutions to respond to peoples' rights as citizens.

These factors however could not entirely explain the ramifications and the protracted nature of the conflict and the antagonistic behaviour associated with it. The conflict between the two groups is therefore not only a spontaneous and short-term outburst, but also part of a historical legacy. Historical factors such as claims of ownership to land, land litigation and political distinction combined with ethnic differentiation resulted in long standing latent psycho-social distancing between the two groups. The ingrained psychological disposition of the two groups led to denigrating each other wherein actions and behaviour of each group were interpreted by the other in terms of evil and hegemonic intentions. These mental interpretations are the results of claims of ownership to land reinforced by persistent land litigation between two clans, one from each community sanctioned by their migration history, as well as through recent objective situations (socio-economic problems and institutional failures). The consequence of this was distrust and a situation of latent conflict between the two communities. This dispute over the capital leads this conflict into the open, and led to a kind of ensuing power struggle or competition for dominance between the two groups along ethnic lines.

Looking at the reality of multi-ethnic structure of the Ghanaian society, competition for resources/services and political survival is bound to be staged from the perspective of ethnic group interests as long as the state do not mobilize citizens on the basis of overarching national identities. These competitions combined with ethnic consciousness may or may not result in violence depending on actions and inactions of the resource allocating authorities and conflict mediating institutions. It could be argued that when institutions both state and local fail to mediate conflict between groups in attempt to allocate resources or services which are limited, so that each side's gain diminishes what the other gets, the outcome could be a manifestation of generational latent conflicts which are sustained by ethnic sentiments.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 GENERAL CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This study has been necessitated by recent flaring up of ethnic conflicts in various communities into violence in the Ghanaian society that could pose serious threat to the relative peace and stability that the country seems to be enjoying. The study focuses on the recent emerging disputes over the creation of District Assemblies and location of district capitals in the country. The aim of the study is to describe and analyse the causes and processes of escalation and dynamics of these disputes in the country, using the creation of the Adaklu-Anyigbe District as a case study.

The study sought to identify and analyse the factors that accounted for the emergence, escalation and protracted nature of the Adaklu-Anyigbe dispute over the location of the district capital for the newly created Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly. Specific issues investigated included: (a) the nature of the relationship between the local semi-traditional institutions and state institutions in the escalation and mediation of the dispute and: b) the interaction between ethnic distinctions and ethnic relations between the two communities and the dispute over the location of the capital.

7.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The dispute between Adaklu and Agotime over the location of the district capital, as it has been empirically observed, was social and political conflicts and occurred at two levels: (1) vertical – involving the state and the local society and (2) horizontal – among local institutions. It has been found that the dispute involving the state and the society was the result of inability of the state to effectively involve its citizens and local political leaders in political decision making process at the grassroots. The dispute among local institutions was a combination of spillover effect of the state-society dispute that ignited unsettled local conflicts over various issues such as contentious claims of ownership to land.

The study found out that the socio-economic problems affecting the people in general in the two contending communities that combined with the opportunity presented by the creation of the new

district lay at the heart of the contention over the district capital. The poverty of the two communities resulting from deprivation and underdevelopment was a contributing factor to the dispute. The creation of the new district and government's indecision about the location of its capital served as the trigger. Both communities perceived the location of the district capital as a means of improving their socio-economic life. This aspiration predisposed them to highly contend and manoeuvre for the location of the district capital within their respective territories. The leaders of both communities therefore mobilized their people along ethnic lines to assert what they believe was their socio-cultural, economic and political rights.

The study however found out that the escalating factors are embedded in the nature of relationship between state institutions and local semi-traditional institutions and the role of the media. The vertical interactions between the state and the local semi-traditional institutions are more of sources of conflict than cooperation. The dispute escalated as a result of undemocratic and nontransparent political processes followed in location of the capital. This was reflected in the failure of the state institutions to effectively involve the stakeholders in the process of deciding on the location of the district capital, and the emergence of two Legislative Instruments (L.I 1741) in Parliament, which mentioned two different communities as the location of the district capital.

At the horizontal (local) level the leaders of both communities failed to reach an agreement as to where the capital was to be sited contributing to the escalation of the dispute. In addition to these escalation factors is the use of the media as a political instrument for the promotion of ethnic interest. Political polarization of the media houses, inauthentic publications, inaccurate reporting, publishing of letters/articles, confrontational radio-phone-in debates and holding of conferences featured prominently. The media created the platform where each side tried to portray the other as provocateurs and contemptuous of peace, law and order.

