UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

NKAWKAW’S RISE TO PROMINENCE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE 1920 -2012

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THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF M.PHIL DEGREE IN AFRICAN STUDIES.

JULY, 2015
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that except for references to other works which have been duly cited, I have personally, under supervision, undertaken the study which is my own original research and that this study has not been presented either in whole or in part for another degree elsewhere.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my sister, Evelyn Akoto Mireku and uncle, Mr. Bernard Kofi Yeboah.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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ABSTRACT

The growth of urban centres and the process of urbanisation in Africa predate European arrival and colonisation of the continent. Even though this is true, it is also a fact that most of the modern day urban centres dotted over Africa owe their establishment and growth to European penetration of the African continent. In Ghana for instance it was European colonisation and its Western capitalist oriented economy among other factors that scaled up the magnitude and dynamism of urbanisation and the emergence of urban centres.

The colonial administration which was guided by the principles of Western economic enterprise invested in transportation systems (roads, railways, ports and harbours) in the 20th Century in order to effectively explore and exploit resources in Gold Coast for oceanic transport. The effect of this development was that it accentuated the importance of the various areas where the transport systems were constructed and transformed such places into important urban centres. It is in this regard that Nkawkaw’s rise to prominence and urban status is examined. Some other places whose position was also heightened by effect of transport are New Mangoase, Suhum, Nsawam, Kade, Akwatia, Swedru and Tamale. There were places that similarly rose to urban status because they served as trading post for the European merchants. Cape Coast and Accra are glaring evidence to this effect.

At the end of the second decade of the 20th Century, the evolution of transport in Nkawkaw was completed with the construction of the Koforidua to Mpraeso road that passed through Nkawkaw in 1916, the Nkawkaw to Obomen road in 1921, the railway extension from Tafo to Nkawkaw in 1922 and the Accra-Kumasi road of 1923 that used Nkawkaw as a thoroughfare. The town of Nkawkaw which existed as a village at its inception has from the time it experienced these transport facilities grown in size and function. Nkawkaw has also
transformed into an urban space and assumed the unrivalled position as the chief commercial centre and transportation hub of Kwahu.

This thesis is therefore an extensive study of the socio-economic relevance of Nkawkaw as an urban space within Kwahu.
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<td>ATR</td>
<td>African Traditional Religion</td>
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<tr>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Tropical Continental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DHQ</td>
<td>Divisional Head Quarters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSS</td>
<td>Ghana Statistical Service</td>
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<td>GRA</td>
<td>Ghana Revenue Authority</td>
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<tr>
<td>KEDA</td>
<td>Kwahu East District Assembly</td>
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<td>KNDA</td>
<td>Kwahu North District Assembly</td>
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<td>KSDA</td>
<td>Kwahu South District Assembly</td>
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<td>KWMA</td>
<td>Kwahu West Municipal Assembly</td>
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<td>KTC</td>
<td>Kwahu Traditional Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>MCD</td>
<td>Municipal Chief Director</td>
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<tr>
<td>MCE</td>
<td>Municipal Chief Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MT</td>
<td>Tropical Maritime Air Mass</td>
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<td>PWD</td>
<td>Public Works Department</td>
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<td>STO</td>
<td>Small Tax Office</td>
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Overview

This chapter deals with the background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study and research questions. In addition, the study methodology, significance of the study, and the organisation of the study are presented.

1.2. Background to the Study

Nkawkaw is one of the major towns in Kwahu. Other towns in Kwahu include Abene, Abetifi, Mpraeso, Atibie, Nkwatia, Obo, Bepong, Pepease, Akwasih, Kwahu Tafo, Twenedurase, Nteso, Asakraka, Obomen, Aduamoa, Pitiko, Sadan, Bokuruwa, Nkwantanang, Ahinasie and Donkorkrom (Kwekudee, 2013). According to the definition of the Central Bureau of Statistics, only five of the current districts settlements in Kwahu qualified as towns per the figures of 1970 Census. These were Nkawkaw, Nkwatia, Mpraeso, Bepong and Abetifi (Nkansah-Kyeremanteng 2000, p.5). According to Asiamah (2011, p.7) the name Kwahu was originally Okwahu which was later corrupted to Kwahu. Bartle (2007) revealed that two common spelling of the region are found. These are Kwahu with “h” and Kwawu with “w”. Nkansah-Kyeremanteng (2000) and Asiamah (2011) observed that like Akyem and Asante, Kwahu

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1 Bartle (2007) revealed that based on oral tradition a prophesy was told of an Akan state of Kwahu as he puts it that would be found where a slave died and this did happen as a slave died when he was sent to scout an area close to present day Abetifi and Abene. The place was therefore named “Akoa wuo” meaning a slave died. According to Bartle it was an attempt by the Basel Missionary to translate “Akoa wuo” as they heard it that created the name “Kawah”. The “h” spelling was used to prevent the pronunciation of “kwa” the first syllable as “Kweh”. The spelling with “w” (Kwawu) is the official spelling from the African Studies Institute at the University of Ghana when in 1957 the centre was commissioned by the government to run names of all major ethnic groups in Ghana. In this regard, while Nkansah-Kyeremanteng (2000) uses the “w” spelling (Kwawu), Asiamah (2000 and 2011) as well as Garlick (1967) also uses the “h” spelling (Kwahu) for the same people. However, for the purpose of this study the author has chosen to be consistent with Kwahu with “h” as used by the Kwahu West Municipal Assembly (KWMA).
originated from the ancient kingdom of Adansi which now forms part of Ashanti region. Their migration to the current location was possibly engineered by succession dispute in the Adansi territory.

Another possible reason could be attributed to commercial ambition of the Kwahu to access trade routes to the coast to increase commerce with the Coastal people of Ghana. Daaku (1970, p.146) supports this argument by revealing that most of the ivory sold on the coast came from the woodland fringes of the forest and the “Kwawus” as he puts it were the medium through which ivory from Afram Plains reached the coast. To this day the Kwahu people are known for their industriousness and wealth acquisition. Their trade acumen has earned them a number of accolades from different authors. Debrunner’s view of the Kwahu people as cited by Nkansah-Kyeremanteng (2000, p.64) is that they are born traders who learn to buy and sell at an early stage of their lives and therefore he describes the Kwahu as the Lebanese of West Africa. Garlick (1967, p.64) has also described them as the Jews of Ghana. Dumett (1971, p.97) on his part described the Kwahu as an inveterate trading people.

The land area of Kwahu is about 51,520 square kilometers located inland and therefore one of Ghana’s forest areas. The area is located between Akyem Abuakwa in the Eastern Region and Asante Akyem South in the Ashanti region found on the direction of the Accra-Kumasi main road. Kwahu has striking geographical features in that the area shares three of its traditional boundaries in rivers (Donkor 2003). To the north of Kwahu, the River Pra serves as it boundary with the Ashanti region. While it boundary with Brong Ahafo region is demarcated by River Bosom in the north-east, the Volta River serves as it boundary with the Volta region in the east. The location of Kwahu is between longitudes 1° west and 0° 15 east and between latitude 6° 30 south and 7° 15 north. The area has a remarkable climate
pattern that makes it attractive as a settlement for foreigners from the temperate regions of the world. The Basel Missionaries in Abetifi for instance in 1885 recorded that Abetifi was similar to Switzerland with nights as cool as May nights in Europe. Due to the fact that the area is situated in the West semi-equatorial region the place experiences a double rainfall pattern. It is recorded that between the months of March and April, mean monthly temperature values are often recorded. Consequently, Kwahu comes under the direct influence of two air masses which are the Tropical Maritime Air Mass (MT) and the Tropical Continental (CT). The area is thus relatively cool (Kwekudee, 2013).

As a formidable kingdom whose accessibility was mainly through heavily guarded mountains that evoked fear and death the area attracted the name “kɔwu” which loosely translates “you go there to die” (Nkansah-Kyeremanteng 2000, p.36). Another tradition also has it that the name was originally “Akɔawu” meaning “he has gone to die” which according to Nkansah-Kyeremanteng was later corrupted to Kwahu. These traditions to the origin of the Kwahu and Nkawkaw people are examined in a latter chapter.

However, by 1988 a decentralisation programme demarcated Kwahu land into North and South. While the North became Afram Plains, the South (Core Kwahu) became the southern scarp into what is now known as the Kwahu ridge and at the base of the scarp to the south is Nkawkaw (the chief commercial and industrial town). In an article written by Boateng (2013), Nana Kwame Ampene remarked that the name Nkawkaw was derived from a river that appeared to be red anytime it flooded its bank, thus “asu a ayiri a ani aye kɔɔ kɔɔ”. Nkansah-Kyeremanteng (2000) also opined that the original name of Nkawkaw is “Nkɔ -

\[1\] Werner to Basel Mission, 6 May 1875; ‘PJA’ (Paul Jenkins Abstracts), Report on a Journey from Akyem to Kwahu. No. 257, pp. 54-54. Also see Nkansah-Kyeremanteng (2000, pp.22)
nkowu” which loosely translates “do not go there to die” as a warning to the people venturing into the kingdom.

From the earliest decades of the 20th century, the transport revolution that engulfed the Gold Coast now Ghana seemed to have caught up with Nkawkaw as the town began to witness significant infrastructural development as far as transport is concerned. As Ntewusu (2011, p.128) maintained, rail transport system that became available from 1910 to facilitate the construction of the Accra Water-Works at Weija was made available for public patronage. This rail transport system as would soon be realised later in 1923 connected Accra to Nkawkaw and Kumasi to exploit the cocoa and kola-nut producing areas of present day Southern Ghana. In 1920 there was a railway extension from Akyem Tafo to Kumasi. In this development Nkawkaw’s strategic geographical location3 gave the town advantage over neighbouring villages so that the colonial government in search of place chose Nkawkaw as thoroughfare over Awedade, a nearby hamlet4.

Due to the advent of transport age in Nkawkaw Grove and Huszer (1964, p.67) concluded that Nkawkaw grew entirely since the Accra-Kumasi railway reached the town which was then referred to as Kwahu-Junction in1922. Motor vehicle as early as 1902 had also been introduced to Ghana and according to Ntewusu (2011, p.259) road construction and the use of motor vehicles soon replaced rail transport. Since the Eastern Region of Ghana of which included Kwahu was part of the forest and Southern areas of Ghana that produced cocoa the area was poised to be part of an important trading region and transport network. For

3 Nkawkaw is located at the base to the south of the Kwahu Mountain. By virtue of its location the town posed as an easy link between the Coast from Accra and the south (interior) via Kumasi. It is also the only town that provided the southern gateway to the Kwahu plateau either through Mpraeso or Obomen road all of which used Nkawkaw as a thoroughfare. The areas of Asante Akyem South, North Abirem and Atiwa districts are connected to Kwahu via Nkawkaw. The importance of these connections to the colonial government of Gold Coast is examined in detail in Chapter Four
4 The Spectator (February 02nd 2013, p.31)
instance as argued by Dickson (1969, p.275) South and Central Kwahu were noted for cocoa
cultivation and expansion on top of the Kwahu plateau. In addition Boahene (2000, p.96) and
Dickson (1969, p.196) revealed that bauxite was first discovered at Mpraeso in Kwahu by the
Geological Survey Department in 1914. Hence the strategic geographical location of
Nkawkaw as a town that is surrounded by cocoa and bauxite producing areas of Kwahu and
also that linked Kwahu to other parts of Ghana made construction of transport systems
through it imperative.

Asiamah (2011) has therefore stated that by 1916 the first motor road from Nkawkaw
to Mpraeso was constructed and this was followed by that of Nkawkaw to Obomen in 1921.
Furthermore, Asiamah revealed that by 1923 the Accra-Kumasi road that passed through
Nkawkaw came into existence. All these development opened the town up to the rest of the
country. Consequently, Dickson (1969) argued that the period between 1921 and 1931
revealed significant growth in population of Kwahu South and Central. More particularly,
Dickson remarked that by the beginning of the Second World War the population of
Nkawkaw alone was well over 3000 and the only motor road reaching the top of the plateau
of Kwahu from the South began from Nkawkaw.

Nkawkaw which witnessed rail and road transport construction in the 1900s
experienced significant growth in size and in function so that by 1970 the area attained a
township status (Nkansah-Kyeremanteng 2000). The town which began as a collection of
buildings around a station on the newly completed Accra-Kumasi railway became a nodal
point and a market town (Dickson, 1969).
The central thesis of this study therefore is that Nkawkaw has grown in size and function not only for the people of Nkawkaw, but also provides essential services (both high and low order services) to Kwahu as well.

The study chose the time frame of 1920 to 2012 because of the significant developments of this period. The choice for using 1920 as an opening date is to place emphasis on the substantial infrastructural development that occurred in Nkawkaw and indeed in Gold Coast particularly in the Southern region as a whole in the context of colonial rule in order to support British imperial designs\(^5\). Boahen (1989, pp. 61 and 76) in his work *African Perspectives on Colonialism* indicated that by 1920 colonialism and all its vestiges were well entrenched in Africa. The year 2012 has been chosen as the terminal date in order to situate the study in a much more contemporary period.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

Although literature can be found as far as Kwahu is concerned not much has been written on the socio-economic importance of Nkawkaw. However, the important role Nkawkaw plays as a nodal town that straddles areas of Kwahu Districts (South, East and North), Ashanti region, Atiwa District, Abirem North and Fanteakwa District cannot be over emphasized. In 1920 when it became necessary to extend the railway to Kumasi from Akyem Tafo, the colonial government whose influence was felt from 1818 in Kwahu chose to make Nkawkaw a thoroughfare. Thus the period from the earliest part of the 20\(^{th}\) century saw

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\(^5\) Frimpong-Ansah (1991, pp.19) has expressed the view that the period from 1920 saw the construction of the necessary infrastructure needed in Gold Coast now Ghana. As he quoted Guggisberg (1924, pp.41) “No country can develop trade to its full paying capacity without incurring a debt for the construction of the necessary infrastructure” Frimpong-Ansah opined that such objectives from the 1920s bore the inevitable stamp of British imperial trade policy which Guggisberg conformed as colonial governor. Thus his argument is that although development of infrastructure in Gold Coast began at the turn of the 20\(^{th}\) century, greater effort was made during the Guggisberg period of 1919 to 1929.
remarkable growth in the town’s history. Nkawkaw’s strategic geographical location with it rich cultural activities and socio-economic importance are very critical. Nkawkaw is the commercial nerve centre of Kwahu, yet detailed work has not been done its socio-economic relevance. The presence of communities like Zongo, Accra Town and Ayigbe Town in Nkawkaw are evidence of the diversity of the demographic distribution of the town.

The Social organisation and practices which are essential components to having a comprehensive view of a people need to be examined in addition to the commercial opportunities Nkawkaw offers Kwahu in order to have a better appreciation of a study on Nkawkaw. However, as important as Nkawkaw is, as a market centre for Kwahu, an empirical study of the socio-economic relevance of the town in Kwahu is yet to be done. Issues on Nkawkaw have generally been discussed or survived as passing references in discussing the development of urban centres in Ghana. This has created a gap in the academic discourse as far as literature on Nkawkaw is concerned. The problem of the study therefore is to bridge the gap in knowledge about Nkawkaw by conducting empirical research on the place of Nkawkaw in Kwahu with respect to the socio-economic relevance of the town understudy.

1.4. Objective of the Study

The general objective of the study is to find out how Nkawkaw became a satellite community in Kwahu. However, the specific objectives of the study accordingly are to:

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6 All three are migrant communities in Nkawkaw. They were named after the various places of origin of the founders of such communities. Hence Ayigbe which is a popular local term for the Ewe stock from the Volta region of Ghana as well as Ewe stock from neighbouring countries of Togo and Benin became the designated name for the area dominated by Ewe. Accra Town as the name suggests was also established by some Ga communities from the capital city of Accra, therefore the name Accra Town. Then there is also the Muslims dominated community of Zongo (meaning strangers quarters) established by section of the Ghanaian populace from the three Northern regions of Ghana (Northern region proper, Upper West and Upper East) as well as Muslims from neighbouring countries of Northern Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger. The ethnic composition of Nkawkaw Zongo includes Hausa, Mossi, Gonja, Dagomba, Walla, Grushie, and Frafra. The emergence of such areas is examined in detail in Chapter Three.
a. Trace the origin and ethnic composition of the people of Nkawkaw
b. Find out the traditional system of governance in Nkawkaw and its place in the traditional setup of the Kwahu Traditional Council (KTC).
c. Find out the modern political dispensation in Nkawkaw.
d. Examine the Social-organisation and practices of the Nkawkaw people.
e. Ascertain how the railway and road construction through Nkawkaw aided its growth.
f. Examine the economic relevance of Nkawkaw as the commercial nerve centre to Kwahu.

1.5. Research Questions

In undertaking this study an attempt would be made to answer the following questions as the guide to the study.

a. What is the origin and ethnic composition of the people of Nkawkaw?
b. How is the traditional political system of governance in Nkawkaw organised?
c. What is the modern political dispensation in Nkawkaw?
d. What are the Social organisation and practices of the Nkawkaw people?
e. How did the railway and road construction through Nkawkaw contribute to its growth?
f. To what extent is Nkawkaw economically relevant to Kwahu?

1.6. Study Methodology

As far as the research design is concerned the study used qualitative method for its investigations. This choice was informed by the aim to collect a descriptive data from an insider’s perspective in a natural setting. Since people’s experiences and thoughts are organised in the form of narratives it seemed appropriate that qualitative approach was used to
conduct an exploratory, interpretative and descriptive study of the research topic. However the study used tables and a figure from sources such as Songsore (2013), Ghana Statistical Service (GSS, 2005 and 2013) and the Kwahu West Municipal Assembly (KWMA, 2013) to give illustrative explanations to some points made in the study. The author also constructed a table and a figure based on information acquired from sources to demonstrate certain issues discussed. In all four tables and two figures were used.

Observatory practices were also employed as a research tool in order to have first-hand knowledge and assessment of events. Observation was useful during events such as the African Traditional Religion (ATR) festivity of Adae\textsuperscript{7} and also in an attempt to study the trading skills of roadside hawkers in Nkawkaw. Since detailed oral conversation and observatory practices could not be perfectly committed to memory both visual and audio devices were used to record events with the consent of respondents.

To obtain information for this work, I depended on two principal sources which were Primary and secondary data. Oral sources featured prominently in this study as part of primary data and the main instruments used in collecting oral data included in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with key informants. The use of in-depth interviews proved very useful especially in one-on-one interviews with the chiefs and members of the royal lineage as well as other informants. It allowed for detailed oral conversation with key informants while focus group discussions ensured that the right information was solicited from respondents. Often, informants in a group interview would correct others on a point of error for all to agree. The semi-structured kind of interview was adopted as an approach that was used to acquire information in the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions.

\textsuperscript{7} The fortieth day on the Akan traditional calendar set aside for the veneration of deities and ancestors according to Nana Kwadjo Darko, traditional priest of the Tigare and Atia Mframa shrine at Atibie Amanfrom in an interview held on 30\textsuperscript{th} May 2015.
Information relevant to this study were collected through interviews with the Municipal Chief Director (MCD), Planning Officer and head of Town and Country Department all of the Kwahu West Municipal Assembly (KWMA) which is located in Nkawkaw (the Municipal’s capital). The incumbent Assembly member of Accra Town during the time of this study was also interviewed. The interview granted by these persons gave me much information about the profile of the Kwahu West Municipality and the situational analysis of Nkawkaw. The Municipal Assembly proved useful in providing information relating to commerce, transport, administrative functions and modern political dispensation in Nkawkaw.

The next category of respondents included chiefs and members of the royal lineage of Obomen, Atibie, Obo, Abetifi and Nkwatia. While Obomen people are traditionally known to be founders of Nkawkaw, the people of Atibie are also the next people to own a section of the town. The responses of this category of interviewees were very useful in constructing the history of both Kwahu and Nkawkaw. Information on the traditional political institution, social organisation and practices of Nkawkaw was also provided through oral interviews from some members of the royal lineage. This category also included elders and opinion leaders of the various migrant communities.

Some drivers in Nkawkaw were also interviewed. They included those who provide internal transport services with Taxis, drivers who provide external transport services with large and minibuses as well as those who drive cargo trucks and transport goods to and fro Kwahu. Some of these drivers were retired while others were also executives of the Transport Union in Nkawkaw. Interviews with these drivers enabled me to get information on the extent to which the markets and commercial opportunities in Nkawkaw provided readily sales for
produce and goods from Kwahu and neighbouring Kwahu towns. The unmatched role of the town as the transportation hub in Kwahu was also established by the drivers.

The last group that was interviewed consisted of some traders of Nkawkaw. The office of the Small Tax Office (STO) of the Ghana Revenue Authority (GRA, Nkawkaw branch) and KWMA proved useful with regard to trade. It was established that the most dominant economic activity in Nkawkaw is trade. Traders who deal in wholesale and retail were interviewed. Petty traders with particular focus on hawkers who form a greater percentage of petty trading were also interviewed. Other resourceful persons who generally had information useful to the study were also interviewed.

However, owing to the dangers inherent in reliance on oral sources alone, meticulous attention was paid to seek information from other sources to validate these oral sources. Oral information provided by informants sometimes lacked chronology. There were instances where different informants provided conflicting responses on the same issue. Then there was also the issue of exaggeration and distortion of facts on the parts of respondents. Therefore in order to confirm information acquired from oral sources, strenuous effort was made to seek information from archival materials. Searches were made at the Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD) at the Accra, Koforidua and Kumasi branches. A wide variety of information was found in the archives but it was in the particular field of transportation and trade in Gold Coast, Kwahu and Nkawkaw specifically that gave an invigorating breath of relief to the author when colonial documents to this effect were found. The Paul Jenkins Abstract which is a travel report of the Basel Mission in the 19th Century and currently deposited at the Zimmerman Library in the Akrofi Christaller Institute of Theology, Mission and Culture, Akropong-Akuapem was also a useful primary document to
this study. It provided information on commerce and religious practices of the Kwahu people from 1876 when the Basel Mission led by Reverend Fritz Ramseyer established a post at Abetifi. Proceedings and verdict of a court case was also used. The case was entitled “An Appeal from the Decision of His Lordship A.K. Amoakwa Boadu High Court Judge, Nkawkaw, held on 10th December, 2002. Suit No. L.5/97”. This case provided useful information in writing about the making of Nkawkaw and the traditional institution of governance of the town. It provided useful information to the establishment of the Zongo community as well. Newspaper Publications that contained information relevant to the topic were also used.

A significant number of published works in the form of books, journals and articles have also been reviewed as part of the secondary sources. Such secondary sources focused essentially on themes such as urbanisation, the emergence and growth of urban centres, transport, traditional politics and cultural practices. The study also used literature from unpublished thesis and dissertations.

1.6.1 Method of Analysis

As a method of analysis this study employed the use of the illustrative method which is an analytical tool in Qualitative research design. After establishing the theory (Central Place Theory) that related to the work, it was applied to a concrete historical situation of Nkawkaw or data collected and the features of the town that makes it assume the role of an urban centre. Even though the Central Place theory was not without shortcomings, it proved very useful and the data collected as well as the historical evidence of Nkawkaw confirms the role the town plays as an urban centre as espoused by Christaller’s Central Place Theory.
1.6.2 Sampling Procedure

The study used a non-probability sampling technique known as Purposive Sampling to elicit the right information about the study topic from respondents. This is a sampling technique dependent on the judgment of the researcher to decide who should take part in the study (Neuman, 2007). This is a qualitative study that seeks to acquire descriptive and explorative information from people who are resourceful on the various themes of the study. It therefore seemed certainly reasonable that purposive sampling that allows the researcher to identify the study population and choose respondents who are known to have the required information about the study is selected. Even though the study used purposive sampling, it was complemented with the snowballing sampling technique as respondents who were interviewed usually referred me to other resourceful persons whose information they thought could be useful to the study.

1.6.3 Study Area

Nkawkaw, which is the area of study falls within the Kwahu West Municipal Assembly (KWMA, 2013). It is also the capital for the municipality. The town is located on the Accra - Kumasi main route and about 241 kilometres North-West of Accra the capital of Ghana. Nkawkaw and for that matter Kwahu has common boarders with Akyem Kotoku at Pankese in the southwest, Akyem Abuakwa at Jejeti in the south, Krobo and Akwamu to the southeast and Asante in the West.

Nkawkaw used to be part of Kwahu South District which has Mpraeso as its capital. This district since its creation has produced three other districts of Kwahu North, Kwahu West and Kwahu East in the years 1988, 2004 and 2007 respectively. However, Kwahu West by virtue of the cosmopolitan nature and population growth attained a municipal status and in
August 2007 and by statutory law L1 1870 Kwahu west was made a municipality. According to the 2010 National Population and Housing Census, the municipality alone had a population of 93,584 with an intercensal growth rate of about 3.6%. The population growth is attributed to the migration of people from the rural fringes to the municipality’s capital (KWMA, 2013). Thus population is highly concentrated in Nkawkaw and around the urban and peri-urban areas of the municipality. The municipality has a total area of 414 square kilometer which is a representation of 2.2 % of the total land area of Eastern Region. It has 214 settlements within its jurisdiction. To the North, the municipality is bounded by the Asante Akyem South Municipal, to the East by Kwahu South District, Atiwa District to the South and to the West by Abirem North District (KWMA, 2013) Figure 1.1 shows the location of Kwahu West Municipal in which Nkawkaw is located.
1.7. Significance of the Study

It is hoped that the findings of the study would be valuable and useful to the Kwahu society. As far as academia is concerned a study of the socio-economic relevance of Nkawkaw in Kwahu will contribute to the voluminous body of studies on market centres in Ghana. It is also envisaged that the study would serve a useful purpose of reference material for the academic society for further research on Nkawkaw and related topics. Such a documented history of the people will also serve as a reservoir of knowledge for current and unborn generations.
1.8. Organisation of the Study

Essentially, the thesis is structured into five chapters. Chapter one is the introductory chapter and it includes the background to the study, statement of the problem, objective of study and research questions of the study. The rest of this chapter includes methodology, significance of the study and the organisation of study. Chapter Two also deals with the review of literature and theoretical framework. Chapter Three which deals with the peopling and people of Nkawkaw examine themes such as the history and origin of the people of Kwahu and Nkawkaw, various migrant communities in the town as well as the institutions of governance. Also included in this chapter is a discussion on the social organisation and practices of the Nkawkaw people. The Fourth chapter focuses on the evolution of transport (road and railway) in Nkawkaw and how these developments exposed the town to other parts of Ghana and in its wake made it the chief commercial centre of Kwahu. The rest of the chapter then examines the economic activities of the people of Nkawkaw with particular reference to commerce as it is the dominant economic activity of the people. Finally, Chapter five deals with a summary of all the chapters and concludes discussions on Nkawkaw.

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8 That commerce is the dominant economic activity of Nkawkaw is affirmed by the Kwahu West Municipal Assembly (KWMA) and the Ghana Revenue Authority (GRA) Nkawkaw branch, Small Tax Office (STO). Indeed this assertion is also very glaring in the town.
CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to review relevant literature on urbanisation and the growth of urban centres as related to the topic under study. The chapter begins by looking at the history and various perception of the concept of urbanisation. It then reviews literature on the trends of urbanisation on the African continent. Literature on the emergence and growth of urban centres in Ghana is also reviewed. Also included in this chapter is a review of literature on the function and location of urban centres in Ghana. The rest of the chapter is dedicated to the review of literature on Nkawkaw area in an urban context. The review of literature is then followed by the theoretical framework which the study uses as a guide. The study has chosen to review literature on urbanisation and growth of urban centres because of the seemingly significant connection between the two concepts.

2.2 Urbanisation in Historical Perspective

Asamoah (2010) revealed that the term urban has a Latin origin from the word “urbs or urbis” which translates as a town or city. Fly and Goldstein (1977) argued that the history of modern urbanisation is dependent on the particular definition of the urban concept. If the broader definition of the concept is accepted then the modern cities of urban forms began in the medieval periods. In this regard cities are said to have first emerged in the Middle East

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9 Citing Davis, Mabogunje (1968, pp.1) maintained that the apparent rise in urban population levels of the world from the 1800s was accompanied by the growth of cities. While the total urban population of the world which included people living in cities of about 20,000 inhabitants increased from 2.4% in 1800 to 20.9% in 1950 the proportion of cities that accommodated 100,000 or more people also increased from 1.7% in 1800 to 13.1% in 1950. The growth of cities has occurred in tandem with urbanisation levels that has from the 1850s witnessed significant progression (Lowry 1990). Although both situations are true the remarkable fact is that the rate of urban growth was so many times greater than the growth rate of the world’s total population (Mabogunje, 1968).
and the Mediterranean in the countries of Egypt, Iraq and Pakistan. Areas that developed urban growth potentials were those that practiced irrigation agriculture. Such places included the Lower Valley of the Nile, the Delta lands at the head of Persian Gulf and in the plains of the Indus. Cities emerged when material foundations of life made it possible to yield surplus of food over and above the consumption levels of mankind (Smailes 1953, pp. 7-16). People who lived in these areas according to Smailes (1953) took advantage and manipulated the regular seasonal river floods to their interest as well as developed the use of plough. They were then able to raise food supplies to an unprecedented level and this necessitated specialised function which hitherto was absent. This development culminated into a situation where members of the society started gathering in clusters to organise and discharge such specialised functions. Consequently, there arose in such clustering areas towns such as Aphroditopolis and Hierakonpolis in the Nile and Harappa of the Indus. Different scholars have given dates for the medieval development of towns. Pallen (1981, p. 18) is of the opinion that by 3,500 B.C first towns had emerged. Fly and Goldstein (1977) also argue in line with Pallen that the concept as a phenomena began approximately 6000 years ago around 3,500 B.C.

