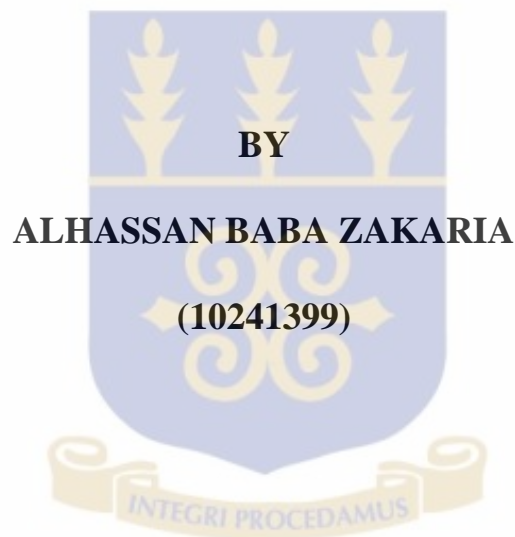


UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

**MIGRANT CHIEFS IN URBAN GHANA: THE CASE OF THE
DAGOMBA CHIEFS IN ACCRA**



**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,
LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR
THE AWARD OF MPhil SOCIOLOGY DEGREE**

JUNE, 2015

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, except for references to other people's work, which have been acknowledged, this thesis is the result of my own research work carried out under the supervision of Dr. Alhassan Sulemana Anamzoya and Dr. Dan-Bright S. Dzorgbo.

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ABSTRACT

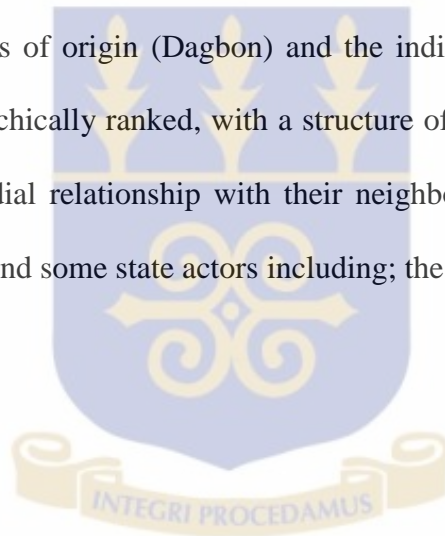
Traditional forms of leadership are many and varied. One of the variants is chieftaincy, which is considered the oldest institution of traditional leadership. It has also enjoyed the glory, powers and prestige among many continents around the world including Africa. In Postcolonial African countries such as Ghana, the institution of chieftaincy has continued to be a source of attraction to various individuals and groups. One of such groups is migrant communities. The resurgence and renewal of interest in the chieftaincy institution in Ghana is particularly noticed among migrants in urban areas such as Accra and Kumasi.

However, migrant chiefs are referred to in the literature, as headmen or chiefs. They are called chiefs by their tribesmen, and wield some authority (over them). As to whether or not these leaders are chiefs in the sense of indigenous Ghanaian chiefs, are matters of concern to this study. Adopting the qualitative approach and using various research instruments such as interview guide, an audio tape recorder, and, techniques including observation and informal conversation, participants were selected purposively and conveniently for this study. Key informants for the study were Dagomba migrant chiefs, their elders and sub-chiefs in various communities in Accra. Data collected was analysed through the process of framework analysis, based on themes and guided by the theory of social construction of reality espoused by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966). This empirical data was also gathered and analysed in the context of intensive literature reviewed.

Some of the key findings in this study are that, the qualification to the selection/nomination for a title, as migrant chief is not based on lineage or a candidate hailing from any appropriate (royal) family. Rather, one's wealth and level of education as well as owning a permanent resident in the respective community are among the key criteria for determining who becomes a chief, thus going contrary to the chieftaincy Act 2008, Act 759 of the 1992

constitution which states that a chief is “a person who, hailing from the appropriate family and lineage...”. Surprisingly, such seemingly contradiction does not prevent Dagomba migrants and the Ghanaian state from recognizing and referring to them as chiefs.

Also, the status/position of the Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra can be described as “paradoxical”. Their chieftaincy titles are less-hereditary, their customary foundations are less clear, yet they are recognized as chiefs by their respective subjects in their communities, by the indigenous divisional Ga-chiefs and the state at large, to the extent that the state has provided a bus for the National Council of Zongo Chiefs of which the Dagomba Migrant Chiefs are a part. The mode of installation of Dagomba migrant chiefs also combines elements of both their places of origin (Dagbon) and the indigenous Ga-chieftaincy of the south, while they are hierarchically ranked, with a structure of power in this hierarchy. The chiefs however, have a cordial relationship with their neighbours including the Ga-chiefs, other ethnic migrant chiefs, and some state actors including; the police, and the AMA.



DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents Sanatu Chicheli Bia and Alhassan Malkpoo for their parental support throughout this study, and, to my wife Beilaw and our kids Mariam Kataali, Lutfan Anamzoya and Eiman Wunimi, who had to bear the inconvenience of my absence during this study. To my late uncle, (Alhaji Abdulai Iddrisu Iron) may his soul rest in perfect peace.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to express my sincere and profound gratitude to the Almighty Allah for bringing me this far in my academic pursuit, without whom, all my efforts would have been in vain. I acknowledge, with deep gratitude, the support of my supervisors: Dr. Alhassan Sulemana Anamzoya and Dr. Dan-Bright S. Dzorgbo for their immense contributions towards the successful completion of this work. I thank you for the efforts made in thoroughly reading the work and providing the necessary criticisms and suggestions all in a bit to re-directing and reshaping this work. I must admit that, it was a privilege working under you as supervisors. My sincere thanks also goes to the Paramount Chief of the Dagomba community in the Greater Accra Region (Chief Alhaji Abdul- Kadir), who agreed to have an interview with me at very short notice through an earlier telephone contact. The members of his council of elders, the Dagomba chief for Kasoa, Chief Abdallah (“*a.k.a* *Dagara*”), Chief Issah for the Madina Community, and *Malgu Naa* for the Agbogbloshie Community, who provided me with information leading to my access to the other chiefs. I am also grateful to the sub-chiefs of all the various communities’ chiefs of the Dagombas in Accra. I wish to acknowledge Fushieni Yakubu (a brother) who first took me to the palace of the *Malgu Naa* through whom I had most of my respondents. Another acknowledgement goes to Mr. Yusuf Iddrisu (a friend), for his insight into the Madina Dagomba migrant chiefs, and Mr. Alhassan Iddrisu, for his constant concern and advice regarding the progress of the work. To all those who agreed to take part in this exercise, I say thank you (*Nii tuma pam*). Finally, I thank my wife Beilaw, and, our kids Mariam Kataali, Lutfan Anamzoya and Eiman Wunimi who had to accept and to bear the inconvenience of my absence during this study.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
AMA	Accra Metropolitan Assembly
ASEMA	Awutu Senya Municipal Assembly
CBD	Central Business District
CPP	Convention People's Party
DISEC	District Security Council
ECH	Ethics Committee for Humanities
GEMA	Ga-East Municipal Assembly
GPRTU	Ghana Private Road Transport Union
JHS	Junior High School
MMADs	Metropolitan, Municipalities and Districts
MMD	Movement for Multi-Party Democracy
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NLM	National Liberation Movement
NPP	New Patriotic Party
OES	Omanhene of Ewutu Senya
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him

PHC	Population and Housing Census
RESEC	Regional Security Council
RPC	Regional Paramount Chief
SCR	Social Construction of Reality
SHS	Senior High School

CHAPTER ONE

TRADITIONAL LEADERS: A BACKGROUND ANALYSIS

1.1 Introduction

There are many forms of traditional leadership including chiefs, chief priests (*Tendana*), lineage and clan heads as well as queen mothers (Nukunya 2003). These traditional leaders preside over traditional institutions. As a form of leadership, chieftaincy is one of the oldest traditional institutions, which has enjoyed the glory, powers, and prestige of the pre-colonial time, survived through the vicissitude of the colonial period, and has reconciled with the new political system of postcolonial Africa. Although its powers, functions and authority have declined over a period of time, chieftaincy as a traditional institution has not become totally insignificant in modern society (Sharma 2004:23).

Contrary to the expectations of the modernization theorists that the institution of chieftaincy will wither or die off, especially in the immediate post independent Africa, chieftaincy institutions have not disappeared. Rather, there has been a resurgence and formal recognition of traditional authorities in sub-Saharan Africa since the early 1990s, often covering with multi-party democratization and neo-liberal reform (Englebert 2002). This development has led to a renewed interest in African chieftaincy, focusing among other things on the relationship between the state and traditional authorities in relation to issues such as democracy, governance, and trust, as well as the role of traditional authorities as new development actors (Kleist 2011:630, see also Anamzoya 2013:115-116). Thus, chiefs have seen their roles increased in many parts of Africa including Mozambique, Benin, Tanzania and Cameroon respectively. For instance, in Tanzania, traditional *sungusungu* grass roots associations have taken over police and justice roles (Mwaikusa 1995 in Englebert 2002), while in Cameroon's Northern Province, the sultan of Rey Bouba manages militias and prisons (Amnesty International 1998 in Englebert 2002). A Rwandan 'army of the King' has

used guerrilla actions to support the return of exiled King Kigeli V (Ofcansky 2000 in Englebert 2002) and 'Bami' chiefs have set up a political organization in the South Kivu region of Congo. Clans have replaced the state as instruments of collective action in Somalia (Simons 1998 in Englebert 2002), and ethnic associations have been reinvigorated in the wake of structural adjustment in Nigeria, where chiefs are now demanding constitutionally sanctioned powers (Osaghae 1995; Vaughan 2000, cited in Englebert 2002:345). These cases add to existing instances of formal incorporation of traditional institutions into contemporary political structures, such as Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland" (Englebert 2002:345).

In Ghana, the revival of interest in the institution of chieftaincy as an important force in national life according to Brempong and Pavanello (2006), is attributable to three indicators; chieftaincy has successfully featured prominently in the 1969, 1979, and the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana. In addition, the interest shown by Ghanaians of all classes and status-group in succession to stool or skin also contributes to the renewed interest in the chieftaincy institution (Anamzoya 2009, Brempong and Pavanello 2006, Tonah 2012). For instance, today we have many educated elites ascending the throne with such titles as Professor *Naa*, Lawyers, Accountants, businessmen and many others (Anamzoya and Tonah 2010, Brempong and Pavanello 2006).

However, whilst the institution of chieftaincy continues to enjoy support and renewed interest from the educated elites and the wealthy within the society, it has also enjoyed a resurgence and formal recognition among migrants. These migrants are not residing in their respective traditional areas, but living in other stranger communities, especially the cities (see Acquah 1958; Chambas 1977, 1979; Pellow 1999, 2002, 2011, Schildkrout 2006).

Whiles there are numerous migration and chieftaincy literature focusing on the reasons for migrating to the city to include such factors as; the search for white collar jobs, learn trade,

vocation, and education, less is known about the activities of migrants in the institutionalization of chieftaincy among themselves in the city. Where leaders of various ethnic groups are accorded titles of chieftaincy by their respective people in the city. This practice is more sporadic among the various northern ethnic groupings in the main cities of Ghana especially in Accra and Kumasi (see Nteuwusu 2012, Schildkrout 2006). Thus, this study explores these practices among the Dagomba migrant chiefs within the Greater Accra region as a bid to venturing into an area yet largely less explored and thereby expanding the discourse on traditional authority holders. Ghana's 1992 constitution defines a chief as "a person who, hailing from the appropriate family and lineage, has been validly nominated, elected or selected and enstooled, enskinned or installed as a chief or queen mother in accordance with the relevant customary law and usage" (Chapter 22, Article 277). Such a definition could exclude leadership among migrant communities such as the Dagombas in Accra. Nevertheless, such leaders go about with the title of chiefs, and are recognised by their respective people and some State actors.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Acquah (1958:102) once observed, "Every migrant tribe...which has a large number of tribesmen in Accra has its own headman or chief, only when the number of migrants for a tribe is small that they have no chief". A migrant chief is chosen by his fellow-tribesmen residing within a particular community. The criterion for the selection of these chiefs varies in terms of personality of such an individual and his relation with fellow tribesmen (Acquah 1958:102).

Thus, in an address to former President J.J. Rawlings on his visit to Kumasi after his election as President of the 4th Republic of Ghana, one migrant chief, the Sarki *Zongo* reiterated the

plight of migrant chiefs in the following statement, which invariably summarises the key roles migrant chiefs play:

“Mr. President, we the council of zongo chiefs who represent our ethnic communities at Regional levels have always been a dumping ground for all kind of problems from receiving stranded strangers, the helpless, burying the parentless and claimless dead and so on, too numerous to mention, yet we are chiefs without land or royalty from any source” (Schildkrout 2006:587).

Notwithstanding the above, chieftaincy dispute among migrant chiefs in Kumasi involving the *Busanga* people from Northern Ghana and Burkina Faso (*Busansi*-in plural), the *Fulanis*, and the *Moshie* in Kumasi *Zongo*, led to a loss of one life and three others were later convicted for murder in 1994. Consequently, the High Court and later the Supreme Court declared that the heads of stranger ethnic communities are *not* “chiefs” (Schildkrout 2006, emphasis mine). Nevertheless, their people and some State actors tacitly recognise them as “chiefs”.

According to Schildkrout (2006), there were three migrant “chiefs” to be recognised in Kumasi by the British government in 1920. By 1927-1969, there were more than 20 migrants chiefs to be recognised in the city. Yet by 1990, 33 migrant chiefs” were recognised in Kumasi Zongo by the British.

In Nima, Chambas (1977, 1979) contends that there were about twenty- one migrant chiefs to be identified in 1979, to which sixteen were said to be on record to have attended the development committee meeting for the community. That is, the highest decision making platform for the community’s development.

Despite the resurgence in the number of migrants craving for chieftaincy titles in the city, only a relatively handful of studies are known about the activities of migrant chiefs in urban Ghana especially in Accra, the national capital and more specifically among the Dagombas.

The little work done around migrant leadership in Ghana is by the American Anthropologist, Schildkrout (1978, 2006). Her work concentrated on the activities of immigrant chiefs in Kumasi. Schildkrout's monograph investigates how and why immigrant communities adopt alternative strategies of ethnic boundaries formation and wider social identification. Little attention is paid by her study to explore the processes leading to the selection and installation of these chiefs, the rituals associated with the process and their symbols of authority as they preside over others. Thus, this study is about the creation of authority and how such authority is utilised.

Pellow's study, "Internal Transmigrants: a Dagomba Diaspora" (2011), also indicates the existence of Dagomba migrant chiefs in Old Fadama (a suburb of Accra). She mentions the existence of a Dagomba chief (technically of the youth), the *Nachin-Na*. There is also a *Malgu-Na*, an arbitrator or dispute manager, a *Kabon-Na*, who, like the Hausa *Sarki Yaki*, is the war chief and a chief Imam (Pellow 2011:138). However, Pellow's work did not equally pay much attention to the activities of these migrant chiefs as she contends, which is the rationale of this study. Rather she concentrates her attention on the Dagomba New Elites in Accra who serves as a bridge generation between their people in the north and those of the south. Beyond Schildkrout's study in Kumasi and Pellow's own in Accra as well as Chamba, not much is known about migrant chiefs, especially in Accra, the national capital. This study thus, comes not only to update existing studies on migration and chieftaincy, but also to analyse an aspect of migrant chiefs, which has been left untouched by existing studies.

1.3 Research Questions

- i. Who are migrant chiefs?
- ii. What is the criterion of nominating Dagomba Migrant Chief?
- iii. What procedures are followed to install a Dagomba Migrant Chief?
- iv. Who recognizes a person as a chief among Dagomba migrants?
- v. How do Dagomba migrant chiefs exercise authority?
- vi. What are the symbols and the bases of authority among Dagomba migrant chiefs?
- vii. What is the relation between a Dagomba migrant chief and other migrant chiefs?
- viii. On what aspect of life or condition do Dagomba migrant chiefs collaborate with other migrant chiefs on one hand, and, some state institutions like the police and AMA on the other?¹

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study is to explore chieftaincy among Dagomba Migrants in Accra.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives

The study aims at achieving the following specific objectives:

- i. To describe the history of chieftaincy among Dagomba migrants in Accra
- ii. To ascertain the reason for the institutionalization of chieftaincy among Dagomba migrants
- iii. To examine the qualification to the nomination and selection of Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra
- iv. To describe the structure and symbol(s) of authority of the Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra

¹The order of this question does not follow same in the interview guide.

- v. To analyse the roles of Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra
- vi. To discover the challenges Dagomba migrant chiefs face in Accra
- vii. To examine the relationship between the Dagomba migrant chiefs and, their host, home and other migrant chiefs, as well as some state institutions in Accra (police and AMA)

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study updates the literature on the whole discourse on chieftaincy in Ghana. The study explores the general activities of Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra in order to illustrate the ways in which they can be seen as a bridge, culturally, between the norms and values of their hometown and those of the South. In addition, how they collectively organize themselves into chieftainship as a means of preserving and promoting their cultural value systems and more importantly, their identity. Thus, the study explores the invisible contribution of the Dagomba migrant chiefs in the maintenance and promotion of the socio-cultural norms and values system of their home tradition and the larger chieftaincy institution in a stranger society, Accra.

1.6 Definition² of Key Concepts

This sub-section provides definitions of key concepts in this study.

Migrant: A migrant according to the Collins English Dictionary - Complete & Unabridged (2012), is a person or animal that moves from one region, place, or country to another. However, in the context of this study, a Dagomba migrant is seen as a person born in the north of Ghana but presently living in the South (Accra and its environs), either permanently or temporarily, this also includes second or subsequent generation migrants.

² These definitions are not exhaustive, but are only working definitions for this study.

“A Migrant Chief”: Unlike the constitutional definition of a chief as stated article 277, a Dagomba migrant chief in the context of this study, is taken to mean a ‘person who hailing from Dagbon and is a Dagomba and resident in one of the communities in Accra and its environs’. In addition, has been validly nominated and selected, by the Dagombas, enskinned, and recognized as a chief by the Paramount Chief of the Dagombas for Greater Accra and its environs and recognised by the indigenous divisional Ga- chief within whose community such a chief is located.

Authority³:

Authority according to (Weber as cited in Morrison 2003) refers to the right of a ruler within an “established order” to issue command to others and expect them to obey.

Symbols of Authority:

In view of the above definitions, symbols of authorities as used in this study denotes the materials or objects as possessed by a Dagomba chief as an indication or sign of his authority, which in turn are recognized by members of his community. These objects in their entirety include a chiefly walking stick, kettle, some animal skins (cow, sheep), and certificate of recognition, stool, chiefly sandals, a hat and a pillow.

Nomination Authority: this concept denotes individuals or group of individuals legitimately mandated and recognised as elders and opinion leaders among the Dagombas within a migrant community to choose/select or nominate a candidate for the title of chieftaincy. They could also be referred to as the “kingmakers” for such community among the Dagombas.

Recognition Authority: this concept denotes all manner of persons who accord a person the needed recognition as a chief within a particular locality or community among the

³ Marx Weber Identified three types of authorities as: traditional, charismatic and legal rational authority (see Morrison (2003) for more on these types of authority.

Dagombas. These comprises of both in- and out- group members including leadership of the divisional police command, Metropolitan/Municipal assembly, the sub-chiefs and elders, subjects, indigenous divisional Ga-chief, leadership of other migrants (chiefs) and the Regional Paramount Chief (RPC) of the Dagomba migrants in Accra.

1.7 Organization of the Study

The study is organised into eight chapters. Chapter one gives a background to the study, the problem statement, key objectives of the study, and how the result of this study could be used. The research questions and conceptual definitions of terms in the study have also been espoused. Chapter two focuses on literature review on the subject matter including the theoretical framework for the study. Chapter three looks at the historical aspect of Dagombas, as they reside in the northern part of the country. This also includes their economic, religious and traditional life. Chapter four presents the issue of migration, the formation of migrant communities in cities, and how and why migrant chiefs and other forms of leadership emerge within these urban migrant communities.

Chapter five outlines the profile of the study areas and the research methodology adopted for the study. The ethical consideration for the study has also been considered within this chapter. Chapter six and seven discusses the results of data collected from the field or findings of the study and the limitation and delimitation of the study. Chapter eight summarizes the findings of the study, from which conclusions are drawn, and some recommendations made.⁴

⁴The recommendations stems from two sources: first, those suggested by the participants themselves as to what they think can or should be done and by whom? In order to improve the activities of Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra, whiles the second part is based on the researcher's own view on what can be done.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Reading through a variety of scholarly works on chieftaincy, the literature is categorised into the following themes:

- Transformations and Challenges of the chieftaincy institution
- Prospects of chiefs and the chieftaincy institution in the socio-economic development of the society
- Other new forms of chieftaincy

2.2 Chieftaincy in Africa: Renewed Relevance of Chiefs

In Africa, traditional institutions of governance has evolved significantly from their pre-colonial forms in tandem with transformation of the continent's political systems, during the colonial and post-colonial eras. Thus, a number of studies have affirmed the resilience, legitimacy and relevance of African traditional institutions in the socio-cultural, economic and political lives of Africans, particularly in the rural areas.

In the Acholi region of Northern Uganda, Latigo (2008) indicates how critical traditional leaders and elders, in keeping with their cultural roles of providing guidance to the community, became significant actors in the pursuit of peace in northern Uganda after the conflict in the region. He indicates that their efforts were complemented by the crucial support of the religious leaders who have been closely associated with the dialogue process right from the beginning of the conflict (Latigo 2008). Yet, Johannessen (2005) argues that since the restoration of traditional leadership in 1999 in Uganda, the consent of the Buganda Kingdom has served as an important support base for politicians running for offices in the

1996 and 2001 presidential elections. In this sense, the Buganda Kingdom managed to influence national politics despite its cultural character, and has re-entered the political scene as a significant pressure group (Johannessen 2005).

Similarly, Kyed and Buur (2006), argues that in Cote d' Ivoire and Sierra- Leon key national politicians draw considerably on connections to chieftaincies to enlarge their power and or are themselves paramount chiefs (Kyed and Buur 2006).

In Botswana, Sharma (2004) indicates that, the functions of a Chief were among other things; to promote the welfare of the members of his tribe; to carry out any instructions given to him by the Minister; and to ensure that the tribe is inform of development projects in the area. The chiefs play a significant role in presiding over the customary courts, which handle about eighty to ninety per cent of civil and criminal cases in the country (Sharma 2004). *Kgotla* (village assembly) presided over by chiefs serves as an important channel of communication between the government and the people. The House of Chiefs serves as a forum to articulate their views on matters of their concern (Sharma 2004:7). Yet, the chief was the custodian of tribal land and allocated it to tribes men for farming and for residential purposes. The chief settled disputes, pronounced on tribal custom and traditions, and rule on matters concerning the tribe in consultation with its members, yet with the introduction of the Hut tax, in 1899, chief were appointed as local tax collecting officers where they take some percentage of the proceeds (Reed and Robinson 2012, Sharma 2004).

State recognition of traditional authority in Mozambique was instigated by Decree 15/2000, passed by the Council of Ministers in June 2000. In a pervasive break with the past, this decree provides the first post-colonial legislation to recognise traditional leaders, who were banned officially for 25 years by the Frelimo (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique*) Government after independence in 1975. Its implementation has affected widely different local contexts. Across the country nonetheless, local chiefs have become subject to the same

catch phrases that can be heard in other corners of the world: community participation, cultural diversity, localisation of development, decentralisation and democratisation (Kyed 2007).

In a similar vein, Kyed and Buur (2006) contend that traditional leaders were recognised by government Decree 15 of 2000, and granted the double role of assisting the state and representing rural communities. In Mozambique, since 2002, more than two thousand chiefs have been formally recognised as rural ‘community authorities’ and delegated an extensive list of state administrative tasks (such as tax collection, judicial enforcement, policing, registration and census, land allocation and rural development) and civic-educative functions (fostering a patriotic spirit, basic hygiene, legal awareness and so forth). Today, they are expected to work closely with local state organs and to represent communities to the state and other external agents, such as donors, NGOs and private business. The change in government attitude towards traditional authority was influenced by the continued role that chiefs were seen to play in the rural areas, both during and after the war, despite their banning at independence and the establishment of new structures of state governance (Kyed and Buur 2006:3). Kyed and Buur further contend that faith in the role of traditional authority in governance and as a local civil-society counterpart to the state has been supported within academic thinking especially since the mid-1990s. Similarly, the increased incorporation of traditional leaders can provide stability in African countries (Sklar 1999 in Kyed and Buur 2006) and improve governance and development (Englebert 2000 cited in Kyed and Buur 2006:6).

Others have maintained that reliance on chiefs in governance will reduce transaction costs and facilitate collective action (Dia 1996 in Kyed and Buur 2006). Chieftaincy has been celebrated as ‘an important vehicle for more or less authentic indigenous political expression’ (van Nieuwaal and Ray 1996:7, cited in Kyed and Buur 2006:6). In addition, the law of

Sierra Leone now made the Paramount Chiefs responsible for the arbitration of land legal disputes, the collection of tax revenue, and the general welfare of their people (Reed and Robinson 2012).

In their “The Chiefdoms of Sierra Leone” Reed and Robinson contends that chieftaincy in Sierra- Leone was established in 1896, and that chiefs remained effectively the only institution of local government until 2004 when the World Bank sponsored the creation of a system of local councils. Thus, the law of Sierra Leone now made the paramount chiefs responsible for the arbitration of land and legal disputes, the collection of tax revenue and the general welfare of the people (Reed and Robinson 2012). However, Whitney (2013) argues that Sierra Leone chieftaincy was established by British colonialists, although a loose structure existed prior to colonization (Peake, Gormley-Heenan and Fitzduff 2004; Sawyer 2008 in Whitney 2013). The institution of chieftaincy was meant to serve as a way to limit governance by the colonialists (Peake et al. 2004; Jackson 2005 in Witney 2013). Chiefs ruled for a lifetime based on issues of inheritance and paternal lineage (Fanthorpe 2003; Keen 2003, 2005 in Whitney 2013). They represented the local people to the government, levied taxes and other fines as needed, ran the local court systems, and were given the power to bestow rights on both the occupants of their land and their descendants (Fanthorpe 2001, 2003; National Recovery Committee 2002; Richards et al. 2004; Jackson 2005; Keen 2005; Sawyer 2008 in Whitney 2013: 297).

Denney (2013) also re-echoed the significant roles performed by chiefs in Sierra Leone. That a paramount chief has acted as an ‘adviser’, and appoints four other ‘court members’ to advise the selected Local Court Chairman (Castillejo, 2009: 2; in Denney 2013). By selecting the Court Chairmen and acting as Court adviser, chiefs ensure a strong role for themselves in determining the nature of justice that Local Courts deliver. Chiefs also operate a more arbitrary (and technically illegal) conflict-resolution function. If one of their subjects is in

dispute with another over a relatively minor matter – a small sum of money, an on-going argument, fighting or other bad behaviour – the matter may be taken to the chief (Baker, 2005: 380 in Denney 2013). This process is quicker and generally less costly (depending on the resulting fine) than the Local Court. Chief's justice generally results in a fine for one or both of the parties (Denney 2013).

Chiefs are assisted in their law and order duties by chiefdom police who act as Local Court attendants and carry out the chief's business (summoning people to the chief or Court, for instance). Finally, chiefs also carry out law and order functions by controlling the movements of people within their chiefdoms. When individuals become 'strangers', that is, move outside their own chiefdom, they are expected to inform the chief in any chiefdom they enter of their presence and intentions, in this way, chiefs exercise a kind of immigration official role – maintaining order through an omnipotent knowledge of the demography of their chiefdom (Denney 2013:11).

Van Binsbergen (1987) indicates that Zambia is among the few African countries, which have reserved a specific and honourable place for chiefs at the national level, where the House of chiefs as a complementary institution to parliament, is established and regulated in details in the independence constitution and its subsequent amendment acts (Van Binsbergen 1987:140). Englebert (2002) also reports that in Zambia that, the 1990s witnessed the resurgence of a polity, the Lozi of Barotseland, who had retained some autonomy under British colonial rule but had failed in their demands for separate independence in 1961. The Lozi agreed to independence as part of Zambia under an agreement that their kingdom would remain autonomous and maintain its privileges in the new state, but the Kaunda government revoked this agreement in 1969. Thanks in part to the cooptation of some of their leaders, Lozi opposition remained rather tacit until the introduction of multi-party politics in 1991

when they overwhelmingly voted for the opposition Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD).

Somaliland and Puntland, two post-cold-war African state or proto-state formations, are also witnessing significant integrations of traditional clanic structures in state governance. Although it is usually considered to be derived from a partition based on colonial lines since, unlike the rest of Somalia, it was colonized by England (and was actually independent by itself for 5 days before merging with Italian Somalia in 1960), Somaliland's structure of governance is considerably based on traditional clanic elements and can be partly considered a case of tradition-based secession. It has a Council of Elders in addition to a national assembly, and is the institutional expression of the Northern clans that had been discriminated against under the Siad Barre regime (Englebert 2002:4).

