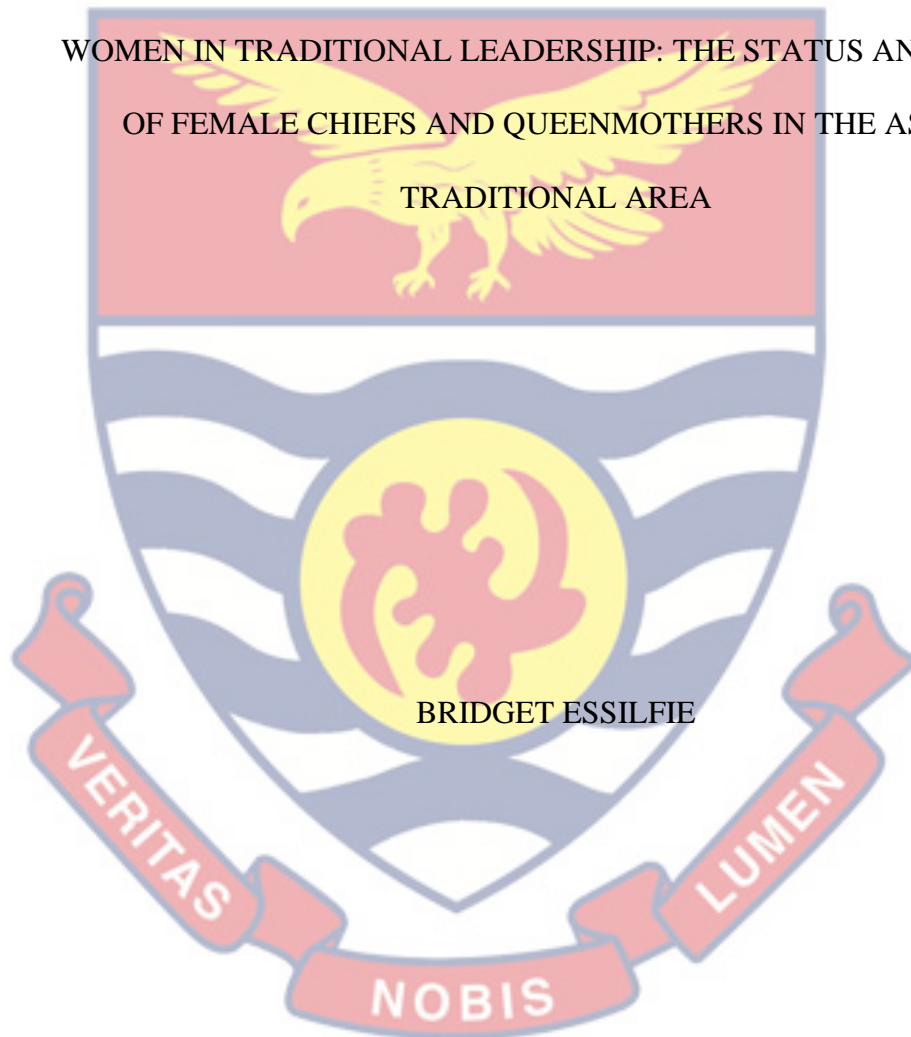UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

WOMEN IN TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP: THE STATUS AND ROLES

OF FEMALE CHIEFS AND QUEENMOTHERS IN THE ASEBU

TRADITIONAL AREA

BRIDGET ESSILFIE

2021

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BY

BRIDGET ESSILFIE

Thesis submitted to the Centre for African and International Studies, Faculty

of Arts, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast,

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy

in African Studies

JANUARY 2021

# DECLARATION

**Candidate's Declaration**

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

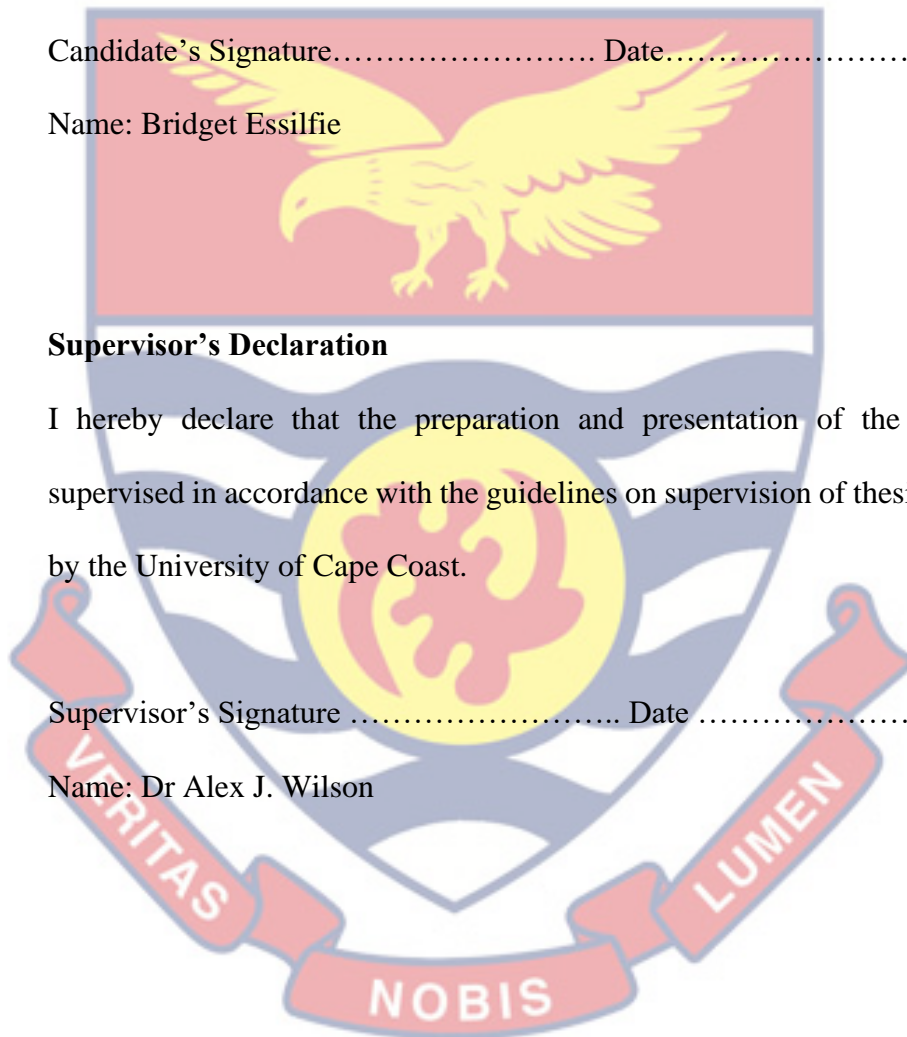Candidate's Signature……………………. Date……………………….

Name: Bridget Essilfie

**Supervisor's Declaration**

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis was supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Supervisor's Signature ………………….. Date ……………………….

Name: Dr Alex J. Wilson

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# ABSTRACT

This research seeks to comparatively investigate the status and roles of female chiefs and queenmothers in the Asebu Traditional Area. To this end, the succession norms, roles, achievements, and challenges of female chiefs and queenmothers are analysed from the perspective of the political life of women in governance. The role of women in traditional leadership has changed from the pre-colonial period through the colonial period and to the period after independence. Usually, female chiefs carry the accolade of queenmother, and they are considered so. The explanation is that they complement the role of chiefs. However, the context for which the term female chief is used here and throughout this thesis is whereby a female occupies a male stool and perform the appropriate roles associated with the stool. These women do not hold chieftaincy positions as queenmothers but as/are chiefs in their own right. Thus, they play roles that are reserved for male chiefs. In the collection of data, this research will adopt a qualitative method. Interviews and participant observations will be used to collect primary data. Based on the study results, the paper concludes that, although both the female chief and the queenmother are women, their varying roles assigned to the positions they occupy affect their succession norms, roles, achievements and challenges. As a result, the female chief is expected to perform masculine duties while the queenmother is expected to perform feminine duties. Finally, it maintains that the selection of a female as chief is circumstantial. The traditional rulers should make the necessary efforts to institutionalise the female chief's position in Ghana since their current position is circumstantial.

**KEY WORDS**

Gender

Status

Roles

Chief

Queenmother

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# DEDICATION

To the Essilfie family and my uncle, Mr. Roland Arthur

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**ATA**          Asebu Traditional Area

**CRHC**        Central Regional House of Chiefs

**NHC**          National House of Chiefs

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# CHAPTER ONE

# INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the research topic on women in traditional leadership: the status and roles of female chiefs and queenmothers in the Asebu Traditional Area. It discusses the general idea of the study. These include the background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of this study, research questions, and significance of the study. The chapter further looks at the delimitations, limitations, definition of terms, and the organisation of the study.

**Background to the Study**

African women's history has a changing effect on how we perceive and understand the African past. Some decades ago, researchers who explored African women's history received little attention or recognition and financial support from their colleagues and institutions (Falola & Amponsah, 2012). The few works that sought to explore female traditional leaders' role in Africa have also concentrated on their participation in the national government system and gender issues (Bari, 2005; Gyimah & Thompson, 2008). However, Odotei (2006) argues that the status and roles of women in traditional governance in Africa have received attention over the past years. Falola and Amponsah (2012) further explains that despite the increase in the academic interest and the successes of historians, challenges remain, and African women's history continues to be secondary in mainstream African historiography. These women in traditional governance were described as subordinates as compared to their male counterparts. Also, women's role in traditional governance is seen as a complementary role to the men's role in society (Odotei, 2006).

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Women in traditional governance have experienced changes from the pre-colonial period through the colonial to the post-colonial period (Odotei, 2006). In effect, women have been part of the governance system since the pre-colonial period. In most of the pre-colonial African states, kingdoms and empires, women formed an essential part of the host of officials in whose hands the administration of these polities rested. Indeed, women have been identified as the most significant state officials in some instances (Fields, Barber, & Riggs, 1988). These women served as female advisers, queen mothers, great wives, chiefs, and regents who ruled several parts of the world (Miles, 1989).

An example of such a prominent woman is Cleopatra, who ruled as a co-regent (first with her father, then with her two younger brothers, and finally with her son) in ancient Egypt for almost three decades. Cleopatra was part of Ptolemy's dynasty of Macedonian kings, who served as a General under Alexander the Great during his conquest of Egypt in 332 B.C.E and became the Queen of Egypt in 51 B.C.E (Waterfield, 1967). Also, Herodotus (cited in Miles, 1989) suggests that for forty-two years, Queen Sammuramat (Semiramis) ruled Assyria, irrigating the whole of Babylon and leading military campaigns as far as India (Miles, 1989). Notably, women used different media and strategies in patrilineal and matrilineal societies to attain high positions and status. That is, some acquired power through their husbands, children, by heredity, or by dint of hard work, diplomacy, and strength of personality and character (Ogbomo, 2005).

In the colonial period, other female traditional leaders joined the men in their communities to fight against their colonial masters. Queen Nzinga of Angola, Queen Amina of Zaria, Queen MaMohato of Lesotho, Queen Dede

Akaibi, who ruled the state of Accra in the seventeenth century (circa, 1642-1643), Yaa Asantewaa, (Ejisuhemaa), Queen Dokua of Akyem Abuakwa in the nineteenth century (1817-35), Nana Juabeng Serwaa, queenmother and chief of Juabeng (Asante) from 1962 to 1964, and Nana Hima Derkyi, queenmother and chief of Upper Denkyira from 1964 to 2002 are names of females who attached much significance to the positions they occupied (Odame, 2014; PANW, 2010; Brobbey, 2008; Odotei, 2006). Yaa Asantewaa, a queenmother of Ejisu, gained immense prominence in Ghana's political history because of her role in the armed struggle against British imperialism between 1900 and 1901. Also, Queen Nzinga Mbande of Angola's military exploits cannot be swept aside as she was referred to as a great female soldier, diplomat, and heroine of the slave trade for many years. She played a significant role in the opposition of her kingdom to Portuguese advances in Southern Congo (Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1994). In 1622, after several years of war against the Portuguese, Nzinga Mbande was sent to Luanda to negotiate on peace terms with the Portuguese.

Although women played active roles during the colonial era fighting against colonial rule, colonial activities eroded their power and authority (Aidoo, 1985; McCaskie, 1995; Rattray, 1923). They faced a lot of inequalities in all facets of life during colonialism in Africa. Colonial policies and rules compelled women to remain in the domestic sphere. Thus, their roles were subjected to gendered work, making it even more difficult for women to transcend from their domestic roles take up public roles favouring male domination. In work, women engaged in domestic chores and market activities (Dowd, 1989). In politics, the colonial leaders recognised and ruled with the

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male chiefs through a system of indirect rule where the chief became an appendage of colonial rule.

As a result, in most parts of Africa, the recognition of councils of chiefs during the colonial era hardly included queenmothers. This idea of chief's recognition and women's relegation was inculcated into the chieftaincy institution during post-colonial African governments (Adjepong, 2015). Thus, the activities of the Independent African government in the post-colonial era continued to undermine the powers of women (Odotei, 2006). In different ways, at different times, African women have been marginalised in the post-colonial era. Cultural, historical, social, and economic factors have contributed to the marginalisation of African women; and, in other instances, side-lining them over the years. However, this has prevented women from taking advantage of their numbers to influence decision-making processes and fully participate in politics. As a result, the potential of half of the country's population remains unexplored in the scope of labour, energy, and human resources available for national development. However, a few powerful women had political and social responsibilities in their societies and thus, worked in the public sphere (Allman, Geiger & Musisi, 2002).

The systematic marginalisation of women in governance started from the period of colonialism to post-colonialism. During the post-colonial era, this marginalisation was captured in the Chieftaincy Act of 1966, Ghana, where men were only pronounced as traditional rulers. However, the good news is that the Chieftaincy Act of 2008 has now recognised female traditional leadership. The current research into women's political activities in post-colonial Africa has brought into the limelight that many African women have inherited the spirit of

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their pre-colonial ancestors, despite numerous obstacles, including opposition from their men, and have already made magnificent contributions to their societies (Adjepong, 2015).

Advocacy and interventions from state actors, non-state actors, and international institutions have contributed significantly towards empowering women. Such interventions include but are not limited to the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1992) and various conferences such as the 1976 U.N. Conference on Women, the Beijing Declaration, and Platform for Action (2000). These institutions called for the empowerment and autonomy of women and the improvement of women's social, economic, and political status as an essential need for the achievement of a transparent and accountable government that works for the benefit of both women and men (Odotei, 2006). This view was well espoused in a presentation by one Pan-Africanist that "society cannot progress unless all of us, men and women, young and old, have equal chance to achieve our potential" (PANW, 2010).

**Statement of the Problem**

Chieftaincy institution has undergone several changes due to slavery, colonialism, and the formation of the modern state, but it still plays significant roles in society (Crook, 1986). Bob-Milliar (2009) indicates that chieftaincy has survived the British exploitative colonialism of the nineteenth century and has undergone both civilian and military regimes. Despite all these revolutions, Tieleman and Uitermark (2019) argue that chiefs continue to play symbolic cultural, political, and judicial roles in most African countries through alliances with successive governments. As a result of these roles, the institution was recognised by every government that ruled Ghana (Brobbey, 2008).

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Post-independence recognition was reflected in the constitution of Ghana. Therefore, the architects of the 1992 Constitution recognised the chieftaincy institution through the Chieftaincy Acts (Salih, 2018). Article 270-277 in the Chieftaincy Act of 2008 guarantees chieftaincy and traditional institutions, recognises the chief as a legitimate authority and specifies his domain and territory (Brobbey, 2008; Tieleman & Uitermark, 2019). Article 277 particularly defines a chief as "a person, who, hailing from the appropriate family and lineage, has been validly nominated, elected, and enstooled, enskinned, or installed as a chief or queenmother in accordance with the relevant customary law and usage" (Constitution of Ghana, 1992). This definition by the Chieftaincy Act recognises both males and females as chiefs and queenmothers, respectively. However, a chief is mostly seen as a male monarch of a state or a society.

In recent times, it has become important that females are enstooled as chiefs who play substantive roles where the two positions are fused in one person. However, women have played complementary roles in the Akan political structure as queenmothers to the chiefs (Brobbey 2008, Mingle 2015). The recent phenomenon is that some communities have female chiefs in addition to the queenmother. This recent phenomenon has not been explored in the literature. Therefore, this study explores the distinction between the roles of female chiefs in a patriarchal system compared to the roles of queenmothers in the Asebu Traditional Area.

**Research Objectives**

The main objective of the study is to comparatively explore the status and roles of female chiefs and queenmothers in the Asebu Traditional Area. Specifically, it seeks to:

   i.   Explore the history and politics of the Asebu Traditional Area.

  ii.   Ascertain the succession norms in the selection of the female chiefs and queenmothers in the study area.

 iii.   Compare the roles of female chiefs and queenmothers in the study area.

  iv.   Catalogue the achievements of female chiefs and queenmothers in the study area.

   v.   Document the challenges of female chiefs and queenmothers in the study area.

**Research Questions**

The following research questions have been teased out of the research objectives to guide the study.

   i.   What is the history and politics of the Asebu Traditional Area?

  ii.   What are the succession norms in the selection of female chiefs and queenmothers in the study area?

 iii.   What are the roles of female chiefs and queenmothers in the study area?

  iv.   What are the achievements of the female chiefs and queenmothers in the study area?

   v.   What are the challenges of female chiefs and queenmothers in the study area?

**Significance of the Study**

The study contributes to the body of knowledge and academic literature on the history and politics of Asebu. That is, the study explores the history of Asebu that serves as a reference material to academia. Also, the study broadens our knowledge and understanding of the significant roles played by the female chiefs and queenmothers. The roles played by women in traditional governance and their achievements will serve as a tool for advocacy and motivation for females to take up leadership positions not only in traditional politics but also in contemporary politics in Ghana, where efforts are being made to increase the level of participation of women.

Moreover, the study demystifies the myth surrounding traditional governance in Akan societies as patriarchal. The findings of the study show that a woman could also be allowed to acquire the highest position as a chief and not always aim for a complementary role as a queenmother which most people deem as a subordinate role. Also, the roles played by the queenmother and the *Mbaampayin* during the nomination process show the power of women in the traditional governance structure.

Finally, the challenges of the female chiefs and queenmothers will inform policy-makers to amend the Chieftaincy Act and other policies to address the challenges women face in politics, which will encourage other women to take up leadership roles in society.

**Delimitations**

Many traditional rulers such as male chiefs, female chiefs, priests, and priestesses of theocratic societies and queenmothers in Ghana play active roles in their various communities. Given the broad scope of traditional leadership,

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the study explores the status and roles of female chiefs and queenmothers in the Asebu Traditional Area, focusing more on Asebu Amantsendo and Asebu Akroful without considering other towns within or outside the traditional area. This is because these two towns have female chiefs in the traditional area. Also, the study does not look at the court organisation by female chiefs and queenmothers.

**Limitations of the Study**

The researcher encountered some challenges during the study. First of all, the researcher could not meet the timeline set for the data collection because of the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in March, coupled with the lockdown in some parts of the country. This led to the unavailability of some participants for fear of contracting the virus. Some participants opted not to be interviewed. Thus, the researcher could not conduct one-on-one interviews with some of the divisional chiefs for the aforementioned reasons. However, those divisional chiefs who were available were made to discuss the roles of the other divisional chiefs who were unavailable. These divisional chiefs interviewed admitted that a more detailed explanation could have been given by the divisional chiefs themselves, who were the respective office holders. Thus, the inability of the researcher to get detailed and nuanced information from those divisional chiefs who were not available robbed the study of some thick descriptions that could have enriched the analysis of the field data.

Also, some aspects of rituals associated with the institution of chieftaincy, which is traditionally hidden in secrecy, were not discussed because of the respect for the institution and its sanctity. As a result, details of certain information and activities that would have been very important to this study,

especially on ritual performances, were out of bounds to the researcher. This prevented the researcher from delving into the ritual aspects of the study. Hence, some aspects of the ritual process and meaning to certain activities were not well explained or captured.

Moreover, there was difficulty in transcribing the data from Mfantse to English due to some technical words and expressions used during the interviews. However, to overcome this limitation and preserve the integrity of the field interviews, the researcher engaged the services of linguists who understand and write the Mfantse language to help with the data transcription. The language experts accordingly contributed immensely to the enrichment of the data used in the analysis segment of the study.

**Operational Definition of Terms**

This section gives an overview of the key concepts used in the research. The operational definitions help define, identify, and eliminate confusion with other forms of meaning not within the context of the used words.

*Gender*: Socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women (Oyewumi, 1997). It simply means being feminine or masculine.

*Status:* A position or rank in relation to others (Sabloff & Cragg, 2015).

*Role:* a behaviour referring to normative expectations associated with a position in a social system (Allen & van de Vliert, 1984).

*Chief:* A person, who, hailing from the appropriate lineage, has been validly nominated, elected, and enstooled, enskinned, or installed as a chief or queenmother in accordance with the requirements applicable to customary law and usage (Constitution of Ghana, 1992).

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**Organisation of the Study**

This work has been categorised into five chapters. The first chapter consists of the introduction, which gives an overview of the chieftaincy institution, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, significance of the study, delimitations, limitations of the study, the definition of terms and the organisation of the study. Chapter two reviews the relevant related literature based on the research objectives and the theoretical framework that guides the study. Chapter three discusses the research methods employed for the study, whereas the fourth chapter describes, presents, analyses, and discusses findings on gathered data. The fifth chapter summarises and concludes the work, makes recommendations and suggestions for further research.

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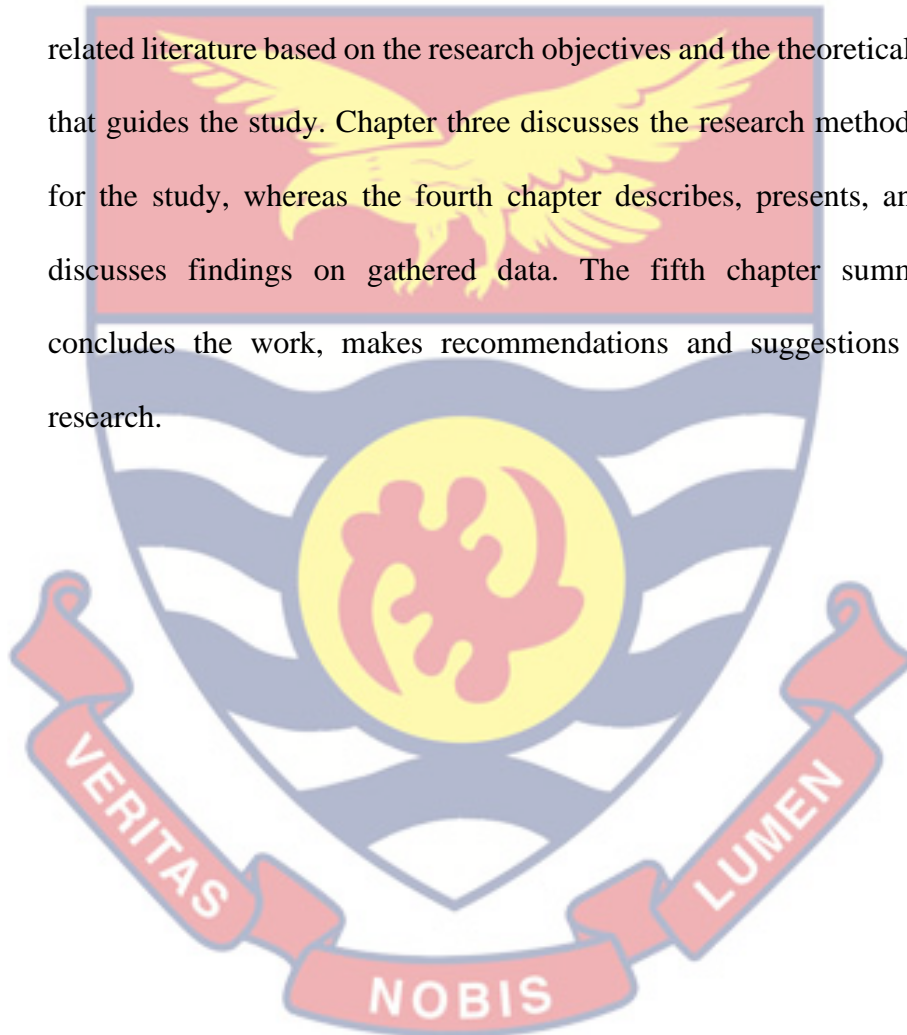
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The literature review includes the examination of what is documented in a related area (Leedy, 1993). This chapter discusses the literature on the chieftaincy institution in Ghana and the theoretical framework related to this study. Themes are created for a better understanding of the institution. These include;

- Evolution of the chieftaincy institution in Ghana

- Historical development of the chieftaincy institution in Ghana

- Female traditional leadership

- Theoretical framework and its application

**Evolution of Chieftaincy Institution in Ghana**

This section draws on the literature on the evolution of the chieftaincy institution in Ghana. It examines cases from both the northern and southern parts of Ghana and the views of some scholars such as Addo-Fening (1998), Arhin (1985), Assanful (2018), Bowdich (1819), Brobbey (2008), Busia (1968), Fynn (1974), Odotei (2006), Owusu (1989), Sarpong (1967) and Tamakloe (1931). The emergent themes on the evolution of chieftaincy institutions are migration and wars of conquest.

