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AGBOGBOMEFIA TOGBE AFEDE XIV AND THE POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT IN
THE HO-ASOGLI STATE

BY

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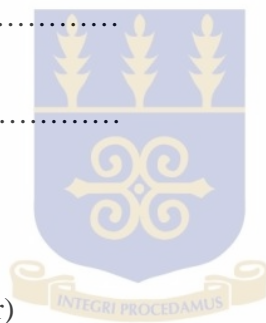
DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own original and independent work. All authors and other intellectual materials and sources that have been quoted have been fully acknowledged. I also declare that neither part nor in its entirety has this thesis been published in any form or submitted to another university or institution for the award of a degree. I claim responsibility for any errors and inaccuracies that this work may contain.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the Agbogbomefia Togbe Afede XIV and the entire people of Ho-Asogli.



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ABSTRACT

This thesis was a study into the politics of development under the leadership of Agbogbomefia Togbe Afede XIV of Ho-Asogli State. The study adopted the qualitative approach to collect data and interviews were conducted with informants. Secondary sources such as newspaper publications, brochures, books, journals, and articles and speeches were used to support the primary data. The research gave a brief background of the history, politics and the state of development in the Ho-Asogli state before Togbe Afede XIV ascended the throne. The research went on to interrogate the profile of Togbe Afede XIV, tracing his birth and education, early working life, his entrepreneurial and business acumen, his installation as a chief, his induction into the Asogli Traditional Council and the Regional House of Chiefs and the various awards that he received. The thesis further interrogated the contribution of Togbe Afede XIV to the development of Ho-Asogli State and the role that he has played in national politics and development. The thesis finally looked at the developmental challenges that Togbe Afede XIV has encountered and his weaknesses as well. The thesis concluded that Togbe Afede XIV has contributed to development at both local and national levels and this has reinforced his relevance and that of chieftaincy in contemporary development discourse in Ghana.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis was a study into the politics of development under the leadership of Agbogbomefia Togbe Afede XIV of Ho-Asogli State. The study adopted the qualitative approach to collect data and interviews were conducted with informants. Secondary sources such as newspaper publications, brochures, books, journals, and articles and speeches were used to support the primary data. The research gave a brief background of the history, politics and the state of development in the Ho-Asogli state before Togbe Afede XIV ascended the throne. The research went on to interrogate the profile of Togbe Afede XIV, tracing his birth and education, early working life, his entrepreneurial and business acumen, his installation as a chief, his induction into the Asogli Traditional Council and the Regional House of Chiefs and the various awards that he received. The thesis further interrogated the contribution of Togbe Afede XIV to the development of Ho-Asogli State and the role that he has played in national politics and development. The thesis finally looked at the developmental challenges that Togbe Afede XIV has encountered and his weaknesses as well. The thesis concluded that Togbe Afede XIV has contributed to development at both local and national levels and this has reinforced his relevance and that of chieftaincy in contemporary development discourse in Ghana.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction:

Using Agbogbomefia Togbe Afede XIV as a case study, this research examines the contribution of chiefs to development in Ghana. The research assesses the contribution of Togbe Afede XIV to development in the Ho-Asogli State in the Volta Region. It also interrogates his contribution to national politics and development. The research argues that contemporary Ghanaian chiefs have used their position to champion development at both local and national levels, hence, helping government to meet the needs of the people.

1.1 Background to the Study:

Chieftaincy is an immemorial institution in Ghana and highly cherished by most indigenous Ghanaian societies. The institution has been very instrumental in the socio-politico-economic development of many indigenous societies from the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times. According to Boateng, “chieftaincy is one of the most highly cherished of traditional institutions. It represents our indigenous systems of government as it has evolved through the centuries. It was in existence in various forms in different parts of the country long before our first contact with Europeans in the 15th century and it has survived without a break right up to the present”.¹ Indeed, chieftaincy is an institution which serves as the axis around which the entire socio-political history of

¹ E. A. Boateng (1996). *Government and the People: Outlook for Democracy in Ghana*. Accra: Institute of Economic Affairs, p.141.

some ethnic groups in Ghana is constructed. It provides the basis for political leadership, social stratification and economic well-being of members of a society, especially centralized societies.

The institution of chieftaincy, right from the pre-colonial era has always been the epitome of progress, growth and development. Most kingdoms, states, and empires in Africa such as Asante, Dahomey, Yoruba, Oyo and Mali among others were built by the efforts of chiefs, kings and monarchs. Before the influx of Europeans in the Gold Coast, chiefs of Asante, Fante, Denkyira, Akwamu among others organized their societies to promote communal development. They carried out most of their developmental goals through inter-state and intra-state trade, communal labour and group endeavour. In effect, these communities and societies experienced growth and economic progress. No wonder, following the imposition of colonial rule on the people of the Gold Coast, the colonial administrators adopted the indirect rule system where they ruled through the chiefs. This was done because the British were interested in the already existing centers of power to govern. According to Crowder, “The agents for the collection of taxes imposed by the French administrators were the chiefs. They were also responsible for raising forced labour for work on roads, railways and even plantations and for providing carriers for the administration and for ensuring the forced cultivation of certain cash crops.”² Consequently, chiefs remained important instruments in development such that after independence, the institution was incorporated into the government structure under the 1969, 1979 and 1992 constitutions. In effect, the regional and national houses of chiefs

² M. Crowder (1968). *West Africa under Colonial Rule*. London: Hutchinson & Co. Publishers Ltd, p.187.

were created and chiefs have continued to play major developmental roles at both local and national levels despite the numerous challenges that the institution has faced.

1.2 Statement of the Problem:

According to Assimeng, “Chieftaincy, however minimal or powerful its power structure, is often regarded in some circles as conservative, anachronistic and even counter-revolutionary force which is believed to be a hindrance in nation building and healthy social development”.³ Abotchie is also of the view that “In the wake of social change, however, modern institutional mechanisms have taken over most of the functions of chiefs, thus, rendering the position of the chief merely ceremonial and therefore, in the view of some, obsolete”.⁴ Arhin and Pavanello also argue that “...the Nkrumah government, which lasted from the year of independence, 1957, to the year of its overthrow in 1966, minimized the political and judicial roles of chiefs, broke their financial backbone, and made them passive appendages to the central government”.⁵ Kyed and Buur also hold the view that “...most post-colonial states banned traditional leaders, tagging them as repressive collaborators of colonial masters and impediments to modernization and nation-building projects of the 1960s and 1970s”.⁶ This portrait about the institution of chieftaincy clearly shows that the institution fell into abeyance in the

³ J. M. Assimeng (1981). *Social Structure of Ghana: A Study of Persistence and Change*. Tema: Ghana Publishing Corporation, p.109.

⁴ C. Abotchie (2006) “Has the Position of the Chief Become Anachronistic in Contemporary Ghanaian Politics?” in I. Odotei and A. Awedoba (2006) eds. *Chieftaincy in Ghana: Culture, Governance and Development*. Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, p.169.

⁵ B. Arhin and Pavanello S. (2006). *Chiefs in Development in Ghana: Interviews with Four Paramount Chiefs*. Legon: Institute of African Studies, p. 18.

⁶ H. M. Kyed and Buur L. (2007) “Introduction: Traditional Authority and Democratization in Africa” in Lars Buur and Helene Maria Kyed (eds.) *State Recognition and Democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa: A New Dawn for Traditional Authorities*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, p.1.

1960s and 70s due to the challenges that it faced from the early nationalists across the continent. However, in the mid 1990s, the institution resurged as a powerful force to reckon with in society. In this vein, Williams argues that “there is a general consensus that in much of Sub-Saharan Africa, people still rely on chieftaincy to address their daily lives. This is because, the institution remains a strong political force at the local level and its power in the rural areas is greatly entrenched”⁷. Kpessa et al also maintain that “...the decline of the African social state has enhanced the opportunity structures of indigenous traditional rulers who coordinate or offer social services in order to increase their regional and popular legitimacy”⁸. Alhassan is also of the view that “the role of traditional rulers in the effective management of our human and natural resources has long been acknowledged in Africa”⁹. Lastly, Addo-Fenning points out that “...in Ghana, a clarion call has gone out to our Kings and Chiefs to become harbingers of development, especially in rural communities”¹⁰. Indeed, many chiefs in Ghana following the decline in the state-led developmentalism and the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) responded to this call and rose up to promote communal development by liaising with donor communities, Non-Governmental Organizations and other stake-

⁷ J. M. Williams (2010). *Chieftaincy, the State, and Democracy: Political Legitimacy in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. (Indiana University Press, Bloomington & Indianapolis); p. 3.

⁸ Kpessa, Michael, Béland, Daniel and Lecours, André (2011) 'Nationalism, development, and Social Policy: The Politics of Nation-Building in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. London: Routledge, p. 14.

⁹ O. Alhassan. “Traditional Authorities and Sustainable Development: Chiefs and Resource Management in Ghana” in I. Odotei and A. Awedoba (2006) eds. *Chieftaincy in Ghana: Culture, Governance and Development*. Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, p. 527.

¹⁰ R. Addo-Fenning, “Chieftaincy and Issues of Good Governance, Accountability and Development: A Case Study of Akyem Abuakwa Under Okyehene Ofori Atta I, 1912-1943 in I Odotei and A. Awedoba (2006) eds. *Chieftaincy in Ghana: Culture, Governance and Development*. Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, p. 325.

holders to seek for funds to fill the gap that the state had created. In this regard, chiefs like the late Otumfuo Opoku Ware II of Asante Kingdom, the current Otumfuo Osei Tutu II of Asante Kingdom; Nana Otuo Siriboe II of Juaben, Asante; Osaagyefo Amoatia Ofori Panin II of Akyem Abuakwa State, Odeefuo Boa Amponsem of Denkyira and others are well known for the developmental initiatives in their communities. Their activities have received a wide range of attention in academia. For instance, Kpessa et al, and Adi wrote on Otumfuo Osei Tutu II in 2011 and 2008 respectively. Addo-Fenning also wrote about Nana Otuo Siriboe II of Juaben, Asante in 2011 among others. But then, one of such chiefs, who has had a huge influence on the institution of chieftaincy, politics and development at both local and the national levels in almost a decade of his rule is Agbogbomefia Togbe Afede XIV of the Asogli State in the Volta Region. Togbe Afede XIV has become an important public figure in the politics of Ghana due to how he has navigated his way into national politics and how influential he is on the chieftaincy platform and the kind of developmental initiatives he has embarked on in Ghana. However, his activities have received very little acknowledgement in academic work, hence, a gap which needs to be filled. But then, another motivation for this study stems from the declaration that he made on his enstoolment as the paramount chief of the Ho-Asogli State in 2003. On his enstoolment, he was noted to have remarked:

Through my oath, I have marked a new beginning. These are problems of our time and they deserve solution during our time. This is my solemn pledge; I will work hard to build a new Asogli that is full of opportunity for all and for the children. Our children are the future. I will institute programmes to ensure that their needs are provided for, to help

*them to develop their character and self appreciation and to teach them to understand and uphold the principles of true citizenship, lest they grow into apathetic spectators.*¹¹

In the light of this declaration, I intend to carry out a study into the politics of development in the Ho-Asogli State under the headship of Agbogbomefia Togbe Afede XIV. The thesis intends to find out whether he has really built a new Asogli State during almost a decade of his rule; the study also seeks to find out whether he has instituted programmes to ensure that the needs of the children are provided for and whether he has really created the needed environment for equal opportunity for all in the Asogli State. This study finally desires to assess how he has invested in his people and the kind of development projects he has instituted to enhance the welfare of his people in the name of building a new Asogli State that allows for equal opportunity for all. The thesis further intends to look at Togbe Afede's contribution to national politics and development.

1.3 Objectives of the Study:

This research revolved around the following objectives:

- The profile of Togbe Afede XIV.
- Assessment of the contributions of Togbe Afede XIV to development in the Ho-Asogli State.
- The contribution of Togbe Afede XIV to national politics and development.

¹¹ K. D. Sutor "Agbogbomefia: The Dynamic and Visionary King": *Wake Up Volta: Volta's Premier Leadership and Socio-Economic Development Magazine*. Maiden Edition, Issue No: WVM00. (December, 2011), p. 18.

- The developmental challenges and weaknesses of Togbe Afede XIV in the dialectics of tradition and modernity.

1.4 Research Questions:

The following research questions guided the efforts of the research.

- What is the profile of Togbe Afede XIV?
- How has he contributed to development in the Ho-Asogli State since his enstoolment in 2003?
- What contributions has Togbe Afede XIV made to national politics and development?
- What are the developmental challenges and weaknesses of Togbe Afede XIV and how did he surmount them.

1.5 Literature Review:

There is a wide range of literature on the rubric of chieftaincy and development. However, the relevant ones were reviewed for the purposes of this research.

Chiefs and Development:

Chiefs from the pre-colonial era through to the colonial to contemporary times have played important roles in community development and even in national development.

Assimeng maintains that “Chieftaincy, however minimal or powerful its power structure, is often regarded in some circles as conservative, and even counter-revolutionary force

which serves as a hindrance in nation building and healthy social development. The framework within which chiefs operate is said to be archaic and obsolete while others regard the traditional system of operation as inefficient and therefore dispensable”.¹² Indeed, it is true that some practices surrounding the institution of chieftaincy such as festivals, rituals, sacrifices and others have been preserved till today. But then, it does not mean these practices are archaic. These practices are carried out in a modernized way to promote development. Thus, the institution is a not, counter-revolutionary force and a hindrance to nation building because it accepts change. The incorporation of chiefs into the colonial administration was due to the tremendous roles that they played and the way they mobilized their people to promote development within their various states. Indeed, one cannot doubt the fact that some chiefs (Nana Sir Ofori Atta I) were collaborators during the colonial era. The chiefs had no choice, the system made them stooges and one cannot blame them. But to say they are a bane to development is not a correct reflection of reality. In contemporary times, many chiefs are well educated, they know the importance of education; they have also learnt about the role development plays in society and they have put it upon themselves to help governments to promote the welfare of their people. This is what chiefs like Otumfuo Osei Tutu II of Asante Kingdom, Nana Otuo Siriboe II of Asante Juaben, Odeefuo Boamponsem of Denkyira, and Osaagyefo Amoatia Ofori Panin II of Akyem Abuakwa among others are doing. The study therefore seeks to interrogate the development roles played by Togbe Afede XIV.

¹² Assimeng, *Social Structure of Ghana*, p. 109.

Boateng asserts that “Considering the role which chieftaincy has played and continues to play in the life of Ghana, it can be seen that the institution is not only desirable, it is essential as a stabilizing force in our society”.¹³ Indeed, chieftaincy is a desirable institution in Ghana because of the essential roles it plays in society. Many chiefs have embarked on various development activities in their societies to promote the welfare of their subjects. Many societies have seen chiefs promoting education, health, agriculture and many others, thus making the populace to provide their support behind such chiefs. But Boateng could not give us case studies of chiefs whose activities are desirable and whose roles promote stability in their various societies. In effect, it is important to know how desirable one of such chiefs (Togbe Afede XIV) is in contemporary Ghanaian society. It is imperative to know how desirable has he been to his people and how has his office served as a stabilizing force in the Ho-Asogli State. This is what the study intends interrogate by studying the developmental roles of Togbe Afede XIV. The outcome of the research will indicate how desirable he is as a stabilizing force in society.

According to Abotchie “The Ghanaian chief emerged as a natural leader. He was essentially the founder and therefore, the father of the traditional state over which he presides. The chief was highly respected because he was considered the most capable person to lead and speak on behalf of his people based on his personal qualities as a man of valour and wisdom. He was not only the military leader and the defender of his people against aggression; he also was the chief priest of the people, performing such rituals of sacrifice and redemption as are required on ceremonial occasions. Additionally, the chief

¹³ Boateng, *Government and the People*, p. 149.

performed judicial, administrative, legislative, economic and cultural functions. On the basis of these functions, the chief was the embodiment of the beliefs, hopes, fears and aspirations of his people”. He continued that “In the wake of social change, however, modern institutional mechanisms have taken over most of these functions rendering the position of the chief merely ceremonial and therefore, in view of some, obsolete”.¹⁴

One cannot doubt the first assertion made by Abotchie. This is because, generally, the functions and characteristics of chiefs elaborated in his paper hold to a large extent. The chief in the past was the war-lord of his people and defended his kingdom from any external aggression. He performed activities such as sacrifices, festivals, funerals, libation and prayers. What about the contemporary role of chiefs? Their role as defenders has been taken over by the modern government through the various security agencies. Also, their roles as drivers of the traditional economy have been taken over by the modern government. So what then do they do in contemporary society? Are their roles limited to only cultural preservation? All this is lacking in Abotchie’s paper. We need to know the changing roles of chiefs in contemporary times. We need to know what kind of development policies they roll out in modern society and how they go about achieving this developmental agenda. These are some of the things that Abotchie failed to talk about. Consequently, I deem it necessary to study Togbe Afede XIV and his development models in the Ho-Asogli state to shed light on the contemporary role of a chief in the development of his society in this age of modernization.

¹⁴ Abotchie, “Has the Position of the Chief Become Anachronistic”, p. 169.

On the second assertion, yes, it is true that due to social change, modern politics have led to drastic changes in the roles of chiefs in society. But then, they are not just ceremonial instruments in the society and their position is not obsolete. This is because, in contemporary times, chiefs have become agents of development. The Regional and National Houses of Chiefs are avenues where chiefs meet to deliberate on important issues that are of concern to their societies and the nation as a whole. Their role as mediators in chieftaincy disputes needs to be acknowledged. This is because, without peace, how can development take-off? How can the government, which many people perceive as the vehicle for development, enhance its developmental agenda in such chronic areas of conflict? Their mere role of mediating such conflicts is a social development. Aside from this, they embark on many development projects in the society and continue to maintain serene atmosphere for our politicians to operate. So, for Abotchie to say that the position of the chief has become obsolete is not a true reflection of reality. This is because, Ghanaians continue to respect their chiefs and also look up to them for certain developments in society. For instance, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II is promoting education through scholarships; Osaagyefo Amoatia Ofori Panin II of Akyem Abuakwa is also embarking on massive afforestation by encouraging people to grow trees since it is important for sustaining the environment. Do we then describe this as a ceremonial role or do we refer to this effort as obsolete. Thus, the role of chiefs in contemporary times goes beyond ceremonies to a more rigorous development in their various societies. For this reason, Togbe Afede XIV, would also be studied to interrogate how he uses his qualities to promote development in the Ho-Asogli state to show that the institution of chieftaincy is not obsolete.

Arhin and Pavanello sampled some four paramount chiefs in Ghana and interviewed them regarding their development initiatives in their respective communities. Chiefs in their work included Nana Otuo Sereboe II, Juabenhene of Ashanti; Osaagyefo Oseadeyo Agyeman Badu II, Dormahene; Barima Kwame Nkyi XII of Assin Apimanin Traditional Area and Nana Fredua Agyeman¹⁵. In their work, they interviewed these chiefs about their contribution to development. Interestingly, Nana Otuo Sereboe II noted that he had contributed to the construction of roads, public places of convenience, electricity, potable water among others. On the side of Oseadeyo Agyeman Badu II, he also noted that since his installation, he had constructed a police station at Dormaa, twenty-seater WCs toilets for public use, provision of a mortuary to the Dormaa hospital and a market for the women and also tarred the roads leading to the suburbs of his jurisdiction. Similarly, Arhin and Pavanello noted that Barima Kwame Nkyi and Osaagyefo Amoatia Ofori Panin II have equally done a lot to help their various communities. On the part of Osaagyefo Amoatia Ofori Panin, he noted that he had established the Okyeman Environment Foundation with the view of protecting the vast forests in the area. He has also championed the course of fighting HIV/AIDS disease in Ghana and also promoted the welfare of children. Obviously, Arhin and Pavanello have outlined major works being done by some traditional rulers in Ghana. This is a good initiative but much still needs to be done. There are other chiefs elsewhere who are also enhancing the welfare of the citizens in this age of modernization. Agbogbomefia Togbe Afede XIV is one such chief who is also working tirelessly to better the living standards of his people. I therefore

¹⁵ Arhin and Pavanello, *Chiefs in Development in Ghana*.

intend to fill this gap by researching into the activities of Togbe Afede XIV in the Ho-Asogli State.

Aidoo also points out that “...one cannot go to any village and start propagating an ideology or political programme or anything in the air. The chief is very important if we are going to talk about participation of all people in government. We have to use them from the grass-root level to the national level.”¹⁶ Yes, Aidoo makes an important point concerning the role that chiefs play in contemporary politics. But he failed to tell us how chiefs participate in government, the role that government assigns to them in politics and the avenue that the chiefs create for governments to propagate their programmes. This assertion by Aidoo is very important since this is a developmental issue we are talking about. If governments rely on chiefs to help them propagate their political ideologies, then it means chiefs have a role to play in development as well. I will then take it up from there and see the role that Togbe Afede XIV plays as far as governance, national politics and development issues are concerned.

Odotei and Awedoba argue that “As governance institution, Chieftaincy commands considerable power and authority over its constituents. This enables it to legislate in some cases, to adjudicate in some contexts, as well as to protect and defend its own.... Its agents are often charged with the management of communal resources and their preservation. This makes chieftaincy a developmental agency”.¹⁷ This assertion made by

¹⁶ T. M. Aidoo, (2008). *Political Participation, Governance and Neopatrimonial Rule in Africa: A Case of Ghana (1990-2000)*. Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag, p. 48.

¹⁷ Odotei, and Awedoba “Introduction” in *Chieftaincy in Ghana*, p. 22.

Odotei and Awedoba cannot be underrated. This is because, from pre-colonial through to colonial to contemporary times, chiefs constituted the driving force behind communal development. They enhance legislative, judicial, economic and social progress even in the wake of modernity. The modern roles of chiefs have become prominent because many of the chiefs have undergone western models of education and have recognized the need to enhance the welfare of their people. Thus, the only way to promote this is through building the capacities of the people, investing in them, and encouraging human-centered approaches to communal development. Thus, the institution of chieftaincy promotes bottom-up approach to development while the government promotes top-down approach to development. But then, the fact of the issue remains that the chiefs and government work hand-in-hand to ensure the welfare of their people. In this sense, Odotei and Awedoba's assertion is plausible; hence, I will situate Togbe Afede XIV in their framework, tracing what he does as far as development is concerned.

Addo-Fening also asserted that "The mention of good governance, accountability, and development conjures up hopes of sustained improvement in their material, social, cultural and other conditions of life that will guarantee every member of society opportunities for education, a long, healthy, productive and satisfying life and an enlargement of his/her choices. For the attainment of these goals in Ghana, a clarion call has gone out to our Kings and Chiefs to become harbingers of development, especially in rural communities."¹⁸ Indeed, Addo-Fening's assertion about chiefs and development is crucial for this research problem especially when many people think that chiefs have

¹⁸ Addo-Fening, "Chieftaincy and Issues of Good Governancet" in Odotei and Awedoba *Chieftaincy in Ghana*, p.325

been reduced merely to ceremonial heads than agents of development. Chiefs in contemporary times have been called upon to go beyond their images as mere custodians of culture and tradition to leaders who will transform their communities and enhance the progress of Ghana as a whole. But then, the problem of Addo-Fening's work has to do with the issue that his research was limited to Okyenhene Ofori Atta I, (1912-1943) where he studied the early life of Nana Ofori Atta, the problems faced by Ofori Atta at his accession, his policy measures, accountability and his socio-politico-economic developmental efforts. With the developmental roles, Addo-Fening studied how Ofori Atta I promoted education, sanitation and infrastructural development in the Akyem Abuakwa State. This is an interesting piece on how a chief has promoted development in his society. I will replicate the same research in the Ho-Asogli State, focusing on the early life of Togbe Afede XIV, his accession to the stool, his developmental roles and challenges as well.

According to Alhassan, "The role of traditional rulers in the effective management of our human and natural resources has long been acknowledged in Africa. However, over the past century or so, traditional leadership has been relegated to the background in making decisions that affect the lives of their people, economic activities inclusive. In recent times, there has been increasing evidence that chiefs, queenmothers and their elders form the bedrock of societal organization"¹⁹. Alhassan's assertion is very important and the authenticity cannot be doubted since it is a true reflection of one of the woes that the institution of chieftaincy has suffered over the years and how that myth was gradually

¹⁹ O. Alhassan "Traditional Authorities and Sustainable Development: Chiefs and Resource Management in Ghana" in Odotei and Awedoba (2006) eds. *Chieftaincy in Ghana: Culture, Governance and Development*. Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, p.527.

broken with the passage of time. Alhassan noted that in many traditional societies, chiefs promote resource management and sustainable development. He also noted that chiefs promote environmental sustainability and mentions the late Nana Sir Ofori Atta I, Omanhene of Akyem Abuakwa and one of the influential chiefs who promoted environmental sustainability. He continued that chiefs promote administrative management, play legislative, judicial and community development through collaborative work and networking. He therefore concluded that “traditional authorities have long been custodians of natural resources including its management, and the fact that central government and other development partners can best promote the development of its people by sharing its power with traditional rulers is now more widely acknowledged”²⁰. Indeed, Alhassan’s theory is a plausible one of course but is a kind of general theory which does not focus on specifics. Thus, it is obvious that chiefs are development agents in contemporary Ghanaian society but the fact that he never focused on the role of a particular chief to develop his theory needs to be addressed. In this sense, I will situate Togbe Afede XIV at the center of Alhassan’s theory, to bring out the roles played by this chief in the development of his state so as to confirm this theory.