2.4 Chieftaincy in Ghana

2.4.1 Introduction

The Constitution of Ghana recognises the institution of Chieftaincy within its statutory democratic governance. This recognition of chieftaincy emanates from the role played by the institution during the three phases of Ghana's political history (pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial), (Arhin-Brempong 2006, Anamzoya 2013, Brempong and Pavanello 2006, Owusu-Mensah 2014). Thus, the institution of Chieftaincy in Ghana is seen as the custodian of customary values and norms, and one of the few resilient institutions that have survived all the three phases of Ghana's political history. It also occupies the vacuum created by the modern partisan politics (Owusu-Mensah 2014, Sharma 2004). It is estimated that about 80% of Ghanaians owes allegiance to one chief or another. Hence, the people consider chieftaincy as the repository of the history and tradition of Ghana; and the custodian of indigenous traditions, customs and usage (Owusu-Mensah 2014). Furthermore, the institution is

considered as the bond between the dead, the living and the yet unborn that fills the gap created, by the modern partisan political structures, in terms of customary arbitration and the enforcement of laws at the communal level (Owusu-Mensah 2014).

The title “chief” has therefore, been defined to suit the various political trajectories in the country’s history. Hence, various colonial and post-independence constitutions and military regimes have provided various definitions to suit the exigency of the regime, and the time. These changes and re-definitions are key elements permeating through in the recognition of the custom and tradition.

The Chieftaincy Act, 2008 Act 759 thus, defines a chief as “a person who hailing from appropriate family and lineage, has been validly nominated, elected or selected and enstooled, enskinned or installed as a chief or queen mother in accordance with the relevant customary law and usage”. The minimum qualification for a chief as set out in the Act as indicated by Owusu-Mensah (2014:264) is; the candidate must be a person who has never been convicted of high treason, treason, and high crime or for an offence dealing with the security of the State, fraud, dishonesty or moral turpitude.

2.4.2 Chieftaincy in Pre-colonial Ghana

Writing on the evolution of chiefship in Ghana, Brempong and Pavanello (2006) indicates that before colonial rule, traditional authority evolved in correspondence with certain dynamic conditions, such as in the direction of major trade routes, in the location of international markets, struggle for the control of natural resources and the rise of expansionist ideologies (Brempong and Pavanello 2006:13). They further indicates that, by the 1920s, the colonial authorities set about putting order into the financial system of what they referred to as the “Native Authorities”, now called the “Traditional Councils” by the constitution of Ghana (Brempong and Pavanello 2006).

Busia (1951 cited in Brempong 2007) summarises the position of the chief in Ashanti among the Akan before colonial rule in the following term: the chief had been a priest revered as the lineal successor of the founder of the state, and its sub-division, the division and the villages. The chief was also the custodian of the lands of the political community for which he was the head. He exercises judicial functions in relations to offences considered as hateful to the ancestral spirit and other spiritual beings (Busia 1951 in Brempong 2007:2, also Abotchie 2006).

Owusu-Mensah (2014) on his part indicates that during the pre-colonial era, chieftaincy was organized into ethnic states, and the paramount chiefs served as the executive head with the support of their council of elders. Some of these states were the Asante; the Dagomba; the Gonja; the Anlo, and many others with boundaries geographically different from their current regional demarcations (Owusu-Mensah 2014). During this era, chieftaincy was the main system of government that combined legislative, executive, judicial, religious and military responsibilities; and these functions were replicated at the appropriate level of the traditional governance structure, that is, at the level of the community and up to the paramount chief (see Abotchie 2006). The lower-level chiefs received instructions from the higher chiefs in all aspects of administration. The communities and divisional chiefs had responsibility to report on the state of affairs of the community to the paramount chiefs during annual durbars. This practice is still however in practice among most traditional polities in contemporary Ghana.

Frempong (2006 as cited in Owusu-Mensah 2014:264), asserts that the newly established Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) is a recast of time-tested pre-colonial conflict resolution mechanism administered through the chieftaincy institution which sought to reconcile individuals and communities as well as improve social relations beyond mere settlement of disputes of conflicting parties. The chieftaincy institution during the pre-

colonial period was not regulated by external legislation beyond the respective traditional councils (each Traditional Area was considered an independent entity with sovereignty).

2.4.3 Chieftaincy under Colonial Rule in Ghana

Over the long period of colonial rule in Ghana, the chieftaincy institution experienced a form of refining and restructuring by the British as it was integrated into the Colonial administrative system. Anamzoya (2014) writing on the status ambiguity of the Houses of Chiefs in Ghana indicates that when colonial rule was formally introduced in colonial Ghana, there already exist a number of states with hierarchical structures of institutionalized authority. With this, most traditional authority holders were thus, incorporated into the British colonial administration. Anamzoya further explained that, the first step towards the incorporation was realized when the 1878 Native Jurisdiction Ordinance was passed in the Gold Coast, which gave statutory recognition to the existing indigenous authorities, and granted the governor-General powers to depose and deport disobedient chiefs (Anamzoya 2014, see also Busia 1951 in Brempong 2007).

Owusu-Mensah (2014) explains that these legislations were basically driven or necessitated by the need for the British to understand the growing and increasing discontent that serves as a setback to the success of the chiefs. Especially, the social discontent that emanated from the youth and the elites against the policies of the colonial administration which was perceived as exploitative, especially regarding the mineral wealth of the local people. For, some of the chiefs acted as agents or collaborators with the colonial masters to pilfer the resources of the communities, hence their description by the people as “betrayals” (Owusu-Mensah 2014).

Amongst the first major legalization of the chieftaincy institution was the Chiefs Ordinance in 1904, an instrument meant to support the evidence of the election, installation and deposition of chiefs in accordance with local custom. The preamble of the Ordinance reads,

“An Ordinance to facilitate the proof of the election and installation and the deposition of chiefs according to native custom (Owusu-Mensah 2014). In further recognition and appreciation of native custom, the British had subsequently in 1932, enacted the Native Authority Ordinance, which gave much power to the chief Commissioner to appoint any native as a chief for any area, and could by the same Ordinance or by a subsequent one declare any native authority as subordinate of another area. In short, the Ordinance empowered the British to create more chiefs and head chiefs.

The Ordinance even though geared towards the recognition of native norms and values rather empowered the colonial regime to create more chiefs and head chiefs. For example, some parts of current Upper East, Upper West and Volta Regions were considered acephalous societies as the communities lived without any central authority system. Therefore, attempts were made to merge these groups under one common ruler. For instance, according to Owusu-Mensah (2014), the Mamprusi, Kusasi, Frafra, and Builsa were merged under the Nayiri (Paramount chief of Mampugu), whereas the Wala, Dagarti and Sisala were merged under the leadership of the *Wa Na*. Yet, the Nchumuru, Nawuri, Mo, and Vagala were subsumed under the Gonja chiefs, while the Konkombas and Chakosi were made subjects of the *Yaa Naa* (Owusu-Mensah 2014).

Busia (1951) in his “The Position of the Chief in Modern Political System in Ashanti” also explained the changes that occurred in the chieftaincy institution following British rule. He indicates that these changes in the chieftaincy institution during the colonial rule were religious, social, economics and political. However, Busia was quick to mention that, the British colonial authority did not interfere with the religious observances of the chiefs and their peoples; rather, the most significant change occurred in the political position of the chief. The passage of various ordinances between 1874 and 1941 and amendments to them

place the chief under the colonial administration, represented by the district, provincial and chief commissioners (Busia 1951 in Brempong 2007:3, see also Anamzoya 2013, 2014).

According to Busia (1951), the economic basis of chiefship during the colonial administration was also regulated, particularly with regard to their own views of customary taxes and levies and of desirable changes in the economic relations between chiefs and subjects. In fact, a chief had no personal property on his assumption of office or installation, his personal property, if any, only became the property of the state. Busia concluded that, under the critical circumstance the chief economically was hard pressed, a situation he said, was aggravated by the bureaucratisation of “stool treasuries” coupled with their closed supervision by the district commissioners (Busia 1951 in Brempong 2007:4).

On the political front, Busia (1951) mentioned two key changes into the institution of chieftaincy during the colonial rule. In the first instance, that, there was a trend towards centralisation of administration on a territorial basis which was at variance with the traditional decentralisation of administration and threaten the disintegration of the units; and second, what Busia described as the progressive secularisation of an office that was held to be sacred (Busia 1951 in Brempong 2007). Nevertheless, how did the chiefs respond to these predicaments? According to Busia, there were varied responses to the predicaments in which this development placed the institution of chieftaincy. First, chiefs turned to moneymaking enterprises or institutions. They ventured into building houses and renting them out to strangers. They traded; became cocoa brokers and rubber processors (Busia 1951 in Brempong 2007:4). They also owned tiles and water-cooler factories. Yet they also employed artisans to work for others; they opened bank accounts and built houses in the name of relatives. Secondly, there was an increase in litigation over land as single land sometimes was sold to more than one (Busia 1951 in Brempong 2007:4).

2.4.4 Chieftaincy in Post-colonial Ghana

The Gold Coast and its “independencies,” Ashanti, the Northern Territories and the British Togoland, became independent of the British rule on March 6, 1957 under the collective name of “Ghana”. This meant freedom of action for government of Ghana in both internal and external matters, and that the restraining hand of the British on its radicalism in, for example chieftaincy was withdrawn (Brempong 2007:32). Similarly, Anamzoya (2013) indicates that in 1958 after Ghana had attained its independence, the Constitutional provision for “a measure of devolution and for the protection of chieftaincy” was affected. Consequently, Anamzoya revealed that:

As a consequence, five regions were created. These five regions were each to establish a House of Chiefs, which was to act as appellate courts to the then state councils in resolving chieftaincy disputes with an appeal’s Commissioner acting as an impartial arbitrator in those disputes. They were also to deal with traditional and customary matters and to advice the government on those concerns....although their advice rather than consent was required, they all approved the amendment that chiefs needed not even be consulted over proposed legislation dealing with chieftaincy itself (Anamzoya 2013:129).

Thus, the traditional bodies were confined to traditional constitutional matters and placed outside pure local government administration having as it were, completed any contribution they might have offered to the development of local government through the long years of experience in the field (Owusu-Mensah 2014). Anamzoya (2014) further observed that the period between 1951 till 1957 when the Gold Coast gained independence and assumed the name “Ghana,” the Native Courts were without or had fewer native rulers, largely because the CPP government removed native rulers and replaced them with non-native rulers who were basically supporters of the CPP (Rathbone 2000a in Anamzoya 2014).

This attitude of the CPP government towards chieftaincy after independence according to Brempong (2007) was shaped by two factors. The first was the challenge that the National Liberation Movement (NLM) had posed to the nationalist government. The second was what

Brempong termed as the CPP official proclaimed ideology. However, because of the intense struggle for political power between the NLM and the CPP, the British Government took active interest in the provision of the Constitution (1957) for independent Ghana, where its major area of concern was how to balance and safeguard regional interests centred on the chiefs. The Order-in-Council (1957) therefore made provisions for the protection of chieftaincy (Brempong 2007:34). However, unsatisfied with the provision or position of the Independent Constitution regarding chieftaincy, the CPP government vowed that chieftaincy and all other institutions must be subjected to the sovereign government (Brempong 2007). To accomplish this mission, between 1957 and 1966, the government enacted legislation that enabled it to achieve the aim of subjecting chiefs under its control. Among the various legislations included the passage of the Constitution (repeal of restriction) Acts, 1958, and the Constitution (Amendment) Act, 1959. The implication for the passage of these legislations especially the repeal of restriction Acts, was that the government could act or meddle in chieftaincy without consulting the Houses of Chiefs.

For instance through the passage of these acts, the government was able to deal with the traditional council which was viewed as the brain behind the political and financial backbone for the NLM. Also, the government was able to create additional regions and paramountcies as political reward (Brempong 2007). Thus, according to Brempong, by 1959 it was evident that chiefs could only act officially if the government willed it. The most famous statement of Nkrumah concerning chieftaincy describes this relationship as follows:

Those of our chiefs who are with us [...] we do honour [...] those [...] who join forces with the imperialists [...] there shall come a time when they will run and leave their sandals behind them; in other words chiefs in league with imperialists who obstruct our path [...] will one day run away and leave their stools. (*Accra Evening News*, 5 January 1950, q.i. Gocking 2005: 94 as cited in Knierzinger 2011, also see Arthur 2006:148).

In another related development, Nkrumah pointed out in a speech to the Territorial Council, as follows:

I want to make it plain that the policy of the Convention People's Party...is not against chieftaincy in this country...chieftaincy is the fabric upon which the institutions of this country rest...with the advent of democracy we feel, even then, that we cannot leave out our chiefs in the administration of this country (Staniland 1975:139).

In either case, the chiefs did not run away, but they have seen several changes in political leadership while contributing to state building; indicating the highly resilient and deeply rooted nature of their institution. Thus, the overthrow of CPP regime was a welcome-relief to the institution.

Furthermore, the 1969 Constitution established the National House of Chiefs and recognized the institution with the Traditional Councils, and the Regional Houses of Chiefs to be an integral part of the state machinery; and all chieftaincy matters were to be handled by the respective constituent bodies of the institution. The recognition was further enhanced with the passage of the Chieftaincy Act, 370 in September 1971, which remained as the main and substantive legal instrument for the institution until the 2008 Chieftaincy Act, Act, 759 was passed (Anamzoya 2013).

The chieftaincy Act, 2008 Act 759 further sets minimum qualification for a chief; the candidate must be a person who has never been convicted of high treason, and high crime or for an offence dealing with the security of the state, fraud, dishonesty or moral turpitude. In addition, section 58 of the Act, Act 759 stipulates a hierarchical structure of chiefs recognized in the nation as:

Asantehene and Paramount Chiefs

- Divisional Chiefs
- Sub-Divisional Chiefs
- Adikrofo

- Others Chiefs reorganized by the National House (see Owusu-Mensah 2014:263).

The 1992 Constitution of Ghana currently in operation also affirms the relevance of the institution of chieftaincy, with Article 270(1) stating: “The institution of Chieftaincy, together with its traditional councils as established by customary law and usage, is hereby guaranteed”. Consequently, chiefs are appointed to serve on various statutory boards and commissions, such as, the Forestry Commission, National Aids Commission, Constitutional Review Commission, Ghana National Petroleum Corporation Board, and many more (Anamzoya and Tonah 2011).

The Chieftaincy institution has regularly received budgetary support from the central government to meet its recurrent expenditure-requirements, payment of sitting allowances and a monthly stipend of 80 Euros per paramount chief and 60 Euros per paramount queen mother (Owusu-Mensah 2014). In addition, every Traditional Council, Regional or National House of Chiefs is provided with administrative and a technical staff, who also are employees of the Civil Service of Ghana (Anamzoya 2008, 2010, Acquah 2006).

In addition, the Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture was set up in 2006 (via influence of the African Peer Review Mechanism) to demonstrate government’s commitment to the institution. Thus, the creation of the Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture has afforded the chiefs direct representation at the cabinet meetings to bring issues that obstructs the development of the institution to the attention of the government (Owusu-Mensah 2014).

2.5 Role of Chiefs in the Ghanaian Society

In a keynote address by Otumfo Osei Tutu II (King of Ashanti in Ghana), at the fourth African Development forum in Addis Ababa 2004 on the theme “traditional systems of governance and the modern state” he indicated that one area where the traditional system of governance has shown tremendous success is in conflict resolution. “We have sat in council

with chiefs, sub-chiefs and elders and dispensed justice to the satisfaction of all. Applying the norms of customary law, recognized under the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, the king or chief settles all disputes that come before him. In the past five years, following an appeal I made to all concerned, nearly five hundred cases that would otherwise be still sitting in the books of modern law courts and dragging on intractably have been settled amicably before my traditional court” (Economic Commission for Africa 2004).

Anamzoya (2009), Acquah (2006), have also observed the judicial functions of the chiefs in Ghana’s Houses of Chiefs. In these Houses, Chiefs preside over cases relating to nomination, election and appointment of a person as a chief. According to Anamzoya, “besides the supreme court, the Traditional Councils and the Houses of Chiefs are the official courts mandated by Ghana’s 1992 Republican Constitution and the Chieftaincy Act, 2008 (Act759) to adjudicate and determine the substance of chieftaincy succession disputes” (Anamzoya 2009:70, see also Abotchie 2006). Anamzoya further contends that the function by the chiefs are outlined in section 22 of the 1971 chieftaincy Act (Act370), article 154, 178, and 271, of the 1996,1979, and the 1992 constitution respectively (Anamzoya 2009:77, Anamzoya 2014:6-8). Article 270(3) of the 1992 Constitution also enjoins chiefs to hear cases through their judicial committees on dispute involving the “validity of nomination, selection, election, installation, and disposition of a person as a chief” (Anamzoya 2009, 2014, Brempong and Pavanello 2006).

Abdulai in his “Ghanaian chief as a manager” indicates that chiefs are not only expected to motivate their subjects on development initiatives but also expected to cultivate good human relations as an important factor for a harmonious life in the traditional system (Abdulai 2006). Yet, Frempong indicates in his analysis of the Akan Chiefship, that the chief as a focal point of reference in Akan rule, has combined in his office supreme executive, judicial, military and religious powers (Frempong 2006, see also Abotchie 2006: 171). The chief was

the head of government and together with his council of elders responsible for the maintenance of law and order. He indicates how a chief encouraged and emphasized the need for education, for which the chief perceived as a duty or obligation (Addo-Fening 2006).

Osman (2006) on his part, points out that chief as traditional rulers ensure that resources are wisely exploited so that generations yet unborn can have access to these resources. Before colonialism, chiefs managed all lands and its resources such as water, minerals, forests and agriculture produce. Individuals who used the lands paid rent to the chief who in turn uses it to take care of the community and the socio-economic needs of the people (Osman: 2006:530).

Fayorsey (2006) observed that Queen mothers' as traditional leaders especially among the Akans are seen in the social management positions, which involve maintaining kinship linkages and developing neighbourhood networks among themselves and other women. They also lobby traditional and modern political leaders in order to influence traditional and public policy. Migrant chiefs occasionally replicate these traditional roles of chiefs though they have their major roles they perform.

2.6 General Challenges of Chieftaincy in Ghana

In Ghana according to Knierzinger (2011), since independence, chiefs and the chieftaincy institution have gone through a fundamental transformation from political intermediaries (between the colonial power and the African population) to more or less heterogeneous interest groups. He indicates the fight for independence in Ghana took place on two fronts: the exterior and the interior. Most of the chiefs were against independence, because they expected their position to be less powerful afterwards. During the Second World War, they stood against a more or less united front of educated and wealthy elites from the coastal area, which had been neglected by the British and as a consequence started to agitate against the colonial power (Akrong , Arthur 2006; Knierzinger 2011).

According to Arthur (2006), the mere presence of the Europeans on the coastal stretch was a challenge to the over lordship of chiefs, where within a very short time, the so-called Europeans traders succeeded in imposing a modicum of political control or governance over the people of the coastal belt of Ghana (Arthur, Akrong 2006). Akrong mentioned the institution's encounter with the various western European actors, which has shaped and continue to shape it. The traders, merchants, the colonialists and then the missionaries all contributed in transforming the institution either positively or otherwise (Akrong, 2006). He further observed the diminishing authority and resources of chiefs by the central government as a possible challenge for them to respond to the demands of their people.

Boafo-Arthur (2006) indicated the enactments of various Acts like the Land Act, 1962 (Act 123), the Concession Act, 1962(Act124), Akim Abuakwa (Stool Revenue) Act, 1958 (Act 8), the Ashanti Stool Act, 1958 (Act 28) and the stool Land Control Act, 1960 (Act 791) as some of the challenges that the institution of chieftaincy has faced in the past. Abotchie, Frempong (2006), Observed that due to social change and with modern institutional mechanisms the functions of the chief have been annexed from them, posing a challenge to them in the smooth execution of their responsibilities (Abotchie, Frempong 2006). Awedoba (2006), also assesses the succession processes to the throne of chiefship in Upper East and observed that in most societies in the region, succession norms into Chiefships may consider such factors as age and seniority, personal attribute including personal appearance and bearing, leadership qualities and capabilities to empathize with others. The wishes of the gods and ancestors in consultation with the soothsayers and diviners are usually the ways of choosing their chiefs. This poses a challenge to the institution as conflict arises (Awedoba, 2006).

In a related study in Dagbon in northern Ghana, Anamzoya (2010) contends that the biggest challenges facing chieftaincy succession in Ghana today is how to ascertain what constitute the actual and proper enskinment or enstoolment procedure. He argued that most of the

chieftaincy disputes in the country are not only about legitimacy of the contestants, but in most cases whether the appointing authorities (kingmakers) properly appointed a particular contestant or chief. He concludes that the lack of codification of the custom and traditions leads to many versions of the same custom. Thus the variation in customary procedure in the installation process is a recipe for argument, conflict and violence, hence a challenge to chieftaincy institution (Anamzoya 2010:3). For instance, Anamzoya further observed that in selecting the *Yaa- Naa*, for instance in Northern Ghana, (King of Dagbon) it was based on might, then later to the senior most surviving son of the deceased King, then the soothsayer method and finally the decision of the King of Mamprusi (Anamzoya 2010:4). In spite of these challenges bedevilling the institution, chiefs are still relevant in Ghana with many people aspiring to occupy vacant chiefly offices, and with other forms of chieftaincy emerging.

2.7 Other Forms of Chieftaincy

Traditional stools/skins are not rigid or fixed portfolios, but rather new ones are constantly been created and old ones modified as the situation demands (Bob-Milliar 2009). Against this background, many forms of traditional leadership exists especially in Ghana where the concept of chief is used in an extended form. These kind of leaders are not necessarily chiefs in the classical sense; a chief with a defined territory of chiefdom, village, town and with the people paying homage to him, but acquires such titles within their respective communities by virtue of their contributions to the development of such communities. Such leaders include; development chief (*Nkɔ swene/hemaa*) in the local palace of Akan, youth leaders with titles ‘chiefs’ as in (*Nachin-Naa, Zaachi*) and migrant leaders who were called headmen (see Schidkroun 2006, Acquah 1958, Chambas 1979) but later assumed the title chiefs. Many scholars including; (Schildkroun 2006, Chambas 1979, 1977, Acquah 1958, Iddrisu 2014),

have indicated the presence of such migrant headmen bearing chieftaincy titles in such communities as Kumasi Zongo, Nima, and Madina in Accra, respectively.

Bob-Milliar (2009) writing on the concept of the development chiefs in Ghana indicates that the *Nkɔ̃ suostool* was created in 1985 by the late Asantehene, Otumfo Opoku Ware II, as a catalyst for development in Kumasi and beyond, and, since then, the *Nkɔ̃ suohene* phenomenon has spread like wildfire within the Akan territories and beyond. Thus, hundreds of African Americans and some white Westerners have been honoured with various royal titles. These people, as Bob-Milliar indicates, over the years have come to Ghana as tourists, employees, investors, and ‘returnees’. Some have been given lands for resettlement by traditional authorities, and others have been installed as chiefs and queen mothers. In fact, the processes leading to the installation of an *Nkɔ̃ suohene/hemaa* are in most cases initiated locally or abroad by Ghanaians (Bob-Milliar 2009). Bob-Milliar (2009) observed that:

Although official numbers are not known, many African Americans and white Westerners have been installed as chiefs and queen mothers since historian John Henrik Clarke back in the 1970s. Other prominent African American chiefs and queen mothers include; academics such as Asa Hilliard III (Nana Baffour Amankwatia II), Wade Nobles (Nana Kwaku Berko I), Molefi Asante (Nana Okru Asante Peasah), Na'im Akbar (Nana Osei Nkwantabisa III), and Leonard Jeffries (Nana Kwaku Dua Agyeman III); musicians like Rita Marley (Nana Akua Adobea I), Joseph Constantine Hill (Nana Osa Kwame I), Isaac Hayes (Nene Katey Ocansey I), and Stevie Wonder; and an assortment of others, like the Rev. Jeremiah Wright Jnr (Nii Afotey Oblum II), business executive Willie Edward Carrington (Nana Osei Mensah), and Washington mayor Anthony Williams (Nana Kwadwo Amissah II.) (Bob-Milliar 2009:547).

Nkɔ̃ suohene therefore literally means ‘development chief’ and *Nkɔ̃ suohemaa* is ‘development queen mother.

2.8 Theoretical Framework

Since the main aim of this study is to explore chieftaincy among Dagomba migrants and their activities in Accra, and the meaning they make out of the formation of chieftaincy among themselves, the type of enquiry needed lends itself to a qualitative approach that is aligned with interpretive theory. The interpretivists look to understand the meanings that constitute the actions (Schwandt, 1994 in Shilkin 2005:5) which is the core of this study. When using this approach the emphasis is on the importance of the process, which lies between social structure and behaviour. The central character in these processes is the person...who is active in the construction of social reality (Reid 1986:31 cited in Shilkin 2005:5).

The interpretivists are concerned with exploring experience in its own terms. They are especially interested in what happens when the everyday flow of lived experience takes on a particular importance for people (Smith et al 2009). Thus, this study explores the experience of the Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra in their own terms especially as their everyday lived experiences have taken a particular importance to them (formation of chieftaincy). Thus, the use of this theoretical lens had helped in bringing out themes that are more relevant and both addresses the central question and shed lights on alternatives.

Specifically, the study adopted the theory of social construction of reality. The “Social Construction of Reality” is a book by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann written in 1966. The central concept of Social Construction of Reality is that persons and groups interacting in a social system create, over time, concepts or mental representations of each other's actions, and that these concepts eventually become habituated into reciprocal roles played by the actors in relation to each other. When these roles are made available to other members of society to enter into and play out, the reciprocal interactions are said to be institutionalized. In the process of this institutionalization, meaning is embedded in society. Knowledge and

people's conception (and belief) of what reality is becomes embedded in the institutional fabric of society. Reality is therefore, said to be socially constructed (Berger and Luckmann 1966:47-66).

Berger and Luckmann (1991 in Andrews 2012) view society as existing both as objective and subjective reality. The former is brought about through the interaction of people with the social world, where this social world in turn influences people resulting in routinisation and habitualisation. That is, any frequently repeated action becomes cast into a pattern, which can be reproduced without much effort. This frees people to engage in innovation rather than starting everything anew. In time, the meaning of the habitualisation becomes embedded as routines, forming a general store of knowledge. This is institutionalised by society to the extent that future generations experience this type of knowledge as objective. Additionally this objectivity is continuously reaffirmed in the individual's interaction with others <http://groundedtheoryreview.com/2012/06/01/what-is-social-constructionism/>.

The experience of society as subjective reality is achieved through primary, and to a lesser extent, secondary socialisation. The former involves being given an identity and a place in society. Indeed, Burr (1995 in Berger and Luckmann 1991) suggests that our identity originates not from inside the person but from the social realm. Socialisation takes place through significant others who mediate the objective reality of society, render it meaningful and in this way, it is internalised by individuals (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). This is done through the medium of language <http://groundedtheoryreview.com/2012/06/01/what-is-social-constructionism/>.

Central to this study within this theory therefore is the concepts of “Legitimation”, “Symbolic universe” and institutionalization as espoused by Berger and Luckmann (1966).

Legitimation: this concept as a process, according to Berger and Luckmann (1966) is best described as a “second-order” objectivation of meaning. Legitimation produces new meanings that serve the meanings already attached to disparate institutional processes. The function of legitimation according to Berger and Luckmann is to make objectively available and subjectively plausible the “first-order” objectivations that have been institutionalized (Berger and Luckmann 1966:92). What must be noted in this theory is that, the real chieftaincy titles and the institution at large is considered as the “first-order” objectivation, while chieftaincy among migrants is seen as the “second-order objectivation”. Within legitimation, Berger and Luckmann further mentioned the concept of symbolic universe as key in social construction of reality. Symbolic universes are created to provide legitimation to the created institutional structure.

Symbolic universes: are a set of beliefs “everybody knows” that aim at making the institutionalized structure plausible and acceptable for the individual—who might otherwise not understand or agree with the underlying logic of the institution. As an ideological system, the symbolic universe “puts everything in its right place”. It provides explanations for why we do things the way we do (Berger and Luckmann 1966:92-97).

Institutionalization: this occurs whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualized action by types of actors. Put differently, any such typification is an institution. They (Berger and Luckmann 1966) further contend that the typifications of habitualized actions that constitute institutions are always shared ones. They are available to all members of a particular group in question, and the institution itself typifies individual actors as well as actions (Berger and Luckmann 1966:54).

2.9 The Nexus: Chieftaincy among Dagomba Migrant and Social Construction of Reality

Dagomba migrants in Accra interacting as a group over time have created the concept of chieftaincy, and this has become habituated within many migrant communities among Dagombas in Accra. This practice has been institutionalized and meaning about them is embedded in their societies. However, taking the chieftaincy institution and its actors (Chiefs) as a whole within the Ghanaian society and the constitutional provisions of becoming a chief, one can say that the Dagomba migrants in Accra have subverted this provision. For instance, according to the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, a chief is defined as “a person, hailing from the appropriate family and lineage, has been validly nominated, elected, or selected and enstooled or enskinned as a chief or queen mother in accordance with the relevant customary law and usage.” This constitutional definition of a chief therefore is considered the “objective-reality” and a “first-order objectivation” (Berger and Luckmann 1966), understood among Ghanaian as to who becomes a chief. However, to the Dagomba migrants in Accra, this “objective reality” and “first-order objectivation” of who becomes a chief has become a “subjective reality” and a “second-order objectivation.” For, the choice of leaders among them as chief is without family or lineage considerations. Thus, Dagomba migrants in Accra, have successfully “legitimated” this concept of chieftaincy thereby making it objectively available and subjectively plausible as second-order instead of first order objectivation.