The study found out that the dispute became protracted, partly due to psychological dispositions of the two communities. These psychological dispositions were results of "objective" and "subjective" ethnic distinctions, resulting in social process of drawing of an ethnic boundary. The psychological dispositions were also shaped by the historical experiences, such as claims of

ownership over land, land litigation, and discontents over local governance processes. These issues led to early build up of mistrust and dislike in their daily co-existence and to a situation of latent conflict. These also led to an existing tension between the two communities for power and dominance prior to the creation of the district and location of its capital, making them perceive the dispute as a zero-sum game. These factors were therefore mobilized and reinforced in the ensuing dispute over the location of the district capital.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

From the analysis, the policy of decentralization in general aims at accelerating economic development in various districts as it seeks to address the issue of uneven development and lack of equity in the distribution of services and infrastructure across the country. However, the decentralization process has also created an incentive for various ethnic groups (for example, hosting of the district capital) to compete with one another resulting in escalation of conflicts in the country. It is therefore obvious that the dispute over creation of new districts and the siting of new district capitals could be stemmed to some degree if effective institutional mechanisms are established to consciously involve local communities in political process of the creation of new districts.

Any standing contention at the local levels with regards to the creation of districts and location of the district capitals should be resolved without any actions of prejudice before the take-off of new districts. This will contribute to ensuring peaceful co-existence among the communities concerned after the exercise, as well as ensuring the smooth running of the district. In this regard, the role of semi-traditional institutions is crucial. How can this be done? There is the need to devolve responsibility by referring those local issues related to traditional areas back to the sphere of semi-traditional institutions such as the Traditional Councils and the House of Chiefs. This implies that the semi-traditional institution must be given a new outlook by being empowered and resourced to make it more viable and capable of mediating local disputes. This will serve as a standing institution for resolving such disputes. In this case, the state must legitimize the institution and by so doing strengthen its own legitimacy through the perception of having ultimate authority to legitimize semi-traditional authorities. In other words, both semi-traditional institutions and the state must reciprocally legitimize each other (See Lund, 2002;

2003 and Jönsson, 2007). In certain circumstances, an independent and credible commission could be established and charged to investigate the competing claims by the contending communities. The findings of the commission must be studied and implemented.

In the democratic spirit of institutional credibility and transparency, the state must be seen to be a representative of the interest of all citizens and to effectively mediate disputes be they ethnic or not among communities. As a mechanism for mediating such disputes as well as ensure peaceful co-existence among communities during and after the creation of districts, central government actors should strictly adhere to transparency. This could be ensured by effectively involving all stakeholders concerned in the processes. A consensus must be reached and documented with the stakeholders concerned as to which communities should form part of a particular district, the name to be given to the district and where the capital should be located. Once an agreement is reached it becomes easy to have a solution that is acceptable to all parties concerned.

In creation of new districts, it is important to understand that local communities are connected and differ over a range of issues. These issues must be acknowledged and taken into consideration in the creation of new districts and location of their capitals. This can go a long way to avoid escalating latent conflicts among the communities concerned. In this regard, any committee set up to be in-charge of the creation of districts need to take thorough feasibility study in the areas where new districts are to be created. During this feasibility study, efforts should be made to understand the relationship existing among communities that are to constitute the new district. In other words, historical, social, cultural, and political issues of the communities need to be taken into consideration. Areas of cooperation need to be highly appreciated and strengthened, and areas of tension should be reduced. As Zartman (1991) has observed:

Conflict reduction means both reducing incompatibilities, where possible, and returning the pursuit of those incompatibilities to non-violent or political means. The ends and means are inextricably linked, a commonplace that is often forgotten in conflict management. Politics is the process of handling demands, and demands unhandled can

escalate from politics to violence; conflict management that does not deal with basic causes is likely to be short-lived.

With regards to ensuring peaceful co-existence between Adaklu and Agotime, peace-building interventions should be designed to provide long-term solutions to current contentious issues over values, attitudes and beliefs to ensure that transformation takes place at personal, relational, cultural and structural levels. In other words, the latent causes of the dispute need to be addressed. Areas of cooperation between the two communities should be encouraged and areas where they collaborate should be strengthened. The study found out that the people are well connected with common markets, arts and local festivals. Markets in the district should be enhanced and a weaving industry established under the district. This will not only help provide employment to the people and ameliorate conflicts from economic deprivation and underdevelopment, but will also enhance contact among the residents of the district.

