

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

ROLE OF ASAFO GROUPS IN THE EFFUTU CHIEFTAINCY  
CONFLICT IN THE EFFUTU MUNICIPALITY IN THE CENTRAL  
REGION OF GHANA

PAUL KOBINA AYENSAH

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BY

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MAY, 2013

## **DECLARATION**

### **Candidate's Declaration**

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

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Signature: ..... Date:.....

### **Supervisors' Declaration**

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

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## **ABSTRACT**

Chieftaincy is one of the oldest and most cherished of Ghana's traditional institutions which interpret our indigenous system of governance as it has evolved through centuries. Chiefs, through cultural activities like festivals are seen as agents of development. However, this colourful and vibrant part of our culture is fraught with long standing chieftaincy disputes in many parts of the country. The chiefs and people of Winneba have had their fair share of conflicting encounters which have affected their developmental efforts over the years. The two main Asafo groups in Winneba, seen as vanguard organizations, have also been deeply involved in the chieftaincy disputes in the area.

This study therefore sought to look at the role of the Asafo groups in the Effutu chieftaincy conflict in Ghana. It also identified the causes of the conflict and the perception of the Asafo groups on the conflict and how the conflict could be resolved in sustained way. Data were obtained from both primary and secondary sources for the analysis which was mainly descriptive.

The study found that the conflict is a long standing one between the two royal families; the Ghartey's and the Ayirebi-Acquah's over right to succession of the royal stool. Political interference was also identified as playing a key role in the conflict in the Effutu traditional area.

To ensure peace and development in the Effutu area, it is recommended that the Asafo groups should be seen as key and integral part of the traditional system and must therefore be involved in all efforts at resolving the conflict.

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## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to Yaa, Derick, David and Desmond.

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **Background to the Study**

Human life is characterized by social relations of dependence and interdependence. As social beings, humans construct, maintain and change the social world within which they live. The process is enhanced by human beings coming together under the umbrella of one organization or the other. In such organisations, the possibility of relatedness between humans is guaranteed. However, since each individual is unique and different from others in an organization, differences cannot be totally suppressed from manifesting. This phenomenon informed the submission of Best (2006), that conflict is an intrinsic and inevitable part of human social existence.

A broader definition of conflict, as captured by Coser (1956), suggests that conflict is a struggle over values or claims to status, power and scarce resources, in which the aims of the conflicting parties are not only to gain desired values, but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. Conflict may become violent and in extreme cases, lead to destruction and bloodshed. This does not necessarily mean that all conflicts are bound to lead to violence. When parties to a conflict resort to the use of dialogue as a means of attaining the perceived goal or interest, then conflict is considered as constructive.

Violent conflicts the world over, especially after the end of the cold-war (an open and yet restricted rivalry that developed after World War II

between United States of America and Soviet Union and their respective allies) have caused a lot of destruction not only of human lives, but also to states and individual properties. Countries such as Cambodia, El-Salvador, Haiti, Bosnia and East Timor have experienced decades of deadly conflicts that have resulted into the loss of lives, destruction of property, refugee inflows and insecurity. Abdullahi (2009) and Anyanwu (2002) observed that the world has witnessed several wars and conflicts that led to unnecessary destruction of lives and property, crumbling of weak states, local and international insecurity and a vicious cycle of underdevelopment, instability and aggression. These include the two World Wars (1914-1918 and 1939-1945), the Korean War (1950-1953), Vietnam War (1959-1975), Iran–Iraq War (1980-1988), the Gulf War (1996), the Kosovo conflict (1998-1999) and the Middle East conflicts.

The conditions for conflict appear to have found a fertile ground in post-cold war Africa (Best, 2006). The continent of Africa has witnessed armed and violent conflicts that have undermined the attainment of development, security and democratic consolidation. Africa is often perceived and described as the poorest and most conflict prone region in the world. As a result of its continued instability, its scarce resources are often channeled to respond to insecurity and for conflict resolution activities. This detracts from providing attention for the provision of essential services (Aning & Lartey, 2010). These conflicts have also hampered the integration process within the continent. According to Reyes (2007), Africa has been a recurrent victim of deadly conflicts, conflicts that have not only delayed the continents' struggle

for sustainable development and dignified standard of living for its citizen, but that they have also left deep scars in its collective memory.

Conflicts in countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and La Cote-d'Ivoire have caused the loss of millions of lives, the displacement of people and the influx of refugees in neighboring countries. (Reyes, 2007). "Perhaps, the most enduring, if not the most accurate image of Africa from the 1970s to the 1990s has been that of a continent of conflict and violence, perennially on the edge of survival" (Idowu, 2005).

Although Ghana is considered as relatively peaceful in the West African sub-region, there are significant indications of emerging turbulent situations that could disrupt the entire social order if not properly managed. Some of these situations are intra and inter-ethnic conflicts, disruptive chieftaincy disputes and hooliganism by sections of the youth at public places including schools, disconcerting spree of armed robbery, religious conflicts and unhealthy levels of political polarization, intolerance and antagonism. Other conflict situations in the country are the Konkomba-Nanumba conflicts, the Peki-Tsito conflict, the Nkonya-Alavanyo conflict, the Bawku conflict, violent clashes between top political parties and students riots. Types of conflict that have occurred within the country are communal conflicts, sporting conflicts and institutional conflicts, including that of chieftaincy.

In some African societies, Chieftaincy-the pre-colonial institution of governance with judicial, legislative and economic powers did not survive colonial and pre-colonial rule. A transition of power was witnessed for the roughly 100 years of colonial occupation. In West Africa, however, as a result



of the British policy of indirect rule (using traditional institutions to sustain domination) the institution of chieftaincy has survived. The institution of chieftaincy in Ghana, for example, has undergone a lot of political influence, especially under the first President Kwame Nkrumah and the military regime of Jerry John Rawlings (Odotei & Awedoba, 2006).

Apart from the constitutional guarantee, chieftaincy has also a tremendous effect on the economy of Ghana and influences national development. Some chiefs have engaged in peace initiatives and initiated projects towards socio-economic development. For example; Osagyefo Amoatia Ofori Panin II, the Okyehene, is fighting against destruction of the county's forest resources and environment and working hard to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS in Ghana. Togbe Afede XIV, the Agbogbomefia of the Asogli State, has contributed to the development of education in his area and as Chief Executive Officer of Strategic Initiative Limited, a private equity and portfolio investment firm, which is promoting economic development of Ghana. Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, the Asantehene, is reputed to have settled some old chieftaincy disputes in Asanteman, setting the pace for another wave of development in the area. He has also established an education fund to support students not only from Asanteman but the entire country to complete school to acquire skills and knowledge required for national development (Odotei & Awedoba, 2006).

The institution of chieftaincy is one of the oldest and most highly cherished of Ghana's traditional institutions, which interprets our system of governance as it has evolved through the centuries. The institution existed in many forms in different parts of the country long before Ghana's first contact

with the Europeans in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century; and has survived till date. The legal backing of the constitution really provides for its continual existence. (Odotei & Awedoba, 2006).

Chieftaincy is closely linked with the family system and the ownership of land. There is a strong bond between chiefs and their people. During the period of colonial rule, the British in their references to the people of this country, as a collective entity, regularly employed the expression; “The chiefs and people of the Gold Coast” ( Boateng, 1996, p.141).

Chieftaincy has many variations in different parts of the country, based on ethnic variety and differences in local traditions and experiences. But it has common characteristics such as the position of chiefs being acquired through inheritance. The inheritance runs through the Royal Family or lineage whose kingmakers select candidates for the office after family consultations.

There are certain democratic elements here. The elective principle involved is the selection of the person who is finally chosen as the occupant of the royal stool or skin, though the office (chief) is not elective in the normally accepted sense. Also, candidacy to the office is not open to any individual who chooses to offer himself for the position. The person selected, must come from a royal lineage or family. This has been confirmed by Article 270 of the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, 1992, and Article 57 of the Chieftaincy Act, Act 759 of 2008.

It is the normal practice in many parts of the country for the Royal Families to take turn in presenting candidates. However, because there are often no laid down rosters to be rigidly adhered to in this exercise, disputes regarding legitimacy and rightful entitlement to the office are common

occurrences. Today, chieftaincy disputes are prevalent in most of the traditional areas in Ghana. The sacrosanct nature of the institution has once again been put to test by the violence and other scandals associated with it in recent times, as captured by the media, resulting in the loss of lives and property. Examples of such chieftaincy disputes are found among the people of Awutu- Senya, Effutu, Anlo, Dagbon, Ga and Konkomba. These sometimes result in conflicts and warfare. This canker causes the Government of Ghana to commit substantial resources to maintain law and order to ensure peaceful co-existence.

The constitution of Ghana defines a chief in Article 277 as a person, who, hailing from the appropriate family and lineage has been validly nominated, elected or selected, enstooled and enskinned or installed as a chief or queen mother in accordance with the relevant customary law and usage. Chieftaincy as an important social institution which binds the people together is fraught with numerous disputes. Chieftaincy disputes are the misunderstandings that occur between two or more factions on the selection, enstoolment or enskinment of a chief or the misunderstanding between an incumbent chief and some of his subjects. Some causes of chieftaincy disputes are when there are two claimants (families) claiming the right to a stool or a skin. In traditions where chieftaincy runs through multiple families there is likely to be a chieftaincy dispute that will arise between the families.

Apart from the issue of succession that erupts into disputes within the same family, there are other factors that manifest themselves into chieftaincy conflicts. Examples are affluent non-royals or those with remote ties to royalty buy their way to power, a tributary king or family who is given sanctuary for

many generations may later refuse to pay homage and may want to contest for the kingship and descendants of the king who gave the stool for kingship in future. In addition, a royal defaulting may cause the stool to be offered to a “care-taker” whose descendants in the course of time may refuse to hand over the throne to the royal family (Ephirim-Donkoh, 2000).

The ultimate goal in our social interactions is to help us unite and have a common sense of belonging and togetherness. This sense of unity and purpose is supposed to help us put our energies together and bring about peace, harmony, order and development in our society. We often use cultures like festivals to unite us and forge ahead for a common goal. African festivals are tools of community gathering, engagement and unity placed at the center of our culture and social environment. They are a medium of cultural education and intergenerational communication and play an important role in the preservation of our cultural heritage, transmitting knowledge and our experiences as a people to future generations. The celebration of festivals must not be seen merely as an annual congregation of street and food vendors, marching bands and musicians but also as a tool of cultural reconstruction and transmission of knowledge to the younger generation (Odotei & Awedoba, 2006).

This colourful and vibrant part of our culture is gradually losing its significance as it is fraught with long standing chieftaincy disputes in many parts of the country. A Ghana News Agency report mentions the Deputy Volta Regional Minister as urging communities to use festivals as platforms to rediscover economic potentials and devise appropriate strategies to harness them to advance the course of the people. The Minister said this during the

annual Iron Festival of the chiefs and people of Akpafu, staged at Akpafu-Todzi in the Hohoe municipality. He implored traditional rulers to use festivals to re-connect their kinsmen within and outside Ghana and re-establish relations and stronger links towards promoting friendship, unity and awareness for investment.

Complicating this further is an on-going dispute, which has repeatedly resulted in violence within the Effutu royal family, where the Gyateh (Ghartey) line is fighting with the Ayrebi Acquah line over which line is the rightful heir (Taylor, 2009). The Effutus are Guans and inherit patrilineally. Those who ascend the throne are those who belong to the patrilineage of the Otuano royal family. The 11<sup>th</sup> King of the Effutus however came from the matrilineage of the Otuano Royal Family after deliberations over the right to the throne. The installation of a King from the matrilineage has since created tension and controversy over the right to the throne. The Asafo groups, Tuafo Number I and Dentsefo Number II, which served as vanguard organizations have also been involved in the conflict, forming alliances with the two royal gates and making the conflict more intractable. This on-going violence has generally pushed people away from celebrating the Aboakyer festival, including commercial companies that offered financial and administrative support (The Independent, 2002). Chieftaincy, like other human institutions such as the church and government, would continue to face setbacks, and its survival would depend on the extent to which pragmatic measures are employed to resolve problems associated with it.

## **Statement of the Problem**

The ascension to the Effutu Paramount Stool is not immune to chieftaincy disputes. Studies have proven that the Effutus are Guans and inherit patrilineally but the Effutu struggle has been pictured as having two diametrically opposing systems of inheritance that is practised by two different ethnic groups; the Guans and the Akans. This was confirmed per the ruling of the landmark case: *Kow Gyan Panyin V. Tufuhene Akwandoh* by the Judicial Committee of the Central Region House of Chiefs on 30<sup>th</sup> June, 1977. The crux of the Effutu struggle is whether patrilineal succession should be supplemented with matrilineal succession (Ephirim-Donkor, 2009). As social beings, humans frequently interact with each other. An element of culture which expresses the way of life of people is the celebration of festivals. It is a strong mechanism which energises and unites us to fight a common course towards development and growth.

The very element (festival) which is to help us unite, in the case of the Effutu Municipality, is tearing them apart (Daily Graphic, 2001). The conflict has divided the Effutus and could run through generations. This has a chance of affecting our grassroots democracy and general development. The chieftaincy dispute in the Effutu Municipality usually manifests itself during the celebration of the Aboakyer festival during which the chief and elders have to perform rituals in appreciation of their gods and to ask for their protection and blessing in the year ahead.

The conflict has also resulted in a number of anti-social conducts such as destruction of lives and property (Daily Graphic, 2004). It has also driven a lot of potential investors and tourists out of the area. This has led to a situation

where the Chiefs, who are pivotal in terms of developmental projects are constantly engaged in conflicts and are therefore unable to mobilize resources for developmental activities. The conflicts, which date back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century seem to have gradually derailed the economic potentials of the Effutu Traditional area (Daily Graphic,1999). According to the Effutu Municipal Coordinating Director, a firm, Carribean Atlantic Holdings, have for five years, made several unsuccessful attempts at securing a land for the construction of a five-star tourist resort and finally folded up in the year 2010.

There are two Asafo groups in the Effutu traditional area. These are the Tuofo No. I Asafo group and the Dentsefo No.II Asafo group. These Asafo groups, established between the period 1560 and 1666, were voluntary groups organized for communal work. Over time, the Asafo then became a fighting force of the Effutu land (Taylor, 2009). Today, their roles have changed and play a key role in the celebration of the Aboakyer festival. It is the Asafo groups that would have to catch a live deer to be sacrificed to Penkye Otu, thegod of the Effutu people.

The Asafo groups, predominantly made up of the youth, have also aligned themselves with the contesting parties to the conflict, making it more difficult to resolve (Taylor, 2009). The Asafo groups have sought to live in their ‘militant’ past engaging in violent clashes with the security services in an attempt to disrupt the Aboakyer festival in 1997 (Ghanaian Times, 1997). Again in the year 2000, factions of the Asafo companies defied government directive that the celebration of the festival be suspended and went ahead with the celebration with the police looking on helplessly(Daily Graphic, 2000).

Various governments have made attempts to resolve the conflict but to no avail.

Though there seems to be relative peace in the area at the moment, the underlying issues have not been resolved and therefore the potential for conflict still exists. It seems the Effutu conflict heavily hinges on the role of the Asafo groups, hence a number of questions have been agitating the mind of the researcher such as:

1. What is the Effutu chieftaincy conflict about?
2. What are the causes of the conflict?
3. What is the perception of the Asafo groups on the conflict?
4. How deep are the Asafo groups involved in the conflict?
5. To what extent can the Asafo groups contribute to resolving the conflict?

### **Objectives of the Study**

The main objective of the study is to examine the role of the Asafo companies in the Effutu chieftaincy conflict.

The specific objectives are to;

1. Historically chronicle the Effutu Chieftaincy dispute;
2. Identify causes of the conflict;
3. Explore the perception of the Asafo groups on the conflict.
4. Assess the role the Asafo groups can play in resolving the conflict.
5. Make appropriate recommendations towards resolving the conflict on the basis of the findings and conclusions drawn.



## **Significance of the Study**

Many studies conducted in the Effutu Traditional Area have focused on human right violations, socio-economic impact of the conflict, child labour and human trafficking. There seems to be a vacuum since no work has been done to ascertain the role of the Asafo groups in the conflict. This research is therefore intended to fill that gap.

The study is significant first and foremost to the chiefs and the people of the Effutu Traditional Area. The research outcome and findings will let them appreciate the extent to which the disputes have affected their livelihoods and the efforts and resources wasted in trying to resolve the disputes. Furthermore, the study will contribute immensely to finding lasting solution to the conflict using the Asafo groups. It will help in developing an appropriate conflict resolution mechanism for other similar conflicts in the country.

The research is also of significance to academic researchers, students, practitioners in peace and development and also adds to the existing literature on conflicts and chieftaincy disputes in an African context. It will contribute to knowledge and serve as a reference to other academic and developmental minded researchers.

## **Scope of the Study**

The study is focused on the Effutu chieftaincy conflict and the role the Asafo groups play in the conflict. During such disputes, there are recorded incidenceof human right violations, social and political dimensions of the conflict. The research however does not go into such areas but focuses on the

role of the Asafo groups in the dispute. The target population for the research is the paramount chief and other sub chiefs in the Effutu Municipality, the two Asafo groups within the Municipality and a government representative from the Municipal Assembly. Geographically, the study is confined to Winneba and the chieftaincy dispute which is usually visible during the celebration of the annual Aboakyer Festival during which the chief performs rituals to usher the Effutu people into a blissful year.