Wayo Seini argued that “In modern era, the house of chiefs should play a major role in the rural development process. The paramount chiefs who form the membership of these houses are highly respected in their traditional societies. It is expected, therefore, that when they formulate policies aimed at poverty alleviation and the development of the

²⁰ Alhassan “Traditional Authorities and Sustainable Development, p.544

rural economy, the grassroots will definitely embrace them”.²¹ Indeed, the creation of the Regional and National Houses of Chiefs is an effort on the part of government to create that space for chiefs to promote participatory development. In effect, this assertion by Wayo Seini is a strong one which needs to be lauded. He also concludes that “development is a process that not only involves economic growth but also the general socio-economic transformations in society that gives credence to the desired economic, social, and political upliftment of the society....chiefs have the singular responsibility to organize their subjects to participate in the development programme. Together, they can help create educational facilities, engage in farming practices that save the environment, stem rapid population growth... and increase their incomes to alleviate poverty.”²²

Seini’s assertion does not focus on any individual chief but it is a general overview of how chiefs are expected to promote development in their various communities. It is true that if chiefs should receive support from the government, they would be able to promote effective development. Obviously, chiefs in contemporary times have been given this needed support so that they can help government to run the country. In this sense, I intend to situate Togbe Afede XIV in Wayo Seini’s theory that chiefs on the Regional and National House of Chiefs have to promote rural development. As such, Togbe Afede XIV is the president of the Volta Regional House of Chiefs and I will find out how his roles reflect Seini’s theory.

²¹ A. Wayo Seini, “The Role of Traditional Authorities in Rural Development” in I. Odotei and A. Awedoba (2006) eds. *Chieftaincy in Ghana: Culture, Governance and Development*. Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, p. 547

²² *Ibid*, p. 554.

Kpessa et al argue about the important developmental role played by one of the renowned chiefs in this country. They argue that the decline of the African social state has enhanced the opportunity structures of indigenous traditional rulers who coordinate or offer social services in order to increase their regional and popular legitimacy. Kpessa et al argue that “following the crisis that erupted after the introduction of education user fees in Ghana, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, the traditional ruler of the Ashanti people, established an educational endowment funded with monies obtained through royalties and contributions from Ghanaians at home and abroad to assist talented but poor students, especially those from his traditional jurisdiction, to further their education.”²³ They further pointed out that By the end of 2004, about 2,000 students had benefited from scholarships offered by the Otumfuo Educational Fund. Beyond education, this traditional ruler, with financial support from the World Bank, is also undertaking community social programmes including healthcare and sanitation awareness.

This assertion provides more explanation to how chiefs have projected their images beyond bearers of culture and tradition to instruments of development in Ghana. Indeed, Kpessa et al pointed out a very interesting fact about the modern roles of chiefs in development. But then, this piece is limited to a particular chief in this country. What about other important chiefs who are also playing important roles in their communities to enhance the well being of their people. One such chief is Togbe Afede XIV who Kpessa

²³ Kpessa, Michael, Béland, Daniel and Lecours, André (2011) 'Nationalism, development, and Social Policy: The Politics of Nation-Building in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Routledge. London. P. 14

and his colleagues failed to capture in their research. Hence, a gap that I intend to fill in my research.

Finally, Amenumey, points out that “Ghanaian traditional education has always placed a lot of emphasis on recounting the achievements of societal heroes and heroines as a way of imparting a valuable lesson to the youth...to inspire them to emulate such achievements. Again, during the period of confinement prior to outdoorings, chiefs are taught not only the history of their stool, but the exploits of their predecessors so that they would have a model or models on whom to mould their lives. In Western European societies, biographies constitute a very important genre of writing which plays a very useful civic and political role”²⁴.

Amenumey’s assertion is relevant to this study. Biographies are not only important to Western Europeans but to Africans and Ghanaians in particular. This assertion provides an important foundation for this research as it will chronicle the biography of a societal hero (Togbe Afede XIV), his birth and education, his apprehension and process of confinement, his outdoorings and the history of his stool as well. This research will also interrogate his achievements and weaknesses. Thus, my work constitutes a biography of Togbe Afede XIV.

The discussion of the literature on chiefs and development has been very interesting especially looking at the various arguments posed by these scholars pertaining to the

²⁴ D.E.K Amenumey (2002). *Outstanding Ewes of the 20th Century: Profiles of Fifteen Firsts. Volume 1*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Services, p.vii

institution of chieftaincy and development. With the chieftaincy institution which is the core of this research, some scholars are of the view that the institution has become obsolete, conservative, counter-revolutionary, archaic and a bane to development, while others maintain that the institution is still desirable looking at the essential roles chiefs play in society. But then, some of the scholars failed to clearly spell out specific roles that chiefs play in contemporary development. Some also failed to tell us what development means to chiefs and efforts that they are making to promote their community development. That notwithstanding, it is obvious from the available evidence on the ground that chiefs are not merely ceremonial leaders but have a huge responsibility of promoting the welfare of their people, hence promoting development in their various communities. As Addo-Dankwa III puts it: “Chieftaincy as an institution has stood the test of time and has served the nation in many respects and will continue to serve the nation. If, therefore, chieftaincy is given a modern touch, without destroying the basic attributes, the institution will be able to play a positive role in the overall development of the nation. In their societies, chiefs constitute sources of hope, inspiration and trust to their people. Chiefs, also in situations of stress and strain, act as fathers of the people who can rise to the occasion and be stabilizing forces capable of bringing peace and unity among the people. It is quite clear that the institution of chieftaincy will continue to provide crucial social services to provide the needed stability to a society in transition”.²⁵

²⁵ O. Addo-Dankwa, (2004). *The Institution of Chieftaincy in Ghana: The Future*. Accra: Konrad Adenauer Foundation, p. 124.

Indeed, the institution of chieftaincy promotes societal development in this era of modernity. In this context, it is my motive to study Agbogbomefia Togbe Afede XIV and his developmental roles.

1.6 The study area:

The area of study is the Ho-Asogli State. Ho is the center of Asogli Traditional Council, the capital of Ho Municipality and the regional capital of Volta Region. The state is made up of five main divisions (Bankoe, Heve, Ahoe, Dome, and Hliha), each with its own chief, council of elders, traditional political office holders, custodians of the land and other functionaries. Although, the five main divisions have their own chiefs, they all fall under the bigger umbrella of Togbe Afede XIV who is the Paramount Chief of the Ho State and the president of the Asogli Traditional Council.

1.7 Significance of the Study:

- This research will contribute towards the existing body of knowledge on chieftaincy and development. It will broaden the horizon of knowledge on the politics of tradition and development in Ghana.
- The research will contribute to knowledge on the dynamics and challenges of the simultaneous existence of the modern and the traditional within the Ghanaian polity.
- The research will show that some chiefs constitute community trust; hence, if entrusted with resources, they would be able to manage them effectively, thus contributing to social capital.

- This research will also add to the existing body of knowledge on traditional politics in Ghana and show that chiefs play actively participate in local governance and rural development.

1.8 Methodology:

1.8.0 Research Design:

The methodology for this research work was qualitative. This was necessary because of the nature of the research questions and the objectives of the study. The “how” and “what” questions require a detailed study, hence, the use of the qualitative approach. In this quest, the researcher went to the field to collect primary data. He therefore used interviews as data collection instrument. The researcher, with the help of an interview guide conducted in-depth interviews into the profile of Agbogbomefia, politics and development in the Asogli State. The use of interviews was important because it allowed for further probing, provided first hand information from the insiders perspective which was very useful for the qualitative research. As part of the interview process, the researcher used Focus Group Discussion to study the politics and development in the state. This was because, it created an avenue for the researcher to get a wide range of information from different people at a sitting; this helped the researcher to analyze the data and finally draw his conclusions.

1.8.1 Sampling and Sample Size:

Samples were drawn from the population using both probability and non-probability sampling techniques. With the probability sampling, accidental sampling technique was used while with the non-probability, purposive technique was adopted. The reason for the

accidental sampling has to do with the fact that it gave the people an opportunity to contribute to the study so that the researcher could get diverse views about the politics and the developmental roles played by the Agbogbomefia in the state. This sampling technique consequently provided the basis for the use of Focus Group Discussion. With the purposive sampling technique, the need to collect data from specific individuals who would affect the study was necessary. Specific individuals such as the *Agbogbomefia* himself, his sub-chiefs, the linguists and elders and the queenmothers called for the use of this sampling technique. In all, twenty-five (25) people were interviewed including chiefs, queenmothers, and some members of the general populace.

1.8.2 Primary/Secondary Sources:

The researcher also visited the Asogli Traditional Council, and the Asogli State Council to access some annual reports about the activities of the Togbe Afede XIV in the State. The researcher further explored the speeches and addresses delivered by Togbe Afede to analyze them critically for this research. Newspaper reports are valuable sources of information and the researcher extensively accessed some articles that were published about the activities of Togbe Afede XIV in the various newspapers for critical analysis to see how the articles reflected politics and his developmental agenda at both communal and national levels. The newspapers therefore provided a great deal of information for this research. The researcher also relied on published books, journals, articles, thesis and dissertations for this research.

1.8.3 Data analysis:

The primary data collected from the field was duly analyzed and presented. It was first transcribed; and then, the researcher went on to analyze the data through descriptive qualitative methods such as abstraction and literary writing. By literary writing, I mean the writing was done in a story-telling format. The secondary data/information was also analyzed through critique, evaluation and synthesizing the news articles and reports to meet the objectives of this research.

1.8.4 Field Constraints:

There were certain constraints during the fieldwork. One of such limitations was financial constraint. The cost of the research was very expensive and as a student, it was difficult to solicit for funds to conduct this research. Because the research was centered on the institution of chieftaincy, which goes with a lot of protocol and tradition, I was required to perform certain customary rites before the chiefs could speak to me. The travelling expenses, food, logistics and other factors were generated from my meager resources. Another limitation was the absence of two key informants. These two informants due to their work schedules were not available so that I could interact with them. Related to the above limitation was the fact that some of my informants were unwilling to interact with me because they were suspicious. But after carefully explaining the purpose of the research and the authority note given to me by the state, they availed themselves for the study. Nevertheless, I have gathered substantial data for a satisfactory study.

1.9 Theoretical Framework:

Modernization Theory

My research was informed by modernization theory that was propounded in the late 1950s and the early 1960s. This theory holds that the developing countries would promote their development if they could follow a path of economic and political modernization roughly parallel to that which had earlier been travelled by Western industrial democracies. The theory holds that the developing countries merely needed to promote modern cultural values and to create appropriate economic and political institutions. Transforming the culture of developing countries was considered the key to modernization and development. Modernization theorists like Rostow²⁶ and Lewis²⁷ argued that political and economic development are driven primarily by domestic factors within these countries most notably changes in the country's cultural values. They maintained that by the West sharing its capital and know-how with the developing countries, it would bring these countries into modern age of development. Thus, for the developing countries to develop there should be a progressive journey from tradition to a modern-industrial society. Thus, development meant overcoming the barriers of tradition, which are impediments to the process of growth, progress and development. Modernization theorists outlined essential factors which if adopted by the developing countries, could enable development to take-off. These principles are: high investment, urban based culture, higher education, quality health systems, savings, and use of

²⁶ W. W. Rostow. *The Stages of Economic Growth: a Non-Communist Manifesto*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1960) (2nd edn. 1971)

²⁷ W. A. Lewis. "The Slowing Down of the Engine of Growth". *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 70, No. 4 (Sep., 1980), pp. 555-564. American Economic Association.

reproductive capital, new entrepreneurs, industries, financial institutions, western foreign aid and investment, modern legal systems among others. These principles according to the modernization theorists would facilitate the process of development in the developing world. Hence, the basic assumption of this theory is that, tradition impedes development while modernity serves as the catalyst for development.

Interestingly, Dependency theory emerged as a counter response to modernization theory. Dependency theory emerged in the 1960s and addresses the problems of poverty and economic underdevelopment throughout the world. The theory holds that dependence upon foreign capital, technology, and expertise impedes economic development in developing countries. It also holds that the linkage of Less Developed Countries (LDCs) with more developed, industrialized countries has worked to the detriment of the LDCs. According to Ahiakpor, “The dependency theory of underdevelopment holds that the linkage of less developed countries (LDCs) with more developed, industrialized countries has worked to the detriment of the former. The technology, financial and real capital, and management skills that originate in developed countries are supposed to have hurt LDCs because, among other things, imported technologies do not take their relative factor abundance into account.”²⁸ According to dependency theorists like Walter Rodney, Gunder Frank, Samir Amin among others, as long as the developing countries were linked to the developed world, they could never break free of their dependence and poverty. They had to sever ties to the world economy and become more self-reliant and self-sufficient.

²⁸ J.C.W. Ahiakpor *The Success and Failure of Dependency Theory: The Experience of Ghana*. International Organization, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Summer, 1985), pp. 535-552

Actually, these two theories seem to make some cogent arguments about the development problems in the developing countries. But then, the basic assumption of modernization theory which states that tradition impedes development while modernity serves as a catalyst to development is not a true reflection of reality in contemporary times. The institution of chieftaincy is a traditional institution which serves as the bedrock for community development in contemporary development discourse. This role of the institution defeats such an assumption by the modernization theory. But then, the motivation for using modernization theory has to do with the fact that the principles it outlined is manifesting in contemporary times. Western education, foreign aid, modern health systems, investment, the use of reproductive capital, the culture of savings among others are the principles that most traditional rulers are promoting in their various communities. Most of these chiefs are well educated, understand the essence of development, know the importance of adopting modern values such as education, modern health care systems, investment, savings, building human capacity, creating the needed platform for people to meet their needs among others. Ghanaian chiefs have therefore gone beyond their images as cultural bearers and have assumed important roles as modernizers and vehicles of development. Hence, the need to use modernization theory as a theoretical framework for this research.

For instance, Adi argues that: “there has been an unprecedented increase in the flow of funds and technical support to many traditional and community-based organizations in the last decade. The height of it came with the World Bank’s \$30 million grant to the

Asantehene of Ghana to promote community based development.”²⁹ He further pointed out “...traditional institutions have been found to be closer to the people and have wider participation rate. In many cases, projects have better chances of local buy-in, citizen participation, and higher rates of success if they are initiated and managed by traditional or community based institutions.”³⁰

These assertions clearly show how some chiefs are promoting some of the principles outlined by the modernization theorists as key to development. This study is about the Agbogbomefia Togbe Afede XIV as a modernizer and focuses on how he has promoted some of the factors outlined by the modernization theorists such as education, health, infrastructure, human capacity among others and how these factors have yielded results in his state and Ghana as a whole.

1.10 Organization of the Thesis:

The study was organized into seven chapters. Chapter one comprised the introduction, statement of the problem, the research objectives, research questions, literature review, study area, significance of the study, the research methodology, theoretical framework and the organization of the study. The chapter two dealt with a brief history and politics of the people of Ho-Asogli and also looked at the state of development in the Ho-Asogli State before Togbe Afede XIV took over. In the history, their origins, settlement history, dynasty of the royal family and the war exploits of the people of Ho-Asogli were

²⁹ B. Adi, (2005). “The Moral Economy and Prospects of Accumulation in Sub-Saharan Africa: How the IFIs Can Help”, *West Africa Review*, No.7. p. 8

³⁰ Ibid, p. 8

ascertained. Politically, the constitutional arrangement, the distribution of power in the state, duties and responsibilities of the various divisional towns, were assessed. In addition, the state of development in the Ho-Asogli state under the headship of the late Togbe Afede Asor II was also looked at. This was meant to give an overview of what existed in the state before Togbe Afede XIV ascended the throne as the Agbogbomefia.

Chapter three focused on the profile of Togbe Afede XIV. His birth and education his entrepreneurial and business acumen, his philosophy, his installation as a chief, admission into the Asogli Traditional Council and Regional House of Chiefs and the awards he received were addressed. The chapter four concentrated on the contribution of Togbe Afede XIV to development in the Ho-Asogli State, tracing it thematically from social, economic and political perspectives. Chapter five concentrated on the contribution of Togbe Afede XIV to national politics and development. While chapter six concentrated on the developmental challenges and weaknesses of Togbe Afede XIV, the chapter seven drew the summary, conclusion and recommendations to the study.

CHAPTER TWO

A BRIEF HISTORY, POLITICS AND THE STATE OF DEVELOPMENT IN HO- ASOGLI BEFORE THE REIGN OF TOGBE AFEDE XIV

2.0 Introduction

According to Spieth, “The Ewe ethnic group settled on the Slave Coast of West Africa three or four centuries ago from the North East and settled between the Mono and Volta River”.³¹ Amenumey points out that “The country occupied by the Ewe people is bounded by the Rivers Mono and Volta and extend from the Atlantic Coast inland up to about latitude 7° 6" N in the east and latitude 7° 20" N in the west”.³² Gavua also asserted that “The term ‘Northern Ewe’ refers to Ewe-speaking peoples of Ghana that are found north of the Southern Ewes in the Ho, Hohoe, Kpando and Jasikan Districts. They can be classified into two broad groups based on language and origin. The first group comprises the majority of people, generally called *Wedometorwo* by other Ewes who speak Ewe as mother tongue and have a common migration and settlement history. They are descendants of two of three major Ewe groups that emigrated from Notsie during the reign of Togbe Agorkorli I in the 17th Century”.³³ Gocking is of the view that “The third largest ethnic group in Ghana are the Ewe, who comprise about 13 percent of the

³¹ J. Spieth, (1906) *The Ewe People: A Study of the Ewe People in German Togo, 1854-1914*. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen). Edited by Komla Amoaku (2011). Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, p.1.

³² D.E.K. Amenumey, (1986). *The Ewe in Pre-Colonial Times*. Accra: Sedco Publishing Ltd, p.1.

³³ K. Gavua, (2000) eds. *A Handbook of Eweland. Volume II: The Northern Ewes in Ghana*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Services, p.5.

country's population. They live mainly on the eastern side of Lake Volta and many spread over into the neighbouring country of Togo".³⁴ These assertions pertain to the general historical foundation of the Ewe people. But then, the people of Ho-Asogli have a unique story to tell.

2.1 A Brief History of the People of Ho-Asogli

2.1.0 The Origin of the people of Ho-Asogli

According to oral tradition, the Ho-Asogli State is one of the most prominent Ewe states in the Volta Region with a rich history, tradition and culture. The people of Ho-Asogli, like most Ewe speaking people trace their origin from Ethiopia. They migrated with other Ewes from their origin to Oyo, in Yoruba land in western Nigeria, through Ketu in Dahomey (now Benin) before settling at Notsie in the present day Republic of Togo in about the twelve century. Oral tradition has it that the Ewe in their settlement at Ketu and Notsie lived in walled cities called "Agbome". The Asogli, like all Ewes while in Notsie were ruled by a tyrant, Fia Agorkorli. Fia Agorkorli's rule, could be traced in all historical records of Ewes, and the escape from Notsie.

According to my informants, the Asogli, under the leadership of Togbe Kakla broke through a portion of the fortified wall for all Ewes to escape. Togbe Kakla used the "Gligbayi" (liberation dagger) to break through a portion of the fortified wall which had been softened through a planned and persistent splashing of water on the said spot by most residents who abhorred the rule of Fia Agorkorli. To my informants, the people who

³⁴ R. S. Gocking, (2005). *The History of Ghana*. London: Greenwood Press, p.9.

were escaping walked backward out of the walled city. This gave an impression that people were entering the city; by the time the king's soldiers detected the deception, most Ewes had escaped to freedom. It is said that the Liberation Dagger (Gligbayi) has become a sacred relic of the Ewes and it is in the custody of the people of Asogli.³⁵

2.1.1 Migration and Settlement

According to Amenumey, "Ewe traditions recall a migration from the east, more precisely Ketu (also called Amedzofe or Mawufe), a town in modern Dahomey. Within the wall of Ketu lived, besides the Ewe forebearers, the Yoruba ancestors of the present Aja, Fon, Ada and Ga". Amenumey continues that "During the migration from Notsie, the people split into three broad groups. One went to settle in the northern part of the new home in the upland and valley region. It founded the towns of Hohoe, Matse, Peki, Kpando, Awudome, Alavanyo, Kpalime, Agu, Ve, Kpedze and Wodze. The Second group founded settlements of Ho, Akovia, Takla, Kpenoe, Hodzo, Klevi, Sokode, Abutia and Adaklu".³⁶ Gavua notes that "...results of preliminary research undertaken by students of archaeology suggest that by the end of the 17th century the different Northern Ewe groups were settled in small autonomous and relatively peaceful communities in their present territory. The departure of the Ewe groups from Notsie and the process of migration and relocation was not sudden. It took many years for the migrants to settle briefly at a number of places before finally arriving at their present homelands. Many of

³⁵ Interviews conducted with Mr. John Kukah, (Secretary, Asogli State Council), Mr. Alexander Tseh, Mama Agblatsu III, Asafo Tsiami Tseh, at Ho-Bankoe, 22 -25 June 2012.

³⁶ D.E.K. Amenumey, (1986). *The Ewe in Pre-Colonial Times*. Accra: Sedco Publishing Ltd, p.1.

their towns began as camps founded by renowned hunters, while others were established by farmers who had sought and found arable lands”.³⁷

According to my informants, Togbe Kakla, upon migrating from Notsie led his people and broke away from the larger Ewe group to settle at *Kormedzrale* or *Dzamekpo* (about three kilometers east of Bankoe which is the paramountcy of Ho). At this settlement, the people engaged in subsistence farming and hunting. Oral tradition has it that Togbe Kakla had three sons and a daughter; these were Akoe, Letsu, Asor and Esa. As *Kormedzrale* lands became too small to absorb the increasing population and to contain any meaningful economic activity and expansion, there was the need for further migration. Coupled with this, the people were being harassed by their neighbours especially the Taviawo. In effect, they had to migrate further. Upon the advice of an old man called Letsa, the descendants of Akoe and Letsu separated and retreated to found Akoefe and Kpenoe and later Takla towns. The descendants of Asor forged ahead to settle at the present day Ho after a brief sojourn at Hofedo (about 1 kilometer east of Bankoe). The only daughter of Togbe Kakla, Esa migrated further and settled at present day Saviefe located at north of Ho. At their final settlements, they continued to farm and hunt as their main source of livelihood. Today, Akoefe, Kpenoe, Takla and Ho towns constitute the Asogli State of which Ho is the center even though the three divisions have their paramountcies.³⁸

³⁷ K. Gavua, “A History of the Northern Ewe” in *A Handbook of Eweland*. p.5,6

³⁸ Interview with Prof. Komla Amoaku, Institute for Music and Development, Ho-Bankoe, 10-11 January 2012.

2.1.2 Dynasty of the Royal Family of Ho-Bankoe

According to oral tradition, inheritance in most Ewe lands and for the people of Asogli is patrilineal. Succession to the stool is equally on patrilineal line. However, sometimes when there is no male heir, a most accepted son of a daughter of the royal house could be enstooled. This is however rare and often, it is a stop-gap measure. The role of honour of succession to the royal stool of Ho-Asogli paramountcy is traced to the descendants of Asor who come under different names. As recorded by Spieth regarding the Afede Royal Family, the following in chronological order were occupants of the stool. The period of reign is however, undated except for Togbe Dogbe Korsi and Togbe Afede Asor II. Chronologically, these were the chiefs who ruled the Ho state as paramount chiefs: “Afede, Ati Akporsor, Agbenyohe, Afede, Afede Korwu, Nkudze, Adi, Koko, Akpo, and Afede. Fia Kodzo Akpo, Afede Dogbe Korsi (1905-1948)”³⁹ and the late Togbe Afede Asor II (1952-2001). Presently, it is Togbe Afede XIV who is the paramount chief and Agbogbomefia of the Ho-Asogli State.

2.1.3 The Ho-Asogli at War

According to my informants and the available secondary resources such as Spieth and Wiegrabe, the people of Ho-Asogli, like any other ethnic group fought various battles in the past. In the pre-Ho settlements and the early years of Ho, there were constant wars against Matse, Taviawo, Tanyigbe and Klefe as well as Abutia. These constant wars against their aggressive neighbours were over who was to be recognized as the overlord in terms of acquisition and expansion of territorial land. More often, the Hoawo emerged

³⁹ Spieth, *The Ewe People*, p.129.

victorious in such exploits. This was because they had a formidable and strong army built out of the warriors of the four traditional areas. The Hoawo with the spirit engulfed dagger (*glibayi*), well dressed in their war attire (*adzawusi*) and their juju pant (*godetsega*) and well possessed (*amlimatsitsi*) defeated their enemies in battles. In these attires, the now-indefatigable “*Ho-vadeawo*” (Ho warriors), intoxicated in bravery and spirit of war (*avadegborgbor*) won major victories against their enemies.

Prior to the arrival of the people of Asogli (the last settlers) in the area, the Akwamu were the overlords of the earlier Ewe settlers, and extracted tributes from them. When they heard of the exploits of the people of Asogli under the Ho township, they envied these victories and exploits of the Hoawo who besides their experienced war-tactics had become extremely rich and culturally advanced. Thus, the Akwamu sought to stop and bring the Hoawo under their subjugation by fair or foul means so as to collect tributes from them as well.

Not long after this, Akomu Koto, the Akwamu war chief sent an order to the Hoawo for tributes. When the Hoawo did not cede to this order, Akomu Koto asked the Fiaga of Ho to pick between pellets and salt, signifying war and peace respectively. Upon consultation with the sub chiefs of the State, the brave Togbe Howusu of Dome on this injunction “*Ne wodu dze ha wokuna*” (Even he who eats salt eventually dies) picked the pellets and sent back to Akoto the salt with the sliced meat from the back of the same messenger to Akoto. This situation made Akomu Koto to declare war on the Hoawo.

