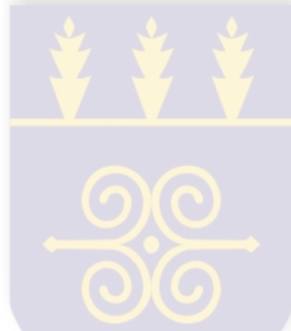


**THE IMPACT OF COLONIALISM ON CULTURAL IDENTITY: A
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF GHANA & SOUTH AFRICA**

BY

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10171597



**THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF
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LEGON

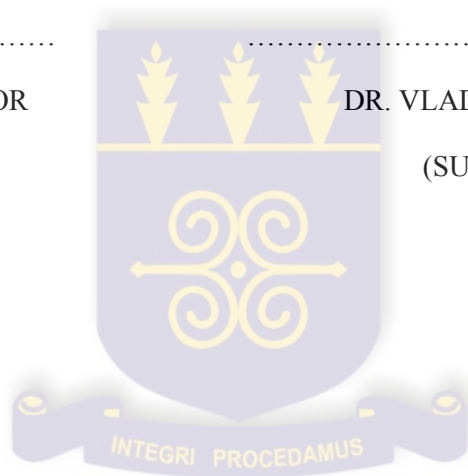
DECEMBER, 2013

DECLARATION

With the exception of the quoted references and acknowledged sources I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of an original research conducted by me under the supervision of Dr. Vladimir Antwi-Danso and it has neither in whole nor in part been presented to any examination body for any other purpose.

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DEDICATION

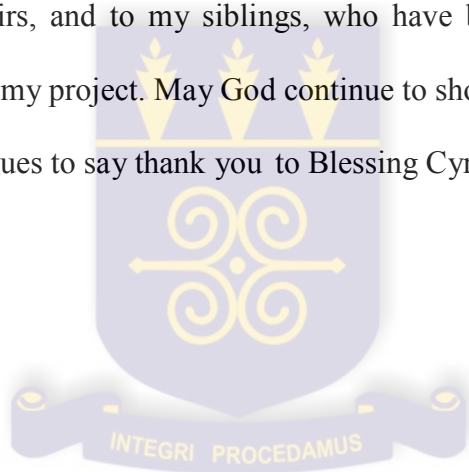
I dedicate this work to God Almighty. Jehovah Jireh is indeed my Provider.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to God Almighty, in whom I live and move and have my being. He has made me His trophy on display to the world and continually brags with my life. Indeed, I have enjoyed immensely, God's Grace, Favour and Compassion. He divinely ordered my steps to LECIAD, to acquire more knowledge and caused my path to cross with the likes of Dr. Vladimir Antwi Danso. Sir, I am profoundly grateful for your time, advice and supervision as my lecturer and thesis supervisor. God richly bless you.

To my family, my parents who believed so much in me, and spurred me on in pursuit of an MA in International Affairs, and to my siblings, who have been unflinchingly supportive, especially whilst I worked on my project. May God continue to show Himself to you, so strong. And I wish for a thousand tongues to say thank you to Blessing Cyriacus for just being there!



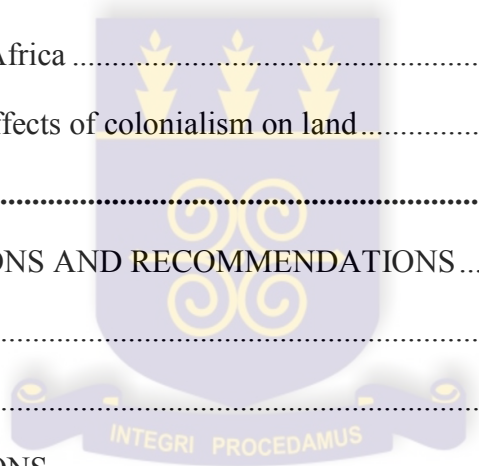
ABSTRACT

This study primarily sought to investigate the effects of colonialism on the cultural identities of Africans, using Ghana and South Africa as case studies. Cultural identity was categorised into 3 major components; customs and traditions, language and land and it is within this ambit that both theoretical and empirical literature were sought and discussed to achieve the study objectives. Hence, this research confined itself to events during and after the colonial period (and apartheid period in the case of South Africa). Ghana and South Africa were chosen as case studies because amongst other reasons, both were colonised by the British and the Dutch at different periods and so served as a good basis for comparison. This study was based on the hypothesis that colonialism was unable to wither away completely the cultural identities of both Ghana and South Africa. It at worst affected certain aspects of culture, land and language, but not significant enough to leave both countries without their indigenous cultural identities. Hence, qualitative research techniques and data from sources such as peer-reviewed journals, books, articles and other publications were used to test this hypothesis. In the first place, extant literature clearly demonstrates that colonialism significantly affected the cultural identities (land, language and culture) of Ghana and South Africa. Secondly, in comparison, this study concludes that the impacts of colonialism on land in South Africa are different and arguably more severe than in Ghana. Thirdly, the impacts of colonialism on language are different between Ghana and South Africa (even though the severity in the differences may be difficult to judge). Finally, the impacts of colonialism on culture (with regards to chieftaincy and tribe) in both Ghana and South Africa are somewhat different. Thus, with regards to chieftaincy, the major difference lies in the fact that whereas in Ghana, the colonialist to some extent collaborated and in some cases protected chieftaincy, in the case of South Africa, colonialist and the apartheid regime downplayed chieftaincy for imperialistic reasons. Similarly, fostering the distinction between tribes in the same state in Ghana was purposeful for imperialistic reasons. In the case of South Africa, apartheid mainly resulted in segregations along racial categories. It is, therefore, recommended that in the case of South Africa for instance, the government can find gradual solutions to the current impasse on land redistribution through more strategic collaboration, international relations and negotiations with the various organizations, associations and international corporations directly involved (stakeholders). Also, further studies may be conducted to identify if possible, the severity of the effects of colonialism on the various aspects of cultural identity, so as to be able to give direction to intervention programmes meant to mitigate these effects.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Often recounted is the episodic account of how voyages of trade and discovery resulted in the colonization of Africa, by the imperial powers of Germany, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, and Britain. In what has come to be christened the 'partition of Africa', the continent underwent an extensive political surgery, upon a consensus reached at the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 (World Model UN, 2012). In the absence of any African at the Conference, and with blatant disregard for Africa's customs, practices and socio-political setup, colonies were carved out, affecting all but Ethiopia and South Africa. The partition and colonization of Africa involved parties besides the states themselves, who may have been invaluable in its subsequent administration.

Several years down the line, there have been concomitant mixed reactions to colonization and its impact in Africa. It has been debated in several circles whether invariably colonialism has altered or impacted Africa's cultural identity. Colonialism had very diverse effects. It operates through many mechanisms and, thereby, sometimes encourages development and at other times, retards it. Several researchers, authors and writers have explored extensively the relationship between colonialism and Africa's cultural identity. According to Hall, "cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as 'one people', with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history" (Hall, 1990, p.223).

To succinctly elucidate the phenomenon of culture, its cardinal features may be quantified to as many as twelve if not more, where possible and applicable. The features may

include, but are not limited to cuisine, clothing, recreation, government, education, language, religion, transportation, economy, environment, culture and arts.

This study categorizes cultural identity into three major components; customs and traditions, language, and land. Following the positions of Green and Giddens, custom or tradition is a belief or behavior, passed down within a group or society with symbolic meaning or special significance with origins in the past (Green, 1997, p.800; Giddens, 2003, p.39). Basically, customs are activities that have been repeated ever so often, and as such have become conventional. Language is a crucial agency of communication and integration, giving a group its peculiar recognition. The Charter for African Cultural Renaissance (2006), recognized that it is absolutely vital to champion the furtherance of African languages, and preserve them in their originality, especially in the advancement of Africa's development. According to Lowdermilk, "land is a cardinal pillar of culture. Without land, a culture may be rendered extinct. Historical records are replete with accounts of how cultures dissipated into thin air when they lost their land, e.g., Carthaginians and Babylonians". (Lowdermilk, 1994, p.1). The relevance of land to this study is that, it (land) marks out the physical territory of a state, thereby giving the state recognition in the eyes of the outside world. This is one of the reasons nations defend their borders (land) fiercely.

To draw effectual conclusions relevant to Africa's development and progress, it is necessary not just to know what actually happened to Africa's cultural identity during the colonial period, but also to take a view on what might have happened without colonialism and also to take into account the legacy of colonialism in that regard. This will go a long way in elucidating some of the current local truisms of the conditions of African people with regards to their cultural identity.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The era of colonialism has given a lot to be spoken about, resulting in the formation and formulation of different schools of thought on the matter. One is the dichotomy of colonialism and culture. On one breadth, colonialism destroyed or withered away salient features of African culture, leaving Africa without her indigenous cultural identity (Singoei and Adam, 2007). An example one might present, is how colonialists disintegrated the African continent in their quest to apportion colonies for themselves, totally ignoring the existent social, political and cultural structures on which the continent was founded. On another, colonialism only modified certain components of culture and has not significantly affected Africa's cultural identity (Singoei and Adam, 2007). There are even those who might posit that colonialism gave Africa a cultural identity, meaning that, without colonialism, Africa would have decayed beyond identification. An example one might proffer, is the introduction of colonialists' languages such as English and French which are believed to have fostered Africa's integration into the larger world. Evidently, evaluating the state of land, culture and language in Africa before and after colonialism is most critical in evaluating the impact of colonialism on cultural identity.

1.3 STUDY OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this study is to determine the impact of colonialism on cultural identity. The specific objectives are:

1. To investigate the impact of colonialism on Land from the context of Ghana and South Africa
2. To investigate the impact of colonialism on culture from the context of Ghana and South Africa

3. To investigate the impact of colonialism on Language from the context of Ghana and South Africa
4. To compare and contrast the impacts of colonialism on cultural identity (land, culture and language) in Ghana and South Africa.
5. To provide recommendations based on the study findings for future research and Africa's Development.

1.4 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

This study is in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of a Master of Arts Degree in International Affairs and Diplomacy. Also, the ongoing efforts to revamp Africa's cultural identity make it imperative to assess the nature of the relationship between colonialism and cultural identity and the impact of the latter on the former.

