

**COCOA, COMMUNITY AND THE POLITICS OF BELONGING IN THE AOWIN
SUAMAN DISTRICT IN THE WESTERN REGION OF GHANA 1962-2008.**

BY

JOSEPH FOSU-ANKRAH

10247399

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DECLARATION

I declare that except for references to works which have been appropriately acknowledged, this dissertation is my original research and that it has neither in part nor whole been previously presented for another degree in any institution.

Candidate:

Joseph Fosu-Ankrah

.....

Signature

.....

Date

Supervisors:

Prof. Kojo S. Amanor

.....

Signature

.....

Date

Dr. Samuel A. Ntewusu

.....

Signature

.....

Date



DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the special memory of my mother, Madam Georgina Ernestina A. A. Fosu. Mum, you taught and brought me up well. I have grown up to appreciate all the virtues you inculcated in me. Your entire life was committed to the pursuit of love, justice, integrity, truth and peace. You really practiced what you believed and professed, and it was the pursuit of these that took you away from us. Memories of you will forever remain in my mind.

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ABSTRACT

Research interests in the agrarian sector in West Africa in the last two or three decades have paid attention to analysing the economic and socio-political impact on indigene-settler farmer relations as well as how these have raised issues of integration and the politics of belonging. Research interests and approaches on West Africa on the larger agrarian and political economy addressed themselves to issues of conflict resolution and failed states with a few focusing on the political economy of these conflicts. There were those that also concentrated on issues such as land reform, environmental management, food security, and indigenous technology, the long term dynamism in the agro-food system on a global stage, and also, on the dynamics in the socio-economic change at the local level, thus addressing problems such as semi-proletarianisation and re-peasantation, rural-urban linkages, and gender relations. However, issues of landlessness, land centered conflicts, and belonging and the politics of belonging largely hanged outside the focus of these studies.

Landlessness has over the past two to three decades been one of the principal causes of violent conflicts in contemporary Ghana and neighbouring countries like Cote d'Ivoire. This has also resulted into the victimisation, forced or self-imposed exile of settler farmers from their host communities. Central to these crises is the issue of accumulation, property and power on the one hand, and socio-political and economic marginalisation on the other. This marginality finds new expression in the quest of the indigenes for political exclusion of economic migrants in partisan politics, especially during election periods, which are also used as covered ups to vent their resentment and apprehension against the settler farmer.

This study therefore undertakes a socio-historical examination of the relationship between indigenous people and settler farmers in rural communities in Ghana during 1962-2008. The study examines the politics that is associated with cocoa farming in rural communities in Ghana. It focuses on competition and conflicts centered on land, social inequality and contestation over belonging, local citizenship and electoral politics. The study thus explores the dynamics of accumulation and impacts of investment in cocoa farming on the commodification of land and relations between migrants who acquire land and indigenes who allocate land and in the end suffer from landlessness. The study also examines the implications of this for social and political relations in rural communities in Ghana. The study demonstrates that scarcity in land as well as conflicts across ethnicities within rural communities do not arise as a result of outright sales of land only. The study thus argues that not all land related conflicts are autochthon conflicts, and that the historical peculiarities of a community coupled with lax traditional institutions are also alternative explanatory factors that lead to landlessness and conflicts in communities.

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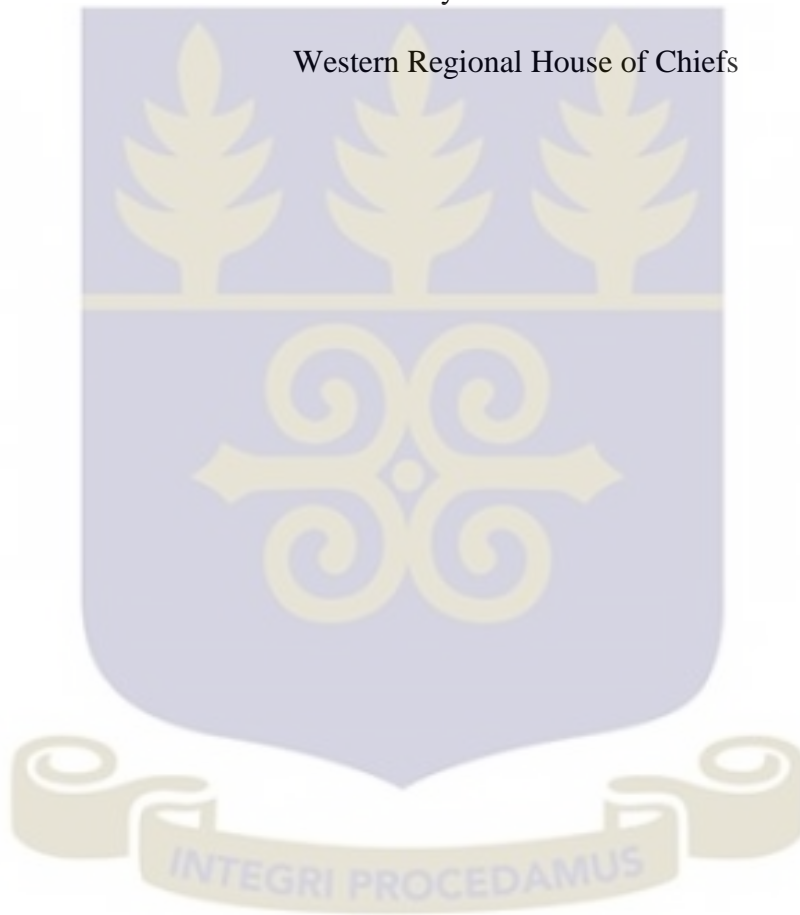
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ACRONYMS



AADC	Aowin Amenfi District Council
ACO	Aliens Compliance Order
ASD	Aowin Suaman District
ASDA	Aowin Suaman District Assembly
ATA	Aowin Traditional Area
CIA	Criminal Investigation Department
CPP	Convention Peoples Party
DCE	District Chief Executive
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
GIS	Ghana Immigration Service
GPRTU	Ghana Private Road Transport Union
GPS	Ghana Police Service
IM	Issakaba Movement
MP	Member of Parliament
MSLCE	Middle School Leaving Certificate Examination
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NEC	National Economic Commission
NHS	National House of Chiefs
NLC	National Liberation Council
NPP	New Patriotic Party
OASL	Office of the Administration of Stool Lands

PHC	Population and Housing Census
PRAAD	Public Records and Archives Administration Department
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
STA	Suaman Traditional Area
UGCC	United Gold Coast Convention
UP	United Party
WHRC	Western Regional House of Chiefs



CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background Study: Context and Argument

This study is an investigation into the politics that is associated with cocoa farming in rural communities in Ghana. It focuses on competition and conflicts centered on land, social inequality and contestation over belonging, local citizenship and electoral politics. The study thus explores the dynamics of accumulation and impacts of investment in cocoa farming on the commodification of land and relations between migrants who acquire land and indigenes who allocate land and in the end suffer from landlessness. The study also examines the implications of this for social and political relations in rural communities in Ghana. This study thus seeks to demonstrate that scarcity in land as well as conflicts across ethnicities within rural communities do not arise as a result of outright sales of land only. The study argues that not all land related conflicts are autochthon conflicts, and that the historical peculiarities of a community coupled with lax traditional institutions are also important explanatory factors that lead to landlessness and conflicts in communities.

The study shows that there are peculiar instances where communities have lost their land resources to migrant farmers who have been integrated into such communities. These farmers have under no circumstance or point in time attempted to contest the autochthonous status of their host. Landlessness in this context has influenced the struggle for “intergenerational justice” and the conception of ethnic or group ‘personalisation’ or ‘customisation’ of politics by marginalised members of the host community.¹ In extreme cases exclusion against economic migrants who have become citizens in the host community become a way of expressing

¹ “Intergenerational justice” in this context means that the present generation of resource (land) owners must ensure that the young generation and their future access to resources is protected and guaranteed for their subsistence.

resentment. This has in turn resulted in intergenerational changes in the level of incorporation of migrant farmers into host communities.

The cocoa economy plays a vital and pivotal role in the economy of many countries in West Africa, particularly Ghana. It has been an avenue for social mobility and employment for people of diverse backgrounds. In Ghana as well as other parts of West Africa cocoa has been a central source of wealth. Cocoa induced migrations were a phenomenon that characterised the 19th and 20th centuries. These migrations were motivated by a multitude of factors which included the quest for unexploited forest land, and the sale of labour.² These migrations by cocoa farmers to relatively unexploited lands were part of a larger system of global population movement into agricultural lands that had hitherto not been settled on or overly inhabited by individual farmers. These kinds of movements have been described variously as spontaneous migration, spontaneous transmigration, spontaneous colonisation, and spontaneous settlement.³ These migrations by farmers to unexploited lands led to complex changes in the agrarian and ecological system in the frontier areas. Following the development of the cocoa economy since the nineteenth century Ghana has been characterised by the spontaneous colonisation of relatively unoccupied lands by enterprising farmers.⁴

Migrant cocoa communities developed during the course of these migrations. These migrant communities reflected two different strands of social organisation depending on the mode of

² Polly Hill's pioneering work on the cocoa economy in Ghana provides a detailed background to these migrations which had its beginnings from the Eastern Region, the parent frontier of the cocoa economy. Polly Hill addresses the issues of outright sales of land and also labour in two separate but related books which discuss the respective subjects in detail. See Polly Hill, *The Migrant Cocoa-Farmers of Southern Ghana. A Study in Rural Capitalism*. (Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 1997), Polly Hill, *The Gold Coast Cocoa Farmer*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1956). For further studies on the impact of labour migration on society see E.P. Skinner, "Labour Migration and its Relationship to Socio-Cultural Change in Mossi Society". (*Journal of the International African Institution*, Vol. 30, No. 4, 1960), 375-6

³ George Benneh, "The Land Tenure and the Agrarian System in the New Cocoa Frontier of Ghana: Wassa Akropong Case Study." <http://archive.nnu.edu/unupress/unpbooks/8063e/80636EOq.htm> (Accessed: 5th June, 2014).

⁴ Benneh, "The Land Tenure and the Agrarian System in the New Cocoa Frontier of Ghana".

acquisition of land in the host community. The giving out of land to farmers either through outright sales or through other means was not always necessarily dependent on the farmer's purchasing power but also a particular need of the host community. Therefore, the idea that the size of the farm of a migrant farmer depended on his ability to purchase the land is not applicable to all areas.⁵ There were economic migrants that lived some distance away from or outside the communities from where they acquired their land. This meant that social integration was largely suppressed. This also meant that land was acquired by outright sales. Migrants in this category maintained constant contact with their hometowns.⁶ The second category of migrant cocoa farming communities were those that got integrated into their host communities. In most instances, these farmers did not purchase the land but acquired it through a stipulated tenurial agreement with leaders of their host communities.⁷ Unlike the first migrant communities, these migrant farmers opened up new frontiers for capital accumulation. The economic migrant thus became an agent of radical change in society. The presence of the migrant farmer in the community presents a case of mixed blessing. On the one hand they helped open up the rural communities by linking it to the global economy. However, this also denied the indigenous people of livelihood through the loss of land, social differentiation, and inability to compete. Amanor aptly capture this phenomenon as he argues that "the economic migrant becomes a

⁵Christine Okali, M. Owusu-Ansah and B. Rourke, "The Development Pattern of Some Cocoa Holdings in Ghana" in R.A. Kotey, Christine Okali and B. Rourke (eds.), *Economics of Cocoa Production and Marketing*. (Legon, Accra: ISSER, 1974).175-179, Kwame Arhin, "Economic Differentiation among Ghanaian Migrant Cocoa Farmers".(Research Review, NS, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1988).11-12

⁶ Addo-Fening's study on the Akyem Abuakwa people of Ghana provides insights into this phenomenon. Krobo who bought land in Akyem Abuakwa refused to succumb to the political authority of the traditional leaders of the land. This posed ethnic rifts between the Akyem and the Krobo as the issue of tribal and territorial allegiance became contentious. Robert Addo-Fening, *Akyem Abuakwa 1700-1943: From Ofori Panin to Sir Ofori Atta*.(Trondheim: Department of History, Norwegian University of Science and Technology,2001),pp. 132-134. See also Brian Schwimmer, "The Organization of Migrant Farmer Communities in Southern Ghana", (*Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 14,No. 2,1980),221-238.,Sara Berry, "The Concept of Innovation and the History of Cocoa Farming in Western Nigeria".(*The Journal of African History*, Vol.15,No.1,1974).83-95

⁷ The tenure agreement varied from community to community or from farmer to farmer. Some of the known tenure practices that occurred within this context included *abunu* and *abusa* systems of farming. These shall be explored in detail in chapter three.

source of consternation and moral dilemma, which results in attempts to incorporate them into precepts of a moral economy rooted in good citizenship, or to expel them in times of political and economic crisis”.⁸

The concern of this study however is not so much about the first migrant farming communities but the second group of migrant farming communities. This study demonstrates that integration and negotiations of belonging in host communities by migrant farmers was mainly encouraged by the quest for more people to boost host populations for varied reasons. However, in later years the status of these migrants is challenged, largely by the formation of political parties, and democratic elections. These political contestations emerge as a result of the socio-economic and political marginalisation of the indigenous people in the host communities. This is as a result of insecurity relating to scarcity of land. Coupled with this is the uneven allocation of resources determined by political interests.

Suaman Dadieso, the site for this study, is located in the Western Region of Ghana.⁹ It is one of the leading cocoa growing areas in the region as well as the country. In the latter part of the 1940s through the early years of the 1980s the area attracted a lot of migrant farmers because of the abundant land in the region. The cocoa economy in the area led to massive concentration of migrants, who were cocoa farmers, labourers, and traders in the community. These migrants included the Akuapem and Krobo from the Eastern Region, Ga-Adangbe from the Greater Accra Region, Bono from the Brong Ahafo Region, Asante from the Ashanti Region, and Assin and Fante from the Central Region. This also includes Wassa and Sefwi from the Western Region, the

⁸ Kojo S. Amanor, “Opening up New Economic Frontiers: Migrants, Rural Integration and Conflicts in Ghana and Côte d’Ivoire”, Paper presented at the 4th European Conference on African Studies, (Uppsala: 15th-17th June, 2011), 2-3

⁹ In this study I will be using Suaman Dadieso, Dadieso, Suaman Traditional Area, and Suaman-land interchangeably because they refer to the same area. Detailed history of the area is provided in chapter three of these study.

Ewe from the Volta Region, and people from the three northern regions of Ghana, most of who served as labourers in various capacities. These 'northerners' include the Wala from the Upper West Region, the Frafra and Kusasi from the Upper East, and the Dagarti, Chokosi/Anufo, Mamprusi and Dagomba from the Northern Region. The first of these groups to be in Dadieso were the Akuapem. The Akuapem were later followed by the Bono. These migrant groups thus serve as the backbone of the Suaman community today because they are economically and socially powerful. All these groups are integrated into the Suaman community and they also serve in various capacities in the traditional political hierarchy.¹⁰

Until 2001 the status of migrant farmers in Suaman Dadieso was never challenged and neither was their integrity questioned.¹¹ However, in 2001/2002 migrant farmers became the target of the indigenous people during and after a chieftaincy dispute. This dispute had earlier occurred in 1989 where the paramount chief of the area, Nana Atta Kwesi Brembi II, was alleged to have had an incestuous affair with his niece. Even though migrant farmers were not directly linked to this dispute they became victims in the end. Some of them had their buildings demolished whereas others went into either forced or self-imposed exile, and thus left behind their properties. Cocoa farms belonging to these migrant farmers were seized and allocated by the youth of the area amongst themselves.¹²

In the 2004 and 2008 general elections migrant farmers were victimised through intimidation, and physical attacks in a bid to prevent them from participating in these elections. The youth of

¹⁰Mostly they serve as sub-chiefs or *odikro(s)* in the Suaman Traditional Area.

¹¹The only time before 2001/2002 that migrant farmers had issues with the Suaman Chiefs was in 1972. Migrant farmers in the area felt that the incessant demand being made on them by chiefs was becoming indecorous. Hence, the government was called to intervene. However, this action did not mar the relations that had existed between the two actors. The impact of this intervention by the state on migrant-indigenous relations will be explored extensively in later chapters.

¹²Details of this issue will be explored in chapters four and five of this study.

the area contended that the migrants have deprived them socially and economically by taking over almost all the land resources in the community, therefore they would not allow themselves to be marginalised politically as well. According to them politics and elections are their only resorts to accumulation, affluence and influence as well as power.¹³ Longstanding resentment against migrant farmers has been harboured by the youth and a section of elders in the community. This resentment is expressed openly in actions during a crisis period or elections. Dadieso has become a volatile area that manifests itself in violence and conflicts at the least opportunity.

This study is situated in the historical context of mobility and belonging, integration/assimilation of migrant farmers into host communities as well as inter-ethnic conflict in Ghana. Thus, it interrogates how rural populations (especially migrant-settler cocoa farmers) have secured, contested and negotiated access to land. This study therefore examines the dynamics of accumulation and impacts of investments in cocoa farming on the commodification of land and relations between migrants acquire land and indigenes who give out land and suffer from landlessness. The study also examines the extent to which accumulation, property, power, security and insecurity and their processes of change affect historical processes in the community on a daily basis. In addition, the study further looks at the degree to which political formations

¹³According to the youth of Dadieso they are disadvantaged economically and thus lack social recognition because they have been displaced of their source of livelihood, the land in Suaman, by the migrant farmers. As a result politics and elections are the only avenues to vent out their long standing resentment against these farmers. The aim is to beat them to vacate the land and go back to their homes of origin because they are wicked and are not needed anymore in the area. Dadieso has been a volatile area since 2001, and at the center of this volatility is cocoa and land, chieftaincy, politics and the politics of belonging. A supposed good relations between the two actors before now has been strained, and each lives in suspicion of the other. There has been growing indignation among the youth and a section of the elders of the area against migrant cocoa farmers. These discontent groups have felt unprotected by the local authority as they have been swarmed and dispossessed of resources by the increasing influx of migrant cocoa farmers into the area. They are thus increasingly concerned or intimidated by the growing affluence of these 'strangers' in their midst. It is this kind of feelings that underpinned the attacks that were unleashed on the migrant farmers in the 2001/2002 chieftaincy disputes as well as the 2004 and 2008 general elections culminating in the demolishing of homes, seizure of cocoa farms, self-imposed or forced migration, and in the extreme attempts at exclusion from mainstream national politics.

with the advent of democracy and its attendant concept of one man one vote challenge the construction and expression of migrant-settler cocoa farmer's identity in host communities. In essence, this study is interested in the interplay and dynamism in indigenous-migrant farmer's relations. It lays specific emphasis on economic and social subordination which are mostly played around the crucial and increasingly scarce resource; land, and how this explains tensions which are connected to rural politics and belonging.

1.2 Research Problem and Justification of the Study

Land which is a factor of cocoa farming has been one of the principal causes of violence and conflict in contemporary Ghana and neighbouring countries like Cote d'Ivoire. In the cultivation of cocoa the land question and land activism with its inherent violence between generations and ethnic groups has become prominent. The issue of land has in recent years kindled the question of migrant status and identity in host communities and this has in turn defined their relations with the indigenes.¹⁴ Land centered issues have been forcibly articulated, contested and negotiated in cocoa growing areas in Ghana and other parts of West Africa. This in turn has been intertwined with the issue of the politics of belonging which has been enunciated and intensified in the last quarter of the twentieth century into the twenty first century.¹⁵

¹⁴Gwendolyn Mikell, *Cocoa and Chaos in Ghana*. (New York: Paragon House, 1989). Also see Stefano Boni, *Clearing the Ghanaian Forest. Theories and Practices of Acquisition, Transfer and Utilization of Farming Titles in Sefwi-Akan Area*. (Accra, Legon: Institute of Africa Studies, 2005), and Jean-Pierre Chauveau and Jean-Philippe Colin, "Customary Transfers and Land Sales in Cote d'Ivoire: Revisiting the Embeddedness Issue", (*Africa: The Journal of International African Institute*, Volume 80, Number 1, 2010),83-101, Jean-Pierre Chauveau, "How does an institution evolve? Land, politics, intergenerational relations and the institution of the tutorat amongst autochthones and immigrants (Gban region, Côte d'Ivoire)" in R. Kuba and C. Lenz (eds.) *Land and the politics of belonging in West Africa*,(Leiden: Brill,2006),pp. 213-240, Jean-Pierre Chauveau and Paul Richards, "West African Insurgencies in Agrarian Perspective: Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone compared",(*Journal of Agrarian Change*, 8 (4),October ,2008), 515-552.

¹⁵Matthew I. Mitchel, "Insight from the Cocoa Regions in Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana: Rethinking the Migration-Conflict Nexus",(*African Studies Review*, Volume 54, Number 2,2011),123-144

The citizen status of migrant farmers within host communities in Ghana as well as other parts of West Africa has been under intense threat as a result of land constations. Their identity (integration) and negotiation of belonging has been questioned on various occasions and radically challenged in their host communities by discontent indigenes.¹⁶ Violence and conflicts of different kinds have been witnessed by these farmers in the hands of indigenes at varied times over the years. Consequently, farmers have gone into either self-imposed exile or forced migration, leaving behind properties that have been appropriated over the years. Some migrants have equally been victimised through beating and injuring, and destruction of properties. Their properties have been appropriated by the youth and those who claim they have been positioned unequally in the community. Central to these crises is the question of land, accumulation, property and power on one hand and socio-political and economic marginalisation on the other hand. These crises find new expression by indigenes in the quest for political exclusion of economic migrants in partisan politics especially during election periods.

Situating the study within the concept of the *tutorat*, the study is therefore concerned with the relationship between accumulation through cocoa farming and land tenure, mobility and belonging, as well as scarcity and conflict. The *tutorat* is an informal rural or agrarian institution that regulated migrant-indegene relations and was thus practiced in the forest regions of Ivory Coast. It established a bond of patronage between the indigenous people and the migrants to whom land rights have been given on the basis of a principle of rural and moral economy.¹⁷ The *tutorat* framework is relevant to this study because its fundamental principles are very symptomatic of the land tenure system in Suaman Dadieso. The study explores how migrant

¹⁶ Amanor, "Opening up New Economic Frontiers", pp.12-13, Chauveau and Colin, "Customary Transfers and Land Sales in Cote d'Ivoire, 83-101,

¹⁷ The *tutorat* has been discussed by Jean-Pierre Chauveau severally in his works (Chauveau 2003, Chauveau 2006, Chauveau, Colin et el, 2006) among others which shall be discussed later in subsequent chapters. The framework of the *tutorat* is discussed in detail in chapter two under the sub section titled "CONCEPTUAL ISSUES".

farmers and indigenes have secured, contested, and negotiated access to land. The study also investigates how these farmers have organized their communities and negotiated their belonging into their host community. In pursuing the dynamics and nexus between migration, local identity and citizenship, the study further looks at how the allocation of resources affected farmers' identity. The advent of representative democracy threatens the identities of indigenous members that are outnumbered by migrants in host communities. The study therefore interrogates the degree to which political formations challenge the construction and expression of migrant farmers' identity and belonging.

In essence, this study examines the extent to which property and power, security and insecurity and their processes of change affect historical processes in the community on a daily basis. The study also looks at the nexus between contests over property, power and history, and the nature of local citizenship in cocoa growing communities in Ghana.

This study thus undertakes a socio-historical study of the relationship between migrant cocoa farmers and the indigenes of Suaman Dadieso during the period 1962-2008. My choice of Dadieso is founded on my background knowledge of the community as well as my ability to understand and speak the Anyi language fluently.¹⁸ I have been in constant contact with the community since December, 2005. Besides, easy and safe accessibility to the area as well as target groups make Dadieso convenient for a project of this nature.

Periodisation in all historical writings is inevitable because it facilitates discussions as it puts issues in their proper context and enables a detailed analysis of events and changes through time.

¹⁸The original and correct spelling of the word is Anyi. This was corrupted by the colonial officials to Aowin due to their inability to pronounce the local names. Anyi is a dialect as well as an Akan group/people found in the Western part of Ghana. These share border with Cote d'Ivoire. Currently, the only Anyi groups in Ghana are the Anyi Suaman and the Anyi Brussa. The other remaining five groups are found in the Republic of Cote d'Ivoire as a result of the partition. These groups together with the Nzemas in Cote d'Ivoire are collectively called the Akan. In this work I choose to stick to the use of Anyi, the original rendition, instead of the corrupted word, Aowin.

Hence, for an informed social and economic history to be written the setting of boundaries becomes necessary.¹⁹ The time frame makes it expedient to study the influx and development of the migrant presence in Dadieso within the broader national socio-economic and political configuration.²⁰ In 1962, the Nkrumah government constructed a motorable road that linked Enchi (the district capital) to Dadieso, and this partly explains the explosion of migrant farmers to the area during the period.²¹ Also, during this period the Western Region was emerging as the newest cocoa growing region or frontier, and was thus attracting land seeking farmers for cocoa production, hence the region tended to have served as a safe haven for these farmers.²²

In 2004 and 2008, the people of Dadieso experienced for the first time in history a foretaste of constituency elections as an independent political constituency. Since the overthrow of the Nkrumah regime, and the country's transition to democracy since 1992, Dadieso had been under the political domination of the Brussa.²³ In 2004 the Suaman Constituency was inaugurated in Dadieso.²⁴ Dadieso has finally had its own "son of the soil" to represent them in parliament.²⁵ However, this marked the beginning of unpleasant political tensions in Dadieso. In 2008,

¹⁹Ntewusu Samuel Aniegye, *Settling in and Holding on: A socio-economic history of northern traders and transporters in Accra's Tudu, 1908-2008*, (Leiden: African Studies Center, 2012), 13, Gareth Austin, *Labour, Land and Capital: From Slavery to Free Labour in Asante, 1807-1956*. (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2000), 1-4

²⁰ Per the tenancy agreement between the chiefs and the farmers, the first migrant farmers to have settled in the area was in 1948. However, these were very few in their numbers. It was in 1962 that migrant farmers started coming to Dadieso in their numbers

²¹Before 1962 accessible road by transport ended at Enchi. All other journeys were done on foot, and heavy loads were conveyed by portage.

²²Land resources in earlier cocoa growing frontiers have been exploited and exhausted in the Eastern, Central, Ashanti and Brong Ahafo Regions in Ghana.

²³During this regime Dadieso was a district capital, had paramountcy and had its road constructed. However, after his overthrow the district status of Dadieso was cancelled together with the paramountcy. Reasons for this will be elaborated further in chapters that follow

²⁴Earlier, Dadieso and Enchi were one constituency, the Aowin-Suaman constituency. However, the John Agyekum Kuffour led administration of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) government separated these two traditional areas and created Dadieso as a separate constituency in 2004.

²⁵Hitherto, all Members of Parliaments for the constituency had come from Brusaland, a section of the Anyi (Aowin) group whose capital is Enchi, which was also the district capital.

Dadieso had its second general election as a constituency and this marked the climax and stage where everything fell apart between migrant farmers and the indigenes.

This study therefore looks specifically at the migrant farmers' presence in rural/host communities and their interaction with institutions and indigenes across time. Even though every area or location of the globe is the creation of individual circumstances and courses, several of the matters considered here are symptomatic of much of Ghana and West Africa.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

Crucial to political control in both the colonial and post-colonial periods in Ghana had been property in land. Consequently, attempts to secure, contest, consolidate, and institutionalise its particular meanings, rights and responsibilities had been exercised between groups and authorities as well as different actors for varied reasons. Nonetheless, the importance of property in land is dynamic and is thus subject to changes in time over changes in economic and socio-political contexts.²⁶ Also important to discourses on land which is equally significant in this study is the crucial issue of “autochthony and primary patriotism” (that is, belonging to a community that is entrenched in a specific territory). The increasing scarce resource in land has necessitated the setting of boundaries between indigenes and economic migrants which is sharply played out in the political arena. As Lentz points out, in multiethnic rural regions with a large population of immigrants, the democratic principle of one vote to a man or woman irrespective of specific identities has oftentimes invoked fear among indigenes as they could be marginalised by these migrants.²⁷ In most cases this has called for political exclusivity against migrants.

²⁶Christian Lund, *Local Politics and the Dynamics of Property in Africa*,(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,2008),pp.12-13

²⁷ Carola Lentz, “Land Rights and the Politics of Belonging in Africa: An Introduction” in Kuba and Lentz (eds.), *Land and the Politics of Belonging in West Africa*.12-13

The study thus examines the relationship between the boundaries of belonging or ethnic inclusiveness or exclusiveness, capital accumulation, development, social differentiation, and access to resources in the opening up of agricultural frontiers, and the historical factors that lead to changes in the politics of belonging and land relations and electoral politics. This is addressed by exploring the following research questions:

1. the relationship between chiefs, migrants and local farmers in the processes of capital accumulation in cocoa, and the role of chiefs in land sales/allocation of lands.
2. the impact of electoral political processes on ethnic tensions and the representation by migrants of their interests, which may be distinct from that of the host communities.
3. the factors that shape changing perceptions of migrants and conceptions of rights to land and membership of communities through time as the scarcity or availability of labour and land become changed
4. the relationship between social differentiation resulting from economic activities and a moral economy of local citizenship.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The relevance of this study is grounded in its contribution to knowledge in a multidisciplinary manner. Firstly, the study contributes to the already existing knowledge in inter-ethnic conflict. It provides increased understanding to the causes and manifestations of violence, aggression and dominance in relation to social change and how these affect intergroup relation. Secondly, the study contributes to ethnohistory and historical anthropology. By exploring the ethnic history of a rural community the study shows that linguistic unity does not equate to 'community'. The study also adds to discourses on migration and thus shows that the presence of economic

migrants in rural communities is not a one way affair where the economic migrant runs after economic opportunities. The study shows that it is a subject of mutual reciprocity which varies in form and motive between the economic migrant and the host community. Besides, the study provides another insight to the body of knowledge on land and landlessness. It shows that landlessness is not caused by outright sales of land or conquest alone but also the circumstances surrounding the creation of a community.

1.5 Sources and Methodology

This dissertation makes use of primary data gathered from diverse sources. It is supplemented by the review and use of relevant secondary data as well. Primary data was collected from the Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD) in Accra.²⁸ Particularly, ADM 11/1 files had been very helpful.²⁹ These documents deal with chieftaincy disputes between Dadieso and neighbouring towns such as Enchi. They also deal with boundary histories and disputes, as well as migration histories among others. Other primary documents relating to farmers data (names and acreages of land possessed as well as location etc.) were gathered from the district office of the Office of the Administration of Stool Lands (OASL) at Dadieso. These files helped the study to confirm or refute claims by people interviewed as well as assertions by other scholars. However, important challenges were faced accessing some archival materials though call/reference numbers hinted at their presence. This may be either due to poor filling or recording. Another serious challenge at the archives that affected this study has to do with the personnel. Apart from the issue of poor filling, personnel also purposely hide files as a way of compelling researchers to give them money before they (the personnel) will assist with the

²⁸All references relating to archival materials will hereafter be known as PRAAD.

²⁹The call names of ADM files at PRAAD have been changed from for instance ADM 11/1/33 to a new form of referencing; GH/PRAAD/ADM/11/1/33. For an interesting and brilliant study on the Ghana Archives see Samuel Aniegye Nteuwusu, "Serendipity: Conducting Research on Social History in Ghana's Archive's". (*History in Africa*, Vol. 41, 2014), 417-423

needed material. In the case of this study two examples will help explain the problem. During the course of my research at the archives for this study I requested for a file and used it continuously for three days but on the fourth and subsequent days I was told by the personnel that “the file cannot be found”. Few minutes later, one of them approached me and said they were going for lunch and if I am ready to “offer us something” they will make sure the file is retrieved for me, and they started laughing. My second experience with the personnel was the fact that I “requested for files frequently” on my daily visits and this meant that they were kept busy during the period I spent at the archives and this became a source of complaints against me. Besides, I had limited access to other materials.³⁰

The traditional office of the paramount chief which could have been useful in providing relevant materials to this study proved inadequate.³¹ Also data relating to population census as well as election results were very difficult to obtain from the respective district offices at Enchi, the then district capital.³² These constraints made it quite difficult to access vital information that could have strengthened the analysis in this study.

The study also draws from oral interviews conducted during my field research at Dadieso. Informally, I have been in the community for eight years and is thus a witness and also abreast to some of the happenings in the area described in this study. However, technically, a preliminary study of the area was undertaken in December, 2012. I have since been in contact with key people in the community for

³⁰ For challenges and methodological warnings of research in Ghana’s archives for the reconstruction of history see Nteuwusu, “Serendipity”.

³¹ According to informants some vital documents are either hidden or stolen by a section of the elders, whereas others are destroyed due to poor maintenance, and in some instances they were intentionally destroyed. As at the time I was conducting my field interviews the office was locked and the keys deposited at the police station. This is as a result of the unresolved chieftaincy crises still brewing at the area

³² I personally visited both offices on four occasions but did not meet the respective officers (the District Statistician and the District Electoral Officer) in charge of both offices. Subsequent follow-up visits by friends provided similar results. Until 2012 when Dadieso became an autonomous district, Dadieso and Enchi used to be the same district (Aowin Suaman District) with Enchi as the district capital. This explains why most of the important national documents at the district level are found here.

clarifications of various issues to ensure that my notion of the area is not unfounded. This preliminary visit provided me with useful background information that helped me formulate my research questions to meet the aims of this study. I returned to conduct interviews for the study in the second week of December, 2012 till the third week of January, 2014, and continued in August to September, 2014. Key informants included cocoa farmers, local/traditional authorities, educationists, businessmen, security officials (Ghana Immigration Service (GIS), and the Ghana Police Service (GPS), and active politicians as well as the electorates. The selection of this target group is purposive. Most of these informants were tracked through snowball sampling.³³ This method was useful because I went to the field with a list of names of some traditional leaders I intended to interview but to my utmost surprise most of my informants told me emphatically that “these chiefs do not know much about the history of this town”.³⁴ So, most of the people I interviewed were through referrals.³⁵ A major challenge I faced with my interviews which reflects in this work was that female voices are largely silent.³⁶ Most of the females I contacted feigned one excuse or the other claiming they are disadvantaged when it comes to matters outside female concerns or circles. This was particularly true of female elders who are members of the council of elders in Dadieso. They lamented the fact that they were not allowed to appreciate the relevance of history or record keeping in their lives. One of the female informants sadly stated:

What do you see when you read the Bible, how were women represented in it? We were treated just like the Israeli women. We were only relevant when it came to matters of the kitchen. We were never allowed to mingle with the males, even our fathers, to enable us learn from them.

³³ Snowball sampling is a research technique that allows researchers to sample a study population through referrals made among people who have knowledge of or know people who exhibit traits or knowledge that are of interest to the researcher.

³⁴ Interview with Mr Francis Adamtey, Dadieso.18-01-14. Francis is an officer at the OASL.

³⁵A typical example was when I visited the Korontihene to interview him. He asked whether I have interviewed so and so chiefs and which other people I have interviewed. Then he told me who among them are good as far as history of Dadieso is concerned. And interestingly enough he asked me to recount what they told me so that he could either add, correct or refute/dispel it. Interview with Nana Kofi Armah III, Dadieso, 09-01-2014.

³⁶It was never my intention to exclude them from my analysis, however all those I contacted claimed they lacked knowledge about the history of the area or do not follow/observe keenly what had been happening around them.

Preference was always given to the male child because he would remain and bring people home, but females were seen as travelers, they would be married away, that was the wisdom of the elders. Even here at the chief's palace where I am a council member, our duties as females is limited to the preparation of food during important occasions, and minor issues that affect women in the community, which is all.³⁷

Interviews were done in English as well as local languages predominant in the area.³⁸ Interview questions were semi-structured, thus creating space for open-ended questions that generated in-depth information on significant events as well as experiences of informants. All interviews were recorded and are stored in my personal archive. In order not to twist or misrepresent the voices of the informants, quotes used in this study are direct translations or verbatim. Direct translations were used in quotes where interviews were conducted in the local languages; Anyi, Asante Twi and Fante. In instances where interviews were conducted in English verbatim quotes have been maintained. This was particularly so when I had to re-interview two informants because I lost the conversation I recorded in earlier interviews. However, constraints associated with deficiencies in memory as well as the proclivity for informants to review earlier positions were faced.³⁹ Some informants attempted to rationalise actions and inactions to suit current circumstances. This challenge was addressed by cross-checking interview notes with other sources, mostly archival sources and other secondary materials, in order to arrive at objective conclusions.⁴⁰ In all, thirty two (32) informants were interviewed, in addition to one Focused Group Interview (FDI) which was made up of three people. Out of these interviews only three (3) of the informants were females. Also, real or original names of informants have been maintained.⁴¹ It must be stated

³⁷Interview with Madam Abena Tawiah at Dadieso, 13th January, 2014.

³⁸These languages are Anyi (the language of the natives), Asante Twi (for the purpose of this study I have included Akuampim and Bono in this category) and Fante.