The chieftaincy institution is considered as the repository of the history and traditions of the people. It is also deemed the custodian of indigenous traditions, customs, and usage (Assanful, 2018; Owusu, 1989). Brobbey (2008) states that "before the arrival of the colonialists, life was organised by and revolved around a leader or head of the community". This means that Africans

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had their leaders who performed specific duties in the society before the arrival of the colonialists. He further explained that a leader:

> Invariably an individual who led his people to war, rescued them from war, liberated them from domination or slavery, united them against divisive occurrences, saved them from a succession of calamities and catastrophes, or founded settlement areas where they lived and worked. The leaders could also be people who had distinguished themselves by some outstanding or unique achievements in their communities (Brobbey, 2008; p.2)

After the discovery of the fertile land by the hunter, he eventually brought over his immediate family and others to settle there, in which the hunter becomes the chief (Arhin, 1985). Brobbey (2008) establishes that these first family members tend to own the land area within their areas of jurisdiction and start developing them as and when their family sizes increase through procreation. As the sizes of the families grow over time, other families who may not directly be related to them in any way may join them in their settlements and begin new relationships with the former. Each of these families, both the former and the latter, have their heads who control the affairs of their members.

As these families develop, they select some of their elders among each family to become leaders of their communities, of which one is made the chief. Confirming this, Odotei (2006) notes that "persons who became chiefs through any of these avenues transformed their families into royal lineages from which subsequent chiefs were selected". Odotei further explains that by this, the legitimacy of the chief is validated and is recognised by the people as the only family with political authority over them. Therefore, leaders from these royal

families exercise power and authority over the people backed by the goodwill of the people. The royal family becomes the custodian of the land in such a community and sculpts a stool for themselves to perform rituals (Sarpong, 1967).

In contrast, there are times that the members of the first family settlers might not necessarily be the family to rule, but the sojourners would. That is where the sojourners become too powerful and control the initial settlers. For instance, history shows that the first settlers in Dagbon were ordinary Dagombas before the rulers arrived. The Dagomba were controlled or ruled by the Tindana (landowner) (Tamakloe, 1931). Oral tradition has it that when Na Nyagsi and his father, Na Sitobu, arrived in modern Dagbon in 1416, the ordinary Dagombas lived on the land as indigenous owners. Na Nyagsi initiated a war against the Dagombas and killed the Tindana. He appointed his sons and brothers as rulers over the land. After his successful war of conquest, Na Nyagsi settled at Yogo and established his court from where he ruled Dagbon (Tamakloe, 1931). Accordingly, Dagbon is described in the extant literature by historians as a conquered state.

Brobbey (2008) and Odotei (2006) argue in favour of the migration of clan members or society at large. To them, as a particular society develops, some of its members may decide to move together, find a new area of land, and settle there. Such people may move on an ethnic basis. That is a group of people moving from a place based on their common language, race, cultural values, and religious background. As mentioned earlier, this group might be made of different families with their heads but share common features. After these families discovered an uninhabited land area and settled thereon, they selected

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some of their members who led them to their new location as community leaders who made them the overall chief or king.

Furthermore, Arhin (1985) supports the assertion made by Busia (1968) that leaders (chiefs) could also be people who had distinguished themselves by some outstanding or unique achievements in their communities when they provided a classical example that a person could also become a chief through military gallantry. They further explained that the military and demonstration of uncommon bravery in the traditional society were applauded and rewarded. Therefore, any person who demonstrated such bravery in times of crisis, war, or any natural threat was mostly accepted and allowed to lead that group as their chief automatically.

Also, through conquest, a person became a chief and imposed his authority on the vanquished (Odotei, 2006). The point above explains why many towns and villages owe allegiance to others, even in these modern times. In the earliest period, where war and conquest were the order of the day, many groups embarked on a warpath to conquer weak territories. Mostly, the vanquished were annexed and controlled by the conquerors, where the conquerors demanded tribute annually from the vanquished. The latter eventually became an authority over the former and was responsible for nominating someone to exercise power and control over the vanquished (Bowdich, 1819). However, there were vanquished communities that could choose their leader but paid allegiance to the victor. For instance, the Asante imperial power and expansionism had some chiefs in other states or regions owing allegiance to the Asante kingdom. The classic example is Ofori Panin Fie in Kyebi and Ofori Kuma Fie in Akropong Akwapim. Addo-Fening (1998)

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notes that the Asantehene, Osei Kwadwo destroyed Kyebi, executed more than 400 Abuakwa people, and sold others into slavery in 1764. In 1772, Osei Kwadwo defeated Okyehene Obirikorang Abodee (1765-83) again and drove him out of his kingdom early in 1773. Also, Fynn (1974) adds that in the early 1770s, the Asante invaded and controlled Dagomba, probably to get more slaves to meet the increased European demand for slaves and as a source of military recruitment for the imminent war against the coastal Fante. Bowdich (1819) further explains that Dagomba paid 500 slaves, 200 horses, 400 sheep, and 400 cotton cloths every year to the Asante as a tributory state.

In summary, the evolution of the chieftaincy institution was discussed by Addo-Fening (1998), Arhin (1985), Assanful (2018), Bowdich (1819) and many more. Issues that these scholars discussed touched on the process of how the chieftaincy institution was established in Ghana. It was maintained that the institution was established through migration and war of conquest. People who led these activities were enstooled or enskinned as chiefs where their families automatically became the royal family. Therefore, the study discussed these issues raised, particularly with particular reference to the evolution of chieftaincy at Asebu and the activities they engaged in after establishing a dynasty because Asebu was not given the needed attention in the scholarly domain despite their rich historical heritage. Also, the literature is silent on the roles played by women during the evolutionary process of the chieftaincy institution. This study looks at the roles women played during the evolutionary process of the chieftaincy institution in Ghana.

**Historical Development of the Chieftaincy Institution in Ghana**

This theme discusses the chieftaincy institution during the pre-colonial era, colonial, and post-colonial era.

**Pre-colonial era**

In reviewing the literature on activities performed by the chieftaincy institution during the pre-colonial era in Ghana, I focus on cases from Akan. I draw on the works of African scholars such as Acquah (2006), Antwi III (2015), Arhin (1983, 1985), Assanful (2018), Assimeng (1999), Brobbey (2008), Busia (1968), Dankwa III (2004), Nukunya (2003), Owusu-Mensah (2013), Palagashvili (2018), Salih (2018) and Stoeltje (1997).

In the pre-colonial period, women in traditional governance in Ghanaian societies served as chiefs, queens, soothsayers, and leaders of various age sets (Assanful 2018; Brobbey 2008). Busia (1968) postulates that, traditionally, power in pre-colonial Ghana resided mainly in the chief as the head of the community. A chief was deemed as a sacred person and the embodiment of culture. Assisted by their council of elders in the society, a chief performs political, social, religious, military, administrative, judicial and executive functions (Acquah 2006, Brobbey 2008, Salih 2018). As Acquah (2006) and Brobbey (2008) notes, traditional governance evolved around the chieftaincy institution. The associated conflicts were resolved through customary arbitration, where the chief and his elders constituted customary arbitrators from the "village to village" at the state level.

Owusu-Mensah (2013) notes that peace and unity in various kingdoms and communities depended on the good leadership of chiefs and council of elders in the society. The chiefs were accountable to their people and were

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respected by their citizens. This ensured smooth administration of the chieftaincy institution in the late pre-colonial period (Palagashvili, 2018). Thus, the chief was seen as the symbol of allegiance and a powerful pillar for social cohesion and harmony. The chief's attributes, status, responsibilities, and hierarchy symbolised his power and authority in society. Among the Akan, chiefs protected their people from any attack or war and served as intermediaries between the living, the dead and the unborn (Nukunya 2003). The centrality of the role of the chief in the traditional social structure made Assimeng (1999) describes the chieftaincy institution in the country as the bedrock of the social structure of Ghana. The chief lived with his royal family and other families who had their family stools and heads. The heads of these families were recognised as the heads of wings or divisional chiefs. They included *Twafohen, Adontenhen, Benkumhen, Nyimfahen, Akwamuhen, Gyaasehen, and Kyidomhen* (Arhin, 1983; Nukunya, 2003).

Arhin (1983) affirms that the heads of wings formed part of the paramount chief's council, who played specific roles and functions in the society. To ensure stability, defence, and security for their citizens, they performed unique functions on the war front (Arhin 1985, Assimeng 1999, Antwi II 2015, Nukunya 2003). Moreover, Dankwa (2004) clarifies that the heads of wings helped ensure complete protection for the paramount chief and safeguard valuable stool paraphernalia.

Nukunya (2003) notes that the chief ruled with the queenmother. The duties of the queenmother and the chief differed, but both played a complementary role. As a duality, they were expected to consult each other daily or regularly. They were also expected to cooperate in their leadership,

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always acting in the interest of the community which they represented (Stoeltje, 1997). Although the queenmother and the chief represented a duality, they did not assume office together. Each one was selected into the office from amongst those qualified by birth when the position became vacant in times of abdication, incapacitation, sudden death or destoolment of a chief. In such emergencies, the queenmother selected a candidate in consultation with elderly clan members to assume full control of the central authority to govern the community (Busia, 1951). The queenmother is considered a co-ruler who sees to the day-to-day affairs of women (Brobbey, 2008). In the community, the chief also ruled with clan heads who represented all the clans in the community. Each clan was represented by an elder to serve as the clan's head (Stoeltje, 1997).

In summary, the activities performed by the chieftaincy institution during the pre-colonial era in Ghana were interrogated by Acquah (2006), Antwi III (2015), Arhin (1983, 1985), Assanful (2018), Assimeng (1999), Brobbey (2008) and many more. Issues that were raised touched on how the affairs of pre-colonial Ghana were managed and controlled by the chieftaincy institution. The institution served both political, military, social, economic and religious roles in the society. Finally, the institution helped to bring peace and harmony among the people.

**Colonial-era**

In reviewing the literature on activities engaged in by the chieftaincy institution during the colonial era in Africa, I drew on cases from Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania, Cameroon, Kenya and Rwanda. I depended on the works of African scholars such as Becker (2007), Coquery-Vidrovitch (1997), Crook

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(1986), Crowder (1964), Falola & Amponsah (2012); Havik (2018), Isichei (1977), Killingray (1986), Shanklin (1990) and Tignor (1971).

As a result of colonialism and the creation of modern states, the institution of chieftaincy had undergone several changes, but it still plays a major role in society (Crook, 1986). These dynamics were recognised by various political administrations in Ghana and, by extension, on Africa's continent. Becker (2007) observes that the alliance between the colonial government, traditional elite male representatives, the Christian missions, and Islamic religion exacerbated the situation in gender relations that favoured the decision-making system of male dominance.

In the nineteenth century, chiefs became more accountable to the colonialists and less accountable to their citizens, which led to abuse of powers by the chiefs. Indeed, in the 1900s, the British, French, Portuguese, Belgians, Germans, among others, through their colonial policies and administration, introduced several changes that adversely affected the social and political structures of African kingdoms and empires (Tignor 1971). Colonial rule in Africa in the 1900s was categorised into indirect and direct rule.

The French colonies operated under the direct rule where the policy of association and assimilation was used. In contrast, the British and the Portuguese used indirect rule policy in their system of governance. The chiefs who served under the British, French, Portuguese, Belgian, and German governors were compelled to apply the policies of their colonial masters in their various societies. Accordingly, in the 1900s, the chiefs became tax collectors, organised and recruited native labour, and maintained law and order in the society under the Portuguese administration (Havik 2018), while in British and

Franco-Africa, Killingray (1986) and Crowder (1964) argue that the chiefs under colonial administrative authority maintained law and order and collected adequate income to finance the running of the colony. In the period under review, the French, in particular, were notorious for their high-handedness in introducing the hated corvee or forced unpaid labour and indigent or instant corporal punishment (Isichei, 1977).

The colonial administration defined the roles of the chiefs. For instance, in 1915, Africans who were named as chiefs after wars and conquests in African territories led by the Portuguese monarchy were mainly Africans who had fought on the side of the European (Havik, 2010). Thus, the people appointed as chiefs were African military officials who had many years of experience and had risen through the ranks as a reward for their service. This accounted for several wars in various societies because those people who waged wars looked forward to being appointed as chiefs since the colonial appointing authority did so without considering the custom of the conquered people.

In the 1900s in Africa, the tax collected by the chiefs also fuelled many conflicts, the most notable being the 1929 Aba Riots in Eastern Nigeria, where women rose against the collection of taxes by warrant chiefs. These warrant chiefs imposed taxes on items in each household which led to a misunderstanding between the chiefs and the women who resisted such imposition of taxes by the colonial masters. During the riot, the Igbo women adopted a cultural concept known as "sitting on a man" to fight against colonialism and men who violated women's rights. This riot was aimed at removing corrupt warrant chiefs and taxes from the people's households. It involved destroying the huts of perpetrators, outrageous threats, noise and

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stamping. The women undertook the demonstration until the colonial masters stopped women from paying taxes (Coquery-Vidrovitch 1997).

Okonjo (1976) argues that the colonial administration depended heavily and recognised men (chiefs) in the traditional governance system and rejected females in traditional governance. For instance, in Eastern Nigeria, British colonial masters paid males in traditional governance while ignoring females in the chieftaincy institution. Thus, they made male chiefs known and popular in the society more than their female counterparts. He further explains that in the Gold Coast, the colonial masters recognised and worked with the male chiefs and ignored the queenmothers and women in the society. Also, Falola and Amponsah (2012) add that the colonial rulers ignored the roles of women in the Akan political system by preventing them from participating in active politics.

Although the Europeans did not recognise women, women helped in the fight against colonial rule. For instance, Abidjan women organised themselves in 1949 to fight against the colonial administration. These women organised conferences and demonstrations to campaign for the benefit of women and fought against the colonial government (Coquery-Vidrovitch 1997). Women who served as queenmothers also fought for their rights and engaged in anti-colonial protests against the colonial leaders. On record, women in Tanzania, Cameroon, and Kenya engaged in protests against tax imposition by colonial masters. For example, in Cameroon, the women of Kom initiated the Anlu Rebellion in 1958-1961 to protest against the colonial government policy of interfering in their agriculture production (Shanklin 1990).

Besides the protests, riots, and demonstrations, women in Ghana, Nigeria, Angola, and South Africa participated in nationalist and liberation

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movements to fight against colonial rule. Prominent women such as Yaa Asantewaa of Ghana, Muhumusa of Northern Rwanda, and Empress T'aitu Bitoul of Ethiopia were key figures in these movements (Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1997).

Scholars such as Becker (1997), Coquery-Vidrovitch (1997), Crook (1986), Crowder (1964), Falola & Amponsah (2012), Havik (2018), Isichei (1977) and many more scrutinised activities engaged by the chieftaincy institution under the French, British, Portuguese, Belgian and German colonial masters in Africa. These scholars note that the chieftaincy institution in Africa under the colonial administration and policies was affected in diverse ways where chiefs became the spokespersons of the colonial masters. Again, scholars spoke about various challenges Africans faced through the imposition of warrant chiefs and taxes on the people and finally mentioned activities engaged in by the people or natives in the fight against colonial rule. This review helped to understand the activities engaged in by traditional leaders in the fight against colonialism in Asebu Traditional Area.

**Post-colonial era**

Several authors noted that the various governments did not dismiss the chieftaincy institution after independence in Africa. These governments, however, formulated policies to govern the institution. I drew on the works of Dankwa III (2004), Odotei (2006), Owusu-Mensah (2014), Kilson (1963) and Ubink (2008). They have extensively examined the activities performed by the chieftaincy institution during the post-colonial era in Africa.

Odotei (2006) notes that post-colonial governments in Ghana continued with plans that undermined women's traditional authority and recognised male

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traditional authority. The recognition of the chieftaincy institution by the post-independence governments was enshrined in the 1992 Constitution of Ghana.

*Chieftaincy Laws of Ghana*

Ghana, after independence, has promulgated laws and decrees to regulate the chieftaincy institution. There have been several amendments in the 1969, 1979 and 1992 Constitutions that all gave recognition to the chieftaincy institution. Acts; 1961 (Act 81), 1971 (Act 370), and 2008 (Act 759) have been amended severally to conform to the existing laws and customs. The amendment of the Acts results from the cancellation and or addition of new statutes dealing with particular areas and issues relating to chiefs and chieftains. For example, the Chieftaincy Act, 1961 (Act 81) gave the Ministry of Local Government the power and authority to recognise paramount chiefs (Kilson, 1963). However, the 1979 Act removed the power or recognition of the government on the chiefs.

Act 759, s58 outlined the hierarchical categories of chiefs in the country. The structure had the Paramount chief at the apex, followed by the Divisional chief, the Sub-Divisional chief, and the *Adikrofo* (Owusu-Mensah 2014). Also, Article 277 of the 1992 Constitution repeated the definition of a chief in Acts 759, s57 (1), but it outlined some restrictions on the qualification and status. These restrictions include that a person does not qualify to be chief if that person has been convicted of high treason, treason, high crime, or an offence involving the security of the State. A chief shall not take part in active politics.

In summary, women's participation in politics was raised by Dankwa III (2004), Odotei (2006), Owusu-Mensah (2014), Kilson (1963) and Ubink (2008). Issues that these scholars discussed touched on the various Acts

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formulated to curtail the activities of the chieftaincy institution in Ghana during the post-colonial era. It was observed that the institution survived the exploitative colonial rule where every government after independence formulated policies to enhance the activities of the chieftaincy institution. However, women were marginalised in the course of their administration. For instance, the Chieftaincy Acts still recognise men in traditional leadership than women. There is a recognised council for male chiefs, popularly known as the Regional House of Chiefs and National House of Chiefs. In contrast, there is only the queenmothers association for women, which does not play the same roles as compared to the Houses of Chiefs. The study looks at how Asebu Traditional Area is guided by these policies.

**Female Traditional Leadership**

Women in traditional leadership play significant roles in society to ensure peace and development. These roles have been discussed by African scholars in diverse ways and societies. They include Allman, Geiger and Musisi (2002), Awumbila (2001), Brobbey (2008) and Odotei (2006). There were various dynamics of Ghanaian women's traditional leadership from pre-colonial through colonial to post-colonial periods (Awumbila 2001, Brobbey 2008, Odotei, 2006). Autonomous and influential female chiefs and queenmothers are the most obvious evidence that women in pre-colonial Africa had significant political power (Allman, Geiger & Musisi, 2002). Generally, women were seen as significant actors in public life, the life of communities and particularly the role of women who have the title of a chief and a queenmother. This sub-chapter discusses the role of female chiefs and queenmothers.

**Female chiefs**

I relied on cases from Ghana and Sierra Leone to evaluate the literature on female chiefs' activities during the pre-colonial era through to the colonial era to the post-colonial era. I focused on the work of African scholars such as Allman, Geiger and Musisi (2002), Brobbey (2008), Day (2007), MacCormack (1974), Mingle (2015), Odame (2014), Odotei (2006) and Sutherland-Addy (2006).

Studies of women's power and authority in indigenous political systems have revealed many women's formal leadership capacities towards society's development (Allman, Geiger & Musisi, 2002, Day 2007). These women did not hold chieftaincy positions as queenmothers but as chiefs (Odame 2014, Odotei, 2006). Brobbey (2008) explains that the position of a female chief is quite distinct from the position of a queenmother. A female chief plays a substantive role in society where the two positions are sometimes merged in one person. The female chief plays the role of the chief and the queenmother at the same time. Brobbey (2008) and Odame (2014) explain that females play substantive roles only when no male is to occupy the stool.

Annals of chieftaincy in Ghana show examples of such prominent women to include: Abrafi Kɔtɔ of Techiman, who ruled as a chief in the absence of a male chief in Techiman (Brobbey 2008, Wilks 1975). Also, one such woman who simultaneously combined the role of a chief and a queenmother was Nana Afia Dokua, the 24th Okyehene and the queenmother of Okyeman (Akyem Abuakwa) reigned from 1817-1826. One could also talk about Nana Serwaa, who was the chief and queenmother of Juabeng from 1962-1964, Nana Baah Okoampa IV (1966-1999) of Atwia in the Ekumfi Traditional Area,

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Central Region (Sutherland-Addy, 2006), Nana Hima Dekyi XIII (1964-2002), who was the Omanhene of Upper Denkyira, Ahanta West District and Nana Kofi Abuna V, who has reigned as a chief and queenmother of Essipon in the Western Region from 1998 to date (Brobbey 2008, Mingle 2015, Odame 2014). These female chiefs bear the name of a male for the position of chief and are registered as such in the National Register of Chiefs.

Also, Odotei (2006) notes that in Northern Ghana, women also play significant roles in society. For instance, in Mamprugu, female chiefs occupy the skins of Dindani and Samini in the traditional governance system, which is a significant position in society. The Dindani-Tamboku position is the preserve of the daughter of the Nayiri (paramount chief of the Mamprugu traditional area). The Dindani Pona informs eligible sub-chiefs of the skin vacancy; she occupies the palace and takes care of widows upon the chief's death; she resolves community disputes with her elders' council and performs ritual functions during sacrificial offerings (Odotei, 2006).

Women held high-ranking politico-jural leadership roles among the Mende, Sherbro, Krim, and Vai people of southern Sierra Leone. Several women, both in the past and present, held the office of the paramount chief in southern and eastern Sierra Leone (MacCormack, 1974). MacCormack (1974) further clarifies that there were several ways that women could exercise legitimate public authority in the county of Mende and Sherbro, including positions as head of the household, lineage, town leader, senior wife, or official of the Sande women's secret society. These women operated during the colonial period and were accountable to the colonial government.

Mende women chiefs, for example, did not check the power and responsibilities of male chiefs, but they exercised political power through war and conquest. Also, for about thirty years, Nyarroh, a female leader in Mende society, who ruled a large city and its surrounding villages in the interior of Mende, was succeeded by her daughter at her death. Like her male counterpart, she performed roles and duties such as signing treaties, engaging in peace talks, receiving delegations, and sending out war parties. Nyarroh was later assaulted, kidnapped, and held for ransom during her period of reign. Following the death of her husband in Bandasuma, Nyarroh inherited the main position. From 1885 to 1914, she was the head of the Barrie county and Bandasuma, who adjudicated cases in her court (Day, 2007).

In summary, women's participation in traditional politics as chiefs was raised by Allman, Geiger and Musisi (2002), Brobbey (2008), Day (2007), MacCormack (1974), Mingle (2015), Odame (2014), Odotei (2006) and Sutherland-Addy (2006). Issues that these scholars discussed touched on the activities or roles performed by female chiefs in various societies in Africa.

**Queenmothers**

In reviewing the literature on women in traditional politics as queenmothers in Africa, I draw on cases from Ghana, Zaria, Lesotho and Swaziland. I draw on the works of African scholars such as Arhin (1983); Arlt (2002), Bluwey (2000), Boaten (1994), Brempong (2007), Brydon (1996), Busia (1967), Clark (1994), Kludze (1988), Odame (2014), Odotei (2002, 2006), Ortner and Whitehead (1981), Palmer (1908), Warren (1986), Wilks (1988, 1993), Wilson (2007), Sarpong (1971), Steegstra, (2009), Stoeltje (1994, 2003) and Tripp (2001).

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Queenmothers are female monarchs with a central authority that is lineage-based and characterised by gender parallelism (Stoeltje, 2003). Queenmothers play different roles in different societies or ethnic groups. Brempong (2007) indicates that among the cultures of Ghana, it was only the Akan who had female rulers at all the levels of the chiefly position, and they served as co-rulers with the chiefs. Arhin (1983) states that the queenmother (Ɔhemaa) of the Asante society was officially the foremost authority in the royal matrilineage. She was the fundamental bedrock of chieftaincy in Asante because of the major role played during the selection of a new chief. That is to say that, even though many people were involved in the selection of a new occupant of the royal stool, she was vested with the prerogative to select a candidate to occupy the stool in consultation with the lineage head (Odotei 2002, Sarpong 1971, Stoeltje 1994). In a matrilineal society, the rationale behind this was that women give birth, so they are in a better position to reckon the genealogy of the royal family.