There has been much academic debate and literature on European colonization and focus on Africa. However, much of this has focused the lenses mainly on both eccentric and conventional arguments on the role and impact of colonialism on Africa's economic development and other factors (Hrituleac and Nielsen, 2011). There is therefore paucity in information on the impact of colonialism on Africa's cultural identity, with focus on land, language and culture. This is a comparative study between two countries (Ghana and South Africa) for three main reasons.

In the first place, South Africa is reviewed as a case study because it experienced a relatively long duration of colonisation and apartheid before becoming a republic state and so probably experienced a relatively longer duration of the effects of colonialism (if any), *ceteris paribus*. The republic of Ghana, the first country south of the Sahara to gain independence,

experienced a long period of post-colonial democracy and so the effects (if any) of colonialism on cultural identity would be clearly distinguishable, *ceteris paribus*. However, from the 6th of March till April 27th 1994, while Ghana enjoyed independence, South Africa experienced apartheid.

Secondly, Ghana was a colony with a centralized state at the time of Scramble for Africa, whereas South Africa was one of white settlement. The difference in this context is that even though both countries were colonized by the British, both countries had a distinctively different system of governance and are therefore suitable to be compared. Furthermore, Ghana was one of the colonies carved from the Berlin Conference whereas South Africa was not. Thus the colonial system experienced by Ghana, would arguably be different from that experience by South Africa. These therefore present a keen and curious need to explore the effects of colonialism in Africa through a comparative study, with focus on these countries. It is however worth noting that according to Heldring and Robinson (2012) it is reasonable to assume that both countries would have continued to experience the type of contact with the rest of the world they had prior to the Scramble for Africa and which impinged on them when they were colonies and afterwards. Taking this into account it is possible to think about what the trajectories of African societies would have been in the absence of colonialism.

In light of the above, it is imperative to investigate whether Manzo's (1998) assertion that even though the dates and the colonizing countries may have varied throughout the Third World, the colonial experiences have basically been the same, is factual. Understanding the impact of colonization on Africa is perhaps the most important factor in understanding the present and even future conditions of the African continent and of the African people. Findings of this study will therefore hopefully be insightful to guide Africa's development of policies

and interventions that impinge on elements of cultural identity such as language, land and culture. It is also hoped that this study will inspire further research in academia that will spur progress in Africa's development towards the attainment of a more unified African Union.

1.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

The core argument of this study focuses on identifying cultural identity (which this study limits to language, land and culture), before, during and after colonialism of Ghana and South Africa. To estimate this, this study draws on extant secondary sources of information based on published articles and in-depth interviews with scholars in academia. Thus, in view of recent methodological writings that purport that qualitative approaches to measurement based on expert knowledge may achieve higher levels of validity (Bowman, Lehoucq, and Mahoney, 2005), the scope of this study comprises mainly of the evidence from archival sources and the expert opinions of scholars from secondary data sources. As a result of time constraints and the fact that the author of this study is based in Ghana, evidence for this study will be sought from libraries and scholars mainly in Ghana as well as publications on the internet.

1.6 HYPOTHESIS

This study is based on the hypothesis that colonialism was unable to wither away completely the cultural identities of both Ghana and South Africa. It at worst affected certain aspects of culture, land and language, but not significantly enough to leave both countries without their indigenous cultural identities.

Null hypothesis (H_0): Colonialism did not significantly affect the cultural identities (Land, language and culture) of Ghana and South Africa.

Alternate hypothesis (H_1): Colonialism significantly affected the cultural identities (land, language, culture) of Ghana and South Africa.

1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework of this study relies and hinges on the theory of imperialism. According to Stathakis (2008), imperialism is a theory that cites or makes reference to a distinct period in history; the spell between 1880 and 1910. The precise conceptual framework has to do with the inter-imperialist rivalry. Hence, under nationalist agenda, many nation states embark on the journey to expand their territories, bringing others under their control and participate in what many scholars have termed, “the imperialist project” (Smith, 1981; Smith, 1982; Stathakis, 2008). This is what resulted in the fragmentation of the African continent and its residual effects on the many cultural variants of her states. As reported by Hrituleac (2011), the primary objective of imperialism is to “change quantity into quality, by transforming free competition into a monopoly” (Hrituleac, 2011). Consequently, colonial imperialism introduced new methods and structures of administration, and production, all aimed at inculcating tenets of capitalism, beneficial and favourable mostly, to the colonizer (Gino, 2007).

Arguably, 'imperialism' cannot be muddled with 'colonialism'. Gilmartin (2008), suggests that “imperialism is a state policy developed for ideological as well as financial reasons whereas colonialism involves mainly development for settlement or commercial intentions” (Gilmartin, 2008). Nevertheless, these two terms are easily reconcilable in the context of European states barging into the African continent to feed their desire to gain dominance in the international system. Indeed, as is demonstrated in this study, the concepts and theoretical underpinnings of imperialism and colonialism, vis-a-vis their operations and effects on Africa were indistinguishable, hence the adoption of the theory of imperialism as the framework of this study.

1.8. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews both theoretical and empirical literature from the African, Ghanaian and South African context on salient concepts and theories. These include but are not limited to concepts and definitions relevant to this study and brief overviews of the colonial histories of the case studies. These issues addressed in this chapter set the stage for in-depth assessment of the impact of colonialism with respect to the Ghanaian and South African contexts.

According to Lassiter (1999), “culture entails generally widespread sub-Saharan African core values, beliefs, cultural themes and behaviors as they existed prior to European contact; and as they still exist, especially in the rural areas and to a lesser extent in the urban areas of Africa; and upon which many, if not most, fundamental thought processes and behaviors of contemporary sub-Saharan Africans are based and continue to be derived from.” This definition was gleaned from the reports of African Scholars such as G.K. Osei (1971); Kwame Gyekye (1988); Augustine Shutte (1993); M. W. Makgoba (1997) and others. These authors, and also including Maluleke (Maluleke, 2012), believe that traditional cultural practices reflect the values and beliefs held by members of a community for periods often spanning generations. In the cases of Ghana and South Africa, which form the subject of analysis in this work, the statement here (above), could not have been more valid.

According to Kirigia (2010), the term colonialism is so extensive, its definition remains debatable. It is defined by King (1976, p.324, in Potter et al., 1999) as the practice of establishing and maintaining rule over foreign people who are deemed separate and subordinate to the ‘rulers’, for an extended period of time.

An appreciation of a country's past, is perhaps very instrumental in understanding current phenomena. The history of Ghana is therefore essential in understanding the effects colonialism may have on the country's land, language and culture. The ensuing overview and general history of Ghana was succinctly but lucidly described by *Prof. Irene K. Odotei* of the University of Ghana (Odotei, 2008) and therefore presented due to its suitability in serving the purpose of this study.

Odotei (2008), opines that during pre-colonial Ghana, the country's administration resided solely with her traditional leaders. According to her, these comprised rulers e.g. chiefs; sacredotal heads e.g. the *wolomei*; elders e.g. *abusuapanyin*; civil militia leaders e.g. *asafo*, secret society leaders e.g. *yeve*, occupational groups and youth leaders. This pattern is found among the five major ethnic groups in Ghana. These are Guan, Ga-Dangme, Akan, Ewe and Mole- Dagbani, whose history of origin and state formation are, however, steeped in myths and traditions. This according to Odotei (2008) is largely due to the fact that these societies are pre-dominantly "illiterate". Accounts of state formation, leadership, etc, of these groups have been handed down from one generation to another handed down from one generation to another orally, and have in some cases, been distorted over time.

Odotei states that the Ga-Dangme comprises two related people; the Ga and Dangme. The Ga are divided into six major settlements. These are Ga Mashie, Osu, La, Teshie, Nungua and Tema. The Dangme include the people of Krobo, Ningo, Kpone and Prampram (Odotei, 2008). Meanwhile, the Akan-speaking people comprise of the Akyem, Fante, Asante, Akuapem, Kwahu, Sefwi and Nzema. These states each possess autonomous political systems and structures. On the other hand, the Ewe language belongs to the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo

family. In Ghana, they speak various mutually intelligible dialects of the language which may be sub-divided into the Anlo, Ewe-dome and Tongu. (Odotei, 2008) The Mole-Dagbani as well, are made up of Nanumba, Dagbani, Mamprusi, Wala, Builsa, Frafra, Talensi and Kusasi. The Mole-Dagbani states of Mamprugu, Dagbon and Nanumba had been formed by the fifteenth century. (Odotei, 2008)

Odotei however, was less concerned about the effects of colonialism on the “states” she reviewed in her work. In order to grasp and better fathom the effects of colonialism on cultural identity in South Africa, it is of vital importance to launch into and probe briefly the history of South Africa. It is safe to commence therefore with an examination of even the beginnings of Dutch colonization of the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, as reported by Meskell and Weiss (2006).

It would seem that, when Jan van Riebeeck planted “a hedge of almond and thornbush . . . to ensure the safety of the white European settlers by keeping the menacing black African hordes of primitive pagans at bay” (Wits, 2003, p.253), it very likely marked the first act of apartheid and birth of colonial and racial oppression in South Africa (Meskell and Weiss, 2006). The earliest European settlement in sub-Saharan Africa was the Cape Colony. A noteworthy practice in the Cape Colony is that, slaves were imported into South Africa rather than out, unlike in the case of the Gold Coast Colony.

Owusu (2006, p. 7), further reports:

After nearly forty-six years of racist rule by a white settler minority and characterized by a culture of political violence and widespread and systematic violations of human rights that the world condemned, the Afrikaner ruling National Party of F.W. de Klerk and the African National Congress (ANC) of Nelson Mandela joined hands against all odds to dismantle the obnoxious apartheid system.

The country's first one person, one vote, multi-racial, multi-party elections were held on April 27, 1994 and a coalition government of national unity whose principal partners were the

ANC, the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) was established until 1999 when elections under a permanent constitution were held. The IFP whose preference was for a federal constitution, initially rejected the transitional unitary constitution because it failed to protect the provincial autonomy of the Kwa Zulu (Kwa-Zulu Natal is one of the nine provinces into which South Africa is divided). The IFP demanded that the powers of provincial governments, including royal privileges, be guaranteed against intervention by the central government. Indeed the King of the eight million Zulu, King Goodwill Zwelithini, and a cousin of Chief Buthezi, leader of IFP, even threatened to secede with all his territory as it was in 1838 before the British conquered it from his ancestors. In the end, commonsense and good diplomacy prevailed and the IFP and the Zulu king settled for a new South African constitution adopted in early December 1996 and inaugurated by President Mandela at Sharpesville. The constitution which contains one of the most comprehensive bills of rights provides for a federal system with limited provincial powers (but recognizes the special status of the King of the Zulu), a two chamber legislature (i.e., the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces), a strong central government and a presidency. Chapter 12 of the constitution deals with traditional rulers whose authority is recognized as well as their right to apply customary law as long as it is not in conflict with the constitution (Constitution of South Africa, 1996).