³⁹This was particularly so when I had to re-interview two informants because I lost the conversation I recorded in earlier interviews.

⁴⁰Samuel Amoako, "Teachers Unions and Politics in Ghana and South Africa 1990-2010".(M.A Dissertation submitted to the University of Johannesburg,2012),5

⁴¹ Informants agreed that I make reference to them using their original names. I am also still in touch with all of them and has been calling from time to time for clarification on issues.

here that this study draws heavily from these interviews because as Polly Hill rightly states, history about cocoa farmers cannot be obtained from books but from the farmers themselves.⁴²

This dissertation is a socio-historical study that uses both descriptive and explanatory knowledge in a qualitative paradigm to a historical enquiry. A study is socio-historical when it makes use of both history and sociology grounded on the premise that interplay between history and sociology provides a sense of complexity and change, informing us to strategies that were prevailing in the past, why they were and thus leads or provides us with clues to current relations and happenstance. Besides, sociology provides a theoretical lens for examining historical occurrences.⁴³ An approach of this nature (descriptive and narrative) is preferable because each has its own weaknesses, hence a combination of both approaches ensures complementarity and thus makes up for the loopholes associated with each which could have had a tilting effect on the presentation and analysis of the study. In essence, whereas descriptive analysis provides the fact or factual basis of the study, the explanatory approach provides it with the theoretical grounding.

⁴²Polly Hill, "The Migrant Cocoa Farmer", "The History of the Migration of Ghana Cocoa Farmers", *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1959). 14

⁴³Amoako, *Teachers Unions and Politics in Ghana and South Africa 1990-2010*. 5

A historical work is descriptive when it uses data, facts and empirical generalisations, narratives and stories to provide truthful descriptions of a phenomenon in a particular setting. Such descriptive statements make claims about how things are, and what the actual state of affairs of the matter is. On the other hand, explanatory knowledge/approach in a historical work include theories, interpretations and models. These make casual claim about events. They make plausible explanation of why things are as they are, what the cause of the events or the causal mechanisms behind change are. See Johann Mouton, *Understanding Social Science Research*. (Hartfield, Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers. 2002). 102. See also, W. Lawrence Neumann, *The Basics of Social Research h: Qualitative and Quantitative Approach*. (London: Pearson Education, Inc., 2007). pp. 15-15 and also Anol Bhattacharjee, *Social Science Research: Principles, Methods and Practices, 2nd Ed.* (Zurich: The Global Text Project, 2012). 10. Also Earl Babbie, *The Basics of Social Research, 3rd Edition*. (Wadsworth, 2005). 88-91, 132-135, 386-393.

The qualitative dimension of a research work is not only or merely the collections of research methods, but it also include certain assumptions and values regarding their use under specific conditions/circumstances. That is to say that in qualitative research there is close link between theory and method, because qualitative does not seek to describe pre-existing facts about a setting/the world, but instead how individuals seeks to interpret and explore. See Mouton, "Understanding Social Science Research", 37, Neumann, "The Basics of Social Research", 21, Barry White, *Mapping Your Thesis: The Comprehensive Manual of Theory and Technique for Masters and Doctoral Research*. (Victoria: ACER Press, 2011). pxxi, Catherine Dawson, *Practical Research Methods: A User-Friendly Guide to Mastering Research Techniques and Projects*. (Oxford: How to Books Ltd, 2012), 14-15, and Natasha Nack, Cynthia Woodson, et el, *Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collectors Field Guide*. (North Carolina: Family Health International, 2005), 1-, and Babbie, "The Basics of Social Research". 386-393

Consequently, on the empirical dimension the study uses the histories of individuals, the Suaman community, institutions, and political/patriotic movements to expound on the collective processes of socio-political as well as economic change in Suaman Dadieso.

Theoretically, the research location which functions as a case study forms the grounds for a reinterpretation of the nature of accumulation emanating from the expansion of cocoa farming during the period under study (1962-2008). It also facilitates an informed analysis of the historical relationship between accumulations, social stratification (differentiation), and political action in Suaman Dadieso. So, in its method and focus on cocoa farming, this study deviates from much of the existing literature on the place of agriculture and agriculture producers in the economic and political history of Southern Ghana.

1.6 Scope of the Work

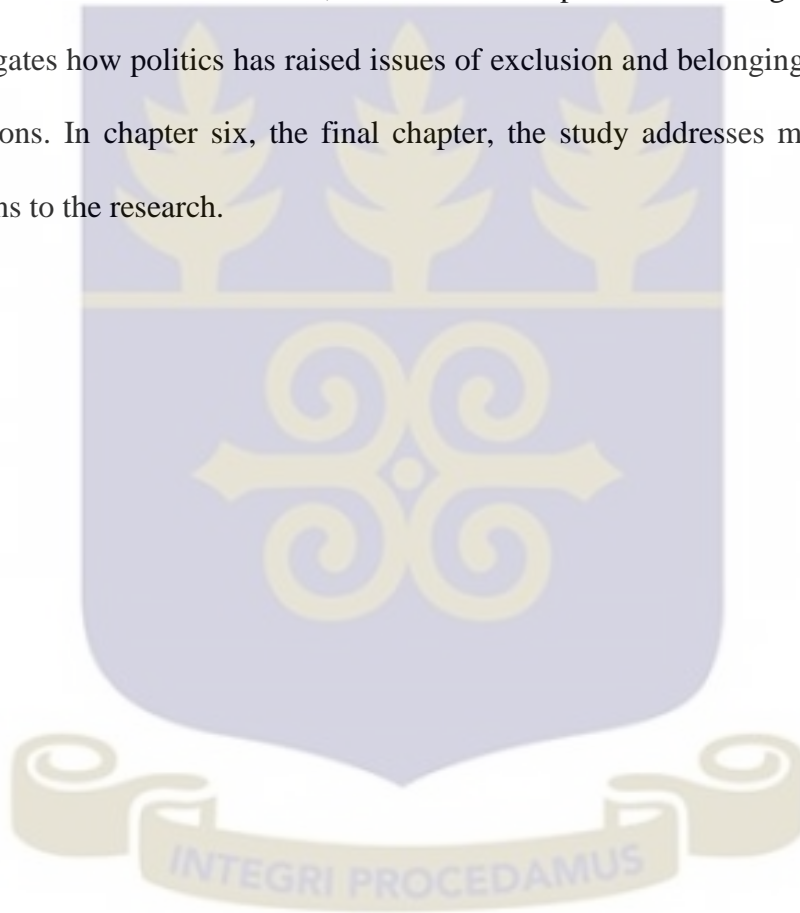
Chapter two the study deals with the contextualisation of the historical and political frameworks that informs the dissertation. It deals with the relationship between migrant cocoa farmers and indigenes in host communities and how this has raised issues of belonging and the politics of belonging. The chapter also reviews relevant literature to this study.

Chapter three the study traces the history of the Suaman people and how their sense of community as it exists now was created. Having migrated around the same period from the same area with neighbouring ethnic Brussa and Sefwi people to their present locations, coupled with their linguistic and cultural affinity one would expect that relationship between these groups would be cordial. This chapter shows that linguistic unity does not necessarily equate community or ethnicity. The relevance of this chapter to the study is that it provides the historical context or processes that necessitated the loss of land by the Suaman community to migrant cocoa farmers. Understanding causes to present happenings is very crucial to providing solutions, hence the past

always plays an important role in explaining the present, therefore if one refuses to study and understand the past one cannot understand and interpret the present effectively. Hence, this chapter provides the historical context to the analysis in chapter three of this study. Using migratory stories, life histories as well as stool histories of the Suaman I situate and examine the making of the Suaman State within a broader colonial and national political configuration. I also discuss the economy of the area prior to the introduction of cocoa farming and how the economic activities at the time influenced socio-political as well as economic relations and development in Dadieso.

In chapter four, the study demonstrates how the Suaman community allocated land to migrant farmers, the reason behind these allocations and how this process led to landlessness by the indigenous people in the community. In this chapter the study shows that landlessness suffered by indigenous people in host communities has not always been experienced through outright sales of land only, but also through other historical, mutual and reciprocal factors. The chapter provides a background to causes of inter-ethnic or group violence and conflicts that occur in rural communities where scarcity in land is a problem, and this is the subject of chapter four. This chapter thus examines the introduction, revival and expansion of the cocoa economy in Dadieso and how the making of the community was solely dependent on the contribution of migrant farmers. Situating the chapter in the context of cocoa and mobility the chapter examines the patterns of land seeking migrants into the area, how these farmers negotiated their entry into and existence in Dadieso. The chapter discusses the impact of the presence of migrant farmers on the Suaman community and how this has influenced changing relations between indigenes and migrants over the years.

Chapter five focuses on the era of party politics and how this has shaped identity and belonging in the Suaman community. This chapter shows that in communities where the indigenous people suffer from landlessness party politics becomes a resort to economic and social recognition. In most cases communities who suffer from landlessness attempt to ‘costumise’ or ‘personalise’ politics and in the process create ethnic boundaries between themselves and migrants in the community. The result of this is exclusion, violence and the politics of belonging. In this chapter the study investigates how politics has raised issues of exclusion and belonging and the rationale behind such actions. In chapter six, the final chapter, the study addresses major findings and makes conclusions to the research.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

2.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with a contextualisation of the historical and political frameworks that inform the background of this dissertation. The study examines relevant literature that focus on migration, the allocation of land and how scarcity in land resources lead to competition and inter-group conflicts. The study also examines the relationship between migrant cocoa farmers and indigenes in host communities and how this has raised issues of belonging and the politics of belonging. The literature in this chapter also deals with the definition and contextualisation of terms.

2.2 Literature Review

In this section the study gives a brief outline of the research trend in the agrarian sector in West Africa before the last two or three decades. The study proceeds to examine relevant studies by earlier writers in the field of cocoa, land and belonging so as to give this study a contextual base for analysis.

2.3 Earlier Research Trends in the Agrarian Sector in Africa

Research interests in the agrarian sector in the last two or three decades has focused on the economic and socio-political impact on indigenous-migrant farmers' relations as well as how these have raised issues of integration and of the politics of belonging.⁴⁴ Moyo and Yeros classify earlier research interests and approaches on Africa on the larger agrarian economy into

⁴⁴Matthew I. Mitchel, "The Political Economy of Migration and Conflict in Ghana's Cocoa Region: Enduring Peace or Deepening Cleavage?", Paper presented at the Political Science Association Annual Meeting,(Edmonton,AB,12-15 June,2012).p.1

four tangential areas.⁴⁵ Firstly, researches on conflict resolution and failed states became prevalent. With few exceptions concerning the political economy of these conflicts the literature in this section has been largely managerial in outlook or focus.⁴⁶ The second trend in research focuses on such issues as land reform, environmental management, food security, and indigenous technology.⁴⁷ This too derives from managerial and populist impulses. They also have avoided political-economic questions. The third body of literature explores the long term dynamism in the agro-food system on a global stage.⁴⁸ Finally, there are researches that are concerned with the dynamics in the socio-economic change at the local level and have addressed issues such as semi-proletarianisation and re-peasantation, rural-urban linkages, and gender relations.⁴⁹

In Ghana for instance, the body of literature on the cocoa sector and land revolves around themes such as cocoa and political administration, class formation and social stratification, accumulation and poverty as well as power and vulnerability.⁵⁰ To a larger degree these researches had been

⁴⁵Sam Moyo and Paris Yeros (eds.), *Reclaiming the Land. The Resurgent of Rural Movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America*. (Zed Books, 2005), 1-2.

⁴⁶Example of works in these categories includes Robert H. Bates, *Essays on the Political Economy of Rural Africa*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983). See also Robert H. Bates, *Markets and States in Tropical Africa: The Political Basis of Agricultural Policies*. (Berkeley: California University Press, 1981), Robert H. Bates, *When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), Robert H. Bates, *Beyond the Miracle of the Market: The Political Economy of Agrarian Development in Kenya*. (UK, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), and Benno J. Ndulu, Stephen O'Connell, Robert H. Bates et al.(eds.), *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa, 1960-2000*, Vol. 1. (NY: CUP, 2008).

⁴⁷ Examples include Ambreena Manji, *The Politics of Land Reform in Africa: From Communal Tenure to Free Markets*. (London: Zed Books, 2006), Kees Jansen & Sietze Vellema, *Agribusiness and Society: Corporate Responses to Environmentalism, Market Opportunities and Public Regulation*. (London: Zed Books, 2004), see instance the article by Paul Richards, "Private versus Public? Agenda-Setting in International Agro-Technologies", 261-284

⁴⁸ Kees Jansen & Sietze Vellema, *Agribusiness and Society: Corporate Responses to Environmentalism, Market Opportunities and Public Regulation*. (London: Zed Books, 2004).

⁴⁹See for example Piet Konings, *The State and Rural Class Formation in Ghana: A Comparative Analysis*. (London: KPI Limited, 1986), Janet H. Momsen & Vivian Kinnaird (eds.), *Different Places, Different Voices: Gender and Development in Africa, Asia and Latin America*, (London: Routledge, 1993).

⁵⁰Earlier literature on the cocoa economy in Ghana can be divided into the following subsection/themes: (1) the beginning, development and countrywide expansion, claims and counter-claims of its introduction, structural changes and resources behind the rapid expansion (2) The complex relations that existed between the colonial state and cocoa farmers (3) politics and the political economy before and after 1938 during which farmers organized in unions to agitate for better cocoa price (4) the colonial and postcolonial monopsony and heavy taxation of cocoa farming (5) politics, cocoa and administration in independent Ghana (6) wage labour and sharecropping (7) cocoa

managerial in purpose or policy oriented, and mostly focusing on policy relevance by governments to the so called ‘peasant’ farmers at the rural areas. These looked at how government machinery or state structures are extended to the local level or the lack of a uniform national policy among successive governments since independence.⁵¹ The subject of negotiations, integration and belonging by migrant cocoa farmers is a neglected area by the vast literature on the cocoa economy in Ghana. Though recent literature had tried exploring this neglected trajectory, they also have their inherent shortcomings, in that most of these bodies of literature are concerned with land and autochthon conflicts. A few researchers such as Amanor, Boni and Chauveau have attempted to go beyond the discussion of autochthon conflicts into issues of intergenerational conflicts, the evolution of traditional institutions, and local citizenship.⁵²

2.4 Securing the Land, Scarcity, Contest and Conflict

Hill accounts for the cocoa farmers’ innovation in expanding their frontiers through migration by investing in new lands. Using empirical data and interdisciplinary approach in anthropological field survey, Hill provides a detailed story of the expansion of the cocoa economy in Ghana in the context of a regional economy. The Eastern Region, the old cocoa frontier of Ghana is the

farming and gender relations and (8) quantitative studies of the long term supply of cocoa both at the micro and macro levels. For further readings and see Hill, “The Migrant Cocoa-Farmer”, introduction by Gareth Austin. With issues concerning class formation and social stratification see Piet Konings, *The State and Rural Class Formation in Ghana: A Comparative Analysis*. (London: KPI Limited, 1986). See also Paul Nugent, *Big Men, Small Boys and Politics in Ghana: Power, Ideology and the Burden of History 1982-1994*. (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1996), 8-10.

⁵¹ Konings, “The State and Rural Class Formation in Ghana”. Tony Killick, *Development Economics in Action: A Study of Economic Policies in Ghana*. 2nd Edition. (London: Routledge, 2010), Douglas Rimmer, *Staying Poor: Ghana’s Political Economy 1950-1990*. (London: Pergamon Press Ltd., 1990), Dan-Bright Dzorgbo, *Ghana in Search of Development: The Challenge of Governance, Economic Management and Institution Building*. (Uppsala: Department of Sociology, University of Uppsala, 1998) and also Joseph Fosu-Ankrah, *Economic Development and Change in Ghana 1951-1972: The Political Leadership Factor*. (B.A Long Essay submitted to the Department of History, University of Ghana, 2011).

⁵² Kuba and Lentz (eds.), “Land and the Politics of Belonging in West Africa”. Apart from Amanor and Boni who situate their analysis within the cocoa economy, the other works of Lentz and Lund on Ghana, though on first-comers and latecomers relation, is a deviation from the agrarian question. The works of both Boni and Amanor will be discussed in detail in the section that follows immediately after this.

setting, and thus reveals and enhances an understanding of change and continuities in issues such as quest for land, migration, accumulation, social differentiation, and rural land tenure.⁵³ The *Migrant Cocoa Farmer* is a work in defense for African farmers, in that Hill argues strongly against popular assertions that cocoa was first adopted and expanded by native farmers who tied cocoa cultivation into their customary trend of food growing.⁵⁴ Cocoa farming, she reveals, was opened up by migrant (stranger) farmers who travelled to the Akyem area with the singular aim of cultivating cocoa and thus acquired their land by outright purchase.⁵⁵

Gunnarson maintains that the expansion of the cocoa industry could not have been made practically possible by the sheer extension of existing productive resources. Gunnarson argues that major structural changes accounted for the cocoa miracle in Ghana, the most significant of which was the change-over from plantation to African smallholder based production.⁵⁶ Hence, for Gunnarson qualitative expansion of the cocoa industry with reference to production shifted in outlook from being plantation dominated to one based on smallholdings.⁵⁷ Similar to Gunnarson's line of argument is Szereszewki's analysis which stipulates that the quick and massive expansion of the cocoa industry and their processes of mobilisation were dependent on

⁵³Hill, "The Migrant Cocoa Farmer". Berry provides an insight into the case of cocoa and migration in Western Nigeria in Sara Berry, "The Concept of Innovation and the History of Cocoa Farming in Western Nigeria". (*The Journal of African History*, Vol.15, No.1, 1974). pp83-95, Jean-Pierre Chauveau, "Cocoa as Innovation: African Initiatives, Local Contexts and Agro-Ecological Conditions in the History of Cocoa Cultivation in West African Forest Lands (c. 1850-1950)". (*Paideuma*, Bd. 43, 1997). pp.121-142, and Sara Berry, "Ancestral Property: Land Politics 'the deeds of the ancestors' in Ghana and Cote D'Ivoire" in Janine M. Ubink and Kojo S. Amanor (eds), *Contesting Land and Custom in Ghana: State, Chieftaincy and the Citizen*. (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2008). 28-34

⁵⁴Samir Amin, "Underdevelopment and Dependence in Black Africa-Origins and Contemporary forms", (*The Journal of Modern Africa Studies*, Vol. 10, No.4, 1972). 503-524. In this work Samir divides Africa into three macro regions and tries to expound an argument based on this classification that each region's economy is influenced by this colonial specification. He thus develops the framework of (1) Africa of the colonial trade economy, the constituents of which either served as sources of markets, rich areas for raw materials or its experimentation. (2) Africa of the concession-owning companies and (Africa of the labour reserves). See also Claude Ake, *Democracy and Development in Africa*. (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 2003). 1-3, and Christer Gunnarson, *The Gold Coast Industry 1900-1939: Production, Prices and Structural Change*. (Lund: AV-Centralen, 1978).

⁵⁵Hill, "The Migrant Cocoa-Farmer". 2-3, 38-39

⁵⁶Gunnarson, "The Gold Coast Industry 1900-1939". 4-9

⁵⁷Gunnarson, "The Gold Coast Industry 1900-1939". 24-44

structural changes in the economy in Ghana which actually transpired in a relatively short period.⁵⁸

The works of these scholars including Thudhope which are largely influenced by Marxist theory of imperialism attempt to stipulate that external influence or European initiative served as the force or incentive behind the rapid expansion of the cultivation of cocoa during the early decades of its introduction. The basis of their arguments is that colonies functioned as producers of raw materials, sources of markets, and attracted surplus capital for investment.⁵⁹

Even so, Hill challenges this conception of “undifferentiated small peasants” and reveals that investments in cocoa farming were actually economic ventures made by a group of wealthy merchants who already possessed varied investment profiles in trading, real estate, transport and cocoa farming.⁶⁰ It should be noted that most of these farmers were traders and farmers who made huge profits from their investment in oil palm and reinvested this in cocoa farming during the downturn in the oil palm economy.⁶¹ Her study which mainly deals with the Akuapim, Krobo, Shai, Anum among others in the Eastern Region of Ghana acquaints us with the evolution of two groups of migrant farmers; the company which contributed money individually to purchase land and shared it according to one’s financial contribution. This was normally associated with patrikins. The other group involves rich individuals who purchase land and shared it among their relatives. This is associated with matrilineal groups who made their wealth

⁵⁸R. Szereszewki, *Structural Changes in the Economy of Ghana 1991-1911*. (London: Weydenfeld and Nicolson).see preface.

⁵⁹S.W.D. Thudhope, *Enquiry into the Gold Coast Cocoa Industry*. (Gold Coast Sessional Papers, Nos. II and IV 1918-1919. Accra: Government Printer, 1919), pp. 30-33

⁶⁰Hill, “The Migrant Cocoa Farmer, pp. 178-179. Tosh also contributes to this debate in his work. See John Tosh, “The Cash Crop Revolution in Tropical Africa: An Agricultural Reappraisal”.(*African Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 314,1980),79-94, and also Polly Hill, “A Plea for Indigenous Economies: The West African Example”.(*Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 1966).16-20, Polly Hilly, *Studies in Rural Capitalism in West Africa*. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

⁶¹Addo-Fening, “Akyem Abuakwa 1700-1943”. 131-178, Hill, “The Migrant Cocoa Farmer”.2-3, 38-40,75-108,179-183.

around their matrilineages. The process of investing in farms has not ceased but is still an ongoing experience that saw a shift in movements from the Eastern to the Brong Ahafo and Western Regions.

In all these migrations the stranger farmer was still very much in touch with his home town. This presupposes that he made his host community a temporal abode. Hence, the issues of integration and belonging as well as conflicts remain outside the purview of Hill's book.⁶² The subject of the book deals with the origins and pioneer phase of the cocoa industry in Ghana. The relevance of Hill's work to this study is that it provides such frameworks as capital formation, land management and land sales, agrarian migrations, and social organisations—all contemporary issues for a comparative analysis of change and continuities in the cocoa economy. It thus provides a firm background for this dissertation to be situated within a broader socio-economic configuration.

Mikell also analyses both the politico-economic and sociocultural effect of cocoa on Ghana. This work, "Cocoa and Chaos in Ghana" best qualifies as a continuation of Hill's work albeit an experiment in a different cocoa frontier, Sunyani in Brong Ahafo Region. This study also based on anthropological fieldwork and thorough historical research traces how cocoa farming influenced the making and remaking of relationships (rural/urban, ethnic/commoner and gender relations) within Ghana and among the Akans in particular.⁶³ The dawn of the cocoa industry did not only offer most farmers in the country the initial prospect to accumulate substantial

⁶²It is understandable if Hill does not feature this in her work because the early decades of the expansion of the cocoa industry took place at a time when land was in abundance, hence such tensions and resort to belonging and the politics of belonging could not have intensified as we have it today.

⁶³Mikell, "Cocoa and Chaos in Ghana". xvii-xii

amount of profit, but also roused massive migrations, altered gender relations, convoluted property relations and modified embedded patterns of social stratification.⁶⁴

By 1895 cocoa farming had spread across Southern Ghana and the Krobo, Akwapim and Shai farmers led the process by acquiring large tracts of land to cultivate cocoa. Within the next decade accessibility to land had become a crucial element in the experience of the cocoa economy in Ghana.⁶⁵ Mikell reveals that very early in its expansion cocoa had already impacted on Ghanaian society in varied ways. Firstly, cocoa-induced migrations triggered ethnic diversity. Secondly, it bridged the gap between rural dwellers and the coastal areas as well as government agencies which supplied agrochemical through increased interactions. Also, cocoa intensified the need for farmers to control a considerable work force and this encouraged wage labour movement into the forest regions.⁶⁶ Finally, cocoa contributed to the evolution and dispersion of new villages and towns within rural areas.⁶⁷

By the first quarter of the twentieth century cocoa had caused greater changes in every facet of the country, and access to and control of land for cocoa cultivation was becoming an emerging question to contend with, due to its commercialization and corruption of traditional relations. Mikell thus contends that the land problem of the twentieth century created local tension between migrant cocoa farmers and local stool chiefs, distorted kinship relations and social organisation.⁶⁸ Mikell asserts that the role of cocoa in the transformation of societies in the country “is a disturbing example of the difficulties of modern socio-cultural change” and the “reification of

⁶⁴Mikell, “Cocoa and Chaos in Ghana”.70

⁶⁵Mikell, “Cocoa and Chaos in Ghana” 70-71, Addo-Fening, “Akyem Abuakwa 1700-1943”. 131-178

⁶⁶Mikell, “Cocoa and Chaos in Ghana”.71

⁶⁷Hill discusses the labour question extensively in a separate work, *The Gold Coast Farmer: A Preliminary Survey*. (London: OUP, 1956).

⁶⁸Mikell, “Cocoa and Chaos in Ghana”. 83-84,107. For a discussion on the Akyem Abuakwa situation see Kathryn Firmin-Sellers, “The Politics of Property Rights: A Ghanaian Case. (*The Political Science Review*, Vol.89, No. 4, 1995). 867-881

chieftaincy, of traditional patron-client relations, and of lineage male-female relations are but few examples”.⁶⁹ Thus, cocoa cultivation in the twentieth century aided in the construction of the most fundamental divisions ever to occur in the political economies and population of the forest regions of the country.

Chauveau reveals that until the late 1990s when the political crisis became severe in Cote d’Ivoire, the settlement of migrants from other regions such as the Baoule, and non-Ivoriens such as Burkinabes into the forest belt of Cote d’Ivoire transpired under a patron-client type relation. This relation was established between customary landowners and migrants to whom the indigenous Guro and Gban tutuers transferred land. This *tutuer* relation relates to an agrarian institution that is usually found in several societies in Africa.⁷⁰ The *tutorat* fits into a moral economy in which there is a strong obligation to the conviction that any individual or group has a right to access the means of subsistence for himself and his family members.⁷¹ Chauveau argues that the intricate nature of this land tenure system (the *tutorat* relationship) is evidently fundamental to the recent crisis in Cote d’Ivoire. There is therefore a high level of tension in the forest regions of Cote d’Ivoire.⁷² He reveals that in the context of growing land scarcity, of persistent rural-urban migration among the young, and of economic crisis the actual application of the principles of the *tutorat* within autochthonous lineages and household has become problematic. For example, the study shows how Gban chiefs and ‘big men’ facilitated access to land as well as instigated hostility against the settlement of economic migrants.⁷³

⁶⁹Mikell, “Cocoa and Chaos in Ghana”.233”

⁷⁰ Chauveau, “How does an institution evolve?”,213

⁷¹ Ibid,214-215

⁷² Ibid,215, Jean-Pierre Chauveau, *The Land Question in Cote D’Ivoire: A Lesson in History*.(London:International Institute for Environment and Deveopment,2003),4-6,11

⁷³ Ibid,217-218

In his study on land rights, intra-family land management and the dynamics of land markets in Abure society in lower Cote D'Ivoire., Kouame maintains that the de facto ethnicisation of the land rent market contains the sources of inter-community tensions. Examples of these tensions were evidently expressed in the 2001 conflict where Abure young men challenged the rents of land to economic migrants such as Burkinabe pineapple growers.⁷⁴ The development of the land market in the Abure region is attributed to the increase in the pineapple cultivation and other later crops such as cassava.⁷⁵ Kouame stipulates certain factors which accounts for these tension which is also indicative of tensions in other communities in Africa. The first factor relates to the question of inadequate allocation of land use rights to heirs. There is the perception by the younger generation that the old men give them small land and prefer to rent out more land to Burkinabes rather than to let the young men work it.⁷⁶ The second cause of tensions relates to disputes between the young and their older relatives concerning the control of the income accrued from the lease.⁷⁷ The third factor derives from the refusal of certain youngmen to abide by the regulation according to which only the heir can cede a piece of land through fixed lease.⁷⁸ Kouame points out that the manifestation of intra-family tensions around the land lease market and their impact on inter-community relations were what was expressed in the 2001 conflict between Abure youngmen and foreign tenants, notably the Burkinabes.⁷⁹ Kouame's study clearly shows and buttresses the question on the marginalisation of the youth, rife intergenerational conflict and the problematic nature of the migrant farmer whose contribution to the moral economy of the community is ambiguous. This is because on the one hand the migrant farmer

⁷⁴ Georges Kouame, "Intra-Family and Socio-Political Dimension of Land Markets and Land Conflicts: The Case of the Abure, Cote D'Ivoire", *Africa*, 80(1), 2009.129

⁷⁵ Kouame, *ibid*, 128-129 and 132

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 134

⁷⁷ *Ibid*.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 135

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 137-140

opens up the area and links it to the global economy, whereas on the hand he facilitates the exploitation of the community resources thereby depriving the young people of their livelihood, hence he becomes the target of frustrated youth in time of crisis. This also points to the fact that the imposing argument of autochthony used against successful migrants mirrors the notion that an unbalanced economic success in favour of migrants goes against the emic conception of the native community's social order anchored in the natural political and resource access primacy of the first comers.⁸⁰

As cocoa expanded, land became a scarce and marketable resource and interests in it became a complex issue. The title of migrant land rights became contestable, undermined, ambiguous or transformable and politically embedded across time.⁸¹ Boni shows that oftentimes chiefs and farmers have had ambiguous and shifting rights to land, and that they “hold interests that are used to enhance processes of negotiation rather than enforcing certification”.⁸² In his study of the land tenure practices in the Sefwi area, Boni records that in the early decades of the twentieth century villagers supported chiefs in alienating cultivation rights to migrants and that up to the 1950s there was yet no resistance to chiefs policy of alienating forest to migrant farmers.⁸³ However, conflicts began to emerge when farming land began to become inaccessible. The most sensitive of these conflicts is what Boni calls a triangular dispute between (Sefwi) commoners, chiefs, and immigrants.⁸⁴ The root of this conflict is embedded in the fact that when Sefwi

⁸⁰ Jean-Philippe Colin, Georges Kouame, and Debegnoun Soro, “Outside the autochthon-migrant configuration: access to land, conflict and inter-ethnic relations in a former pioneer area of lower Cote D’Ivoire,” *The Journal Modern African Studies*, Vol 45, No 1, 2007.50

⁸¹ Boni, “Clearing the Ghanaian Forest”. 7-8, Carola Lentz, “First-Comers and Late-Comers: Indigenous Theories of Landownership in West Africa” in Kuba and Lentz (eds.), *Land and the Politics of Belonging in West Africa*.35. Boni deals with the issue of ambiguities in the interpretation of land and its attendant land disputes in Stefano Boni, “Traditional Ambiguities and Authoritarian Interpretation in Sefwi Land Disputes” in Janine M. Ubink and Kojo S. Amanor (eds.), “Contesting Land and Custom in Ghana”.81-111

⁸² Boni, “Clearing the Ghanaian Forest”.8

⁸³ Boni, “Clearing the Ghanaian Forest”.74

⁸⁴ Boni, “Clearing the Ghanaian Forest”.74

commoners began to engage in cocoa cultivation much of the forest had been cleared as far as possible while the chiefs also intensified alienation of cultivation titles to migrant farmers.⁸⁵ In fact, the land problem in Sefwi exacerbated indigene-migrant relations and soon raised questions of belonging.⁸⁶

Boni further argues that in stating the dynamism involved in the negotiation of land tenure practice one should take into consideration the structures within which debates take place and the different hermeneutic legitimacy of the negotiator. Foreign farmers have for instance negotiated and renegotiated their status vis-à-vis traditional Sefwi titles during the latter half of the twentieth century. It is very important to state that significant transformations have taken place in the interpretation of the rights and duties of each party. In this interpretation also lie various dimensions of power relations such as gender and seniority. These structures created by the hegemonic ideas of personal and group worth and prerogatives, create inconsistencies in land tenure relations and standardized practices. It is also significant to note that when the exclusive emphasis on negotiation is detached from the power structure in which negotiations transpire it may have the inadvertent effect of eliminating the question of equity.⁸⁷

Berry shows that competition over land increased in the latter part of the twentieth century. This led to an increase in land values and thus soared the patterns of commercial land acquisition, concentration of land holdings, and prolonged litigation which sometimes led to assault and even murder as the case of Zimbabwe shows.⁸⁸ The evidence of increasing pressure on land and

⁸⁵Boni, "Clearing the Ghanaian Forest".74-75

⁸⁶Boni discusses extensively the issue of belonging in Stefano Boni, "Indigenous Blood and foreign labour: the ancestralisation of land rights in Sefwi (Ghana)" in Kuba and Lentz (eds.), "Land and the Politics of Belonging".161-183, Boni, "Traditional Ambiguities and Authoritarian Interpretation in Sefwi Land Dispute".83-97

⁸⁷ Boni, "Clearing the Ghanaian Forest",18

⁸⁸Sara Berry, "Debating the Land Question in Africa". (*Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 44, No 4, 2002).638, Catherine Boone, "Property and Political Order: Land Rights and the Structure of Politics in Africa". (*EDGS Working Paper*, No.2,2012).71

growing conflicts has led experts to advice that land reform in Africa is now a matter of agency and no longer an issue of low priority. This underscores the fact that land has now become a scarce resource on the continent of Africa.⁸⁹ Berry points out that rapid population growth, rates of economic development, and environmental degradation are contributing factors to the growing competition and contestation over land. This has subjected people to be dependent on small scale farming. The competition over land has manifested itself in different conflicting situations which set national and local elites against the ordinary citizens, disrupts inter-family and intergroup relations.⁹⁰

Amanor provides an insight in understanding sources and contexts of conflict within the local setting in Ghana. He argues that the control of the process of land administration and allocation as well as the delineation of customary interest within the local community is normally spearheaded by the wealthy and powerful. He reveals that the interest of those who control and administer customary land is in the commodification of land. The notion of the customary thus serves as a manipulative instrument used to dispossess the poor and marginalised, and thence exposes the rural areas for external exploitation.⁹¹ Local citizens hold right to farm land freely hence chiefs cannot sell land to them. In the light of this however, most land transactions had transpired between chiefs and stranger farmers and in most cases what Boni terms triangular conflicts between chiefs, youth and migrant farmers has been rife.⁹² Even though one cannot downplay the fact that migrants open up areas and create wealth, they conversely deprive local

⁸⁹ Berry, "Debating the Land Question in Africa". 638-9

⁹⁰ Berry, "Debating the Land Question in Africa". 639

⁹¹ K.S. Amanor, "Custom, Community and Conflict: Neoliberalism, Global Market Opportunity and Local Exclusion in the Land Question in Africa". Paper for the International Symposium at the frontier of land issues: social embeddedness of land rights and public policy. (Montpellier, 17-19 May, 2006). p.1, Boni, "Clearing the Ghanaian Forest". 23-28

⁹² Amanor, "Custom, Community and Conflict". 5, Boni, "Clearing the Ghanaian Forest". 74

youth of land and impoverish them.⁹³ The youth thus see the migrants as usurpers who contribute to their plight by depriving them of their resources and this oftentimes generates conflict.⁹⁴ Chiefs thus attempt to exploit migrant farmers at this stage and begin to play the ethnic game when the latter proves adamant. The ethnic game as Amanor shows, "...is often effective because chiefs have alienated so much land to migrants, which results in the large numbers of youth and women becoming land hungry and aggrieved".⁹⁵

In a different but related treatise Amanor summarises the changing relationship between the youth and the elders as far as land is concerned as he argues that the "...relationship between youth and elders is now defined by commodity production, with elders representing land and youth, labour".⁹⁶

By this Amanor points out that those intergenerational conflicts are often linked with generational conflicts and competition between elders to control land, labour resources and the redistribution of wealth within the extended family. By this the elders attempt to control the access of the youth to land as well as the redistribution of wealth across generations (that is from the senior to younger generations). According to him increasing commodification and social differentiation creates increasing stress and conflicts as people tend to suffer from differences in economic opportunities.⁹⁷

⁹³Amanor, "Opening up New Economic Frontiers", 2-4, John M. Hunter, "Akotukrom: A Case Study of a Devastated Cocoa Village in Ghana". (*Transactions and Papers Institute of British Geographer*, No. 29., 1961). 161-168,

⁹⁴Amanor, "Custom, Community and Conflict".⁷

⁹⁵Amanor, "Custom, Community and Conflict".⁷, see also Kojo Amanor, "The Changing Face of Customary Land Tenure" in Janine M. Ubink and K.S. Amanor (eds.), *Contesting Land and Custom in Ghana: State, Chiefs, and the Citizen*. (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2008). 69-71

⁹⁶K.S. Amanor, Land, Labour and the Family in Southern Ghana. A Critique of Land Policy under Neoliberalism. Research Report No. 116. (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2001). 43

⁹⁷Kojo S. Amanor, "Family Values, Land Sales and Agricultural Commodification in South Eastern Ghana". (*Africa* (80), 2010). 188-122, Kojo S. Amanor, "Rural Youth and the Right to a Livelihood in Ghana". Paper for Conference on Youth and the Global South: Religion, Politics and the Making of Youth in Africa, Asia and