In short, Dagomba migrants in Accra have successfully created their own “symbolic universes”, aimed at making the institutionalized structure (in this case chieftaincy) plausible and acceptable for individuals- who might otherwise not understand or agree with the underlying logic of institutionalizing chieftaincy among themselves in Accra? They provide explanations for “why they do things the way they do” (Berger and Luckmann 1966), and

that is what this study has explored hence the adoption of the theory of social construction of reality by Berger and Luckmann (1966).

Drawing on such key concepts as explained above, including legitimation, symbolic universes and institutionalization, the data has been analysed making use of that. More especially on the qualification to the nomination of a Dagomba migrant chief, their symbols of authorities (either real or socially constructed) and the way they consider their titles in relation to their hometown chiefs. Significantly, it must be mentioned that this theoretical framework is applicable to all migrant chiefs in Ghana. Its universal application could, in the future be tested against migrant chiefs (headmen) in other African countries.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORY AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE DAGOMBAS IN GHANA

3.1 Introduction

This section provides a retrospect of the social life of the Dagombas in Ghana. This includes their political (chieftaincy), economic and religious life.

The Dagomba are an ethnic group based in the Northern Region of Ghana. They inhabit a traditional Kingdom known as Dagbon and speak a language called Dagbani or Dagbanli. Dagbani is part of the Mole-Dagbani subgroup of the Gur languages, a group that stretches across the Sahel from Southeastern Mali to Northwestern Nigeria. The 2010 figure of the Population and Housing Census estimates them at about 1,254,466, and that they constitute 52.7 per cent of the population in the area and 8 per cent of Ghana's population at large (see also Pellow 2011:135, Tonah 2012).

The Dagombas are believed to have originated from northern Nigeria. They traversed the Sahel moving from Nigeria through the present day countries of Niger, Ivory Coast, and Burkina Faso before settling in Ghana. Toha-zie, the Red Hunter, is said to be the ancestor who led the final southwestern migration from Bawku, at Ghana's northeastern border, to present-day Dagbon. His grandson, Naa Gbewaa, is considered the common ancestor of the Dagomba and two other related groups, the Nanumba and the Mamprusi. Sitobu, Naa Gbewaa's son, is the father of the Dagomba and the man who begat the royal lineage of the chiefs of Dagbon (Staniland 1975:3-12). As Awedoba observed, that the myth of Naa Gbewaa, Toha-zie and Gogonumbo are kept alive by them as well as the tradition which maintains that their founding fathers immigrated to what is today Northern Ghana from one of the seven banzama bakoi (Hausa for 'the pagan or bastard seven') states of Northern Nigeria. After settling at several places, they eventually arrived in Northern Ghana. The

founder of the dynasty, Gbewaa, some versions of the legend maintain, first settled at Pusiga near present day Bawku (Awedoba 2014).

3.2. The Kingdom of Dagbon

The modern day nation of Ghana is divided into ten geographical or administrative regions, within which the Dagombas live in the Northern Region, which is sub-divided into administrative districts. The traditional Kingdom of Dagbon in Ghana predates colonialism as it was considered one of the centralised political systems apart from the Ashante, and the Anlo of the Volta region (see Nukunya 2003). However, in terms of present day administrative boundaries, Dagbon encompasses the Northern region districts of Tolon/Kumbugu, Savelugu/Nanton, Tamale Metropolitan, Gushiegu, Gariga, Yendi, Saboba/Cheriponi, Zabzugu/Tatale and Mion, and covers an area of 20,000 km square miles. Dagbon has a population of 1,254,466 (PHC 2010), and the majority of whom are Muslims, make up of 8 per cent of the Ghanaian population at large (Pellow 2011).

3.2.1 Chieftaincy (Political system)

The Dagombas are noted for their chieftaincy traditions. The culture of chieftaincy is vibrant among them and remains an emotive issue. The people's attachment to the institution accounts for the zeal with which individuals compete for chieftaincy titles.

Their system of chieftaincy is very hierarchical, with the Yaa-Naa, or King, as its head (situated in Yendi, the traditional capital) and a tiered system of rulers below him. Many minor chieftaincy titles are often in the gift of the paramount rulers and claimants may appeal to the paramount chief and his counsellors to be considered for appointment to vacant titles. Among the Dagombas, holders of lower grade titles may seek to advance to higher levels and if they succeed they might have to move from one village to another where the higher title is vested. Some titles are terminal, however, which means that the holders cannot aspire to higher chiefly offices than those they have reached (Awedoba 2014). Usually a person is

forbidden by custom to rise on the chieftaincy hierarchy to a title higher than that attained by his father. This rule regulates the competition for chiefly office; but it can also be the source of anxiety among princes, especially when the occupants of higher titles live too long thus preventing their siblings or collaterals from accessing higher offices. What must be noted however is that it is not customary to remove chiefs from office among the Dagombas, as happens among Akan peoples in the south (Awedoba 2014).

Among the Dagombas, chieftaincies are generally associated with towns or Villages and are categorised by who is eligible for them. Staniland (1975) indicates that there are five levels of chieftaincy among the Dagombas. He labelled the first four as “royal” chiefdoms. These royal chiefdoms are only limited to those who can trace themselves through the male line back to Naa Nyagsi. As such if a man is not appointed to one of the royal chieftaincies, his descendants lose their royal status (Staniland 1975).

Among the five levels, the first group is reserved for the sons of Yaa-Naas (*Doo-bihe-nama*). The second group is reserved for the grandsons of the Yaa-Naas (*Yaanse-nama*), the third is reserved for the daughters of Yaa-Naas (*Ya-na-bipuhinse nama*), while the fourth group is reserved for the sons of the sisters of Yaa-Naas (*Paga-bihe-nama*), the fifth group, which are not considered “royal”, are for court elders (*Kpamba-nama*). These however, often have some responsibilities attached to them. For instance, the chief of Tolon is traditionally the head of the Dagbon’s cavalry (Staniland 1975:25).

In Dagbon, there are two gates system (lineages) to the throne of Yaa Naa: the Abudulai (Abudu) and Andani gates, each, an offshoot of one of the two sons of Yaa Naa Yakubu who died in the late 19th century. This practice seems to have replaced or been superimposed on an earlier requirement that the legitimate candidates for succession to Yendi should be sons of kings who are holders of one of the three Dukedoms of Karaga, Mion and Savelugu (*Yo Na*) (Awedoba 2014, Pellow 2011). Though most Dagbamba chiefs are males, a few royal women

daughters of kings' are appointed to a limited number of chieftaincy titles. For instance chiefdoms reserved for daughters of Yaa Naas' include; *Gundogu, Kpatuya, Kukulogu, Yimahegu, and Sasagele* (Staniland 1975:25). In Dagbon, chiefs traditionally sit on stack or piles of skins, which serves as the symbol of authority. For this reason, when a person assumes a position of chief, they are said to be “enskinned”, rather than enthroned or enstooled as in the case among southern chiefs.

Chiefs in Dagbon are generally chosen by the Yaa-Naa, who is aided by his council of elders situated in Yendi, or in the case of smaller town chieftaincies by the divisional chief above him. The Yaa-Naa in turn is chosen by a set of elders and chiefs around the kingdom, referred to as the Kingmakers. According to the minutes of a meeting of the Dagbon State Council held on 12 May 1948, as observed by Staniland (1975), the Council decided that:

The following chiefs and elders should be responsible for the election and appointment of the chief to the Nam of Yendi, and if a unanimous decision cannot be reached, it shall be decided by means of a secret ballot and a majority vote. **Divisional chiefs:** Gushie-Naa, Yelzoli-lana, Nantong-Naa, Gukpe-Naa, Sunson-Naa, Tolon-Naa, and Kumbung-Naa. **Elders:** Kuga-Naa, Zohe-Naa, Tuguri-nam, and Gagbindana (Staniland1975:122, emphasis mine).

The above procedure is however, said to be contrary to a previous means where selection of a candidate to the throne was based on divination, and by small committee of elders or by the paramount chief of Mamprugu (Nayiri) (see Anamzoya 2010:3).

3.2.2 Religion

The Dagomba culture is said to be heavily influenced by Islam, brought to the region by Soninke (known as Wangara by Ghanaians) traders between the 12th to 15th centuries. The population overwhelmingly are Muslims (79%) with ancestor worship common among the rural population. Since the time of Naa Zangina (1648-77), Islam has been the state religion, and has since been growing rapidly. As stated by Barker (1986), “it is not easy to answer the question, how many Muslims are in Dagbon?” “Islamization has obviously been going on

since 1750s when Naa Zangina's over enthusiasm for Islam (perhaps for fetish reasons), led to resentment of his peers" (Barker 1986:137). Barker contends that at the time, three trading groups were bringing a Muslim influence into Dagbon (the Wangara or Mande traders, Hausa traders, and Mossi traders). It is stated that the reformist activities of Afa Ajura in the middle of the twentieth century caused the entire communities to embrace the Islamic religion en masse (Elana 2006). However, in the last few decades, there have been some attempts at Christian conversion, but the success rate has been low since about 22% of the population are said to be Christians (Barker 1986). Most of the converts in the area are said to be "foreigners" resident in Dagbon (Elana 2006). Regarding their traditional rituals and believes, Barker (1986), indicates that they believe among others in the supreme God, lesser gods and nature spirit, ancestor gods, magic, witchcraft, divination, among others. The celebration of festivals like the Damba (the Prophet's birthday), Kpini (guinea fowl festival) and Bugum (fire festival) among others are important events in the traditional Dagomba calendar

3.2.3 Economy and Geography

The Dagombas are farmers who cultivate grain crops including; millet and sorghum, legumes and tuber crops for subsistence and for the market. They also keep livestock. Some of them are also traders. The economic trees in Dagbon include Sheanut, Baobab, Kapok and Dawadawa. As a sign of love for these trees, elders are installed as chiefs to take care of these trees. For instance, there is a *Dohi-Naa* (in charge of the Dawadawa trees, there is *Tuya-Naa* in charge of Baobab trees). Cattle rearing and rice production is also said to be common among the Dagombas. There is also the cultivation of cotton among some farmers.

The British promoted cotton growing, (instructing the locals and installing a cotton gin and press in Tamale). In the 1970s, official economic policy was focused on agriculture development and especially, rice growing, and indeed, the rice revolution and investment in

cotton production where most Dagomba farmers who participated in rice farming did so as part of the state sponsored rice boom (Pellow 2011:136).

Dagomba towns like Yendi, Tamale are important commercial centres that predate colonization. During the 19th century, Yendi was prosperous because of its position, trade with Salaga and Kumasi to the south and Kano (Nigeria) to the north and east (Ferguson 1972 in Pellow 2011:135). Yet, Tamale, with a population around 371,351-400,000 is said to be the third largest city in the country and the fastest growing city in West Africa (PHC 2010, Pellow 2011).

Unlike the other regions in the country especially those of the south, northern region within which the Dagombas are located and form the largest population in the area is said to be far behind those of the south in terms of development. Pellow (2011), observed:

Economic development in the North has lagged far behind that of the south. Many consider the deprivation in the north to be as a result of the colonial system of organization on the landscape, with the social, economic, and political hierarchy centralized in the south, complemented by inequalities between the regions in terms of population density, modernization and residential amenities (Pellow 2011:136).

Despite the above description, most Dagombas today are still subsistence farmers who engage in shifting cultivation and produce food largely for the home (Dickson 1968, Oppong 1973 in Pellow 2011). Tonah (2012) described the vegetation and climate in the area as “largely savannah with tall grasses and small trees mainly Shea, acacia, baobab, and mango, dotting the entire landscape. They experience a single rainfall season (April -October), accompanied by a long dry season that brings in the harmattan winds”.

3.2.4 Education

As in other sphere of socio-economic life, the north’s educational policy was subordinated to the interest of the Asante and the colony...for example the opening of schools in Bole, Yendi,

Kete Krachi and Bawku in 1923 was halted because of the construction of the Achimota College” (Col. Sec.1923 in Haroon 2000, see Pellow 2011:136). This observation by Haroon however contradicts that of Staniland (1975), when he indicated, “in the sphere of education...the administration never relaxed its control”.

In whichever way, education in the north cannot be compared to those of the south. Staniland (1975) indicates that schooling develops very slowly in the north. By 1930, there were only five government primary schools and two technical schools in the North. Among the Dagombas however, there were only two institutions in this period; the Tamale primary school, opened in 1909, and the trade school, started at Yendi in 1922 and later transferred to Tamale in 1927 (Staniland 1975). It is said that Dagombas were less enthusiastic in getting their wards into school at the time, as such, only children of slaves and commoners were enrolled. The chiefs had the fear that European schools will turn their children into labourers or stewards. More importantly, parents did not see any economic benefit attached and to do so means reducing the family labour force (Staniland 1975:54). The British however, thought otherwise, for they saw schools as for producing literate chiefs, Clerks, and Assistant Store keepers. Thus before 1918, all teachers in this place were southerners, it was only in 1917 that three boys were sent for teacher training in Accra (Staniland 1975). The northern region therefore had its first secondary school established in Tamale in 1951 (Pellow 2011). Thus, according to Haroon (2003), the region had its first university graduate in 1953, trained from Britain in the person of (Edmund Alhassan). Girl-child education in the north and particularly among the Dagombas was also said to have a cultural undertone. The girl’s place was seen to be in the kitchen and for marriage as against their male counterparts who were sent to school. As Pellow observed:

Cultural resistance to educating girls in Dagbon has been particularly strong...the feeling persists that a girl does not need education. Her husband will look after her”...such cultural resistance to educating girls is reflected in the Dagomba Diaspora (Accra), in that the

educated elites Dagombas are overwhelmingly male (Pellow 2011:137).

Today, there are highly educated elites among the Dagombas. There are a lot of them in the academia. Others are into politics, and are major politicians. For instance the former vice president of Ghana the late Alhaji Aliu Mahama was a Dagomba. They are others who are medical doctors, engineers, Bank managers, lawyers, accountant and economists. These new group of elite as Pellow described them, are “fairly homogeneous”, for they were all born in Dagbon.

CHAPTER FOUR

MIGRATION AND THE FORMATION OF MIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN URBAN CENTRES

4.0 Introduction:

Studies of urban places and its inhabitants have been a concern of many disciplines over the past century. Cities have attracted attention because everywhere and with astonishing speed, they continually increase in numbers, size, population, and sensory impact (Smith and Press 1980:1). Davis (1972 in Smith and Press 1980) predicted that by 2031, the entire world's population would be living in "urban places". This phenomenon of growth by the cities has been attributed to by scholars as a consequence of migration from rural areas to the urban city mostly through internal and external migration from other places (Chambas 1977, 1979; Egosha 1994, Awumbila et al 2011, Pellow 1999, 2012, Takyiwaa et al 2010, Mangin 1973). Thus, the city has been viewed as a locus and ultimate concentration of powerful elites, of capital, wage labour, esoteric skills, product markets and services in which any materials, social, and ideological trends reach its climax (Davis 1980).

In view of the above, migration scholars as well as urban anthropologists (Mangin 1973 in Southall 1973, Pellow 2002, Takyiwaa et al 2010, Awumbila et al 2011), have identified a number of factors to be responsible for this phenomenon. According to Awumbila et al (2011), the decision to migrate especially among Ghanaians has often been in response to a combination of factors including economic, social, political and environmental factors such as poverty, landlessness and economic dislocation (Awumbila et al 2011:27). Yet Takyiwaa et al (2010) observed that sometimes people also migrate from the rural areas to the urban cities in order to free themselves from traditional family systems and elders' restrictions, which are sometimes coercively enforced. They have equally identified various types of migration trends which are commonly practiced in the country since the period of pre-

colonial times through to colonial and post-colonial Ghana as; rural –urban migration, rural-rural; urban- rural; and urban- urban.

Among these trends of movement, the migration scholars have identified rural-urban migration as the common form of migration among Ghanaians. It has been observed that migrants often move from resource-poor to resource –rich areas with a general tendency of moving from the northern part of the country to the southern cities especially Accra and Kumasi. Mainly, the reason for this pattern of movements has been attributed to the spatial inequalities in the level of development brought about by combinations of factors including colonial and post-independence economic and environmental policies (Chambas 1977, 1979, Takyiwaa et al 2010, Awumbila et al 2011, Ntewusu 2012, Pellow 2012, Van de Geest 2011).

People also sometimes migrate from the rural area to urban cities to learn trades, such as dressmaking, hairdressing, auto mechanics, carpentry, and bricklaying, yet others travel to the cities in search of social amenities such as potable water, electricity, health care facilities or entertainment that are often not available in the rural areas (Takyiwaa et al 2010). During the colonial times according to Ladouceur (1979 as cited in Ntewusu 2012), the impact of the colonial policies like forced labour, had also induced labour migration from the north to southern coastal cities, leading to the formation of what he called “northern solidarity”.

4.1 North-South Migration in Ghana

Almost one in every five people born in northern Ghana is living in southern Ghana (Van de Geest 2011). In pre-colonial times there seems to have been little migration from present-day northern Ghana to the South. Cleveland (1991: 222 cited in Van de Geest 2011:73) describes human mobility in this era as “a tradition of local migration by many and long-distance migration by a minority of warriors and traders.” This trend was attributed to the numerous

conflicts and insecurity resulting from the wars between the Ashanti, the Gonja and the Dagomba and the related activities of slave raiders especially during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Van de Geest 2011).

Thus, the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast (now northern Ghana) actually had its fair share of colonialism by the British at the turn of the century. The first decades of colonial rule were the time of forced migration through labour recruitment, which lasted for two decades between the period of 1906 to 1927 (Lentz, 2006: 139–142 in Van de Geest 2011). The colonial government recruited labourers for the mines and for railway and road construction in southern Ghana. Thus, Voluntary migration from the north to the south actually started not long after the first forced migrants had returned from southern Ghana. This was attributed to the booming labour opportunities in the cocoa sector (Van de Geest 2011). Van de Geest contend therefore that periods in which population growth declined in northern Ghana, while it increased in southern Ghana, were periods of increasing North-South migration. Particularly was the period between the 1910 and 1960 censuses and in the last inter-censual period (1984–2000). Therefore increasing population growth in northern Ghana is an indication of reduced North South migration and/ increased return migration (Van de Geest 2011). This was the case in the 1970s and early 1980s, a time of widespread economic crisis, political instability and high food prices in the South. In a nutshell, food crop producing middle belt, the cocoa frontier in the Southwest, and the cities of Kumasi and Accra are prime destination areas of migrants from the North (Van de Geest 2011).

In recent times, the category of people engaged in this phenomenon of movement is said to be common among young female migrants which has been identified be on the ascendancy in Ghana's internal migration (Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, 2008; Anarfi and Kwankye, 2003, 2005; Tanle 2003 in Awumbila et al 2011). This according to Anarfi et al (2008 cited in Manuh et al 2010), indicates that the practice in recent times is common among females

and males, as well as young and old, irrespective of their level of education. Independent child migration has also been identified as another trend that is also on the ascendancy and the dimension include fostering, street children and trafficking (Anarfi et al 2008, Awumbila 2005 in Takyiwaa et al 2010:9).

Migrants as part of their stay in the city are sometimes confronted with numerous challenges ranging from health, employment and accommodation (Ntewusu 2012, Pellow 2012). The lack of accommodation and the need for migrants to always be with close associates of the same ethnic background results in either a permanent or temporary settlement formation, which many scholars have referred to as “migrant communities” or the *zongos* (Schildkrout 1978, 2006, Skinner 1963). Thus, some studies have investigated the organization of migrant communities in the urban areas including; (Sudarka 1979, Eades 1993 in Takyiwaa et al 2010; Schildkrout 1978, 2006; Pellow 2011, 2012; Mangin 1973; Ntewusu 2012; Osaghae 1994; Chambas 1977, 1979).

4.2 The Emergence of Migrant Communities

The emergence of migrant communities in the city is neither a new phenomenon nor limited to Ghana. For hundreds of years, West Africans had moved from one area to another, creating stranger communities and deriving their political rights from local African authorities, whose rules they were expected to obey. As in the northern Ghanaian town of Salaga, stranger communities had leaders who were responsible for maintaining order and who communicated the wishes of the local rulers (Sudarkasa 1979 in Pellow 1999:422). This practice is said to be common especially in the national capitals and other bigger cities (Skinner 1963, Mangin 1973). Skinner contends that there were permanent migrant communities in many West African societies even in early time. He indicated that many migrant communities exist among such societies as Ghana, Malle, Gao, Djenne, and Timbuktu. European reporters in western Sudan at the end of the 18th century and beginning

of the 19th century reported the existence of migrant communities in Segou, Kano, Kong, Sokoto, Salaga, and Ouagadougou. The migrants he indicates lived in special wards called *zongos* under the control of their own chiefs or headman who represented their followers at the local court (Skinner 1963:308).

The African migrants during the pre-colonial were merchants and were engaged in both local and foreign trade. The migrants were responsible for the trading activities, which linked almost all the societies in West Africa into an economic unit. They were also the only persons who in the country knew foreign areas, spoke foreign languages, and were thus able to act as interpreters for visitors or travellers in their host countries. Finally, they were responsible for introducing new cultural traits from other African and even non-African source (Skinner 1963)

Whereas many scholars referred to migrant communities as *Zongos* (Schildkrout 1978, 2006, Skinner 1963, Osaghae 1994, Ntewusu 2002, Pellow 1999, 2002), others called it squatter settlement or slums, others as “Mohammadan Community” especially when it is dominated by Muslims (Chambas 1977, 1979, Mangin 1973, Pellow 1999, 2012). In whichever way they may be referred to, there is a consensus among the scholars that it still connotes and linked up with migrants temporary or permanent accommodation arrangement in the city.

In Kano, the emergence of a migrant community called Sabon Gari, owes its origin to the mass migrations, especially the south–north migration under the colonial rule. These migrants were traditionally quartered separate from the indigenes with the principal aim of minimizing the contact between Muslim and non-Muslims (Osaghae 1994). Thus, one reason for the creation of this settlement (*Sabon Gari*) was “to prevent as much as possible, any missionary influence in the ‘holy city’ (Osaghae 1994:29). Within this community too, they existed

ethnic union or association with the responsibility of the leaders to articulate the demands of the people and attended to their welfare and security needs.

4.2.1 Migrant Communities in Accra

In Ghana, the phenomenon of *Zongos* or migrants settlements is not a new phenomenon as many Ghanaian cities and towns have such *Zongos* (Ntewusu 2012). Ntewusu noted:

With the colonial machinery in Accra came a large number of migrants and merchants, ...one prominent feature that developed afterwards was the expansion of the inner core of the city and the development of separate residential enclaves of northerners, called *zongos* (Ntewusu 2012:28).

The city of Accra, in the early colonial era was limited in size to areas like Engleshi, Salaga, and Bukom square and stretching further to the outskirts of Osu, Teshie and Labadi, along the coastline (Brammah 2001). Thus by the early 20th century, according to Brammah (2001) Accra had grown in size, due in part, to the influx of foreign migrants. The term *zongo* in the Hausa language means a settlement for strangers.

Immigration to Accra according to Ntewusu led to the foundation of more *zongos* including Sabon zongo, Cow lane, Tudu, Old fadama, New town, Nima, Madina and many others. For instance, Pellow (1999) observed that after 1874, Accra became a magnet for Hausa due to four factors; the establishment of the Gold Coast Hausa Constabulary, and the lifting of the Asante ban on northern traders travelling to the coast. In addition, the breakup of Salaga as a major market, and the recruitment of Hausa into the Asante army all contributed to this situation (Adamu 1978:66 in Pellow 1999:424). Thus, the first migrant (Hausa) to have arrived in Accra from Katsina, Mallam Idris Bako Nenu was around 1860, and subsequently established the first migrant community (*Zongo lane* in Accra) in 1881 (Pellow 1999). "In 1881, taking on the role of one of Accra's first *Maigida* (lit. Landlord in Hausa), Mallam Nenu acquired a piece of property from the local Ga Mantse, which came to be known as

Zongo Lane.” But not only was the creation of migrant communities’ during the colonial period limited to the activities of the migrants themselves but also the colonial masters during the time had also contributed in the creation of such residential enclaves. As Pellow (1999) indicates, while the British avoided European land ownership in West Africa, they parcelled out and developed urban and regional space, creating spatial and social entities for the strangers, whose residents wanted chiefly representation (Pellow 1999:422).

Madina in Accra also traces its origin to a Malian immigrant Alhaji Seidu Kardo, who acquired the land for settlement during the late 1950s. As Quarcoo, Addo and Peil (1967) observed:

As soon as Seidu Kardo was granted right of entry to the new site (Madina) he went there alone and begun a little settlement in the centre of the present town which was thick tall grasses and bush then...by 22nd of October 1959, twenty five houses had been built...consequently, Seidu was installed “chief” of Madina grand style by the first Parliamentary Secretary- Mr. Paul Tagoe, with the approval of the La-Mantse (Quarcoo et al 1967:16-23).

Tudu (another migrant community in Accra), according to (Ntewusu 2012) was probably founded around 1900, specifically in 1908 by Alhaji Braimah, a Yoruba migrant trader in Kola-nut from Nigeria. Yet, Pellow (2012) mentioned the establishment of Sabon Zongo, another migrant community by Mallam Bako in 1912. Ivor Wilks (1961 as cited in Ntewusu 2012) also indicated the role of Mande traders in the foundation of Bole and other migrant communities in the present day Gonja-land as well as Tafo in present day Ashanti prior to the British- Ashanti war of 1874 (Ntewusu 2012).

Again, Ntewusu referred to Kwame- Arhin’s (1970) documentation and the establishment of *zongos* by Hausa, Dyula, Dagomba traders in Atebubu and Kintampo after 1874. In the northern regional capital, Tamale, Eades (1993 as cited in Ntewusu 2012) reports on the Yoruba traders from the 1930 to the 1960s, who were mostly located in three *zongos* in

Tamale: Hausa Zongo, Mossi Zongo, and Sabon Gida. Schildkrout (1978, 2006) also discusses the Mossi Zongo in Kumasi. Whiles Pellow (2012), contends that Kumasi zongo can be traced back only to the late 19th century, having developed from the multi-ethnic settlement of Muslim traders-Hausa, Yoruba, and Mossi as well as northern territories migrants-Frafra, Grusi, Kusasi and others (Schildkrout 1978:78 in Pellow 2012). In all the above cases, migrants have the tendency of conferring chieftaincy titles on their leaders.

4.3 Chieftaincy in Migrant Communities

Migrants as part of their adaptive strategy in the city and the need to stay together to deal with the uncertainties of the city and a means through which they can access security and support sometimes form ethnic based associations with chieftaincy titles conferred on leaders. Sometimes others voluntarily chose their own tribal headmen as chiefs, an indication of their (migrants) desire for representation and protection (Acquah 1958; Chambas 1977, 1979, Ntewusu 2012, Owusu 2000; Pellow 2012, Schildkrout 2006). Particularly, among northern migrants, political leadership or chieftaincy titles are seen as one of the ways by which they negotiate their ways through the turbulence political and economic terrain in urban Accra (Ntewusu 2002). Again, the positions confer on the migrant leaders is an ability of the migrants to manoeuvre with the indigenes and modern political structures for purpose of gaining advantages in trade and resident (Ntewusu 2002). What is actually not clear among scholars is the fact that the processes leading to the nomination or selection of these migrant chiefs, the key participants or players involved in their selection, the installation processes and the rituals involved, have not been articulated. This is not however, to undermine Chambas' (1977, 1979) work on the recruitment of leaders among migrants in Nima community and Schildkrout's (2006) work on Mossi and other migrants in Kumasi Zongo, or that of Acquah's (1958) work on the people of Accra. In each of these cases, attention has not been paid to the processes involved in the selection or nomination and the subsequent rituals

that are performed during the process as they are recognized as chiefs among their people, which is the core of this study.

As indicated by Acquah (1958), “every migrant tribe from Northern Ghana and beyond which has a large number of tribesmen in Accra has its own headman or chief, only when the number of migrants for a tribe is small that they have no chief” (Acquah 1958:102). His fellow-tribesmen residing within a particular community choose a migrant chief. The criterion for the selection of these chiefs varies in terms of personality of such individual and his relation with fellow tribesmen. Acquah (1958) observed that:

He is usually a man well known for his generosity and for his closeness to the deceased headman. He must be someone who commands general respect and he will usually have been recognized as the second in command during the lifetime of the late headman. A combination of length of resident in Accra, age, wealth, and character is required and not necessarily a connection with a royal house. Commoners can and do become heads (Acquah 1958:101).

However, Acquah’s argument is problematic because he assumes that people who necessarily become chiefs or heads of these migrants are those who might have been seen, or recognized by the tribesmen as influential, and served as an assistant to a previous leader or what he referred to as “second in command”. However, the question asked is: what about those who become chiefs for the first time in these communities rather than ever assisting a previous leader?

The recognition of authorities for these types of leaders especially during the colonial period in Accra were usually the Divisional Ga- chief for the community and the colonial government (Acquah 1958). In the Gold Coast after 1904, chiefs and head chiefs could apply to the governor to be recognized, and, if satisfied that the candidate had followed native custom, the governor could confirm him, “thus determining the lawfulness of his status in all courts of the Colony” (Harvey 1966: 83 in Pellow 1999:421).

As at 1954, there were twenty- three tribal headmen in Accra, who were officially presented to the Divisional Ga-chiefs for recognition, and later to the Government Agent (Acquah 1958:102). Characteristically, according to Acquah (1958), tribal headmen are almost without exception, they are people of no western education. They are only literate in their own language and said to originate from rural, underdeveloped areas.