### **Organization of the Study**

The study is sub-divided into five chapters. Chapter one involves background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study and scope of the study. Chapter two involves the review of related literature. The literature review covers concepts and theories of social conflict. Chapter three also consist of methodology which discusses research design, population, sampling and sampling procedure, instrument for data collection, data collection procedure and data analysis. The results of the study and discussion are captured in chapter four. Finally, chapter five is made up of summary, conclusion and recommendations.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter reviews the related literature on the subject under investigation. In particular it examines theories, concepts and opinions of experts in the field of conflict and conflict management. It concludes by attempting to situate in context the Effutu chieftaincy dispute and the role the Asafo groups have played in perpetrating the conflict over the years.

#### **Definition of Conflict**

There is no consensus on a specific definition of the word ‘conflict’. Wall and Callister(as cited in Kreitner and Kinicki, 2001) defined conflict as “a process in which one party perceives that its interests are being opposed or negatively affected by another party” (p.447). The word ‘perceives’ suggests that, sources of conflict and issues can either be real or imagined. In a similar vein, Thomas (1976) referred to conflict as a process which begins when one party perceives that the other has frustrated or is about to frustrate some concern of his/her. According to this definition, conflict begins the moment one party perceives that another party is about to prevent the satisfaction of an important need or the accomplishment of an important goal. Thomas explained further that, it is at this moment that the individual or group being

regarded as the adversary or threat would start to be affected by this perception. Wright and Noe (1996), simply viewed conflict as “a perception that values, goals, or needs are incompatible” (p.682). Deutsch (1973) held a similar view with his notion that “a conflict exists whenever an action by one person or group prevents, obstructs, interferes or in some way makes less likely the desired action of another person. According to Dipaola & Hoy (2001), conflict begins when an individual or group feels negatively affected by another person or group. They reiterated further that, the larger the group, the greater the potential for conflict and that, conflict does not occur in isolation.

Based on research evidence that most conflicts occur within a cooperative context, Tjosvold (1997), cited in Kreitner (1998) offered a more positive definition. According to Tjosvold (1997), “conflict involves incompatible behaviours; one person interfering, disrupting or in some other way making another’s action less effective” (p. 497). In other words, conflict can be referred to as incompatible behaviours that make another person less effective. This conception paved the way for Kreitner (1998) to come out with the two faces of conflict, namely “competitive (or destructive) conflict” and “cooperative (or constructive) conflict”. This means certain types of conflict could be beneficial to most institutions while others could be destructive.

Kriesburg (1973), cited in Nebgen (1978), viewed conflict as “a relationship between two or more parties who believe they have incompatible goal” (p.17). Pierre and Peppers (1976), also see the term “conflict” to be widely used to describe important differences between individual humans or groups of humans. They pointed further that sometimes the difference was

functionally productive, as with creativity, and dysfunctional, as with sabotage or less drastic results. Schnake (1987) saw conflict as a process involving two or more individuals as groups that are opposed to one another. The author went further to argue that conflict may take place over a relatively long period of time or in only a brief moment.

Gunn (2002) however, defined conflict as any inescapable part of human nature involving a misunderstanding or disagreement that causes a problem or struggle to achieve goals between people, groups or nations. Darling and Walker (2001), consider conflict as a situation in which two or more individuals operating within a unit appear to be incompatible.

The above conceptualisations are a clear indication that there is no consensus on a specific definition of conflict. Dahrendorf (1989), however identifies four conditions which are necessary for a conflict situation to occur. These are:

- A set of individuals exhibiting some levels of togetherness in an organization. These could be voluntary groups, families, nations or some other collection of individuals;
- Some level of interaction among members. Without contact and communication there can be no conflict. The contact may merely be propaganda about other people, culture or group since it need not be personal;
- Different levels of positions to be occupied by group members, implying a hierarchy of relationship. All individuals cannot occupy the same position at the same time; and

- The presence of scarcity of needed resources and a general dissatisfaction among members about how these resources are being distributed.

In sum, conflict can simply be described as an act of being in disagreement. This is so because in any conflict, people think and feel differently from one another.

### **Views on Conflict**

According to Shani and Lau (2000), conflict dynamics are integral ingredient of human and organizational life. Perhaps, it is in this vein that Robbins (1974), stated that there are three basic attitudes towards conflict in organizations and identified them as traditional, behavioural and interactionist.

#### *Traditional View of Conflict*

According to Robbins (1974), the traditional view of conflict was that conflict was unnecessary and harmful. Children are often taught not to argue or disagree and that people should not quarrel. Coudron (1999) reminded people that many of us are taught to believe that conflicts are reserved for the callous and insensitive, and not for cultured orderly people. Again, Whetten and Cameron (1995), intimated that people who are frequently involved in conflict are labeled as trouble makers or bad nuts. Higgins (1991), also pointed out that conflict has historically been viewed as undesirable and therefore, must be avoided. This often translates into a behaviour that attempts to avoid conflict as one grows up. This, according to Folger, Poole and Stutman (1993), led to a cultural tendency to avoid uncomfortable situations.

Traditionally, conflict within an organization has been viewed as a sign of a problem. According to Pierres and Peppers (1976), the traditionalist, following social teachings believed that all conflicts were destructive and management's role was to get them out of the organisation. This confirms' Robbins (1974) assertion that the appearance of conflict indicated there was something wrong with the organization.

Dipaola and Hoy (2001), pointed that conflict is a problem that interferes with achieving organizational goals because it threatens hierarchical authority. They contended that organizational conflict is often treated as a dreadful disease or as a disruptive activity. Gardner (1990), contended that most institutions tend to eliminate conflict because social functioning requires some measure of cohesion and mutual tolerance. The traditional view therefore argues that, "conflict must be avoided as it indicates a malfunction within an organization" (Shani & Lau, 2000, p.189).

#### *Behavioral View of Conflict*

According to Robbins (1974), the behavioral view of conflict is that, conflict is a frequent occurrence in an organisational life. The writer pointed further that organisation members are human beings with varied needs and interests that can often clash. This makes the behaviorists argue that conflict is a natural and inevitable phenomenon in any unit and therefore serves as an important positive force in influencing organizations performance (Shani & Lau, 2000). Pierres and Peppers (1976) observed that conflict of some form is inevitable whenever two or more humans are in some interdependent relationship. This is to say that the behaviorist seeks to rationalise the existence of conflict and perceives conflict as inevitable in complex

organisations or relationships. Thus, conflict is seen as an inevitable reality of organisational life.

The behaviorists suggest that conflict can sometimes be functional because it can bring out problems in organisations and how best to solve such problems. Thus the behavioral perspective see conflict as something harmful which needs to be resolved or eliminated once it arises.

#### *Interactionist view of Conflict*

Robbins (1974) opined that the interactionists are the current thinkers. The interactionists propose that conflict within organisations is inevitable and even necessary no matter how organizations are designed and operated. Pondy (1989), sees conflict as not only functional for the organization but also essential to its very existence (p.96). This is to say that conflict is not only inevitable but also absolutely necessary for any unit to perform effectively. Conflict brings issues into the open and can sharpen insights into interests and goals. Suppressing conflict may lead to “group think”, an inclination to turn out uncritical like-mindedness (Janis, 1985). Therefore, institutions that seek to create a harmonized unit and stifle minority dissent are reducing creativity and innovation (DeDreu,1997). Conflict is therefore, necessary for true involvement, empowerment and democracy (Tjosvold, 1997).

Conflict can be considered productive for a number of reasons. Capozzoli (1995) noted that productivity can be reached if the people change and develop personally; if it improves cohesiveness in relationship or; if finding a solution to a problem results from the conflict. Also, Deutsch (1991, p.27) pointed out that “conflict is the root of personal and social change and that it is the medium through which problems can be aired and solutions



arrived at". Schnake (1987) also opined that conflict makes leaders aware of problems that need their attention. This is to say that conflict is an indication that something needs to be attended to, just as a physical discomfort may signal a more serious problem which needs attention. Pierre and Peppers (1976) observed that the interactionist views conflict as absolutely necessary encourages opposition, and defined management of conflict to include stimulation. The interactionist considers the management of conflict as a major responsibility of all leaders and thus sees conflict as being essential to, ineradicable from, and inevitable in human life.

The interactionist view however, suggests that much conflict is dysfunctional, in that it can harm persons and can inhibit the achievement of institutional goals. This view still suggests that some conflict can be functional because it can make institutions more effective. According to Robbins (1978), it can, for example lead to a search for solutions and be an instrument for institutional innovation and change. Stoner (1978) therefore tasks institutions not to suppress or resolve all conflict but to manage it, so as to minimize its harmful aspects and maximize its benefits. Such management may decide to include conflict stimulation in situations where its absence or suppression may hinder the institutions effectiveness, creativity and innovation.

### **Types of Conflict**

Conflict may arise between individuals or any group of individuals within an organisation. It may as well occur within individuals or groups. This is to say that in any organisation, conflict can occur on several levels. Kreitner and Kinicki (2001) probed the nature and organisational implications of four

basic types of conflict as; personality conflict, value conflict, intergroup conflict and cross-cultural conflict.

### *Personality Conflict*

One's personality is the package of stable traits and characteristics that make him or her unique individual. Gardenswartz and Rowe (1994) professed that each of us has a unique way of interacting with others. They went further to claim that "whether we are seen as charming, irritating, fascinating, nondescript, and approachable or intimidating depends in part on our personality, or what others might describe as our style" (p.32).

Kreitner and Kinicki (2001) defined personality conflict as interpersonal opposition based on personal dislike and or disagreement. With the many possible combinations of personality traits, it seems clear why personality conflicts are inevitable. They serve as a breeding place for aggression and violence in institutions. Workplace incivility is the seeds of personality conflict. Quite Similar to physical pain, acute personality conflicts often begin with seemingly insignificant discomfort.

### *Value Conflict*

According to Rokeach (1973), a value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence. Rokeach went further to define an individual's value system as "an enduring organisation of beliefs concerning preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of relative importance" (p.5). People in their early teens are able to set their values fairly well for a lifelong

behaviour pattern. One's value however, can be reshaped during adulthood by life-altering events like marriage failure, death of a loved one, surviving a serious ailment, and raising a family.

There are value-related researches by Schwartz and Bilsky (1990), Martinsons and Martinsons (1996), Maio and Olson (1998), Meglino and Ravlin (1998), King and Napa (1998), and Rodriguez (1998). All the authors identified support Rokeach's contention that differing value systems go a long way towards explaining individual differences in behaviour. They contended that value-behaviour connections have been documented for a wide variety of behaviours, ranging from weight loss to shopping selections, to political party affiliation, to religious involvement and choice of college major. Value conflict, according to Kreitner and Kinicki (2001) could erupt when opposition is based on interpersonal differences in instrumental and terminal values.

According to Rokeach (1973), instrumental values are alternative behaviours or means by which one could achieve desired ends. Examples are ambition, honesty, interdependence, love and obedience. Terminal values on the other hand are personally preferred end-states, such as, accomplishment, happiness, pleasure, salvation and wisdom. Kreitner and Kinicki (2001) attested to three kinds of value conflict; *intrapersonal value conflict*, *interpersonal value conflict*, and *individual- organisation value conflict*. This is to say that, sources of conflict vary respectively from inside the person, between people, and between the person and the organization, which are briefly described.

### *Intra personal Value Conflict*

This involves internal priorities. According to Kreitner and Kinicki (2001), inner conflict and resultant stress typically and experienced when highly ranked instrumental and terminal values pull the individual in different directions. An example is when one values being ambitious (instrumental value) and ending up happy (terminal value).

Schnake (1987), on the other hand, said intrapersonal conflict as conflict within an individual. He illustrated with a supervisor who might give an order to an employee to do something that the employee considers to be morally wrong. The employee is faced with conflict between wanting to do as the supervisor says, and doing something he or she believes to be wrong. Basically, such conflict occurs because of goal conflict. Goal conflict, according to Schnake (1987), results when “an individual wants to accomplish two or more mutually exclusive goals, meaning that nature of these goals is such that to achieve one of them is to preclude the achievement of others” (p.257). Goal conflict could equally arise in the opposite situation. Here, an individual could be faced with forcing to choose between two undesirable goals or alternatives. Both may be unpleasant but a choice must be made.

### *Interpersonal value Conflict*

According to Kreitner and Kinicki (2001), this type of value parallels personality conflict. Just as people have different styles that may or may not interlock, they equally welcome unique combinations of instrumental and terminal values that inevitably spark disagreement. This is buttressed by Schnake (1987), in his assertion that the differences in the goals that

individuals want to accomplish sometimes create a source of conflict. This means when individuals in an organisation have incompatible goals, the probability for conflict is high.

Wright and Noe (1996) saw interpersonal conflict as conflict between two or more individuals with differing values, goals, or needs. It may occur between two individuals who are not members of the same group or may occur between individuals who hold positions at different levels within the organisational system. Schnake (1987) also pointed out that interpersonal conflict is a type of conflict that occurs between individuals. This may arise because of personality differences, competition over resources, differences in basic beliefs and values, or incompatible goals. Wright and Noe (1996) buttressed this by stating that many interpersonal conflicts involve what are commonly called “personality clashes”- that is when one person’s style of behaviour continually irritates the other person. This makes co-operation impossible.

Stoner (1978) pointed out that more often, such conflicts crop out of role-related pressures, such as between superiors and subordinates, or from the manner in which colleagues personalise conflict between groups. If members fail to overlook one’s weakness and recognise his strengths, such a relationship can degenerate into distrust and active dislike. Schnake saw age, as an example of a constant source of interpersonal conflict. He explains further that people who differ widely in age very often entertain equally dissimilar beliefs and values. Such differences are what tend to create suspicion or lack of trust among younger and older people.

### *Intra Group Conflict*

Schnakes (1987), intimated that intra group conflict is conflict that occurs within groups. It takes place among members of a single work group and most of the group members are likely to be affected by this type of conflict. It is one that is most likely to affect the performance of the group and the extent to which members cooperate with one another.

Guetzkow and Gyr (1954), indentified two forms of intra group conflict. These are substantive conflict and affective conflict. Substantive conflict refers to conflict over the content of objectives or the tasks. Disagreement about what should be set as a group's goal or about the way the task is to be performed could be considered substantive conflict. This type of intra group conflict is sometimes easier to resolve since it is concerned with more objective issues. Affective conflict, on the other hand, refers to conflict resulting primarily from personality clashes or issues unrelated to the group's tasks. It however creates a more difficult stage to resolve conflict since it centers on more subjective and emotional issues.

### *Inter Group Conflict*

This type of conflict occurs between two or more groups with differences in values, goals, or needs. The reasons for inter group conflict is interdependence, differences in goals and differences in perceptions (Wright & Noe, 1996). Shani and Lau (2000), referred to inter group conflict as clashes and opposition between two groups and reported of a study which distinguished between task-focused conflict and relationship focused conflict and found that both types of conflict have an effect on groups' performance.

According to Shani and Lau (2000), inter group conflict is better understood by first considering conflict within the individual. They observed that in the socialisation process, individuals learn the conforming behaviours of society at the expense of freely satisfying their own drives and desires. This process can spark off internal conflicts that could easily be directed against other people. The second aspect of socialisation process is where the individual develops a self identity, which can be thought of as an integration of all groups he or she has been a member of and has admired. These groups serve as positive reference groups. Groups that individuals have rejected provide negative reference points in perceiving others. A positive reference group is the likelihood of people to cluster together when threatened or frustrated. All others become negative reference points.

#### *Cross-Cultural Conflict*

In our world of global economy, doing business with people from different countries is very common. Because of differing assumptions about how to think and act, the likelihood for cross-cultural conflict is very great. Organisations therefore have to accommodate cultural differences for a successful business transaction.

#### **Causes of Conflict**

The causes of conflict between individuals and a group of individuals could be many. Some of the more prominent instigators of conflict identified by Stoner (1978), Schnake (1987), Wright (1996), Kreitner (1998), and other researchers include limited resources, role ambiguity and communication

obstacles. Conflict may stem from a variety of causes, and understanding them is the first step in dealing with it effectively.

### *Limited Resources*

One of the most common and enduring causes of conflict is competition among groups for limited resources (Schnake, 1987, Horowitz & Bordens, 1995). Whenever competition between groups arises, conflict is not far behind. Competition involves two or more groups striving for the same goal. In the course of competition, more often than not, the attainment of a goal by one group means the frustration of the other group's goals. Out of the dangerous mix of fulfillment of one group's goals at the expense of the other group comes intensified hostility and ultimately conflict.

In many instances, conflict is maintained because one side has more power than the other. That side can force its will on the other. This is seen in the Effutu chieftaincy conflict where the Gharteys seem to have more power than the Ayerebi Acquahs and therefore a struggle for power has led to the long lasting dispute in the area. Kreitner (1998) asserts that resources include food, personnel, authority, power and valuable information. This means that anything of value in an institutional setting can become a competitively sought-after scarce resource.