Stoeltje (1995) maintains that the queenmother was responsible for women, children and domestic affairs and had the power to rebuke the chief when he went wrong. This is because she was often a mother or a sister to the chief. Therefore, she had the power and authority to rebuke or counsel him (Busia, 1967). She accompanied the chief to a public gathering and meetings at the palace at all times except during her menstrual periods (Warren, 1986). This is because a woman was seen as spiritually unclean during her menstrual period. Hence, it was inappropriate for her to go to sacred places or perform rituals. The stool she sat on was also seen as sacred, and its sanctity had to be kept. The stool contained the spirits of ancestors and past occupants who had crossed to the

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spirit world. The souls which protected the community for which she occupied such paramountcy might leave them and refuse to protect them. The ancestors might cause unforeseen circumstances like causing sicknesses and deaths in the paramountcy if she refused to stay away during menstruation. Queenmothers were recognised as the embodiment of motherhood and women in the Akan society (Stoeltje, 2003) and because of this, taking good care of girls and women was an utmost priority.

Kludze (1988) argues that, compared to the Akan queenmother, the Ewe queenmother occupied a different role. Bluwey (2000) adds that Ewe queenmothers occupy honorific positions or were seen as women's social representatives in society. On the contrary, Brydon (1996) argues that the Ewes also had queenmothers who served as principal advisors to the chief at all levels of the chiefly position. The Ewe queenmother could not rebuke the chief because there was no parental relationship between him and his queenmother. Brydon further explained that the Ewe queenmother was seen as an ordinary social leader of women who sought to control the affairs of only women and led them in communal labour. She did not have her stool and court as the Akan queenmother (Bluwey 2000, Kludze 1988).

Historically, most ethnic groups in the northern part of Ghana did not have the concept of queenmother. For instance, among the Dagaaba, the idea of a queenmother is a new invention to their system, making it difficult for men to accept (Odame, 2014). Despite the above, some parts of the northern region have chiefly positions exclusively reserved for women. Examples of such societies were Mamprusi and Dagomba. Also, the Gonjas, Chokosi, Nawuri, and Nchumuru had queenmothers. Odotei (2006) further explains that the

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Nanumba female chief (*Pona*) resolved cases in her court with the support of her linguists, who were members of the traditional council.

Steegstra (2009) indicates that in the eastern part of Ghana, the Krobo described their queenmothers as ceremonial queenmothers because they did not have the power to select a candidate to occupy the male stool when there was a vacancy. They participated in the rituals of the *Ngmayem* festival. Although Steegstra noted that the Krobo queenmothers were regarded as ceremonial queenmothers, they represented and mobilised women and settled disputes such as witchcraft accusations and marital problems. The queenmothers were expected to be present at the large funeral and festive gathering, which they graced with their royal presence (Arlt, 2002). Also, the stools of the Krobo queenmothers were described as ceremonial stools that did not have spiritual (ancestral) power. Their sources of power were based on their installation ceremony, which made them legitimate leaders (Steegstra, 2009).

Queenmothers helped in the development of the society through wars and other activities during the pre-colonial, colonial to the post-colonial era. An example of such a protuberant woman was Yaa Asantewaa, the queenmother of Ejisu who, at the end of the nineteenth century, fought against the British invaders. Wilks (1988, 1993) also discusses the roles of Akyaawa Yikwan, daughter of an *Asantehene*, who secured her roles as a diplomat and negotiator in the Asante disputes with the British, particularly the Treaty of 1831 negotiated in the wake of the disastrous battle of Katamanso.

Also, in the sixteenth century, Queen Amina had military and political dominance in Zaria. She fought and captured Nupe and Kwararafa, who paid tribute to her after a signed treaty. She ruled for 34 years in Zaria (Palmer, 1908).

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Queens had also governed Lesotho and Swaziland. Lesotho's Queen "MaMohato Tabitha" Masentle Lerotholi ruled from June to November 1970 and January to February 1996. She became the regent in the absence of the king. Swaziland has had two queens: Dzeliwe Shongwe from 1982 to 1983 and Ntombi Thwala from 1983 to 1986 (Tripp, 2001). The king reigned along with his mother, referred to as the Indlovukas (the Great Elephant). The queen was the spiritual and national head of state. These women played vital roles in their respective paramountcies towards independence in African countries.

Ortner and Whitehead (1981) suggest that women's position depended on their genealogical positions as mothers, wives, maternal aunts, or classificatory sisters. Women's statuses were based on their relatedness to men in the family or society but not their rights. That is, women acquired positions in society through their children, husbands, parents and brothers. For instance, among the Swazi people, the mother of the king held political authority due to her relatedness to her child. She ruled together with her child to ensure peace and development in the society. Also, women, through their husbands, acquired political powers. Wilson (2007) indicates that husbands who held political and social powers in society relegated some of their duties to their wives.

However, Clark (1994) points out that women's authority and economic power in Akan society could only be seen within their households, families, and local markets. Further, Wilson (2007) adds that in the traditional setting, women had power over the market and the source of water for domestic use. They held political powers in the market as *konkohen* (chief in charge of trading), where they discussed issues related to the market and how to supply the chiefs' palace

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with food (Clark, 1994). Odame (2014) adds that this position was achieved through their efforts, resourcefulness and capacity building.

Among the Akan, the procedure for selecting the queenmother to occupy the stool when there was a vacancy was similar to that for a chief. When there was a vacancy in the office of the queenmother, the elders of the royal family and the chief came together and agreed on qualified candidates for the stool. Stoeotje (2003) states that some writers argued that the chief had the power to select the queenmother, while others suggested that the elders of the royal family selected the queenmother. Yet, all sources agreed that no chief would select a queenmother without a council of elders, and no royal family would ignore a chief's proposal of the queenmother unless there were a dispute or conflict.

Boateng (1994) mentions that the first known queen mother's association in Ghana was formed in May 1983 in Cape Coast inaugurated by the Rawlings' government. Their meetings were organized at the district level and supervised by government representatives or members of the 31st December Women's Movement (Stoeltje 2003). The association organised workshops and seminars for the queenmothers to discuss teenage pregnancy and girls' education.

In summary, women's participation in traditional politics in Africa was interrogated by Arhin (1983), Arlt (2002), Bluwey (2000), Boaten (1994), Brempong (2007), Brydon (1996) and many more. These authors discussed the roles of female traditional leadership and governance where women held the highest positions as queenmothers. The status and roles of the queenmother differed from one society to the other; thus, whereas some queenmothers served

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as female monarchs, others served as honorific or ceremonial queenmothers. Therefore, this study looks at the traditional and contemporary roles of queenmothers in the Asebu Traditional Area.

**Theoretical Framework and its Application (The Social Role Theory)**

This research employed the social role theory developed by Eagly in the early 1980s to discuss the socially constructed roles of males and females. The ability of female chiefs and queenmothers can be better understood by examining their roles and expected behaviour to perform their leadership roles effectively amid gender role socialisation. The social role theory discussed three major points. These include the responsibilities of the individual, the belief system, and the malleability of role structure.

Traditionally, both women and men were assigned to specified economic, political, ecological, and social roles that depended heavily on their physical attributes. Thus, men are expected to engage in masculine gender roles while women are expected to engage in feminine gender roles (Wood & Eagly, 2002). Accordingly, men engage in work that requires speed, strength, and the ability to be away from home for extended periods while women engage in domestic work such as childbearing, home management and family management.

The duties performed by both men and women are based on their belief systems. Thus, people develop their expectations and behaviour based on their beliefs about suitable behaviour for men and women. However, in an organization or institution, people develop their expectations about appropriate behaviour for a leader or manager (Phillips & Lord, 1982). This role of the individual is based on social norms, which are agreed on standards of behaviour

or expectations about how people behave in society (Cialdini, Kallgren & Reno, 1991). Factors such as economy, technology, and broader social structure in which these roles are embedded lead to changes in the role structure. This has, however, made women engage in male-dominated roles while men also engage in female-dominated work. For example, female chiefs and male housekeepers.

These factors of social change led to the malleability of role structure (Eagly, 1987). This has led to the change of behaviour of both men and women, which depends heavily on divergent social roles inhabited by women and men. The expectation of changes in gender roles depends on the sexes' typical work and family roles (Eagly & Wood, 2012). Culturally, men in leadership positions are described as brave, strict and bold in executing their roles, while women are described as friendly and unselfish in performing their roles. However, in social role theory, the perceived gender roles are linked to individuals' social roles rather than their gender (Eagly, Wood & Diekman, 2000). Therefore, women and men in leadership roles are more likely to be perceived as bold and brave, while women and men who engage in domestic roles such as homemakers are more likely to be perceived as friendly and unselfish in executing their roles (Riggs, 1997). Therefore, females in male positions are equally perceived as males and expected to act as one.

One limitation of the theory is that it failed to discuss the impact of the changing roles on the people and the community. Despite this limitation, the theory was adopted because of the conclusion made by Eagly (1987) that the position one acquires guides their behaviours more than their sexes.  Therefore, a female chief is expected to exhibit masculine duties and characteristics but not

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female characteristics as a queenmother, while queenmothers are also expected to exhibit female characteristics.

In doing so, a female chief partakes in male-dominated activities such as performing both political, legal, and social roles in society, while the queenmother partakes in feminine duties by engaging in activities that revolve around women and children. Also, because their behaviour is guided by the position they hold, their names and regalia change. Females on a male stool take the name of a male and put on male regalia, while females on the female stool take the name of a female and put on female regalia. The female chief in Asebu is called Nana Yimbo Brob IV, while the queenmother is called Nana Amissimakese III.  Hence, the theory was applied to examine the changing roles of women in traditional governance in the Asebu Traditional Area and their new roles and expectations in holding the position.

**Chapter Summary**

In conclusion, this chapter has discussed the relevant literature and theory related to the study. It can be maintained that women engaged in traditional governance with different roles as chiefs, regents, and queenmothers, among others. These positions are acquired through the hereditary principle and in relation to someone as parents, husbands, children, and siblings. Also, social role theory talks about the changing roles of men and women in society. Women engage in male-dominated work as chiefs, while men could also engage in women-dominated work and thereby assume female characteristics.

## CHAPTER THREE

## RESEARCH METHODS

**Introduction**

This chapter discusses the research method, the qualitative one, that was used to collect and analyse the primary data. It includes the Research Design, Study Area, Study, Population, Sampling Procedure and Sampling Size, Data Collection Instrument, Data Collection Procedures, Data Processing and Analysis, Ethical Issues, Problems Encountered and Chapter Summary.

**Research Design**

Leedy (1997) defines research design as a plan for a study, providing the overall framework for collecting data. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2001), a research design is used to select topics, research areas, and data collection procedures to answer the research question(s). They further indicate that the goal of a sound research design is to provide results that are judged to be credible. For Durrheim (2004), a research design is a strategic framework for action that serves as a bridge between research questions and the execution or implementation of the research strategy. A researcher may decide on the design they want to use based on the phenomenon under study.

This research adopts a comparative approach. A comparative approach is defined as a "research approach in which two or more cases are overtly contrasted to each other with regard to a specific phenomenon or along a certain dimension, to explore parallels and differences among the cases" (Azarian 2011). This design enables the researcher to study a specific topic when comparing two or more entities such as individuals, cultures, organizations, or even nations, contributing to a deeper understanding of the

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phenomena. Abadie, Diamond, and Hainmueller (2010) explain that a comparative study allows researchers to compare two groups of individuals to build similarities and differences on a common topic. A comparative research design was most fitting and reasonable for this research as the study intends to examine the status and positions of female chiefs and queenmothers.

Despite the thoroughness of comparative study, this approach has been criticised in the scholarly domain for its higher/greater demands for contextual fieldwork and language skills, limited generalization on the side of the area, and higher financial investment. It is also often influenced by the researcher's biases. This is found in open-ended questions used in interviews and provides leading questions to participants. Notwithstanding these criticisms, a comparative research approach is recognised to expand thoughts on product features. It is an authentic means of generating scientific knowledge that does not require statistical presentations and explanations. This research relied on some participants and secondary materials being used to be able to generalise the findings. Through subjective and direct responses from the respondents, the researcher gained first-hand information or knowledge about the participant's experiences through broad and open-ended inquiry (Patton 2002, Rudestam & Newton 2015).

**Study Area**

The study covered some selected towns in the Asebu Traditional Area (ATA) in the Central Region of Ghana because the area has two female chiefs in their paramountcy. I made inquiries at the Central Regional House of Chiefs about the total number and names of female chiefs in the region. The officials of the outfit directed me to some of the Traditional Councils in the region for

further inquiries. Amongst them were Nkusukum Traditional Council, Ajumako Traditional Council, Asebu Traditional Council, and Abura Dunkwa Traditional Council. Based on an investigation in some of the Traditional Councils, Asebu Traditional Council had two female chiefs. Nkusukum and Ajumako had one female chief in their traditional area, while Abura Dunkwa Traditional was traditional Council did not have any female chief in their area. This made me select Asebu Traditional Area for this research because they have the most female chiefs in their council and Central Region. Having two female chiefs made this traditional area unique and as such, I was motivated to explore the reasons behind their selection of female chiefs.

The Asebu Traditional Area is located in the Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District (AAKD) in the Central Region of Ghana. It is located in the south of Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District with the paramount seat and chief in Asebu Amantsendo. It is bordered on the west by the Oguaa Traditional Area, north by Abura Traditional Area, and east by Nkusukum Traditional Area. Asebu Amantsendo and Asebu Akroful were selected because they have female chiefs in their various towns. These towns hold divisional titles in the traditional area. Asebu Amantsendo holds the *Gyase* divisional title, while Asebu Akroful holds the Akwamu divisional title.

The people of the Asebu Traditional Area celebrate three major festivals, namely, *Kae Arko, Abura-Abura*, and *Apayemkese,* in remembrance of past heroes who fought for the unification of Asebu (GSS, 2014). *Kae Arko* festival is celebrated in February in the northern section of the traditional area. It is observed with Asafo drumming and musketry in remembrance of a past hero who gave his life to save Asebu. It assures the people of their capability to

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defend themselves when they are attacked. *Apayem* festival is celebrated in November in all the settlements in the traditional area. Its main feature is the remembrance of the dead and the training of the youth to defend the towns using toy guns fashioned from bamboo branches and bullets from "*abrober*" seeds.

In 2005, the name was changed to *Apayemkese,* which was instituted and initiated by the reigning paramount chief Okatakyi Dr Amenfi VII, which aims to unite all the people in the traditional area and take stock of their activities in the past year. Only the people of Asebu Amantsendo celebrated this festival in the olden days, but the name was changed from Apayem to Apayemkese to incorporate other towns in the traditional area to celebrate the festival. *Abura abura* is a week-long festival celebrated in October. It is celebrated amid drumming and musketry each year. In addition to these annual festivals, other sacred and festive days on the traditional calendar are observed with special rites and rituals.

The Traditional Area has several basic schools with partially equipped teaching and learning materials to facilitate teaching at the basic level. There are only two main government-assisted senior high schools at Brafoyaw and Moree. The Asebu State College, located at Amosima, was set up by the current Paramount Chief, Okatakyi Dr Amenfi VII, to provide secondary education to the interior part of the traditional area. It is currently funded by the traditional council and the people of Amosima. There is only one hospital in the whole traditional area sited at Moree. However, there are CHPS Compounds in Asebu Amantsendo, Putubiw, and Amosima. The majority of the inhabitants of Asebu are Christians, and as a result, there are about forty (40) churches in the area.

There are also mosques that serve the Muslim minority in the area (a brochure from the office of the paramount chief, 2019).
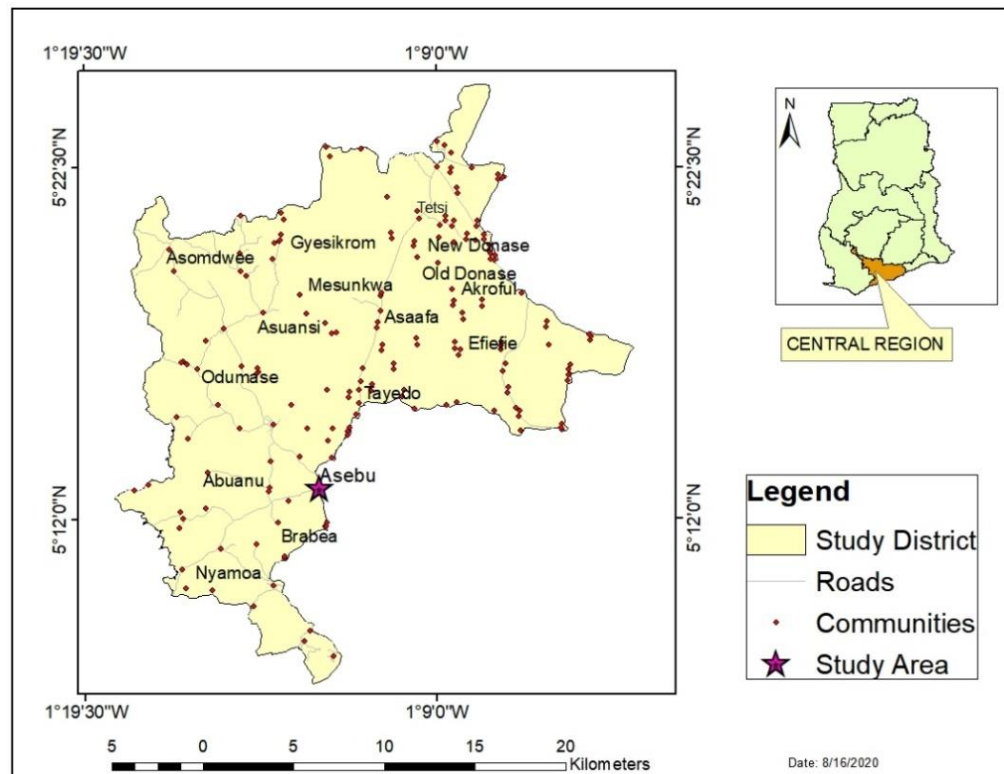


*Figure 1:* Map of Study Area

Source: Cartography Unit, Department of Geography and Regional Planning, UCC

The most common economic activities in the traditional area are farming and fishing on a large scale. Another important economic activity is trading. Some of the communities in the traditional area have markets where people from other towns and communities join during market days. Major food produced and or sold include fish, cassava, plantain, vegetables, and fruits. A lime processing factory, Mandis Company Ltd, extracts and processes lime juice for export. This company employs over 1,500 people and is responsible for a booming local economy within the traditional area. Also, there are several places in the traditional area that serve as tourist sites. These include a stone that

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the legendary Asebu Amenfi sat on to plan to protect his people and the spiritual drum that was believed to have been commanded/conjured from the skies at Amantsendo. There is also a rock at Abura Dunkwa on which Asebu Amenfi is believed to have pierced with his fingers, including his spear; the Ananaawam Groove in which Asebu Amenfi was seen for the last time at Asebu Ekroful; the big Odum Tree that sprouted from bare rock and the *funfopow* at Moree area (a brochure from the office of the paramount chief, 2019).

**Study Population**

According to Frankel, Wallen, and Hyun (2011), population refers to the complete set of individuals (subjects or events) having common characteristics in which the researcher is interested. Salkind (1991) suggests that, as a result of limited research funds for researchers, the greatest strategy to conduct research is to take a percentage or quota of a large group of participants and do the research with that smaller group. Therefore, the researcher selected a portion of the individuals in the Asebu Traditional Area who had in-depth knowledge about the phenomenon under study. The target population for this study consists of traditional leaders, including chiefs- both male and female, queenmothers, linguists, kingmakers and an official at the Central Regional House of Chiefs who have adequate knowledge about the institution of chieftaincy.

**Sampling Procedure and Sample Size**

In every research, the researcher determines the nature of how the research should go. In doing so, I did not study the entire population of interest but selected a subset or sample of the population (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). Sample in research refers to any group from which information is obtained. A sample can be identified depending on the research questions the researcher

wants to answer. Sampling enables the researcher to study a minority of units instead of the entire population (Salganik & Heckathorn, 2004).

According to Leedy and Ormrod (2005), a sample size for qualitative research ranges from 5 to 25 individuals, where all of them have direct experience with the phenomenon under study. Within the target population of the Asebu Traditional Area in the Abura/Asebu/Kwamankese District, the researcher selected and interviewed 12 key actors who have adequate knowledge of the phenomenon under study to elicit their views and knowledge about the phenomenon under study female traditional leadership. The interviewees were within the age range of 35-65 years. Some of the interviewees have acquired formal education; whiles others did not have any formal education. Eight out of the twelve respondents were self-employed, whiles the remaining four were government employees. It is believed that the diverse nature of the sample chosen makes it more representative and balance because it provides accurate and in-depth knowledge about the chieftaincy institution and will allow the key findings to be generalised in the study area.

This allowed the researcher to adopt a purposive sampling technique. Purposive sampling is defined as selecting units (e.g. Individuals, groups of individuals, institutions) based on specified purposes of answering a research study's question (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). This technique helped the researcher select the sample based on their knowledge, relationships, and expertise regarding a research subject. It also helped the researcher choose subjects from a population because of their direct relevance to the research questions. Purposive sampling technique allows the researcher to select participants by their specialised knowledge of the study topic. This technique was employed

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because of its effectiveness and because the concept of chieftaincy is shrouded in secrecy therefore limited to some individuals.

**Data Collection Instrument**

Leedy and Ormrod (2005) explain a research tool as a specific mechanism that a researcher uses to collect or interpret data. Data was collected through both primary and secondary sources. The primary source of data was collected through interviews to get in-depth knowledge about the phenomenon under study. The secondary data consisted of related documented literature on the study topic.

*Interviews*

The researcher used in-depth interviews as the main instrument to generate primary data from the sample. To achieve this, an interview-guide was used to elicit information from the key actors who have in-depth knowledge regarding the phenomenon under study. The use of interview-guide allowed for flexibility as it could result in new insights from the participants. It also provided room for interviewees to express their views and feelings about the themes under study. The interview-guide was developed based on the themes of the study. It was divided into five major parts. The first part talked about the history and politics of Asebu; the second part dealt with the succession norms; the third part also talked about the roles of the chiefs and queenmothers, while the fourth part looked at the successes of the female chiefs and queenmothers. The final part discussed the challenges encountered by the female chiefs and queenmothers during their reign. The interview-guide allowed the researcher to collate like responses to conduct an in-depth analysis of the primary data.

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*Secondary data*

Literature that was relevant and related to the topic was reviewed in the study. This included literature from books, articles, journals published and unpublished thesis, and on the internet. This gathered information is linked to the study topic.

**Data Collection Procedures**

The first meeting was scheduled for 15ᵗʰ January 2020 with the potential participants of the study. The meeting with the chiefs, kingmakers, and linguists of the Asebu Traditional Area served three purposes. The first was to get entrée into the community as custom demanded. Second, it was to introduce myself to them, and third, to inform them about the study's nature and scope. I explained the objectives of the study and assured them of the confidentiality of the given information. I sought their consent to conduct the interview, which they readily agreed to. After the initial meeting with the potential participants, I set out to do the actual selection.

Before the interview, an arrangement was made with each interviewee to ascertain where they felt comfortable for the interview to be held. The rationale behind this was to ensure that key actors were relaxed and comfortable while giving them a high sense of confidentiality that would boost honest responses to asked questions. I described and read the research objectives to the participants, addressed all questions and concerns, and obtained informed consent before the interview. The interviews were conducted between January and September 2020. The discussions took place at the interviewees' palaces, houses, and workplaces, and each lasted approximately 20 to 45 minutes. The field interviews were conducted in the *Mfantse* indigenous language to enhance

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understanding and easy communication with the interviewees. During the interviews, I audio-recorded and took notes of non-verbal cues and other observations to help me analyse the gathered data. This approach helped the researcher to get to the core understanding of the study. The recorded audio was transcribed from *Mfantse* to English and thence, written into readable text.

**Data Processing and Analysis**

According to Miles and Huberman (1994), analysis involves reviewing notes, audio or videotapes, transcribing and dividing them meaningfully while keeping the relations between the parts intact. The recorded interviews were stored on a tape recorder on the field. The researcher listened to the recorded interviews severally and transcribed them verbatim, sometimes with the assistance of a linguist. The transcribed data was read thoroughly and analysed using content analysis. The transcribed data was coded and effectively placed under the themes derived from the research objectives to allow for thematic analysis and discussion of findings. Miles and Huberman (1994) explain that coding is the part of analysis wherein the researcher differentiates and combines the data retrieved and reflects upon this information. Coding helped to categorise or classify the text (Sarantakos, 1993). During the coding process, keywords were highlighted from sections of the text which gave specific meanings and provided a label for the section. These themes were connected and described so that a more coherent internal logic of the thesis could be enhanced. Results, interpretations, and discussions were presented based on the connected themes in connection with the relevant literature.