Basically, there are different ways in which people see cultural identity. However, whether it is defined in terms of the collective shared culture, which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common, or otherwise, three distinct facets emerge. That is, culture, land and language. The effects of colonialism on these three facets of cultural identity in Africa have been the center of interest for various scholars.

With regards to land for instance, it has been suggested that colonial governments were giving consideration to “the desirability of legislation to control the sale and mortgage of land,

prohibit its acquisition by absentees, to limit the maximum and minimum acreage of native holdings” (Meek 1968, p.96; Mann and Roberts, 1991). This direct control of land by colonial powers was alien to the indigenous people before colonialism. Julius Nyerere expressed this thought when he wrote in his essays on *African Socialism*, “To us in Africa, land was always recognized as belonging to the community... The African’s right to land was simply the right to use it; he had no other right to it, nor did it occur to him to try to claim one”. Similarly, Kenneth Kaunda’s *Humanism in Zambia* proclaimed specifically:

Land, obviously, must remain the property of the State today. This in no way departs from heritage. Land was never bought. It came to belong to individuals through usage and the passing of time. Even then the chiefs and elders had overall control although... this was done on behalf of all the people” (quoted in Mann and Roberts, 1991, p. 80).

Mann and Roberts further explain:

An indigenous system of land tenure did not exist under colonial conditions, but its shadow was summoned into existence by both colonial and postcolonial states, essentially to retard the establishment of freehold rights for Africans, in an economy which was otherwise becoming increasingly capitalist”.

Even though the authors cited above have written extensively on South Africa, they do not specifically focus on colonialism and culture. However, colonialism did indeed have specific effects on the cultural identity of Africans, and these will be expatiated and discussed in-depth in subsequent chapters.

1.9 STUDY METHODOLOGY

This study is a qualitative study that relies largely on secondary sources of data from peer-reviewed journals, books, articles and other publications. These materials were obtained from institutions such as the Institute of African Studies - Legon, the Legon Center for International Affairs and Diplomacy, the University of Ghana Balme Library and the internet. The qualitative research design was appropriate for the attainment of the research objectives of this study since authors such as Denzin and Lincoln (2005) have confirmed that qualitative research is appropriate when in-depth understanding of phenomena and other research questions is needed.

The data obtained were reviewed and systematical analysed and presented under thematic areas that provided relevant information towards the attainment of the study objectives.

1.10 CHAPTER DISPOSITION

The study is organized into four chapters.

Chapter One entails the study background, study objectives, justification of the study, the scope and limitations of the study, the research hypotheses, as well as the theoretical framework, literature review and methodology.

Chapter Two presents the effects of colonialism on cultural identity in Africa

Chapter three discusses the effects of colonialism on cultural identity in Africa

Chapter four gives a summary, conclusions, and recommendations

CHAPTER TWO

COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

2.0 COLONIAL RULE IN AFRICA

Disputably, colonial rule marked a stupendous milestone in Africa. Cognizant of this, a deep probe into the phenomenon of colonialism is cardinal, if one seeks to comprehend fully, its impact on the cultural identity of Africans. According to Pearson (2012), the two largest colonial powers in Africa were France and Britain, which together, exercised dominion over two-thirds of Africa before World War I and more than 70 percent after the war. The stretch spanning the mid-1800s to the early 1900s marked the pinnacle of imperial rule in Africa. It wasn't until the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885, that colonial rule was formalized. At this Conference, European powers agreed to apportion Africa among themselves. The European Powers came to an understanding on clearly demarcating their 'territories', in a bid to prevent conflicts that could arise among them.

A pertinent question posed is: what about Africa interested the European Powers to begin with? According to Odotei (2008), before the 1870s, the British were not in favor of colonizing the Gold Coast. By 1874 however, their stance on colonizing the Gold Coast had taken a turn. This change was mainly attributable to the onset of the industrial revolution, which made it expedient for the acquisition of territories which would feed their industries with raw materials, thus, boosting production of goods. The territories would also serve as markets to which the goods will be supplied.

Pearson (2012) suggested that “the Portuguese were moved by a crusading zeal, the desire for Guinea gold, the quest for the mythical Christian kingdom of Prester John, and the search of spices”. There are however, three expansive reasons that explain the extensive exploration of Africa by the European Powers, which subsequently resulted in the colonization of Africa, by the explorers. The first reason according to Pearson (2012) borders on the intrinsic need to gain scientific knowledge about that which is concealed then labelled the “Dark Continent”, Africa, presented an opportunity by which the thirst of ‘inquisitors’, would be quenched. Africa was more or less a conundrum for European explorers, who were lured by the unique characteristics of Africa. The European explorers included Geographers, Scientists, etc, who recorded the sights and sounds of Africa. Pearson (2012), argues that without going back to the discourse on Europeans’ assertion to have “discovered” Africa’s rivers and lakes, which Africans were very familiar with and indeed, utilized for their economic and social needs, it will not be far from true, to state that the records of some of the explorers made knowledge of Africa more widespread in their respective countries and eventually gave Africans a deeper understanding of their continent.

According to Pearson (2012), the second reason was attributable to European ethnocentrism or racism, embedded in Western Christianity. The Europeans met a continent that observed their own traditional religious beliefs and modes of worship. In a bid to ensure that Africa subscribed to the Christian religion, the Europeans employed various means of persuasion in their soul-winning crusades, including the use of force. Indeed, in the budding years of religions like Christianity and Islam, evangelical crusades were military in approach. Eventually, the mode of duress gave way to a more humanitarian approach. Africa saw the arrival of missionaries who provided social services in health and education. Social amenities like schools, clinics, etc, began to spring up. At the health centres, they administered drugs to the sick, and

helped them recover, whilst in the schools, they taught European languages to the Africans. Africans who were adequately schooled in the European languages, then worked on Bible translations into African languages. This ultimately advanced the spread of Christianity.

The third reason was based on the imperialistic desire by Europeans to augment their country's wealth, status and power by claiming ownership over other states in faraway lands (Pearson, 2012). Imperial Germany's Karl Peters' adventures secured Tanganyika for his Kaiser. Britain's Cecil John Rhodes' exploits yielded a huge chunk of central Africa for his King. Henry Morton Stanley's expeditions to Africa paved the way for the Belgians King Leopold to acquire the Congo—which he ironically named “The Congo Free State” (Ascherson, 1999).

2.1 PURPORTED MERITS AND DEMERITS OF COLONIAL RULE IN AFRICA

Various debates have been held on the apparent and theoretical benefits of colonialism to Africa. One major supposed benefit colonialism brought to Africa that has been argued consistently borders on education. According to Hrituleac (2011), Western education and colonial education policies have been reported to have elevated the level of education in Africa (Toyin, 2005). This has however been an issue of contention for some time now. Hrituleac (2011) for instance argues that the educational system that was created was separating Africans from their society and this, in turn, resulted in Africans feeling ashamed of their roots. Furthermore, according to Odotei (2008), though some infrastructural developments, such as roads, harbour, schools etc took place, these were mainly geared towards serving the interests of the colonialists. For instance, the roads were connected to the sources of the raw materials and the harbours whilst education focused primarily on literacy and numeracy. It is against this background that the perceived benefits and detriments associated with colonial policies in education in Africa have always been a subject of debate for those who focused on this topic.

A meta-analysis of the writings of African Scholars by Lassiter (1999) effectively argue that there is a widespread pattern of social and cultural mal-adaptation within African societies evidenced by continuing under-achievement in national development and less than optimal regional socio-economic integration. Lassiter (1999, p.1) adds further that “this is regarded by the majority of the writers to be a post-colonial legacy, the result of ongoing external interference, and a now endemic and intense African admiration of Western culture over African culture”. He is however quick to admit that “their works are not clearly or consistently tied to ethnographic and historical data. This omission weakens their often innovative insights and arguments. It also prohibits independent cross-cultural comparison and verification of their generalizations and persuasive assertions”.

Another concern which perhaps may be viewed as a drawback of colonialism hinges on the controversies stemming from the delineation of borders in Africa. According to Michalopoulos and Papaioannou (2011), a colossal amount of research in African history expostulates that the principal effect Europeans’ influence had on Africa was not colonization per se, but the inappropriate demarcation of borders. This line of reasoning avers that improper division of borders, gave rise to partisan politics, ethnic wrangling and fostered civil unrest, resulting in economic hardship and slow developmental rate. In probing the logic or otherwise of this argument, Michalopoulos and Papaioannou (2011), scrutinized the effect of ethnic partitioning on differing facets of civil conflict (incidence, casualties, duration), conjectured as the primary effect of the scramble for Africa. Their analysis was premised on a comprehensive regional data covering 834 ethnic areas across Africa. This allowed them to control at a very fine level for natural resources, geography and early development. They also included country and ethnic-family fixed effects to account for national factors and broad cultural characteristics respectively. They found that partitioned ethnicities, compared to tribes that have not been

directly affected by the improper border design, have experienced more civil war incidents that lasted longer and were more devastating in terms of casualties. According to Michalopoulos and Papaioannou (2011), the marked difference in economic conditions of African countries becomes more dramatic, when viewed in light of the finding that partitioned and non-partitioned ethnic groups were economically similar both in the eve of colonization and at the time of African independence. Thus, the scramble for Africa by partitioning ethnicities in different countries most likely stimulated civil conflict and unrest and shaped their economic trajectory.

In effect, it may be safe to conclude that colonial rule did trigger various changes in the socio-cultural and socioeconomic lives of Africans. What remains debatable though, is whether or not; these changes have been favourable to Africa. It's however essential to note, that regardless of the lens used in viewing the effect of colonialism on Africa, the cultural identity of Africans shaped by colonialism yesterday, may not inevitably remain the same tomorrow. This will largely be dependent on how past and present circumstances are analyzed and understood. Another factor would be clearly mapped-out strategies to improve those circumstances, and thwart the deterioration of African cultural identity. In light of this, two main approaches may be embraced by all and sundry to ensure that African cultural identity fosters development, unity and pride.