Stoner (1978) also pointed out that the potential for conflict exists because the vital resources are limited. If every unit in an organization had access to unlimited amount of resources, then the problem of how to share these resources would hardly arise. These resources must be shared and that, the likelihood of some groups getting less than they want or need is high. Lack



of co-operation can result as groups fight for the greatest possible share of available resources.

### *Role Ambiguity*

Schnake (1987) referred to role ambiguity as the extent to which individuals and groups within an organization understand what is expected of them. They may not have clear understanding of their responsibility or of the constraints upon them. He reiterates that role ambiguity can produce conflicts between groups or individuals because both may want to assume responsibility for the same thing or because they may both want to avoid it.

Kreitner (1998) termed it ambiguous or overlapping jurisdiction. The author explained it as unclear job boundaries which often create competition for resources and control. Stoner (1978), also saw it as ambiguously defined work responsibilities and unclear goals. One unit head for example may try to expand the role of his or her subunit. Such an expansion will invariably cause a defensive resistance from the other units involved. If members of different groups know little about each other's job, they may unwittingly make unreasonable demands on each other, thereby triggering conflict.

Pierre and Peppers (1976) wrote that role sources are those that arise out of the varying perceptions of people about the expected behaviours of themselves and others. They pointed out that most of these stem from the status and position levels of people within an organization. According to Nnadi (1997), unclear job description and roles tend to become a problem because group members are unsure of what their job responsibilities are.

### *Communication Obstacles*

Schnake (1987) saw the absence of frequent communication between groups or individuals representing different structural levels as a factor which produces conflict. The writer stated further that when individuals or groups lack information about other individuals or groups, misconception and distrust, he pointed out, are typical precursors of conflict. Kreitner (1998) supported this view by arguing that because communication is a complex process beset by many barriers, these barriers often provoke conflict, and went on to state that it is easy to understand another person or group of people if two-way communication is hampered in some way. This makes the battle for clear communication never to end.

Stoner (1978) saw communication break downs as a common cause of inter group conflict, and cited how the same phrase may have different meanings to different groups thereby creating conflict. Undefined use of that phrase, may lead to harmful misunderstandings. The absence of frequent communication between groups or individuals representing different structural levels or groups was referred to as communication obstacles by Schnake (1987). It has been pointed out that, when individuals or groups lack information about other individuals or groups, there develops misconceptions and distrust. This means that actions and motives of other groups become suspicious and this may distort communication.

### **Conflict Resolution**

Conflict resolution is a process that transforms conflicts in an enduring and sustained manner rather than settling disputes or suppressing differences, by addressing basic human needs and building quality and sustainable

relationships between groups through creating structural mechanisms which promote equality among identity groups, multi-culturalism, and inclusiveness, as appropriate to each situation (Fisher, 1997).

Several approaches or strategies are used to resolve conflict among and between aggrieved parties. These include arbitration, mediation, reconciliation, bargaining, problem solving, and peace -keeping through the use of force (Pruitt & Rubin, 1986, Bartos, 1995, Cross & Guenola, 1999).

These approaches, therefore, attempt to adjust and change the embedded values and attitudes of the conflicting parties and steer them towards a shared common vision based on shared common values and identity. These are aimed at overcoming the conflicting parties fear, anger, and vengefulness towards each other (Cross & Guenola, 1999). It is fundamentally crucial, however, that the parties in dispute acknowledge that they both have a problem and should be willing to resolve it through peaceful means. The reconciliation process, therefore, merely assists them to jointly analyse the causes of the conflict, acknowledge the injustices it has caused, and agree to build bridges between them through healing process, forgiveness, and moral responsibility (Montville, 1989).

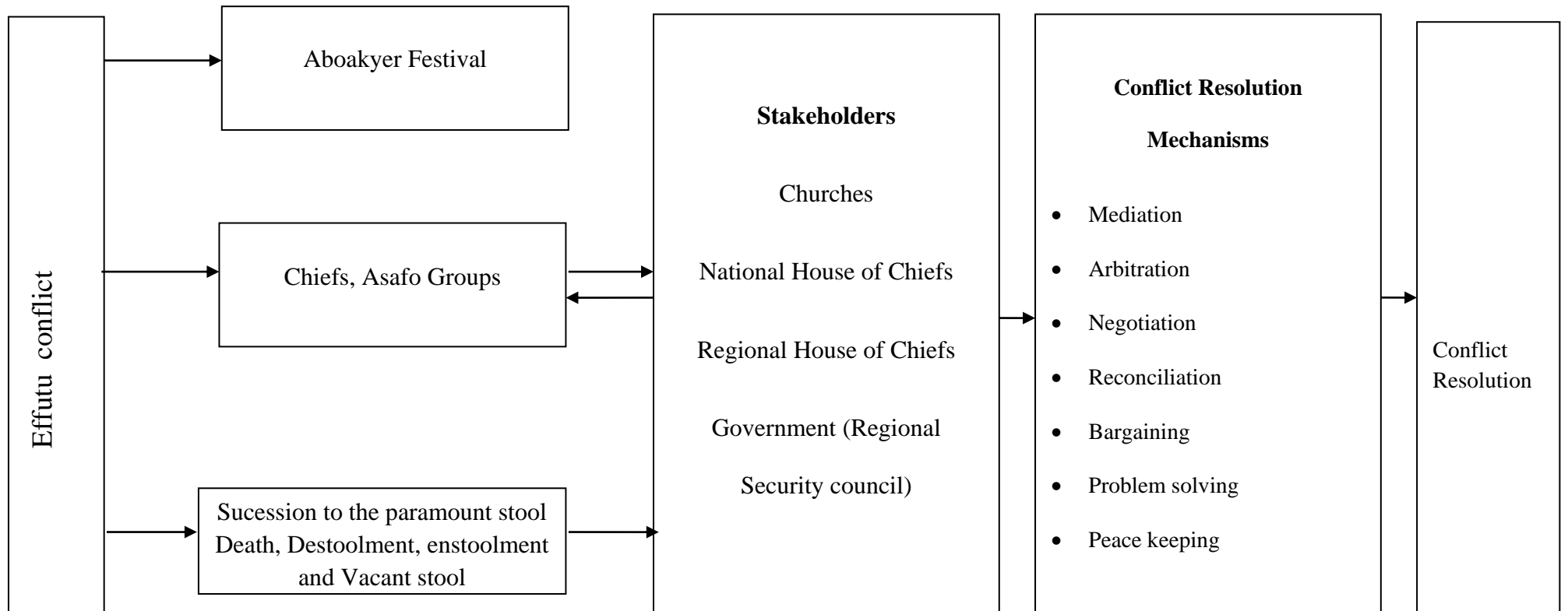
### **Conceptual Framework**

Conflict is an ever-present process in human relations (Loomis and Loomis, 1965). It appears with frequency in daily, public and private life. These conflicts may be on a small or large scale; they may occur within and among groups, communities or nations and may be triggered by ethnic, racial,

religious or economic differences or arise from differences in values, beliefs and attitudes regarding issues.

The Effutu chieftaincy conflict is pictured as having succession to the paramount stool as its root cause. Thus, whether succession to the stool should be through the patrilineal or matrilineal line? (Bortsie, 2006). The key actors in the conflict are the rival chiefs from the patrilineal and the matrilineal families and the asafo groups by virtue of the roles they play in the traditional system. The conflict is manifested annually during the celebration of the aboakyer festival of the Effutu people. The asafo groups are directly involved in the conflict because they play a part in the enstoolment or destoolment process and also would have to make a catch during the aboakyer festival, to be sacrificed to the gods. The chief, by virtue of his position as a traditional leader and custodian of ancestral spirits, performs certain rituals during the festival to the gods on behalf of his people and therefore must be the right chief to perform these functions. So there is the annual manifestation of the conflict during the period of the aboakyer festival eventhough there are underlining causes to the conflict.

In resolving the conflict, stakeholders must involve parties in the conflict (chiefs, Asafo Groups) through the adoption of conflict resolution mechanisms such as mediation, arbitration, reconciliation, bargaining, problem solving and peace keeping.



**Figure 1: Conceptual Framework**

Source: Anthors construct

## **Theories of Conflict**

Several explanations have been propounded to justify why conflicts, especially violent conflicts occur within human societies. While some scholars situate the causes of conflict within the realm of politics, others talk of economics, culture and environment as the cause of conflict. As the debate continues on the explanation of conflict, there is no single factor that satisfactorily explains the causes of conflict. Faleti (2006), points to the fact that there is no single factor that explains the emergence, escalation or protraction of conflict whether violent or otherwise. In this respect, many scholars have come out with different theories in relation to conflict. These theories focus on explaining conflicts that occur and how they can be dealt with. Although these theories are different and emphasise a particular angle of analysis, they are not mutually exclusive. Most of these theories overlap (Faleti, 2006). The relational theory of social conflict, the psycho-cultural conflict theory and the enemy system theory are the basis for this study, which are briefly examined.

### *Relational Theory of Social Conflict*

Relational theories attempt to provide explanation for violent conflicts between groups by exploring sociological, political, economic and historical relationships between such groups. There is the belief that cultural and value differences as well as group interests all influence relationships between individuals and groups in different ways (Faleti, 2006, cited in Best, 2006). Sociologically, differences between cultural values is a challenge to individual or group identity formation processes and create the tendency to see others as

intruders who have to be prevented from encroaching upon established cultural boundaries.

Political economy for example, identifies power and other advantages that it confers as a key source of tension between different interest groups within a political system. In situations where multiple groups share a common resource that is fixed in nature, the chances that each will attempt to eliminate, neutralise or injure the other (Cosser, 2007) or monopolise such resources (Moaz, 1982) is as high as the tendency to enter into a negative relationship.

Faleti (2006), continues to argue that a number of conflicts grow out of a past history of conflict between groups that has led to the development of negative stereotypes and discrimination. Such a history of negative exchanges makes it difficult for the conflicting groups to trust one another. In the case of the Effutu chieftaincy furour, the long standing differences between the two conflicting groups; the Ghartey's from the patri-lineage and the Ayirebi-Acquah's from the matri-lineage has made it difficult for them to trust each other and therefore appear not to be ready for a dialogue. Each of these groups has taken an entrenched position that they are the heirs to the throne and therefore, makes it difficult to resolve the dispute. To the relational theorists, the fact that others are perceived as different make us feel they are entitled to less or are inferior by reason of culture. This situation disrupts the flow of communication between the groups and twists perceptions that the groups have about each other.

#### *Psycho-Cultural Conflict Theory*

Gunther (2004) pointed out that what people are negotiating or fighting about is a fundamental question in the analysis of conflict. But there is another

equally fundamental question that remains poorly understood, namely who is fighting who and why? Gunther, (2004; cited in Gati, 2008 p.30) argues that “People do fight about real interest, but the way this is done, the intensity of feelings, and the length to which disputants go to defend or acquire what they believe is their due are evidence that pursuit of interests has important psychological component which is not well understood”. This theory emphasizes the role of culturally induced conflict; it shows how enemy images are created from deep seated attitudes about human actions that are learnt from early stages of growth in the explanation of conflict (Best, 2006). This explains why the Effutu chieftaincy conflict has been lingering for generations.

From this school of thought, identity is the biggest source of social conflict that takes long to resolve. The theory contends that even though there are different forms of identities, the one that is based on people’s ethnic origin and culture that is learnt on the basis of ethnic origin is one of the most important ways of explaining violent conflict. According to this theory, conflict occurs when groups are discriminated against or deprived of satisfaction of their basic (material) and psychological (non-material) needs on the basis of their identity.

Theorists in this area see the recognition and protection of identity as the most important even though there are other equally important needs for physical security, food, belonging, political and economic empowerment and self esteem. The theory concludes that conflicts that are caused by a crisis of identity are usually the most dangerous and most violent. Identity is an



unshakable sense of self worth, which makes life meaningful and includes the feeling that one is physically, psychologically and spiritually safe.

According to Northrup (1989,cited in Faleti, 2006), events which threaten to remove the feelings of safety that are tied to different forms of identity usually lead to defensive reactions aimed at avoiding such spiritual or physical exposures. Identity operates this way not only in conflict between people but also in situations between groups.

This theory is not without weakness as it has been contended that the theory does not adequately explain the sources of conflict. In other words, identity in general and cultural identity in particular cannot be used solely as source of conflict and therefore cannot be a cause of conflict. The psycho-cultural conflict theory explains the intensity and duration of ethnic conflicts, but does not identify elements that start an overt conflict (Montiel & Macapagal, 2008). The theory has also been largely discredited in academic literature as over simplifying the causes of conflict.

This theory tends to reify cultural identities and resulting group formations as static and given, with little consideration given to how identity wax and wane; and how group boundaries become more or less porous, in response to endogenous and exogenous forces, whether historical, geographical or political, or in combination (Baron, Smith & Woolock, 2004). The theory argues little about why some ethnic groups live together for centuries and rise up against each other, or about why in some cases ethnic groups can live peacefully side by side and while others do not. Additionally, the explanations given to conflict are usually subjective. Thus, it involves

perceptual or subjective explanations of conflict (Montiel & Macapagal, 2008).

Despite these weaknesses of the theory, it can serve as a useful balance to purely resource competition based theories. Since the existence of different ethnic groups in the same environment cannot alone cause conflict, but the extent to which competition for resources are viewed from an ethnic identity point of view, makes this theory useful. The theory also calls for the need for organizations charged with the responsibility of managing conflict or preventing the escalation of deadly conflicts to always consider the issue of identity, especially cultural identity when resolving conflicts. The main assumption of the theory is that there are objective and subjective causes of conflict and therefore attention must be paid to these differences. Assefa (1999, cited in Yoh, 2008) stresses that there are causes that are perceived to persist for a long period of time, this results in bitterness that might translate itself into aggressive behaviour, that is much more violent than those causes that are observations. It is therefore important for conflict managers, government, intergovernmental organizations have to identify these specific psychological and cultural components that might be useful in dealing with such conflicts or prevent the occurrence of such conflicts.

#### *Enemy System Theory of Conflict*

The enemy system theory was developed to explain intractable conflict such as the one in the Effutu Traditional Area. This theory was developed by a group of psychiatrists and international relations practitioners as a model to explain the complexities of group behavior, particularly with regard to antagonistic group relationships. The core of the enemy system theory is the

hypothesis that humans have a deep rooted psychological need to dichotomise and to establish enemies and allies. This phenomenon happens on individual and group levels. This is an unconscious need which feeds conscious relationships, especially in our group lives. This is especially important with regard to the formation of group identity and behavior (Volkan, 1994).

Identification with these groups largely determines how we relate to people within our in-groups and with those of our out-groups. How the masses within each group perceive themselves and their relationships with groups that they are associated with helps to determine whether their relationship will be based on cooperation, competition, or conflict. This is also determined by historic relations between these groups (Volkan, 1994).

Thus, the theory is predicated on the relationships between interpersonal concerns, and the individual within their environment. Humans as we are, we tend to organize ourselves and our environments into groups of two. For example, we distinguish between pleasure/pain, good/bad, right/wrong and this need begins at a very early age during infancy (Volkan, 1994). The importance of this is that we also tend to attach 'good' qualities with what we identify as ours, and we tend to associate 'bad' qualities with those of our out-groups. Consequently, we begin to develop a sense of 'us and them' (Azar & Burton, 1986). Not only do we distinguish between these groups, but 'we' are perceived as good, virtuous, superior and desirable, whereas 'they' are perceived as bad, inferior, full of vice and undesirable. As we grow older and become socialized, our identity expands to include our families, our communities and our ethnic and national groups.

## **Chieftaincy Conflicts in Ghana**

The institution of chieftaincy existed in Ghana long before the advent of colonialism and has survived through pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial regimes. As a centralized system of administration, the chieftaincy institution has been the embodiment of political power in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times. Some of the ethnic groups with this kind of system are the Akan, the Ga, the Guan, the Ewe and many others (Nukunya, 2000).

The importance of the chieftaincy institution cannot be overemphasized. In traditional Ghanaian societies, chiefs have multiple roles to play as military leaders, as chief priest who perform rituals on behalf of their people, as agents of development, as symbols of identity, as change agents and also as custodians of stool lands. In performing these multiple roles, the Ghanaian chief is seen as an embodiment of the beliefs, hopes, fears and aspirations of the people (Abotchie, 2006).

As a result of modernity and change, there are new systems of administration and Ghanaian chiefs have lost most of their functions to the systems of the modern state. This notwithstanding, chiefs continue to play important roles in Ghanaian societies. It is important to recognize that their mandate is even enshrined in the constitution of the Republic of Ghana.

The chieftaincy institution has been bedeviled with numerous conflicts. It is estimated that about 600 land disputes in Ghana are currently dominated by chieftaincy disputes (Abotchie, 2006). These conflicts are experienced in almost all traditional areas in the country. Some of such conflicts recorded in recent times include the Dagbon crises between the Abudu and the Andani

gates which occurred in 2002 and the Tuobodom chieftaincy conflict. Whereas some of these conflicts have been successfully resolved, others tend to be protracted.