The ethnic game theory of Amanor is very evident in landlord-stranger relations in Western Ghana. In their studies on the politics of allocation of land and landlord-stranger relations, Boone and Duku demonstrate that decentralised democratic local government does not make any provision where migrant farmers can overcome the political disadvantages that make them vulnerable to chiefs and indigenes attempts to reclaim their acquired property rights. They point out that instead of state policies and state institutions working to do away with ethnic privilege and chiefly authority they rather help to consolidate these feature of the local political economy.⁹⁸ In Western Ghana for instance, increasing land competition finds social and political expressions in tensions that run along the indigene-stranger cleavage.⁹⁹ Boone and Duku assert that land is becoming scarce and there is tension between locals and migrants.¹⁰⁰

In his studies on northern Ghana, Lund argues that issues of exclusivity are related to scarcity of resources in land. He argues that since land is property which is vital to peoples livelihood in every strata (rural, peri-urban, and urban) in Africa people exert immense drive and imagination to have their land claims recognised as rights through the resort to various institutions such as political, administrative, and legal. The study reveals that 'local' issues do not restrict themselves exclusively within local arenas and that notions relating to land and property as well as its regulation undoubtedly cannot be reduced to being merely local matters.¹⁰¹

Local politics involving land and property, he argues, is not an isolated process from the broader influence. He shows that the very hallmark of local politics is incomplete in itself, in that actors

the Middle East,(Dakar:13-15 October,2006),1-19,Kojo Amanor, "The Changing Face of Customary Land Tenure" in Janine M. Ubink and Kojo S. Amanor (eds), "Contesting Land and Custom in Ghana".68-72

⁹⁸Catherine Boone and Dennis Kwame Duku, "Ethnic Land Rights in Western Ghana: Landlord-Stranger Relations in the Democratic Era".(*Development and Change*,43(3),2012).672

⁹⁹Boone and Duku, "Ethnic Land Rights in Western Ghana".681

¹⁰⁰Boone and Duku, "Ethnic Land Rights in Western Ghana".679

¹⁰¹Christian Lund, *Local Politics and the Dynamics of Property in Africa*. (New York: CUP, 2008).2-3. See Pauline Peters, "Inequality and Social Conflict Over Land in Africa".(*Journal of Agrarian Change*, Vol. 4,No.3,2004).267-314

and groups outside the range of local relations are practically and directly involved in the political processes. So deductively, people with different degrees of ambition and appetite of responsibility and resolve engage in political processes of competition and exclusion. The process whereby claims are made over land and other resources which are contested and settled are basic to how authority is established and challenged. This means that contestation over control of land does not involve only the individual. It is a complex conglomeration of embedded issues that include institutions and their relation to competition over authority in its “consolidation, reconfiguration, and erosion”.¹⁰²

Hence, Lund recommends that in order to understand the institutional dynamics of land and property, a thorough study of the historical configurations of particular situations, their dilemmas, conflicts and local contradictions is imperative. Even though property in land is central to political control, it is not the only source of authority. It is inevitably intertwined with security, citizenship, and development, three alternative areas which can also construct institutional authority. This makes the relationship established between authority and property in land temporal and not permanent one. This relationship is only viewed as a social and politico-legal construction which is maintained and challenged through active and contested reproduction of property relations. As a result groups are marginalized both economically and politically because of their unequal positioning in negotiating how land rights and property are to be defined. Though people may link their right to property in land through their social identity,

¹⁰²Lund, “Local Politics and the Dynamics of Property in Africa”.3 and 5. Shipton discusses in detail how the issue of land goes beyond the individual and this influences allocation of land as well as ethnicity in Africa. For further studies on this see Parker Shipton, *Mortgaging the Ancestors: Ideologies of Attachment in Africa*. (London: Yale University Press, 2009).

nonetheless, social identity in itself is not a guarantee to right but “seems to entitle them to claim them”.¹⁰³

As Lund points out, more often the limits of property holding groups are hardly a settled fact but rather a fact to settle. Accordingly, social identities become subjected to a contest where such labels as ‘natives’ and ‘strangers’ are invoked. Although such categorisations may appear to be simple and inoffensive they sooner than later become the objects of extreme (sometimes refined and sometimes coarser) of negotiations. In the extreme, normally evoked by intense land scarcity, belonging become an instrument of exclusion instead of inclusion. Central to all these conflicts over land and power is the inevitable role of history.¹⁰⁴

Similarly, Ubink also reveals that struggles over land and its proceeds are very much evident in agriculture areas. Increasing pressures on land and its commodification have resulted in contestations and a redefinition of land rights in the forest areas of Ghana where cocoa and oil palm cultivation is predominant.¹⁰⁵ Struggles over land are not just a question of land but also about property. To a larger degree property is not about things only but a whole constellation of social and political relationship between and among people concerning things. And struggles over land are mainly influenced by these socio-political and historical-geographic contexts.¹⁰⁶

Isomunah maintains that if land is central in explanations of communal conflicts, then emphasis is primarily and always placed on its scarce nature.¹⁰⁷ However, the land practice of the host

¹⁰³Lund, “Local Politics and the Dynamics of Property in Africa.9-11, Boone, “Property and Political Order”.114-159

¹⁰⁴Lund, “Local Politics and the Dynamics of Property in Africa.9-11, Boone, “Property and Political Order”.114-159

¹⁰⁵Janine M. Ubink, *In the Land of Chiefs: Customary Law, Land Conflicts and the Role of the State in Peri-Urban Ghana*. (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2008.).20

¹⁰⁶Ubink, “In the Land of Chiefs”.29

¹⁰⁷V. Adefemi Isomunah, “Migration, Land Tenure, Citizenship and Communal Conflicts in Africa”.(*National and Ethnic Politics*, Vol. 9, No.1,2003).3

communities or indigenous groups obviously facilitates the assimilation and integration of the immigrants amongst them.¹⁰⁸ Boone further shows that attacks are directed at members of ethnic groups deemed to be pro-opposition. This is because management of property which involved land rights structured the geographic pattern of grievances concerning land, determined rival constituencies of land claimants and produced avenues and incentives for ruling elites to prey on prevailing land grievances and land tenure relations for electoral gains.¹⁰⁹ Among the African populace land can become tangled with issues relating to 'citizenship', chieftaincy prerogatives, gender relations and the existence of social hierarchies. Though land tenure relations have been viewed largely as non-political or traditional and are thus resistant to state control, however electoral mobilisation around land questions is thus occurring in situations where government can exercise wide power to redefine land rights and even reallocate land.¹¹⁰

Land in effect has given politicians the opportunity to alter the hierarchical configuration of communal groups in relation to the state or mostly creating new, narrower and core constituencies. In most instances the stakes are high and any attempt to move away from the status quo can lead to implications such as dispossession or exclusion.¹¹¹ Therefore, connections between observed pattern of violence and certain land tenure regimes that was established and which prevailed at the time of interest depends on further specification and broader theorisation.¹¹² This is essential at least for two reasons. First, it allows for a full account of the settings, causes, and mechanisms of conflict to be recorded. Secondly, it allows us to move

¹⁰⁸Isomonah, "Migration, Land Tenure, Citizenship and Communal Conflicts in Africa".3

¹⁰⁹Catherine Boone, "Politically Allocated Land Rights and the Geography of Electoral Violence: The Case of Kenya in the 1990s". (*Comparative Political Studies*, Vol.44, No.10, 2011). 1313-1315. See also Catherine Boone, "Conflicts Over Rights in Land in Africa's Liberalised Political Economy". Paper presented at workshop in Political Theory and Analysis. (Bloomington: Indiana University, February 23, 2009).13

¹¹⁰Catherine Boone, "Property and Constitutional Order: Land Tenure Reform and the Future of African States".(*African Affairs*, Vol.106,No.425,2001).559-60

¹¹¹Boone, "Property and Constitutional Order".559

¹¹²Boone, "Politically Allocated Land Rights and the Geography of Electoral Violence". 1315

beyond ideographic interpretations of historical land protests and conflicts in particular settings.¹¹³

Werbner records that agents of political violence do not appear alone. He points out that standing in the midst of vengeful agents of political violence; the dislocated and the dispossessed are “the African Big Men”.¹¹⁴ In urban villages in Botswana for instance, issues relating to tribal dominance, ethnic discrimination, denial of human rights, tribalism, and nepotism have gained much prominence in public discourses. Werbner reveals that tribal land boards have become a key arena for the struggles over tribal citizenship, and representation has become a highly politicised issue.¹¹⁵

In her study on land rights in Africa, Lentz shows that debates on autochthony and primary patriotism has gained much attention on political discourses on elections. The democratic principle of one man one vote has always created tensions in areas where the migrant population outnumber the indigenous people. There is therefore a fear factor among the autochthon population which is grounded in the fact that given the vast difference in number of the migrant population the indigenes could be marginalised.¹¹⁶ In the midst of this tension the setting of ethnic boundaries becomes inevitable. However, what the autochthon population do not realise is that migrant farmers may have reasons for voting which are distinct from that of the indigenous people. Arthur rightly points out that voters choices are influenced by some social background and social psychology and this has a lasting or lifelong effect.¹¹⁷ Other scholars such Nugent and

¹¹³Boone, “Property and Constitutional Order”.559

¹¹⁴Richard P. Werbner, *Reasonable Radicals and Citizenship in Botswana: The Public Anthropology of Katanga Elites*.(Bloomington: Indiana University Press,2004).1

¹¹⁵Werbner, “Reasonable Radicals and Citizenship in Botswana”.31

¹¹⁶Lentz, “Introduction” in Kuba &Lentz (eds) ” Land Rights and the Politics of Belonging in Africa”.12-13

¹¹⁷Peter Arthur, “Ethnicity and Electoral Politics in Ghana’s Fourth Republic”. (*Africa Today*, Vol.56, No.2, 2009),46.

Chazan contribute to this debate by showing how ethnicity as well as a political culture influences political socialisation and voting patterns in Ghana.¹¹⁸

It is evident from the literature discussed so far that explosive migrations stimulated by the cocoa economy led to increased sales or allocation of land and this has in turn led to scarcity of land. Scarcity of land has also led to rising competition over land which has in most cases resulted into conflicts of various forms. In addition, landlessness finds a new expression in political processes of election where boundaries are set and local citizenship defined. These issues raise two questions that are explored in this study. Firstly, the study explores the relationship between chiefs, migrants and local farmers and the role of chiefs in land sales/allocation of lands. It also examines how this is related to processes of capital accumulation in cocoa. Secondly, the study examines the impact of political processes in elections on ethnic tensions and the representation by migrants of their interests which may be distinct from the host communities.

2.5 Cocoa, Mobility, Community, and the Politics of Belonging

In this section the study examines how land scarcity or the land question resulting from the cocoa economy has affected long term relations in rural communities and the implications of this for belonging and the politics of belonging.

The dawn of the cocoa economy stimulated massive movements of people to unoccupied forest areas for cocoa cultivation. This not only led to the establishment of new settlements in the forest areas, but it also created changes in such communities. To a larger extent most of these farmers turned their new communities into their basic place of residence and the center of most of their

¹¹⁸Paul Nugent, "Ethnicity as an Explanatory Factor in the Case of Ghana 2000 Election". (*African Issues*, Vol.29, No.1/2).2-7, Paul Nugent, "Winners, Losers and also Rans: Money, Moral Authority and Voting Patterns; 2000 Election". (*African Affairs*, Vol. 100, 2001).405-428, and Naomi Chazan, "Political Culture and Socialisation to Politics: A Ghanaian Case". (*The Review of Politics*, Vol.40, No.1, 1978).3-31

families and socio-political activities. Indeed, Bóas points out that the relationship between migrants and indigenes during the early decades of the cocoa economy was cordial. Most migrants were able to establish relatively good relations that opened up abundant land for their exploitation, and thus made good living from their involvement in cocoa cultivation.¹¹⁹ However, migrant-indigene relations in recent years are strained due to scarcity of land and other related property rights. In most cases this has led to issues of violence, conflicts, and exclusion of migrants from host communities, and in effect generating belonging and questions of belonging. In order to situate this study within an appropriate framework of belonging and the politics of belonging the study examines these concepts and their definitions in the sections that follow.

2.6 Belonging and the politics of belonging

In her seminal article, *Belonging and the Politics of Belonging*, Yuval-Davis provides an analytical framework that gives insight and understanding for the study of belonging and the politics of belonging. She explains that belonging is about emotional attachment which invokes the feeling of being at home or a feeling of safety.¹²⁰ Yuval-Davis situates belonging in three analytical levels of construction or understanding; social locations, identification and emotional attachments to various collectives and groupings, and then ethical and political values.¹²¹

The context of social location is a complex constellation of ideas that constructs belonging to particular categories and positionalities. People may be said to belong to certain gender, or race, or class or nation as well as particular kinship group or profession. These definitions are social and economic locations, which at individual historical moments have particular implication vis-

¹¹⁹Bóas, “New Nationalism and Autochthony”.30

¹²⁰Nira Yuval-Davis, “Belonging and the Politics of Belonging”, (*Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol.40, No.3, 2006). 197

¹²¹Nira Yuval-Davis, “Belonging and the Politics of Belonging”.198-199

à-vis the structures of power relations in society.¹²² That is, not only are these different categories of social locations but categories that have certain positionalities along power axis (higher or lower) that tend to be different in different historical settings and are often contested.¹²³

Constructions of belonging are also narrated in stories where people tell who they are and are not. Such stories often relate directly or indirectly to self and or other notion of what being a member of a group or collectivity (ethnic, racial, national etc.) might mean. Identity narratives can be individual or collective, although the former is product of the latter. Though such stories are reproduced from generation to generation, this reproduction is carried out in a selective way. That is, identity narratives can shift and change, and be contested. Such narrations relate to the past or myth of origin and are aimed at explaining the present, and to some degree serve as a projection for future trajectories.¹²⁴ Yuval-Davis cautions that constructions of belonging should not be viewed as mere cognitive stories because such constructions reflect "... emotional investment and desires for attachment: Individuals and groups are caught within wanting to belong, wanting to become, a process that is fuelled by yearning rather than posting of identity as a stable state".¹²⁵

The construction of belonging should not be limited to the two concepts discussed above. But the ways in which these categories or levels are valued (ethical value) and judged (political value) must be given equal attention. These (ethical and political values) invoke specific attitudes and concepts regarding where and how identity and categorical boundaries are being or should be

¹²²Nira Yuval-Davis, "Belonging and the Politics of Belonging".198-199

¹²³Nira Yuval-Davis, "Belonging and the Politics of Belonging".199-202, Patrick Chabal, *Africa: The Politics of Suffering and Smiling*. (London: Zed Books, 2009).24-55.

¹²⁴Yuval-Davis, "Belonging and the Politics of Belonging", p.202. Chabal, "Africa: The Politics of Suffering and Smiling".24-55

¹²⁵Yuval-Davis, "Belonging and the Politics of Belonging". 202-3

drawn in a more or less exclusionary ways, or more or less permeable ways.¹²⁶ In fact, it is in the contestations around these ethical and ideological issues and the way they employ social locations and narratives of identities that create the arena for the politics of belonging.¹²⁷

The politics of belonging as John Crowley explains is “the dirty work of boundary maintenance”.¹²⁸ The boundaries being defined here are those boundaries that divide the world populations into “them” and “us”, thus creating a political community of belonging, and these are the concerns of the politics of belonging. Chabal extends this notion further by showing that in Africa as elsewhere people belong but they belong differently.¹²⁹ Anderson defines the construction of this community or “nation” as imagined communities because according to him even “because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”.¹³⁰ An abstract form of community as this is essentially founded on an abstract sense of imagined simultaneity. Nonetheless, the national imagination also includes past and future generations. Therefore, the inability to meet all members of the nation is not due to the size of the nation, but it is just naturally impracticable.¹³¹

Ross Poole enhances our understanding of the politics of belonging by pointing out that Anderson’s explanation appears to assume that, if all members of the nation could meet one on one imagination would not be necessary. However, any creation of boundaries of a defined collectivity or groups that includes people and excludes others involves an act of “active and

¹²⁶Yuval-Davis, “Belonging and the Politics of Belonging”.203

¹²⁷Yuval-Davis, “Belonging and the Politics of Belonging”.203-204. The politics of belonging, and belonging are related but two separate concepts.

¹²⁸Cited in Yuval-Davis, “Belonging and the Politics of Belonging” .204

¹²⁹Chabal, “Africa: The Politics of Suffering and Smiling”. p.57

¹³⁰Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. (London: Verso, 1991). 6

¹³¹Yuval-Davis, “Belonging and the Politics of Belonging”.204

situated imagination”.¹³² Similarly, Bellamy demonstrates that at the heart of citizenship is membership, and to become a citizen is to belong to a particular political community.¹³³ However, Kea points out that, local citizenship must be understood as practice, rather than status. Such status is subject to ongoing negotiation and struggle.¹³⁴

Currently in Africa, the actual dimension of belonging is evident in its political importance. Most African economic and socio-political issues are now viewed in the light of the politics of belonging because of the conflicts and violence that have been rife between ‘natives’ and ‘strangers’, mostly attributed to property rights. Chabal actually points out an instructive notion which contrasts the two actors, and he puts it this way; “the stranger was often imbued with greater qualities of work, strength, and reliability than the more indolent native”.¹³⁵ Hence the latter has become disadvantaged socially, economically, and politically. Chabal looks at the politics of belonging from three levels of analysis; kin, reciprocity and stranger, and explains how the people involved consider this three aspects of their lives and why they think these matter most for politics.¹³⁶ The aggressive struggle over belonging and exclusion develop at the local level, inside the village. In many villages people interests in opportunities relating to land goes together with determined efforts to expose the identity of the stranger who may have before

¹³²Ross Poole, *Nation and Identity*. (London: Routledge, 1999).p.10. See also an expanded explanation of this concepts in Axel Harneit-Sievers, *Constructions of Belonging: Igbo Communities and the Nigerian State in the Twentieth Century*. (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2006).pp. 149-281

¹³³Richard Bellamy, *Citizenship: A Very Short Introduction*. (Oxford: OUP,2008).p.52

¹³⁴Pamela Kea, “Becoming Local Citizens: Senegalese Female Migrant and Clientelism in the Gambia”,(*African Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No.3, 2012).1

¹³⁵Chabal, “Africa: The Politics of Suffering and Smiling”.57,Berry, “Ancestral Property”.43-57

¹³⁶ Chabal, “Africa: The Politics of Suffering and Smiling”.57-77 for an elaborate explanation of these concepts.

now been treated as a fellow member of the community but are now marked as not really belonging to the community and is thus not qualified to share in resources.¹³⁷

Harneit-Sievers points out that the politics of belonging has now become a ubiquitous phenomenon since the late twentieth century. The writer shows that old and new forms of self-definition are created and recreated in the community by ethnicity, locality or gender preferences and this has become relevant by way of identity politics in Africa as it secures rights and access to resources. The politics of belonging in effect is played around multiple identities and this thus gives the village a new relevance as a source of power in the politics of belonging.¹³⁸

2.7 Conceptual Considerations of the Study

The construction of the stranger category shows that growing resentment by indigenes was accompanied by the quick development of a new image of migrants. The suddenness of this transition might be characteristic of the volatility of autochthony reasoning. Geschiere gives evidence of how cocoa induced migration in the Ivory Coast has raised questions of ‘stranger’ and belonging. He shows how powerful Baule group who championed the cocoa frontier ascended to dominate national politics.¹³⁹ The customary institutions of villagers through the *tutorat* framework encouraged the integration of migrant cocoa farmers into the local communities on the basis of patron-client relationship. However, within some few decades the

¹³⁷Peter Geschiere, *The Peril of Belonging: Autochthony, Citizenship and Exclusion in Africa and Europe*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).89-90, Peter Geschiere and Francis B. Nyamjoh, “Capitalism and Autochthony: The Seasaw of Mobility and Belonging”, (*Public Culture*, Vol.12, No.2, 2000).423-452

¹³⁸ Axel Harneit-Sievers, *Constructions of Belonging: Igbo Communities and the Nigerian State in the Twentieth Century*. (Rochester: Rochester University Press, 2006).1-3.Barth’s edited work provides further insight into the debate by providing an ecological, economic and demographic analysis to the constructions of boundaries among groups. See Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969).

¹³⁹The Baule are an Akan group who inhabited the forest areas of southern part of Cote d’Ivoire. See Geschiere, “The Peril of Belonging”.108-114

natives had largely been displaced of all land and have lost total authority of these migrants. Currently, the bone of contention in Ivory Coast largely has to do with rights to land.¹⁴⁰

Chauveau and Richards demonstrate that tensions and wars in Côte d'Ivoire were fuelled by competition over land and this has been a contributing element to the Ivorian crises.¹⁴¹ In this comparative study between Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone, the authors show how belligerents were recruited from among groups disconnected from or marginalized within local agrarian social institutions to either attack migrants or local leaders and institutions. In central-western Côte d'Ivoire the violence was targeted on strangers and in defense of community institutions, whereas in eastern Sierra Leone it was directed at local leaders and against community institutions.¹⁴²

Though Mitchell asserts that in Ghana cocoa growing areas are characterised by peace between migrant farmers and natives, however, Boni's study conducted in the same research site-Sefwi Wiaswso and Juaboso Bia districts in the Western Region of Ghana- proves the contrary. He clearly demonstrates that in the course of the twentieth century the boundaries of belonging in Sefwi have hardened because of the need to distinguish group's access to scarce resources. He argues that identities are played out especially when the management of scarce resources is at stake.¹⁴³ Amanor further confirms that background to recent disputes among the youth and elders is the land question and that the concepts of community, land rights of citizens and its

¹⁴⁰Geschiere, "The Peril of Belonging".108-114

¹⁴¹Chauveau and Richards, "West Africa Insurgencies in Agrarian Perspective". 515.

¹⁴²Chauveau and Richards,"West Africa Insurgencies in Agrarian Perspective", p.516, Richard C. Crook, "Cocoa Booms, the Legislation of Land Relations and Politics in Cote D'Ivoire and Ghana: Explaining Farmers Responses (*IDS Bulletin*, Vol.32, No.1, 2001). 34-43.

¹⁴³Mitchell, "The Political Economy of migration and Conflict in Ghana's Cocoa Growing Regions", p.10, Boni, "Indigenous blood and foreign labour".183

associated politics of belonging has become very disturbing and problematic.¹⁴⁴ In fact, Marshall-Fratani points out that central to crises in most African countries are land tenure and relations between ‘native’ and ‘strangers’/migrants’ populations.¹⁴⁵

The conceptual underpinnings of this study derive from the customary institutional framework of land management, land sales and administration. This is with specific emphasis and limitation to the customary institution of *tutorat*. The *tutorat* framework has been popularised severally by Jean-Pierre Chauveau in his works.¹⁴⁶ Unlike legal frameworks of land which “assume that land cases can be arranged in a rigid and clear typology” and thus considers land occupants as criminals, customary *tutorat* institutional framework seeks to historicise institutional structures and reveal normative tensions within it.¹⁴⁷ The relevance of the *tutorat* framework to this study is that it is largely consistent, unambiguous, practical and highly adaptable to circumstances in the research location.

The *tutorat* is an informal rural institution that regulated indigene-migrant relations and established a bond of patronage between the autochthon (indigene) and the migrant, to whom land rights had been extended on the basis of the principle of a rural economy.¹⁴⁸ The *tutorat* fits into the moral economy where there is a strong guarantee to the conviction that any individual or

¹⁴⁴Kojo S. Amanor, “Customary Land, Mobile, and Alienation in the Eastern Region of Ghana” in Kuba and Lentz (eds.), “Land and the Politics of Belonging”. 150-157

¹⁴⁵ Ruth Marshall-Fratani, “The War of “Who is Who: Autochthony and Nationalism in the Ivorian Crises” in Sara Dorman, Daniel Hammett and Paul Nugent (eds.), *Making Nations, Creating Strangers: States and Citizenship in Africa*. (Leiden: Brill, 2007).29-30.

¹⁴⁶Some of these works shall be discussed here.

¹⁴⁷Boni, “Clearing the Ghanaian Forest”, 8. Contestations with regard to the complexity and ambiguity (contrasting interpretations) of the land tenure question between legal theories and practices, and customary institutional approaches has been extensively discussed by Boni. See pages 6-20 of Boni, “Clearing the Ghanaian Forest”.

¹⁴⁸Chauveau and Colin, “Customary Transfers and Land Sales in Cote d’Ivoire”, 87, Morten Bóas, “New Nationalism and Autochthony: Tales of Origin as Political Cleavage”. (*Africa Spectrum* 1/2009). p.30, Jean-Pierre Chauveau and Paul Richards, “West Africa Insurgencies in Agrarian Perspective: Cote d’Ivoire and Sierra Leone Compared”. (*Journal of Agrarian Change*, Vol. 8, No. 4,2008).525

groups of people has a right to access the means of subsistence for himself or his family.¹⁴⁹ There is therefore the moral principle which stipulates that one cannot deny an outsider or ‘stranger’ who needs land for subsistence. The stranger on the other hand is obliged to respect the bundle of responsibilities connected with social incorporation into the local community and accordingly contribute to the reinforcement of the community’s prevailing social order.¹⁵⁰

2.8 Land and the Socio-Political Dimension of the *Tutorat*

Conceptually and deductively, land transfers in tutorial engagements are rooted in wider socio-political relationships and involve a continuing duty of gratitude and of allegiance toward the customary land holder.¹⁵¹ Traditionally, this patron-client relationship embodied within this broader socio-political configuration is backed by religious dimension. This initially occurred in contexts where land was abundant and the populace sparse, and was thus used as a means to attract migrants to farm the land.¹⁵² However, that context has in many areas been radically tested or challenged due to population pressure. The focus has shifted from the need to secure the availability of migrant labour to the need to secure access to land. The institution of the *tutorat* has extremely evolved over the years as a consequence of this shift. Besides, this change has much to do with migratory flows, the monetisation of land transfers, individualisation of land rights and state intervention. Thus, the customary principles reinforcing the *tutorat* are being challenged, and are progressively connected with conflicts between and within communities.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ Chauveau, “How does an institution evolve?”, 214-15

¹⁵⁰ Chauveau and Richards, “West Africa Insurgencies in Agrarian Perspective”, 525. Bóas, “New Nationalism and Autochthony”, 30.

¹⁵¹ Jean-Pierre Chauveau and Jean-Philippe Colin, “Changes in Land Transfer Mechanisms: Evidence from West Africa” in Lorenzo Cotula (ed.), *Changes in “Customary” Land Tenure System in Africa*. (ISBN 978-1-84364-657-5). 66, Chauveau, “How does an institution evolve?” in Kuba and Lentz, op. cit., Jean-Pierre Chauveau, Jean-Philippe Colin, Jean-Pierre Jacob et al, *Changes in Land Access and Governance in West Africa: Markets, Social Mediations and Public Policies*. (CLAIMS, 2006). pp. 14-24

¹⁵² Chauveau and Colin, “Changes in Land Transfer Mechanisms”. 67

¹⁵³ Chauveau and Colin, “Changes in Land Transfer Mechanisms”. 67-68

Another important aspect of the *tutorat* is its trans-generational nature of the arrangement. It shows that the bundle of land right given out is not limited to rights of use. It also includes rights of management and, in most cases, administration. This allowed the migrant (individual or group) to handle the notions of the reproductive cycle of his own domestic group. The principle made it clear that the stranger is not permitted permanently to transfer the parcel of land assigned to him or even sell it.¹⁵⁴

The *tutorat* relations involve two aspects which are interwoven, and these are rights and obligations regarding access to land, and rights and obligations regarding group membership. These relations are suggestive of social order in rural communities in Africa. It portrays the central agrarian element of indigenous social and political institutions, which does not only give land a productive function, but also makes it a social link which attaches all those who live off it to a single moral community.¹⁵⁵

In a general discussion therefore, it is obvious that the opening up of mostly unpopulated forest belt for cocoa farming led not only to new patterns of migration and the formation of new farming settlements in the forest belt, but also to a transformation in communities. New farms and farming communities were formed distant away from towns during the dawn of cocoa cultivation. These communities became the permanent residents instead of temporal abodes of the farmers.¹⁵⁶ In the early decades after the introduction of cocoa farming, the relationship between migrants and indigenes in the cocoa producing areas was cordial. Most migrants took advantage of the abundance of land in the forest belts, exploited them and were able to make a

¹⁵⁴Chauveau, Colin, Jacob et el, "Changes in Land Access and Governance in West Africa".15

¹⁵⁵Chauveau, Colin, Jacob et el, "Changes in Land Access and Governance in West Africa".16

¹⁵⁶ Berry, "The Concept of Innovation and the History of Cocoa Farming in Western Nigeria".87-88

good living from their participation in cocoa production.¹⁵⁷ Land tenure though a complex mix of socially and politically rooted rights were negotiated in dynamic relationships amongst different groups of people and the corresponding state in which they lived. Thus, one can argue that oftentimes land rights are subject to contestations, always negotiated, and they change over the years.¹⁵⁸ Bóas argues that the only thing that remains constant in this context therefore is that affiliation to a group and recognized “citizenship” to a geographic area is crucial in this process. Hence, issues concerning land right are largely susceptible to the politics of identity and belonging.¹⁵⁹ Berry elaborates further on this point and instructively posits that institutions are to be thought of in the light of processes that begin with moments and interactions. She argues for example that “one might conceptualize social institution, such as household, family, community etc. not as clearly bounded, consensual social entities, but rather as constellations of social interactions, in which people move, acquire land, exchange ideas and resources, and negotiate or contest the terms of production, authority and obligation...”¹⁶⁰ The implication of this approach is that affiliation to social institutions creates an opening for people to engage in negotiations and/or struggle, instead of assuring and ensuring results, continuity, identity etc. or reproducing steady, consistent social relationship.

Therefore, what is necessary in this context is to consider the process of negotiation and discussions through which institutions themselves are created and people conduct their affairs within and among them. In fact, “institutional boundaries and structures are negotiated and contested”, however, these negotiations are themselves continuous processes whose importance

¹⁵⁷ Bóas, “New Nationalism and Autochthony”.30, Hill, “The Migrant Cocoa Farmer of Southern Ghana”. This seminal work is indeed an apology for African farmers, detailing out their initiative in capital formation, investment and accumulation

¹⁵⁸Bóas, “New Nationalism and Autochthony”.33

¹⁵⁹Bóas, “New Nationalism and Autochthony”.33

¹⁶⁰Sara Berry, “Tomatoes, Land and Hearsay: Property and History in Asante in the time of Structural Adjustment”, (*World Development*, Vol.25,No.8,1997).1228

for social relationship entrenched, among other things, in the knowledge that they do not cease.¹⁶¹Institutions therefore, are not to be assumed and viewed as results of debates and negotiations, but instead in terms of processes. In fact, Boni captures this concept succinctly in the following words:

Social systems lend themselves to be analyzed both in terms of regularities and exceptions, in terms of persistence and transformation, in terms of norms and negotiations, in terms of general principles and contextual enactments.¹⁶²

2.9 Conclusion

In this study, I situate Dadieso within the framework above, juxtaposing my analysis with particular attention to land, negotiation, integration and belonging by using the histories of migrations, individuals, and the community across time. Not only will this approach facilitate an understanding of the changes and continuities in the institutions and relationships at Dadieso, but also enable a balanced analysis of processes of accumulation, investments, affluence and power on the one hand and marginalization at the other, as well as sources of conflicts, and articulations that contest belonging. Thus, in effect, a contextual application of this framework provides an insight into understanding the social mode of negotiation, the political environment in which land case is disputed, as well as the status of interest parties.

It is evident from the discussion that explosive migrations stimulated by the cocoa economy have led to scarcity in land. This has in turn resulted in competition for the limited land available and in most cases this has created conflicts among groups. This study therefore explores relations regarding land and how this influences the circumstances of individual migrant farmers including their positioning and identity in their host community. It also examines how complex issues

¹⁶¹Berry, "Tomatoes, Land and Hearsay". 1229

¹⁶²Boni, "Clearing the Ghanaian Forest".17

pertaining to land affects power, authority and influence, and to what extent this creates physical barriers to communication and governance at the local level. This study thus seeks to demonstrate that scarcity in land as well as conflicts across ethnicities within rural communities due to the cocoa economy did not arise as a result of outright sales of land or contest within the firstcomer and latecomer configuration alone. It argues that the historical peculiarities of a community are also important factors.



CHAPTER THREE

MIGRATION, SETTLEMENT AND ETHNICITY IN DADIESO

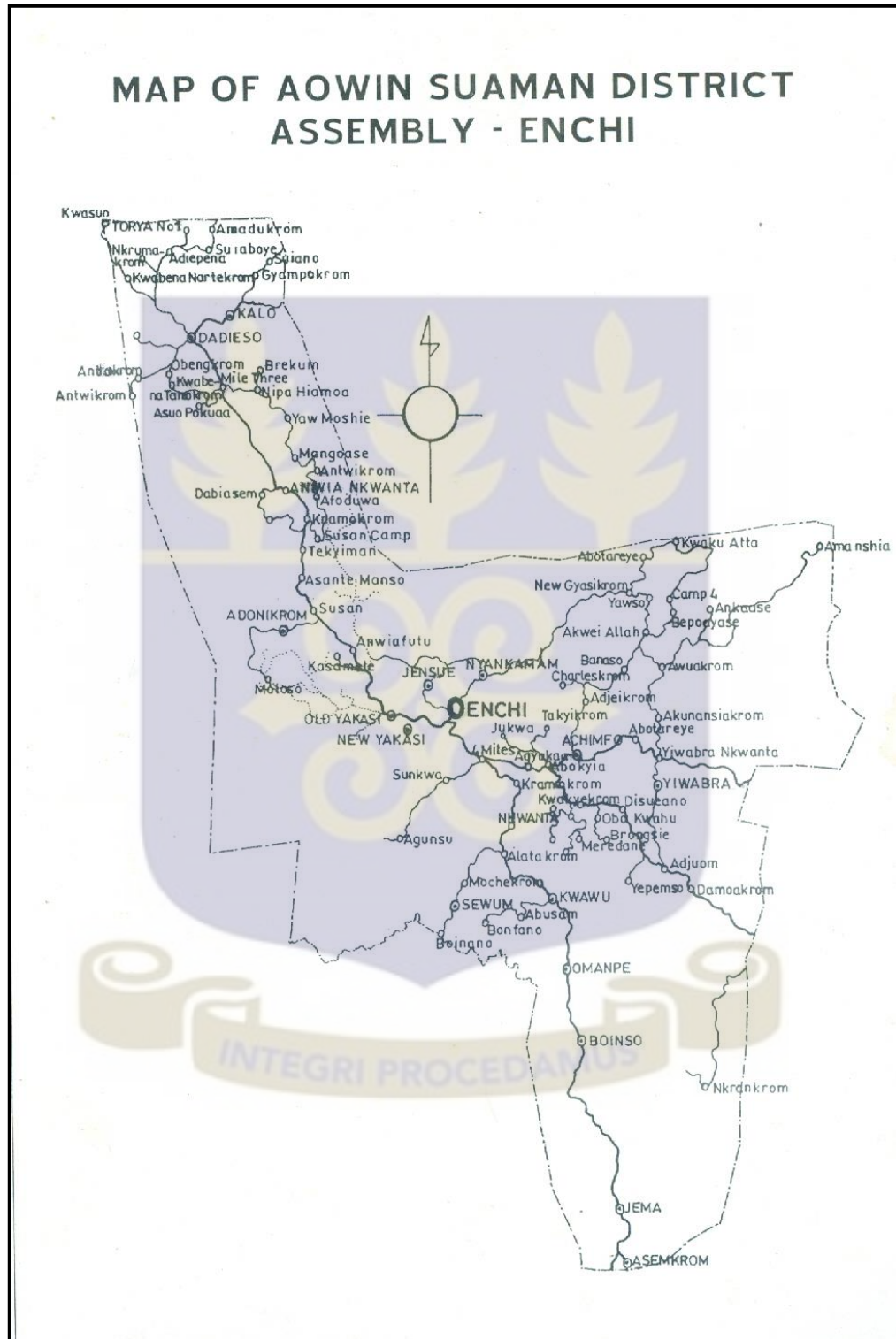
3.1 Introduction

Frequently, when groups of people share linguistic and cultural similarities we tend to assume that they are 'one people' and hence a unified community. But this is not always the case, there are several examples of different groups with the same/similar cultures and language such Hutu and Tutsi of Rwanda, different Akan polities, Malinke groups in Mali, Wala and Dagau in Ghana, among others who are or have been burdened with conflicts. In this chapter the study shows that linguistic and cultural affinity does not equate to community. The quest for political domination and control of economic resources by ethnic groups has always led to the suppression of other other groups, thus undermining the concept of 'onenessness'.

In this chapter the study traces and reenacts the history of the Suaman people and the creation of their community. Using archival materials from PRAAD, secondary materials relevant to this section, migratory stories, life (people) as well as stool histories gathered through oral interviews, I situate and examine the making of the Suaman State within a broader colonial, national and international political configuration.¹⁶³It also discusses the economy of the area prior to the introduction of cocoa farming and how the economic activities at the time influenced socio-political as well as economic relations and development in Dadieso. The relevance of this chapter to the study is that it puts Dadieso in perspective and provides a background to understanding the current crisis- landlessness and political violence-in the Suaman Community.