However, if in current times the concept is restricted to the narrower demographic distribution of population between urban and rural areas then urbanisation has a short history dating from the mid-twentieth century. As far as this period is concerned Hauser and Schnore (1967 pp.1-8) opined that the 20th century city was a product of the extensive application of science to the industrial sector, the diffusion of electric powers and the advent of automobiles. It was an impressive growth in technological revolution that permeated virtually all phases of life. A critical observation of the process of growth of Nkawkaw reveals that the town
identifies with the current definition of town as a 20\textsuperscript{th} century product of technology as maintained by Hauser and Schnore (1967). The status of the town as a transport hub in Kwahu began during the age of transport technology in Gold Coast in the 1900s.

2.3 General Perception and Definitions of Relevant Terms and Concepts

2.3.1 Urban Areas

The term urban has often been unconsciously used as a replacement for city with little or no regard to the significant differences between the two. Urban as a concept has a cross cultural definition and orientation. While the term “urban area” is sometimes used as a synonym for the “city”, the two are not the same. All cities are urban areas, but not all urban areas are cities. In fact, Drescher and Iaquinta (2002, pp.5-6) have argued that urban has become a statistical concept defined by the government of a country. Urban settlements have been viewed on the basis of cultural orientation, administrative functions (political), economic (a percentage of people in non-agricultural occupations) and demographic (population) distribution. A city on the other hand moves beyond the mere statistical definition used and given by a country’s government as yardstick to classifying what constitutes an urban centre and what does not. The city could therefore be viewed as what sociologist refer to as “gesellschaft” (a place where relations among individuals and forms of social organisation are organic).

The city could be seen as a larger geographical space with a culturally heterogenous and socially diverse populace (Pallen, 1981, p. 6-7). Bloom et al (2007) also defined the city proper as dependant on legal and administrative grounds which typically comprise only those geographical areas that are part of a legally defined and often historically established administrative unit. Towns on the other hand are generally smaller than cities.
Mabogunje (1968, p. 33) confirmed the unabated classification of an urban centre and posits that perhaps the best known definition of an urban centre is what has been given by Louis Wirth as a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals. Following these definitions above, Drescher and Iaquinta (2002) therefore opined that a city is a spatial arrangement made up of complex political, economic and social entity.

The fact that different countries have their own definitions and criteria for what constitute an urban area has generated overwhelming definitions of the term around the world. Writing in 1981, Pallen revealed that there were about thirty definitions of urban population, yet none of them could totally explain the phenomena satisfactorily. The issue of urbanisation and an appropriate definition in the urban development discourse has remained unabated with various degree of measurement (Yusuf Kadri 2001). Countries with comparatively rural areas may simply classify one or more settlements as an urban area without much regard to size and function. Most countries of the world use population as a criterion for the classification of an area as urban. To this end, when the population of an area surpasses a certain threshold given by the government the area is considered as urban. Out of the 228 countries that the United Nations compiled data on, it was revealed that half of such countries used administrative criteria, fifty one used size and density of locales, thirty-nine relied on functional features such as main economic activities, fifty two had no definition of urban and eight countries defined all or none of their population as living in urban areas. In the analysis and calculation of the United Nations all of these urban population definitions were accepted (Brockerhoff 2006, p. 6).

The logic according to Brockerhoff (2006) is that the United Nations recognises that governments world over have better judgments of what constitutes urban place in their
respective countries. In the case of Ghana the 2010 Population and Housing Census pegged the population threshold of an urban area to a place of at least 5000 persons.

Mabogunje (1977) also contended that any definition of urban must possess at least two perspectives and these are cultural and temporal. He continues that regardless of which of them is used such urban area must refer to places that do not perform certain agricultural services. In the case of Nigeria the 1952/53 census gave the first concise definition of a Nigerian town as compact settlement with a population of at least 5,000.

Urban places have been considered as not directly involved in the primary production of food and raw material, but rather a bewildering array of high order services (Tamakloe, 1997; Weeks, 2001; Lowry, 1990). Some of these services include improved transportation facilities, higher levels of education, media operations, industrial and commercial activities among others. The ideas shared by these authors are relevant to the area understudy as they confirm the key functions that Nkawkaw as an urban area performs in Kwahu.

2.3.2 Urbanisation

Whatever the case may be Lowry (1990, p. 153) cautions that in as much as the growth of world urbanisation since 1850 reflects an increase of the world’s population growth the mere increase in the average density of human settlement alone is not a yardstick for urbanisation.

Smailes (1953, pp.1-4) however attempts a description and measurement of urban development. He argues that the whole phenomenon of urbanisation is a process that involves a change in both place and people (the land and inhabitant become urban). The concept means that within the context of urbanisation there is an increasing proportion of the human society that can largely be said to be townsfolk. Such a proportion do not only grow in size and
spread an area, but also make an ever growing impact on the rural populace within it influence. He posits that the two notions involved in urban development are geographical and sociological. While the former relates to place, groupings and concentrations which are different in sizes and functions, the latter deals with the distinct way of life. Smailes (1953, pp.136-137) explained that all towns must in their essential role provide services for the external population over and above the town residents. Towns are supposed to play the role of centres of employment, collecting and marketing points for the products brought from the complementary regions as well as distributing centres for goods from outside.

This study seeks to draw from the argument advanced by Smailes as it projects the important space Nkawkaw occupies in Kwahu. This is especially so as Nkawkaw provides essential services to the other urban and peri-urban populace of Kwahu. In a closely linked context the process of urbanisation could also involve people who move from rural to urban places and involve themselves in primarily non-rural occupation. Such places are dissociated from the activities of the soil and dominated by economic functions like manufacturing, agro-processing, and service providing sector (Brunn et al 2008). Dickson (1971, p.7) contended that although the occupation of the urban centre is divorced from the soil the activities of such place should enhance the primary production of food by its hinterland.

Demographic and organisational definition of the term has also been given. While the demographic definition of the term is an increase in the population concentration of a place, the organisational definition refers to an alteration in the structure and functions of such place (Pallen, 1981). Pallen further adds that the demographic definition of urbanisation involves multiplication of various point of concentration as well as that of individuals. Urbanisation has also been defined by Nsiah-Gyabaah (2010) as the outcome of social, economic, and
political developments that lead to urban concentration and growth of large cities, changes in land use and transformation from rural to metropolitan patterns of organisation and governance

2.4 Trends of Urbanisation in Africa

Urbanisation trend in Africa is a case of significant growth in the global urbanisation process. However, this has occurred in a somewhat different manner. In 1950 when the developed nations of the world experienced a steady urban growth, Africa’s share of the whole urban development discourse was relatively minute with 30 million of the continent’s population as the urban inhabitants (Goldstein & Sly, 1977). The number increased significantly from 14% in 1950 to 22% in 1970. Though Africa remained least urbanised, the period from 1970 right to 2000 recorded almost about 150% levels of urbanisation (Goldstein & Sly 1977, pp. 70-72). Thus the similarity in trend is that both developed and developing regions of the world have witnessed rise in urbanisation levels.

Africa on the other hand has a unique trend. The distinctiveness of Africa’s urbanisation trend is that at present the continent and that of Asia remains predominantly rural and yet Africa is expected to be less urbanized in the midcentury. This notwithstanding Africa is expected to urbanise at a dramatically faster rate. The state of Africa’s urbanisation is shown in the table below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1965</th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2010*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>43.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>43.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America and the</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>64.9</td>
<td>73.4</td>
<td>78.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribbean</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of the World **</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>64.1</td>
<td>70.5</td>
<td>74.2</td>
<td>78.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 2.1 illustrates that within the context of urbanisation trend Africa is the least urbanised region of the world.

In the year 2014, there were a total of sixteen countries with low levels of urbanisation which were below twenty percent. The largest among these countries with total populations of about ten million inhabitants included Burundi, Ethiopia, Malawi, Niger, South Sudan and Uganda in Africa and Nepal and Sri Lanka in Asia (World Urbanisation Prospect, 2014 p. 8). To the extent that six of these countries were found in Africa is indicative of the fact the continent is least urbanised. However, following a general trend urbanisation prospects is expected to increase in all regions and Africa and Asia regardless are expected to urbanise at a faster rate than the rest of regions of the world. While the midcentury rural phenomena for Africa lingers on, Africa and Asia are projected to experience noticeable increase in their urban population and that of Africa particularly is expected to triple over the next four decades. While Asia’s urban populations of about 1.36 billion will about double to 2.64 billion that of Africa which is estimated to be far smaller will more than double from 294
million to 742 million if the impact of HIV/AIDS is held in check (Songsore, 2009 p.1). Consequently, almost 90% of the increase in world urbanisation would be found in the urban centres of Africa and Asia. In this development Africa’s urbanisation rate is projected to hit 56% and that of Asia is pegged at 64% (World Urbanisation Prospect, 2014 p. 7).

Songsore (2009) therefore remarked that the seemingly rapid urbanisation levels of the population in developing countries could be compared to the heyday of rapid urbanisation in the industrial world. It is expected that three more megacities\(^{10}\) in addition to Cairo, Kinshasa and Lagos are to emerge in the cities of Dar es Salem, Johannesburg and Luanda by 2030 with more than the ten million mark (World Urbanisation Reports 2014). There is also the emergence of Metacities or Hypercities as the new type of settlement which is above and beyond megacities and Lagos is expected to be among countries with such cities\(^{11}\).

It is imperative to point that even within the continent of Africa, trends of urbanisation levels are markedly different. According to Goldstein & Sly (1977) while the total urbanisation levels of Africa in 1950 was 14%, Northern and Southern African urban population had 25% or advanced levels of urbanisation. The two regions of Middle and Eastern Africa also on the contrary had 7% low levels of urbanisation. Western African urban population increased from 11% in 1950 to 20% in 1970.

Continuing this argument, Hope and Lekorwe (1999) also revealed that comparatively East African population in 1990 experienced nearly 22% levels of urbanisation while at the same time West Africa, Middle Africa, North Africa and Southern Africa respectively had

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\(^{10}\) The Revision of the World Urbanisation Prospects (2014, pp.13) defined megacities as an agglomeration of 10 million or more people. Tokyo is currently the world’s largest megacity with an urban population of 38 million, followed by Delhi with 25 million, Shanghai with 23 million, Mexico, Mumbai and Sao Paolo each with around 21 million people. Large cities have agglomerations of between 5 to 10 million.

\(^{11}\) UN Habitat (State of World Cities 2006, pp.9) also revealed that metacities or Hypercities are cities of more than 20 million population and such cities are gaining grounds in Asia, Latin America and Africa.
33%, 38%, 45%, and 55% of their populations living in urban areas. This trend is expected to be maintained well into the year 2025, but at a higher level. While the urbanisation levels of East Africa is pegged at 47% , that of Southern Africa is projected at 74%. According to the UN Habitat (2008,p.4) Northern Africa with an urban population of 50. 92% and Southern Africa of about 45.60% are the continent’s largest urban regions. That of Western and Central Africa combined was 41.75% which was well above the total urban population of Africa pegged at 38.7% in 2007. East Africa with 20.48% urbanisation levels is the least urbanised area of African region. However, with an annual urbanisation rate of 4.05% and 4.02% East Africa on one hand and Western and Central Africa on the other hand are the fastest growing urban regions in Africa (UN Habitat 2008,p.4)

2.5 Urbanisation and Growth of Urban Centres; the Ghanaian Experience

As the concept of urbanisation continues to occupy important space in the the demographic discourse the concomitant phenomenon that remains central to the topic understudy is the emergence and growth of urban centres. An important argument which this study advances for choosing to review literature on urbanisation and the emergence and growth of urban centres received attention from Songsore. In this view, Songsore (2009, pp.5-6) supported the seemingly significant connection between the two concepts and stated that while the population growth of Ghana increased fifteen fold from 1948 to 2000 that of urban settlement also experienced a nearly nine fold increment from 41 in 1948 to 364 in 2000.

Though no specific reference was made regarding the growth of Nkawkaw as an urban area in the work of Songsore the treatment of the reasons for urbanisation from the precolonial time to present is of relevance to this thesis. This section therefore reviews literature on the growth of urban centres in Ghana as related to Nkakwaw while paying close attention to the country’s
urbanisation patterns. Although with variations, the rising trend of urbanisation as a 20th century phenomena to current times and future projections is reflective in all regions of the world and Ghana which is a region of sub-Saharan Africa is no exception. Ghana’s urbanisation trend has witnessed a gradual but significant progression over the years. While the country’s 3.2 million people, a representation of 9% of the total population lived in towns in 1931, the proportion increased to 14% in 1948. Between 1948 and 1960 the urban population experienced an average of 9% per annum increment as revealed by Gough and Yankson (1997, p. 7). They therefore posited that it was after the Second World War that urban levels in Ghana gathered momentum, so that between 1970 and 1984 the urban population which was 9% in 1931 reached 31%.

Writing in the last two decades of the 19th century, Nabila (1988, p.1) revealed that Ghana’s rate of urbanisation was very rapid and if the rapid rate continued more than half of the Ghanaian population would be urbanised by 2020. Nabila also contended that Ghana was likely to increase nearly six fold if fertility remained at the level of six children to one woman. In a much later publication, Farveque-Vitkovic et al (2008) asserted that the more than 50% mark (60%) of urbanisation levels in Ghana was expected even much earlier than 2020 as posited by Nabila. This was to be achieved in 2015. Adarkwa (2013) supports the idea of increasing urbanisation as expressed by Songsore and argued that by 2015 over 60% of the total population will be resided in urban centres. The population urban of Ghana for the first time since 1960 reached 50.9% in 2010. The implication is that the over half of the total population in Ghana which was 24,658,823 are urban inhabitants (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013).
To put this argument in context, the literature reviewed is relevant to the topic under study as the growth of Nkawkaw as an urban centre is situated within the broad understanding of urbanisation patterns of Ghana. The point is that as maintained by Abloh (1967) and Dickson (1969) the period after 1931 saw significant growth in the population levels of Nkawkaw so that between 1948 and 1960 the population of the town tripled from 5,043 to 15,627 respectively.

2.5.1 The Colonial Connection

The development of urban centres and urbanisation are concepts mostly and generally considered relatively recent phenomenon that have their roots in European presence in Africa (Gough and Yankson 1997 p.6 ; Konadu-Agyeman 1998,p.19). This is however not to say that Africans and for that matter Ghanaians are entirely unfamiliar with urbanisation and the growth of urban centres. Peil and Sada (1984, pp.7-8) maintained that up to about 1800 indogenous towns arose as commercial and administrative centres which they refer to as early towns and some of the earliest known and ancient towns of Africa they site as examples include Adulis, Meroe, Axum. The aged century cities of Koumbe-Saleh, Timbuktu, Djenne and Gao that developed between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries are all glaring evidence of the phenomenon in Africa.

The point however according to Konadu-Agyemang (1998) is that although the above assertion is true it is quite an undeniable fact that most of the present day chain of urban centres or towns dotted all over the continent and particularly from the coast owe their establishment or growth to European colonial intrusion. Continuing this argument Owusu (2005, p.48) expressed the view that as much as urbanisation predates European arrival in Ghana, the scale and magnitude of the concept assumed a new impetus as well as dynamism
during European colonisation and the introduction of Western economic enterprise. In the view of Konadu-Agyemang (1998) urbanisation and the growth of urban centres were part of the grand European scheme of industrial capitalist penetration on the African continent. Areas along the coast for instance that were naturally established by the Europeans either as trading post for oceanic transport or shipping of goods to the hinterlands soon grew into towns. The initial relationship of European mercantile and industrial capitalism with Africa gradually transformed some small villages in Ghana like Accra and Cape Coast into towns and established centres like Lagos, Abidjan and St.Louis (Amoah,1964; Hinderink and Sterkenburg,1975; Rayfield,1974 as cited by Konadu-Agyemang 1998,p19).

Adarkwa (2013) also stated that socio-economic and political development which have occurred over time have shaped the urban process in Ghana. He captured these political developments under pre-independence, independence, post independence and contemporary times. It was for the same imperial capitalist design that in the opinion of Frimpong-Ansah (1991) necessitated the construction of Infrastructure that dominated the 1900s and particularly during the period of Guggisberg from 1919-1929. Supporting this argument Adarkwa situates the evolution and growth of urban centres within the pre-independence era and argued that this development was in most part necessitated by the need to explore and exploit exportable resources in Gold Coast to Europe and America.

This made the provision of basic infrastructure that characterised such areas as stated by Owusu (2005) in the work of Adarkwa imperative. The aftermath was the concentration of people and development in these growing areas of which majority were in the South into urban centres into what has been described as “colonial city”(Adarkwa, 2013,p.3). An idea that seems to run through the views of all these scholars which is also relevant to this study is
that European contact with Africa accentuated urbanisation and the growth of towns on the continent. In order for the Europeans to achieve their imperial mercantile and industrial capitalism, resources in Africa had to be exploited to its full paying capacity and an economically viable means to do that was through infrastructural development.

Although no specific reference was made to Nkawkaw the significance of this literature lies in the emphasis placed on the growth of urban centres as an influence of infrastructural development in a socio-economic and political context (pre-independence or colonial period). Nkawkaw which is the urban centre understudy witnessed significant infrastructural development (transport facilities) well in the 1900’s when colonialism and all its vestiges according to Boahene (1989 p. 61) were well instituted. These infrastructural development opened Nkawkaw up to the rest of the country and in current times the town continues to be the transport hub and centre for commercial activities in Kwahu.

In their work *Towns in Ghana* Grove & Huszar (1964, pp.67-68) recognised the commercial potentials of Nkawkaw so that even though Nkawkaw was a third grade town out of the five grade categorisation of towns they had done, they maintained the position that the place was an unchallenged candidate for higher status. Thus a major incentive that contributed to the emergence and growth of urban centres as well as urbanisation in Africa was the installation of economic and social infrastructure that characterised the colonial period.

The development of railways and road was meant to connect the raw material producing areas of Gold Coast to the coastal ports for oceanic transport. Eventually, towns emerged and grew either as located on main trunk roads, along railway lines or close to mining areas. The concentration of facilities in the well resourced areas which were in the forest and coastal regions of Ghana has skewed distribution of resources and development to
the southern side which in tend has favoured urbanisations levels in the South. This has created a peculiar kind of urban systems called urban primacy that characterises the urban process in Ghana. This is examined in subsequent paragraphs.

While the historical dimension to the emergence and growth of urban centres have been well noted Owusu (2005, p. 53) posits that more contemporary factors acting on these historical conditions have had significant bearing on urban levels in Ghana. Ullman (1941) assumed a position that the relative importance placed on towns as sources of socio-economic aid to their hinterlands inadvertently contributes to the growth of such towns.

In his work Small Towns and Decentralised Development in Ghana Owusu (2004) argued that the decentralisation programme which was undertaken in Ghana in 1988 was to encourage greater local autonomy, participation, and greater efficiency at the local level. Specifically it was aimed at strengthening district capitals so that in turn such towns could enhance living standards in the hinterland population by stimulating non-farm employment, enhance accessibility to social services as well as reduce migration to larger towns (Owusu 2004, p. 172). To this end, revenues are raised to specifically target District capitals and some of these include the Districts Assembly Common Fund (DACF), World Bank and United Nations Development Programmes, Urban V Projects targeting roads and sanitation problems. This development has consequently led to the growth of such urban centres as district capitals.

Ullman (1941, pp. 855) is of the opinion that from a theoretical and empirical studies towns and small cities are crucial for the stimulation of rural development. Such places offer ready market and economies of scale and allow hinterland population access transportation as well as communication networks. Opportunities for non-agricultural employment also exist in these towns. Also see Kessides & Alliance (2006, pp. 28-35)
Owusu’s work considered the towns of Dunkwa and Upper Denkyira Districts without any reference to Nkawkaw, however, the literature resonates two ideas which are relevant to the study. In the first instance, enhancing districts capitals to provide essential goods and services to complementary regions highlights such functions as necessary to the proper definition of a town. Nkawkaw is also the capital for the Kwahu West Municipality and resources from government and donor agencies improve the infrastructural development of the town. This in turn serves the municipality and Kwahu as a whole. For instance, at the time of this study Nkawkaw according to the KWMA (2013) was the only town in the municipality and in the whole of Kwahu with traffic system. This traffic system which became necessary because of the growing size of the town and the congestion problem that came along with it was established in 2013 with financial assistance from Urban V programme which supported improvement of road infrastructural network in the Nkawkaw Township.

2.5.2. Urban Primacy

The urbanisation trend and growth of urban centres are largely concentrated in the Southern sector of Ghana where natural resources abound to the negligence of the Northern sector. According to Boahene(1989, p.100) this has created not only inadequate, but also a very uneven distribution of resources and development, a legacy bequeathed to Ghana by colonialism. This legacy has lingered on to date and in current times affects the distribution of urban systems in Ghana. Adarkwa (2013, pp.6-8) is of the opinion that the independence era of Ghana witnessed Nkrumah’s policy of industrialisation that sought to change the colonial function of towns from commerce to industrial production in the successful implementation of
import substitution strategy. As it turned out this development permeated the phenomenon of urban primacy.

Citing Songsore, Adarkwa (2013) revealed that the industrialisation ambition was concentrated in the Golden Traingles of Accra- Tema, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi so that Accra-Tema alone had 59% of all industrial establishments, Kumasi had 16.5%, 10.2 % for Sekondi– Takoradi and only 13.8% of industrial establishments were found in the rest of the country. Peil and Sada (1984,pp 25-26) also expressed the view that urban primacy in Ghana is a colonial product that was perpetuated by post-independence development. The use of exported minerals and heavy reliance on agriculture that were produced in Southern part of Ghana as the main source of government income even after independence meant these areas had more than their share of national resources at the expense of others.

This has resulted in the Mathew effect (to him who has shall be given), a situation whereby areas already well endowed with infrastructure get an unduly large share of development resources because these areas are endowed with natural resources (Peil and Sada, 1984 p.36).

Scholars have therefore argued that urban population of Africa is too concentrated in very few large cities and that the disproportionate size between the largest or the very first few cities and the rest of the urban systems is very evident (Bhattacharya 2002,p.4220; Songsore 2008 p.14). McNulty (1969,p. 160 ) contended that of the 6.75 million population of Ghanaians in 1960, 1.5 million people which represented about two-fifth or 650,000 lived in the three largest agglomerations of Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi with Cape Coast, Tamale, Koforidua and Winneba as the largest four. Farvaque-Vitkovic et al (2008) revealed that in 2008 half of the total urban population in Ghana lived in the five largest cities of
Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi, Tamale and Tema. Table 1.2 depicts the trend in urban proportion of all regions from 1960-2010.

Table 2.2: Proportion of urban population by region, 1960 - 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>50.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>42.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater Accra</td>
<td>72.6</td>
<td>85.3</td>
<td>83.0</td>
<td>87.7</td>
<td>90.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volta</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>43.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashanti</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>60.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brong Ahafo</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northen</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>30.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper West</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper East</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It is evident from the table that the least urbanised regions of Ghana from 1960 to 2010 when half of the total Ghanaian population lived in urban centres were Upper East and Upper West. In fact, between 2000 and 2010 when there was an increase in the overall proportion of urban inhabitants there was a decline in the urban proportion of Upper West.

Also see Huff & Lutz (1989,pp.204-206)
region. This trend transcends to the cities and towns of such region. Shown in table 2.3 is the urban growth distribution of fifteen largest towns in Ghana from 1970 to 2000.

Table 2.3: Ghana’s Fifteen Largest Urban Centres, 1970-2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town/City</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Contribution to Urban Growth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bawku</td>
<td>20,567</td>
<td>34,074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agona Swedru</td>
<td>21,522</td>
<td>31,226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashiaman</td>
<td>22,549</td>
<td>50,918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nkawkaw</td>
<td>23,219</td>
<td>31,785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunyani</td>
<td>23,780</td>
<td>38,834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho</td>
<td>24,199</td>
<td>37,777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obuasi</td>
<td>31,005</td>
<td>60,617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kofoordua</td>
<td>46,235</td>
<td>58,731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Coast</td>
<td>56,601</td>
<td>65,763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tema Municipality</td>
<td>60,767</td>
<td>100,052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sekondi Sub Metropolis</td>
<td>63,673</td>
<td>70,214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takoradi Sub Metropolis</td>
<td>80,309</td>
<td>117,989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamale Metropolis</td>
<td>83,623</td>
<td>135,952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumasi Metropolis</td>
<td>346,336</td>
<td>496,628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accra Metropolis</td>
<td>624,092</td>
<td>969,195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,528,506</td>
<td>2,299,755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prop. To Total Urban Pop.</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>58.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prop. To Total Population</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: GSS (2005, p.130)

From the table it is evident that urbanisation levels has increased from 1970-2000, however the growth is skewed. While urban growth has mainly occurred in the Southern urban sectors with Accra and Kumasi leading, the case is the antithesis in the Northern region
of Ghana. Out of the fifteen largest urban centres in Ghana between these periods only Tamale Metropolis was from the Northern regions of Ghana. The primate features that characterise urban systems in Ghana is evident to the extent that writing in the 1960s Caldwell (1969, p.13) was of the opinion that for the inhabitants of the Northern part of Ghana to have said to be moving to town meant either to head to Tamale or travelling to the South. Southern Ghana by every index of economic development and cultural change was furthest in transition from what was traditional society. It is realised from the table that as far as Eastern Region is concerned Koforidua and Nkawkaw were the largest urban space and Nkawkaw undoubtedly maintained the position as the primate urban centre in Kwahu.

2.6. Function and Location of Urban Centres in Ghana

In Ghana it was not surprising to find in the 1960s according to Grove and Huszar (1964, p.1) small villages numbering up to 2,000 designated as towns as was popularly done. This popular designation rose because such places performed the role of the seat of an important chief who had a number of villages under his authority. These “towns” headquartered the traditional government and assumed principal market functions that served not only its populace, but that of the sphere of influence.

Dickson (1970, p.41) has for instance affirmed that Gambaga, Nalerigu, Yendi, and Wa are among the oldest towns in Northern Ghana that owned their urban status primarily because they were seats of important chiefs. A place is not only a town in so far as its meets a country’s urban definition status given by size, neither is it qualified as township on the basis of physical expansion. Although all these count in designating a place as urban centre a very crucial determinant is that such places should have the tendencies to provide goods and services to its populace and sphere of influence. If a town is to be considered non parasitic it
should make significant contribution to regional or national development by exporting relevant services and goods that will stimulate production (Dickson 1971, p.7). Dickson further argued that even if a town’s main occupation is directly divorced from the soil, its agricultural office might engage in other activities that stimulate agricultural production in the hinterlands.

Ullman (1941, p.855) expressed the opinion that the centre exist because essential services must be provided for the hinterland and the town should be the centre of a productive area. Thus in the view of Grove and Huszar (1964) a study of settlement as centres for the provision of services is the best approach to the definition and classification of towns. It is in this view that Nkawkaw is viewed. The location of a place is also very crucial to the transformation of such area into a town or urban centre.

In his work *Location and Nature of West African Cities*, Thomas (1965, p.28) expressed the opinion that the location of an urban area gives rise to two terms which are site and situation. Essentially the site which is a determinant factor in the conversion of a place into an urban agglomeration deals with the geographical features upon which the centre is located. It could be a peninsula, river flood plain, island, or hilltop. In addition to this the site involves the relation of the place to the shape of the settlement, its internal arrangements and functions. By situation Thomas posited that it was the relation of such area to external factors such as the hinterland populace, resources and trade routes of the urban field. Thomas’ work concentrates largely on West African cities and only makes passing references to Ghana.

However, the literature relates with the area under study which is Nkawkaw as far as the geographical features and functions of the town in Kwahu are concerned. It espouses the concept of nodality and strategic geographical location that makes certain areas easily
identifiable as potential urban centres. It also considers the services that an urban area renders to its surrounding towns.

Of relevance to the location of towns and cities is the work of Cooley (1894) that offered a somewhat different, but related perspective to Thomas’ work. Cooley’s conviction was expressed in the idea that urban centres were likely to develop where primary land routes met with primary water route, a situation the author calls “break in transport”. To Cooley, population and wealth tend to collect wherever there is a break in transport. He further argued that a study of city growth in the past revealed that whenever the movement of humans was hindered by an obstacle (boarders of mountain barriers, river crossing, and edge of deserts among others) it triggered the necessity to halt and find new methods of transportation to navigate around such obstacles. It is in this process that the opportunity for the emergence of towns is created. For instance, boarder of a mountainous district, the line where the foothills lapse into the plain is commonly the seat of cities which are likely be placed at the ends of the principal roads that traverse the mountain (Cooley 1894, p. 318).