According to literature, key among the causes of these conflicts include succession to stools or skins, control over stool lands and land litigation, political interference and the lack of accountability and transparency by some traditional rulers.(Tsikata & Seini,2004). Most of these protracted disputes have resulted in violent conflicts. Such conflicts have always led to undesirable developments in the affected areas and the nation at large. These devastating effects of conflict include loss of lives, the displacement of people, loss of property and lawlessness. These conditions create an atmosphere of anxiety, insecurity and distrust, thus posing a threat to the peace and stability to the entire nation. To control such conflicts, security personnel are deployed to the affected areas at huge cost to the neglect of important national or local development issues.

### **Formation of Effutu State**

Effutus identify their origin from the old Western Sudanese Kingdom or the Empire of Ghana. The Effutus wandered around with many other people and settled for sometime in the ancient and famous town of Tekyiman, in the present Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana. Guided by their god Otu, the Effutus then migrated southwestwards after reaching the Akwapim Hills and along the Birim Valley. Their cousin the “Guans” migrated southeastwards and settled at Larte, Adukrom, Apirede, Abiriw and many other towns (Taylor, 2009).

It is asserted by historians that the Guans were the first to arrive in the Gold Coast. Still spurred on by their god Otu, the Effutus inclined West and

settled at a village called Effutu, presently situated between Oguaa (Cape Coast Municipality) and Jukwa (South Denkyira District) in the Central Region of Ghana (Bortsie, 2006). The name or word Effutu in Guan language means 'mixed up' of people of different ethnic groups, languages and custom. The mixing up is believed to have happened in the 14th century. The Effutus continued their journey to the coast and founded part of Elmina and Amamforo which later became part of Cape Coast. Indeed, the Fetu Afahye of Cape Coast is believed to have originated with these settlers. It is also believed that King Kwamena Ansah (Caramansa) of Elmina who the Portuguese met on arrival on the coast in 1471 was a Guan King (Bortsie, 2006).

As a result of harsh rule of one of their leaders called Akraman and the pressure of the Fantes who had arrived in the area, the Effutus, under their leaders Edweh, Gyan and Issiw, moved in search of water eastwards and settled at Dwemah or Dwemba (now Mamford) near Apam. Dwemba, a village whose name was derived from Edwe ne mba (children of Edwe) is about 25km West of the present Winneba, the capital of the Effutu Traditional Area. Due to acute shortage of drinkable water, Osimpam assumed leadership and responsibility for the Effutus to move further east to search for drinkable water (Bortsie, 2006).

According to oral history from the chief and elders of the Effutu Traditional Council, Osimpam and his people took possession of their tribal god "Otu" and headed eastwards. On their way, one morning they saw a mist on top of a hill ahead, which they thought was a settlement of some people making their early fire. Thus, the mist or dew appeared to them as smoke curling up into the heavens. They said in the Effutu language: Ayee Omaka,

that is “look at a town over there” and through the usage, Omako has become “Manko” which is still the name of the hill. Manko is just about 5km to the west of Winneba. On reaching the hill, they found no settlers and therefore continued their journey. They again saw a large stretch of stagnant water which they thought was drinkable water but after tasting they spat it out because it was salty. In dismay, they said “Boni”, meaning “it is hard to drink”. The term ‘Boni’ evolved to be ‘Moni’. This illusion of a discovery was on a Wednesday. Hence the god of the Moni Lagoon which lies west of Winneba is called Kweku Moni. It is reputed that many of the people drowned in trying to cross the lagoon and this became a great oath for the Effutus. From this, the Effutus had Simpa Wukuda which is a great oath to the Effutus.(Bortsie, 2006).

Osimpam and his people persevered until they reached a suitable place for settlement, which is just at the foot of a hill that later became known as Alata Kokodo in present Winneba. The tired worn-out people then settled down and adopted their leader’s name for the new found settlement and called it Simpa. The guiding god Otu and the stool symbolizing the soul of the Effutus were kept at Otu-Ano (Otuano), the home of the first settlers of Simpa. On reaching the settled place, they said in Effutu language as “prekye”, (i.e stop here or land) which later became Penkye. The settlers then attached the name of their location Penkye to the name of their god Otu and called the god Penkye Otu. Not long after they had settled, the leader sent scouts to go further to look for drinkable water. Not long enough, they chanced on the “ Ayensu River “ and said “Ane nya nsu”- meaning “ we have got water”. Ayensu is still

the name of the river from which Winneba gets its water to drink (Bortsie, 2006).

Traditionally known as Simpa, Winneba is a historic town in Ghana lying on the south coast, 35 miles West of Accra and 90 miles East of Cape Coast. Their settlement, founded by Osimpam and his people grew rapidly in strength, size and importance because of its strategic location. During the colonial era, Winneba served as a port town between Europe and the then Gold Coast. It also lay on the surf-beaten sandy shores of a large bay (Gulf of Guinea), protected by the Manko Hill and the Moni or Muni Lagoon with marshes on the West, and the estuary of the Ayensu river on the east.

History has it that the Moni or Muni Lagoon and marshes impeded the advance of the Ashanti army led by Osei Kwame with many of them perishing in trying to cross the lagoon. To the north of the settlers were the rich wooded plains, thickets and forest, which provided timber for housing and canoe making as well as granary for the settlement (Taylor, 2009). The first Christian body to be founded in Winneba was the Methodist Society in 1883.

### **Chieftaincy in Effutu Land**

From the onset of the Effutu state formation, the Effutus did not have purely secular chiefs (Ephirim-Donkor, 2009 & Bortsie, 2006). Their chiefs combined the functions of a ruler with that of a chief priest. The process of making a king in Effutu is similar to that of the Akans but uniquely different. When kingmakers settle on a candidate, they call the state to inform the latter after special wines have been placed at the pramma (abode) from which the candidate is selected. From this point, the Asafo (militia) finds the candidate,



seizes and parades him through the principal streets of Winneba, and then presents him to the kingmakers.

Beginning on a Saturday, the nominee is confined for eight days. By the Wednesday morning, the most sacrosanct of all the rites pertaining to the kingship would have been completed. Thus, the ancestral Royal Stool is brought from its hiding place and touched to the buttocks of the king-to-be three times. The paradoxical act of “sitting-on” the ancestral stool is the single most important and authentic rite in the making of a king. It legitimizes the nominee’s ascension to the throne and places in him the traditions of his predecessors as a living ancestor. For example, King Acquah III’s installation was held in abeyance until such time that the Otvano Royal Family agreed to perform this rite.(Taylor,2009).

The king-to-be continues to remain sequestered until 12am on the next Saturday when he is taken to the Ayensu River for more rites to be performed. Afterwards, he is given a sacred bath, dressed from head to toe in gold ornaments and brought to the mouth of the river where it joins the sea. Here, the King is made to sit on a sacred stone till the morning. The Oman, led by the Asafo groups, come to receive the Oma-Odefo (the state King) who is led by the kingmakers to meet the jubilant crowd. Once handed over to the state, the Oma-Odefo is paraded by the Asafo groups through the principal streets of Winneba in a palanquin.(Bortsie, 2006).

In the afternoon, the kingmakers return to Tsetseguado (State grounds) and wait for the King. Here, the Asafo leaders also take their respective seats. Finally, when the King is brought back to the central meeting grounds, he swears first to those who made him King ritually-the Kingmakers of the

Otuano Royal family. After this, head of the Kingmakers also swears to the new King. Next, the King swears to both Tũafo No.I and Dentsefo No. IAsafo companies in successive order. The leadership of the Asafo companies also swear in order. Finally, the Oman hands the King over to the Kingmakers for a final spiritual and ritual preparation before he formally takes office. The Oman is informed when formal rituals have been done that the king is ready to take office and he is led to the Odefe-ye (Palace). The work of the Kingmakers is then completed. (Bortsie, 2006).

### **Effutu Kings and the Formation of the Asafo Companies**

The first king to be installed on Effutu land was Osimpam Bondzie Abe I. The Effutus, however, acknowledged two of their earlier rulers, namely Kwamena Gyateh Ayirebi Gyan and Gyateh Sisii who were believed to have reigned before 1400 through 1415. Osimpam was reputed according to history to be a great hunter, a great leader and a great chief priest. The name Simpa was not a royal name but an appellation which signifies his great building and organising abilities. Indeed, he worked indefatigably to build a community that ultimately came to bear his name. He reigned for about 80 years (1415 – 1495) until his death in the 1490s. He was one hundred and ten years (110) years.

After the passing on of the first king of the Effutus, he was succeeded by his grandson Bondzie Enyinam, who reigned from 1495 through 1560. Enyinam was the surviving grandson of Osimpam Bondzie Abe I. According to Bortsie (2006), Bondzie Enyinam was reported to have unusual powers of levitation and could move from place to place with lightening speed

(enyinam). It was during his reign that people from the “north” joined the fledgling community. None of the new immigrants spoke the Effutu language and strangely, they could not eat any of the food offered to them until a concoction of cassava was offered. With the burial rites, it appeared the immigrants were Muslims. They became the ancestors of the present day Eyipey people of Effutu (Winneba). King Enyinam also made the Eyipey people the first line of defence during wars for the Effutus.

Bondzie Abe II became the third king, succeeding his father Bondzie Enyinam. He reigned from 1560 to 1600. Under his reign, he found it necessary to organize a voluntary group for communal work. He then formed the first militia (Asafo) group in Winneba. The Asafo then became a fighting force of the Effutu land. The militia group was named Akomfo-adze-fo, now called Akomfor. They were the priestly band because they displayed a disposition for falling into frenzy and thirsted for blood during fighting. The first group became the Tuafo Asafo and has remained the Number I Asafo group in Winneba till date (Figure 1). Bondzie Abe II was succeeded by his grandson, Bondzie Essiedu, who reigned from 1600 to 1666. During his reign, he formed a second militia (Asafo) group in addition to that of his grandfather's and called them Dentsefo. He then organized some Tuafo leaders to train the Dentsefo group. (Bortsie, 2006).

Not backed by any historical precedents, some intellectuals contend that the Dentsefo No.II is rather first group whereas the Tuafo No.I are their children (Ephirim-Donkor, 2009). There are two main asafo groups in the Effutu traditional system with each grouping having three subdivisions namely:

*Tuafo:*

1. Akomfo-adze-fo (Akomfor)
2. Apagyafa (Wrestlers or Fire Strikers)
3. Kyir-emim-fo (Fraud detectors)

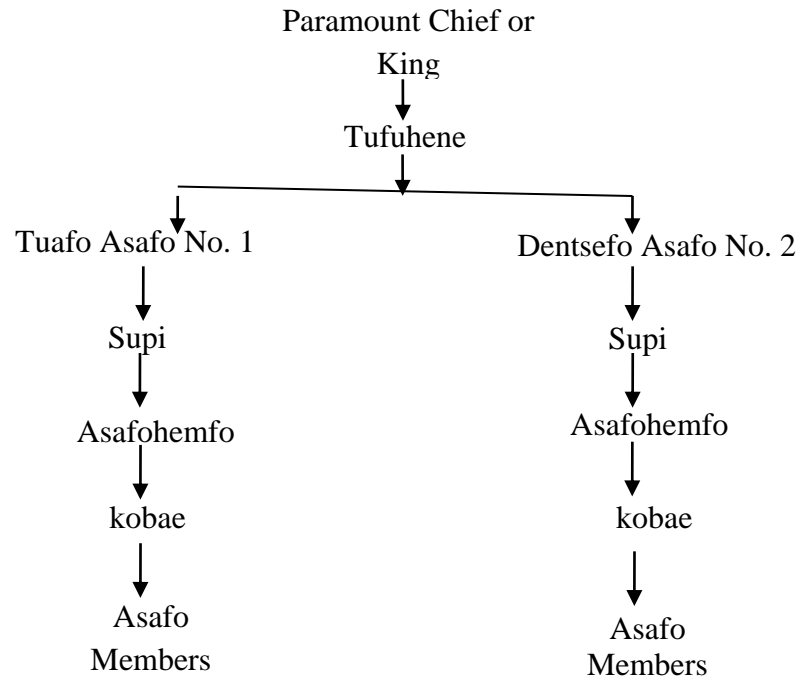
*Dentsefo:*

1. Asomfo (Servers)
2. Petufo (those from Petuano)
3. Nkyirmbafo (Etsibafo) (those who came later)

Each of the three sub-divisions also has further sub-divisions namely;

1. Mpanyimfo (Enyimpa or Elders)
2. Nsin (Finimfin or Middlers)
3. Asam (Youngsters)

In short, there are nine divisional groups in each of the Asafo groups. It should be noted that when Bondzie Essiedu formed the Dentsefo group, he appointed a Tufuhene from the Ayipe people, specifically from the Petuano in the Dentsefo No.2 Asafo Company. The duty of the Tufuhene was to serve as a liaison between the king and the Asafo groups. In all, there are two supis, one for each of the asafo companies. Today, there is a proliferation of supis in Simpa and many people are calling themselves Supi in the two Asafo groups. Some even call themselves Obaatan, which is not in the Effutu political system (Taylor, 2009).



**Figure 2: Organisational structure of the Asafo groups in Effutu**

Source: Adu-Bortsie (2006, P. 10).

King Bondzie Essiedu was succeeded by King Bondzie Abe Gyateh who reigned from 1666 to 1712, and is often referred to as Ghartey I. The name Ghartey was coined from Gyateh (Gyata) during the time of King Ghartey IV as he came in contact with Europeans who could not correctly pronounce Gyateh. Therefore, King Bondzie Abe Gyateh became Ghartey because of his last name Gyateh. King Bondzie Abe Gyateh was succeeded by King Bortse Komfo Amu who was his son and who reigned from 1712 to 1748. He was the last Chief Priest and a spiritual guide of his subjects. The dual role of Priest king was split after his death. Bortse Komfo Amu was reputed to be well-versed in the science of herbal medicine (Bortsie, 2006).

However after his death, his senior brother Gyateh Gyan Panyin was made to succeed him. Gyatey Gyan Panyin was designated Ghartey II. He left Winneba to join his sister Ayeeba at Nyanyano to do fishing because he was

accused of using sorcery to kill his younger brother Bortse Komfo Amu. He was the seventh king of Effutu and reigned from 1750 to 1784. His death made way for King Ayirebi Gyateh to succeed him as the eighth king of the Effutus who reigned from 1784 to 1816. King Ayirebi Gyateh was the son of King Bortse Komfo Amu, the sixth King of the Effutus. He had a sister called Ayensua. He is reported to have been a great warrior who fought many battles on the side of the British. In one of the wars he was carried in a palanquin in a triumphant entry into Simpa. He married an Ashanti called Fosua, who came into the marriage with a daughter from another marriage, called Akosua Kwaaba. Unfortunately, Ayirebi did not have a child with Fosua (Taylor, 2009).

During the wars, Ayirebi brought slaves to Simpa who became part of his “family” and “household”. He kept them in a house he built for himself at some distance to the north of the Otvano Royal House, which later became the Ayirebi pramma and now Akramano. In the course of time, Ayirebi’s house was assimilated into the Effutu society and some of the slaves were married into the royal family. In his tenure of office, he carved a stool but never consecrated it. It could be seen that he wanted to create a sub-stool. As a result of his braveness, he was recognized by King of England with one puncheon rum, one sword and one silver medal bearing the inscription King George III of Great Britain in 1814, but died in 1816.

With a third royal lineage in existence, Prince Gyansah who was the third son of Bortse Komfo Amu, ascended the throne as King Gyansah Bondzie Quaye. The obvious reason is that Ayirebi never produced an heir. Prince Gyansah’s ascension proved that any affluent and influential male

descendent of any previous king can mount the throne. The practice of sibling rivalry was therefore injected into the succession race. He reigned from 1815 to 1816. His destoolment was on the grounds that he was not handsome enough to be a chief. He was therefore the first king to be deposed. Humiliated, the deposed king and his family left the town to stay in their house built at Kokobim and named the settlement na muso muwo (let me rest my soul). It is now corrupted to wonso mu. He was a strong king who commanded respect from the Asafo.

He was then succeeded by his younger and a “handsome” cousin Gyateh Kuma as Ghartey III who reigned from 1816 to 1820. Every king was to be a commander-in-chief of the Asafo groups and therefore a warrior. But it appeared that the young chief was ill-prepared for the role. Perhaps, he mounted the throne amidst controversy. One day the two Asafo groups were locked in a fierce battle at the beach. According to Bortsie(2006),the fighting became deadly and all attempts to stop it failed. The person who had the authority to stop the fight was the king but surprisingly the intervention of the incumbent king intensified the fight. If the Asafo would not give the king his due respect and stop fighting, who then would they honour? He raised his royal whip several times but to no avail. This was a disgrace and an affront to the king, and unprecedented phenomenon. The king therefore slipped out of sight. As the elders of the town would not take no for an answer, they went to Kokobim and pleaded with the earlier deposed king to come and save his people. Indeed, he was strong and imposing. On his arrival, he chose a panoramic point and raised his whip. No sooner had he raised his whip, than they stopped fighting.

The former king's success and incumbent king's failure embarrassed the royal family who were faced with difficulty as to what to do. Obviously the people made their choice. They came with a resolution that the king should step down for the former king on condition that upon the demise of Gyansah Bondze Quaye, he would again be made the king. The resolution was respected to the extent that both kings ascended the throne twice. King Gyansah Bondze Quaye and King Gyateh Kuma again ruled from 1820 to 1828 and from 1828 to 1857 respectively. (Taylor, 2009).