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**Ethical Issues**

Ethical values play a very significant role in every research. Choosing from a topic to analysing data from the field calls for weighing overt and covert ethical considerations. Ethics refers to rules of conduct or conformity to a set of principles. Davidson and Layder (1994) also consider research ethics as the conduct of researchers and their responsibilities and their obligations to those involved in the research and the data itself. Accordingly, ethical clearance was obtained from the Centre for African and International Studies and the School of Graduate Studies, University of Cape Coast. Official letters were obtained from the Centre for African and International Studies to the key informants in Asebu Traditional Area. The researcher took the responsibility to inform them about the objectives of the study fully and assured the participants that their views would be treated confidential and used only for academic purposes and solely for this particular research.

Interviewees who did not want their identities to be revealed were anonymised to conform to the ethical consideration. Consent was secured from each participant before conducting the interviews. The researcher sought approval from the participants before recording the information. Also, participants were not harmed or abused, either physically or psychologically, during the conduction of the research.

**Problems Encountered**

I encountered various challenges in the course of conducting the research. During the data collection stage, the first challenge faced was the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in February 2020. The fear of both the participants and the researcher not contracting the disease slowed down the pace

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of the research for several months. The effect of this COVID-19 situation on the study was that it affected timelines for completing segments of the thesis, while some participants withdrew outright from the research. Following this novel situation, some of the interviews were conducted on the phone and therefore, network challenges, audibility of responses and time constraints also prolonged the data collection exercise. Again, this also affected the time allotted to complete the field interviews, which distorted supervision schedules between the supervisor and the researcher.

Also, finance was a challenge because of the numerous travels I had to make. The additional travel costs fell outside the contingency fund. In this circumstance, money earmarked for procuring other inputs for the study had to be used in anticipation of receiving extra resources from my parents. When such expectations were unavailing, the researcher had to cut down on printing and stationery as a stopgap measure, which adversely affected the study. The last challenge was the unwillingness of participants to give certain information because the institution of chieftaincy is still shrouded in secrecy. The effect of this on the study is that the researcher could not account for the physical and practical aspects of some of the rituals deemed to be esoteric could not be described comprehensively.

**Chapter Summary**

This chapter discussed the introduction and research methodology. Research methodology entails a critical examination of the study area, research design, population, sample and sampling techniques, data collection instruments, data collection procedure, and data analysis. A qualitative research approach was considered suitable for this study because it allowed the

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researcher to collect rich, valuable and detailed qualitative data for the study and provided the researcher with the ideas and concepts required to conduct and coordinate the study. The main instrument used was a semi-structured interview guide and observation where participants were purposively selected. Interviews were conducted at the workplace, palace, and houses of the key actors over a definite period. The researcher employed a content analysis approach to analyse the field data. The study took into consideration all the ethical protocols prescribed for ethnologic fieldwork.

**CHAPTER FOUR**

**DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

**Introduction**

This chapter presents the data from the field and analyses them based on the research questions. It is structured based on the following research questions used to tackle the issue under study:

- What is the history and politics of the Asebu Traditional Area?

- What are the succession norms in the selection of female chiefs and queenmothers?

- What are the roles of female chiefs and queenmothers?

- What are the achievements of the female chiefs and queenmothers?

- What are the challenges of female chiefs and queenmothers?

The chapter begins with the characteristics of the participants, followed by the presentation of the primary data on the research questions.

**Characteristics of Participants**

This section discusses the life of the participants. These include their names, sex, age, town, religion, and educational background of the participants.
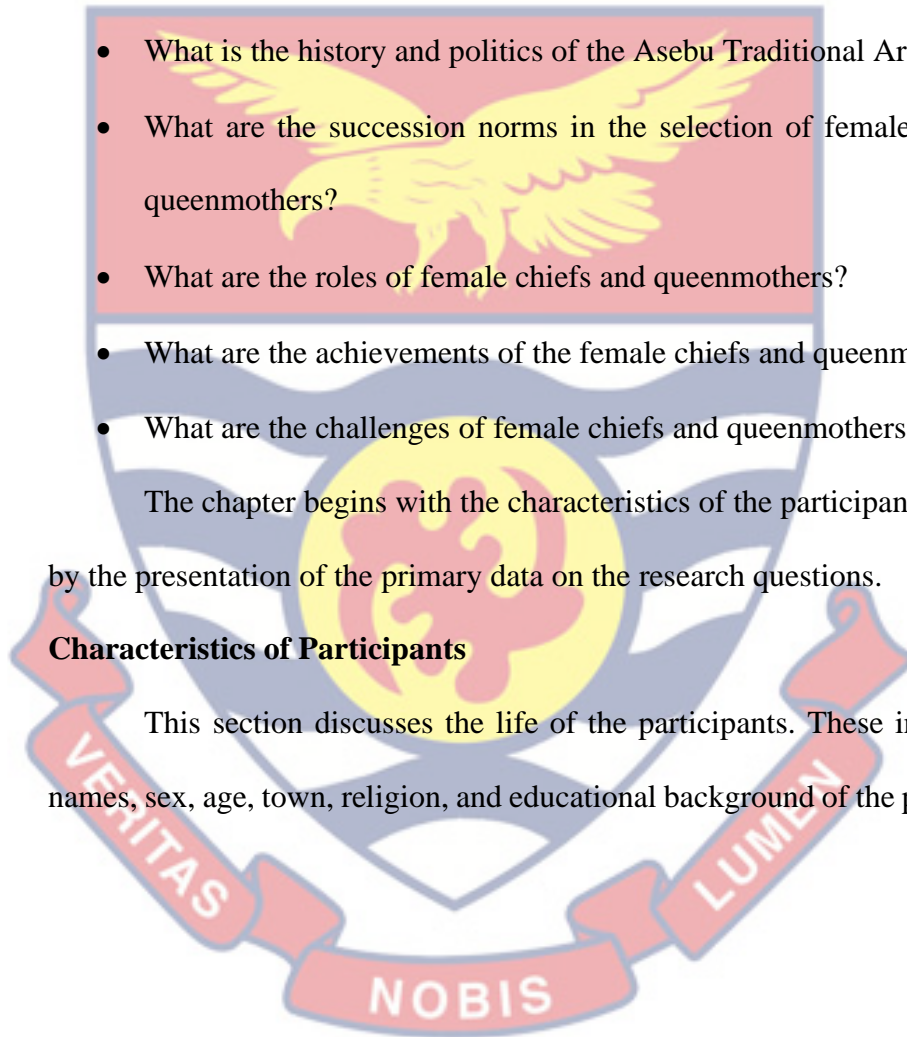
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**Table 1: Characteristics of Participants**

| Name | Sex | Age | Town | Religion | Education |
|------|-----|-----|------|----------|-----------|
| Nana Abew | Male | 61 | Ekroful | Christian | Tertiary |
| Okyeame Amissah | Male | 62 | Amantsendo | Traditionalist | None |
| Mr. Otoo | Male | 40 | Abakrampa | Christian | Tertiary |
| Abusuapayin Abrefi | Male | 65 | Moree | Christian | Tertiary |
| Mr. Quansah | Male | 50 | Amantsendo | Christian | None |
| Opanyin Mensah | Male | 51 | Moree | Christian | None |
| Nana Baah | Male | 56 | Akonoma | Christian | Tertiary |
| Nana Takyiwa | Female | 61 | Amantsendo | Christian | Tertiary |
| Nana Mensima | Female | 46 | Ekroful | Christian | Secondary |
| Nana Oforiwa | Female | 41 | Amantsendo | Christian | Secondary |
| Mrs. Abban | Female | 39 | Amantsendo | Christian | Tertiary |
| Mad. Owusuwa | Female | 48 | Moree | Christian | None |

Source: Field data, 2020

To anonymise the identity of the participant, the names are pseudonyms and not their real names. After discussing the characteristics of the participants, the emphasis will now be moved to the first research question that this study sought to address. It should be added that sub-themes coded from the main research questions would also be presented under their respective themes.

**The History and Politics of Asebu Traditional Area**

This research question revealed two major themes. These include

- History of Asebu Traditional Area.

- The politics of Asebu Traditional Area.

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**History of Asebu**

Like many other African societies, how people settle or move from one place to another and their activities through their journey is sometimes referred to as their migration history. According to an oral narration of the history of Asebu, there are several variations of the narration by many participants. However, the narration from the paramount chief, Okatakyi Dr Amenfi VII, was considered. As the head or president of the traditional area, it was believed that he learned the history of the town during his installation process. Sub-themes emerged from the interactions with the participants. These include narration on their migration, activities they engaged in at Asebu, and the ethnic group they belonged.

Most participants indicated that people migrate in pursuit of peace and fertile land to cultivate food for their survival. The case of Asebu is not different. Nana Abew noted:

> Oral traditions have it that, Sabou (Asebu) was founded by a giant leader and warrior Sabou Amenfi (Asebu Amenfi), a descendant of General Amenphe of Egypt. According to history, General Amenphe was one of the Army Generals of the Pharaohs of Egypt sent in pursuit of the Israelis on the way to the Promised Land (Canaan). Many of General Amenphe's people were drowned in the Red Sea, but those who survived and were unable to return to Egypt wandered about for years and eventually settled in Southern Sudan. They migrated down south and settled along the Lake Chad area in Chad and to Nigeria ultimately. They finally sailed through the sea to the southern part of Ghana.

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Among the people were his three family members; Amenfiwaa (Amenfi's sister), Kwegya (Amenfi's brother), and Takyiwaa (Kwegya's sister) (Interview, Nana Abew, 16 May 2020).

A participant supported Nana Abew's submission and added:

On their arrival in present-day Ghana, the people of Asebu temporarily lived in a forest known as "Fufumpowmu" near Akatakyiwa on the coast. On their way through the forest, a hunter saw them in the forest. He hid in the forest for several hours, waiting for the last person to pass, but the hunter was amazed when more people were passing without an end. He then shouted, 'what kind of people are coming without an end! Those who turned to look at the person who shouted turned into statues at "Fufumpowmu." As they continued their journey, they realised that they had left behind one great woman, Takyiwa. This made some people settle around the place in search of Takyiwa. The town was named after the incident, *Aka Takyiwa*, meaning, "Takyiwa has been left behind us". Kwegya and some people also settled in the present-day Moree, where he became chief in Moree. After some time, Amenfi, Amenfiwaa, and some people left the coast and settled at the present place named Asebu Amantsendo (traditional capital) in search of portable water and fertile land that sustain livelihood. The occupancy of the people of Asebu with their abled leadership took them as far as the River Pra, which boarded the Asantes and the southern part of Gold Coast, Ghana (Interview, Ɔkyeame Amissah, 16 February 2020).
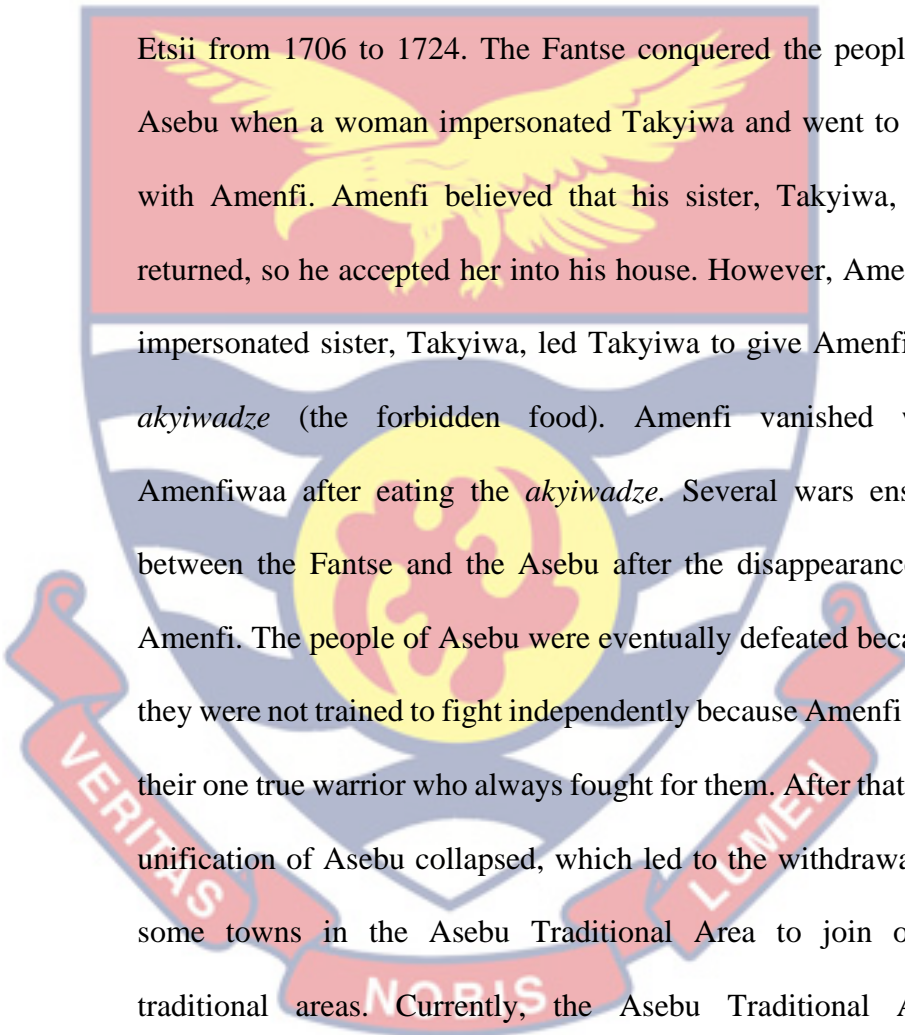
After finally settling at their present location, Asebu, they interacted with other groups such as the Etsii and Fantse. A participant explained the activities between the people. She stated:

With time, the Fantse also arrived in the area and settled close to the people of Asebu and Etsii. The Fantse were not friendly and waged several wars against the combined forces of Asebu and Etsii from 1706 to 1724. The Fantse conquered the people of Asebu when a woman impersonated Takyiwa and went to live with Amenfi. Amenfi believed that his sister, Takyiwa, had returned, so he accepted her into his house. However, Amenfi's impersonated sister, Takyiwa, led Takyiwa to give Amenfi his *akyiwadze* (the forbidden food). Amenfi vanished with Amenfiwaa after eating the *akyiwadze*. Several wars ensued between the Fantse and the Asebu after the disappearance of Amenfi. The people of Asebu were eventually defeated because they were not trained to fight independently because Amenfi was their one true warrior who always fought for them. After that, the unification of Asebu collapsed, which led to the withdrawal of some towns in the Asebu Traditional Area to join other traditional areas. Currently, the Asebu Traditional Area boundary stretches from Pra-Ewusi to Moree (Interview, Nana Takyiwa, 15 February 2020).

Because the Fantse conquered the Asebu, the people of Asebu are regarded as Fantse. However, several participants indicated that the people of Asebu are originally Guans. Nana Takyiwa explained:

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The Asebu were sometimes referred to as Efutu, Etsii, or Guan, but they are Guan. They are described as Etsii because of their interaction with them. Thus, the people of Asebu and Etsii mingled together, which made it difficult for others to differentiate between the Asebu and Etsii. Therefore, this made people regard them as Etsii (Interview, Nana Takyiwa, 16 February 2020).

Another participant supported Nana Takyiwa's submission and added:

The Asebu were referred to as Fantse because the Fantse conquered and dominated them and made their present location recognised as part of Fantse land. Hence, people regard them as Fantse due to their present location and loss of identity through language. Thus, their original dialect was Guan or Efutu but owing to the domination of the Fantse, their dialect changed to the Mfantse language and is, therefore, recognised as Fantse (Interview, Nana Oforiwaa, 28 August 2020).

It can be deduced that the people of Asebu migrated from Egypt to Ghana. They were the first people who settled along the southern coast of Ghana. Many ethnic groups joined and inter-mingled with them. Through their interactions with other groups, the Fantse waged war against them and defeated them.

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**Politics of Asebu**

Four sub-themes emerged from the responses. These include the political structure of Asebu, status and functions of the chiefs, roles and achievements of the traditional council.
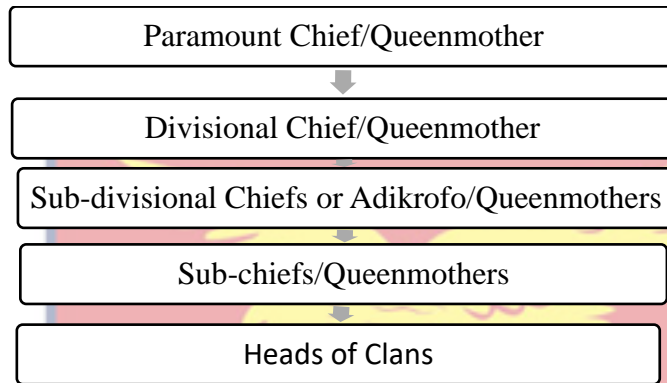


*Figure 2*: The Political Structure or Hierarchy of Asebu Traditional Area

Source: field data, 2020

The participants indicated that Asebu Traditional Area is a republic with the paramount chief as the head. They described Asebu as a republic because the paramount stool rotates among individuals in the Traditional Area who trace their ancestry through the maternal line. Thus, the paramount chief is not selected from a particular clan or gate. Any dignified person from the Traditional Area can be selected. The selection depends on merit and virtue as adjudged by the Kingmakers. One participant explained the factors for the rotation of the paramount stool as follows:

> Amenfi did not have a family or an offspring to establish a dynasty or occupy the stool after his death. On the death of a paramount chief, the royal clans from the twenty-seven towns that make up the traditional area will present an eligible candidate to the council. The council will conduct investigations

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on all the candidates presented. After passing the laid down rules, a suitable candidate will be selected and enstooled as the Ɔmanhene (paramount chief) (Interview, Nana Abew, 17 February 2020).

Similarly, another participant corroborated Nana Abew's submission. He explained the genealogy of the paramount stool by admitting that:

> The third paramount chief hails from Moree, while the fourth or current chief hails from Asebu Akroful. Therefore, the next paramount chief may come from any royal family in the twenty-seven towns under Asebu Traditional Area if the person only qualifies after several investigations guided by their norms (Interview, Ɔkyeame Amissah, 16 February 2020).

After a person has been enstooled as a paramount chief, he performs duties or roles attached to the position. A participant explained:

> The paramount chief's position is the highest indigenous office in the Asebu Traditional Area that the government of Ghana recognises through the Chieftaincy Act of 2008. The paramount chief controls the affairs of the area and is the president of the traditional area. He rules the traditional area with support from divisional chiefs, sub-divisional chiefs, and sub-chiefs. He is also a member of the Central Regional House of Chiefs (Interview session with Nana Abew, 16 May 2020).

Nana Oforiwaa added that the paramount chief rules with seven divisional chiefs in the traditional area. These leaders have specific roles and

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responsibilities to perform to ensure the smooth administration of the paramountcy (Interview, Nana Oforiwaa, 14 May 2020).

The divisional chiefs in Asebu Traditional Area are popularly known as Standing Committees who work with the paramount chief. There are seven divisional chiefs in the traditional area, which controls some towns in the traditional area. However, the *Twafohen* and *Nyimfahen* do not have any town under their control except the towns they rule as chiefs. They include *Twafohen, Adontenhen, Benkumhen, Nyimfahen, Akwamuhen, Gyaasehen,* and *Kyidomhen.*

**Table 2: Divisional chiefs and the towns under the division**

| Divisional chiefs | Town they rule | Towns under the division |
|---|---|---|
| *Twafohen* | Asebu Akonoma | |
| *Adontenhen* | Asebu Putubew | Patase, Abaasa, Sordofo, Apewosika, Formanye. |
| *Benkumhen* | Asebu Brebia | Miensa, Mframandwe. |
| *Nyimfahen* | Asebu Amosema | |
| *Akwamuhen* | Asebu Akroful | |
| *Gyaasehen* | Asebu Amantsendo | Old Ebu, Ohiaba, Aponsere, New Ebu. |
| *Kyidomhen* | Asebu Moree | Brafoyaw, Moree Junction, Anwiamu, Green Hill. |

Source: Field data, 2020

The participants indicated that the status of the divisional chief was ascribed and, therefore, permanent. That is, the chief acquired the divisional title or status when they occupied the stool in a particular town where the divisional title already existed. For instance, when a candidate is enstooled as a chief in

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Asebu Moree, that chief automatically holds a divisional title as *Kyidomhen* in the traditional area. After the attainment of the divisional title, these chiefs also exercise jurisdictional control as *Adikrofo* of the other towns under them. Meanwhile, the Adikrofo, who are chiefs in their various towns, also replicates these titles by appointing clan heads to constitute a steering committee or council of elders to assist in the governance of the community.

For this reason, Frimpong-Nnuroh (2001) observes that there was a relay of power in the hierarchy of Nzema chieftaincy. The chiefs under the control of the *Odikro* are referred to as sub-chiefs who render account to the *Odikro*. A participant explained:

> The chief of Amantsendo collaborates with the chief of Old Ebu
> to discuss the progress and betterment of the traditional council.
> Also, during the installation process of the sub-divisional chiefs,
> they swear an oath to their divisional chiefs. For instance, the
> chiefs of Old Ebu, Ohiaba, and Aponsere fall under the
> *Gyaasehen*. Therefore, during the installation process of the
> chiefs in these towns, they will swear an oath of allegiance to the
> *Gyaasehen* while the *Gyaasehen* also presents the new chiefs to
> the traditional council (Interview, Nana Takyiwa, 14 February
> 2020).

The functions of the divisional chiefs have changed over time. A participant explained that during the pre-colonial period, their administrative structure was military, where they defended and protected their people through wars. Their divisional title was more or less defined by their standing

arrangement at the war front, even though they ruled as chiefs in their various towns.

**Table 3: Old Functions of Divisional Chiefs**

| Divisional title | Functions |
| --- | --- |
| *Twafohen* | He was a chief in his town who performed religious, political, social, and economic roles. |
| | He was the lieutenant of the reconnaissance forces who cleared the path for the people during wars. |
| *Adɔntenhen* | He ruled his town and performed chiefly roles. |
| | He was the captain of the advanced guard. |
| *Benkumhen* | He rules as a chief in his town. |
| | He was the head of the left-wing who protected the chief and the people from the left side during wars. |
| *Nyimfahen* | He ruled as a chief in his town. |
| | He was the right-wing head who protected the chief and the people from the right sides during wars. |
| *Akwamuhen* | He ruled his town and performed chiefly roles. |
| | He was the head of the centre wing who walked with the *Twafohene*. |
| | Both the *Akwamuhen* and *Twafohen* paved the way during wars. |
| *Gyasehen* | He rules as a chief in his town. |
| | He was the commander of the palace, including the affairs of the paramount chief. |
| | He cared for the women and children at home during wars to save them from any sudden attack. |
| *Kyidomhen* | He ruled as a chief in his town. |
| | He marched his troops behind the people at war to warrant the protection and security of the chief. |

Source: Field data, 2020

Discussing the functions of the divisional chiefs, it was revealed that factors of social change had affected the functions of these chiefs. The following statements gleaned from the interviews threw more light on these factors. For instance, a participant noted:

In the present day, the roles of the divisional chiefs have

drastically changed. This is a result of the introduction of

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security forces such as the army and the police forces who see to the peace and security of the country. Hence, the chiefs do not play any military roles in society. (Interview, Nana Abew, 16 May 2020).

**Table 4: New Functions of Divisional Chiefs**

| Divisional Title | Functions |
|---|---|
| *Twafohen* | He acts as the first in command or acting president in the absence of the paramount chief. He represents the paramount chief at the Regional House of Chiefs meeting when the paramount chief is demised or incapacitated. He engages in developmental projects in his town. |
| *Adontenhen* | He makes travelling arrangements and organises programmes for the paramount chief. He rules as a chief in his town. He engages in developmental projects in his town. |
| *Benkumhen* | He plays advisory roles to the paramount chief. He rules as a chief in his town. He engages in developmental projects in his town. |
| *Nyimfahen* | He plays an advisory role to the paramount chief. He rules as a chief in his town. He engages in developmental projects in his town. |
| *Akwamuhen* | He plays an advisory role to the paramount chief. He rules in his town. He engages in developmental projects in his town. |
| *Gyasehen* | She protects the paramount chief. She unites with the chief of New-Ebu to search for money for the development of the Traditional Area. She takes care of the palace and the dressing of the paramount chief. She rules and engages in developmental projects in her town. |
| *Kyidomhen* | He plays an advisory role in the council. He rules in his town. He engages in developmental projects in his town. |

Source: Field data, 2020

The divisional chiefs, popularly known as Standing Committee, serve as chiefs in their various towns. They perform both traditional and contemporary roles in their town and at the traditional council at large. A participant explained:

Traditionally, they have the prerogative to settle cases and perform rituals to maintain the stool, while in contemporary periods, they engage in developmental projects through lobbying the local government. They also organise programmes and seek sponsors to help engage in projects to aid the smooth administration and peace in their various communities (Interview, Mr. Otoo, 15 May 2020).