The argument advanced by Cooley retains essence as far as Nkawkaw is concerned. As maintained by Nkansah-Kyeremanteng (2000) the location of Nkawkaw to the south of the base of Kwahu scarp made the area assume an important role. Following this argument Boateng (1996, p.172) described Nkawkaw as the Southern gateway to Kwahu. Grove and Huszar (1964) on their part maintained that the same area was then referred to as Kwahu junction. Thus from the south all people had to travel through Nkawkaw to get to the Kwahu plateau. In furtherance, the relevance of Nkawkaw and by extension Kwahu as far as trade and trade route are concerned is its location. From Nkawkaw one could access the road to Akyem-Oda, Okoase, Abirem and Wenso on the Abirem road, Ashanti and all towns along
the route to Kumasi, to the Coast particularly Accra through either the Eastern Water Causeway or Akwamu-Akuse-Ada or more direct Akyim-Abuakwa and Akuapem route. As aforementioned, Nkawkaw provides access to the Kwahu plateau from where the important trading and cosmopolitan town of Salaga could be accessed either through Abetifi, Nkwanta or Aframso (Donkor 2003). The nodal importance of Nkawkaw was an informing factor to its selection as a thoroughfare over Awedade when it became necessary to construct the railway that connected to Ashanti. The construction of the railway and later the Accra-Kumasi road that passed through Nkawkaw made the town an intermediate or terminal point for cargoes and passengers. To support this argument Bartle (2007) stated that during the heyday of the rail system in Nkawkaw the town became a major stop point for coaches and bus travels between Kumasi and Accra. Bartle further contended that the Nkawkaw lorry park became a hub for all travellers to all parts within Kwahu (up on the escarpment, over the Northern slopes of Afram lake and the Southern lowlands).

Banister et al (1995, p.1) relating to the issue of transport and urban development in their work Transport and Urban Development claimed that to the extent that a place is attractive for settlement is largely dependent on the relative accessibility which in turn depends on the quantity and quality of transport infrastructure.

Nkawkaw as an urban space has become the transport hub that provides transportation services to all Kwahu towns. However, since the fourth chapter of the study examines issues of transportation systems and the development of Nkawkaw into an urban centre, the literature on the theme of transport is reserved to be exhausted in the latter chapter.
2.7. Nkawkaw Urban Area in Context

Nkawkaw which lies on the Accra-Kumasi road is about 102 miles from Accra and 66 miles from Kumasi. It is situated at the foot of the Kwahu plateau and the area is also the capital of the Kwahu West Municipality. Nkawkaw area according to KWMA (2013) is the second largest settlement after Koforidua in the Eastern Region of Ghana. The area cover of Nkawkaw was about 10,540 square feet in 2000. However, increasing urbanisation and physical expansion necessitated the extension of the area to the west and to the east especially along the main route from Accra to Kumasi to cover about 23,256 square feet. This reflects about 12,716 square feet and 54% increase (KWMA, 2013).

The town which according to Dickson (1969, p.296) began as a collection of buildings around a station as a result of the completed Accra–Kumasi railway eventually became a major nodal point and market town. Grove and Huszar (1964, p.67) remarked that Nkawkaw has witnessed growth entirely ever since the railway construction reached the town in 1922. Nkawkaw witnessed significant phases of transport evolution (railway to road) in Ghana from colonial times which various scholars as already discussed argue was imperative for the growth of an array of towns that sprang up in Africa.

Although these transport facilities in Nkawkaw as would soon be realised were meant to enable access to the in land raw material producing areas of the Kwahu plateau, Ashanti region and beyond, the sequel was that such transport systems that passed through Nkawkaw accentuated the growth and importance of the town. The location argument espoused by Thomas (1965) and Cooley (1894) regarding strategic location of sites to the emergence of urban centres holds as the town understudy largely benefited from the transport systems
because of its location as an easy medium to linking Accra to Kumasi and the southern gateway to the Kwahu plateau.

Like Nkawkaw, many other towns\textsuperscript{14} which are not the focus of this work have grown and expanded because of their location around transport facilities. Consequently, the population of Nkawkaw began to witness growth from about 3,106 as early as 1931 to 5,043 in 1948 (Abloh 1967, p.45). Songsore (2009 p.6) argued that the urban population in Ghana witnessed an explosion in the post-independence era as a result of major urban industrial development pursued at the time. In this urban explosion Nkawkaw had a fair share, although not as a result of industrial concentration in the town but due to its rising commercial importance. Consequently, between 1948 and 1960 the population of Nkawkaw tripled from 5,043 to 15,627 respectively (Abloh 1967). It was therefore not surprising that as expressed by Nkansah-Kyeremanteng (2000 p.5) the Central Bureau of Statistics conferred unto Nkawkaw an urban status in 1970.

The town’s urban population has appreciably increased from then to 43,703 with an intercensal growth rate of about 3.6\% according to the 2000 National Population and Housing Census. However, according to KWMA (2013) the population of the Municipal’s capital is highly underestimated. The reason is that there are several suburbs of the urban area which are well integrated into the town functionally and geographically and have been declared as Nkawkaw statutory planning area by KWMA, but such areas are yet to be officially classified as part of Nkawkaw in terms of population (KWMA, 2013)

\textsuperscript{14} Albert and Blankson (1974, p.74); Ntewusu (2014) have argued that among other factors the construction of road network radiating from Tamale accentuated the growth and importance of the town; Koforidua is also another town that assumed importance in part as a result of its location which bisected the major road and rail route (Boateng 1985 as cited by Campbell 1994, p.416); New Mangoase is no exception to this as maintained by Garlick (1967 p.470); Kade, Akwatia, and Nsawam are examples of such towns as revealed by Grove and Huszar (1964, p.68); Garlick (1967, p.18) have also remarked that Swedru profited greatly from the road construction that linked it to the port of Winneba.
As far as commerce is concerned the impressive growth of Nkawkaw into an urban centre and its location have made the place very attractive for commercial retail, wholesale and petty trading point to which people from many parts of Kwahu come to transact business and also purchase supplies for resale in Kwahu hinterlands (Abloh 1967 p.42). The vibrant commercial potency of the town has also attracted a number of banking institutions and as revealed by the KWMA all the conventional banking institutions (Ghana Commercial Bank, Agricultural Development Bank, Barclays Bank, Opportunity International Bank, Fidelity Bank, First Allied Savings and Loans) of the municipal are found in Nkawkaw alone. Again, of the six rural banks located in the municipality only one of them (Mponua Rural Bank) has a branch at Asuboni Rails a suburb of the municipality. The rest (Mponua Rural Bank, Kwahu Rural Bank, Odwen Anomah Rural Bank, Mumuadua Rural Bank, Dumpon Rural Bank and Kwahu Praso) are all located at Nkawkaw (KWMA, 2013). Banking services are therefore heavily skewed towards Nkawkaw in the municipality and Kwahu by extension.

The Municipal capital also has a vibrant and well established market centres that offer ready market for goods from Kwahu and this serves as incentive for farmers and traders to sell their produce as well as goods at Nkawkaw. The place is also an effective transportation hub that offers affordable and readily available transport services to the entire Kwahu region and the southern trading partners. The urban area of Nkawkaw can boast of high order services such as hospitals, best first and second cycle educational institutions (private and public, media operations, police headquarters, law courts, large shops of trading firms, bewildering array of private stalls, readily and affordable transport services to all parts of Kwahu.
Administratively, the role Nkawkaw plays in Kwahu cannot be overemphasized. The commercial and transport function of the town coupled with its strategic geographical location as the southern gateway to Kwahu have made the town a favourable location for state structures. Even though all the districts of Kwahu (North, South, East and West) have Police Stations, the Divisional Head Quarters (DHQ) for these districts is stationed in Nkawkaw. According the head of DHQ\textsuperscript{15} of Ghana Police Service all the other district heads of Police in Kwahu take direct orders from Nkawkaw where DHQ is located. It was during the time of this study that plans were underway to create a new DHQ for Afram Plains North and South districts because of how vast the place is. It has become imperative for these districts to have their own division in order to effectively maintain law and order, but as it stood at the time this study was conducted the Police DHQ was located in Nkawkaw from where the various districts took direct orders from. Nkawkaw hosts the Small Tax Office (STO), a subsidiary of the Ghana Revenue Service that serves all Kwahu districts. It is from Nkawkaw that GRA covers the towns of Kwahu.

There is also the High Court of Ghana that serves the whole of Kwahu and this state structure is found in Nkawkaw. In a bid to find out why all these important state structures were located in Nkawkaw it was found that the urban character of the town, its location as a place that is easily accessible to all in Kwahu and the large populace of the town necessitated this development. It comes therefore as no surprise that as far as service providers are concerned and in the particular case of the operation of Radio Stations, at the time this study was conducted ( in June 2015) all the Radio Stations that broadcasted in Kwahu were found in Nkawkaw. These radio stations were Life FM (98.7), Obuoba FM (91.7), Agoo FM (96.9)\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{15} Information provided by Chief Superintendent James Sarfo Peprah, Head of DHQ, Ghana Police in Kwahu in an interview carried out in Nkawkaw on 19th May, 2015.
and Hi FM (93.3) which had been bought by Agoo FM and so was receiving transmission through the latter. Most of the towns and villages in Kwahu have information and communication centres that receive transmission from these major radio stations in Nkawkaw. For instance there is Community radio station in Donkorkrom in Afram Plains known as Radio Afram Plains (RAP FM, 107.7). It serves the information and communication needs of largely remote farming and fishing communities along the Volta Lake. Hence it only broadcast seven hours in the afternoon when farmers are back from their farms from 2:00 pm to 9:00 pm\textsuperscript{16}.

With regards to health infrastructures one of the sophisticated and well established hospitals in Kwahu is found in Nkawkaw. This is the Catholic Church run hospital known as Holy Family Roman hospital which was established in 1960. The hospital also has a Nursing Training College attached to it. Other sophisticated private health care providers include Agyakwa Hospital Ltd and Kenop Care Hospital which is a 100- bed ultra-modern hospital. The facility known as Kenop Care Hospital has some of the latest medical equipment to cater for referral cases from other hospitals in the country. It provide laboratory service, as well as mammography and ultrasonography services, general medical care, diagnostic, ultra sound, gynecological and maternity care, pediatric care, orthopedic care, ophthalmology, physiotherapy, and has a fully-equipped pharmacy\textsuperscript{17}.

As has been maintained by this study these are all high order services that are accessible not only to the populace of Nkawkaw, but to the whole Kwahu. After all Grove and Huszar (1964) have maintained that a study of settlement as centres for the provision of services is the best approach to the classification of towns. The high order goods and services

\textsuperscript{16}Interview with Grace Achisah, Station Co-ordinator, Radio Afram Plains (RAP FM, 107.7) on 22\textsuperscript{nd} May 2015
\textsuperscript{17}Daily Graphic (January 06\textsuperscript{th} 2015, p.49)
as well as the socio-economic potentials of Nkawkaw urban area continue to attract migrants from within and outside the municipality. Consequently, the area as maintained by the KWMA (2013) is the primate city of the municipality and the whole of Kwahu with the highest physical expansion and infrastructural development.

2.8. Theoretical Framework

Introduction

From the foregoing, the works of Smailes (1953), Grove and Huszer (1964), Dickson (1971), Ullman (1941) and Owusu (2005) have echoed an imperative factor relevant to the study of Nkawkaw especially in the context of urban space. These scholars have argued that among other factors that qualify a place to be designated an urban centre, the best criterion for such classification is for the area to become a centre for the provision of goods and services not only to its inhabitants, but importantly the surrounding communities. Since this study is concerned with the rapid rate of growth of Nkawkaw as an urban centre and the significant socio-economic relevance it retains in Kwahu, the study draws from a descriptive model that supports the central thesis this study makes\(^\text{18}\). This model is the Central Place Theory developed by Walter Christaller. It must however be stated that this is a general model that the author seeks to use to explain the socio-economic relevance of Nkawkaw. The researcher therefore only uses the part very relevant to the study while acknowledging the shortcomings. These shortcomings are explained in the subsequent paragraphs.

\(^{18}\)Refer to Chapter 1 p.6 of this thesis.
Central Place Theory

The theory in question was designed by the German geographer, Walter Christaller in 1933 and subsequently expanded by the economist August Lösch (Sonis 1945). It was an attempt to examine and define the function of settlement structure and their hierarchy that necessitated the development of this model. A core argument of the theory which this study draws from is that a settlement is said to be a central place when it provides one or more services to its population and particularly its surroundings. To Christaller, spatial arrangements of economic activities are ordered around a hierarchy of urban centres and the hierarchy is topped by cities which serve as central place for a broad surrounding of hinterland (Hite and Hall 1970).

In another regard the centrality of a place has also been viewed as dependent on the function of the quality (variety and level) of services it offers. As the qualitative tenets of services differ from one central place to another it is possible to measure the extent of centrality of such place (Grove & Huszar, 1964). The surroundings that are heavily influenced by the central place are what Christaller calls sphere of influence or service area. The provision of goods and services by the central place are in two folds. These are the low order services and the high order services. While the former deals with the availability of general and basic services, the latter is primarily concerned with goods and services that require a certain degree of specialization and expertise to offer (university education, regional governments, media operations etc.). Christaller argued that if a settlement has high order services it implies that it offers low order services. However, low order settlement does not offer high order services.
The two concepts the theory espouses are threshold and range of goods. In the view of Smith (1976, p.13) by threshold Christaller meant the circular area containing sufficient consumer demand for goods and services to meet the suppliers requirement for survival in business. In other words, the threshold is the extent of customer patronage needed to keep the producer in business. Smith cited that physicians for instance can expect clients to come very long distance for treatment, but consumers’ need of physicians is of low frequency (occasionally) and therefore such physicians must command the custom of a large area in order to have business to meet his threshold or minimum income requirement. Threshold is thus the maximum number of people required for the provision of certain goods and services or put another way the market base of the producer.

The other concept Christaller espouses is the range of goods and services. This according to Smith (1976) was defined as the circular area beyond which buyers would not be willing to travel for the goods and services given the need (elasticity of demand), price, transport cost and frequency of use. This concept deals significantly with transport (how far are people willing to travel a distance to patronise goods or services considering the price for them and the cost of transportation). He further cited an example that the services of a physician are inelastic to clients and so consumers will travel very far distance for them. However, Smith contended that regardless of the need, consumers need money to access such services, so need is then affected by cost (which equals physician’s price plus transport cost). Therefore at a certain distance consumers simply have insufficient means and thus no demand for the service. Thus the range of goods and services refer to the cost involved in the average number of maximum distance people will travel to purchase such goods and services. Consequently as population grows in tandem with easy and cheap transportation with
affordable goods and services as well as a favourable market base (threshold) in all directions each central place is likely to have a vibrant market area. Goods and services offered in a central place could be arrayed in an ordered fashion on the basis of both the threshold and range. As low order goods are characterized by relatively low price, frequent demand for them and relatively small size of supplying units they are those with small threshold levels and comparatively short range.

To this end such goods and services according to Mabogunje( 1968, pp. 138–139) are found in most central places and some examples of such goods and services include foodstuffs, cobblers, hairdressing, drugs, and toiletries among others. However, high order goods are characterized by high prices, infrequent demand for them as well as large size of supplying unit. The implication of this is that such goods are found in very few centres and each serves a number of smaller centres.

Christaller also highlights three principles in the arrangements of a central place. These are marketing, transportation and the administrative principle. The Marketing principle deals with the arrangements of such central places based on marketing schemes so that there could be high order settlements and low order settlements. By transportation principle, Christaller’s argument was that all central places should be lined up on a straight traffic route. This principle highlights the importance of transport and traffic systems associated with central places. The distribution of central places are in it favourable state when many important areas lie on a traffic route cheap as possible. Transportation is particularly imperative in such a representation as the organisation of a central place is based on minimising the friction of distance (Rodrique et al, 2013). Essentially, the administrative principle talks about how high order settlements in central areas assumes political role and dominates other places. For a
perfect application of this theory however, Christaller proposes some assumptions as requirements. They include the following:

- All areas including the sphere of influence must have an isotropic (flat) surface
- They should as well have an evenly distributed population and resources
- Transportation cost should be equal in all directions and proportionate to distance
- There should be similar purchasing power for all consumers with no excess profit

This theory has been criticised on a number of grounds. Brown (1994) has argued that the theory is based on stated high simplified assumptions which are not empirical and thus describes a spatial pattern of retail activity it seeks to occur. It is also imperative to point that given the assumptions of Christaller’s model, not all of them necessarily hold. For instance, large isotropic areas with relief features channeling transportation to a certain direction are rare. As noted, Nkawkaw and Kwahu are not found on such an isotropic surface. Perfect competitive markets with no excess profits as an assumption is hardly realistic as some firms make more profits than others. Peil & Sada (1984, p.71) have also argued that the theory has run into problems of incompatibility when tested in Africa and the most obvious of this is the expected equidistance between centres as an assumption of the theory. They contended that towns are seldom as equally distributed as the theory predicts and if the theory was appreciably applicable in Southern Germany, a homogenous area with few physical barriers such as mountains or rivers it might not necessarily work in Africa which has entirely different geographical features. Citing Roder (1969) the two scholars were of the opinion that the theory worked quite well in the Sabi Valley in Zimbabwe, but in most African countries transportation routes and towns are affected by barriers. Rodrigue et al (2013) are of the conviction that the uniform distribution of population as the theory assumes rarely occurs in
practice. However they still maintained that Christaller’s theory of Central Place is the most researched and well known model of the regional urban spatial structure. Rondinelli (1983, p.380) also argued that although the theoretical application of Christaller’s Central Place concept has been rejected or greatly modified by studies of developing countries, the basic principle of the theory underlie the argument for strengthening towns and small cities in rural areas.

The essential connection this thesis draws from the theory is the fact that as mentioned in previous pages Nkawkaw provides essential services (both high and low order) not only to its immediate populace, but to the Kwahu West Municipality and Kwahu as a whole. The population growth Nkawkaw enjoys as an urban centre provides it with a large threshold that necessitates the concentration and sustenance of commercial activities and vibrant market centres in the town. Also the role of Nkawkaw as the transportation hub of Kwahu, the transport facilities the town holds as the only urban area of the Kwahu West Municipality and by extension all Kwahu districts with traffic systems in addition to the administrative functions of the town make the use of this theory as guide to the study of the socio-economic importance of Nkawkaw plausible. It must however be noted that this study is concerned with the socio-economic relevance of Nkawkaw to Kwahu. This function is what has been referred to as residentiary function\(^\text{19}\) (Grove & Huszar, 1964).

\(^{19}\)Grove & Huszar (1964, pp.3) in their analysis of central place theory gave two distinct functions an urban area plays. These are residentiary function and basic function. The former cited as associated with Sargant Florence deals with services of a central place that are beneficial to the place in question and the complementary region. The latter deals with goods and services produced and offered for national or international rather than regional purposes.
In the literature I have reviewed so far it is quite obvious that several scholars have expressed their opinions and thoughts on the importance of Nkawkaw in Kwahu. However, literature regarding themes on Nkawkaw has only survived as passing references in a much broader context of discussion on the emergence and growth of urban centres in Ghana. This has been done without much attention to the history of the people, making and growth of the town and importantly an analysis of the socio-economic functions Nkawkaw plays in Kwahu. This has created a gap in the academic discourse as far as literature on Nkawkaw is concerned and the need for further research into such areas which this study pursues as imperative.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PEOPLING OF NKAWKAW

3.1. Introduction

The Kwahu traditional area has an interesting history that needs to be given attention in order to appreciate the peopling and origin of Nkawkaw. This is because the founders of Nkawkaw and by extension Kwahu seem to have a common feature of Ashanti connection\(^{21}\) and so this work would have been incomplete without a brief consideration of the history of Kwahu within which Nkawkaw is found. It is therefore the intent of this chapter to give an overview of the history of the Kwahu kingdom. The chapter also focuses on the origin and making of modern day Nkawkaw and its migrant communities. The rest of the chapter examines traditional administrative practices, modern political governance and the social organisation and practices of the people of Nkawkaw.

3.2. Migration and Early History of Kwahu

A significant historical feature of the West African sub-region from the earliest times of the 16\(^{th}\) Century was the movement of people from one place to another and the rise and fall of kingdoms. Daaku (1965, p.11) has revealed that by the second decade of the 17\(^{th}\) Century the Dutch had admittedly compiled a map of the whole of the interior of Gold Coast based on information they had acquired from second hand sources. Although, the accuracy of the information obtained by the Dutch could be contested, Daaku expressed the opinion that it provided an idea about the inland states of Gold Coast some of which included Denkyira, Wankyiy, Wassa, Bono, Twifo, Acany, Inta, Soko, Akyem, Akwamu and Tafo. Perageaux

\(^{21}\) After conducting separate in-depth interviews with Nana Atuobi Yiadom IV and the head of the Aduana royal clan of the Obomen Palace (Nana Osei Barimah) it was revealed that both founders of Kwahu and Nkawkaw hailed from Adansi and according to them as also confirmed by Asiamah (2011, p.6) the kingdom of Adansi now forms part of the Ashanti Region.
(1903, P.444) supports this argument and maintained that a Dutch document printed in 1670 described the place of Kwahu as “Quahoe” where gold was abundant and its inhabitants as deceitful. Nkansah-Kyeremanteng (2000, p.36) also posited that the earliest available piece of document that made reference to the kingdom of Kwahu was that of a Dutch map of Gold Coast that dates back to 1629 in which Kwahu was referred to as “Quahoe”. In my opinion the fact that the Dutch had plentiful information on the people of Kwahu from the earliest part of the 17th century could be attributed to their involvement with the Gold Coast from 159622. Ward (1967, p.104) also expressed the opinion that the early 17th and late 18th centuries marked the period of wars, consolidation of states itself in the Gold Coast now Ghana and in this period the people of modern day Kwahu are no exception.

According to Ameyaw (1965, p.39) the whole area now known as Kwahu was in the time of Asantehene Oti Akenten a dense forest with very isolated settlement. If this assertion is true then this period was as early as the beginning of the third decade of the 17th century as Reindorf (2007, p. 362) opined that Oti Akenten who was the king of the Asante Kingdom ruled from 1631 to 1662. Traditionally, almost all the ruling clans of the Akan states of which Ashanti, Akyem, Akwamu and Kwahu are part trace their origin from Adanse which is said to be the very origin of the Akan world23. Several traditions have been offered with respect to the origin and history of the people of Kwahu and such traditions are discussed.

22 Van Dantzig (1999, pp. 11-20) maintained that the Dutch from as early as 1596 made in roads to the Gold Coast now Ghana and the Coast of Guinea in general. To this end the Dutch West Indian counterpart of the United East Indian Company was established and among many other things it was to pass along the coast of West Africa to control trade in that area. The Dutch built a fort at Moree which in 1621 was taken over by the West Indian Company and they had grown so powerful that in the presence of a weakening Portuguese power the Dutch seized the Elmina Castle from the former.

23 Information provided by Opanin Kwaku Yeboah an elder and opinion leader of Nkawkaw in an interview held on 19th January 2015. He is one of the aged persons who lived most part of his life in Nkawkaw. He was eighty five years at the time of this study and his insights and experience proved useful on various themes of this thesis.
3.2.1 The First Wave of Migrants

The first of such tradition is that the area of current day Kwahu was located on the boarders of the Fanteakwa districts about 12 kilometres South-East of modern day Bepong. The inhabitants of this area who were known as *kwaɛ mfoɔ* meaning a people of the forest are said to have had a very formidable kingdom whose accessibility was through heavily guarded mountain passes. The area was perceived to be a dreadful and dangerous ground that evoked fear and death for strangers venturing into the place for the first time. According Nkansah-Kyeremanteng (2000, p.36) this made the area acquire the sobriquet of *kɔ wu* which means go there to die. It was this name that was later corrupted into what we have today as Kwahu. This oral tradition could be true since the place known as Kwahu on the mountain plateau was considered a safe place for security reasons as enemies from the base of the mountain could be spotted from the top.

However, another tradition to the origin of the Kwahu kingdom exists. This tradition has it that the aborigines of present day Kwahu migrated from Adanse to their current place during wars between Ashanti and Denkyira from 1699-1701. Their departure from Adanse was influenced by the tyrannical and cruel rule of the King of Denkyira in Adanse who was known as Ntim Gyakari. Under the circumstance two brothers with the names of Osei Twum and Frimpong Manso felt they could not survive under the harsh rule of the new king of Denkyira. Boahene (1966, p.71) provides an insight to the oppressive rule of the Denkyira at this time and he is supportive of the fact their capture of Adanse caused the migration of the founders of Kwahu. The two brothers according to tradition were of the

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24 Information on the origin and history of Kwahu was provided by Nana Atuobi Yiadom IV, in an interview conducted on 22\(^{nd}\) January 2015 at the Nkwatia palace. Nana Atuobi Yiadom IV is the chief of Nkwatia and also doubles as the head of the treasury (Sanaa) of the Kwahu Traditional Area,

25 PRAAD, Accra, ADM/34/5/2. District Records Book (1923-1928).
Agona clan and they lived at Adanse Mmraem (Ameyaw 1965, p.39). Osei Twum is said to have left with Kwasi Titi and Kwaw Badu as well as a faithful and trustworthy slave by name Kofabra. En route from Adanse, Frimpong Manso seemed content with an area he settled which was later established as a small village near the foot of the Kwahu Mountain. Osei Twum on his part continued with the journey and established a settlement on top of the mountain plateau at a place called Anwaem, east of modern day Nkwatia where he died and was succeeded by his nephew Kwaw Badu.

Badu and his people found the place of Anweam very swampy and unhealthy and therefore resolved to send his best scout and slave Kofabra to explore the area for better lands. Fortunately Kofabra and a group of men came across a rivulet known as Donkuruwa and to their surprise found on the belt a stone-like jar which Kwaw Badu called Ɔbo kuruwa meaning the stone jar. The name Ɔbo Kuruwa was later changed to Bokuruwa into what is now known today. The change in name was possibly initiated by the need for a quick pronunciation of Ɔbo kuruwa in a conversation. Incidentally, Kofabra died during the search. Upon hearing the news of the death of his trustworthy and faithful slave, Kwaw Badu, in full grief exclaimed Akoa wu ni!? This loosely translates as is this how the life of my trustworthy slave has ended? From that time the name of all the area under the influence of Kwaw Badu came to be referred to as Akoawu from Akoa wu ni possibly in remembrance of his slave.

26 These people Kwasi Titi and Kwaw Badu have had different affinity to Osei Twum by different scholars. While Ampadu (1971) has argued that Kwasi Titi was a brother to Osei Twum and Kwaw Badu a nephew, Perageaux (1903, pp.445) has maintained that Kwasi Titi was rather a nephew to Osei Twum. Ameyaw (1965) has also opined that Kwaw Badu was actually a nephew to Osei Twum while Kwasi Titi was a nephew to Kwaw Badu. What is certain however is that Osei Twum migrated from Adanse with Kwaw Badu and Kwasi Titi.

27 Ameyaw (1965) and supported by Nana Atuobi Yiadom IV
Kofabra. It was this name that with time was corrupted to Okwahu and subsequently to Kwahu. This tradition has therefore been referred to as the Bururkuwa tradition.

3.2.2 The Second Wave of Migrants

According to oral source the Bokuruwa tradition has been contested by the Abene tradition which claims Abene and not Bokuruwa is credited with the foundation of the Kwahu kingdom. The aborigines according to oral tradition of present day Kwahu fled from Adanse due to the victorious forces of Denkyira that ruled the place with an iron fist. Ameyaw (1965) also confirmed that the migration from Adansi that created a second wave of migrants to Kwahu was due to the despotic rule of Boa Amponsem, King of Denkyira. Another account also has it that there was an interminable dispute with Abu Bonsra the king of Adanse Akrokyere over land. However, what is certain is that the latter migrants who moved to Kwahu fled from the harsh conditions of the time and they did so under the leadership of Nana Ampong Agyei. This wave of migrants later became aborigines of towns like Abene, Pepease, Twendurase, Nkwatia, Aduamoa, and Abetifi. This group of migrants unlike the earlier one was very much politically organised into various clans with respective leaders and each clan migrated with their ancestral stool. Nana Ampong Agyei according to tradition

\[28\] Oral Information concerning the traditions of the origins and history of the Kwahu people was obtained in an interview with the chiefs of Obo (Nana Afari Buagyan II) and Nkwatia (Nana Atuobi Yiadom IV) and Opanin Kwaku Yeboah in separate interviews with them. The works of Ameyaw (1965), Nkansah-Kyeremanteng (2000), Perageux (1903), Ampadu (1971), as well information from the Archives PRAAD, Accra ADM/34/5/1/1933, District Records Book were useful in this regard.

\[29\] Information provided by Nana Afari Buagyan, Chief of Obo and Nifahene (head of the traditional right wing of Kwahu Traditional Area) in an interview held on 21st January 2015.

\[30\] Awedoba (2007, pp.119-120) contended that a clan is a lineage that could trace descent to a common great grandparent. These lineages may actually vary according to sizes. There is the largest form called maximal lineages and the smallest kind known as minimal lineages, but the most inclusive lineage which is not normally seen as a sub division of another lineage considered bigger is what may be considered a clan. He further explains that among the Akan community there are seven or so of such clans depending on the particular Akan group and the source of authority. Citing Busia (1953, pp.196-197) Awedoba contends that the Ashanti has seven of such clans and they include Oyoko and Dako, Bretuo and Agona, Asonie, Aduana, Asakyiri, Ekuona and Asokore. An Akan by birth belongs to the maternal family but connects with the clan of the father by custom.
is said to have conquered Kwaw Badu and his people and became the paramount chief (Omanhene) of Kwahu. This tradition has been contested by the Bokuruwa tradition which has argued that the political administration of Kwahu was handed over to Diawuo the successor of Nana Ampong Agyei voluntarily. According to source this was done by Kwaw Badu when he was leaving to a place called Asabi in the Afram Plains. Diawuo subsequently assumed the role of Omanhene by virtue of his regency when he realised that Badu would not return.