7.4 CONCLUSION

Citizens have certain “rights” and “entitlements” which they will compete to have access to within the framework of nation-state. The effective denial of these “rights” and “entitlements” is a denial of citizenship and an invitation for conflict. As a result, the affected people may mobilize to demand their rights and entitlement as citizens. This poses a challenge to the state in allocation of limited resources. Therefore, when institutions at the state and local levels fail to mediate conflict between societal groups in attempt to allocate resource or service which is limited, so that each side’s gain is assumed to diminish what the other gets, the outcome could be a manifestation of generational latent and violent conflicts which are sustained by ethnic sentiments. Any public policy and programme that does not take into consideration and deal with conflict management is bound to encounter problems of implementation from targeted constituents. It is therefore important to ensure democratic spirit of transparency in resource allocation or public policy implementation among ethnically divided communities within a nation-state. This could be ensured through involvement of the stakeholders concerned or the people whom the policy will affect.

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NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

Daily Graphic – November 20, 2003

Daily Graphic – December 18, 2003

The Chronicle – March 1, 2004

Daily Graphic – March 13, 2004

Daily Graphic – March 19, 2004

Daily Graphic – August 16, 2004

Daily Graphic – August 22, 2005

Ghanaian Times – August 18, 2005

GNA –Dec. 31, 2003

GNA – Jan 1, 2004

GNA, January 11, 2005

GNA – February 22, 2008

GNA – February 25, 2008

GNA – February 29, 2008

Palaver – Nov. 9, 2007

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

Ghana Statistical Service, April 2007

Committees Reports

Memoranda and letters

Legislative Instruments

Local Government Act, Act 462 1993

The Constitution of Ghana

Situational Analysis of the Adaklu-Anyigbe District

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

Section A. Background information

Date of interview.....Age.....Sex.....Level of education.....
Occupation.....Marital status.....

Section B: History and relations

- 1) Where do you come from?
- 2) Do you hold any position in this community? If yes, name position?
- 3) How long have you been living in this community?
- 4) Do you have any family member living in the neighbouring traditional area(s)? If yes, which of the traditional area(s)?
- 5) Would you love to marry from the other communities?
- 6) Do you have/share any thing in common with people from the other surrounding traditional areas?
- 7) Are there any differences between your traditional area and the other traditional areas?
- 8) Had there been any disagreement in the past between your traditional area and other surrounding traditional areas prior to the carving of the new District? If yes, what was the cause? And how was it managed?
- 9) How did your traditional area come to reside and own this land?

Section C: Traditional/Political administration of the traditional areas

- 10) How are your community and other communities traditionally administered (i.e. traditional administrative set up/structures)
- 11) How is your community and others politically administered prior to the carving of the new District?

Section D: Creation of the new District

- 12) When was the new District created?

- 13) Why was it created?
- 14) How many traditional areas make up the district?
- 15) Why was the district carved around these traditional areas?
- 16) Was your traditional area involved in the carving of the district and the choice of the capital?

Section E: The choice of the administrative capital

- 17) How was the district capital decided?
- 18) Was there any mechanism by the local authorities to resolve the controversy surrounding the location of the District capital?
- 19) If yes how was it done and what was the outcome?
- 20) Were you satisfied with the outcomes? Why?
- 21) What role did the government play to mediate the dispute?
- 22) Were you satisfied with the government's role in mediating the dispute and the outcome of the mediation?

Section F: Views and attributions to district administrative capital

- 23) What does district capital mean to you and your community?
- 24) Does district capital bring any change to community life?
- 25) Since the take-off of the district, has there been any new project or improvement in infrastructure in your community? If no, why?
- 26) How do you compare development projects in your community now with the time you were under Ho district?

Section G: Traditional leaders view on the creation of the district and the location of the district capital

- 27) Are you in favour of the creation of the new district? Why?
- 28) Does the creation of the district have any effect on your office?
- 29) What is your position about the participation of your community in the district?