The successor of Gyateh Kumah should have been Kwamena Akyeampong who was a merchant. Though he later became a great king, his earlier refusal to ascend the throne led to the choice of king Kwesi Eguasi (Henry Acquah I), who was the son of Ayensua, the sister of Ayirebi Gyateh. It is said that Ayensua was supposed to have ascended the throne but a female is not allowed to ascend the throne and after wrangling and shuttle diplomacy, her son was allowed to ascend the throne as a care taker.

He reigned from 1858 to 1872. His father was called Congo Acquah, who hailed from Egyaa, a village near Anomabo and lived in Winneba as a merchant. King Acquah I became the first chief to be chosen from the maternal line and since his father was not from Winneba, he did not belong to any of the Asafo companies.

He endeared himself to the elders of Winneba by showering gifts on them, especially silk cloths, which they turned to lion-cloths (danta) – valued items in those days (Taylor, 2009). He was popular from the onset of his reign but lost the popularity in the later years because of his escapades during the war at Bobikuma in 1863. At the time he was expected to be at the war front,



he was found in the bosom of a queen of Bobikuma but came back to punish his militiamen severely. As a result, “he lost the support of the militiamen and became a beleaguered king who was shut up in his palace Egyaa, like a caged bird” (Bortsie, 2006, p. 14).

One significant thing in his administration was the palace he put up with the help of the Asafo groups. The palace was called Egyaa in honour of his father who comes from that village. Another significant event of his time was the Deer Hunting Festival in 1868 when some disturbances broke out leading to the death of many people. This influenced the Native Administrator, H. T. Ussher, to describe the festival as “the silly custom” of deer catching of the Effutu people. This led to a breach of peace, although forbidden. Not belonging to any of the Asafo groups, Acquah I created sub-stools to help him reign. These are the Annobil stool, Kofi Tekyi stool and Kobena Gyan Stool. The first substool, the Kobena Gyan stool which is popularly known as the Gyankuma stool was created in 1826 (Taylor, 2009).

King Acquah I died in 1872 and was succeeded by King Kwamena Akyeampong who became King Ghartey IV. At his installation, Governor Sir John Hope Hennesey graced the occasion with his presence because he had already received fame. He became the first President of the Fantse Confederation in 1868 and was a great merchant who constructed a great well at Anomabo in the Central Region of Ghana. As a merchant, he endeared himself even to the colonialists of those times. He introduced the wearing of “kaba-skirt” (kabasroto) in the then Gold Coast. It was in his administration that the first ship, “SS Ethiopie” was anchored in Winneba and made the first export of timber and palm kernels. He drew a road map from Cape Coast to

Kumasi, which helped the British to prosecute the battles of 1873 – 1874 and enabled them to enter Kumasi in 1895 – 1896. The title of his book was “Guide for Strangers Travelling to Coomassie, the Captial City of Ashantee”. King Gharthey IV was a politician, a statesman, author, entrepreneur, innovator, philanthropist and a linguist (Bortsie, 2006, Taylor, 2009).

It would be recalled that till the time of King Henry Acquah (Kwesi Eugase), kings had been chosen from the patrilineal lineage of the Otuano Royal House. Therefore, his ascension to the throne was a breach and departure from the norm which has created so many problems in Effutu chieftaincy affairs till date. Today, a singular mistake of the Kingmakers in 1858 is hanging around the neck of Effutu chieftaincy like an albatross, indeed a mile stone. King Gharthey IV died on 30 July 1897 and was succeeded by King Kodwo Abeka (George Acquah Robertson) who became Acquah II. This was preceded by disputes and protestations from the Gharthey family and other sub-chiefts notably Chief Annobil but the powers that be at that time, including Nana Kwodwo Nkum and the governor, swayed to the side of the maternal family. This led to the ascension of the throne by George Acquah Robertson who was the son of Adwowa Obima, the sister of Henry Acquah I and the grandson of Ayensua, the sister of King Ayirebi Gyateh. (Bortsie, 2006).

George Acquah Robertson’s rule was not eventful and he was destooled in 1907. He however returned to the stool in 1914 after an interregnum of seven years. He died in 1916 when the World War I was raging. After the war in 1918, another nephew, Kow Imbir Sackey (Albert Mould Sackey) whose father, Kojo Osei was from Adansi Fomena, reared his

head to claim the stool. According to oral historical accounts, the father was a slave bought by the Sackeys at James Town, Accra, who was brought to Winneba for fishing and later married Madam Essoun, the daughter of Akosua Kwaaba, who was also the daughter of Fosua, the wife Ayirebi Gyateh. In those days, a slave could not name his children after himself and therefore had to name his son after his master – Sackey. In short, both parents of Kow Sackey were aliens. Meanwhile, Prince Robert Johnson Ghartey was also contending for the stool.

With the confusion that followed the confinement of Kow Sackey, prior to his installation as an Effutu king, the government stepped in to maintain the peace and set up a committee to arbitrate on the matter between Acquah (Sackey's) family, who were advocating alternation of the kingship and the Ghartheys of Otuano Royal family. The committee was composed of the Kings of Legu, Nyakrom, Senya Bereku, Awutu, Gomoa Adjumako and Buduatta with Rev. J. O. Hammond as the secretary. The arbitration came to a conclusion as Crowther and Furley said that there is only one ancient stool in Winneba, which is the one at the Otuano Royal House (Bortsie, 2006). In the arbitrators report, Governor A.R. Slater, the Secretary for the Native Affairs in May 1919 gave the Acquah family some conditions that if fulfilled, Kow Imbir Sackey would be installed. He wrote;

I do not consider that it is sufficiently strong at present to justify recognition by Government of a permanent adoption of succession in the female line. I think Sackey's nomination can only be recognized on the following conditions:

- a. That his election will be without prejudice to consideration of the claim of the Gharthey Family in future when the occasion requires and when another vacancy occurs;
- b. That the abandonment of the system of alternation on this occasions is not therefore to be taken as permanent one or necessarily as a precedent; and
- c. That similarly as his predecessors in the same line were, Sackey's nomination ceremonies must include that of formal installation on the ancient stool at Otuano, that of Bondzie Abe by the priests.

If these conditions are accepted by Sackey and his supporters, I am prepared to recommend that his installation may be allowed to proceed, due precaution being taken for the preservation of peace. If not accepted the stool will have to remain vacant until agreement for permanent settlement of the line of succession can be arrived at (p.214).

Anxious to resolve the impasse, the Acquah family quickly accepted the Secretary's conditions on 22 May, 1919 and signed by Sackey and his supporters, including his mother Elizabeth Sackey (Madam Essoun). He replied;

In compliance with decision delivered by His Honour the Commissioner Central Province yesterday relative to the Enquiry held by His Honour J.T. Furley, the Secretary of Native Affairs on the Winneba stool dispute and his recommendations with supplementary conditions read to us, we the undersigned; Sackey and all his supporters, most respectfully submit to the conditions above-mentioned and wish to carry on the usual mode of election in accordance with the Native Custom today.

“We have the honour to be, Sir, Your obedient servants” (Taylor, 2009).

With the above acceptance, some members of the Otuano Royal Family remained adamant to Sackey’s installation, until sanity finally prevailed upon by the colonial government to install him as an Effutu king. Sackey was therefore installed at Otuano – on the same stool as his predecessors with the stool name King Ayirebi Acquah III. He took the first name of the eighth king, Ayirebi Gyateh and the last name of King Henry Acquah I (Kwesi Eguase, the first nephew king of Effutu) and merged them. In other words, he took the two names to get resemblance of both patrilineal and matrilineal lineage. He reigned from 1919 to 1941. In 1946, King Ayirebi Acquah III was described as wicked king who traumatized the Effutus during his reign. If there is any single Effutu king who is remembered in infamy, it is Acquah III (Ephirim- Donkor, 2000, cited in Taylor, 2009). He went further to state that;

He turned the palace into a blood bath as elders who were invited there were killed in secret rooms. People simply disappeared in the middle of the night without trace. To be invited by the king meant one of two things: never to return or become his puppet. The terror associated with the disappearances prompted many of the Otuano Royal Family and their supporters to flee town. For example, his tyrannical rule was so much that a group of people flee one of the villages in the late 1930s and found a new settlement in the Agona

Kingdom called Fawomanyah (take your state and rule). (p. 97).

King Acquah III required newly married brides to spend two weeks with him before going to their husbands. Husbands who disobeyed were killed or terrorized until they left the town. According to Bortsie (2006), some husbands had heart attacks and died as a result of his practice. It is contended that when he saw anyone with a more expensive or beautiful cloth, he ordered it seized. He also tried to change the Effutu political system when he published in the Gold Coast Gazette No. 22 of 1931, an electors list of kingmakers that included the Ohenmaa, Gyaasehene, Mbabanyin and Apamhene or the Oman mpanyin. Matters came to head when he had some misunderstandings and fought with the asafo groups, especially the Dentsefo No. 2 who were his support base and started imprisoning their Asafohenfo. The last to be arrested and imprisoned was one Papa Akotey.

The attempted march by the Asafo groups to the palace to release the imprisoned Asafohenfo on 20<sup>th</sup> August, 1941, resulted in the gunning down of seven people with many sustaining gunshot wounds. Out of fifty Asafo men who were arrested, twenty six had four year jailed sentences whereas the rest had one to two years. The man who did the shooting is one Doherty, a Sierra Leonean who had naturalized in Gold Coast and was a security man for Acquah III. The king was later smuggled out of town under a load of cocoa sacks. The then government of Gold Coast set up a commission to enquire into the incident (Taylor, 2009).

Meanwhile the Dentsefo No.2 Asafo group declared him destooled in 1941 but was not accepted by the government until 1946 when proper

destoolment rites were performed by the Otvano Royal House. It was contended by the government that those who have the power to enstool are the only ones who can destool and not just anybody. In this case it was the Otvano Royal House. After the destoolment in 1946, Acquah III lived in Accra till his death. The kingship then reverted to its original owners, that is patrilineal home at Otvano, with the installment of King Kwamena Gyateh Kuma, a Methodist Minister as King Gharthey V from 1946 to 1977. It should be noted that Kwamena Gyateh Kuma accepted his entoolment reluctantly. Throughout his reign he had problems with the fetish priests, the Dentsefo asafo company and the family of the deposed Acquah III who wanted to depose him for his persistent refusal to enter the fetish shrine.(Bortsie, 2006, p. 22).

Unfortunately , King Kwamena Gyateh Kuma (King Gharthey V) died in 1977, after which the Otvano Royal House enstooled King Bondzie Abe III known in private life as Colonel Robert Johnson Gharthey-Dontoh. Though his enstoolment was accepted by the Central Region House of Chiefs, there were many disturbances. The Dentsefo No.2 Asafo also enstooled one Reindolf Kojo Ansah as Nana Ayirebi-Acquah IV. The Supreme Military Council (SMC) regime in very bizarre circumstances, endorsed the reign of Ayirebi-Acquah IV in the Local Bulletin No.48 dated 16 December, 1977 as having been recognized by the government on 17 September, 1977 as the Omanhene of the Effutu Traditional Area (Bortsie, 2006, p. 24). An Accra High Court presided over by Justice Agyepong on 30 June 1978 quashed this gazette notice and withdrew Ansah's installation. The Supreme Court on 27 April 1982 and its review on 07 June, 1982 upheld this ruling. In a characteristic

nature, the matter moved from the law courts into the offices of government and on 22 March, 1985 the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) Laws 105 and 107 were promulgated to supplant all the court rulings, including the highest court of the land (Taylor, 2009).

### **The Aboakyer Festival of the Effutus**

This famous Aboakyer festival of the Effutus has a long history. Indeed, the socio-religious, political, historical and economic life of the Effutu revolved around their Annual Aboakyer Festival. A springtime festival, the Aboakyer, was held originally towards the end of April (the beginning of the Effutu calendar year) to coincide with planting and sowing. The festival has always been held on Saturday, the only day that the pantheons of deities are fed, with aim of placating them for a prosperous economic forecast and the beginning of ancestral-human relationship (Ephirim-Donkor, 2009, Bortsie, 2006). The week long celebration of the festival comes to a climax on the first Saturday of May, every year.

The legend recounting of the Effutus suggests that in all their migrations they were led by their great god, Otu. When they finally settled on the soil of Winneba, the Effutus made the first human sacrifice to Otu. Their deity Otu had the name Penkye Otu after their settlement. That is the merging of the name of the god and name of their first settlement in the present Winneba. Originally the Aboakyer festival entailed human sacrifices. It was later found out that the royal family who were being sacrificed were depleting. The festival then saw the exodus of members of the royal family from Winneba. The sense of insecurity among the members of the royal family as



well as the possibility of even exterminating the whole royal family became a great concern among the Effutus. It would appear from the genesis that the festival was purely a family affair.(Bortsie, 2006).

The danger of extermination of the royals caused the elders to consult Penkye Otu of the possibility of finding an alternative to the human sacrifices. The consultation was done by Opanyin Kwesi Nyina, the one who has the power to invoke the god and interpret the language of the god, Penkye Otu. The consultation led to Penkye Otu's acceptance for a live leopard or lion caught with bare hands in substitution of the human sacrifices. It is said that before one live leopard could be hunted, the leopards rather "hunted" the people. Lucky militias out of the lot return home alive and empty handed. What made the hunt more dangerous was that the leopard had to be brought home alive. (Taylor, 2009).

The elders then consulted the deity again and after several rites, Penkye Otu accepted an alternate animal, the Deer (Wansan). The blood and the meat of the deer are akin to that of human being. Hence the present form of the festival. It could be recalled that to sustain the enthusiasm of the deer hunting, a second Asafo was formed by Bondize Essiedu, the Effutus' 4<sup>th</sup> king. This led to competition among the two Asafo groups in their attempt to catch a live deer for the festival.

Traditionally, the festival starts with the beating of the gong-gong to call the attention of the inhabitants to the impending celebration and place a ban on hunting in and around the hunting grounds. The Akyeamponano people, a paternal house which have the right to purify the gods, begin the incantations and prepare the grove afresh. The two Asafo groups begin to

propitiate their gods in the night and to solicit their help for victory in the impending deer catching exercise. They also begin to sew their costumes for the occasion (Bortsie, 2006).

Youngsters also begin to converge at the beach to learn songs and formulate new ones. A day before the eve of the festival, the groups present their colours to the Omanhene and his elders at the palace for acceptance. On the eve of the festival, the Asafo groups parade with their gods and fetishes through the principal streets of Winneba. This begins at twelve (12) noon at the respective shrines with invocations. As the incantation gather momentum, the carriers are possessed and rushed out onto the streets and followed by the group amidst singing of Asafo songs. The essence of parading the gods is to remove all bad spirits and spells cast on the group by their rival.(Ephirim – Donkor, 2009, Bortsie, 2006).

After the parading by the Tuafo, the Dentsefo No.2 group also comes out with their fetish called “asekamba”. The fetish is a small pillow attached with strings, receptable to the ear which enables the carrier to hear from the spiritual world and narrate to his followers to act. The carrier also holds a sword in the right hand. The possessed carrier is directed by the god and runs like a hare without getting tired. After spiritually up-rooting all evil spells and negative spirits planted by their rivals, they return safely to their abodes. The groups then keep vigil throughout the night. The Winneba township is then filled with merry-making, excitement and anxious expectation as to which of the groups will arrive first with a live catch. In the early hours of Saturday, the festival day, members of the two Asafo groups bath in the sea to cleanse themselves and put on their Asafo knickers orshorts. With clubs, bangles,

gong-gongs and drums, the groups converge at their bases. There, the priest with prepared concoctions in wooden bowls sprinkles the water on the members who later go to see the Omanhene before their departure to the hunting grounds. From the Omanhene's palace where libation is poured, the Omanhene and his sub-chiefs wish the groups a successful catch. The Tuafo group depart thirty minutes earlier before the Dentsefo group because they go farther than the Dentsefo.

Just around seven hours in the morning, the Omanhene, his sub-chiefs and some dignitaries parade through the principal streets to the durbar grounds where they wait for the hunting groups. The tension now begins with uncertainties. The whole atmosphere is charged and the people at the durbar grounds surge forward at the least sign of Asafo movement from the direction of the hunting grounds. False alarms are often raised of a catch to confuse the people.(Taylor, 2009).

The durbar ground is thrown into pandemonium when visible signs are seen of a catch. The group which makes the first catch rushes home with Asafo songs, to present it to the Omanhene. The jubilant and victorious group sings Asafo songs, ridicules the other group and taunts them. There is exciting display of the manliness, health and agility, somersaulting, and acrobatic displays. At this time it becomes nearly impossible to control the jubilant young men with their catch and surging of the on-lookers to catch a glimpse of the deer. The live deer is then presented to the Omanhene who signals his approval by stepping on it three times to ensure that the deer is alive and declares the group winners in the competition. The Omanhene and all people at the durbar grounds wait for the vanquished group to arrive before they

depart to the house. At the durbar grounds, the Omanhene, the Municipal Chief Executive and other government functionaries give speeches. The Omanhene uses the occasion to request what the paramountcy needs from the government and the dignitaries also reveal what the government has for people. (Bortsie, 2006).

