

Chieftaincy, Sovereignty and Legitimacy and Development: A Pilot Newspaper Survey of the Role of Chiefs in Three Aspects of Development

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I. INTRODUCTION

Using this particular pilot newspaper survey is intended to allow us to move beyond depending upon the isolated anecdote and the outstanding but possibly isolated exemplar of the individual chiefs who do outstanding work in one or more of the fields of development. How do we avoid the potential analytical trap of attempting to generalize from the case of one chief who gains a national and international reputation for being genuinely and effectively involved in promoting development when in fact such activity does not go much beyond him/her and a few other exemplars? For some time we have been struck by various reports of chiefs being involved in development. Ray (1992, 1996, 1997, 2003, 2003), Arhin (1985), C. Owusu-Sarpong (2003) and others have indeed witnessed such activities. These studies are of considerable value because they draw our attention to a phenomenon that we have been led not to expect by authors such as Ribot (2001) who virtually dismisses all West African traditional leaders as being corrupt, selfish and undemocratic on the basis of several West African studies which are then generalized to Ghana. Chiefs in Ribot's view, are thus unworthy partners to take part in implementing development. Of course, having traditional leaders take part in development is not without its problems (see, for example, Ntsebeza, 2003) but could not the same charges of corruption, selfishness etc. be brought against some elected and civil service leaders of the democratic states? They could, but we believe that people should be judged by what they themselves actually do before we stereotype all of a category as being engaged in unchanging negative activity. Certainly documented, researched cases of abuse do need to be taken into any balanced and nuanced consideration of chiefs as development partners and innovators.

Moreover, there are those who hold views that could be seen to be contrary to those of Ribot and his anti-chieftaincy school. For example, Arhin, Ray and van Rouveroy co-organized the 1994 "Conference on the Contribution of Traditional Authority to Development, Human Rights, and Environmental Protection: Strategies for Africa" which drew researchers from various countries of Africa, Europe and North America as well as chiefs from Ghana (Arhin, Ray and van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal eds., 1995 and van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal and Ray eds., 1996). The Commonwealth Local Government Forum (CLGF) organized several seminars of Commonwealth African Ministries of Local Government and ministers and officials as well as researchers, including the 1997 Gaborone, Botswana symposium on traditional leadership, local government and development, which drew delegations from twelve Commonwealth African Countries (Ray, Sharma and May-Parker, 1997). The International Association of School and Institutes of Administration (IASIA) had a research project on local governance and development which co-operated with the Traditional Authority Applied Research Network (TAARN) which is funded by the International Development Research Centre of Canada (IDRC) to produce the volume *Grassroots Governance: Chiefs in Africa and the Afro-Caribbean* (Ray and Reddy, 2003). With IDRC funding, TAARN is carrying out the research project "Traditional Leadership and Local Governance in Social Policy in West and Southern Africa" with teams in universities in Ghana, Botswana, and South Africa with the coordination centre at the University of Calgary in Canada. TAARN is also just starting to publish the new University of Calgary Press e-journal *Chieftain: Journal of Traditional Governance*

(<https://dspace.ucalgary.ca/handle/1880/300>) which is exploring traditional authority from a number of perspectives.

How then do we move the analysis of chiefs and development out of these differing insights? Undoubtedly analysts need to continue to document and analyze the actuality of the case studies. An additional approach would be to examine how widespread the reality of traditional leaders' involvement in development actually is. As part of the IDRC-funded TAARN project, it was decided to use a pilot newspaper survey with data gathered from 1995 to October 31, 2003. This data consists of 1068 newspaper articles in order to identify what chiefs in Ghana are perceived as doing by Ghanaian newspapers in order to have a means of analyzing the breadth and depth of the idea and practice of traditional authority in promoting development.

Traditional leaders are the monarchs and aristocracies of Africa who have pre-colonial roots. Their African language titles are often translated into English as "chiefs", "traditional leaders", "traditional authorities", "traditional rulers", "kings" and "natural rulers".¹ Chieftaincy includes those political, socio-political and politico-religious structures that are rooted in the pre-colonial period rather than in the creations of the colonial and post-colonial states, these offices we would consider to be "neo-traditional". Thus, traditional leaders could include kings, other nobility holding offices, heads of extended families, and the office holders of decentralized polities whose offices are rooted in the pre-colonial states and other pre-colonial entities.

The chronology of African political organization is divided into three periods (pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial). This trilogy of pre-colonial state and other political entities, colonial state, and post-colonial state applies to any contemporary state in the Americas, Asia, Africa or elsewhere that resulted from the imposition of European imperialism and colonial since the expansion of capitalism out of Europe from the 1400's onwards. However, one might characterize the African pre-colonial states and other political entities as being rooted in political legitimacies that were particular to their special histories which existed before these pre-colonial states and other polities were incorporated one way or another by European empires. This process, usually involving or threatened force, involved the creation of colonial states by which means the European empires ruled their newly subjugated and/or subordinated colonies. It was the colonial state which the various pre-colonial states and polities were forced. These pre-colonial states and other polities were then processed into various parts of the colonial states. Especially where Imperial Britain adopted indirect rule in Africa, the indigenous peoples had their political leadership turned into instruments of colonial rule for the benefit of the British empire, but the British empire was not strong enough to eliminate completely all elements or traces of this pre-colonial heritage. Thus one can observe a change not only in the terminology of British imperialism, but also as it changed Africans into the realm of Foucauldian subjugated power/knowledge as "kings" became "chiefs" in the lexicon of imperialism and colonialism. While the colonial state intended to indicate the subordinated status of the former pre-colonial leader by this linguistic trick, in many cases, ironically, the real pre-colonial terms of the "chiefs" survived their own languages: Nana, Togbe, Okyenhene, Manye, Nene, Na, Naba and others. Even more ironically for

¹ We are not able to address in this paper the questions of the extent to which chieftaincy is compatible with democracy since to a large measure these traditional leadership offices are in part hereditary, nor to the extent that the "chief" and its derivatives reflect subaltern theory.

colonialism, often these “chiefs” or “traditional leaders” became rallying points of resistance against colonialism and sources of cultural pride to those indigenous peoples who had been colonized, either during or after colonialism. Where traditional leaders/chiefs have survived the period of the colonial state and into the post-colonial state, they often kept sources of legitimacy rooted in the pre-colonial period, and which were unavailable to the colonial state because it was forced on the indigenous people.

Political legitimacy deals with the reasons that people are expected to obey government and other political authority. It is widely accepted that political legitimacy is an important mechanism of the state to obtain the compliance of its citizens (or subjects) with the laws (or other wishes) of the state (Baynes, 1993). Many traditional authorities still have specific (and distinct from the post-colonial state) claims to legitimacy that are recognized by their subjects. Traditional authorities can claim special legitimacy in the eyes of “their” people (who are also citizens of the post-colonial state) as representing their people’s history, culture, laws and values, religion and even claims to pre-colonial sovereignty.

Sovereignty is central to the Western canon of the state: “The state is a territory in which a single authority exercises sovereign powers both *de jure* and *de facto*” (Watkins 1968: 150). Of particular interest are the questions of the finality and undivided characteristics of sovereignty that Western tradition assumes to be necessary. While sovereignty and legitimacy are assumed to be undivided because there is one common root to the state, it could be argued that in post-colonial states such as Ghana, the failure of the colonial and post-colonial states to extinguish all aspects of the pre-colonial political authorities has created states in which sovereignty and legitimacy are divided because there are two different root systems. Those of the post-colonial state and those of the chiefs rooted in the pre-colonial and pre-capitalist mode, but now modified by their experience of the colonial state and its successor, post-colonial state which is rooted in the capitalist mode. In short, the articulation of these two modes creates a situation in which sovereignty, legitimacy, authority and power are divided, albeit asymmetrically (Ray, 1995, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2003a). The post-colonial state is often reluctant to recognize chiefs as holders of some sort of sovereignty because to do so has often been regarded as admitting that chiefs are alternatives or competitors (albeit weak ones) to the state for structuring of political activity including development (e.g. see Ray 1996, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2003a). The colonial states and the post-colonial states do not share the same roots of sovereignty and legitimacy as those of the pre-colonial states. The claims of the colonial state were usually based on force, racism and diplomatic trickery. The claims of the colonial state to legitimacy as to why the indigenous people should obey its dictates were usually based not on the consent of the indigenous people, but rather conquest or assertions of cultural or racial superiority by the imperialists over the indigenous people and the use of the colonial state’s constitutional and legal order based on or rooted in the imperial power. Thus the colonial state was unable to take over the bases of legitimacy of the pre-colonial period: if it did so, the colonial state would call into question its own legitimacy.

The post-colonial state is in a more complex situation in relationship to the pre-colonial period and to traditional leaders than was the colonial state. On the one hand, the post-colonial state usually starts with constitutional and legal legitimacy rooted in the colonial state, especially if, as was usual, there was a peaceful handover of power from

the colonial state to the post-colonial state. However, the post-colonial state can also claim its legitimacy from the roots of the nationalist struggle for independence by the people, and secondly, through democratic processes in which the will of the people is represented and thirdly, the long-term changes wrought in the legal-constitutional system inherited from the colonial state as it is processed and digested by the institutions created by the post-colonial state which expresses the democratic will of the people. By contrast, the legitimacy of traditional leadership/chieftaincy institutions in the eyes of their people remains. Certainly in the case of Ghana, while particular chiefs may be suppressed by the post-colonial state, none of its regimes has been able to abolish the institution of the chieftaincy.

By the same token, while the support of Ghanaians for their particular chiefs may fluctuate according to the qualities of the person who is the chief, nevertheless support for a delimited accountable chief remains strong amongst the vast majority of Ghanaians.² This is a reflection of the legitimacy of chiefs, something that post-colonial state cannot easily tap: it is in nearly all cases beyond the grasp of the post-colonial state precisely because chieftaincy legitimacy is rooted in the pre-colonial period and there has been a fundamental rupture in the political fabric by the imposition of colonialism. Many Ghanaians may choose to express themselves for most policy areas through the post-colonial state, but they may also decide that certain policy matters, are best dealt with by their traditional leaders as custodians of their culture but only within certain prescribed boundaries.³ Since the people of a post-colonial state understand that the legitimacy roots are divided between the post-colonial state and the traditional (i.e., pre-colonially rooted) leadership, Ghanaians seem to have decided that their desired democratic practice includes aspects of both the post-colonial state and traditional leadership. This has led to a situation in which the division of the different roots of legitimacy would create a shared legitimacy as the traditional authorities and the post-colonial state add together their legitimacy to promote more and better development (Ray, 1997, 2003, 2003a). Moreover, ministers of local government for the African members of the Commonwealth argued something very similar in 1995 (Ray, 1997⁴).