*LOCAL GOVERNMENT (ADAKLU-ANYIGBE DISTRICT
ASSEMBLY) (ESTABLISHMENT) INSTRUMENT, 2004*

Common Seal

4. (1) The Assembly shall have a Common Seal which shall be such as the Minister may approve by notice in the *Gazette*.

(2) Until such time as the Common Seal approved in sub-paragraph (1) is available, a rubber stamp bearing the inscription "The Adaklu-Anyigbe District Assembly" shall be used as the Common Seal.

Administrative area of Authority

5. The area of authority of the Assembly shall comprise the area specified in the First Schedule to this Instrument.

Location of principal Offices of Assembly

6. The Assembly shall establish its principal offices at Adaklu Waya where meetings of the Assembly shall be held.

Inaugural Meeting

7. (1) The Assembly shall hold its inaugural meeting on such date as the Minister shall with the prior approval of the Cabinet determine.

(2) A Presiding Member of the Assembly shall be elected at the inaugural meeting.

Revocation

8. (1) The Local Government (Ho District Assembly) (Establishment) Instrument, 1989 (L.I. 1461) is hereby revoked.

(2) Notwithstanding the revocation under Regulation 8 (1), units that were in existence under the revoked Instrument immediately before the coming into force of these Regulations shall operate as units under the respective District Assembly within which they fall under this Instrument until the electoral areas are revised by the Electoral Commission.

FIRST SCHEDULE

Area of Authority and Electoral Areas

- | | |
|------------------|------------|
| 1. Abuadi | 7. Way |
| 2. Ablonu | 8. Xelekpe |
| 3. Kpetoe | 9. Afegame |
| 4. South Agotime | 10. Ziopé |
| 5. Bedzame | 11. Keyime |
| 6. Tabwa | |

SECOND SCHEDULE
FUNCTIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY

It shall be the duty of the Assembly—

1. To promote and safeguard public health and for this purpose the Ministry of Health shall assign Medical Officers of Health, health inspectors and other staff as appropriate except semi-skilled and unskilled labourers to the District Assembly for the proper discharge of this duty.
2. To cause the District to be inspected regularly for the detection of nuisances or any condition likely to be offensive or injurious to health.
3. If satisfied that any nuisance or any condition likely to be offensive or injurious to health exists, to cause all proper steps to be taken to secure the abatement of the nuisance or the removal of the condition.
4. To ensure the provision of adequate and wholesome supply of water throughout the entire District in consultation with the Ghana Water Company.
5. To establish, install, build, maintain and control public latrines, lavatories, urinals and wash places.
6. To establish, maintain and carry out services for the removal of night-soil from any building and for the destruction and treatment of such night-soil.
7. To establish, maintain and carry out services for the removal and destruction of all refuse, filth and carcasses of dead animals from any public or private place.
8. To regulate any trade or business which may be noxious or injurious to public health or a source of danger to the public or which otherwise it is in the public interest to regulate.
9. To provide for the inspection of all meat, fish, vegetables and all other foodstuffs and liquids of whatever kind or nature intended for human consumption whether exposed for sale or not; and to seize, destroy and otherwise deal with all such foodstuffs or liquids as are unfit for human consumption and to supervise and control the manufacture of foodstuffs and liquids of whatever kind or nature intended for human consumption.
10. To provide, maintain, supervise and control slaughter-houses and pounds and all such matters and things as may be necessary for the convenient use of such slaughter-houses.
11. To prevent and deal with the outbreak or the prevalence of any disease.

*LOCAL GOVERNMENT (ADAKLU-ANYIGBE DISTRICT
ASSEMBLY) (ESTABLISHMENT) INSTRUMENT, 2004*

77. To establish and maintain in consultation with the Ghana Postal Services Corporation, Postal Agencies where necessary.
78. To lay down rules and regulations in respect of private and public property to ensure adequate fire protection.
79. To prevent and control fire outbreaks including bush fire.
80. To promote the development of all sports within the area of authority of the Assembly.
81. To organise sports activities within its area of authority and to provide such facilities as may be recommended by the national body responsible for sports.
82. To perform as an agent of the national body responsible for sports in maintaining such sports facilities as may be assigned to it by the national body.
83. To advise to the exclusion of all others on all matters of sports relating to its area of authority.
84. To prohibit, restrict, regulate and license the manufacture, distillation, sale, transportation, distribution, supply, possession and consumption of alcopops, palm-wine, and all kinds of description of fermented liquor usually made by citizens of Ghana or adjacent countries.
85. To license petrol service and filling stations within the township.
86. To provide information centres, where necessary in consultation with the Ministry of Information.