The live deer is carried shoulder-high and presented to the chief priests, who binds and prepares it for sacrifice the following day (Sunday) at the abosomba. In the afternoon of the festival day (Saturday), the Omanhene and his retinue, Asafo groups, with the victorious Asafo group in front and the sub-chiefs parade through the principal streets to the King's palace. The Omanhene or the king is carried in a palanquin throughout the procession. During the procession, the Tuafo No.1 and the Dentsefo No.2 Asafo groups do their famous Akosua dontoba and Owombir dances respectively. One of the Tuafo leaders sits on a wooden horse whereas that of the Dentsefo sits in a wooden boat throughout the procession to the palace. (Bortsie, 2006)

In the evening, the tied deer is then removed from abosomba by the chief priest. The priests, after performing the necessary rituals, take the tied deer in a procession through a special route. The carriers are led by one abrafo with a sword in hand, who draws it on the ground as if to clear the way for the procession. The route is through Sakagyaano, Eyipey, Hante hante (Akyeamponano) to the fetish groove (Tsetseguado) shouting wonnhyia o! (i.e. it is not accosted) with a gong-gong beater in front. At Akyeamponano, it makes a momentary stop and salutes the god before it continues. The animal is laid at the groove till the following day, Sunday. (Taylor, 2009).

At mid-day of the Sunday, exactly when the sun reaches its zenith and no item virtually casts a shadow, the priest of Otuano and their assistants file into the arena carrying the god. The female Osow (priestess) of Kweimu who counts the weeks of the year arrives with twelve pieces of sponge to the grove. About an hour later the Akyeampomma arrives at the arena (tsetseguado) followed by a gong-gong beater and a man carrying a bowl. According to Taylor (2009), the priest has in his right hand, a knife smeared with a red ochre. At the arena, the Omanhene, sub-chiefs, Asafo and others take their respective seats while the deer is slaughtered for its blood to be used for the rituals to Penkye Otu. Part of the skinned animal is cooked; and while it is on the fire the Obodewur priest picks 77 pieces of the meat with bare hands. Each piece is given to one of the 77 gods of Winneba through sprinkling at some vantage points. The rest of the meat is then carried to Obodewur pramma. The carriers neither have to look back nor put the hot pot down to rest. The people at the pramma eat the rest of the cooked meat. The uncooked meat is later shared to important traditional figures and heads of some prominent houses in the Effutu Traditional Area.

It then comes to Ebisatsir, the most important aspect of the festival. This is done after the gods have been fed, where prayers are said to Penkye Otu, to ask for a good and bounteous year. To reveal what the god has for the people in the ensuing year, the oracle is consulted (Ephirim-Donkor 2009, Bortsie, 2006). The process is that three wooden pegs are fixed together in front of the grove. A small pad of soft palm sap is placed on top of the pegs. Around this are drawn straight lines of red ochre, charcoal, white clay, salt and millet. The lodestone (tobo) which is the deity consulted is gently placed on

top of the three pegs by the chief priest of Otvano. The priest says a prayer by starting with: “Neenyi your children have made to you their annual sacrifice. If you are happy with the offering we have made to you, give us a gift, we are hungry”. The priest then goes round the god three times, beating a gong-gong. If the god is happy with offering, the tobo rolls off with the pad palm attached (Bortsie, 2006).

The place it falls indicates what the year has in store for the people. If the tobo rolls off without the pad, it means that the sacrifices have been in vain. When the iron ball falls on the red ochre it signifies bloody conflict and disaster. The white clay indicates heat and drought, the charcoal indicates rainfall, salt indicates peace and prosperity whereas the millet indicates a bumper harvest. This aspect of the festival is nowadays not carried out due to “continued strife between the patrilineal Otvano Royal Family, which owned the objects of manifestation, on one hand, and the matrilineal Acquah faction on the other” (Ephirim-Donkor, 2009).

It was however earmarked that when the Tuafo No.1 do the first catch it brings bumper harvest both in the sea and on the land but a first catch by the Dentsefo No.2 results in conflicts, rancor and general famine. Perhaps the whole issue has some spiritual implications (Bortsie, 2006).

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter describes the methods employed in collecting empirical data for the study and the method of analysis. The various issues considered under this chapter are the profile of study area, research design, the study population, data sources, sampling procedures, instruments of data collection, data collection as well as data processing and analysis.

#### **Profile of Study Area**

##### *Location and Size*

Winneba is traditionally known as ‘Simpa’ which was derived from the name of the leader of the Effutus ‘Osimpam’ who led the Effutus of the Guan ethnic stock from the Northern part of Ghana to the present location. The name Winneba originated from European Sailors who were often aided by favourable wind to sail along the bay. From the constant use of the words ‘windy bay’, the name Winneba was coined.

The town was one of the first communities in the country to come in contact with European traders. It served as a port where foreign goods were discharged and transported to the interior and major commercial areas such as Agona Swedru and Akim Oda. Due to its role as harbor town and a place of early European settlers, it became the administrative capital of the then Central Province of the Gold Coast. The Cocoa boom in the forest areas led to the

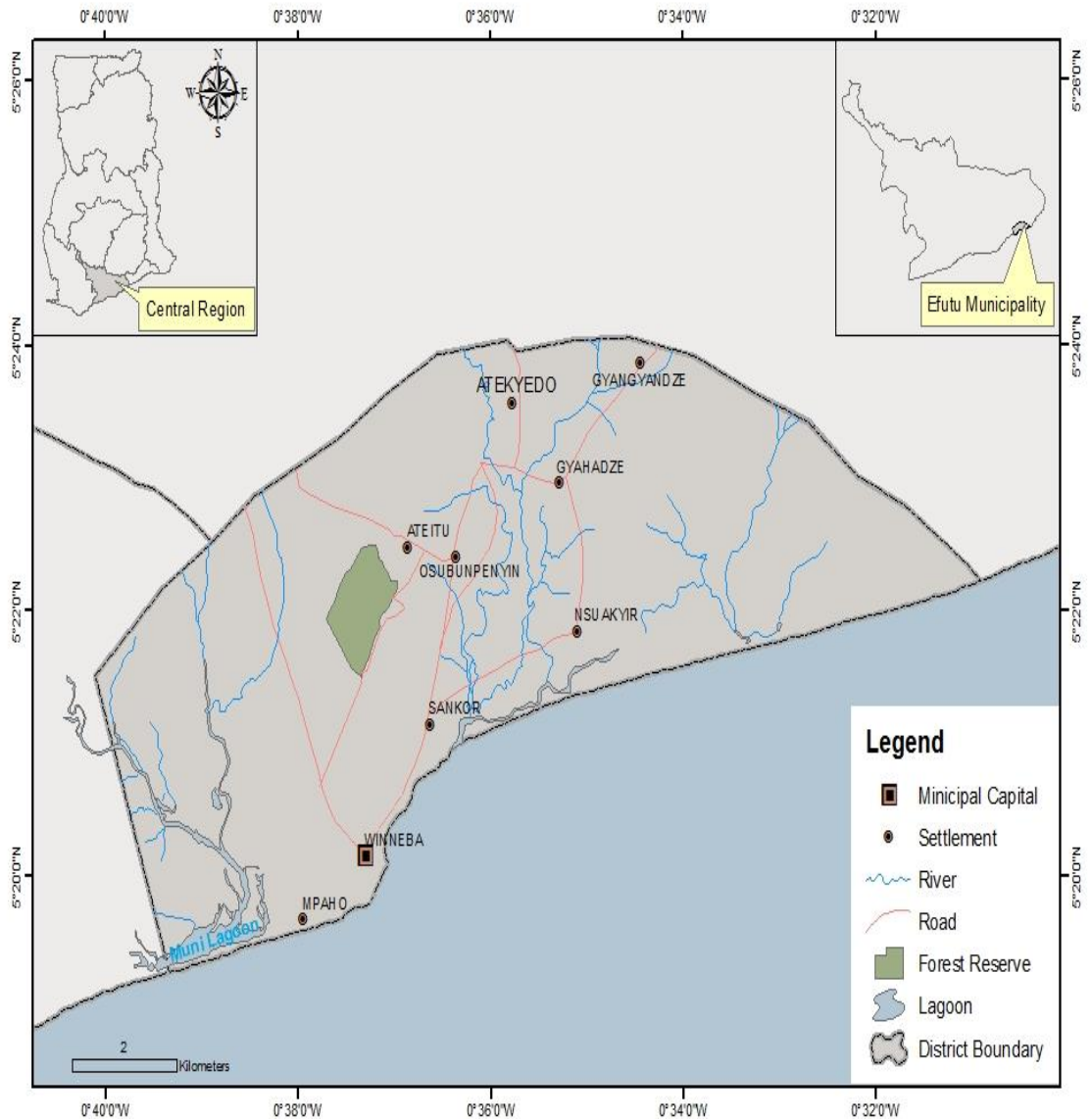
relocation of major trading companies in the 1940s to Agona Swedru and this started affecting the growth of the town. The township suffered even greater loss when the Tema Harbour was completed; the port activities at Winneba were thus shut down and relocated to Tema. With that, most of the commercial activities also shifted from Winneba to Tema and Accra (Ephirim-Donkoh, 2000).

### *Study Area*

Administratively, the Municipal Assembly which was established in 2007 has one Constituency, 17 electoral areas, 26 Unit Committees, 43 Polling stations and until the creation of the Municipal Assembly, it had one Urban Council. Winneba is also a town renowned for several specialized major institutions of learning. These include the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological College, Specialist Teacher Training and School of Music. These have been put together to form the University of Education, Winneba (UEW). There is also the National Sports College, Nurses Training College and the Police Training School.

The Effutu Municipal Assembly is one of the 216 districts in Ghana and one of the 20 districts in the Central Region. It was carved from the then Awutu-Effutu-Senya-District Assembly and it covers a total land area of about 64 square kilometers. It is about 60km or 40 minutes drive from Accra, the capital of the Republic of Ghana. The Municipality is sandwiched by Gomoa East District Assembly at the northern and the eastern part and Gomoa West on its western flanks. The southern flank is the Gulf of Guinea (Figure 2).





**Figure 3: Effutu Municipality in Regional and National Context**

Source: Carthographic Unit (2012), Department of Geography and Regional Planning, University of Cape Coast.

### *Drainage and Geology*

The Municipality is basically a low lying area with protruding granite rocks and isolated hills around Winneba. The Egyesi Manko Hill near Mankwadze is the most prominent hill and serves as hunting grounds for the deer during Aboakyer (Deer Hunting) festival. Two major rivers Ayensu and

Gyaha drain the Municipality and enter the sea at Warabeba and Opram respectively.

### *Climate*

The Omanyi and Ntakufam streams also traverse the lowland plains stretching from North-eastern part near the round-about and enter the sea at the Muni lagoon. This causes extensive flooding during the raining season. Some other streams of importance include Onyina stream at Ensuekyir and Bonbir stream at New Winneba. The Municipality lies within the dry-equatorial climatic zone characterized by low rainfall and long dry season of five months. The annual rainfall ranges from 400 millimeters to 500 millimeters. Mean temperature ranges from 22 degrees Celsius to 28 degrees Celsius.

### *Vegetation*

The vegetation is that of the coastal savannah grassland which is suitable for vegetable cultivation or dry season irrigation farming. The soils in the Municipality are largely clay with high salinity hence its suitability for salt production and pottery/roofing tiles production. The water bodies that drain through the Municipality have the potentials to be exploited when dammed for extensive vegetable cultivation during the dry season and aqua-culture. These when exploited would provide employment opportunities for the people in the area and has the potential to reduce poverty in the settler communities along the river. The Muni Lagoon is part of the Muni-Pomadze Ramsar Site with high potential for tourist attraction if exploited.

Based on these unique physical characteristics of the Municipality, the ideal spatial development options are the combination of intensive irrigation and fishing with encouragement in eco-tourism, technology parks and education.

### *Population Size*

In 2000, the Municipality had a population of 46,574 made up of 21,346 males and 25,508 females representing 45.83 percent and 54.77 percent for males and females respectively; that gives a sex ratio of 4 male to 5. In 1970 and 1984 the population of the Municipality was 28,299 and 32,523 respectively. The urban population in the Municipality constitutes 83.6 percent with 16.4 percent residing in rural communities. The average house hold size of the Municipality is 4.1 in the urban settlement and 5 in the rural communities. From 1984 to 2000 the growth rate for the Municipality was 2.2 percent. Winneba with a population of 40,017 is the only urban settlement. Other big settlements in the Municipality are Sankor, Gyangyendze, Gyahadze, Nsuekyir, Ateitu, Osubonpayin and Warabeba (Ghana Statistical Service, 2005).

### *Ethnicity and Culture*

The Municipality is mainly inhabited by the Effutus who are among the Guan speaking group of the country. Minority groups in the area include the Ewes, the Gomoas and the Fantes. The Municipality has one paramount seat located at Winneba. Christianity is the dominant religion in the Municipality. Other faiths include the Muslims and Africa Traditional Region.

The Effutu Traditional Council has 77 shrines and groves, with the most popular shrine being Penkye-Otu which is located at Penkye. It is known that it served as a pathfinder for the indigenous people when they migrated from the northern part of Ghana to the present day location. The famous Aboakyer Festival derived its existence from the annual sacrifices made to Penkye-Otu. Human sacrifices were initially offered to it every year. But with time, the people detested the practice and petitioned to it to substitute animals for human beings.

Following the acceptance of the petition, an antelope was suggested as an alternative and it must be presented alive. The search for the antelope every year culminated in the Aboakyer Festival. Penkye-Otu is, thus, the might god behind the festival. The festival gives the people the opportunity to reaffirm their commitment and allegiance to their god and King. It is also the greatest source of attraction to tourists.

#### *Educational Facilities*

The Municipality is grouped under three (circuits) for the purposes of education management. The Municipality has 30 private Nurseries/Creche, 42 KGs made up of 17 public and 25 private. There are 42 primary schools made up of 19 public and 23 private and 26 junior high schools consisting of 16 public and 10 private. The Winneba Senior High School is the only public second cycle institution and there are six private senior high schools in the Municipality. Other Specialized Institutions include, Hearing Impaired and Mentally Challenged Schools located at University Practice School at South Campus and Donbosco respectively. Ebenezer Methodist Rafiki Satellite Village is the only Orphanage in the Municipality located at Gyahadze.

### *Health Facilities*

There are eleven public and private health facilities in the Effutu Municipality. There are four hospitals; one Government Hospital and three private hospitals (Otoo Memorial Hospital, Klimvic Hospital and Baptist Hospital) all located within Winneba. There is one public clinic and one maternity home, two health centres and two Community Health Planning Services (CHPS) compounds. The community Health Nurses Training School runs a two-year certificate and 3-year diploma programmes to train community health nurses who provide preventive health services to mostly rural communities in Ghana. The Municipality is provided with reliable and continuous supply of electricity from Volta River Authority and Electricity Company of Ghana sub-station at Ansaful near Winneba Junction. There is approximately 100 kilometers of road network in the Municipality but only about 30 percent have been tarred; the remaining 70 percent are untarred with some portions in a terrible state.

### *Economic Activities*

Winneba has three main markets namely Central Market located at Donkoyem, Old market at Nkwantanan and Fish Market at Yepemso. There are two major market days; Tuesdays and Fridays at the Central Market. Besides these major marketing days, all the markets operate on daily basis. Mainly food stuff, vegetables, fruits and second hand clothing come from outside and fish is the main export commodity from the Municipality. Trading also takes place in kiosks, stores and on tables spread across the township.

There are six banks that provide financial services for commercial activities in the Municipality. There are also three credit unions and some private “susu” collectors and traditional money lenders supporting the local economy. Other non-banking institutions in the Municipality include Sabadan, Novino and Ray-Ray hire purchase companies. Insurance companies operating in the Municipality include State Insurance Company and Donwell Insurance Company Limited.

### **Research Design**

The study employed a descriptive survey design to ascertain the role of the Asafo groups in the Effutu chieftaincy conflict. Descriptive survey is concerned with the relationship that prevails, beliefs, points of view held, on-going processes, effects that are being felt and trends that are developing (Cohen & Manion, 1994; Creswell, 2000). It usually emphasizes words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Qualitative research strategies were adopted because the study sought to describe events which have occurred and which cannot be reduced to numbers, but can only be presented in words. As stressed by Walliman (2006), the description of an observed situation, the historical enumeration of events, an account of the different opinions people have about an issue, functions of organizations, and the description of the living conditions of a community are useful and cannot be reduced to numbers, and need to be described in words and hence the use of qualitative research.

According to Koul (2003), research design describes a number of decisions that need to be taken concerning the collection of data. The design, therefore, constitutes a frame for the collection, measurement and analysis of

data. Fink (2001) describes research design as all the stages and processes involved in reaching the respondents. Descriptive survey is about describing, observing and documenting aspects of a situation naturally. This design helps to produce a good amount of responses from a wide range of people. A descriptive survey design involves asking a number of individuals the same set of questions either by mail, telephone or in person. Creswell (2000) and Koul (2003) point out the merits of the descriptive survey. They assert that it provides a more accurate picture of events and seeks to explain people's perception and behavior on the basis of data gathered at a point in time. Creswell (2000) cites other advantages of the descriptive survey to include the economy of the design and rapid turnaround in data collection.