This contention again by Acquah, as it pertains during the time of the study might not be applicable to current trends among migrant leaders as some choose to select their leaders based on literacy. The recognition of authority for these chiefs, during the colonial period especially within Accra was based on the divisional Ga-chief and the senior government Agent (Acquah 1958). Acquah observed that:

When a headman dies and another has been elected to take his place, he may be presented to the Ga- divisional chief in whose area he resides. If the Ga chief approve of the people's choice he is introduce to the Senior Government Agent. He will then be the person recognized by Government and the Ga chief as the representative of his tribal members in Accra (Acquah 1958:101).

However, there are exceptions where some migrants within Accra chose not to have a headman or chief especially among the southern migrants, particularly the Ashantis. Acquah (1958) attribute this practice especially among the Ashantis to their longer association with western ideas and institution and for the fact that more are educated and assimilated to urban life (Acquah 1958).

Yet, there are others with more than one leader or head, where in most cases they function independently of one another. A case in point is the Ewes in Nima during the 1950's according to Acquah (1958). The reason for this practice according to Acquah was that, Ewes from different villages or towns could not agree to any single person being their head, thus, each elect their own heads.

In Nima a suburb of Accra, Chambas (1977, 1979) contends that there were twenty- one ethnic chiefs to be identified in 1979, to which sixteen were said to be on record to have attended the development committee meeting for the community, the highest decision making platform for the community's development. Recruitment or selection of these chiefs was base on three main patterns within the community: leadership based that stemmed from chiefly bureaucracy; those that might be identified as self –starter; and those that might be sponsored by outside organization from the community (Chambas 1979:66)

Chiefs within the first category attain their status as community leaders by virtue of the fact that they are chief for their ethnic group living within the community. The second group acquires his status by virtue of the fact that they were not chiefs to any ethnic group, but out of their own enthusiasm, they have taken the initiative to get a community wide organization started. The last category of recruitment as indicated was base on external organizational sponsorship, where a person was sponsored by an outside organization to be a chief within the community. The first of such organization to have sponsored such categories of leaders in Nima was the Convention Peoples Party (CPP), which relied on these leaders for their party organization within the community (Chambas 1979:66-67).

4.3.1 Reasons for the Formation of Migrant Chieftaincy

Many reasons accounts for the formations of chieftainship among migrants. Owusu (2000) contend that irrespective of the basis of membership, chieftainship among migrants fill an important place in the lives of those who belong to them. Ethnic association and chieftaincy among migrants in urban cities may be formed for various reasons. One explanation is that new comers to a society who are characterized by different customs and language, and form an ethno-cultural minority, may find it difficult if not impossible to enter into certain voluntary associations of the host population. Especially where membership is determined by somehow socio-economic attainment such as education, income, and professional

background or where it requires payments of high fees. He added that there may also be the need that members of an ethnic group are prevented from meeting within existing voluntary organization by linguistic barriers, discrimination or other factors (Owusu 2000:1158).

Besides, depending on the purpose of such associations, Owusu argue that new migrants may find themselves unsuitable for meeting many of their social, economic and cultural needs in the new society. In such a case, attempts are made to establish and support a distinct organizational structure that will satisfy their special interest (Burnet and Palmer, 1998, cited in Owusu 2000). Camozzi (2011) contends that associational formation among migrants from the same region or country is usually spontaneous and “silent”, and that the basic purpose for such associations is to preserve the culture of origin. He added “many migrants join ethnic associations because they do not feel recognised by indigenous institutions and their populace” (Camozzi 2011). Osaghae (1994) indicates that associational ethnicity emerged in Nigeria among migrants in Kano for a variety of reasons. The most important of these was that neither the colonial authority nor the emirate council was in a position, or even willing to meet the welfare needs of these migrants. Added to this was the hostility towards these migrants. Thus, the unfavourable milieu within which they operated made the migrants organize various forms of associational ethnicity including chieftaincy as their response and adaptive mechanism (Osaghae 1994).

Generally, migrant chiefs perform very significant roles for their people within the community. They some times intervene on behalf of their people when some member(s) get involved in certain crimes. They also assume responsibility for the removal of corpse from the mortuary for burial. Yet they served as arbitrators in settling dispute among their people (Acquah 1958 see also Schildkrout 2006). They however, face some challenges as Acquah argues that they have no income from their subjects and that their main source of livelihood

comes from other source. They also have no jurisdiction over their communities, and therefore, cannot collect levies from their fellow tribesmen (Acquah 1958).

Thus, from the above analyses, it is clear that the formation of migrant communities in urban Ghana as well as the emergence of leadership within these communities is not a new phenomenon as discussed above. However, what is missing among scholars on migrant leadership in urban Ghana is the fact that much attention has not been paid to explore into details, the general activities of these leaders, especially on their symbols of authorities in the stranger community, the views of the subjects about these chiefs and the changing roles among these leaders in the city. Thus, this study explores migrant leadership among the Dagombas of northern Ghana in Accra.

CHAPTER FIVE

STUDY AREAS AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises of two sections; the first section focuses on the profile of the study areas. This includes the economic, geography and politics of the areas as well as the ethical considerations for the study. The second section focuses on the methodological approaches adopted for this study. It dwells on the data collection techniques adopted for gathering data for this study. It also outlines the sampling technique adopted in the selection of the respondents for this study and the reason for the adoption of such techniques.

5.2 Study Sites

The study was conducted in Accra, the national capital within which Dagomba migrants are a part and constitute five per cent of the city's population (Pellow 2011), and some part of Kasoa in the Central region. The Dagombas are also the fourth largest ethnic group in Accra apart from the three southern ethnic groups of the Akans, Ga-Adangbe and the Ewe (Pellow 2011). It is within this larger group of migrants among the Dagombas that these chiefs and elders are found.

However, due to the vast nature of Accra and for the fact that the study had to be completed within a specified period, the study was narrowed to only three different areas (suburbs) within Accra as; Agbogbloshie (Old Fadama), Madina, and Kasoa. Even though, administratively Kasoa is said to be under the Central region of Ghana, the location of the chiefs and people of the Dagombas within this community, (Lamptey in Odupong Ofaakor) is said to be between the borders of Accra Metropolitan Assembly (Ga south) and Awutu Municipal Assembly. Thus, I have chosen to add it as part of Accra. Specifically, the area is called Lamptey, a new community situated between Odupong Ofaakor and the Ga-south.

5.2.1 Rationale for the Selection of Study Areas

The choice of the above suburbs of Accra for this study was necessitated by the fact that, the Dagomba migrant chiefs are said to be ranked hierarchically, as they are located within these communities. Hierarchically, apart from the Greater Accra Regional Paramount chief of the Dagombas as the head who is located in Kokomlemle Accra, next after him is the Dagomba chief of Madina, followed by the Kasoa, and Teshie Dagomba chief. Others are the Ashaiman Dagomba chief, Agboghloshie (Old Fadama) Dagomba chief, Nima and many others place within Accra. However, the reason for this ranking is base on the period within which a particular chieftaincy for the Dagombas was institutionalized. Thus from the above, this study concentrates only on the chiefs and elders as well as the subjects of three communities (Madina, Kasoa, and Agboghloshie) and the view of the Paramount chief. This choice was necessary because the participants within these localities, per their rankings, had enough experience to speak to the topic adequately. The paramount chief, resident in Kokomlemle is subsumed under the entire Greater Accra during the analysis stage because his authority is said to be beyond the said community he resides. Therefore, no section is devoted for Kokomlemle under this section of the study areas.

5.2.2 Profile of Study Areas

5.2.3 Kasoa

Kasoa, officially known as Odupong-kpehe, is a peri-urban town in the Awutu Senya district of the Central region of Ghana. Kasoa has territories in three of the 20 Metropolitan, Municipalities and Districts (MMADs) in the Central Region of Ghana: the Awutu Senya district, Awutu Municipal district, and Awutu Senya East Municipal Assembly (ASEMA). It is the second largest town in these districts, second only to Winneba.

The town is situated along the Accra-Cape Coast Road, approximately 36 kilometres (22 miles), by road from Accra, Ghana's capital city. This location lies approximately 28 kilometres (17 miles), by road, west of the Central Business District (CBD) of the city of Accra. The coordinates of the town are 05 31 12N, 00 28 48W (Latitude: 5.5200; Longitude:-0.4800). The average elevation of Kasoa is 75 km above sea level (see Nyasulu 2012).

Kasoa experiences a five-month dry season lasting from November through March. During the dry season, the northeast trade winds are prominent. The dry season is followed by a seven-month rainy season that lasts from April through October. During this rainy season, the southwest monsoon winds are most common. The rainy season is usually characterized by flooding, low crop yield, and financial strain for a large portion of Kasoa's population.

Akan and English are the most commonly spoken languages. Kasoa is traditionally home to the Guan ethnic group. Today, it is home to a large number of ethnic groups such as the Gas, Akans, Ewes, Dagombas, Walas/Dagarts, Mostries, Basares and other smaller tribes. As of 2010, Kasoa's population was estimated to be 69,384 people. Kasoa is reported (Nyasulu 2012) to be one of the fastest growing communities in West Africa. Since 2000, the "spill-over effect" of the growing populations of large urban settlement of Greater Accra region into smaller towns around the edges has contributed greatly to the rapid increase in the populations of towns, like Kasoa, that reside at the fringes of Greater Accra region.

The population growth of Kasoa and its repercussions can be understood as the result of urban sprawl. The growing opportunity for economic activity in Greater Accra region has led to a huge urban sprawl, which is the spreading of an urban population into surrounding areas such as peri-urban Kasoa. This sprawl has very specific and identifiable effects on Kasoa because the growth is spontaneous and unplanned. This spontaneous growth imposed a large number of inhabitants on a town that did have neither the infrastructure nor the established

planning. Therefore, Kasoa is now finding ways to cope with issues that have arisen from the combination of a rapidly increasing population and infrastructure that was intended for a much smaller population size.⁵ Some of such issues include; vehicular traffic, insufficient market space for a growing number of sellers, and the increasing demand for residential land.

Kasoa is home to one of the most prominent markets in the Awutu-Senya district. Agro-processed products are popular items at these markets. One of these products is cassava that is processed into popular food items called ‘agbelima’ and ‘gari’. Farming and fishing are very popular in the lowlands near the coast. In response to the growing needs of peri-urban transport, private enterprises have developed in the form of privately owned *trotro* and shared taxis that provide transportation for passengers, goods, and animals.

Politically, Kasoa is said to be “semi-traditional.” This can be considered to follow the framework of a centralized system. Kasoa is ruled by a chief, whose authority is to be recognized by all who live within the established boundaries of his territory. Kasoa’s traditional political institution is similar to that of traditional Akan Chieftaincy. The Paramount Chief (Omaahene) is at the top of the hierarchy of chieftaincy. Below the Paramount Chief is the Paramount Queen Mother (Ohemaa) responsible for issues related to women, social affairs, and social conduct. She is also responsible for rituals concerning women and for settling disputes among women to ensure that all women live in peace and harmony.⁶ Beneath the Paramount Chief and the Paramount Queen Mother are three Senior Divisional Chiefs and 12 sub-divisional chiefs who all perform special functions ranging from linguist to caretaker of the youth and the aged to protection from enemies (Nyasulu 2012).

⁵This description of Kasoa is not limited to the study area.

⁶ See Nukunya 2003, for more on the roles of the queen mother

5.4 Agbogbloshie

Agbogbloshie, in Accra Ghana, is the second largest ⁷e-waste processing area in West Africa http://www.worstpolluted.org/projects_reports/display/107. Agbogbloshie is a vibrant informal settlement with considerable overlap between industrial, commercial, and residential zones. Before the arrival of electronic waste, the slum area of Agbogbloshie was once a wetland referred to as Old Fadama. Agbogbloshie as a former wetland and suburb of Accra is also noted as a destination for legal and illegal exportation and environmental dumping of electronic waste from industrialized nations. Often referred to as a "digital dumping ground", millions of tons of e-waste are processed each year at Agbogbloshie. As of March 2014, it was the world's largest e-waste dump http://www.worstpolluted.org/projects_reports/display/107 Retrieved 15/06/15.

During the 1980s, Agbogbloshie was a place of shelter for refugees from the Konkomba and the Nanumba war. It was not until the late 1990s that the landscape began to shift. Functional second-hand computers began arriving from the West to help 'bridge the digital divide' http://www.worstpolluted.org/projects_reports/display/107.

The town covers approximately four acres, and situated on the banks of the Korle Lagoon, northwest of Accra's Central Business District. Roughly, 40,000 Ghanaians inhabit the area, most of whom are migrants from rural areas. Due to its harsh living conditions and rampant crime, the area is nicknamed "Sodom and Gomorrah". According to the 2010 census, the population size of Agbogbloshie is 8,305 (54% female and 46% male), of whom 5,466 are aged 15–49 (Cassels, Jenness, Biney, Ampofo, & Dodoo 2014).

⁷ E-waste, or electronic waste, is a broad term referring to a range of electronics, including refrigerators, microwaves, and televisions.

The local economy of Agbogbloshie is based on the electronic waste imports and the processing of these goods. Hundreds of millions of tons of electronic waste are imported to the area each year. The United States is said to be the leading exporter of e-waste to Ghana, although imports arrive from other countries http://www.worstpolluted.org/projects_reports/display/107.

Agbogbloshie is also a hub of female head porters known as “*Kayaye*” who engage in carrying loads to earn a living. Unprotected workers, mostly boys embark on the search for metals, such as copper, aluminium and iron, to collect and sell. Some also engage in the sale of dirty oil. There are public bathhouses, toilets and other small-scale businesses that people on daily bases engage in for a living. Inhabitants of Agbogbloshie live, eat, work and relieve themselves on the land and amongst the waste. Children who are able to attend school often spend every evening and weekend processing waste and searching for metals. Agbogbloshie is home to Ghana’s largest commercial fresh produce market, which attracts traders from all over the country, as well as seasonal migrants who engage in trade or transport goods for clients in the congested market area (Oberhauser and Yeboah 2011 in Cassels et al 2014).

Dwellings are wooden shacks that lack water and sanitation. The area is also home to armed robbers, prostitutes, drug dealers and others involved in underground market. Crime and diseases run rampant throughout Agbogbloshie, creating an almost uninhabitable environment for humans (Cassels et al 2014).

5.6 Madina

Geographically, Madina lies on longitude $0^{\circ} .10'$ West and $5^{\circ} 40'$ North. Madina is a town in the Ga East Municipal, a district in the Greater Accra Region of southeastern Ghana. Madina is next to the University of Ghana and houses the Institute of Local Government. Madina is the twelfth most populous settlement in Ghana, in terms of population, with a population of

137,162 people http://www.ghanadistricts.com/districts/?news&r=1&_=210. Madina is contained in the Abokobi-Madina electoral constituency of the Republic of Ghana. The 2000 National Population and Housing Census puts the entire Municipality population at 161,873 with an annual growth rate of 4.2%. The projected population for the year 2010 is therefore 244,226.

Administratively, La-Nkwantanang-Madina with its Administrative capital Madina was carved from Ga East and forms part of the new districts and municipalities created in the year 2012 and were inaugurated at their various locations simultaneously on the 28th June 2012. The then President, H.E. J.E.A Mills, by an Executive Instrument (E.I) created 46 new Districts. The Municipality forms part of sixteen (16) Metropolis, municipalities and Districts in the Greater Accra Region. The municipality shares boundaries with Ga West Municipal to the west, Adentan Municipal to the east, to the North with Ga East Municipal to the North and to the south with Accra Metropolitan. http://www.ghanadistricts.com/districts/?news&r=1&_=210 Accessed: (18/12/14). The Municipality is divided into 9 electoral areas with 1 Zonal Council. The Assembly has 16 Assembly members made up of 10 elected and 5 appointed members. The Municipal Assembly has 1 Constituency, thus 1 Member of Parliament who is a member of the Assembly without the right to vote. A full house of the La-Nkwantanang Municipal Assembly is made up of 15 Assembly members, 1 Member of Parliament and the Municipal Chief Executive, making total membership of the Assembly to 17 www.mofep.gov.gh or www.ghanadistricts.com, 18/12/14.

Economically, there are four main economic activities in the municipality: - commerce, agriculture, service and manufacturing. Trading is the main economic activity in the municipality with the Madina Market as the main one. Items traded in these markets include both perishable and non-perishables such as manufactured commodities, imported goods like

cloth, utensils and a variety of spare parts. Other goods are cereals, livestock and second hand clothing.

The industrial sector of the Assembly's local economy includes industrial establishments like the Nkulenu Industry, Mechanical Lloyd, Trasacco Limited, Phyto Riker (GIHOC) Pharmaceuticals, Kofi Ababio and Sons Chemical Company (KAS) and Royal Aluminium Company among the others.

The services sector includes Banking - Most of the banks are located in Madina. These are the Bank of Africa, National Investment Bank, and Ghana Commercial Bank, the Prudential Bank, the Trust Bank Limited, Pro Credit, UT Bank, Fidelity Bank and the Agricultural Development Bank. The Abokobi Area Rural Bank has an agency at Madina. An agency of the Shai Rural Bank is also located in the Municipality. There are also some Non-Financial Institutions www.mofep.gov.gh , 18/12/14.

5.7 Research Methodology

5.7.1 Research Design

The study adopts the qualitative design. The intent of a qualitative research is to understand a particular social situation, event, role, group, or interaction (Locke, Spirduso, & Silverman 1989, in Creswell 2009:194). In addition, qualitative design is largely an investigative process where the researcher gradually makes sense of a social phenomenon by contrasting, comparing, replicating, cataloguing and classifying the object of study (Miles and Haberman, 1984 in Creswell 2009:164). Consequently, Silverman (2006) has identified a common set of preferences shared by qualitative researchers as analysis of words and images rather than numbers, observation rather than experiment, meaning rather than behaviour and hypothesis generation rather than hypothesis testing (Silverman 2006:56, cited in Agana 2008:18). Thus, my study of the Dagomba migrant chief in Accra was to understand the social situation, the roles and other interactions of these chiefs in line with the description of Locke, Spirduso, &

Silverman 1989 as well as Miles and Haberman (1984 cited in Creswell 2009). In addition, as described by Silverman, the study was aimed at analyzing words rather than numbers as in quantitative, observation rather than experiment and generating hypothesis rather than testing, hence my choice or adoption of the qualitative design.

5.7.2 Research Technique

To ensure a maximization of richness and accuracy of the data for this study, the Case study method was adopted. A case study is an examination of a specific phenomenon such as an institution, a social group, a program, a person or a process (Merriam 1988:9 cited in Willis 2007). According to Kumekpor, it is a method of careful and critical enquiry or investigation and examination seeking the facts of a case, a problem, an issue, a community and following an event from the beginning through to the end. The method also aims at studying the facts of a particular case from all aspects and from all angles (Kumekpor 2002:99).

Specifically, the interpretive case study approach was adopted. The focus of this approach is on understanding the intricacies of a particular situation, culture, organizations, or individual (Willis 2007). Thus, the study examined the Dagomba migrant chiefs as a social group in line with (Merriam 1988 cited in Willis 2007). The main import was to understand the intricacies of chieftaincy among migrants Dagombas in Accra.

Each migrant chief was approached as a separate case study in line with (Puch 1998 as cited in Shilkin 2005, Kumekpor 2002). That is becoming familiar with the data in its natural setting, and to fully appreciate the context and also to critically investigate and examine the facts of the case as it pertains to the Dagomba migrant chiefs. This was done with the characteristics of setting definite boundaries for each community; Kasoa, Madina and Agbogbloshie. Even though the larger community and for that matter other migrant chiefs and the host chiefs might exert some influence on how the Dagomba chiefs act or perform

their roles, only the perspectives of the Dagomba chiefs and their elders as well as their subjects were considered throughout the study.

The reasons for setting these boundaries were obvious. Even though there is limited literature on Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra, yet there are few works around it and the larger chieftaincy institution in Ghana. Secondly, the boundaries were to enable the researcher to manage the data conveniently with much ease.

5.8 Population and Sampling Frame

By the nature of this study, views of the Dagomba migrant chiefs, elders and subjects were sought in respect of the objectives set for this study. Thus, my target population consisted of all Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra. Specifically, the Dagomba chiefs, elders and subjects from Agboghloshie (Old Fadama), Madina, Tema, Ashaiman, Teshie and Kasoa, as well as the paramount chief (located in Kokomlemle) of the Dagombas for Greater Accra constituted my sampling frame. It was within these communities that the main sampling units were selected for the study (see sampling method and procedure in the next sub-heading for details). The choice of this group (Dagombas) was necessitated by the fact that Dagomba migrants in Accra as a whole constitute five per cent of the city's population, and also the fourth largest ethnic group after the three main southern groups of Akan, Ga-Adangbe, and Ewe in Accra (Pellow 2011). Also per the pilot visit to one of the chiefs (*Malgu-Naa*) in Agboghloshie, (a suburb of Accra) in October 2013, and August 2014, it was revealed that the Dagombas have the widest network of migrant chiefs in Accra. Having at least a chief in each of the following communities in the city; Madina, Agboghloshie, Teshie, Kasoa, Ashaiman, Nima, Soutorom, Omanjo, Tema, and Zeinu, apart from having a Paramount chief for Greater Accra region, who supersedes the other chiefs at the various communities. In addition, for convenience sake, the researcher understands the Dagbani language and that enabled me to navigate through the study with much ease regarding the collection and

analysis of the data especially during the transcription. Thus, the Dagomba chiefs and elders were interviewed separately, to maximize variation. The main chiefs from these communities therefore constituted my first group of participants.

The second group of participants were the elders (sub-chiefs), who were team leaders and directly involved in the daily activities of the communities together with the chiefs. A third group of the participants were made up of the subjects. Here also, the researcher purposively selected any member (Dagomba) from each of the community based on convenience. At least, twenty (20) of these category (subjects) were selected through accidental sampling. The reason for their inclusion was that, they form the group of subjects over which the chiefs rule. In all, fifteen men and five women constituted this category. Thus, thirty (30) participants constituted my units of analysis, with a breakdown of four (4) chiefs, one from each community, six (6) sub-chiefs or elders, two from each of the three communities and twenty (20) subjects across the communities.

5.8.1 Sampling Methods and Procedure

Considering the specificity of the study that is seeking the knowledge of only Dagomba migrant chiefs, subjects and elders, the non-probability sampling technique was adopted. This sampling type was preferred because; it lacks randomness in the selection. The method was also preferred because it is convenient to use, and have a relatively lower cost per unit studied and provides quick results (Kumekpor 2002).

In line with the above and for the purpose of this study, the theoretical sampling, purposive and snowball sampling as well as the accidental sampling techniques were used. According to Williman (2011), the theoretical sampling is a useful method of getting information from a sample of the population that a researcher thinks they know most about a subject. In this case, the paramount chief was chosen base on this sampling technique because he was thought to

know most of the subject under investigation. The researcher purposively selected the other chiefs and elders (Madina, Kasoa and Agbogbloshie). In using the purposive technique, the units of the sample were selected not by a random procedure, but they were intentionally picked for the study. This was because, the researcher thinks they satisfy certain qualities which were not randomly found in the universe, in this case being a chief or elder (Kumekpor 2002, Walliman 2011). Thus the purposive sampling was used in the selection of the main chiefs and elders, while the snowball method was also preferred because the researcher could not locate all the intended participants; therefore I had to rely on the information and direction of one of the respondents (*Malgu-Naa*) whom I had contacted earlier to help me locate the others. Thus the purposive and snowball sampling were used in the selection of the chiefs and elders, while the accidental (convenient) sampling was used in the selection of the subjects, since their choice for the interview was based on their availability within the community (see Royce and Bruce 2010:172-173).

5.9 Data Source

Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data sources were; in-depth interviews, observations, alongside interaction and informal conversation with the participants. Whereas the secondary sources of data were a review and analysis of published and unpublished manuscripts. These sources included books, journals, articles, unpublished works and the internet.

5.10 Field Instruments

The primary data was collected using such instruments as audio tape for recording, semi-structured interview guides, and telephone interview.⁸

⁸ The telephone interview was particularly used with the regional paramount chief of the Dagomba migrant chiefs. It was also used to make further enquiries after the interview was conducted with the various participants.

5.11 Data Collection Procedure

The data was collected in three stages; before, during and after the interviews and analysis of the initial data.

The first stage of the data collection was carried out from secondary material sources as indicated above. This source enabled me gather enough literature on the institution of chieftaincy and its formations among migrants, as it helped in shedding light on my study. Particularly important works were that of Acquah (1958), Kleist (2011), Ntewusu (2012), Owusu (2000), Pellow (1999, 2002, 2012), Schildkrout, (1978, 2006,) and Chambas (1977, 1979) on chieftaincy among migrants in Urban Accra, Kumasi and Toronto.

The second stage of data collection consisted of interviews with participants for the study. Since the study was aimed at developing themes, through the opinions and experience of the chiefs and elders as well as the subjects, it was important to conduct the research in a manner that will ensure validity of data. Participants, who agreed to participate, were given the chance to preview the interview guide or through a telephone call or personal visit, they were informed around the areas of questions. This was to enable them have time to consider their responses, with the explanation that this schedule was just a guide for the interview and that questions may not necessarily follow that order. This was thought to produce meaningful responses from the participants, which resulted into a richer data.

Interview schedule for participants on average took not more than an hour except on few cases where a participant had to respond to other people interrupting. Permission was also sought from each participant to use tape- recorder to record the interview. Most of the interviews took place at the participant's residents or work place and at the time that was most convenient for them. The interview, though based around the guiding questions, was

conducted in a more conversational manner as participants were at ease to talk and aided rapport.

5.12 Semi-Structured Interviews

The interview technique employed was semi-structured interview. This style of interview allowed me to use both the structured approach as well as the “conversational” style in order to answer research questions (Creswell 2009, Shilkin, 2005). It also provided me with the opportunity to probe interviewees further for clarification and elaborations on the original response to a question. During this session, permission was sought and given by participants to audiotape all conversations and answers to questions.

5.13 Telephone Interviews

Telephone calls were also used in collecting data for the study. This instrument was used for the paramount chief who was not readily available for the interview schedule. This was however, recorded with consent of the participant. The method was further used to clarify issues that came up later after the face-face interviews.

5.14 Observations

Direct observation was also employed especially in the “palaces” of these chiefs in order that I become acquainted with all activities that occurred there, especially on some of the symbols of authorities as found within the palaces. Permission was also sought to observe some of the social gatherings within the communities as the chiefs got involved (out-dooring, wedding and funerals). The 2014 staging of the annual Damba Festival as organised by the chiefs in Accra was also observed specifically in Madina⁹. This enabled me have first-hand experience on the cultural display among these chiefs and people, and more importantly, how they

⁹ Damba celebration of the people of Kasoa could not be staged due to the ill-health of one of the elders, who had to be sent home (Dagbon) for further traditional treatment.

replicate festivals form their places in the urban centres and what use they put those festivals to.

5.15 Methods of Data Analysis

Data collection and data analysis must be a simultaneous process in qualitative research (Merriam 1988, Marshall and Rossman 1989 in Creswell 2009). In addition, Schatzman and Strauss claim that data analysis primarily entails classifying things, persons, and events and the properties, which characterized them (Schatzman and Strauss 1973, in Creswell 2009).

Therefore, data collected through the interviews and observations were analysed through the process of framework analysis. This method of data analysis aimed at meeting specific information needs, and provides outcomes or recommendations often within a short timescale. It also allows for the inclusion of *a priori* as well as emergent concepts, for example in coding (Lacey and Luff 2009:13). Thus, after the initial data collection was completed, it was analysed through the various stages identified by Lacey and Luff (2009) as familiarisation, identifying a thematic framework, and interpretation (Lacey and Luff 2009:13).

Before the data analysis however, the recorded interviews were transcribed, and organized into retrievable sections and continually coded. Familiarisation of the data occurred as a thorough reading of the transcribed data was done. By this I mean, listening to the recorded tapes and reading and re-reading the transcribed data, making memos and summaries before the formal analysis began (Lacey and Luff 2009). Identifying a thematic framework entails an initial coding framework that is developed both from a priori (self-evident) issues and from emerging issues from the familiarisation stage. This was achieved through the thorough reading of the data, which helped in the identification of the emerged themes before coding was done. Interpretation of the data followed suit after familiarisation with the data and identification of the themes were completed.

5.16 Ethical Considerations

The researcher first sought an ethical clearance from the Ethics Committee for Humanities (ETH), at the Office of Research, Innovation and Development, University of Ghana, Legon. This was done through a written letter from the Sociology Department of the University, after an initial approval of the topic, which was then forwarded to the ETH.

Confidentiality: This was assured to all participants. All transcripts, notes and audiotapes were kept within the confines of the researcher without exposing them to a third party outside the respondents.

Access: A preliminary contact was made with one of these chiefs, where permission was sought from other would-be participants via personal contact and a follow-up phone call. After the chiefs had consented, permission was further sought for a meeting of each chief and his elders to explain the rationale of the research. These elders, together with their chiefs were contacted via phone calls where interview times were finalised. I also sought consent from other participants especially the subjects before any inter-view. Those who had time to respond to the questions were given the chance. Thus, the participants gave oral consent in the local language (Dagbani) before the actual data collection began.