Firstly, it is pertinent to comprehend without bias, the specific effects colonialism seemed to have had on African cultural identity. More significantly however, it is imperative that knowledge garnered on the effects of colonialism on Africa's cultural identity, be used to shape attitudes, strategies and actions towards attaining or preserving the cultural identity that promotes unity and development.

2.3 EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM ON CULTURE IN AFRICA

African culture has witnessed expeditious change since colonialism (Maluleke, 2012). However, rarely is it taken into cognizance, the remarkable degree of influence, colonialism has had on the multi-faceted African way of life, including the social, political, and economic tenets of African societies (Owusu, 2006). For instance, Adu-Boahen (2008) reports that the Western Christian model of education introduced into Africa, halfway into the nineteenth century, by European traders had begun to create a telling impression on the culture of numerous African societies. It is against this background that the Charter for African Cultural Renaissance (2006) resolves to participate fully in Africa's quest for political, economic and social liberation. This pursuit has however been saddled with challenges originating from the phenomenon of globalisation. The rise of globalisation and its attendant growth in Information and Communication Technologies, demands universal mobilization, and requires continuous dialogue among civilisations. This then retards Africa's efforts to achieve the degree of social liberation, necessary to safeguard African culture.

Another indispensable feature of African culture reportedly affected by colonialism is traditional governance. Before the advent of colonialism, African states, governed democratically, enjoyed stability. Hrituleac (2011) for example posits that citizens enjoyed freedom to take part in the political process; whether highly centralized (Kingdoms and empires) or highly decentralized. Colonialism weakened these traditional institutions of governance, eventually rendering them ineffective. The institution of chieftaincy in Ghana, for instance, buckled under, as a result of the introduction of Indirect Rule, as decision-making rested with the colonial masters. According to Chafer, (2002) colonialism left chieftaincy in a feeble state, so that various African states lacked a national foundation and security forces, public administration. Even churches were fashioned out

to be authoritarian (Hrituleac, 2011). These cases in point demonstrate that colonialism did indeed have effects on culture in Africa and they will be interrogated more critically in the context of Ghana and South Africa in the subsequent chapter.

2.4 EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM ON LANGUAGE IN AFRICA

Language must not be tampered with or adversely influenced because

“Language shapes the way we think, and determines what we can think about ...”

(Benjamin Lee Whorf 1897 – 1941, American Linguist).

While many issues such as the effects of colonialism on the culture of Africa are undoubtedly of great importance, it is equally crucial to launch into the linguistic practices that came to be associated with European colonial rule. This is because these practices according to Migge and Leglise (2007) played a pivotal role in degrading non-European languages and cultures, and conferring supremacy on the language and culture of the colonial masters.

The issue of language has indeed been thoroughly debated, since the pre-independence periods of most formerly colonised regions. Robert Phillipson, for one, examined the elements that paved way for English to become the world’s most supreme language by probing colonial and post-colonial policies aimed at promoting English (Migge and Leglise, 2007). He asserted based on his findings that the rise of English was not fortuitous but has been carefully calculated and implemented. Migge and Leglise (2007) concurred with this by suggesting that monetary incentives from the UK and the USA, Euro-centric research on language learning in the UK and USA, and colonial and post-colonial educational policies supported by local elites have contributed immensely to the popularize and spread (certain forms of) English.

Ngũgĩ (1986, p.109) adds further:

the choice of language and the use to which it is put are central to a people’s definition of itself in relation to its natural and social environment, indeed in relation to the entire universe. Hence language has always been at the heart of the two contending social forces (imperialism and the struggle for liberation from imperialism) in the Africa of the twentieth century.

Calvet (1974) in Migge and Leglise (2007) notes that the social ranking of colonial language, also resulted in the European and local languages rubbing off each other. The local languages of the colonies, normally adopted a sizeable quantity of lexicon from the colonial language. Schmied (1991, p.141), with focus on examples from chief African languages such as Bemba, Hausa, Luo, Mina, Shona, Swahili etc., however, shows that African languages mostly only borrowed European lexicon from “domains associated with modern European life and inventions, such as technology, administration, education, sports and entertainment”. This stance seems agreeable, considering local African dialects did not have words that adequately expressed formal terms in technology, education, science, etc. Evidently, the need for fluid communication meant that African languages had to borrow from colonial languages which had expressions they (African languages) lacked.

The Charter for African Cultural Renaissance (2006) took cognisance of the fact that it was essential to evolve African languages in furtherance of Africa’s goals for economic, social and cultural growth. In line with this, African nations are encouraged to devise and execute suitable national language policies.

2.5 EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM ON LAND IN AFRICA

There is a saying, attributed to Jomo Kenyatta, the first president of Kenya, that:

When Europeans came to Africa, they had the Bible and the African had the land. They gave the Bible to the African and told him to hold it in his hand, close his eyes, and pray. When the African opened his eyes, he had the Bible and the European had his land.

Land constitutes close to three quarters of the wealth of developing countries (The World Bank, 2006). However, the uneven disbursement and administration of land affected during three hundred years of colonialism is still trickling its effects on Latin America. As a result, after almost two hundred years of independence, there is such a perpetual imbalance in incomes in Latin America (Frankema, 2006). Africa is burdened with this very predicament. In the same vein, it is accounted that Europeans introduced a couple of institutions to Africa; plantation agriculture and private property rights. Plantation agriculture demanded more land than the ordinary African farmer made use of, thus, augmenting the need to employ more labour (ibid). On another breadth, communal ownership policies, gave way to private property rights (ibid). Europeans then split African land and established property rights, whilst colonial police exerted coercion and adopted the use of force, to forestall the possible event where the Africans would take back their lands. The colonizers however encountered a shortfall in labour. To resolve this problem, they proffered the following solutions (ibid)

- Recruit Africans to work under European supervision
- Import immigrants from Europe as contract workers
- Import labour from Asia
- Establish a capitalistic wage labor system

These interventions seemingly impacted differently on the lives of Africans, depending on the country and its peculiar geopolitical constitution. In effect, the impact of colonialism on land

in Ghana and South Africa, will therefore be interrogated in detail, in the next chapter of this document.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM ON CULTURAL IDENTITY IN AFRICA

This chapter provides pertinent answers to the research questions of this study, as purported by both theoretical and empirical reports presented in the previous chapter. It is worth noting that in both the Ghanaian and South African contexts, the effects of colonialism on land, culture and language are undisputed and corroborated by several scholars and therefore need to be interrogated individually before comparisons are made.

3.1 EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM ON CULTURE IN GHANA AND SOUTH AFRICA

3.1.1 The case of Ghana

The effect of colonialism on culture per se in Ghana will be scrutinized in this section based on extant literature on two salient facets of culture, vis-a-vis the effect on chieftaincy and some tribes (the Krobo tribe as a case in point).

As earlier indicated, chieftaincy is an important custodian, and at the same time, demonstration of culture in Africa. Odotei (2008) notes that colonial rule witnessed the British as the formal colonial master of the Gold Coast. With the introduction of Indirect Rule, the traditional rulers of the Gold Coast were allowed to rule their people under the supervision of British authorities. In this system, the traditional rulers took on a cardinal role in the British administration of the colony. The system of Indirect Rule, allowed the institution of chieftaincy to be exploited at the expense of the local people, as long as it satisfied the political demands of the colonial authorities.

These times saw the appointment or enstoolment of chiefs in areas where they hitherto, were not existent e.g. among the Frafra. In other unique situations, like that of Asantehene Prempeh I, some chiefs were dethroned and sent into expulsion. Not surprisingly, others were conferred the status of a chief, imbued with powers which they traditionally were not endowed with. In addition, a number of legislative ordinances were promulgated; Native Jurisdiction Ordinance (1883), Chiefs Ordinance (1904), Native Administration Ordinance (1927), and Native Administration Treasuries Ordinance (1939), which licensed colonial authorities to annex the powers of the chiefs. The colonizer therefore wielded influence as the final authority in matters of chieftaincy. Thus, Odotei (2008) opines that European portrayal that bloody conflicts and oppressive rule were not uncommon in Africa is antithetical to what really was. She argues that dictatorship became the hallmark of traditional leaders, upon whom colonial authorities ascribed powers they traditionally did not wield (Odotei, 2008). Undoubtedly, a distortion in the indigenous governance style or leadership structure of any society, would invariably see trickling effects on other facets of that society. Indeed, British rule meant that, large portions of society began to frown on their culture, finding more preferable, British values.

Ninsin, (1986) amongst other scholars, narrates that, a period most crucial for kingships and chieftaincies in Ghana, was the years directly preceding African independence and directly after (Ninsin, 1986). The colonial masters observed that governance through the local chiefs were more viable. However, a booming resistance to the traditional structure of power, meant a possible expiration to the traditional structure of power and eventually, to the colonial regime as well. In a bid to thwart this and safeguard their stake, the colonial regime found it shrewd to secure the structure of chieftaincy, hence enacting laws to serve this purpose. This resulted in a cultural alteration in the traditional institution of chieftaincy, in that, chiefs who desired to retain and fortify

their political power, embraced European practices and values at the expense of African culture (Ninsin, 2006). Premised on this, one can safely deduce that both the local chiefs and their colonial masters, yoked by a collective interest to preserve their respective powers, enjoyed a mutually beneficial relationship, much to the detriment of indigenous African practices and values, including communal land tenure.

According to Ninsin (1986), the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1883 heralded a period in which colonial government's interfered more in local politics. The colonizers introduced bye-laws that clearly marked and spelt out the rights and responsibilities of local powers including chiefs and their councils of elders. One of such responsibilities the chiefs were tasked with was the payment of royalties charged on certain farming and mining operations. These new responsibilities and induced interference from colonial masters weakened the authority and influence of several chiefs (Ninsin, 1986) and rendered feeble, till today, the traditional authority of some chieftaincy systems in Ghana. Yet, specifically in the Ashanti kingdom, the structures of chieftaincy opposed, to some extent, political interference and oppression from colonial governments. The infamous or not, Ashanti rebellion, known as the War of the Golden Stool, led by Yaa Asantewaa, queen mother of Ejisu in 1900, bespeaks the lengths the Ashantis went, to defy directives from the colonizers and safeguard their traditions. Indeed, the Ashantis have an unwavering belief in the Golden Stool as receptacle for Ashanti power, and accord the Stool unparalleled reverence.