Traditional leaders have been seen by the colonial and post-colonial states as being important to local governance in Ghana. In both the colonial and post-colonial states, traditional leaders have been incorporated directly into varying forms of local government and local governance. While Nkrumah removed chiefs from the post-colonial state's formal local government structures, the creation of the National and Regional Houses of Chiefs by the post-colonial state has institutionalized and entrenched important political governance functions for the traditional leaders (Ray, 2003, 2003a).

² This is not to argue that there are not Ghanaians who favour abolishing chieftaincy, but they are relatively few.

³ See, for example, the South African survey which found something similar (Crothers, 2003). It is interesting that the Blair government was surprised at the level of opposition to its plans to abolish, in effect, the House of Lords. Interview with government source, London, 2002.

⁴ Don Ray appreciates the discussions and debates with Werner Zips, Christiane and Albert Owusu-Sarpong, Robert Thornton, Tim Quinlan, Kershav Sharma, M. Molomo, Kwame Arhin, Jean-Michel Labatut and Sherri Brown, which have led to an enhancement of the "divided legitimacy" school to by also using the concepts of "shared legitimacy" and "pooled legitimacy". See also Ray (1996) and Ray (1997) for earlier discussions of divided legitimacy contributing to development. Ray (1997) can be accessed at the TAARN website (<http://www.ucalgary.ca/UofC/faculties/SS/POLI/RUPP/taarn/taarn.htm>).

The chiefs were initially perceived as ‘auxiliaries’ or ‘subordinate allies’ by the British colonial state. Traditional rulers have often been perceived in these ways by the post-colonial state. However traditional authorities seem to be playing additional, sometimes innovative roles in Ghana, especially with regard to development. This is a central concern of this paper.

Christian Owusu-Sarpong (2003) suggests that traditional leaders may act as intermediaries between their people and the government ministries. Ray (2003a) has argued that traditional leaders may add their legitimacy to Ghana’s post-colonial state. Both Owusu-Sarpong (2003) and Ray (2003a) agree that not only do traditional leaders possess their own unique sources of political legitimacy and authority, but also that the exercise and co-operation of this legitimacy authority in co-operation with the post-colonial state is necessary for the more effective achievement of development goals. Owusu-Sarpong (2003) argues further that their legitimacy may indeed serve as a necessary pre-condition to the success of governmental action and activities. She argues that no central government decision directly affecting the Ghanaian people in matters such as communal health, education, use and distribution of land, gender issues, etc., can be easily implemented without the active involvement of the chiefs.

Because most Ghanaian traditional leaders have legitimacy or credibility with their subjects, chiefs are able to mobilize their people for development, chiefs are able to articulate their sense of public morality and they are able to influence public opinion. Hence, where traditional leaders are represented they have the possibility of exerting significant influence within their communities. Owusu-Sarpong (2003) argues that chiefs are active opinion leaders, and cites a number of examples of their presence in media sources and official and informal gatherings as evidence of chiefs’ opinions and activities are considered important both by their subjects and government. Where traditional leaders have the credibility, they can be an important source of public education on many social issues. Given their position within the community, traditional leaders could potentially transmit important social messages that contribute to development goals.

As Ray argued in *Grassroots Governance* (2003), traditional leadership is a factor that has been significantly overlooked in the evaluations of government and governance in much of contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa and even in parts of the Afro-Caribbean (see Zips 2003). As Ray argued in 1997, this oversight continues to result in lost opportunities. One key set of questions has been to what extent the involvement of chiefs in development is a phenomenon restricted to a few outstanding traditional leaders, or how prevalent the practice of chiefs being involved in development really is. This paper starts to address these questions of the extent that chiefs actually bring their unique supply of legitimacy to development efforts, thereby transforming divided sovereignty and legitimacy into shared legitimacy and shared sovereignty.

II. METHODOLOGY

Using newspaper articles allows us to see new sources of evidence of this even if it is filtered, as Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue by those who control and staff the newspaper media. Thus we can use newspaper articles over time to track the emergence and spread in Ghana of the phenomenon of the chief as a development agent⁵, but in a

⁵ This is a separate (but related) phenomenon from the development chief which we and other TAARN members have addressed or are addressing elsewhere.

sense that we have to rely on the decisions of the newspapers as to what is ‘worthwhile’ or ‘legitimate’ for them to publish to their readers. Potentially, several problems emerge. First, there is the problem of what Foucault (1980) analysed as suppressed/excluded knowledge/histories and which Chilcote (1994) analysed as competing paradigms and which Herman and Chomsky (1988) analyze as the filters and processes of the media in manufacturing ideological consent (or legitimacy). The importance of what these disparate authors argue is that depending on what the power holders wish to propagate as ideas that help them dominate, knowledge may well be shaped, some “facts” accepted and others suppressed as being “unworthy.” Certainly there is a strong strain of republicanism from the right and the left in much of the Western cultural discourses on democracy and development. Indeed the dominant US interpretation of democracy assumes that American democracy must be built within a republic since this has become a cornerstone of the American revolution. From this, it seems that that republican democracy is seen to be a pre-condition for development.

Such anti-monarchical (or anti-chiefly) political assumptions underlie much of the Western canon of development. Western culture has had a strong influence on the media around the world. Have such anti-monarchical or anti-traditional authority media attitudes permeated Ghanaian newspapers? If they have, would then Ghanaian newspapers even mention chiefs at all or would they only mention chiefs in negative terms? What effects would this have on our research strategy? Thousands of Ghana newspaper articles reporting on chiefs⁶ suggest that this is not the case but rather that many if not most Ghanaians remain vitally concerned with what “their” chiefs do and that in order to understand Ghanaian political culture, as C. Owusu-Sarpong (2003) argues, traditional leaders need to be considered. Using newspapers perceptions of the activities of chiefs (and thus their value) does add a layer of filtering through which traditional authorities are viewed and this could distort the reality of what traditional leaders do, nevertheless this research strategy could give us an additional technique, beyond the case study or the opinion survey or participant observation with each and everyone of Ghana’s thousands of chiefs, that will move us beyond the anecdotal and the exemplary or the opinion of the practitioner or the citizen/subject and allow us to examine what chiefs actually do in implementing development policies.

For the purposes of the IDRC-funded TAARN newspaper project, the population from which the data are drawn is from the Ghanaian press that can be accessed electronically through the Internet using specific key words. At this pilot stage in the research, the data have been gathered based on keywords that reflect the chieftaincy. Categories for preliminary coding are based on the concepts related to development. Articles have been placed in categories based on the how much content of the articles is on the subject of the categories that have been generated. Every attempt has been made to ensure that the categories that have been created are relevant to the chieftaincy and development. As well, every effort has been made to ensure that the articles clearly reflect the categories in which they are placed. For example if the majority (over half) of the article’s content reflects a concern with education, the article has been placed there and not in the category of Agriculture. However, if the article describes efforts to educate farmers on current agricultural practices, it is placed in Agriculture, not

⁶ This pilot study is based on a smaller number of newspaper articles. Over five thousand newspaper articles in a different time frame will be analysed elsewhere.

Education. This pilot study will provide a basis for preliminary analysis, but it will also provide an important opportunity to correct any methodological issues for the ensuing phases of the research.

It is important for us to note at this point that this is the pilot analysis of the broader study. Conclusions that we draw are therefore based on the fact that this data has been sorted and coded only at the pilot stage. At this point in the project analysis, we do not have the final coding system as we are in the process of arranging the overall analytical system that will use SPSS. At this point in the project, the data has been collected by keyword searches and sorted in terms of broader subject matters. While the data sets are for the most part finalized, it is possible that in later stages of analysis, these data sets will have undergone some minor changes in structure. Ultimately, the final analysis will allow us to draw more specific conclusions regarding the role of traditional authorities in the varying areas of national economic and social development. At this pilot stage in the analysis, we have already found that traditional authorities are deeply involved and implicated in those processes. We will still be able to draw some formal conclusions from the pilot analysis, however what the later stages of the analysis will allow us to do is be far more specific in terms of identifiable trends as they relate both to subject matter and regional distribution. The deeper analysis will also allow us to cross-reference both subject matter and regional distribution more meticulously than is possible with the pilot analysis.

The data used for this paper was gathered exclusively from Ghanaian newspapers – such as the *Daily Graphic* (available at <http://www.graphic.com.gh/dgraphic/news/news.html>), the *Chronicle* (available at <http://db.ghanaian-chronicle.com/index.asp>), the *Accra Mail* (available at <http://www.accra-mail.com/>) to name a few or Ghanaian news agencies – such as the *Ghana News Agency* (GNA) or *Ghana Review International* (GRI) on the Internet. The database/archive that was been most often used has been the *Ghanaweb* News site (available at <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/>), rather than the individual newspaper websites. This was done for two reasons: in order to maintain greater consistency in gathering from the archives as well as to ensure greater consistency in the results from the search terms that were used. Through the *Ghanaweb* News site, there is link access to particular newspapers as well as database of archived material from these various papers.

While collecting the data, it became clear that not all Ghanaian newspaper websites provide equal access to all their archival material online. While gathering the material, different Ghanaian newspaper websites were visited (see above URLs) and in conducting searches with their house search engines, the archival material that was available differed from individual newspaper to individual newspaper. In individual newspaper websites, the archival material available online is quite limited. It is important to note that there are no specific indications or policies recorded in these individual newspaper websites of how each individual newspaper website structures their archives, nor is there any indication or policy of how a decision is reached on archival.