5.17 Limitation and Delimitation

The most obvious limitation of this study is the difficulty that will arise in the transfer of the themes that has emerged to other migrant communities. With the emergence of these themes, it will be difficult for any one to do a transferability of the themes to other migrant chiefs elsewhere in the country or abroad, given the different locations and other social, cultural background of the people.

Regarding the selection of participants, and the fact that the sampling technique was purposive, it was possible that by having the respondents self-select especially the main

chiefs, those who would have volunteered to participate would have had stronger opinion about the main topic of this study. However, this can be seen as both strength and a weakness.

In addition, the fact that other Dagomba migrant chiefs at Tema, Nungua, and Ashaiman¹⁰ were not covered is a limitation of this study. Nevertheless, the Data is sufficient for generalization on Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra, with probably very few exceptions.

¹⁰ Two schools of thought from my study indicated the reason for the absence of a substantive Dagomba chief for the Ashaiman community. On one hand, I was told that as a result of the earlier installation of one of the chief, he was again installed as a chief in Dagbon, where he has two titles. A call on him to relinquish one of the titles especially that of the Ashaiman's one proved futile, thereby necessitating the installation of yet another chief by another group, thus making them two chiefs for the community. The second school of thought had it that, as a result of the Abudu-Andani divide, the first chief earlier installed was rejected by some angry groups basically because of his alignment to one of the factions. Thus, the second chief from the other divide was also installed.

CHAPTER SIX

DAGOMBA MIGRANT CHIEFS IN ACCRA: SELECTION, ENSKINMENT AND SYMBOLS OF AUTHORITY

6.1 Introduction

This chapter takes a cursory look at the empirical data gathered from the field. For the purposes of clarity and easy understanding, the data is divided into two chapters. The first part, which is chapter six focuses on the processes leading to the selection/nomination of Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra, the enskinment processes with its accompanying rituals, and the symbols of authority to these chiefs.

The second part of the data analysis in chapter seven focuses on the historical antecedence to chieftaincy among Dagomba migrants in Accra. The reasons for the institutionalization of chieftaincy among Dagomba migrants in Accra, the roles of Dagomba chiefs in Accra, their relationship with other actors, the structure/hierarchy of the chiefs in their communities and the challenges they face as chiefs in Accra. The last chapter (8) is a summary and conclusion of the entire data.

6.2 Selection/Nomination of a Migrant Chief (*Nam Gbaaibu*)

6.2.1 The Case of the Paramount Chief

Qualification to the selection or nomination for a chieftaincy title among Dagombas in Accra varies from one community to the other. Whereas some communities have set some guidelines regarding who aspires for a title, other communities consider one's social relation with others before giving such positions. According to the regional paramount chief, Alhaji Kadir (hence forth, chief Kadir), before one ascends the throne of the paramountcy, he must have among other things; a permanent dwelling where he can house strangers. He should be

able to speak at least most of the southern languages including Ga, Akan and the English language. This he explains will help the chief in negotiating with state bureaucrats with much ease for the benefit of his subjects. The statement of chief Kadir lends credence to the claim:

Before one becomes a Dagomba chief for Accra, such a person must be able to speak the indigenous language for Accra, Ga, also Akan and the English language. More importantly the would-be chief must have his own permanent resident to enable him accommodate strangers when the need arise (chief Kadir 21/12/14).

Chief Kadir was nominated in 1992 by three opinion leaders of the Dagombas in Accra including, one Alhaji Danlari, Alhaji Abdul-Rahaman and Alhaji Harun (all deceased). These people were well known and commanded great respect among Dagombas in Accra. His nomination was based on his attainment of all the various criteria set for would-be chiefs.

However, missing in these criteria is the fact that qualification to the throne is not base on lineage or a candidate hailing from the appropriate (royal) family as set by article 277 of the constitution, yet their people and some state actors refer to these leaders as chiefs. For, a chief in the real Ghanaian sense is known to be a person hailing from appropriate royal lineage or family. Thus, to succeed as chief as in the case of Dagomba migrants Accra, without the candidate hailing from an appropriate family or lineage becomes a social construction of chieftaincy in the Ghanaian society.

6.2.2 Kasoa Migrant Chiefs

In Kasoa, there are a series of criteria for potential or would-be candidate for the title of a chief. In fact, nominating a candidate for the title lies in the bosom of a well-organised Council of Elders. A council of fourteen sub-chiefs including other opinion leaders among Dagombas in Kasoa constitutes the nomination authority (college of kingmakers). A person is deemed qualified for a title after meeting the guidelines set aside by the Council of Elders

including; one's level of education, permanent accommodation/resident within the community and some minimal level of wealth. Chief Abdallah maintains that:

In this community, we have identified some elders...to see to everything in the community among the Dagombas. They are fourteen in number...most of them are elderly and are from a royal background who knows much about chieftaincy. During the time of my nomination, all these people were present...nobody absented and I was unanimously chosen. However, the council instituted certain things that a person should have before competing for the position in case of a vacancy. They mentioned the issue education, having a house, and possibly be able to respond to peoples need, that is money (Chief Abdullah, 11/10/14).

The reason for setting out these criteria, the study reveals, is to control the number of aspirants in order to forestall dispute or confusion. The accommodation option is explained as a means of accommodating stranded strangers as they arrive either from the north or from other destinations. Yet, the literacy option is seen as a means of properly representing the subjects in forums when the need arises and a means of solving problems of subjects especially with other formal State institutions. The wealth will enable the chief to quickly intervene in matters of emergency as they arise. The chief reiterate this idea as:

You know as we are here in the south we are migrants, and at any point in time our people do come to Accra here from the north. So when they come that way most of them don't have places or people to accommodate them. So their first point of call is usually the chief's palace as we are there for everybody. So when they come that way and you have no place to offer them, is it not a disgrace? That is why it is important for such criteria (Chief Abdullah, 11/10/14).

It must also be mentioned at this stage that, the criteria for selecting a person as a leader (chief) among Dagombas in Accra as seen from the viewpoint of the chiefs confirms the view observed by Owusu (2000). According to Owusu, since migrants in their new destinations have to work with mainstream bureaucratic agencies like government ministries and departments as well as local government, individuals who by length of residence, level of

education (literacy), linguistic skills and bureaucratic competence, are the ones who are likely to be recognised and appointed as leaders (Owusu, 2000:1162).

Interestingly, the study reveals that these guidelines have actually streamlined the number of potential competitors venturing for such position. Nevertheless, the feeling is that, it equally has the potentials of denying competent aspirants with good leadership skills to put themselves forward for such positions. I must however, mention that nomination of a person as a chief is open to any member (Dagomba) within these communities since ascendancy to the throne is not base on family/lineage as in the case of the 'real' traditional titles in the Ghanaian society. The chief reiterates the idea by indicating that:

Chieftaincy here in the south is not the same as that of Dagbon. Here, there is no line of succession, as we know of the actual titles back at north. So here in a case of vacancy, anybody is qualified to compete for the title provided the criteria above are met, and that the council approves of him and the person lives within this locality and of course being a Dagomba (Chief Abdullah).

The statement above by the chief clearly indicates that though they are called chiefs by their respective subjects and by other agencies, objectively, they concede that these titles are not as "authentic" as those at their hometowns are. Thus, through their own symbolic universes as Berger and Luckmann (1966) espoused, they have objectified a "second order" reality (chieftaincy among migrants) as a "first order" reality (real chieftaincy) and thereby legitimising it. The basis of social construction of reality is that, what constitute 'a reality' in a particular society varies in terms of meaning or believe. It is because people's perception of what reality is, differs (subjective reality). However, there exist, in the same society a general or common believe about what actually constitute the reality (objective reality). Thus, even though the general Ghanaian notion about who a chief is known, yet there is a subjective meaning of this concept by Dagomba migrants in Accra, for they refer to leaders of their

ethnic group as chiefs and equally accord them the needed respect as chiefs, a situation Berger and Luckmann (1966) describe as social construction of reality.

6.2.3 The Madina Dagomba Chiefs

Similarly, in Madina, selection/nomination for a chieftaincy title is based on the decision and consultations of elders of the Dagomba community. In an interview with the chief, he indicates that after the death of his predecessor, Chief Ibrahim Khalid, the skin became vacant for some time before the search of a suitable candidate started. Thus chief Issah's (current chief) nomination was not based on any competition with anybody; rather elders of the Dagombas in the community upon series of consultations approach him for the title. He indicates that, he did not actually express any interest in the title, rather the elders persuaded him with the notion that his father was once the chief of the community. Indeed this appeal according to chief Issah made him to reconsider his earlier decision of refusing the title. In fact, elders who stood on behalf to nominate him were those who served under his late father as sub-chiefs. This means that most of them (elders) were very much older than the chief.

This argument by chief Issah stands to suggest that chieftaincy in Madina among Dagombas is less competitive. In fact, qualification to the nomination or selection is open to any member within the Dagomba community when vacancy is created. This situation is however, different in the choice of a sub-chief or elder. The decision to choose a person as sub-chief lies under the jurisdiction of the main chief. Sanctioning an elder for a wrongful act is however, a collective decision of both the chiefs and elders. Also unlike chieftaincy titles in Dagbon, chief Issah contends that their titles here are not based on lineage or family because not every member of their families lives in Accra. Therefore limiting it to family line could mean that one day the skin could be vacant without an occupant. According to him:

As we are here, we know we are in urban centre and for that matter;
I cannot sit here to tell you who will be qualified for the title in case

of vacancy. Anybody can compete for it in the event of a vacancy, because we are not in Dagbon where there is a clear line of succession procedure to titles. For our titles here, there is no line of succession. For instance, after my father became the chief, next was one Alhaji Ibrahim who was not a family member. If it were based on a line of succession definitely, he would not have been made the next chief after my father. Therefore, it is open to anybody who is a Dagomba and reside in this community (Chief Issah, 15/10/14).

Indeed, the argument of the chief as seen above is a clear proof of the fact that the title of chieftaincy among migrants is considered as “second-order objectivation” of reality. For the fact that choice of leadership is not based on lineage or family as the constitution provides, yet they are called chiefs among their people attests to the fact that these titles are socially constructed among Dagomba migrants within their own symbolic universe as Berger and Luckmann (1966) espoused.

6.2.4 Agboglobshie Migrant Chief

In Agboglobshie, eligibility for a chieftaincy title among Dagombas is based on the personality profile of the person. Whether a person ever leads a group before, his level of knowledge or wisdom on local chieftaincy, and how patient or accommodative the candidate is within the community. Thus, any Dagomba within Agboglobshie who is of sound mind and health and meet the criteria above is qualified to compete for a title in case of a vacancy. Thus confirming the assertions by Anamzoya and Tonah (2010) that: “... in contesting for chieftaincy positions...factors such as the character of the individual contestant, whether he was a “true royal”, his closeness to the community, and his knowledge of the cultural practices of the community were considered”. Thus, *Malgu-Naa* also indicates that chieftaincy titles in Agboglobshie just like any community among Dagombas in Accra is not based on lineage or family. He said:

Chieftaincy titles here in Accra are not a family thing. Anybody (Dagomba) can compete for it at any point in time. Myself, nobody knew that I will one day become a chief here. Because I was never related to my predecessor in any way, yet when the skin became

vacant I was considered for the title. Therefore, I cannot sit here and determine who will succeed me or whether after my death Mr. 'A' or 'B' will take over from me.

Thus, as a matter of "legitimation," Dagomba migrant chiefs in Agbogbloshie are equally making chieftaincy, objectively available and subjectively plausible, a "first-order" objectivation that have been institutionalized. In short, they have magnified chieftaincy among migrants to the level of the real chieftaincy titles.

The Rituals before Enskinning

Despite the construction of social reality, Dagomba migrants after their nominations for the title as chiefs, perform or execute certain obligations as required by a real Dagomba chief in Dagbon or elsewhere before the final installation. For instance, a real chief in Dagbon, after nomination for a title calls on the paramount or divisional chief to inform him about his readiness for the enskinment. A kola nut is offered to such candidate by the paramount or divisional chief in charge of the installation to acknowledge offer of the selection. The said candidate for the installation fixes a later day. Even though they (Dagomba migrant chiefs) accept largely that their titles in Accra cannot be compared to those in Dagbon, they still as a matter of tradition perform all the necessary rituals required by would-be chief. The study reveals that the rituals perform by a candidate ranges from sending a kola nut to the paramount or divisional chief to providing monetary support to the chief and sometimes the wife(s) of the enskinning chief. The amount is not fixed but depends upon a candidate financial standing. The chief indicates that:

When I was nominated,...I was asked by the paramount chief to come for the title. There, I organised some Mallams together to go and thank the chief for the offer. He offered me a kola nut as an indication of the title as tradition demands. Afterwards I chose a day for the actual installation to take place. I later organised friend, family members, and other colleague chiefs to accompany me for the enskinment (*Malgu-Naa*, 2/11/14).

The nomination process and its accompanying rituals as occurred in Agbogbloshie are said to be the same among Dagombas in Kasoa. Indeed, after nomination, comes the actual enskinment or installation process.

6.2.5 The Enskinment and Rituals (*Kparigu Yelibu mini Chiha Yih'bu*)

After a successful nomination or selection of a candidate for a title, follows an installation/enskinment of such a chief in Accra. The study reveals that, the time and place for enskinning a Dagomba migrant chief takes place during the day, over the weekend, and at a palace of a superior chief. The choice of day is to allow members to attend the ceremony after their hard day's work over the weekdays. For instance, the enskinment of the paramount chief of the Dagombas for Accra took place at the palace of the ruling Ga-Mantse. This is in line with the custom and tradition of the Dagombas, that, a chief is installed at the palace of the superior, and since Dagomba chief are migrants in Accra, the superior chief for the land is the Ga-Mantse hence, the enskinment of chief Kadir there. The enskinment process of a Dagomba paramount chief in Accra is usually witnessed by a delegation from the *Yaa-Naa* (overlord of Dagbon) and that of the indigenous divisional Ga-chief on whose land the chief is located.

The processes involved are that, the nominee at the palace of the superior chief is made to sit on the bare floor after he has provided his own chiefly gown and hat for the installation (white in nature). The elders of the *Yaa-Naa* do the first section of the enskinment by picking the gown and praying over it as blessing. Two or more of the elders then symbolically pass the gown on the head. The process is repeated over the chief's head two times, and on the third count, he wears it with the assistance of the elders. The same process is done for the chiefly hat. It is on the third count that the hat is worn. Immediately the process is complete, praise (*Kpalinga*) is pronounced on the newly enskinned chief by the women present followed by the beating of drums. This process according to the Dagombas marks the end of

the enskinment. Thus, chief Kadir, chief Issah, and chief Abdallah enskinment took the same shape and later followed by a symbolic enstoolment by the Ga-Mantse and other divisional Ga-chiefs respectively. After these processes, a word of advice from the chiefs and elders present is given to the newly installed chief.

According to chief Kadir, it was at this time of advice during his installation that the elders of the *Yaa-Naa* delegation entrusted the authority of southern part of Ghana (Accra, Brong Ahafo) under his custody and jurisdiction to oversee the performance of funeral for demise chiefs and subsequently enskinning new ones in such area. He hinted that his authority covers from Atebubu in the Brong Ahafo region of Ghana through to greater Accra.¹¹

The authority of the paramount chief thus, stems from the authority of the *Yaa-Naa*, entrusted in him as his representative in southern Ghana. Apart from this, chief Kadir has various material symbols as part of his authority including; a certificate of recognition by the then Ga-Mantse which serves as symbol of authority. He also has a kettle, chiefly sandals and walking stick. Even though traditionally the Dagomba chiefs are suppose to sit on piles of animal skins as part of their authority, this is not seen among Dagomba chiefs in Accra. The reason is that titles in Accra are conferred also by Ga-chiefs who sit on stools and those in Dagbon; therefore, the chiefs prefer sitting on official chairs to skins. Chief Kadir who sits on official chair explains his authority that:

My authority ranges from the certificate I was given by the Ga-Mantse to the fact that the *Yaa-Naa* instructed me to be his representative for the entire southern Ghana for all Dagomba migrant chiefs and elder as well as their subjects to ensure peace and tranquillity at every time (Chief Kadir 21/12/2014).

The enskinment of chief Kadir was devoid of any rituals as in the case of chiefs in Dagbon. However, this is not to suggest that this practice is true of other Dagomba chiefs in Accra.

¹¹ Chief Kadir indicates to me of having performed the funeral of Dagomba chiefs for Atebubu and Sunyani and subsequently installing new chiefs for the said area.

The case of Kasoa chief has certain variations concerning rituals, but common on the process of enskinment.

The chief of Kasoa indicates that the ritual process involving the enskinment of any chief in Dagbon was applied during his installation. As migrants, a successful enskinment of a chief cannot be complete without the indigenous people performing their part. As such, chief Abdullah indicates that, just as they did for their custom and tradition, they equally observed those in the south as demanded by the Divisional Ga-chiefs. The chief provided schnapps and money as demanded by the custom and tradition of their host chiefs. Meanwhile, the actual enskinment process first took place at the palace of the regional paramount chief of the Dagomba in the morning, before another symbolic installation at the palace of the indigenous divisional Ga-chief. The similarity in terms of enskinment, between chief Kadir and chief Abdallah of Kasoa is observed as:

At the palace of the regional paramount chief, I was made to sit on the bare floor just like any traditional chief's installation in Dagbon...There, the chiefly gown with its hat which is white in nature was given out by the paramount chief to his Imam to pray over it before it was given to the sub-chiefs including the *Wulana*, *Kpanalana*, and the *Bomah'naa*. The gown was enrobed over me symbolically three times, but on the third account, it was put over me. The same was done for the hat (chief Abdallah 24/02/12).

6.2.6 The Rituals after Enskinment (*Chiha yih'bu*)

The rituals observed by a newly enskinned chief include the fact that, not until he reaches his own destination, the hands are not supposed to hang out of the new chiefly gown. Also, as part of the rituals, when the enskinned chief gets to his palace, he first stops at the main door/gate for some other rituals to be performed before entering. At this stage, the feet of the chief and that of the elder wife are washed separately either into a container or on the ground. The rationale behind this act is that the chief's status/title has changed, from ordinarily referred to by his first name to the chieftaincy title. Likewise, the name of the elder wife of

the enskinned chief is changed to what is called *Paani* (elder wife for a chief). These form of rituals were observed by the Kasoa chiefs. He reiterated this during an interview that:

After wearing the gown your hands are not supposed to appear until you reach your destination. Again, when you get to your house certain rituals ought to be performed before you step into the main gate. The rituals are that your two feet are washed down or washed into a container. Afterwards, your elder wife's own is also washed before you enter. (Chief Abdallah, 11/10/14).

The above narrative by the chief indicates that even though chieftaincy titles among migrants may be socially constructed, one cannot rule out the fact that they still observe the necessary custom and tradition of their hometown during the process of enskinning a new chief that further legitimizes their new statuses. It is important to indicate at this moment that, in all the installation process of the Dagomba chiefs in Accra, a delegation from the two regents (*Bolin-Lana and Kampakuya Naa*) of the Yendi skin had their representatives to witness the process. However, the Madina chief had only a delegation from the then *Yaa-Naa* (Yakubu Andani) to witness his enskinment.

The *Malgu-Naa* enskinment however, witnessed the absence of such delegations from Dagbon. According to him (the *Malgu-Naa*), his title is considered more as what he called *samban'bi nam* (lit. 'title for the outside child'). Therefore, these elders from Dagbon could not have been invited officially to witness. Despite considering his title as *Samban'bi nam*, *Malgu-Naa* still wields a lot of authority and commands a high degree of respect among the Dagombas and other ethnic groups in Agbogbloshie. This is because he has always responded positively to any difficulty brought before his palace by any member of the community without discrimination of any sort.

6.2.7 The Symbols of Authority (*Kali Nema*)

Apart from observing the due processes of enskinning a chief among Dagombas in Accra, the study also reveals that Dagomba migrant chiefs also have series of objects as their symbols of

authority. The chiefs have among other things; a chiefly walking stick which is used when leaving the palace to other places especially on events of social functions like funeral, wedding, out-dooring, and any other official invitation. There is a kettle where kola nut is kept for visitors to the palace. Kola nut¹² is considered an important ingredient in the successful activity of every chief among the Dagombas. It is given out to visitors at the palace as a sign of welcome. It is also used to invite the chief and elders to occasions, to consummate marriage and many other things. There are also some animal skins (sheep and cow) as part of the symbols of authority, which is meant for the chief to sit on. These skins are obtained during the occasions marking the enskinning processes of the chiefs. Animals that are slaughtered for merry making, and to purify the titles are preserved for this purpose. Unfortunately, these skins are not always put into their respective usages as custom demand rather they are abandoned for official chairs¹³. The chiefs however, consider this practice as a sign of modernizing their tradition. There are also the chiefly gowns and sandals as part of the symbols of authority. These symbols constitute what is popularly called the regalia. One of the chief said:

You see, according to our tradition when you are given a title of this sort, you have to put yourself into shape...because, people's perception about you begin to change as an ordinary person to a chief. So in my case I went to the north to organise myself...I have for instance a walking stick (*Jaangbei*), kettle (*Jing-laa*) where I keep Kola, sandals (*Muh'ri*), *Gbandi* (skins) and series of chiefly hats. All these things I have them here (Kasoa Chief 11/10/14).

It is important to point out that though some of these symbols might be seen as ordinary on appearance, there are more to them than expected. For instance, the chief indicates that there are some walking sticks and hats, which cannot be pointed at a person, doing so amount to causing harm to such a person spiritually. The importance of these symbols of authority is seen as powers for protection, recognition and as sign of respect for the throne.

¹² See Ntewusu (2012), for more insight on the kola nut business.

¹³In all the chiefs interviewed, I observed that they were sitting on chairs rather than skins at their palaces.

During the interview, I spotted a mini skin of a sheep hanging over the chair on which one of the chief sits. He indicates to me that whenever there is an occasion on which he attends, that animal skin is place on the floor for the chair to be place on it. The chief said to me:

You have seen them yourself, so I would not mention them to you again (referring to the researcher during the interview). We have a lot of symbols of authority. We have the animal skin, but we don't sit on them it is just our tradition. We sit on the chair. But while sitting on it, the chair is on top of the skin. You see today because of modernity we sit on chairs even though we are supposed to sit on the skin. Also the reason is that unlike in the house (Dagbon), where a chief cannot avoid sitting on the skins, we can do so because our titles here are considered more as *Sanban'binama* as I mentioned earlier. I also have a pillow but that is quite smaller (*Malgu-Naa* 02/11/14).

Explaining the size of the pillow as a factor, *Malgu-Naa* indicates that he is quite young, in that he has a chance of aspiring for higher titles. Thus, bigger pillows are meant for the paramount chief who has reached the peak of his title.

The chief of Madina also reiterates the issue of symbols of authority as:

I have symbols of authority including the chiefly walking stick (*Jaangbei*) which people easily identifies me with as chief, the chiefly sandals (*Muh'ri*) which I wear mostly during special occasions, the Kettle (*Jinglaa*) where I keep kola nuts for attendants or visitors to the palace. In all, I consider the main significance of these symbols as things that differentiate between a chief and a commoner (chief Issah 15/10/14).

Land is considered a key to the authority of any traditional leader or chief in Ghana. However, throughout this study, it reveals that Dagomba migrant chiefs are without land. As migrants, they consider their authority limited in the area of land. With the exception of the paramount chief who indicates as having land, the other migrant chiefs have no title to land in Accra. The possession of land by the paramount chief can be attributed to the fact that, he is a second generation migrant whose father was said to be the early northern migrants into the city of Accra pre-independence. The chief however indicates that, even though he has land, he personally does not engage in the sale of such lands. He attributes this action of not selling

land himself to spiritual reason. To him, land is a gift of nature for the usage by any individual freely. Thus, he believes that engaging in the sale of land by any person will lead to a wretched death of such individual.

The landlessness by the other migrant chiefs confirms the earlier study by Schildkrout¹⁴ (2006) when she observed among migrant headmen of the Kumasi *Zongo*.

¹⁴ She observed among migrant chiefs in Kumasi Zongo in 1994, where one migrant chief, the Sarikin Zongo addressed the former President Rawlings on his visit to Kumasi after his election as president in 1992, as “Chiefs without land”

CHAPTER SEVEN

DAGOMBA MIGRANT CHIEFS IN ACCRA: HISTORICAL TRAJECTORIES, ACTORS, ROLES AND OTHERS

7.1 Introduction

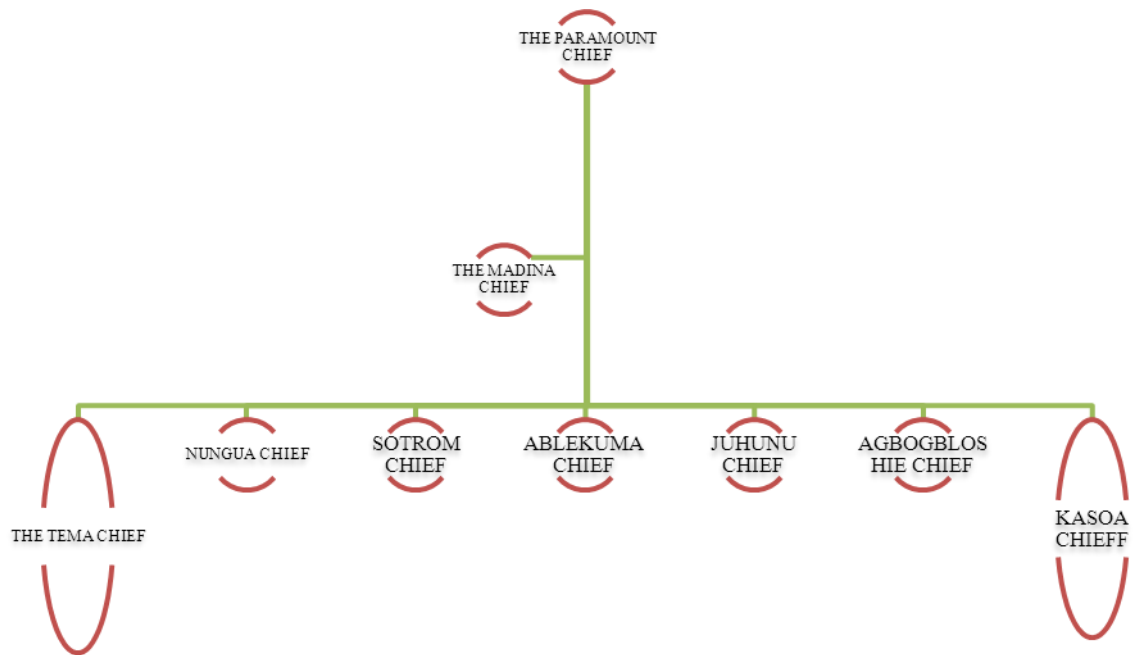
This chapter focuses on the historical trajectories leading to the institutionalization of chieftaincy among Dagomba migrants in Accra. For instance, the chapter analyzes the institutionalization of chieftaincy, the roles of the migrant chiefs, and their relationship with other actors such as government agencies like assemblies, and the police. It must be mentioned that, the themes that emerged from this data are based on the objectives set for this study. Where necessary, these themes are further divided into sub-themes to enable readers make easy meaning out of the study. However, a general introduction of chieftaincy among Dagomba migrants in Accra and the profile of the chiefs precede the main discussion of the first case of analysis. The socio-demographic analysis of respondents follows the profile of the chiefs.

7.2 Dagomba Migrant Chiefs in Accra

Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra are many and live in different communities within Accra and its environs. The study reveals that Dagombas have the widest network of chieftaincy in Accra. They have chiefs for such communities including; Nima, Madina, Kasoa, Soutorom, Zeinu, Ashaiman, Kasoa, Agbogbloshie, Teshie/Nungua, Tema, Omanjo, Ablekuma, Johunu, and a regional paramount chief in Kokomlemlé. Dagomba migrant chiefs are ranked hierarchically as they are located within these communities. Hierarchically, apart from the Greater Accra Regional Paramount chief as the head who is located in Kokomlemlé, next after him is the Dagomba chief of Madina, followed by the Tema, Kasoa, and Teshie-Nungua Dagomba chiefs. Others are the Soutorom, Ablekuma, Johunu, Ashaiman Dagomba chief, Agbogbloshie (Old Fadama) Dagomba chief, Nima and many others place within Accra.

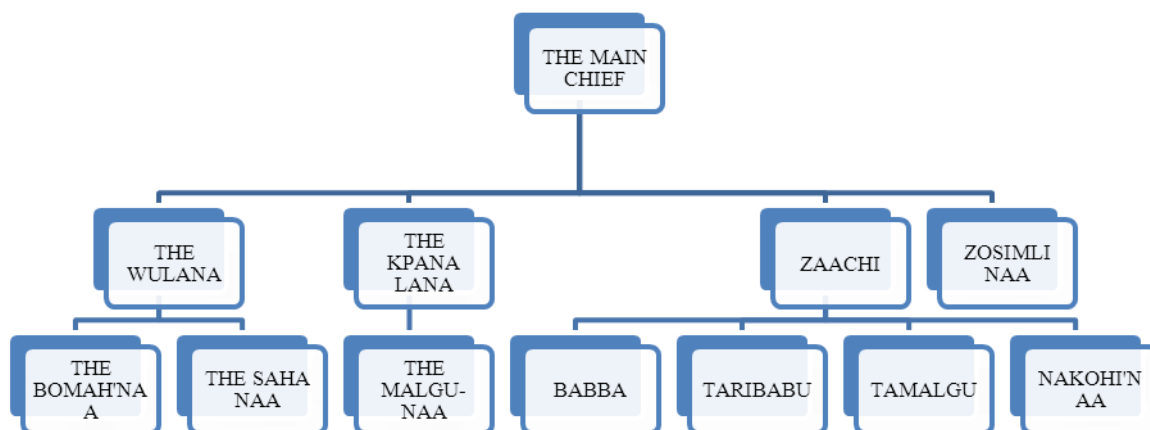
Meanwhile, the reason for this ranking is base on the period within which a particular chieftaincy for a said community among Dagombas was institutionalized.