Angehrn, (2005) observes that when Ghanaians make reference to a tribe, it is often that which they are affiliated to and many of the local histories form lineages, buttressing this notion.

He continues to note that the scholars have been grappling with the concept of the tribe for quite a while, and have considered it a colonial fabrication. The following discourse elucidates

this assertion, as reported by Angehrn (2005):

Africans before colonization belonged simultaneously to a broad variety of social networks and their loyalties and identities were complex and flexible. With colonialism and the introduction of schooling, industrialization and Christianity, further forms of identities were added to those existing before. The concept of ethnicity, which came up in the 1960s was to do justice to the often situational character of group affiliation. While it has created a greater awareness for the fluidity of group concepts, there has been a tendency to simply replace “tribe” with “ethnic group”. This is especially the legacy of tribalism in the apartheid state of South Africa, where it served apologists of the system, supported a constructivist approach to ethnicity. Subsequently there was a tendency to present ethnicity solely as the product of administrators, missionaries and ethnographers and deny it a historical basis. The approach thus failed to account for pre-colonial ethnicities.

In the meantime, historians have come to acknowledge the historical roots of modern tribalism and view it “as a transformation of earlier ethnic forms as much as a colonial creation” (Angehrn, 2005) The British policy of indirect rule asked for a new ‘tribal’ landscape with fixed entities through which to administer the colonies. While this system did not provide room for much flexibility, the shaping of the consequent ethnic landscape was not a one-sided administrative process. It took place with the active participation of African actors, who creatively made use of, reshaped or invented traditions, so that the result met their own interests. The formation of the Fante Confederacy, 1868, supports this assertion. The Confederacy believed it could assist the British to rule against the Ashantis. This inured to their benefit (Laumann, 1993).

Furthermore, the British, then governing the Gold Coast Colony did not use ‘tribal lenses’. Instead, they adopted the term ‘tribe’ in their dealings with larger groups of people, having gained some comprehension of the complicated political setup of the Gold Coast. In this, they were impacted by some scholars from the Gold Coast, like Reindorf, Sarbah, Casely-Hayford, De Graft-Johnson and Danquah, who clearly distinguished the peculiarities and uniqueness of the various people on the Gold Coast whilst equally emphasizing their similarities. The different Akan groups, for instance, share the same language and culture. All the same their

‘being Akan’ does not necessarily correlate with the British notion of a tribe. The qualities of their notion of a tribe were embedded in the institution of ‘chiefdom’, in which the use of a common language and culture was not crucial.

The legacy of British colonialism in Ghana is thus a colourful map of ‘native states’ rather than tribes. As noted above, these entities together with the respective local practices and institutions, foremost chiefs, have maintained a great importance in post-colonial Ghana and play a crucial role in the making of communal identities (rather than ethnicities). The colonial influence on two Krobo states illustrates colonial association with tribe.

Emil Angehrn, probed cultural transformation in south-eastern Ghana during the colonial period (Angehrn, 2005). Thus, Angehrn (2005) scrutinized how the two Krobo states at the time got round their riveting economic and territorial expansion in terms of culture from 1830-1930. Angehrn (2005) considered the abandonment of their former homesteads on Krobo Mountain. He also looked at how they survived with the obliteration of their national centre and managed to fashion out another, in their principal farm settlements. He explored how they dealt with the extermination of their principal cults and got round to reinvent new festivals. Finally, he delved into how they at present, marshal their cultural and historical heritage in the context of development.

The following report therefore draws heavily on evidence by Angehrn (2005). Angehrn opined, “That while the abolition of the national centre and the principal rites of the Krobo”, is recollected as an act of colonial violence prompted besides others, by a ‘civilising mission’, he contends that the Krobo themselves commenced this intervention in order to achieve the dramatic expansion and negotiate the necessary political transformation. The Krobo did not merely react or respond to external factors such as colonialism and mission. Rather, they actively drew on them (but also on the culture of the neighbouring Akan states) as resources in order to achieve

internal transformations and expand their economy and territory. As a result, today, mission and church can be considered part of Krobo tradition.

Angerhrn probed in his study, the termination of the historic centre of Krobo society by the colonial government in 1892 which in some cases is considered as the end of any descriptive historic account of the Krobo. In January 1892 the prominent Manya Krobo paramount chief *Konô* Sakite passed away. In August of the same year, colonial government meddled for the first time substantially in Krobo affairs, by enforcing the election of a literate chief. The colonial government indicated its readiness to provide aid and assistance to the Krobo people, but on condition that, the people abandon their homesteads on Krobo Mountain and abolish the major rituals constituting their annual calendar. Though distressing and agonizing, the Krobo concurred to the abolishment, resulting in a period of chaos and confusion. However, this ushered in the dawn of the modern age of Krobo history.

The termination of extant cultural festivals, under coercion and intimidation from the colonial government, is marked to have been the precondition for the furtherance of ‘civilisation’ in Krobo society. This contemplation however fails to acknowledge that the Krobo themselves relinquished their mountain settlements. Just as European culture gained grounds in Africa, “African cultural forms insinuated themselves into the everyday routines, the aesthetics, and the material lives of the Europeans” (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1997). This influence largely impacted on their clothing, rituals and processions. Africans also now viewed the use of foreign clothing and materials as an expression of their social ranking and prestige and evade instituted norms and privileges (Hendrickson, 1996), while Europeans invented their own tropical and ceremonial dress code, asserting their authority, superiority, and or identity as coloniser, missionary, adventurer, etc (Callaway 1992, p. 230-246). The apparel of those who “went native”, was often inspired by the local designs of ceremonial uniforms for the high socially

ranked (Comaroff 1997, p. 241-245; Collingham 2001, p. 13-44).

3.1.2 The case of South Africa

Hrituleac (2011) concurs with the argument that, owing to colonialism, the transformation in Africa runs deep into the continent's cultures and institutions. The ensuing report on the effect of colonialism in South Africa is gleaned from the report by Maluleke (2012). Maluleke recounts that, white South Africans whose lineage could be traced to Western countries suppressed local African culture for a long spell. Maluleke (2012) observes that, whilst African cultures were collaborative, communal-centred and concerned with the collective wellbeing of their society, Western cultures were more singular and independent, concerned mostly about their personal aspirations. Maluleke (2012) also posits that it was not until 1848 that native law gained official recognition. As long as it did not contravene the integrity of 'civilised society', deemed as 'white society' in that day. Targeted at exercising dominion over, and exploiting African people, an approach was employed to systemize and structure customary law as seen fit by the colonisers, evidently to favour them (colonizers). As a result, many research findings and scholarly writings divulge an interference with customary law and its practices (Maluleke, 2012).

The Zulu maxim, '*umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*', which means a person is a person through other persons, shows the African people viewed life in a compassionate way, where ethics and morals spearheaded everything. All African cultural, traditional and customary practices, as well as those that concerned women and children, were based on *Ubuntu*. *Ubuntu* means, 'I am what I am because of who we all are' and underscores the importance of agreement or consensus. In South Africa, the Constitution also provides for and protects the right to culture (sections 15 (3), 30 and 31 of the *Constitution*) and recognises traditional leadership (sections 211, 212 of the *Constitution*). Owusu (2006) is convinced that the institution of

chieftaincy in South Africa has undergone what he describes as “one of the most extraordinary political transformations in the twentieth century” (Owusu, 2006).

Khounou (2011) also presents an expansive account of the effect of culture on the traditional leadership in South Africa. He indicates that, in the pre-colonial era, traditional leadership was a crucial institution, which brought life and meaning to bear on tradition and culture and played a key role in traditional life. A strong relationship between a traditional leader and the community was indispensable. The traditional leader oversaw the standard functioning of the traditional community. In pre-colonial traditional leadership, as the political and administrative head of the traditional communities, the traditional leader was accountable to his people.

The operations of the institution of chieftaincy were guided by applicable customs, traditions and customary laws. Customary law was a binding force on the traditional leader as well as his community. According to Khunou (2011), the traditional authority was an institution functioning according to the traditions and customary law of a particular traditional community. Premised on this, a traditional authority was imbued with the powers to ensure compliance and obedience of the traditional values and customs of a traditional community.

Khonou (2011), opines that colonialism in South Africa, indeed with its extensive history, had an overwhelming impact on the institution of traditional leadership. Reforms were made to already existing laws, and several more laws were enacted to legitimize intrusion into traditional communities and dispossess them of their land. These reforms adversely affected the structure and order of pre-colonial customary law, communal land tenure system. Without land to call their own, traditional communities began to disintegrate. Traditional leaders had no borders within which their jurisdiction fell. During this period, South Africa was divided into four provinces; Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State. Though the Union Government employed a uniform approach to oversee the institution of traditional leadership, the four

provinces each, had unique codifications regulating the institution of traditional leadership (Maluleke, 2012). As can be safely surmised, the foundation for the pillars of traditional leadership became porous. Consequently, the institution of traditional leadership grew feeble.

Naidoo (1992) reports that, the Indian community in South Africa for instance, though small, is an extremely manifold group with diversity in religion, language, customs, class and political affiliations. Owing to the supremacy of Western culture, some 'Indians' have imbibed White norms, values and customs, and do not observe Indian customs. Thus, while some Indians in South Africa have kept strong ties with the mother country, others have repudiated Indian customs and have adopted Western values and traditions, preserving only those superficial aspects such as clothes and food, which have gained the approval of the dominant culture (Naidoo, 1992).

3.1.3 Discussion of the effects of colonialism on culture

In the case of Ghana, two major aspects of culture (chieftaincy and the effect on tribe) were perused and expounded. In the South African context however, this study mainly focused its interrogative lens on the effects colonialism had on chieftaincy. These findings presented in the previous sections are now compared and discussed herein.

Various local but formidable states and kingdoms existed before colonial rule in Ghana and South Africa. However, extant reports reviewed seem to suggest that the colonial masters had to devise ways of gaining absolute control over its colonies that seemed to be more united and resistant to their policies and activities than expected. This culminated in the British policy of indirect rule in Ghana which asked for a new tribal landscape with fixed entities through which to administer the colonies (Angehrn, 2005). Thus, tribes were mainly colonial distinctions to aid in their characterisation, division and rule of the people. However, Carola Lentz and Paul

Nugent in their book, *Ethnicity Ghana*, have claimed the Ghanaian case to be quite different from the Southern African one in that, ethnic identities in Ghana today are not just the result of an invention dating from the colonial period but draw more strongly on older we-group processes, where as in the South African context, strong tribal groups and clans existed prior to colonialism, but were very significantly affected in the advent of colonial and apartheid rule.