The *Chronicle* (<http://db.ghanaian-chronicle.com/index.asp>) does not provide a general search option, but has divided material into pre-selected categories, these are: frontpage (sic) news, editorial, news, business news, sports, opinion, features, and letters. In early 2004, an ‘archive’ search choice was added. In order to access a previously

published edition of the *Chronicle*, the date of the desired edition should be placed at the end of the URL address. The *Chronicle* provides an example:

“You can get access to the Chronicle's previous publications by adding a date of any particular edition to the URL of the website. Example: www.ghanaiian-chronicle.com/230326 should bring up the 26th March 2003 edition. To see more of the archives, all you have to do is to change some of the figures. The 23 is the year, i.e. 2003, 03 is the month i.e. March and 26 is the day, i.e. 26th. For instances, if you want to get information on one of last year's editions, e.g. 2002, December 13, change 23 to 22, 03 to 12 and 26 to 13 so you get 221213 or www.ghanaiian-chronicle.com/221213.”

However, this archive feature was added to the *Chronicle* website after the cut off date, October 31, 2003, for gathering data was in place. Therefore the news archive from the *Chronicle*'s website was not used to gather data for the pilot study. In recent visits to the *Chronicle* website, especially the archives, accessing previous editions proved to be somewhat unreliable. A majority of the search dates resulted in access to the desired edition, while other searches for example May 13, 2000 (200513 added at the end of the *Chronicle* URL) resulted in an “i” “We can't find <http://www.ghanaiian-chronicle.com/200513>” message page. An identical result was the case for May 13, 2001 (210513 at the end of the *Chronicle* URL) and January 1, 2001 (200101). Access was successful for January 3, 2001 (210103) as well as January 4, 2001 (210104) and January 5, 2001 (210105), however access was unsuccessful for January 6, 2001 (210106). Using the *Chronicle*'s own archive search engine, and observing that some dates are accessible while others are not, suggests that access to their archive is still under the process of being constructed as accessing some dates is erratic. While this new feature will be of use to TAARN in future data gathering, it has not been used to gather data for this paper, as the cutoff date for data inclusion into this data set was set at October 31, 2003.

The *Daily Graphic* (<http://www.graphic.com.gh/dgraphic/news/news.html>) similarly does not provide search-term search engine, that is to say that they do not provide an option for the user to do a search for articles using an independent search term. The *Daily Graphic* has a number of categories already pre-determined on their website, these sub-sites include: editorials, news, features, top stories, sports, business, politics. Access to their archive is limited to articles that are already posted online, with no way for Internet ‘surfers’ to have access to older material. The situation is identical with the *Mirror*, a *Daily Graphic* sister paper, whose website is part of the *Graphic*'s website. In order to access articles from the *Mirror*, the user simply clicks on to the appropriate icon to move to the *Mirror*'s website. The categories that the *Mirror* employs are somewhat different, they are: news, short stories, sports, letters, entertainment, comments and beauty. As is the case with the *Daily Graphic*, those prepared categories are the only available search method and there is no way for an independent user to create an individual search

Ghana Review International (GRI) is an independent news agency (<http://ghanareview.com>). The GRI does provide an independent search format to its archives, meaning that a browser can use their database page (available at:

<http://ghanareview.com/review/index.php?class=Search>) to launch keyword searches.⁷ GRI also allows browsers to determine how many accessed articles or news stories can be accessed on the computer screen: 10, 25, 50, 75, 100 or *no limit*. It is clear however that despite the '*no limit*' option, there is a limitation to how many articles are accessed. A search on the keyword "*chief*", to be sorted with no limit and by date provided 971 hits, however those hits dated back only to November 2002. A search on the term "*traditional chief*" provided 1189 hits, however, again, those hits did not date earlier than November 2002.⁸

Ghanaweb (available at: <http://www.ghanaweb.com>) is a site that provides a great deal of information about Ghana and has links to related sites. It provides access to government websites, as well as historical information, tourist information, as well as large repository of general information on Ghana. The news component of the website (<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/>) provides for the greatest depth of the archival news material – going back to 1995, and the widest range of identified sources including the *Chronicle*, *Daily Graphic*, *Ghana News Agency (GNA* – which itself does not have a website), *GRI*, the *Accra Mail*, as well as freelance journalists or commentators. The sources are usually identified by *Ghanaweb* at the bottom of the accessed articles. However, in some cases, the articles do not have an identifiable source, and this is noted at the bottom of those articles either with the notation '*source: ??*', or '*source: null*'. The *Ghanaweb* news archive provides central access to these different news sites and has been by far the most comprehensive news site used to gather data for this project. This is due to a few reasons, most importantly is the importance of the archive and the accessibility of material from previous years, greater detail of which is detailed below. Another reason the *Ghanaweb* news archive was used to collect the majority of the data used in this project, was to ensure greater consistency of the gathered data with the keywords that were used to call up newspaper articles. By using the *Ghanaweb* news archive as the main source of data the difference between one database's gathering program and another's could be minimized, allowing for, if not the smallest margin of error, then at least consistency in the margin of error of the database.

As mentioned above, the *Ghanaweb* news archive is quite comprehensive. It provides a wide range of news material that is sourced from other news outlets and agencies. It also provides the user with some independent search options, moreover, it is the only Ghanaian news site that provides some (albeit quite limited) help as regards to how their search engine will identify material. The search page (<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/search.php>) instructs the user to:

⁷ The GRI database provides a number of options for sorting accessed results, these are either by score there is no definition given on this website, but presumably it is the same as most search engines – the score meaning the degree to which the search term matches the search results, as determined by the programme of the search engine, will usually appear in descending order with the most relevant at the top, or by date. The results are often placed in descending order – the most relevant or the most recent date at the top of the results.

⁸ To verify the validity of the results using the search term, 3 articles were randomly accessed from those results. Only one article had mention of a "chieftaincy" chief. The other 2 articles mentioned a District Chief Executive (DCE) and a Chief Executive Officer (CEO), as such they were in fact false positives.

“Type **Tamale** if you want news about Tamale.

Type **Tamale school** if you want news about schools in Tamale.

Try to be as specific as possible. If you search for **Accra** you will find thousands of articles. If you search for **Accra Clinton** you will only find the articles related to Accra and Clinton.”

Other Ghanaian news websites do not provide this kind of cue for searching material in their archives.

Another search feature that makes *Ghanaweb* the most useful of the Ghanaian news websites is that it provides the user with the option to do searches for archived material on a year by year basis. Their search page provides the opportunity to access articles on (presumably) any subject matter and the ability to limit that search to a specific year. The archive goes quite far back relative to other Ghanaian news websites, in that its archive searches can go as far back as 1995, although it is important to note that there tends to be far less material available online for material prior to the year 2000.

While the *Ghanaweb* archive will identify the number of articles that the search engine has identified, if those number over 200, only the first 200 hits will be available to be accessed by the user. For example, a search on only the word ‘chief’ in the year 2003 resulted in 4573 hits, however the *Ghanaweb* archive only provides access for the first 200. These 200 available articles are usually the most recently dated articles from the date of the search. These limitations in the accessibility of the different archives from *Ghanaweb* have prevented the searches and subsequent gathering of data from being exhaustive. Even given this limitation, *Ghanaweb* provided the most consistent access to a wide variety of Ghanaian newspaper articles on the chieftaincy. As shown above, other Ghanaian newspaper websites proved to have far more serious limitations in their ability to access articles, especially the *Chronicle* and the *Daily Graphic* – perhaps the top two Ghanaian dailies – in terms of providing an independent search mechanism. As such, the *Ghanaweb* news archive was the most reliable and comprehensive source of newspaper articles.

The keywords used have been as thorough as possible, but it is not clear what the individual search engines, such as the search engine of the GRI, cater to most. Keywords used have been: “chief” “traditional chief” “traditional authority” “traditional ruler” “traditional leader” and “chieftaincy”, however the specific titles of the institution of chieftaincy have not been used in gathering data for this paper. In the future, the specific indigenous language titles of chiefs - such as Asantehene (king of the Asante), Okyenhene (king of Akyem Abuakwa), Omanhene (king or paramount chief of a traditional area), etc., as well as the stool names of individual chiefs will be used to gather articles for phase two of the research in order to provide more detailed case studies. A number of permutations of ‘queenmother’ were used as keywords as well – queen mother, queen mothers, Queen mother, Queenmother, queenmother, queenmothers, queenmum, queenmums – this was done in order to allow for the different usages in the term queenmother and to ensure that as many different renditions of the term would guarantee a ‘hit’. All of these terms are commonly used in Ghana to refer to

the institution of traditional authority and fall within the discussion of the term in the previous section.

In using all these search terms there have been some ‘false positives’ (Soothill and Grover, 1997) – that is, hits that are identified by the database as falling within the search parameters, but are not related to subject matter. ‘*Chief*’, even in conjunction with the qualifying term ‘*traditional*’, produced the most false positives, hitting on articles that mentioned ‘*District Chief Executives*’ (a Ghanaian position not affiliated with the institution of the chieftaincy, but rather with the local government structures of the post-colonial state) without other mention of chiefs or chieftaincy. ‘*Chief executive officer*’ was also a phrase that the database identified as being a positive match with even the search term ‘traditional chief’, despite the fact that this is a term and position not at all affiliated with traditional authority.

For both the purposes of the larger project and this particular paper, there has been no effort made to identify the number of ‘false negatives’, as the project and the articles are not primarily concerned with the methodology of the database itself in generating ‘hits’. Nor is there any way of establishing how many results were ‘false negatives’- articles that *do* relate to the subject at hand but are not found or identified by the search engine, as those items never appeared. False negatives are a problem in database research, as Soothill and Grover (1997: 591) show, in that those items are related to the subject matter being searched but because of the way the search engine is configured or programmed, those items are not gathered or identified by the search engine. Because those false negatives are not identified by the search engine, there is in fact no way to gather them making the margin of error for collection potentially greater than expected by researchers. The other problem that false negatives present to research is that there is no way to identify what the database missed, and there is therefore, no way to correct or gather those items that should legitimately be a part of the data set.