Figure 7. 1: Hierarchy of Dagomba Migrant Chiefs¹⁵ in Accra (The Super Structure)



Source: Field Survey 2015

¹⁵ Each of these chiefs have sub-chiefs and elders, which is referred to in this study as the sub-structure as seen in the case of Kasoa. (See next page for diagram).

Figure 7. 2: A Sub-Structure of Hierarchy¹⁶ (The Case of Kasoa)

Source: Field Survey 2015

Table 7.1: Dagomba Migrant Chiefs and Year of Installation

Ordinary Name	Chieftaincy Title	Community	Year of Installation
Alhaji Abdul-Kadir	Paramount Chief	Greater Accra and its Environs	1992
Alhaji Munkaila Issah	Madina Dagomba Chief	Madina	1997
Abdallah Amidu	Kasoa Dagomba Chief	Kasoa	2012
Osman Ziblim Zakari	Malgu- Naa	Agboglobshie	2009

Source: Field Survey 2015

¹⁶ The structural arrangement as seen in the case of Kasoa is common to the other communities among Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra.

7.2.1 Profile of the Chiefs

The paramount chief (Alhaji Abdul-Kadir) is at the apex of the hierarchy of Dagomba chiefs in Accra. He resides in Kokomlemle (a suburb of Accra). He hails from Yendi, the traditional capital of the Dagbon kingdom, and was enskinned as paramount chief for southern Ghana (Accra and its environs) by the chiefs and elders of the late Yaa Naa Yakubu Andani in 1992. As a migrant chief, Alhaji Kadir doubles as paramount chief of the Dagombas in Accra, and, also as president of the National Council of Zongo Chiefs in Ghana. In private life, he owns a number of articulator trucks that deals in the transportation or export of salt to some African countries. As at the time of this study, Alhaji Kadir was in his 70s in terms of age. Genealogically, he is a royal (Grandson) to the Yendi skin. He is also currently an aid to the national chief Imam of Ghana (Sheik Osman Nuhu Sharubutu).

In Madina, Chief Munkaila Issah is the Dagomba chief for the community and hails from Sabali in the Zabzugu district of the northern Ghana. As at the time of this study, he was 56 years of age. His father was the first indigenous Ghanaian migrant to be installed as chief for the Madina community in 1977-78. Chief Issah took his turn as chief of the Dagomba community for Madina in 1997. He, like the paramount chief, was installed as chiefs in accordance with the customary norms of the chiefs in Dagbon. His installation in Accra was similarly witnessed by elders of the Yaa Naa from Dagbon. In private life, chief Issah is a chairman of one of the commercial lorry (*trotro*) stations in Madina. He also owns a number of these private commercial vehicles (*trotro*). Chief Issah is also said to be a royal back at home, because his paternal grandfather was once the chief of Sabali (Sabali Naa Issah) from whom he inherited his first name (Issah).

Chief Abdallah Amidu is the Dagomba chief for the Odupong Ofaakor community in Kasoa. He hails from Yendi in the northern region of Ghana. As at the time of this study, he was 41

years of age. He ascended the throne as the first chief for the Dagomba community in Kasoa in 2012. Just like the other migrant chiefs (Madina and the regional paramount chief), he traces his lineage to a royal family in Yendi. His father was the first youth chief (*Nachin-Naa*) in Yendi. Yet, his maternal grandfather was once a chief *Don-don* (chief drum historian) for Yendi. In private life, chief Abdallah can simply be described as affluent or a wealthy migrant chief. For, he works as a private business man engage in the export and import of food items (rice and oil) locally and internationally. He owns four joint apartments as residence, though he resides in one, the other three are leased out. He is currently married to two wives at the time of this study. Educationally, he is a senior high school leaver.

The case of the Dagomba chief of Agbogbloshie is not too different from any of the above chiefs. Chief Osman Ziblim Zakaria is the chief for the Agbogbloshie community and hails from Nakpachei, a village under the Yendi Municipal and a middle age man of 44 year at the time of this study. Unlike the paramount chief, chief Issah, and chief Abdullah on one hand, chief Zakaria could not trace his royalty to any past chief in Dagbon. However, he is currently doubling as a sub-chief to the *Gukpe-Naa* (chief of Tamale) and as Dagomba chief for the Agbogbloshie community. Chief Ziblim Zakari ascended the throne in 2009 as *Malgu-Naa* II (Dispute Manager) for the Dagomba community in Agbogbloshie. In private life he works as the chairman of the Bawku cargo loading station in Accra located behind the Children Hospital near the timber market. Educationally, he is a basic school product (JHS) and married to two wives at the time of this study.

7.2.2 Socio-Demographics of Respondents

Thirty-(30) participants constitute my sample size for the data collection, ten from each community. Through semi-structured and telephone interviews, information regarding the research was solicited. Four community migrant chiefs, six sub-chiefs and twenty subjects

constitute my key informants for the study. Below is a summary of the distribution of respondents categorised in terms of age (table 2), status and gender (table 3).

Table 7.2: Distribution of Respondents by Age

Age	Number of Persons
16-25	-
26-35	5
36-45	19
46-55	2
56-65	2
66+	2

Table 7.3: Distribution of Respondents by Gender

Position/Status	Male	Female
Community Chiefs	4	-
Sub-chiefs/Elders	6	-
Subjects	15	5
Total	25	5
	+	= 30

Source: Field Survey, 2015

The above category of respondents constitutes all the participants who took part in this study encompassing the community migrant chiefs, their elders as well as subjects. Even though the anticipated number of female respondents was estimated as fifteen, equal to the male respondents, only five of them were actually ready to speak to the issues at stake, with other respondents giving the excuses of having nothing to say even though the basis of the interview was explained to them.

In terms of occupation, majority of the respondents are in the informal sector. These include the businesses of butchering, transportation, construction works, scrub dealings, export and

import of food items, and the business of head porter (“*Kayaye*”). Only one respondent is into the formal sector as an Immigration officer. The general level of educational attainment is noticeably low as majority of the respondents either have completed or stop at the basic level (Primary and JHS) or the secondary (SHS), form four (old levels). Three out of the four migrant chiefs are actually engaged in the transportation business. Two of them are chairs to two GPRTU stations in Accra.

7.3 Institutionalization of Chieftaincy among Dagomba Migrants in Accra: A Historical Perspective

The importance of history is in its capacity to help one to draw conclusions from the past events. Against this background, the study reveals that there are varied antecedents leading to chieftaincy among migrant Dagombas in Accra. Some of the antecedence includes; need for indigenusness by host chiefs and desperateness on the part some Dagomba Migrants in Accra to be chiefs. In Agbogbloshie, the study reveals that chieftaincy among migrant Dagombas started during the late 90s (1998-1999) through to the year 2000 with a man called “*Bobson*”, who in the year 2000 was installed as the first *Nachin-Naa* (youth chief for Agbogbloshie). However, before *Bobson’s* title, there were other chieftaincy titles for some Dagombas that were more of nicknames than real chieftaincy titles. Their bearers invariably created such titles as indication of their desire or interest for the real chieftaincy titles. For instance, before the *Nachin- Naa* (youth chief) for the Dagombas in Greater Accra in 2008, one Afa Hudu was popularly christened with the title as “*Volini Naa*” (lit. chief of the hole), and presently there is one called “*Boori*” *Naa* (lit. chief of market). Later, one Afa Mahama became the first *Malgu-Naa*. However, after the demise of *Malgu-Naa Mahama I* in 2006 the current *Malgu-Naa* was considered because of services rendered to his predecessor and the community at large. Thus, confirming an earlier observation made by Acquah (1958) in Accra that:

A migrant tribal head is chosen by his fellow-tribesmen...and such an individual is usually a man well known for his generosity and also for his closeness to the deceased headman...he will usually have been recognised as the second in command during the lifetime of the late headman (Acquah 1958:101).

In Madina, chieftaincy among the Dagombas dates back to the 1970s, even though the first immigrant chief, Alhaji Seidu Kardo (a Malian immigrant) became the first chief in the early 60s. However, after the death of Alhaji Kardo in 1977, the indigenous Ga-chief for Madina, the La Mantse called for an indigenous Ghanaian migrant of the community to succeed the late chief who was a Malian. Subsequently, Chief Abdulai Munkaila I, a Dagomba migrant and father of chief Issah (current Dagomba chief of Madina) was considered as successor of Alhaji Kardo around 1977-1978. After the demise of Chief Abdulai Munkaila, Alhaji Khalid Ibrahim II became the next Dagomba to succeed Chief Munkaila Abdulai in 1979. After the death of chief Ibrahim and a search for a successor, Chief Munkaila Issah succeeded chief Ibrahim as the third Dagomba migrant chief in Madina in 1999.¹⁷

Table 7.4: List of Dagomba Chiefs in Madina and Years of Installation

Name of chief	Year
Alhaji Abdulai Munkaila	Late 1970s
Alhaji Khalid Ibrahim	Late 1980s
Munkaila Issah	24-10-1999-to date

Source: Field Data, 2015.

¹⁷See Quarcoo, A.K, Addo, N.,O and Peil, M. (1967). Madina Survey: A Study of the Structure and Development of a Contemporary Sub-Urban Settlement. Also, Iddrisu Y. (2014). Unpublished long essay, Department of Sociology, university of Ghana

In Kasoa, the history of chieftaincy titles among Dagombas is fused with the reasons for institutionalizing chieftaincy in the migrant community. These reasons range from the need for self-identity, and recognition in the larger community in Kasoa, to the need of promoting the culture of the north by the Dagombas and avenue for controlling crime among members in Kasoa. Yet, the paramount chief (chief Kadir), *Malgu-Naa*, and chief Issah of Madina see it in the light of honouring a divine command. They indicate that as Muslims, they are required to always chose a leader wherever they find themselves. For instance, they mentioned during the offer of salat (Muslim compulsory daily prayers) that one person is chosen to lead even if they are two. Therefore, constituting five per cent of the city's population means that there is the need for them to have some people as leaders.

In the next discussion that follows, I set to focus on the reasons behind this social action of chieftaincy by Dagomba migrants in Accra.

7.4 Reasons for the Institutionalization of Chieftaincy Among Dagombas in Accra

Data gathered in Kasoa reveals that chieftaincy among the Dagombas in this community is a recent phenomenon. The Dagombas of Kasoa unlike other communities in Accra such as Madina where this practice has existed for a long time has only recently instituted it. When asked on the brief history of migrant chieftaincy in Kasoa, the chief (Abdallah) explained that it is the first of its kind to be practiced in Kasoa: "Yes...I think our chieftaincy history here is that, in brief I am the first to be installed as a chief for the Dagomba community here in Kasoa. We are the first to start it (chieftaincy) in Kasoa. I was installed as a chief on the 24th February 2012" (Chief Abdullah 11/10/14). Thus, chief Abdallah is the first migrant among the Dagombas in Kasoa to be installed a chief. Despite its recent nature, the study reveals that chieftaincy among Dagombas in Kasoa can simply be described as exceptional amidst other chieftaincies among Dagombas in Accra; because more formalized guidelines for selecting

leaders (chiefs) are employed. Several reasons explained the institutionalization of chieftaincy in Kasoa.

7.4.1 Need for Self-Identity

One reason(s) behind the institutionalization of chieftaincy among Dagombas in Accra is the need for identity and recognition. The narrative by Chief Abdallah lends credence to this idea of fostering self- identity:

In Kasoa here, when Dagombas started to settle around the early 2000s, it got to some point any time we had a social function like out-dooring, wedding or even funeral, it was graced and supervised by the Muslim *zongo* people of this community, this was because we were not many. But as time went on, our population started growing and we thought that we can now do things on our own. What necessitated this idea was that anytime the *zongo* people were honouring our invitation they choose to come very late sometimes 2pm or 3pm instead of the morning...later we thought that there was the need for us to form an association... So we did, and named it Dagomba Youth Association–*Tiyumtaba* (Let's love one another)...later on we thought that there was the need for somebody to lead the group and be enskinned as chief according to our custom and tradition...there many people expressed interest but I was selected and that was how it all started and the reason behind such a move (Chief Abdallah, 11/10/14).

The above observation clearly indicates that, the need for self-identity by the Dagombas in Kasoa especially in supervising their own social activities resulted in the idea of institutionalizing chieftaincy within the community. In addition, the reason for establishing migrant association and subsequently into chieftaincy as the chief indicates confirms the earlier study by Owusu (2000). According to Owusu, that, depending upon the purposes for the formation of migrant association, new migrants who finds it unsuitable to meet their social, economic and cultural needs in their new society may attempt to establish and support a distinct organizational structure which will satisfy their special interest. Yet, Cammozi (2011) maintains that the only way for migrants to feel part of a group with specific identity, to have a voice in society, and to seek social and political recognition, is to establish or join a

group, hence the institutionalization of the Dagomba Youth Association (*Tiyumtaba*), whose leadership later metamorphosed into chieftaincy among Dagomba migrants in Kasoa.

7.4.2 Recognition and Identity in the Community

The view by one of the elders also supports the idea of recognition and identity as a reason for the institutionalization of chieftaincy among Dagombas in Kasoa:

In Kasoa here when we had no chief, nobody knew us as a group ...we were never invited into anything within this community. Any time there was an issue or a decision that affected the entire community, even though we were part of this community, we were never invited to be part of such issues. But as soon as we were told that Dagombas in Kasoa have now gotten a leader (chief), we were all happy and rushed to welcome him. Afterward, any time there is an event or a function we as Dagombas are officially represented...there, those who did not know us and our number or the chief, easily identify us or the chief. It means that if not because of the chief, we wouldn't have been recognised (Alhaji Muniru, Elder to Kasoa chief 13/12/2014).

Interestingly, the rationale behind this action as the Kasoa chief indicates also confirms the idea that population growth among people is a prime mover for the emergence of chiefdoms as observed by Earle (1997). Yet some subjects see the reason for the institutionalization of chieftaincy in the light of curtailing crime and maintaining peace and harmony among the Dagomba community. For instance, according to one of my respondents:

In fact, if we had no chiefs here in this part of Accra, things wouldn't have been well for us as migrants. One day you would have come here to only meet people lying down dead. But because every other ethnic group have a chief, if somebody causes a trouble or misbehave and he is identified, he/she is reported to his ethnic chief; there the person is called upon for the necessary action. So the presence of the chiefs ensures sanity among Dagombas here (C.K, 45 years, subject, Agbogbloshie).

In a related statement Zelia, a female respondent observes that the essence for the institutionalization of migrant chieftaincy among every ethnic group and particularly

Dagombas is the fact that, the chiefs are always the first point of call when they are in any difficulty.

7.4.3 Divine Command

The paramount chief (Alhaji Kadir), the *Malgu-Naa* of Agbogbloshie and the chief of Madina introduced a religious dimension to the institutionalization of chieftaincy among Dagomba migrants in Accra as they see this action as a response to the glorious call of God and the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH). For instance, Alhaji Kadir (ibid) explained that:

The Prophet Mohammad, (PBUH), has admonished us that any time people are gathered at point or place and they are up till three or more, they should have one of them as leader, such that every reference or difficulty of the group is channelled to him for solution. So because of this background, as Dagombas in Accra, we are many, so it is necessary that we have leaders (chiefs) in order that they see to the welfare of all members (Paramount Chief, Alhaji Kadir 21/12/14).

In explaining further, chief Kadir indicates that as believers of the Islamic faith, they were bound to obey the command of God and his prophet, hence the institutionalization of chieftaincy in Accra.

7.4.4 Preservation of Cultural Heritage

“Culture involves... what people think, what they do, and the material products they produce...It is shared... it is a social phenomenon.... Culture is learned, not biologically inherited, and involves arbitrarily assigned, symbolic meanings”....John H. Bodley (1943). (<http://faculty.berea.edu/richeyj/DEFINITIONS.pdf>. Retrieved 17/06/15).

Against this background of Bodley’s definition on culture, Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra see the reason behind the institutionalization of chieftaincy as the surest way through which the Dagomba culture of the north can be preserve in a stranger urban community like Accra. To emphasise this view, one of the chiefs explained that:

The bases of this whole issue of chieftaincy among us as migrants is that you cannot be located within a vicinity as strangers up to twenty in number without a leader. You ought to have a leader, so that anybody who has a problem can call on such leader for solution. Also, these titles serves as platform for us to show case our culture to others who do not know much about that. Again, we see the institutionalization of chieftaincy within this locality among us as a means of reducing the level of crime among our people. When someone steals or attempt to cheat and the information gets to my palace, I called on such person to advise him or her, otherwise I take the appropriate action of reporting to the police (*Malgu-Naa* 02/11/14).

Above are just few of the views the study found among respondents in regard the reasons for the institutionalization of chieftaincy among Dagomba migrants in Accra.

7.5 Roles of Dagomba Migrant Chiefs in Accra

Introduction

Leaders of any community are people who by virtue of their status or office they hold in society are in a position to influence the opinions and behaviours of others. However, given the formidable problem that confronts our societies, it is highly imperative that any leader, who emerges from these societies either at the micro or macro level, should be equipped enough for the task of dealing with the ills of his community and to ensuring the welfare of his people. Thus, in the preceding discussion, I set out to examine the roles performed by Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra, this is done against the objective of ascertaining the function of the chiefs.

Unity in Diversity

Migrant chiefs just like any other traditional leaders have a lot of tasks and responsibilities as leaders. They fulfil a number of social, economic, cultural and political functions. In fact, Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra just like any other chiefs in Ghana, share similar objectives and responsibilities. The chiefs have that task of ensuring the general unity of their people. In Kasoa for instance, this unity is fostered through weekly meetings held at the palace between

the chief and his elders and monthly Qur'an recitations at the palace where members come together, and through other social functions like weddings, out-dooring, and funerals. In Agbogbloshie, the chief usually sends his *don-don* beater to disseminate information to the people regarding any important event. Through the annual Damba festival organised at the various communities by the chief in Accra, the unity of the people is enforced. This is also an avenue, where the chiefs take the opportunity to advise their people to forge together in unity and doing away with petty hatreds among them.

“Welfare of Subjects”

Dagomba migrants' chiefs also do more than only promoting unity among their people, to also assisting members of their communities (subjects) in finding job opportunities. The chiefs are aware of the numerous unemployment challenges facing subjects and the country at large, especially when majority of their subjects have low level of education. In response to this need, the chiefs always help to locate employment opportunities in and around their communities for their people especially on areas of construction works. However, those who are fortunate to have the requisite qualifications or certificates are assisted to find jobs. For instance, Chief Abdallah (ibid) said:

As a leader, any time my subject needs an employment and have the certificate, I quickly move to the municipal chief executive to initiate on behalf of the subject...this is a personal relationship between myself and the chief executive...sometime too if somebody informs me of a construction works around this area, I tell my people who are interested and take their names to him for employment as labourers (Chief Abdallah 11/10/14).

The chief of Agbogbloshie, *Malgu-Naa* and chief Issah of Madina indicates always-receiving assistance from a number of NGOs for their subjects especially in the area of technical and vocational training for female head porters.

“A Crime Officer or A Dispute Manager”?

Above all, the chiefs liaise with the division police command to control crimes within and around their communities. Being aware that the perpetuation of crime is rampant, the chiefs' doors are ever open to all calibre of persons to provide information leading to a purported crime or an impending one. The chiefs have contacts with the Divisional Police Command within their communities. For instance, chief Abdallah indicates that he has contact with both the Effutu and Ga-East police command, because his community is situated between the borders of these two municipalities. As such when information on any crime comes to the notice of the chiefs, they call on the police immediately. All the chiefs, including the paramount chief who doubles as President for the Council of Muslim zongo chiefs for the country, share this view.

Closely related to the issue of crime is the judicial role performed by the Dagomba chiefs in Accra. The study reveals especially in Agbogbloshie and Kasoa that, the chiefs under their leadership have committees responsible for resolving all kinds of personal, marital, and family dispute that would have otherwise ended up as police or court cases, chaired by one of the elders' in-charge of dispute resolution. For instance in Agbogbloshie the chairman for such committee is popularly called “C.K Akonor”, while in Kasoa the *Malgu-Naa* (chief arbitrator) under the Kasoa chief takes charge of that arbitrations. In an interview with the chair of the committee in charge of the dispute resolution (C.K), he reveals that when a person reports a case at the palace of the *Malgu-Naa*, he in turn calls on C.K to handle the case. In fact, C.K narrates the processes involved in adjudicating a case as:

When a case is brought before us, we send one of our boys to go and invite the accused to the palace or office. When he/she appears, the complainant is also invited where they are both asked to present their cases. First, the complainant will be asked to present his/her case and later the accused will be asked to respond to the allegation. It is after the two are finish with their side of the story that the committee will then come in with cross-examination of both parties. The responses

of each of them will inform us about the direction of the case and to determine who is right or wrong. Afterward, a verdict is passed and the necessary damages are paid to the rightful owner (C.K, 45 years, Agbogbloshie).

In fact, the processes involve in settling dispute among Dagombas in Agbogbloshie resonates with Anamzoya (2009) work on the judicial processes¹⁸ at the Houses of Chief in Ghana. The Dagombas apart from having the judicial committee to adjudicate cases also have people responsible for inviting parties in a dispute to the palace, a position similar to the role of the bailiff at the Houses of Chiefs. The process of cross-examination as it occurs in formal courts also seem to be practiced by the judicial committee of the Agbogbloshie community, this particular practice assist the committee to arrive at a discerning conclusion that is appreciated by both parties without necessarily endangering their relationship. Not until a case is beyond the reach of the committee in Agbogbloshie, the chief himself do not intervene. It is important to note that, during an adjudication process the chiefs employs the method of their traditional custom and social practices as well as legal and social norms of their hometown of ensuring a win-win situation especially on issues that relates to marriage. This practice is to foster the needed unity among the people rather than tear them apart.

For instance, a dispute that witnesses the critical dispute resolution's role of the Dagomba chiefs in Accra is the November 19, 2014 clash between the Nanumbas and Dagombas in Agbogbloshie as a result of a misunderstanding between one Hanan (a Dagomba) and Haroon (a Nanumba). A brother to the said Haroon selling his used clothing in the locality (Agbogbloshie) had it seized and beaten by Hanan while asking that he could call anybody to come and rescue him. This actually saw the victim reporting to his brother (Haroon) who in turn retaliated with Hanan. This did not go down well with Hanan; therefore, he declared Haroon and the brother "wanted". Subsequently, group of young men with women organised by Hanan, invaded the area surrounded by the Nanumbas, chanting war songs (*ziem*) with

¹⁸ See Anamzoya (2009) for more on the judicial processes at the House of Chiefs in Ghana.

cutlasses and other dangerous weapons. As a result, the two groups clashed resulting in the death of two people while several others sustained various degrees of injuries. A week later, the Dagomba migrant chiefs conveyed a crunch meeting to find a lasting solution to the problem. I was fortunate to have witnessed the initial stage of the meeting, which saw in attendance; the Kasoa Dagomba chief, Agbogloboshie Dagomba chiefs, delegation from the regional paramount chief of the Dagombas in Accra, some high ranking political figures from both the ruling NDC and opposition NPP and other opinion leaders. Finally, the chiefs requested for the burial of the deceased, whose bodies were deposited at the mortuary. Later leadership from the two groups were admonished to advise their members. Surprisingly, while the issue was still pending a resolution from the chiefs and other opinion leaders, the two persons behind the incident had left the community while the police were in search for their arrest.

It must be mentioned at this juncture again that, just as it is true for headmen or chiefs of Kumasi *Zongo* observed by Schildkrout (1970a:373 in Pellow 2002), the judicial powers of Dagomba chiefs in Accra are confined to their own people (Dagombas) and limited in scope. For instance the chiefs have no power or authority to make arrests unless through the police. Just like any traditional leader in northern Ghana, Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra hold their offices for life.

A Father for All?

Beyond the aforementioned functions of the chiefs, Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra also serve as surrogate fathers for many of their subjects. The chiefs exercise this role as they often stand on behalf of some subjects as fathers to witness the consummation of marriages between and among them. The study further revealed that the chiefs also often stand on behalf of the parentless dead to ensure a successful burial and other funeral arrangements. One of my respondents said:

Sometimes when somebody dies, and the person is a Dagomba, whether I know that person or not, when it is reported to my palace, I have to quickly organise for the burial according to our religion. If the body is deposited at the mortuary, all the cost involved has to be borne by me before the burial. I do sometimes too serve as father to people whose parents are not here in Accra to oversee their out-dooring or wedding ceremonies. (Chief Abdallah 11/10/14).

Reconciliation

This function of the migrant chiefs was noticed during the interview with all the Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra. However, the part by the paramount chief in regard this function is worthy of mentioning. According to Chief Kadir, after his nomination and enskinment as chief in 1992, one of his greatest achievements has been the reconciliation initiative he took between the late *Yaa-Naa* (Yakubu Andani) and some of his elders and subjects both in Accra and in Dagbon. Alhaji Kadir indicated that, between 1994 and 1995 when the *Yaa Naa* set off on a journey from Yendi to Accra, he had prepared himself and poised to demystify the myth that he will not ever greet the *Yaa-Naa*. He had organised a rousing welcome for the *Yaa-Naa* than ever before on his arrival. Being so much happy, the *Yaa-Naa* could only praise him that “you are actually a true blood of this skin”. Hence, forth, the *Yaa-Naa* promised Alhaji Kadir of fulfilling any of his demands. As at then, the chief of Madina, Alhaji Ibrahim, the deputy Imam for the Dagomba in Accra (Alhaji Bakore) were all not in good terms with the *Yaa-Naa*. However, through the effort of Chief Kadir coupled with the promise made by *Yaa-Naa* to chief Kadir, a piece pipe was smoked among these people.

Key to the reconciliation is the one between the *Yaa-Naa* on one hand and some of his elders in Dagbon, chief of Gusheigu (Gushei Naa Yakubu) and the regent of Tolon skin (Rtd. Major Sulemana), all under the auspices of Chief Kadir. According to Chief Kadir:

...the *Yaa-Naa* [had] then asked me, “What is your first proposal”? There I said, my number one proposal is that you have diskined the chief of Gusheigu (Gushei Naa Yakubu) and his children and grand children will never love you until the end of the world. There the *Yaa-Naa* remarked: “tell him to come and greet me, I will give back his title to him... the second proposal is that you refused to recognise Major Sulemana as regent of the late chief of Tolon...the

Yaa-Naa said, “for the sake of you, I have recognised him, tell him to come and greet me.. (Chief Kadir 21/12/14).

This attempt according to the chief resulted in the reconciliation between the factions, the *Yaa-Naa* on one hand, and the elders mentioned earlier. At the community level, the Dagomba chiefs, particularly regarding dispute among married couple, equally carry out similar roles.

Peer Educators

Dagomba chiefs in Accra also act as peer educators of their people especially on national exercise. They lead the crusade of educating their subjects on issues that affect national interest. For instance, Migrant chiefs in Agbogbloshie, including the Dagomba chiefs were engaged by politicians and other government officials to organize public education and sensitization for their members towards peace, prior to the historic August, 29th Supreme Court Verdict on the 2012 Presidential election petition (*Malgu-Naa*, 25th August 2014). This critical role ensures an incident free aftermath of the ruling in Agbogbloshie.

The above roles as the study reveals is not different from earlier research (Schildkrout 2006, Pellow 2002) about the significant functions of migrant chiefs or headmen in urban Ghana. This reminds us of the observation made by Logan (2013) that traditional leaders continue to exercise authority because the state has failed, at both the central and especially local levels, to provide an effective alternative. Local communities thus, have little choice but to accept the authority of their chiefs if they are to secure their most basic needs (Logan 2013:356-357).

7.6 Role of the Sub-chiefs among Dagomba Migrants in Accra.

Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra are hierarchically structured, base on the period around which a chief was installed for a community. Age is not a factor in the hierarchy of these chiefs. Thus, at the apex is the paramount chief who is responsible for the entire region of

Accra and its environs, followed by the chief of Madina, Tema, Kasoa, Teshie/Nungua, Soutorom, Ablekuma, and Ashaiman. Others are chief of Zeinu, and Agbogbloshie.

However, at each community level there exist a number of sub-chiefs under the various chiefs performing varying functions for the success of the community. For instance in Kasoa, the study reveals that the chief has fourteen sub-chiefs beneath him. They include; the *Wulana*, *Kpanalana*, *Bomah'naa*, *Saha-naa*, *Malgu-Naa*, *Zaachi/Nachin-Naa* (youth chief), *Tamalgu*, *Zosimli Naa*, *Nakoh'-naa*, *Babba* (Chief butcher), *Taribabu* (Deputy Chief Butcher), *Magaaziya* (women organizer), *Imam*, and *Naaimi*. Each of these elders performs different functions for the smooth administration of the community. A similar arrangement occurs in the other communities among Dagomba chiefs. For instance, the *Malgu-Naa* in Agbogbloshie at the apex of the hierarchy has a *Naazo* (lit.friend of the chief), *zoh'yuri Naa*, *Kpana Lana*, *Gushei Naa*, *Yel'vuhi Naa*, *Wulana*, *Nakohi Naa* (chief butcher), and a *Saha Naa*. Yet, the Dagomba chief of Madina has sub-chiefs including; the *Wulana* (special assistance), *Gushei Naa*, *Zoh'yuri Naa*, *Kpanalana*, *Kamonaa* (war chief), *Lungnaa* (chief dom-dom beater). They perform various functions under their main chiefs in ensuring the smooth administration of the communities.