¹⁶³By national I mean the Gold Coast/Ghana as well as the broader Anyi (Aowin) fraternity. In the international front I question how the histories of the Anyis (Aowins) influenced the relations between the Gold Coast/Ghana and Ivory Coast/La Cote d'Ivoire.

CURRENT ANYI ETHNOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY



[Source: Aowin Suaman District Assembly Anniversary Manual, 2007]

Currently the Aowin region (Aowin Suaman District) is located in the mid-western part of the Western Region of Ghana. It is bordered in the East by the Amenfi West District, in the North by Juaboso and Sefwi Wiawso Districts and in the South by the Jomoro District. It also shares a common boundary in the West with Cote d'Ivoire. The District has a total land area of 2,717.8 sq. km. It has Enchi as its capital.¹⁶⁴

According to the 2000 Population and Housing Census (PHC) the District has a population of 119,133 found in 132 settlements with Enchi, Dadieso, Boiso, New Yakasi and Jema being the major settlements.¹⁶⁵ The population growth of the district is 4.7% which is higher than the regional average of 3.2%. The high growth rate is attributable to the influx of migrant farmers from other parts of the country.¹⁶⁶ The population of the district is ethnically diverse with the Akan group dominating, and constituting 64 percent of the entire population. Three percent of the population is made up of Ghanaians by naturalisation and foreign nationals.¹⁶⁷

The PHC also indicate that there are about 25,919 households in the district with a household size of 4.6. However, this varies in the towns. Dadieso and Enchi, the two major towns in the district have average household of 3.9 and 5.4 respectively.¹⁶⁸ The district's population is rural. The proportion of the districts rural settlement is 84.3 % as against 15.7 % of the population in towns. The major settlements with population above 5000 are Dadieso and Enchi.¹⁶⁹

The geographical relief of the area is made up of narrow river valleys interspersed with dissected hills of various degrees of steepness. The highest part rises between 305m and 366m above sea

¹⁶⁴Aowin Suaman District Assembly Anniversary Manual.(Aowin Suaman District Assembly,2007).4

¹⁶⁵The study relies on the 2000 Population and Housing Census for its analysis because the terminal date for the study is 2008 .Therefore, this makes the 2000 census the most up to date as far as the terminate date is concerned, and thus helps to keep the study in context.

¹⁶⁶Aowin Suaman District Assembly Anniversary Manual .5

¹⁶⁷Aowin Suaman District Assembly Anniversary Manual.6

¹⁶⁸Aowin Suaman District Assembly Anniversary Manual.6

¹⁶⁹Aowin Suaman District Assembly Anniversary Manual.6

level. The district is drained by the Bia and Tano rivers and their tributaries, notable among which are Boin and Dissue. The climate of the district is the Wet-Semi Equatorial type. The temperature of the area is generally high with an annual average temperature of 26 degrees centigrade (26° C). The hottest months in the area are March and April, which is before the beginning of the first rains. During the wet season the relative humidity is high between 75% and 80% and about 70% during the rest of the year. The district experiences two rainy seasons. The major rainy season occurs from May to July, whereas the minor rains are experienced through September and October. The average annual rainfall is between 1500 and 1800.¹⁷⁰

Agriculture is the dominant economic activity of the district. The occupation structure of the district shows that seventy eight percent (78%) of the economically active population are involved in agriculture, forestry and fishing. Cocoa is the major crop of the district. In addition, it produces oil palm, citrus, rubber and coffee on small scale as cash crops. The major food crops produced include plantain, cassava, rice and maize. Other minor commercial activities include trading and transportation.¹⁷¹

The Aowin Suaman District (ASD) is made up of two traditional areas. These are the Suaman Traditional Area (STA) with its headquarters at Dadieso, and the Aowin Traditional Area (ATA) with its headquarters at Enchi. These traditional areas are headed by paramount chiefs who are assisted by divisional chiefs.¹⁷² The present location of these groups have not always been their original home, hence a reconstruction of their respective histories in this regard is very

¹⁷⁰Aowin Suaman District Assembly Anniversary Manual.4

¹⁷¹Aowin Suaman District Assembly Anniversary Manual.20

¹⁷²Aowin Suaman District Assembly Anniversary Manual.9. “The Aowin Traditional Area” is a contestable name because the naming is wrong. Aowin is the generic name of the entire Anyi fraternity. Hence, to use it without any suffix such as Anyi Suaman makes the area representative of all the Anyi group which of course is not the case here. The right rendition of the area must be Anyi Brussa Traditional Area. This limits the territorial definition of the area instead of the broader and misleading “Aowin Traditional Area” which encompasses all the Anyi group in Cote d’Ivoire.

significant to this study as it will help put the study in context and facilitate an understanding of the issues under discussion.

3.2 The Anyi (Aowin) In History: Comparative Literature

The Anyis are made up six different groups. They are the Suaman, Brussa, Sanwi, Ndenie (Ndenye), Juablin, and Morofou.¹⁷³ Currently, the groups in Ghana are the Suaman and the Brussa. The other four groups are in the Ivory Coast due to the partition of the continent, especially between Britain and France in 1891.¹⁷⁴ The Anyi shares boundary with the Sefwi to the South, Wassa to the East and Ivory Coast to the West. A 1915 colonial document on district boundaries defined the territorial limits of Anyi region as:

Starting from pillar No. 43 on the Anglo-French boundary follows the British frontier of the Anglo-French Boundary in a Southerly direction until it meets the River Tano. It follows the left bank of the River Tano in a northerly direction until it meets the boundary of the Sefwi District as hereafter defined. Thence it follows the southerly direction of the Sefwi District in a westerly direction until it meets the standing point of the District at point 1.¹⁷⁵

The above definition of Anyi boundaries however does not capture the Wassa boundary. It was limited to Anyi-Sefwi boundary demarcation. A clearer picture of the Anyi boundary was rather provided when what the colonial administration sought to define the “Brissa” area was defined.

It notes that:



¹⁷³ The divisions are just like that of the Fantes where we have Ajumako, Ekumfi, Gomoa among others. Interview with Mr Luke Brentum Mensah, Dadieso, 20th January, 2014. Interview with Nana Kofi Armah III, Dadieso, 9th January, 2014. Interview with Nana Armoh Ngyissah, Dadieso, 8th January, 2014. Interview with Revd. Dr. Paulive Assuah, Dadieso, 14th January, 2014. A. I. Asiwaju, “Migrations as Revolt: The Example of the Ivory Coast and Upper Volta before 1945”. (*Journal of African History*, XVII, 4, 1976). 579 and 581, Saffu, “The Ghana-Ivory Boundary”.291-301 and David H. Groff, “The “Revolt” of Assikasso of 1880: An Episode in the Colonial Restructuring of an African Regional Economy”. (*African Economic History*, No 18, 1989).3-4, 8 and 15.

¹⁷⁴ For an expanded analysis on the partition of the Anyi country between Britain and France see E.O Saffu, “The Ghana-Ivory Boundary”. (*Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vo.5.No.2, 1970).291-301

¹⁷⁵GH/PRAAD/ADM 25/5/1-“District Record Book (New), 1915”.

The country of the Brissa is bordered on the West by the French frontier; on the North by the Sefwi District and on the South and east by the River Tano. An additional traditional boundary is the Asantekrom mossil which forms a barrier to that of the north.¹⁷⁶

This description of the “Brissa” region is not accurate in its entirety. This is because what is provided here is a reflection of the broader Anyi regional boundary definition and “Brissa” alone does not and cannot represent Anyi country. If the boundary definition was delimited to Brussa it would not have included Dadieso which is another Anyi country. This is revealed in the record as it further states that:

The largest rivers are Tano, Boin, Bia and Dissue. The Tano acts as the Eastern and Southern boundaries of the District. The Bia is N.W. of Dadieso and flows into the French frontier”.¹⁷⁷

What must be clear here is that Dadieso is a different Anyi state and its integration in this description thus indicates that the record was talking about the entire Anyi area and not “the country of Brissa”. A major weakness inherent in this record which is reflective of other colonial and historical records on the Anyi is that they represented Anyi region by Brussa, forgetting that Brusaa is but a section of the Anyi. The description herein provided also indicates a post-partition experience because the Anyi country today constitutes the Brussa and the Suaman (Dadieso). It also points to the fact that both Suaman (Dadieso) and Brussa (Enchi) are recent creations and that the land which they are now occupying were initially inhabited by the four former Anyi groups and other ethnic groups such as the Baule and Betie who are all in Ivory Coast now.¹⁷⁸ In 1921 the total land area of the Anyi District was equated to be 1258 sq. miles, and in 1930 it was recorded as 1272 sq. miles.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶GH/PRAAD/ADM 25/5/1-“District Record Book (New), 1915”.

¹⁷⁷GH/PRAAD/ADM 25/5/1-“District Record Book (New), 1915”.

¹⁷⁸ The study will prove this as it progresses. The Suaman and Brussas are the last to migrate from their original home to their present location during which time the area was already occupied by the other Anyi groups now in Ivory Coast. Hence, both Dadieso (Suaman) and Enchi (Brussa) are recent creations which are not more than 300 years old.

¹⁷⁹ GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 11/1/587-“Sefwi and Aowin District Boundaries,1915”, GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 11/1/835,“District Boundaries, Western Province”, GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM

3.3 The Economy of Dadieso before the 1960s

Before the people took up massive cocoa cultivation their main occupation was fishing and hunting. Rev Dr. Assuah recounts that “my mum used to say we do not prepare soup with one antelope”.¹⁸⁰ This is indicative of the fact that the forest at the time was abundant with animals. The Bia River around whose bank the people lived also supplied the people with enough fishing. The type of farming practiced then was subsistence agriculture. Commercial farming or trading activities were not known until after the 1960s. The people engaged in both long and short distance trade. Apart from selling smoked fish to neighboring communities, they also travelled to Ivory Coast to purchase consumable items such as soap, sugar and clothes.¹⁸¹

The people had vast pieces of land that were unused because according to them “we did not know what to use it for”.¹⁸² The Suaman had not had any serious contact with the outside world and so were content with their traditional lifestyle. Chamberlain’s description of the Brussa in the early 1920s or 1930s applies to the Suaman as well. He states that:

In this rain-soaked and inaccessible country live the Brissa, or Aowin as they are frequently called. In stature rather stunted, in disposition rather suspicious and grasping, they carry on their daily vocations of hunting, fishing...untouched by outside influence and but little interested in outside events. Unlike ...Nzimas, far from welcoming civilization with a cheer they are disposed to regard it with the gravest suspicion.¹⁸³

Chamberlain could not have been wrong in his description because until the 1960s Dadieso was an isolated area in the country. In the 1920s, one Nana Tandoh (the paramount chief at the time)

11/1/754-“Notes on Sefwi District”,1919, GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 11/1/1212, “Notes on land and boundaries”,1920, GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 11/1/1218, “Scheme for demarcation of stool lands and boundaries”,1920 and GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 11/1/1219, on land and boundaries. On current boundary and administrative definition of the Gold Coast/Ghana see Raymond Bagulo Bening, *Ghana: Regional Boundaries and National Integration*. (Accra: Ghana University Press, 1999). 65-68

¹⁸⁰ Interview with Rev. Dr Paulive Assuah, Dadieso, 14-01-2014.

¹⁸¹ Interview with Mr Emmanuel Twumasi Asante,Dadieso,21-01-14, Mr Benjamin Ebbi Cudjoe,Dadieso,11-01-14 and interview with Mr Kadjo Nango Francois Regis, Dadieso, 06-01-14

¹⁸² Interview with Luke B. Mensah, Dadieso, 20-01-2014. Most of the elders interviewed for this study allude to this statement.

¹⁸³GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/1,”District Record Book (New)”, 1915. Relating to this is GH/PRAAD/ADM 11/1/1029,”The Brissa Language”1929, and GH/PRAAD/ADM 11/1/948, “The Aowin Language”, 1926.

is believed to have encouraged and sometimes used coercion to get the Suaman youth to engage in cocoa farming. Nana Armoh Ngyissah points out that cocoa cultivation was not introduced to Dadieso by migrant farmers. However, he agrees that its importance and expansion was made possible, and relevant to the Suaman by migrant farmers.¹⁸⁴ According to the colonial records the only Tandoh that ruled Dadieso was Nana Tandoh in 1922.¹⁸⁵ His election was confirmed in 1924.¹⁸⁶ Nana Tandoh had come from the Ivorien town of Keteso to rule the people. According to Nana Kofi Armah III he was a very tall and a strict man who used to chase the young men in town with a cane to go to farm. That was how the Dadieso citizenry started experimenting with cocoa farming. The largest area of land one could cultivate with cocoa in their own estimation at the time was three acres (“two poles”). Nana Kofi Armah III recounts the beginning of cocoa farming in Dadieso in the following manner:

Cocoa farming began in Dadieso during the reign of Nana Tandoh. He came from Keteso in Ivory Coast. He hated lazy people and used to beat people who idled around town during day time. This forced most of the males into farming. Before ‘active’ farming gained priority in the community fishing was the dominant occupation here in Dadieso. This was not to say that Dadieso was lacking in land. Land was abundant but they preferred fishing to farming. Their fishing activities attracted traders from neighbouring Sefwi towns and as far as Brong Ahafo. But Nana Tandoh realized that fishing would not help the community because the people were jobless during the dry season, and what happens if nobody bought your fish, hence the pressure he put on the populace to venture into farming. During those days the largest parcel of land one farmed or could farm was three hectares. Such a person was seen as the most hardworking person and was thus well respected.¹⁸⁷

The people’s unwillingness and indisposition towards farming cannot be explained away in simple terms. Fishing was a lucrative business that provided them with quick profits. Therefore, farming at the time was not given much attention. During this period cocoa farming was associated with challenges which discouraged active farming. According to the people they had

¹⁸⁴ Interview with Nana Armoh Ngyissah, Dadieso, 08-01-2014

¹⁸⁵ GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/2, “District Record Book (Old)”, 1915-1946.

¹⁸⁶ GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 11/1/446, “Dadieso Native Affairs”, 1913, GH/PRAAD/ADM 11/1/1834, “Aowin Native Affairs”, 1951.

¹⁸⁷ Interview with Nana Kofi Armah III, Dadieso, 09-01-2014

to travel about thirty or forty miles on foot to neighbouring Sefwi towns such as Juaboso to board vehicles to cities such as Kumasi or Takoradi. Rev. Dr Assuah bemoans the fact that transporting the cocoa cost about fifty percent of the cocoa proceeds. Sometimes they were attacked and robbed by the Sefwi. In some cases cocoa agents in the Sefwi towns outwitted them by indicating the cocoa were not well dried or were not good and thus qualified for *abinkyé*.¹⁸⁸ So, the lack of accessible roads and transport among other factors made cocoa farming appear as a non-rewarding venture and more discouraging to the Suaman.

Another challenge that prevented the early expansion of the cocoa economy in Dadieso was security. The colonial partition in 1883 and 1905 between Britain and France downsized the population of the Suaman as the majority of their kin were resident in the Ivory Coast. Being the only town in the midst of numerous Sefwi and Brussa towns they were constantly exposed to either Sefwi or Brussa attacks. Therefore, the few men available served as the military force of the community who prepared themselves psychologically for defense of their territorial boundaries. Since cocoa farming demanded more time and constant maintenance they could not have combined effective farming with the provision of communal security at the same. Coupled with this was the fact that individual farmers could easily be attacked and overpowered by any of the rival neighbours. It is very important at this point to examine how the depopulation of Dadieso as a result of the partition encouraged the Sefwi and Brussa to dominate and attempt to colonise it.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸Interview with Rev. Dr. Paulive Assuah, Dadieso, 14-01-2014. “*Abinkyé*” is a term for spoil/bad cocoa beans which is mostly rejected by purchasing clerks as not meeting the standard cocoa beans.

¹⁸⁹ Interview with Mr Emmanuel T. Asante, Dadieso, 21-01-14, interview with Mr Kadjo Nango F. R., Dadieso, 06-01-14, interview with Mr Eric Theophilus Tandoh, Dadieso, 19-01-14.

3.4 Dadieso: The Impact of the Partition And Relations with Her Neighbours

The partition of the Anyi region between the British and the French had effects on the Suaman which were immediate, whereas others were undoubtedly long term in their occurrence. The splitting of the Suaman state had a lasting consequence on the socio-political, economic, and cultural life of the Suaman.

Suaman was split between 1883 and 1905 by the British and French.¹⁹⁰ The economic and political result of the partitioning on the Suaman was a continuous struggle for political autonomy from its neighbours and economic survival from migrants. The partition left Dadieso as the only Suaman town in Ghana, all other towns under its sovereignty was displaced to Ivory Coast.¹⁹¹ As at 1929 Dadieso had only one town, Karlo, in its traditional area out of the forty towns in the Enchi district.¹⁹² The people of Karlo, though on Suaman land are Sefwi from Sefwi Anwianso who sought refuge at their present location.¹⁹³ Until the 1960s, the Karlo people never paid allegiance to the Suaman paramountcy because they claimed they are Sefwi and not Suaman.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ Saffu, "Ghana-Ivory Coast Boundary".293-298

¹⁹¹GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 11/1/446,"Dadieso Native Affairs",1913, GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/2-"District Record Book (Old)",1915-1946

¹⁹² GH/PRAAD/ADM 25/5/2-"District Record Book (Old)", 1915-1946. As at 1957 Coronell estimated the population of Enchi to be about 5000 with thirty towns, implying nine out of the thirty eight remaining towns under Enchi had been abandoned. So if at that time Enchi with twenty nine towns had a population of 5000, then what would that of Dadieso have been? Coronell, "Aowin Terracotta Sculpture".33-34.

¹⁹³GH/PRAAD/ADM 25/5/2-"District Record Book (Old)",1915-1946.According to their history they occupied the office priest in the Sefwi Wiawso Traditional Area, but they offended the chief at the time and ran away from his anger and punishment. The name of the town, Karlo, came from a reaction of the Dadieso chief to the Wiawso chief when he demanded that his people return to him. He had sent messages threatening the Dadieso chief of total annihilation of the Suaman people. Out of anger the Suaman chief retorted "omo da manum sei kadom", literally meaning I have swallowed them like this, "kadom", which implied that he was not going to betray the refugees to the Wiawso chief. Interview with Nana Armoh Ngyissah,Dadieso,08-01-2014 and also interview with Mr James Ankorah Biney,Dadieso,20-01-2014

¹⁹⁴ GH/PRAAD/ADM 25/5/2-"District Record Book (Old)", 1915-1946.

This reaction is evident in the ambiguous naming of their town, S. Karlo which refers to either Suaman Karlo or Sefwi Karlo. The Karlo people had been in dispute with the Suaman since 1903 until the late 1950s. The colonial record indicates:

The Kado (sic) people are Sefwis who have settled on Dadiaso (sic) land. They claim the right to serve the Omanahene of Sefwi Wioso (sic) and owe no allegiance to either Dadiaso or Enchi. As they are treated as members in the Aowin state in other matters i.e. they pay no rent for the land they occupy, no tributes. Dadiaso people have long considered that they should share in their stool debts. The Kado people have refused to do. The Kado people do not deny the ownership of the land. The dispute has been going on almost continuously since 1903...¹⁹⁵

Karlo's rebellion and indifference towards Dadieso was in most cases encouraged by Sefwi Wiawso because they provided the Karlo people with military support. For example the colonial report reveals:

During the quarter under review the Government Agent, Enchi, received a complaint from Dadieso people to the effect that the Sefwi people led by the rebel chief of Karo (sic), had arrived the Sui River with arms and driven away the Suamanhene ferrymen and taken possession of his house and ferry which they were now operating with their own canoe brought for the purpose...This matter, which arises out of the land dispute between the Sefwi Wiawsos and the Suamas (sic) now pending before the Lands Court, appears to be an annual exercise.¹⁹⁶

The drastic decline in the Suaman population as a result of the partition affected the military strength of Dadieso and thus subjected it to consistent intimidation and disputes from the Sefwi and the Brussa. The military and political weakness of Dadieso prevented it from being able to protect the vast tract of land within the Suaman territory. The Suaman land became objects for scramble by her neighbours through foul means. From the 1900 to the late 1960s Dadieso knew no peace because it was most of the time defending itself from subjugation by Enchi or the Sefwis. The Sefwi Amoya and Sefwi Wiawso people for instance constantly waged war on Dadieso over her land. The case of land dispute between Dadieso and Amoya was on land

¹⁹⁵GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/2, "District Record Book (Old)", 1915-1946, GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/3-"District Commissioners Travelling Diary",1935-1936

¹⁹⁶GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/1-"District Record Book (New), 1915", GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 11/1/1130, "Sefwi Wiawso Native Affairs", 1908 and GH/PRAAD/ADM 11/1/1465-"Sefwi Wiawso Native Affair", 1881-1921.

around the Bia River.¹⁹⁷ Whereas the Dadieso people were willing to settle the dispute amicably the Amoya people proved otherwise.¹⁹⁸ Through road clearing and intimidation the Amoya people have taken parcels of land covering about ten miles from Dadieso land.¹⁹⁹

In 1920 the then Dadieso chief, Nana Ehe Kweku, fearing that Dadieso will be conquered and colonised by the Sefwi, and taking into consideration the fact that it is an only town surrounded by Sefwi and the Brussa decided to enter into an alliance with the then Brussa chief, Nana Brentu II. However, Nana Brentu II interpreted the former's move as an act of surrender to his authority and thus treated the Dadieso stool as a subject to the Enchi stool, leading to the loss of the paramount status of the Dadieso stool.²⁰⁰ This started the conflict between the Suaman and Brussa and for years and subsequent chiefs after Nana Ehe Kweku had to contest their autonomy from the Brussa. So from the mid-1920s to the 1960s Dadieso and Enchi had been in unfriendly relations. In March, 1948 the quarterly report stated for instance that:

The Ohene of Dadieso has again raised his claim to paramountcy and declared he will not visit Enchi or attend State Council meetings. He has refused to pay the annual Rate and a Native Authority Tax Collector has been turned away.²⁰¹

Again the September, 1949 quarterly report revealed:

The dispute with Dadieso continues. In recent months hostility has been marked and the Dadieso people have refused to have anything to do with the rest of the State - an easy decision since they are separated by 45 miles of much bush track. In August the Dadiesohene claimed that he and his people were ready to play their part in the Native Authority if the difficulty over his title could be solved satisfactorily. The name "Divisional Chief" is most unpopular in Dadieso which considers

¹⁹⁷ GH/PRAAD/ADM 11/1/1723-"Register of Tribal Boundaries",

¹⁹⁸ GH/PRAAD/ADM 11/1/1130, Sefwi Wiawso Native Affairs, 1908, GH/PRAAD/ADM11/1/700-"Amoya-Dadieso Land Dispute (Case No.41/1918)", 1918 and GH/PRAAD/ADM 11/1/1839, "Judgement on Land Cases", 1944.

¹⁹⁹ Interview with Dr Paulive Assuah, Dadieso, 14-01-2014. Road clearing was an exercise that was done by the community by clearing major roads leading to the town. The Amoya people took advantage of the reluctance of the Dadieso people in clearing their roads, and coupled with intimidation expanded their frontier. GH/PRAAD/ADM25/5/3.

²⁰⁰ GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 11/1/446, and also GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 11/1/1834, "Aowin Native Affairs", 1913.

²⁰¹ GH/PRAAD/ADM 27/5/4-"Wassa and Aowin Record Book", 1930-1952

itself an equal to Enchi. The Omanhene has agreed to send emissaries to Dadieso to settle the dispute if funds can be made available. The new Omanhene, Nana Atta Kweku II, although illiterate is alert and of good bearing.²⁰²

As late as 1950 the conflict between Dadieso and her neighbours had not been settled. The Sefwi as well as the Brussa were keen on suppressing the Suaman, however the Suaman though small in population proved resolute and fiercer and this prolonged the disputes. In March, 1950 colonial record provided a report that summarised the relations between Dadieso and her neighbours. The report said:

Relations between Dadieso and Enchi remain unchanged. There is now much bitter feeling between the Sefwi people in Kado (sic) and the Dadieso people-and tempers are running high. The Dadiesohene has recently taken civil action against the Omanhene of Wiawso in the Divisional Court at Sekondi in connection boundary disputes.²⁰³

In 1951-1954 the colonial government still reported on these disputes. This time the reports caught the attention of the Prime Minister, Kwame Nkrumah, and in his bid to settle the disputes he appointed one Mr Akainyah to visit Enchi and mediate. However, this attempt proved unsuccessful. Relations between Dadieso on the one hand and Enchi, Karlo, Amoya and Sefwi Wiawso on the other hand were described in the September, 1951 quarterly report. It stated:

The Dadiesohene continues his long standing disputes with various people. There is a boundary case presently before the Divisional Court between Aowin-Suama (sic) (Dadieso) and Sefwi-Wiawso. In addition there is the old Dadieso Karo dispute and usual complaints against the Sefwi people. The Dadiesohene still regards himself as a paramount Chief and not subservient to the Omanhene of Enchi,...and he still cherishes the hope that some day the International Boundary will be altered in order to include his subjects at present in the Ivory Coast.²⁰⁴

It must be reiterated here that ownership of land in the Anyi State was/is vested in the 'so called' divisional stool. The stools having the greatest territorial rights are those of Dadieso, Mape,

²⁰² GH/PRAAD/ADM 27/5/4-"Wassa and Aowin Record Book",1930-1952

²⁰³GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 27/5/4-"Wassa and Aowin Record Book",1930-1952

²⁰⁴ GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 27/5/4-"Wassa and Aowin Record Book",1930-1952

Boinso, and Yankamam.²⁰⁵ The Enchi stool owns no land and seems to have no legal right over a divisional stool.²⁰⁶

Against this background of political unrest between Dadieso and her neighbours it became imperative that the Suaman develop a more viable strategy that will ensure their continual survival, and to also protect their lands from being lost to these neighbours. Hence, when migrant farmers started trooping to Dadieso they were welcomed since the elders or local authorities saw in these migrants the opportunity of boosting the community's population. Therefore, they indiscriminately allocated land to migrant cocoa farmers as a means of encouraging them to stay. The migrant's presence helped the Suaman politically but deprived them economically.²⁰⁷

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the study discussed major issues relating to the creation of the Anyi Suaman community and its place within the broader Anyi fraternity. The study further examined the tumultuous relations between the Suaman and the neighbouring Brussa and Sefwi people in the light of the struggle for autonomy and resistance against domination and injustice. The study also looked at the impact of colonialism on the political and socio-economic organisation and development of the community. Other issues discussed include the economy of the people before the expansion of the cocoa economy in the area, impact of lack of motorable roads on the economy of the people and the role of migrant farmers in the securing of the territorial boundaries of the Suaman community.

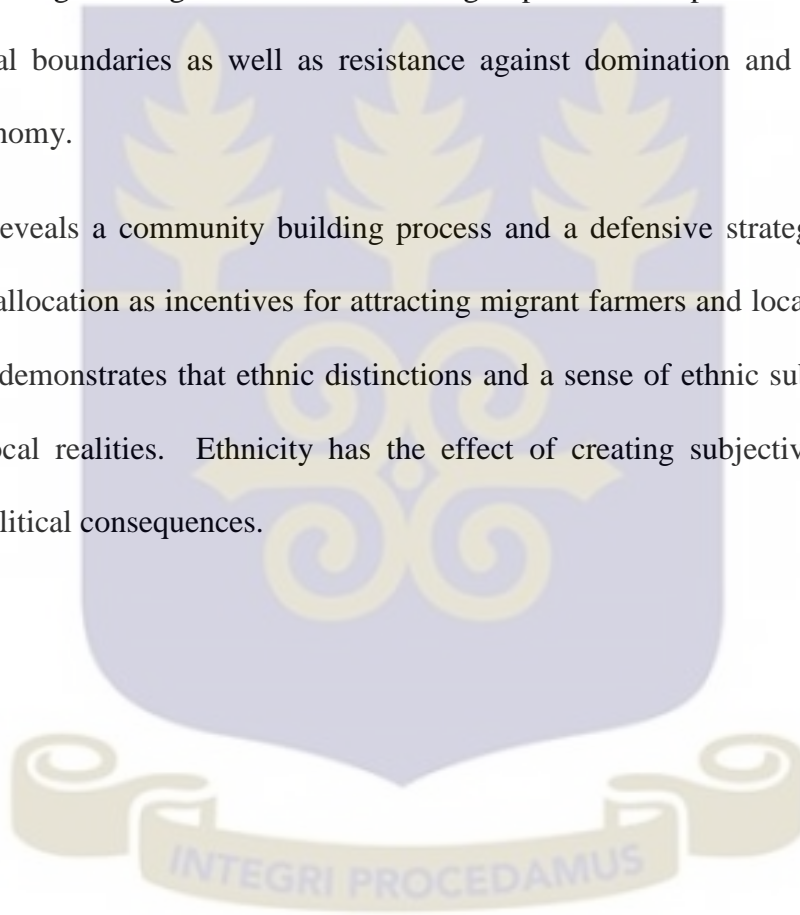
²⁰⁵GH/PRADD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/1,"District Record Book (New)", 1915. The last three towns or stools are within the Enchi Traditional Area. Dadieso is also a different Traditional Area. Dadieso has always been a paramountcy and not a divisional stool. This explains the exacerbated hostility between Dadieso and her neighbours because it was not prepared to be subject to another stool.

²⁰⁶GH/PRADD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/1,"District Record Book (New)",1915

²⁰⁷The migrant's presence in Dadieso is discussed extensively in chapter four of the study.

Dadieso appears as a community that has been troubled by accidental events over which it had little control. This is symptomatic of many communities in Africa. Many of the tensions within Dadieso can be found in the contemporary ethnic histories of Ghana and it shares structural features with other communities. These includes the disruption and reconstruction of the socio-economic and political organisation of communities due to the colonial partition of Africa, tensions between neighbouring and fraternal ethnic groups and attempts to dominate, alter and recreate territorial boundaries as well as resistance against domination and injustice and the struggle for autonomy.

The study also reveals a community building process and a defensive strategy that led to the creation of land allocation as incentives for attracting migrant farmers and local citizenship. The case of Dadieso demonstrates that ethnic distinctions and a sense of ethnic subjugation are part and parcel of local realities. Ethnicity has the effect of creating subjectivities with social, economic and political consequences.



CHAPTER FOUR

DADIESO IN TRANSITION: AN ACCOUNT OF MIGRANTS PRESENCE AND LOCAL CITIZENSHIP IN SUAMAN

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the revival and expansion of the cocoa economy in Dadieso by migrant farmers. Situating the chapter in the context of cocoa and mobility the study investigates the patterns of land seeking migrants into Suaman Dadieso and how these farmers negotiated their entry and existence into the Dadieso community. The study further investigates the impact of the presence of migrant farmers on the Suaman community and how this has influenced changing relations between indigenes and migrant farmers over the years.

Central to this chapter and discussion is the land question in Dadieso. It focuses on the relationship between chiefs, migrant and local farmers in the allocation of land. In essence, this chapter deals with issues of land tenure relations, norms and agreements as well as acquisition of land. The study shows how land allocations by chiefs led to the landlessness of the Suaman community. In effect, this chapter shows how institutions, the nature of the society, and accumulation affect the history of political and economic change in villages. It further demonstrates how different histories of community formation do not only shape how villages aid each other but also dictates how local groups and communities define citizenship and then decide to engage the state on a daily basis.

4.2 Economic and Social Changes in Dadieso

Even though Suaman still remains one of the marginal areas in southern Ghana, it has gradually increased in importance. From the twentieth century the area began to experience a remarkable demographic explosion. This has been as result of both natural increase and migration into the

region during the turn of the 20th century. Transportation in the area began to improve from the 1960s especially during the C.P.P administration. The presence of migrant population in Dadieso transformed the area from a sparse population into a vast growing economic town with a larger population with the majority of them being migrant farmers.²⁰⁸ The colonial records point to the fact that as at 1929 Dadieso was the only town that formed the Suaman paramountcy. Karlo was the only village that was found within the Suaman Traditional Area (STA) at the time. In effect, Dadieso and Karlo were the only town and village that added to the thirty eight towns and villages in the Aowin Traditional Area (ATA) to constitute the Aowin Suaman District at the time.²⁰⁹ Currently, out of the twenty four villages in the STA, Dadieso town is the only place that is being predominantly inhabited by indigenous Suaman population.²¹⁰ This explains the fact that the migrant population in Suaman outnumber that of the indigenous population and that the socioeconomic and political importance and viability of the area is determined by migrant farming population. This point is further reinforced by a respondent who claims:

If the migrants had not come we would not have had Dadieso as we have it today because all the surrounding villages in Dadieso which give the area its strength are the creations of these cocoa farmers. Dadieso then had only one village, Karlo, and this is made up of Sefwi refugees. So basically, before the migrant farmers came we were the only people here and as a result our neighbours never gave us peace. The strength of Suaman Dadieso economically, socially and politically is dependent on this migrant population.²¹¹

This shows that migrant farmers serve as the economic and social nucleus of the Suaman Community.

Apart from the population increase provided by these migrants it is also evident that the presence of the farming migrants served as security to the indigenous population. However, the irony in this security was that while these migrant farmer ‘protected’ the Suaman land from being

²⁰⁸ Ledger at the OASL, Dadieso, GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/2, "District Record Book (Old), 1915-1946

²⁰⁹ GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/2, "District Record Book (Old)", 1915-1946.

²¹⁰ Ledger at the OASL, Dadieso.

²¹¹ Interview with Luke B. Mensah, Dadieso, 20-01-2014

encroached on and exploited by the Brussa and Sefwi they ended up ‘colonising’ the entire forest of the area. The impact of this on the community is that the indigenous population lost their land to the farmers and this has rendered them land hungry. This is an unintended effect that is largely triggered by the historical circumstance of the Suaman community.

Before 1969 commercial activities in Dadieso were done on the small scale notwithstanding the fact that Dadieso is a strategic commercial center connecting the area to Ivory Coast, and also traders to either Takoradi in the Western Region or Kumasi in the Ashanti Region. These trading activities were mostly championed by Nigerians with few Suaman playing active roles.²¹² This was evident in the fact that all provision shops in Dadieso at the time were owned by Nigerian businessmen. The changeover in commercial activities into indigenous hands occurred when Nigerians and other foreign nationals in Ghana had to compulsorily vacate the country under the “Aliens Compliance Order” (ACO) enforced by the Busia regime. Commenting on the ACO Fosu-Ankrah states that:

Given the economic situation at the time, the PP opted to radicalise an approach to ease the economy from its mounting problem. The outcome was the issuing of the edict, Aliens’ Compliance Order (ACO) on 19th November, 1969. That is barely a month after coming to power. The ACO required that all non-Ghanaians (foreign nationals) living in the country with invalid resident permit and internationally recognised documents to either acquire one or leave the country by 2nd December, 1969 (that is not later than 14 days). The decree led to the disorderly exodus of between 300,000 and 400,000 people leaving the country within a span of four months.²¹³

²¹² Interview with Nana Koah Anim, Dadieso, 14-01-2014. Koah Anim is one of the linguists to the paramount stool of Dadieso, interview with Mr. Robert Simon D., Dadieso, 16-01-14

²¹³ Fosu-Ankrah, “Economic Development and Change in Ghana 1951-1972”. 101-102. For further readings on the impact of ACO on both Ghanaians and foreigners in Ghana see Kwame Bofo-Danso, *The Political Biography of Dr K. A. Busia*. (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1996). 103-104 and 121 and K.K. Donkoh Fordwor, *The Busia-Danquah Tradition in the Politics of Ghana*. (Accra: Unimax Macmillan Limited, 2010). 129-133, Ernest K. Dumor, *Ghana, OUA, and Southern Africa: An African Response to Apartheid*. (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1991). 85, 133-144, and H.B. Martinson, *The Dream of the 21st Century: The Politics of J.B. Danquah, Busia and Kuffour Tradition*. (Accra: Norcento Press, 2001).

The impact of the ACO on Dadieso resulted in the takeover of Nigerians businesses by indigenes.