The data contained here is a part of a larger IDRC funded research project by the Traditional Authority Applied Research Network (TAARN) on the extent to which chiefs are involved in development in Ghana. The newspaper articles for the larger project are divided into four main categories: Chiefs, Queenmothers, HIV/AIDS and Disputes. Those categories are then further subdivided in order to better identify trends within those subject matters. For the purposes of this paper, there were three major categories were used: Chiefs and economic development, Chiefs and social policy / social development and Chiefs and traditional political practices/roles – ceremonial roles. Within these categories a number of sub-divisions were also added in order to better identify trends within those subject matters. They are as follows:

- Chiefs and Traditional Political Practices/Roles – Ceremonial roles:
Festivals/state, Festivals/traditional, Durbars, Courtesy/ Allegiance Calls/
Oaths of Allegiance, Succession: Enstoolment, Installment, Outdooring,
Abdication, Deaths/Funerals – Announcements/practices, etc., Other
Traditional Practices
- Chiefs and Social Policy / Social Development:
Health (non-HIV/AIDS), Environment, Education, Land – reform, allocation,
etc., Gender
- Chiefs and Economic Development:

Infrastructure / roads, water, electrification, etc., Tourism, Industry/ Market Initiatives, New Districts – Planning, Renaming, Remapping etc., Agriculture/Farming

- Chiefs and Disputes:
Disputes between Chiefs/Queenmothers, Disputes with non-chiefs, Destoolment

For the purposes of this pilot study we have chosen to examine “Succession” from the Chiefs and Traditional Practices category, “Education” from the Chiefs and Social Policy/Social Development category and the Chiefs and Economic Development category. The first two sub-categories are distinctive and easily defined and so are more easily analysed by themselves apart from other sub-categories. Given the considerable scope of the third category, Chiefs and Economic Development, three sub-sections were chosen: Infrastructure, Tourism and Agriculture. The other sub-sections will be analysed later. The three themes enable us to examine selections from the political, economic and social aspects of divided sovereignty and legitimacy as it is manifested in the practice of traditional authority and development.

While there is no formal cross referencing of the newspaper articles at this stage in the research, it is important to note, for example, that infrastructure is a major concern and can be found in articles relating to health (building, expanding or rehabilitating clinics or hospitals) as well as education (building, expanding and furnishing schools, classroom blocks or dormitories). What is also important to note is that in articles that are not as directly related to infrastructure issues, those issues are nevertheless raised by chiefs, MP’s or District Chief Executives, who are in leadership positions at the level of the various chieftaincies, parliamentary constituencies and district local government.

These issues will be explored in greater depth in future research, where it will be possible to create a database capable of cross-referencing the subject matter contained in all the articles currently gathered for the IDRC-funded TAARN project in order to generate a clearer and more comprehensive view of the involvement of chiefs in development. What the second phase of the research will also be able to show, is the degree to which many of these issues are inter-related not only in the rhetoric of chiefs and state officials, but also in the reality of practice.

III. THEMES OF THE PILOT STUDY: EDUCATION, POLITICAL SUCCESSION, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The three main themes examined in this pilot study reflect important issues that illustrate another way of viewing, and thus being able to analyze, the interaction of chieftaincy and development within the context of divided or shared sovereignty and legitimacy. The newspaper articles report those activities that the newspapers value as newsworthy. These articles give another means of measuring how deeply involved chiefs are in their society, and more importantly, the kinds of activities and issues with which chiefs are concerned, or at least those that the newspapers perceive. The newspaper articles allow chiefs a platform from which to air their opinion and concerns about their societies, as well as providing people with information as to what kinds of activities chiefs engage in on behalf of their people.

Ghanaian chiefs are involved a vast array of development projects and policies. The larger study will be able to take into account a broader range of categories than the scope of this paper. However, it is our intention to use a narrower set of data categories and to present some preliminary findings on them. This paper provides a preliminary look at the methodology and the framework of the larger study through an examination of chiefs and development and as applied in three areas: education, succession and economic development. These three themes have been chosen to best represent the application of divided sovereignty in the social, political and economic aspects of development.

A. Education

In this pilot study that gathered newspaper articles available on Ghanaian newspaper websites from 1995 to October 31, 2003, 56 newspaper articles mentioned the involvement of chiefs in the promotion of education. Education represents a major social theme of development in which chiefs could become involved. It is through the education of children that social and political values and institutions are explained and have their legitimacy reinforced. Legitimacy of social and political institutions is reinforced through education by making those institutions' presence and continuation seem necessary for the stability of that society and its social and cultural values. The position of the post-colonial state's education systems as tools for the social, cultural, economic, health and political betterment of society, as well as a conduit through which social values and traditions are taught and respected reinforces their importance not only to children attending classes, but to all those involved in the education system. Education also has the potential to enhance the future economic well-being of those who become well-educated. Hence if traditional leaders were to actively lend their legitimacy to the post-colonial state's educational systems, education might receive new resources and support from people who were responding to their chief's message. In this pilot study, we hope to begin to analyze the involvement of chiefs in education. Educators, parents, students and policy makers all tend to shape the education system through their needs.

Funding of education is the predominant issue being mentioned in 33 articles involving traditional leaders. This can be divided into three different concerns. Funding (or donated construction supplies) for infrastructure, that is building schools, classrooms, libraries or education-related centres accounts for nineteen (19) newspaper articles. Funding for poorer students, that is scholarships for primary or secondary education (tertiary education is mentioned in 3 articles and is not a major concern in this data set) is mentioned in 14 newspaper articles involving traditional leaders. Funding for school supplies such as books, book bags, uniforms, etc., is mentioned in one article involving Queenmother of the Fodome-Helu traditional area Mama Azinor V, who is the co-ordinator and administrator of the scholarship scheme there ("Fodome Citizens Set Up Education Fund." [Ghanaweb: GNA] 10/13/2003). Access to education is often related to funding issues as it is poorer families who have trouble getting the resources and who are likely to be forced, by their poverty to restrict access to education for their children, especially girl-children. Access to education,

specifically for girls is mentioned in 4 newspaper articles involving chiefs. One of those articles profiles Nana Akua Faah-Ababio, a Queenmother who received a bachelor's degree from Wesleyan College in West Virginia, USA. She divided her time between the US and Ghana in order to fulfil her monarchical duties and continues to divide her time between the US and Ghana ("Ghanaian Queen Graduates from Wesleyan." [Ghanaweb: no source listed] 05/23/2001).

In the newspaper articles gathered in this theme, one issue that is often raised is the importance of education. It is quite clear that chiefs are very supportive of education as a means through which the lives of their people can be materially improved. Chiefs are actively involved in supporting the education system in Ghana as is clear through the regular statements chiefs make to encourage their people to keep their children in schools. In almost all the articles in this theme, there is a mention of the importance of education on some level. Where there is no explicit mention of the importance of education by chiefs or state officials, the importance of education is noted either through raising funds to build education, or education-related infrastructure, or raising educational endowment funds to allow greater access of poorer children to education, which is mentioned in 33 articles.

In Fodome-Helu, Mama Azinor V, Queenmother of the Fodome Traditional Area in the Volta Region and co-ordinator of a scholarship maintains that the scholarship is in place to "motivate and encourage the youth in town to realize the importance and need for education in the modern world" ("Fodome Citizens Set Up Education Fund." [Ghanaweb: GNA] 10/13/2003). In Brong-Ahafo, Nana Kofi Adum II the Anikokoasehene and Benkumhene of Krobo advises parents to "avoid engaging children in economic activities at the expense of their education" as well as urging adults to "take an interest in the adult education programme provided for improvement in their standard of living" ("Parents Advised to Stop Employing Children for Labour" [Ghanaweb: GNA], 08/20/2003) Statements such as these are relatively common from chiefs, both in terms of the intrinsic value of education and how education can improve the standard of living of the community as well as the country.

However, chiefs in Ghana do not merely support education through positive rhetoric, which would be the first level of support. Chiefs are actively involved in raising awareness of the importance of education for all their people, especially those who may be marginalized by their social positions, especially girls and the poor. Sixteen articles dealt with this. Chiefs urge parents to allow their children to go to school rather than take them out and make them work to help support the family. By insisting on education as a priority over income, chiefs underline the importance of education for its own sake, as well as a potential for poor children to improve their living conditions by accessing better skills and credentials. The involvement of chiefs in raising funds to assist poorer families to gain access to education is one of the major activities: 14 of articles addressed the issue of chiefly involvement in fund-raising for education.

Access to education for girls is another area where chiefs are making their support for education clear. There are four (4) articles that mention education for girls. While this is not a large number of articles given the size of this data set,

the articles do focus on the statement that girls must be educated and must be allowed to stay in school. This kind of backing from traditional authorities may carry greater legitimacy than statements made by government officials, especially among people in smaller or isolated rural communities (who tend to maintain more proscribed roles for girls and women) or communities who maintain rigidly traditional values. Interestingly, at a conference on education in the Northern Region, the Yagbon-Wura (the Gonja king), Bawa Doshie II, Paramount Chief of the Gonja Traditional Area stated that “traditional authorities would have reached a qualitative indicator of modifying or abolishing outmoded practices that inhibit the education of children, especially the girl-child” (“Northern Chiefs Attend Conference on Education” [Ghanaweb: GNA] 08/19/2003). This kind of statement from a prominent chief is also likely to influence other chiefs.

Moreover, while basic education for girls is stressed, there is also specific support for girls entering what even in the West are considered non-traditional fields of science and engineering. In the Central Region an initiative to form science and technology education committees in all districts of the country was launched by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports. 100 female students chosen from 12 junior and secondary schools took part in the week-long clinic that opened as a part of the initiative. Nana Agyeefi Ackon, a divisional chief of the Effutu Traditional Area who stood in for the Omanhene expressed “full support for the promotion of science education among girls in the area” (“Ministry to Establish Technology Education in Districts [Ghanaweb: GNA] 08/19/2003).

Statements from Minister for Basic, Secondary and Girl-Child Education Miss Christine Churcher are unequivocal in their support for education for girls. The Hon. Miss Churcher stated that “the quest to give girls sound and quality education (is) non-negotiable (“Education for Women is Non-negotiable – Minister” [Ghanaweb: GNA] 06/03/2002). The minister also urged all women, especially queenmothers, to be at the forefront of the campaign to support education for girls. This kind of call from a government minister to traditional authorities to actively involve themselves on behalf of a certain sector of their people is important. This kind of statement from a state official to traditional authorities recognizes their unique social position which gives them a cachet to be able to mobilize their communities with perhaps greater effectiveness which others might lack. It is interesting to note that in this instance, a state official directly invoked female traditional authorities to speak up for and offer direct encouragement for the education of girls.