Payne and Payne (2005), on the contrary, maintain that in using the descriptive survey, there is the difficulty of ensuring that the questions to be answered are clear and not misleading. This stems from the fact that survey results can vary significantly. It may also produce results that cannot be relied upon because they delve into private matters, hence, many people may not be completely truthful. Fraenkel and Warren (2000), point out that getting a sufficient number of questions to be completed and returned so that meaningful analysis could be made is another snag of the descriptive design. To overcome these difficulties, the results of the pilot study were used to reframe the confusing questions. Research assistants were also used to help explain difficult questions.

This design was considered appropriate for conducting the study because they touch on the history of the chieftaincy institution of the Effutu State and the Asafo groups and their involvement in the conflict.

## **Study Population**

The study targeted the chiefs and people of Winneba in the Effutu Traditional Area with an estimated population of 40,017(Ghana Statistical Service, 2005). Fink (2001) refers to population as any collection of specified group of humans or non-human entities. According to Fink (2001), the criterion for the inclusion of a unit into a survey is based on the characteristics of respondents who are eligible for participation in the survey. According to Kwabia (2006, p.69), “social research is an investigation into the actions of people in society.” To him, these social actors constitute what we call population. When the boundaries of a population are not clearly defined, we may refer to a “universe”.

## **Data and Sources**

Data for the research was gathered from both primary and secondary sources. The major source of primary data was the respondents using the interview guide as well as focus group discussions guide. Secondary data was obtained from books, newspapers, articles, written reports and other relevant materials. The focus group discussion guide was used to collect data from the Asafo groups involved in the dispute. The interview guide was administered to the Chiefs from both gates, their sub-chiefs and the Municipal Coordinating Director.

## **Sampling Procedure**

The research employed non-probability sampling techniques in selecting the respondents. This implies the use of non-random means of



selecting respondents. A sample size of 25 respondents was drawn from the population using the purposive sampling method. In purposive sampling, the units of the sample are selected not by random procedure, but they are intentionally picked for study because of their social characteristics (Kumekpor, 2002). The adoption of the technique was based on the fact that the study sought to describe a phenomenon. Kumar (1999) notes that the primary consideration in purposive sampling is the judgement of the researcher as to who can provide the best information to achieve the objectives of the study and if the interest of the researcher is to construct a historical reality, describe a phenomenon or develop something about which only little is known. The sample units were drawn from the Royal Gates of the Effutu State, Asafo Companies, and the Municipal Coordinating Director (MCD) as key informant. A sample size of 25 was used because the research is qualitative and therefore does not lend itself to the strict rules of quantitative studies. Again, the findings are not meant to make generalizations to the entire population.

**Table 1: Distribution of Respondents by Groups**

Interviewed Group	Number of Respondents
Royal Gates (both factions)	2
Sub-chiefs (both factions)	2
Asafo Groups (Tuafo & Dentsefo)	20
Key informant(MCD)	1
Total	25

Source: Field Survey (2011)

## **Data Collection Instruments**

For the purpose of this study, interview guide and focus group discussion guidewere used as the major instruments for the data collection. The use of the interview guide helped gain a thorough appreciation of the problem. Respondents also had the opportunity to sufficiently express themselves and address the issues. The technique also gave the respondents the chance to understand the questions very well and provide appropriate responses. The focus group discussion guide allowed the researcher to take account of several viewpoints at a time, and observed the outcomes of open and dynamic discussion among focus group members.

## **Pre-Testing of Instruments**

The instruments were pre-tested before the actual data collection was done. The pre-testing was carried out in Cape Coast on a population similar to the population of the Effutu Traditional Area. Borg and Gall (1983) noted that an instrument should be field-tested with a population similar to that from which the sample will be taken. The Cape Coast Traditional Area has gone through a series of chieftaincy disputes which have impacted negatively on the lives of its people. There are seven Asafo companies in the Cape Coast traditional area and they are integral part of the traditional system. Both Winneba and Cape Coast are coastal communities bordered by the Atlantic Ocean to the South. They have tertiary institutions, are in the same region and have fishing as the major economic activity of their citizens.

The purpose of the pre-testing was to evaluate the items on the instruments for anomalies, confusions, check the effectiveness of the instruments and to ensure the validity and reliability of the instrument. The

pre-test also gave the researcher an opportunity to have insight into the issues that were to be investigated. Inaccuracies identified on the instruments during pre-testing served as bench marks for correcting and refining the instruments before the actual data collection.

### **Fieldwork/Data Collection**

Due to the extensive nature of the work, it was necessary to recruit field assistants to help with the field survey. Three field assistants were recruited and trained in the administration of the interview schedule. During the training, the interview schedule was thoroughly discussed. The aim of the study was also explained to the assistants in order to ensure that information gathered had the same interpretation.

The research assistants were selected on the basis of their educational background and their ability to adequately explain the questions to the respondents in their language when necessary. Also considered was their experience with some social survey. The assistants engaged were university graduates who were on national service assignments in the Effutu Municipality and could speak the Effutu language quite well.

Four weeks was used for the data collection exercise. The first week served as a preliminary week for the researcher and his assistants to familiarize themselves with the setting. The period was also used to make arrangements in terms of date, time and venue for the actual data collection exercise. Again, the first week was used to gain the confidence of respondents. The respondents were also assured of their confidentiality and anonymity. The actual data collection was conducted within three weeks in the month of November, 2011.

In the process of conducting the interview, notes were taken by the researcher and an assistant in order to capture information provided by respondents. Note taking however has the limitation of not capturing every information given by participants. As a result, tape recording was also used with the prior approval by participants as a back up to the notes and was operated by an assistant. The third assistant was engaged in posing the questions to the participants.

### **Data Processing and Analysis**

The data collected was processed and analysed for the appropriate discussions to be made and for valid conclusions to be drawn. The data was edited to ensure consistency in responses, notes taken and completeness of interview. Kumar (1999) explains that “editing consists of scrutinizing the completed research instrument to identify and minimize as far as possible errors, misclassifications and gaps in the information obtained from the respondent” (p.200).

After the editing, the results were then coded. Walliman (2006) states that, codes are labels or tags used to allocate units of meaning to collected data. The coding was based on the responses provided by the participants. In qualitative research, coding is the process whereby data are broken down into component parts, which are given names (Bryman & Bell, 2007). The purpose of coding the data is to organize the data in the form of notes. The coding was done after each interview. Data generated from the focus group discussions were recorded, organized and analysed using key research questions and the study objectives as broad themes for easy interpretation. This, according to

Walliman (2006), is to help prevent data overload resulting from unprocessed data. The coded data was then put into more compact and meaningful grouping by developing themes and patterns which is in line with the objectives of the research. Qualitative analysis of the coded data was done to bring order, structure and meaning to the data collected (Pervez and Kjell, 2002).

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **Introduction**

The research sought to investigate the role of the Asafo groups, namely Twafo Number 1 and Dentsefo Number 2 in the Effutu chieftaincy dispute in the Effutu Municipality of Central Region, Ghana. This chapter presents the results and discussion of the data collected. The main issues analysed and presented include the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents, nature of the Effutu chieftaincy conflict, causes of the conflict, perception of the Asafo groups on the conflict, role the Asafo groups have played and will continue to play in the conflict and how the conflict can be resolved and managed.

#### **Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents**

The socio-demographic characteristics of respondents were necessary to put the study in the right perspectives. Under this section therefore, the age group of respondents, their educational level and types of occupation they engage in are presented.

##### *Age of Respondents*

The age structure of respondents, as presented in Table 2 indicates that the age groups of 20-29 and 70+ respectively had the least membership in terms of respondents covered with each representing a total of 4%. The age

groups with the highest respondents were the 40-49 (32%) and 50-59 (32%) category. Three respondents (12%) and four respondents (16%) were within the age groups of 30-39 and 60-69 respectively. This implies that the majority of respondents (80%) were within the active age groups. Also the majority of respondents constituted the bulk of active working population(20–59 years). This could also mean that persons below the age of 18 years (children) were not active in the activities in the municipality.

**Table 2: Age of Respondents**

Age Group	Frequency	Percentage
20-29	1	4.0
30-39	3	12.0
40-49	8	32.0
50-59	8	32.0
60-69	4	16.0
70+	1	4.0
Total	25	100.0

Source:Field Survey, 2011

*Educational Background of Respondents*

In Table 3, the educational background of respondents revealed that 3 (12%) of the respondents had University education. One (4%) respondent each held ‘A’-level and Basic Educational Certificate. Five of the respondents (20%) had ‘O’-level certificate with 40 percent of the respondents holding Middle School Living Certificate (MSLC). It is obvious that the majority(80%) of the respondents have had some form of formal education.

Only five (20%) respondents did not have any form of formal education. It was further established that the Asafo groups activities are not meant for uneducated people within the municipality. The implication of this on the issue of the conflict is that people know their rights and would be engaged in critical thinking to demand what they believe is their fair share of resources available to them (Kreitner, 1998).

This is a clear rebuttal to the notion that Asafo Company's interest in conflict could be as a result of lack of education.

**Table 3: Educational Background of Respondents**

Educational Level	Frequency	Percentage
Degree	3	12.0
'A'-Level/SHS	1	4.0
'O'-Level/Voc./Com.	5	20.0
MSLC	10	40.0
BECE	1	4.0
Never	5	20.0
Total	25	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2011

#### *Occupation of Respondents*

Table 4 shows the various occupations of the respondents engaged during the study. The occupations of respondents indicate that only 2 (8%) were engaged in some form of commercial trading, just as those in the public service. There were also 3 respondents (12%) engaged in farming and 1 respondent (4%) was a pensioner. The results also showed that majority of



respondents, (68%) were engaged in fishing. This is no surprise, given that fishing is the predominant occupation of the people in the Effutu Municipality. Only 4 percent of the respondents are not in any gainful employment. In this regard, one cannot conclude that unemployment among the people in the metropolis could be a major cause for the prevalence and continuation of the conflict.

**Table 4: Occupation of Respondents**

Type of occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Trading	2	8.0
Farming	3	12.0
Fishing	17	68.0
Public Service	2	8.0
Pensioner	1	4.0
Total	25	100.0

Source:Field Survey, 2011

**Number of Years participants had been in their position**

The researcher was also interested in ascertaining the number of years that participants had been in their respective positions. Table 5 shows the number of years participants had been in their groups or positions. One respondent (4%) each had been in their positions within the year groups of 1-9 and 20-29 years. Eight (32%) respondents were found to be in their position within 30-39 years with 10 respondents (40%) within 40-49 years. Those who have been in their groups for over 50 years were 5 (20%). Thus

altogether the results suggest that majority of respondents (92%) had been in their position for over 30 years, with just 8 percent being under 30 years. This is indicative of the fact that most of the respondents for the study had been in their various groups for a very long time and were well versed in the history of conflict occurrences within the Effutu Municipality in terms of chieftaincy issues. These respondents are people around the traditional system and with their long service within their groups, should be able to give adequate and reliable information.

**Table 5: Number of Years in Position**

Year group	Frequency	Percentage
1 – 9	1	4.0
20 – 29	1	4.0
30 – 39	8	32.0
40 – 49	10	40.0
50+	5	20.0
Total	25	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2011

### **Genesis and Nature of the Effutu Chieftaincy Dispute**

The second part of this chapter covers the analysis and discussion based on the nature of the Effutu chieftaincy conflict; causes of the conflict; perception of the Asafo groups on the conflict; the role the Asafo groups have played and will continue to play in the conflict, and how the conflict can be resolved and managed all from the views of the respondents.

One of the specific objectives of the study was to discuss the genesis and nature of the Effutu chieftaincy dispute. The issues addressed were: main actors involved in the conflict, how the chieftaincy dispute started, how the Asafo became part of the conflict and when dispute is at its peak. Results of the Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and in-depth interviews with all the respondents are the basis.

#### *Views of the Tuafo No1 Asafo Group on the Effutu chieftaincy conflict*

Focus group discussion with Tuafo No.1 Asafo Group indicated that the Effutu chieftaincy dispute has been a long standing dispute between the two royal gates: the Ghartey's and the Ayirebi- Acquah's. The main cause of the conflict is succession to the royal throne as the paramount chief of the Effutu people. That is, whether succession should be through the patrilineal line or the matrilineal line. And this conflict dates back to the 1800's. It was reported by this group that the conflict usually manifests itself towards the beginning of the celebration of the annual Aboakyer festival. This is so because during the festival, the king has a special role to play in stepping on the live deer to show its acceptance to be sacrificed to the gods. It is this symbolic act of sitting in state to receive the live deer which always raises the legitimacy of the king to preside over the affairs. One of the participants affirmed this with the following:

*“It is the Asafo that goes into the forest to make a catch for the gods. The king will have to sit in state to inspect and accept the live deer for the gods of the Effutus. This singular act of the chiefs has created several conflicts for us”.*

Another participant also had this to say:

*“The conflict is always manifested during the celebration of the annual Aboakyer festival. This is so because it is during this time that the king is outdoored and performs certain rituals in state on behalf of his people and the gods. This brings about issues of who has the right to preside over the rituals and this brings tension and conflict almost every year”.*

From the views presented thus far, it can be argued that the Effutu conflict could be likened to what is described in the literature, as “value conflict and inter group conflict.” The value conflict assertion supports Rokeach’s (1973) view that because of a belief of who should ascend the throne, it propels a group of people to prefer a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence. Value-related researches by Schwartz and Bilsky (1990), Martinsons and Martinsons (1996), Maio and Olson (1998), Meglino and Ravlin (1998), King and Napa (1998), and Rodriguez (1998) all support Rokeach’s (1973) contention that differing value systems go a long way towards explaining individual differences in behaviour. They contended that value-behaviour connections have been documented for a wide variety of behaviours, ranging from weight loss to shopping selections, to political party affiliation, to religious involvement and choice of college major. Value conflict, according to Kreitner and Kinicki (2001), could erupt when opposition is based on interpersonal differences.

The Inter group conflict description supports Wright and Noe (1996) point that, inter group conflict is a conflict that occurs between two or more groups over differences in goals or perception. In the case of the Effutus, the conflict is about the belief and perception of who should ascend the throne.

*Views of the Dentsefo Asafo group on the Effutu chieftaincy conflict*

According to the Dentsefo Asafo group, the origin of the Effutu chieftaincy conflict emanated from a long standing dispute between the two royal gates-the Ghartey's and the Ayirebi-Acquah's. The group asserted that the Effutus inherit maternally and therefore, the Ayirebi-Acquah's are the true royals to ascend the throne as kings. However, the Ayirebi-Acquah's in time past gave the royalty to the Ghartey's as care takers because the Ayirebi-Acquah's went out to fight their enemies. One participant commented on this issue as:

*“The mistake was when the Ayirebi – Acquah's came from the war they did not take the royalty from the Ghartey's. We therefore had several kings from the Ghartey's until such a time that the Ayirebi-Acquah's said enough is enough”.*

Another participant indicated that:

*“The Ayirebi-Acquah's are the true royals. It is a royalty they inherited from their forefathers. They hold all the documents of the Effutu traditional system”.*

Another respondent supported the Ayirebi-Acquah's royalty by saying that:

*“The Ghartey's are not royals. They cannot ascend the throne as kings. The current king did not go through the right customary rites. The present king did not sit on the black stool and therefore, we do not recognize him as the king”.*

From the point of view of the Dentsefo Asafo group, the Effutu conflict could be said to be value conflict and inter group conflict. The conflict

occurs between two groups with differences in goals and perceptions(Rokeach, 1973, Wright & Noe, 1996).

*Views of the Effutu Paramount Chief Neenyi Ghartey VII, on the Effutu dispute*

In an interview with the current Effutu Paramount Chief, Neenyi Ghartey (VII), he indicated thatthe Winneba chieftaincy conflict is a long standing struggle. To him, the conflict is between the original patrilineal successors to the Effutu Paramount stool: the Otvano Royal house, and a faction that came out of a single matrilineal succession to the same stool. This was the installation of the 14<sup>th</sup> king in 1858; King Henry Acquah I. Attempt by a non consanguineous matrilineal family over the years have resulted in the aligning of the Dentsefo Asafo group to this family and championing their course.

According to theparamount chief, the name Nana Ayirebi Acquah III was coined by Albert Mould Sackey also known as Kow Embir Sackey when under the colonial government orders he was installed as the 17<sup>th</sup> king of Winneba in 1919. It can be inferred from these accounts that, the conflict is both inter group and value conflict. Inter group because the earlier attempt by a non consanguineous matrilineal family to hold on to the throne has resulted in the aligning of the Dentsefo and Tuafo Asafo groups to various factions to champion their course.

*Views of the Rival Paramount Chief, Nana Ayirebi- Acquah*

In order to be impartial as a social researcher, it was equally necessary to seek the views of the family described as the main rival royal family to the throne. According to the rival paramount chief, Nana Ayirebi- Acquah, the

conflict started so many years ago between the two gates: the paternal (Ghartey's) side and the maternal (Ayirebi –Acquah's) side. He also describes the conflict as only inter group because it is between two groups. To him, the Asafo groups are not key actors in the conflict. He further stated that “the Asafo only wants the truth to stand and therefore most of them show allegiance and support the right line of succession” (the maternal Ayirebi-Acquah family). The chief asserted that, the Effutus inherit maternally and not paternally as portrayed by the Gharveys. To him, the Gharveys were caretaker kings and not true royals. He said, the Ayirebi-Acquahs are the true royals and are in possession of the black stool and all other documents on the Effutu people.