Another participant added:

The divisional chiefs serve as the law-making body at the traditional council. They collaborate with the paramount chief to make laws to govern the traditional area. Their war formation has been incorporated into their current administration by sitting at public gatherings and meetings (Interview, Nana Takyiwa, 14 February 2020).

The divisional chiefs rule with the council of elders and sub-divisional chiefs. A sub-divisional chief may be any chief below the rank of the divisional chiefs. They are the overlords in their various communities that perform multiple political, religious, administrative, and economic tasks. In Asebu, there are twenty-two communities with seven divisions. There are fifteen sub-divisional chiefs or *adikrofo* who manage the day-to-day activities in their towns. These sub-divisional chiefs also rule the community with their sub-chiefs. The title of the sub-chiefs is more like the divisional title such as

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*Twafohen, Gyasehen, Adontenhen,* among others who perform specific duties in the town.

In my discussion with the participants, I discovered that Asebu Traditional Area has a Traditional Council as stipulated in the 2008 Chieftaincy Act. A participant highlighted:

The Traditional Council consists of the paramount chief, divisional chiefs, sub-divisional chiefs, sub-chiefs, queenmothers, *supi* (leaders of *Asafo* company), and clan leaders in the various towns. The paramount chief is the president, whiles the *Twafohen* acts as the president in the absence of the president (Interview, Madam Araba Owusiwaa, 6 May 2020).

The traditional council has a law-making body popularly known as the standing committee and a judicial committee that see to the running of the council. A participant explained:

The standing committee is the highest decision-making body which comprises the paramount chief and the divisional chiefs. They have the prerogative to make decisions or regulations for the Traditional Council. They also plan and coordinate business operations in the assigned districts of the Traditional Area. Also, the Judicial Committee is set up when there is any arising dispute in the council. The committee comprises five gazetted chiefs appointed to settle marriage, land, stool, curse, and others (Interview, Nana Abew, 6 May 2020).

The traditional council, in performing their functions, develops the traditional area. A participant explained:

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The major priority of the Traditional Council is education. Therefore, they help children through their basic level of education to tertiary. Thus, children have been enrolled in the secondary and tertiary levels of education with support from the Council. Also, the paramount chief, with the help of authorities from the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST), has built a School of Fisheries under the University at Moree (Interview, Nana Mensima, 20 February 2020).

Another participant added:

The traditional council has instituted an initiative to connect and engage with the African Diasporas. The initiative known as the Pan African Village encourages African Diasporas to return home after many years of slavery. Thus, affordable houses are given to the African Diasporas who seek to relocate to Ghana (Interview, Nana Abew, 6 May 2020).

**Succession Norms in the Selection of a Chief and a Queenmother in Asebu Traditional Area**

Participants stated that the criteria for selecting a chief and a queenmother are subjected to customary law. Two themes emerged from the responses. These include:

- Factors considered in selecting a female chief and a queenmother.
- The installation and post-installation process of the female chief and the queenmother.

**Factors considered in selecting a female chief and a queenmother**

Among the people of Asebu, there are laid down rules that help select a suitable candidate to occupy a stool. All the participants had similar views on the lineage of the candidate as the most significant criterion for selecting a female chief and a queenmother. The people of Asebu largely practice the matrilineal system of succession and inheritance. Hence, an individual can occupy the stool through the female line. A participant explained:
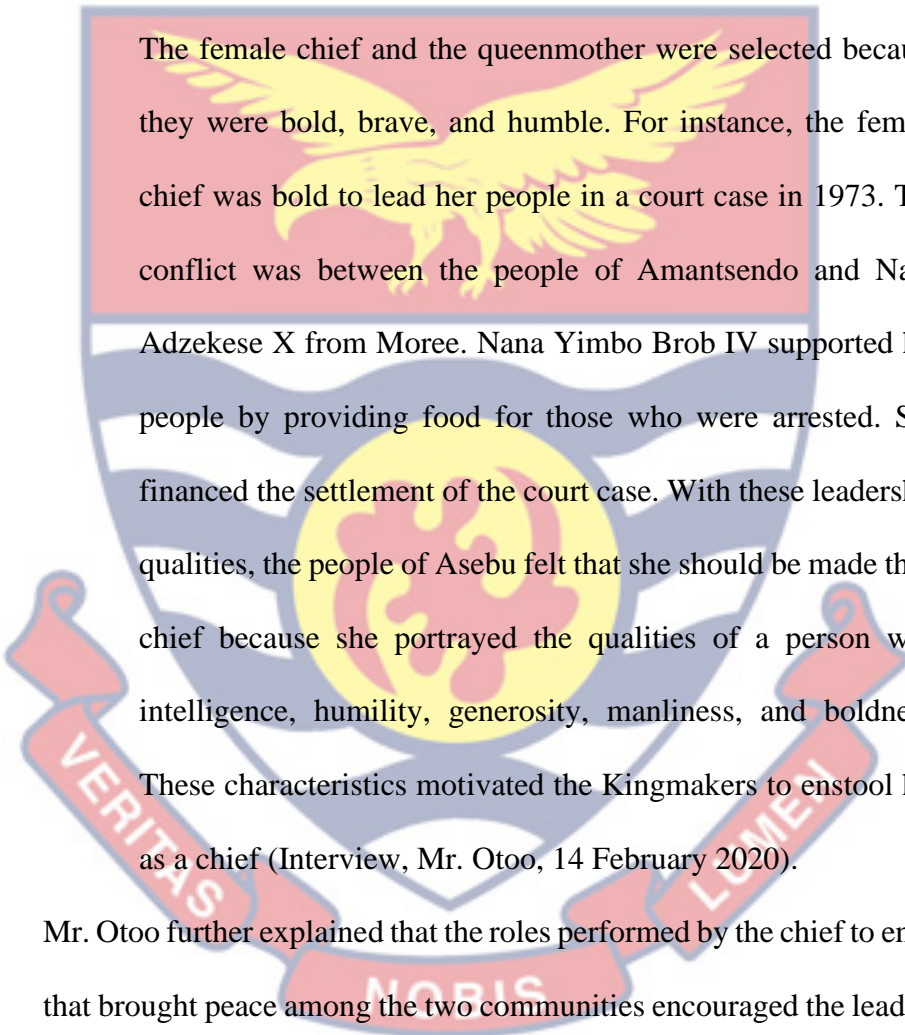
> Both the chief and queenmother were selected because they hail from the royal *Apaa Nsɔna* clan. The female chief took over the position from her late mothers' brother while the queenmother took over from her mother's sister's daughter, who is still alive but resigned from the position as queenmother (Interview, Nana Oforiwaa, 18 August 2020).

Nana Oforiwaa further explained that Nana Amisimakese II abdicated her position as the queenmother because she did not have enough time to combine her work and other duties with the position as a queenmother. This is because the position of a queenmother needs a lot of time and selflessness.

Another participant further emphasised the lineage of the royal clan where the chief and the queenmother were selected:

> In Asebu Amantsendo, the stool rotates among the three lineages: Esi Atta, Ama Bentsiwa, and Ama Abokoma. The chief, Nana Yimbo Brob IV, was selected from the Esi Atta lineage, while the queenmother was selected from Ama Abokoma lineage (Interview, Ɔkyeame Amissah, 14 February 2020).

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After the consideration of the lineage system, the personal attributes of the candidates are considered and properly investigated by the *Abusua Apamfo* (they include Queenmother and *Abusuapayin)* before nominating a candidate. These attributes include character, bravery, marital status, and good communicative competence. The following points were buttressed by a participant, Ɔkyeame Amissah, who explained:
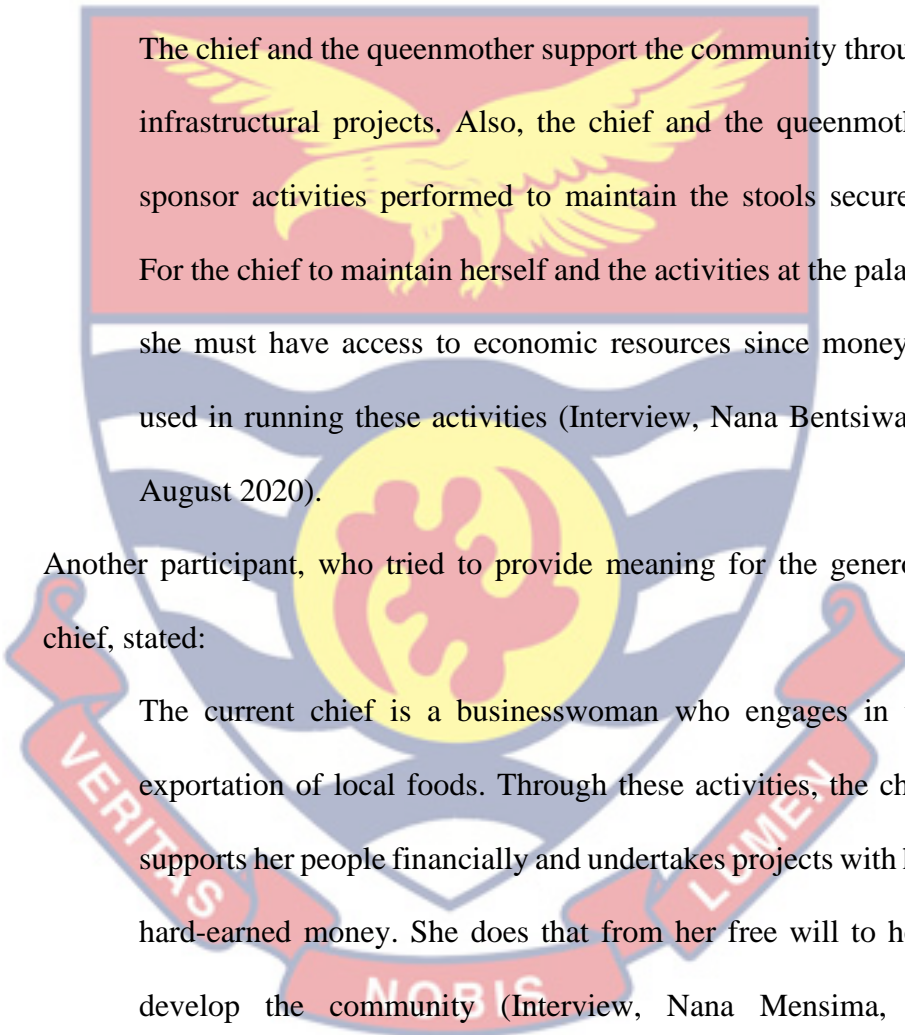
> The female chief and the queenmother were selected because they were bold, brave, and humble. For instance, the female chief was bold to lead her people in a court case in 1973. The conflict was between the people of Amantsendo and Nana Adzekese X from Moree. Nana Yimbo Brob IV supported her people by providing food for those who were arrested. She financed the settlement of the court case. With these leadership qualities, the people of Asebu felt that she should be made their chief because she portrayed the qualities of a person with intelligence, humility, generosity, manliness, and boldness. These characteristics motivated the Kingmakers to enstool her as a chief (Interview, Mr. Otoo, 14 February 2020).

Mr. Otoo further explained that the roles performed by the chief to ensure justice that brought peace among the two communities encouraged the leaders to select her as a chief. This portrays how competent the chief will be when there is conflict in the community.

Apart from the lineage system and character traits, an eligible candidate's wealth and education are considered. These criteria are not too pronounced though the Kingmakers consider them. The people still uphold the

principle that the chief and the queenmother ensure societal development, even though the local government is in charge of community development in contemporary times. Hence, the need to select an individual who can support the people by lobbying the central and local government for amenities and infrastructure. This was always paramount in bringing development to the people. One participant indicated:

> The chief and the queenmother support the community through infrastructural projects. Also, the chief and the queenmother sponsor activities performed to maintain the stools securely. For the chief to maintain herself and the activities at the palace, she must have access to economic resources since money is used in running these activities (Interview, Nana Bentsiwa, 4 August 2020).

Another participant, who tried to provide meaning for the generosity of the chief, stated:

> The current chief is a businesswoman who engages in the exportation of local foods. Through these activities, the chief supports her people financially and undertakes projects with her hard-earned money. She does that from her free will to help develop the community (Interview, Nana Mensima, 20 February 2020).

Data from the field suggests that education is also a minor criterion for selecting a candidate. Few participants suggested that the candidate's level of formal education is sometimes considered because of the chiefs' or

queenmother's interaction with people within or outside the country. A participant indicated:

> Some activities, such as court proceedings, diplomatic duties, investors, and language barriers, are considered. Therefore, both the chief and the queenmother must read and write to be able to associate with visitors in the community (Interview, Abusuapayin Abrefi, 12 February 2020).

*Processes of installing a female chief and a queenmother*

After the Abusua Apamfo has done background checks on the candidate, the candidate is then installed as a chief or a queenmother in accordance with the Asebu customary laws. The installation process practised among the people of the Asebu Traditional Area was categorised into four main sub-themes. These include nomination of an eligible candidate, selection of the suitable candidate, capture and confinement of the candidate, outdooring or public presentation of the candidate, and post-installation process.

A candidate can only be nominated to occupy a vacant stool after the demise, resignation, or destoolment of a chief or a queenmother with the appropriate customs as required by the laws and traditions of the people. Almost all the participants had similar views on how the nomination was done. They stated that nomination involves identifying and submitting the name(s) of the potential candidate(s) to be considered a chief or a queenmother. A participant emphasised:

> The sudden death of Nana Yimbo Brob III scared some parents from allowing their sons to be enstooled as the chief. Parents resisted and prevented their sons from being enstooled as chiefs

because they feared their sons might also die suddenly after being enstooled as chiefs.  (Interview, Ɔkyeame Amissah, 6 May 2020).

Although some parents feared presenting their sons to be enlisted as chief, others also presented theirs to the *Abusuapayin* and the queenmother. However, these male candidates presented by the *Abusuapayin* to the Kingmakers were rejected because they had questionable character traits. Indeed, one of the participants affirmed that "the *Abusuapayin* presented two men to the Kingmakers, but they were rejected due to their questionable character such as disrespectfulness and arrogance among others" (Interview, Nana Takyiwa, 6 February 2020).

The rejection of the two male candidates paved the way for a woman to be selected. The Abusuapayin, in consultation with the queenmother, and Mbaampayin selected and presented a female to the Kingmakers due to her moral standing and her contribution and support towards developmental projects and other activities of the town. Also, the political roles of women in other societies motivated the *Abusua Apamfo* to select a female as a chief. For instance, they considered the rule of Queen Elizabeth II, the Queen of England, as well as Nana Hima Derkyi, Chief and Queenmother of Upper Dixcove, who ruled from 1964-2002 (Interview, Nana Baah, 10 August 2020).

Yet, another respondent explained how the female chief was nominated. She noted:

After the death of the third chief, the *Abusuapayin* met the *Abusua Apamfo (Abusuapayin*, queenmother, linguist, and *Mbaampayin)* to discuss and present a successor to the late

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chief. After several consultations among the *Abusua Apamfo*, they selected Philomina Korsah, the current chief and presented her to the Kingmakers (Interview, Nana Takyiwa, 16 February 2020).

Similarly, a participant emphasised the nomination of the queenmother. She noted:

> After the resignation of the 2nd queenmother of Amantsendo, the *Abusua Apamfo,* after several consultations among the people, made them arrive at a consensus. They nominated me as the 3rd queenmother of Amantsendo after several discussions. My name was presented to the *Beesounfo* (Interview, Nana Mensima, 15 July 2020).

After the nomination of the candidate, the *Abusuapayin* presents the name of the eligible candidate(s) to the Kingmakers (*Beesounfo)*. The Kingmakers then meet to discuss and select a suitable candidate from the nominated candidate(s). A participant added:

> The *Beesounfo* have the prerogative to accept or reject a nominated candidate by the *Abusuapayin*. They are responsible for deciding who best suits the position after several consultations. The Kingmakers then inform the *Abusuapayin* about the investigations after selecting a suitable candidate (Interview, Nana Takyiwa, 16 May 2020).

When a suitable candidate is selected, a date is set to capture and confine the candidate. The Mbaampayin engages in several underground consultations before a candidate is captured. He noted:

Before the date is set for the gathering to announce the next

successor (a chief or a queenmother), a background check will

be conducted on the woman's menstrual cycle by the

*Mbaampayin*. This ensures that their confinement period will

not fall within her menstrual cycle as menstrual blood is

deemed ritually unclean. After the checks, a date will be set for

the public gathering to announce her occupancy to the stool

(Interview, Mr. Otoo, 4 August 2020).

Another participant added:

Before being 'captured', there is a broader consultation of

different people, such as the candidates' siblings, parents,

husbands, or wives. This shows the participation of different

people in the capturing process (Interview, Nana Mensima, 16

February 2020).

During the consultation among the relatives of the candidate (female

chief or queenmother), the candidate will be unofficially informed by the

relatives about her selection to occupy the stool. After several deliberations

among relatives of the selected candidate, a date was announced to capture the

candidate. The process of capturing shows the candidate's submission to the

people. That is, the candidate surrenders to the will of the people, which shows

the sources of power of the people.

On the day of capture, a participant elaborated on the activities that were

performed. He indicated:

As part of the 'capturing' process, there is a community

gathering in front of the community *posuban* where the chief-

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elect or queenmother-elect is accompanied by the *Abusuapayin* and some clan members to the durbar ground. The Kingmakers announce and present the candidate as the successor to the stool. After several negotiations between the Kingmakers and the *Abusuapayin*, some able bodied men carry the candidate shoulder high and walk around the *posuban* three times. After the third round, they dismount her, and the linguist pours libation. A sheep is slaughtered, and the blood is poured on her legs to sanctify and prepare her for her new status. White powder is also poured on her. The powder signifies victory for successfully going through the rituals and announcing the new candidate (female chief or queenmother) is made to the public (Interview, Nana Takyiwa, 16 May 2020).
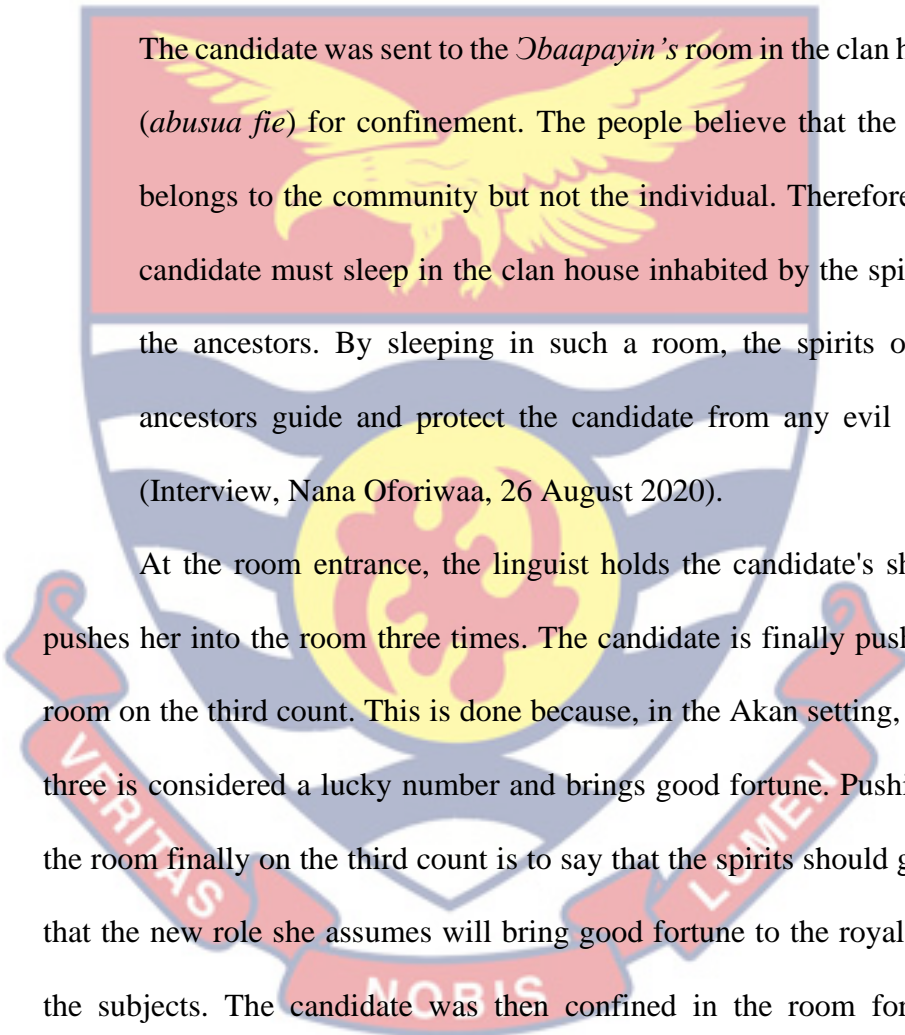
In the olden days, it was the duty of the Asafo company to carry the chief-elect or queenmother-elect on the shoulders and walk around the *posuban*. As a result of the diminishing roles of the Asafo company, some able bodied men are selected to carry the candidate shoulder high.

A participant pointed out that some items are presented to the town by the *Abusuapayin* on the day of capture. He stated:

The *Abusuapayin* presented items such as an amount ranging from GHC1000 to GHC1500, a sheep, two bottles of schnapps, two cartons of beer, and a crate each of Guinness, malt, and soft drinks to the Kingmakers. The payment of the money depends on the status and position of the chief or the queenmother. That is, the female chief paid GHC1500 whiles the queenmother paid

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GHC1000. The money and items presented show that the town has accepted the candidate as the next chief or queenmother (Interview, Ɔkyeame Amissah, 14 February 2020).

After the announcement, the candidate was sent to the confinement room. A participant explained the type of room the candidate was confined in. She stated that:

> The candidate was sent to the *Ɔbaapayin's* room in the clan house (*abusua fie*) for confinement. The people believe that the stool belongs to the community but not the individual. Therefore, the candidate must sleep in the clan house inhabited by the spirit of the ancestors. By sleeping in such a room, the spirits of the ancestors guide and protect the candidate from any evil spirit (Interview, Nana Oforiwaa, 26 August 2020).

> At the room entrance, the linguist holds the candidate's shoulder and pushes her into the room three times. The candidate is finally pushed into the room on the third count. This is done because, in the Akan setting, the number three is considered a lucky number and brings good fortune. Pushing her into the room finally on the third count is to say that the spirits should guide her so that the new role she assumes will bring good fortune to the royal family and the subjects. The candidate was then confined in the room for one week (Interview, Nana Takyiwa, 16 February 2020).
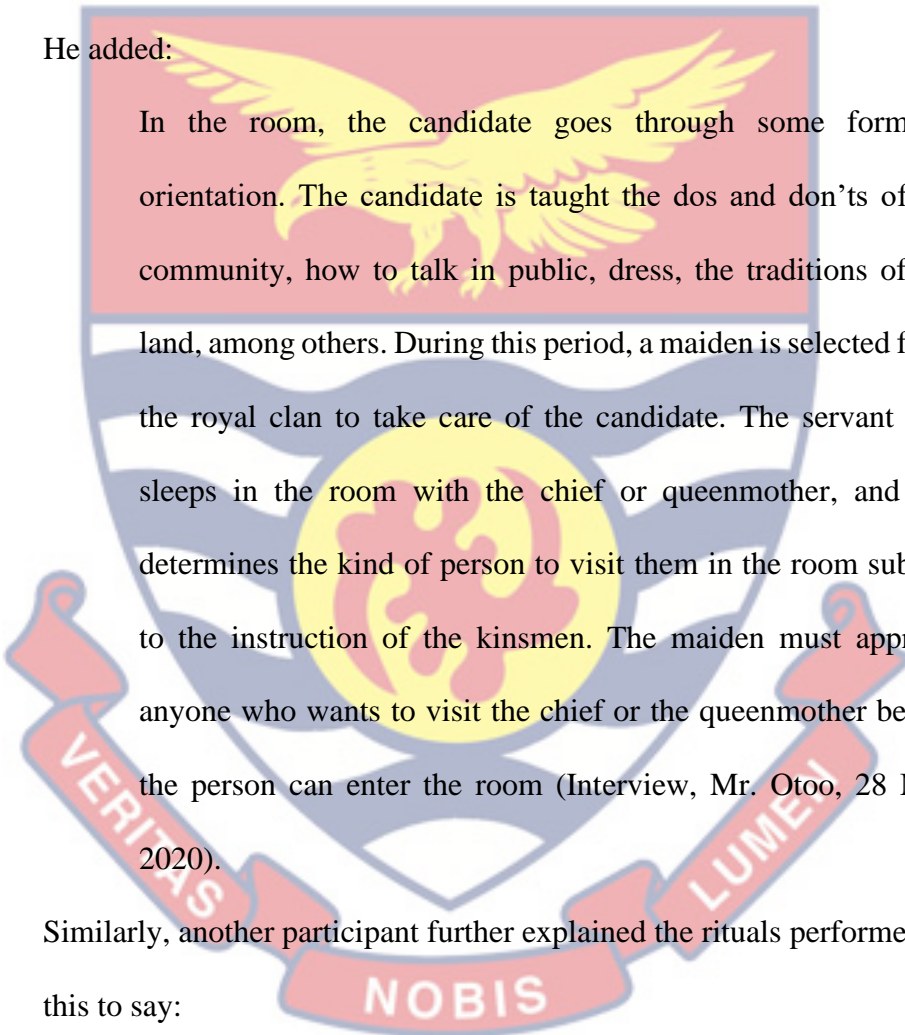
Another participant commenting on the specific days on which the female chief and the queenmother were confined noted:

> In Asebu, the chief and the queenmother are confined on Tuesday and out-doored the following week because Tuesday

is deemed as the sacred day for the people. The chief was confined in a room from Tuesday 18<sup>th</sup> January to Tuesday 25<sup>th</sup> January 2000, whiles the queenmother was confined from Tuesday 7<sup>th</sup> April to Tuesday 14<sup>th</sup> April 2009 (Interview, Ɔkyeame Amissah, 16 May 2020).