The Krobo states are an illustration of the influence colonialism had along tribal lines in Ghana, as presented in the previous sections. The fact that the colonial government interfered with the customs, traditions and leadership of the Krobo states, demonstrates their desperate need to pursue their imperialistic agenda. Some schools of thought may argue that in the case of the Krobo states and other states in Ghana, the activities of missionaries even exacerbated the concomitant effects the colonial policies and activities had on the customs, traditions and way of life of the people. Dipo, the customary puberty rites of the Krobos, observed to usher young girls into womanhood, for instance, has been greatly affected by missionary activities. The introduction of Christianity into Krobo society diminished interest in the puberty rites as Christianity frowns upon vital aspects of the rites, including the display of the nude bodies of the initiates and the heavy involvement of fetish priests and their shrines during the initiation rites.

With respect to chieftaincy in both Ghana and South Africa, extant literature seems to suggest that colonialism diminished the value, significance and benefits of chieftaincy. However, most scholars including Adu Boahen (1987) and Awedoba (2007) generally agree that during the pre-colonial era in Ghana and South Africa, traditional leaders and traditional authorities were important institutions, which gave effect to traditional life and played an essential role in the day-to-day administration of their localities. Indeed, currently, there are those who suggest that the chieftaincy institution has lost its significance and therefore does not serve any purpose in a democratic dispensation and so should be abolished (Rattray, 1992). This line of reasoning

may however be flawed in the sense that, the proponents of this school of thought fail to take cognisance of the facts that the chieftaincy institution today is still the custodian of the cherished customs and values of African people and also the administrative role of chieftaincy in ensuring and maintaining law and order cannot be over emphasised. It is worth reiterating that a major difference in the involvement of colonial governments in Ghana and South Africa differ somewhat.

This study therefore contends that whereas in the case of Ghana, the colonial government in some cases actively defended chieftaincy for imperialistic purposes (resulting in modifications to the institution), chieftaincy in South Africa was more or less down trodden. Thus, in Ghana, the chiefs were very instrumental in securing land and other property concessions needed for agriculture and mining and other business ventures for the colonial governments and so their interest were protected. Nevertheless, in both the Ghanaian and South African context, extant literature generally demonstrates that colonialism sought of diminished the authority of chieftaincy institutions. Khunou (2011) corroborates this assertion when he reported that colonialism in South Africa indeed had a long history, which had a profound influence on the institution of traditional leadership. Various laws were enacted to legalise encroachment and to deprive traditional communities of their land. These changes had a great impact on the systems of pre-colonial customary law, communal land tenure system and the institution of traditional leadership itself.

Scholars like Kambysellis (1997), have asserted that colonialism unquestionably resulted in a certain degree of suppression in the form of a mostly unconscious cultural assimilation whereby the colonialists' beliefs were indoctrination upon their colonized persons (Kambysellis, 1997). This cultural assimilation to the detriment of Africa's indigenous cultures is evident today. Africans are adopting the taste for foreign practices and trends that influence their interest and

preference for foreign clothes, food, music and language.

It is however undeniable that colonialism did wither away, mostly through the influence of formal education and religion; certain aspects of African culture that today are frowned upon. Certain customs and practices common to the Krobos, such as the excommunication of young girls who get pregnant without having undergone Dipo, the puberty initiation rites has been annihilated. Indeed, even the institution of Dipo itself has seen major transformations that hitherto, were never thought possible. Today, the initiates have their private parts well-covered. The initiates no longer have all their hair shaven, as was consistent with the practice. Initiates from Christian backgrounds, are permitted to steer clear of the shrines of the fetish priests, but must pay a stipend. Outside of the Krobos, a cruel practice like Female Genital Mutilation has been terminated in Ghana. This only goes to underscore the fact that the effects of colonialism on culture, as observed in the case of Ghana and South Africa, are not all entirely bad.

3.2 EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM ON LANGUAGE IN GHANA AND SOUTH AFRICA

3.2.1 The case of Ghana

There are several languages and dialects spoken in Ghana. However, Owu-Ewie (2006), notes that, the principal written Ghanaian languages are the Twi dialects of Asante, Akwapim, and Fante. Other written languages are Nzema, Ewe, Dagbane, Ga, and Kasena (a Grusi language). Hausa, a language of northern Nigeria which spread throughout West Africa through trade, is also comprehended by the northeastern dwellers of the country. According to Bamgbose, (2000), the use of a Ghanaian language during the period from 1529 to 1925 had so gained root to the extent that when the British colonial government took over the administration of education in the country in 1925, reversing the trend, was a daunting task. However, English is now extensively spoken and has become Ghana's official language and is the spoken mode of communication for all government affairs, formal business undertakings, formal tuition, and in national radio and television broadcasts.

A colonial legacy in relation to this may be viewed in light of the fact that, the country's colonial past, thwarted any possibility of having a Ghanaian language as the official language. British colonizers succeeded in assigning prestige only to the English language. Notwithstanding the fact that post colonial governments have exerted much effort into promoting Ghanaian languages, the notion that English language is 'prestigious', still exists. A juxtaposition of the number of students studying English language in the universities, and those studying various Ghanaian languages, indicates a general disinterest in the study of Ghanaian languages by Ghanaian people themselves. Odotei (2008), mentions that, in the mid-1980s, the Ministry of Education encouraged teachers to use local languages for instruction during the first six years of formal education. This, till date, has not been followed to the letter, as selected Ghanaian are

subjects for study in school. Local languages are not the spoken mode of communication especially in formal tuition. To say the least Alexander (2013) emphasised the significance of local languages for holistic development when he reported that:

the self-esteem, self-confidence, potential creativity and spontaneity that come with being able to use the language(s) that have shaped one from early childhood (one's "mother tongue") is the foundation of all democratic politics and institutions. To be denied the use of this language is the very meaning of oppression.

Lenin (1983, p.138) also states emphatically,

a democratic state is bound to grant complete freedom for the native languages and annul all privileges for any one language. A democratic state will not permit the oppression or the overriding of any one nationality by another, either in any particular region or in any branch of public affairs"

In concurrence with Lennin (1983) and Alexander (2013), a great and perhaps unpardonable injustice meted out to Ghana, by the British, that the latter's native language be imposed on the former, to the extent that, no Ghanaian language may never equal the English language in scope and influence, here in Ghana.

With respect to the direct and significant effects of colonialism on languages in Ghana, available literature is not very clear. However, anecdotal reports and observations have recounted how various tenets of colonialism have to some extent modified some Ghanaian languages. The Fantes for instance were directly influenced by British education and trade. This therefore seemed to have resulted in relatively higher proportions of the Fante people (especially the local authorities and opinion leaders), compared to other tribes in the country attaining formal education and therefore learning the English language to facilitate communication. As a result of this, it is commonly observed that the Fante language is often spoken with interspersed English vocabulary. Some other local languages adopted specific English words that have stayed and become part of the language vocabulary. "Paanu" and "Krataa" mean bread and paper respectively in the Twi language. These were however adopted from the Portuguese.

Colonialism therefore seemed to have put limitations on Ghanaian languages. Even

though language is dynamic and keeps evolving, the imposition of English on Ghana by British colonizers stifled dynamism of local languages. Local languages could not compete with the English language, hence could not be further developed as is the case of the English language. Thus, some languages do not have local linguistic connotations for some names, places, things and even events. This poses a challenge to translation from English to a local dialect and vice versa, leaving most people with no option than to stick to the use of the English language, for better expression and comprehension.

Some reports also suggest that the effect of colonialism on language in Ghana has created a wide social divide in the country. There is a form of linguistic discrimination even among Ghanaian languages. Certain languages have greater prestige than others. For example, the Twi dialect of the Ashantis, has gained supremacy over other local dialects. This arguably stems from the fact that, the British colonizers engaged in massive trade with the Ashantis who had gold, timber, cocoa, etc in abundance, more than any other tribes. The Ashantis, as a result, enjoyed some degree of prestige, just by their frequent interactions and association with the colonial ‘masters’. Naturally, Ashanti culture gained prominence and superiority over others (ibid. p.478).

The above notwithstanding, that there are still several small and indigenous tribes whose languages have not been adulterated significantly, probably suggest that the influence of colonialism on Ghanaian languages may be described as marginal, to some extent.

3.2.2 The case of South Africa

South Africa has eleven official languages: English, Afrikaans, Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Sotho, Swazi, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu. Fewer than two percent of South Africans speak a first language other than an official one (Census, 2011). Dutch and English were the first official languages of South Africa from 1910 to 1925. In 1925, Afrikaans was

included as a part of Dutch. Dutch was replaced by Afrikaans when South Africa became a republic in 1961 and Dutch was dropped in 1984, so between 1984 and 1994, South Africa had two official languages: English and Afrikaans. Afrikaans is the most widely spoken language in the western half of the country (Northern Cape and Western). It is spoken as a home language by approximately 61 percent of whites and 76 percent of coloured (multiracial) people in the country (Census, 2011). Afrikaans is also spoken widely across the centre and north of the country, as a second (or third or even fourth) language by Black South Africans living in farming areas.

Allman (2009), explains that, during the colonial and apartheid periods, the languages spoken were used in cultural distinctions, with the languages of power being English and Afrikaans; the languages of the white officeholders. These distinctions, according to Allman (2009), redefined ethnic and racial lines and made value judgments about indigenous languages that South Africans still struggle with today, since many local languages were used as justifications for apartheid and have been associated with inferiority or incivility. Furthermore, in apartheid South Africa, the rulers approached African languages as though they had no economic or cultural value.

According to Moyo (2009), African countries in Southern Africa, which include South Africa, give more preference to colonial languages rather than original African languages, though majority of Africans use indigenous African dialects in their day-to-day interaction. However, Afrikaans and English are the languages used in formal settings; higher education, government affairs, commerce and industry, diplomacy and in almost all documentation. According to Allman (2009), long after apartheid, English remains the most supreme language on the globe. Hence, in an increasingly competitive world, many Africans in pursuit of positions

of relevance must be well versed in English. Allman (2009) continues to note that, apartheid undertones and nuances, have been brought to bear on regular words. He cites some examples as “ethnicity, culture, development, reforms, citizenship, law and order”. However, as Allman (2009) clearly states:

“if the language in which conflict is remembered carries distasteful conceptions of identity, it will continue to be a remissive cancer in political transition”.