According to Amenumey, “...these numerous intra-Ewe wars caused considerable disorganization in the territory and threatened to align individual Ewe states into ‘blocs’

or intents in partnership with some non-Ewe neighbours”.⁴⁰ This situation played out well and aided the Akwamu in the fight against the Hoawo. Spieth indicates that the Geawo, Voloawo, Dorfoawo, and the Pekiawo were brought to fight on the side of Akomu Koto. Again the Anloawo, on the side of Akwamu were ordered to besiege the Akoviawo (Akoefe) while the Akwamu attacked the Hoawo on an appointed day. To Amenumey, “In 1833, Anlo aided Akwamu to try to subjugate Peki, Kpando, Ho and their neighbours, and as late as 1864, 1865, and 1873-1874, Anlo and these states fought in opposing camps.”⁴¹ Hoawo, records show, after an initial shoot-out at Sokode, ambushed the Akwamu midway between Sokode and Ho and held the Akwamu warriors from entering the town. At the same time, the Akoviawo held on and scattered the Anloawo who fought for the Akwamus.

Spieth recorded that “smelling defeat at the hands of the Hoawo, Akomu Koto with the Anlo, Adakluawo and other allies fled from the Hoawo through Adaklu to Tanyigbe. Here Akwamu Koto marshaled the forces of Tokokoe, Hodzo, and Agotime to assist him against Howusu of Dome and his men at Matse, Taviefe and Ziavi. Meanwhile, the Pekiawo, sensing Akoto’s treachery, defected with the Adaklu to the side of the powerful Ho warriors. Akoto, fearing to be captured by the Hoawo fled from his men in the night to Anum to save his head”⁴²

⁴⁰ D. E. K. Amenumey, (1989). *The Ewe Unification Movement: A Political History*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press, p. 3.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 3.

⁴² Spieth, *The Ewe People*, p. 133.

According to my interviewees, the Hoawo thus became victorious and this was to the indignation of the Akwamu, hitherto warlords of the neighbouring states. To regain his lost glory, Akomu Koto allied with the Asante against the arch enemy Ho. Tradition has it that one of the two Asante war chiefs, Adu Baffour, after an early victory over Pekiawo, who were on the side of the Hoawo, suffered a later defeat when they were leveled by the Ewes who rolled the great rocks of Gemitto (Gemi Mountain) over them at Amedzofe. Togbe Howusu Mote Kofi, who due to his gallantry and valour during the Akwamu war was made the avafia (warlord) of the Asogli State and accordingly chased the Akwamus into Takla on June 26, 1869. Following this, the Asante, through a surprise attack strategy routed Ho, plundered the Basel Mission at Ho Kpodzi and stole the church bell. They also captured J. Bonnat, a French Roman Catholic Missionary who they found at Ho. On their way back to Kumasi, they seized Ramseyer with his family and a friend, Adolf Kuehne (all whites) at Anum and marched them to Kumasi. It was not until Adolf Friedrich Herzog Zu Mackleburg, a German Governor in Lome, ordered the release of the Mission Church Bell, did the Asante return it to Ho where it still stands on display⁴³

Wiegrabe noted that all the three wings of the Asante and Akwamu warriors converged at Agu in Togo where they met with the Ewe warriors:

... *ke afima duawo kata vakpe wo (Asanteawo)*
le, eye wo (Hoawo) nya wo. Wole sisim eye wova
Sia (Shia), tu di de wo nuti.... Ale
Asanteawo tsror nutor le mor dzi. Amesiwo ke susor
la woawo si yi de Wusuta hedzo. Veve kple nukpe

⁴³ Spieth, *The Ewe People*, p. 135.

Asanteawo tsor dzoe. Elabena wofe ame vevi tor wo tsror

*dzodzro, eye wome kpor nusi wodi ha o.*⁴⁴

The translation of this extract simply means that the Ho and Asante warriors clashed in a battle at Agu in the Republic of Togo. There, the warriors of Ho pursued the Asantes who fled to a town called Shia. The warriors of Ho fired at the Asantes and many of them died. The Asante warriors suffered the greatest humiliation and lost most of their valiant men in the hands of the Hoawo under Howusu of Dome for and on behalf of the Fiaga of the Asogli State. It is therefore evident from the extract that the Hoawo, with the help of their allies fought to establish a convincing victory over the Asante and Akwamu forces.

Indeed, the history of the people of Asogli is unique. From Notsie through Kormedzrale to Bankoe and the establishment of the various divisional towns, the people of Asogli have made history for themselves. With their various war exploits with neighbours and distant enemies, it is clear that these people have a rich historical tradition. With this rich historical tradition of the people of Ho-Asogli, what then is the political organization of these people? The next session will focus briefly on politics among the Ho-Asogli, tracing the constitutional set-up in the state and the hierarchy of power among the various divisions.

⁴⁴ P. Wiegrabe, (1938). *Ewegbe Xexle fe Akpa Enelia*. Berlin, p.85.

2.2 Politics among the People of Ho-Asogli

2.2.0 Introduction

According to Amenumey, “the Ewe did not form a single political entity, but split into a number of sub-tribes that is, chiefdoms and paramountcies”.⁴⁵ Bluwey is of the view that “The basic unit of political organization in Northern Eweland is the *du*, or a settlement inhabited by a people who claim a common ancestry and are the subjects of a chief. The *du* may consist of several clans each with its own lineage and leadership. But they all give their allegiance to a chief, called the *Dufia*, whose symbol of authority is the stool”. Bluwey continues that ‘the highest political entity in Northern Eweland is the *Dukor*. This is composed of several *duwo*, all of whom give common allegiance, as subjects to a *Fiaga* (paramount chief). In general, every *dukor* falls into three or more divisions, each composed of several *duwo* under the general control of a divisional chief. The *Fiaga* is thus the supreme political leader, the chief executive and the supreme judicial officer of the *Dukor* (the state)”.⁴⁶

Nukunya holds the view that “Ewe polities differed considerably in size. This diversity is also reflected in territorial organization, the powers of the political head, the number and duties of functionaries and the level of ceremony and pageantry”.⁴⁷ Indeed, Ewe polity

⁴⁵ Amenumey, *The Ewe Unification Movement*, p.1.

⁴⁶ K. G Bluwey, “Political Systems” in Gavua, K. (2000) eds. *A Handbook of Eweland Volume II: The Northern Ewe in Ghana*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Services, p.61.

⁴⁷ G.K Nukunya, “Social and Political Organization” in Agbodeka, F. (1997) eds. *A Handbook of Eweland Volume I: The Ewes of Southern-Eastern Ghana*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Services, p.62.

varies from one state to the other. Though, the assertion by Bluwey holds to a large extent and the Asogli State seems to fit well into this political framework, there is still considerable differences in the political systems that operate among the Northern Ewe; hence, the politics of Asogli would be looked at accordingly to assess its unique features.

2.2.1 The Constitutional and Political Set-up of the Ho-Asogli State

According to my informants, politics in the Ho State is very unique. The Ho state operates the unwritten constitution which is shrouded in the “*Dulamama*”; the sharing of the customary mutton. The portion or the piece of meat allotted to a division spells out its main function and roles in the political set-up of the Ho-Asogli State. Ho is made up of five divisions and each is administered by a divisional chief who is assisted by the council of elders, queen mothers, the asafafia (the chief of the warriors), sorhefia (chief of the youth), and other traditional political office holders. According to my informants, hierarchically, the state comprises:

- **Bankoe** – Fiaga (paramount chief)
- **Heve** - Ngorgbefia (the vanguard chief)
- **Dome** – Miamefia/Avafia (chief of the left wing/warlord of the state)
- **Ahoe** - Dusimefia (chief of the right wing/spokesperson)
- **Hliha** – Megbefia (chief of the rear or rearguard)

Each of these divisions is made up of clans with their clan heads. Each clan in a division has a specific role or function to perform. These divisional towns have their own political

structures such as a divisional chief, queen mother, asafofia, linguists, sorhefia, town crier, drummers, custodians of the land, the asafo as well as important functional heads.

2.2.2 Power Structure within the Unwritten Constitution

Bankoe

Among these five divisions, Bankoe is the seat of paramountcy and is administered by the *Fiaga* under the direct supervision of the *Dutor* (owner/father of the town) assisted by a host of traditional office holders including the *Afetorfia gbedolada*, who is in charge of the customs and traditional practices of the state, the *Atamfia* who is the custodian and administrator of the Great Oath of the Asogli State, the *Tsiamiga* (paramount linguist) whose staff of office announces the presence and authority of the *Fiaga*. There are other important office holders who serve on the council of elders of the paramountcy. The Bankoe division takes the “*Ali*” (waist) of any customary slaughtered animal depicting its position and authority as the seat of paramountcy.

The Great Oath of the Ho-Asogli

Oath, to the people of Asogli is called *Atam* and there are two types in the history of the Ho people. The first one is called *Hoawo fe Fianyi* (the evening of the people of Ho) and the other is called *Hoawo fe Abayame* (the palm branches of the Ho people). Historically, the two great oaths relate to the Asante harassment of the people of Ho. Tradition has it that the people of Ho had won significant victories over the Akwamu and Asante forces in their war exploits. However, one evening, the Asante warriors launched a surprised attack on the people of Ho. This attack compelled the people of Ho to flee from their

homes because they were ill-prepared and never expected the Asante invasion. Following the attack, the Asante warriors killed many people and set the town ablaze.

The people of Ho who fled from the town following the Asante invasion went to build a camp at the outskirts of the town. This camp was constructed with palm branches called *Abaya*. Unexpectedly, the Asante warriors located these people, surrounded them and set the camp on fire. Once again, many people were killed. Consequently, these two incidents have become the great oath of the people of Ho. Due to the importance of this oath, it has a custodian and he is known as the *Atamfia*. It is this oath that a would-be chief must swear before he would be recognized as the chief of the state.

Heve

The Heve division is ruled by the *Ngorgbefia* (vanguard chief). The administrative set-up also serves as military formation, which was quite relevant in the past days of tribal or ethnic wars. The Heve divisions therefore had the traditional military function of spying on the enemy and providing intelligence report for the main army in times of war. The function in contemporary times implies exploring around for development programmes and projects, which would be introduced to the people for progress. Their power is signified by the portion of a slaughtered animal called the *Anyinor (leg)*.

Ahoe

Positioned on the right wing of the traditional political structure is the *Dusimefia* (chief of the right wing). This position is held by the chief of Ahoe, the main spokesperson of the traditional set-up; who hence, takes the *Gla* (the jaw) of any slaughtered animal. This

function has always been there following their arrival, settlement and participation of the political activities of the people of Bankoe.

Dome

The Dome division is made up of very brave and gallant warriors who were very instrumental in the 18th century victorious exploits of the people of Asogli on the battlefield. Dome is therefore headed by the *Avafia* (warlord) of the Asogli State who also doubles as the chief of the left flank of local troops.

The Dome division therefore takes the *Akor* (chest) of any slaughtered animal in the state implying the readiness to face and implement any development programmes that the people may wish to undertake. During the period of tribal war, this function implied facing squarely any military adventure.

Hliha

The people of Hliha occupy the rear of the political set up. They are ruled by the *Megbefia* (chief of the rear) and takes the *Akasia* (reticulum) of any animal slaughtered. Their main function is that of the maintenance of peace and stability in the state. Thus, all rites intended for peace are performed at Hliha.

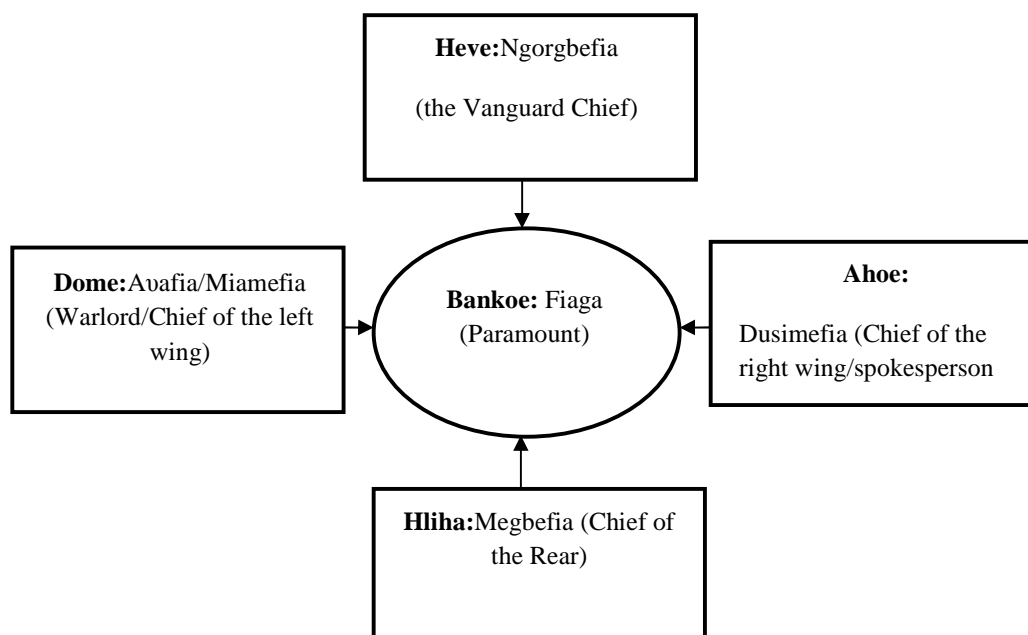


Fig: 2.1 Diagrammatic Representation of Politics and Administration in the Ho-Asogli State.

2.3 The State of Development in Ho-Asogli before the Reign of Togbe Afede XIV

Development in the Ho-Asogli State before the reign of Togbe Afede XIV revolves around the late Togbe Afede Asor II. Accordingly, development would be assessed under the reign of the late Togbe Afede Asor II.

2.3.0 The Birth and Education of Togbe Afede Asor II

According to my informants, Togbe Afede Asor II is the second son of Togbe Dogbe Kwasi (Togbe Afede XII) who ruled from 1905-1948 and the late Victoria Abratedze of the Agbanyo clan of Taviefe Deme. He was born on Friday, July 27, 1927 at Ho Bayankoe now adulterated as Bankoe where he was also baptized at the Roman Catholic

Church by Rev. Fr. W. Bond in 1930. Togbe was known in private life as Jacob Asor Dogbe Akorli.

As a son of the royal couple, little Jacob's parents had the best of intentions to educate him and make him literate as a way of preparing him to meet the new challenges posed by the establishment of schools by the early Christian Missionaries to educate native children. He was enrolled at the Ho-Bankoe Roman Catholic Boys School in 1936. He successfully completed his elementary school education by obtaining his Senior School Leaving Certificate in 1946. On leaving school, the young prince was determined to look beyond the then Trans-Volta Togoland to seek further education in the then Gold Coast but this called for finance. He was therefore prevailed upon by the then registrar of Asogli Native Authority, the late Mr. Felix Y. Medie to accept a job, temporarily, to earn some money to be able to assist his parents pay his fees in any of the secondary schools in Accra. Based on this advice, he readily accepted a job as a messenger at the Asogli Native Authority in 1947. In his characteristic searching mind, the young school leaver quickly trained on the job and was promoted a typist, doing sixty words per minute to the surprise of Mr. Medie.⁴⁸

My informants noted that, in 1948, whilst preparations were advanced to help him further his education as was his wish, disaster struck. His father, the king, died after ruling for 43 long years. The young Asor had to face the responsibility of helping his mother to provide for the rest of his four siblings and their several other dependents. Further

⁴⁸ Togbe's Home Call Brochure Programme: Togbe Afede Asor II, 1927-2001. Designed and printed by Yamens Press Lt.

education was longer his priority. How to keep the family together and take up other regal responsibilities became the obvious choice. He therefore decided to concentrate on the secretarial job and continued to feed the family. He, however, did not abandon his pursuit of knowledge. He subscribed to several correspondence courses leading to the University of London Matriculation examinations and other professional courses as well. But as fate would have it, the mantle of leadership fell on him and the handsome, admirable prince ascended the throne as the new king to succeed his father Afede XII, at the youthful age of 25 years. According to my informants, the young prince had then risen to the position of administrative assistant at the Asogli Native Authority.⁴⁹

2.3.1 Togbe Afede Asor II and Development in the Ho-Asogli State:

Social Front

According to my informants, the late king would always be remembered for his developmental efforts. They claimed that as if to make up for what he could not achieve through formal higher education, the new Togbe set forth an ambitious dream that was to see a number of schools spring up as the best in Ho and its surroundings. He was therefore very instrumental in the establishment of the Mawuli School, OLA Senior High School, the Ho Technical School (now Ho Polytechnic) and the Kabore Complex School. My informants noted that the late Togbe Asor II championed the establishment of the Methodist School and Church, and E.P. Primary, United Evangelical Church (Carpenter Church) which was first started in the palace and others. To my informants, the late king's motive was to enable as many school children as possible in the community to

⁴⁹ Interviews with Mama Agblatsu III, Togbe Kludzehe III, Ho-Bankoe, 20th June 2012

access education in local schools. To them (informants), though the late king did not reach higher heights in education, it was his motive to see his subjects attain higher education so as to help in the rapid development of the state and region as a whole.

My informants were quick to add that the late king also encouraged the establishment of other institutions in Ho such as the Volta Military Barracks (now 66 Artillery Regiment), the Catering House (now Woezor Hotel), the Regional Police Training School and the various mission schools. They mentioned that the late king, with the motive of promoting a serene social environment gave out land for all these amenities to be put in place. My informants pointed out that when residents of Ho and its environs enjoy abundant potable water and electricity, their gratitude must go to the late king for fighting relentlessly for these and other infrastructural developments in Ho.

Political Front

According to Lawrence, “Upon arriving in Eweland, British officers expressed concern about the region's political organization. In various locales they found 'administrative disorder' and 'multiple and conflicting' lines of authority in Eweland, and implemented an Akan model for reorganization....The British policy of amalgamation was introduced in the mid-1920s. With little historical basis or economic and judicial logic, it caused complications for the Ewe dukowo.”⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Lawrence, B. “Bankoe V. Dome: Traditions and Petitions in the Ho-Asogli Amalgamation, British Mandated Togoland, 1919-1939”. *The Journal of African History*. Vol. 46, No. 2 (2005)

According to my informants, the contributions of the late king to the political development of the state and the region cannot be underestimated. They noted that one of the greatest political achievements of the late Togbe Afede Asor II is the revival of the 33 amalgamated Traditional Area (which went dormant) into the Asogli Traditional Council of which he became the life president. Today, the Asogli Traditional Council is made up of about 160 towns and villages (33 traditional areas) found within the Ho Municipality, the Adaklu, Agotime-Ziope and Akatsi North Districts. Towns mentioned to be part of this amalgamated body include Akoefe, Adaklu, Abutia, Matse, Sokode, Takla, Kpenoe, Tsyoame-Afedo, Hodzo, Tanyigbe, Tokokoe, Shia, Nyive, Ave, Atikpui, Lume, Anfoeta, Hlefi, Hoviefe, Klefe, Etodome; other members also include, Ave-Dakpa, Akrofu, Dzalele, Kpetoe, Taviefe, Kpale, Goviefe, Akoviefe, Ave-Dzadzefe, Ziope, Ziavi with Ho as the center and seat of presidency. The late king was able to reorganize these variegated political units to form a more active political unit within these three geographical environments. My informants claimed that the late king, with the motive of promoting unity, solidarity and peace within the region saw the need to revitalize and reunite these political units towards constructing a bigger political unit in the region.

My informants also noted that politically, Togbe who had the benefit of a course in Local Government Administration at Greenhill (GIMPA) in 1964 was one of the rulers who formed the nucleus of the Volta Regional House of Chiefs and was one of the Volta Regional House's representatives at the historic first meeting of paramount chiefs in Kumasi, the Ashanti capital. They (informants) noted that his other pioneers who formed the Volta Regional House of Chiefs were the late Togbui Adedza II of Anlo, Togbe Kwadzo Dei XI of Peki, Togbe Tepre Hodo III of Anfoega, Nana Aburam Akpandja III

of Buem and Togbe Adja Tekpor VI, Osei of Avatime. They continued that Togbe Afede Asor II was a giant among his equals and even though his dream of advanced education could not materialize as he had wished, and his avenue of saving some money to turn round his kingdom with the construction of a dream palace was robbed by protracted chieftaincy disputes, Togbe yet stood tall, with his natural intellect playing a keen role in the affairs of the Volta Region and Ghana.

My informants noted that at the chieftaincy front, Togbe Afede Asor II was elected Vice President of the Volta Regional House of Chiefs in 1963, 1965 and again in 1975. He was also the chairman of the Standing Committee on chieftaincy disputes presented to the Volta Regional House. His achievements at the regional level, accounted for his being elected member of the Judicial Committee of the National House of Chiefs. They noted that the motive of the late king was to see the establishment of a strong regional house of chiefs which would be recognized nationwide, which would be able to unit all the political units in the region towards development, growth, progress and nation building. For this reason, the late king served the various committees with all his might in order to help settle disputes between different political units so as to bring about peace, unity and solidarity to the region; a move that will lead the way forward for rapid development.⁵¹

From the data collected, it was noted that Togbe also played a very leading role in the successes of the 1956 Plebiscite upon which a referendum annexed the then Trans-Volta Togoland to the Gold Coast, now Ghana. As a pioneer, Togbe was quick in convincing his elders about the need to do away with some customary practices in the traditional area

⁵¹ Togbe's Home Call Brochure: Togbe Afede Asor II, 1927-2001

that he thinks were obsolete. He was able to champion their abolition with the active involvement of the late J.M.K. Addo and others way back in the 1970s before many other traditional areas would see the need to follow suit. According to my informants, the relative peace, unity, and solidarity that the region enjoys today stems from the efforts that the late king made in bringing the various political units together and convincing them to favour the move to be part of Ghana and he would always be remembered for his efforts.

Cultural Front

Nukunya asserts “the majority of the Ghanaian populace is predominantly traditional and that it still looks upon chiefs as performing important ritual functions by ensuring that the people’s relationship with the ancestral forces promotes peace, prosperity and progress”⁵².

The data gathered through the interview process perhaps seek to emphasize what Nukunya puts across. My interviewees noted that the late king was very instrumental in promoting the culture of the people of Asogli and Ewe culture as a whole. My informants boldly confirmed that the late king has annually promoted the “Tedudu” (Yam Festival) of the people of Asogli. This festival is celebrated to honour the ancestors for bumper harvest and to outdoor the new yam. The festival as am told involves a series of rites such as *Vovlowo fe Nkeke* (all souls day), *Nubabla* (preparation of holy herbs), *Teyuyuyuru* (hailing of the new yam), *Dzawuwu* (serving the gods and ancestors with the first yam

⁵² G. K. Nukunya, (1992). *Tradition and Change in Ghana: An Introduction to Sociology*. Accra, Ghana Universities Press

produces) and *Tedudu* (yam feast). In all these rites, the late king was there to see to it that the rites were performed effectively. Finally, a grand durbar is held where all the people and sub-chiefs of the state gather to celebrate and reaffirm their allegiance to the paramount chief (the late Togbe Afede Asor II). To the late king, there was the need to preserve the culture of his people, his ancestors and the unborn and also to promote unity, solidarity, and development in the state since it attracts tourists from far and near. This is because the development of a people is based on the culture of the people; thus, he saw the need to preserve the festival so as to enhance its continuity.

With the motive of helping to preserve Ewe History, identity and culture, during the *Agbogboza* (festival) at Notsie in the Republic of Togo in September 1968, Togbe Afede Asor II assisted the Togolese President, the late Gnassingbe Eyadema to lay the foundation stone for the Ewe Museum. With a mind almost akin to that of King Solomon, the late king will be remembered for his call disposition and great power of judgement which has restored peace in many traditional areas not only in the Volta Region but throughout the country while he served on the various committees of the House of Chiefs.

Economic Front:

My interviewees pointed out that the contribution of the late king in the economic development of the state cannot be underestimated. They claimed that the construction of the Ho Central Market was part of his initiative. As the people of Ho were farmers in the past, they often sold their farm produce at the market place. But as Ho grew in population and size as a result of emigration of people from different parts of the country including

people from Togo, especially the Kabre, and Losso, market activities became increasingly important. Villages surrounding Ho such as Klefe, Ziavi, Taviefe, and Matse among others were attracted to come and sell their farm produce in Ho. For this reason, marketing activities increased to the extent of attracting traders from Keta, Aflao, Ada, Accra and the Akans from the Eastern Region. As such, Togbe Afede Asor II had to work with the government to put up a modern market in the 1970s so as to boost trading activities in the state. According to my informants, the late king took this initiative to encourage farmers to produce more crops to feed the population and also to encourage the women to engage in other trading activities to sustain their families. Indeed, this initiative became one of the most reliable sources of revenue for the Ho Municipal Assembly in contemporary times. This achievement came about as a result of the initiative of the late Togbe Afede Asor II and he would always be remembered for this.⁵³

2.4 The Death of the late Togbe Afede Asor II

The data gathered from the interview process indicates that Togbe Afede Asor II sadly left for the village (died) at dawn on Monday, June 25, 2001 at the age of 74 years after almost 50 years of unblemished rule. He died after a protracted illness but he fulfilled one great desire, the reconciliation of all the divisions of Ho to live in peace with one another and this is evident in the brotherly manner in which the state now conducts its affairs.