However, the championing of trading activities by Suaman was short-lived. Within a space of two or three decades, that is between the 1980s and 2000s every profitable venture in Dadieso had been dominated by the farming migrants. The takeover of businesses from indigenous hand was due to the fact indigenous Suaman do not have the capital to sustain their businesses in the midst growing competition. Coupled with this was the fact that they did not have any other means through which they could raise funds to sustain their businesses.²¹⁴

Currently, all major economic activities ranging from transport business to wholesale and retail selling are dominated by migrants. The Ghana Private Road Transport Union (GPRTU) branch in Dadieso was until 2008 managed by migrant farmers. This points to the fact that migrant farmers own more vehicles in the area than the indigenes. Indigenous Suaman started buying vehicles quite recently, somewhere around the 2000s, when migrant farmers had been in the business for about two decades.²¹⁵

Formal education caught up with the Suaman very late. Apart from few people in Dadieso who strived to educate themselves in the early 1970s the majority of the native population remained illiterate until the early part of the 21th century. After completing the Middle School Leaving Certificate Examination (MSLCE) successful candidates had to either go to Enchi, Juaboso, Wiawso, and Bekwai or to the city to further their studies.²¹⁶ Many indigenes were discouraged from pursuing their education or pursuing it to higher level because of the challenge of

²¹⁴ Interview with Mr Harry Seth Affum, Dadieso,15-01-14, interview with Mr Emmanuel Twumasi Asante, Dadieso, 21-01-14

²¹⁵ Interview with Mr Edward Affum,Dadieso, 09-01-14

²¹⁶ GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/4,"Aowin Developmet Committee Minutes Book",1950

accessible roads at the time from Dadieso to these surrounding neighbouring towns. Eventually, those who managed to educate themselves up to the Post-Secondary School level were those whose families had the financial means to support, and who actually desired to make a living out of formal education. Therefore, from the late 1970s those who could not further their studies drew inspiration from the migrant farmers and their success and also entered into farming but unfortunately they only had small part of the forest to clear. A few people, numbering about fifteen also left the area to cities like Takoradi, Kumasi or Accra in search of white collar jobs with their MSLCE certificates.²¹⁷

The revival of education in Dadieso only took place around the 1990s. The motivation for this upsurge in schooling finds its explanation in the children of migrant farmers who were either working or schooling in the cities who returned to the village during vacation or came on visits. The Suaman appreciated their successes in different fields of endeavour and also realised that the general demeanour of these ‘outsiders’ differed very much from that of the indigenes. These ‘outsiders’ were ‘polished’ or ‘civilised’ and their dressing and the way they conducted themselves in town indicated it. Between 1990 and 2008 some indigenes and migrants started establishing privately owned schools in Dadieso. The community also appealed to the NDC government which constructed a Senior High School for them.²¹⁸

The constructions of houses in Dadieso by migrant farmers began to take place in the early 2000s. The reason for this is twofold. Firstly, early migrants never saw the need to invest their money in building houses in a town which was then totally cut off from the rest of the country. It has to be appreciated that these farmers were entrepreneurs who always had profit motives in

²¹⁷ Interview with J.A.Biney,20-01-2014, interview with Luke Brentum Mensah,20-01-2014 and interview with Paulive Assuah,Dadieso,14-01-2014

²¹⁸ Interview with Paulive Assuah,Dadieso,14-01-2014

mind hence investing in Dadieso in the 1980s and 90s was never encouraged by them. Secondly, they were also largely discouraged by the actions of the paramount chief of Dadieso, Nana Atta Kwesi Brembi II. Early farmers who expressed interest in wanting to build houses were either denied land or told that the remaining land in town was either going to be used for “ an airport” or other unimaginable projects. Even indigenes that needed parcels of land to build in certain parts of the town were given the same excuse.²¹⁹ These challenges notwithstanding, most of the recent and modern buildings in Dadieso are owned by migrant farmers with few belonging to the indigenes.

In assessing the impact of migrant farmers in Dadieso one could easily see that migrants have served as pacesetters in the development process of Dadieso. Innovative business activities in Dadieso now were introduced and championed by them. For instance, until the 2000s all ‘filling stations’ in Dadieso were owned and managed by migrant cocoa farmers. The reason for migrants controlling almost every aspect of the economic and social life in Dadieso is embedded in the fact that they possess large tracts of land and cocoa farms in Dadieso hence they control the flow of money in the economy. One of the respondents succinctly captures the present dilemma of the indigenous population in the following words:

The Dadieso case is comparable to South Africa, Zimbabwe and Kenya who were dispossessed of their land by the white settler farmers. Because the settlers had the land they equally had the money, so they controlled everything.²²⁰

Another respondent attributes the influence of farmers to the fact that “they have the land and cocoa and thus have money. We do not have cocoa hence no money. So they possess the economic and social power in town”.²²¹

²¹⁹Interview with Nana Kofi Armah III, Dadieso, 08-01-2014

²²⁰Interview with J.A. Biney, Dadieso, 20-01-2014

²²¹ Interview with Emmanuel Twumasi Asante, Dadieso, 21-01-14

It is indicative from the two respondents that the livelihood of the Suaman is dependent on land which is the source of their economic and social strength. However, this economic and social power has been lost to migrants because the migrants now possess about eighty percent of the total agriculture land in Suaman. Besides, it is important to make a distinction between Dadieso and the other African countries that lost their land to the colonial master as mentioned by one of the respondents. In the case of those African countries the land was taken over from them by force by the colonial masters for their citizens.²²² However, the dynamics and the complexities of the Dadieso situation is that the land was given out to the migrants by the traditional leaders of the the Suaman community without any incident of force or violence. In addition, whereas the other African countries were made subjects to the colonial masters, the migrant farmers in Dadieso remained subjects to the paramount stool to which they are still subjects.

Relations between migrants and the indigenes had remained cordial until 2004 when Dadieso was separated from Enchi and created as an autonomous political constituency. The creation of the constituency unveiled pent up feelings in native Suaman against the migrants. Firstly, natives complain that they have been disposed of their land and to worsen the situation they are being teased by these migrants as lazy people especially when the indigenes go to buy items from their shops. Unless one does not plead for reduction in price the usual reply that one receives is “yɛbɛto mo woha, yɛdɛɛ yɛbaa no sika pɛ”, literally meaning we came to meet you here, we came to look for money.²²³ Secondly, the indigenes argue that because the hometowns of migrant farmers are developed the welfare of Dadieso is something that is not on their agenda and this manifests in their voting patterns, regardless of whether it will help the progress of the town or

²²² See Ngugu Wa Thiong’o, *Weep Not Child*. (Heinemann, 1964) , Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. (NY: Little, Brown and Company, 1995), Nelson Mandela, *No Easy Walk to Freedom*. (Heinemann, 1965), and Alan Paton, *Cry My Beloved*. (USA: Scribners, 1964), Ngugi Wa Thiong’o, *Petals of Blood*. (Heinemann, 1997).

²²³ Interview with Seth Harry Affum, Dadieso, 15-01-14

not.²²⁴ With the advent of party politics indigenes have started raising questions on the citizenship of migrant farmers in Dadieso, and challenges their very presence in the town. The strength of the indigenes at present as far as their relations with migrant farmers is concerned is found in party politics. Party politics is seen as the only practical weapon that can be used to render migrant farmers powerless.

Prior to this feeling of animosity against migrant farmers what was the relationship between the farmers and the indigenous people, and how were they integrated into the community and established as citizens? How did their relationship with the chiefs lead to the landlessness of the Suaman community? The answers to these questions are the subjects of the sections that follow.

4.3 Dadieso Before 1962: A Journey Through Challenging Times

Until 1962 Suaman Dadieso remained largely detached from the rest of the country in terms of mobility because it lacked motorable roads which eased access to the area, thus making movement in the area very difficult. Prior to that all major transactions (commercial or otherwise) were done by foot and portage through the dense and dangerous forest and across rivers to either Enchi or Juaboso.²²⁵ It took two or three weeks to be able to complete a journey to either area.²²⁶ Both towns are neighbours to the Suaman but had been constant nuisance to the progress of the area. Enchi (Brussaland) constantly encroached on Dadieso's land and tried severally to dominate it politically and economically.²²⁷ Currently, Dadieso has lost large

²²⁴Interview with Mr Emmanuel Twumasi Asante, Dadieso, 21-01-14

²²⁵Interview with Paulive Assuah, Dadieso, 14-01-2014 Interview with James Ankorah Biney, Dadieso, 20-01-2014. More than half of the informants alluded to this fact. Enchi had until recently been the capital of the district (Aowin Suaman). The two paramount/traditional areas were separated into autonomous and respective districts in 2012.

²²⁶GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/3,"District Commissioner Travelling Diary",1935-1936

²²⁷Currently, it possesses a substantial amount of land belonging to the Suaman. Traditional leaders of both areas have contested this severally amidst arbitration by various politicians and governments. See for example GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 27/5/4,"Aowin Development Committee Minutes Book",1950 GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/1,"District Record Book (New), and also Philppa England, "Forest Protection and the Rights of Cocoa Farmers in the Western Ghana".(*Journal of African Law*, Vol.37, No. 2).165-167

portions of its land to Enchi. This has been a source of perpetual enmity between the two Anyi areas. Juaboso, a Sefwi area, on the other hand had also taken greater portion of land belonging to the Suaman.²²⁸ They had also robbed trekking traders to the area or cheated them during commercial transactions.²²⁹ These inconveniences notwithstanding, both towns serve as the available neighbouring towns and major routes to and from Dadieso. Despite the linguistic unity between the three areas, especially Dadieso and Enchi, a sense of community has eluded them and the thought of unity is only but a mirage among the inhabitants of these areas.

The people had used bush paths in communicating with themselves until the P.N.D.C and N.D.C regimes constructed the major road linking Dadieso and Juaboso.²³⁰ However, archival records indicate that Enchi and its surrounding towns enjoyed first class roads as early as the 1880s. It was indeed one of the major road networks in the Western Province which connected to Kumasi, Tarkwa or Sekondi and Cote d'Ivoire.²³¹ Enchi enjoyed motorable roads well over thirty years before the C.P.P government constructed a road that linked the two Anyi towns of Enchi and Dadieso in 1962.²³² The first vehicle to travel on this road from Enchi to Dadieso took place on 17th April, 1962.²³³

Compared to other cocoa growing areas like the Akuapem and Bono, the late construction of accessible roads to Dadieso disadvantaged the community in many ways especially as it had

²²⁸GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM11/1/1723,GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM25/5/3,GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM25/2/2,GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/1

²²⁹ Interview with Opanin Kwadwo Sai, Dadieso, 15th January, 2014.

²³⁰ Interview with Sai, 15th January, 2014, interview with Paulive Assuah, Dadieso, 14th January, 2014 and interview with Luke B. Mensah, Dadieso, 20th January, 2014

²³¹GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/4, GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/1. Dumett, "The Rubber Trade of the Gold Coast and Asante in the Nineteenth Century.84, and K.B. Dickson, "The Development of Road Transport in Southern Ghana and Ashanti since about 1850 and Ashanti since about 1850".(*Transactions Historical Society of Ghana*,Vol.5,No.1,1961)33-42

²³² Interview with Nana Kofi Armah III,Dadieso, 09-01-2014 interview with James Ankorah Biney,Dadieso 20-01-2014, interview with Luke B. Mensah,Dadieso, 20-01-14

²³³ Interview with Kwadwo Sai,Dadieso 15-01-14 interview James Ankorah Biney,Dadieso 20-10-14 and interview Mensah,Dadieso,20-01-14

started experimenting with cocoa farming. Firstly, it served as a disincentive for the indigenous people to actively take the cocoa business seriously because money accrued was mostly spent on labourers who carried the beans to the purchasing centers in Juaboso. Besides, travelling farmers were constantly harassed and robbed by the Sefwi thus creating a security problem for the Suaman citizens and the community. The earlier and ingrained interest of the Suaman people in hunting and fishing notwithstanding, it is an incontestable fact that the success stories of the cocoa industry in the Eastern Region (the first cocoa frontier in Ghana) was not only because the Krobo and Akuapem who are credited for the expansion of the cocoa industry were skillful entrepreneurs, but also because of the good and accessible road networks that had been constructed in the area by the colonial regime at the time.²³⁴ Secondly, the partition of 1882 seriously affected the Suaman people because a greater number of the Suaman population was dislocated to the Ivory Coast.²³⁵ As at 1962 the population of Dadieso was nothing more than 600 people and the town as well as its buildings was clustered in one area-Blackman, with less than 100 houses.²³⁶ This was in sharp contrast to the population of Enchi. In 1979 Coronel records that Anyi area of Enchi and its environs had thirty villages with a total population of 30,000.²³⁷

Movements to Dadieso were largely between the people of Dadieso and people in Cote D'Ivoire. For instance, these movements saw Anyi relatives from Cote d'Ivoire occasionally crossing the border to Dadieso to either attend funeral or come on a short visit. The Ivorien territory thus

²³⁴ George Benneh, "The Land Tenure and Agrarian Systems in the New Cocoa Frontier of Ghana: Wassa Akropong Case Study". The importance of road and transportation to the socioeconomic development of communities has been discussed extensively in Ntewusu, "Settling in and Holding on". Also Dickson, "The Development of Road Transport in Southern Ghana and Ashanti since about 1850". 33-42 explores challenges of road on transportation of goods and trading between towns and why the construction of roads were very important to the colonial government.

²³⁵ Saffu, "Ghana-Ivory Coast Boundary". 293-295

²³⁶ Responses provided by most of the respondents. GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/2

²³⁷ Patricia Crane Coronel, "Aowin Terracota and Sculpture". (*African Arts*, Vol.13, No.1, 1979). 28

served as the main commercial area for transactions for the Suaman as crossing the border to Cote d'Ivoire took less than a day's walk as compared to the a number of days (probably two or three days) journey to Enchi or Juaboso. The population of the area disadvantaged the Suaman and thus exposed their land for grabbing Brussa and the Sefwi.²³⁸ Conversely, earlier cocoa growing frontiers in Ghana such as Akyem, Krobo and Akuapem in the Eastern Region as well as Ashanti and Brong Ahafo attracted a lot of migrants. Explosive migrations to these areas were not only because of the availability of fertile land but also due to the fact that it was easier travelling to such areas. The role of roads networks to the socioeconomic development of an area is very vital; hence any area that is disadvantaged in this regard finds it extremely difficult to develop. This is because accessibility and mobility is hindered and therefore disconnects the region from communicating effectively with neighbouring towns, and so remains unexploited and unopened up.²³⁹ Besides, earlier cocoa frontiers had sizeable number of population even before attracting outsiders which presupposes that it was easier to fight and protect lands that were under threat of encroachment by neighbours.²⁴⁰ Even so, in the Western Region cocoa growing areas with large populations prior to the influx by migrants had their land intact. These also quickly opened up these areas as the road networks easily attracted land seeking migrants.²⁴¹ After 1962 Suaman Dadieso became exposed to other parts of the country. Within two decades (that is by 1982) the dense forest in the area had been colonised, cleared and replaced with cocoa

²³⁸England, "Forest Protection and the Rights of Cocoa Farmers in the Western Ghana".165-167, GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 27/5/4, GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/2

²³⁹ S. Tetteh Addo, "Accessibility, Mobility and the Development Process". (*Research Review, New Series*, Vol.11, Nos.1 and 2).1-13, Dickson, "The Development of Road Transport in Southern Ghana and Ashanti since about 1850".33-42, and Ntewusu,"Settling in and Holding on".

²⁴⁰ Hill,"The Migrant Cocoa-Farmer of Southern Ghana", Addo-Fening, "Akyem Abuakwa1700-1943", John Hunter, "Cocoa Migration and Patterns of Land Ownership in the Densu Valley near Suhum, Ghana"(*Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)*, No. 33,1963).61-87,and Hunter, "Akotukrom".

²⁴¹ Benneh, "The Land Tenure and Agrarian Systems in the New Cocoa Frontier of Ghana", Boni, "Clearing the Ghanaian Forest"and Stefano Boni," Striving for Resources or Connecting People? Transportation in Sefwi (Ghana)", (*The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol.32, No.1,1999).49-70

trees, and the area opened up by migrants.²⁴² That is not to say that prior to this time the presence of land seeking migrants was unknown or not felt in the area. As early as 1948 the Dadieso forest had been penetrated by few migrants but these did not constitute more than five different family groups.²⁴³

The influx of migrants to Dadieso according to the people came as major relief to the small population and their presence was readily welcomed. The migrants were used to serve two purposes which were both strategic and political. Firstly, the chiefs and people used the migrants to protect their land against neighbouring Brussa and Sefwi encroachers. Hence, land seeking migrants who visited the chief's palace for land were taken to the forest and strategically placed at the borders of Dadieso and her neighbours, either in the Sefwi or Brussa areas.²⁴⁴ The effect in this strategy was twofold. In the first place, the indigenous population was protected from invading Sefwi or Brussa men as areas occupied by migrants or allocated to them were considered to be the first point of engagement when war broke out, which meant that the indigenous population will have enough time to prepare for their defense or escape.²⁴⁵ Similar to this was the fact that the forest was dangerous because it was inhabited with wild animals which constantly threatened the safety of the indigenes. Hence, the presence of the migrant farmers scared the wild animals to distant regions.²⁴⁶ The second reason why migrants were welcomed and integrated into the Suaman community was the need to increase the relatively small

²⁴² Interview with Mr. E. E. Cudjoe, Dadieso, 08-01-14. This opinion was expressed by other respondents, especially the town elders and traditional leaders as well as migrant farmers.

²⁴³ "Tenancy Agreement" between the Chiefs of Dadieso and the early migrants who acquired land in the community.

²⁴⁴ Interview with Philip Kwabena Boahen, Dadieso, 10-01-14 interview J.A. Biney, Dadieso, 20-01-14 and interview with E.E. Cudjoe, Dadieso, 08-01-14

²⁴⁵ Interview with Boahen, interview J.A. Biney, Dadieso, 20-01-14 and interview with E.E. Cudjoe, 08-01-14

²⁴⁶ For further studies on the forest and wild animals in the area see Kwame Osei Kwarteng and Beatrice Akua Duncan, "Land, the Elephant and the Environment: The Precolonial, Colonial, and Post-Colonial Situation" (*Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana, New Series*, No.12., 2008).57-67

population of the area.²⁴⁷ In what follows the study shows how land was allocated to migrant farmers and how this process led to their integration and into the Suaman community and local citizenship.

4.4 Land Tenure and the Process of Integration in Dadieso

The land in Dadieso like that of many Akan areas is vested under the control of the paramount stool. This is to say that the paramount chief owns the land in the area.²⁴⁸ As early as 1895 this position had been recognised by the colonial government. This is evident by a report titled; “Customs Relating to the Tenure of Land in the Gold Coast”. The report states that:

All lands in the Colony are acquired by possession, clearing of forest land being considered as sufficient to entitle Aborigines to the permanent occupation and right of ownership in them; such land may be occupied for purposes of cultivation, building or mining. In some districts, such as Wassaw, there are no individual rights of ownership of land, these being attached to the stools of the King and Chiefs as appenages. On payment of rent, more correctly known as “tribute” an individual may acquire a temporary right of building, cultivating or mining on such lands. In other districts such as Fanti and Ahanta districts, there are absolute rights of ownership amounting to possession in “simple fee” conferred on purchasers, the principle being that the person first clearing a forest land becomes absolutely the owner of it, and on his demise the land so acquired descends to his heirs. Where land has been given by a King or Chief, the cultivator or miner is liable to give a portion of the produce in money or kind to the King or Chief, one-third being the portion generally given. This is the principle on which squatters have from time immemorial acquired lands, and has been the fruitful source of litigation in the courts upon the line of succession becoming extinct family. Where sale of land takes place between illiterate natives (mortgage not being usually resorted to) “earnest money” is paid in addition to the price of the land in ramification of the sale....²⁴⁹

However, the complete ownership of land vested in the paramount stool is not applicable in all Akan areas, especially in Western Ghana, there are some few exceptions. In Brussaland (Enchi)

²⁴⁷Boni, “Clearing the Ghanaian Forest”.32-45,Benneh, “The Land Tenure and Agrarian Systems in the New Cocoa Frontier of Ghana”, Amanor, op. cit.p.102

²⁴⁸The role of the chief in the allocation of land in variously discussed in Amanor, “Night Harvesters, Forest Hoods and Saboteurs” in Sam Moyo and Paris Yeros (eds.), “Reclaiming the Land”.102, Kwame Arhin, “Economic Differentiation among Ghanaian Migrant Cocoa Farmers”.12, R. Addo-Fening, “Customary Land Tenure System in Akyem Abuakwa”.(*Universitas*, Vol.9, No.1, 1987).95-117,Amanor, “The Changing Face of Customary Land Tenure”.63-68 and Sara Berry, *No Condition is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Sub-Saharan Africa*.(Madison,Wisconsin:The University of Wisconsin Press,1993). 104-112.

²⁴⁹ GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 11/1/1707-“Report upon the Customs Relating to the Tenure of Land in the Gold Coast”, 1903.

for instance, the ownership of land in the area is vested in the divisional stools. The stools having the greatest territorial rights are those of Mapepe, Boinsu, and Yankamam. The stool of Enchi owns no land and appears to have no right over land of a divisional stool. This is not to say that matters relating to land are not referred to the Omanhene of the area. As a matter of courtesy he is paid concession rents.²⁵⁰

Before 1962, the entire Suaman region except Blackman was a dense forest inhabiting all kinds of wild animals and this posed as a threat to the indigenous people from penetrating deeper into the forest.²⁵¹ The dominant occupation was fishing and hunting, and farming was only for subsistence. Farming activities took place only around the community; and it did not go further than two kilometers. Distilling of local gin (akpeteshie) was also practiced. Initially when the indigenes started to experiment with cocoa farming the largest parcel of land one cleared and cultivated was the equivalent of three acres. Such an individual was celebrated among the townsfolk for being hard working.²⁵² However, the initial experiment with the cocoa industry in Dadieso failed badly. Hence, the perception of the people about cocoa farming became one of displeasure and dissuasion. Cocoa was viewed as a crop that drained the people of their time, labour and other resources, and did not give much profit. The reason for the reaction was twofold. Firstly, all dried beans were carried by portage through push paths to marketing centers at Juaboso and its nearby villages. Sometimes about over fifty to hundred bags of cocoa were declared spoilt by purchasing clerks and were thus turned into “*abinky*”. Coupled with this was the fact that the little profit accrued was spent on labourers and if one was not lucky he lost it to

²⁵⁰ GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/1, “District Record Book (New)”, 1915

²⁵¹ Blackman is the first suburb of the Suaman Township and it used to house the entire population with some few clustered buildings. See also Kwarteng and Duncan, “Land, the Elephant and the Environment” on the forest and wild animals.

²⁵² Interview with Nana Kofi Armah III, Dadieso, 09-01-14, interview with Philip Kwabena Boahen, 10-01-14 Dadieso

Sefwi robbers along the way, leaving the farmer with little or no money on him. In the end what Suaman farmers did was to hoard the cocoa beans after they were dried. At times a farmer could hoard many bags of cocoa and in the end set them ablaze because of his inability to transport the beans to purchasing centers.²⁵³ So, earlier cocoa farmers in Suaman were discouraged by the difficulties of transporting their cocoa beans to the marketing centers as well as unfavourable terms of purchase.

The land, as the people showed, was in abundance and they did not know how else to utilise it. It was not surprising then that when land seeking migrants came in they were easily accommodated and given parcels of land to cultivate. A respondent for this study provides an insightful picture of the attitude of the Suaman community towards land and cocoa in the following manner:

For us, because we used not to travel outside our community we did not know the value of cocoa at the time. We were even discouraged by the fact that one would have to journey through the bush path to Juaboso only to have his cocoa declared spoilt, or you being cheated by purchasing clerks. So when migrants came here and asked for land for cocoa farming we were surprised. It was only later that we came to recognise and appreciate the value of cocoa, by which time the migrant farmers had possessed all our land.²⁵⁴

Early migrants who came to Dadieso seeking for land were first introduced to the head of a family. They were then accepted into the family after introducing themselves and acquainting their host family with their respective family and clan backgrounds.²⁵⁵ Accordingly, the family head took the migrant farmer to the clan head, the *abusuapanin*, who then took him to the chief's palace and introduced him as one of their kinsmen who needed land for farming.²⁵⁶ What we have to appreciate here is that that the process of introducing the farmer to the chief and helping

²⁵³ Interview with Paulive Assuah., Dadieso, 14-01-14

²⁵⁴ Interview with Luke B. Mensah, Dadieso, 20-01-2014

²⁵⁵ If a migrant farmer belonged for example to the Asona Clan he was entrusted to the care of the clan head of the Asona. Similarly if a farmer was Bretua or Oyoko he accordingly introduced himself to the respective clan head who then ensures that the safety and the process of the individual's integration and citizenship into the community was ensured.

²⁵⁶ Interview with Luke B. Mensah, Dadieso, 20-01-2014, interview with E.E Cudjoe, 08-01-2014

him secure land for his farming purpose by both the family and clan heads did not end relationship between the migrant and his host family. Instead, it started the process of integration into the family as well as the citizenship of the farmer within the community. The migrant farmer was allocated a room in the house free of charge and it was from here that he carried out his daily activities.²⁵⁷ The normal practice before the upsurge of the cocoa economy and capitalism was that a sense of community and unity was felt among ‘strangers’ and indigenous people and what developed was a sense of citizenship and belonging among them within the community. For instance, the Sefwi society as Boni shows was based on the assimilation of migrant groups who were welcomed and integrated within the power structure in subordinate positions.²⁵⁸ As early as the 1960s it was still very difficult for a household in Dadieso to distinguish between who a ‘stranger’ or a family member was. It rarely happened, and a family member who tried differentiating between whom a true member of the family was and who was not, was severely reprimanded.²⁵⁹

But nowadays capitalism and unhealthy competition for limited resources has destroyed this sense of unity and communal life. The idea of the value for “wealth in people” instead of “wealth in things” which was paramount in the olden days is no longer shared among members in the community. Greschiere and Nyamnjoh capture this view succinctly as they argue that African societies used to be highly inclusive marked by emphasis on “wealth- in -people” as opposed to Europe’s wealth-in-things. And there was an extensive array of institutional mechanism for including people which included adoption and fosterage.²⁶⁰ Slavery was also a means through which people were integrated into the family; however this was a practice that

²⁵⁷ Interview with J.A. Biney, 20-01-14

²⁵⁸ Boni, “Indigenous Blood and Foreign Labor”. 166-167

²⁵⁹ Interview with Elizabeth Baah, Dadieso, 8th January, 2014.

²⁶⁰ Greschiere and Nyamnjoh, “Capitalism and Autochthony”. 23

existed before and during the Gold Coast period.²⁶¹ A respondent narrating the relationship between migrant farmers and the community in the late 1940s forward noted that:

We entertained strangers a lot. Even when a stranger erred and was brought to the chief's palace he was only questioned and advised not to repeat a similar misconduct again. He was then allowed to go, nothing like punishing migrants by fining them ever transpired here during the early years of their stay with us. It was because of the good and welcoming relations that the king (Nana Brentum III) had with the migrants that encouraged them to troop in to Dadieso in the numbers.²⁶²

Even though, there may be variations in the treatment of migrants in the community as the community opened up over the years it never raised a sense of exclusiveness. This points to the issue of tutelage as discussed by Chauveau. The *tutorat* is a patron-client type relationship between migrants and landlords. This *tutorial* relationship is embedded in a moral economy which is premised on a strong commitment to the belief that any individual or group has a right to access the means of sustenance for himself and his family.²⁶³ The *tutorat* relations involve two aspects which are intertwined. These are rights and obligations regarding access to land, and rights and obligations regarding group membership. These relations are suggestive of social order in rural communities in Africa. It portrays the central agrarian element of indigenous social and political institutions, which does not only give land a productive function, but also makes it a social link which attaches all those who live off it to a single moral community.²⁶⁴

The conventional belief was that how well one received and accommodated a 'stranger' was the same way one was reciprocated when one also travelled outside his community. However, the successful acceptance and integration of the migrant farmer into the community was also

²⁶¹ For a further studies on the adoption of slaves into the family in the Gold Coast see Akosua Adoma Perbi, *A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana from the 15th to the 19th Century*. (Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2004).

²⁶² Interview with Mensah. Mr Luke Brentum Mensah is the nephew of the late paramount chief Nana Brentum III. Mr Mensah grew up at the palace under the guidance of the chief. He was the personal secretary to the current paramount chief Nana Odeneho Brentum IV who is also his elder brother.

²⁶³ Chauveau, "How Does an Institution Evolve?" 213-214

²⁶⁴ Chauveau et al, "Changes in Land Access and Governance".16

dependent on the character and perception of the individual in question towards the community and its citizens. Relating this to the Suaman situation Nana Kofi Armah III indicated that:

We admitted and integrated migrant settler farmers into the community based on their character. We observed how you served the town and how you obeyed the stool. We observed how you related with and respected the citizens and our way of life, and how you partook in communal activities. If one thought Dadieso was a village and its citizens backward and thus disrespected our customs and laws we also taught you that you couldnot live in a village in the midst of backward people and make a living. We would just not allow such an indifferent and haughty character to live among us, because we have an adage which says that the happiness and sojourn of a stranger in a locality is mainly dependent on his character.²⁶⁵

In her study on Western Nigeria, Berry expounds the notion on the acceptance of settler farmers into a local community. She indicates that at first the rules and obligations governing land rights of land holder and land user were not so much concerned with rights in land as with immigration. A grant of land to a stranger is an indication that he is planning to live permanently in the community. Therefore, it was left for the leaders of the community to consent to this proposition. Conversely, a stranger may be denied permanent settlement if he is suspected of hostile intents and of bad character.²⁶⁶

From the above quote we see that the defining factor that regulated migrant-indigene relations in Dadieso was the character of the former. Almost all migrant farmers in Dadieso point to a house in town where they once lived before finally establishing their villages.²⁶⁷ There are still some farmers who had maintained constant contact with their host families.²⁶⁸

The backgrounds of these migrant farmers were not uniform. They varied greatly in terms of ethnic affiliation as well as occupation. Migrant farmers in Dadieso in the early 1960s and 1970s cut across the various ethnicities. They were the Bono, Akuapem, Krobo, Ashanti, Ewe, Ada,

²⁶⁵ Interview with Nana Kofi Armah III,Dadieso,09-01-14

²⁶⁶ Berry,"The Concept of Innovation and Cocoa in Western Nigeria".88

²⁶⁷ Interview with Mr John Tei Dorte, DorteKrom-Dadieso, 20-01-14.Mr Dorte is a migrant farmer and an Odikro in Dadieso. He has been in Dadieso for almost forty years.

²⁶⁸ Interview with Mr Dorte,Dadieso,20-01-14

and Ga. Later migrants include the Wassa, Sefwi, Fanti and Kusase, Dagarti, Mamprusi, Dagomba and Frafra people from the three Northern Regions. The early migrants were pioneer cocoa farmers from the Eastern, Brong Ahafo and Ashanti Regions. These constitute the majority of the farming population. Later migrants who joined in the mid-1970s and early 1980s varied from migrant farmers to traders and government employees who took advantage of the relaxed land management and administration policies in Dadieso and entered into cocoa farming. The ethnic composition of the farmers in Dadieso seem to apply to other parts of the Western Region and this can partly be attributed to the emergence of the region as the last and new cocoa growing frontier in the country. Arhin indeed points out that unlike the migrant farmers of the late nineteenth century who were made up of the Akuapem and Ga-Adangme, the migrant farmers of Western Region were drawn from all ethnic groups in the country.²⁶⁹

Early farmers who came to Dadieso were not given the land to purchase as practiced in other cocoa growing areas such as the Akuapem, Bono, Ashanti and Wassa or Sefwi areas.²⁷⁰ The issue of land sales was not even known to the people and they never saw the need to sell it because the land was available in abundance and unutilised.²⁷¹ One of the respondents interviewed for this study claimed “we did not ‘value’ the land because we did not even know what to use it for. Nobody was even interested in cocoa farming let alone the land”.²⁷² Mr Francis Ofori recalls his early experience and that of his brother as migrant farmers in Dadieso as he notes:

I came to Dadieso in 1988. I got to know Dadieso through my elder brother. He was the one who acquired the land and after I completed school he brought me here to be with him. He was a

²⁶⁹Arhin, “Economic Differentiation among Ghanaian Migrant Cocoa Farmers”.10

²⁷⁰ Interview with elders of the community as well migrant farmers in the area attest to this fact.

²⁷¹ Interview with Nana Koah Anim, Dadieso, 14-01-14. Anim is a linguist to the Suaman paramount stool. Other chiefs interviewed for this study expressed similar sentiments.

²⁷² Interview with Luke B.Mensah,Dadieso,20-01-14, interview with Mr Rockson Asiedu, Dadieso, 09-01-14

government worker. He came to Enchi on an official assignment and it was at Enchi that he got to know about the abundance of the virgin forest in Dadieso. A decade earlier when my brother came here for the first time the whole of Dadieso was dense forest. The place was very dangerous because it inhabited wild animals like elephants and gorillas. It was impossible for one to go to farm alone. Despite this challenge they (my brother and the earlier migrant farmers) still persisted and worked harder.²⁷³

The migrant farmer therefore paid a token fee in the form of drinks to the chiefs and that was all. He was then “taken to the forest by the elders of the town and asked to clear as far as his strength could carry him”.²⁷⁴ Aside the initial drinks the tenure agreement stipulated that the farmer was to pay or present an annual token of drinks and a sheep to the stool. The farming system then adopted between the stool and the farmer was *abunu*. *Abunu* is a system of farming (a share contract) or a land tenure agreement where a farmer is given a parcel of land to cultivate in return for which the farmer provides the landowners with half of the cocoa plantation they develop.²⁷⁵

Mr Luke B. Mensah recounts that:

When the migrants came they visited the palace to negotiate for land. No individual had personal ownership of land as at the time. So all negotiation relating to tenure agreement took place at the paramount chief's palace. In the beginning all land were given out to migrants on *abunu* terms.²⁷⁶

Mr Dortei, a migrant farmer and an *odikro* states that his father was one of the few farmers who came to Dadieso in the late 1940s for land to farm. He indicates that his father never bought the land. His father only paid a token fee and drinks. However, as part of the agreement his father paid an annual token of drink and sheep to the paramount stool.²⁷⁷

²⁷³ Interview with Mr Francis Ofori (Oligi), Kwasuo, Dadieso, 20-01-2014.

²⁷⁴ Interview with Nana Kofi Armah III, Dadieso, 09-01-14, interview with Mr Rockson Asiedu, Dadieso, 09-01-14

²⁷⁵ For further studies on the *abunu* system and other forms of share contracts see Tsutomu Takane, *The Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana: Incentives, Institutions, and Change in Rural West Africa*. (Chiba, Japan: Institute of Developing Economics (IDE), 2002). 14-31, Hill, “The Gold Coast Cocoa Farmer”. 8-39, and Kojo S. Amanor with Maxwell Kude Diderutuah, *Share Contracts in the Oil Palm and Citrus Belt of Ghana*. (London: International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), 2001). 1-6, 14-26

²⁷⁶ Interview with Luke B. Mensah, Dadieso, 20-01-2014

²⁷⁷ Interview with Tei Dortei, Dadieso, 20-01-14

An issue that emerged from the *abunu* agreement in Dadieso was that the stool was never able to manage its part of the shared cocoa farm. Eventually, the management of the stool farms was left in the care of migrant farmers. In return they were to pay annual fees to the stool and this was different from what they were already paying as tenure fees. The fees was paid in monetary form which was subject to change depending on the quantity of the proceeds. In addition, they paid drinks and one sheep. This practice took place from 1948 to 1972 when farmers eventually were asked to pay annual rents to the OASL following a misunderstanding between the chiefs and the migrant farmers. Usually when the migrant was a caretaker this took the form of an *abusa* arrangement in which the caretaker gave the landowner one third of the proceeds acquired after sale of cocoa. In essence the cocoa farms became the property of the migrant farmer for which he paid annual fees. According to Hill there are two types of *abunu/abusa* contract. The first involves sharing the land. In this arrangement the tenant gained one third and the landholding chief two thirds of land. In the second variant the landowner gained one third of the share and the tenant two thirds of the proceeds. However, the tenant was responsible for managing the farm and marketing the cocoa.²⁷⁸ Amanor also deals with the subject of *abunu* and *abusa* in his work.²⁷⁹

The decision of the stool to give out the share of the community for the farmers to manage was dictated by the fact that the indigenous men were not available to man the farms and the few that were around at the time were not willing or ready to supervise the cultivated cocoa farms on

²⁷⁸Hill, "The Gold Coast Cocoa Farmer".8-39

²⁷⁹ Kojo S. Amanor with Maxwell Kude Diderutuah, *Share Contracts in the Oil Palm and Citrus Belt of Ghana*. (London: International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), 2001).1-6, 14-26. For further studies on the *abunu* system and other forms of share contracts see Tsutomu Takane, *The Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana: Incentives, Institutions, and Change in Rural West Africa*.(Chiba, Japan: Institute of Developing Economics (IDE),2002).14-31

behalf of the community.²⁸⁰ These few men were rather attracted to fishing and hunting.²⁸¹ Mr Mensah, one of the respondents laments this situation as he claimed:

The *abunu* agreement never worked out. Even if it did who was there to take care of the farm for the community and the stool? And since there was lack of people who would take charge of the cocoa farm Nananom entered into an agreement with the farmers to convert the share of the community into monetary terms and have the farmers pay it to the stool annually. The farmers were ever willing to stand by the terms of the *abunu* agreement but the Suaman community never had the people who were willing to manage the farms because of fishing and hunting.²⁸²

Taking the political situation between Dadieso and her neighbours into consideration, one would argue that the chiefs took a conscious and a rational decision to give out the land to migrant farmer because there was the threat of these neighbours taking the land away from the Suaman. The giving of land to migrant farmers was a way of protecting the land from being taken over by their neighbours. They felt by giving out land to these migrant farmers they could strengthen their economic situation and also ensure the land was put to good use. The chiefs thus used this situation as an opportunity to make unnecessary demands from the tenant farmers and largely exploited them to their own advantage.²⁸³ The implication of the chiefs reaction towards exploiting the settler farmers produced an ultimate and inevitable situation of intergenerational conflict which has resulted into a (re)definition of citizenship accompanied by the politics of belonging in the Suaman community. A situation Boni describes as triangular conflict between the youth in the community and traditional leaders/elders and migrant farmers.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁰ Interview with Mensah,20-01-14

²⁸¹ Interview with Mensah,20-01-14

²⁸² A viewed shared by the respondents.