Yet, a participant explained the activities performed in the room of confinement. He added:

> In the room, the candidate goes through some form of orientation. The candidate is taught the dos and don'ts of the community, how to talk in public, dress, the traditions of the land, among others. During this period, a maiden is selected from the royal clan to take care of the candidate. The servant also sleeps in the room with the chief or queenmother, and she determines the kind of person to visit them in the room subject to the instruction of the kinsmen. The maiden must approve anyone who wants to visit the chief or the queenmother before the person can enter the room (Interview, Mr. Otoo, 28 May 2020).

Similarly, another participant further explained the rituals performed. He had this to say:

> In the mornings and afternoons, while still in confinement, the clan linguist pours libation and assists the candidate to sit on the stool three times during the invocation. On the 6<sup>th</sup> day, the candidate will shave her hair. This shows that the candidate is starting a new life which is deemed as a transition process. In

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the evening, the candidate will be taken to the stool room. She will be accompanied by the *Abusuapayin, Abusua Kyeame*, Chief priest, and two elderly women, *Mbaampayinfo*. The candidate will be clothed with *krada* (white cloth). At the entrance, the candidate will be blindfolded. She will then walk to the stool room and pick a stool. The name on the stool picked will be given to the candidate. After the name is selected, libation will be poured to ask for protection from the gods' candidate. A hen will be slaughtered for rituals. Mashed yam is cooked with a boiled egg, and the food will be given to the candidate and the people in the room to be eaten. (Interview, Nana Oforiwaa, 28 August 2020).

She added that whiles performing these rituals in the room, some town folks will be gathered in front of the town square near the *posuban*. One person will be sent to inform the town folks to play the drums. The playing of the drums announces the performance of rituals in the stool room. As the drum is continuously being played, the candidate is held by the shoulders to sit on the stool three times. The candidate's body does not touch the stool, but the cloth is made to touch the stool. The candidate will be sent back to be confined in the room after the rituals (Interview, Nana Oforiwaa, 28 August 2020).

The candidate is outdoors on the 7th day, deemed the final stage of the installation process. This process includes ritual performance and oath-taking. Several activities are performed in the morning of the outdooring process. One participant stated:

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On the 7th day, around 3 am, the candidate will be clothed in a white cloth and taken to the royal mausoleum to pour libation and perform other rituals. She will be taken back to the room after the rituals. The maiden will bath and dress the candidate. A ritual meal of mashed yam and egg will be given to the candidate. The egg is swallowed, and the linguist pours libation. The town priest will also pour another libation and perform rituals (Interview, Nana Oforiwaa, 28 August 2020).

Another participant supported Nana Oforiwaa's submission and added that:

The dressing of the candidate on the day of outdooring depends heavily on the circumstance. That is, a candidate wears a white cloth when the previous chief or queenmother is still alive but wears a black or red cloth when he or she is mourning his or her predecessor. The queenmother puts on a scarf and two different clothes, one on top and another down, while the chief wore a crown and *ntwotwo* beneath and a long cloth from the top to down (Interview, Nana Baah, 20 August 2020).

Furthermore, a participant further explained:

*Nyenyan* leaves (*Momordica charantia*) will be wrapped around the neck, while a leaf will be put in the mouth of the candidate by the priest. It is believed that the *nyenyan* leaves protect the chief from any evil spirit while the leaf in the mouth prevents the candidate from talking during the performance of the rites. Talking during the performance of such highly regarded rituals will nullify everything which has been done.

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After that, the candidate will be taken to Ansakwa to be carried in the palanquin amidst jubilations to the durbar ground (Interview, Ɔkyeame Amissah, 3 July 2020).

Ɔkyeame Amissah further explained that at the durbar ground, a prayer would be said by a linguist who offers libation. In recent times, as a result of social change, a pastor is also made to pray. The candidate is to be shown to the public to announce her as the next chief or queenmother in the town. Items are presented to the candidate by her children, spouse and other well-wishers. The royal clan also presents some items to the town at large through the Linguist as a sign of gratitude for the honour and to thank you. After the presentation, the chief-elect or the queenmother-elect swears an oath.

A participant explained how the oath swearing process was performed. She stated that:

> If the queenmother has a sitting chief, she swears to both the chief and the town, but if there is no chief, the queenmother is expected by custom to only swear to the townsfolk. During the oath-taking by the queenmother, the chief first swears to her three times by holding the *akofona* (state sword) *tightly* in hand with his hands stretched. The chief will then say that *"ɛmi Nana Yimbo Brob IV, me sua me ma hom dɛ, sɛ hom frɛ me anɔpa o, ewiaber o, eyimber o, nsu mu o, ewia mu o, mebɛba. M'ammba a, me sua me yi yarba, m'ammbaa mo to."* This means that I, Nana Yimbo Brob IV, swear before you that if you call me in the morning, afternoon, and evening, I shall avail myself, if I

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do not, except when I am indisposed, I go against the oath (Interview, Nana Oforiwaa, 28 August 2020).

Nana Oforiwaa added that the chief would make this pronouncement of oath with the state sword in hand for the first and second time and put the sword's point on the ground the third time after reciting the words. The queenmother will also hold the state sword and swear to the chief by reciting the same words cited and putting the state sword on the ground on the third citation (Interview, Nana Oforiwaa, 28 August 2020).

After swearing the oath to the community, the female chief or the queenmother sets another date to swear to the traditional council. The data from the field shows that swearing an oath to the traditional council begins with the presentation of some items to the Council. A participant explained:

> The royal clan presents items such as a sheep, bottles of Schnapps, two creates of beer, a create each of Guinness, malt, and Coca-Cola, and money which ranges from GHC500 to GHC 1,500 to the Council. The items received by the council serve as a witness that the candidate has been sworn into office and is now acknowledged as a member of the traditional council. Libation is poured to seal the initiation of the person into the council (Interview, Ɔkyeame Amissah, 15 February 2020).

After the candidate (female chief or queenmother) has been accepted at the traditional council, she engages in the post-installation process. The post-installation process entails registering and gazetting of chiefs and queenmothers, which acknowledges them by the constitution and gives them

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the right and privileges entitled to them as enshrined in the 1992 Constitution and statutes such as Act 759, s30 to settle disputes. A participant explained the process of registering a chief or a queenmother as follows:

> The female chief or the queenmother will be accompanied by the clan leader and four or five family members to the traditional council to fill the registration forms. The traditional council president and the registrar will sign the filled forms. The council will hold a meeting to discuss whether there is any litigation on the stool. The minutes taken at the meeting will be burned into CDs and submitted to the Central Regional House of Chiefs for further approval (Interview, Mrs. Abban, 15 May 2020).

Mr. Otoo supported Mrs. Abban's submission and added:

> A Standing Committee is set up at the Central Regional House of Chiefs (CRHC) to endorse or verify whether the forms have been properly filled without any objection and confirm whether there is litigation on the stool. They also enquire if the presented candidate is the eligible candidate to the stool. After the investigation, the committee signed and attached the minutes of the meeting, which confirmed the process of the signed forms and forwarded them to the National House of Chiefs (NHC) for acceptance. The forms go through the process of vetting at the National House of Chiefs. After passing through these processes, the chiefs or queenmothers names will be entered into the registry of chiefs. NHC issues an extract or certificate

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to the chief which shows that he or she has been gazetted. The chief swears an oath of secrecy at the High Court as part of the gazetting process (Interview, Mr. Otoo, 18 March 2020).

Mr. Otoo added that at the High Court, the chief or the queenmother swears an affidavit. A certificate is given to the candidate. This serves as the government's recognition of her new status and confers on her the power and authority to settle cases in accordance with the accepted customary traditions. It confers the judicial right on the candidate to settle any customary and civil cases at their various courts. Any case settled by the chief or queenmother cannot be repudiated by the victim. Also, the gazetting of chiefs legitimise the stool which prevents litigation.

Although importance is attached to the registering and gazetting of chiefs or queenmothers, there are chiefs and queenmothers in Asebu Traditional Area who have not been registered and gazetted. Nana Abew remarked:

Chiefs who are not gazetted have been advised to ensure that they are gazetted on several occasions, but they have failed to undergo the process due to unknown reasons to the council. Non-gazetted chiefs do not have any votes at the council even though they attend council meetings. Thus, they can share their views on an issue at hand, but they cannot vote (Interview, Nana Abew, 6 May 2020).

Another participant explained the kind of cases settled by the non-gazetted chiefs and queenmothers when he stated that:

Non-gazetted chiefs and queenmothers settle civil and customary cases at their various towns because they are

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enstooled as chiefs and queenmothers by their town folks and therefore cannot extend their powers to other territories or the council. At the traditional council, non-gazetted chiefs and queenmothers do not have judicial powers to settle cases. Hence, the victim can challenge any cases settled by them if a concern is raised about him or her as not being gazetted (Interview, Nana Baah, 7 August 2020).

**The Roles of Female Chiefs and Queenmothers in Asebu Amantsendo**

The roles of a person are determined by the position acquired. Thus, an individual performs chieftain roles after being enstooled as a chief. A female who occupies a male stool plays the role of a chief, while a female who occupies a female stool plays the role of a queenmother. These roles are derived from the customs and laws after the installation and post-installation processes. The third research question, as noted on page 53 above, revealed the following themes:

- Judicial roles

- Political roles and the

- Social roles of female chiefs and queenmothers in the area under study.

**The judicial roles of the female chiefs and the queenmothers**

After being gazetted, the judicial role is automatically conferred on the chief and the queenmother through the customary law and the Chieftaincy Act of 2008. Most of the participants had similar views about the judicial roles of the chief as "settling of cases".  A participant noted that:

Both the chief and the queenmother have the right to adjudicate civil cases but not criminal cases. Criminal cases such as armed robbery and rape are settled in the law court. The chief settles

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civil cases that are male-related, like land disputes and breaches

of taboos, while the queenmother settles cases that are female-

related, which include marriage and family issues, among

others. These cases are settled through customary arbitration at

various courts (Interview, Nana Takyiwa, 16 February 2020).

Similarly, a participant added that:

> Both the female chief and the queenmother have their councils
>
> and served as council's chair that sees to the day-to-day affairs
>
> of the community. The queenmother is part of the female
>
> chief's court council, but the chief is not part of the
>
> queenmother's council (Interview, Madam Araba Owusuwaa,
>
> 4 August 2020).

**The political roles of the female chief and the queenmother**

The political roles of the female chief and the queenmother are

performed by providing security to the people. That is, protecting the people

from any attack through war. A participant explained that:

> In the pre-colonial period, the chiefs led and rescued their
>
> people during wars. Some examples of such prominent chiefs
>
> in Asebu are Amenfi, Kwegya, and Arko. The concern of
>
> these chiefs was to provide security for their people
>
> (Interview, Mr. Otoo, 28 March 2020).

However, some participants indicated that these political roles of the chief have

changed as a result of the absence of wars and the presence or introduction of

state securities such as the army, navy, and air force in the country. The main

duty of these forces is to ensure security and defend the state against external

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armed threats. These roles have changed in ensuring the welfare of the people. They also embark on developmental projects in their various communities.

In one of the interviews, Mr. Otoo noted that:

> In contemporary times, both the female chief and the queenmother engage in developmental projects in their societies. Examples of such projects include building hospitals (CHPS compound in Asebu Amantsendo), a kitchen for the school feeding programmes, and others in the community. These projects are sometimes financed by the Government of Ghana but the chiefs lobby for them. They also provide land for commercial purposes and serve as a liaison between the communities and government or state institutions (Interview, Mr. Otoo, 14 May 2020).

**The social roles of the female chief and the queenmother**

> Some participants explained that the social roles are activities performed by the chiefs and queenmothers during festive occasions or public gatherings. Ɔkyeame Amissah enlightened:

> Both the female chiefs and queenmothers are seen as preservers of cultural heritage, cultural ambassadors, custodians of stool lands, and embodiment of values and traditions. This can be seen through the costumes they wear, rich language and cultural practices or activities.  In the preservation of culture, the female chief provides items such as fowl or sheep, yam, Schnapps, among others, during festive occasions that are used to perform

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rituals. They also attend social or public gatherings such as school programmes, church programmes, among others in or outside the community. They use the podium to advise or educate the people on trending issues in the community and the country. In the absence of the female chief, the queenmother stands in for her (Interview, Ɔkyeame Amissah, 28 March 2020).

Similarly, a participant added to Ɔkyeame Amissah's view by stating:
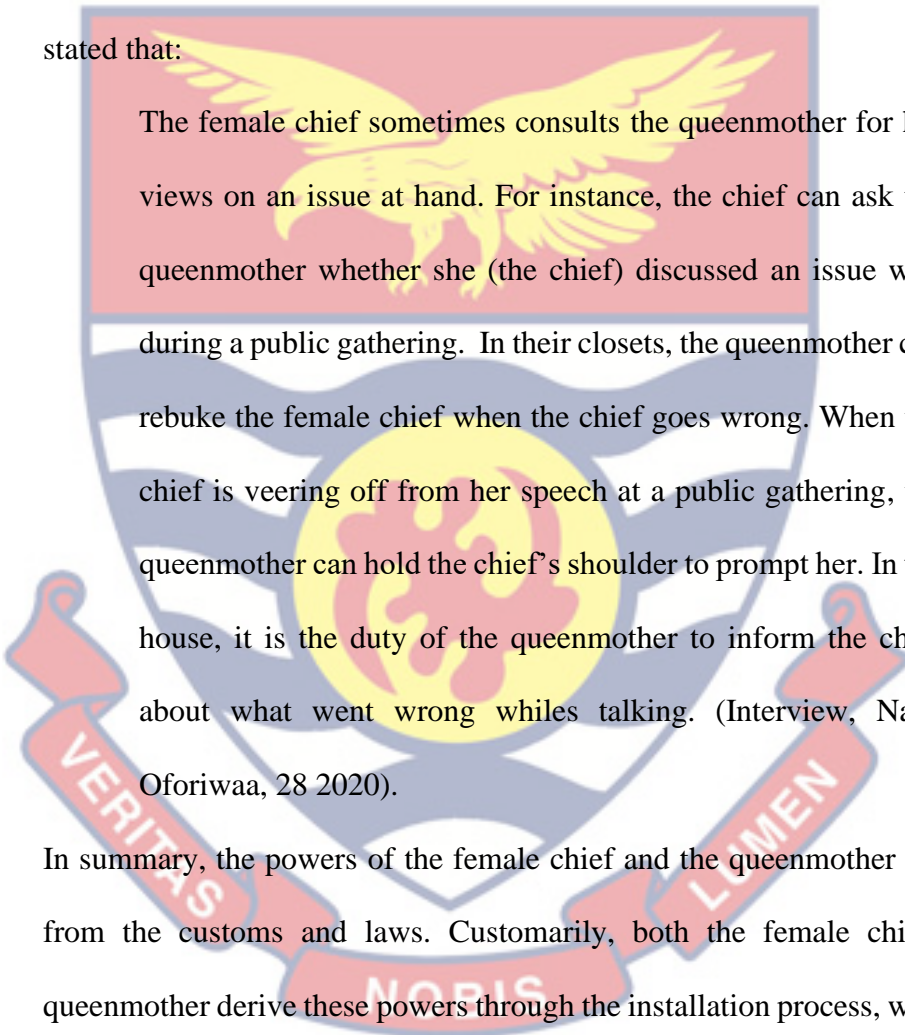
The queenmother mobilised the women in the community for the war effort in the past, and in the present era, she does so for communal labour, mass immunisation and social action. She also sees to the affairs of children and women. She takes care of puberty rites, teenage pregnancy and educates the women on marital issues. The queenmother is deemed the mother of the society. Therefore, she takes care of food and accommodation during meetings and programs in the town. Also, the queenmother takes care of visiting chiefs from other societies. (Interview, Nana Oforiwaa, 28 August 2020).

In discussing the roles of the female chief and the queenmother, a participant emphasised the complementary roles of both the female chief and the queenmother. She noted:

The queenmother, in collaboration with the chief and Ghana Health Service, organises programmes to educate young girls and boys between the ages of 7 and 14 years in Amantsendo. The programme is titled "*Time with Grandma*", which aims at

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educating young girls and boys on trending social issues such

as teenage pregnancy, rape, kidnapping, and an outbreak of

diseases – malaria and COVID 19. It also aims at eradicating

teenage pregnancy and promoting the education of girls.

(Interview, Nana Takyiwa, 6 February 2020).

Similarly, another participant corroborated Nana Takyiwa's submission and stated that:

The female chief sometimes consults the queenmother for her

views on an issue at hand. For instance, the chief can ask the

queenmother whether she (the chief) discussed an issue well

during a public gathering.  In their closets, the queenmother can

rebuke the female chief when the chief goes wrong. When the

chief is veering off from her speech at a public gathering, the

queenmother can hold the chief's shoulder to prompt her. In the

house, it is the duty of the queenmother to inform the chief

about what went wrong whiles talking. (Interview, Nana

Oforiwaa, 28 2020).

In summary, the powers of the female chief and the queenmother are derived

from the customs and laws. Customarily, both the female chief and the

queenmother derive these powers through the installation process, while in law,

they derive their powers through the gazetting process.

**Successes and Achievements of the Female Chiefs and the Queenmothers**

The female chiefs and queenmothers, as part of their core

responsibilities, undertake projects to develop their communities. The

development of the community is the main priority of the female chiefs and the

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queenmothers. Therefore, they are seen as emissaries of development in most rural communities. The achievements were grouped under three main themes:

- Education

- Health

- Infrastructural development

**Education**

The female chiefs and queenmothers made an effort to promote education in the community. A participant mentioned items presented to children who are enrolled in formal education. She indicated that:

In the education sector, both the female chief and the queenmother provide endowment funds and scholarships to children in their various communities. Thus, they promote education by enrolling needy students into Senior High Schools. Also, they help them by supporting them financially and providing items such as mattresses, uniforms, bags, shoes, and other stationaries to children whose parents cannot afford them (Interview, Nana Mensima, 18 February 2020).

Similarly, another participant mentioned items presented to people in the informal sector. She explained:

Formal education is not the only way to secure a job to sustain a livelihood. Therefore, children who engage in informal education by learning a vocation are supported by the chiefs and queenmothers. They sometimes support them financially and provide them with items like sewing machines and other

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materials to help them learn a vocation (Interview, Nana

Takyiwa, 18 February 2020).

In support of the educational system, a participant added that:

For the past years, there was no school feeding programme at

Amantsendo, which prevented some children from attending

school. The chief lobbied the Ghana Education Service School

Feeding Programme to initiate the school feeding of children of

Amantsendo. The program was initiated after the chief had built

a kitchen to support the cooks. This programme motivated

children to attend school even when their parents did not have

money for feeding (Interview, Nana Takyiwa, 16 February

2020).

**Health facilities for the people**

Apart from educating the young ones, health projects are given attention

by the female chiefs and the queenmothers. A participant stated that:

The female chiefs believe that the good health of the people in

the community determines how the community develops. Thus,

when people are in good shape, they tend to work hard to sustain

a living. Anyone who is not physically, emotionally, or mentally

sound cannot work hard towards societal development.

Therefore, the health of the citizens matters most to the chiefs

and the queenmothers (Interview, Abusuapayin Abrefi, 20

February 2020)

In view of this, a participant explained that the chiefs had built CHPS

compounds in their various communities to support their health system.

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**Infrastructural development**

The reign of female chiefs and queenmothers in the Asebu Traditional Area has seen infrastructure development in the communities. These infrastructures include police stations, community centres, and road pavement. Some participants indicated that security is another major concern of every leader in society. A participant further noted:

Both the chief and the queenmother had built and renovated a police station with modern amenities in Amantsendo. During their reign, they converted the old post office and renovated it to a police station. This has also helped reduce crime in society (Interview, Madam Araba Owusuwa, 14 May 2020).

Another participant supported Madam Araba Owusuwa's view and added:

The chief and the queenmother built a community centre to provide space for public gatherings and meetings. Also, they created pavements in the town to aid the easy movement of people and cars. This was done when some buildings were demolished to give way for the construction of the pavement (Interview, Mr Quansah, 16 May 2020).

Mr. Quansah further explained that the chief and her elders advocate for creating streets at new sites where builders are advised not to encroach on the land earmarked for the streets while building.

**Challenges of the Female Chiefs and Queenmothers in Asebu Amantsendo**

African women, in executing their roles and duties, face diverse challenges. Women, who held chiefly positions, had to deal with various

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challenges from the day of their enstoolment. The case is not different in Asebu Traditional Area. A participant indicated:

> There are shreds of evidence of how some people in the community had risen against the female chief because she is a woman. These people believed that there are specified gender roles for women according to their customs and tradition. Therefore, women can only be queenmothers but no chiefs in the traditional governance system (Interview, Mr. Otoo, 28 March 2020).

Another participant corroborated Mr. Otoo's submission and added:

> A certain man had risen against the female chief because the chief sanctioned him for his wrongdoings. The man questioned her authority that she did not qualify to be a chief. He then sent the case to court, where the court ruled in favour of the chief because the man had no concrete evidence against her occupancy to the stool as a chief (Interview, Ɔkyeame Amissah, 12 February 2020).

Although the female chief faces criticisms from the populace, she is treated as a co-ruler by the male chiefs in the traditional council. A participant added:

> Female chiefs in Asebu Traditional Area are respected by their male counterparts. Our views are accepted and respected during council meetings. Also, male chiefs in this traditional area have been good to us, and therefore, we also respect them (Interview, Nana Takyiwa, 15 February 2020).

**Analysis and Discussion of Findings**

In analysing the data, I considered the ideas that emerged from the research questions, including the history and politics, succession norms, roles, achievements, and challenges of female chiefs and queenmothers in the Asebu Traditional Area. In the course of the discussions, I highlighted the ideas from the data, commented on them, and supported them with literature. The themes from the literature include the evolution of chieftaincy, the institution of chieftaincy from the pre-colonial era through to the post-colonial era, and female traditional leadership. The Social Role Theory was used as the theoretical framework for the study.

**The history and politics of Asebu Traditional Area**

The history of Asebu revealed three main points for discussion. These include migration, the migration process, and the activities engaged in on the migration circuit. Firstly, the view that the paramount chief learns the history of the town through the installation process supports the literature that the chief learns the culture, history and acquires new knowledge, wisdom, charisma, and spiritual powers of her predecessors or ancestors (Akyeampong & Obeng, 1995). Therefore, the paramount chief's narration was considered supreme and accepted by the people. This is because he is seen as the head of the paramountcy vested with the power and authority of the ancestors. Odotei & Awedoba (2006) and Brobbey (2008) showd that people migrated in search of fertile land.

Secondly, the responses support the assertion that the Fantse waged several wars against neighbouring towns such as Asebu, Etsii, and Eguafo between 1706 and 1724. The Fantse conquered Asebu in 1708 and ruled them.

This war was described as the first significant war of expansionism by the Fantse (Tenkorang, 1964; Sander, 1979). Also, data gathered from the field indicated that the people of Asebu and Estii mingled through marriage and trade. This assertion was supported by Law (2012), who explains that in October 1689, the forces of Asebu and Etsii aligned to fight against the people of Fetu and Fantse, although Asebu and Etsii were conquered. This shows the relationship between the Asebu and Etsii people and the historical basis to refer to themselves as Etsii.

Thirdly, the participants indicated that the Asebu are Guan. However, the conquest by the Fantse allowed the Asebu to be perceived or recognised as Fantse. This notion was noted by Reindorf (1985). He indicates that the Fantse territory was established by taking away the lands of Asebu through conquest. It can be concluded that the Asebu were not Fantse, but they were conquered by the Fantse even though the Asebu were the first group to occupy or settle along the coast of present-day Ghana.