This chapter has briefly looked at the history of the people of Ho-Asogli. It also looked briefly at the politics of the people of Ho-Asogli and finally gave an overview of

⁵³ Interviews with Mama Agblatsu III, Togbe Kludzehe III, Mr. John Kukah, Mr. Alexander Tseh, Ho-Bankoe, 12th June 2012

development in the Ho-Asogli State under the leadership of the late Togbe Afede Asor II.

Now that the basis has been established, the next chapter will focus on the profile of

Togbe Afede XIV.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PROFILE OF TOGBE AFEDE XIV

3.0 Introduction

According to Amenumey, “Ghanaian traditional education has always placed a lot of emphasis on recounting the achievements of societal heroes and heroines as a way of imparting a valuable lesson to the youth that is, to inspire them to emulate such achievements. Again, during the period of confinement prior to outdooring, chiefs are taught not only the history of their stool, but the exploits of their predecessors so that they would have a model or models on whom to mould their lives. In Western European societies, biographies constitute a very important genre of writing which plays a very useful civic and political role.”⁵⁴ Indeed, biographies are very important so as to document the life and times, the achievements and successes as well as the challenges of individuals who have distinguished themselves in society. This goes a long way to educate, inspire, direct, guide and above all serve as a road map for the young ones in their journey through life. Accordingly, the youth who access such information tend to emulate these great men and women so that they could also become useful people in society. In this light, this chapter will examine the profile of Togbe Afede XIV, the Agbogbomefia of Ho-Asogli State.

⁵⁴ Amenumey, *Outstanding Ewes of the 20th Century*, p.vii

3.1 Birth and Education

Togbe Afede XIV was born at Ho on the 23 April 1957 to the late Corporal Patrick Akpo and Madam Rose Akuyo Anyawoe, both from Ho Bankoe. Being the grandson of Herman Ladzi Akpo, who was a renowned Catechist and educationist, James Akpo (Togbe Afede XIV) together with his late twin brother, was enrolled in primary class one at the Ho Bankoe Catholic Boys School in 1961 at age four. After eight years of elementary education, Togbe entered Kpedze Secondary School in 1969 and successfully completed his GCE “O” Level in 1974. He then proceeded to Labone Secondary School in Accra where he excelled in the GCE “A” Level examinations in 1976. He therefore entered the University of Ghana Business School where he earned his BSc degree in Administration (Accounting) in 1979. Having the penchant for further education, Togbe took a series of initiatives by applying for postgraduate studies abroad. Fortunately, he had several offers but because of financial difficulties, he was unable to take up these offers of admission especially to the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania (1984 and 1985) and admission with fellowship awards to Stanford University’s Graduate School of Business in 1984 and 1985. After committing his scanty resources to the pursuit of his Wharton and Stanford aspirations, he was unable to put in any new applications in 1986. However, his hard work and perseverance finally paid off in 1987 when he was awarded a substantial fellowship by Yale University. It was there that he finally received his MBA in May 1989⁵⁵.

⁵⁵ “To Us a King is Given: Profile of the new Agbogbomefia”. *Commemorative Brochure on the Enstoolment and Inauguration of Agbogbomefia of Ho and President of Asogli Traditional Council*. October 2003. Designed and printed by Graphic Packaging Ltd. P.14-17

3.2 Early Working Life

After attaining his first degree from the University of Ghana Business School, he did his national service at the erstwhile Bank for Housing and Construction (1979-1980) in Ho, where he served as a planning officer. He performed financial analysis of loan applicant's projects, and established and negotiated short and long-term loans and financial packages for clients. Between 1981 and 1984, he worked with the Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board as an Accountant. Between 1985 and 1987, he travelled to Nigeria where he lectured in Economics and Accounting at Sokoto State Polytechnic's School of Management Studies. While there, he applied for postgraduate studies at Yale University where he received a scholarship to pursue postgraduate studies.⁵⁶

3.3 Entrepreneurship and Business Acumen

According to him, his friends were surprised at him in America when he rejected the attractive opportunities that Yale education provided and returned to Ghana in August 1989. Following his arrival, he accepted an appointment as a lecturer at the School of Administration, University of Ghana in 1990. There, he taught Financial Accounting (BSc Programme) and Accounting Theory (MBA Programme) at undergraduate and masters' level respectively until 1994. While he was teaching at the University, he co-founded Databank Financial Service Limited, an investment banking firm, with a former Yale colleague. He later left Databank in 1993 and founded another investment banking firm known as the Strategic African Securities Limited in 1994. He is currently the Chief

⁵⁶ "Profile of the Agboghomefia" *First Anniversary Brochure; Agboghomefia Afede XIV; Making the Difference*. Designed and Printed by Hory Ventures. p. 1-3

Executive Officer (CEO) of Strategic Initiatives Limited, a private equity and portfolio investment firm⁵⁷. With over two decades of experience in investment banking, Togbe Afede XIV has played a critical role in the development of Ghana's capital markets, including developing and publishing the first ever stock market indices in 1991.

Strategic African Securities (SAS) offers integrated investment banking and financial advisory services to private and institutional investors to Ghana and other emerging markets. SAS's core business activities are securities trading, investment management, corporate finance and investment research. SAS provides a full range of financial intermediary services which include managing individual and pooled funds, providing expertly managed portfolios that meet clients' objectives for risk, reward, diversification, and maturity. It also aids institutional and individual investors to take well researched positions in profitable investment opportunities, facilitating private sector participation in the government's privatization programme and channeling long-term capital flow to the most profitable and productive sectors in the economy; and contributing to effective money and capital market intermediation in Ghana and other emerging markets.

Togbe Afede XIV's contribution to the development of the bond market in Ghana include initiating and leading the design and placement of the SSNIT Educational Notes in 2000, which was the first of its kind. He also started a national debate in 2003 on interest rate policy which resulted in better alignment of Bank of Ghana's inflation expectations and interest rates and the establishment of a normal yield curve. As a result of this initiative,

⁵⁷ "Agbogbomefia Togbe Afede XIV, Making the Difference": *First Anniversary Brochure*. October 2004. Designed and published by Hory Ventures, p. 1-3

the then President, J.A. Kuffuor meritoriously appointed him to the board of the Bank of Ghana in recognition of his informed contributions to the nation's financial sector.

A business and financial gem, Togbe Afede XIV has Board Member of the following organizations: Aluworks Limited (an aluminum rolling mill), Accra Hearts of Oak Sporting Club, Bank of Ghana (board member), Navigator Communications & Technology Company Limited, Pioneer Kitchenware Limited (an aluminum hollowware manufacturer), China Africa Company Limited (an international trading and business representation firm). Others include SAS Finance Group Limited of which he is the chairperson, SAS Investment Management Limited (Chairman), Strategic Initiatives Ltd. (Chairman), Trans Africa Telecom Limited, Volta Region Development Agency (VRDA), and the Sunon Asogli Power (Ghana) Limited.

He is also the founder of Navigator Communications & Technology Company Limited and co-founder of the Sunon Asogli Power (Ghana) Limited, which aims to mitigate the tension in power supply in Ghana by building a 560MW gas-steam combined cycle power generation plant in Kpone. In addition, Togbe Afede XIV is also the Chairman of Africa World Airlines Limited (AWA), a Ghanaian private-sector joint venture between SAS Finance Group and Chinese Investment/technical partners which aims at providing low cost scheduled airline passenger services from Accra to domestic and regional destinations, using jet aircraft throughout its route network. Besides, the indefatigable entrepreneur is the initiator of the 1.5 billion dollar Gold Coast City Project-World Trade

Center and Tourist Complex located in Accra around the Arts Center (National Theatre).⁵⁸

3.4 Philosophy

In life, every level-headed human being has a guiding philosophy. This directs his thought, and actions in whatever he/she does. Togbe Afede XIV as such has his own philosophy. According to him, his outlook is influenced by a set of beliefs. Among them is his belief that success should be measured not only by the level one has attained, but also by the obstacles one had to overcome while trying to succeed. He sees difficulties as part of life. To him, a new obstacle is only another challenge, and a life that is not tested is not worth living. Togbe has a pro-active attitude in the conduct of his business; therefore, his focus is on the opportunities, not the difficulties. He believes that success requires hard work, imagination, honesty, altruism, and absolute commitment to one's chosen career. Togbe Afede XIV also believes that one is not successful until society has benefited from his success. He is therefore happy to share what he has with his community. He reiterated that one must always be proactive in order to ameliorate unforeseen problems; and when the difficulties surface, one should not be in despair because problems are part of life but the ability to deal with them is what makes the difference. He noted that successful people must share their successes with society because that is the essence of communal living. It is this philosophy which has brought

⁵⁸ K. D. Sutor "Agbogbomefia: The Dynamic and Visionary King": *Wake Up Volta: Volta's Premier Leadership and Socio-Economic Development Magazine*. Maiden Edition, Issue No: WVM00. Pp.21-22 (December, 2011)

him this far. He also noted that his two years of studies at Yale School of Management have helped him develop critical thinking and analytical abilities. He also learned to take a detailed and scientific approach in business decision making. “But perhaps most importantly”, Mr. Kukah stated; “he acquired the positive attitude and self-confidence needed to take the initiative in community, public, and private business activities and this is what has been the driving force behind his success stories.”⁵⁹

3.5 Installation as a Chief

The people of Ho, concerned about their falling living standards and the virtual absence of development activities in their communities, desired someone who will provide the needed aspirations and leadership for the development of Ho-Asogli State. Therefore, the mantle fell on a member of the Akpo Royal Family of Ho-Bankoe. On October 4, 2003, kingmakers of Ho-Bankoe gave the people the king of their choice.

Among the people of Ho-Asogli, special days are reserved for certain ceremonies. Joyous occasions such as apprehension of a chief, thanksgiving after accident, among others are performed on a Ho Market day or a day after while sad occasions are performed three days after market days or a day before a market day known as *Afenegbe* and *Asitoegbe* respectively. The belief is that, the gods accept good things on good days and bad things on bad days.

On the 26th of September 2003, James Akpo was apprehended by the king-makers of Ho-Bankoe at his residence in Accra. This exercise was led by Togbe Agblatsu III. On his

⁵⁹ Interview conducted with Mr. John Kukah, Secretary of Asogli State Council on behalf of Togbe Afede XIV. Ho Bankoe, 22 June 2012

apprehension, he was smeared with a white clay known as *eye* which was brought from a strong stool house. Following his apprehension, he was brought to Ho for confinement. Prayers were offered and a sheep slaughtered on his feet. He was made to wear royal clothes and lifted up higher for the people to see before confinement. He was carried shoulder high by the Asafo (warriors) with a yell “hail the king”. He was confined for nine (9) days. In the process of the confinement, chiefs and elders from Akoefe, Kpenoe, Takla, Bankoe, Heve, Ahoe, Dome and Hliha took turns to visit, interact, and advice with the would-be chief in the traditional history and customs of the people of Asogli. On the ninth day which was Saturday 4 October 2003, he was outdoored and presented to the people at a grand durbar held by the chiefs and people of Asogli. Thus, known in his private life as James Akpo, he was installed as the new Agbogbomefia of the Ho-Asogli State with the stool name Togbe Afede XIV. He swore the great oath of the Ho(*Hoawo fe Fienyi*) to the chiefs and people of the Asogli State and the chiefs in return swore the oath of commitment and allegiance to the Afede stool. The installation was climaxed by his inaugural address.

Kofi Akordor and Tim Dزامboe noted in a news article that a forty-six year old investment consultant, Mr. James Akpo was on Saturday 4 October 2003 inaugurated as the Agbogbomefia of the Asogli Traditional Area in the Volta Region, under the stool name Togbe Afede XIV. They noted that Togbe Afede XIV succeeded the late Togbe Afede Asor II, who passed away in 2001. Akordor and Dزامboe noted that the ceremony attracted a large crowd and chiefs resplendent in their colourful paraphernalia and the Minister of State in charge of Tertiary Education at the time Ms. Elizabeth Ohene, led a government delegation on behalf of Vice President Alhaji Aliu Mahama to witness the

colourful cultural extravaganza. They noted that other members of the delegation were the then Deputy Minister of Local Government and Rural Development, Captain (rtd) Nkrabea Effah Darteh, the Volta Regional Minister, Mr. Kwesi Owusu Yeboah, and the First Deputy Speaker of Parliament, Mr. Freddie Blay.

In her address on behalf of government, Ms Ohene said, by the enstoolment, a special honour had been bestowed on Togbe Afede XIV and expressed the hope that he would live up to expectation and use his rich influence as an economist and a man with a thriving business, to transform the Asogli State into prosperity⁶⁰. According to my informants, in Togbe Afede's inaugural address, he pledged his commitment to a new leadership style to fulfill the development needs of the people and to fight poverty, ignorance, disease and do something about the limited job opportunities. Togbe Afede XIV continued that for the chieftaincy institution to facilitate development, it must undergo reform in order to uphold and respect traditional practices and customs that inspired the people and to expunge those that were not in tune with the modern world. Togbe Afede XIV emphasized in the address that the success of a chief must be measured by the positive change in the lifestyle of his subjects and not by the size of his regalia, adding that chiefs should serve their states rather than to be pampered and carried in palanquins and invest their wealth in ventures that will benefit their communities instead of in gold trinkets, rings and chains.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Kofi Akordor & Tim Dzamboe "Asogli installs new Agbogbomefia", *Daily Graphic*, October 6, 2003, p. 2.

⁶¹ Interviews conducted with Mr. John Kukah, Secretary, Asogli State Council, 22 June 2012, Mama Agblatsu III, 20 June 2012,

3.6 Admission into the Asogli Traditional Council:

In December 2003, Togbe Afede XIV was admitted into the Asogli Traditional Council. On 28 June 2004, the presidency of this council was handed over to him. According to the traditions of this political body, the paramount chief of Ho automatically assumes the role of president of the Council, which is the traditional governing body of the Asogli State. Togbe Afede XIV therefore took over the presidency from Togbe Osei Tutu VI, Fiaga of Matse who was serving as an acting president. Togbe Afede XIV swore an oath of allegiance to the chiefs in the council and the chiefs in turn swore to him as their president. In his address, Togbe Afede XIV thanked Togbe Osei Tutu VI of Matse for the able manner in which he steered the affairs of the Council since the departure of the late Togbe Afede Asor II. Togbe Afede XIV continued in his address that he was aware of the problems that beset the traditional council, most notably among them which is funding which has consequently affected staffing and the council's ability to quickly dispose its cases. He pledged to work hard with the other chiefs towards its resolution. He also noted that the institution of chieftaincy as a whole was faced with a lot of difficulties. In effect, he pledged to collaborate with other chiefs in the council to work hard to resolve them. He urged all the chiefs to work towards the preservation of the peace and unity that the country has enjoyed over the years and asked that the chiefs should advise the citizens to be calm as they entered the election year. He concluded the address by inviting all the chiefs to unite so that together, they could provide the inspiration, strength and the leadership that the people have been yearning for. He reiterated: "I want us to unite to confront the urgent developmental needs of our people.

These are needs of our time and they must be met during our time. Let us work together to change the attitudes of our people; let us aim to make hard work our ambition".⁶²

3.7 Induction into the Volta Region House of Chiefs:

On 26 April 2006, Togbe Afede XIV was inducted into the Volta Region House of Chiefs. He was admitted as a permanent member of the house. That same day, Togbe Tepre Hodo IV, paramount chief of Anfoega Traditional Area was also admitted into the house. Togbe Osei Tutu VI led him to formally made declarations of being a committed member of the house and pledged to work hard to achieve the goals of the house. He was accompanied by Tsiamiga Amoaku, Togbe Kasa III, Togbe Anikpi III, Togbe Adzimah VI and some of his family members. Upon his induction, he interacted with some chiefs of the House such as Togbe Gabusu IV of Hohoe, Togbe Tepre Hodo IV of Anfoega, among others. Later in the afternoon, Togbe Tepre Hodo IV and his retinue paid a courtesy call on Togbe Afede XIV at the forecourt of his palace. The significance of this visit was to unite the two states in order to promote the development of the people through sharing of ideas.

On 9 October 2007, Togbe Afede XIV attended a Standing Committee meeting of the regional house of chiefs at Ho. The following day (10th), he attended a general meeting of the house intended for the election of a new President, Vice President and five representatives to the National House of Chiefs. Just when the Electoral Commission officials were about to commence the exercise it was announced that a court injunction

⁶² A Speech delivered by Togbe Afede XIV on the Assumption of the Presidency of Asogli State Council, 28 June 2004, Ho-Bankoe

had been placed on the election and the meeting ended abruptly. New elections were held the following year (2008) and he was elected as president of the house being assisted by Nana Soglo Alloh IV, paramount chief of Likpe Traditional Area. He and his deputy were re-elected on the 8 of November 2012 to serve another four-year term as President and Vice respectively of the Volta Region House of Chiefs. He is also a member of the National House of Chiefs.

3.8 Awards and Recognition

Togbe Afede XIV has received recognition plus several awards for his outstanding contribution to society. Among others: Old Vandals Association, the alumni of Commonwealth Hall of University of Ghana, Legon, honoured Togbe for his tremendous contributions to the progress of society. Togbe Afede won the Personality of the year at the Millennium Excellence Awards, August 19, 2005, after voting across the nation. On August 1, 2007, the Volta Regional Secretariat of the National Service Scheme (NSS) honoured Togbe Afede XIV as part of the secretariat's celebration of Ghana at 50. Also, the Ho Development Association (HODA) honoured Togbe in appreciation of his good work both at the traditional and national levels on July 21, 2007.

Togbe is an awarded platinum member of the West Africa Nobles Forum, a sub-regional think-tank. He has also received the Planters of Seed Award at the Ghana Club 100 Awards Ceremony. This national award recognizes Ghanaians who returned home from abroad and made significant contributions to national development through the companies they set up. Not in the least, the Order of the Volta, Officer, was conferred on

Togbe Afede XIV by former President J.A. Kuffour on July 3, 2008 as a result of his initiative in chieftaincy, public service and energy.

In a news article presented in the Daily Guide in February 2007, it was noted that the Ho Development Association (HODA) honoured Togbe Afede XIV for his good works. According to the paper, Mr. Ben Eleblu, acting chairman of HODA presented a certificate of honour to Togbe Afede XIV in appreciation of his good works both at the traditional and national levels. Members of HODA, who called on the Agbogbomefia at his residence in Accra, said they were particularly impressed with the efforts of the Agbogbomefia in negotiating with the Chinese firm, Shenzhen Energy Group Limited, to build a US 500 million dollars power plant in Tema which would generate 560 megawatts of power for Accra and Tema. They also expressed their appreciation for the able manner in which Togbe Afede had so far handled the affairs of the Asogli Traditional Area and wished him well so that he could continue with his good works. Togbe Afede on his part expressed appreciation for the goodwill gesture and pledged to continue to offer exemplary and active leadership so that with the support of the citizens, the Asogli Traditional Area, the Volta Region and indeed the whole country would win the battle against poverty and deprivation. He advised HODA members and other Ho citizens yet to join it not to stand aloof and expect miracles. He emphasized: “We need to put our shoulders to the wheel and actively participate in all programmes geared towards the development of our communities”, he said.⁶³

⁶³ “Ho Citizens honour Agbogbomefia”. *Daily Graphic*, 2 August 2007, p. 8.

3.9 Conclusion:

This chapter has dealt with the profile of Agbogbomefia Togbe Afede XIV, tracing his birth, education, early working life, self-employment, entrepreneurship and business acumen, his installation as a chief, induction into the Asogli Traditional Council and the Regional House of Chiefs as well as the awards he has received. With this high profile, one would expect that Togbe Afede XIV should promote development in his state. With his famous statement on his installation, this poses a great challenge to him to deliver on this note. The next chapter will assess his contribution to development in the Ho-Asogli State.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CONTRIBUTION OF TOGBE AFEDE XIV TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF HO-ASOGLI STATE

4.0 Introduction:

According to Boateng, “traditionally, chiefs are primary political leaders, although in practically all parts of Ghana this function is combined with military and religious ones”.⁶⁴ Similarly, Abotchie also maintained that as the founder and father of the land, the chief performed military, religious, judicial, administrative, legislative, economic and cultural functions. Although the chief played different roles in these respective capacities, all of these functions are directed towards achieving one goal, the maintenance of law and order so that peace and progress would reign.⁶⁵ Indeed, the motto of the Asogli State is “Peace, Unity and Development”. This motto clearly fits into the framework of Boateng and Abotchie though chiefs do not perform military functions in contemporary times. Indeed, the installation of Togbe Afede XIV in 2003 has brought about peace, unity, progress and development in and outside the Ho-Asogli State. Coupled with his famous inaugural address referred to earlier, this chapter will focus on the contribution of Togbe Afede XIV to the development of Ho-Asogli State; looking at it thematically from the social, economic and political perspectives. The chapter will also look at his contribution to Volta region.

⁶⁴ Boateng, *Government and the People*, p.144.

⁶⁵ C. Abotchie (1997). *Social Control in Traditional Southern Eweland of Ghana: Relevance for Modern Crime Prevention*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press, p. 171.

4.1. Contribution to Social Development

4.1.0 The First Asogli People's Congress

On 10 April 2004, the first Asogli people's congress was held under the leadership of Togbe Afede XIV. This congress was in fulfillment of the new Asogli State that he promised to build in his inaugural address and the need for the people to play a crucial role in unfolding the history of the Asogli people. Indeed, the chiefs and people met for the first time to deliberate on issues of importance and the way forward for the state. At the meeting, he outlined his plans for the people such as promoting the development of the state, and enhancing quality education. Togbe Afede XIV also stated that his reign would take traditional administration to a different level and that he was working hand in hand with the divisional chiefs of the Ho Traditional Area, Akoefe, Kpenoe and Takla to achieve these goals. At the meeting, he announced the establishment of the Best Volta SHS Graduate Award and the Best District Teacher Award schemes to promote excellence in teaching and learning in the state and the region as a whole. He also announced the plan for broadening the orientation of the Asogli Yam Festival and modernizing the celebration to promote the development of the State. He noted that during the celebration of the festival, a congress of Voltarians would be hosted, which would be an avenue to launch the Volta Development Fund and also cut the sod for the commencement of work on the new Palace. This congress was a major step towards mobilizing all the people of Asogli for a collective assault on poverty and deprivation. Indeed, the congress gave the opportunity to the people to make their contributions to the progress of the state. Togbe Afede XIV emphasized that the meeting would become an

annual ritual that will provide the right environment for the people and their leaders to come together for a meaningful dialogue on matters of mutual interest, progress and development of the state.⁶⁶

4.1.1 The Asogli State Development Committee

Togbe Afede XIV believes that the contemporary development responsibilities that chiefs must assume require the involvement of the people, some of who can provide relevant know-how, and who must take ownership of the development programmes. He therefore announced at the People's Congress in April 2004, the appointment of fourteen sectoral advisors to chair the following sectoral committees of Agriculture, Business Development, Industry and Employment, Children and Women, Culture and Chieftaincy, Education, External Relations, Finance, Health and Environment, Information and Programmes, Projects, Security, Tourism and Youth Mobilization. These committees have since been working assiduously to help achieve the targeted goals of the state.

In a news article presented in the Daily Graphic in May 2004, it was noted that the Asogli State Council has set up a 10-member special committee to monitor and evaluate projects being executed in the area with funds from the central government and the Ho Municipal Assembly as well as non-governmental organizations. The committee, which was under the chairmanship of Togbe Adzi Lakle Howusu XII, the divisional chief of Ho-Dome, was charged with the responsibility of monitoring the utilization of their share of the District Assemblies Common Fund and other public funds such as the GET Fund, HIPC

⁶⁶ *Keynote Address delivered by Togbe Afede XIV during the First Asogli People's Congress. Ho April 10, 2004*

relief, poverty reduction, and road fund released for specific purposes. The article continued that the meeting which was presided over by the Agbogbomefia, Togbe Afede XIV, also established 14 sectoral committees to act as the liaison between the traditional authority and the various ministries, departments and agencies. The committees established were finance, programmes, public relations, health and environment, planning and projects, security, children and women's affairs. The rest included external relations, education, agriculture, legal affairs, youth mobilization as well as business development and employment, and culture and chieftaincy. The article noted that the chairpersons of the various committees were to act as advisors to the council in their respective areas.⁶⁷

4.1.2 Youth and Education

Togbe Afede XIV believes that the value of a man should be seen not in what he is able to receive but what he gives. In an address at a durbar to mark the 66th anniversary of the Fiaga of Ziavi Traditional Area, Togbe Koku Ayim IV, Togbe Afede XIV emphasized that those who have benefited from the community should give back to the community. In his nine years as Agbogbomefia of Ho-Asogli, he has tried to act on these values. When he was installed as Agbogbomefia of the Ho-Asogli State, he announced he would be relentless in his fight against illiteracy. He has repeatedly said that education is the answer to problems of poverty, disease, and intolerance.

In 2005, Togbe Afede XIV made possible the reconstruction of a junior high school for the Ho Sacred Heart Parish. Named the Philip Akpo Memorial Roman Catholic Junior High School in honour of Togbe's late twin brother, the school has the capacity of

⁶⁷ "Ho Asogli sets up Committee to oversee project". *Daily Graphic*, May 11, 2004. P. 7

enrolling 405 students. This school was reconstructed by Togbe Afede XIV to replace the old school building which was demolished when it was on the brink of collapse.

In effect, the objectives of this school were to provide quality education with reference to academic, entrepreneurial and moral training. It would also provide the relevant and effective facilities for teaching and learning. The school has well furnished nine classrooms, which could accommodate over four hundred students. Other facilities in the school consist of offices for the headmaster, a staff common room, a library, washrooms for staff and a well-furnished computer room.⁶⁸

Togbe Afede XIV also donated books worth 480 million cedis to selected schools in the Ho Municipality. The books were presented to the representatives of a selection of Volta Schools on behalf of the Volta Forum Trust in 2005. In attendance were the then Municipal Chief Executive Mr. Mawutor Goh and some sub-chiefs of Asogli State.