²⁸³ Interview with E.E.Cudjoe,08-01-2014

²⁸⁴ Boni,"Clearing the Ghanaian Forest".74

4.5 Shifting the Center of Power: The Process of Landlessness in Dadieso

By the early and mid-1980s the dense forest in Dadieso had been cleared by migrant farmers. The migrant farmers took advantage of the fact that the indigenous people were not interested in cocoa farming and exploited the forest. Responses from migrant farmers also reveal that apart from the family head that first came for the land none of the later migrants who were brought in were introduced to the chief's palace. Just as in the case of Mr Dortey and Mr Ofori majority of the farmers in Dadieso were introduced to the area by relations, and it was these relations who allocated land to them.²⁸⁵

Later migrants who came to the Suaman area in the 1970s and 1980s were introduced to the area by early farmers who came to Dadieso in the 1940s and 1960s respectively. Similar to the Akuapems and Krobos the family head or the relative who first secured an area in the Dadieso forest and had managed to establish himself went back to their hometown in the Eastern and Brong Ahafo regions and brought in their other relations. However, unlike the farmers in Hills' study who acquired the land through purchase in companies or individually and further allocated it according to one's contribution in the company or based on one's matriliney, the later migrants to Dadieso were introduced into the forest by these relations and were asked to continue clearing the forest from where they (the earlier migrant farmers or relation) have reached.²⁸⁶ The presence and activities of these later relations in the forest were unknown to the leaders and members of the community because they were not formerly introduced.

Whereas the Suaman were busily fishing in the Bia River the migrant farmers and their relations on the other hand were busily clearing the forest. To the traditional leaders and people of

²⁸⁵ Interview with Tei Dortey, 20-01-14 and interview with Ofori, 20-01-14

²⁸⁶ For a further studies on land allocation and land sales see Hill, "The Migrant Cocoa-Farmer of Southern Ghana".38-75

Suaman the forest was inhabited by migrants who had come to the palace formally to seek permission to clear part of the forest for farming. Most of the indigenous Suaman respondents claim that unknown to them these farmers secretly brought in new relations, cleared the entire forest and had accordingly appropriated the land among themselves.²⁸⁷ However, these retrospective opinion of Suaman on their loss of land, which seeks to justify their lack of control or thought about land management by castigating the actions of migrants as a violation of trust is a bit problematic. This is because it is quite a common situation and more complex as far as cocoa farming was concerned. Cocoa farms were created with labour. In instances where labour were not available locally the farmers brought in labour. In the case of the Suaman the indigenous people were not willing to serve as labourers to the migrant cocoa farmers because they interpreted it to mean slavery. In Sefwi for instance, the landowners originally encouraged migrants to bring in their townspeople as labourers which they could also use. However, unlike the Suaman case they were also developing cocoa farms. By the 1980s when the indigenous people realised that fishing and hunting were no longer rewarding and decided to go into full time farming, the land in Dadieso had been completely cleared and fully consolidated by the migrant farmers.

A respondent reflectively conveyed the remorse and fear of majority of the Suaman community, especially the latter generation as he noted:

The migrant farmers possess more land than the indigenes because we were few by then. When they came in we asked them to enter the forest and clear as far as they could. We never showed them any limit. Unknown to us they also in turn brought in their relatives to exploit the forest. Due to this they have had more land than we do. Had it not been the small parcel of land our parents bequeathed to us our generation would not have had any piece of land to farm on. And as far as our children are concerned there is nothing left for them. Unless maybe we also transfer

²⁸⁷ Interview with E.E. Cudjoe, Dadieso, 08-01-14 interview with Koah Anim, Dadieso, 14-01-14. Other respondents interviewed also confirmed how migrant farmers had secretly brought in their relations to Dadieso and had exploited their forest.

what has been transferred to us by fathers to them, and that is if that child in question is not successful in education.²⁸⁸

Early migrant farmers to Dadieso now possess farming lands ranging from 100 to 588 acreages. Apart from Karlo which was founded by Sefwi refugees since the colonial period the remaining twenty two (22) major villages in Dadieso are creations by these migrant farmers.²⁸⁹ It is also remarkable to note that *odikros* have been installed in each of these villages who fully partake in most of the ceremonial traditional political rituals and functions that take place in the community.²⁹⁰ These are regarded as an integral part of the traditional political structure of Dadieso. All of these *odikros* are non-indigenes and since the creation of this political office in Dadieso it has been successively occupied by the migrant farmers in the various villages. The position revolves around the children of the founder of these villages. The reason for this political variance is rooted in the fact that no indigene possesses any farming land in these villages and subsisting here will be extremely difficult should the paramount chief decide to appoint representatives to administer these villages. Hence it was deemed appropriate to allow these migrant farmers to govern themselves. But this notwithstanding, it is important to state here that the concept of *odikro* is applicable in almost all Akan communities. Most *odikro* are not necessarily indigenes of the particular community. This goes to buttress the inclusive nature of the Akan political system. All *odikro* come under divisional chief who is a key ally of the paramount ruler or even a part of the ruling paramountcy. However, the definition of the power and authority of the *odikro* may vary from community to community.

²⁸⁸ Interview with Koah Anim, Dadieso, 14-01-14

²⁸⁹ Ledger containing "Names and Acreages of Suaman Dadieso Tenant Farmers", Office of the Administration of Stool Lands, Dadieso, Western Ghana

²⁹⁰ Odikros are village chiefs. These are the last under the traditional political structure of leadership. They are subchiefs and are in charge of land for the divisional chiefs within a traditional area. See Boni, "Clearing the Ghanaian Forest",³³ and also Samuel A. Ntewesu, *Chieftaincy and Development*. (Legon, Accra: ICDE, 2013). 28-29

Another significant development in land tenure relation or regulation in Dadieso is the terminal year for a tenancy agreement between the farmers and the chiefs. Since the 1960s no farmer has been prompted by the stool to renew the tenancy agreement between him and the Suaman stool. The terminal duration for a tenancy agreement on land is not uniform; it varies from traditional area to traditional area. The tenancy agreement in Dadieso between farmers and the chiefs is subject for renewal between the periods of 40 to 60 years.²⁹¹ However, there is no valid or enforcing document to this effect. A respondent, Mr Cudjoe, a former surveyor in the community and an active member of the traditional council in Dadieso claims:

With the abolition of the *abunu* system per the initial tenancy agreement between the farmers and the stool, the new tenancy agreement stipulates that farmers now have 60 years to renew their tenancy or vacate the land but till now there has not been any practical step from the chiefs to enforce it. I believe if the chiefs get prompted they will call the farmers to the palace to discuss the issue. This is because some of the farmers here have already outlived the terminal period of the agreement.²⁹²

The laxity of the traditional institution in terms of land management and administration in Dadieso had an unintended consequence on the community. It laid the foundation for the landlessness of the community and the consolidation of farms and lands possessed by migrant farmers in Dadieso. The Dadieso case is significant because it contributes to discourses within the broader national political economy. The locals were not interested in farming the land at that period so it was a natural development within the wider national economy of opening up new frontiers for national development

²⁹¹ Interview with Biney, Dadieso, 20-01-14

²⁹² Interview with Cudjoe Dadieso, 08-01-14

4.6 Consolidation of Migrant Farmers Control on the Land

The new tenancy agreement was never in place until the 1980s when settler farmers in Dadieso began to have issues with the stool. From 1972 the allocation of land to farmers became very rapid and by 1985 the Dadieso forest had been fully absorbed by migrant farmers. The reason for the intensified allocation of land was for the upkeep of Nana Atta Kwesi Brembi II, the paramount chief who ascended the Suaman stool in 1972.²⁹³ He never stayed in Dadieso during the entire period for his rule but in hotels in Accra and Takoradi where he spent most of his time. To sustain him a section of the royal family gave out land to Brong, Akwapem, Krobo and Asante farmers who were land thirsty for cocoa farming.²⁹⁴ This was the time Dadieso lost all its land to migrant farmers. It must be recalled that by this time Brong Ahafo had emerged as the leading producer of cocoa in the country and they had by now exhausted all available forest for cocoa farming. They were thus forced to push into the Western Region which was then emerging as the new cocoa growing frontier. The allocation of farm to migrants led to a situation of exploitation by the chiefs where farmers were constantly called upon to help whenever there was one event or the other. The farmers felt at this point that they were being exploited and the burden of having to be called upon to pay money to the stool was becoming a routine among the chiefs.

²⁹³At the time of his ascension to the throne the paramountcy status of the Dadieso stool had been cancelled by the National Liberation Council (NLC) regime. Couple with this was the fact that he never spent the greater part of his life in the community. He had been working as a journalist in African countries such as Nigeria and Namibia. At the time of his return to Dadieso the stool was vacant and the search for a prospective chief ongoing. He thus took advantage of the situation and convinced the queenmother and the kingmakers who considering his education background accepted him and installed him. His exposure to city life his stay in Dadieso became a challenge and in order to be able to continue his city lifestyle he managed to use the struggle for the restoration of the paramountcy status of the Dadieso stool as a tool to remain in Takoradi. So to ensure his stay in Takoradi he continuously demanded for money from tenant farmers and this mounted pressure on the farmers.

²⁹⁴ Interview with E.E. Cudjoe, 08-01-14

In the early 1980s the PNDC government was petitioned by the farmers.²⁹⁵ This petition also coincided with the creation of the Nyinaku Commission which was to look into forest related cases in the Western Region.²⁹⁶ Therefore the commission took it upon itself to investigate into the farmers complaints. The traditional leaders of Dadieso and the migrant farmers were both called to a meeting at Enchi, the district capital, and from here it was instituted by the commission that from that period forward the farmers were to pay tenancy rents to the OASL.²⁹⁷

The *odikro* of Dorteekrom, a settler village in Dadieso recalls this event as he relates that:

During the rule of Nana Atta Kwesi Brembi II a disagreement developed between the migrant farmers and the chiefs in Dadieso. The chiefs exploited the farmers by asking them to pay huge annual fees. This was unbearable to the farmers and if they refused to pay the chiefs will forcibly claim back their land which meant that the farmers were going to be jobless. Hence the only alternative for us was to petition the government at the time. It was from this time that we started paying tenure rents to the OASL.²⁹⁸

Hitherto, farmers paid an annual token fee of sheep and drinks and an unspecified amount to the stool.

The reaction of the tenant farmers at Dadieso during the 1980s must not be viewed only in the light of the local situation where farmers were seen to be contesting against the excessive orders of chiefs. The period between 1955 and 1985 was one that was marked by decline and instability in the political economy of the country. The cocoa industry experienced a failure due to price distortions. In fact, price distortions of cocoa were the experience of the period from 1960 to 1983. In the late 1970s for instance the country slid into economic instability the direct response

²⁹⁵ Interview with E.E. Cudjoe,08-01-14

²⁹⁶For the case on the forest in the Western Region and the setting up of the Nyinaku Commission. England,"Forest Protection and the Rights of Cocoa Farmers in the Western Ghana".

²⁹⁷ Interview with Tei Dorteey,20-01-14

²⁹⁸ Interview with Dorteey,20-01-14

of which was political instability.²⁹⁹ Coupled with this were the introduction and implementation of the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) and Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and the failure of which made the economy more problematic.³⁰⁰ This macro-economic reform and structural adjustment in the 1980s led to the erosion of social services and tended to intensify rural poverty. Therefore, the excesses of the chiefs cannot be explained away in simple terms. Of course the economic environment during these periods partly dictated the pressure exerted on farmers by exploitative chiefs which forced farmer to petition the government.

During this period of economic hardship when tenant farmers felt that chiefly orders were becoming too much they call upon the national government or sometimes took advantage of factions amongst chiefs. Government backing tenant farmers is not a recent phenomenon in Ghana. Indeed there have been instances where the government supported tenants claim and attempted to increase their agricultural rights. In the later years of Nkrumah's regime (1962-1966) this happened.³⁰¹ It must be noted that these were the same periods which saw the second wave of migrants trooping to the Suaman area in search of virgin forest to farm. During the early years of the PNDC rule the government backed farmers and tried to help them consolidate their farming rights. The PNDC government inclination towards farmers during this time should not be a surprise. The regime presented itself as socialist and revolutionary and thus inclined towards sustaining the interest of farmers. Their policies were readily welcomed by tenant farmers who nursed the hope that they could counter chiefly nuisance and get an extensive set of land rights with the support of the national government.³⁰² Therefore, the appeal of the Suaman farmers

²⁹⁹ Jonathan H. Frimpong-Ansah, *The Vampire State in Africa: Political Economy of Decline in Ghana*. (London: James Currey Limited, 1991). 119-140, J.H. Frimpong-Ansah, *Flexibility and Responsiveness in the Ghanaian Economy: Reflections on Post Decline Atrophy Syndrome*. (Accra: Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1996).2

³⁰⁰Frimpong-Ansah, "Flexibility and Responsiveness in the Ghanaian Economy".51-55

³⁰¹ Boni, "Clearing the Ghanaian Forest".166

³⁰²Boni, "Clearing the Ghanaian Forest".166

against the excesses of the chiefs was something that fell in favour or in line with the regimes socialist and revolutionary ideological mantra and outlook. This is not to say that the PNDC government was against chiefs. The PNDC cultivated good relations with chiefs, which is also reflective in the symbol of the NDC. But economically the government sought to create economic recovery by rebuilding the export-oriented cocoa sector and supporting cocoa farmers

One thing that also motivated the tenant farmers in Suaman was the influence they had from their educated relatives who had stayed outside the village and thus came back to the village with new ideas. These educated and 'civilised' advised their relation who had acquired land in Suaman to equally acquire legal status for the land and thus ensure its security in the future. Therefore, after the directive given by the Nyinaku Commission to the effect that farmers pay annual tenancy rent to the OASL, they farmers also went ahead to have the OASL help make survey and make plans for their farms.³⁰³ The implications of this move were twofold. Firstly, it expanded the government administrative machinery into the Suaman area where the government had agents (OASL) collecting revenues on its behalf. Secondly, it also gave farmers the legal status to now possess the land and pass it on as inheritance to family relations thereby deepening the crisis of landlessness in the Suaman community. There is evidence to show that the early generation of farmers has transferred their farms to their children and plans covering the land of each farm have been made to that effect.³⁰⁴

It is very evident from the discussion so far that Dadieso has a very weak land management and administration policies. This also reveals how traditional authority is very lax and weak in enforcing policies in Dadieso. The impact of this institutional challenge on the community is

³⁰³ Interview with Cudjoe, 08-01-14, interview with Mr Rockson Asiedu, Dadieso, 09-01-14

³⁰⁴ The researcher's survey of farming plans at OASL and interview with Mr Francis Adamtey (OASL Officer), Dadieso, 18-01-14.

twofold. First, it created a room for the migrant farmers to gain complete control over the land in the community as far as 'real' ownership of land was concerned. The traditional authorities now appear as owners of the land without land because physically and realistically speaking the center of power over the land has been shifted to the farmers. Secondly, this institutional weakness also laid the foundation for the process of losing the communal land to the farmers in that there was complete sense of communal detachment from the land. Communal attachment to land for socioeconomic and politico religious purposes are very paramount to traditional societies. However, Dadieso present a different and troubling picture. Their sense of attachment to the land was largely premised on political reasons which were rooted in the protection of the territorial boundaries of the communal land as well as struggle against external barrier to internal communication and governance. It was the migrant farmer who was used to achieve this goal though unknown to the latter. On the other hand the migrant farmers also exploited of the forest to their advantage. So whereas the community was able to protect its political power it lost its social and economic power to the farmer because the main source of livelihood of the community is now effectively under migrant control. But the problem is also that the Suaman brought in migrants because of their low poulation vis a vis other groups, but failed to integrate the migrants into their polity as members rather than strangers.

To address the problem of landlessness and social differentiation based on accumulation in the community, the 'personalisation' of local politics and the creation of ethnic boundaries during national elections have become paramount and an inevitable tool among the youth and the marginalised section the indigenous population.

4.7 Conclusion

Histories of community formations have forced traditional authorities to take conscious and rational decisions to protect the territorial boundaries and lands of their communities from being taken over by neighbours. Thus, in response to challenging circumstances facing communities, authorities addressed territorial tensions by adopting concepts of moral ethnicity believing that ethnicity creates a moral community that defines collective responsibility. This led to the ready integration of migrants into the community based on the notion of a moral economy premised on local citizenship where the farmer was expected to contribute to the development of the community. However, this process has led to the landlessness of the indigenes in the community. The success of the migrant farmer in the cultivation of cocoa has created a process of accumulation based on social inequalities in a situation where land has become scarce for the youth and local farmers who have no alternative options for employment, thus making it difficult to have a good sense of livelihood. The youth and the marginalised section in the community blame the migrant farmers for their dilemma. The implication of this is that the youth and the marginalised section of the community seek for “intergeneration justice” and this is mainly played out in local politics where boundary creation and ‘ethnic customisation’ of politics become inevitable. In turn this generates into tensions and conflicts where migrant farmers mostly turn out to be the victims.

From the study it is clear that the farmers did not acquire the land for free, it was negotiated as an *abunu* contract and later transformed into a fee. Therefore, it should be not assumed that the community leaders gave out the land freely and it was accordingly not understood by the migrant farmers to be free. Hence, the argument by the locals that they allocated the land freely to the migrant farmers and this was abused by migrant farmers must be understood as a discourse

against migrant farmers. This has to be understood as a discourse rather than factual accounts which is often used by chiefs to play off the youth and migrant farmers against each other. Sometimes the fees collected by the chiefs is very equivalent to the sale of the land, but the chiefs attempt to disguise sale of so that they do not make any payment to the state.



CHAPTER FIVE

LANDLESSNESS AND THE ERA OF PARTY POLITICS IN DADIESO

5.1 Introduction

Dadieso as a community enjoyed a period of relative peace until the 2001/2002 chieftaincy conflict which was a resurgence of a 1989 chieftaincy crisis. The 2001/2002 chieftaincy crisis had an impact on inter-ethnic relations and this became obvious in the 2004 and 2008 general elections. In this chapter the study seeks to demonstrate that chieftaincy conflicts have an impact on inter-ethnic violence which plays out during general elections. The study further shows that the changing interest of chiefs in contemporary times in relation to different groups within the community and also the state is politically and economically embedded. Against this background, the study examines the effect of the changing interest of chiefs on deepening crises of landlessness, institutional inefficiency, and the search for inter-generational justice by the youth. This chapter argues that chieftaincy crisis and election violence in rural communities are economically embedded and usually linked to land. Land related violence and political manipulation of the issue has produced tensions that are intensified by a group culture of vengeance.

The aim of this chapter is to examine the dynamics in the social and political relations connected to land in the Suaman area where massive land grabs have taken place before and since independence. The customary land tenure system is an institution within a wider cluster of institutions, all of which regulate access to land and effective exercise of land rights over land.³⁰⁵

An important factor that underlies the customary land tenure relation is that land resource and the

³⁰⁵Chauveau, "How Does an Institution Evolve?" 215-217, Addo-Fening, "Customary Land Tenure System in Akyem Abuakwa".

socio-political dimension are closely intertwined. As a social institution the customary land tenure system regulates both land rights and political incorporation of migrants into the local community.³⁰⁶ This highlights the point that the customary land tenure system constructs an interface between multitudes of social spheres. This includes local political brokers and the state, intra-community relations, the micro-politics of belonging in multiethnic communities, land relations between customary owners and settlers, and also intergenerational relations between the indigenous elders and the youth.³⁰⁷

This chapter therefore examines a number of case studies drawn from historical events and conflicts in Dadieso. These events include the chieftaincy disputes of 1989 and 2001/2002, the Project Farms/Valley Farms episodes, and the 2004 and 2008 general elections. The study uses these case studies to demonstrate and buttress the argument that crisis of political legitimacy as well as intergenerational justice frequently manifest in the ‘politicalisation and ethnicisation’ of land issues. Increasing land scarcity coupled with the loss of confidence in traditional political institutions and government policies have served as backgrounds that local politicians and elites use in playing the ethnic game so as to ensure their political survival.³⁰⁸ During periods of instability (such as chieftaincy crisis and election violence) in rural areas young people mobilise to fight to protect tradition against lax elders and the migrant farmer who has been admitted by the elders.³⁰⁹ Migrants become a scapegoat group for the frustration and resentment of the indigenes.³¹⁰

³⁰⁶Chauveau and Colin, "Customary Transfers and Land Sales in Cote d'Ivoire".88, Addo-Fening, "Customary Land Tenure System in Akyem Abuakwa".

³⁰⁷Chauveau and Richards, "West African Insurgencies in Agrarian Perspective".531, Berry, "No Condition is Permanent".72,104-112

³⁰⁸Chauveau, "How Does an Institution Evolve?" 226-227

³⁰⁹Chauveau and Richards, "West African Insurgencies in Agrarian Perspective".522

³¹⁰Chauveau and Richards, "West African Insurgencies in Agrarian Perspective".522

Besides, these cases show that not all land related conflicts are autochthon conflicts, but also resentment associated with social differentiation or class stratification and landlessness. The mobilisation of the youth is an important factor to the broader conflict because their activities point to the agrarian root of conflicts in rural communities around issues of land, the value of the youth in rural areas, and the extreme mobility between town and country.³¹¹ Again, the mobilisation of the youth expresses a social strain in terms of exclusion/inclusion definition of belonging that are found in the internal dynamics of society. As Chauveau and Richards rightly point out, there is the need to “resocialize” and “historicize” the “problem of the youth”.³¹² Also, the cases will help the study address what the chieftaincy institution as well as its protagonist (the chief) represents in contemporary times in relation to different interest groups within the community and the state.

In this chapter the study shows how chieftaincy failed in Dadieso in the early 1970s till 2002 and how this affected migrant farmer-indigene relations. It also shows how deprived communities struggle to chart a path towards development through general elections and how migrant farmers become a constant threat to indigenous populations during election periods. This is much in evidence in the areas where the indigenes are concentrated and suffer from land shortage and insecurity and are thus disadvantaged economically. It also demonstrates how landless indigenes try to use general elections as a weapon to disempower the socioeconomic influence of migrant farmers in local communities. General elections are periods during which landless and economically disadvantaged indigenes persistently and aggressively attempt to define who a real citizen in a local community is and who a ‘stranger’ is, and who is permitted to vote and who

³¹¹Chauveau and Richards, “West African Insurgencies in Agrarian Perspective”.522-223

³¹²Chauveau and Richards, “West African Insurgencies in Agrarian Perspective”.527

is not. In effect, the study demonstrates that general elections are used by landless indigenes to create a moral boundary that defines local citizenship in local communities.

Central to this chapter is the issue of inter-ethnic conflicts between migrant farmers and indigenes in local communities during general elections. The study thus examines why migrant farmers become largely the targets and victims during general elections and election crises in local communities. The study also investigates the causes of these conflicts and why they largely manifest during general elections. The study interrogates the rationale behind these attacks and victimisation of migrant farmers by indigenes and the logic underpinning these violent confrontations. Finally, the chapter further examines changes and continuities in the political relations between migrant farmers and indigenes and to what degree successive national governments have helped in shaping this relation.

In what follows the study briefly examines the local concept of citizenship in Dadieso, changing political relations, chieftaincy crisis, and landlessness and how these have helped shape the daily history of the Dadieso people.

5.2 Defining Suamanfo/Suamanni: The Construction of Citizenship in Suaman Dadieso

The local notion of citizenship and how 'strangers' are incorporated into the community cannot be claimed to be a simple and conventional process across ethnicities. Hence, the incorporation of a stranger into a community is a complex subject that is left to the prerogative of territorial rulers within the traditional state. The study will briefly examine the notion of citizenship among the Suaman to help put the study in a proper context for a general analysis. The study thus draws heavily from the notion of citizenship among the Akyem Abuakwa.

In his studies among the Akyem Abuakwa people Rathbone shows that one cannot say with certainty that the integration of strangers in the community was a simple and untroubled process. The complexity of the whole process was embedded in issues of economic change, colonial laws, and African initiatives and these gradually transformed identities. Hence, a definition of who was or was not a member of the community (for example “Akyemfo”) was left to the Oman and their rulers.³¹³

Rathbone suggests that local mechanisms could create an emerging identity close to 'ethnic' validity. The absence of this mechanism could destroy the ethnic validity of this created identity those of current migration whose histories does not have the influence to guarantee the recognition of their rights.³¹⁴ The significant issue in this categorization process is that “it had the potential to 'freeze' identities by halting what had previously been a much more obviously fluid process”.³¹⁵ Claims that had the potential of destroying the lack of 'authenticity' were usually made in ways which laid emphasis on “regionnal rights” rather than an absence of anything obviously 'ethnic'. In fact, such claims were negated by the invocation of “long residence, freeborn origins and civic decency rather than by attempts to prove biological or ethnic 'roots’”.³¹⁶ These criteria of integrating a stranger into the community eased traditional laws and facilitated easy participation of the stranger in communal activities. For example, the Akyem Abuakwa political space included people who were officially not “Akyemfo”, in terms of both the long term and more immediate clan and family affiliation, and this had been in practice for decades and maybe centuries.³¹⁷ The Asafo in Akyem Abuakwa for instance comprised

³¹³Richard Rathbone, “Defining Akyemfo: The Construction of Citizenship in Akyem Abuakwa, Ghana 1700-1939”. (Africa, Vol. 66, No. 4, 1996), 511 and 514.

³¹⁴Rathbone, “Defining Akyemfo”.514

³¹⁵Rathbone, “Defining Akyemfo”.514

³¹⁶Richard Rathbone, “Defining Akyemfo”.514

³¹⁷Richard Rathbone, “Defining Akyemfo”.514

various ethnic groups including the Akyem, Akuapem, Ga, and Northern residents in the kingdom.³¹⁸ However, this system of incorporation of people into the traditional community was not without challenges. For instance, the Akyem Abuakwa faced issues of ethnic affiliation or allegiance with the Akaupem and the Manya Krobo.³¹⁹

Similar to Akyem Abuakwa, construction of citizenship in Dadieso was invoked through reference to long residence, freeborn origins and civic decency. Biological roots were and are only appealed to during periods of traditional succession (chieftaincy) crisis. When asked about the place of migrant farmers in the Suaman polity during interviews for this study all the elders claimed that the ‘stranger’ farmer is not considered as a stranger because he has been with the community for decades and is thus considered more as “one of us than a stranger or economic migrant”. Mostly, the elders alluded to inter-marriages between the migrant farmers and the indigenous people as a strong binding factor that even makes the issue of citizenship based on ethnic distinction problematic.

Long term resident farmers see themselves more as citizens of Dadieso than citizens of their hometowns. Mr Azure Ngor, a migrant farmer from the Northern Region of Ghana to Dadieso claims he has spent more of his lifetime (more than twenty years) in Dadieso than his hometown. According to him he is a citizen of Dadieso because basically everything about his life has been done in Dadieso.³²⁰ Most migrant farmers in Dadieso also share in this same line of thinking which does not contradict the indigenous people’s notion of the citizenship of the migrant farmers in the community. The farmers are therefore appreciated as inclusive part (or insiders) of

³¹⁸Richard Rathbone, “Defining Akyemfo”.518. For more details on the Asafo in Akyem see Addo-Fening, ”Akyem Abuakwa 1700-1943”.295-300, A.E.A Asiamah, *The Mass Factor in Rural Politics*.(Accra: Ghana University Press,2002).

³¹⁹Richard Rathbone, “Defining Akyemfo”.515. See also Addo-Fening, “Akyem Abuakwa 1700-1943”, and Kofi Affrifah, *The Akyem Factor in Ghana’s History 1700-1875*. (Accra: Ghana University Press, 2002).

³²⁰ Interview with Azure Ngor, Kwasuo-Dadieso, 20/01/2014.

the community than outsiders. According to the indigenous people the migrant farmers cannot be denied as an integral part of the Suaman Dadieso community.

In essence one can confidently conclude that citizenship in Dadieso has been more of a question of long term residence and civic decency rather than appeal to biological roots. However, this notion is being challenged by the current generation, thus making the reception and incorporation of ‘strangers’ into the community very problematic. These changes in inter-generational relations are not without reasons. There is a mixed feeling of suspicion and antagonism by indigenous people towards ‘strangers’ in the community which is rooted in issues relating to economic changes, lax traditional institutions, and party politics. These issues and how they affect the daily histories of local communities are demonstrated further in the sections that follow.

5.3 Dadieso’s Experience in Party Politics before 2004

Mainstream politics started in Dadieso in the late 1940s, just about the same time that the UGCC C.P.P were formed. This was the period when nationalist struggles for self-determination were intense in the then Gold Coast. It was also the era that marked the emergence of political parties in the country. The mass participation of the Suaman in party politics during this period was influenced by Kwame Nkrumah and the formation of his C.P.P. Nkrumah and his C.P.P had motivated and attracted the Suaman into party politics not because of the charisma he possessed or the radicalism he introduced into the independence struggle but largely because of his family connection with the Dadieso people. Dadieso is one of the two areas in Ghana where Nkrumah was eligible to be installed as a paramount chief. The other area is Nsuaem, also in the Western Region of Ghana. Nkrumah states in his autobiography that the evening before he left for the USA his mother had advised of two stools in the Western Region to which he was eligible to ascend. He recalls that:

She also told me of my claim to two stools or chieftaincies in the country, those of Nsaem in Wassaw Fiase, and Dadieso in Aowin.³²¹

In 1953 when the Dadieso stool became vacant it was Nkrumah who was nominated as the eligible heir to occupy the stool. However, due to his political ambitions he instead appointed his uncle, Ales Tabum, who became Nana Brentum III afterwards to ascend the throne.³²²

Therefore, for the Suaman people, Dadieso was C.P.P and C.P.P was Dadieso. This meant that the success of Dadieso as a community was dependent on the C.P.P. Similarly the success of C.P.P in the Anyi area was dependent on Dadieso. The bond between the Suaman community and the C.P.P reflected in the psyche of the people as they constantly reminded themselves that “if as a community we fail to vote for our own son who is from this land then who do we expect to vote for him”? Hence, right from the beginning of Nkrumah’s political carrier Dadieso predominantly remained a C.P.P stronghold till the overthrow of Nkrumah in 1966.

Dadieso as a community began to transform in terms of infrastructure during the C.P.P government as a result of the development projects that were initiated by the regime in the community. Hitherto, major development projects such as recreational facilities, schools, pipe borne water, toilet facilities, road networks, markets, among others were concentrated in Enchi

³²¹Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*. (London: Panaf Books Limited, 1979),21

³²²Interviews with chiefs and elders of Suaman Dadieso though individually and on separate occasions confirm this assertion. Mr Luke B. Mensah, a member of the Nkrumah family and former secretary to the current paramount chief, Nana Odeneho Brentum IV, also alludes to this story in the researchers interview with him. It was during the reign of this chief that migrant farmers thronged to Dadieso in search of land for cocoa farming. Currently, the paramount chief of Dadieso, Nana Odeneho Brentum IV is a member of the Nkrumah family who are now resident in Nkroful and Nsuaem. Dadieso is in fact the ancestral home of Kwame Nkrumah and it was from here that his grandparents left to found the Nsuaem Township, and that is after staying in Nkroful for some time. To maintain their connection with their Suaman ancestry the burial ground for the royals in Nsuaem has been named Dadieso. It was marriage that took that section of the Dadieso royal family (the Nkrumah line) to Nkroful. Interview with Mr Luke B. Mensah, Dadieso, 20-1-14, interview with Rev. Dr Paulive Assuah, 14-01-14, interview with Mr Rockson Asiedu, Dadieso, 09-01-14, and interview with Mr Edward Affum, Dadieso, 01-01-14, interview with Mr E.E. Cudjoe, Dadieso, 08-01-14 and interview with Mr Kadjo Nango F. R., Dadieso, 06-01-14.

and the immediate towns under her jurisdiction.³²³ In addition, the paramountcy status of Dadieso was not recognised by the colonial government during the period before independence. It was only gazetted in 1962. This was because Dadieso was only a small community in the Enchi District. So it was very difficult to understand why this small community with one town under its jurisdiction could attain a paramountcy status as Enchi which had thirty eight towns. Hence, with the support of the colonial regime Dadieso was made a divisional stool to the Enchi stool. However, its capacity and function as a divisional stool remained undefined. It is significant to note that Enchi has been one of the neighbouring towns which struggled very hard to subjugate Dadieso under their jurisdiction and to possess its land. Even till today there is a triangular conflict between Dadieso, Enchi and Sefwi Wiawso on the territorial limits of the last two neighbouring towns.³²⁴

It was during the C.P.P regime that Dadieso had a motorable road linking Enchi and Dadieso.³²⁵ It was completed in 1962, and according to the Suaman the first vehicles that travelled on the road from Enchi to Dadieso took place on 17th April, 1962. This implies that the first time a vehicle entered the Dadieso Township was in 1962 during which period Enchi had experienced the luxury of motorable road for over three decades. In addition to the road network, the C.P.P government created Dadieso as a district capital and reinstated its status as a paramountcy, thus making it autonomous from Enchi. Nana Brentum III then became the first paramount chief in

³²³GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/4, GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 27/5/4, GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 25/5/1, GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 11/1/446, and GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 11/1/845

³²⁴GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 11/1/1130, GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 27/5/4, GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 11/1/671, GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 11/1/700, and GH/PRAAD/ACCRA/ADM 11/1/1834

³²⁵There is an interesting story to the construction of this road. The Suaman recount that Nana Brnetum III, Nkrumah's uncle, visited him at the castle from Dadieso and after spending some days decided to return. To see his uncle off in a grand and respectful manner Nkrumah gave him a car to travel back to Dadieso. However, instead of driving the car he requested for a head-padge (head rag) to carry the car home. Puzzled at this weird action Nkrumah asked the reason behind the reaction and the simply answer was that Dadieso lacked a motorable road so the only means to get the vehicle to Dadieso was to carry it. It was this riddle that convinced and forced Nkrumah to construct the Dadieso-Enchi road.

Dadieso to be gazetted. All these events took place in 1962. In fact, Nkrumah had planned to develop Dadieso into the likeness of Tema, a town that befits the status of a president's hometown. He also enlisted Suaman people into government positions and the public service. Notable amongst them was R.Y. Affum.³²⁶ R.Y. Affum even went into exile in Guinea with Nkrumah after his overthrow and was there with him till his death.³²⁷ Unfortunately, Nkrumah and the C.P.P's vision for Dadieso were cut short after the coup that overthrew him in 1966. Similarly, the expectations of the Suaman for development were shattered.

Immediately after the 1966 coup Dadieso was repudiated of its status as a district, and its paramountcy status was also cancelled. These marked the beginning of Dadieso's long journey into political domination. Eventually, Dadieso was merged with Enchi and Asankragua into what became the Aowin-Amenfi District Council (AADC). This merger has been explained differently by the Suaman with much resentment. They argue that that the Suaman District and its paramountcy status were cancelled because the military never entertained anything that was associated with the legacy of Kwame. Therefore, once Dadieso happens to be the hometown of Nkrumah it was not surprising that such an action was taken against them. To a larger degree it was true that the military that overthrew Nkrumah, and the National Liberation Council (NLC) regime which was a product of the coup were antagonistic to Nkrumah and his legacies, however the merging of districts in the country had both economic and political implications.

While it cannot be denied that hatred for the C.P.P inspired the NLC to undo some of the major projects by Nkrumah, the merger of districts at the time must not be explained away in simple

³²⁶Interview with James Ankorah Biney, 20-01-2014., interview with Luke B. Mensah, 14-01-2014., interview with E.E. Cudjoe, Dadieso, 08-01-2014.