**The politics of Asebu**

Three key points were discussed under the politics of Asebu. These include the political structure, status and functions of the chiefs and the roles of the traditional council. The political structure of Asebu Traditional Area supports the categorisation of chiefs in the 2008 Chieftaincy Act (Act 370 of 2008). The Act stated that the paramount chief is the highest authority, followed by the divisional chief, sub-divisional chiefs, and *adikrofo* (Brobbey, 2008).

Firstly, the responses from the study indicated that the paramount chief heads the political structure. This assertion was supported by Brobbey (2008). He indicates that the Akan ethnic group had more or less similar political

structures. For instance, the Asante has the *Asantehene* (king) as the president of the Asanteman Council or head of the Asante political structure, followed by the various paramount chiefs, divisional chiefs, and sub-chiefs of the Asante kingdom. Arhin (1983) and Dankwa III (2004) add that the paramount chief's council comprised divisional chiefs, while the paramount chief was the head of administration within the traditional area.

Arhin (1983), Assimeng (1999), Nukunya (2003) and Antwi II (2015) indicate that the position of the divisional chiefs falls under the paramount chief. In the pre-colonial era, they performed specific functions at the war front to ensure peace, protection, and security for their people. Dankwa III (2004) further explains that their military formation helped to ensure maximum security for the paramount chief as well as protect significant stool paraphernalia. Also, the views of the respondents confirm the literature that in the post-colonial era, the military formation of the divisional chiefs at the war front has been incorporated into present-day administration (Dankwa III, 2004).

Further, Dankwa III (2004) and Arhin (1983) adds that the traditional arrangement of the divisional chiefs is not so different from one traditional area to another. The seniority position is sometimes based on a specific situation in each traditional area's history and customary arrangement or the order of the arrival of the earliest ancestors or ancestress in the community. Therefore, in Asebu Traditional Area, the *Twafohen* acts as the acting president in the absence of the paramount chief followed by the *Adɔntenhen* as indicated in Table 3, page 62, while in some traditional areas, the *Kontihen* ranks first. Moreover, the literature affirms that the divisional chiefs are also rulers at their various towns who perform political, social, religious, military, administrative, and executive

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functions and are assisted by their council of elders and sub-chiefs in the society (Acquah 2006, Brobbey 2008, Salih 2018).

The views of the participants affirm the Chieftaincy Act of 2008. Section 12 (1) of Act 370 and section 12 (1) of Act 759 clearly states that every Traditional Area shall have a Traditional Council whose members shall comprise divisional chiefs, sub-divisional chiefs, *adikrofo*, and other chiefs provided they are registered and gazetted. The Act also encouraged every Traditional Council to establish a Standing Committee and Judicial Committee to help in the smooth administration of the council.

It can be concluded that Asebu Traditional Area has well-structured political and democratic institutions with different roles given to different chiefs and courtiers to ensure the smooth running of the State. This chapter traced the history and politics of the Asebu Traditional Area. It was observed that the Asebu were the first settlers along the coast, but they were conquered by the Fantse and are now referred to as Fantse even though they are originally Guan. Also, the political structure of the traditional area depends heavily on the Chieftaincy Act, by which the paramount chief serves as the president or head, followed by the divisional chiefs and sub-divisional chiefs or *adikrofo*. Also, the traditional authorities established a traditional council that serves as a statutory body with the right to settle cases arising within the chieftaincy institution itself and the communities at large.

**Norms of Selecting a Female chief and a Queenmother**

The norms of selecting female chiefs and queenmothers revealed three main ideas for discussion. These included the reason behind selecting a female as a chief, factors considered in selecting a female chief and a queenmother, and

the installation and post-installation processes of the female chief and the queenmother. The study highlighted the laid down rules used in selecting a female chief and a queenmother, which have been presented below.

*Factors considered in selecting a female chief and a queenmother*

The key considerations are the lineage system, personal attributes of the candidate, as well as the wealth and education of the candidate. Firstly, the responses show that the people of Asebu strictly follow the maternal line of succession. This supports the assertion that among the Akan ethnic group, the office of the chief and the queenmother is normally hereditary and rotate amongst specific lineages in the clan, which the Kingmakers should always consider as the only group where chiefs and queenmothers are selected (Brobbey 2008, Kallinen 2004).

The view of Brobbey (2008) is in line with the Chieftaincy Act of 2008, Article 277, which states that "… a person, who, hailing from the appropriate family and lineage, …" This implies that only members of *Apaa Nsona* clan in Asebu Amantsendo have the right to hold a chieftain position in society. Among the Asebu, an incorporated person into the royal clan through marriage, war, slavery, and adoption, does not have the same right as members who trace their ancestry to a putative ancestor. This is because the incorporated people are deemed secondary members who do not trace their blood or ancestry to the putative ancestor and do not have the right to occupy chiefly positions. Full royalty cannot be conferred on secondary members; hence they cannot occupy the stool even though they are members of the royal clan.

It can be deduced from the above discussions that the Asebu royal lineage and line of succession may not be disrupted. This is because, before a

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person is nominated as the chief or queenmother, the *Apaa Nsɔna Abusuapayin,* Queenmother, and *Mbaampayin* discuss the rightful people in the clan who trace their uterine descent to Esi Atta's lineage or Ama Abokoma's lineage to ensure that people who are incorporated into the clan are not selected for the chieftain position. This is because the lineage of the person determines the person's identity, status, and position in society as a chief or a queenmother.

Secondly, the character traits of the female chief and the queenmother encouraged or motivated the Kingmakers to enstool them as chiefs and queenmothers, respectively. That is, if you want people's support, you should do good things that all can publicly identify and support. The character of the chief matters most. That is why in some communities, the potential chiefs are groomed from childhood until they occupy the stool thereof. For instance, the current chief's ability to resolve conflicts in the community encouraged the Kingmakers to select her as a chief. Therefore, it is advisable to portray a good character and be presentable to get support from people in all facets of life.

Thirdly, the assertion that the wealth and education of the candidate is a minor factor considered by the Kingmakers is in line with Brobbey's (2008) view that wealth is a supplementary criterion by the Kingmakers that is not often considered as a major criterion for selecting a chief or queenmother. Brobbey further explained that the wealth of the female chief and the queenmother helps to sustain and maintain themselves and the stool in a distinguished manner to bring honour to the position they hold. However, the person's wealth can influence the Kingmakers to choose a secondary citizen who does not trace his or her ancestry to the putative ancestor to occupy the stool. Also, a study by

Brobbey (2008) indicated that education is not a qualification, but in practice, some level of formal education will be an added advantage to the candidate.

In all its variants, education has been part of the chieftaincy institution where, before colonisation, chiefs were educated on the mannerisms of a chief and leadership. The onset of colonisation added another aspect to education, namely, western education. Chiefs established contacts with colonial officers by learning the European language, weapons of war, and others. Over time, western education gained prominence in the Gold Coast, and more so after independence owing to the fact that an educated chief was well respected for being knowledgeable and progressive. Through education, the roles of chiefs and queenmothers are not limited to judicial arbitration but also include diplomatic obligations. Hence, attaining a high level of education is important to the institution of chieftaincy in contemporary times. However, wealth and education are obscure requirements for choosing a candidate and can be used as subtle weapons against anyone who does not possess them.

*Processes of installing a female chief and a queenmother*

The processes of installing a female chief and a queenmother include nominating an eligible candidate by the Abusuapayin, selecting a suitable candidate by the Kingmakers, capturing and confinement of the selected candidate, outdooring or public presentation of the candidate, and the post-installation process.

Firstly, Mingle (2015) shows that among the Fantse, the candidate is nominated by the *Abusuapanyin,* unlike the Twi-Speaking Akan group, where the queenmother nominates the chief in consultation with others (Kallinen, 2004, Brobbey, 2008, Owusu-Mensah, Asante, & Osew 2015). However, in the

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case of the Fantse, the queenmother and other elderly women play major roles in the nomination process. The history behind the queenmother's right to nominate a candidate among the Asante originates from Akan cosmogony, which maintains that women are the founders of various clans (Boaten 1994). It can be deduced that although the Asebu Traditional Area is part of the large Akan ethnic group, there are variations in their customs and traditions.

It can be established that the nomination of a candidate is democratic because powers are delegated to different people in the royal clan (Gyekye 1996, Martin 2012). That is, after the demise of a chief or a queenmother, the deceased is not automatically succeeded by his or her siblings or sister's children. Instead, members of a specific lineage in the royal clan were accorded a collective hereditary right to the stool. These members are eligible for selection to occupy the stool. When they emerged, they were all treated as equal candidates to the stool, subject to the same rules and subjections by the *Abusua Apamfo*.

This leads to the active participation of different people in the nomination process by which each member has specific roles to play. For instance, the *Mbaampayin* are involved in the nomination process because they know the genealogy of the clan. Therefore, they can identify the people who trace their ancestry to the putative ancestor and the secondary citizens. Thus, the involvement of different people in nominating a candidate helps to choose the right person to occupy the stool carefully. These democratic credentials of the indigenous governance system thrive on broad consultations within the ruling clan and consensus building. When this is achieved, there will hardly be any opposition from the ruling clan.  Second, Arhin (1985) mentions the idea

of seniority in the search process where the ages of the royals are considered first before the generation behind them. Such is time honoured principles that have guided the practice. This helps to avoid any dispute or misunderstanding among siblings who qualify to occupy that position. It was observed that both the female chief and the queenmother were nominated by the *Abusua Apamfo* with the support from other clan members, a process that helps to reduce the level of bias and favouritism in the nomination process. However, the nomination of the female chief can be deemed circumstantial. This implies that there was no eligible male candidate to occupy the stool. Although the sudden demise of the third chief of Amantsendo and the rejection of the male candidate played a role in selecting a female chief, it is evident that the outstanding political roles of women in other societies were also a major factor.

Secondly, the selection of a suitable candidate by the Kingmakers in Asebu confirms the views of Busia (1968), Arhin (1985), Kalinin (2004) and Mingle (2015) that the Kingmakers mostly do the selection of a suitable candidate in Akan societies. The Kingmakers are the principal officeholders of the chiefdom who make the final decision in selecting a chief or a queenmother. Their selection is based purely on the criteria for selecting a chief or queenmother, including merit.

It can be maintained that the selection process is democratic as views of different people are taken into consideration when selecting a chief or a queenmother. It is believed that different views from different people help to reach a consensus for societal development. This is because their decision can develop or destroy the community depending on the person they select as the chief or the queenmother. It can be maintained that the Kingmakers selected

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both the female chief and the queenmother because they have the right and power to select a suitable candidate. Thus, the Kingmakers have the power to reject any candidate presented by the *Abusuapayin* who, in their assessment, is not suitable, whiles the *Abusuapayin* must also submit to the views of the Kingmakers by nominating a new candidate. The selection or rejection was done after several consultations and investigations on the candidates carried out at their workplaces, homes, and towns.

Thirdly, the process of capture and confinement of the suitable candidate supports the position of Arhin (1951) that the capture of the female chief or the queenmother was done either in a public or private place by warriors or *Asafo* companies, a group of people in the community. The responses indicated that both the female chief and the queenmother undergo similar confinement process even though their position differs. For instance, studies by Antubam (1963) and Oppong (1973) among the Akan show that women are sometimes seen as "unclean" because of menstruation. Antubam (1963) further indicates that during menstruation, women are seen as impure and can nullify any powerful charms. Hence, it is taboo for a woman in menstruation to sit on the stool. Therefore, several checks are made on her before being captured and enstooled.

An inference from the above shows that during the capture and confinement periods, groups such as the clan members, children, spouses, members of the *Asafo* and the community have various roles to play. The means of capturing the individual shows the power of the community and the submission and the readiness of the candidate to serve his or her people.

Fourthly, the idea of oath-taking is not divorced from the observation made by Hagan (1968) and Mingle (2015) when they emphasise that oath-taking

serves as an assurance, availability, and readiness of the candidate to serve the community at large. Also, it helps to prevent abuse of power by some chiefs and queenmothers. However, the consequence that is associated with the swearing of an oath is huge. Hence it serves as a check on the behaviour of the chief or queenmother. It can be maintained that the process of oath-taking indicates the submission of the candidate (chief or queenmother) to the people by announcing his or her readiness to serve the people without any hesitation.

A deduction from the responses given indicates that the installation processes of both the female chief and the queenmother are quite distinct, although they are both women. That is, they pay different amounts of money to the community and the Council during the installation process of the candidate. The money paid depends on the candidate's status and position. Also, the sitting position of the female chief differs from that of the queenmother during traditional council meetings. Thus, specific areas are designated for the female chief and the queenmother to sit during council meetings at the traditional council.

Furthermore, the chief's regalia differs from the queenmother's regalia. For instance, the female chief puts on *ntwotwo* and cloth, a crown, hut, and a pair of male sandals, while the queenmothers put on two clothes, a scarf, and a pair of female sandals. The chairs they sit on at the palace also differ. That is, the chief's chair is taller and has a handle, while the queenmother sits on a short stool and does not have a handle.

Fifthly, Brobbey (2008) reveals that the post-installation process includes registration of names in the National Register of Chiefs, publication or gazetting of the chief's name in the *Chieftaincy Bulletin*, membership of the

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traditional council, Regional and National House of Chiefs, and institutional responsibilities on the contents of customary law. It can be maintained that although the chieftaincy institution is free from government influence or manipulation, the institution is still recognised by the government of Ghana through registering and gazetting of chiefs. This allows the government to regulate and control the chiefs while at the same time monitor the institution on its rampant destoolment of chiefs (Rathbone, 2000).

This view of the installation process of the Asebu as democratic affirms Tangwa (1998) view that the social, political, and cultural history reveals the democratic structure of a society. This is evident in selecting the leaders, the principle of checks and balances, the political structure, recognition of and respect for rights and freedoms, and representative and participatory features of political organisations and social ordering are of greater significance.

It can be concluded that the installation and the post-installation process of female chiefs and queenmothers in Asebu Traditional Area project the social role theory; in that, there are various changes in the gendered social roles whereby men engage in male-dominated positions as chiefs while women engage in female-dominated positions as queenmothers. Recently, there have been changes in gender roles whereby women engage in male-dominated works and positions but not men taking the position of women. This is because of male chauvinism. Females who sit on male stools undergo the same process as their male counterparts, while females who sit on female stools undergo the process of a queenmother. For instance, females who occupy male stools are expected to put on male regalia, including low haircuts, a crown, clothes, *ntwotwo*, and sandals, while the queenmother is expected to put on female regalia that

embodies scarf, haircut, clothes, and sandals. Also, the female chief who sits on a male stool takes the name of a male. For example, Philomena Korsah, the Chief of Asebu Amantsendo, was given the stool name Nana Yimbo Brob, a male's name. There is no position as the female chief in the Akan political system. Females occupy the female stools. Therefore, any female who occupies such position is given a male name.

**The roles of female chiefs and queenmothers in Asebu Traditional Area**

The judicial, political, and social roles of female chiefs and queenmothers in the Asebu Traditional Area depend heavily on the position of the candidate but not his/her sex. Firstly, the responses from the participants support the Chieftaincy Act of 2008 (Act 759), which states the judicial roles of the chief, which include the settling of both private and public cases. These roles are performed by only registered and gazetted chiefs and queenmothers in the traditional area (Acquah, 2006; Arhin, 1985; Salih, 2018). Meanwhile, Marfo and Musah (2018) further explained that the people in the Yendi, Bimbilla and Bunkpurugu communities in the Northern Region of Ghana have the perception and belief that the chief and queenmother have the power and authority to resolve conflicts through customary arbitration among their subjects and kinsmen to bring peace and harmony in the society. Therefore, female chiefs and queenmothers are seen as the epitome of peace through their judicial roles. Although customary arbitration is considered less expensive and provides freedom of expression through local language, flexibility and time saving, it, however, does not discredit the potency of western machinery to resolve conflict (Acquah, 2006).

Secondly, the views of the participants buttress the literature that in the pre-colonial era, chiefs performed military roles during wars as the head and commander-in-chief of the army. Thus, the chiefs mobilise their people to fight when there is any attack or war (Nukunya, 2003). Also, Mingle (2015) indicates that the political roles of the chiefs have changed over time and now take the form of defending legal actions and promoting developmental projects. Marfo and Musah (2018) and Owusu-Mensah et al. (2015) add that the female chiefs and queenmothers engage in developmental projects by lobbying the government to develop their communities. They mobilise their subjects for developmental projects and are the first point of call by any official, including government officials. Developmental projects by the government are channelled through them to their subjects. It can be concluded that the chiefs and the queenmothers work hand-in-hand to ensure development in their communities through infrastructural projects (Tieleman & Uitermark, 2019).

Thirdly, Owusu-Mensah et al. (2015) maintain that the female chief settles civil cases that specifically involve men while the queenmother engages in activities related to children, women and domestic affairs, and girl child education. But when the male cases become complex, women are consulted. However, Boateng (1994) explained that queenmothers are seen as fountains of wisdom and knowledge; therefore, complex issues are referred to them for their wise counselling. This, however, is noted by the Akan as *Yɛnkɔbisa Abrewa* (let us seek counselling from the old lady). This proverb emphasises the status of the queenmothers as a strong socio-political figure with wisdom and perhaps diplomacy in the Akan system, and today they continue to enjoy the stature accorded to them (Boaten 1994, Frimpong-Nnuroh 2010). In conclusion, the

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duties of the female chief and queenmother differ though they sometimes play complementary roles.

Also, the views of the participants affirm what Arhin (1983) and Stoeltje (2003) write, namely that although the female chief and the queenmother played specified roles in society, they consulted each other regularly and cooperated in their leadership to aid smooth administration of the community. Brobbey (2008) added that the chief and the queenmother are responsible for safeguarding the spiritual well-being of their stool by performing rituals during festive occasions and whenever the need arises. Moreover, the queenmother accompanies the chief to public gatherings and meetings (Busia 1968, Warren 1986).

As discussed earlier, under the Social Role Theory, women who occupy positions as chiefs are perceived and expected to act as men exhibiting masculine characteristics. The case of the Asebu Traditional Area is indifferent. Some women serve as chiefs in this traditional area. These female chiefs perform equal roles as the male chiefs. Thus, the female chiefs perform both judicial roles (settlement of disputes among individuals, specifically males and land disputes), political roles (infrastructural development through lobbying the local government), and social roles (performing activities to maintain the stool and herself). However, women on female stools are also expected to act like females. Accordingly, the queenmother is expected to perform political, judicial, and social roles as a female political head. Therefore, the queenmother engages in activities of women and children and settles cases among married couples.

A deduction from the above discussion shows that the system of traditional governance is democratic. This is because there is the

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decentralization of power, checks and balances, and consensus-building (Martin 2012, Gyekye 1997, Hagan 1971). As the head of the community, the chief has political, judicial, and executive power but does not exercise it alone. Power resides in the chief, which delegates some power to her court officials (queenmother and clan heads). The delegation of power to the court officials diffuses her powers, and this serves as a check on the chief and limits the chief's power.

The queenmother sees the day-to-day activities of women and children and can rebuke the female chief (Arhin 1990, Busia 1967). She also enacts and enforces codified laws that are accompanied by sanctions. Court officials have the power and authority to monitor or check both the female chief and queenmother to avoid abuse of power. The chief consults his or her court officials regularly at her court to discuss issues relating to chieftaincy, the stool, and the people in the community. For instance, when a case is brought to the chief, she consults her court officials to solve the problem. This issue is discussed through customary arbitration whereby the victims are allowed to express their views without any intimidation (Acquah, 2006). Before a female chief can pronounce a judgment on any case, the parties involved and the court officials must reach a consensus where no one will be offended (Gibbs, 1963). The chief has the power over her people; therefore, the outcome of cases arbitrated by the chief is accepted by both parties.

During meetings at the female chief's court, every member of the chief's council has full rights to express their views. Arhin (1985) and Busia (1968) note that the chief must listen to the council of Elders. The chief must also ensure that the member's opinions are heard and encouraged to express their

views. Participation was considered a member's duty, and any member who fails to participate at meetings is deemed intolerable. Decision taken during meetings is announced to the community as the chief and her council's decision.

This assertion is supported by Wiredu (1996) when he establishes the need to consider the individual's personal views before all important decisions are made on the principle of consensus. This deliberation process helps promote mutual tolerance, thereby contributing to a delegation in a society. The members of the chief's court met with the chief daily in the palace to take all decisions and to function as the highest court of appeal. Hagan (1971) adds that indigenous bureaucracy demonstrates a balance of power and delegation of official roles to stop the chief from being tyrannical. This helps to prevent the chief from the arbitrary use of power.

**Successes and achievements of the female chief and queenmother in Asebu Amantsendo**

Firstly, the female chiefs and queenmothers believe that education given to children cannot be taken away from them compared to property that can be taken away after the death of the parent or guardian. Therefore, the need to educate the children. This assertion as discussed by Assimeng (2006) as a non-essential function of the family. The literature suggests that educated children get the best opportunities in life whilst working with others to promote a good society. It can be deduced that both the chiefs and queenmothers have helped to empower young girls and boys through education, as the study found out. This achievement has helped shape the lives of people in the community because education is deemed the key to success in human endeavour.

Secondly, the importance attached to the people's health motivated the female chief and the queenmother to build a CHIPS compound in Amantsendo. According to the participants, the CHIPS compound has helped ensure the well-being of the people by promoting and providing a healthy living. Also, the female chief and the queenmother, in collaboration with the Ghana Health Service, organise a programme periodically to discuss some trending health issues in the community and the country and how to prevent any pandemic. An example of such health talk is the outbreak of malaria and COVID-19 in the country.

Thirdly, the participants' views support the assertion of Adjaye and Misawa (2006) that chiefs and queenmothers are the channels for local development. They engage in projects to develop their various communities through lobbying the local government. It is safe to conclude that the female chief, with the support of the queenmother, helps develop the communities in diverse ways. Through developmental projects, they have improved upon the indigenes' educational system and health system and engaged in infrastructural projects such as the building of the CHPS compound and police station in the community.

An assumption from the above discussions indicates that the chief and the queenmother, in performing their chiefly roles, tend to develop the community through infrastructural projects.  These projects are successfully achieved because of the power of the chiefs and the support and participation of her court officials, government functionaries and community members. That is, the court officials meet with the chief to deliberate on a project that is needed in the community. After several consultations, a particular project is selected

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where the community members play an active role through communal labour. The people engage in communal labour because of the leadership qualities portrayed by the female chief, which motivate the subjects to stir up the self-help spirit to collectively improve upon their lot and, by extension, their standard of living. This shows that the chief has the authority to punish any community member who fails to attend the communal labour through fine or imprisonment.

Also, the relationship between the chief and the District Assembly has brought about development in society. That is, the government, through the District Assembly, has helped to ensure effective maintenance of law and order, successful administration, and development in the society. This is because the chief serves as a mediator between the people and the government. Hence, the local government authorities collaborate with the chiefs and their Assembly Members to develop the community.

**Challenges of female chiefs and queenmothers**

The participants' views buttress the literature that women in leadership are often criticised as harsh and unfriendly. Clark (1994), for instance, notes that when women demonstrate behaviours of determination, straightforwardness, and fairness in carrying out their judgement and responsibilities, they are described as cruel or brutal and aggressive regardless of their efforts in administering their private and public roles. The female chiefs in performing their chiefly duties tend to be criticised more than the queenmother. This is because the female chief is seen as an imposter or an intruder who does not qualify for that position. This has made people criticise the female chiefs for not doing their work well, even when they seem to be

performing their duties. However, the queenmother is not criticised because she occupies a female position that is recognised by society. Therefore, she is generally accepted by the people of Asebu Amantsendo without any criticism.

Also, the female chief faces the problem of portraying two-gender characters. That is, when the female chief is portraying the male character at her court, she is criticised for being strict and not having the heart of a woman. This is translated as "*onnyi aba daa*". That is, she does not have the heart of a woman such as a caring, friendly mother, among others.

**Chapter Summary**

This chapter presented, interpreted, and analysed the field data based on the research questions of the study. It was revealed that the institution of chieftaincy involved both the young, old, men and women even though the institution is noted for being gerontocratic. These chiefs played specific roles in the society to ensure smooth administration of the Traditional Area.

Also, there are laid down rules or procedures in selecting a chief or queenmother. Although the selection of a female chief is circumstantial, her installation process is quite similar to the installation process of the queenmother. The only difference is the regalia and the money paid to the community and the traditional council. Further, females who occupy male stools tend to dress like men to elevate to suit the position she occupies. Therefore, for a female chief like Nana Yimbo Brob, it is obligatory for her to be described as a 'man'. For instance, the female chief puts on male cloth such as *ntwotwo*, one long cloth, a pair of sandals, a necklace and other ornaments, bangles around the forearms up to the elbows, and a headgear on special occasions and when sitting in State, while the queenmother puts on female clothes, a pair of sandals,

and a scarf. Also, the female chief puts on female clothes in her house while she puts on male clothes on special occasions and in her court.