Queenmothers are equally involved in and concerned with ensuring that girls are granted access to education both in terms of public statements as well as through fundraising activities. The Queenmother of Bomwire, in the Ejisu-Juaben District received 20 million cedis from Dutch contributors after an appeal during a visit to Europe. She also stressed that parents should not only enroll their children, but ensure that they stay in school (“EU Approves C2.4bn for Construction of School” [Ghanaweb: GNA] 03/07/2003). Mama Azinor V, Queenmother of Fodome-Hohoe is the coordinator of a scholarship scheme in the district and cites the importance of education in the modern world (“Fodome

Citizens Set Up Education Fund.” [Ghanaweb: GNA] 10/13/2003). The Queenmother of Techiman has urged teachers to engage their students in after-school exercises to keep the students from watching television (“Techiman District Scores 41 Percent in English, 53 percent in Maths” [Ghanaweb: No source listed] 11/15/2002). These articles highlight the importance of the queenmothers, in conjunction with their male traditional authorities in supporting and contributing to the education of Ghanaian children. Moreover, as women, queenmothers may be able to carry a legitimacy as regards family issues regarding the raising of children that chiefs may not have. It may well be that as women, queenmothers may be able to mobilize the female counterparts of families to show greater support for their children’s education, especially their daughters. This support from mothers for their daughters’ education could potentially be less pronounced in a situation where only chiefs speak out for education without the specific inclusion of girl-children.

The support of chiefs for the education system, and the benefits of education for improving living standards, also includes a great deal of active personal involvement to ensure that their people have access to education. Chiefs are actively involved as fundraisers for education as the data indicate. Chiefs are involved on two major fundraising fronts: school infrastructure and educational endowment funds. School infrastructure includes: providing land to build schools, raising funds to purchase building supplies or donating building supplies, and raising funds to purchase schools supplies such as desks or computers. Educational endowment funds includes: raising funds to purchase school supplies for students such as book bags, books, pens etc., and most importantly raising funds for educational endowment funds to provide scholarships for students whose parents cannot afford to send them to school. While rhetorical support of education tends to be one of the contributions of chiefs, they also tend to be largely responsible for guaranteeing that support through fundraising efforts.

What is important to note about the fundraising efforts of chiefs, either for school infrastructure or endowment funds, is that those activities are found throughout the country and not isolated to a particular region. This suggests two things: that chiefs across Ghana are supportive of education for their people, and that funding issues – both in terms of school infrastructure and educational endowment funds – are also a country-wide phenomenon and not regionally-based. It is also interesting to note however, that there are chiefs who appeal to other traditional authorities, who have successful educational endowment funds to extend those beyond that region. In particular, Nana Amua Sakyi II, Tufuhene of Ekumfi Edumafa, in the Central Region, appealed to the Asantehene to broaden his educational endowment fund to include the entire country and not merely applicable to the Ashanti region (“Extend Otumfuo Educ. Fund to Central Region – Nana Amua Saki Appeals” [Ghanaweb: Chronicle] 10/23/2002).

Chiefs are also concerned with education policy and the development of the curriculum as well as educational standards. There are five (5) articles dealing with these issues, however it is clear that some chiefs have a desire to become more directly involved not just in supporting education and facilitating access to education, but also the content and standards that education is to have in Ghana.

Chiefs attended a meeting in Techiman where the region's student performance scores in areas such as maths and English were made public ("Techiman District Scores 41 Percent in English, 53 percent in Maths" [Ghanaweb: no source listed], 11/15/2002). Chiefs of higher status such as the Asantehene and the Okyenhene have both made public statements decrying the lowering educational standards in Ghana and in the Third World (for the Asantehene see "Making Education Relevant – Asantehene Contribution" [Ghanaweb: Daily Graphic] 06/27/2002; for the Okyenhene see "Okyenhene Laments Decline in Educ. Standard" [Ghanaweb: Chronicle] 12/19/2001). As these articles demonstrate, chiefs are not simply concerned with issues of access to education, but also the quality of that education. This is confirmed by an article from the Northern Region on a conference organized for and attended by chiefs (from all three northern regions) to discuss chiefs' roles in helping to achieve educational goals set for 2015, although the article does not specify what those goals are ("Northern Chiefs Attend Northern Conference on Education" [Ghanaweb: GNA] 08/18/2003).

Regional Distribution

The issues that are raised by the articles in this theme are quite evenly distributed. The majority (33 of 56) of the articles deal with funding on one of two levels; for educational infrastructure (19) or funding for poorer students (14). The other issues are access to education for all, access to education for girl-children and education policy and standards.

The distribution of articles relating to funding are found in all regions of the country, both in terms of infrastructure and funding for students. The distribution may highlight some emphasis on one issue or the other, for example, there may be more articles relating to funding for infrastructure than student funding, while in another region the reverse may be the case. Overall however, the data does not indicate that there is a concentration of one particular issue to a particular region. The extent to which funding is mentioned in this data set indicates that it is a national concern rather than one that is limited to a certain region.

With regards to access, again the data seems to indicate that there is broad support for ensuring access to education for all children. There are 4 specific mentions of girls, however those comments are generally added to an overall support for an encouragement to leave children in school and ensure that they receive an education, rather than stand-alone comments on girls' access to education. As such it does not appear that there are specific regional issues regarding gendered access to education, rather than there is an added emphasis on mentioning girls.

Chief's Involvement in Development

What the education articles tell us is that there is a great deal of involvement of chiefs in this area. Chiefs are directly and indirectly responsible for raising a great deal of funding that is directly applied to poorer students (14 articles). Chiefs personally contribute large sums of money to endowment funds, but also indirectly call on their communities to contribute to those funds to help others. Exactly how those funds are administered is not usually made clear in these articles, that is whether it is the chief who decides who funds are to be allocated to, or whether funds are administered through

traditional councils who make collective decisions. However, with chiefs and queenmothers directly contributing and establishing these endowment funds, it is clear that they are heavily involved in funding students to attend school.

Chiefs and traditional councils are also directly involved in providing funds or resources, such as cement and other building materials, to build schools and school related buildings such as libraries and education centres and there is mention of these efforts in 22 articles. As in the situation of funding students, these are both direct personal contributions and contributions raised through chiefs' initiatives in their communities. These contributions help to emphasize the importance of education and to solidify the contribution of chiefs on this issue. The fact that chiefs are so centrally involved in both generating funds for students to attend school and in contributing to the physical presence of schools suggests that their support is not simply rhetorical or moral. By facilitating the access to education, chiefs confirm their broader moral support for education. By facilitating the building of schools and education-related buildings, chiefs make that support tangible.

The involvement of chiefs is not limited to facilitating access to education either for poorer students or by providing more infrastructure. Chiefs are also involved, although using the articles as an indicator to a lesser extent in engaging in the process of monitoring the education process as a whole. Whether it is by informing themselves as to the performance of students in their region or as to how they can facilitate achieving certain educational goals, some chiefs are clearly interested in being far more involved in the educational system as a whole than being more marginally involved in providing funding. Since education is one of the pillars of development, chiefs commitment to education as a whole also suggests that they are aware of the issues that are a part of economic and social development and they are deeply involved in the practical realization of development goals.

B. Succession: Introduction

Political successions are political affirmations of the legitimacy of traditional office holders, and hence a measure of their continuing political legitimacy and their potential ability to promote development. The "Succession" theme is part of a broader section entitled "Chiefs and Traditional Practices/Roles, Ceremonial Roles". The succession sub-theme encompasses most of the practices related to acceding to the chieftaincy but does not deal per se with the forced removal or impeachment process of destoolment. The reason that destoolment does not figure either in the Traditional Practices section or in the Succession sub-section is that the nature of destoolment is to challenge or call into question the abilities of a chief usually on the basis of a dispute, as noted earlier in the methodology section. As such, the articles on destoolment remain in the larger Dispute section which contains 656 articles, which is to be analyzed in the later phase of this research.

These articles record enstoolment and installations of chiefs and queenmothers in most regions of Ghana. Four (4) articles detail the specific practices of enstoolment or accession ceremonies or succession practices, that is who is eligible to accede to the chieftaincy. This was particularly the case during the accession of the Asantehene where there were details in the press of the procedure from the nomination, the acceptance of the nomination and then the enstoolment or coronation. These articles also record

honourary enstoolments of foreigners as chiefs or queenmothers, usually as recognition for work or services in some area of development.

There is one article that discusses an abdication, in the Ashanti region. In the article from the *Daily Graphic* (“Jamasi Chief Abdicates” [Ghanaweb: Daily Graphic] 02/28/2001), Nana Gyimah Kesse I of chief of Jamasi and Benkumhene of the Mampong Traditional Area announced his voluntary “abdication from the stool in the interests of peace and unity in the area. The chief maintained that “Customarily, no one has brought forward any destoolment charges against me.” According to the article, he decided to abdicate as he “could not fight the forces militating against the peaceful and orderly resolution of the issues that continue to undermine his authority as Chief.” The conflict in this case apparently stems from the fact that his accession to the stool which was done by the Krontihene and four kingmakers, apparently without the required agreement of the Queenmother. The case had been before the Mampong traditional council, that had ruled in his favour. However, the Queenmother was not satisfied with the ruling and filed suit with the Ashanti Regional House of Chiefs and the Kumasi High Court. The Queenmother in question was still not satisfied and took her case to the Asantehene. His ruling was that she could install a new chief and that Nana Gyimah Kesse I could contest it if he was still interested. This is the only case in this section that relates to a chief leaving the stool. The reason that this one is included here is that although the abdication process was linked to a dispute over who has the precedence and the jurisdiction to name a chief, the abdication was a move to forestall open conflict and destoolment, and in this sense be seen as promoting development.