³²⁷Kwame Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*. (London: Panaf Books, 1976), 100-101.

speculative and sentimental terms.³²⁸ The NLC's action was largely dictated by financial and administrative reasons. At the time of the military takeover the economy of the country was in crises and it would have been difficult to administer all the districts in the country during this period. The NLC inherited a fragile economy. E.N. Omaboe, Chairman of the then National Economic Commission (NEC) revealed that:

...the economy was suffering from four major problems: inflationary pressures, unemployment, imbalance in government budget, and balance of payments problems. The effect of these was that business confidence in the country fell very much low. Importation became highly impossible. This created serious hardship and economic dislocation and thus needs stabilization.³²⁹

Omaboe went on to point out that the "comparison which should be made should not be between Ghana and other developing countries but rather what Ghana now and what it could have been had the money which the Ghanaian tax payer provided during the administration had been utilised well".³³⁰ During the latter part of his regime Nkrumah himself lamented at the deplorable state of the country. In 1961 reacting to the level of corruption in his government and how this had contributed to the worsened state of the economy he confessed that "...Ghana is in pieces, hunger, misery and unhappiness stalk the land. My people have let me down; they fed me with lies and enriched themselves. This is not the country you and I dreamt of and fought for".³³¹

It is obvious from this picture of the economy of the country at the time that it was practically impossible for the NLC regime to manage all these districts effectively without encountering

³²⁸The NLC either sold out or discarded all major projects that the CPP government put in place and these included the Tarkwa Mines Refinery, the State Fishing Corporation. For further reading on this see Fosu-Ankrah, "Economic Development and Change in Ghana 1951-1972", 87-91, Dzorgbo, "Ghana in Search of Development", 61-62 and 162-164, Dumor, "Ghana, OAU and Southern Africa", 103-106, interview with Mr Emmanuel Debrown Affum, Assin Foso, 4th March, 2011.

³²⁹Fosu-Ankrah, "Economic Development and Change in Ghana 1951-1972", 81, GH/PRAAD/ADM 5/3/141- "Ghana's Economic Requirement in 1967".

³³⁰ Fosu-Ankrah, "Economic Development and Change in Ghana 1951-1972", 81

³³¹ Joseph Appiah, *Autobiography of a Patriot*. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1990), 253, for more on corruption in the CPP see Fosu-Ankrah, "Economic Development and Change in Ghana 1951-1972", 71-73.

greater challenges. Therefore, the simply and most viable choice opened to them at that time was to merge two or three district together depending on their sizes.

During the PNDC regime Dadieso and Enchi were again separated from the Wassas/AADC following the decentralisation concept instituted by the regime. Hence, Dadieso and Enchi became the Aowin Suaman District Assembly (ASDA) with the latter being the capital. Since the creation of the ASDA Dadieso has continued to be under the political domination of the Enchi's under the various governments following the PNDC until 2004 when the NPP government separated the two traditional areas into autonomous political constituencies.

Despite the economic challenges faced by the NLC one cannot argue that the annulments of the paramount status of some towns in the country was without political vendetta and unintentional. It is important to note after the coup, Dadieso, Nsuaem, and Wenchi lost their paramouncy statuses. All three areas are traditionally linked with the ancestry of Kwame Nkrumah. One cannot quickly dismiss the fact that the regime's action was orchestrated as a result of political hatred.

On April 1967 traditional leaders of Dadieso were arrested by the regime and imprisoned for jubilating at the attempted coup that was meant to overthrow the NLC. Whereas some of them spent a minimum term of six months, others also spent two years in prison in Sekondi. The reason for the reaction of the traditional leaders was that following the failed coup they hoped that Nkrumah was coming back to assume his position as the president of Ghana and this meant that he would continue with the vision he had for Dadieso. The 17th April, 1967 coup which was code named "Operation Guitar Boy" was undertaken by junior officers in the Ghana Armed Forces. These officers were instigated by Lt Samuel Arthur, Lt Moses Yeboah and 2nd Lt Osei-Poku. In Nsuaem for instance, the NLC destroyed anything in the town that reminded the people

of Nkrumah. However, apart from the arrest that was made in Dadieso nothing in the town was destroyed and this was partly due to the fact that Dadieso was a remote area.³³²

The paramount stool appeared disconnected and silent from traditional politics for almost thirty five years, hence chieftaincy in Dadieso became totally dormant. However, at the national level the Dadieso paramount stool performed very actively. The impact of these contradictions in terms of performance by chieftaincy in Dadieso was the chieftaincy dispute of 1989 which occurred again in 2001/2002. Secondly, migrant farmers and indigene relations were greatly affected and this manifested in party politics in Dadieso and intensified during the 2004 and 2008 general elections.

This conflicting interest in the performance of duties in traditional politics in Dadieso is symptomatic of chieftaincy in contemporary times in local communities in Ghana. In what follows the study examines what interest the chief represent in contemporary times in relation to different groups within the community and also the state. In addressing this changing interest of the chief in recent times the study demonstrates how this has affected deepening crises of landlessness, promoted institutional inefficiency, and the quest for inter-generational justice by the youth.

³³²In Wenchi the story took a different and radical turn. The position of the paramount stool started alternating between the Nkrumah and Busia families depending on which government was in power and what the political orientation of that government was/is. That is, whether it was pro-UGCC/UP or pro CPP. From the latter part of the 1950's till the Agyekum Kuffour administration of the NPP, national governments have consistently interfered in chieftaincy issues in Wenchi.³³² In contrast to the Wenchi stool which attracted different national governments and political interests which constantly interfered in the chieftaincy processes for varied reasons, the Dadieso stool and chieftaincy in Dadieso generally remained completely burdened with problems from both the national and the traditional levels Interview with Mr Luke B. Mensah, 20-01-2014, interview with Mr Ankorah Biney, 20-01-2014, and interview with Mr. E.E. Cudjoe, 08-01-2014. For an elaborate discussion on the Wenchi chieftaincy affair and government interference see Kofi Baku, "Contesting and Appropriating the Local Terrain: Chieftaincy and National Politics in Wenchi, Ghana" in Irene K. Odotei and Albert K. Awedoba, *Chieftaincy in Ghana: Culture, Governance and Development*. (Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2006), 449-478

5.4 Chieftaincy in Dadieso

Dadieso remained without a paramountcy status until 1972 when the Acheampong regime reinstated it. Dadieso remained without a paramount chief because Nana Brentum III the then paramount chief had died in 1968. The development of Dadieso thus became hindered by the fact that it lacked internal political authority to enforce decisions for the common good of the community. Besides, the town as well as the stool was also out of favour with both the NLC and the Progress Party (PP) of Busia. From 1968 to 1972 Dadieso was still looking for a viable candidate to install as a chief. It is remarkable to note that after Dadieso lost its status as paramountcy the stool was reduced to the level of divisional status. A divisional stool serves a paramount stool in a traditional area, but in the case of Dadieso it never served any paramount stool. It was neither made to serve as a division under Wiawso nor Enchi, the two neighbouring towns at the time who were struggling persistently to subjugate Dadieso. This points to the fact that national political interference creates undue anomalies in the organisation of traditional authorities thereby subjecting local communities to various challenges ranging from developmental crises, institutional inefficiency to chaos and insecurity. Government's interference in traditional politics also demonstrates that the intention of a particular government for the local community in most cases is influenced by revenge which seeks to create chaos and drawback the progress of the community rather than foster unity and facilitate development.

In 1972 Dr. Victor Gerald Godwill Kobina Mensah, a freelance journalist who had worked in Nigeria, Namibia and other African countries emerged to introduce himself to the elders as a member of the royal family of Dadieso. After some discussion with him the elders accepted his

nomination and installed him under the stool name of Nana Atta Kwesi Brembi II.³³³ It must be emphasised here that the Dadieso paramount stool alternatives between two royal families; the family of Nana Yentumi from which Nkrumah belong and the Atta Kwesi family which trace their root to Kumasi in the Ashanti Region. It is not very clear how the latter became part of the potential contestants to the paramount stool because all the elders interviewed could not clearly justify that position. However, I believe that the Ashanti lineage were integrated into the chieftaincy process because of a probable link with Nana Yentumi who was married to the great grandmother of the Nkrumah's and was also the first paramount chief of Dadieso. The chieftaincy title Brentum in Dadieso is a corrupted form of the name Yentumi.³³⁴ This is so because of the inability of the Suaman to clearly pronounce the name.³³⁵ In effect, the Dadieso paramount stool is contested between royals who now reside in Nzemaland (Nkroful) and Nsuaem, and royals from Kumasi. This explains why when Nana Brentum III died the community had to wait that long for the royals from Ashanti to provide a qualified candidate for installation.

Immediately after his installation Nana Atta Kwesi contested for the reinstatement of the paramountcy status of Dadieso and Acheampong's regime granted the community that status in 1972. This was seen as the one and only greatest achievement of Nana Atta Kwesi Brembi II. All

³³³Interview with E.E.Cudjoe, 08-01-2014, 'Funeral Manual of Nana Atta Kwesi Brembi II', 29th January, 2011. 2-6. Mr. Gerald Mensah was totally unknown to the community prior to his installation as paramount chief in the community. Hence, he had to convince the elders of the community of his descent to the royal family of Dadieso. However, his descent to the royal family is an issue that is still either questioned or rejected in private because it is alleged that he is not a royal from both side of the family divide. His family was claimed to have been integrated into the royal family. His family's affiliation to the royal family invokes the issue of freeborn origin which is discussed among people in private.

³³⁴According to the elders the Atta Kwesi family are part of the Yentumi royal family. However how this is so still remains unclear. Luke B. Mensah also claims that Atta Kwesi, the great grandfather of the Atta Kwesi family did not have any stool. It can be deduced then that the latter was integrated into the royal family and a compromise was reached during the course of time to enable them ascend the throne. I will follow up on this issue in my next research to come out with a clear explanation to this dilemma.(Interview with Luke B. Mensah,20-01-2014).

³³⁵Interview with Nana Kofi Armah III,09-01-2014

other initiatives that were taken by Nana Atta left the community economically handicapped and also plunged them into a traditional political turmoil which effect still persist today.

5.5 Deepening Crisis of Landlessness: A Road to Local Conflicts and Search for Justice

Having convinced the community that he was capable of leading them and thus gained their trust he started giving out Dadieso land to land-seeking migrants for his own enrichment. Indeed, the communities claim without reservation that during his time Dadieso lost all its remaining forest to migrant cocoa farmers. It was also during this time that migrant farmers appealed to the PNDC to intervene to protect them from the excessive demands and exploitation of the chiefs. During this period also farmers were advised to pay annual rent fee to the OASL and no longerto the stool. Farmers further took advantage of the government's intervention to duly register their land with the OASL. In the process Dadieso lost its control over its land as well as migrants who were supposed to be migrant farmers.³³⁶

After his installation Nana Atta Kwesi never stayed in the community anymore. He lived the rest of his entire life in Sekondi-Takoradi and acted as the chief of the Suaman. He only visited Dadieso on special occasions and hardly spent more than one week in the community during any visit.

The attitude of the chief was influenced by the fact that Dadieso was an undeveloped community that lacked some basic social amenities like electricity and good road network. And taking his educational standing (a PhD) into consideration he felt his status and style of living should be more flamboyant than the ordinary village way of living. Therefore, he personally relocated his office as a paramount stool to Sekondi Takoradi where he transacted every activity in name of Dadieso. He resided at Atlantic Hotel until his death in 2010 on account of the community's

³³⁶Interview with E.E.Cudjoe,08-01-2014

coffers. It was this pressure of having to sustain him at the Atlantic Hotel that led to the rampant giving out of land to migrant farmers which eventually resulted in mounting demands on the farmers. Recapitulating the effect of Nana Atta Kwesi's rule on the community the Krontihene of Suaman Dadieso, Nana Kofi Armah III laments:

Who, Nana Atlantic? I can tell you that Nana Atta Kwesi was an enemy of progress. He never liked development. He would never do it and would never allow another to do it. He always projected unattainable projects for Dadieso which remained a dream. Could you believe he said he was going to build an airport here in Dadieso?³³⁷

From the above statement it is very obvious how Nana Atta Kwesi played on the intelligence of the community partly due to high illiteracy rate in the Dadieso at the time to satisfy his interest. In the midst of increasing landlessness and developmental challenges in the community the search for accountability and justice became inevitable. Thus, in March 1989 Dadieso plunged into a chieftaincy dispute which came to a head in 2001/2002.

5.6 The Quest for Justice: The Chieftaincy Crisis of 1989 and 2001/2002 in Dadieso

In 1989 Nana Atta Kwesi was accused of having incestuous affair with his niece in the palace. Nana Atta Kwesi had gone through two successive divorce cases and was unmarried as at the time of the crises. Therefore, one of the royals was appointed to serve him in the palace whenever he came to Dadieso. On her sick bed the said niece confessed that the chief always had intercourse with her whenever he was in Dadieso. To answer what was known to be an allegation Nana Atta Kwesi II was summoned from Sekondi to Dadieso to exonerate himself. Instead of answering the allegations against him and cooperating with the elders to perform the necessary rites and rituals to cleanse the palace, he rather informed the chiefs and elders of the community that he had to inform his lawyer and absconded. He suspected that if he agreed to the suggestions

³³⁷Interview with Nana Kofi Armah III, 09-01-2014

made by the elders of the community that would mark the end of his reign, he would be destooled in the process.

Instead of handling the issue in a customary manner he resorted to the use of the court. He thus summoned all the elders and a section of the royals in Dadieso including the then Krontihene, Nana Essuah Mannah, who was not in Dadieso at the time of the incident to the High Court in Takoradi. He lost the case but further contested it at the Appeals Court. Even though he lost the case there too he did not relent but eventually appealed to the Western Regional House of Chiefs (WRHC). Before taking the case to court the then Western Regional Minister, J.R.E Amanamah had set up a committee to investigate the truthfulness or otherwise of the case. The committee ruled against him that he refused to follow tradition and treat the issue customarily so he should go back and treat it as such.³³⁸ The case thus remained unresolved with the WRHC from 1989 till 2010 when Nana Atta Kwesi II finally died. So for seventeen years Dadieso remained without a paramount chief.³³⁹ The chieftaincy crises bring to light some of the inconsistencies and administrative ineffectiveness of the chieftaincy institution in Ghana.

At the time of the dispute Nana Atta Kwesi II was a member of the WRHC and was much aware that chieftaincy or customary issues are not settled in court and that the first place he was supposed to have sought redress was the WRHC. Yet he went ahead to contest the case in court and the WRHC was aware. However, the house entertained him when his resort to the law courts failed. It took seventeen years for the WRHC to resolve the Dadieso chieftaincy affair. Moreover, the house refused to verify authority of the elders who always accompanied Nana Atta Kwesi II as witnesses in court and at the WRHC. Throughout the case Atta Kwesi II surrounded himself with elders he appointed from Ivory Coast instead of elders from Dadieso.

³³⁸Interview with E. E. Cudjoe, Dadieso, 08-01-2014

³³⁹Interview with Nana Kofi Armah III, Dadieso, 09-01-2014, interview with E.E. Cudjoe, Dadieso, 08-01-2014.

These elders were not chiefs and even if they were their authority did not extend to Dadieso. It is clear that Nana Atta Kwesi Brembi II had external support which made his destoolment very difficult. It also points to the fact that Nana Atta Kwesi Brembi II represented an external interest which was different from the interest of the general community.

During the course of their visits to Sekondi on the case, the elders of Dadieso were secretly advised by some unnamed officials at the WRHC that the only way they could solve the crisis was to install another chief in Dadieso in addition to Nana Atta Kwesi Brembi II. Nana Kofi Armah III, the Krontihene of Dadieso revealed that he travelled on this case for over ten times. Yet, anytime the elders went it was either the judge of the case has been replaced or has been absent. While the case was still being contested the WRHC appointed Nana Atta Kwesi as:

the President to the House from 1983-1986. For about four successive terms he was elected as one of the five members who represented the Western Regional House of Chiefs. Due to ill-health Nana did not stand to be elected to the current National House of Chiefs.³⁴⁰

All this period he was being supported by Odenho Gyapong Ababio II, Omanhene of Sefwi Bekwai one time president of the WHRC and later, National House of Chiefs (NHC). Right from the beginning of the crisis Nana Odenho Ababio II played a vital role in ensuring that the case remained unresolved. However, no one is able to explain why he had so much interest in the case.³⁴¹

In 2001 the community installed Nana Brentum IV as the new paramount chief in Suaman Dadieso. The installation of Nana Brentum IV in Dadieso while Nana Atta Kwesi II was still recognised at the national level was an attempt to attract the attention of the government to the situation in the community and the need for its intervention. Thus, whereas Nana had been

³⁴⁰ 'Funeral Manual of Nana Atta Kwesi Brembi II', 29th January, 2011.8

³⁴¹ Interview with Nana Kofi Armah III, Dadieso, 09-01-2014, interview with Mr E.E Cudjoe, Dadieso, 08-01-2014, and interview with Mr. Luke Brentum Mensah, Dadieso, 20-01-2014.

rejected by the community he was at the same time being recognised by the WRHC. The reverse was the case for Nana Brentum IV.

During this time the queen mother of Dadieso had died and her funeral rites were yet to be performed. The issue of who should oversee the burial of the deceased became a problem because Dadieso at the time had two chiefs and both had their respective support base. The majority of the youth and the elders of the community were against Nana Atta Kwesi's return to Dadieso. On the day of the funeral celebration the youth blocked all major roads leading to the town to prevent him from entering the town. However, some of his supporters managed to smuggle him into town. He came with hired macho men and this was understood by the youth as an attempt to foment trouble. On the Saturday of the funeral rites Nana Atta Kwesi's macho men clashed with the youth and this resulted in the exchange of gunshots. In the process one person died and others sustained various injuries. Nana Atta Kwesi who had been the target managed to escape from town. This event marked his last visit to Dadieso.

It is evident that once Nana Atta Kwesi was 'destooled' and managed to return to Dadieso with the aid of his supporters and show that he had a supporter base, and that there were divisions in Dadieso. It also point to the fact that he had the support of a powerful faction (externally and internally) to have maintained power. Besides, Nana Atta Kwesi seemed to represent the interest of the WRHC and the state as opposed to the community. The Dadieso case is symptomatic of chieftaincy issues in other parts of the country in recent times where chiefs serve external interests against the interest of different groups in the community. In turn, these chiefs have the backing of powerful factions which keep them in power.

The majority of the people who participated in the chieftaincy crises did so for varied reasons and interests. For the youth, it was a quest for justice. It was resentment against the leasing out of

large parcels of land to migrant farmers and companies which has rendered them landless and unemployed. For the migrant farmers, it was an attempt to protect their status in the community as far as land is concerned hence the provision of financial backing during the dispute. For the elders, chieftaincy was dormant in Dadieso hence the need to reassert chiefly authority. In what follows the study shows how land and landlessness as well as institutional inefficiency contributed to the chieftaincy crises in Dadieso.

5.7 The Project Farms/Valley Farms Episodes

In this section the study demonstrates how land was leased out to migrant farmers within particular institutions and conventions. It also shows how certain divisions within Suaman profited from these leasing of land to the disadvantage of the youth and how this contributed to the chieftaincy crises in Dadieso as already discussed above.

In 1972 a section of the community's land was given to the Ghana Cocoa Board for the establishment of plantation farms.³⁴² Work on the farm commenced on July, 1977. These plantation farms were one of the initiatives under Acheampong's "Operation Feed Yourself" programme. The government duly settled financially people whose lands were given out to the government. However, due to mismanagement and embezzlement of funds the plantation farm failed.³⁴³ Cocoa was being smuggled to Ivory Coast. Officers in charge of the farms sold spraying machines as well as drugs to Ivory Coast and all these contributed to the failure of the project farm.³⁴⁴

³⁴²There were similar plantation exercises in Yakassi and Yankamam in the Enchi District, Assin Nsuta in the Assin Foso District, and Sefwi Akotombra in the now Sefwi Akotombra District.

³⁴³Interview with E.E.Cudjoe,08-01-2014

³⁴⁴Interview with E.E.Cudjoe,08-01-2014

In 1983 the farms were divested under the PNDC regime to Jim Wilson and Associates. Jim Wilson and Associates is a farm management company. They are also known as the Valley Farms. The owner of the company is Jim Wilson. The board members in addition to the owner of the company were Mr Tsatsu Tsikata (Director), Nana Poku (member), Lawyer Mensah (Lawyer), Mr Sampson Nyadua (member), Lawyer Amoah Sekyi (Lawyer), and Bridget (members)*.³⁴⁵ Apart from Dadieso the company owned farms in other areas such as Assin Nsuta, and Nyankamam in the Enchi District. The initial parcel of land leased out to the Cocobod was six thousand three hundred and twenty five acreages (6325 acreages). Out of this the Cocobod cultivate one thousand and five hundred acreages (1500 acreages). This cultivated farm was what was divested to the Valley Farms.³⁴⁶

The plantation farms were divided into three sections; Farms A, B, and C. Farm A was cultivated and thus contained cocoa. This was the section that was sold to the Valley Farms. Farms B and C remained uncultivated. Farm C was however given out to Mr Francis Aidoo, the Karlo Chief. According to Mr Luke B. Mensah, former secretary to the Omanhene, the community gave Mr Aidoo farm C as an appreciation for helping the community in its chieftaincy struggle to against Nana Atta Kwesi II.³⁴⁷

Farm B served as a source of contention and thus served as a catalyst to the chieftaincy crisis. This farm was leased out by a section of the chiefs to Jim Wilson and Associates. This same farm was allocated to migrant farmers from Brong Ahafo by supporters of Nana Atta Kwesi in the late 1980s. These were the farmers from whom rents were extracted to support Nana Atta Kwesi. The allocations of these lands were done by two royals from the Atta Kwesi royal line;

³⁴⁵Interview with Mr Jacob Yeboah, Senior Security Officer of Valley Farms, Dadieso, 20-08-2014.

*Bridget is said to be the sister of Mr Alan Kojo Kyeremanten (Alan Cash), the NPP Presidential aspirant.

³⁴⁶Interview with Mr Jacob Yeboah, Senior Security Officer of Valley Farms, Dadieso, 20-08-2014.

³⁴⁷Interview with Luke B. Mensah, 20-01-2014.

Mr Ebbo Bobo, Mr Yaw Ankorah (Marley)³⁴⁸, and Mr Francis Aidoo, sub-chief at Karlo.³⁴⁹ However, the terms of agreement between the tenant farmers and these royals was not known. Nobody is able to determine whether it was *abunu*, *abusa* or outright sales.³⁵⁰

Unknown to the tenant farmers as well as the elders of the community, the regent chief at the time, Nana Essuah Mannah, had entered into a secret agreement with the help of other chiefs and leased out the land to Jim Wilson and Associates for a period of fifty years. With the help of Nana Kwesi Suamana (Kyidomhene) and Nana Kent (Abakumahene) who acted signatories to the agreement, the farm was indentured and transferred to Valley Farms.³⁵¹

In 2001 during the chieftaincy crisis the Omanhene Nana Brentum IV decided to reclaim all lands that were not acquired through the customary process. This move by the chief's palace inspired the youth of the community to attack all tenants on farm B who were deemed to have possessed the land illegally. These attacks were necessitated in part because the tenant farmers were accused of providing financial support to Nana Atta Kwesi II and his supporters during the crises. These tenants were made to understand that if they refused to support Nana Atta Kwesi II and the community succeeded in destooling him the community will reclaim the land from them. In addition, the tenant farmers were given the false hope that the chief was preparing documents which will guarantee the security of tenure on the land for the farmers. Hence, the farmers became sources of financial exploitation by the chief and his supporters.³⁵²

Within a few weeks tenant farmers had left the land and the community. Lands owned by the migrant farmers became occupied by the youth of the community within these few weeks.

³⁴⁸Mr Yaw Ankorah has been missing since the 2001/2002 chieftaincy dispute.

³⁴⁹Interview with Jacob Yeboah, 20-08-2014.

³⁵⁰*Abusa* and *Abunu* have already been explained in chapter three of this study.

³⁵¹Interview with Jacob Yeboah, 20-08-2014, Luke B. Mensah, 20-01-2014.

³⁵²Interview with Jacob Yeboah, 20-08-2014, interview with Luke B. Mensah, 20-01-2014, interview with E.E.Cudjoe, 08-01-2014.

After Nana Brentum IV realised the farm has been leased out to Valley Farms he contested the case at the Sekondi High court. However, the Court recommended that the case be settled out of court amicably. Unfortunately, Nana Essuah Mannah, the regent chief, died two weeks after the installation of the current Omanahene, Nana Brentum IV. Hence, Nana Brentum IV had no option than to enter into some form of compromise with the owners of the Valley Farms. The terms of the agreement stipulates that the youth are to serve as labourers or caretakers in the various farms they scrambled from the migrant farmers.³⁵³

The issues discussed so far raise significant questions that have to do with leadership and representation, and disputes in the community and how these shape the history of the people involved. In the first place, the case of Nana Atta Kwesi II demonstrates how chiefs tend to serve external interest in relation to different groups within the community and also the state in contemporary times. The case study clearly shows that Nana Atta Kwesi II had the support of powerful factions within the chieftaincy institution who helped him gain and maintain power. Secondly, the fact that he was destooled and managed to return to Dadieso with the aid of his supporters demonstrates that there were divisions in Dadieso. These divisions to a large extent rendered the chieftaincy and authority in Dadieso ineffective. Moreso, to have been able to extract rents from the migrant farmers meant the chief had some supporters who carried this out for him within particular conventions and institutions. The fact that he gave out land at the expense of the youth also depicts that there were divisions within Suaman who profited from the allocation of lands. Hence, the landlessness of the community was not necessary carried out by the migrant farmers but the leadership of the community.

³⁵³Interview with Mr Jacob Yeboah, 20-08-2014.

One would have expected that the employment of landless youth in the Valley Farms would have ended resentment and suspicion in the community especially when the chieftaincy dispute has been resolved. However, this rather intensified the fear and hatred against the migrant farmer and this was to play out in party politics in the 2004 and 2008 general elections.

5.8 The Crux of the Matter: Suaman Constituency and Party Politics in Dadieso

Untill 2004 when Dadieso became an independent political constituency the community has been under the political domination of the Brussa (Enchi) since 1966 and this was also partly because of the community's weak traditional institution. Even though Nana Brentum IV was installed in 2001 he was unrecognised by the central government because he was not gazetted. Ironically, whereas Nana Atta Kwesi Brembi II was unrecognised by the community as their chief because he had been destooled, he however remained the gazetted and recognised chief by the central government.³⁵⁴ Despite the problem of traditional leadership in Dadieso the community enjoyed a period of relative peace.

Paradoxically, after the creation of Dadieso as an autonomous political constituency in 2004 the unity in the community took a regressive course. Dadieso for the first time in history started to experience sharp ethnic division, individual and inter-family enmity, antagonism between youth and elders, and ethnic conflicts. The role of the 2001/2002 chieftaincy dispute in these communal tensions cannot be downplayed because it served as catalyst to the conflicts that were experienced in the 2004 and 2008 elections. Firstly, the dispute severed the relationship between the youth and the elders in the community. Secondly, there was resentment by the youth and elders against the migrant farmers for playing a role in the chieftaincy crises by financially

³⁵⁴Theoretically speaking Nana Brentum IV was the paramount chief of Dadieso in 2001, but practically speaking Nana Atta Kwesi wielded much power because all national transactions were carried out by him and in his name on behalf of the community. Nana Brentum IV's power was limited to the Dadieso community until 2010 when Nana Atta Kwesi II died.

supporting a faction (Nana Atta Kwesi Brembi II). These factors had already severed relations at all levels in the community, however the antagonism became more obvious during the 2004 and 2008 elections. In short, resentment of various kinds were already harboured by individuals in the community following the chieftaincy dispute but there was no practical way to express this without necessarily sparking off another dispute. Therefore, the 2004 and the 2008 general elections became platforms for people to unleash their longstanding resentment against one another, but most especially on the migrant farmers.

5.9 Politics in Dadieso before 2004: A Source and Course of Unity

Before the creation of the constituency in Dadieso in 2004 politics in the community was unexciting and unattractive because nobody paid any special attention to it. However, they participated in any of the general elections that took place in the country before 2004.³⁵⁵ People who took active part in campaigns and all the euphoria and noise making associated with politics at the time during election periods were representatives of the various party and their few cohorts. This was because the electorates in the community did not know the people they were going to vote for and hence whoever won was not a concern to the citizenry. After all, the Member of Parliament (M.P) always came from Enchi, a rival community. People only came to vote and went back to their homes or villages.³⁵⁶

The people did not care much about general elections in Dadieso before 2004. This was because of their inability to have contacts with parliamentary candidates and the MPs afterwards. Besides, they did not have any personal interest or whatsoever as far as politics was concerned.

³⁵⁵By general elections the study refers to elections before the 1992 constituency (the Fourth Republic) came into effect, and elections that have been conducted afterwards. As already alluded to, Dadieso was not an autonomous constituency before 2004. Before the decentralisation programme of the PNDC Dadieso was merged together with Enchi and Asangragwa into one District Assembly and also constituency. In 1992 Dadieso and Enchi were separated from what was the then Amenfi Aowin District Assembly into Aowin Suaman District Assembly and constituency.

³⁵⁶Interview with Mr. Eshun Paul E. Kelvin, Suaman Dadieso, 11-01-14.

What even worsened the apathy towards politics in the community was that all major projects at the time in the constituency were concentrated in Enchi, the district capital. Moreover, the Brussa have always been in enmity with the Suaman and this explains why Dadieso was always left out in major developmental projects.³⁵⁷

The situation described above thus poses serious questions to policy making in Ghana as far as politics is concerned. Since colonial days communities had been merged without taking into consideration the relation between them. There had been periods where states and communities seceded and joined others even though they were not ethnically homogenous.³⁵⁸ Constituencies are currently created where groups/traditional areas within it are seen to be homogenous, but does that mean they are at peace with each other. Community does not necessarily mean unity. Most communities have been deprived of a fair share of allocation of national resources by virtue of the fact that they found themselves joined together with a domineering group.

Dadieso has since the nationalist days been a pro-CPP town and all votes cast since that time had followed that tradition. Any party that had a UGCC/UP orientation has constantly been out of favour with the Suaman. This reaction is influenced by the fact that:

If I have my royal (odehyeε) who sacrificed his life to free the country from colonial rule and you turn out to tell me that I should not mention his name or display anything that has to do with him in a country he fought to save, then it means you are equally against me and do not want my welfare.³⁵⁹

The above statement by Mr. Cudjoe, an opinion leader, surveyor and the secretary to the Suaman Area Council (SAC) has been the determining factor of elections in Dadieso. The UGCC/UP parties were seen as representing people who had connived with the Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A) in the military overthrow of Nkrumah. Thus the Suaman community does not want to

³⁵⁷Interview with,Dadieso,Mr Eshun Paul E. Kelvin, 11-01-14

³⁵⁸ Bening, "Ghana: Regional Boundaries and National Integration".

³⁵⁹Interview with Mr. E.E. Cudjoe, 08-01-2014.

have anything to do with that tradition or any party that emerged from that tradition. The Suaman became more averse towards the UGCC/UP tradition when during the Progress Party's regime under the leadership of Busia the colonial boundary between Ghana and Ivory Coast was further shifted in favour of the latter and in the process Dadieso lost greater portion of its land. As the people relate, hitherto the boundary was about ten or more miles away from its current location at Antokrom, a village in Dadieso.³⁶⁰

Besides, the friendship between Busia and Houphouet-Boigny was seen by the Suaman as betrayal against Nkrumah. Houphouet Boigny and Nkrumah were politically unfriendly till the overthrow of the latter. This stems from the fact that Nkrumah made attempts to reclaim all those land that belonged to Ghana which are now in the Ivorian possession because of the partition. This land accommodated the Nzemas and the Anyi groups and other Akans in the Ivory Coast hence Nkrumah had wanted to unite them to their kins in Ghana. If Nkrumah had succeeded in taking that part of Ivory Coast it would have affected the economic strength of the Ivory Coast negatively, hence the antagonism between Houphouet-Boigny and Nkrumah. Alexander shows how the former reacted to the situation against the Anyi. The Sanwi people, an Anyi group in the Ghana/Ivory border who were anticipating that Nkrumah would be successful in reclaiming Ghana's land in Ivory Coast were persecuted by the Ivorian government. Alexander Jr. recounts that "When the Sanwi tribe, on the Ghana border, threatened to secede to join that country, Houphouet responded by exiling some and imprisoning other Sanwi leaders without trial".³⁶¹

³⁶⁰Interview with Mr. E.E. Cudjoe, 08-01-2014, interview with Mr L.B. Mensah, 20-01-2014., and interview with Mr J.A. Biney, 20-01-2014. I have personally been to the boundary on several occasions.

³⁶¹A.S. Alexander Jr., "The Ivory Coast Constitution: An Accelerator, Not a Brake".(*The Journal of Modern African Studies*, I, 3 (1963)),295

Mr Ankorah Biney recounts that he remembers vividly how a section of the Sanwi came to the border to fortify themselves in a bid to overthrow the Ivorian government for persecuting them.

He states:

I still remember very well how those people came to the border with their guns and other ammunitions to bath medicine (spiritually fortify themselves) because they were preparing to go and overthrow Houphouet and his government. The people were angry with the government because they felt that once they were Houphouet's tribesmen he would at least help them, but he had relegated them to the background. He was helping only the Baule who are his true relations. When they declared their support for Nkrumah the government started to persecute them and chase them out of the country.³⁶²

Commenting further on this Alexander narrates that:

...as soon as the Sanwis calmed down, Houphouet released those still detained, told the exiles they could return, and re-asserted the rule against arbitrary detention by boasting that his was one of the few African regimes without improperly detained prisoners.³⁶³

Since 1966 when Nkrumah and the CPP was overthrown till now Dadieso had remained unfriendly to UGCC/UP tradition.

During those days the CPP was/is not politically active as it used to be previously. Hence, they now cast their votes to parties that share similar political orientation with the CPP. Therefore, since 1969 they had voted for the Limann administration to power, and the National Democratic Congress (NDC). The NDC is still the dominating party in Dadieso now. Further reasons as to why the NDC is the dominant party now in Dadieso shall be explored and demonstrated in the next section of the study. The inability of the CPP to be active in Dadieso again dates back to the time of Nkrumah's overthrow. All members belonging to the CPP were barred from taking an active party in party in politics from that period. It was an attempt by the military regime to render the party and its support base very weak and unpopular and it succeeded at that attempt.

Commenting on the political atmosphere after the overthrow of Nkrumah, Fosu-Ankrah points

³⁶²Interview with J. Ankorah Biney, 20-01-2014.

³⁶³Alexander, "The Ivory Coast Constitution". 302-303

out that; “Political vendetta and authoritarianism gained the better part of the NLC regime. CPP officials were disqualified from participating in politics”. Others were arrested and imprisoned³⁶⁴

Relations between the indigenous people and the migrant farmers were very cordial at all levels in Dadieso before 2004. This was because the community had a common interest at heart and since the MP was not helping the community realise their dream the people saw no reason why they should waste their time and energy in active political participation. To the Suaman community what mattered at the time were their businesses. However, after the creation of the Suaman constituency in 2004 the unity in the community took a reverse trend and relations in Dadieso became severed. Outstanding of these were migrant farmers-indigene relations and this in turn affected inter-family relations.

In the subsequent sections the study explores how current political development marred the communal unity in Dadieso and how migrant farmers became targets and victims. Thus, study shows how politics was used as a weapon by the indigenes against migrant farmers and what influenced this development.

5.10 Uses and Abuses of Political Power

The dividing line between autochthones and migrants become more obvious during political elections. Autochthony and ‘primary patriotism’ always play out as important subjects, and this in turn generate tensions.³⁶⁵ In settings where the migrant population is large and the democratic principal of one man one vote without reference to specific identities is observed, the autochthonous population is oftentimes faced with fear. This is because of the tendency that they

³⁶⁴Fosu-Ankrah, “Economic Development and Change in Ghana 1951-1972”.80

³⁶⁵Lentz explains autochthony and ‘primary patriotism’ to mean “belonging to a community, rooted in a particular territory”. See Kuba and Lentz (eds), “Land and the Politics of Belonging in West Africa”.13

could be marginalized especially when then indigenous population forms the minority. Political elites take advantage of this situation to discredit the opposition as happened in Ivory Coast.³⁶⁶

Lentz points out that the determinants of the relations between autochthones and immigrants does not develop around only the political configuration of power but also on the larger political context. Furthermore, the inter-generational and intra-familial tensions that emerges during the course of this interaction points to the boundary between ‘strangers’ and autochthones which is frequently cross-cut by other alliances.³⁶⁷ Landowners and immigrant relations are further shaped by urban elites, urban based ethno-political associations, and returning immigrants who introduce new terminologies into local disputes.³⁶⁸

In 2004 Dadieso held its first general election as a separate constituency. In 2004 the Agyekum Kuffour led administration of the NPP created Suaman as an independent political constituency from Enchi. The study has already discussed in preceding sections how the Suaman lost faith in the parent body of which the NPP is a child and thus would not associate itself with the party. However, the NPP took the risk of adventuring into a familiar political terrain. The NPP wanted to redeem its lost image in Dadieso, hence this political approach. It is normal in African tradition to reciprocate a kind gesture extended to a person by also doing something good in return. In this case Dadieso had to reciprocate by voting the NPP to power, for at least giving them a constituency. But the NDC has since 1992 been the dominant political party winning votes in Dadieso. The history of how the NDC has a strong base in Dadieso dates back to the

³⁶⁶ Lentz, “introduction” to Kuba and Lentz (eds), “Land and the Politics of Belonging in West Africa”.