HON. KWADWO ADJEI DARKO, MP
Minister for Local Government and Rural Development

Date of Gazette notification: 27th February, 2004.

Entry into force.

*LOCAL GOVERNMENT (ADAKLU-ANYIGBE DISTRICT
ASSEMBLY) (ESTABLISHMENT) INSTRUMENT, 2004*

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Administrative area of Authority

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Location of principal Offices of Assembly

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Inaugural Meeting

7. (1) The Assembly shall hold its inaugural meeting on such date as the Minister shall with the prior approval of the Cabinet determine.

(2) A Presiding Member of the Assembly shall be elected at the inaugural meeting.

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FIRST SCHEDULE

Area of Authority and Electoral Areas

- | | |
|------------------|------------|
| 1. Abuadi | 7. Waya |
| 2. Ablonu | 8. Xelekpe |
| 3. Kpetoe | 9. Afegame |
| 4. South Agotime | 10. Ziope |
| 5. Bedzame | 11. Keyime |
| 6. Takuve | |

*LOCAL GOVERNMENT (ADAKLU-ANYIGBE DISTRICT
ASSEMBLY) (ESTABLISHMENT) INSTRUMENT, 2004*

SECOND SCHEDULE

FUNCTIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY

It shall be the duty of the Assembly—

1. To promote and safeguard public health and for this purpose the Ministry of Health shall assign Medical Officers of Health, health inspectors and other staff as appropriate except semi-skilled and unskilled labourers to the Assembly for the proper discharge of this duty.
2. To cause the District to be inspected regularly for the detection of nuisances or any condition likely to be offensive or injurious to health.
3. If satisfied that any nuisance or any condition likely to be offensive or injurious to health exists, to cause all proper steps to be taken to secure the abatement of the nuisance or the removal of the condition.
4. To ensure the provision of adequate and wholesome supply of water throughout the entire District in consultation with the Ghana Water Company.
5. To establish, install, build, maintain and control public latrines, lavatories, urinals and wash places.
6. To establish, maintain and carry out services for the removal of night-soil from any building and for the destruction and treatment of such night-soil.
7. To establish, maintain and carry out services for the removal and destruction of all refuse, filth and carcasses of dead animals from any public or private place.
8. To regulate any trade or business which may be noxious or injurious to public health or a source of danger to the public or which otherwise it is in the public interest to regulate.
9. To provide for the inspection of all meat, fish, vegetables and all other foodstuffs and liquids of whatever kind or nature intended for human consumption whether exposed for sale or not; and to seize, destroy and otherwise deal with all such foodstuffs or liquids as are unfit for human consumption and to supervise and control the manufacture of foodstuffs and liquids of whatever kind or nature intended for human consumption.
10. To provide, maintain, supervise and control slaughter-houses and pounds and all such matters and things as may be necessary for the convenient use of such slaughter-houses.
11. To prevent and deal with the outbreak or the prevalence of any disease.

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*LOCAL GOVERNMENT (ADAKLU-ANYIGBE DISTRICT
ASSEMBLY) (ESTABLISHMENT) INSTRUMENT, 2004*

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81. To organise sports activities within its area of authority and to provide such facilities as may be recommended by the national body responsible for sports.
82. To perform as an agent of the national body responsible for sports in maintaining such sports facilities as may be assigned to it by the national body.
83. To advise to the exclusion of all others on all matters of sports relating to its area of authority.
84. To prohibit, restrict, regulate and license the manufacture, distillation, sale, transportation, distribution, supply, possession and consumption of akpeteshie, palm-wine, and all kinds of description of fermented liquor usually made by citizens of Ghana or adjacent countries.
85. To license petrol service and filling stations within the township.
86. To provide information centres, where necessary in consultation with the Ministry of Information.
87. To provide and maintain public parks and gardens.
88. To provide for the demolition of dangerous buildings and for recovery of any expenses incurred in connection therewith.

HON. KWADWO ADJEI DARKO, MP
Minister for Local Government and Rural Development

Date of Gazette notification: 27th February, 2004.

Entry into force: 25th June, 2004.