That is how according to the Bukururwa traditions the second wave of migrants specifically from Abene assumed the position of Paramount chief in Kwahu rather than the descendants of Kwaw Badu of Bokuruwa of the first migrants. Till date the paramount seat of Kwahu has not been with the Agona Bretuo of Bokuruwa who according to tradition are the first migrants to settle in the area of present day Kwahu, but members of the Etena Bretuo of Abene of the second batch of migrants. The question of how Bokuruwa lost political hegemony to Abene remains a highly controversial issue to date. What however remains unchallenged is that by the time of the Ashanti- Denkyira war of 1699-1700 people had already inhabited the Kwahu Plateau.

3.3. Peopling Nkawkaw; of Indigenes and Migrants

The origin and peopling of Nkawkaw is an issue that features prominently in this work. It must however be noted that due to limited literature on the history and origin of the people of Nkawkaw information to this effect was largely obtained through oral tradition from chiefs, and principal people concerned with the foundation of the town. Traditionally, the people of Obomen are known to be the founders of Nkawkaw and are also known to have a greater portion of lands in Nkawkaw followed by the people of Atibie. According to oral
sources the people of Obomen were part of the Akwamu people who dominated Southern Akan politics during the first decades of the 18th Century. The people of Akwamu as revealed by sources originated from Adansi. Respondents maintained that the founders of Obomen were part of the Akwamu kingdom at Nyanoase and also affirmed that the founders of Nkawkaw and by this the royal lineage of Obomen are members of the Aduana clan. By 1710 Akwamu Empire was at the fullest extent. It had embarked upon an expedition of territorial aggrandizement that saw them controlling the people of the Akuapem hills, the Accra states and that of Kwahu. In fact, the powerful nature and state of Akwamu made her very reputable and a force to reckon with.

In the empire’s quest to amass territories to itself Wilks (1957, p.26) has confirmed oral source’ tradition of Akwamu that Asamankese and Nyanoase towns both near Nsawam became successive capitals in the pre-imperial period of Akwamu. Wilks’ assertion confirmed the oral information given by my informant about Nyanoase. However, the political dominance of Akwamu over other states seemed to have contributed to her fall as such states became practically ungovernable. Consequently, the people of Akyem collaborated with some indigenes of Akwamu to overrun the Akwamu Empire from the West. This event was what according to sources saw the migration of the people of present day Obomen who later established Nkawkaw. Respondents maintained that till date other members of the Akwamu Kingdom that migrated from Nyanoase could also be traced from the towns of Kade, Nyafoman and Agogo who are also Aduana. In this expedition the people that were later to be

31 Interview with Nana Osei Barimah on 20th January 2015 at his residence in Obomen. He is Abusapanin or head of the Aduana royal clan of Obomen. Together with Nana Akuamoah Asomani of the Obomen royal palace in separate in- depth interviews information on the history of Obomen and Nkawkaw was acquired.

known as Obomen were led by Opinaman who was believed to be the brother of the chief of the Akwamu people by name Obuaman Darko.

It is important to note that since the migrants that left Nyanoase were members of the Aduana royal family some went along with their ancestral stool and Opinaman and his group who founded Obomen and subsequently Nkawkaw identified with this situation. In fact, Nkawkaw was hitherto considered a village of the Obomen people. The traditional towns on the Kwahu Plateau are known to have a practice of establishing villages down the scarp of the mountain. For instance some pockets of settlements established by the Aduana royals from Nyanoase include Pankese, Asenyansu near the outskirts of Abepotia and Atwena Menaso among others. According to tradition Atwena Menaso now Mampong around the area of Nsuta on the Nkawkaw-Obomen road at the foot of the Kwahu plateau was the final area of settlement by the Aduana before they moved to the mountain plateau.

In my view, a similarity between the Aduana founders of Obomen and the founders of Kwahu aforementioned concerning the decision to move up to the mountain could be drawn to prove a point. The geographical space known as the Kwahu plateau was generally known to be safe for security reasons either because of the difficult penetration to the thick forest of the mountain or because one could see their enemies before the enemies got to the mountain. As it were Opinaman and his people moved uphill to a place called Asaman. Nana Asomani in an interview also confirmed that the last place Opinaman and his people lived before they moved to the place now known as Obomen was Asaman. It was only after the place was found to be unfavourable for settlement that they moved to present day Obomen in the valley

34 Nana Akuamoah Asomani is a member of the Aduana royal family of Obomen and Afenasofohene (Chief of Sword bearers) of Obomen Palace. He was interviewed on 22nd January 2015.
between the Odweanoma Mountain and Okra Kofi Hills where the etymology of the word Obomen was found.

Respondents explained that the place was first scouted by a hunter from the Aduana clan who found banana tress abundant in the area. The trees provided him and other hunters with readily enough meal to satisfy their hunger. The great news was reported to the Aduana royal clan who upon visiting the site found it habitable. Consequently, the place was named as ɓɔ mmene which transliterate as break and swallow referring to the ease with which one ate banana. It is this name that with time was corrupted to Obomen possibly in an attempt to make a quick pronunciation in a conversation. It must however be noted that by the time of the Aduana arrival the area of Kwahu was already inhabited by a well-organised state.

The migration course of the Obomen people according to source occurred between thirty to forty years. The Akyem disturbances that destabilised the Akwamu occurred in 1730. Hence, if the tradition of thirty to forty years is accepted then we can conclude that by the last three decades of the second half of the 18th century (1780) the Aduana clan from Akwamu had reached the area of present day Obomen. It was during this process that settlements along the route of Obomen were found and Nkawkaw established later.

3.3.1. The Making of Nkawkaw

Inhabitants of Obomen were believed to be hunters and farmers who established themselves at sites that were favourable or supported their livelihoods. When lands on which they lived became saturated with the cultivation of food crops and game moved further away hunters and farmers from the Aduana clan from Obomen also moved in search of better lands to cultivate and forest areas to hunt down game\(^{35}\). Such areas of greener pastures extended

\(^{35}\) Information provided by Nana Osei Barimah in an interview held on 21st January 2015.
downwards to the foot of the mountain and sometimes these journeys were so far to the extent that they could not immediately return to their original homes. It became therefore necessary for the farmers and hunters to raise shelters where they could sleep for some time before they returned home.

These farm settlements consequently grew into subsidiary hamlets and villages when relations of farmers or hunters decided to live in such places. These developments became common as the Obomen people had to survive through their livelihood activities. Owing to this a number of villages and hamlets emerged down the plateau and environs. It was under such instance that Nkawkaw came into existence first as a village of Obomen. To this effect sources admitted that the chief and the people of Obomen are the traditional founders of Nkawkaw. As already mentioned, the area of Kwahu was well inhabited upon the arrival of the Obomen people. It took the hospitality and benevolence of the paramount chief of Kwahu to grant them permission of settlement to the land they occupied. Towns like Bokuruwa, Abene, Nkwatia, Obo, Twenurase and Pepease were already in existence. The people of Obomen therefore obeyed and observed all customs and practices of allegiance accorded the paramount chief of Kwahu. This ensured a harmonious relationship between the paramount chief and the Aduana people of Obomen to such an extent that the latter could freely move down the mountain in search of better lands for farms and game with no opposition from the paramount chief.

According to oral sources the first person from Obomen to have settled in the area now known as Nkawkaw was a hunter by the name of Twerefour and he is said to have settled there because of the availability of game in the area and the fertility of the soil. The farm settlement and area he established became known as Twerefourkrom meaning Twerefour’s
town. With time the geographical space down the mountain known as Twerefourkrom came to be referred to as Nkawkaw.

Several accounts exist to explain the etymology of the name Nkawkaw. One aspect of the oral tradition has it that the name was actually derived from the red nature and colour of the soil of Twerefourkrom which was known as the land of the red soil\(^\text{36}\). Red soil in the Twi language of the Akan is called \(\text{nnɔte kɔkɔɔ} \) which was in the course of time corrupted into Nkawkaw and replaced Twerefoukrom. Another source of the tradition also has it that there was a stream at Twerefourkrom which is still found around the area of Life FM in present day Nkawkaw that appeared to be red any time it flooded its bank. Eventually, the area became known as \(\text{nsukɔkɔɔ} \) meaning the red stream or river, but with time came to be referred to as Nkawkaw. The name Nkawkaw became popular and eventually overshadowed the original name of Twerefourkrom. It could therefore be inferred that Twerefourkrom became known as Nkawkaw either through the reddish nature of the soil or the reddish nature of the stream\(^\text{37}\).

The traditions that concern the colour of the soil in Nkawkaw are very instructive. Even in current times the soil or land of the town as observed appears to be very red in colour especially when it rains. More so, areas around Nkawkaw are known to have abundant red mud or clay which is suitable for making pottery which is also one of the surviving handicraft occupations of the town. At present the lands of Nkawkaw are traditionally owned by the Aduana royals of Obomen and the Oyoko royals of Atibie. The question then remains as to why an area known to have been settled first by the Aduana of Obomen came to be partly owned by another people (Oyoko of Atibie).

\(^{36}\) Information provided by Opanin Kwaku Danquah an elder of Mamaso, a suburb of Nkawkaw in an interview held on 16\(^\text{th}\) January 2015.

\(^{37}\) See Boateng-Gyamfi (February 02,2013) The Spectator
3.3.2 The Atibie Factor in Nkawkaw

According to sources the founding of Nkawkaw by the people of Obomen coincided with the farming activities of the Atibie people at the foot of the mountain. The people of Atibie are known to have migrated from Asante Daaman and Kontanse in present day Ashanti region and their first point of settlement was Nankyia before moving to the top of the mountain in the area now known as Atibie. Some of the leaders who are known to have first permanently settled the land already established as Twerefourkrom were Kwasi Asare, Kwaku Tobo, Kwasi Yeboah, Kwabena Dede all of the Oyoko clan of Atibie. Like the people of Obomen the founders of Atibie were given lands to settle at present day Atibie. Their obedience and allegiance to the Paramountcy of Kwahu gave them some measure of freedom to establish themselves in hamlets or pockets of settlements at the foot of the Kwahu Mountain.

It should be noted that hamlets established by the people of Atibie occurred along the road of Atibie down the mountain and stretched towards the Accra highway in sharp contrast to those of Obomen which stretched along the Kumasi highway. Through this development, areas around the foot of the mountain from Atibie became recognised as part of Nkawkaw, but under the jurisdiction of Atibie. The whole area of Nkawkaw developed into a big village to the extent that by 1914 it became a potential source of confusion as these lands under the separate traditional groups began to merge. To avoid any possible confrontation between the two groups, sources claimed that a boundary was fixed in 1914 to show a clear demarcation between the people Obomen and the people of Atibie concerning Nkawkaw lands. In effect,

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Information on Atibie was provided by Opanin Obeng who is a member of the royal family of the Oyoko clan of Atibie and also doubles as the secretary of the Office of the Atibie stool Lands. This interview was a Focus Group Discussion that took place on 8th January 2015. Other people present were Nana C.K. Odame, Abusuapanin of the Oyoko royal clan of Atibie, and Nana Adare Frimpong II Wrempehene of Abene
Nkawkaw has two divisions which are Obomen –Nkawkaw and Atibie Nkawkaw\(^{39}\).

Incidentally, as the influence of Obomen extends well into the central part of Nkawkaw, it also owns land along the Kumasi road from Nkawkaw. Atibie likewise extends towards the Accra road. There is a total of twenty sectors within the Nkawkaw area, however, out of these sectors Obomen stool lands holds a greater portion of land within Nkawkaw\(^{40}\). The figure below shows the various areas in Nkawkaw which are under the jurisdiction of both Obomen and Atibie.

\(^{39}\) The 1914 boundary according to Nana C.K. Odame was fixed with \(ntɔme\) a traditional tree used for indicating boundaries between different parties. Construction of buildings has eventually cleared the original position of the boundary trees, but the area is well known by both royal families of Obomen and Atibie and its known to pass through the location of where present day Barclays bank is situated. As a result of the location of the two groups of people (Obomen and Atibie) their areas of jurisdiction at the foot of the mountain plateau are connected geographically with respect to location.

\(^{40}\) This information was provided by the Town and Country Planning Department, KWMA 2013
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obomen Section</th>
<th>Atibie Section</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abenase</td>
<td>Obuasi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kwaku Dwera</td>
<td>Oseikrom</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dubai</td>
<td>Trado</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abepotia</td>
<td>Atibie Amanfrom</td>
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<td>Nankyia</td>
<td>Ampekrom</td>
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<td>Adampasu</td>
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<td>Asubone</td>
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<tr>
<td>Krofrom</td>
<td>Accra Town</td>
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<td>Nsuta</td>
<td>Atta ne Atta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adensua</td>
<td>Nkawkaw Kumaa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Akyease</td>
<td>New Station</td>
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<td>Asuogya</td>
<td>Zongo</td>
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<td>White House</td>
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<td>Winners</td>
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<td>Ayigbe Town</td>
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<td>Four-Forty</td>
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<td>Agyakwa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Square one</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central Police Station</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pete Abanase (Central Market)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Authors own construct based on information provided Town and Country Planning Department, KWMA 2013

It is important to reiterate that although by the 1900s Nkawkaw existed, it did so as a village of Obomen and a subsidiary to the people of Atibie. What however accentuated the growth and prominence of Nkawkaw as a town was the construction of the Accra –Kumasi railway and road in 1922 and 1923 respectively which all passed through Nkawkaw. This was to a very large extent influenced by the strategic geographical location of the town at the foot of the mountain. It served as the only town at the base of the mountain that linked up the rest of the Kwahu towns on the top of the mountain.
Kwahu became an important point for the cultivation of cocoa and Nkawkaw which was strategically positioned played the important role as a collecting or buying point from where cocoa was transported to the coast of Accra for oceanic transport. The position of Nkawkaw therefore made the town practically impossible to be neglected in the grand colonial capitalist design to exploit raw materials from the southern and forest zone of Gold Coast now Ghana. Nkawkaw therefore became the southern gateway and gradually the commercial nerve centre of Kwahu and a major nodal town. It was therefore not surprising that in their attempt and plan to construct a railway from Accra through Akyem to Kumasi, the colonial government chose Nkawkaw as a thoroughfare over Awedade, a nearby hamlet (Boateng-Gyamfi, 2013).

This development left in its wake the migration of people from different parts of the country to take advantage of the new rail line and the commercial incentives that came along with it. The place became a major stop point for coaches and bus travels between Accra and Kumasi when the rail system was fully operational. The growth of Nkawkaw into an urban status occurred with significant contribution from outsiders. This indeed affirms the Akan adage that *yɛ de ṣho ho na ɛkeryere kuro*. This means that “a town is built on the significant efforts of strangers” and Nkawkaw is no exception. Communities like Zongo and Accra Town in Nkawkaw confirm the presence of migrant communities and the demographic diversity of the town. It was observed during interviews that these communities sprang up as a result of the railway construction and the labour demand (both skilled and unskilled) that came with it as well as the commercial

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41 Bartle (2007) Studies among the Akan People of West Africa; Community, Society, History, Culture: with Special Focus on Kwahu (cec.vcn.bc.ca/cmp/)
opportunities it presented Nkawkaw. It is also important to emphasize that the people of Atibie are known to be hospitable towards strangers. This could possibly explain why many of the migrant communities are found within the Atibie section of Nkawkaw. Some of these include the Zongo community, Accra Town which at its inception was dominated by Ga and recently a fairly increasing number of Fulani migrants at Trado an Atibie section of Kwahu West Municipality. The most vibrant of them all in Nkawkaw today is the Zongo community.

The word Zongo is a Hausa word that means a section or quarters for strangers. These strangers have often migrated mainly from, the three regions in the Northern part of Ghana (Northern Region, Upper East and Upper West Regions), Nigeria and some parts of Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso.

Zongo communities can be found in most towns in Ghana. The origin of Zongo in Ghana dates back to pre-colonial times. Mabogunge (1972, p.75) maintained that Es Sadi described Timbuktu in 1352 of the time of Ibn Batuta as inhibited by a people of Muslim descent who had their own place and a Headman. In that same vein, Boahene (1966, p. 10) also maintained that the capital of ancient Ghana empire according to Al- Bakri in 1067 known as Koumbe Saleh was categorised into sections and one of such sections was made of a migrant Muslim quarter. This quarter had twelve mosques with Imams and Muezzins and they met for prayers every Friday. This was a sort of Zongo compared to what exist today.

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42 According to Mabogunje (1972, pp. 58- 63) the Hausa are a people well known for their highly developed specialised handicraft manufacturing ability and their prominent role played in the trans-Saharan and intra-regional trade. They also established the vibrant towns of Kano, Katsina, Gobir, Sokoto, Kaduna and Zaria of Northern Nigeria. Through this endeavor they have spread across the grassland zone of West Africa. He continues that there is a humongous body of evidence to support the movement of Hausa to Southern Ghana through Djougou, Nikki, Yendi and Salaga well before the colonial period.

43 For the purpose of this study the term North would be used to refer Ghana’s regions of Upper West, Upper East and Northern region proper. Northerners would however be used to denote people from the North as well as people from Nigeria, Mali, Niger, and Burkina Faso. The south or southern part refers to all other places of Ghana with the exception of Upper West, Upper East and Northern region. This definition of North and South followed that of Nnewusu (2005)
Moreover, Ntewusu (2005, p.27) citing Wilks (1975) remarked that the sea coast of Begho as far back as 1629 was referred to as Nsoko, an old Akan name for Mande. Wilks suggests a connection between Nsoko and Zongo.

Migeod (1920, p.112) contended that migration of the people of Northern Ghana to the Southern part predates the colonial era and most of these migrations have been inspired mainly by war and animosity and also motivated by commercial opportunities. Traders from the North in Gold Coast travelled down South to sell shear butter, leather goods, local cloth and livestock.

The Northern territories since 1901 when it legally became part of the Gold Coast received little attention from the colonial masters. This was possibly due to lack of exploitable resources that abound in the Southern regions of Gold Cost. The Northerners were therefore compelled to move to the forest and coastal areas to work. Consequently, Kimble (1963, pp.533-535) observed that the North which during slave trade was an important source of slaves had by the 20th century significantly reduced in importance in terms of social infrastructure. The area therefore during the 20th century became a large-scale supplier of migrant labour to the Southern parts of the country. The colonial government used forced labour recruited in the Northern Territories to meet scarcity of labour in rail building and gold-mining (Akurang-Parry 2000, p.4). The pioneering settlers of Nkawkaw Zongo were part of the above development.

The Nkawkaw Zongo is found within the Atibie section of the town. The migrants who later established themselves as the Zongo community was mentioned in the evidence provided by Nana Asante Ampadu and Nana Ameyaw Debrah all of Nkawkaw who were the
defendants in a law suits with Nana Obeng Akrofi as the plaintiff in 2002. In this case Nana Asante Ampadu stated that at the inception of the railway line at Nkawkaw people from the Northern region of Ghana started moving down South to Nkawkaw to seek employment opportunities that came along with it. With time their numbers significantly increased to such an extent that they needed a permanent place of settlement. An attempt to settle the area which is currently the location of the Central Police station was met with fierce opposition from the chief of Obomen. However, by this period Atibie Zongo was already established so the Northern migrants appealed to the Muslim leaders of the Atibie Zongo community and indeed the Zongo authorities in Atibie responded positively. Leaders of Atibie Zongo then directed the plight of the migrants to the traditional leaders of Atibie who also owned part of Nkawkaw. The Oyoko royals of Atibie then allocated the area around present day Akua Joo near Accra Town to the migrants. The Zongo community according to oral source has since then grown into a very vibrant migrant town which has absorbed people from different ethnic groupings from the Northern part of Ghana of which some include the Mossi, Gonja, Dagomba, Walla, Grushie, Frafra among others. The occupations of these migrants have been trade and cattle herding.

Another section of Nkawkaw dominated by indigenes from another ethnic group other than of Kwahu is Accra town. The town is located on the Atibie section of Nkawkaw directly opposite the Barclays Bank and as the name suggests at the inception of the town’s growth it was dominated by people from Accra particularly from the Ga community. Today

45 Information about the establishment of Nkawkaw Zongo was also provided by Alhaji Mohammed who is an uncle to the Sarikin Zongo (Sarikin is a title for the chief of Zongo) in an interview held on 12th January 2015.
46 Information provided by Wofa Alhaji, an opinion leader in the Zongo community in an interview held on 12th January 2015.
descendants of Ga from Ga Mashie, Teshie, Nungua, Osu and Labadi are found there. According to oral sources, the male members of these communities were among the very few people who migrated to Nkawkaw. They came to take part in the employment opportunities created by the railway construction and were employed to provide skilled labour as these groups of migrants from Accra were trained engineers and blacksmiths. Some also provided unskilled labour. Some of the oldest houses in present day Accra town are the residences of Mr. Tagoe, Mr. Hansen and Attah Nii. Mr. Tagoe is believed to have settled in Nkawkaw in 1918 as a blacksmith who made fortunes from working both as private blacksmith and occasionally as a worker in the railways department when the need arose. He consequently bought large tracts of lands and put up many buildings so that upon his death his family continues to own these properties and an array of stalls which are currently located opposite the Barclays Bank on the junction to Atta ne Atta a suburb of Nkawkaw.

Atta Nii whose place of residence could still be found in Accra Town today was also known to be an engineer with the railway department in the 1920s. With time many Ga who migrated from Accra in search of jobs decided to move in with their families. The women in particular did join in, but did so as professional of fish mongers. The area of Nkawkaw during and after the railway and road construction of 1922 and 1923 respectively provided ready market for the sale of goods as the town became a major stop point and eventually the commercial hub for Kwahu.

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47 This information was provided by Opanyin S.K. Obeng, P.K. Dzidzornu and Opanyin Kissi who are all elders of Accra town in a Focus Group Interview conducted on 17th March 2015.

48 This information was provided by Opanin Osarfo Dartey in an interview carried out on 17th March 2015. Opanyin Dartey is currently the caretaker of all the properties of Mr. Tagoe whose family now leaves in Accra. He has been living in Nkawkaw since 1969 and has been childhood friends with the son of Mr. Tagoe whose family now resides in Accra.
The effective transportation systems and commercial function afforded the whole Kwahu region and not only inhabitants of Nkawkaw confirm the central role Nkawkaw plays as espoused in Christaller’s Central Place Theory. Consequently, the major occupation of these women from Ga communities from Accra as fish mongers flourished as the growing commercial potency of Nkawkaw provided ready market for them. The number of Ga people grew appreciably in Nkawkaw and upon negotiation with the custodians of the land the chief and elders of Atibie agreed to sell parcels of land to them and subsequently all other Ga migrants from Accra followed suit. With time a concentration of a large number of Ga in the area of Atibie section became significant as a major suburb of Nkawkaw that no better name for the purpose of identification according to respondent best suited the area than Accra Town, after the very people that dominated the area.

The presence of the Ewe ethnic group in Nkawkaw who migrated from the Volta region of Ghana in the wake of the town’s development also created a suburb known as Ayigbe Town. Although this town has virtually seized to exist as the whole area which was referred to as Ayigbe town has largely been incorporated into main stream Nkawkaw Township it remains relevant to mention. According respondent majority of the Ewe from the Volta region of Ghana and Togo began to settle in Nkawkaw when the railway transport system was in operation. The men in particular gained employment with the Public Works Department (PWD) while the women took to trading. Some of the women according to her were also employed at the PWD and provided manual services that required little labour. The

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49 Information provided by Opanin Kwaku Asante an elder of Accra Town in an interview granted on 17th March 2015
50 Madam Eyram is one of the few surviving elderly persons that lived at the area known as Ayigbe Town. This interview was granted on 17th March 2015.
name of the suburb was derived from the ethnic group that dominated the area which was Ayigbe, a name that commonly refers to the Ewe ethnic group from Ghana, Togo and Benin.

Another suburb which continues to remain a very vivacious area in Nkawkaw as a vibrant market centre is the place better known as Agbogloshie. This market provides readily and available market for market women who sell varieties of food items, but particularly those who trade in yam and smoked fish. The name Agbogloshie brings to fore a vibrant market centre in Accra and for the fact that Nkawkaw also has such a place shows the relative importance of the place. The area known as Agbogloshie is part of Nkawkaw Central and the land area of the suburb belongs to the Ghana Railway Authority. Unlike the other suburbs whose names took after the very ethnic group that dominated the area Agbogloshie is an exception as it was actually established by the indigenes of Kwahu.

According to the elders of the market\textsuperscript{51}, the land known as Agbogloshie was leased to them by the Railway Authority in 1990 by which time the railway transport was functioning at a very trifling rate. It was an attempt by the Yam Sellers Association of Nkawkaw to get a market other than the main market in Nkawkaw known as Nkawkaw Central Market that necessitated the need to get the land from the railways authority. The place during 1991 was temporarily occupied by the market vendors of the Nkawkaw Central Market when the market was under construction. It was the market vendors who named the place Agbogloshie.

\textsuperscript{51} This information was acquired from a Focus Group Interview conducted on 18\textsuperscript{th} March 2015 at the Agblogloshie market with Alex Adade Annor and Opanyin Yaw Dankwah who respectively are the Chairman and President of the market
3.4. Institutions of Governance in Nkawkaw

3.4.1. Traditional System of Governance

The traditional institution of governance of Nkawkaw cannot be fully examined without situating it in the context of Kwahu traditional system of governance\textsuperscript{52}. The paramount seat of Kwahu has always remained with Abene specifically with the Etena Bretuo clan. Abene in Kwahu is therefore the traditional capital of the Kwahu traditional area. Hweehwee and Dwerebease play complementary roles to the paramountcy.

\textsuperscript{52} The reason is that Nkawkaw is part of the traditional wings of the Kwahu Traditional Council and as would soon be realised the complications attached to traditional authority in Nkawkaw make discussion on such theme unappreciable and incomprehensive without reference to traditional governance in Kwahu as a whole.
Figure 3.1: The Traditional Political Set-Up and Structure of Authority of the Kwahu Traditional Area

Source: Authors own construct based on information provided by Kwahu Traditional Council
As far as the military flanks are concerned the Adonteng is the first point of call in times of external aggression. This division which belongs to the Aduana clan provides defense and protection to the paramountcy and by extension the traditional area. This division is headed by the chief of Abetifi (Nana Asiedu Agyemang III) who currently doubles as the Acting president of the Kwahu Traditional Area. Although the Adonteng division led by Abetifi and followed by Bokuruwa, Aframanso and Sadan in that respect assume vanguard position in times of turmoil, they only act and are able to do so properly after the Twafot division led by Kwahu Tafo has fledged out a road map and strategy for the battle. In all dealings (whether military or administrative) Twafot division’s first point of call is Abetifi who then relates the information to his members from Bokuruwa through to Aframanso and Sadan in that order.

Then there is also the right wing known as Nifa division that is made of the Aduana clan. In the Kwahu area the Nifa division is led by Obo whose chief is Nana Afari Buagyan II and in a respective manner followed by Obomen, Bepong, Asakraka, Pitiko, Danteng, Nkawkaw and Kwahu Praso. They are responsible for defending the right side of the paramountcy.

In the particular case of Nkawkaw the chief of Nkwatia expressed the opinion that Nkawkaw becomes an automatic member of the Nifa division as the town was traditionally established by Obomen which also belongs to the same division, but Nkawkaw does so under Obomen. Nkawkaw became properly and formerly incorporated into the right wing in 1984 when it was elevated to a chieftain status.

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53 Information on the various traditional wings of the Kwahu Traditional Area, the military and administrative roles they play was provided by Nana Atuobi Yiadom in an earlier interview. The Registrar of the Kwahu Traditional Council (KTC), Samuel Tuffour in an interview held on 16th March 2015 on a day of Council meeting also assisted in this regard.
At the opposite direction to the Nifa is the left wing Benkum. It performs virtually the roles of Nifa, but on the left hand side of the paramountcy. Aduamoah is the head of this division and is followed by Nkwatia, Mpraeso, Kwahu Tafo, Kotoso and Suminakese.