The chapter also examined the roles of the female chiefs and queenmothers in the Asebu Traditional Area. The female chief plays roles quite distinct from those of the queenmother. Thus, the female chief manages the affairs of men and the entire community, while the queenmother manages women and children's affairs. It was also observed that the chief's stool at her court differs from the queenmother's stool. That is, the chief's stool is bigger and higher in height with a handle, while the queenmother's stool is small with no handles. Both the female chief and the queenmother consult each other regularly to ensure smooth administration of the community.

Furthermore, the chief and the queenmother in performing their roles promote societal development. They undertake infrastructural projects to help maintain a sustainable livelihood for their people. These projects include providing education for children by sponsoring their school fees and purchasing vital items such as mattresses, stationaries, sewing machines, among others. Building a kitchen for the school feeding program is also a capital infrastructure by which their efforts have been achieved. In terms of health and security, a CHPS compound and a police station have been built, respectively. Also, the walkways along the streets have been paved to enhance the easy movement of people and cars in the community.

Additionally, it was established that the female chiefs were often criticised by some people in the community but not their male counterparts. This was done when some town folks questioned their power and authority as chief.

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The 2008 Chieftaincy Act stated that the paramount chief is the highest authority, followed by the divisional chief, sub-divisional chiefs, and *adikrofo* (Brobbey, 2008).



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## CHAPTER FIVE

## SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter gives a summary of the research findings and the conclusions of the study. It also presents recommendations for consideration of the government and the Institution of Chieftaincy in promoting and empowering women in the institution.

### Summary of the Study

This study set out to examine the status and roles of female chiefs and queenmothers in the Asebu Traditional Area. To achieve the main purpose of the study, the study set out five objectives. The first objective was to discuss the history and politics of the traditional area. The second was to investigate the succession norms in selecting the female chiefs and queenmothers. The third was to examine the roles of female chiefs and queenmothers in the Asebu Traditional Area. The fourth objective was to evaluate the successes and achievements of the female chief and queenmother.

The study employed a qualitative research method to collect data. A comparative research design was employed to conduct the study. This design allowed the researcher to compare and contrast two occurrences or issues. A comparative analysis approach was used to analyse the data from the respondents. This approach allowed the study to comparatively analyse the data with regard to the status and roles of female chiefs and queenmothers. Purposive sampling technique was employed to select the research respondents.

To better understand the research questions, the researcher used one-on-one interviews, personal observations, and archival documents to extract information from the respondents. One-on-one interviews were conducted with

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12 respondents. These included the Paramount chief, Divisional Chiefs, Sub-Chiefs, Queenmothers, a Linguist, Clan Heads, the Registrar and Bailiff in the Asebu Traditional Area, and some officials at the Central Regional House of Chiefs. These respondents were selected because of their relevance to achieving the research objectives. Also, archival documents were sought on the history and political structure of the Asebu Traditional Council at the Public Records and Archives Administration Department, Cape Coast. This sampling method was used because it enabled the researcher to select respondents based on their qualities, contributions, and knowledge in the area of study. The data gathered from the field was comparatively analysed for easy understanding.

**Summary of Key Findings**

One important finding in this research is the very democratic nature of the Asebu political system in contrast to other Akan societies. In Asebu, every male citizen who hails from royal families in the towns under Asebu Traditional Area and meets the qualities set out by the kingmakers can aspire to be selected as the Omanhene of the Asebu Traditional Area. This finding is important as it portrays the Asebu as very democratic compared to the other Akan who reserves such positions to only members of a royal house.

The study revealed that the selection of female chiefs is circumstantial, whiles the selection of the queenmother is not circumstantial. This stems from the fact that the gendered social structure of the Asebu Traditional Area may not favour female chiefs. The circumstances that create the room for a female chief are the sudden demise of a male chief, the rejection of qualified male heirs, and women's tremendous role in the Asebu Amantsendo. Apart from these

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circumstances, it is almost impossible for a female to ascend to the throne as a chief.

The study further revealed that the position of the female chief differs diametrically from the queenmother. These differences lie in the installation process, the oath-taking, items and money presented to the traditional council, as well as the regalia. The female chief puts on male regalia to assume the position as a male.

Moreover, the study discovered that the roles of female chiefs or queenmothers are highly dependent on the status and position of the person since they are both women. That is, the roles of a female chief are different from the roles of the queenmother even though they are both women. The female only performs duties of the stool she sits on as a male because the position she holds, customarily, is supposed to be occupied by a male. For instance, the female chiefs are supposed to portray characters or behaviours regarded as masculine in addition to the feminine characters that they naturally possess, while the queenmother portrays characters regarded as feminine in performing their duties.

Additionally, the study discovered that community development forms a tremendous part in the administrations of the female chief and queenmother. This development includes education where children are enrolled in both formal and informal education. Provision of some items such as money, stationery and mattresses to the children and building of kitchen for the school feeding programme. Also, through lobbying the local government, the female chief and the queenmother have financed the building of the CHPS compound, a

community centre and a police station to provide good well-being for the people.

Furthermore, the study revealed that female chiefs face more challenges than queenmothers. This is a result of the gendered social roles constructed by society. There are specific gender roles for males and females in a society where women are only recognised as queenmothers while men are recognised as chiefs. Hence, the moment circumstances create room for females to become chiefs, they face opposition and difficulties from their male counterparts in delivering on the mandates.

**Conclusion**

Gendered social norms have affected our way of life with specific gender roles for males and females. These gendered norms have influenced the position and roles of an individual and how they perform in society. That is, women in traditional leadership are referred to as queenmothers while men as chiefs assume roles or duties that depend heavily on the position they hold. However, factors of social change such as globalisation and urbanisation have contributed immensely to the changing roles of women in society, such that women occupy male stools as chiefs.

Hence, selecting a female as a chief is circumstantial even though the Chieftaincy Act of 2008 creates room for anyone who qualifies to be enstooled as a chief. The new position as a chief determines her roles, regalia, money paid at the traditional council, and name. Thus, the female chiefs are expected to perform manly roles, bear a male name, pay a higher amount of money at the traditional council and put on male regalia, while the queenmother is expected

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to perform womanly duties, bear a female name, pay less money at the traditional council and put on female regalia before and after installation.

**Recommendations**

The ensuing recommendations are made based on the findings of the study.

1. The traditional rulers should make the necessary efforts to institutionalise the female chief's position in Ghana since their current position is circumstantial.

2. The House of Chiefs should also create an Association for sub-chiefs where female chiefs can join rather than joining the Association of Queenmothers. This will help entrench their positions as substantive chiefs, thereby giving them recognition and a sense of belongingness.

**Suggestions for Further Research**

The study aimed at comparing the status and roles of female chiefs and queenmothers in the Asebu Traditional Area. I came across some themes and areas where I believe more research would be worthwhile in my study.

1. Further research can be conducted on two or more traditional councils that have female chiefs across the country.

2. Research can be conducted on the court organisation, bureaucracy and case adjudication and arbitration of disputes by female chiefs and queenmothers in the Asebu Traditional Area.

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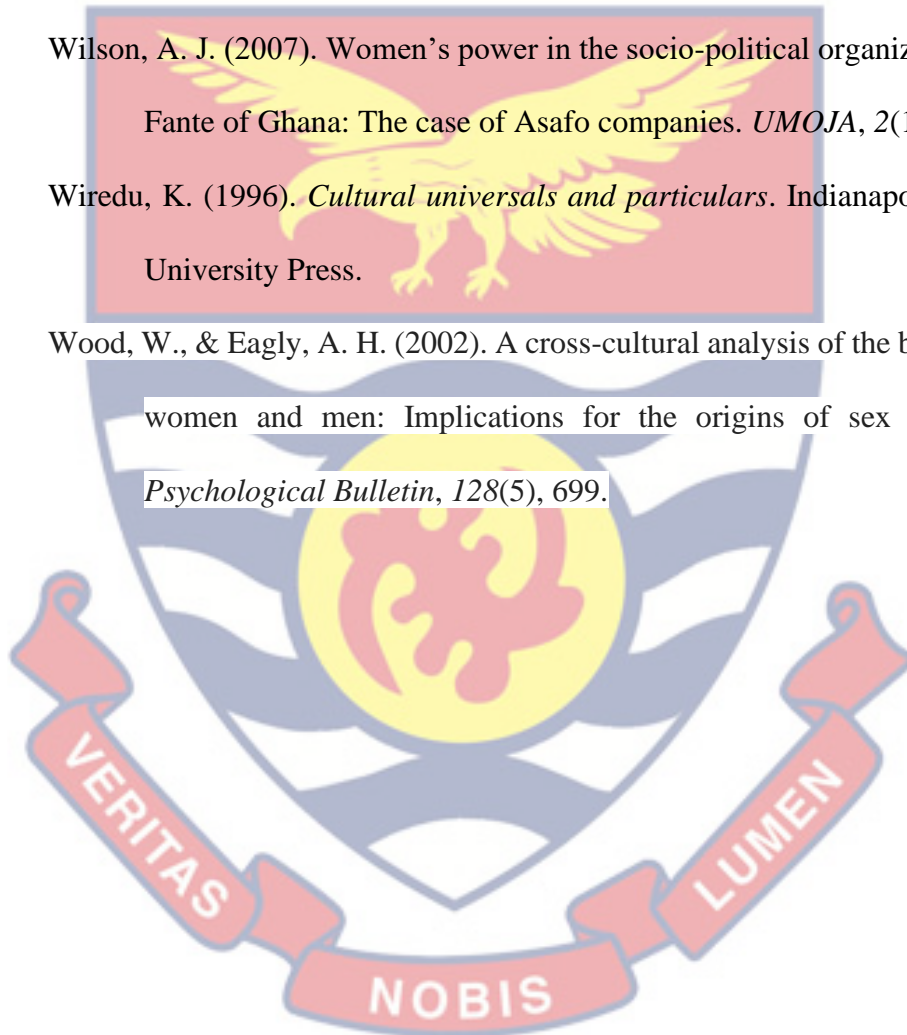
# APPENDICES

**Appendix A**

## CENTRE FOR AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

## UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

**TOPIC:** WOMEN IN TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP: THE STATUS AND ROLES OF FEMALE CHIEFS AND QUEENMOTHERS IN THE ASEBU TRADITIONAL AREA

Introduction: This study seeks to explore the distinction between the roles of female chiefs in a patriarchal system compared to the roles of queenmothers in the contemporary era.

I will be very grateful if you answer all the questions to the best of your capacity. The research is for academic purposes only, and your responses to the questions in this interview are important to the outcome of the study and, therefore, will be confidential. You can rest assured that your anonymity is fully secured.

This interview will take about 35-45 minutes to complete. Thank you for participating.
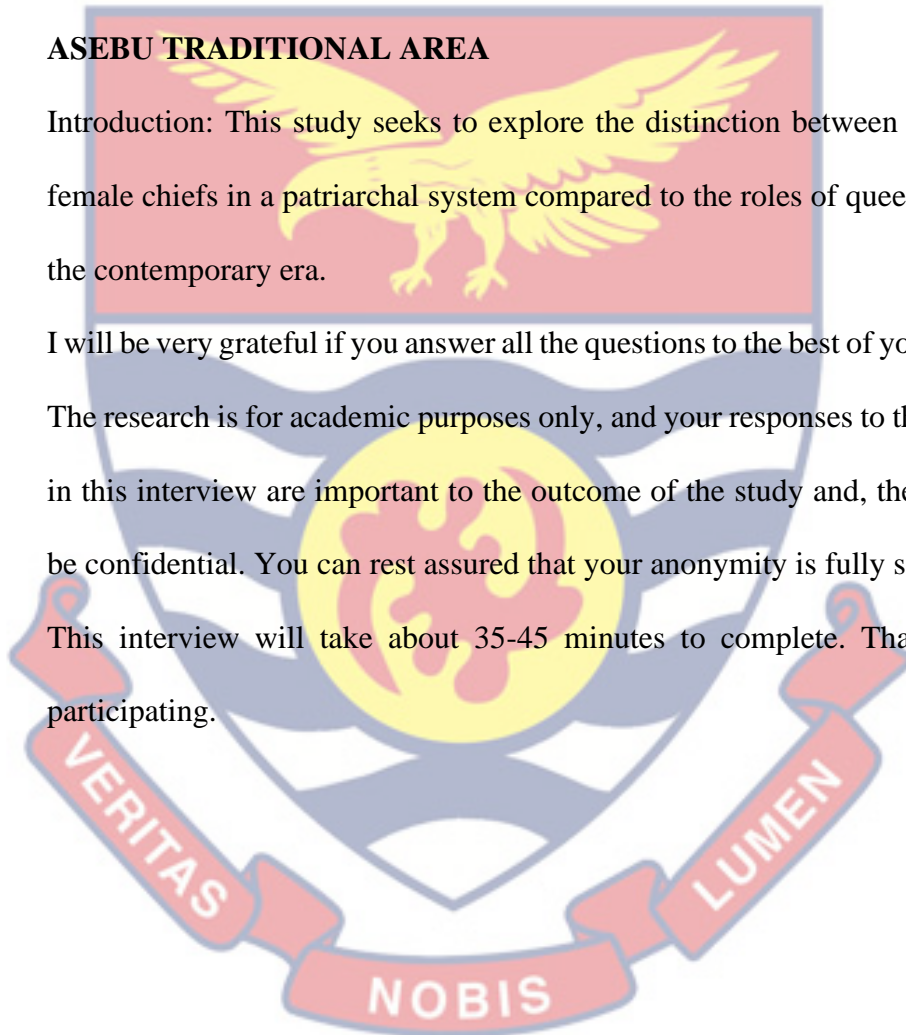
**Appendix B**

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**INTERVIEW GUIDE**

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1. Bio data of participants

- Can you tell me about yourself? (Name, age, religion, hometown, family background, educational background, working life etc.)

- Pre-chieftaincy – (social, political, religious and economic life).

- Chieftaincy – (date for nomination, installation, what warranted your nomination as a female chief).

- Future plans – (Themselves and community)

2. What is the history and politics of the Asebu Traditional Area?

3. What are the succession norms in the selection of the female chiefs and queenmothers?

- What factors influence the selection of a female chief – (Age, Lineage, Marital status, Religion)?

- What are the considerations made before a female chief and a queenmother are selected?

- What are the installation and post-installation processes of the female chief and queenmother?

4. What are the roles of the female chiefs and queenmothers?

- What are the roles you perform as a female chief in your society?

    a. Traditional and contemporary roles – (social, political, religious and economic roles).

    b. Explore some of the narratives of the roles.

5. What are the successes and achievements of the female chiefs and queenmothers?

<div align="center">

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</div>

- What are the successes you have achieved during your reign?

- What programs and projects have you initiated since you assumed this

   position?

**Appendix C**

## REGISTRATION FORM FOR GAZZETTE

**VACATION FORM**                                    **C.D.F. 1A**

**……………………………..…………………….TRADITIONAL AREA, THROUGH THE REGISTRAR, CENTRAL REGIONAL HOUSE OF CHIEFS.**

**REPORT UNDER SECTION 62(1) OF THE CHIEFTAINCY ACT, 2008 (ACT 759) REPORT FOR TRANSMISSION TO THE MINISTER/COMMISSIONER/NATIONAL HOUSE OF CHIEFS**

1. Name of Chief/Queen…………………………………………………
2. Title of Chief/ Queen……………………………………………….
3. Town/Village……………………………………………………..
4. Name of Traditional Area…………………………………………….
5. Nature of Change…………………………………………………..
6. State number and date of Local Government Bulletin in which the Chief was gazette when he/she was enstooled……………………….
7. In case of Destoolment, have charges been served on the Chief?.........
8. Is there any case/appeal pending against installation?.....................
9. Date of Change?……………………………………………………
10. Date of Report……………………………………………………

    (i)      Person making report…………………………………..….

    (ii)     Signature…………………………………………………

    (iii)    Name……………………………………………………..

    (iv)    Title/Stamp…………………………..…………………..

**NOTE**: THE WORD STOOL IS DEFINED TO INCLUDE SKIN
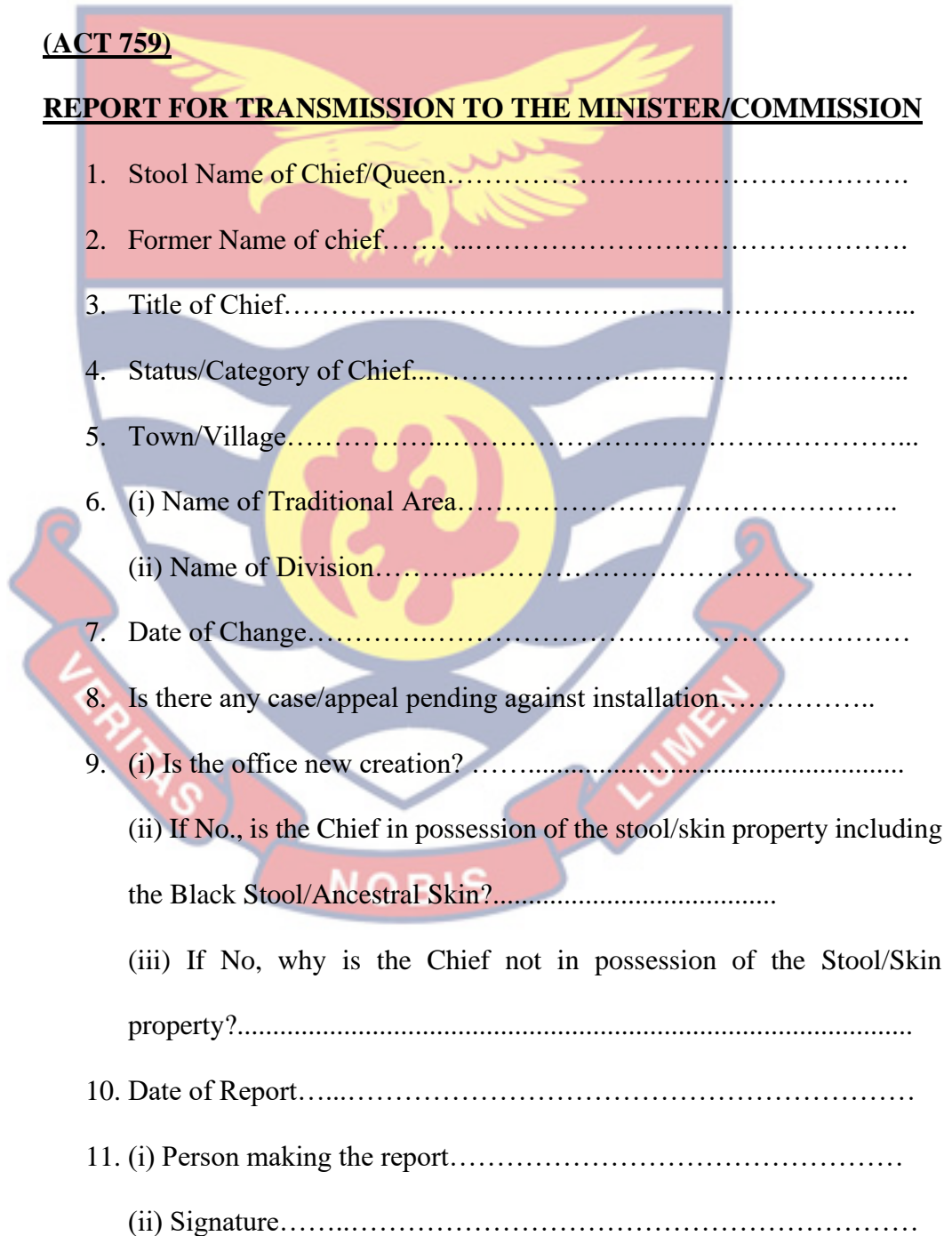
**ENSTOOLMENT FORM**        **C.D.F. 1B**

**ASEBU TRADITIONAL AREA THROUGH THE**

**REGISTRAR/CENTRAL REGIONAL HOUSE OF CHIEFS, CAPE**

**COAST**

**REPORT UNDER SECTION 62(1) OF THE CHIEFTAINCY ACT, 2008**

**(ACT 759)**

**REPORT FOR TRANSMISSION TO THE MINISTER/COMMISSION**

1. Stool Name of Chief/Queen……………………………………….

2. Former Name of chief……. ..…………………………………….

3. Title of Chief……………..……………………………………...

4. Status/Category of Chief...………………………………………...

5. Town/Village……………..…………………………………………...

6. (i) Name of Traditional Area…………………………………..

 (ii) Name of Division……………………………………………

7. Date of Change………….……………………………………………

8. Is there any case/appeal pending against installation……………..

9. (i) Is the office new creation? ……...…………………………………

 (ii) If No., is the Chief in possession of the stool/skin property including

 the Black Stool/Ancestral Skin?......................................

 (iii) If No, why is the Chief not in possession of the Stool/Skin

 property?..............................................................................

10. Date of Report…..……………………………………………

11. (i) Person making the report……………………………………….

 (ii) Signature……..……………………………………………

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(iii) Name………...……………………………………………

(iv)Title/Stamp…..………………………………………….

**NOTE:** THE WORD STOOL IS DEFINED TO INCLUDE SKIN

**CURRICULUM VITAE**

1. Name of Chief:……………………………………………
2. Date of Birth…………………………………..…………
3. Place of Birth:..………………………………………….
4. Private Name:….……..………………………………….
5. Educational Qualification:…………………………………
6. Former Occupation of Chief:…..………………………….
7. Date of Enstoolment:……………………..………………
8. Name of Predecessor:……………………………………
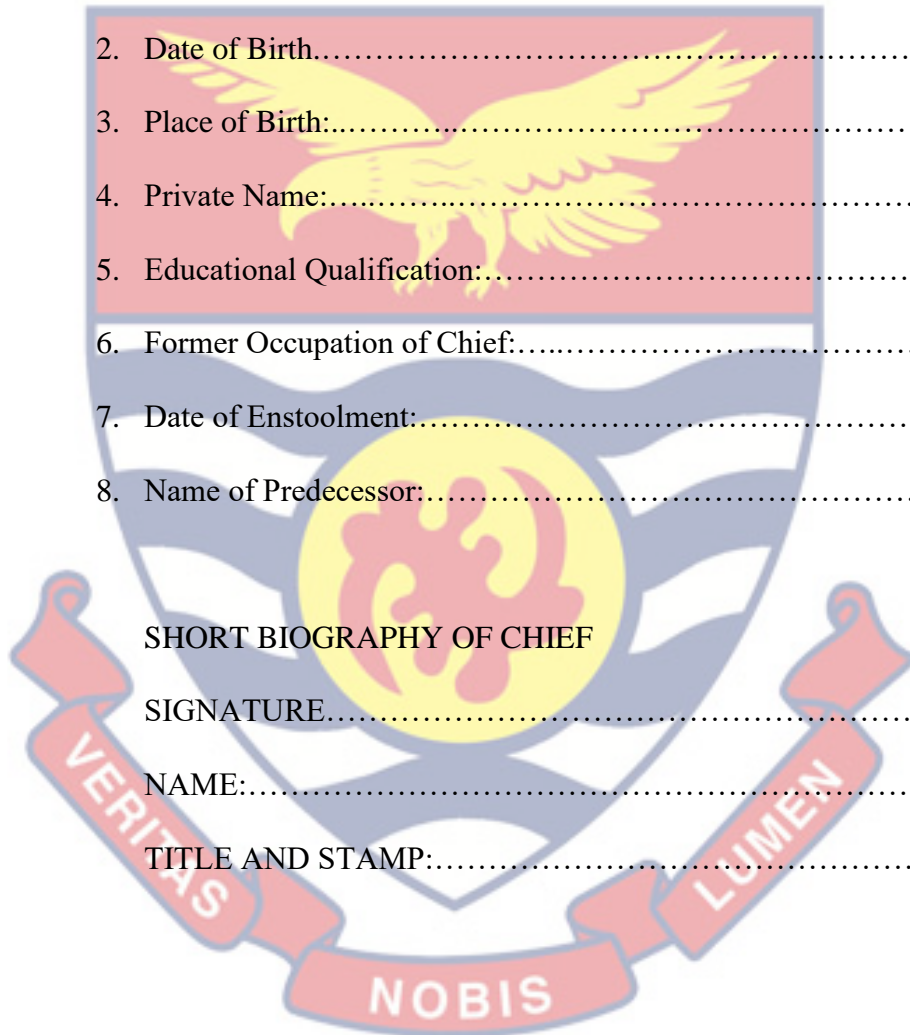
SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF CHIEF

SIGNATURE……………………………………………………….

NAME:…………………………………………………………

TITLE AND STAMP:………………………………………………...

**NOTE:** This form is to be signed by the Traditional Council Registrar

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