Since the actual number of female chiefs (as distinct from queenmothers) is probably less than ten, most “chiefs” are male. If the articles do in fact represent reality, then they reveal a gender imbalance as the articles relating to chiefs outnumber those relating to queenmothers, 41 articles relating to chiefs (both traditional and honourary) to 17 articles relating to queenmothers (both traditional and honourary). This may simply be because in Ghana chiefs tend to outnumber queenmothers. Chiefs are present in all regions, however queenmothers are not found at all or only in some form in certain cultures in the three northern regions, but are found in the seven southern regions. This question of gender is being further investigated.

Seven (7) articles that record new chiefs or queenmothers being installed or enstooled give their ‘civilian’ professions which to be professionals: nurses, lawyers, businessmen, insurance brokers and teachers. This suggests that the educational level of chiefs is growing and may have a bearing on their own support for education in their areas. Ray (1992) found that the educational levels of chiefs in the Ashanti Region had dramatically increased from the 1960’s, especially for paramount chiefs. As seen in the education section, chiefs are regularly making supportive statements regarding the importance of education to their people, as well as the number of initiatives that are undertaken directly by chiefs to materially support access to education.

There are ten (10) of articles that report on the conferring of honourary titles of ‘development chief’ or ‘development queenmother’ to foreigners who have worked directly with development projects or who have been in some way instrumental in funding or overseeing development projects. This is the case with 6 of the articles that detail the work of the person being honoured has done in a particular community or general facilitation of development. An African-American doctor was installed

Amanoehemaa (“African-American Made Chief at Asiakwa” [Ghanaweb: GNA] 07/27/2001) for contributions to the community of Akyem Asiakwa, while Judith Jamison, director of the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater was enstooled ‘queenmother of the arts’ (“American Enstooled Queenmother” [Ghanaweb: Accra Mail] 09/20/2002).

In four (4) articles, those honorary titles are conferred on foreign dignitaries due to their positions. This is the case with the installation of Stefan Frowien, “Ambassador and head of the EU delegation in Ghana” (“EU Official made Chief” [Ghanaweb: GNA] 05/30/2002). The Togolese Head of State Gnassingbe Eyadema was also made an honorary chief (“Eyadema Made Honorary Chief” [Ghanaweb: GNA] “07/19/2003). One article details a title conferred on Kofi Anan the title of ‘Busumuru’, the highest honour of the Asanteman Council, which has been conferred by the Asantehene only once previously (“Asanteman Highest Title Conferred on Kofi Annan” [Ghanaweb: Chronicle] 08/19/2002). There is also the title of ‘Ankobebe’ conferred onto James ‘Chip’ Carter, the son of the former President of the United States, Jimmy Carter, by the people of Berekuso. The article mentions that Mr. Carter was given the title after having been having been refused an audience by the Asantehene because some members of the delegation were improperly dressed (“Carter Made Chief, After Asantehene Snub” [Ghanaweb: Free Press] 10/23/2002).

The last two (2) articles deal with the a controversy arising over an American documentary of a Dutchman, made Nksouohene in the Mepe Traditional Area, but who this documentary referred to as “King of Ghana”. The controversy seems to have stemmed from a misinterpretation of the meaning of the title and was brought to light by Ghanaians living abroad. However, the paramount chief of the area did not seem concerned and himself suggested that it was likely the result of an unintentional misunderstanding rather than an intentional slight (“Dutch ‘Togbe’ Makes Waves [Ghanaweb: Alfred Ogbamey] 10/18/2001 and “Ordinary Dutchman is African King” [Ghanaweb: AP] 01/16/2000).

One article from the Western Region presented a somewhat startling change in the Mphohor-Wassa district. Rosemary Adjoa Aidoo, a nurse, was installed Chief - not queenmother - of Efuanta. This was in fact the second time that a woman was named chief in the district, the first being Nana Adjoa Kyerewa II who was Chief of Daboase (“Nurse Installed as a Chief [Ghanaweb: GNA] 10/11/2002). The elevation of a woman to the title of Chief, not Queenmother is very rare in Ghana. It presents what may well be the beginnings of a further shift in the gender roles of the institution.

There are two (2) articles that note that queenmothers are beginning to move for greater national recognition/representation of their own. In one article, the Eastern Regional Minister of the former Rawlings presidency, the Hon. Miss Patience Addow, calls for the admission of queenmothers into the National House of Chiefs (“Minister Calls for Admission of Queenmother into House of Chiefs” [Ghanaian: GRI] 07/28/99). In another, one of the queenmothers, the Krontihemaa of the Gouaa Traditional Area proposes that queenmothers should have a national house of their own (“National House of Queenmothers Advocated” [Ghanaweb: Ghanaian Times] 01/13/03).

These two articles show that queenmothers are seeking greater official recognition by the state of their roles which are rooted in pre-colonial sovereignty and legitimacy. The chiefs became a part of the institution at the National House of Chiefs while

queenmothers did not. Moreover, the National House of Chiefs is an arena where chiefs can come together to discuss pertinent issues at local, regional or national levels. This is precisely the point that is made by the Krontihemaa. Without such a venue, it is very “difficult for the collective voice of queenmothers to be heard on political issues affecting the nation” (“National House of Queenmothers Advocated” [Ghanaweb: Ghanaian Times] 01/13/03). The National and Regional Houses of Chiefs are a forum where chiefs can make their policy (and other) positions known to the state and as such is a valuable conduit to functional divided sovereignty. The lack of formal representation for queenmothers leaves them at a disadvantage when it comes to asserting their own sovereignty on national issues. As the Krontihemaa states: “If we are not going to be allowed to be a part of the Regional and National House of Chiefs, then a house should be created for us where we can meet, discuss issues and have a national hearing” (“National House of Queenmothers Advocated” [Ghanaweb: Ghanaian Times] 01/13/03).

These articles indicate, that there is a growing national debate on the issue of some sort of formal, national association for queenmothers. Moreover, this debate is not limited to traditional authorities calling for, or demanding, that such institutions be created for them. The statement from the Eastern Regional Minister, Miss Addow, makes it clear that this was an issue for some female politicians of the post-colonial state as well. And given the clear constitutional divisions on involvement of traditional authorities in party politics and the reverse, the explicit statement from a regional minister certainly widens the debate beyond the purview of the chieftaincy.

The call for a national forum for queenmothers and the elevation in to the title of Chief of a woman in the Mpohor-Wassa district suggests that there is a gender change emerging regarding chieftaincy. It seems that queenmothers feel that they, like chiefs, have an equal right to make their voices heard at the national level, and that to deny them the forum potentially leaves them with no way to represent their issues to a wider public. Certainly the comments made both by the Krontihemaa and the Eastern regional minister indicate that both female traditional authorities and state officials believe that national representation for female traditional authorities is becoming necessary presumably in order for them to be able to discuss or raise issues at the national level, and in this way they can maintain their legitimacy.

Another feature of note in this section is the mention, in 2 articles, of dignitaries, both domestic and external, who attend the enstoolment of chiefs. The fact that state officials would usually attend the enstoolment, the fact that the enstoolments are carried out in public and with dignitaries present reinforces the divided sovereignty and legitimacy of the chieftaincy. The presence of state officials such as ministers or members of Parliament might be seen as implicit recognition by the state of the sovereignty and legitimacy of the chieftaincy. The attendance of state officials at installations and enstoolments allows for a conduit between the two realms and suggests that there is a great deal of mutual recognition and communication between those realms. In a subsection of the Traditional Practices, Oaths and Calls of Allegiance, the mutual recognition and mutual recognition is apparent in the 5 articles that detail either state officials calling on a newly installed chief (there are no articles that report a courtesy call on a newly installed queenmother), or a new chief presenting himself to a small delegation of state officials (there are no articles that report on a queenmother presenting herself to state officials).

Chiefs Involvement in Development

The section on the succession of chiefs to the stool does not directly inform us as to their role in development. However, what the coverage of these events tells us is that the institution of the chieftaincy is still quite vibrant in Ghana. So much so that articles detailing the rituals of succession of chiefs at various levels are apparently considered to be of interest to readers. The fact that the customary ceremonies are covered so thoroughly in the Ghanaian press is evidence that the chieftaincy retains major importance for Ghanaians and demonstrates the significant legitimacy of traditional leaders and their potential ability to influence their subjects in development programmes and projects.

What is also of note in the articles in this section, is that the statements made by the new chiefs at their accession are often on their commitment to development for their communities and the state. These statements of commitment are perhaps best seen as the first stage in their eventual involvement in greater depth in other areas of development.

C. Economic Development⁹

Chiefs are involved in many areas of development and one of the areas that generally appears to be given a great deal of attention is the area of economic development. While social policies like education and health also tend to garner a great deal of the chiefs' attention, support and commitment, economic development seems to be one of their priorities. It is important to note that economic development can take on several different aspects, such as the building of infrastructure such as roads and ports to facilitate the transport of goods to and from markets, or the facilitation of agricultural policies to ensure that crops bring in better income nationally and locally, or the setting up of or the support of industries that can bring employment and income to more people. Even some social policies can fall within this framework. Supporting education means that better knowledge and training can lead to improvements in the country in terms of innovation or employment for individuals. Taken from this standpoint, nearly every development policy or project that chiefs are involved in can be taken to be in support of some aspect of economic development.

Although almost all development practices and policies can be taken to be a part of economic development, the TAARN project does not attempt to classify all of the data in those terms. The Economic Development section does have several sub-sections in it, but it is nevertheless differentiated from social development policies such as education and health policies as those policies do not explicitly tie themselves to economic development. For the purposes of this study, the Economic Development section is restricted to three subcategories, Infrastructure, Agriculture and Tourism

Another reason that the Economic Development category was chosen is that in many cases, the nature of some of the projects – that is the fact that infrastructure, tourism, agriculture, factories, mining operations and so forth require access to land. Often this requires the direct involvement or at least the direct approval of the

⁹ NB: A note for the sake of clarity. Economic Development with the upper-case letters signifies the category of articles or data, while in the lower case, economic development, signifies the concept and general activities of economic development.

community's chief. Traditional leaders, ranging from the head of an extended family to the level of kings, control (in one way or another) much of the land held under customary tenure. This combined with other land held by individuals under customary tenure includes nearly all land in Ghana. Without the approval of traditional leaders, industries usually cannot have access to new lands on which to build facilities.