The rearguard Kyidom constitute the Ekoɔna clan and are responsible for the defense of the paramountcy in the absence of the three divisions. They take charge and cover in a situation of war. They also provide reinforcement or supplies for the three divisions of Benkum, Nifa and Adonteng in times of war. The head of this division is the chief of Pepease. Twendurase, Nteso, Ahinase and Nkwatanang, Akwasiho follow in that order.

The treasury and the financial operations of the Kwahu traditional area are under the care and supervision of the Sanaa section. This section is led by the chief of Nkwatia (Nana Atuobi Yiadom IV). Towns like Kwahu Tafo and Nkwatia even though are divisional heads also belong to the Benkum division.

Another division that in contemporary political dispensation would have been labeled information ministry is the Gyase led by the Oyoko clan of Atibie. All messages to and from the paramount chief of Kwahu passes through Atibie then to Jejeti then such messages are dispersed to various destinations.

As has already been noted Nkawkaw is now under the jurisdiction of Obomen and Atibie stool lands and each section is administratively governed by their respective traditional authority. Consequently, the author chooses to use the term Obomen -Nkawkaw and Atibie-Nkawkaw to refer to the respective areas of influence of Obomen and Atibie for clarity.

3.4.1.1. Obomen –Nkawkaw

The Aduana is the royal clan that is known to rule Obomen and all subsidiary towns and villages under the authority of Obomen of which Nkawkaw is part. However, in the
particular case of Nkawkaw the situation has been otherwise. In fact, since 1914 the area under discussion has been ruled by members of the Oyoko clan\textsuperscript{54}. Even though the Nkawkaw stool is directly under the influence of Obomen, the Aduana people have only enjoyed custodianship while the Oyoko have played the role of traditional leaders in this regard. The reason for which this is so is examined\textsuperscript{55}. At the early stages of the establishment of the town, Nkawkaw as has already been revealed only existed as a periphery farm settlement or at best a village to the people of Obomen. Little importance was attached to the place and the Aduana of Obomen did not find it imperative to rule the area directly through a representation of a member of the Aduana royal clan of Obomen.

However, events leading to the construction of the railway and subsequently motor road changed the situation of Nkawkaw from a small farm settlement to an all-important town. Following works on the railway by 1920 the town witnessed a very large influx of immigrants from the South and particularly the Northern region\textsuperscript{56} of Ghana who came searching for jobs on the rail projects. They came along with their families and the women took to food vending and head portage activities. So large was the number that came down the south to Nkawkaw so that it became a point of awakening on the Aduana of Obomen to put in

\textsuperscript{54} Information provided by Nana Afari Buagyan II in an interview held on 22\textsuperscript{nd} January.

\textsuperscript{55} This information was acquired from evidence given by Nana Obeng Akrofi who was the Chief of Obomen and Nana Asante Ampadu and Nana Ameyaw Debrah who were also from Nkawkaw. The two from Nkawkaw were the Adehyeene and Kurontihene of Nkawkaw respectively and also belonged to the Oyoko clan. This was a court case between the chief of Obomen and the Oyoko royals of Nkawkaw in which Nana Obeng Akrofi was the plaintiff and Nana Ampadu and Nana Ameyaw Debrah were the defendants. It was from the document entitled “An Appeal from the Decision of His Lordship A.K. Amoakwa Boadu High Court Judge, Nkawkaw Held on 10\textsuperscript{th} December, 2002. Suit No. L.5/97”.

\textsuperscript{56} Northerners a name categorically used for the people from the northern region are known to have a history of migration to the south from pre-colonial time right to colonial period in Gold Coast and even today in Ghana. Kimble (1965) argues that Northerners in the pre-colonial era migrated southward to Accra because of the commercial advantages the place had to offer. Mabogunje (1972) has also stated that migration of the Northerners to the south was a popular event in the 1900s and they were compelled to do so because of the practice of forced labour and taxation imposed on them by the British and the French laws. They moved therefore to the forest and coastal areas to avoid these practices and most importantly work. Also see Akurang- Parry, K.O. (2000). Colonial Forced Labour Policies for Road- Building in Southern Ghana and International anti-Forced Labour Pressures, 1900-1940.
traditional administrative measures to control and rule the place. The chief of Obomen at the time was Nana Yaw Mensah. There was therefore the need to appoint someone from the Aduana royal clan as Headman of Nkawkaw.

All attempts made by the chief of Obomen to get a member of the Aduana royal family to be a headman proved futile. An attempt to get one of his sub-chiefs called Ameyaw and Pebone to be headmen all failed. The fundamental reason why all these royals refused the position of headman was that Nkawkaw was a village by then and particularly because they felt it was humiliating as royals to be made headman over Northerners who at that time (called mpepefoɔ) were treated with little respect in the South. The term mpepefoɔ was considered derogatory. Nana Yaw Mensah had to pacify Nana Ameyaw with a bottle of schnapp just for asking the latter to be a headman to the Northerners. Left with no choice the chief of Obomen then decided to pass over the position of headman to another clan known as the Oyoko and the first person from the Oyoko to be appointed was Nana Amoah Wadie who gladly accepted the position. After the death of Amoah Wadie, Nana Kofi Asiamah who was a relative of the former and also from the Oyoko clan assumed the position of the Headman. The position of headman has from that time onward remained within the lineage of the Oyoko people although they are not the traditional founders of Nkawkaw as are the people of

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57 Information provided by Nana Asiedu Agyemang III. The Headman literally is someone who is selected to be the leader of a farm settlement or a smaller area at its inception in thrust for a chief. The chief of that area usually makes the appointment especially if the prospective headman had lived there for long or has in anyway distinguished their selves. The Twi word for a Headman is not Odikro as the two are not the same. Essentially Odikro is a title that is of higher status than Headman. When the Headman performs the duties assigned to him diligently and conducts himself in a proper manner the chief under which he serves may elevate him to the status of Odikro. The Odikro performs all roles in their jurisdiction on behalf of the chief under which he serves. The powers and function of the Odikro are therefore limited and certain traditional artifacts cannot be owned by the Odikro. For instance the Odikro only owns abɔɔmaa sin. Abɔɔmaa is a huge drum used in the palace and courts of chiefs. While the chief owns two of such huge drums the Odikro only owns one, in short sin which means incomplete. The Odikro cannot also own and ride in a palanquin. According to Nana Asiedu Agyemang III the term Headman has been abolished in the Kwahu Traditional Council which has ruled that all titles as Headman should be referred to as Odikro. This interview took place on 16th March 2015.
Obomen. It is very important at this stage to state that the position of Headman meant that Oyoko only held the land in thrust for the chief and people of Obomen. With time the Headman position was elevated to that of Odikro. The Odikro was not a chief and he acted in consultation with the chief and the elders of Obomen on important issues.

Hence right from the earliest decades of the 20th century traditional political institution in Nkawkaw has been such that Odikro from the Oyoko and not chiefs has been in charge in consultation with Obomen. It was only from 3rd April 1984 that one Odikro also from the line of Nana Kofi Asamoah of Oyoko was elevated to the status of a chief and this Odikro was Nana Aninakwa Bonsu. According to Nana Osei Barimah this development in 1984 took place without the consent of the supposed custodians of the land (Aduana of Obomen) and the then Nifahene of Kwahu traditional area who also doubled as chief of Obo.

However, Nana Asiedu Agyemang III also had a different dimension to the story. He was of the opinion that Nana Aninakwa Bonsu who was then the Odikro of Nkawkaw made all sincere and pragmatic attempt as a gesture of respect to his overlord who was the chief of Obomen in the person of Nana Yaw Abankwa II to guide him to the Omanhene of Kwahu to be elevated to the status of a chief. The position of Nana Aninakwa Bonsu was that in view of the tremendous development afforded Nkawkaw by the transportation system and how important the town has become it needed to be made a chieftain. As would be recalled Nkawkaw had already been made a town in 1970 by the Central Bureau of Statistics. This argument was however abhorred by the chief of Obomen who deemed it unfit for an Odikro who was only a supervisor of a town that only began as a farm settlement to be elevated to the

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58 Extract from the National Register of Chiefs, page 12. Kwahu Traditional Council, Eastern Region. In this document the real name of Nana Aninakwa Bonsu before he acquired this stool name was John Ebenezar Nyame and he was the Odikro of Nkawkaw from 1973 until 1984
59 Nana Asiedu Agyemang III is the chief of Abetifi and also doubles as the Adontenghene of Kwahu Traditional Area. He is currently the acting president of the Kwahu Traditional Area after the death of Daasebre Akuamoah Boateng II who was the Omanhene of Kwahu and president of the Kwahu Traditional Council. This interview was conducted on the 20th May 2015 at the Abetifi Palace

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status of a chief, a position that is equal to his. When this attempt failed the Odikro out of persistence to make Nkawkaw a chieftain then directed the issue to the paramount chief of Kwahu who gave a positive affirmation to the demands of Nana Aninakwa Bonsu. According to Nana Asiedu Agyemang III, the paramount chief of Kwahu like Nana Aninakwa Bonsu also thought that Nkawkaw had become the satellite town for the whole Kwahu and needed a face lift. It was therefore proper and due that the Odikro and the town acquired a chieftain status. As the paramount chief reserved the sole prerogative to elevate an Odikro to the position of a chief as well as accept or reject any town to any of the traditional wings, he agreed to the elevation process when all attempts to get the chief of Obomen on board proved futile. Consequently Nana Aninakwa Bonsu of the Oyoko became the first chief of Nkawkaw.

This development did not go down well with the chiefs of Obomen and the Nifa division under which Obomen belongs. According to the current chief of Obo they (the chief and people of Obomen and Obo) never recognised the chieftain status of Nkawkaw and Nana Aninakwa Bonsu. He was only regarded as an Odikro holding Nkawkaw in thrust for Obomen and nothing else. This has for a very long time remained an unabated issue and disturbed the hitherto peaceful relationship between the Aduana royals from Obomen and the Oyoko Odikro line of Nkawkaw even after the death of Aninakwa Bonsu on 28th February 1995. To the extent that the chief of Obomen even after the death of Aninakwa would take legal action against chiefs from the lineage of the latter over a building which served as a palace for the Nkawkaw chief is a reflection of the strained relationship between the two groups60. The chief and people of Obomen now have the traditional and legal right over the Nkawkaw palace as

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60 In my opinion the legal action taken against the chieftain institution of Nkawkaw by the chief of Obomen represented the traditional authority and powers the latter have over the Oyoko of Nkawkaw whom they (Obomen) gave the position of Odikro. It is this traditional knowledge and belief that will drive the chief of Obomen to make legal claims of the palace in which the Oyoko of Nkawkaw used. The property in dispute was a building that served as the Nkawkaw palace. It is located at Sector B Block D with land Registry as No. 262/1997 and R.E. 170/97. This palace represented the traditional authority of the Oyoko of Nkawkaw as chieftain, so the ability and the attempt by the Aduana of Obomen to make claims of this building and actually win means that they are the traditional custodians of the land and reserve the rights to take it back any time they wished to and importantly contest and compromise the autonomy of Oyoko rule in Nkawkaw.
well a say in the acceptance of a new chief of Nkawkaw. However, since the death of Nana Obeng Akrofi (the chief of Obomen) they have been bedeviled with succession disputes which were at the time this research was conducted yet to be resolved. Nana Osei Barima is hopeful that once the Obomen succession dispute is over Nkawkaw will be given the necessary attention for a chief to be enstooled.

Therefore as far as traditional authority in Nkawkaw is concerned the place for a very long time has had no chief. It rather has in place a number of Odikro for the various suburbs under Obomen’s jurisdiction. The Odikro supervises the activities of the people and lands in thrust for the Obomen stool.

In the larger settings of the Kwahu Traditional Council Nkawkaw belongs to the right wing (Nifa) of the Kwahu traditional area whose head is the Obo chief. In the view of the acting president of the Kwahu Traditional Area, as much as Nkawkaw belongs to the right wing of Kwahu it does so under the influence of Obomen. Odikro of Nkawkaw in the section of Atibie will also be associated with the Gyase division of Kwahu which is headed by the Oyoko royals of Atibie.

3.4.1.2. Atibie- Nkawkaw

It is important to note that although the royal clan of Atibie is Oyoko they are not the same people that were involved in a legal confrontation with the Aduana of Obomen. As the name suggests the area of Atibie-Nkawkaw refers to that part of Nkawkaw that falls under the administration of the Atibie stool lands and outside that of Obomen’s influence. The boundary known to have shown a clear demarcation between the two groups was drawn in 1914. The areas referred to in figure 1.0 are under the jurisdiction of Atibie stool lands. The traditional political authority is such that even before 1914 when both groups had a clear idea as to which
areas belonged to whom the Oyoko of Atibie maintained the position of Odikro as the final authority in their section. The Odikro acts on behalf of the chief of Atibie who also doubled as the Head of the Gyase division of the Kwahu Traditional Area. The Odikro of Atibie section of Nkawkaw associates with the chief of Atibie during traditional council meetings\textsuperscript{61}.

3.4.2. Modern Political Dispensation in Nkawkaw

Nkawkaw used to be part of Kwahu South District Assembly whose capital was Mpraeso\textsuperscript{62}. The Kwahu South District Assembly has produced three other districts since its creation. The first to be created in 1988 was the Kwahu North District Assembly (KNDA) whose capital is Donkorkrom, followed by Kwahu West Municipal Assembly (KWMA) in 2004 whose capital became Nkawkaw and then last of them all Kwahu East Municipal Assembly (KEDA) in 2007 with the capital of Abetifi. The implication of this creation in 2004 is that Nkawkaw seized to become part of KSDA. However, by virtue of the cosmopolitan nature and population growth of Kwahu west which was made possible by the urban potentials of Nkawkaw the area acquired a Municipal status in 2007 and by statutory law LI 1870 Kwahu West was made a municipality\textsuperscript{63} and Nkawkaw a capital. Since Nkawkaw is the capital of the Municipality it is directly under the modern political system of governance within the local government sector. Within the KWMA the main functionaries and power brokers that make up the structure include the Municipal Chief Executive, the

\textsuperscript{61} Information provided by Nana C.K. Odame, Abusuapanin of the Oyoko royal clan of Atibie in an interview held on 9\textsuperscript{th} January 2015.

\textsuperscript{62} In actual fact the whole of the Kwahu was made part of East Akyem from 1884. Kwahu was therefore administered from Kyebi where a District Commissioner was stationed. It was until 1914 that for the purpose of effective administration a separate district was created for Kwahu and the first Commissioner to resume office was A.J. Hobs. Asiamah (2000,p.58)

\textsuperscript{63} The Local Government Act of 1993, Act 462 Section 1(4a) explicates that demographic and settlements characteristics are responsible for the categorisation of an area into District Assembly, Municipality or Metropolitan Assembly. While a minimum population of seventy five thousand people is required to term a place as District Assembly, a Municipality requires a population of ninety five thousand and over. Metropolitan Assembly however, requires a population of two hundred and fifty thousand people and over.
Presiding Member, the Member(s) of Parliament, the Municipal Coordinating Director, the Assembly Members, Unit Committee members and the Technical or professional and supporting staff of the Assembly. Of all the officials involved in the structure of the KWMA and indeed in other Metropolitan, Municipality or District Assemblies (MMDAs) it is only the Coordinating Director who is neither elected nor appointed but assumes office based purely on merit and qualification. Act 462 Section 38 of the Local Government Act of 1993 also makes provision for the establishment of thirteen departments to facilitate the work of the municipality. Of particular interest to the study is the functionary of the “Assembly man” in Nkawkaw.

3.4.2.1. The Assembly Member in Nkawkaw

Assembly members play crucial role and are important functionaries in the KWMA. In theory members of the Assembly are supposed to be non-partisan and its composition is of two kinds. While 30% of the membership is based on appointment the other 70% is based on election organised by the Electoral Commission. Election of members to the Assembly is done once every four years and the elected Assembly member has the responsibility of articulating and representing the aspirations and interest of their various electoral areas.

The Kwahu West Municipality has over thirty electoral areas and in this, Nkawkaw alone has over ten electoral areas. Some of these electoral areas include Nkawkaw Central, Zongo, Accra Town, Akuaaajo, Atta ne Atta, New Town, Domeabra, Domeabra South, Nsuta, Nkawkaw Asuboni, and Adoagyiri. The functions of the Assembly member have been

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64 Information provided by Mr. Kenneth Osman who is the Municipal Coordinating Director of the Kwahu west Municipal Assembly in an Interview held on 11th May 2015
65 The term Assembly man has become a popular term in local government politics to refer to people who are elected by the electorates of the various electoral areas to be members of the Assembly to represent their communities. It is important to note that the Local Government Act of 1993, Act 462 uses no such term as Assembly man or woman, but rather Assembly member(s). Therefore the study chooses to use Assembly member in place of Assembly man.
clearly stipulated in the Local Government Act of 1993, Act 462 Section 16. According respondent though the Assembly Member(s) who are elected by their electoral areas give their best in the performance of their duties there are often not enough resources from the Assembly to facilitate and encourage productivity.

The Assembly Members are admonished to liaise with the traditional authorities among other stakeholders to attract resources for local development and also create a stable environment\(^{66}\). Some of the roles of the Assembly members however have sometimes conflicted with that played by the traditional authorities. In some cases the Assembly Member rather than the traditional authority (Odikro) has been called upon to settle disputes concerning debts, marriage, and family among others. The confidence people have in the Assembly member of an electoral area to refer such cases to the latter may be due to the fact that the Assembly member is seen as a proper and neutral representation of order at least in theory\(^{67}\). This has often not been taken likely by the traditional authorities of such places. These difficulties notwithstanding, the Assembly member continues to play vital role to complement the effective administration of Nkawkaw in the Kwahu West Municipality.

3.5. Social Organisation and Practices

3.5.1. Family

Family is key and an imperative concept among the Kwahu and as the first point of entry into any society it is to serve as the springboard to discussing and understanding the social organisation and practices of the people of Nkawkaw. For the purpose of this study attention is focused on marriage, and religious practices of the people of Nkawkaw in addition

\(^{66}\) The Local Government Act of 1993, Act 462 Section 16 (1i), Friedrich –Ebert-Stiftung Ghana (pp. 81) A Guide to District Assemblies in Ghana

\(^{67}\) Information provided by Honourable Yaw Opoku the incumbent Assembly Member for Accra Town electoral area in an interview held on 11\(^{th}\) May 2015.
to their family system. In all societies world over, the concept of family echoes a very important phenomenon that travels back to the evolution of man as the basic unit of the social structure. In every social setting of a people the family provides a lens through which behaviour, attitude and responses of people to events could be understood as it is the main agency of cultural transmission.

The people of Kwahu belong to the Twi-speaking ethnic group of the Akan stock of Ghana of which some include Akyem, Asante and Akuapem. In principle according to Asiamah (2011, p.5) there is no significant difference between the traditional culture and religion of these ethnic groups\(^{68}\). Among the Kwahu people like most of the Akan stock of southern Ghana, the family is a symbolic representation of people linked by connection through their trace to a common ancestor. The Kwahu trace their common ancestry to a female line, a practice referred to as matrilineal system. Traditionally, the Kwahu practiced the extended family system and hold close ties with the maternal kindred\(^{69}\). Women play a very important role in the milieu of the Kwahu social structure. Essentially, by the matrilineal practice the biological children of a man are not traditionally allowed to inherit their father’s property, but the man’s nephews are. Hence the chief characteristics of this practice according to Smith (1966, p.65) is that children belong to the mother’s lineage. In this instance both rights of succession and inheritance run through the female line and in such situation although the man is the one who begets the child and gives it its spirit the woman is the link between

\(^{68}\) Essentially, the people of Nkawkaw are dominated by the Kwahu ethnic group as far as demography is concerned and as has been realised the traditional political institution of Nkawkaw was examined within the broad context of the Kwahu Traditional Area. Therefore in discussing the social organisation and practices of the people reference will be made to Kwahu in general. It should however be borne in mind that by the Kwahu people, the author’s attention and reference is on the dominant Kwahu stock of Nkawkaw.

\(^{69}\) Information about family system among the people of Nkawkaw was provided in an interview with Opanin Kwaku Yeboah an elder of Nkawkaw on 15\(^{th}\) June 2015.
one generation and another as the transmitter of blood\textsuperscript{70}. Men found within the Kwahu social structure are sometimes caught in a dilemma because traditionally they are supposed to oversee the up bring and grooming of their nephews who are their prospective next of kins and perpetuators of his blood while at the same time, modernity and social pressure compels them to make their family of procreation a priority.

The concept of \textit{wɔfa}\textsuperscript{71} is an important and a respected title among the Kwahu and uncles, but not fathers were expected to take care of their nephews. A father did not have to worry about his immediate family because the children belonged to the wife’s family (Smith 1966 p.60). Respondent recalled how he was brought up by an uncle even though the father was alive and how the latter was influential in his life. Women therefore play essential role in the Kwahu social structure in the areas of family, marriage and child upbringing.

This is not to say however, that fathers or men in general have no role in the family structure under the matrilineal system of Kwahu. While a Kwahu by birth belongs to the maternal family they were connected to the clan of their father. The child inherited the father’s spirit of personality, bravery, courage and industriousness. It was the responsibility of the father to name his child after the eighth day and he reserved the sole legitimacy and right to name the child after whom he pleases. The kindred consciousness and the extended family system practiced by the Kwahu prove useful to the economic viability of Kwahu business ventures as would soon be realised.

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\textsuperscript{70} This therefore merits the Akan proverb that \textit{wo na wu a na w’busua asa} meaning your family seizes to exist when your mother dies.

\textsuperscript{71} This is a term usually popular among the Akan stock of Southern Ghana who practice matrilineal descent and inheritance. It refers to the maternal uncle of a child as opposed to the general usage of the term to refer the brother of one’s both parents.
3.5.2. Religious Beliefs and Practices

Although the forces of modernity and the advent of Christianity in Nkawkaw and for that matter Kwahu have hugely influenced religious practices and beliefs it will not be wrong to assume the position that the people originally involved themselves in one form of African Traditional Religion (ATR) or the other. There is information to support this assertion. Abstracts of the Basel Mission by Paul Jenkins deposited in the Zimmerman Library at Akrofi-Christaller Institute of Theology, Mission and Culture is full of evidence to this effect. The Basel Mission recorded that when they arrived in Obo and later in Abetifi where attempt was made to secure land for the Basel Mission, the chiefs of these towns had gone to celebrate a fetish ceremony\footnote{Wermer to Basel, 22\textsuperscript{nd} February, 1876 No. 242}. It was also reported that the great fetishes as he puts it \textit{Atiean} forbade children from attending mission schools and adults from attending service\footnote{Werner to Basel 25 October 1876, No. 257.}.

The traditional religious practices was so dominant in the Kwahu area to the extent that three years later it was observed by the Basel Mission that almost every family in Kwahu has a little house for its own fetish, set aside from the family house\footnote{General Correspondence- Report from Dieterle on a journey to Akyem and Kwahu, dd.4. April 1879, N.4, Page 117.}. Later in 1879 in Pepease it was also reported by the Basel Mission that they saw upon arrival in the town a \textit{Dente shrine} and another notable shrine in the middle of the town as well as a collection of weapons stuck in the ground\footnote{Ramseyer to Basel, dd.14 April 1887, No.11.114, page 238.}. Another Werner report to the Basel Mission in 1879 recorded that fetish worship is reigning unabated by any European civilization and that the many fetishes besides the road and the well maintained fetish houses bear witness to that fact (Nkansah-Kyeremanteng 2000, p. 81).
Although the situation to a very large extent has changed in current times it still retains some essence in Kwahu and Nkawkaw is not an exception. It is common to find in Nkawkaw a number of well-established shrines of various deities. The Nkawkaw air waves as observed by the author at the time of the study were a popular platform of advertisement for traditional priests who popularised the potency of their deities. These priests are publicly known for providing spiritual services to their clients. Some of such deities in the shrines of Nkawkaw include, Tigare and Atia Mframa in Atibie Amanfrom and Adama of Abepotia. It is very important for the Kwahu person to keep in touch with their traditional deities and ancestors for guidance in order for one to have long life and prosperity.

Modernity and the advent of Christianity have by no doubt taken a heavy toll on the traditional religious beliefs and practices of the people of Nkawkaw. There are more Christians in Nkawkaw than there are practitioners of ATR. Essentially Christianity in Kwahu was a product of the Basel Mission. Kwahu had always been a favourable climatic area for the Europeans. In my view Kwahu was a suitable site for the Basel Mission as a base for their missionary activities because of the favourable climatic condition similar to that of the Akuapem area and also to use Kwahu as thoroughfare to Kumasi.

Although several missionaries like Eugene Werner, Jakob Welmer, Dieterle, Wilhelm Handel and David Asante toured the Kwahu plateau and gave various reports of the place in

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Tigare a traditional deity in Nkawkaw has a history that dates back to the 17th century in Kwahu. The deity which originally comes from the North of Ghana is known for its potency as a devourer of witchcraft. It is also known to complement hard work by stabilising and making prosperous the livelihood activities of its worshipers. It does not however provide spiritual avenues for quick money making sika aduro (ritual money). Nkansah-Kyeremanteng (2000, p.84) has also maintained that shrines of Tigare were found in almost every Kwahu town and people came from even beyond the boundaries of Ghana to seek it protection.

Information provided by Nana Kwadjo Darko, the traditional priest of Tigare and Atia Mframa deities in an interview held on 30th May 2015. This was a Sunday and a special day of Akwasidae as well. Respondent revealed that the Adae are of two kinds. There is the Akwasidae and Awukudae. This was usually the fortieth day on the Akan traditional calendar and on this day people who have connections with their respective deities were obliged to pay homage to them to renew relations. According to Noel (1966, pp.74) an Adae is dies nefasti, an inauspicious day for work on the farm or any other enterprise where various shrines are venerated.
the 1870s the man who is known to be the father of missionary activities in the region is Reverend Fritz Augustus Ramseyer (Smith 1966). Under the auspices of the Basel Mission that settled in Abetifi in 1876 Ramseyer finished a Mission house in 1878 and afterwards opened a boys’ school at Abetifi (Smith 1966, p.118). The year 1876 therefore marked a significant period in Kwahu history because it was the genesis of Christianity and European way of life in Kwahu. The missionary then used Abetifi as a post to spreading the influence and founding churches in neighbouring towns. They embarked on a campaign against ATR and succeeded in converting quite a significant number of the indigenes to accept the Christian faith (Nkansah-Kyeremanteng 2000, p.85). This campaign was successful to the extent that just over the first decade of the 20th century (1914), the Basel Mission had twenty congregations in the whole of Kwahu with 2,582 members (Smith 1966, p.119). It was in this period that Christianity was introduced into Nkawkaw through the Basel Mission. The Nkawkaw substation of the Basel Mission was under the Obomen congregation.

In current times Nkawkaw has innumerable number of churches (both charismatic and orthodox). Christianity has revolutionised the religious and cultural practices of the people. The all-important Adae events have been largely substituted by Easter an alien event which was a byproduct of Christianity. Smith (1966, p.248) has however maintained that even as this is so Christianity was not able to totally uproot and replace ATR. If anything, Christianity only added to the totality of the already existing supernatural resource of the African. He continues that even after a century of Christian gospel and church domination, traditional religion continues to show an astonishing power of survival and rejuvenation. It is therefore not uncommon to find in Nkawkaw a number of shrines as well as others who although accept the Christian faith practice some traditional beliefs like performing libation.
3.5.2. Marriage

Among the people of Nkawkaw and by extension Kwahu, family occupies an important space in their social structure and one means of bringing forth one’s family of procreation is through marriage. Marriage is said to be consolidated when a union between a man and woman is accepted and affirmed by the society. Even though marriage is perceived to be a contractual agreement between two partners, marriage among the Kwahu extends beyond just the partners. In fact, it is also a union that involves the two families of the bride and groom. Hence in this society marriage unites both families. According to sources the idea of the two kinship group’s involvement is to serve as vanguard against any possible bone of contention among married couples or to address any difficulty that might befall couples in the course of the marriage. Hence, right from the point of courting to marriage kinsmen from both sides played significant roles to ensure that right decisions were made to make the marriage a lasting and successful one.

Usually, a man of a marriageable age takes the first step by indicating his intentions and choice of bride to his own family particularly the father. The father with the help of the kinsmen and in this particular case with the aid of the man’s sister did thorough investigation about the lady in question and her family. Issues concerning generic diseases, sanity, criminality, industriousness, barrenness, manners and religious background of the prospective wife are investigated. They find out whether the soon to be wife has been properly brought up by the parents and equipped with the appropriate experience to make a good wife. Another important issue that the man’s family pays particular attention to is the clan to which the woman belonged. This is because as revealed by sources among the Kwahu, people who

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78 Information on marriage and the process involved was provided by Opanin Kwaku Yeboah and Nana Akuamoah Asomani, Afenasofo hene (Chief of Sword bearers) of Obomen Palace in two separate interviews. Together these two served as the principal sources for the theme on marriage.
belong to the same clan although may live in different places are considered siblings and therefore marriage between such people is considered a taboo. If the investigation proved satisfactory, the prospective wife’s family is informed of the decision and a formal request is made to the woman’s father to ask for the hand of the daughter in marriage. It is this stage that is traditionally known as \textit{K\~nk\~n\~k\~n} literally meaning knocking. Usually, this stage is accompanied by a bottle of schnapp from the man’s family to that of the woman. The family of the prospective wife informs that of the man to come back later for a response on agreed period, usually two to three weeks. It is during this period that the woman’s family also conducts investigation into the man’s family. The man and his family return on the agreed date for the response. This stage as maintained by source\textsuperscript{79} is called \textit{nhunanimu} basically meaning coming for response. When investigations proved satisfactory and the man’s proposal is accepted by the woman’s father a list of items and the bride wealth is handed over to the man’s family. A date for the actual performance of the marriage ceremony is then concluded. This stage is completed yet with a bottle of Schnapp.