Togbe, as part of his vision to promote education in his state has established the Asogli Education Fund to cater for the brilliant and needy students. Before the establishment of the fund, the Regional News Agency reported that Togbe Afede XIV, the Agbogbomefia of Ho-Asogli has donated 10 building plots to kick-start contributions to the proposed Asogli State Education Fund. A letter signed by Mr. John Kukah, Secretary to the Asogli State, said other chiefs of Asogli and all families owning land were required by the Asogli State Council to donate at least 10 per cent of all lands owned by them for conversion as initial capital for the fund. Additionally, all prominent citizens within and

⁶⁸ "Agbogbomefia Togbe Afede XIV," *First Anniversary Brochure*, p. 1-3

outside the traditional area were also required to donate a minimum of 2 million cedis for the fund. These measures were intended to serve as incentive for businesses, NGOs and philanthropists to donate to the fund. The report continued that all sons and daughters of Asogli across the globe were entreated to donate freely to this noble cause to ensure a brighter future for all children in the state. The report noted that this move to establish the fund was to ease the difficulties most of the academically brilliant sons and daughters of Asogli go through in pursuit of education.⁶⁹

Following the establishment of this fund by Togbe Afede, hundreds of students from his state have benefited from this fund to continue with their education at all levels. This initiative is meant to encourage students to work hard and excel in their academic pursuits to become responsible citizens of the state. This initiative is in the light of educating the students and instilling in them the spirit of true citizenship so that they would not become apathetic spectators as he stated in his inaugural address. Regarding the teachers' scheme, he has realized that the excellent performance of students depends on the quality of teachers they have. It also depends on quality teaching; thus, he instituted this scheme to also encourage the teachers to work hard and teach their students, and prepare them adequately for the final exams.

Togbe regularly hosts children's parties during Easter and Christmas. He always stressed the importance of involving children in community activities and urged children to learn hard so they will become responsible adults in future. On January 1, 2006, he hosted a

⁶⁹ Regional News (GNA) "*Ho-Asogli to Launch Education Fund*". Wednesday 16 March 2005 – Ho

party for the children at her mother's residence at Bankoe where a feast was organized for the children. This initiative was part of his inaugural address that he would invest in the children; he would institute programmes to cater for the needs of the children since they are the future. In 2008, he hosted an Easter party for the children of the state at his own residence. There, he played and danced with the children. Addressing them finally, he encouraged them to be respectful and to take their academic work seriously so that they would grow to become responsible citizens of the state and the country as a whole.⁷⁰

4.1.3 Ho-Asogli in the Era of Globalization

Togbe Afede XIV believes in the importance of communication and information technology since it is the axis around which globalization revolves. Mindful of the enormity of the task ahead, and the vital need for an institutional framework for the prosecution of his agenda, Togbe has refurbished the Asogli State Secretariat and created a website for the state at Ho-Bankoe. Regarding the secretariat, Togbe Afede XIV has equipped the office with the basic computer and internet facilities to facilitate its work. The assistants in the office were trained to use the basic computer. This initiative is meant to enhance effective administration and to be constantly in touch with citizens both at home and abroad. At the moment, the office has a secretary and four assistants who work on administrative issues of the state. Pertaining to the website, (www.asoglistate.org), it is meant to enable him to inform his people both home and abroad as well as friends of Ho-Asogli about issues of state importance. This initiative is geared towards bringing everybody on board to contribute their quota to the development of a united Ho-Asogli

⁷⁰ Interview conducted with Madam Rose Anyawoe, Mother of Togbe Afede XIV. 1 August 2012. Ho Bankoe.

both financially, materially and even sharing of ideas as to how to promote the progress of the state. In effect, the drive is to facilitate the mobilization of everybody in and outside the state in pursuit of development.⁷¹

4.1.4 Construction of a Modern Asogli Palace:

One major contribution of Togbe Afede XIV to the Ho-Asogli State is the construction of a modern palace. Indeed, following the settlement of the people of Ho-Asogli, the old palace has been the seat of the paramount chief. This structure was constructed with mud where most of the state ceremonies were carried out. But then, following his enstoolment, he announced that he was going to demolish this old palace and put up a modern palace for the state. On this promise, in June 2012, the old palace was razed to the ground. Immediately, a construction of a modern palace began and has been completed. At the moment, it is awaiting painting and furnishing and it is obvious that it would be commissioned during the tenth anniversary celebration of Togbe Afede XIV. This structure was constructed within four months and this has never happened in the history of the people of Ho-Asogli. This is a major contribution of Togbe Afede XIV to his state.

4.1.5 Revitalizing and Modernizing the Asogli Yam Festival

According to my informants, the main traditional festival of the people of Asogli is the Yam Festival known as *Tedudu* which is celebrated annually in September. Before we look into how the Agboghomefia Togbe Afede XIV has modernized this festival, let us first trace the historical foundations of this festival.

⁷¹ Interview with Mr. John Kukah, Secretary of Asogli State Council, 22 June 2012. Ho Bankoe.

Orally, yam is called “te” in Ewe. The word ‘ete’ literally means “swollen”. Oral history has it that a hunter on his normal hunting expedition discovered the crop in the forest. It was during the famine period but instead of taking his newly discovered tuber home, he decided to hide it in the soil for use some other time. When he later went back for it, to his dismay, the tuber had germinated and grown bigger. This was how the cultivation of yam started. The celebration of yam festival by the Ewes was brought down from Notsie in the Republic of Togo where it is still cultivated.

According to oral history, yam cultivation in the past was a very tedious work and history attests to the fact that those days, some people who ventured into it did not live to enjoy the fruits of the labour. It was and still is labour intensive, energy sapping and quite hazardous, hence, the proverb *Ne wonye etedi tsogbe wo dua ete la, ne egbor ma kpor etsroa ha du o*. Literally, this means that “if it were during the preparation of yam stake that yam is eaten, the goat would never taste the peel.” Diligence was therefore required and the permission and guidance of the gods of the land and the ancestors was sought during the entire period from planting through harvesting.

During the harvest time which is normally in September, the gods and ancestors are served first with the boiled and mashed yam, normally red oiled, called ‘*bakebake*’, before any living being tastes it. This is to thank the gods and ancestors for bumper harvest. This rite is called ‘*dzawuwu*’. After that, the rest of the mashed yam is eaten as a communal meal, a sign of unity and reconciliation of families, clans and the entire community.

Objectives of the Festival

Today, the yam festival is celebrated

- As a thanksgiving to the gods and ancestors for a bumper harvest, and as an occasion to offer prayers for good health and prosperity for all.
- To foster unity through forgiveness and reconciliation.
- As an annual stocktaking event for all occupational endeavours especially farming.
- To mobilize both human and material resources of Asogli State for job and wealth creation.
- To serve as an annual re-affirmation of allegiance by all chiefs and their subjects in the Asogli State to the Afede Stool.

Major Rites of the Festival

Vovlowo fe Nkeke

The *vovlowo fe nkeke* rite is known as *the all souls day* and it precedes all the other rites. It is the feeding of the departed souls through which their blessings and guidance are solicited for the years ahead. The importance of this rite is that, the ancestors are informed and called upon to join the living to celebrate the festival. The effect is that, the ancestors shower their blessings upon the people and guide and protect them throughout the entire process of the festival and beyond.

Nubabla

It is a rite performed at Akoefe (father of the Asogli State) to cleanse the state after the feeding of the departed souls. All chiefs and their elders are brought together to go through the cleansing rites performed with powerful herbs by traditional priests of Asogli

State. The holy herbs are shared and placed at vantage points in all the royal houses. This rite is very significant because the “nubabla” or holy herbs have the potency to ward off evil spirits. The traditional priests pour water on the remaining herbs which is placed in large calabash; after this, the water is sprinkled throughout the whole community to prevent evil spirits from entering the town.

Dzawuwu

This is the rite of serving the gods and the ancestors with the first yam meal called ‘*bakebake*’ before any living being tastes it. This is done in all stool houses, shrines and individual homes. Even as the ban on the new yam is lifted, no one is supposed to feast on it. The gods and ancestors are served with the new yam first before anybody else could do so. The importance of this rite is that, since the gods and ancestors have granted bumper harvest, they must be acknowledged accordingly by letting them have the first share of the yam.

Tedudu

This is the final celebration of the festival. At this period, every home feasts on the new yam. People prepare meals with the yam. Families come together to enjoy themselves. People move from house to house to eat from neighbours and family members and relatives. This strengthens the bond of unity in the state. Fufu is the major food that is prepared during the festival.⁷²

⁷² Focus Group Discussion with a group of people at Ho-Bankoe. 21, 22, and 23 September 2012. Names of people (Mr. Alexander Tseh, Senyo Akpo, Mary Akakpo, Mary Afua, Gideon Adzima etc)

4.1.6 The Modernity of the Festival

Grand Durbar

The entire yam festival is climaxed with a grand durbar where the chiefs and people of Asogli State come together to participate in the final celebration. It is a moment where the chiefs dress in their best regalia and showcase their rich political history. The grand durbar starts with a colourful procession from the palace of the Agbogbomefia with some of the traditional political office holders in Bankoe through the high street of Ho to the durbar grounds(Jubilee Park). Togbe Afede XIV proceeds in the company of some sub-chiefs such as the *Atamfia*, the *Afertofia* and guarded by the asafo. The procession marks the historical migration from Notsie. At this moment, young girls, dressed beautifully in a traditional fashion carry heavy loads to mark the moment of the migration by women from Notsie. Some also carry swords, special stones, stools, cloths and other important symbols of the state. All the divisional chiefs with their entourage join in the procession accordingly. The beauty of the procession to the durbar grounds is that it displays the political set up of the Ho Traditional area. The chief of Heve leads the procession, followed by the chief of Dome; then follows the chief of Ahoie and then comes the Agbogbomefia himself, his other chiefs and finally, the rear is occupied by the chief of Hliha. Then the chiefs of Kpenoe, Takla, and Akoefe and other invited chiefs from other places follow accordingly. The procession marks the military instrument of the ancient Ho-Asogli State and also marks the current political configuration of the State.

At the durbar ground, the Togbe Afede XIV sits in state where people pay homage to him and the sub-chiefs renew their allegiance to him. Government functionaries, other invited

guests from far and near come to grace the occasion. It is on this platform that series of cultural performances such as drumming, singing and dancing take place. This displays the rich culture of the people of Asogli. One important dignitary that is always present at the durbar is the great king of the ancient Eweland, Fia Agorkorli IV of Notsie and his entourage, who also participate in the final celebration.

The modernity in the durbar is that, in the past, each of the four traditional set-ups (Ho, Akoefe, Takla and Kpenoe) celebrate the festival in their towns and the grand durbar was always rotated from one traditional set up to the other. But then, the Togbe Afede XIV on his ascension to the throne merged all these divisions to celebrate the festival at the same time and crown it with a grand durbar. Hence, the festival is now celebrated by all the four traditional set-ups at the same time. This grand durbar always attracts people from far and near; people in government, academia, business and other fields. The celebration always receives a high publicity on radio stations and on national television stations. Publicity was never done in the past but with Togbe Afede's innovation, it has become a center piece in the yam festival. It is through the initiative of the Togbe Afede XIV that people now know of the yam festival of the people of Asogli due to his innovations and inputs in the rebranding of the festival.

Beauty Contest (Miss Asogli)

One remarkable innovation that has been introduced into the celebration by the Togbe Afede XIV is Asogli Beauty Contest. This contest has been an avenue where many young girls have had the opportunity to build their human capacity. On this occasion, young and beautiful girls in the Ho-Asogli State mount a stage to compete with each other to see

who would become the beauty queen of the state. On this occasion, the girls go through series of examinations such as assessing their beauty, intelligence, smartness, eloquence, and others. Through these rigorous tests, one of the girls then emerges the victor. She is therefore crowned as Miss Asogli of the year with two runner-ups. These girls receive awards which go a long way to develop them personally. This also encourages the young ones to emulate them so as to become Miss Asogli in future. According to the records, this beauty contest was held in 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011. In 2012, the winner of the contest took home a brand new car and the 1st and 2nd runners up took home a set of furniture and kitchen equipments respectively. This initiative is in the light of investing in people and building their human capacity to achieve their full potentials.

Football Gala

Football is one of the innovations that has found its way into the yam festival in contemporary times. It has become one of the core elements of the festival. During the festival, the football team of the Asogli State plays friendly matches with other teams from other states as a sign of promoting unity and progress. In 2005, during the celebration of the yam festival, there was a football match between the Asogli State and the Akyem Abuakwa State. This football match was witnessed by Agbogbomefia Togbe Afede XIV and Okyenhene Osagyefo Amoatia Ofori Panin II to mark the bond of unity between the two states. Similarly, in 2009, the Asogli State played a football match with the State of Notsie to mark their brotherhood. This football match was also witnessed by Togbe Afede XIV and Fia Agorkorli IV of Notsie. Sometimes, all the divisional towns

are made to form their respective teams to participate in a football gala. Again, prizes are awarded the teams that excel in the competition.⁷³

Music and Variety Shows

The yam festival has become an avenue for various musical performances and variety shows. During the celebration, traditional musical performances feature prominently. The *borborbor* musical performances feature prominently during the celebration. But then, the most dominant of the musical performances is contemporary hip life, highlife and hip-hop. On this occasion, famous hip-life artistes are invited to stage their performances to shake the crowd. Artistes like Samini, Amandzeba, and Ayigbe Edem who have featured in such musical shows during the yam festival celebration of the people of Asogli. This music and variety show is meant to entertain the people, release stress and rejuvenate them for greater works ahead. This event is an innovation by Togbe Afede XIV following his ascension to the throne. He believes that through these musical performances, some of the youth could identify and develop their potentials as musicians and pursue this talent to enable them realize their full potentials.

Health Walk

As part of modernizing the yam festival, Togbe Afede has also introduced health walk to the itinerary of the festival. Yearly, there is a health walk to the Adaklu Mountains which is about twelve kilometers south of Ho. On this occasion, both the young and old, chiefs

⁷³ Focus Group Discussion with some of the youth of the State at Ho Sports Stadium. 21, 22, 23 and 24th September 2012. Names of people (Wilson Akakpo, Tretu Dodzi, Stanley, Noni, Razak, Kisinja, Klu Joshua, Saviour Adzidobo, etc)

and elders are made to exercise themselves by taking a walk to the Adaklu Mountains. Togbe is of the view that development cannot be fully achieved without good health. Hence, he has instituted this health walk to help his people to exercise their body. Indeed, this health walk is supported by the Ho Nurses Training College where nursing students come around to offer advice, screening, medical tests and others to the people. This health walk is patronized by many people especially the youth and it is crowned by a tour of the mountain where people are urged to climb up to the apex of the mountain. It is said that once you climb to the apex, you can see places like Ho, villages around Mafi Kumase in the Central Tongu District and surrounding villages around Abutia, Sokode and other surrounding villages in the Agotime Ziope and Adaklu Districts. The motive for taking this health walk to the Adaklu Mountains is to help develop the tourism potential of the town since this mountain is one of the tourist attractions in the area and the Adaklu land harbours the Kalakpa Game Reserve. It is noted that the only chief who was able to climb up to the apex of the mountain during the 2009 health walk was Togbe Adzimah IV, the Atamfia or the custodian of the Great Oath of the Asogli State.

Registering People on the National Health Insurance Scheme

According to my informants, during the celebration of the annual yam festival, people are registered on the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS). They noted that since 2009, the celebration of the yam festival has offered an opportunity for the inhabitants of Ho to register on the NHIS very cheaply. During an interview process with some of my informants during the 2012 yam festival, they told me that because of the festival, the state has liaised with the NHIS to register people as low as Gh¢2.00 per head. According

to one of the registration officers, more than thousand people have registered on the NHIS. He noted that the state in an agreement of the scheme has made it easy for everybody to register so that it could help them seek medical attention when they fall sick. Some of my informants noted that it is a good initiative and they hope that it will continue every year.

Attraction of Sponsorship

The Asogli Yam Festival since the ascension to the throne by Togbe Afede XIV has seen a wide range of sponsorship from various government and private sector organizations. The main sponsors of the celebration are the Agricultural Development Bank (ADB), Tigo, Vodafone, MTN, State Insurance Company, GOIL, National Health Insurance Scheme, and Ho Polytechnique. In 2009, Kasapa (now Expressso) was among these sponsors. These organizations provide technical and financial support during the celebration of the festival. This gives a lot of financial advantage to the state to plan and execute its programmes. Some of the funds go into other development projects in the state. Other stake-holders who support this festival include Ho Nurses Training School, Pensioners Association-Ho, Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT) Hostel-Ho, Woezor Hotels and Tours, Mawuli School, Mawuko Girls Senior High School, Volta Region House of Chiefs (VRHC), National Lotteries, and Ghana Commercial Bank, Ho. It is noted that during the 2005 celebration, Barclays Bank presented a donation to Asogli Education Fund to support the promotion of education in the state.

In 2009, MTN, a cellular phone company, invested over GH¢ 25,000 in that year's Yam Festival celebration of the Asogli State. Mr. Admiral Abbey, Events and Sponsorship

Coordinator for the company presented GH¢ 500 and MTN souvenir items worth GH¢ 5000 to the chiefs and people of the Asogli State in support of the festival. The souvenir items included baseball caps, radios, wall clocks and pens. The company also posted a half-page advert to publicize the festival. On the presentation, Mr. Abbey said the company believed that one of the passions of their customers was their festival and that was why the company was proud to be supporting the festival. He said the festival was unique as it tells about the heritage and rich custom of the people of the Asogli State. Mr. Abbey said the company had lined up events to connect with its customers including street carnival and promotional activities. Togbe Howusu XII, Avafia (Warlord) of the Asogli State and chairman of the festival planning committee received the items and said, the people were thrilled by the support of the company. He said the festival was to thank God for His support and protection during the farming period and also for farmers to make merry.⁷⁴

4.1.7 Queen mothers and Development in Ho-Asogli

Togbe Afede XIV has also created the avenue for his queen mothers to contribute their quota to the development of the state. He has given his support to the Asogli Queen mother's Association in all their activities. In effect, the queen mothers have contributed to communal development in their own small ways in terms of debates and other needed support to the youth of the community. According to an article published in *The Herald Newspaper* in 2011, the Queen-mothers of Ho Asogli State have appealed to the government to upgrade the Ho Municipal Assembly into a Metropolitan status. The

⁷⁴ "MTN Donates Towards Ho-Asogli Yam Festival" *Regional News (GNA, Ho)* Last Updated: September 14, 2011, 3:32 pm

Paramount Queen-mother of Ho-Asogli State, Mamaga Akua Dei II noted that regarding the increasing population in Ho, the town must be upgraded into a Metropolitan status or a district created for Ho West. She said Ho was the largest urban centre in the Volta Region with an ever-growing population, which includes Kpenoe, Sokode, Taviefe, Takla, Abutia, and Avatime and it is too big for a Municipal Assembly to manage and develop. Mamaga Akua Dei II therefore pointed out that the Queens were very worried about this development and it was time to call on the government to give the people of Asogli and Volta Region their fair share of development projects. The effect of this call was the creation of the Ho-West District in 2012. It was an effort to reduce the size of the Ho Municipality so that power could be decentralized to other communities for development.⁷⁵

In a related situation, Mama Atroto II, Queen of Ho-Dome in 2012 expressed her dissatisfaction with operators of drinking bars and restaurants who engaged teenage girls as sales persons. She said the practice was exploitative as it exposed the girls to abuses and prevented them from acquiring skills for gainful lifetime employment. Mama Atrato II said this when she addressed a workshop on domestic abuse and violence against girls and women in Ho which the Ho Asogli Queen Mothers organized with support from the Commonwealth Foundation in 2012.

Mama Atrato II said it was equally unacceptable for working mothers to engage teenage girls as baby sisters thus denying those girls their right to education and skills training.

⁷⁵ Ho Asogli Queens want Ho Upgraded to a Metropolitan Status. *The Herald Newspaper*, 6 July 2012. Time: 12:53

She therefore appealed to traditional authorities especially queen mothers to fight the anomaly and lead the way to liberate young girls and women employed in the informal sector from poverty⁷⁶.

The queen mothers have also contributed to development in terms of helping the chiefs to organize programmes such as the annual Asogli Yam Festival, funerals of important state's men, workshop and training for the youth especially females and giving lectures and seminars at the various basic and senior high schools in the Municipality. For instance, during the matriculation ceremony of the Ho Nurses Training College, Mama Atroto II, queen of Ho-Dome was the guest of honour and there, she addressed the matriculants and encouraged them to work hard in their academic endeavours.

4.2 Contribution to Economic Development

Kofi Akordor and Tim Dزامboe maintained that Togbe Afede XIV in his address emphasized that "I do not accept this. Poverty is not an act of God, but a failure of humanity. Expansion of our educational facilities and attracting investment to Asogli State will form an important part of my development agenda."⁷⁷ On this note, let us look at his contribution to the economic development of the Asogli State.

⁷⁶ Asogli Queen frown on the engagement of teenage girls in drinking bars. *Regional News* of Thursday, 5 July 2012. GNA

⁷⁷ Kofi Akordor & Tim Dزامboe "Asogli installs new Agbogbomefia", *Daily Graphic*, October 6, 2003. P. 8

4.2.0 Promotion of Tourism

The preparation of the first tourist and business guide to Ho was Togbe Afede's initiative. *Ho 2009* is a primer to help foreign readers acquire an understanding of Ho, one that provides not only a basic overview of the town, but also the relevant contact information that would be helpful to visitors. The book is part of Togbe's efforts to foster progress in Ho, and it is his hope that it will spur the central government to upgrade and augment the tourist, business, and social infrastructure of the capital city. Building a prosperous and harmonious Ho is the mission of the Asogli State Council.

Ho 2009 highlights some of the most unique and distinct tourist attractions in the country. These include colorful festivals such as the Yam Festival of the people of Asogli and the Kente Weaving Festival of the people of Agotime Kpetoe. It also highlights other major tourist attractions in and around Ho Municipality such as Mount Gemi, Amedzofe Falls, Adaklu Mountain, and Wli Falls. The guide also provides information on the educational facilities, religion, economic activities, a business listing, and potential investment opportunities within the municipality. This guide is a useful source of information for planning a business or social visit to Ho.

The major aim of this guide is to market the various tourist sites in and outside the state to attract tourists and foreign visitors into the region. This would enable government to help develop these centers to generate a wide range of foreign exchange and revenue from these sites. It is also meant to aid businessmen and investors into the state and region to invest in all sectors of the economy to help absorb the unemployed youth and help in the development of their human capacity towards building a healthy society. It is

with this motive that under his initiative, the Asogli State Council is currently documenting the major customs and practices of the Asogli Traditional Area. This is meant to publicize these customs and traditions to the outside world so as to attract tourists into the area so as to enhance the economic potential of the area.

4.2.1 Economic Development Plan

As President of the Volta Regional House of Chiefs, a body expected to bring collective wisdom and expertise of their members towards meeting the development aspirations of their respective traditional areas and the Volta Region as a whole, Togbe Afede XIV is the initiator of the 5-year development plan for the Ho and Volta Region. Christened *The Volta Pathway; an Economic Development Plan for the Volta Region 2009-2013*, the focus of this economic plan is to move from strategy building to implementation of development in Ho and the region.

The objective is to build a society that is more prosperous, healthier, and more cohesive while recognizing its diversity; integrate communities that draw strength from their distinctive identities and contributions to life in Volta; and with emphasis on a common appreciation of their history and heritage to better shape the future of the region. This plan is intended to complement government and other development agencies' efforts in building Ho and the region into a place where one can adequately live, invest, and work, and mapping out the steps to take as a people to bring about real development in Ho and the Volta Region.

The plan is an important document, because it sets out the vision of the Ho and Volta Region which many people would like to see emerging over the coming years. It sets out

the steps that should be taken by the people of Ho-Asogli and Voltarians so that together, they could work to bring about real improvement that will change lives for the better. It is therefore obvious that the plan is to ensure equitable social and economic development, and to support the people to attain middle income status of education, health facilities, water and employment for all by the year 2015.⁷⁸

4.2.2 Asogli Community Bank

Low savings habit and lack of capital are some of the problems militating against the development of the people of Ho-Asogli. Togbe Afede XIV has therefore commissioned work on a feasibility study for the establishment of the Asogli Community Bank. This is estimated that the establishment of this bank will help enhance the savings habit among the people. It is also aimed to support small and medium scale enterprises in the community. This will help many small businesses to get easy access to small loans to start their own businesses. It will also instill the culture of savings into the citizens as savings help people to always be prepared to meet their future financial needs and unforeseen financial difficulties.

4.2.3 Asogli Lands Secretariat

Togbe Afede XIV is also concerned about the problems land acquisition has posed for the development of the state over these years. To avert this problem, he has established the Asogli Lands Secretariat. This secretariat, which is headed by one of the distinguished

⁷⁸ K.D. Sutor "Agbogbomefia: The Dynamic and Visionary King": *Wake Up Volta: Volta's Premier Leadership King and Socio-Economic Development Magazine*. Maiden Edition, Issue No: WVM00. Pp.18-22 (December, 2011)

divisional chiefs of Ho, Togbe Anikpi III (divisional chief of Heve) will among other things, pursue the objective of establishing land banks to ensure availability of land for development purposes. Togbe Afede XIV has envisaged that in the near future, investors from far and near would want to invest in Asogli to promote development and one important factor of production that would be needed is land. For this reason, he has established this secretariat to see to it that land is made available to investors who want to promote development in the Ho-Asogli state.