ADAKLU TRADITIONAL COUNCIL



OFFICE OF THE FIAGA

*Abuadi – Adaklu
P. O. Box 405
Ho – VR*

Tel. +233 20 8168682

*My Ref. A-A DA/IC/2
Your Ref.*

Date: July 5th 2005

NANA AKOMPI FINAM,
CHAIRMAN, INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE
ON ADAKLU-ANYIGBE DISTRICT

MEMORANDUM ON ADAKLU-ANYIGBE DISTRICT CAPITAL

Dear Nana,

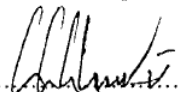
I am encouraged by questions from your Committee, when we appeared before you on 30th June, 2005. These indicate the depth at which you are digging to uncover the truth. May the Almighty guide you in your endeavour, so that you are also bold to point out any documents that happen to be inconsistent with logical reasoning.

First of all, in order to assist your Committee to arrive at the truth, I humbly appeal to you to throw your search light on settlements beyond Ziope and Agortime, particularly concerning boundaries. Since we, the Chiefs and people of Adaklu still maintain that Agortime and Ziope are located on lands ceded to them by our forefathers from Adaklu Traditional Area, one has to look beyond them for the truth. Beyond Ziope is a town called **Dzalele** and beyond Agortime settlement in the Republic of Togo is another town called **Nyetete**, which are all not far away. I believe there must be Elders in these towns, among others, who, when approached, would be able to tell the history of their settlement and naturally also, those with whom they share common borders. Such investigations, which are neutral to the parties involved, I believe, will help your Committee tremendously in arriving at the ultimate truth.

Secondly, I have attached copy of my petition to the Rt. Hon. Speaker of Parliament for the attention of your Committee. I believe the anomaly with the three LIs, one with Adaklu Waya and two others with Kpetoe as district capital, will also be taken up seriously by your Committee.

May the Almighty exonerate the noble personalities sitting on your Committee from blemish.

With best regards,


.....
TOGBE GBOGBI ATSA V
(Paramount Chief, Adaklu Traditional Area).

ATTACHMENT





OFFICE OF PARLIA

Parliament House - Accra (Ghana)

ANNEX 4

In case of reply the number and date of this letter should be quoted

Telephone: 20222/20223/20224
Fax: 20225

HON. ATTORNEY GENERAL

ATTN: PARLIAMENTARY DRAFTSPERSON

Dear Sir,

COMMITTEE ON SUBSIDIARY LEGISLATION

Kindly take notice that the under-listed Instruments which were laid before Parliament in accordance with Article 11(7) of the Constitution and referred to the above Committee for consideration and report have been allowed by the House to come into force

Both the dates for laying of the Instruments as well as their *respective dates for implementation are listed below*

<u>INSTRUMENT</u>	<u>DATE LAID</u>	<u>EFFECTIVE DATE</u>
1. INTERNAL REVENUE (AMENDMENT) REGULATIONS 2004 L.I. 1803	5 TH OCT 2004	4 TH NOV 2004
2. LOCAL GOVERNMENT (ADAKLU-ANYIBGE DISTRICT ASSEMBLY) (ESTABLISHMENT) (AMENDMENT) INSTRUMENT, 2004 L.I. 1807	5 TH OCT 2004	4 TH NOV 2004

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 3. LOCAL GOVERNMENT
(DAYI-NORTH DISTRICT
ASSEMBLY) (ESTABLISH
MENT) (AMENDMENT)
INSTRUMENT, 2004 L.I. 1808 | 5 TH OCT 2004 | 4 TH NOV 2004 |
| 4. NATIONAL HEALTH
INSURANCE REG -
ULATIONS, 2004 L.I. 1809 | 5 TH OCT 2004 | 4 TH NOV 2004 |
| 5. PUBLIC ELECTIONS (PRE-
SIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENT-
ARY DATE) INSTRUMENT, 2004
C.I. 48 | 7 TH OCT 2004 | 8 TH NOV 2004 |

The above information is respectfully forwarded for your attention and necessary action.

Yours sincerely



EBENEZER AHUMAH DJIETROR
CLERK, COMMITTEE ON
SUBSIDIARY LEGISLATION

Cc: Hon. Minister for Finance
The Commissioner, Internal Revenue Service ✓
Hon. Minister for Local Government & Rural Development
Hon. Minister for Health
The Chairman, Electoral Commission