On the day of the ceremony both families are represented by spokespersons and the ceremony usually begins with the performance of libation to the ancestors to seek for protection and approval regardless of their religious orientation. The woman is then officially introduced to the people seated. The stage is then marked with a number of customary gifts and the bride wealth handed over to the woman’s family. People who are usually the recipients of such gifts include the soon to be –wife, her father, mother, brother and lineage head.

\textsuperscript{79} Information provided by Opanin Kwaku Yeboah in an interview held on 16\textsuperscript{th} of June 2015.
A very important and symbolic payment made in the form of two bottles of schnapps or rum is the *tiri nsa* (head rum). Two pieces of cloth, each for the bride’s father and mother as well as an undisclosed amount of money, a token of money for the bride’s brother as *akonta sikai* (gift for the bride’s brother), and a suitcase full of personal items for the bride. All these presentations are done by the lineage head of the man. As a means of appreciation to the other kinsmen and friends present, gifts are given them. Such gifts take the form of palm wine known as *badwam nsa*, literally meaning wine for the general audience or matches to those who do not consume alcohol. According to sources this is not only to show appreciation, but also for whoever took the palm wine or matches to serve as a witness to the matrimony between the two so that anyone who had any relationship with the couple that could affect the marriage should cease.

The bride is then formally handed over to the groom and the family either by the father or the brother in law. The Kwahu people generally preferred to marry among their own social ethnic groupings. The reason for this according to respondent is that marrying from within Kwahu is somewhat a means to ensure peace, comfort, and security in marriage. The Kwahu also married within their society because of the shared belief that Kwahu people are resourceful and hardworking.

Polygamy is a practice found among the Kwahu people. A man who wishes to take a second wife traditionally sought the concern and permission of the first wife and paid compensation usually prescribed by the first wife. The man then had the authority to do so and was assured of peace and harmony among the two wives. Such large family size if there

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80 The head rum among the Akan is what formalises and seals the marriage as well as gives the husband exclusive sexual rights over the wife and legal paternity over all children born. It gives him also the rights to essential domestic and economic services from her (Fortes 1987, pp. 280).

81 Information obtained in an interview with Nana Akuamoah Asomani, Afenasofohene (Chief of Sword bearers) of Obomen Palace on 14th June, 2015.
were enough children provided a readily and immediate help and labour to family business (in
this particular instance trade although in time past farming was another chief means of
livelihood). It is believed that children and nephews gave out their best to work more honestly
than others who had no passion for the work and whose main aim was to take wages and
salaries for themselves whether or not business made profit.

In current times, marriage in Nkawkaw has undergone certain profound changes as a
result of modernisation and Christianity. Sources remarked that people no longer take keen
interest in the long and candid investigation that was carried out by both sides of the family as
tradition demands. The role of both families of the bride and groom in marriage has reduced
to the nuclear kind of family. This perhaps explains the growing rates of divorce as compared
to the past. Kwahu marriage which used to be simple, straight forward and moderate has
become extremely expensive. Young men of marriageable age have to grapple with a long list
of items almost triple of what use to exist if they want to get married. Items demanded are not
based on tradition, but on the preferences of individual homes and families.
CHAPTER FOUR

TRANSPORT SYSTEMS AND COMMERCE IN NKAWKAW

4.1. Introduction

The importance of Kwahu as part of the forest regions of Gold Coast\(^{82}\) noted for the appreciable production of cocoa was undoubted and Nkawkaw as a point of collection and distribution and was unrivalled in Kwahu. Therefore with the construction of the Nkawkaw-Mpraeso motor road in 1916 which started from Koforidua and the Nkawkaw to Obomen road in 1921 the area understudy was already on its way to importance as it became the only Southern Gateway to the Kwahu plateau through the Mpraeso and Obomen outlet, all of which passed through the town of Nkawkaw. What was actually to be the major impetus for transforming the area that started as a village into an urban centre was the extension of railway line from Tafo to Nkawkaw and the Accra-Kumasi road which passed through Nkawkaw in 1922 and 1923 respectively. This Chapter is therefore concerned with the evolution of transport systems in Gold Coast now Ghana that took place at the turn of the 20\(^{\text{th}}\) century and particularly the railway and road construction through Nkawkaw while at the same time paying attention to the urban potentials that came along with it. The chapter also investigates the reason, relevance and process involved in the construction of these transport systems in Nkawkaw. The town understudy has from the time it experienced the transport evolution become unmatched as what Asiamah (2011, p.4) referred to as the chief commercial and industrial town in Kwahu. To this end, the chapter also investigates the reason for this

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\(^{82}\) The name Gold Coast and Ghana will be used interchangeably depending on the time frame within which events are discussed. Therefore Gold Coast would be used for all events that predate independence of Ghana which is before 1957 whereas Ghana would be used for all other events that took place after independence.
development while focusing on the economic activities of the people of Nkawkaw with particular focus on trade.

4.2. The Evolution of Transport Systems in Ghana

The transport revolution that swept across Africa in general created in its wake a concomitant effect of urban centres that grew along or around such transport facilities. The presence of facilities like ports, harbours, roads, and railway the last two which concern this chapter accentuated the importance of all the areas through which they passed into urban centres (Thomas, 1970, pp.1-2). It is in this light that Nkawkaw is discussed.

The transport revolution that featured in the European Colonial policies and particularly in the case of the British West Africa was a response to a plethora of difficulties that hindered easy penetration to the areas of the hinterland in Africa where natural resources abound. It was not until near the turn of the 20th century did a combination of military, political and importantly economic considerations lead to rail and road construction in Africa.

The first rail line as far as known is the Wadi Haifa rail line on the Egyptian border on the Nile at Sudan in the 1887 followed by Mombasa to Nairobi in 1899, Lagos to Ibadan in 1901, Sekondi to Tarkwa in 1901 and then to Kumasi in 1903 as well as the two and half foot gauge Sierra Leone railway from Freetown to Bo in 1903 (Due 1979, p.376). The Wadi Haifa rail line was built strictly for military purpose and the Mombasa to Nairobi rail road was to allow British to maintain their hold on Uganda against future German bellicose. In my opinion the transport age that swept across Gold Coast at the turn of the 20th century was hugely motivated by economic factors from whichever way one wants to look at it. After all European penetration on the African continent from the 15th century to the 20th century was part of the grand scheme of Western imperialism inspired by capitalism (Lal1986, p. 27).
Boahene (1989, p. 32) shares this opinion when he maintained that the most important and
decisive of all those forces that influenced European penetration of the African continent was
definitely economic and to that effect he cites Arnold who maintained that industrial
capitalism of Europe was more than anything the dominant impetus for push in Africa.

The British in the Gold Coast established their political hegemony on the Coast when
in 1874 the coastal states became a crown colony. The inland state of Ashanti however
remained intransigent and defiance to British subordination to the extent that it took four
difficult battles for them to surrender to the British forces so that by 1901 Ashanti became
part of the Gold Coast colony. The period of Ashanti insurgency disrupted free flow of trade
to and from the in land states of Gold Coast. There was therefore the need to fledge out a road
map and a transport route that will allow the quick dispatch of troupes to Kumasi to quell any
possible Ashanti insurgency that could affect production of gold and the steady flow of trade
in general. The transport infrastructure therefore on the agenda of British colonial rule before
the turn of the 20th century was to permit military domination and boost trade which was
historically constrained by high cost (Jedwab and Moradi 2012, p. 45). In the end, although
this might on the surface seem a political or rather sharply a military expedition to maintain
law and order the ulterior motive was to enhance trade.

Transport mechanism and facilities were therefore needed by the Europeans for
effective exploration of the resources of the inland states of Gold Coast for oceanic
transportation. Wrangham (2010, p. 6) observed that the growing usefulness of motorised
travels for administrative purpose also influenced the need for transportation systems in Gold

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83 Osmoni (1971, p. 493) has maintained that as early as 1873 the War Office landed a number of rail materials
including a rolling stock, with the intention of constructing a line from Cape Coast to River Pra. This project was
a panic measure at a time when Sir Garnet Wolsely was about to begin his military campaign against the Ashanti
Coast. The various mode of transport at the turn of the 20th century proved barely useful as they were very problematic.

One of such common forms of transport was head loading. This form of transport required so much energy to execute and was very slow in process. To this end it was very expensive as additional daily allowance had to be paid to porters (Ntewusu, 2011, p.127). In the Cocoa and palm growing areas the cocoa, palm oil and kernel were rolled in barrels along the forest tracks to Accra from where they were taken in surf boats to the ships (Boahene 2000, p.98). The disadvantage that came along with the cask rolling was immense and as remarked by Dickson (1961, p.38) the cask rollers were incapacitated by the sore feet from walking on the road. The reason was that the cask needed recoopering several times before they reached their destination and the nails that worked themselves often got loose and fell on the road and that was a huge source of discomfort and danger to the naked foot of the rollers 84. Horse drawn and mule transport according to Ntewusu (2011, p.128) was particularly used in Accra but they could not be used in the interior and the forest zone because of the presence of tsetse fly that transmitted sleeping sickness. Although water transport was one of the most important transport network in the Gold Coast the river connections was limited to the coastal areas and did not serve the cocoa growing areas of the forest regions of Gold Coast.

There was therefore the need for a proper form of transportation system. Boahene (1990) however, argued that British policy towards expenditure in its colonies was on the low side where capital for the running of the administration and whatever limited development was expected to be internally generated from the colonies. Therefore even though transport facilities were in the ultimate interest of the colonial masters, support for the construction of

84 Also see Wraith (1967, pp. 78-79)
such important systems was very little. In 1870 when the colonial office in Gold Coast debated upon the issue of road in the Legislative Council the general conclusion according to Dickson (1969, p. 218) was that good carriage was expensive and undesirable. It is however important to note that regardless of this generally little support for road construction in the 1870s desultory attempts for road construction and wheeled transport was made.

Road construction and wheeled transport became significant in Gold Coast from the 1890s when in 1895 the Public Works Department was created and subsequently after the appointment of Sir Mathew Nathan as the Governor of Gold Coast in 1900. The advocacy role of Sir Mathew Nathan for the construction of roads good enough for motor cars and traction engines marked a crucial moment for road development in the Gold Coast (Dickson, 1961, p.37). To this extent, the period from 1895 through to the governorship of Nathan saw a number of bush roads converted to good roads. Boahene (2000, p.97) posited that from 1895 work begun on the Saltpond – Oda road, the road from Accra through Nsawam to Kyebi, a wooden bridge across Sweet River between Elmina and Cape Coast and the Accra-Ayimensa-Dodowa road completed and partly remetalled. The advocacy of Sir Mathew Nathan for good roads seemed to have made meaningful impact so much so that by 1902 the first motor vehicle in Gold Coast, Gardener- Serpalet steam driven car was obtained for use by Governor Nathan (Guggisberg 1927, p.79). The rising usage of vehicles was not only restricted to the colonial government but also European and African trading firms like Messrs

85 The colonial office also claimed that “Africans preferred head loading to wheeled transport and that even if the latter was provided with a wheelbarrow they would put half of what they could carry in the wheelbarrow and place both upon their heads. This is because nature has endowed the Africans with a power of neck and dorsal muscle, such as no other men possess and they use this power in preference to any other” (Dickson, 1969, p. 219)
86 Some attempts at road construction and usage were made by the British, trading firms and Basel Missions. The Basel Missions for instance attempted to build a road from Christiansburg to Akropong, but the project was abandon after a year or two. In 1885 a mule belonging to the colonial government died of sleeping sickness when it was driven about fifteen miles from Accra towards Aburi (Dickson 1961, p.36). Therefore the painful and laborious mechanism of head portage and cask rolling were the common means of transport.
West African Lighterage and Transport company, Abraham and C.O and Swanzy Transport Ltd. This meant that road construction and usage had begun to surface. Therefore between 1902 and 1914 a number of roads were constructed or reconstructed to suit motor traffic. Some of these included Accra-Kibi road of 1905, the Swedru road of 1908, the Ada and the Keta Districts as well as several other short stretches of road construction throughout southern Ghana (Dickson1961).

It is evident from the forgoing that road construction from the turn of the 20th century was useful to the colonial authorities, European merchants and the missionaries in Gold Coast. Even so road construction was still at its initial stages and the circumstances surrounding the construction, maintenance and usage of the roads made support for them negligible. Roads constructed during this period was therefore of poor quality. Metaling for instance made maintenance of roads in goods repairs a matter of heavy cost. Vehicles imported in to the country from 1902 to about 1918 were very heavy in weight. Ntewusu (2011, p.130) maintained that the Austrian, German and British lorries that were used weighed up to five tons when fully loaded and the weight of these vehicles was invariably heavier than the poorly constructed roads which were only surfaced with laterite and therefore could not withstand the heavy traffic. The situation was even compounded during raining seasons when roads were muddy and vehicles that used them suffered from broken axles (Dickson 1961, p. 39). These roads were a sticky quagmire during raining seasons and a corrugated, pot-holed one on the dry season. The situation was so bad that by 1913 a series of order to council according to Wrangham (2010, p.4) to ban motor vehicles over two tons in weight and without pneumatic tyres was passed by the colonial government. Boahene (2000, p.99) also remarked that road and motor transport proved ineffective for conveying heavy
machinery needed for mining and transporting any heavy metal. Essentially all these problems presented little support for a full scale development of mechanical transport in Gold Coast. There was therefore an unfavourable response to the use of roads and wheeled transport while at the same time it contributed to the preference for rail systems which was seen as the solution to the transportation bottlenecks of Gold Coast.

The period that however revolutionised rail system in the Gold Coast was in 1913 when Sir Hugh Clifford was appointed governor of Gold Coast. The British colonial government favoured rail systems than road development generally because it was by far cheaper than road metalling and in the view of Clifford just like Sir Frederick Luggard, development could be summed up in one word “transport” or more specifically “railway” (Wrangham 2010, p.2). To the extent that rail systems was seen as a panacea to the transportation bottlenecks and development in general was captured in a dispatch from Sir Hugh Clifford to the Secretary of States to the British colonies, some of which read as follows;

“...I am none-the-less convinced, however, that the development of this colony, its efficient administration, and its moral, no less than its material and economic advancement, hinge upon this question of transport. Until the country is rendered easily accessible, our administrative officers will be prevented by consideration of time alone from coming into close touch with the inhabitants of every part of their districts...Until the existing transport difficulties have been considerably relieved, a large portion of the available labour of the colony will be devoted to conveying produce to the coast or to the nearest railway station by primitive means which entail a deplorable waste of human energy. The toil and intelligent which might be devoted to agriculture and other reproductive work will be expended upon mere moving of goods from place to place. In these circumstances therefore, I submit that any unavoidable delay in undertaking railway construction is to be deprecated as being likely, not only to retard, but to strike a direct

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87 Pedersen (2011, p. 7) maintained that the first rail system from Sekondi to Tarkwa was completed in 1901. It continued to Obuasi in 1903 and then to Kumasi in 1904. A branch line from Tarkwa –Prestea was opened in to the gold mining areas between 1908 and 1911.
blow at the prosperity of the colony and the cocoa industry upon which that prosperity so largely depends..."^{88}

The 20th century was the popular period of rail system in transportation technology and Clifford was a pushing force to this agenda in Gold Coast. Railway was considered as key to modernisation and it was perceived to be the most advanced form of transport. Citing Gould (1960) Pedersen (2001, p.7) argued that the era of rail development in Gold Coast was a response to two kinds of economic incentives. The first was inspired by the quest to join areas of potential agricultural and mineral production on the world trade route to take advantage of the cheap movement of goods for oceanic transport. The other according to him was the need to join Kumasi’s potential market represented by Kumasi and its vast hinterland^{89}.

Jedwab and Moradi (2012, p. 3) have thrown more light to this effect and argued that two railway lines were in the particular case of Gold Coast built by the British and at a critical look, both linked the coast to the mining areas and the city of Kumasi (which was a rich source of gold and cocoa and conduit to the hinterland). The first line built between 1901 and 1903 that connected the coast to the mining areas started from Sekondi where the port was located. The second rail line which also linked the coast (port and capital city of Accra) to Kumasi and its hinterland occurred within the period of 1908-1923.

Therefore within the period of 1912 to 1918 when Sir Hugh Clifford was the governor of the Gold Coast the British colonial government gave considerable attention to transport systems in general, but rail systems in particular and a number of rail projects were undertaken. Some of which included the Accra to Nsawam rail road which was opened in

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^{88} PRAAD, Kumasi, ARG 1/15/2/2, Gold Coast Extension of Railway, 1913

^{89} Ward (1967, p.138) subscribed to this idea when he argued that it was the intention of the British administration after the Anglo-Ashanti war of 1873-1874 to open up direct trade route with Salaga and Krachi, Sefwi and Gyaman through Kumasi.
1910, Nsawam to Mangoase railway that was completed in March 1913, and the 13 miles extension from Mangoase to Koforidua, opened to public traffic in 1915. The rail line was further extended from Koforidua to Tafo in 1917 (Maxwell 1923, pp. 226-227). This railway project continued by Maxwell was the materialisation of an earlier survey that was to commence a rail line from Accra to Akuapem which began in 1909.

In my opinion, a careful look at the direction of the rail line for all intent and purpose was a reflection of the ideas of Clifford to linking the coast to the inland cocoa producing areas of Gold Coast. If this estimation is accurate then the Kwahu area could certainly not be avoided because of the strategic location of the place as a conduit to Kumasi and the fact that the area was also a source of cocoa cultivation\textsuperscript{90}. Again as already noted bauxite according to Boahene (2000, p.96) was first discovered in Mpraeso by the Geological Survey Department in 1914.

It is therefore not surprising that as maintained by Dickson (1961, p.40) all major roads in the Eastern Province of Gold Coast such as Koforidua to Mpraeso, Krobo plantation road, Nsawam to Asamankese were ready for motor traffic in 1916. All plans were also in place to continue the railway extension from Tafo to Nkawkaw as thoroughfare to Kumasi when work was sanctioned because of the outbreak of the First World War\textsuperscript{91}. Work on the rail project was grinded to a halt. It was only in 1922, four years after the end of the war that a forty four and half miles of rail line continued from Tafo to Nkawkaw. The Accra-Kumasi

\textsuperscript{90} The point is that Kwahu was noted for the appreciable expansion in cocoa cultivation and Nkawkaw was strategically positioned to play the all-important role as a collecting or buying point from where cocoa was transported to the coast of Accra for oceanic transport (Dickson 1969, p. 275; Abloh 1967, p.43)

\textsuperscript{91} Wrangham (2010, p.5) has confirmed that even though the First World War started in 1914 the British administration in Gold Coast led by Sir Hugh Clifford as the governor kept rail projects going for about two and half years until 1917 when as result of the severity of the war and British involvements such projects were reduced significantly. Work on the rail projects was grinded to a halt and Nkawkaw was only connected from Tafo in 1922 four years after the end of the war and Kumasi was also connected in 1923 (Jedwab and Moradi, 2012 p.4)
road which also passed through Nkawkaw was completed in 1923. In fact, road construction
and motor transport seemed to have become very useful after 1924 when improved and
affordable road technique came into existence. Therefore even though like Clifford, Governor
Guggisberg (Governor of Gold Coast from 1919 to 1929) was keen on continuing the railway
agenda pushed by his predecessor, a programme of road construction was also drawn under
the guidance of Guggisberg (Wrangham 2010, p.13). The introduction of efficient, but cheap
concrete called tarmet and the availability of affordable American Ford vehicle that were light
and inflicted only slight wear and tear on the roads facilitated the patronage of motor transport
(Maxwell 1923, pp.226-227).

It can therefore be concluded that it was the ambitious plans of the colonial
administration to exploit the resources of the in land states of Gold Coast that Kwahu and
particularly Nkawkaw was served with transport systems (roads and railways).

4.3. The Advent of Transport Systems in Nkawkaw

Before transport systems were introduced to Kwahu the major means of transport like
the rest of the Gold Coast was head loading. Several days of walking had to be made before
reaching one’s destination and for the Kwahu people who are known for their trade acumen
walking long distances became a norm. The walking period to and fro Kwahu by Kwahu
traders was dependent on where they were headed to trade their items or where they wanted to
get supplies outside Kwahu. For instance Garlick (1967, p. 470) confirmed that it took about
five days for Kwahu traders to make a journey to Accra and the journey from Nkoranza area
where rubber was bought and sold at Accra and Cape Coast took anything from two to several

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92 Transport systems refer to the construction of the roads and railway networks that occurred in Nkawkaw in
the 1920s.
93 Information provided by Opanin Sebewie a seventy eight year retired driver in Nkawkaw interviewed on 03rd
May 2015.
weeks. Apart from head loading and walking long distances as the major means of transport in the Kwahu area, the other route that served as a means of transport particularly to the coast was the Afram River. This route according to Bartle (2007) died as a major route to the coast after the rail way project in Nkawkaw was completed.

Like the forest or southern states of Gold Coast, Kwahu was noted for significant production of cocoa and Nkawkaw was strategically located to serve as a point of collection and buying of cocoa to the port of Accra. Mpraeso as has already been noted was a source for mineral acquisition (bauxite). Sir Gordon Guggisberg who was the governor of Gold Coast from 1919 to 1929 described the area of Nkawkaw as a very flourishing place surrounded by large cocoa farms (Dickson 1969, p. 166). This assertion made by Guggisberg indicates the fact that in his grand scheme to tap the vast economic resources that the forest regions of the Gold Coast had to offer, he had Nkawkaw in mind when he put into effect his Ten Years Development Plan. As a flourishing place, Nkawkaw posed as a strategically located town that straddles the areas of Kwahu plateau, Ashanti and its hinterland, Akyem, Akuapem and Accra as well as the rest of the Coastal states. It was thus a perfect place in any transportation scheme for the British colonial interest and particularly to serve as a collection and distribution centre.

As early as the first quarter of the 20th century the colonial administration had already marked Kwahu as a necessary medium to Kumasi and its inland states. Sir Hugh Clifford in a Dispatch to the British Colonial Secretary’s office in 1913 advocated that a survey for the construction of a railway from Koforidua to Kumasi via Anyinam to Tafo should be carried
out\textsuperscript{94}. In this dispatched he insisted that the rail line should skirt the Kwahu Plateau passing through the \textit{south of Obo}\textsuperscript{95} (Nkawkaw) and then to Kumasi via Bompata. Clifford was particularly fascinated by Kwahu and the higher aspirations he had for the place was perfectly captured in the sixth page of the same document, some of which reads as follows:

\begin{quote}
The Kwahu plateau which I recently visited appears to be marked out by its advantages as the probable future capital of the Gold Coast Colony. Situated at an elevation of from 1,500 to 2,300 above sea-level, it possesses a climate superior to any other thing that can ever be encountered in the flat lands near the coast. It would provide ample space for the establishment of an administrative capital, without in any way interfering with the convenience and welfare of its native inhabitants. It is equi-distant from Accra and Kumasi and when linked up with the railway now under discussion, would be in easy communication with both, and with the country rendered accessible to by the Kumasi-Takoradi line. Though occupying a central position, it has the advantage of being situated in the colony although at the edge of the protectorate; and that position will become more central as the railway systems continues to be extended.
\end{quote}

Certainly, such an opinion given by the Governor of Gold Coast on the position of Kwahu, as early as 1913 is of great importance to any historical work on Kwahu, particularly of this kind. Apart from the weather condition of the place that made it favourable as a place of abode, the strategic geographical location of the region which this study emphasizes was also perfectly captured by the governor. To the extent that he tipped the place as the future capital of the Gold Coast showed how important the area was to the colonial government.

\textsuperscript{94} PRAAD, Kumasi, ARG 1/15/2/2, Gold Coast Extension of Railway, 1913
\textsuperscript{95} Obo is one of the principal towns in Kwahu.
Consequently, Guggisberg caused the construction of a railway line linking the cocoa growing areas including Kwahu and Kumasi with Accra when in 1922 Nkawkaw was served with the railway system. The first train to commute passengers between the towns of Accra and Kumasi via Nkawkaw occurred in September 1923 (Wraith 1967, p.114). These constructions was accompanied by the establishment of a Railway station in Nkawkaw in 14th November 1922. The importance of the town was further accentuated when in 1923, the Accra-Kumasi trunk road passed through Nkawkaw.

Therefore, in the towns transport history, two main systems have influenced its growth and these are the railway line and the road. It is these developments that provided Nkawkaw with the potential trait of urbanisation that eventually materialised when in 1970, the area which was only a village to the people of Obomen was elevated to a status of a town. Since then, it has grown into a significant urban space in Kwahu and this has been so appreciable that it became inappropriate for such an urban centre to be part of the Kwahu South District Assembly and not assume the position of a capital city. In actual fact, Nkawkaw had grown bigger by all standards than Mpraeso which was the capital of Kwahu South District Assembly to which Nkawkaw formerly belonged. It was therefore not surprising when in 2007, by virtue of the town’s population growth, infrastructural development and cosmopolitan nature, Nkawkaw transformed Kwahu West District into a municipality and assumed the status of the municipal’s capital.

That in 1984, the paramountcy agreed to elevate traditional authority in Nkawkaw from Odikro to chieftain, is reflective of the importance of Nkawkaw as an urban centre. In its position, the town plays an important role as a central place for Kwahu. Transport has

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97 Refer to Chapter 3, p.78 (Footnote) of this thesis for the meaning of Odikro.
therefore been an imperative impetus in the towns’ urban development. While the railway
passed through the town only, the road also did same to Kumasi, but was also constructed via
Nkawkaw, linking it to the Kwahu plateau as well. These roads were first, the Nkawkaw-
Mpraeso road which started from Koforidua and opened to traffic in 1916, the first of its kind in Kwahu. The other also from Nkawkaw to Obomen was opened to traffic in 1921 and then
finally, the Accra- Kumasi trunk road that passed through the town in 1923. It seemed that the
chief and people of Kwahu were eager and enthusiastic to facilitate trade which had been a prominent feature of the Kwahu people for a very long time and they were fully aware of how profitable and easy this would be if they had motorable roads. The reason for this assertion is that, the Nkawkaw-Obomen road, unlike the Nkawkaw-Mpraeso road was fully funded by the chiefs and people of the various traditional wings of the Kwahu Traditional Area\textsuperscript{98}. In this development as revealed in the same document it was contributions from the chiefs and people of the various traditional wings that a total amount of 6000 pounds was raised to fund the construction project. The road which was opened to traffic helped to ease pressure on the Nkawkaw-Mpraeso road which was the first to be constructed.

However, the Nkawkaw-Obomen road was extremely narrow with dangerous curves that did not fully support trailer traffic. To this end, in 1938 for instance, the Commissioner for the Eastern Province wrote to the Colonial Secretary to register his resentment against trailers that plied the road\textsuperscript{99}. This development vindicate the fact that by 1938, huge cargo cars were already transporting goods to and fro Kwahu to other parts of Gold Coast with the aid of the transport systems provided by Nkawkaw via the Kwahu plateau (Mpraeso and Obomen).

\textsuperscript{98} PRAAD, Accra, ADM 34/5/2, 1923-1928, Districts Records Book.
\textsuperscript{99} PRAAD, Accra, CSO 14/2/192, Road 117E Obomen Nkawkaw
It is important to emphasize that to the extent that Nkawkaw’s transport evolution took effect from the 1920s as already shown reflect how the First World War affected infrastructural development in Gold Coast and also the significant role played by Guggisberg in the transportation development of the Country. Wraith (1967, pp.78-79) has however cautioned anyone who is quick and tempted to make transportation a *sine qua non* to Guggisberg administration, to also note that Guggisberg was hugely inspired by the transportation plans and ambition of his predecessor, Governor Clifford whose plans did not fully materialise because of the outbreak of the First World War.

In the acquisition of labour for the construction of both railway and motor road, colonial document proves that the situation was a difficult one. In most cases, labour was expected to be provided by the indigenes of the town whose area the transport system passed through. However, in the case of Nkawkaw, because of the small size of the town’s population by this period part of the labour had to come from the top of the scarp. It was also reported that even the very few that came from the top of the mountain plateau had farms at the base of the scarp and consequently, even though the chief ensured that people moved from Nkawkaw to provide labour, a great number managed to sneak to farms and evade work. It is therefore not surprising that as already revealed majority of the labour used for the construction of the railway system came from the northern region of Ghana, a people that was later going to aid the establishment and growth of a community known as Zongo in Nkawkaw. Labour for the construction of rails and road in general for the most part of the colonial period was acquired by forceful means through a series of ordnances passed by the British colonial government. As already noted the colonial government heavily relied on the use of force labour for rail-building and mining in the southern parts of Gold Coast (Akurang-Parry, 2000, p. 4).