For instance, in South Africa, the pidgin known as Fanagalo, used today in the gold mining industry to facilitate communication among workers, is regarded with disgust, because it connoted social rankings during apartheid.

3.2.3 Discussion of the effects of colonialism on language

Another salient objective of this study was to compare and contrast the impacts of colonialism on cultural identity language in Ghana and South Africa. In the words of Tollefson (1991, p.201), –a world system that is more just and equitable depends upon an understanding of how people can gain control of their own institutions. A key issue is the role of language in organizing and reproducing those institutions.

In the first place, it has been reported that communication between colonizers and those they colonized was difficult, and this was complicated by the fact that Africans from different areas were unable to clearly communicate and understand one another due to language barriers. This necessitated the introduction of a dominant language. English language was therefore extensively taught by the colonizers to mainly the local authorities they dealt with directly and subsequently the entire colony (or some aspects of it). Thus, the local administrators were obliged to receive education instructed in English (in the case of Ghana) or both English and Afrikaans (in the case of South Africa) to facilitate communication. The effect this has had on language in both Ghana and South Africa are innumerable and reported in the previous section.

However, two dominant effects stand out more clearly. First, as a result of the wide use of the English language even in some homes, especially in the urban areas, some individuals are unable to communicate effectively in their local dialects. This on a surface value might not be significant to some individuals, but to those who value the sense of belonging, being able to speak a mother tongue is invaluable to their cultural identity. Additionally, this study argues that for many Africans seeking an education and hoping to have a competitive edge in both the local and the global market place, English (or the colonial language) is the language of choice. This is probably corroborated by Pierre Alexandre's (1972, p.86) observation that:

for postcolonial Africa, proficiency in the language of the former colonial power (English, French or Portuguese) constituted „cultural capital“ and was an index to the class location of the individual, since this ability almost automatically elevated the speaker into the ruling elite.

The implications of this are obvious. From childhood to adulthood, one will be marginalized in several ways if they are unable to learn and master the English language, no matter how proficient they are in their mother tongue or how intelligent they may be.

3.3 EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM ON LAND IN GHANA AND SOUTH AFRICA

3.3.1. The case of Ghana

Land is Ghana's single most valuable asset and the foundation of the national resource base (Ministry of Lands and Forestry Policy Brief, 1999). One major reason is that agriculture accounts for more than sixty percent of the country's jobs (Agbosu, 2000). Sadly, in February 1994, clashes resulting from longstanding grievances over land ownership and the prerogatives of chiefs culminated in more than 1,000 persons killed and 150,000 others displaced in the northeastern part of Ghana in fighting between Konkomba on one side and Nanumba, Dagomba, and Gonja on the other.

Everywhere in Ghana in 1874 there seemed to be enough land for the local population concerned to feed itself (Austin, 2007). Thus, prior to colonial rule, according to Botchway (19998), Ghana had varying, though not entirely dissimilar, land tenure schemes. Land was mainly communally owned and any member of the land owning community had an intrinsic right to reduce to his or her occupation any part of previously unoccupied communal land. The land tenure system also prevented or forbade the use of land in such a way that it will be detrimental to other members of the community, whether born or unborn. Botchway (1998) further reported that Land tenure in present day Ghana is still largely based on the customary law even though serious modifications have been made as a result of Ghana's changing Agriculture and mining.

In Austin's (2007) opinion, in the colonial era, the principal commodities, palm oil and kola nuts, could be produced only in the south. Above all, cocoa beans, which began to be exported regularly in 1891, could be grown only in (large) parts of the forest zone. The whole of that zone was within the south: meaning the Gold Coast Colony, Ashanti, and the southern district (the Ho-Kpandu area) of British Mandated Togoland. The colonialist therefore engaged actively in the exportation of these cash crops. Thus, very little of the land in any part of Ghana, apart from the cocoa growing areas was used to grow export crops.

Unfortunately, the colonial regime persuaded the Ashanti Confederacy Council of Chiefs to ban the creation of new farms in 1939 – despite the Ashantis dependence on cocoa income (Gareth, 2007). Not surprisingly, this policy proved ineffective, and was consequently abandoned in 1946 (Gareth, 2007). But Gareth (2007) suggests that there was some reason for its adoption. For the 1940s there is evidence from Amansie District in south Ashanti of fallows being shortened and even of a dietary change driven by pressure on land. For the first time, cassava (manioc) was widely adopted in the area, apparently because it would grow on the marginal-quality land that was increasingly what was available (Ibid). In the same decade in

neighbouring Ashanti-Akyem district, land suitable for cocoa-farming had become scarce enough that young men were said to be growing up to find that all the land suitable for cocoa farming in their localities was already cultivated. This was driving them to work as sharecrop labourers or to migrate to the advancing frontier of cocoa cultivation, in the west of the forest zone, in search of land (Ibid). The major colonial agricultural activities therefore increased the demand for land and also migrations of individuals to the cocoa and other cash crop farming areas. Ninsin (1986) asserts that the development of commercial agriculture greatly appreciated the value of lands in the forest belt, and thereby produced new and more powerful interests in land. For instance, between 1900 and 1915, the growing importance of the palm oil industry had attracted an additional wave of European firms to acquire palm bearing lands.

Furthermore, Gareth (2007) reports that colonialism did not only result in the seizure of arable land for imperialistic agricultural purposes but also for mining. There was a veritable scramble for mining concessions in the Tarkwa area of the Western Region, such that five gold mining companies operated in the Tarkwa area alone. In the opinion of the colonizing authorities, this scramble had induced an indiscriminate granting of concessions in these areas, thereby resulting in confusion and jeopardy of the rights of both the chiefs in the district as well as European companies operating there. Communal land tenure was therefore obviously disturbed during this period. Within the same period, the eastern part of the colony did not receive any disturbance in the land tenure since there were no precious mineral deposits known at the time. Thus, oil palm, rubber and kola were exploited rather in their natural state there. Nevertheless, the effect of colonialism on land tenure or the use of land in Ghana was not entirely gloomy. One purported positive effect was that colonialism seemed to have increased the creation of a cocoa economy which provided revenues for investments in public health (a case in point is the building of the Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital) and probably financed better diets for

cocoa-producing households (at least until land for food crops became locally scarce) (Gareth, 2007).

According to Ninsin (1986), the West Africa Lands Committee (WALC), observed that, the 'gold rush' in the colony had had a beneficial effect on the London stock market and there was therefore, an urgent need to inject order into the land market of the colony in order to avoid panic on the London stock market. The proposed solution to the then growing anarchy in land transactions was the Lands Bill of 1897. Ninsin (1986) reported further that the objectives of this Bill were succinctly stated in its preamble. Among other things it took cognizance of the fact that the uncertainty of native tenure is calculated to retard the development of the Colony and noted therefore that:

it is expedient to provide for the proper exercise of their powers by those entrusted with the disposal of public land and to prevent the improvident creation of interest therein and rights there over, and to facilitate the acquisition of public land by private persons on proper conditions and to decide upon the Validity and scope of claims founded upon grants of lands, minerals or other concessions alleged to have been already acquired from native chiefs or other Persons (Ninsin, 1986, p.140).

In addition to the rather extensive acquisitions for mineral and timber exploitation, many more large tracts of land were acquired outside the ambit of the Concessions Ordinance of 1900, and for as long as 99 years (Ninsin, 1986). In the process, many chiefs abused their title to the lands of their 'subjects'. Ninsin argued, therefore that the purpose of that bill was simply to apply directly English legal precepts to land transactions and modify customary laws relating to land rights in order to ensure a "permanent hereditable, transferable right of proprietorship which the Supreme Court will enforce". That bill could not become law; but the motive behind it was-clear enough.

The Northern parts of the country were not left out with regards to the activities of the colonialist on issues involving the use of land. Concerning the colonial objective of perpetuating a peasant society in the country, the land and Native-Rights (Northern Territories) Ordinance

of 1927 (as amended in 1931) is significant for the purpose of this discussion. According to Ninsin (1986), this law vested all lands in the 'North' in the colonial governor and also affirmed that the subjects of the various communities would be entitled to their small plots of land through the usual customary channels. By the latter provision, this law ensured that the authority "of" the chiefs and power of customary law would remain part of psychological makeup of the peasantry.

On the whole the law assured the colonial regime the requisite social condition that is, social peace for realising the colonial purpose.

3.3.2 The case of South Africa

In Southern Africa and the white settler colonies, simple calculations about the impact of land expropriation and the creation of 'dual economies' on African incomes suggests that Africans experienced a severe deterioration in living standards as the consequence of colonialism and given the extent of land expropriated from Africans by Europeans, living standards might have fallen by about 50% (Heldring and Robinson, 2012).

According to Ntsebeza (2007), from the 17th century, white settlers in South Africa, through a complex process of colonialism and land dispossession, ended up legally appropriating more than 90 per cent of the land, a process that was formalised with the passing of the notorious Natives' Land Act of 1913. Ntsebeza (2007) adds further that this Act confined the indigenous people to reserves in the remaining marginal portions of land. Despite increasing the size of land for African occupation in terms of the Land Laws of 1936, there was chronic shortage of land in these reserves. As a result, the indigenous people were gradually converted from once successful farmers prior to the discovery of minerals, particularly gold in the 1860s, to poorly paid wage labourers. Ntsebeza (2007) therefore argued strongly that compared to other countries on the continent, the extent of land plunder in South Africa was extraordinary.

In a conference on land, race and nation, held in Cape Town, South Africa, on Friday 24 February, 2012, it was reported that the notorious Natives Land Act of 1913 confirmed in law, the spoils of the wars of colonial dispossession in South Africa (CODESRIA, 2012). According to the conference report, the Act demarcated 13% of the land surface as African reserve territory and strictly prohibited the purchase of land by Africans outside these areas. Thus, the indigenous population was effectively dispossessed of more than 90% of the land. Accompanying this segregation was a colonial conception of property as an exclusive domain. According to the conference report, the consequences of this law are still felt today, a century later. That is, the division in access to land remains utterly racialised, fracturing the nation into opposing identities of white ownership and black dispossession.