4.3 Contribution to Political Development

4.3.0 Asogli State Flag

Togbe Afede XIV recognizes the importance of unifying symbols of state. Thus, the first thing that he did after his installation was to design a flag and a symbol for the state. Through his efforts, Asogli State now has a flag and a symbol (coat of arms). The flag has a blue background which features eight white lines, representing the eight main divisions, converging in a demonstration of oneness, around the state symbol. The symbol comprises the symbolic Agbogbome stool, two state swords and a crown. The significance of the blue background is that, the sky is the limit in the development of the people of Ho-Asogli. This state flag is the first of its kind in the history of the people of Asogli and it is the sole effort of Togbe Afede XIV.

4.3.1 Linking the people of Asogli to their Ancestral Homeland (Notsie)

Following his enstoolment as the Agbogbomefia of the Ho-Asogli State, he had it as a commitment of his chieftaincy to meet with other chiefs and public leaders to work

towards unity and peace. By his first anniversary in 2004, he had visited eleven paramountcies in Volta Region and other chiefs in the Republic of Togo.

Unlike other Ewe states who celebrate their annual festival without retracing the ancestral homeland, Togbe Afede XIV following his enstoolment annually embarks on a pilgrimage with his entourage to Notsie in the Republic of Togo. Togbe Afede XIV, on his installation a decade ago, rekindled ties between the Ewes of Ghana and Togo as part of his bridge-building across traditional areas within and outside Ghana. Every year he leads a delegation to celebrate the Agbogboza with the chiefs and people of Notsie who return the visit when the Asogli also mark their Yam Festival.⁷⁹

In 2004, Togbe Afede XIV with his divisional chiefs and other ranking paramount chiefs from the Volta Region visited Notsie, the ancient city of the Ewes of Ghana. In attendance were chiefs such as Togbe Fia Koku of Sokode, Togbe Osei Tutu VI of Matse, Togbui Adzoganga Amenya Fiti V of Aflao; Nana Soglo Alloh IV of Likpe, Togbe Dadzawe of Shia and Togbe Koku Ayim IV of Ziavi. At Notsie, he was welcomed by Fia Agorkorli IV, Ewefiaga of Notsie and exchanged greetings with the Togolese Minister of Education, Koffie Sama during the celebration of the Agbogbo Festival in August 2004. There, he commended Fia Agorkorli IV, for his efforts to promote unity among Ewes in Ghana and Togo, as that is also his goal.

At the festival, Togbe Howusu XII, the Avafia (warlord) of the Asogli State made a presentation to Fia Agorkorli IV on behalf of the Asogli State. From there, the

⁷⁹ "Remove Artificial Barriers to boost commerce in Africa - Afede." *Ghana News Agency*, Ho. September 9, 2012; 13:17 GMT

Agbogbomefia with his entourage visited the president of the Republic of Togo, the late General Gnassingbe Eyadema with his ministers seated at his residence. There, he delivered a speech about peace, unity and development and the need to forge unity between Ewes of Ghana and Togo towards achieving a common goal. This visit is to strengthen the already existing unity between the two states and also to recognize the fact that they are still the sons of Notsie and will continue to remain sons to this state.

In a news article presented by Thobani Sompi on the 5th of September 2012, he noted that Togbe Afede XIV, Agbogbomefia of Asogli Traditional Area was expected to lead thousands of Asoglis to Notsie, their ancestral home in the Republic of Togo for the 2012 Agbogboza which coincided with the Asogli Yam Festival. Thobani Sompi continued that the yearly festival attracted Ewes from Ghana, Benin and Nigeria. Mr. John Kukah, Secretary to the Asogli State Council, told the Ghana News Agency (GNA) in an interview that the three-day event would afford Ewes the opportunity to forge unity and closer relations with their kith and kin. The festival would also give the pilgrims the opportunity to see relics of the “great kingdom of Agorkorli” and know their roots. Mr. Kukah further pointed out that the event so far helped leaders from the various traditional areas and countries to discuss the development of their present settlements by sharing experiences.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Thobani Sompi “Togbe Afede to lead the Asoglis on Pilgrimage to Notsie” *Ghana News Agency*, Ho; 5 September 2012.

4.3.2 Fraternal Visits to Volta Chiefs

In 2004, soon after his inauguration, Togbe Afede XIV visited several paramount chiefs in the Volta Region, from north to south to spread his message of peace, unity and development. Before he began these visits, Togbe Agblatsu III poured libation to call for the protection of the ancestors and gods throughout this journey. In the north, the Agbogbomefia visited Deiga Kwadzo-Dei of Peki, the late Togbe Dagadu VII of Kpando, Nana Alloh IV of Likpe, Nana Akpandza of Buem, the late Togbe Osie Adza Tekpor VI of Avatime (Vane). Also in the north, he visited the chiefs and people of Awudome at Anyirawase. At Nkonya, he was in the palace of Nana Okortor Kofi; Nana Boateng of Tapa and Togbe Delume XII of Ve-Deme.

In the South, the Agbogbomefia visited the chiefs and people of Anlo at Anloga; at Agbozume, Togbe Afede XIV and some members of his delegation visited the palace of Togbui Hor II, the Makorsor of Somey Traditional Area. At Klikor, the Agbogbomefia and his entourage were at the palace of Togbui Addo IV, the paramount chief of Klikor Traditional Area. At Aflao, the Agbogbomefia and his sub-chiefs, elders and queens visited the palace of Togbui Amenya Fiti V, paramount chief of the Aflao Traditional Area. Indeed, most of these chiefs whom he visited with his message of peace, unity and development were in attendance at the Volta Congress which was held in the Asogli State in September 2004. It was the resolutions at this congress that led to the promulgation of the economic plan for the region.⁸¹

⁸¹ *Photographs showing Togbe Afede's Fraternal Visits to Volta Chiefs in the First Anniversary Brochure.* P. 21-24

4.4 Initiatives towards the development of Volta Region

4.4.0 Volta Congress 2004

Kofi Akordor and Tim Dzamboe noted that the Agbogbomefia disclosed that he intended to organize a summit in 2004 which would embrace all the people of the Volta Region with the aim of providing a platform for unity and for the demonstration of responsible citizenship.⁸²

On August 4 2004, Togbe Afede launched the Volta Congress which was held at the Golden Tulip Hotel, Accra. In his welcome address, he emphasized how his predecessor Togbe Afede Asor II and other important chiefs such as the late Togbe Osie Adza Tekpor of Avatime, Togbui Adladza, the late Awoamefia of Anlo, Nana Akpandza of Buem and other great chiefs have long envisioned the need to unite the political front of Volta Region towards development which culminated in the creation of the Volta Region House of Chief. He noted that there was the need to rejuvenate this dream and move it to the next level; a level which would promote the development of the region. He recognized the various developmental challenges that beset the region and called on all chiefs and people of the region to rise up and promote the welfare and living standards of the masses. He recognized the initiatives by some chiefs such as Togbui Hor II of Agbozume, Togbui Fiti of Aflao, Nana Okortor Kofi and Nana Akpandza of Buem and the chiefs and queens of Asogli for their tremendous contribution and advice. At this launching, he rejuvenated the Volta Forum Trust, a non-profit organization to accelerate

⁸² Kofi Akordor & Tim Dzamboe "Asogli installs new Agbogbomefia", *Daily Graphic*, October 6, 2003. P.8

the socio-economic development of the region by facilitating the development of agriculture, industrial, education, health, tourism and others through self-help initiatives. Through this initiative, he envisioned that poverty, ignorance, diseases, unemployment and others would be drastically reduced so that the majority will achieve a better standard of living. He therefore called all Voltarians to play a role in this initiative. He argued that the government alone cannot shoulder the responsibility and so, through hard work and through the Volta Congress, the citizens both home and abroad and the various stakeholders would contribute their quota for the prosecution of the region's socio-economic agenda.⁸³

4.4.1 Settling of Chieftaincy Disputes and other Conflicts

Following his ascension to the high office of the people of Asogli, Togbe Afede has worked tirelessly to bring about peace, unity and development in and outside his state. One remarkable area is the area of chieftaincy disputes. He has settled the Kpenoe chieftaincy dispute successfully following his enstoolment. He has also called on Tsito and Peki citizens to maintain peace and do away with the old land dispute which brought about a lot of atrocities in the 1990s. He also went ahead to advice Nkonya and Alavanyo communities to settle their differences and maintain a serene atmosphere for the people to live. It is partly on this note that he visited some of the chiefs in the northern part of Volta to talk to them. Most recent is the vital role he played in the amelioration of the conflict between the people of Hohoe and the Zongo community in the area.

⁸³ A *Welcome Address delivered at the Launching of Volta Congress, Golden Tulip, Accra. August 18, 2004.*

In a news article presented by Fred Duodu, he stated, Togbe Afede XIV was in the company of Nana Sogli Alloh IV of Likpe, Vice President of the house, Osie Adza Tekpor VII of Avatime, Togbe Adzongaga Amenya Fiti V of Aflao, Togbe Delume VII of Ve, Togbe Osei Tutu Brempong III of Wusuta and Togbe Koroku Ayim IV of Ziavi.

On the visit, Togbe Afede commended Togbe Gabusu IV and the people of Hohoe for the long-standing relationship with the Zongo community. On behalf of the chiefs of the region, he consoled the chiefs and people of Hohoe for the loss and appealed to them to let bygones be bygones. He also appealed to them to give the Zongo community ample time to return the missing regalia. The entourage also met the Zongo community in the central Mosque and urged them to do all they could to return the regalia to ensure peace prevailed, adding that Insha Allah, peace would surely return to Hohoe and make way for more development and prosperity.⁸⁴

In another news article presented by Yvonne Harley-Kanyi & Kate Avevor, it noted that the Agbogbomefia of the Asogli State, Togbe Afede XIV said respect for each other was paramount in promoting peace in the country. He added that if the citizenry would appreciate the power of dialogue in addressing grievances, conflicts would be a thing of the past. The article continued that Togbe Afede XIV, who is also the President of the Volta Regional House of Chiefs said this when a delegation of 12 Kotokoli chiefs paid a courtesy call on him at his residence in Ho. The visit was to thank Togbe Afede XIV and the Volta Regional House of Chiefs for their intervention in the conflict between the people of Gbi and the Zongo community in Hohoe. Togbe Afede XIV was unhappy that

⁸⁴ Fred Duodu. "Togbe Afede Provides New Regalia to Hohoe" *Daily Guide*. June 15, 2012

most women and children have been stranded as a result of the conflict. He gave the assurance that the Regional House of Chiefs would do all within its powers to ensure that total peace was restored to the area. Togbe Afede appealed to the delegation, which was also expected to visit Hohoe, to impress on the Zongo community to hasten with the search for the missing regalia of the Gbi traditional area.

The leader of the delegation, Wuro Salifu Haruna, who is also the Greater Accra Regional Head of Kotokoli Chiefs, said the Kotokoli community in Ghana was impressed at the prompt response of the House and other eminent personalities, which has calmed tension in the area. Wuro Salifu Haruna, who spoke through an interpreter, described the conflict as unfortunate and expressed the hope that such a situation would never occur in the country again. He appealed to the citizenry to keep the peace flame in the country. The Chiefs were from Dodowa, Ho, Sakumono, Tamale, Nima, Mamobi, Madina, Ashaley-Botwe, Ashaiman, Ahamansu and Ashiaman-Zeeno.⁸⁵

4.5 Conclusion:

The chapter looked at the contribution of Togbe Afede XIV to the development of Ho-Asogli State, assessing his roles in thematic areas such as social, economic and political. From the findings, it is obvious that he has contributed tremendously to the development of Ho-Asogli State. He has also used his office as the president of the regional house of chiefs to contribute to the development of the region. The next chapter would therefore concentrate on his contribution to national politics and development.

⁸⁵ Yvonne Harlley-Kanyi & Kate Aveyor “Respect is Key for Peace- Togbe Afede” Wednesday, 20 June 2012 16:24, Ho. *ISD Ghana Government Portal*; Tim Dzamboe “Join Forces To Restore Peace To Hohoe - Togbe Afede XIV” 11th July 2012 06:22:45. *Ghana News Agency*. Ho

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CONTRIBUTION OF TOGBE AFEDE XIV TO NATIONAL POLITICS AND DEVELOPMENT

5.0 Introduction

In a news article presented in *The Chronicle* in September, 2005, it states: “The likes of the Asantehene, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, the Okyehene, Osagyefo Amoatia Ofori Panin II, the Agbogbomefia of Asogli State, Togbe Afede XIV, among a few others have progressively taken chieftaincy onto the international arena and are championing the developmental needs of their people.”⁸⁶ According to Harry Anipa Shako, “The Agbogbomefia of Asogli State, Togbe Afede XIV, since his elevation to the highest traditional office of the Asogli State, has been working hard to ensure the progress and development of his people and the country at large”.⁸⁷ In the same framework, a newspaper editorial in the *Daily Graphic*, March 2004 stated: “The Agbogbomefia of the Ho-Asogli Traditional Area, Togbega Afede XIV, an investment consultant, is adding a new dimension to the fundamental roles that our chiefs play in local and national development”.⁸⁸ In these frameworks, let us look at the new dimension and the fundamental roles that Togbe Afede XIV has brought onto national politics and development.

⁸⁶ Editorial, “Making Traditional Authority Relevant”. *The Chronicle*, September 15, 2005. P. 15

⁸⁷ Harry Anipa Shako “Emulate good work of Togbe Afede XIV”. *Daily Graphic*, September 28, 2005. P.7

⁸⁸ Editorial, “Agbogbomefia’s Dimension”, *Daily Graphic*, March 5, 2004. P. 17

5.1 Togbe Afede on the fight against Tribalism

In November 2004, at the eve of the election, Togbe Afede XIV, the Agbogbomefia of the Ho-Asogli State called on politicians to keep tribalism out of the country's politics. This call was described as one of the greatest pieces of advice that a traditional ruler of our generation had given to the people in recent years. Equally important was the courage that the relatively young chief, had shown when he unearthed some sensitive issues which many other influential people in the society would have feared to talk about.

According to the news article, Togbe's advice was more relevant to Ghanaians at the time, more than any other time of the country's history; this was because there are many tribes in the country, which are actively practicing tribal politics, for one reason or another. The paper showed that the voting patterns of the electorates over the years, had followed a tribal line. Even in the 2004 elections, it was clear that electorates would vote on tribal lines. The paper noted that Togbe Afede XIV argued that tribal politics was not in the interest of this country and its people and that some Ghanaians were witnesses of tribal politics in other countries. They were aware of the adverse effects of these and blamed the two main political parties, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) for being guilty of these offences. Togbe Afede XIV reiterated that it was the duty of the leaders of the parties to educate their members to refrain from any acts that would degenerate into tribalism and noted that a good politician would not seek sanctuary in tribalism to win votes but rather, he could attract the votes of the people through good governance, and the way he handled the affairs of the people. He concluded that any politician who relied on tribalism may win an election at a time, but

that would be a pyrrhic victory. Hence, politicians should desist from mobilizing their ethnic groups against other groups which will jeopardize the peace process during the elections. Upon the advice, Daily Guide Newspaper congratulated Togbe Afede XIV on his fatherly advice to the people of Ghana at large. The paper concluded that from the little that it has seen of him, it was convinced that he had a lot to offer the people of Ho-Asogli State, the people of the Volta Region, and above all, Ghanaians at large and pray that the Almighty God should give him more wisdom, so that others could drink from his fountain of wisdom.⁸⁹

5.2 Advice to Government on the Development of Volta Region

In 2004, Togbe Afede XIV called for a comprehensive and sustainable development agenda for the Volta Region. He said such a plan must be devoid of political undertone and fashioned in a way as to be used by any political administration for the development of the region. Togbe Afede made the call when he led some chiefs and opinion leaders to pay a courtesy call on the then Volta Regional Minister, Mr. Kwasi Yeboa. He noted that the plan must be updated from annually, adding that “we want to see a less politicized approach to the development of our region”. He complained about the lack of pipe-borne water, health and educational infrastructure and poor roads in the region as a whole and the neglect of Ho, the regional capital in particular. He reiterated that the chiefs did not know the plans the government had for the roads to Hohoe and Kpando, while the region was yet to see any of the Presidential Initiatives. Togbe Afede XIV admitted that without peace and tranquility no development could be realized. This was why he made a

⁸⁹ Editorials, “Congratulations Togbe Afede”. *Daily Guide*, 3 November, 2004.

commitment to work for unity of all the people of Asogli and the Volta Region. He noted that the peace and stability being enjoyed in the country was under threat as a result of tribalism and politics and urged political parties and religious organizations to ensure that their messages were channeled to address such issues. Togbe Afede advised that Ghanaians must bear in mind that in all democratic dispensation, opposition was natural while diversity of opinions was a fact of life. He urged Ghanaians to ensure that the 2004 general elections were devoid of tribalism, bitterness and hatred so that politicians could safeguard the right of Ghanaians to the peaceful enjoyment of their lives. Finally, he urged the minister to work hand in hand with the chiefs to ensure that the region achieved a great deal of development.⁹⁰

5.3 Togbe's advice to Government to cut cost as a way Forward for National Development

In January 2005, the *Daily Guide Newspaper* presented a news article, highlighting how Togbe Afede XIV had advised the government to cut cost as a way forward for national development. According to the paper, Togbe Afede XIV suggested to government to cut cost, by reducing the number of ministers and deputy ministers, who run the affairs of the state. Togbe Afede XIV explained that the level of poverty in the country made it imperative to have a lean government and introduce a policy of one minister, one saloon car, instead of a pool of four-wheel drive vehicles. The paper noted that Togbe Afede's suggestion was timely and in the right direction because the resources of the country were not strong enough to cushion the effects of the needs of the people. If therefore, the

⁹⁰ "Volta Region needs a Comprehensive Development Plan". *Daily Graphic*, January 23, 2004.

government would choose to have more than the necessary number of ministers, then it would be digging the graves of the country. The advice was timely because the president at the time nominated 35 people to be vetted by Parliament for appointments as ministers with that of the deputy ministers yet to be released. From experience, the number of deputy ministers would be more than those of the substantive ministers. Togbe Afede XIV noted that to be modest in his speculations, the number of deputy ministers would be at least 50, because two deputy ministers were assigned to some ministers. This added to the number of substantive ministers was going to be about 90 ministers. In addition to this, the number of ministers of state, special and personal assistants, the number of drivers for the ministers and their attendants were not yet accounted for.

The paper noted that Togbe lamented that at the same time when these nominations were being made, there were many parents in this country who were finding it difficult to pay the school fees of their children, and many pregnant women were walking long distances before they could receive antenatal treatment. Equally, many people were drinking muddy water and farmers' produce were getting rotten at farm gates because of unavailability of roads to transport food items from the rural areas to urban areas and many other problems facing the people. Togbe Afede XIV noted that comparatively, these nominations and facilities were not too exorbitant for top government officials if they were compared to what their counterparts in neighbouring countries, and indeed what ministers in other African countries were enjoying. But it was because Ghana wanted to improve life for all segments of the society, not only for the few privileged class. According to Togbe, some of the ministries with similar functions could be merged into one, with one substantive minister. Some of the hardworking people could manage

duties of such ministries. After all, the meaning of a minister, was a person, who should serve the people. Similarly, Togbe Afede argued that some of the ministries did not need two deputy ministers. One hard working deputy would be enough for the ministry, and he did not know where a personal and special assistant, concept came from. The technocrats in the ministries were capable of doing the work of the assistants better and there was no need for them in the ministries.

Togbe Afede XIV noted that if it was the matter of “job for the boys”, the ministries were not the best place. New jobs such as the Ayensu Starch Project, and many others could conveniently absorb those young men and women, where their professions and energies could be put to better use, without disturbing the budgets of the ministries. The newly created jobs, if well managed would generate enough resources to cushion the salaries and allowances of those assistants and they would be happy to work in those companies. The fear of the assistants to go to these newly established companies was that they might not be safe with their employments at the newly created jobs because of discrimination. For that matter, they prefer appointments at the ministries. Ironically, these were some of the work places where the original workers discriminate against the assistants. The workers know they were brought in by the government in power, and would be going back anytime the government was no more in power.

The paper concluded that “Togbe Afede XIV might not be long on the Asogli Stool, but his pieces of advice and suggestions go very far. He seems to be well read and has not identified with any political party. His utterances are, therefore not influenced by any

political consideration.”⁹¹ *The Daily Guide* therefore advised the government to take the young chief seriously, any time he made a suggestion. This was because he was always on the ground and knew what was happening there. The paper urged Togbe Afede to continue offering his pieces of advice, no matter how unpalatable it might be to some sections of the people.

5.4 Togbe Afede on the Issue of Corruption

According to Tim Dzamboe in his news article presented in *Daily Graphic* in September 2006, “the Agbogbomefia of Ho-Asogli State, Togbe Afede XIV, has called on Ghanaians to muster the courage to fight corruption, which is responsible for the diversion of resources meant for development into private pockets.” According to the paper, Togbe Afede XIV noted that it was time people spoke against bad governance and corruption at the local level. Togbe Afede said this when he was addressing a durbar to climax the Yam Festival celebration of the people of Matse Traditional Area in the Ho Municipality . According to the article, he lamented that billions of cedis that had been spent on the Ho-Matse-Kpedze road over the years and yet it was still uncompleted, adding that it was an indictment on accountability from political leaders.

Togbe Afede XIV said leadership and development were a collective responsibility and entreated the people to use the celebration to purge themselves of the lack of commitment and contribution to the progress of their community. He said that the next six months ahead of the celebration of the Golden Jubilee celebration of attainment of independence of the nation called for more sober reflection than for joyous celebration. He added that

⁹¹ Editorial; “Togbe Afede’s Advice”. *Daily Guide*, 15th January 2005.

the choices the nation made would determine the type of future to be inherited by children given the trends that were observable since independence and against the background of a nation blessed with lots of natural resources and peace-loving people. Togbe Afede advised the people to change their attitudes to work and eschew selfishness, the culture of pervasive dependency, excessive materialism and to uphold the virtues of hard work, positive thinking, honesty and perseverance.⁹²

5.5 Togbe Afede on the fight against Greed and Materialism

Tim Dزامboe, in his news article presented in the Daily Graphic in January 2008 noted that the Agbogbomefia Togbe Afede XIV said the nation had reached the state where the chosen leaders should work towards minimizing greed and materialism than enriching themselves. He said excessive greed and materialism were distorting national priorities and that leaders should set a good example by recognizing the difference between their wants and needs.

Togbe Afede XIV said this when he addressed a durbar at the forecourt of his palace in honour of the flag-bearer of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, who was on a visit to Ho. He called on all who aspire to lead the nation to publicly declare their assets and added that those who did not want the public to know what they had did not qualify to lead the people. Togbe Afede called for mutual respect and warned that nepotism, tribalism, intolerance and excessive politicization of governance were the main causes of poverty and conflict and expressed the need for people to ward off such negative practices and rather work towards the preservation of peace. According to him,

⁹² Tim Dزامboe “Muster Courage to fight Corruption – Agbogbomefia”. *Daily Graphic*, September 2006.

tribal considerations appeared to feature in several aspects of Ghanaian lives such as appointment to public office and the award of government contracts without recourse to demonstrated capability and honesty as underpinned by the constitutional requirement of regional balance.

He also said the Constitution was not in tune with ethnic realities, adding that for a country whose politics had sometimes been dominated by bitter ethnic rivalry, the Constitution had become outmoded because of the excessive power given to the executive branch of government. “The executive power of appointment, the powers granted our unicameral legislature and the executive over the creation of electoral constituencies, and their powers over the creation and functioning of district assemblies, for example, required some checks”, he stated. In an address, Nana Akufo-Addo said the excellent foundation laid by the NPP government and the unity of the party was indicative that the party deserved another mandate and that although it was a critical election year, there was no basis for any form of violence.⁹³

5.6 Togbe Afede’s Fraternal visits to some Ghanaian chiefs towards National Unity and Development

5.6.0 Visit to Akyem Abuakwa State

In January 2005, Togbe Afede XIV led a delegation of chiefs and queens to pay a fraternal visit to the Okyenhene, Osagyefo Amoatia Ofori Panin II, during which he emphasized the need for friendship among the various traditional areas in order to work

⁹³ Tim Dzamboe “Minimize Greed, Materialism...Togbe Afede XIV calls for right leaders” *Daily Graphic*, January 16, 2008

towards peace and unity for the betterment of Ghana. It was on this note that during the celebration of the yam festival in 2005, the Okyenhene was invited to participate in the festival so as to strengthen the bond of unity between the two states and this was achieved when the two states engaged in a football match as part of the festival celebration.

5.6.1 Visit to Ga Chiefs

In 2004, the Agbogbomefia led a delegation of chiefs and queens to the Ga State where he met with chiefs of Ga Traditional Area. On his arrival, he was welcomed by Nii Adotey Obour, acting president of Ga Traditional Council. There, libation was poured by the priests and drummers at the palace displayed a rich drumming culture of the Ga people. He exchanged greetings with the Ga chiefs and discussed his message of peace, unity and development with them. In his address, he noted that they (chiefs) were aware of the need for the modernization of our cultural and traditional practices and the institution of chieftaincy itself so that they would facilitate rather than impede development. He concluded that he hoped the Ga State and the Asogli State could collaborate and share experiences so that they could meet the demands of their people.⁹⁴

From there, he went to the palace of the Chief of Sempe where he was welcome into the palace of the Sempe Mantse in Jamestown. At the palace, the asafo of the Asogli State also displayed the rich musical performance at the palace and stirred the crowd. In October 2005, Togbe Afede XIV and his chiefs visited the palace of the Ga Mantse on the death of Nii Amugi II to express his condolence to the Ga State.