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100 PRAAD, Koforidua, ERG.1/1/4, Reports –September Quarter, 1922.
101 Refer to Chapter 3, pp.67-68 of this thesis.
Events in Nkawkaw as has been mentioned earlier took a different turn at the onset of the 20th century with the road and railway evolution\textsuperscript{103}. Road construction became accepted phenomena from 1924 and competed strongly with the construction and usage of railway. Ntewusu (2011, p.131) stated that the total number of vehicles that by 1919 was about 532 had by 1920 increased to 2040. In this development, the Eastern Province stood to benefit from the transport usage. These transport facilities consequently graduated the town which hitherto was a village to the people of Obomen into an urban space and a central place that provide essential services to Kwahu. Transport has therefore played a crucial role in the town’s urban development phenomena. Bartle (2007) for instance maintained that the railway station made Nkawkaw a major stop point for travellers from Accra to Kumasi and vice versa. People therefore started collecting at the base of the mountain scarp to share in the growing commercial importance of the town.

One thing that needs to be emphasized is that, Nkawkaw became a meeting point and a nodal town for people from Kwahu and all the areas that shared geographical boundaries with Kwahu because of the gradual growth of the place. The implication is that, in such a place where a larger populace converge on a daily basis, demand for goods and services (both high and low order) is expected to be high with all other things being equal and that provides a large market base for traders and producers. Consequently, people realised this and as rational beings rushed to share in the commercial opportunities accrued to Nkawkaw. The place in modern times could therefore be described a stranger’s town because of the heterogeneous nature with respect to demography, even though majority of inhabitants are Kwahu. The people of Nkawkaw and for that matter Kwahu known for their trade acumen

\textsuperscript{103} The town witnessed construction of the Nkawkaw-Mpraeso road from Koforidua in 1916, the railway line through Nkawkaw in1922, the Nkawkaw-Obomen road in 1921and the Accra-Kumasi trunk road in 1923.
that dates back several centuries ago therefore exploited the commercial opportunities that came along with the transport evolution in Nkawkaw.

The railway and its station which is now in ruin and the lorry park in what is currently known as old station became the centre of attraction and trade in the town. People took advantage of the stop over made in Nkawkaw on route to Kumasi from Accra and vice versa to sell their commodities as hawkers. The town also became a point of collection and distribution centre from where cocoa from Kwahu towns and environs was transported to the coast. Stalls also sprang up in every corner of the town as Nkawkaw became a centre of collection and distribution of goods that traders brought from the coast to Nkawkaw. Establishment of stalls became a hallmark and dream of every ambitious young man in Kwahu, a tradition that has remained to date. Among some of the goods that were sold as retail were textiles, tobacco, sugar, furniture, provisions and building materials.

Produce from Afram Plains and the Kwahu hinterlands also had ready markets in Nkawkaw. This was particularly so after the Afram route on the North side of Kwahu Escarpment was reduced to redundancy as a major route to the coast owing to the construction of the railway and road that connected the whole of Kwahu to the rest of Ghana via Nkawkaw. The implication of this is that the transportation and commercial importance Nkawkaw offered was not only accessible to the inhabitants of the town alone as would soon be realised, but also to the entire Kwahu region. The town thus plays the role of the central place in Kwahu. As people began to perceive Nkawkaw as a haven of commerce and a prosperous town many enterprising young men began to flock to Nkawkaw to find employment. This further encouraged the construction of houses to accommodate the teeming

104 A Stall to the Kwahu person is a shop in which goods usually bought from the Coast particularly Accra was sold as retailed goods to customers

105 Information provided by Opanyin Kwaku Yeboah. The interview was conducted on 28th May 2015.
population. The housing sector began to witness appreciable improvement as the population increased. Nkawkaw by all standards from the 1920s became the town with the most commercial opportunities served with the best transport systems in Kwahu. That the author makes this assertion is borne out of the position assumed by the District Commissioner of the Kwahu District in 1924

“Trade has been good during the quarter and prices of cocoa ranged from 13/- to 14/6 at Nkawkaw and on the Kwahu plateau respectively. Building is extending rapidly at Nkawkaw and several well designed stores were being erected. Both Millers Ltd. and the African and Eastern Trade Cooperation have extended their premises and the S.C.O.A. and G. Rham & CO. are to build stores for the next season.”

This evidence proves that for a very long time trade featured prominently in the economic activities of the people of Nkawkaw and that not only indigenes of Kwahu benefited from the commercial importance of Nkawkaw. This report also highlighted an essential feature of Nkawkaw which was the erection of stalls in the town as early as 1924 and till date trade in the town through stall ownership (in the form of wholesale, retail and petty trading) remains a substantial economic activity of the people. In my estimation the significant inroads made by these European firms to Nkawkaw during this period could be related to the improved transport systems that linked the coastal states to the forest regions of Gold Coast. This eventually eased the transportation bottlenecks.

4.4. Trading as the Major Economic Activity in Nkawkaw

Trading according to the Kwahu West Municipal Assembly (KWMA 2013) is the dominant economic activity of the people of Nkawkaw. At every corner of the town one is sure to find a trading activity of one form or the other. Stalls for selling retail goods are very

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106 PRAAD, Koforidua, ADM/KD.29/6/35, Quarterly Reports-March Quarter 1924
common in the town. That commerce is the dominant economic activity of the people of the town under study is not a recent development, as the Quarterly reports of 1924 revealed in the previous page appreciated the extent of European intrusion into Nkawkaw to share in the enormous commercial opportunities of the town.

This is not to say however that other livelihood activities like farming and hunting are non-existent or that the soils of Nkawkaw are totally divorced from agricultural activities. These could also be found in the town, but they are practiced on much smaller scale. Inhabitants of the town do maintain farm lands and hunt game in the nearby communities of Nkawkaw. Some inhabitants also maintained backyard gardens, but all these are to a very large extent done for subsistence purposes, although some may release their surpluses to the markets. Majority of the food consumption in Nkawkaw have had to come from the surrounding communities of Kwahu. A major food basket for Nkawkaw and for that matter Kwahu is the Afram Plains. Food items like yam, *gari* (a locally refined product from cassava), maize, beans, ground nuts and also fish emanate from the Kwahu-North districts\(^\text{107}\). Other towns like Bepong, Kwahu Praso, Osubeng, Pra River, Dwerebease, Atuobikrom, and Measo are also known for the cultivation and production of a wide range of farm produce like cassava, plantain and other vegetables. Essentially, Nkawkaw provides the commercial opportunity for the sales of all these farm produce and the Nkawkaw Central market\(^\text{108}\) as well as the Agbogloshie market is very useful in this regard. The history of the Agbogloshie market\(^\text{109}\) reveals the fact that it was the quest for a market space for the Yam Sellers whose main source of supplies came from Afram Plains that necessitated the establishment of the

\(^{107}\) Information on Nkawkaw market was provided by Maame Anyei who is the Queen of the Nkawkaw Central Market, and Maame Akosua Bamfo a market woman in an interview held on 12th June 2013.

\(^{108}\) This is the largest and most vibrant market in the Municipality.

\(^{109}\) Refer chapter 3, p.72 of this thesis.
market in 1990. There is also a very vibrant section of the same market designated for the sale of varieties of fish and the sellers remarked that the source of their supplies is the Afram Plains and Accra. This supports the point this thesis makes that Nkawkaw in itself is not a food producing community, but for the fact that it has become the commercial nerve centre that provides ready market for farm produce in Kwahu in its two large markets, food is abundant in the town. According to KWMA (2013) about 71% of crop farmers in Kwahu sell their produce in the Kwahu West Municipality particularly in Nkawkaw.

Respondents were of the opinion that regardless of where one cultivated farm produce in Kwahu, Nkawkaw was relatively the most favourable destination in Kwahu if indeed the items were in such high quantity intended to fetch sales. Although this might be an exaggeration as food items from the Afram Plains have also been transported to the markets of Bepong a town on the Kwahu plateau, Koforidua, Accra and other parts of Ghana, they seemed to have crystallized clearly the idea that Nkawkaw literally is relatively the place to sell farm produce if they are cultivated in Kwahu. Consequently, the town under study has become a point of collection and distribution. Entrepreneurs have taken opportunity of the commercial advantage of the town to trade in other merchandise.

Therefore this study has chosen to focus on trade which is the dominant activity in the economic milieu of Nkawkaw with particular attention to wholesale, retail and petty trading. Livelihood activities like agriculture (farming, hunting, fishing, raising livestock), mining, cloth weaving, pottery making and trading were undertaken by the Kwahu people as means of livelihood from the pre-colonial days of Gold Coast and Donkor’s work, A Socio-Economic History of Okwahu Migrants in Accra. A Case Study of Okwahu Migrants in Okaishie in
Kantamanto (c1873-1990) which is useful in this regard has extensively discussed these activities in general.

However, upon all these economic practices it is in the particular field of distribution of resources through trade that the Kwahu people according to Donkor (2003, p.54) were said to have come to their own and for which they were recognised in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Ghana.

The Kwahu people are popularly known in Ghana for their great strides in commercial activities. That this is so is not a recent development, for Daaku (1965, p.14) contended that in the second half of the 17th Century traders from Akyem and Kwahu brought down to the Coast their gold particularly to the market of Accra. Daaku (1970, p.146) also revealed that most of the ivory sold on the coast came from the woodland fringes of the forest and the “Kwawus” as he puts it were the medium through which ivory from Afram Plains reached the coast. Oral tradition and early Dutch as well as English sources repeatedly mentioned the Kwahu area among other Akan states as rich supplies of gold (Ofosu-Mensah, n.d.).

In my opinion this appreciation was not just mentioned because gold was abundant in the area, but it was because the chief means by which European merchants acquired this gold was through trade. Donkor (2003, p.56) has therefore remarked that it was from the amount of Gold the Dutch received from the Kwahu state through trade that merited the latter’s appearance on the 1629 map of Gold Coast.

The Basel Mission which was established in Abetifi much later in the last three decades of the 19th Century also provided evidence to support the trading activities of the Kwahu people. Werner in 1875 reported that Obo was the biggest town in Africa with several thousand inhabitants and in the streets of this town they saw something new to them. There
were several merchant stalls with cloth, salts, fish and so on offered for sale. This report gives ample evidence to support the fact that the Kwahu people did not only trade in Gold and ivory, but other varieties of goods. Mainly the Kwahu people of Gold Coast have traditionally played the role as middlemen serving as the link between Ashanti and its hinterlands (Atebubu, Kintampo, Kete-Krachi and Salaga) and the Coastal states of Accra and Cape Coast (Simensen 1975, p.387).

Their items of trade have varied with time depending on what was in high demand and where they had travelled for supplies. Kwahu traders therefore carried varieties of commodities from one market centre to the other. Until 1890 the Kwahu travelled to Salaga in the North to buy salt and slaves. From 1890 and 1914, rubber became an important trade commodity in Gold Coast and the Kwahu people played the role of middlemen who bought varieties of rubber from Nkoranza-Kintampo, Sunyani-Berekum in the Brong Ahafo region and Ejura in the Ashanti region. According to Garlick (1967, pp.467-468) these rubber was sold at the Coast in Accra and Cape Coast from where European goods like spirits, gunpowder, tobacco and most importantly cloth which were in high demand in the Forest zone were bought. Then from 1903 Cocoa became a major trade item in Kwahu.

The Kwahu traders went as far as Togo, Dahomey, Lagos, Kano, Gao Timbuktu and after the First World War to Ivory Coast trading in African beads Garlick (1967,p. 470). Garlick’s work African traders and economic development in Ghana also proved that the Kwahu from the 1950s became major retail traders in Ghana buying mainly from the big and well established expatriate firms.

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110 Werner to Basel, 6th May 1875, (Paul Jenkins Abstracts, PJA) Report of a Journey from Kibi to Kwahu (No. 257) p. 57
111 Dumett (1971, p.98) has revealed that Kwahu itself was a thickly forested state rich in rubber which became an important source of supply for Accra as early as 1885.
In fact, petty trading activities of the Kwahu people which sent them to various part of Gold Coast where commercial opportunities existed sometimes exposed them to hostilities. In August 1923 the Okyehene and Okyeman Council enacted a law that restricted Kwahu traders from engaging in any petty trading activity in Akyem Abuakwa\textsuperscript{112}. The argument put forward by the council was that almost all stores and petty trading activities had been taking over by the Kwahu people who according to Asiamah (2011, p.135) formed 85\% of all petty traders that operated in Abuakwa. The prohibition order was aimed principally at diverting such trading activities from the alien traders (Kwahu) into the hands of the indigenous people of Abuakwa.

A year before this development, Kwahu petty traders of Suhum suffered from persecution when they were arrested by one of the courtiers of the paramount chief in the absence of the latter\textsuperscript{113}. This historical evidence is enough to substantiate the fact that throughout the periods of pre-colonial\textsuperscript{114}, colonial and post-colonial the Kwahu have acquired national recognition as inveterate traders. Donkor (2003, p.54) argued that the Kwahu people have been referred to as the tribe of shopkeepers or the tribe of storekeepers and in the market centres of Accra, in areas like Kantamanto, Okaishie and Abosey Okai majority of the stalls are dominated and run by Kwahu people. It is in this light of trade as the dominant economic activity that Nkawkaw is viewed.

The most significant factor that has contributed to making the Kwahu people assume the status of inveterate traders in Ghana is the geographical location of the area. From Kwahu one could access the markets of Kumasi and its hinterland (Kintampo, Nkoranza, Atebubu,

\textsuperscript{112} PRAAD, Accra, ADM/11/1639, Kwahu Traders- Restrictions Placed on Kwahu Petty Traders
\textsuperscript{113} PRAAD, Koforidua, ERG.1/1/4, Expulsion of Kwahu. Reports –September Quarter, 1922
\textsuperscript{114} To this end the Assistant Colonial Surgeon to Governor wrote that the Kwahu people were the most industrious people as they spend ample time trading with the people of the Coast and Salaga. PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/598, 13\textsuperscript{th} December 1888, Assistant Colonial Surgeon to Governor
Salaga, and Kete-Krachi). It was also easy to reach the Coastal states of Accra and Cape Coast while traversing Kyebi and Akuapem. The implication is that Kwahu took advantage of their location as circumstantial beneficiaries of geography and acted as Middlemen linking the North and South of Gold Coast through trade. Not surprisingly the colonial administration became aware of the geographical and economic importance of Kwahu so that their colonial documents already shown were full of appreciation to that effect.

In this line of thought Governor Guggisberg caused the transportation systems of railway and road in 1922 and 1923 respectively to pass through Nkawkaw. A critical observation of Nkawkaw reveals that the town also maintains the same geographical importance as Kwahu. In addition to linking Accra and Kumasi as a thoroughfare the town also links areas along the lines of such major places to Kwahu and also posed as the only southern gateway to the Kwahu plateau. It is virtually impossible to get to Kwahu without passing through Nkawkaw. The town is strategically located as the centre of Kwahu and a point of collection and distribution of goods, the same role it played during the colonial period.

Hence the geographical location of Nkawkaw informed the decision of the colonial administration the need to use it as thoroughfare. As an area that was already well placed in terms of location, the transport systems further accentuated the importance of the town as the transport hub and this as a consequential effect transformed Nkawkaw in to the commercial nerve centre of Kwahu. This therefore meant that all Kwahu towns on the Plateau as well the Afram Plains and those on the Southern side of the escarpment (in effect all towns of the Kwahu districts) became dependent on Nkawkaw as an entrance to Kwahu and a source of supplies. Nkawkaw has become a meeting point for people from all parts of Kwahu. This has
created a high demand for goods and services in the town, a situation for a clear commercial opportunity.

Therefore in investigating the reasons for the position of Nkawkaw as the commercial capital of Kwahu the chief factors are the strategic location of the town bestowed by nature as the centre of Kwahu and the transport systems the town witnessed in the second decades of the 20th Century. It is these factors which eventually culminated into graduating the town which was hitherto a village in to an urban centre. Nkawkaw is now the commercial and transportation hub of Kwahu.

In current times Nkawkaw retains importance as a trading town and trade indeed is the dominant economic activity of the inhabitants. This does not also imply that trade is the only economic activity in Nkawkaw. There exist in Nkawkaw Household economic activities like palm oil and palm kernel oil extraction, cassava processing and basket weaving. One is also likely to spot a number of modern craft oriented jobs like radio and television technicians, auto mechanics, electrical or gas welders, and wood working shops. Small scale manufacturing in the areas of saw-mill and food processing and other service providers in the informal sector are also found in Nkawkaw (KWMA, 2013).

However, it is trade that remains the major source of livelihood in Nkawkaw. Essentially, trade in the town could be organised into three categories according to the Ghana Revenue Authority (GRA) of the Nkawkaw branch. These are wholesale, retail and petty trading. Almost all businesses are sole- proprietorship. One of the striking features every commuter is likely to see upon first entry into the Nkawkaw Township in a glance is the impressive number of stalls and innumerable number of hawkers. These stalls have become the point of sales where goods are bought and sold in other Kwahu towns. In Nkawkaw most

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115 Information on trade in Nkawkaw was provided in a group interview with some staff members of the Ghana Revenue Authority in Nkawkaw. Seated in the interview which was conducted on 16th of June 2015 were the District Statistician (Michael Boahene), Albert Agyekum and Daniel Donkor.
of the wholesale shops also operate as retail stalls. According to the Ghana Revenue Authority (GRA, Nkawkaw branch) some of the major wholesale businesses include Teslink and Dansam Limited (firms that are distributing agents for Unilever and Nestle Ghana), Obuoba Group (made of a local gin manufacturing company, roofing sheet wholesale), Real Parker Enterprise (wholesale shop for provisions), Kwadisco Enterprise which is also a wholesale shop for provisions, Charle Boy Limited (wholesale Cold Store), Ecovans (wholesale for alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages), K. Ofori Enterprise, B. Kind Enterprise and the largest bakery in Kwahu (O.A.T Bakery). There is also quite a number of manufacturing companies that produce sachet water. If one constructed a pyramid structure for traders in Nkawkaw it is those who operate as wholesale traders, the very few ones who are found at the apex. They are followed in the middle by those who operate as retailers. There is then the last group which constitutes the majority of all traders and operates as petty traders. Wholesale businesses in Nkawkaw provide a great deal of service to Kwahu and neighbouring Kwahu towns. Dansam and Teslink limited for instance which are both distributing agents for Unilever and Nestle Ghana serve as a major distributor of products from the latter companies to Kwahu and neighbouring towns of Kwahu.

Traders from Asante Akyem, Konongo, Abirem North, Anyinam, and Osino rely on wholesale supply from Nkawkaw.\footnote{116} Since Nkawkaw has become popularly accepted as a commercial hub for serving Kwahu, people prefer to buy from the town than from other Kwahu towns even if the same items were found in both places. This is because it is generally perceived and as it turned out to be true goods bought in Nkawkaw are relatively cheaper than elsewhere in Kwahu and its environs.\footnote{117} Some thrifty traders who want to maximize profit and cut transport cost as well reduce risk in travelling to Accra or Kumasi for supplies therefore

\footnote{116} Information provided by Mr. Parker, the Managing Director of Real Parker Enterprise in Nkawkaw. This interview was held on 16\textsuperscript{th} June 2015.

\footnote{117} During the study I observed the prices for two categories of items in two separate shops each in the areas of Nkawkaw and Mpraeso. These were the prices of two building items (plywood and PVC panels) and perfumery (Suremen body spray). While in Nkawkaw the average price of plywood remained at Twenty two cedis and one hundred and ten cedis for a bundle of PVC panel that of Mpraeso was twenty five cedis and one hundred and twenty cedis respectively for both items. While the body deodorant cost thirteen cedis in Nkawkaw it sold at fifteen cedis at Mpraeso. Even though this could be attributed to the transportation cost between the two places it was nonetheless relatively moderate to buy from Nkawkaw than elsewhere in other Kwahu towns.
buy from these wholesale traders in Nkawkaw and so do consumers who want to make little savings on expenditure.

Retail shops are also very common in Nkawkaw and GRA puts the total number of such shops whose owners pay Direct taxes to 213 and 152 for those who pay Indirect taxes. This figure is on the low side according to the GRA as there are a significant number of retailers who have not yet registered with their outfit. Retailers in Nkawkaw sell almost every kind of consumables and merchandise. One of the retailed shops whose owner was interviewed was Yekoben Trading Enterprise. This is a retail shop that sells building materials some of which include iron rods, cement, roofing sheets, PVC panels, plywood and all kinds of steel items. In Nkawkaw alone there are three branches of the enterprise. Three other branches are in Abetifi, Mpraeso and Anyinam.

The Kwahu people are known to have a reputation for putting up impressive buildings. It is the hallmark and prestige of every wealthy Kwahu person to build a very modern and lavishly decorated mansion at home (Kwahu) regardless of where they lived. It is therefore very common to find in Kwahu towns of Obomen, Obo and Nkwatia very huge and modern mansions with very few or no occupants. Most owners of such buildings usually have travelled either to the big cities of Ghana or outside the country in search of greener pastures. Although the Kwahu are found in almost every part of Ghana the most important place of Kwahu settlement outside Kwahu is Accra and according to Garlick (1967, p. 473), the Kwahu preferred the 100 mile journey south to Accra to the 60 mile journey west to Kumasi which is the second largest city in Ghana. The mansions put up by the Kwahu have become a symbolic representation of wealth and are only occupied during the all-important

\[\text{Interview with Bernard Kofi Yeboah, Managing Director of Yekoben Trading Enterprise in an interview held on 13th June 2015.}\]

\[\text{The interest of the Kwahu people in trade and their industriousness has sent them to almost every part of the Ghana. Nkansah-Kyeremanteng (2000, p. 64) has therefore remarked that wherever some form of commercial activity could be undertaken in Ghana, you were likely to find a Kwahu.}\]
occasion of Easter, funerals and other traditional festivities. People are also putting up new structures in Nkawkaw to accommodate the still growing populace of the town and entrepreneurs are taking advantage of the commercial importance of the town to build new structures. All these factors have culminated into making retail supply and trade in building materials among others in Nkawkaw a lucrative business. Businesses like K. Ofori Enterprise, Eno Afansor CO. Ltd (deals in all kinds of cement), Metalex Limited, and still under construction Ataala Limited which are popularly known for wholesale and retail supply of building materials have all gotten branches in Nkawkaw. These firms are known to be established in urban places where commercial opportunities exist and so for branches of these businesses to be opened in Nkawkaw are indicative of the commercial importance of the town.

According to respondent, to sell in Nkawkaw means selling to the whole Kwahu districts, Atiwa districts, Abirem North and Asante Akyem. Traders from these places rely on Nkawkaw for supply of goods. Such is therefore the commercial opportunities and the distributive role the town provides as residiency services to the whole of Kwahu and not only to its inhabitants. The role of Nkawkaw as a Central Place of Kwahu as encapsulated in Christaller’s Central Place theory is reflective in this regard.

Although most of the trading firms employed the services of non-relatives, majority of the stalls in Nkawkaw employed the assistance of relatives (older children, nephews, siblings and other relations). The preference for family labour in some of the stalls in Nkawkaw according to respondents was as a result of mistrust for non-relatives and bitter experiences some Kwahu traders in Nkawkaw had with outsiders. Besides, there is enthusiasm, willingness and motivation to give maximum productivity when working in a shop owned by a relative than that of a non-relative. This is contrary to those who had no passion for the work
and whose main aim was to take wages and salaries for themselves whether or not business
made profit. This partly explains why polygamous marriages and preference for large family
was a popular practice.

The majority of the traders in Nkawkaw according to GRA which this study focuses
attention on are the petty traders, a significant number of whom are hawkers who sell in the
Lorry stations and by the roadside. These traders are examined in the subsequent paragraphs.

4.4.1. Lorry Parks, Traffic and Hawking

Motor vehicles and its usage continued to increase significantly each year in the Gold
Coast with the construction of more roads. The total number of vehicles that was 2,040 in
1920, more than doubled to 2060 in 1926 and further increased to 6,070 in 1927 (Ntewusu
2011, p.132). Also important is the fact that in the latter part of 1920s Mummy Lorries
popularly known as arro glass\(^{120}\) began to ply the roads of Nkawkaw and Kwahu. There was
therefore the growing need by the colonial government to introduce the creation of lorry parks
in most places in Gold Coast where increase in motor transport had led to increase in mobility
of persons and goods in general\(^{121}\). Under the circumstance the colonial government in the
third decades of the 20\(^{th}\) Century established a lorry park in Nkawkaw. This lorry park in
Nkawkaw became a designated ground and a parking space for motor vehicles that provided
commercial transport services for Kwahu. The park in question is currently located at its
original position near the Nkawkaw Central Market. Bartle (2007) contended that the

\(^{120}\) Information provided by Opanin Sebewie in earlier interview. Arro glass was the popular name for the
mummy wagons and this was so because such vehicles had no door glasses that could be rolled up when it was
rained. It was a sort of lorry with free ventilation and owing to the fact that the doors had no glasses and were
always seen through the door glass was perceived to have already been naturally rolled down thus the name arro
glass meaning you have rolled your glass. These were Bedford vehicles imported from United Kingdom. It was
the diesel engines and the steel frames that had good reputations and so were imported. Local carpenters then
built the box, seats, roof (tarred to be waterproof) and canvas flaps for the sides and back to use when it rained.
Bartle (2007) opined that they were called mummy trucks from the Twi word maame meaning mother because
such vehicles were mostly owned by wealthy women that controlled trade in food and retail products.

\(^{121}\) PRAAD, Accra, CSO/14/1/270
Nkawkaw lorry park became a transport hub for travels to all part of Kwahu and this included towns up on the escarpment to the northern slopes of Afram Plains as well as the southern side of the escarpment.

The transportation function of the lorry park as described by Bartle has not changed in current times except to say that it has improved its services and expanded in size as would soon be realised. It is however important to state that the lorry park in Nkawkaw was not only a parking space for vehicles, but also important commercial site for hawkers and traders, a situation that has to a very large extent remained so to modern times. Nkawkaw continues to be the major transportation hub in Kwahu and second to Koforidua in this respect in the Eastern Region (KWMA, 2013).

In 2008 a new lorry park was established in addition to the existing one. This put the total number of lorry stations in the town to two. The project which was undertaking under the auspices of the Kwahu West Municipal Assembly was a response to the growing population and physical expansion of the town accompanied by an increase in the number of commercial vehicles that provide transport service to passengers. This created huge congestion and traffic of both pedestrians and vehicles in Nkawkaw. The first lorry park established by the colonial government in the 20th Century therefore became an inefficient space to accommodate these vehicles. Government intervention led by the Municipal Chief Executive, Dr. Obeng Somuah with the help of some opinion leaders facilitated the construction of the second lorry station in what became known as Nkawkaw New Station\textsuperscript{122}. The first lorry park therefore was referred to as Nkawkaw as Old Station.

The Old Station in effect was specifically designated for taxis that provided internal services in the Kwahu West Municipality, Kwahu towns outside the municipality, but on the

\textsuperscript{122} Information provided by Mr. Kenneth Osman in an interview on 22\textsuperscript{nd} May 2015
southern side of the escarpment (some of which include Kwahu Praso, Nnadieso, Osubong, Apradang, Yawkɔkɔ, Pra River, Besease, Kokompe, Jijeti and New Jijeti) and all towns on the Kwahu plateau with the exception of Afram Plains. It is therefore only in Nkawkaw that such transport services to all part of Kwahu are available. The Southern Gateway to Kwahu as an accolade given Nkawkaw by Boateng (1996, p.172) seems meritorious.

The New Station on the other hand has been designated for commercial vehicles (large and mini buses that provide long journey transport services to towns beyond the boundaries of Kwahu, but linked mainly to Accra, Akuapem, Akyem, the Abirem districts and Kumasi. Some of the areas served by the New Station in Nkawkaw include Akyem Oda, Okoase, Abirem, Wenso on the Abirem road, Kumasi and all towns along its route, Koforidua and all towns along that lines (Anyinam, from where there is easy access to Akyem towns), Kpong, Somanya, Akuapem (Adawso, Manfe), Accra, Tema and also Kasoa in the Central region. Transport services from this station are also available to the towns on the Afram plains like Donkorkrom, Forifori and Tease. Respondents maintained the view that there is no town in Kwahu that provides such enormous transport services like the one provided by Nkawkaw. They further contended that all people from the Afram Plains and some parts of the Kwahu hinterlands who want to travel to Accra and the towns mentioned would first have to pass through Nkawkaw before they got vehicles to their various destinations.