However, while the majority of the articles in this section suggest that chiefs are willing and enthusiastic participants in drawing industries to their communities, 2 newspaper articles showed that there were also those who saw the potential for industries as a way to enrich themselves. These chiefs were seen as feeling that they can demand, and receive, ever higher sums of money from industries in exchange for access to land. The basis of the practice appears to be for the purposes of personal enrichment rather than to be able to bring in more funds for their communities or for the office of traditional leadership, such institutions have financial structures separate from the chiefs as persons. Moreover, the practice does not appear to be terribly successful, but rather tends to collapse the economic initiatives as was the case in Onwe in the Ashanti Region. A chief there had demanded 80 million cedis before he would release land to build a tomato processing plant, and the investor relocated the project to Offinso ("Chief Blocks Job Openings for Youth" [Ghanaweb: Chronicle] 01/27/2003). The practice appears to be common enough that prominent chiefs feel compelled to warn offenders to halt the practice or risk losing development possibilities to chiefs that are more reasonable and honest. For example, in the Ashanti Region, the Omanhene of the Offinso Traditional Area, Nana Wiafe Akenten II, made a similar warning that "chiefs found guilty of stifling development in one way or another would be sanctioned" The Omanhene said that "it had come to his notice that some chiefs in the area demanded and took huge sums of money from investors before lands are released to them for their projects" ("Ghana: Chiefs Cautioned Against Frustrating investors" [Ghanaweb: Chronicle] 09/17/2001).

What brings these efforts back into the framework of shared sovereignty and shared legitimacy is that economic development seems to be undertaken as a partnership between the state, the chieftaincy and the third party being brought in, either a development agency or worker, or a specific industry. This is clear not only because economic development is ultimately in the purview of the state, under whose legal mandate and framework all these efforts must take place, but through statements by government officials who maintain that development must not be left to the state alone. The Deputy Volta Regional Minister of the Kufuor presidency, the Hon. Mr. Kofi Dzamesi, stated that although the "although the government has overall responsibility for the well-being of the citizenry, it is necessary and important that communities complement the government's efforts..."("Don't Leave Dev. Programmes On Government Alone" [Ghanaweb: Chronicle] 12/12/2001). To the extent that traditional authorities have legitimate authority in the eyes of their communities, their people and the post-colonial state, any efforts that chiefs engage in should also be seen in that light – chiefs use what legitimacy they have to engage in and support development, while the state uses what legitimacy it has to assist and support those efforts even while the state initiates and supports its own efforts and those of domestic and foreign investors.

In some cases the divided nature of sovereignty and legitimacy is tested and encounters a certain amount of tension, or both the state and chiefs use what means they have available to ensure that the other party is adequately treated. There are cases where

chiefs feel that they have not been given the resources to which they believe they are entitled. In one article chiefs expressed their belief that their resource royalties had not been properly distributed back to them and their communities, while the state benefits fully from the income generated by that industry. In such cases, the state promises to examine the issue and to return all income to those it is due. The fact that officials recognize that income needs to be returned to chiefs where they have granted access to land for a particular industry reinforces the sovereignty that chiefs have over the income that their land generates (“Rent on Mining to be Reviewed – Fiadzigbey” [Ghanaweb: no source listed] 05/12/2000).

1. INFRASTRUCTURE

In this data set, the interplay between government and chieftaincy is quite clear in a number of the subsections. In the infrastructure section, in 3 articles chiefs appeal directly to the government to initiate and extend electrification projects and water systems as well as some buildings that house either the chieftaincy or other government business, such as courthouses or police stations and barracks. In the Western Region, Nana Kwandoh Brempong II decries the fact that there is only one tarred road in the area and that it is classed as a third class road, and the hospital in the area needs rehabilitation. He stressed that it was for these reasons that the chiefs in the region had tried to pay a courtesy call on the president in the hopes of being granted an audience (“Rawlings says He Will Stay in the Country After Tenure” [Ghanaweb: GRI] 10/15/1998). In the Ashanti Region, Nana Kofi Nti, Chief of Kotokuom appealed to the government to rehabilitate a bridge that is on the verge of collapse. Because the bridge serves many communities it was particularly important to the area. The District Chief Executive, Mr. Peter Yaw Mensah “promised to liaise with the Ministry of Roads and Transport to save the bridge from collapse” (“Chief appeals to Government About Collapse of River Offin Bridge” [Ghanaweb: GRI] 09/05/1997)

There are fourteen (14) articles on the various aspects of infrastructure. These tend for the most part equally concentrated on water issues (3 articles), city/land planning (3 articles), roads (3 articles), electrification (3 articles).

There were regional differences in terms of the infrastructure. The Greater Accra Region seems to have a concentration of articles (2) on city planning. This may also reflect the inclusion of the “Modernisation of the Capital City” into the responsibilities of the new Ministry of Tourism and Modernisation of the Capital City. This seems to be somewhat controversial as President Kufuor had to defend the ministry by stating that the creation of the ministry was “not for fun” and that plans were in the works to re-plan the capital to bring it on par with “any city in the world”. Kufuor specifically stated that the plan’s success would depend on the co-operation of the chiefs, “since (the plan) would not be successful without the co-operation of the government, chiefs and the people.” He called on chiefs to maintain peace and stability because “(w)hen you co-operate with the government, the peace and stability prevailing would translate to economic growth.” Nii Adote Obuor, Sempe Matse, said that well-implemented, the plan would “ensure remarkable improvements” to the city and added that “the people were prepared to assist for the country’s socio-economic development” (“Modernisation of Capital City Not for Fun – Kufuor” [Ghanaweb: GNA] 08/07/2003).

In Brong Ahafo, electrification seems to be the greatest issue. One project for electrification in Forikrom in the Techiman district was also funded in large part by the local populace. An assemblyman stated that men provided 10,000 cedis each while the women gave 5,000, and non-resident citizens had provided double those amounts, also along the same gender lines, that is men's contributions double that of women's. According to the article, the Benkumhene of the Techiman Traditional Area, Nana Kwaku Agyempong "urged the people to expedite action to complete the project." He also "appealed to those who ha(d) not paid their contributions to do so promptly." ("People of Forikrom Embark on Electrification Project [Ghanweb: GNA] 04/08/2000). Chiefs often urge the population to fund various development projects whether they are electrification or for education. However, it is interesting to note that those contributions are also a part of greater development projects such as electrification.

Chiefs also provide some of the funding for infrastructure projects. The most notable example of this is in the Eastern Region where Nana Ako Frimpong II, the Chief of Akim Asene was reported as personally financing the rehabilitation of two bridges in the area. The bridges had been built a decade earlier by Nana Frimpong, although there is no indication in the articles if the builder of the bridges is the same Nana Frimpong, related to him or simply a namesake ("Chief Finances Rehabilitation of Two Bridges" [Ghanaweb: GRI], 05/19/1997).

Another important aspect of infrastructure is the issue of roads which was raised in 5 of articles. In most cases there seems to be urgent calls to the government from chiefs to rehabilitate or pave both major thoroughfares, feeder roads and bridges. The issue of roads and their conditions appears in a number of articles not necessarily directly related to infrastructure issues which suggests that the issue of roads can be said to be very much an issue of development in general. In the agriculture section, for example, roads are very much a concern as they are the conduit through which products are moved to and from communities. In Techiman, in the Brong-Ahafo Region, the transportation of foodstuffs was the primary reason that was cited why roads were asked to be rehabilitated. Vice-President Mahama stated, during a durbar to announce the rehabilitation of a number of roads, that "with the completion of the projects the situation of foodstuffs getting to market rotten on the farms as a result of inaccessible roads would be a thing of the past." ("Techiman Roads to be Upgraded' [Ghanaweb: GNA] 08/24/2003).

2. TOURISM

Tourism is another sector of economic development in which infrastructure is a major concern. In order for the tourism industry to be able to develop itself, it requires being able to attract and cater to tourists. This often means not only the infrastructure to house them, such as hotels and visitors' centres as well as access to potable water (2 articles), telephone lines (1 article), electricity (1 article) visitors' centres and good access roads (2 articles), as well as developing the sites themselves in order to draw tourists.

The Tourism section is the smallest of the sub-sections of Economic Development with only nine (9) articles. These articles are rather broadly distributed with concentrations in the Central Region (4 articles) and in the Ashanti Region (2 articles), the Upper East, Greater Accra and Eastern Regions each have a single article. However, it is clear that tourism has become an increasingly important aspect of economic

development as it can draw revenue to various areas. In the Eastern Region, the chiefs showed a great deal of support for tourism development when the Minister for Tourism and the Modernisation of the Capital City paid a 3-day working visit to sites in the region. The Paramount Chief of Larteh, Osaberema Aseidu Okoo III praised the minister's idea of selling the idea of tourism at grassroots people, maintaining that "it clearly shows the government's vision of attracting one million tourists and earning 1.5 billion dollars could be achieved." Daasebre Dr. Oti Boateng, the President of the New Juaben Traditional Council claimed that if internal tourism were also given serious consideration, "it would help avert most chieftaincy problems since it would help bring about development in those areas" ("Chiefs Pledge commitment to Promote Domestic Tourism" [Ghanaweb: GNA] 09/08/2003).

Also in the Central Region, the Paramount Chief of the Assin Apimanim Traditional Area, Barima Kwame Nkyi XII, went on a tour of the US to promote the potentials of the 'slave river' and 'slave market', designated a UN World Heritage Site, to African-Americans tourists. During the tour he especially lauded the site to African-Americans "who want to reconnect with their African heritage" ("Ghanaian Chief to Promote Tourism Potentials in America [Ghanaweb: GNA] 01/18/2001).

In the Ashanti Region, the Ghana Tourist Board met with the Asantehene to inform him about a special conference on the potential to develop Lake Bosomtwe in the Bosomtwe-Atwima-Kwamwoma district. The Asantehene said chiefs in the region were prepared to help develop other tourist attractions in the region to bring in more tourists. He said that the development of the tourist potential of Lake Bosomtwe would benefit both the people living near the lake as well as the region as a whole ("Tourist Board Informs Asantehene about Confab on Bosomtwe [Ghanaweb: GRI] 06/18/99).