⁹⁴ *Speech delivered by Togbe Afede XIV on his visit to Ga Mantse's Palace, Accra; March 29, 2004*

5.6.2 Visit to Asanteman

In March 2005, Togbe Afede XIV again led a delegation from Asogli to meet with the Asantehene, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, in Kumasi to promote open and healthy interaction between Ewes and Asantes in order to strive for unity, peace and development. At a public forum on reconciling the nation, Togbe joined Nana Otuo Siriboe II, paramount chief of Juaben Traditional Area in calling on Ghanaians to end intolerance toward different groups in order to ensure peace in Ghana.

In a news article presented by Stella Danso and James Quansah, in the *Daily Guide* in 2005, they noted that the Asantehene Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, and the Agbogbomefia of the Ho-Asogli State, Togbe Afede XIV, on Thursday, March 17, made fraternal history, when the two, from two of the country's prominent traditional areas met at the Manhyia Palace, in Kumasi, to demonstrate to Ghanaians the unique cordial relationship that exists between them. Togbe Afede XIV, led a delegation of chiefs and people of Asogli State to visit the Asantehene at the Manhyia Palace in Kumasi, as a means of consolidating and enhancing existing relationship between them, as well as the people they rule.

The paper noted that Togbe Afede since his enstoolment as the Agbogbomefia of the Ho-Asogli State, about one-and-half years already visited the Okyehene, Osagyefo Amoatia Ofori Panin II and the traditional authorities in the Ga Traditional Area in Accra. His fraternal visit to the Asantehene was dramatic and spectacular as a huge crowd, majority of whom were people from the Volta Region, domiciled in Kumasi, thronged the palace to be part of the occasion. In his address, Togbe Afede acknowledged the reception accorded him and his entourage, describing Otumfuo Osei Tutu II as a leader with

exceptional human qualities. He explained that his visit was purposed to enable him (Togbe Afede XIV) come closer to the Asantehene, in order to offer him (Togbe Afede XIV) the opportunity to emulate and learn the good qualities in the Asantehene. He noted that it was about time his people pursued the course of progress, unity, and work extra hard to improve the lot of the people. Togbe Afede urged his people to put behind them, political rivalry between them, and other ethnic groups to ensure the sustenance of unity and progress. He pledged his commitment to team up with the Asantehene to fight for the maintenance of peace and stability, wealth creation and literacy in the country. Togbe Afede announced plans to set up Asogli State Education Fund, which he hinted would be inaugurated after the Easter Celebration (2005) to provide financial relief for the brilliant but needy pupils and students in his traditional area.

On his part, the Asantehene, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, touched by the desires of Togbe Afede XIV to champion the cause of school children in his area, pledged to donate ₵100,000 million toward the fund, to demonstrate the affection he had for them. He noted that chieftaincy was one of the best institutions that could help in the restoration and sustenance of peace in the country. Otumfuo Osei Tutu II urged the people of Asante to sit up and ensure that they were not misused by politicians to divide them. He wondered why certain people allowed themselves to be manipulated and misused by a number of politicians to seek their own selfish interests. He described Togbe Afede's visit as historic and significant as it had the potential to improve the unity between Asante indigenes and the people of the Volta Region. The Asantehene observed that this historic visit should be a signal to the country's politicians that they do not own Ghana. According to him, all that the chiefs ruling in the country needed was unity so that if politicians, by their

conduct, actions, and inaction, ignite conflicts, they can boldly stand to caution them. Otumfuo pledged to send a delegation to be part of the inauguration of the Asogli State Education Trust Fund when the date was fixed and an invitation was extended to him.⁹⁵

5.7 The construction of the Sunon Asogli Energy Limited

Togbe Afede XIV recognizes that development should not be the responsibility of the government alone. He also recognizes the need for Ghana to tap available international resources, including expertise, to enhance her development. Accordingly, he led a 22-member team to China, Beijing, Shanghai, Yiwu, Shenzhen and Hong Kong, in September 2005 with the goal of attracting investments to Ghana and learning how China has made progress in the area of agriculture, estate development, energy, ICT etc.

It was during his second trip to China in August 2006 that Togbe established contacts with Shenzhen Energy Group Co. Ltd to assess the possibility of the company establishing a power plant in Ghana. Three months later, Togbe hosted a delegation from China, representing China Africa Business Council and the Shenzhen Energy Group Co. Ltd. During the visit, Togbe brought together government officials and Ghanaian energy and business experts, as well as representatives of the Ministries of Works and Housing and Energy to discuss ways of investing in and improving Ghana's energy sectors.

Following this, in 2007, Togbe secured a deal for the injection of 560 megawatts of energy in Ghana's supply system. The 500 million dollars project is located at Kpone near the port city of Tema. This is the first major private thermal plant in Ghana and the

⁹⁵ Stella Danso and James Quansah "Asantehene, Togbe Afede Make History". *Daily Guide*, March 22, 2005. P.5

second biggest source of electricity after the Akosombo Dam. In full operation, the plant was expected to address energy needs and prevent any future crisis resulting from low levels of water in the Volta Lake.

On April, 17, 2008, Sunon Asogli Power (Ghana) Ltd performed the sod-cutting ceremony to start the commencement of phase one of the project, which was scheduled to be completed in December 2008, adding 200 megawatts of power into the national grid. The second phase of 360 megawatts was put into commercial operation by the end of 2009. The construction phase of the project was expected to provide about 1,000 jobs for Ghanaians.

According to Nana Kumi and Shiella Sackey, in a news article presented in the *Daily Guide* in April 2008, the Government's avowed intention of providing energy security through public and private partnership venture was gradually becoming a reality as individuals and organizations have expressed interest in the area, in response to President J.A. Kufuor's incessant calls. They noted that it was therefore not surprising that both the President and his Vice, Alhaji Aliu Mahama, together with several dignitaries, attended the sod-cutting ceremony of the Sunon Asogli Power Plant Project at Kpone, near Tema. The president, who was originally scheduled for another assignment at that particular moment, said the importance the government attached to the project compelled him to be present at the ceremony. President John Agyekum Kufour, who recalled the nine-month darkness the nation was thrown into following the previous year's energy crisis said: "Government has been interested in the project right from the moment it was conceived to fruition". The President who was visibly happy with Togbe Afede's achievement

invited more individuals to invest in the energy sector, to help address the nation's ever-increasing energy demand. Togbe Afede commended the Chinese firm for starting the work in just three months after undertaking feasibility studies. On the part of the Vice President, he also applauded the Chinese government for its support for the Sunon Asogli Power Project. This is an initiative a traditional ruler who believes that chieftaincy is not about people serving you but you serving humanity.

5.8 Togbe Afede Advises President John Mahama

According to Fred Duodu in his news article presented in the *Daily Guide*, the Agbogbomefia of the Asogli state, Togbe Afede XIV advised President John Dramani Mahama to be very cautious of the people around him. According to him, the mantle President Mahama had inherited was a delicate one which required the best hands on the job. Without this, the chief said, it would be difficult for President Mahama to carry out the development people craved for. He said, "Of course, it requires that you have the best people around you and we pray that God guides you and gives you a very discerning mind, very discerning eyes so you can recognize who your best friends are, because you need them..."⁹⁶

Togbe Afede, who is also the president of the Volta Regional House of Chiefs, gave the advice at a grand durbar of chiefs and people of the Volta Region at the Jubilee Park in Ho on Tuesday 21 August 2012. The durbar was part of the president's 'thank you tour' which started from the Central to the Western Region. Togbe Afede also noted that the

⁹⁶ Fred Duodu "Togbe Afede Cautions Mahama to Check Friends". *Daily Guide*, August 23, 2012.

president needed to be courageous and decisive enough to keep the right people around him “to be able to work towards the aspirations of Ghanaians for peace, unity and development”. “The task ahead of you requires a lot of courage and we pray that God gives it to you in abundance. It requires decisiveness and we pray that God supports you to be decisive enough to bring the development that the people need.”

Togbe Afede commended President Mahama for ensuring a befitting burial for the late president J. E. A. Mills. He also commended the president for his emphasis on peace and urged all Ghanaians to collectively work towards it. He tasked the president to ensure works on the Eastern Corridor road and the permanent structures of the University of Health and Allied Sciences be expedited. President Mahama, in his address, commended Voltarians for the overwhelming support during the burial and mourning of the late president. He also commended them for the rousing welcome and support he received during his ‘thank you tour’. He revealed that a \$240 million loan facility from Brazil had arrived for the eastern corridor road, as well as a \$10 million loan for the university in the region. He stressed the need for peace and unity now, before and after the 2012 elections to move Ghana forward.

The late Volta regional minister, Henry Ford Kamel, highlighted President Mahama’s involvement in sourcing the two facilities for the eastern corridor road and university when he was vice president. He noted that the president’s tour, although was to thank the people of the region for their support during late President Mills’ death, took him to Dabala, Sogakofe, Srogboe, Anloga and Dzodze where he interacted with the people. President Mahama made some donations to the affected persons of the tidal waves in

Keta and paid a courtesy call on the Awomefia of the Anlo State, Torgbui Sri III. Also at the durbar in Ho were the regional chairman of the NPP, Kenwuud Nuworsu, his secretary Kofi Boateng and a leading member of the NPP, Dauglas Wagba. The president's entourage included Koku Anyidoho, Henry Martey Newman, Akua Sena Dansua and Dan Abodakpi, Ghana's Ambassador to Malaysia.⁹⁷

5.9 The Establishment of Africa World Airlines (AWA)

In a news article presented by Al Hajj on Tuesday 11 September 2012, the report stated that Togbe Afede XIV, Chief Executive Officer of Strategic African Securities (SAS) together with Social Security and National Insurance Trust (SSNIT) and the Hainan Airlines of China, operators of a newly launched airline, Africa World Airlines have been commended for taking a bold step and living up to expectation. The Director – General of the Ghana Civil Aviation Authority (GCAA), Air Commodore Mamphey made the commendation at the launch of AWA airlines in Accra. He said the new airline had met all the rigorous processes and procedures needed to operate commercial flights in the country but cautioned that his outfit would keep on scrutinizing its activities to ensure that it met all safety requirements. Africa World Airlines, a new domestic airline which would also operate in the West African Sub-region took delivery of its second jet, a 50-seater Embraer ERJ -145LR aircraft on Saturday, September 8. The delivery of this second aircraft followed the successful delivery and launching of the airline's first aircraft, also an Embraer ERJ-145 on August 30 2012.

⁹⁷ Fred Duodu "Togbe Afede Cautions Mahama to Check Friends". *Daily Guide*, August 23, 2012.

Togbe Afede XIV in a statement preceding the jets' arrival said "The arrival of this second aircraft sets the stage for Africa World Airlines to operate optimally in the domestic market to the delight of its patrons." According to the airline, its scheduled flight services would start on September 21 and that the receipt of the second aircraft completes the equipment requirements of the first phase of the planned hub and spoke model of Africa World Airline. With the launch of AWA, Ghana now has five domestic airlines in the country. The others are Starbow, Flight 540, CityLink and Antrak.

According to Togbe Afede XIV, with this second acquisition of an aircraft, the airline was expected to fly to West African cities including Ouagadougou, Abidjan, Abuja, Port Harcourt, Dakar and Banjul and they would focus their energies on the second phase which should facilitate a smooth expansion of the airline operations in the West African sub-region and beyond. Togbe Afede said the airline's operation in the country would open the West African sub-region by linking the region to other parts of the world.⁹⁸

In another news article presented by Zainabu Issah in Daily Graphic, he reports that "Ghana's fifth domestic airline, Africa World Airline (AWA), has launched its commercial operations to boost the local economy and enhance travel by both local and foreign investors in the country. The paper noted that AWA is a joint venture between the Social Security and National Insurance Trust (SSNIT), the Strategic African Securities (SAS), both of Ghana, and Hainan Airlines of China. It now joins Antrak Air, CityLink, Starbow Airline and Fly 540 on the domestic airline market." The paper continued that the founder of the airline, Togbe Afede XIV, the Agbogbomefia of Asogli State, said at

⁹⁸ Al Hajj "Togbe Afede's Airline Takes Delivery of Second Aircraft". *Business News*. Tuesday 11 September 2012. *Ghana Web*

the launch that the airline would begin its first commercial flight from Accra to Kumasi and subsequently to the other major destinations including Tamale and Takoradi. He expressed optimism that as the market condition of the airline increased, so would the fleet of the airline. In his words: “We expect to have a large fleet size and this will mean large operations to enable us to offer competitive fares so that our customers will have value for money”, he explained.

Togbe Afede assured Ghanaians of reliability and safety on board the flight. In his address, the Chinese Ambassador to Ghana, Mr. Gong Jianzhong said the establishment of AWA was an important milestone for China-Africa cooperations in the aviation sector. He expressed confidence that with the participation of the shareholders, the airline would play an important role in promoting Ghana’s regional position as the logistics and passenger centre in West Africa. He further affirmed the Chinese government’s readiness to work continuously and closely with the Government of Ghana to enhance mutual beneficial cooperation to create better environment for investment. Mr. Gong also expressed optimism that China-Ghana joint ventures would contribute to the economic development of the country. The Minister of Tourism, Madam Akua Sena Dansua, lauded the effort of the airline to boost domestic tourism in the country.⁹⁹

5.10 Togbe Afede and Sports

Togbe Afede XIV loves football. He has been a great supporter of Accra Hearts of Oak all these years. As part of his contribution to the development of this club, he willingly

⁹⁹ Zainabu Issah “Africa World Airline launches Domestic Operations” *Daily Graphic*, Saturday, September 22, 2012. P. 17

accepted the appointment as the board chairman of the club. In a news article presented by Joh Awuah Jr., he reported that Hearts of Oak's Board Chairman Togbe Afede has been described by a leading Kotoko official as the "best thing ever to happen to the Phobians". Listowell Yesu Bukerson predicted that Togbe Afede's engagement with Hearts would surely propel the club to newer heights. The Kotoko Communications Director was full of praise for the Hearts of Oak Board Chairman during a chat with Joe Lakka of Angel FM. He described Togbe Afede as a world acclaimed businessman with immense expertise in management. He therefore prayed that Togbe Afede would be given the needed time and support from all followers of the club to take Hearts to the top.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, his assumption of this position has been a great blessing to the club since he has invested huge sums of money in the club to rejuvenate the club to take the trophy for the 2012/2013 season following the clubs inability to win major trophies for the past four years.

5.11 Conclusion:

This chapter has fully explored the contribution of Togbe Afede XIV to national politics and development ranging from fraternal visits to some Ghanaian chiefs to the establishment of a power plant through to the aviation industry. But one would ask that what is the effect of this on the people of Ho-Asogli. Briefly, his engagement in national politics and development has brought about proper execution of government projects in the town. This is as a result of effective monitoring of government development projects by his development committees. In addition, his engagement has brought fame and

¹⁰⁰ Joh Awuah "Togbe Afede Best for Hearts" *Daily Guide*, June 29, 2012. Kumasi

prestige to the people of Ho-Asogli. Today, the Sunon Asogli Power Limited, the Africa World Airlines, the World Trade Center Accra and his debates has brought fame to the people of Ho-Asogli. The effect of this is that, he attracts investment into the state and region as a whole and the private sector organizations such as MTN, Vodafone, Tigo, Agricultural Development Bank (ADB), Goil, State Insurance Company (SIC) among others are injecting financial assistance into the development of the state especially during the celebration of the yam festival. In terms of investment, Togbe Afede's engagement has attracted the Chinese into the state and plans are far advanced to establish an integrated agriculture and agro-processing venture, which will commence in Juapong.

The discussion on the contribution of Togbe Afede XIV to national politics and development and its effects on the development of Ho-Asogli has been very interesting. He has actually contributed tremendously to national politics and development in various circles ranging from advising government, criticizing government activities, liaising with international partners to promote development in Ghana in the energy and aircraft industries; he has concluded cordial relations with other chieftaincies to maintain unity, peace and development in Ghana.. But then, Togbe Afede XIV has encountered certain developmental challenges and has his own weaknesses as well. Thus, the next chapter deals with the developmental challenges encountered by Togbe Afede, his weaknesses and how he has dealt with some of these challenges.

CHAPTER SIX

TOGBE AFEDE XIV: DEVELOPMENTAL CHALLENGES AND WEAKNESSES IN THE DIALECTICS OF TRADITION AND MODERNITY

6.0 Introduction

Every human being no matter how good, successful, intelligent, and hardworking encounters certain challenges and weaknesses in life. In the case of Togbe Afede XIV, it has become necessary to look at his developmental challenges and weaknesses because of the emerging discourse of the traditional and modernity as the leadership offered by contemporary Ghanaian chiefs bring about some frictions, contradictions, challenges and problems to their subjects. Togbe Afede XIV, in spite of his hard work, success and fame, has his own stories of challenges and obstacles to tell. Also, his leadership could not be devoid of certain developmental challenges. Similarly, his leadership style could also not be free from some frictions and opposition from some sections of his community. I therefore see the need to interrogate his developmental challenges, his weaknesses and how some of these challenges are resolved.

6.1 Developmental Challenges

6.1.0 Financial Constraints

One major challenge that Togbe Afede XIV faced was financial constraint. On the personal side Togbe Afede noted that as a result of financial difficulties that the family faced, his twin brother Philip had to skip secondary school in order to allow Togbe to continue his education. In order to honour his brother for such a sacrifice, he has

constructed a two-storey, nine classroom model Junior High School complex where his middle school once stood to honour the memory of his twin brother. He also noted that because of financial difficulties, he was unable to take up offers of admission to the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania in 1984 and 1985 and also admission with fellowship awards to Stanford University's Graduate School of Business in 1984 and 1985. All these worked against his immediate plans of furthering his education and consequently, pushed him to go to Nigeria to look for greener pastures where he taught at the Sokoto State Polytechnic School of Management Studies, Nigeria from 1985 to 1987.

Being a chief, financial constraints have played a major part as a developmental challenge. He noted that one major problem facing the institution of chieftaincy. This is lacking and his people look up to him to provide some development projects which the government will not provide. He noted that because of financial constraints, he has to sometimes use his personal funds to promote some development initiatives in his state. One good example is the supply of books to various schools in Ho. He was quick to add that to surmount this problem, he uses his business skills and experience to generate funds from external sources and this has kept him moving on.¹⁰¹

6.1.1 Media Reports

Media reports have been one area of challenge, according to Togbe Afede. Some newsletter publications often publish wrong information about him, which he saw as a serious challenge that he has to fight from time to time. In a news article presented in *The*

¹⁰¹ Interview with Mr. John Kukah (Secretary of Asogli State Council) on behalf of Togbe Afede XIV. 15th December 2012 at Ho Bankoe.

Herald newspaper, the article stated that the Paramount Chief of Ho Asogli State, Togbe Afede XIV, had dissociated himself from the controversy over the arrest and detention of popular artiste, Mzbel, known in private life as Mabel Akua Amoah. Togbe Afede told *The Herald Newspaper* that he did not know Mzbel and had never seen her in anyway. He also said that he did not in any way intervene or try to intervene for the release of the songstress and her accomplices when they were arrested for traffic offence. The paper continued that Mzbel and two others were arrested for allegedly assaulting a policeman who, in the course of his duty, tried to arrest them for a traffic offence. The police sources at the Motor Traffic and Transport Unit (MTTU), reportedly told *The Herald Newspaper* that among the people who called to have the girl released was Togbe Afede XIV, but he denied any involvement in securing bail for Mzbel.¹⁰² According to Togbe, such publications often tarnish the images of people and the worse of it is that, the publishers do not go further to make enquiries from those involved before publishing the articles. In this case, the MTTU reportedly told *The Herald Newspaper* about Togbe's call but the paper did not make any attempt to make further enquiries from him, only to publish the news article. He noted that for about a decade of his rule, the media has been one area of challenge to him. He pointed out that because he is a public figure, a traditional ruler, and an influential economist and businessman in this country, the satellite of the media is always on him and some especially the print media have not been professional in the job, especially publishing false information about him.¹⁰³

¹⁰² "Togbe Afede Denies Mzbel" *The Herald Newspaper*. Friday 24th June 2012.

¹⁰³ Interview with Mr. John Kukah (Secretary of Asogli State Council) on behalf of Togbe Afede XIV. 15th December 2012 at Ho Bankoe

6.1.2 Meeting the needs of his people

Meeting the needs of his people has been a major developmental challenge to Togbe Afede XIV all these years. He noted that on his installation as the Agbogbomefia of the Asogli State, he stated in his inaugural address that he was going to mark a new beginning as he would work hard to build a new Asogli State and will institute programmes to ensure that the needs of his people are catered for so that they would grow into responsible citizens.¹⁰⁴ To deliver on this address, he has to take full responsibility of providing the socio-politico-economic needs of not only his people but the region as a whole since he is also the president of the regional house of chiefs. He noted that in most of his addresses, he has made it clear that poverty is not the destiny of any society but rather it is the result of bad leadership, and that is why masses wallow in poverty. He also emphasized that the struggle against poverty and social exclusion and the pursuit of growth were noble and were essential for the continuing stability of every society (country)¹⁰⁵. In this regard, he has accepted that challenge to cause a change in the lives of his people and this country as a whole. This has been the reason why he has made a lot of interventions in both his state and the country as a whole to improve upon the lives of people.

He said that to surmount this challenge he had to lead a strong-powered delegation of Asogli State Officials, representatives of other Chiefs from the region and businessmen to China to broker development ties, explore avenues for further investment and concretize

¹⁰⁴ K. D. Sutor “Agbogbomefia: The Dynamic and Visionary King”: *Wake Up Volta*, p. 18

¹⁰⁵ A Speech delivered by Togbe Afede XIV (Guest of Honour) during the Fifth Development Dialogue Series, Ho March 23, 2004.

existing memoranda of understanding for works to commence. He said because of this challenge, traditional authorities in the region are poised in championing the needed socio-economic growth in the region, in collaboration with government and development partners within and abroad. He added that areas being considered for development include cellular phones and television set assembly plants, estate development, hair products manufacturing, mining and the tourism sector.¹⁰⁶ The establishment of these projects would bring employment opportunities to the region so that the unemployed youth would get something to do. This initiative to him is part of meeting this challenge of providing for his people.

6.1.3 Chieftaincy Disputes

Chieftaincy disputes have been a developmental challenge to Togbe Afede upon taking office as the president of the Asogli Traditional Council and the president of the regional house of chiefs. He noted that upon taking office as the Agbogbomefia of the Ho-Asogli State, he has worked to resolve chieftaincy disputes in some traditional areas. A notable one is the Kpenoe Chieftaincy Dispute. To resolve this problem, he had to hold several meetings. On the 1 May 2004, 2 May 2004, 22 May 2004, 29 May 2004, 12 June 2004, and 13 June 2004. These meetings were held at his palace for the resolution of this dispute. As an able and intelligent leader, he was able to amicably resolve this problem. But then, he noted that it was time consuming and it diverted attention from other important ventures that could contribute to productivity and development in the state. This was because, the meetings lasted long due to the various arguments that the parties

¹⁰⁶ “Accelerated Development to begin in the Volta Region – Togbe Afede”. *Business News*. Sunday 16 September 2012. *Ghana News Agency*. Ho

presented. For example, the Kpenoe dispute alone called for six different meetings and one could see that it was really time consuming. Togbe Afede XIV has also dealt with other chieftaincy disputes in his capacity as the president of the Asogli Traditional Council and the president of the Volta Regional House of Chiefs.

6.1.4 Opposition from some members of the community

The leadership style offered by Togbe Afede XIV is not devoid of opposition from some quarters. Togbe Afede XIV, in his quest to promote development of the Ho-Asogli State had encountered some challenges. One of such challenges came from some members of the community when he wanted to construct a new palace for the state. In June 2012 when the construction of the new palace began, Togbe Afede met opposition from some people. This opposition came from a family who claimed that the land on which the palace was being constructed belonged to them rather than the state. Following the demolishing of the old palace, members of this family challenged Togbe Afede and accused him of illegally destroying their property. For this reason, the family took the matter to court. According to some of my informants, the said family did not know the boundaries of their land and that of the state. My informants argue that the land on which the new palace was constructed belonged to the state. But because this family was not in support of Togbe Afede's leadership, they raised this opposition. To my informants, the matter was duly addressed by the court and in the end, Togbe Afede was exonerated as the judgement passed was that, the land was state land and not family land. This situation is a clear indication of a developmental challenge. Indeed, Togbe Afede wanted to construct a modern palace that will benefit the state but some people were against him. This

is one of the problems that most chiefs encounter in their quest to promote development in their communities.

6.1.5 Time and work constraints

Another major developmental challenge that has always confronted Togbe Afede XIV is time and work constraints. He noted he is a busy person and has so many responsibilities. He pointed out that time had been one area that poses a serious challenge to his activities. He said that he chairs so many businesses in this country. As a traditional political figure, a businessman and a family man, he has a huge responsibility which works against his time. He has to respond to his traditional duties and obligations such as attending important meetings that could promote development in his state. He has to chair meetings of the Asogli Traditional Council and the Regional House of Chiefs on issues that matter to the region. He has to attend meetings in his capacity as a member of the National House of Chiefs. He has to also resolve chieftaincy disputes in and outside his state and has to look for avenues to promote development in his state and the region as a whole.