Furthermore, it was suggested at the conference that in many ways colonial practices in South Africa provided the model for a much wider and more recent, racialized dispossession of land and labour throughout the region and, many argue the continent. The conference intimated that indeed the blossoming of a new wave of land dispossession and land struggles often highly fractured and racialized along colonial lines mirrors and can inform the challenges South Africa faces.

Ntsebeza (2007) suggests that while colonialism and apartheid systematically undermined African agriculture, white farmers, on the other hand, benefited from substantial state subsidies. However, the issue of forced removals was instrumental in the establishment of a number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which were later coordinated under the auspices of the National Land Committee (NLC).

3.3.3 Discussion of the effects of colonialism on land

One major effect of colonialism on land is the negative impact on the land tenure system.

To this end the findings of this study support that colonialism resulted in alterations in the customary land tenure system in both Ghana and South Africa. Botchway (1998) corroborates this when he asserted that the sudden move from the purely customary regulation of land use to the imposition of a colonial legal system and the ultimate modifications following the attainment of independence left Africa with complex land tenure systems. Botchway (1998) argues further that the tedious medley of custom, colonial and post-colonial legislation has, if anything worsened the uncertainty surrounding the ownership of land in Ghana especially for mining. What is also surmised from various reports is that the introduction of cash crops like coffee and cocoa and the long development of European mining interests introduced a high level of interest and permanency, hitherto limited to the customary land owning scheme especially in the case of Ghana.

The evidence or findings of this study point out that the major colonial agricultural activities increased the demand for land and also migrations of individuals to the cocoa and other cash crop farming areas. Hitherto, farmers and peasants were producing for either their own use or to trade for other goods though the concept of production for the global market did not exist for them. The commercialization of land, labor and products gave a specific money value to activities that had been previously used in social matters. That is, agricultural production and export of cash crops mainly culminated in colonial interest and seizure of land in both countries. However, a major distinction is that in the case of Ghana, the colonial masters and companies seemed to liaise with the traditional authorities to provide both land and labour for crop cultivation and mining. Hence, even though the land tenure system was ultimately affected, after colonialism, the traditional authorities, government and people gained back their land. It is however argued that the activities of colonialism are largely to be blamed for the increased scuffles over land by various tribes.

In the case of South Africa, the apartheid period particularly saw an increase in the influx of white farmers and foreign companies, resulting in the complete confiscation of large tracts of land from the indigenous people. Hence, unlike in the case of Ghana where the land was mostly returned to the people after colonialism, land seized by white farmers as a result of colonialism and apartheid remained in their ambit. It is in this light that Ntsebeza (2007) suggests that colonialism and apartheid systematically undermined South African agriculture. The settlers did not have sufficient labour so some indigenous people who could not live off their lands signed up to work for the white farmers and miners under horrendous working conditions. Under these circumstances, the indigenous South Africans, typically laboured on these lands as poorly paid workers. This situation was particularly dicey for the local South African people and Government who fought for the equitable redistribution of land, since there were legislations to support white ownership of lands. It is reported also that both Ghanaians and South Africans experienced a severe deterioration in living standards as the consequence of colonialism and given the extent of land expropriated from Africans by Europeans, living standards might have fallen by about 50% (Heldring and Robinson, 2012).

This notwithstanding, the issue of very high land demand and scarcity cannot be blamed entirely on colonialism since researchers such as Gareth (2007) reported that during the creation of the cocoa economy, in Akyem Abuakwa (in Ghana) for instance, the land had been sold not by the paramount chief, but by the sub-chiefs, resulting in widespread land alienation.

That Africans do not traditionally have the conception of ownership of land as it is in the European sense is undoubted. The African's perception is that land belongs to God and its use is granted to the people, who currently occupy the land (Botchway, 1998). This postulation does not however change the fact that, till date both Ghana and South Africa are grappling with the negative colonial legacy with regards to land use, ownership or land tenure system.

What then is the way forward? According to Ntsebeza (2007), a key challenge facing the post-1994 South African state is how to reverse the racial inequalities in land resulting from colonial conquest and the violent dispossession of indigenous people of their land. In this regard, a Land Summit in July 2005 passed radical resolutions regarding land reform in South Africa (Ntsebeza, 2007). In Ntsebeza's opinion, it will however be difficult for the Department of Land Affairs to deal with the resolutions of the Land Summit. Ntsebeza's (2007) detailed explanation for this will suffice, for the purpose of this discussion. He suggested that

this is because while the overwhelming majority of participants agreed that extraordinary measures had to be taken to accelerate land delivery, including scrapping the „willing seller, willing buyer“ principle, a tiny minority of white commercial farming delegates belonging to the farmers' union Agri SA stood in opposition to these resolutions. They threatened that if there was interference with the market, there would be consequences far beyond the imagination of those at the summit. They pointed to Zimbabwe as an example, giving a clear message that should the South African government defy the principles of neo-liberal capitalism, South Africans would find themselves in a position where this world boycotts them, as is the case in Zimbabwe. In a sense, white commercial farmers in South Africa, despite being a minority, are aware that they have an international capitalist system behind them (Ntsebeza, 2007, p.10).

Pheko (2012, p.1) states emphatically that one major thing Africans can do to advance Africa's authentic liberation is that African rulers must exercise sovereignty over African lands and riches and use them for the benefits of their people. This in his opinion is true national independence from colonialism and imperialism.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 SUMMARY

The ongoing efforts to revamp Africa's cultural identity make it imperative to assess the nature of the relationship between colonialism and cultural identity and the impact of the latter on the former. Hence, this study primarily sought to investigate the effects of colonialism on the cultural identities of Africans, using Ghana and South Africa as case studies. Cultural identity was categorised into 3 major components; customs and traditions, language and land and it is within this ambit that both theoretical and empirical literature were sought and discussed to achieve the study objectives. Hence, this research confined itself to events during and after the colonial period (and apartheid period in the case of South Africa). This is so because the aforementioned period allowed for a better comprehension of the onset and end of colonialism and the impact on culture in both countries. Ghana and South Africa were chosen as case studies because amongst other reasons, both were colonised by the British and the Dutch at different periods and so served as a good basis for comparison.

This study was based on the hypothesis that colonialism was unable to wither away completely the cultural identities of both Ghana and South Africa. It at worst affected certain aspects of culture, land and language, but not significantly enough to leave both countries without their indigenous cultural identities.

The study relied on qualitative research techniques and the sources of data were peer-reviewed journals, books, articles and other publications.

In the case of Ghana, two major aspects of culture (chieftaincy and the effect on tribe)

were perused and expounded. In the South African context however, the major focus was on Chieftaincy, which is regarded widely as the custodian of African cultural identity was a very important institution in pre-colonial Ghana and South Africa. However with the inception of colonial rule and subsequently apartheid, the value, significance and benefits of chieftaincy institution greatly diminished. Whereas in the case of Ghana the colonial government in some cases actively defended chieftaincy for imperialistic purposes (resulting in modifications to the institution), chieftaincy institutions in South Africa were more or less disbanded.

With respect to tribes, colonialism resulted more in the creation of tribes from large states in Ghana, so as to facilitate their rule and control over those states. In the case of South Africa however, the major effect on the same vein was as a result of apartheid. That is the segregation of South Africans into racial categories; Bantu (Black Africans), White Coloured (of mixed race), and later the inclusion of a fourth category (Asians from mainly India and Pakistan).

The current study further probed on the effect of colonialism on language in both Ghana and South Africa. In this light, it has been suggested largely that communication between colonizers and those they colonised was difficult. This resulted in tuition of the English language in both Ghana and South Africa (and Afrikaans in South Africa). As a result of the wide use of the English language even in some homes, especially in the urban areas, some individuals are unable to communicate effectively in their local dialects. Also, this study argues that as a result of colonialism, the learning and use of the English language is becoming the priority of Ghanaians and South Africans, over the local dialects, which are slowly deteriorating. This is because for many Africans seeking an education and hoping to have a competitive edge in both the local and the global market place, English (or the colonial language) is the language of choice.

The effect of colonialism on land was also of grave concern in this study. One major effect of colonialism negatively impacted on the land tenure system of both Ghana and South Africa. Thus, colonialism resulted in alterations in the customary land tenure system in both countries. Agricultural production and export of cash crops, as well as mining interest mainly culminated in colonial seizure of land in both countries. The effects however in the South African context are however, arguable more grave than that in Ghana. This is mainly as a result of the fact that, unlike in Ghana where seized land was returned to the indigenous people after independence, in the case of South Africa, there are still battling concerns about the redistribution of land.

4.2 CONCLUSIONS

In the first place, the study successfully achieved all the set objectives and based on the findings, the null hypothesis was rejected in favour of the alternate hypothesis. That is extant literature clearly demonstrates that colonialism significantly affected the cultural identities (Land, language and culture) of Ghana and South Africa.

Secondly, in comparison, this study concludes that the impacts of colonialism on land in South Africa are different and arguably more severe than in Ghana.

Thirdly, the impacts of colonialism on language are different between Ghana and South Africa (even though the severity in the differences may be difficult to judge).

Finally, the impacts of colonialism on culture (with regards to chieftaincy and tribe) in both Ghana and South Africa are somewhat different. Thus, with regards to chieftaincy, the major difference lies in the fact that whereas in Ghana, the colonialist to some extent

collaborated and in some cases protected chieftaincy, in the case of South Africa, colonialist and the apartheid regime down played chieftaincy for imperialistic reasons.

Fostering the distinction between tribes in the same state in Ghana was purposeful for imperialistic reasons. In the case of South Africa, apartheid mainly resulted in segregations along racial categories.

4.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the study finding the following recommendations are made:

Firstly, this study recommends that in the case of South Africa, the government can find gradual solutions to the current impasse on land redistribution through more strategic collaboration, international relations and negotiations with the various organizations, associations and international corporations directly involved (stakeholders).

Secondly, further studies may be conducted to identify if possible, the severity of the effects of colonialism on the various aspects of cultural identity, so as to be able to give direction to intervention programmes meant to mitigate these effects. More educational institutions outside Africa could also introduce more programmes that center on educating Africans in the Diasporas on their cultural identity.

On the issue of language, it is recommended that both countries strengthen their resolve and strategies to encourage the teaching and learning of local languages.

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