³⁶⁷ Lentz, “introduction” to Kuba and Lentz (eds), “Land and the Politics of Belonging in West Africa”.20

³⁶⁸ Lentz, “introduction” to Kuba and Lentz (eds), “Land and the Politics of Belonging in West Africa”.22. For explored analysis on the concept of belonging and inherent perils with practical examples from Cameroon and Cote d’Ivoire see Grechiere, *op. cit.*, and Greschiere and Nyamnjoh, *op. cit.*

PNDC era. Therefore, to undo this legacy by an unpopular party amongst a populace who are apathetic to it within this short time became problematic.

The tension in autochthon-migrant farmer relations reached a height in the 2004 general election as the latter became the target for both parties for votes. The migrant population is about seventy percent out of the entire population, and this meant that whenever they cast their votes towards a particular direction that party is sure to win an election without any difficulty. For that reason, the migrant population has been a fear factor in Dadieso during general election because they are the determinant of the success or failure of political parties. The voting pattern of the migrant farmers who came from different areas suggest that they have a common interest. Migrant interest is constructed in terms of individual as well as resource/property security. The safety of the land of the migrant farmers in addition to the construction of road networks and bridges across the big rivers in the community is of prime importance to them.

In 2004 the newly created parliamentary seat was contested by Stephen Micheal Essuah Kofi Ackah (SMEK) on the ticket of the NDC against the US based Prof. Kojo Kwarteng of the NPP. Both candidates were elected unopposed from their respective parties, hence there was no need for primaries at the party level. After the election NDC won. Out of the eleven polling stations in the Dadieso Township the NDC won the majority of the votes cast in only the Zongo polling station. The majority of the votes cast in the remaining ten polling stations were won by the NPP. However, out of the 29 polling stations outside the Dadieso Township which is made up of migrant farmers the NDC won majority of the votes cast in all the polling stations. The fear of the indigenes was thus confirmed. Accordingly, Ackah became the first MP of the Suaman since 1966. The account for the massive defeat of the NPP despite the party's creation of the

constituency can be attributed to several factors. These factors present their own complexities and paradoxes.

The immediate factor has to do with the issue of familiarity and impact of the candidates in the community in terms of development. Ackah had been in the community with the people over the years, and had served as a District Chief Executive (DCE) before in the then Aowin Suaman District. However, his tenure as a DCE was branded as a total failure because he never helped the community in the direction of development. He was perceived to have served as a stooge to the Brussa. Even though, he was out of favour with the people of Dadeiso the migrant farmers voted for him. This explains the trend of the votes cast in the constituency. The complexity and paradox here was rooted in the fact Ackah was out of favour with majority of the indigenous Suaman and the people in the Dadieso Township. The people never liked him because of their past experience with him. But the migrant farmers helped him win the election. So the issue of differences in communal interest during election served as the first challenge that troubled the people of Suaman as far as political candidates were concerned. The interest of the migrant farmers for casting their votes for an unpopular and despised political candidate by the indigenous Suaman was in conflict with the aspiration of the Dadieso community.

The reason for Prof Kojo Kwarteng's defeat in the 2004 election was not different from that of Ackah. He lost because he was not popular among the people in the community. The community members raised moral questions against him. He has been in the US for over thirty years and has been working with NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration). However, he never visited his hometown before let alone help a member of his family get the opportunity to go to the US or enjoy the luxury of education. The first time he visited Dadieso after thirty years was during the election period. Hence, there was doubt in entrusting the political leadership of

Dadieso to someone whose moral obligations to his own immediate extended family over the course of 30 years has been nil. Besides, he was not abreast with development problems confronting the community. Despite this the majority of the youth rallied behind him and labored very hard to ensure he wins the election, though he lost. Some of respondents for this study argue that if a candidate who had spent most of his time in Dadieso had been chosen by the NPP the community would have voted for him. This claim seems convincing but that could not have been true because the final determinant of the winner always came from the villages, the Suaman are only a minority. This claim proved wrong in the 2008 elections.

The restlessness and persistence of the youth of the community in trying to vote for a leader who was not popular and had moral questions raised against him by the citizenry provokes further concerns. Unemployment among the youth and landlessness has been a major challenge facing the youth in the Suaman community. Coupled with this is the absence of effective leadership at the chieftaincy level as well as in partisan politics. Hence, the quest of the youth was for justice. Secondly, the youth in Suaman represented frustration and resentment in the community against the traditional and partisan political leaders, and migrant farmers. To address these problems in the community the youth felt the best approach was to attack suspicious leaders and the migrant farmers since these were perceived as the source of problems in the community. Migrant farmers were seen as traitors. They were blamed for the landlessness in the community. They were accused of “casting their votes foolishly”.³⁶⁹

The resentment against migrant farmers has to do with land and the NDC party. Therefore, the migrant farmer problem in Dadieso is land and NDC. The attachment of the migrants to the NDC has a lot to do with how their survival was sustained in the community through the help of the

³⁶⁹ Interview with Mr Eshun Paul Kelven, Dadieso, 11-01-14, Mr Robert Simon D. Atta, Dadieso, 16-01-14, Mr Emmanuel T. Asante, Dadieso, 21-01-14

PNDC. A migrant farmer and an Odikro in Dortoykrom (a village in Dadieso) who was interviewed for this study best summarises the voting attitudes of migrants farmers in the following manner:

I love Rawlings and the NDC because I was going to be sacked from the community and I was saved by him. What do you think I will do? Everywhere he goes I have to follow him because he is likely to save me at any time. If he was unable to have saved me for the first time I would never have followed him. But because he stood his grounds and defended us that is why I am always following him. You must also know that Rawlings/NDC is farmers inclined. The party itself is a farmer's party because they are pro-farmers; their policies are made to favour farmers.³⁷⁰

The quote above shows that the migrant farmers had interests which were quite distinct from that of their host community. Thus, the migrant farmer-indigene dichotomy in relations became manifest based on the experiences of the two groups. The disgruntled indigenes felt they had been betrayed by the farmers because the latter did not help them win the 'thank you' votes for the government (NPP) for giving them a constituency. Hence, farmers were perceived as ungrateful and agents of underdevelopment in the community.

Before the election, the community had come to consensus to vote for a common candidate. Leaders of both the NPP and the NDC party branches had consented to vote for the Rev Dr Paulive Assuah to represent the community in parliament.³⁷¹ No opposition or major division was identified during this meeting, however later development pointed to the contrary. Before the compromised decision could take effect the youth in NPP with the support of few elders had invited Prof Kojo Kwarteng from the USA to come and lead the party. Accordingly, the 'thank you' voting plans became marred. Paulive Assuah pulled out of the campaign race because he

³⁷⁰Interview with Mr John T. Dortey, 20-01-14

³⁷¹Interview with Paulive Assuah, 09-01-2014. Assuah was an adjunct politician who was called back into politics with the promise that he was going to be voted into parliament unopposed.

was not yet ready to compete with any candidate.³⁷² It was in the midst of this leadership crisis that SMEK Ackah came to the scene and was lucky to be considered by the NDC.

The NPP undermined the collective plan to have a common candidate for the community because they felt that once the NPP was the government in power at the time it was easy to win the elections at all cost. Nevertheless, when the party lost the 2004 election the migrant farmers became a source of resentment and scapegoats. The migrant farmers became the objects of assaults for the disappointed NPP supporters because they felt the migrants had marred their chance of winning the 2004 election. The vote cast in the 2004 elections clearly drew the boundaries on migrant-indigene relations because the former became a target by both parties since they decide who wins an election. Once the migrants were acknowledged as a threat to the political interest of some section of the community they equally became targets for victimisation. The unexpressed feelings of the youth and a section of the elders relating to landlessness in the community was to later find expression in the 2008 elections.

5.11 Landowners, Politicians, Decision Makers, and Political Participation: The 2008 Election

In the 2008 general election the two dominating parties in Dadieso, the NDC and the NPP, adopted different strategies to win the election. Whereas the NDC chose the complimentary approach, the NPP chose the conflict approach. The popular conversation among the NPP and a section of the aggrieved population was “you own the land but we have to own politics, because you cannot have both, so you do as we say”. This clearly provides an image of the political environment at the time. The tension in this election was severe than that of the 2004 election.

³⁷²Paulive Assuah pulled out of the competition because he was not ready to compromise his finances for the campaign

The target group for both parties was the migrant farmers because they determine who wins in the election depending on who they rally behind.

The tension in the community started mounting during the registration process and then escalated during the election. During the registration process both parties began to transport people across the border into the community to register and participate in the election. People transported from the Ivory Coast can be put into two categories. The first group comprised relations who are now living in Ivory Coast and are thus seen as Ivorian citizens as a result of the partition. The second group consisted of aliens in Ivory Coast such as Burkinabes, Malians, and Senegalese. These are traders and labourers who visited Ghana frequently to either buy or sell their items or labour. These two groups are not residents in the Dadieso community. They only come to cast their vote during election and then leave. To a larger degree they can be termed as ‘contract voters’. While the contracted voters are being used by both parties to fulfill their political agenda; they also in turn satisfy a hidden interest unknown to majority of the populace. The prime motive of this ‘contract voters’ is to obtain the voter ID card which is needed to facilitate travel across the border.³⁷³

The election tension of 2008 created fear in the community especially among migrant farmers because of the frequent threats they encountered.³⁷⁴ The NPP felt that once they were the incumbent party and also the party that created the constituency for the community the party has to be voted for at all cost. The NPP therefore struggled at all cost to claim the parliamentary seat at Dadieso. The presidential election was not too much of a concern to them.³⁷⁵ It is interesting to note that NPP executives resolved in a constituency meeting that the NDC had taken advantage

³⁷³Interview with Mr Kwalitey Kwame Fosu, Dadieso, 12th June, 2014, interview with Mr David Kenneth Owusu Ampomah, Dadieso, 16-01-14.

³⁷⁴Interview with Mr Kingford Adu Kwesi, Dadieso, 11th Jan., 2014.

³⁷⁵Interview with Mr E.E.Cudjoe, 08-01-2014

of the population of the migrant farmers to win the 2004 election, hence to be able to win the election the migrant farmers were to be intimidated or be forced to leave the community.³⁷⁶ Therefore, during the registration process migrant farmers were intimidated and at worse beaten and threatened to go to their hometowns and vote. The essence of these attacks was to reduce the migrant population and give the NPP the advantage to win.³⁷⁷

Mr Adamtey, an officer at the OASL, member of the NPP and co-founder of an NPP club (After 6 Club) explains why the migrant farmers were intimidated and also victimised. The youth in NPP felt that the migrant farmers had come to meet them in their hometown and also at a time when the community was struggling politically under the domination of Brussa. Therefore, if the community had managed to separate itself from the Brussa through the help of the NPP government then they should all cast their votes in appreciation for the NPP. This collective vote was to show the NPP government that the community is grateful for what it had done. It was also meant to be an indirect message to the government that the community needed more help. However, most of the migrant farmers stated their position clearly that they were for the NDC. This meant the farmers refused to be convinced and if that was the case there was the need to beat them to put fear in them to vote for the NPP.³⁷⁸ In a focused group discussion between Mr Adamtey, Mr Amuzu and Adiza, the womens organisser for the NPP in 2008 the following revelation was made:

Everything that went wrong in the 2008 election was orchestrated by by us, the NPP. We were asked to beat them (migrant farmers). It was not the NDC who started it. We went for a meeting to the effect that if we convince the farmers and they refuse or would not agree to our pleas the only option is beating.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁶Interview with Mr Francis Adamtey, ,Dadieso,18-01-1

³⁷⁷Interview with Mr Paul Kojo Koah, Dadieso, 14th January, 2004.

³⁷⁸Interview with Mr Francis Adamtey,Dadieso,18-01-14

³⁷⁹ Focused group interview with Mr Francis Adamtey, Mr Gordon A. Amuzu and Adiza Ibrahim, Dadies, 18-01-14.

The second major reason was that the NPP, most of whom were unemployed youth realised that the migrant farmers were dominating the community. In terms of population they outnumber the autochthones and used to boast that they are the election deciders because the autochthones are few in numbers. Sometimes they teased the autochthones that in the event of the outbreak of conflict they would win. Hence, “when we get them at the polling station we have to beat them for them to change their minds and vote for us to win power.”³⁸⁰

Anybody who openly declared his position against the NPP or was seen moving with an opponent became an enemy to the party. That notwithstanding, Nana Arthur Kojo, a linguist to the paramount stool, and his wife were attacked for allegedly harbouring a migrant farmer in their home. Attempted steps were also made against the Benkumhene (Left Wing Chief) for campaigning for the NDC. Inter-family and personal disputes that have to do with contest over land or over a conjugal affair between woman and man were fused into the election.³⁸¹ The intimidation and rowdiness by the NPP reached its height with the formation of the Issakaba Movement.

5.12 The Issakaba Movement/Revenge Movement

The Issakaba Movement (IM) was born out of the 2004 elections defeat of the NPP at Dadieso. The IM was formed in 2008 by the NPP as patriotic movement whose aim was justice in defence of the community. The IM was made of youth who were mainly unemployed, uneducated and school dropouts. Most of these were young fathers who have either shirked their responsibility or are struggling to raise a family. These are landless youth whose main aim for joining the party was to find a sense of fulfilment and recognition in the community.

³⁸⁰Interview with Mr Francis Adamtey, Dadieso, 18-01-14

³⁸¹Interview with Mr Francis Adamtey, Dadieso, 18-01-14

In essence the IM was a product of frustration and resentment against migrant farmers. The youth felt the migrant farmers were the cause for their defeat in the 2004 general elections and that these farmers want to undermine the development of the community. The NPP constituency organizer made the following remark to justify the formation and activities of the IM, he argued:

The enthusiasm of the youth was encouraging but it was our small towns and villages which gave us problems. The Issakaba was made up of dedicated youth of the NPP. These are uneducated and unemployed youth who envisioned that should the NPP come to power they will have the opportunity of being employed. The youth have harboured resentment against both the migrant farmers and the elders of the community because their grandparents have denied them of good fortunes by giving out their land to the migrant farmers at no fee. The Issakaba was therefore a kind of revenge movement.³⁸²

The IM was to intimidate migrant farmers to vote for the NPP. They had the support of Mr Eric Theophilus Tandoh, the NPP parliamentary candidate for 2008. He stated that “we wanted to take the seat from them because we created the constituency. The youth are deprived of having access to land and hence nothing to hold to as inheritance”.³⁸³ With the aid of the party executives as well as devoted members the IM members were equipped with weapons which varied from axes, machetes, chains, clubs and other deadly devices. In addition, they were taken through rituals which were meant to fortify the members of the IM against gunshot and other forms of attacks.³⁸⁴ Mr Amuzu, an ardent member and potential executive of the NPP made the following observation:

In the 2008 election my own party, the NPP, lost because of violence and the creation of unnecessary tension. They formed the Issakaba group which kept moving in vehicles and parading the streets as if they were going for war. The group attacked Kwaku Apatra and one Kusase man for wearing an NDC attire.³⁸⁵

The IM was instigated by the party executive at the constituency level to be rowdy so as to put fear in the migrant farmers. They also had backing of some of the regional officials of the

³⁸² Interview with Mr David Kenneth Owusu Ampomah, 16-01-14

³⁸³ Interview with Mr Eric Theophilus Tandoh, Dadieso, 19-01-14.

³⁸⁴ Interview with Mr Gordon Amofiadwo Amuzu, Dadieso, 15-01-14

³⁸⁵ Interview with Mr Gordon Amofiadwo Amuzu, Dadieso, 15-01-14

NPP.Nana Owusu Ankomah, the then Western Regional Chairman was said to have declared on a campaign platform in the community that “If you go to Enchi the MP is ours, if you go to Takoradi the Regional Minister is ours, and if you go to Accra the case becomes worse”.³⁸⁶ By this statement Owusu Ankomah was drawing the attention of the party members to the fact that the NPP controlled power in the district, region as well as the entire nation hence their safety was assured. The operations of the IM were appropriated through the following practices; attacking of victims through beatings, injuring them with deadly weapons, and the burning of bridges on rivers that eased access to polling station.

In Kwasuo for instance, the IM attacked Azure Ngor (“Red”), a migrant farmer, with an axe, and in the process injured him in the head. In the same area Taller and Zach were also cut with machetes. The reason for this attack was that the victims were ‘die-hard’ NDC supporters who always challenged the NPP. The effect of this was to intimidate other migrants and discourage them from registering to vote in the area. Mr Ngor in an interview narrated:

I have spent most of my life (over 20 year) here in Dadieso more than in my hometown. So I do not see myself as a migrant anymore. But I passed through a lot of troubles during the election period. My head was cut with an axe and I sustained injuries on my legs and hands. For about three years now I cannot do any effective work.³⁸⁷

Mr Ngor was constantly harassed by the Issakaba Boys during the voters’ registration, campaign and the election days. At a point he was hunted by fear so he made up his mind that should NPP win the elections will leave the community. He sold his house in the village so that in case the NPP won the election he would leave the village.

In Torya village the bridge across the Torya River was set ablaze to prevent the farmers from going to the registration center to have their voters ID cards. Also, in Yaw Oparekrom and

³⁸⁶ Interview with Mr Thomas Asienae, Dadieso, 15-01-14

³⁸⁷ Interview with Mr Azure Ngor, Kwasuo-Dadieso, 20-01-14.

Aprukusu the migrant farmers were subjected to severe beatings. In the words of Mr Kofi Abiaw, the NPP constituency Secretary in 2008, “They wanted to misbehave so we showed them our manliness. We beat them”.³⁸⁸

In short, security in Dadieso was very bad; the community was described by the military who were assigned to Dadieso as “flash area”. Lance Corporal Emmanuel Asamoah, a police officer at the Dadieso police station, reveals that security in Dadieso during elections was worse. Mostly, the youth took advantage of the backing from party executives at the local and regional level to ferment chaos. Police officers who arrested any of the IM members were perceived as pro-NDC.³⁸⁹

During the course of the 2008 election an NPP youth was arrested by the police for possessing 50 ID cards bearing different names with the same face. However, the policemen at Dadieso were commanded from the Sekondi head office of the Ghana Police Service (GPS) to release the victim in question. With reference to Azure Ngor’s case for instance an NPP party van was dispatched from Sekondi to the Dadieso police station for the police docket. The docket never returned, and nothing was done about the case again because the evidence was no longer available at the Dadieso police station. The police officers could not do anything about it because as the respondent puts it, “it was order from above”.³⁹⁰

Despite all these intimidation and victimisation, the NDC still won the 2008 elections. The aftermath of the election was that indigenous landlords sacked tenants from their homes, and a few indigenous cocoa owners sacked their labourers. Buying was also done on a party basis hence selling was selective. In addition, the youth and a section of traditional leaders as well as

³⁸⁸Interview with Samuel Kofi Abiaw, Dadieso, 16-01-14

³⁸⁹ Interview with Mr Emmanuel Asamoah, Dadieso, 11-01-14

³⁹⁰Interview with Mr Emmanuel Asamoah, 11-01-14

elders in the community have strained relations among themselves because the traditional authority was alleged to have supported the NDC.

Currently, migrant farmers live in suspicion of the indigenes. An example of this was an encounter the researcher had with the Odikro of Dorteikrom. After the researcher had told him the purpose of his visit the chief quickly rushed to his room and brought out the tenancy agreement document to the researcher to read. Then he said:

I hope you have not come to interview me for information to be used against us so you can reclaim your land? Two of your chiefs have been coming here and they keep telling me that we have stolen their land. They have threatened they will come and sack us at the right time and take back their land. Anyway, if you use whatever I am going to tell you here against me and I get displaced from Dadieso, do not forget you are also schooling on our land in Accra (Legon-University of Ghana). I will come and look for you and make sure you also do not stay on Legon land, I mean our land.³⁹¹

It is obvious from the conversation above that that migrant farmers and indigenes relations are no longer cordial as it used to be before 2004.

5.13 Conclusion

The advent of cocoa led to explosive migration and scarcity of land, however the success or failure of the community is also dependent on the traditional institutions or leadership and the choices they made and are still making. The efficiency of the traditional institutions and the choice it makes either exposes the community for external exploitation, and in most cases deny the citizenry their sources of livelihood, or create development opportunities in the community.

Comparable to Dadieso most rural communities in Ghana are landless because of the conflicting interest the leadership of the community represented. In contemporary times most chiefs represent external interest and accordingly exploit the collective interest of different groups within the community to ensure that this external interest is realised and perpetuated. Oftentimes

³⁹¹Interview with Mr John Tei Dortei, 20-01-2014.

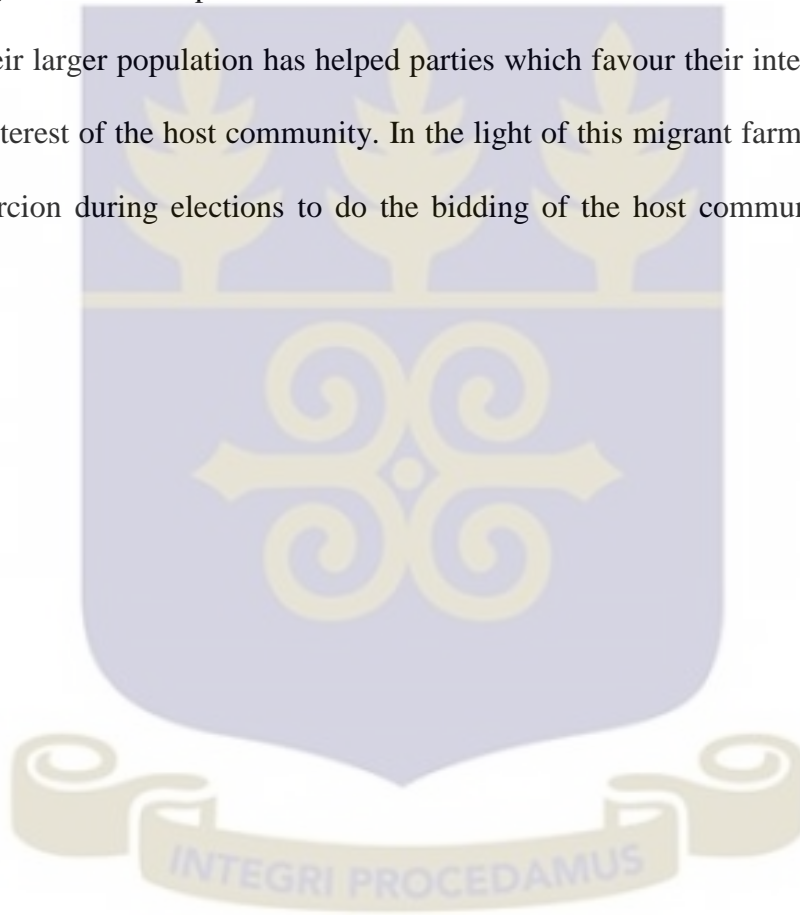
this has given rise to chieftaincy conflicts of different dimensions. Most of these conflicts had assumed protracted court or RHC hearing but normally the community is affected negatively because ruling favoured the ineffective chiefs. The fact that a paramount chief was destooled in Dadieso and managed to maintain power is a clear indication of the fact that traditional leaders who serve external interest have the backing of powerful external faction.

Moreso, it can be seen from the study that communities that are faced with chieftaincy (leadership) crisis are also prone to divisions. For instance, the fact that a destooled chief managed to return to Dadieso with the aid of his supporters demonstrate that he had support and that there were divisions in the community. This incidence is symptomatic of other rural communities in Ghana.

Chiefs who have problems with their communities have supporters who carry out their instructions. For a chief to be able to extract rents from migrants even when he had been destooled means that he has supporters who carry this out for him within particular institutions and conventions. Moreover, the fact that chiefs give out land at the expense of the youth is also suggestive of the fact that there are divisions within rural communities who profit from the allocations of lands to migrants. This institutional dilemma has led to the deepening of the crisis of landlessness among the youth in the community. Hence the search for intergenerational justice becomes a matter to be settled than a settled matter.

Therefore young men who participate in partisan politics and in most cases get rowdy are influenced by frustration and a sense of unfulfilment. Partisan politics thus become an alternative avenue that offers a sense of belonging to these unemployed youth. This is because the recognition of the youth in the community is dependent on their usefulness to the community. Hence, in the absence of land and opportunities partisan politics become an avenue for

employment and recognition. The helplessness of the youth therefore exposes them as unwilling pawns in the hands of politicians who misinform and encourage them to be rowdy. In the extreme these youth have formed patriotic and revenge movements which are used to unleash their frustration against migrant farmers during elections. Migrant farmers become scapegoats because they are blamed for the landlessness and predicament of the youth in the community. In addition, the migrant farmers represent an interest which is distant from that of the community. In most cases their larger population has helped parties which favour their interest which in turn undermine the interest of the host community. In the light of this migrant farmers are constantly subjected to coercion during elections to do the bidding of the host community or risk being victimised.



CHAPTER SIX

GENERAL CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This study has investigated the politics that is associated with cocoa farming in rural communities in Ghana. It focused on competition and conflicts centered on land, social inequality and contestation over belonging and local citizenship as well as how general elections are used as tools by the marginalised to seek for 'justice'. The study explored the dynamics of accumulation in the commodification of land relations between migrants who acquire land and indigenes who allocate land and suffer from landlessness. The implications for this on social and political relations in the community on a daily basis were examined. The study also explored how migrant farmers secured, contested and negotiated access to land and their integration into their host community.

6.2 General Findings: The Universal and the Local

In order to appreciate the institutional dynamics of land and property a comprehensive study of the historical configuration of a particular situation, their delimitations, conflicts and local contradictions is very imperative. Even though property in land is essential to political control, it is not the only source of authority. It is connected to security, citizenship and development.³⁹² It is clear from the study that landlessness is a major problem facing Africa in contemporary times. This has been the cause of many conflicts on the continent. This study has argued that landlessness is not caused by such factors as conquest, firstcomer and latercomer contests, and outright sales of land alone. The study points out that the historical and structural features that underpinned the formation of communities is another important factor that has contributed to

³⁹²Lund, "Local Politics and the Dynamics of Property in Africa", 3-5

landlessness in rural communities in Africa. Coupled with this is the structure and inefficiency of traditional institutions in these communities. It is also evident that not all land related or ethnic conflicts are autochthon conflicts, which of course has been the cause of many recent conflicts on the continent.

For decades communities in Ghana have witnessed the migration of economic migrants following the success of the cocoa economy. These communities have served as havens for land seeking migrants in areas then emerging as new cocoa frontiers. The presence of these economic migrants led to the massive allocation of land within the community. The integration of these farmers into their host communities has always been problematic because their presence creates moral dilemmas. Amanor points out that the economic migrant becomes a source of alarm and moral dilemma which results in attempts to incorporate them into the precepts of a moral economy rooted in good citizenship, to expel them in times of political crisis.³⁹³ Chauveau has also argued that the acceptance and assimilation of migrant farmers into the community fits into a moral economy in which there is the strong obligation to the conviction that any individual or groups of individual has a right to access the means of subsistence for himself and his family members. The migrant on the other hand is also obliged to respect the bundle of responsibilities linked to the social incorporation into the local community and accordingly contribute to the reinforcement of the community's prevailing social order.³⁹⁴

This study points out that chiefs allocated lands to migrants not necessarily out of the need for money. The giving out of the lands to migrants was therefore not solely dependent on the purchasing power of the migrant farmer. The rapid allocation of lands by the chiefs from the late

³⁹³ Amanor, "Opening up new frontiers", 2-3

³⁹⁴ Chauveau, "How does an institution evolve?". 213, Chauveau and Richards, "West African Insurgencies in Agrarian Perspective". 525

1940s to migrants in rural communities in Ghana also arose out of the strategic need to protect their communities and its resources from neighbouring ethnic groups who have been a source of threat and insecurity. The migrant farmer served as a security to the land allocated to him. The migrant farmer also served as a means that boosted the local population in areas where the host community's population was relatively small as compared to that of neighbouring ethnic groups. The allocation of land to migrants thus encouraged their integration and negotiation into host communities. The exploitation of the forest in the community by the migrant farmers led to scarcity in land resources and hence creating issues of landlessness. In effect, some communities in rural areas do not lose land because it was sold outright. Thus landlessness occurred out of the historical and structural features of the environment in which communities and their institutions emerged.

In Africa issues of land can be linked with matters relating to citizenship, chieftaincy prerogatives, gender relations and the existence of social hierarchies. Even though land tensions have been assessed largely as non-political or traditional and are thus resistant to state control, however electoral mobilisation around land thus occurs in situations where government can exercise wide power to redefine land rights and even reallocate land.³⁹⁵ Therefore, struggles over land are not just a question of land but also about property. As Lund points out, property is not about things only but the whole constellation of social and political relationships between and among people concerning things. Hence, struggles over land are influenced by socio-political and historical geographic contexts.³⁹⁶ This study demonstrates that landlessness creates social inequalities. This makes the presence of the migrant farmer in the host community very problematic. On the one hand the economic migrant opens up the host community for external

³⁹⁵ Boone, "Property and Constitutional Order", 559-560.

³⁹⁶ Lund, "Local Politics and the Dynamics of Property in Africa", 9-11.

exploitation and to some extent facilitate development. On the other hand, the migrant farmer becomes a source of consternation because their possession of large portions of land gives them advantage to accumulate and investment more in different business ventures. The unemployed youth in the community therefore resent the success of the economic migrant and become apprehensive and frustrated at their own failure in the community. This situation has affected social and political relations between indigenes and migrant farmers in host communities, to the extent that their status as citizens is now questioned and challenged. Scarcity of land therefore creates a situation where the status of the migrant farmer is occasionally challenged.

Boni's study shows that migrants land rights become contestable, undermined, ambiguous or transformable and politically embedded across time.³⁹⁷ Besides, identities are played out when the management of scarce resources is at stake.³⁹⁸ Berry points out that the commercialisation of land transaction in the African context has not led to the consolidation of land rights into forms of exclusive rights analogous to the Western concept of private property. Instead, people's ability to exercise claims to land remains closely connected to their membership in social networks and involvement in both formal and informal processes. However, membership to social network does not guarantee anyone access to land, nonetheless it does on the hand tend to blur the effect of legally endorsed process of exclusion.³⁹⁹

Increasing scarcity in land resources has necessitated the setting of boundaries between indigenes and economic migrants in communities which is sharply played out in the political arena. Lentz points out that in multi-ethnic rural regions with large population of migrants, the democratic principle of one person one vote has often invoked fear among the indigenes as they could be

³⁹⁷ Boni, "Clearing the Ghanaian Forest".7-8

³⁹⁸ Boni, "Indigenous Blood and Foreign Labour, 183 and Amanor, "Cutomary Land, Mobile Labour and Alienation in the Eastern Region of Ghana", 150-157.

³⁹⁹ Sara Berry, "No Condition is Permanent",104

marginalized by these migrants. This has often raised the issue of “autochthony and primary patriotism”.⁴⁰⁰ In most cases this has also created situations of political exclusivity against economic migrants.

This study demonstrates that migrant population in host communities where there are issues of extreme land scarcity the migrants been a subject that poses a threat to their host because their population plays an active role during election periods. Conflict arises in circumstances where the representation of the interest of migrant farmers is distinct from that of the host community. In extreme cases patriotic movements are formed by resented youths to coerce migrants to vote for the party of their choice. For example, the Issakaba Movement was formed to coerce migrant farmers to vote for the NPP which was predominantly a youth party. Migrants whose representation and interest were different risked being attacked. In extreme cases belonging to the community has been used as an instrument of exclusion instead of inclusion. The study further shows that central to this land centered tension is the inevitable role of history. The centrality of the youth in agrarian conflicts is manifest in the work of Chauveau and Richards.⁴⁰¹ The organisation of the youth is an essential element to the wider conflict because their activities point to the agrarian roots of conflicts in rural societies around issues of land, the value of the youth in rural areas, and the extreme mobility between town and country. The mobilization of the youth expresses a social strain in terms of belonging that are found in the internal dynamics of society.

Chiefs and big men in rural communities facilitate the access of land as well as instigate hostilities against the settlement of migrant farmers.⁴⁰² Hence, the notion of the customary thus

⁴⁰⁰ Lentz, “Introduction” in Kuba and Lentz, “Land and the Politics of Belonging in West Africa”, 12-13.

⁴⁰¹ See for example Chauveau and Richards, “West African Insurgencies in Agrarian Perspective”.527.

⁴⁰² Chauveau, “How does an institution evolve? ,214-215.

serves a manipulative instrument employed to deprive the marginalised, and thence expose the community for external exploitation.⁴⁰³ This has raised questions of intergenerational conflicts which are often linked with generational conflicts and competition between elders to control land, labour resources, and the redistribution of wealth with the extended family.⁴⁰⁴ This further shows that traditional leadership and institutions tend to represent different interest as opposed to the interest of different groups within the community. In the event that the leadership of the community represents external interest the continual exploitation of the community in question becomes quite easy. In effect, this lax leadership and institutional inefficiency creates unrest and further divisions within the community, thus creating instability and constant tension. Therefore, crisis of unemployment and external exploitation in the community become more perpetuated.

This study further demonstrates that the farmers do not acquire land for free, it is negotiated on contract basis and later transformed into a fee. Therefore it should be not assumed that the community leaders gave out land freely. And it is accordingly not understood by the migrant farmers to be free. Hence, the argument by the locals that they allocate land freely to migrant farmers and this was abused by migrant farmers must be understood as a discourse against migrant farmers. This has to be understood as a discourse rather than factual accounts which is often used by chiefs to play off the youth and migrant farmers against each other. Sometimes the fees collected by the chiefs is very equivalent to the sale of the land, but the chiefs attempt to disguise sale of land so that they do not make any payment to the state.

Many of the tensions in this study can be found in the contemporary history of Ghana and it shares structural features with other communities in African countries. These include reconstruction of the socio-economic and political configuration of communities due to the

⁴⁰³ Amanor, "Custom, Community and Conflict", 23-28.

⁴⁰⁴ Amanor, "Family Values, Land Sales and Agricultural Commodification in South Eastern Ghana".188-122.

colonial partition of Africa, tensions between neighbouring ethnic groups and attempts to dominate, alter or recreate territorial boundaries as well as the resistance against domination and injustice and the struggle for autonomy. Hence, landlessness in communities must be approached in the contexts of the socio-political, historical and the geographic situations prevailing in these communities.



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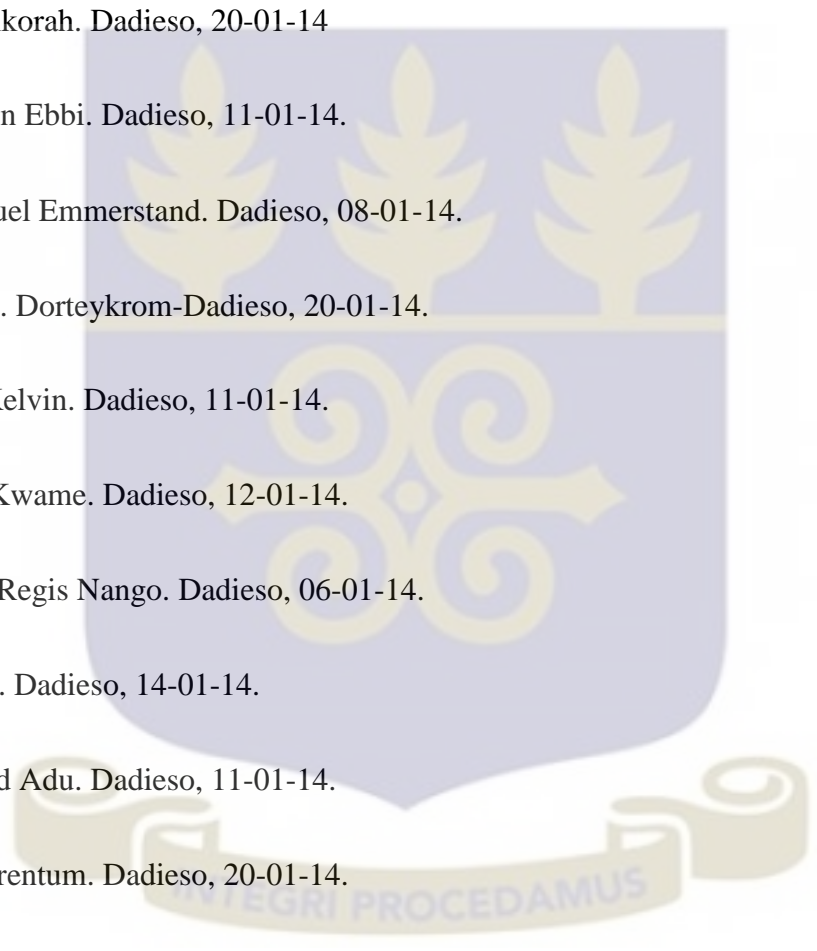
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