Information about the Old and New Lorry Station and the services they both provide was obtained in a group interview held on 23rd of May 2015 with the Leaders of the GPRTU of GTUC, Accra Station, Branch No.1 at Nkawkaw New Station. Seated were Charles Frimpong (Secretary), Addo (second Trustee), and Kwabena Asare (Former Chairman of Mini buses and a current executive member) all of the Union. The Chairman of the Union a seventy eight year retired driver affectionately known in Nkawkaw as Sebewie was interviewed later in the day. Opanyin Sebewie who revealed that that he started as a mate (bus conductor) in 1950 and became a driver in 1954 when he acquired his license has been driving since then for the most part of his life as a commercial car driver who transported passengers to and fro Nkawkaw to Accra, although for a while he worked for a private firm in Accra as a the Chief Transport Officer, he later became a transport owner and a commercial driver at the same time. His experiences shared made useful contribution to this study. Drivers who drive cargo trucks and transport goods to and fro Kwahu were also interviewed on 25th May 2015. Seated in this interview were Seth Tweneboah, Haruna Iddrisu, Daniel Gyamfi, Yaw Wiafe and Saani Mohammed.
4.4.2. Traffic and Hawking in Nkawkaw

In an attempt to find out the immense trading opportunities that transport systems in Nkawkaw have provided numerous people of Kwahu a particular group of people who are evidence of those taking advantage of this development were examined. It is very common for anyone travelling through Nkawkaw to spot hawkers along the road or the lorry stations. Hawking which is a form of petty trading has become a major source of livelihood for people in Nkawkaw and as an economic activity that forms an essential part of the informal sector in the town under study attention needs to be paid to it.

The informal sector particularly hawking and vending seems to provide readily source of employment to a significant number of youth in Nkawkaw. The reason for this according to respondents\textsuperscript{124} is that ordinarily the initial capital needed to start a hawking business is not huge as compared to other businesses and therefore not cumbersome to come by. Most hawkers (majority of whom are mobile) except for those that are stationed vendors do not struggle for space to sell their products. They are free to sell on any parts of the road side as long as they are safe from motor accident. Except for the presence of Police patrols at night and a few ones in the morning to ensure law and order and to prevent hawkers-vehicle conflict, the vendors face virtually no opposition with space for hawking. Even the stationary vendors by the roadside of the Nkawkaw only need small spaces for their little structures and such piece of land is acquired with the permission of the land owners whose plots are located

\textsuperscript{124} Information about traffic and hawking as part of the discussion on petty traders in Nkawkaw was obtained in a group interview conducted with hawkers in both lorry stations of the town, beside the Nkawkaw Highway bypass in the area known as New Road, and those in Nkawkaw Central. Seated in the group interview with the hawkers at the New Road were George Biredu, tea and bread vendor, Samuel Kotey who owns a small grocery shop and a mobile hawker as well, Mariama Awudu who sells tiger nuts , Doris Mireku a stationary hawker who sells bread and tea, Aba Yaa who also sells bread. In the Nkawkaw Township proper those interviewed were Afua Mansa a stationary hawker who sells pottery products, Lydia who prefers to be called Mama Lee sells tiger nuts, Ante Julie and another woman who also prefers to be called Obolo in the New Station. These interviews were held on 23\textsuperscript{rd} and 24\textsuperscript{th} May 2015.
very near the road side. Respondents remarked that sometimes and not all days of the week they were made to pay an amount of twenty pesewas to pay for the services of cleaners in keeping the place tidy. These factors combined have produced a significant number of street entrepreneurs in Nkawkaw.

Nkawkaw as noted straddles the Kwahu Plateau (Kwahu South, East and North), Atiwa and Abirem North Districts and Asante Akyem South in the Ashanti region (Frempong 2006). This makes Nkawkaw a very busy town especially one through which the Accra-Kumasi trunk road passes. All vehicles destined to the Kwahu plateau pass through the town. Again the town also posed as a medium to Kumasi and its hinterland (Brong Ahafo and the three Northern regions of Ghana) from Accra and vice versa. By extensions long cargo trucks transporting goods from the coastal ports of Ghana to areas beyond the borders of Ghana (Burkina Faso, Niger and Mali) as well as passengers on commercial vehicles to this same destinations to and fro use the Nkawkaw road. The road therefore assumed the position of regional, long distance and international motor traffic. This makes Nkawkaw a very busy town rife with huge motor traffic and people on daily basis, people who trip in daily to the place to trade. The notoriously heavy traffic build up in Nkawkaw as a result of the trunk road and the rifeness of the lorry station and indeed with the town itself which was to a large extent only reduced in 2012 provide immense commercial opportunities for hawkers and vendors who sell their goods to motorists and travellers that pass through Nkawkaw.

Note that 2012 is the terminal date for the study as well as the year in which the Nkawkaw Highway bypass according to Antwi (2014, pp.3) which forms part of the Accra –Kumasi trunk road (National N6) was opened to traffic. The bypass became necessary as the main trunk road through Nkawkaw Township put the town under enormous pressure by motorists that plied the road. This led to heavy traffic and congestion of people a situation that could only be resolved by the construction of a bypass away from Nkawkaw Central. This road was opened to traffic in 2012 and from that period the area through which the highway passed has popularly been referred to as New Road. Therefore New Road will be used to refer to the area of the Highway bypass in Nkawkaw for easy identification.
In discussing the theme of traffic and hawking in the area understudy as a product of transport systems the study draws from Klaeger (2012) whose work *Rush and Relax: the Rhythm and Speed of Touting Perishable Products on a Ghanaian Roadside* proves useful in this regard. Hawkers are found trading in the various lorry stations or any other place where commercial vehicles are known to carry passengers, mostly the same place where they alight. They are also found by the roadside on the edge of arterial roads especially when there is traffic build up. Among these hawkers in the various places there are those who are stationary vendors and wait to be approached by motorists to patronise their goods. Then there are also the mobile hawkers who move or run towards both private and commercial vehicles to impress upon them to purchase their goods when there is traffic jam. In all instances hawkers agreed to the fact that heavy traffic was a clear opportunity to make sales as potential customers were naturally compelled to occupy their minds and satisfy their curiosity with the wide range of products offered for sale as they wait for the cars to move.

The products the hawkers offer for sale are not essentially different from what Klaeger (2012) outlines in his work. They vary from Drinks (homemade sachet water, Ice cream, canned soft drinks), snacks (pie, plantain chips, biscuits). Of all the items the most common ones that is visibly seen on display for sale in Nkawkaw is bread, tiger nuts, sachet water (known in Ghana as *pure water*), Ice cream (Fan ice, Yoghurt, Fan Choco). Bread sales are very common in almost every corner of the town and the brand of bread that is best sold in Nkawkaw is O.A.T., a brand that has stood the test of time in Nkawkaw. It is a particularly kind of soft bread especially so if fresh. That, this brand of bread forms part of the dominant

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126 At the time the research was conducted in 2015 in the month of May a new traffic toll booth was under construction at Akyem Sekyere on the way to Nkawkaw. The project therefore caused vehicles to slow down and sometimes almost grinded to a halt. This presented a good opportunity for hawkers to sell their products. The place was therefore flunked with hawkers during daytime.
items sold by hawkers is not surprising. This is because the O. A.T. bakery according to GRA is the largest bakery in Kwahu and its location is also very accessible to all. O.A.T. bread has already gotten a large market base in Kwahu and beyond. Hawkers therefore buy from the bakery to sell by the roadside and in the lorry stations in Nkawkaw Township. The bakery therefore provides a number of hawkers with an opportunity to make ends meet. The other popular brand of bread in the town is B. Foster from Koforidua.

Another common item of the hawkers is the sale of tiger nuts. The Kwahu people are traditionally known for the production of tiger nuts (Adonteng 2009: Xiii) and the Kwahu town known for the production of tiger nuts is Aduamoah. Respondents remarked that tiger nuts are also imported from Techiman, Kasoa, Bodwease, Wa, Kasoa, and as far as Burkina Faso.

Respondents revealed that it was particularly from Thursdays through the weekend and on Mondays that higher sales were made. It was during this time that indigenes of Kwahu including Nkawkaw hinterlands, Asante Akyem South and Kumasi in the Ashanti region as well as Akyem Oda in the Abirem Districts usually returned from their various places of work in the big cities on occasions like funerals and marriage ceremonies. According to the hawkers it was during this time that motorists and travellers made a stopover usually on the request of the passengers or when there is traffic build up especially in the case of Nkawkaw Central. One of such respondent made the following remarks;

*Those travelling to Nkawkaw hinterland prefer to buy products from the lorry stations while waiting for their vehicles to get full or by the roadside at a cheaper price and in the case of bakery fresh ones than buy the same product at a relatively expensive price at their final destinations.*

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127 O.A.T Bakery is located adjacent the junction of Nkawkaw Senior High School. It is just by the roadside to Nkawkaw Township.
Mondays also proved profitable days as tiger nuts and bread were hugely patronised by travellers who were returning to their various places of residence after attending the occasion that brought them to their hometowns. This does not however mean that other items are not patronised.

It is also interesting to know that these road side hawkers run shift within the day even though there are no compelling rules as to who should sell at what time of the day. Hawkers choose to sell at any time of the day as far as their strength could carry them. This notwithstanding, some preferred to sell in the morning from about 8:30 on the average through to 8:00 pm and close for the day by which time those who preferred to sell throughout the night would already have started hawking. Hardly at midnight does one find total darkness in Central Nkawkaw and the New Road. These areas are kept awake by the activities of the hawkers and drivers who patronise their products at night. Stationary hawkers also double as mobile hawkers who may chase after vehicles during rush hour or a traffic jam.

Signs and touting are used by these hawkers to advertise their products. It is very common to see hawkers pointing the index finger continuously to their heads to draw the attention of potential customers to the products they carry. Others would generally carry what they have in their hands or baskets. It was also observed that all hawkers rushed to one vehicle even if a traveller desired to buy a particular kind of item from one hawker. It was also observed that some of these hawkers also had special customer relations with drivers of commercial vehicles (especially VIP buses) that carry passengers. The drivers of such vehicles therefore upon approaching the town call their regular sellers to alert them and sometimes hawkers got on the buses to sell their items to passengers and alight at places like
Abepotia and Asona on the Nkawkaw-Kumasi road from where they returned to the New Road via commercial transport.

4.4.3. Nkawkaw Highway Bypass (New Road); a Major Hawking Site

Although hawking activities as an integral part of petty trading is very common in most parts of Nkawkaw the area that attracted that author’s attention in the respect of hawking is the area known as New Road. The author was interested in the extent to which the arterial road has suddenly become a major hawking site and particularly because it is following suit the trajectory through which the Nkawkaw Township grew into an urban area. Since the construction of the bypass in 2012 it has provided a number of advantages to the Nkawkaw Township. The Huge cargo cars, long trucks and other through traffic that hitherto passed through the town and in its wake created enormous traffic congestion and noise pollution have significantly been reduced as these trucks are diverted away from the main town to the bypass.

The Nkawkaw bypass has also enhanced traffic safety as pedestrian-vehicle conflict is reduced (Antwi, 2014, p. iii). While this is so, the commercial advantages that came along with the traffic congestion which was an opportunity for hawkers and some local businesses were also diverted away from the main town. The commercial opportunities for hawkers which were reduced in Nkawkaw Central apparently found its way to the New Road. The area in recent times has begun to grow appreciably as a stop point for cargo cars, long trucks,

\[\text{[128] It was for the same reason of reducing both human and vehicular traffic in Nkawkaw that KWMA under the influence of Dr. Obeng Somuah, the MCE initiated the introduction of traffic systems in the town. According to the MCE Nkawkaw, unlike other cities, is centrally located, as it connects Kwahu East, Kumasi, Atiwa, and Birim North, which makes the place economically attractive and lively, since people from all these areas come to do business there. To this end, the Assembly took the decision to mount the traffic lights at vantage points in an effort to reduce traveling time (“Nkawkaw To Get First Traffic Light | Ghanaian Chronicle,” n.d.). This makes Nkawkaw the only town in Kwahu region with traffic systems and it speaks volumes of the population concentration and liveliness of the town.}\]
commercial vehicles en route to Ashanti, Brong Ahafo and the three Northern regions of Ghana as well as other West African neighbouring countries. The area therefore hosts a considerable number of hawkers as the place is considered very strategic for trade.

Hawkers on the New Road revealed that some drivers of long trucks and heavy duty trucks that ply the bypass to their various places of destination have cultivated a habit of using the New Road as a stop point to relax at night in order to continue their journey in the early hours of the day. The drivers who travel with their assistants are normally in the company of three for each truck. They are the very source of patronage for the products sold by these hawkers and especially during the night. One could therefore count not less than four local restaurants (chop bars) on the New Road.

The area has therefore become a hot spot for petty traders. To this effect, it is becoming an important geographical space for land acquisition and according to an expert it is relatively expensive to own land in the area than it was before 2012. People have already started putting up new impressive residential and commercial building along the lines and area of the bypass. Envisaging the growing commercial importance of the place in the not too distant future there is huge rush for plots of land in the area. Prominent businesses like Ataala Limited, O.A.T Bakery and Eno Afansor C.O. Ltd. have all put up buildings in the area.

While Antwi (2014, p.36) held the view that the bypass has reduced sales for retail businesses, food vendors, hotels and fuel stations operators in the main town the drivers in the various stations who were interviewed assumed a different position towards the same issue. The drivers contended that the bypass has had a positive impact on the people of Nkawkaw. They further maintained that the bypass which has diverted heavy traffic away from the main

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129 The Expert in this case who was interviewed on 26th May 2015 is Ernest Amakye the Land Surveyor for The Atibie Stool Lands
130 Drivers interviewed on 23rd and 25th May 2015.
town of Nkawkaw will not in any way contribute to a reduction in the significance of Nkawkaw as a Central place in Kwahu. In their view it does not change the strategic location of the town as the centre of Kwahu and the role that comes with that. Nkawkaw is still surrounded by numerous hinterlands in Kwahu that will continue to depend on it for transportation and commercial purposes. In furtherance, the mini buses that are not station cars but run transport services to and fro Accra to Kumasi will always have to use the Accra Kumasi trunk road which passes through the main town of Nkawkaw for want of passengers.

Upon a proper examination of the making of the Nkawkaw town and the gradual growth of the area known as New Road both places seemed to have benefited from the enormous commercial opportunities offered them by the construction of road systems. Indeed this thesis has argued that strategic geographical location of places and the establishment of transportation systems through them are imperative impetuses to accentuate the importance of such places into urban centres.\(^{131}\)

Undoubtedly, Nkawkaw has become a very important town in Kwahu. All towns in Kwahu and its environs are heavily dependent on Nkawkaw and the Central Place role the town plays extends beyond commercial opportunities and readily provision of transport to include administrative functions as shown.

The attention this study has drawn from all these discussions is that Nkawkaw has assumed an important role in Kwahu as it has become the major commercial and transport hub as well as a point for administrative work, features which are key principles to transforming an area to a central place. Both high and low order goods and services are provided in the town.\(^{132}\) However, most important is the fact that these services are not

\(^{131}\) Refer to Chapter 2 pp. 28-29 of this thesis.

\(^{132}\) Refer to Chapter 2, pp. 42-44 of this thesis.
available and accessible only to the populace of Nkawkaw, but the whole of Kwahu, an argument this study advances as making a place an urban centre in a region.
CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to study a satellite town in Kwahu as an urban centre that plays the role of a Central Place. Using Christaller’s Central place theory as a guide the thesis discussed Nkawkaw and how it has grown in size and in function. Nkawkaw provides essential residentiary services not only to its inhabitants, but to the entire Kwahu region. As has been the opinion of Grove and Huszer (1964) the best approach to the classification of places as urban centres or towns is to examine the degree to which such places act as centres for the provision of services to its environs. Smailes (1953) also assumed the same position when he remarked that in their essential role, all urban centres must provide services for the external population over and above the town’s residents. It is against this backdrop that Nkawkaw was examined in this study as a town that serves Kwahu with an array of goods and services. The study also examined the central place function the town of Nkawkaw plays as the commercial nerve centre, transportation hub and the administrative point in Kwahu. To do this, a general introduction to the study was given by focusing on sub-themes such as background to the study, statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, the study methodology, significance of the study, and the organisation of the study.

In order to have a better appreciation of the study, literature on Urbanisation and the growth of urban centres were reviewed. The choice to review literature on the mentioned themes was first and foremost to place Nkawkaw in the context of the phenomena of urbanisation and the growth of urban centres. Nkawkaw began as a village before it acquired an urban status in 1970 by the Central Bureau of Statistics and so it was only appropriate to situate a study of the town in the urban development discourse. Secondly the choice was also
informed by the significant connection between the two concepts which has always been glaring. Urbanisation has almost always created significant necessity for the emergence of urban centres and for this scholars like Mabogunje (1968), Lowry (1990) and Songsore (2009) have affirmed. The review of literature gave a broad picture of the concepts of urbanisation and the growth of urban centres. It was established that even though Africa could boast of impressive and historical cities (like Adulis, Meroe, Axum and much later the West African Sudanese Empires whose cities included Timbuktu, Koumbe-Saleh, Gao) most of the present day chain of urban centres dotted all over Africa and in the particular case of Ghana on the coast and some southern areas owe their establishment or growth to European intrusion. Adarkwa(2013), Konadu-Agyemang (1998), Frimpong-Ansah (1991) and Owusu (2005, p.48) confirmed this assertion. These urban centres emerged either because they served as trading post and a point of transport of resources across the ocean. Most areas in southern Ghana also benefited hugely from colonial investment in infrastructure which was aimed at linking the coast to the south.

The sequel to this development was that it led to the emergence of urban centres along or around the areas where such infrastructure were built. The structures in this regard were communication in kind (ports, harbor, roads and railways the last two which concerned this study). In Gold Coast, Nkawkaw and a number of towns including Tamale, New Mangoase, Suhum, Nsawam, Kade, and Akwatia are classic examples of areas whose journey to the status of township and importance was heightened by the transportation systems that passed through them. Scholars like Ntewusu (2014), Albert and Blankson (1974), Campbell (1994), Garlick (1967), and Grove and Huszar (1964), Abloh (1967) have all affirmed the role of transport in making these areas important as urban centres.
The history of Kwahu in general and that of Nkawkaw in particular were examined. It should be noted that the history and origin of Nkawkaw cannot be completed without first looking at the history of the Obomen people who are the traditional founders of Nkawkaw as well as the history of Atibie people who also own a section of Nkawkaw. Attention was also given to the migrant communities which form an essential part of the demographic distribution of Nkawkaw and more to the fact that the emergence of these sub-urban areas has relation with transport (railway) in the Nkawkaw. The institutions of governance both traditional and modern political dispensation with focus on the Assembly Member were studied.

The social organisation and practices of the people of Nkawkaw were also examined with reference to family (which is seen as the basic unit of every social structure and the lens to understanding a people’s culture), marriage and marriage ceremonies and religious practices and beliefs. It was established from the study that preference for large family size and kindred consciousness had economic orientation as relations were often employed in the economic ventures of relatives. This was later found be true as the author observed that most of the stalls that were visited employed the services of kinsfolks. A point to reiterate is that Christianity which was introduced by the Basel Mission in Kwahu Abetifi in 1876 has had profound influence on the social organisation and practices of the people of Nkawkaw majority of whom is Kwahu stock. Preference for extended family practices and its influence are now negligible, monogamous marriages have taken precedence over polygamous practices and the traditional festivity of Adae have been subordinated to the glorification of Easter.

The advent of transport systems (road and railway) in Nkawkaw and the extent to which such systems contributed to graduating a town which was before a village into an
important urban space and its role of Central Place in Kwahu were examined. Significant connections were also drawn between the evolution of transport in Nkawkaw and the status the town has acquired as the chief commercial town of Kwahu. Most importantly, the thesis found that in examining the reasons for making Nkawkaw the satellite urban area the first and foremost impetus is the strategic geographical location (as the Southern Gateway to Kwahu, connecting the areas of Abirem North, Atiwa District, Asante Akyem South and Kumasi proper to the coastal cities of Accra and Cape Coast) of the town bestowed unto it by nature and secondly the transport systems the town witnessed during the 1920s. It was the combination of these factors that culminated into making Nkawkaw the most important commercial centre and transport e hub in Kwahu.

Of course all these discussions would not have been situated in its proper context without first discussing the evolution of transport systems in Gold Coast. To a very large extent colonial investment in transport systems in Gold Coast as has been maintained by this thesis was profoundly guided by the economic ambitions of the colonial administration and Nkawkaw for that matter Kwahu fitted perfectly in that regard. This is the more reason why as has been shown all the railway lines that were first constructed according to Jedwab and Moradi (2012) linked first the port cities of Sekondi and later Accra to the mining and cocoa producing areas of the south. All transport systems leading to the minerals and cocoa producing areas of Gold Coast were constructed for proper exploration and exploitation of the resources to the coast for oceanic transport. As it were, these resources which were in abundant in the southern regions of Gold Coast led to the concentration of such transport facilities and the consequent effect of the emergence of urban centres in these areas to the negligence of the Northern territories which had limited natural resources, but labour to offer.
In the first place, the location of Kwahu as a conduit to the very important market of Kumasi and its hinterlands (Atebubu, Kintampo, Kete-Krachi and Salaga) from the coast meant that the area stood to feature prominently in the transport scheme of the colonial administration. As has been shown, documents of the colonial administration were full of appreciation of the geographical importance of Kwahu as a link between Accra and Kumasi. Moreover, by 1914 the Geological Survey Department discovered bauxite in economic quantities at Mpraeso. Kwahu also became an important source of cocoa production. Hence from an economic standpoint Kwahu was an unavoidable space and an important place in the grand capitalist scheme of the British colonial administration. In all these development Nkawkaw was the most suitable town as the point of collection, purchasing and transporting the resources of Kwahu to the coastal ports of Accra. Nkawkaw has maintained this role and position to date as the centre for distribution of goods and the provision of essential services in Kwahu.

It is for these reasons that among other livelihood activities trade remains the dominant economic activity in Nkawkaw basically because of the commercial environment the town offers. As was revealed trade in Nkawkaw could be categorised in to wholesale, retail and petty trading. Extensive attention was given to petty traders of Nkawkaw that form the majority of traders particularly hawkers. Of particular interest to author was the growing importance of a hawking site known as New Road along the Nkawkaw Highway by pass. The striking semblance of this area to Nkawkaw Township proper observed by the author is that New Road seemed to follow suit the same gradual commercial importance that transport (road and railway) provided Nkawkaw.
Throughout the study I have maintained that Nkwakaw provides commercial opportunities, transport services and the administrative functions in Kwahu. The towns of Kwahu, those around Nkwakaw and even those beyond the geographical boundaries of Kwahu (North Abirem, Atiwa District, Asante Akyem South) benefit immensely from a plethora of high and low order goods and services provided by Nkwakaw. These are all necessary conditions to transforming an area into a central place as maintained by Christaller in his Central Place Theory and hence have made Nkwakaw assume the position of a Central Place in Kwahu. Such functions of Nkwakaw in Kwahu also put the area in the proper definition of an urban centre as maintained by Grove and Huszer (1964). Therefore even though some parts of the theory were not applicable to the study of Nkwakaw and Kwahu as a whole the theory that underpins this thesis (Central Place Theory) proved a useful guide to this work.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>POSITION/ OCCUPATION</th>
<th>DATE OF INTERVIEW</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nana Adare Frimpong</td>
<td>Nana Adare Frimpong II Wrempehene of Abene</td>
<td>8th January 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opanin Obeng</td>
<td>Abusuapanin of the Oyoko royal clan of Atibie</td>
<td>8th January 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nana C.K. Odame</td>
<td>Member of the royal family of the Oyoko clan of Atibie and secretary of the Office of the Atibie stool Lands</td>
<td>8th and 9th January 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wofa Alhaji</td>
<td>An opinion leader in the Zongo community Alhaji Mohammed</td>
<td>12th January 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opanin Kwaku Danquah</td>
<td>An Elder of Masamo, a suburb of Nakaw</td>
<td>16th January 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opanin Kwaku Yeboah</td>
<td>Elder of Nakaw</td>
<td>19th January, 15 and 16th June and 28th May all in 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nana Osei Barimah</td>
<td>Abusapanin or head of the Aduana royal clan of Obomen</td>
<td>20th and 21st January 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nana Afari Buagyan II</td>
<td>Chief of Obo and Nfahene (head of the traditional right wing of Kwahu Traditional Area)</td>
<td>21st and 22nd January 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nana Atuobi Yiadom IV</td>
<td>Chief of Nkwatia and also doubles as the head of the Treasury (Sanaa) of the Kwahu Traditional Area</td>
<td>22nd January 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nana Akuamoah Asomani</td>
<td>Afenasofohene (Chief of Sword bearers) of Obomen Palace on</td>
<td>22nd January and 14th June, 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nana Asiedu Agyemang III</td>
<td>Chief of Abetifi and also doubles as the Adontenghene of Kwahu Traditional Area. He is the Acting President of Kwahu Traditional Council.</td>
<td>16th March and 20th May 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Tuffour</td>
<td>The Registrar of the Kwahu Traditional Council (KTC)</td>
<td>16th March 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opanin Kwaku Asante</td>
<td>Elder of Accra Town</td>
<td>17th March 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madam Eyram</td>
<td>Elderly person of Ayigbe Town</td>
<td>17th March 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honourable Yaw Opoku</td>
<td>Assembly Member of Accra Town</td>
<td>17th March 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opanin S.K. Obeng</td>
<td>Elder Of Accra Town</td>
<td>17th March 2015</td>
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<td>Opanin Kissi</td>
<td>Elder Of Accra Town</td>
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<tr>
<td>Opanin P.K. Dzidzornu</td>
<td>Elder Of Accra Town</td>
<td>17th March 2015</td>
</tr>
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<td>Opanin Dartey</td>
<td>Caretaker</td>
<td>17th March 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opanyin Yaw Dankwah</td>
<td>President of Agbogloshie Market of Nakaw</td>
<td>18th March 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alex Adade Annor</td>
<td>Chairman of Agbogloshie</td>
<td>18th March 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>Opanin Sebewie</td>
<td>Retired driver and Chairman of GPRTU of GTUC, Accra Station, Branch No.1</td>
<td>03\textsuperscript{rd} and 23\textsuperscript{rd} May</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emmanuel Antwi</td>
<td>Planning Officer, KWMA</td>
<td>11\textsuperscript{th} May 2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kenneth Osman</td>
<td>Municipal Chief Director (MCD), KWMA</td>
<td>11\textsuperscript{th} and 22\textsuperscript{nd} May 2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chief Superintendent James Sarfo Peprah</td>
<td>Head of DHQ, Ghana Police Kwahu</td>
<td>19\textsuperscript{th} May, 2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grace Achisah</td>
<td>Station Co-ordinator, Radio Afram Plains (RAP FM, 107.7)</td>
<td>22\textsuperscript{nd} May 2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>Samuel Kotey</td>
<td>Operates a small grocery shop and a mobile hawker</td>
<td>23\textsuperscript{rd} May 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Biredu</td>
<td>Tea and bread vendor at New station</td>
<td>23\textsuperscript{rd} May 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aba Yaa</td>
<td>Hawker who sells bread</td>
<td>23\textsuperscript{rd} May 2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doris Mirekuwa</td>
<td>Stationery hawker who sells bread and tea New Station</td>
<td>23\textsuperscript{rd} May 2015</td>
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<td>Mariam Awudu</td>
<td>sells Tiger Nuts at New Road</td>
<td>23\textsuperscript{rd} May 2015</td>
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<td>Charles Frimpong</td>
<td>Retired driver and Secretary, GPRTU of GTUC, Accra Station, Branch No.1</td>
<td>23\textsuperscript{rd} May 2015</td>
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<td>Addo</td>
<td>Second Trustee, GPRTU of GTUC, Accra Station, Branch No.1</td>
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<td>Kwabena Asare</td>
<td>Chairman of Mini buses and a current executive member, GPRTU of GTUC, Accra Station, Branch No.1</td>
<td>23\textsuperscript{rd} May 2015</td>
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<td>Mama Lee</td>
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<tr>
<td>Afua Mansa</td>
<td>Sells pottery products</td>
<td>24\textsuperscript{th} May 2015</td>
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<td>Ante Julie</td>
<td>Sells bread at New Station</td>
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<td>Obolo</td>
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<td>Seth Tweneboah</td>
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<td>Cargo driver</td>
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<td>Haruna Iddrisu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daniel Gyamfi,</td>
<td>Cargo driver</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ernest Amakye</td>
<td>Land Surveyor for The Atibie Stool Lands</td>
<td>26\textsuperscript{th} May 2015</td>
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<td>Nana Kwadjo Darko</td>
<td>The traditional priest of Tigare and Atia Mframa deities at Atibie Amanfrom in Nkawkaw</td>
<td>30\textsuperscript{th} May 2015</td>
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<td>Maame Anyei</td>
<td>Queen of the Nkawkaw Central Market</td>
<td>12\textsuperscript{th} June 2013</td>
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<td>Maame Akosua Bamfo</td>
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<td>Bernard Kofi Yeboah</td>
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<td>Michael Boahene</td>
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<td>Daniel Donkor</td>
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<td>Albert Agyekum</td>
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<td>Mr. Parker</td>
<td>Managing Director of Real Parker Enterprise</td>
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