Also in the Ashanti Region, the Hwidiemhene, Nana Anaafi Kokorto appealed to the government to develop the Hwidiem Falls in the Asante Akim North District. He maintained that it was necessary to develop the tourist attractions in order to create employment opportunities for jobless youth and pointed to the fact that tourism was the third greatest generator of foreign exchange, after cocoa and minerals ("Pay More Attention to Tourism Development – Gov't Told" [Ghanaweb: Chronicle] 02/01/2002). This kind of detailed knowledge about the different industries and economic sectors on the part of Ghanaian chiefs suggests that they are in fact quite deeply involved in economic development as a whole. Certainly the examples we have seen thus far confirm that chiefs are involved in a variety of areas and initiatives of economic development in Ghana. It shows a clear understanding of the kinds of industries that might require more attention as they seem to be able to generate the most income for communities and for the nation as a whole. Moreover, this kind of understanding of the specifics of the Ghanaian economy suggests that there is a great deal of interaction between chiefs and the state, as it is often state institutions that generate this kind of economic information regarding the standing of various economic sectors and how they contribute to the overall economic condition of the state.

3. AGRICULTURE

The Agriculture sub-section contains eleven (11) articles. It is perhaps a bit surprising that given that the agricultural sector is the largest in terms of the Ghanaian economy that there are not more articles on this subject. However, the articles that are a

part of this section make it clear that agriculture is still a very important part of the Ghanaian economy. In the Upper West Region, the Northern Regional Minister stated that “agriculture holds prospects for the overall development of the country” (“Farmers Urged to Practice Scientific Farming [Ghanaweb: GNA] 10/12/2003).

There are six (6) articles on cocoa, three (3) of which are concerned with the spraying of cocoa in order to protect the plants from black pod disease. In the Brong Ahafo Region, all articles (3) deal with the spraying of cocoa. At Hwidiem, President Kufuor announced that the government was embarking on a mass cocoa spraying campaign. He also announced that the Ghanaian Cocoa Board (Cocobod) had been directed to pay farmers the bonuses due them from the 2000 growing season. At the same even, the Omanhene of the Hwidiem Traditional Council announced that the New Patriotic Party’s (NPP) victory in the previous election had ushered in an era of hope and prosperity for the country (“Government to Embark on Mass Spraying of Cocoa” [Ghanaweb: GNA] 08/03/2001). The National Chief Farmer and the chief of Awiabo, Nana Ahyna Kpayiri, stated that the government was to spend a total of 242 billion cedis to spray cocoa in 2002. He also spoke out against cocoa smuggling, and commended the Omanhene for his own strong stance against smuggling (“C242bn Spent on Mass Cocoa Spraying” [Ghanaweb: no source listed] 11/28/2002).

There are four (4) articles on crops other than cocoa. Those crops are rice, cotton, pineapple and palm oil. In the Upper West Region, the paramount chief of the Gwallu Traditional Area, Kuoru Kuri Limann who was also the interim chairman of the Cotton Farmer’s Association, called on cotton farmers to take advantage of new producer prices on cotton seed as a way to increase production. He also “urged the farmers not to divert inputs provided them by the companies to the production of other crops. He also cautioned them against selling seed cotton to other companies that did not provide them financial support” (“Farmers urged to Increase Cotton Production” [Ghanaweb: GNA] 05/26/2001). In the Central Region, the members of the Ekumfi Traditional Area made their full support of a proposed pineapple processing plant known. The council members made it clear that they were willing to release more land to interested pineapple growers in order to expand their farms. It was the chief of Ekumfi-Kokodo, Nana Arkoh-Ansah who made the council’s position known, as well as “urg(ing) chiefs in the area to mobilize their people to cultivate large scale pineapple farms to feed the factory when the project takes off...”. The chief also announced the council’s decision to buy a large number of shares in the project in order to encourage citizens to patronize the new venture, as well as to “to enable the company to mobilize funds to commence business” (“Chief Supports Pineapple Project” [Ghanaweb: Ghanaweb: GNA] 08/17/2003). In the Volta Region, the Manrako of Aflakpe, Torgbui Agamas II said that many farmers in the area were turning away from cocoa production in favour of the production of palm oil. Many of the cocoa plantations had been destroyed in a 1983 bush fire and had not been replanted. Torgbui Agamasu II was optimistic about the impact that the palm oil industry could have on the economic situation of his people, and that he himself had gotten involved in the industry 13 years prior to this (“Farmers Drop Cocoa for Oil Palm” [Ghanaweb: Accra Mail] 11/30/2000). In the Volta Region, the chiefs and people mobilized to resist attempts to move the Aveyime Rice project to another region. The chiefs said that “relocating the project will be a disservice to their people and local

farmers whose life depends on the success of the project” (“Chiefs Resist Relocation of Aveyime Rice Project” [Ghanaweb: MyjoyOnline] 06/25/2002).

There are three (3) articles that discuss general farming practices and education for farmers in those areas. In the Upper West Region, Kuoru Kuri Limann, the paramount chief of Gwallu said “that farmers should be educated on the proper use and application of fertilizers and pesticides in order to minimize health problems” (“Farmers urged to Increase Cotton Production” [Ghanaweb: GNA] 05/26/2001). While it was the Northern Regional Minister the Hon. Mr. Ernest Debrah who made comments that as “agriculture holds prospects for the overall development of the country” they must “change customary practices that hinder productivity” (“Farmers Urged to Practice Scientific Farming [Ghanaweb: GNA] 10/12/2003). In the Ashanti Region, Nana Obinfo Osei Kwadwo II, Akwamhene of Anwiankwanta appealed to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture to send “extension officers to the area regularly to educate farmers on new techniques in agriculture to raise food production.” In making the appeal, the chief noted that since agriculture “was the backbone of the nation’s economy, there was the need for constant education.”

There is an interplay between state officials and the chieftaincy to address the issues that are raised in the agriculture sector. It is interesting to note from the examples given above that in some cases, the chiefs are farmers themselves and as such may be in the best position to act on behalf of their people. As farmers, they would naturally have an understanding of the issues involved in farming and agriculture.

But the involvement of chiefs on agricultural issues is not limited advocating on behalf of their people or farmers to the government on strictly agricultural matters. In two (2) articles, the chiefs invoke the health of farmers to call on the government for assistance. In the example from the Upper West Region, the chief calls for education for farmers in the usage of fertilizers and pesticides to ensure that the farmers’ health is not adversely affected by misusing such products. In the Brong Ahafo Region, Nana Osuodumgya Barima Kwame Bonsu, the Omanhene of the Hwidiem Traditional Area, called for the establishment of a district hospital as well as “a review of the free medical care for the aged from 70 years to 60 years, since most farmers die before attaining the age of 70” (“Government to Embark on Mass Spraying of Cocoa” [Ghanaweb: GNA] 08/03/2001).

This kind of advocacy across a number of different issues suggests that chiefs have a nuanced understanding that economic development is a phenomenon where a number of different issues and activities can and must interact. This is evident in some the examples of statements from chiefs in the education section, where statements on the importance of education make direct reference to improved standards of living and economic development through education.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Using analysis of the Ghanaian post-colonial state based on the concept of divided sovereignty and shared sovereignty as well as divided legitimacy and shared legitimacy, we have argued that chiefs in Ghana not only have the potential to add their legitimacy /local credibility to development efforts, but they have actually been doing so in significant numbers. Some like Ribot (2001) have argued that West African chiefs are not likely to be interested in development. Others have argued that even if some

traditional leaders did become involved, this would involve perhaps a handful of outstanding but isolated traditional leaders, How was one to move beyond the battle of seemingly contradictory anecdotes and case studies in evaluating the potential and the reality of chiefs in Ghana (and elsewhere) in contributing to development?

Using the methodology of this pilot newspaper survey, we have started to address these questions. At this stage we have only been able to begin a preliminary analysis of aspects of only three major themes addressing the involvement of chiefs in development: Education, Political Succession and Economic Development. Indeed the economic development category alone generated so many newspaper articles that we have only been able to begin the analysis of three of its sub-themes: Infrastructure, Tourism and Agriculture. Nevertheless, a number of patterns are beginning to emerge and some initial comments can be made, keeping in mind the limitations that we recognize.

The involvement of chiefs in education appears to be substantial and goes far beyond a handful of exemplary individuals. The support of chiefs for education in their area starts with verbal support. Their support extends to acting as a mobilizing force that lobbies the post-colonial state and other educational resource providers. Chiefs organize and take part in fund-raising from their subjects and from themselves. Chiefs therefore also push for financial mechanisms that will in some cases address the marginalization of the children of the poor, including the education of girl-children. Traditional leaders' support further extends to a growing desire for chiefs to become involved in educational policy-making and educational standards evaluation. The political succession component of this pilot study points out the widespread and deep legitimacy/credibility that Ghanaian traditional leaders have with their subjects, foreign dignitaries and leaders of the post-colonial state. The accession speeches of new chiefs also reveals that many now regard the promotion of development, however defined, as being part of their job. Indeed although we were not able to address in this paper the phenomenon of chiefs being impeached and removed from office by their people because the chiefs did not sufficiently promote development, this does happen.

The involvement of chiefs in promoting economic development is extensive and geographically wide-spread. Chiefs frequently acted as intermediaries between their people and the leaders of the state in order to promote infrastructure development or tourism or agriculture. Chiefs raised these issues from a local perspective and in some cases were actively involved themselves in these economic activities.

Of course given the pilot nature of this study, it is not yet possible to conclude that all or most chiefs have been actively involved in promoting development, but there is sufficient evidence to show that substantial numbers of chiefs in Ghana are promoting development and that this would suggest the need for those opposed to involving chiefs in development to rethink their position. The substantial degree of traditional leaders' involvement in development points to the potential of this development strategy. This is not to argue for a "Golden Age of Chieftaincy" or that involving chiefs is not without its potential and actual problems, but rather that there are substantial development opportunities which may have been overlooked when chiefs are overlooked as potential contributors to development. The pilot nature of the study, with all its limitations points to the need for a broader, more comprehensive study to test more conclusively these arguments.

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