As a business man, Togbe Afede XIV has to ensure that his private business keeps running successfully. As chairman of many business firms, he attends a lot of meetings just to promote these businesses. He noted that one major area that works against him in this sphere is his travels. Business meetings often take him out of the country to the United States, China and other places, and sometimes, he has to sacrifice his traditional duties and delegate his powers to his sub-chiefs to work on his behalf while he attends such meetings. He noted that because of time constraints, he is not able to honour some invitations to the public and other institutions. To salvage this problem, he has to delegate

power to some of his sub-chiefs to honour such invitations. He emphasized that he would have honoured every invitation and attend all meetings and respond to every obligation but it is not just possible. Thus, time and work constraint is really a big challenge to him.

6.1.6 The Hohoe Conflict

Togbe Afede XIV noted that the Hohoe conflict had been one of the major challenges that he encountered as the president of the Volta Regional House of Chiefs. According to him, immediately he heard the news of the conflict, he quickly stopped his business to attend to the issue since it was an issue which was dangerous to human safety and property. He noted that he had to organize some of his chiefs and other stakeholders to visit Hohoe in order to broker peace between the two parties due to the urgency of the call. Togbe pointed out that he was in the company of Nana Soglo Alloh IV of Likpe, vice president of the house, Osie Adzatekpor VII of Avatime, Togbe Adzongaga Amenya Fiti V of Aflao, Togbe Delume VII of Ve, Togbe Osei Tutu Brempong III of Wusuta and Togbe Koroku Ayim IV of Ziavi. On the side of government, he was accompanied by Commissioner of Police (COP) John Kudalor, Director-General of Operations at the Police Headquarters, the late Volta Regional Minister, Henry Ford Kamel and his deputy, Henry Ametefe. At Hohoe, he toured the dilapidated site of the palace and met with Togbega Gabusu IV to console him and ask of his support for peace in the area. To him, the urgency of the conflict brought a serious challenge to him as the president of the regional house of chiefs. But then, with his able lieutenants, he was able to bring lasting peace to the area by providing new regalia to Togbe Gabusu IV and he thanks all the various stakeholders for helping him to bring peace to Hohoe Community. But he was

quick to add that precious time was lost and this time could have been used for other profitable ventures.

6.2 Weaknesses

6.2.0 His frequent absence from the state

Many interviewees lamented that Togbe Afede's frequent absence from the state really is a disadvantage to the state. They argued that his frequent absence from the state sometimes works against some of their programmes. For instance, some of the youth of one of the clans in Bankoe said they wanted to meet with him and discuss a pertinent issue that was bothering them but to no avail. They said that it was difficult for them before they were able to meet him. Others also said that his absence makes them feel like they are without a shelter and shield. They argued that his presence gives them hope and courage that they have someone to run to when the need arises. But his absence makes them feel like they are not safe. Others also said that his long absence often affects their programmes. This is because, when he is invited to honour certain important programmes in the state, his busy schedules prevent him from honouring the invitation and when it happens this way, it hinders the smoothness of the programme. His presence is supposed to be a symbolic and colourful moment for them but when he fails to show up, it destroys their hopes and aspirations.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Focus Group Discussion held with some of the youth at Ho Bankoe. 21/22 December 2012.

6.2.1 His inability to honour some invitations

Closely related to the weakness mentioned above is Togbe Afede's inability to honour some public invitations. He noted earlier that because of work and time constraints, he is unable to honour some traditional duties and public obligations. In this regard, the interviewees were also able to point his inability to sometimes honour invitations to some functions as a weakness. My informants in our interaction noted that Togbe Afede is a very busy man and as such, finds it difficult to meet all his obligations to satisfy all parties. For this reason, he sometimes satisfies some, and is unable to satisfy others. Their main concern was his inability to honour some important state activities such as funerals of some important citizens of the state. Some other interviewees noted that most often, he was invited to chair functions in some of the senior high schools in the municipality but because of his busy schedules, he delegates power to his sub-chiefs to honour such invitations. Some of the interviewees who were students from various senior high schools in the municipality were able to mention the names of some of the chiefs who honour invitations on behalf of Togbe Afede XIV. They mentioned Togbe Kotoku XI of Kpenoe Traditional Area and Togbe Korku Ayim IV of Ziavi Traditional Area as two important chiefs that often work on behalf of Togbe Afede when he is unable to honour invitations of this kind.¹⁰⁸ I was not surprised because Togbe Kotoku XI is a teacher at OLA Senior High School in Ho and is a popular figure whom most students know in Ho and the surrounding schools. Although, the informants pointed out this as a weakness, they also made it clear that he sometimes honours some invitations when he has the chance, but

¹⁰⁸ Focus Group Discussion held with some Students from Mawuko SHS, Mawuli SHS, Taviefe Community SHS, and OLA SHS. From 19 to 24 November 2012.

this is still not enough. For instance, they said he honoured the invitation extended to him by his former school (Kpedze Senior High School) in November when they were celebrating their fiftieth anniversary. He was there with his entourage to grace the occasion.

6.2.2 Lack of premiership club in Ho

Most of the youth whom I interacted with during my field work expressed disappointment due to lack of a premiership club in Ho. They noted for almost two decades, Ho had not seen any club featuring in the elite football league of Ghana. They noted that the only club in Ho which featured in Ghana's elite premier league was Voradep Football Club, which won the championship against Kotoko in 1994. But then, due to mismanagement, corruption and embezzlement of resources, the club was relegated from the premiership side to division one league. Since then, the club has fallen into abeyance and has since been in a long period of lull. The informants noted that this situation has affected the development of football in the region especially Ho.

My informants noted that Ho is a town which has a lot of talented young footballers both males and females but the big-men in the town are not doing anything to promote these youngsters. They emphasized that one person they look up-to to promote football in Ho is Togbe Afede. But then, his concentration seems to be on other things than football. They noted that he is the Chairman of Accra Hearts of Oak and this means that he has interest in football. Also, he is investing huge sums of money to promote the club to perform well in the premier league. Thus, it would be prudent on his part to enhance football in Ho and

make the effort to promote a club that will feature in the premier league of this country. But then, he is not doing that and many young footballers see this as his weakness.

My informants argued that football in Ho is on a rapid decline. At the moment, the town has no club in division one league. Last year, a team known as Hot Steal FC got promoted to the division one league but due to financial constraints, it was relegated to division two again. Because of this, football lovers kept wondering whether a club from Ho will ever feature in the premier league, looking at the decline of football in the town. They said that many young and talented footballers in the town could be promoted by Togbe Afede to be enrolled in the junior side of Hearts of Oak so that gradually, they could be selected to the senior side. This would bring fame to the town.

The most surprising thing, I am told by my informants is that every year, these youngsters are organized to form a team to accompany Togbe Afede's delegation to Notsie in the Republic of Togo to participate in the celebration of the Agbogboza by the people of Notsie. On this occasion, a football match is played between Togbe's team and Fia Agorkorli's team, "Asogli 11" and "Notsie 11". He sits there to watch the game and knows the kinds of talented players he has in his town but nothing seems to be coming from his end to promote them. As it stands now, most of these young and talented footballers are staying idle and only go to entertain themselves with what is called "Sunday soccer" thereby wasting their talents. Most of them have also stopped playing football and are rather doing other jobs like barbering, painting, masonry; carpentry, and

many of them are now taxi drivers. They said this is a weakness on the part of Togbe Afede.¹⁰⁹

6.2.3 The Slow Pace of Investment from Togbe Afede's Chinese Partners

Many people argued that Togbe Afede's leadership style is worth emulating. Many have lauded his efforts to bring Chinese investors into the Volta Region. But then, some of these informants expressed concern about the slow pace of investment from Togbe's Chinese partners. For instance, in a news article published by the Ghana News Agency on the 16th of September 2012, it is noted that Togbe Afede XIV, Agbogbomefia of Asogli State has said the Volta-Ningsia Province relationship under the aegis of the Volta Development Plan (VDP) could potentially gross about 500 million dollars in five years. This relationship, he said which culminated from a sister cities concept would translate into an integrated agriculture and agro-processing venture, expected to commence at Juapong by the close of the year. Togbe Afede said this in an interview with the Ghana News Agency in Notsie, the Republic of Togo during the Agbogboza which coincided with the pilgrimage to their ancestral home by the Asoglis. He said products on the agenda include cultivation of large-scale crops, vegetables, cereals, rearing of cattle, sheep, goats, and rabbit with the key element being the breeding and processing of rabbit for export. On this note, he pointed out that a strong-powered delegation of Asogli State Officials, representatives of other Chiefs from the region and businessmen went to China

¹⁰⁹ Focus Group Discussion held with some of the youth and football fans at Bankoe, Dome, Ahoe, Heve, Hliha, Fiave, Anlokodzi, Anagokordzi and RTC (all in Ho). 11, 18, 25 (November 2012), and 2, 9 and 16 December 2012.

to broker ties, explore avenues for further investment and concretize existing memoranda of understanding for works to commence.¹¹⁰

Informants expressed their concern on how Togbe's efforts to bring Chinese investment into the region has being very slow. They pointed out that though it is always said that the region is in partnership with the Chinese to promote agriculture and industry under the Volta Development Programme, nothing concrete has started. Most of my informants who are youths indicated that they were very happy to hear this good news and were poised to render their labour and services once the Chinese investors come but they have not really seen any work on the ground. So in a way, they are disappointed and saw this as one of the weaknesses of Togbe Afede. They noted that though he has laid down the paper work or concluded the partnership agreement with the Chinese investors, he should move beyond the paper work and translate into real action which would be beneficial to the people of the region.

6.3 Conclusion:

The discussion above has shown clearly that Togbe Afede XIV, in his quest to promote development in his state has encountered a number of challenges. In spite of his standing in Ghana, he has his own weaknesses just as any other ordinary person in society. The chapter clearly delved into his developmental challenges, which stems from financial constraints, chieftaincy disputes, general conflicts, the desire to meet the needs of his

¹¹⁰ "Accelerated Development to Begin in Volta Region – Togbe Afede". *Business News*. Sunday, 16 September 2012. *Ghana News Agency*. Ho

people, media reports, opposition, and time and work constraints among others. The paper also ascertained that Togbe Afede's frequent absence from the state, his inability to honour invitations from people and organizations, lack of premiership club in Ho and the slow pace of work pertaining to the Chinese investment in the region are some of his weaknesses. The challenges and weaknesses have outlined the synthesis of tradition and modernity. It explains that in this era of modernity, traditional rulers are poised to champion modernization and make life easy for their subjects through the various development projects that they implement. But they often encounter certain challenges. On the other hand, the weaknesses explain the friction between tradition and modernity. It shows how contemporary chiefs as a result of modernity in terms of western education have compromised their rule with their private businesses. Togbe Afede's weaknesses mainly stem from the fact that because of his modern influence, he sometimes sacrifices traditional duties and delegates power to his sub-chiefs. In the past, this was not possible; the people would not allow that. But because of modernity, this could now be done. But then, in spite of all these challenges and weaknesses, he has still left an indelible mark on the hearts and minds of his subjects.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Summary

This research was an investigation into the politics and development under the headship of Agbogbomefia Togbe Afede XIV of the Ho-Asogli State. The research briefly looked at the history of the people of Asogli, tracing their origin, migration and settlement history, the royal dynasty of Ho-Bankoe, tracing the genealogy of all the rulers before the current Togbe Afede XIV as well as the war exploits of the people of Asogli upon their settlement in Ho. The research also briefly focused on the politics of the people of Asogli; it concentrated on the constitutional political structure and the power structure within this constitution. The hierarchy of power in the state and how each division is assigned a unique role to play in the day-to-day politics of the people of Asogli was also looked at. Finally, there was also a brief overview of the state of development in the Ho-Asogli state under the leadership of the late Togbe Afede Asor II.

The research further looked at the profile of Agbogbomefia Togbe Afede XIV, tracing his birth, education, early working life, his self employment venture, his entrepreneurial and business acumen, his philosophy, his installation and the paramount chief of the people of Ho-Asogli as well as his induction as the president of the Asogli Traditional Council and as a member of the Volta Regional House of Chiefs, not leaving out the awards and recognitions that he has earned. The research went further to look at the contribution of Togbe Afede XIV to development in the Ho-Asogli State and the Region as a whole. The contributions were looked at thematically from social, political and economic

perspectives. His initiatives towards the development of Volta Region in his capacity as the president of the Regional House of Chiefs were explored.

The research also looked at the contribution of Togbe Afede XIV to national politics and development. As a citizen of this nation, as an economist and a financial expert and a public figure, the research also focused on his contribution to national politics and development. The research concentrated on his contribution to national debates on governance especially on issues of corruption, greed and materialism, sports and others through the media. The research also looked at how he contributed to the financial and the energy sector of Ghana by establishing his own businesses and the Sunon Asogli Energy Limited to produce power to reduce the energy crisis that the country went into in 2007/2008. His contribution to the aviation industry was ascertained where the Africa World Airlines operates from Accra to destinations like Kumasi, Tamale and Takoradi. The airline is also expected to operate to other destinations like Ouagadougou, Abidjan, Dakar, Abuja, Port Harcourt and Banjul.

The research finally looked at the various challenges that Togbe Afede XIV encountered throughout his life and when he became the number one person of the people of Ho-Asogli. His weaknesses were not left out in this research.

7.1 Conclusion

After an in-depth investigation into the politics of development under the headship of Togbe Afede XIV of Asogli State through interviews, the newspaper reports, speeches, journals, and other relevant sources for this research, the following conclusions could be made.

First of all, it could be concluded that the Agbogbomefia Togbe Afede XIV is a chief who believes in modernization. Reading his profile to his contribution to development, he is really a modernizer who brought a lot of modernity into the culture and practice among the Ho-Asogli and the chieftaincy platform as a whole. Development wise, he has contributed tremendously to the progress of the people of Asogli in the social, political and economic dimensions. Socially, he has promoted unity, youth and education, established committees to oversee development issues in the state, construction of a modern palace, refurbishing the Asogli State Secretariat and equipping it with internet connectivity, computers, printers and others. Regarding the Yam Festival, he has modernized it by introducing health walk, variety shows, football gala, beauty contest, attraction of sponsorships from various organizations and above all, crowning the whole celebration with a grand durbar.

Economically, he has contributed to the development of tourism in the state and the region as a whole through his publication of a book, *Ho 2009* which is a primer to help foreign readers acquire an understanding of Ho, and one that provides not only a basic overview of the town, but also the relevant contact information that would be helpful to visitors in and around Ho. He has also instituted an economic development plan for Ho and Volta Region and also established the land secretariat to make land available for investors. The Asogli Community Bank is another project, which is in the pipe-line. Politically, he was the first Asogli chief to design a state flag which is used to identify the state today. He has also reconnected the people of Asogli to their ancestral home (Notsie) in the republic of Togo. His fraternal visits to the various paramount chiefs in the region is an initiative to promote unity and development in the region. His fraternal visits to the

Ga chiefs, to Asanteman Council and to the Okyenhene are meant to promote unity among the various traditional areas as a way of promoting the welfare of the common people.

At the regional level, he convened the first Volta Congress, which attracted people from far and near to dialogue to see the way forward for the region's development. His implementation of a five-year development plan known as *The Volta Pathway; an Economic Development Plan for the Volta Region 2009-2013*, has attracted Chinese investment into the region.

On the national platform, his contribution to national debates that are relevant to the development of this nation is worth noting. His establishment of the Africa World Airlines (AWA) to promote the Aviation industry is a step in the right direction for a country like Ghana. His establishment of the Sunon Asogli Energy Limited to supply energy to this country is worth commending.

It can therefore be concluded that for almost a decade of his rule, he has really marked a new beginning in the Asogli State. He is really working hard to build a new Asogli and make sure that the needs of his people are provided for. No wonder he was re-elected as the president of the Volta Regional House of Chiefs to serve for another four-year term. In a news article presented by the Ghana News Agency on 9 November 2012, it stated that "Volta Regional House of Chiefs on Thursday re-elected Togbe Afede XIV, Agbogbomefia of Asogli State as President of the House for a second four-year term. The House also re-elected Nana Solo Alloh IV, Paramount Chief of Likpe as Vice-President. The article continued that Togbe Kwaku Ayim IV, Paramount Chief of Ziavi described

Togbe Afede XIV and Nana Soglo Alloh IV as visionary leaders and commended them for their foresight and leadership styles”¹¹¹.

According to Nana Addo-Dankwa III, Chieftaincy as an institution has stood the test of time, it has served the nation in many respects, and will continue to serve the nation. If, therefore, chieftaincy is given a modern touch, without destroying the basic attributes, the institution will be able to play a positive role in the overall development of the nation. In their societies, chiefs constitute sources of hope, inspiration and trust to their people. Chiefs, also in situations of stress and strain, act as fathers of the people who can rise to the occasion and be stabilizing forces capable of bringing peace and unity among the people. It is quite clear that the institution of chieftaincy will continue to provide crucial social services to provide the needed stability to a society in transition.¹¹² Indeed, Togbe Afede XIV has modernized the institution of chieftaincy among the people of Ho-Asogli. He has used his traditional office to provide hope for the people; he used the institution to bring peace and unity to his people and finally, he has used the institution to provide crucial social, economic and political services that are needed for the development of his state.

To conclude it all, I argue that, the institution of chieftaincy is a force that works closely with government to promote development in Ghana and Togbe Afede XIV is an exemplar.

¹¹¹ Yvonne Elikplim Harley Kanyi, “Togbe Afede re-elected as President of Volta Region House of Chiefs”. *Ghana News Agency*. Friday, 09 November 2012, 11:05

¹¹² Addo-Dankwa, *The Institution of Chieftaincy in Ghana*, p. 124

7.2 Recommendations

This research would not be complete without certain recommendations. This is because the researcher could not cover every aspect of the problem under study.

In the first place, I would suggest that other researchers could replicate this same research in the Asogli Traditional Council. They could focus on other important chiefs in the council such as Togbe Kwaku Ayim IV, Paramount Chief of Ziavi Traditional Area, Togbe Fia Korku, Paramount Chief of Sokode Traditional Area, Togbe Osei Tutu VI of Matse Traditional Area and Togbe Dadzawe of Shia Traditional Area. All these traditional areas form part of the political unit known as the Asogli Traditional Council. Outside the council, other researchers could also replicate the same research in other traditional areas such as the Avatime Traditional Area under the leadership of Togbe Osie Adza Tekpor VII who is also a regional representative to the National House of Chiefs; others could also conduct research into the politics and development under the headship of Nana Soglo Alloh IV who is Paramount Chief of Likpe Traditional Area and the Vice President of the regional house of chiefs. Torgbui Hor II, Paramount Chief (Makosor) of Somey Traditional Area in the Ketu South District is another influential chief who could also be studied in this same framework. Last but not least, Torgbui Adzoganga Amenya Fiti V, Paramount Chief of Aflao Traditional Area and Togbe Tepre Hodo VI of Anfoega Traditional Area could also be studied.

In addition, a full-blown research could be carried out into the concept of Asafo among the Asogli. A full-blown research could be carried out into their history, composition, their war exploits in the past, their music, their war drums, the rites and rituals associated

with these war drums and the changing trends in the contemporary Asafo of the people of Ho-Asogli.

Finally, research could also be carried out into the place and position of queenmothers/women chiefs among the Ho-Asogli. Each divisional town in the Ho-Asogli State has a queenmother and it would be interesting to look into what they also have to offer to their people. As such, some important queenmothers in the state include Mamaga Akua Dei II, paramount queenmother of the state, Mama Atrato II, queenmother of Ho-Dome as well as Mama Agblatsu III who is the *Afertornyornufia* (advisor) to the Agbogbomefia.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A: Interview Guide

a. The History and Politics of Ho-Asogli

- What is the origin of the people of Ho-Asogli?
- What is the migration and settlement history?
- What is the nature of the wars that the people of Ho-Asogli fought?
- What is the politics of the people of Ho-Asogli?
- What is the constitutional political set-up of the people of Ho-Asogli?
- What is the hierarchy of power in the state?

b. The State of Development in Ho-Asogli state before Togbe Afede XIV

- What is the state of development in Ho-Asogli before the reign of Togbe Afede XIV?
- What is the profile of the late Togbe Afede Asor II?
- What is the contribution of the late Togbe Afede Asor II to the development of the Ho-Asogli State?
- How did he die?

c. The Profile of Togbe Afede XIV

- What is the profile of Togbe Afede XIV?
- What is the history of his education?
- What is the profile of early working life?
- What is his philosophy?
- How did he become a chief?
- How was he admitted into the Asogli Traditional Council?
- How was he inducted into the Regional House of Chiefs?
- Which awards were accorded him?

d. Contribution to the development of Ho-Asogli State

- What contributions did Togbe Afede make to the development of the state?
- How did he contribute to social development?
- How did he contribution to economic development?
- How did he contribute to political development?

e. Developmental Challenges and Weaknesses

- what are some of the developmental challenges that Togbe Afede XIV encountered?
- How did he surmount them?
- What are the weaknesses of Togbe Afede XIV?

Appendix B: List of Informants

1. Togbe Kotoku XI
2. Togbe Kludzehe III
3. Togbe Aklamanu Kwadzodei IV
4. Mama Agblatsu III
5. Mr. John Kukah
6. The late Professor Komla Amoaku
7. Asafo Tsiami Tseh
8. Alexander Tseh
9. Senyo Akpo
10. Mary Akakpo
11. Mary Afua
12. Rose Anyawoe
13. Wilson Akakpo
14. Tretu Dodzi
15. Savior Adzidobo
16. Klu Joshua
17. Stanley
18. Noni
19. Kisinja
20. Razak,
21. Gideon Adzimah

Appendix C: Supporting Photographs

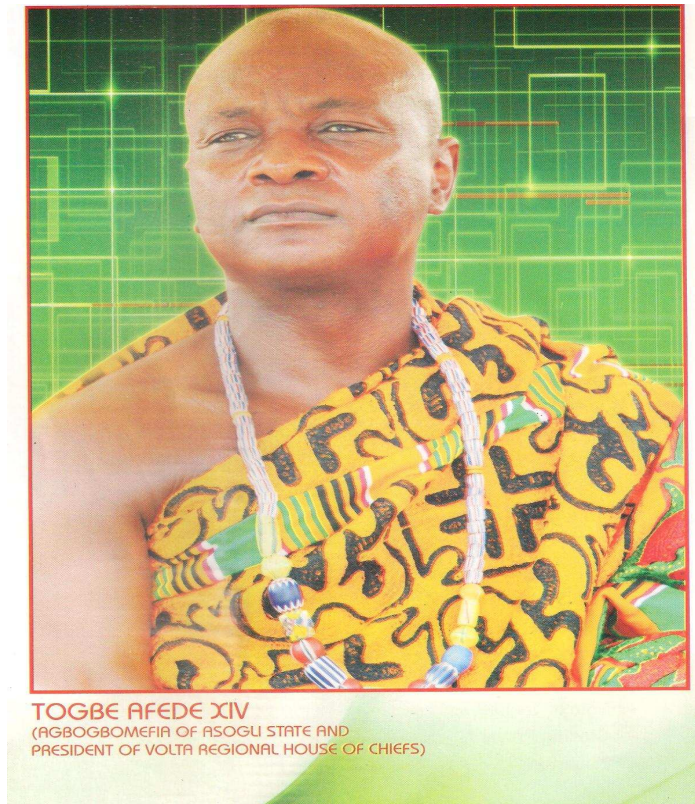


Fig: 1. Agbogbomefia Togbe Afede XIV



Fig. 2. Asogli State Flag



Fig. 3. Togbe Afede XIV (in green regalia) waving his subjects



Fig. 4. A grader demolishing the old palace building, Ho-Bankoe (June 2012)



Fig. 5. Some citizens witnessing the demolishing exercise (June 2012)

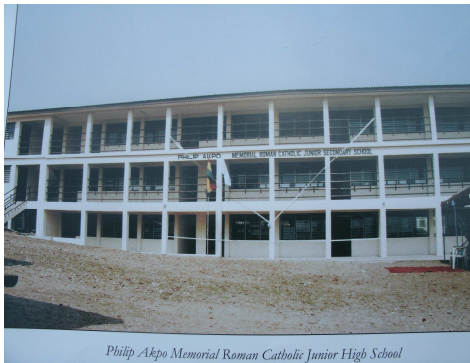


Fig. 6. Philip Akpo Memorial Roman Catholic Junior High School, Ho-Bankoe



Fig. 7. Philip Akpo Memorial Roman Catholic Junior High School, Ho-Bankoe



Fig. 8. The New Palace, Ho-Bankoe



Fig. 9. The New Palace, Ho-Bankoe



Fig. 10. From left is Fia Agorkorli IV of Notsie (Togo), Togbui Amenya Fiti V of Aflao and one of Agorkorli's sub-chiefs participating in the grand durbar of Asogli Yam Festival, Ho (September 2012)



Fig. 11. Prayers and libation being offered at the palace of the Agboghomefia so as to make the ancestors pave way for a peaceful procession to the durbar ground, Ho-Bankoe (September 2012)



Fig.12. Togbe Afede XIV (in green regalia) with his other chiefs in a procession to the durbar grounds (September 2012)



Fig.13. Mama Agblatsu III (in white regalia), one of my key informants in a procession to the durbar grounds (September 2012)



Fig.14. Asafo Tsiami Tseh, one of my key informants on his way to the durbar grounds (September 2012)



Fig. 15. These two women displaying the migration process from Notsie during the 2012 Yam festival, Ho.

LIST OF FIGURES:

Fig. 2.1 A diagram of the Constitutional Political set-up of the Ho-Asogli State.