On their functions as sub-chiefs under the main chiefs, the *Naazo* is usually equated to the wife of the chief according to the *Malgu-Naa* of Agbogbloshie. Before the *Naazo* lives the palace of the chief in the night, it is only after the chief is asleep. Any visitor entering the palace must pass through the *Naazo* before setting eyes on the chief. If the issue to be addressed is considered serious and beyond the reach of the *Naazo*, he refers that to the *Kpana Lana*, who will in turn lead the delegation to the palace of the *Wulana*. The *Wulana* is considered the final point of call and the only person to see the chief and to explain issues to him, before he comes out to see any delegation. In fact, the *Wulana* role among the Dagombas can be equated to the *Okyeame* among the Akan (Nukunya 2003) and to the

Salama among the Hausas as Pellow (2002) indicates. As the spokesperson of the chief, the *Wulana* always sits by the chiefs in public occasions, and speaks on behalf of the chief. It is considered a taboo for the chief to speak openly to commoners in a gathering (Nukunya 2003).

The *Naazo* on the other hand can be equated to the *Sarikin Fada* among the Hausas who always stays around the chief and also serves as a messenger to the chief (Pellow 2002:61). The role by the *Zoh'yuri Naa* on the other hand according to *Malgu-Naa*, is described as a “Chief Discipline Officer.” He has on his shoulder the *Baramzim* (chiefly leathered whip for caning wrong doers). The *Zoh'yuri* again is considered as the chief arbitrator or apologist in the palace. He intercedes on behalf of other elders to the chief when something goes wrong between the chief and the elders. In the instance *Malgu-Naa* points out, “the chief has no option than to accept the apology from his *zoh'yuri*”. Because of this crucial function by the *zoh'yuri*, the *dom-dom* beaters always praise him as *Sandaani tim'da-kpema* (lit. lead apologist). The *zoh'yuri*, when it comes to the issue of food in the palace, is again to ensure that such food item is fairly distributed. Even if an animal is slaughtered at the palace, its distribution depends solely on the good works of the *zoh'yuri*. “He also apologises on behalf of the chief for his wife when there is a quarrel between them”. The above function about the *zoh'yuri* is not to suggest that he performs every role, rather, there are equally important functions performed by the other elders, as this study might not be exhaustive of all the functions about these elders.

In Kasoa, chief Abdallah explained the role of his elders differently. To chief Abdallah the *Wulana* can be equated to the “Chief of Staff” at the Presidency. The *Wulana* takes over the affairs of the palace and supervises any other activity in the absence of the chief. The deputy *Wulana*, in a typical traditional arrangement among the Dagombas is supposed to be the *Tamalgu*, but in the present arrangement of migrant chiefs, the *Kpanalana* (divisional earth

priest) is made the deputy *Wulana* and hence, deputy “Chief of Staff”. This instance again reaffirms the theory of social construction of reality by Berger and Luckmann (1966). There is an objective and subjective reality in every social action and what constitute an objective reality is what majority of the people believe. Though the functions played by these sub-chiefs as it occurs in a real traditional arrangement remain the same, Dagomba migrants have socially constructed the reality by re-arranging the roles of these sub-chiefs.

The *Bomah'naa* performs a delegated role of representing the chief in social functions like funerals, weddings, and naming ceremonies. Thus, apart from the chief, the *Wulana* (a chief linguist) is next in the hierarchy, followed by the *Bomah'naa*. There is also the *Babba* and *Taribabu* as elders of the butchers in the community. They are responsible for the preparation of any animal that is slaughtered at the palace. They prepare and distribute meat accordingly, under the instruction of the chief. They however, also sell meat for sustenance.

Conspicuously missing in the hierarchy of the chieftaincy structure among Dagombas in Accra is the absence of women. Apart from the *Magaaziya* (women organizer), who is in charge of all women (Dagombas) in Kasoa, no other woman is part of the structure. As Chambas (1977) observed, that women in the Ghanaian society are often discriminated against and denied equal rights like their male counterparts. They are not allowed to participate on equal terms with men in the political system and to play leadership roles; the kitchen is thought to be the final destination for them (Chambas, 1977:72). Thus, it is not surprising that there is only one woman in leadership position in Kasoa chieftaincy arrangement among the Dagombas and in the other communities at large. However, I must be quick to mention that, chieftaincy among Dagombas in the north unlike the southern part of the Ghana, is often male dominated probably due to the patriarchal nature of the society, which is reflecting in the case of Accra among the Dagomba migrant chiefs.

The Imam and his deputy (Moslem clerics) are described as the spiritual leaders for the chief, responsible for offering prayers on behalf of the chief. Every chief has an Imam who satisfies the spiritual needs of the chief, his household, and his people. They (Imams) often arrange for the recitation of the Holy Qur'an on the request of the chief for the entire Dagomba community. They are also responsible for supervising weddings, out-dooring, and funerals on behalf of the chief.

Pellow, (2002) observed among Hausa migrants in Accra of having a *Sarkin aski* (chief of the barbers), *Sarikin makafi* (chief of the blind), and a *Sarikin fawa* (chief of the butchers) (Pellow, 2002:56, Schildkrout 1978, 2006). The contrasting part of these structural arrangements between the Dagombas in Accra and the Hausas as Pellow (2002) observes lies on the issue of lineage. Whereas the Hausa's chiefs succeed in establishing these titles of chieftaincy on family lines, this is absent among Dagombas in Accra. Dagomba migrant chiefs however, enjoy a cordial relationship with other neighbouring chiefs and some state functionaries.

7.6.1 Dagomba Migrant Chiefs and Other Actors in Accra.

This section focuses on the relationship between Dagomba Migrant chiefs on one hand, and other social actors in Accra, such as the police, Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) other migrant chiefs and the chiefs of Dagbon.

7.6.2 Relationship with Other Ethnic Migrant Chiefs

The study reveals that migrant chiefs in Accra are in a cordial relationship with other ethnic migrant chiefs. For instance, there is an organization called the Council of Muslim Zongo Chiefs within which Dagombas are part. Interestingly, the regional paramount chief of the Dagombas is the national president of the council. They meet as a council to deliberate over

issues affecting their members in Accra and Ghana at large. The paramount chief reiterated that:

In fact, we have a cordial relationship. For instance, we have a Council of Muslim Zongo Chiefs for the ten regions in Ghana to which I am the current president. Once, we met (2009) as migrant chiefs of Ghana at the national conference centre in Accra. It was attended by the current chairman of the National House of Chief (Professor Nabila), the then vice President of Ghana (John Mahama), and the national chief Imam, to deliberate over issues affecting our people and the country at large.

Similarly, Kasoa has association of migrant chiefs also referred to as Council of *Zongo* Chiefs. They composed of seventeen ethnic heads including; the Dagomba chief, Gonja, Busanga (Busansi, plural), Mamprusi, Mossi, Wala, and Sisala chiefs and some southern ethnic chiefs including the Ewes. Ascendancy to leadership among these chiefs is base on elections, with a fixed tenure of two years within which another election is conducted for change of leadership. As at the time of this study, the chairman of the Council of *Zongo* Chiefs for Kasoa was the Busansi chief where his tenure at the time (November, 2014) was left with four months to expire and for a new election to be conducted.

To drive home and promote a healthy relation among the chiefs and their subjects, migrant chiefs in Kasoa often organize monthly meetings (first Saturday of every month), to deliberate on matters affecting their subjects and the community at large. Emergency meetings are called only when a funeral occurs. Such meetings are held at the palace of the Dagomba chief, perhaps because he has a very large compound house to accommodate every member. The chief admits that:

Yes, we have a council of zongo chiefs. I think the whole Ghana, there is no community with such council, and we are the first. Within this council we have seventeen tribal chiefs and our relationship is solid... for now the chairman of the council is the Busanga chief...but he is left with four months to complete his tenure and a fresh election will be conducted to change another chairman (Chief Abdallah 10/11/14).

Madina also has an association of migrant chiefs where the chiefs interact and often meet to discuss matters affecting the community. Unfortunately, the Dagomba chief (Chief Issah) was not part of this association at the time of this study. Further probe to ascertain the reason for his absence proved futile. However, an informant during an interaction indicates that chief Issah once contested for the title of Madina *Zongo* Chief with the current chief who is a son of Alhaji Kardo (first immigrant chief for Madina), but was not given the nod. Therefore, it is adequate to reason that this might be the secret behind his action of not being part of the association. To confirm this strain relationship between the Dagomba chief and the *zongo* chief of Madina in an interview, Chief Issah repeatedly refer to the Madina *zongo* chief as “*Nzomaa*” (lit. “That guy”). Thus, apart from this exception from chief Issah, other Dagomba chiefs in Accra are said to have cordial relation with other migrant chief.

The case of Agboglobshie only differs slightly from the Kasoa and Madina cases. Unlike Madina and Kasoa where there are organized association of migrant chiefs, Agboglobshie presently has no such association. Needless to say this however, the study reveals that Agboglobshie has a number of ethnic migrant chiefs. With the exception of the Mamprusis who have no chief in Agboglobshie as the time of this study, almost every other ethnic group has a chief in the community. The study reveals that there exists in Agboglobshie, migrant chief for the Ewe, Kotokoli, Gonja, Sisala, Wala, Chakosi, Basari and Konkombas including Dagombas.

The Dagomba chief in an interview mentioned that there exists a very solid relationship between him and the other migrant chiefs within Agboglobshie. He claims that Dagombas were the first to have institutionalized chieftaincy within Agboglobshie. This puts the Dagomba chief in a unique position as most of the ethnic group looks forward to them for leadership in the community. In fact, during the entire period of the interview with *Malgu-Naa*, I observed that most of the other ethnic chiefs came to pay him visit than he did. For

instance, I witnessed the Chakosi chief (the *Anufe feme*), Gonja chief (the *Wura*), *Sisala chief* (the *kuuru*) and the *Kotokoli chief* (*Wuro*)¹⁹ paying the *Malgu-Naa* visit at his palace. Despite the non-existence of association of migrant chiefs in Agbogbloshie, migrant chiefs still meet during the weekend to deliberate over issues affecting their people and possible ways of solving them.

7.6.3 Relationship with the Divisional Ga-Chiefs

Apart from the relationship between the Dagomba migrant chief and other migrant chiefs, the study also reveals that there is a cordial relationship between the Dagomba chiefs and the indigenous Ga-chiefs on whose land the Dagomba chiefs are located. Not until the chieftaincy dispute over the Ga-stool, Chief Kadir indicates that they used to live in peace and harmony with the Ga chiefs, often paying them courtesy calls at the palace of the Ga-Mantse. The Dagomba chiefs were also notified, and invited to the annual *Homowo* festival by the Ga-chiefs. However, with dispute over the Ga stool, Dagomba chiefs now avoid recognizing any of the Ga-Mantse, though they still coexist peacefully, yet they do not visit the Ga- Mantse as frequently as before.

In Madina, the chief also indicates having a cordial relation with the La-Mantse (the divisional Ga-chief). He considers the La-Mantse as a “son sitting on the laps of a father”. He said, “Ooh as for him...even yesterday I went to his palace...we have a good relationship”. Chief Issah adds that, during Islamic festivals like Eidul Adha (festival of sacrifice), he sends meet to the palace of the La-Mantse, and sometime food items.

In Kasoa, Nai Awushie Tettey Tsuru II is the host or indigenous divisional Ga-chief for Odupong Ofaakor Kasoa where chief Abdallah is located together with other ethnic migrant chiefs. An equally good relationship exists between Nai Awushie and Chief Abdallah. In fact,

¹⁹ The *Anufe Feme* refers to a chief in the Chakosi language. Just like *Wura* for the Ganjas, *Kuuru* for the Sisalas and *Wuro* for the Kotokoli

the installation of the chief for the Dagomba Community in Kasoa is not complete without a part played by Nai Awushie and his elders. Chief Abdallah indicates that he has a cordial relationship with the palace of Nai Awushie to the extent that he can, at any point in time walk to him without any resistance from any palace attendant. He considers his relationship with Nai Awushie as a “father and son” (the former as father and the later as son).

During the enskinment process of the Dagomba chief at the palace of Nai Awushie, a certificate of recognition and two traditional stools were given to the Dagomba chief as symbols of recognition. However, he keeps one at the palace of the Ga chief and the other at his own palace. He indicates of only utilizing the stool at the palace of Nai Awushie, upon visiting the palace. During an interview with the chief (Dagomba), I actually spotted one of this stools in his room, which adds up to his symbols of recognition and authority. The other stool at the palace of Nai Awushie was reserve for the Dagomba chief on occasion of meeting at the palace where he sit. It must be mention at this point that only the Dagomba chief has these stools among the other migrant chiefs. The chief indicates that among the seventeen ethnic chiefs in Kasoa:

I am the only chief who has a close relationship with him...such that I can walk to the palace at any time and get access to him (Nai Awushie) and to chart with him face-to-face. The reason is that...I have built a trust between myself, and the palace as a whole. Because we do pay homage to them when it is due...even I was the first to be given a stool by the chief. No other ethnic chief have ever been given a stool by him or the palace. The stools are two, one for my home and the other is kept at his palace...in case I go to the palace or we have a meeting, I sit on it. It has never happen in this community (Chief Abdallah 11/10/14).

As part of attempts to strengthening the relationship between the indigenous Ga-chiefs and the migrant chiefs in Kasoa, the study reveals that the migrant chiefs are given a formal representation at the traditional council of the Awutu Brekum. They are represented by the chairman of the Council of the Zongo Chiefs in Kasoa within which the Dagomba chief is a

part. The migrant chiefs also have a representation at both the Regional and District Security Council for the area. They take part in meetings on issues concerning security in the district and the region represented by one member, usually the president or a delegated member.

Again, the Awutu Brekum Traditional Council under the auspices of the Omaahene (Paramount chief) also requested for the various certificates of recognition of the migrant chiefs in Kasoa to start a process of gazetting the migrant chiefs. This means that Migrant chiefs in Kasoa will formally be recognised by the State, according to the Dagomba chief. As at the time of the interview with the Dagomba chief, his certificate of recognition was still with the Traditional Council of the Awutu Brekum for processing. In fact, not until this process of gazetting is fully complete among migrant chiefs in Kasoa, it will be interesting seeing how this new dynamics and innovations within the chieftaincy institution unfold.

In Agbogbloshie, the divisional Ga-chief is the *Korle Wulomo* with whom the *Mal-gu-Naa* has a similar cordial relationship.

7.6.4 Relationship with Hometown Chiefs

The Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra equally have cordial relationship with the chiefs at Dagbon. This is particularly noticed during the installation of a new Dagomba migrant chief where delegations from chiefs in Dagbon are sent to witness the occasion. The study reveals that in all the enskinment processes of the entire Dagomba migrant chief in Accra except for one, (the *Malgu-Naa*), representative of chiefs in Dagbon particularly from the regents of both the Abudu (*Bolin Lana*) and Andani (*Kampakuya Naa*) were sent to witness and to take apart in the enskinment. However, one thing that remains a fact among these chiefs as the study reveals is that, all the Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra accept that: their titles are not as real as those in Dagbon are. As such, on visit to Dagbon, migrant chiefs always tread consciously. One of the migrant chiefs explained the reason as follows:

You cannot carry the chieftaincy title here in the south in the same way to the north...because when you get there...you know you have finally arrived at the hub of real chieftaincy. Therefore, the way we carry ourselves here, we cannot do the same in Dagbon... (With an expression) “No matter how tall a walking stick is, it definitely has a place to hold” (Chief of Kasoa).

The study revealed that despite the relationship that exists between the Dagomba Migrant chiefs and their hometown chiefs, there is however, no remittance of any form to the chiefs at Dagbon. In any case, anything of sort by any chief is done in the individual capacities particularly to their families back at Dagbon rather than as migrant chief. Nevertheless, the paramount chief indicates that, he often receives some assistance (cattle) from donor partners abroad, and when these comes, some are sent to elders in Dagbon including the *Bolin Lana* (regent for the Abudu’s gate), *Kampakuya Naa* (regent for the Andani’s gate), *Zohi Limam*, and *Kumlana*.

7.6.5 Relationship with State Agencies (The Police and the Assembly)

The relationship between Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra on one hand, and the police and the Accra Metropolitan Assembly on the other, cannot be over emphasised. Chief Kadir, who doubles as paramount chief for the Dagomba community in Accra and all other Muslim *Zongo* chiefs of the country, has an exceptional relationship with these agents. As an aid to the National Chief Imam, Ghana, chief Kadir is exposed to different officials of these two state agencies. Particularly, he deals much with the Nima police command. This is because he resides around and closer to this place. Cases related to marital and family issues among Dagombas that end up at the police station are always referred to him for resolution. To drum home his relationship with the police, he said:

The police commander for Nima divisional command, Mr Awuni, knows me as a chief. Any time there is a problem, especially among my subjects where it is sent to the police, the commander quickly refers them to me, indicating that, not until it is beyond my reach, no statement about the case will be written (Chief Kadir).

Similarly, the other Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra including Madina, Kasoa and Agbogbloshie have similar relationship with these state agencies around their communities.

For instance, one of the chief said:

There is a good relationship between these institutions and us as migrant chiefs. You know what? [(Referring to me)] the divisional police commander for this area, Mr. Yakubu is a Dagomba and a royal (son of Gushei Naa Bawa). The police commander at Kantoment (Mr Seidu) is also a Dagomba, so we do communicate and share ideas regularly. Majority of the junior officers at the police knows me, and I always contact them when necessary (Chief Issah 15/10/14).

The narrative above by the chief indicates his level of relationship with the divisional police.

The study further reveals that apart from the cordial relationship that exists between the chief and the leadership of the police, he also sometimes pays private visit to the police. With AMA, an equally good relationship exists between the chiefs and members of the assembly. Chief Issah for instance indicates to have worked with most of the members of the assembly in different capacities at other locations either than the assembly, and therefore, has a good working relationship with them.

The case of the Kasoa's chief is not too different from that of Madina. The palace of the Kasoa chief is located between the Ga-South (Accra Metro) and the Awutu Senya Municipal Assembly (Central Region). This situation puts him in a dual position to deal with two assemblies and two divisional police commands. According to the chief, there is a very solid relationship between him and these two agencies. For instance, any time there is decision-making processes by any of the two assemblies, the Accra metro and the Awutu Senya Municipal, official letters are served to the chief and the other migrant chiefs in Kasoa to

participate. For instance, they take part in the RESEC and DISEC²⁰ meetings with the assembly.

The chief indicates that whenever he needs assistance for his subjects in the form of job; he calls either the chief executive directly on phone or call on him at his office.

With the police, he enjoys a similar relationship with the divisional police command in Kasoa. The chief serves as an agent of information for the police. He reports cases of criminal acts in his community to the police. The chief reiterates this relation as:

As a chief, my doors are always open to all calibre of persons in this community, especially to people willing to volunteer information regarding any form of criminality in this community. When such cases get to me quickly, I pick my phone and call the police commander. However, usually I do make my own background checks before forwarding such information to the police. In short, I have a very solid relationship with the police of this community (Chief Abdallah).

In Agbogbloshie, the study reveals a similar pattern between the chief on one hand and the AMA and the police. Describing the community as a “flash point” for varying crimes, the chief maintains that he could not do without the police. The police and the AMA on any impending exercise in the community always give the chiefs a prior official notice. With the perpetual fear of evacuation by the AMA on the Agbogbloshie community, the chiefs within this vicinity have a rapport with the Assembly. The mayor or representative of the city always invites the chiefs to their offices to inform them of any exercise especially demolition²¹ of some structures.

²⁰ The District Security Council (RESEC) and the Regional Security Council (RESEC) are the highest decision making bodies on security at the district and regional level. The composition of such meetings has in presentation the DCE or the Regional Minister as chairmen, the police, military, chiefs, coordinating director and some opinion leaders.

²¹ On the 20th June, 2015, the AMA embarked upon a massive demolition of structures at Agbogbloshie (Old Fadama). This was described by many; including the media as the most devastating destruction of the community since Ghana gain her independence. Subsequently, the AMA boss and the government of the day were publicly accused of being insensitive to ordinary citizens who were left homeless and to the mercy of the weather. However, the AMA boss (Oko Vandapuije) indicated having informed the resident through their leaders especially the chiefs. On Monday 22nd June, the residents of the displaced victims of the demolition

This, the chief explains, is to provide them with ample time to inform their subjects.

According to him,

The AMA sometimes will give us a letter to demolish some structure here. As a chief, when this happens you know most of my people will be rendered homeless. Nevertheless, I do not sometime sit down for such things to happen. Most times I do go behind the scene to plead with the authorities of the AMA to possibly minimise, if not avoid the extent of such exercise. In such cases, they listen to my plea as a chief (*Malgu-Naa*).

The above personal relations between the chiefs on one hand and the police and assemblies on the other hand, put Dagomba migrant chiefs in a unique position. Therefore, this study concludes on the relationship between the Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra and these State actors (Police and AMA) that, a peaceful and cordial relationship exists between them and the agencies.

7.7 Challenges of Dagomba Migrant Chiefs in Accra

7.7.1 The “Abudu and Andani” Factions

The issue of “Abudu and Andani” is a well-known phenomenon in Ghanaian chieftaincy literature. Even though it pertains to only the people of Dagbon, its effects on the larger Ghanaian society cannot be over emphasised. Stemming from a chieftaincy dispute between two gates in Dagbon, the issue of “Abudu-Andani” has polarised the entire Dagbon, to the extent that no Dagomba can claim to be neutral. Even non-natives have equally taken interest and side in this divide issue.²² Thus, as Dagombas in Accra, migrant chiefs have suffered the effect of this phenomenon within their communities. According to the regional paramount chief of the Dagombas in Accra, his nomination for the title in 1992 witnessed a serious

embarked on a demonstration, where they were reported to have vandalised a lot of state properties including four police cars and subsequently invading the parliament of Ghana where they demanded some compensation from the state. This issue later attracted parliament’s attention where they called for an end to the exercise immediately. See the Daily graphic, and Times (22/06/15) for more insight on the demolition exercise at Old Fadama.

²² See Anamzoya 2008 for more insight into Abudu and Andani conflict in Dagbon chieftaincy.

opposition from some sections of the Dagomba community in Accra on the bases of Abudu-Andani divide. Tagged as an “Abudu” by some group of Dagombas in Accra, they openly opposed him during the period of his selection and enskinment. Again, due to this phenomenon, the study reveals that one of the Dagomba chiefs and part of this study has failed to recognize him (Chief Kadir) as the regional paramount chief, and therefore his superior, due to this divide. To confirm this allegation with the said chief, he denied as having such a relationship with the paramount chief. However, in a recount of where his enskinment took place, the chief indicates that it took place at his own palace and at the palace of the divisional Ga-chief for the said community instead the palace of the paramount chief. In addition, due to this issue, Ashaiman has no substantive chief for the Dagombas at the time of this study. The reason being that, two people from the divide of the “Abudu-Andani” are all claiming²³ to be chiefs for the same community.

In Kasoa, the chief indicates that as a result of some persons desire to become chiefs for the Dagomba community, the Abudu-Andani faction came up. This issue left the entire Dagomba community in Kasoa during the time in state of despair. Subsequently however, through the wisdom and consideration of the leadership of the council of elders of the Dagomba migrants in Kasoa, they manage to control the situation from escalating. The chief admits that:

The issue of Abudu and Andani nearly mar the unity of the initial association we formed...because some bad nuts among us had planted confusion within the group as they craved to be leaders...yes, they brought the issue of Abudu and Andani out to enable them usurp power. So because of this idea, we decided to suspend everything until we were able to water down the confusion...Certain guideline were put forward by the council of elders for any would-be chief of Kasoa. A potential chief should have among other things; a permanent accommodation in Kasoa, might have had some level of education, and some level of wealth. Therefore, to cut things short, when these guidelines were brought up, I was “taller” than any other person (Chief Abdallah).

²³ A future danger of chieftaincy conflict among Dagomba in Accra and it’s environ is looming, unless an immediate attention is paid to it by the appropriate authorities like the government.

In a further statement, at the initial stage they spell out a lot of things that should not be meddle with the chieftaincy in Kasoa including the issue of “Abudu and Andani”, the politics of NDC and NPP, religious divide of “Sunni and Tijania” or football rivalry (Barcelona-Chelsea or Kotoko and Hearts divide). However, some “greedy” persons in an attempt to score cheap political points rather engaged in this division. The reason behind this is that out of jealousy and petty hatred especially regarding the special honour, respect and recognition that people accords the chief, some people think otherwise, hence the divisive tendencies. The chief reiterated that:

The Abudu and Andani issue is the major challenges for our chieftaincy here just like at home [(Dagbon)]. Because some members within us do not like the kind of recognition that is usually accorded me especially during occasions. Therefore, they feel jealous and attempt to soil the name of the entire Dagombas in Kasoa.

Thus, the chief considers the issue of the Abudu and Andani factionalism as the major challenge to Dagomba chieftaincy not only to kasoa, but also to Accra at large.

7.7.2 External Pressure

Another challenge to Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra is the issue of pressure from external members within the communities. Subjects of different ethnic migrants in almost all the communities prefer to have their problems solved by the Dagomba chiefs. The reason is that the Dagomba chiefs are often seen to be more influential in matters affecting their subjects and the communities at large. The chief of Kasoa for instance emphasise that:

Among the seventeen tribal chief in Kasoa, almost all their subjects run to me for solution to their problems, instead of their leaders. However, when they come you cannot expel them. The reason is that, they know what we are capable of doing for them.

7.7.3 “Money for Skin”

Another form of challenge to the Dagomba chieftaincy among migrants in Accra as the chiefs indicates is the issue of money in influencing decisions of council members (electors of

potential chiefs) during the selection of candidates. In fact, in the general political economy of Ghanaian politics, the allegation of money being used by politicians²⁴ to influence delegates during party primaries and in the general elections are well known. Therefore, it comes not as a surprise among some members within the Dagomba community in Accra to attempt to influence “kingmakers”²⁵ to select them for chieftaincy titles. As observed by (Anamzoya and Tonah 2010) that “no one loves a poor chief”, as such “wealthy but perhaps unworthy competitors will use their wealth to buy stool and sit on them (Hagan 2006:670 cited in Anamzoya and Tonah 2010:3). Thus, the situation where money tends to take over the processes of selection of chiefs in the Ghanaian traditional set up is what I will describe as “colonization” of the chieftaincy institution by money. In fact, the chief of Kasoa laments over this development and regard as unfortunate and a recipe for mediocrity, in future leadership among Dagombas in Accra. “This money issue one day will lead to unqualified and incompetent candidates getting their way through as chiefs”.

7.7.4 Alienation from Family

Other challenge the study found is concerning alienation of the Dagomba chiefs from their families due to other busy schedules in resolving problems for people in their communities. One of the chiefs indicate that sometimes as a result of solving peoples problems, he ends up sleeping outside his home without the knowledge of his family. “The family will only sometimes call me to know my where about which is very worrisome”.

²⁴ On the 13th June 2015, the Opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP), held their party primaries to elect parliamentary candidates for the 2016 general election in the country (Ghana). The aftermath of the polls saw accusations and counter accusation about how some candidates influenced delegates with cash and items such fridges, and plasma TVs in their bid to becoming MPs. In fact, one of the newly elected candidates in the Ashanti region alluded to this fact on a radio program (eye witness news) on “Citi fm” in Accra, but was quick to add that those monies were given as payments for the transportation and lunch of the delegates.

²⁵ Also see Anamzoya and Tonah (2010) on “the Commercialization of Justice in the Houses of Chiefs in Ghana”.

7.7.5 “Role Strain”

Role strain occurs when a person has difficulty meeting the responsibilities of a particular role in his or her life. Thus, Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra experience a lot of role strain in the conduct of their duties. This often occurs when a chief has to meet two or more assignments on a single day. For instance, one of the chiefs during interview complains that he sometime finds it difficult to honour two or more of his subjects when they invite him to their social functions like weddings or out-dooring on the same day and expect him to be present in person around the same time. He said:

Sometimes I do find myself in a state of dilemma when we have series of occasions together on the same day. Presenting myself personally is always a problem especially when owners of such occasions expect me in person to be there. For instance, once my Imam and a colleague chief had an out-dooring on the same day, in such instance, my Imam expected me to be present, yet the colleague chief equally expected me to be there... in such case what do I do?

The above challenges as the study reveals are only few of the numerous challenges faced by leadership of the Dagomba community in Accra. These kinds of challenges however, are not limited to only Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra alone but common to many other form of leadership within a group.

In the next discussion that follows in chapter eight, a summary of the entire study is looked at, while the necessary conclusions from the study are drawn. Some recommendations and suggestions for future research are given as well.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.0 Introduction

This study of migrant chiefs in Accra started with the objective of describing the history of chieftaincy among Dagomba migrants in Accra, ascertaining the reasons for the institutionalization of chieftaincy among Dagombas in Accra, whether such leaders are chiefs at all? Who accords such leaders recognition in the city? Their mode of selection and enskinment, the functions performed by these chiefs, their relationship with other actors (the AMA, police, other migrant chiefs, and their hometown chiefs) as well as the challenges they face.

8.1 Summary of Research Findings

Setting out to explore chieftaincy among Dagomba migrants in Accra, and the reason for the institutionalization of chieftaincy, the study reveals that different reasons account for the establishment of chieftaincy among Dagombas in Accra. While some see this practice as a means of preserving their custom and tradition in a non-native society, others see it as an opportunity for them to be recognised and identified by the larger community within which they live. Yet, some see this as a response to the glorious call of Allah and his prophet, who admonishes mankind to always chose a leader whenever they are together in a place, even if they are two, one should be made a leader, hence the brain behind chieftaincy among Dagomba migrants in Accra.

The reason for the institutionalization of chieftaincy among Dagombas in Accra is linked to the historical evolution of these titles within the various communities. Whereas in Kasoa the need for self- recognition from the larger community led to the institutionalization of chieftaincy, the desperate desire by some members for chieftaincy titles resulted in the

institutionalization of chieftaincy in Agbogbloshie. Yet, in Madina the call by the La-Mantse (indigenous divisional Ga-chief of Madina) for chieftaincy titles in the community to be with Ghanaian migrants either than foreign immigrant after the demise of the first foreign immigrant chief resulted in the first Dagomba settler to be installed a chief for Madina and subsequently its institutionalization among Dagombas within the locality.

Interestingly, qualification for chieftaincy title among Dagombas varies in terms of the requirements in the various communities under study. Whereas in some cases particularly Kasoa, and the paramount chieftaincy title, where there are guidelines for all aspirants for the title, these are absent in the case of Madina and Agbogbloshie, reminding us of the future danger posed by the absence of these measures. This however, is not to conclude that such communities (Madina and Agbogbloshie) are without any rules governing their selection of candidates for chieftaincy titles. Elders among the Dagomba community in the various locations do the selections of these chiefs. These elders double as sub-chiefs as well as “kingmakers” for these chiefs. Nevertheless, the study reveals that the ascendancy to the throne of chieftaincy title among Dagombas in Accra is not base on any line of succession. In addition, with the exception of the chief of Madina whose installation was done at his palace and the palace of the divisional Ga-chief (the La-Mantse), the rest (Kasoa and Agbogbloshie) had their installation done at the palace of the regional paramount chief for the Dagombas as well as their individual division Ga-chiefs.

Common to the chiefs during the installation is the fact that they all, with the exception of one had their installation process witnessed by delegations from their hometown chiefs, as an indication of their recognition of the titles. The chiefs also have some symbols of authorities. These include the chiefly walking stick, sandals, kettle and some symbols of animal skins though they do not sit on them.

What appears to be common among Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra as the study reveals is the fact that they are organised into a hierarchical structure with the main chiefs at the apex while the elders and sub-chiefs are beneath them, all performing various functions for the smooth administration of their communities.

The study further reveals that, migrant chiefs perform very vital functions for the socio-economic and political successes of their people and the community at large. The chiefs act as liaison or intermediaries between their people and other state institutions especially the assembly, in seeking job opportunities for their people. Yet, they also act as peer educators in sensitizing their members toward peace prior to general elections. In Madina, the chief has engaged the services of some local NGO's in providing vocational and technical training for some female porters (*Kayaye*) in the community with the provision of such logistics as tailors, hairdressing equipment among others. In fact, most of the subjects within this community see the presence of chiefs from their ethnic group as critical in their lives. For, apart from settling minor dispute, they also promote unity among them.

Responding to question regarding the area of collaboration between the chiefs and some state institutions like the assembly and the police, all the chiefs indicated that there is a cordial working relationship between them and the police as well as the assembly. The assemblies have always engaged the services of the chiefs in passing information to their subject especially toward an impending exercise within their localities. The chiefs are invited to participate in discussions towards the development of their communities by their respective assemblies. Formal letters or messengers are sent to inform the chiefs about any impending exercise within their locality.

In addition, the chiefs have co-operated with the police especially in the area of calming down crimes in their communities. This they do by reporting any suspicious characters

around their vicinity to the police. This is especially true about the chief of Kasoa as the community is a new settlement.

Relationships between Dagomba migrant chiefs and other migrant chiefs in the various communities of this study are also clear. The study reveals that there are other migrant chiefs for various ethnic groups either than the Dagombas, yet they co-operate among themselves as leaders of their ethnic group. Two communities (Kasoa and Madina) with the exception of one (Agbogbloshie) has an association of migrant chiefs. However, in Madina, the Dagomba chief is not part of such association. While in Kasoa, the association rotates its mantle of leadership every two years.

Concisely, it can be said that chieftaincy among Dagomba migrants in Accra emanates from varied historical antecedence and reasons, as seen from the historical account of the chiefs. Yet, the chiefs are performing very critical roles in the life of their people and the community at large. Whiles their installation process takes the shape of the real chiefs back at their hometowns, they believe largely that their titles are not 'real' and therefore their call for recognition by the state.

8.2 Conclusion

The central concern of this thesis has been to explore chieftaincy among Dagomba Migrants in the city of Accra, specifically in the communities of Madina, Kasoa, and Agbogbloshie.

Thus based on the findings of this study, the following conclusions are drawn, that:

- i. There are several Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra located in various communities (over ten), including a paramount chief.
- ii. Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra are in a hierarchical order with the paramount chief at the apex, followed by the Madina chief, Nungua chief, Kasoa chief etc.
- iii. There are varied criterions for selecting potential Dagomba migrant chiefs in Accra.

- iv. Dagomba migrant chiefs are installed in Accra combining the elements of their hometown to that of the south by the Ga-chiefs.
- v. Dagomba migrant chiefs have cordial relationship with other actors including migrant chiefs of other ethnic groups, the police, the Accra Metropolitan Assembly and with their home time chiefs.
- vi. Varied reasons account for the institutionalization of chieftaincy among Dagombas in Accra.

8.3 Recommendations

How can chieftaincy among migrant Dagombas in Accra be utilized to maximise the needed benefit for the Dagomba community in Accra and the entire host communities within which they live and the larger society as a whole? The recommendations made are:

- i. Majority of the respondents see unity among Dagombas as the only driving force that can help to promote and sustain the activities of migrant chiefs in Accra. Thus, a call to all Dagombas in Accra and its environs to eschew selfishness and greed, especially those seeking to satisfy their own whims and caprices to the detriment of the larger group, under the pretence of ‘‘Abudu and Andani’’.
- ii. The state should take the bold step to formally (in the constitution) recognize migrant chiefs in the city since they control a number of followers in their respective communities and influence a lot of decision making at their community level.
- iii. The government and for that matter the Ministry of Chieftaincy and Traditional Affairs should take the bold step to stream line the leaders of various migrant ethnic group especially the Dagomba community on criteria for becoming chief among their people. This will go a long way to forestall any future chieftaincy dispute among various migrant leaders in Accra as it happened in Kumasi *Zongo* in 1994 (Schildkrout, 2006), and especially when the issue of Abudu and Andani factionalism seems unavoidable.

- iv. Closely related to this is the idea of who accords recognition to a person as migrant chief? Again, the state needs to give guidelines as to who recognizes a migrant chief. In the case of Kumasi, the Asantehene serves as a recognition authority, without which a migrant chief is deemed not a chief.
- v. Considering the number of subjects that migrant chiefs influence in their various communities, it will be advantageous on the part of the host chiefs to involve these migrant chiefs in key decision-making processes in their communities. They could incorporate them as part of their local traditional councils, as the Awutu Senya traditional council is currently in the process of doing for migrant chiefs in Kasoa. With this, they can exploit the experience of the chief, and foster unity among them.

8.4 Future Research Areas

This study is explorative, and given the small size of the sample analysed here, which does however, correspond to the reality of the phenomenon of chieftaincy among Dagomba migrants in Accra, I make no claim to generalization. My basic aim is first and foremost, to explore and examine the activities of Dagomba Migrant chiefs in Accra, looking specifically on their mode of selection, enskinment, and, history to the chieftaincy titles in the various communities, their roles and challenges as well as their relationship with some social actors. Therefore, future research into the area of chieftaincy among migrants in the city may explore further around the following areas:

- i. Why are some traditional areas are seeking to ‘gazette’ migrant chiefs, in order to incorporating them into their traditional councils? Specifically, study can be conducted on the position/status of such migrant chiefs as new actors in the traditional council, whether they would be considered as “chiefs or chefs”.
- ii. The State relationship with the National Council of *Zongo* Chiefs.

- iii. Expand the study into other migrant chiefs of various ethnic groups to discover areas of convergence and difference regarding all issues studied here.
- iv. The perception of subjects on the effectiveness of migrant chiefs in the city.

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Zelia (2014): *Interview with the author*. 7th December. (Female subject in Agbogbloshie)

Paramount Chief of the Dagomba Community in Accra (2014): *Telephone interview with the author*. 21st December.

APPENDICES**Appendix A: Letter of Approval from the Review Board of the ECH, Legon****UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**
ETHICS COMMITTEE FOR THE HUMANITIES (ECH)

P. O. Box LG 74, Legon, Accra, Ghana

My Ref. No.....

27th March, 2015

Mr. Alhassan Baba Zakaria
Department of Sociology
University of Ghana
Legon

Dear Mr. Zakaria,

ECH 061/14-15: MIGRANT CHIEFS IN URBAN GHANA: THE CASE OF THE DAGOMBA CHIEFS IN ACCRA

This is to advise you that the above reference study has been presented to the Ethics Committee for the Humanities for a full board review and the following actions taken subject to the conditions and explanation provided below:

Expiry Date: 17/09/15
On Agenda for: Initial Submission
Date of Submission: 19/02/15
ECH Action: Approved
Reporting: Quarterly



Please accept my congratulations.

Yours Sincerely,

Rev. Prof. J. O. Y. Mante
ECH Chair

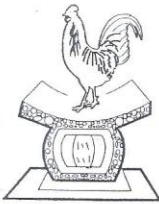
CC: Dr. Dan-Bright Dzorgbo, Dept. of Sociology

Appendix B: Letter of Recognition by the La-Mantse, to the Dagomba chief of Madina

LA TRADITIONAL COUNCIL

Our Ref. No.....Thirmil/Larec/2
Your Ref. No.....
Tel: 765161

WUO GBEE LA GBEE



LA MANTSE'S PALACE
LUMOSHISHI, KOWE
PRIVATE MAIL BAG
LA.

15th February, 2000

**ALHAJI ISSAH ABDULAI MUNKAILA, HEADMAN
DAGOMBA COMMUNITY AT MADINA
MADINA, ACCRA**

Dear Alhaji Issah,

**RECOGNITION OF ALHAJI ISSAH ABDULAI MUNKAILA
AS HEADMAN OF THE DAGOMBA COMMUNITY
AT MADINA**

The La Traditional Council having considered and approved a submission from the Dagomba Community at Madina, nominating you for election as their Headman, customary processes, which culminated in your installation as such on 24th October, 1999.

I am therefore pleased to notify you formally of your recognition by the La Stool as **HEADMAN** of the Dagomba Community at Madina, with effect from the date of your installation.

Needless to say, the status conferred upon you by this recognition carries a special responsibility for promoting the welfare and orderly development of your people in peace and tranquility, ensuring cordial relations between your community and other Settler-Communities at Madina, and above all, due respect for the La Stool in all pertinent matters at all times.

I am sure I can count on you to offer bold, enlightened and progressive leadership in the execution of your functions as Headman as well as in matters of co-operation with the La Stool as well as the La Traditional Council.

Please accept my warmest congratulations and best wishes.

Yours,


NII DR. KPOBI TETTEY TSURU III
LA MANTSE

cc: The Regional Minister
Greater Accra Region
Accra

The Regional Commander
Ghana Police Service
Greater Accra Region
Accra.

The Deputy Supt. In-charge
Ghana Police Service
Airport District
Accra

The Chief Inspector
Ghana Police Service
Madina.

Appendix C: Interview Guide For The Chiefs**MIGRANT CHIEFS IN URBAN GHANA: THE CASE OF THE DAGOMBA CHIEFS****A. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA**

1. Name
2. Official Chieftaincy Title
3. Location of chief
4. Age
5. Sex
6. Hometown
7. Level of Education
8. Occupation

B. EXAMINING THE HISTORY AND REASONS BEHIND MIGRANT CHIEFTAINCY

- When did you start the chieftaincy titles here in Accra?
- Who conceived the idea
- What motivated the this action (chieftaincy)
- Is there any benefit (materially and immaterially)
- Would you say that these titles are necessary to you and your people? Why?

C. DETERMINING THE NOMINATION AUTHORITIES, CRITERIA AND MODE OF SUCCESSION (Qualification for installation as chief)

9. When were you nominated as a chief?
10. Who nominated you as a chief?
11. Who do you succeed as a chief?
12. Did you compete with anybody during the time of your succession? (To probe further if they were or weren't any competitor(s))
13. Who is qualified to compete for the position in case of vacancy? And why?
14. Is there any line of succession to the throne?
15. After you were nominated, how were you installed? And by who? (to probe further for details of procedure including; elders involved in the process, the various ritual and the regalia involved, time of the day and reason(s) for such time of installation)
16. Who are your sub-chiefs/elders (To probe for the number and title of each)

D.SYMBOL(S) OF AUTHORITY TO THE CHIEFTAINCY

17. What is/are the symbol(s) of authority to your throne?
18. What is the significance of these symbol(s) to your throne?
19. How did you acquire it/them? (To probe further for any reason of additions). Observation will also be made to see within the palace if there is any symbol such as walking sticks, animal (cow) skin, Pillow(leather), sandals, Kettle and any other symbol available.

E.RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DAGOMBA CHIEFS AND OTHER MIGRANT CHIEFS

20. Do you know of other migrant chief in this community or Accra?
21. What is your position or rank in relation to those chiefs?
22. Do you meet as migrant chiefs? (Time, place, frequency and circumstances for such meetings- to be probed)
23. Do you have an association as migrant chiefs? Why?
24. Do you meet with your people? How and where?
25. How do you pass information to your people in case of a meeting or any other issue?
26. What usually necessitates your meetings with your people?
27. Do you own a portion of land as a chief?(To be probed further)
28. Is there any benefit or resource attached to your chieftaincy title?

F.RELATIONS BETWEEN DAGOMBA MIGRANT CHIEFS AND INDIGENOUS (HOST) GA CHIEF

29. What is the name of the Ga Chief on whose land you are settled?
30. Do you normally meet with your Ga Chief? (Time, place and reasons for such meetings)
31. What relation exists between you and the said Ga Chief? (To probe further for hierarchical power relation)
32. Do you receive any form of help from the Ga Chief in your community?

G. RELATION BETWEEN THE DAGOMBA MIGRANT CHIEFS AND THE CHIEFS AT THEIR HOME OF ORIGIN.

33. Do you often go to your place of origin? (For what?)
34. What is your position when you visit home, are you recognize as a chief? (Who, how and why?)

H. RELATIONS WITH STATE INSTITUTION(S) (POLICE, AMA ETC.)

35. Is there any relationship between you as a chief and any state institution like the police, AMA or any other institution?
36. What specific relation exist between you and such state institution(s)

I. GENERAL FUNCTIONS OF THE DAGOMBA MIGRANT CHIEFS

38. What functions do you perform as a migrant chief to your people and the community at large?
39. Who/what determines your function
40. Do you have any document that guides your behaviour and functions as a migrant chief?

J. CHALLENGES FACED BY THE MIGRANT CHIEFS

40. Do you face any difficulty in the execution of your duties as a migrant chief?
41. What are some of these challenges you faced
43. How does it affect your smooth execution of you functions?
44. How do you normally overcome some/all of these challenges?

Interview Guide For the Sub-Chiefs And Subjects

A. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA (to be recorded during interview)

B. ASCERTAINING THE VIEWS OF SUBJECTS ON THE GENERAL ACTIVITIES THE MIGRANT CHIEFS

8. How long have you lived in this community?

9. Are you aware of any Dagomba migrant chief for this community? (To probe for the name of the chief from the respondent)

10. Have you ever visited the “palace” (Probe further for the reason of visit/not and time?)

11. For what importance will you say the chief and his elders play for you and other Dagombas in this community?

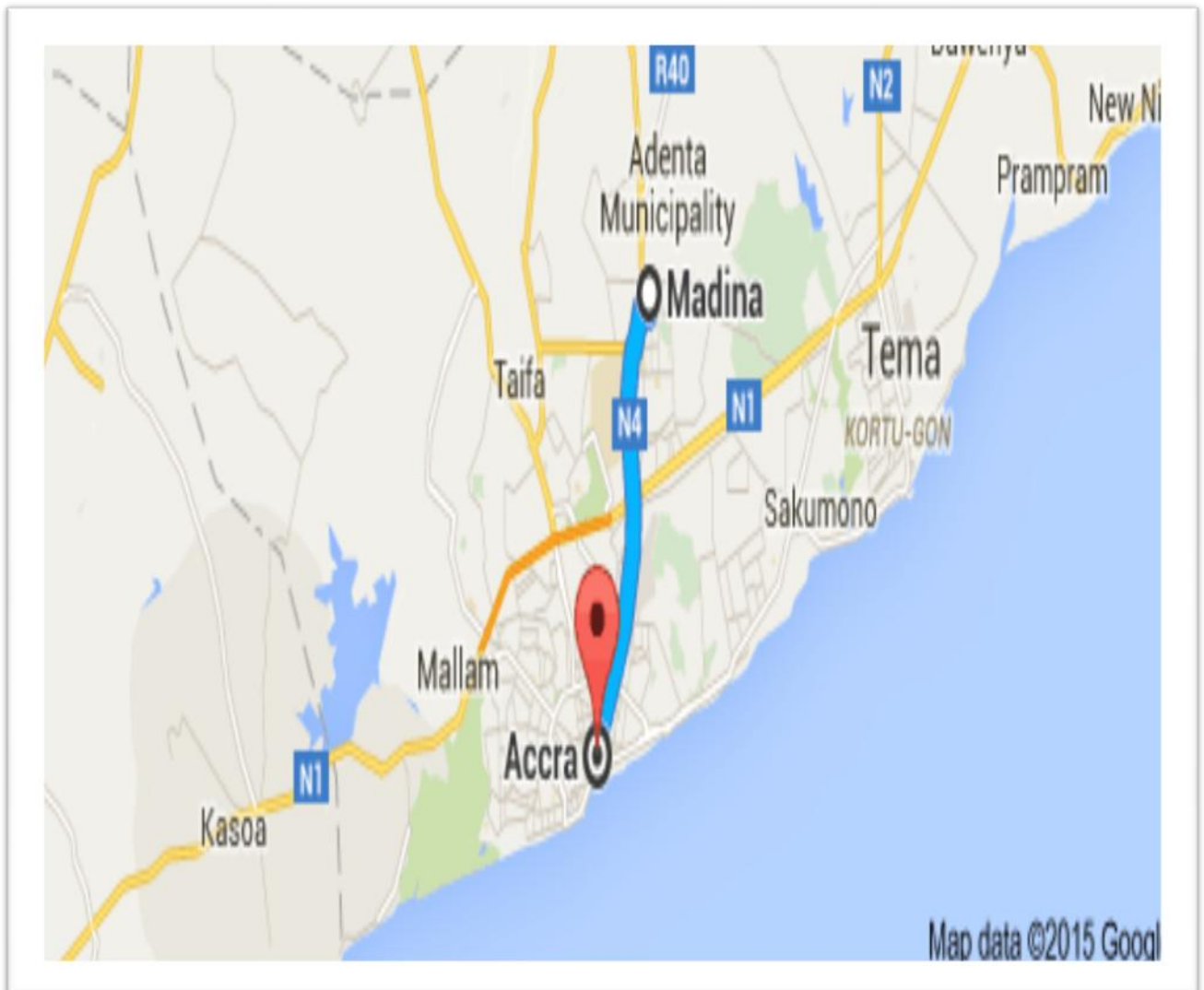
NOTE: Probe for further clarifications on any question in or outside this guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SUB-CHIEFS/ELDERS

A. THE ROLE OF THE ELDERS/SUB-CHIEF

1. How were you chosen?
2. Are you a royal back at your home town?
3. What are your general functions?
4. Do you have a limit to which you can carry out your duty (probe for further details)
5. Who sets these limits?
6. Can the chief dis-skin you in case of misconduct?
7. Do you take part in the installation of the chief?

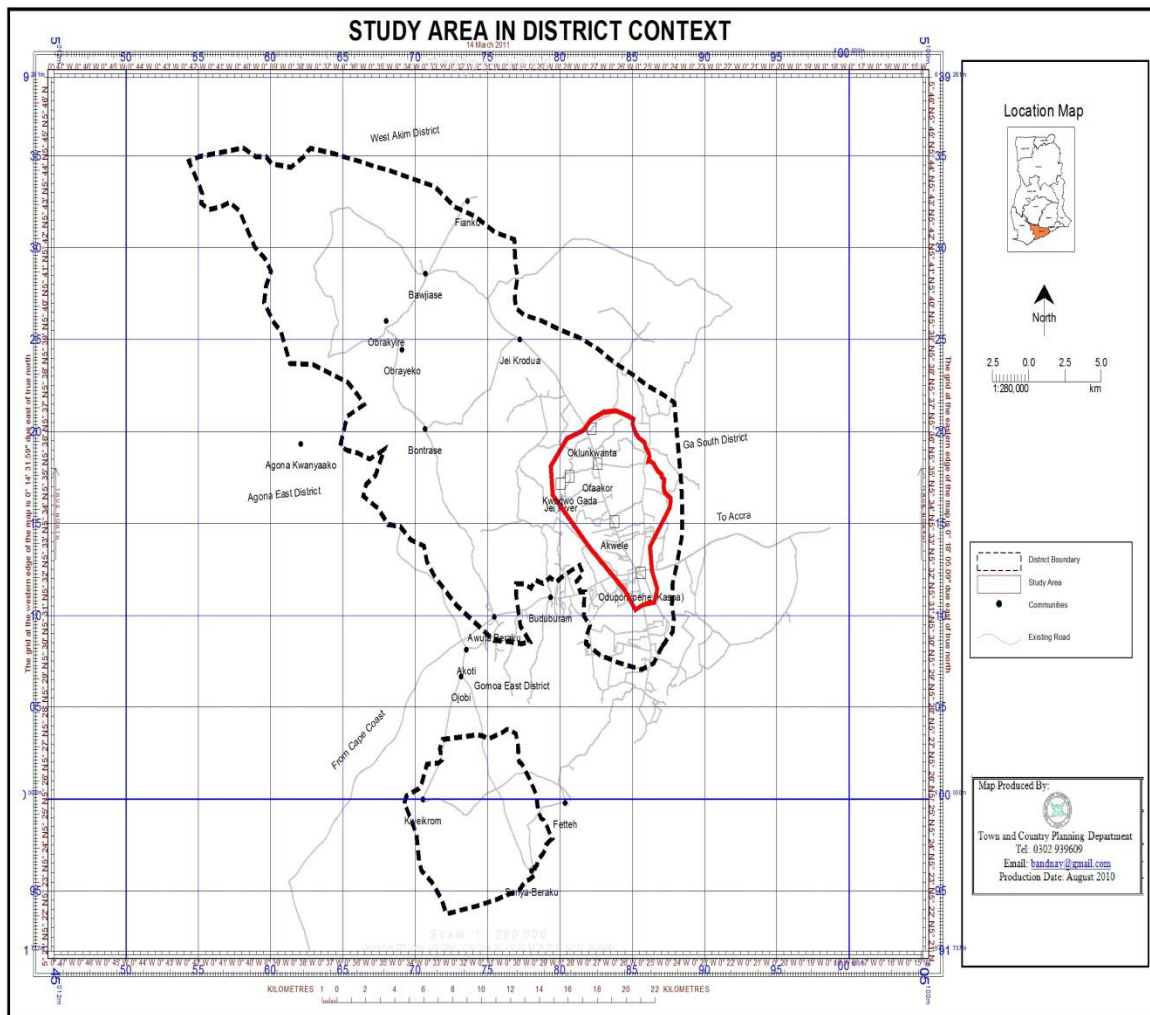
Note: further probes are made for clarifications or on other information

Appendix D: Map of Madina**LOCATION OF MADINA IN ACCRA**

SOURCE: https://www.google.com.gh/?gws_rd=cr,ssl&ei=J5xoVZW0OYbgyQP0-YHwDw#q=map+of+madina-+accra Retrieved: 29/05/15

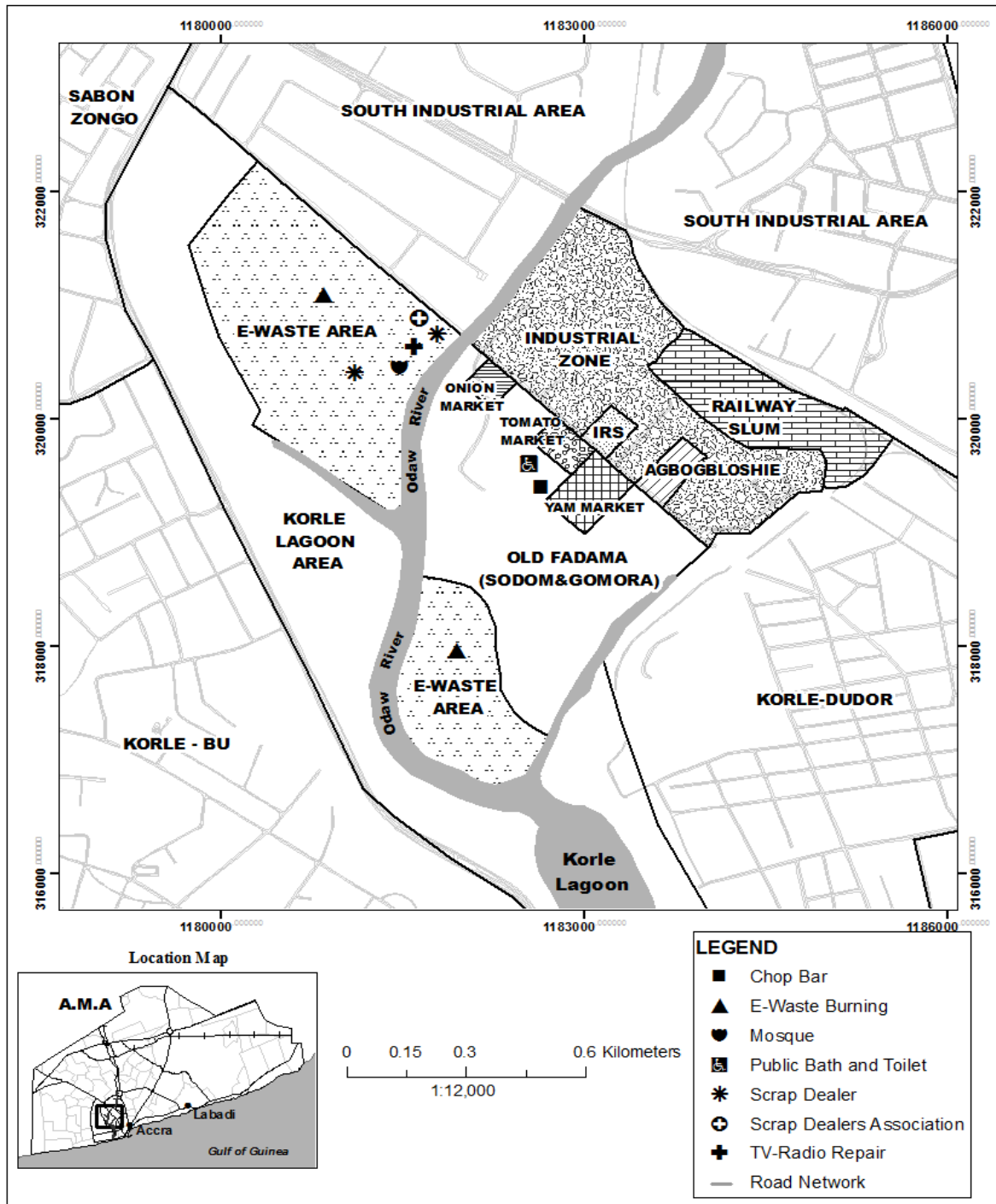
Appendix E: Map of Kasoa

Kasoa in District context with Odupong Ofaakor where Lamptey (study area) is located



Source: Extracted from Senu Maha-Atma Pomevor (2014).

Appendix F: Map Of Agbogbloshie



SOURCE: https://gamplify.files.wordpress.com/2013/10/agbo_e-waste.png. Accessed 03/06/15

Appendix G: Pictures of the outfits of the Dagomba Migrant chiefs in Accra



THE MALGU-NAA FOR THE AGBOGBLOSHIE COMMUNITY



THE PARAMOUNT CHIEF OF THE DAGOMBAS IN GREATER ACCRA



THE DAGOMBA CHIEF OF KASOA



THE DAGOMBA CHIEF OF MADINA

Appendix H: The Enskinment process of the Kasoa Dagomba chief with some elders



Appendix I: Some Symbols of Authority for the Dagomba Migrant chiefs in Accra



THE DONATED STOOL TO THE KASOA DAGOMBA CHIEF BY THE INDIGENOUS DIVISIONAL GA-CHIEF OFODUPONG OFAAKOR KASOA AS RECOGNITION