#### *Views of the Effutu Municipal Co-Ordinating Director*

According to the literature, at various times in the history of the Effutu people, governments (both colonial and post independence ones) have interfered in one way or the other in issues relating to the conflict. It was therefore appropriate to seek the views of the government representative on the issue. It is against this background that the researcher interviewed the Effutu Municipal Coordinating Director (MCD) in the absence of the Municipal Chief Executive (MCE). The Effutu Municipal Co-ordinating Director also confirmed that the Effutu chieftaincy conflict has a long history dating back to the 1850s. The main actors in the dispute are the Ghartey's, the Ayirebi–Acquah's and the Asafo companies. The Asafo groups are completely aligned to the two gates. The No. 2 Asafo group and part of the No. 1 are aligned to the Ayirebi –Acquah's and the other part of No. 1 aligned to the Ghartey's.

The conflict affects the development effort of the Municipality. This is because chieftaincy is about authority and ownership of land. Land acquisition is a problem and this affects all developmental efforts. According to the Coordinating Director, though the Asafo groups are seen as actively involved in the conflict, it has nothing to do with unemployment of the Asafo members and therefore the conflict will still persist even if the Asafo members are employed. He believes there is no solution to the conflict in the foreseeable future as both gates have taken entrenched positions. From the assertion by the MCD, the conflict could also be described as inter group but has very negative economic consequences. This confirms what DiPaola and Hoy (2001) stated that conflict interferes with achieving organizational goals. This invariably is the traditional view of conflict as postulated by Robbins (1974).

*Participants views on the Period the Conflict occurs most*

Participants were again asked to indicate the period within the year that the conflict occurs most. Two (8%) participants said it usually occurs in the middle of the year. There was an overwhelming response from 23 (92%) participants that the conflict is experienced towards the celebration of the aboakyer festival as illustrated in Table 6. It is at this period that the legitimacy of the chief comes into question because the chief has a special role to play on behalf of his people. This is essentially useful revelation and would help to design an appropriate conflict resolution mechanism.



**Table 6: Period within which the conflict is experienced most**

Period	Frequency	Percentage
Middle of the year	2	8.0
Towards the Aboakyer festival	23	92.0
Total	25	100.0

Source: Survey, 2011

### ***Conclusion on the origin of the chieftaincy dispute***

From the analysis and discussions thus far, it can be argued that the Effutu chieftaincy dispute has a very long historical antecedents dating back to the 1850s. This means that the struggle between the two royal gates has unfortunately gone on for far too long. The conflict could be traced to the installation of the 14th king in 1858; King Henry Acquah 1. The conflict is usually experienced towards the celebration of the annual Aboakyer festival. During this time the king is outdoored and performs certain rituals in state on behalf of his people and the gods. Generally speaking, the conflict could be described as inter group and value conflict.

### **Causes of the Effutu Chieftaincy Dispute**

The second objective of the research sought to identify the causes of the conflict from the views of all the respondents. Therefore, this section attempts to answer the question “what are the causes of the Effutu chieftaincy dispute as perceived by the various parties or stakeholders in the study area?”

*Views of the Tũafo No.1 Asafo Group on Causes of the Conflict*

According to the Tũafo No. 1 Asafo group, there is only one paramount stool in the Effutu land, which is the one at the Otuano Royal House. The Otuano Royal Family (the Ghartey's) therefore claim to be kingmakers of the stool. It became clear during discussion with Tũafo No.1 Asafo group that the causes of the Effutu Chieftaincy dispute can be looked at from three perspectives:

- An attempt by the Ayirebi-Acquah family to rotate the ascendancy to the throne between the paternal Otuano royal family (Ghartey) and the maternal Ayirebi-Acquah family;
- Selfish interest of the Oman-the divisional chiefs, counselors and the Asafo in becoming kingmakers of the paramount stool of Effutu. The kingmakers are selected few from the paternal Otuano Royal Family and not the Asafo or any other member of the family; and
- Political influences or interferences by past colonial and post independence governments to favour their sympathizers in ascending the throne.

From these observations, it could be inferred that the causes of the conflict are competition to the throne (succession to the royal throne), and the expanding role of the Asafo to be interested in chieftaincy rather than just sticking to their original role of being the vanguard group. Remotely linked is the political interference by various governments in the past to influence who ascends to the throne. According to Schnake (1987) and Horowitz and Bordens (1995), one of the common causes of conflict among groups stem from the

fact that whatever they are competing for is limited and in the case of the Effutu conflict, ascendancy to the only throne in the community. The royalty could be said to be a resource because closely linked to the royalty is power, prestige, authority and land. These could be said to be a competitively sought-after scarce resource (Kreitner, 1998).

#### *Views of the Dentsefo Asafo Group on Causes of the Conflict*

From the point of view of the Dentsefo Asafo group, there is only one paramount stool in the Effutu land which is to be occupied by the Ayirebi–Acquah’s. They claim that the kingmakers are the Oman – the divisional chiefs and counselors of the Effutu Traditional Council and the Asafo leaders. The Ayirebi-Acquah’s contend that the Otvano royal family members are the priests to the stool and they, the Ayirebi– Acquah’s are the royals who are to be enstooled as kings of the Effutu state. They therefore identified the following as the causes of the Effutu Chieftaincy dispute:

- An attempt to recognize the Ghartey’s to ascend the throne because they are the paternal Otvano Royal Family. To them, the Gharveys are not true royals and therefore must not be recognised as such.
- Political influences by past and present governments to favour their sympathizers in ascending the throne.

#### *Views of Nana Ayirebi- Acquah and his sub-chief*

According to the rival chief, Nana Ayirebi- Acquah and one of his sub-chiefs, the main cause of the conflict is the throne. In other words, the cause

the conflict rest on the question of who occupies the Effutu throne? According to the rival chief, “the Ghartey’s are not true royals. They only became caretaker kings when the Ayirebi-Acquah’s went to war. The only mistake is not taking the throne back after their return. That is how come the occupancy of the stool has become a source of conflict”. The conflict in effect could be described as a resource conflict. Thus, the royalty as a limited resource is being contested for by the two conflicting parties (Schnake, 1987). To this, parties could go to the extent of neutralizing, injuring or eliminating their rivals in claiming the royalty (Coser, 1956). Enemy images are created between the two contesting groups and their relationship is based on whether one belongs to the in-group or out-group. Their relationship is again determined by historic relations between the two groups and this is confirmed by the enemy system theory of social conflict (Volkan, 1994).

#### *Views of the Paramount Chief and his sub-chief on Causes of the Conflict*

After analysis of the in-depth interview with the present occupant of the stool and one of his sub-chiefs, the following were seen as causes of the conflict:

- The conflict is caused by the struggle between the two gates over the right of succession of the Effutu stool. This situation has been aggravated by the fact that both Asafo companies have aligned themselves with the two gates, thus making it more difficult to resolve. Both gates have taken entrenched positions with their supporting Asafo groups and there is always counter accusations. This situation does not help in an effort to resolve the conflict;

- There is also strong political alignment to the two gates in the Effutu community. The various political parties, especially the two leading political parties in an attempt to win political power, try to favour one group or the other. This situation always inflames passion and serves as a setback in trying to resolve the conflict.
- Poor socio-economic conditions of the people make them less vulnerable to be influenced by political leaders and other people with their own parochial interest.

From the view of the Paramount Chief and his sub-chief, the cause of the conflict is competition to the throne. Remotely linked to the crisis is the political interference by various governments in the past to influence who ascends to the throne and poverty. According to Schnake (1987), Horowitz and Bordens (1995), one of the common causes of conflict among groups stem from the fact that whatever they are competing for is limited and in the case of the Effutu conflict ascendancy to the only throne in the community.

#### *Conclusion on the Causes of the Effutu Chieftaincy Dispute*

According to the Asafo groups, the major cause of the dispute has to do with who has right to ascend the throne as King to sit in state to inspect and accept the live deer for the gods of the Effutus. In other words, the cause of the Effutu chieftaincy dispute is the struggle between the two gates over the right of succession to the Effutu stool. This situation has been aggravated by the fact that both Asafo groups have aligned themselves with the two gates and with various governments in Ghana. This implies that the Asafo groups are not united to help solve the problem but active participants in the conflict.

The views of the chief and sub-chiefs to the cause of the dispute were no different. They supported the fact that “the main cause of the dispute is the right of ascension to the throne as the king of the Effutu traditional area.” These causes as perceived by the respondents suggest that both gates have taken entrenched positions with their Asafo groups leading to counter accusations, which make it difficult to resolve the dispute.

Other causes of the Effutu chieftaincy dispute could include the poor socio-economic conditions of the people which have made them vulnerable to all political persuasions. As a result, there is strong political alignment to the two gates in the Effutu community. This means that somehow politics has gone deep into the conflict. Perhaps, this makes it very difficult talking about it. This confirms Ephirim-Donkoh’s (2000) assertion that affluent non-royals or those with remote ties to royalty buy their way to power and create conflict.

As presented in Table 8, 20 respondents (80%) believe the conflict is as a result of a struggle between the two gates over the right of succession to the Effutu stool. Four respondents (16%) also believe that political activities within the municipality have also contributed to the intractability of the conflict. Only 4percent of respondents cited socio-economic conditions as part of the problem in the municipality. Table 7 reveals that although there are other causes to the Effutu conflict, the struggle over succession to the stool (80%) has been the major cause of the conflict. Much effort must therefore be geared towards bringing the two royal gates together to dialogue whiles at the same time addressing issues of politics and economic conditions in the conflict.

**Table 7: Causes of conflict**

Causes	Frequency	percentage
Succession	20	80.0
Politics	4	16.0
Economic conditions	1	4.0
Total	25	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2011

### **Perception of the Asafo Groups on the Conflict**

#### *Tuafo No. 1 Asafo Groups' Perception on the Conflict*

Another specific objective of the study was to explore the perceptions of the Asafo groups on the conflict. The main issues addressed were the Asafo groups view of the conflict and whether the Asafo members are key actors in the conflict. This study assumed that once the Asafo groups had aligned themselves to the two gates then they were key actors in the conflict. Therefore, the Asafo groups were asked to indicate how they perceive the conflict between the two gates. The Tuafo Asafo group pointed out that they do not support the conflict; they want to see the end of the conflict because it does not bring about socio-economic development. They went on to indicate that they want the truth of the matter to be established.

The Tuafo Asafo No. 1 group sees the conflict as having brought a lot of negative consequences to them. Thus in their view the conflict has contributed in no small way to the lack of development over the years. There is also massive drift of the youth to other areas in search of jobs as a result of high rate of unemployment in the area. The Asafo however maintain that the

truth must be upheld and will fight until the right person ascends the throne.

One participant in the group intimated that:

*“The truth must be upheld. We the Asafo will fight to ensure that the right thing is done. If you are not a King, you cannot force yourself to become one. The people you want to rule will not support you and therefore, you cannot become a King. The truth will certainly be established and we shall come over this.”*

On the issue of the Asafos’ involvement in the conflict, this is what another Tuafo participant said:

*“You cannot take the Asafo out of the dispute. The Asafo is an integral part of the Effutu traditional system. They are kingmakers. They have the right to enstool and destool.”*

On the contrary, another participant mentioned that;

*“The Asafo groups are not key actors in the conflict and yet they are involved in it. The Asafo is a vanguard organization and stands to safeguard the integrity of the traditional system. All the Asafo want is to see the rightful person ascending the throne as the king of the Effutus. It is the duty of the Asafo to ensure the truth stands and therefore cannot do otherwise.”*

On the issue of dissociating the Asafo from the conflict, this is what was said:

*“You cannot dissociate the Asafo from the conflict. It is an unfortunate situation but we have been drawn into the conflict. It is the Asafo that makes a catch to be sacrificed to the gods.”*



*The king to receive the catch must be the true king accepted by his people. This is the situation we find ourselves in. We want the right person to be installed as king of the Effutus to reclaim our lost glory”.*

This group’s perception support the view of Dipaola and Hoy (2001) that conflict is a problem that necessarily interferes with socio-economic development and growth of any community or organization, hence their desire to see an end to this conflict. This is in tandem with the traditional view of conflict that states that “conflict must be avoided as it indicates a malfunction within an organization or society (Shani & Lau, 2000).

#### *Dentsefo Asafo Group on the Conflict*

The Dentsefo Asafo group also perceived the Asafo organization as a vanguard organization. They also act as soldiers of the traditional system and they help bring about development in the municipality. They also indicated that, as a result of the chieftaincy struggle between the two families they do not have any meaningful development in the area. A participant revealed that:

*“We do not support the conflict because it does not bring about development. We cannot say the Asafo groups are key actors but at the same time we cannot take them out of the system. We want to see the end of the conflict, but the truth must be established”.*

The two Asafo groups have been aligned to the two royal families. Dentsefo No. 2 and part of the Tuafo No. 1 are in support of Nana Ayirebi-

Acquah while the other part of the Tuafo No. 1 is in support of Nana Ghartey.

A participant from the Asafo said:

*“This is part of the problem, we are not united to help solve the problem. The Asafo itself is divided over the two royal families.”*

The Asafo groups are not key actors in the conflict because it is between the Ghartey’s and the Ayirebi- Acquah’s over the right line of succession to the royal throne. “The Asafo wants the truth to stand, and therefore most of them show allegiance and support the right line of succession (the maternal; Ayirebi -Acquah family).

From the Dentsefo’s perception on the conflict, it has hindered the physical development of the area hence their reservation. Interestingly, they sought to suggest that the conflict is solely between the two gates and not the two Asafo’s groups. This also support the view of Dipaola and Hoy (2001) that conflict is a problem that necessarily interferes with development and growth of any community or organization, hence their desire to see an end to this conflict. Again, this assertion by the Dentsefo Asafo group confirms the traditional view of conflict that states that “conflict must be avoided as it indicates a malfunction within an organization (Shani & Lau, 2000).

### **Key actors in the conflict**

Interviews with the Chiefs and the MCD and the focus group discussion with the Asafo groups saw 18 participants (72%) responding in the affirmative that, they see the Asafo groups as key actors in the conflict. They believe that by virtue of the role the Asafo groups play in the traditional system (vanguard organization), they have been drawn into the conflict. They

have to safeguard the traditional system and therefore would have to ensure the right person ascend the throne as chief. As shown in Table 8, seven participants (28%) were also of the view that though the Asafo groups are actively involved in the affairs of the municipality, they cannot be said to be key actors in the conflict. They are of the view that the conflict is between the two royal gates and not the Asafo.

**Table 8: Asafo groups as key actors in the conflict**

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	18	72.0
No	7	28.0
Total	25	100.0

Source:Field Survey, 2011

### **The role of the Asafo Groups in the Conflict**

Another objective of the study was to assess the role of the Asafo groups in the conflict. Therefore, the two Asafo groups were asked about the role the Asafo groups play in the Effutu traditional system and specific role the Asafo groups could play in resolving the conflict.

On the role the Asafo play in the Effutu traditional system, the Dentsefo Asafo group reported that the Asafo is an integral part of the Effutu traditional system; they are kingmakers and have the right to enstool and destool. They also described the Asafo as a vanguard organization that stands to safeguard the integrity of the traditional system. They went further to emphasize that the Asafo plays a key role in the process of installing a king adding that when the position of the king becomes vacant and a new king has to be installed, it is the

Asafo that gives the approval after the kingmakers have presented a candidate. Thus, the Asafo can approve of or reject a candidate.

On the other hand, the Tuafo Asafo group pointed out that it is the Asafo that makes a catch to be sacrificed to the gods. In their view therefore, the king to receive the catch must be the true king accepted by his people. This suggests that when the Asafo groups are united, then they can bring some force to bear on the two families to sit up and resolve the conflict. A participant from the Asafo group in a FGD put it this way:

*“The Asafo plays a key role in the process of installing a king. When the position becomes vacant and a new king has to be installed, the Asafo has to give its approval after the kingmakers have presented a candidate. The Asafo can approve of or reject a candidate. The Asafo is therefore seen as an integral part of the traditional system. By this, the Asafo is indirectly involved in the affairs of the traditional set up and the conflict”*

When asked about what specific role the Asafo groups could play in resolving the conflict, participants from the Dentsefo Asafo group indicated that they want to see the rightful person ascending the throne as the king of the Effutus and therefore, it is the duty of the Asafo to ensure the truth stands. In the same vein, the Tuafo Asafo group felt that for Effutu to reclaim its lost glory there is the need to install the right person as a king of the Effutus. Participants from the Dentsefo and Tuafo Asafo groups respectively again responded that:

*“The conflict is not bringing anything good to us and our children and will want to see the end. The Asafo, especially the*

*leadership must play a leading role in an effort at resolving the conflict.*

*“We are always ready to support any initiative intended to help resolve the conflict. The Asafo must first unite and help the chiefs and other stakeholders in an effort to resolve the conflict”.*

On the issue of the role of the Asafo in the conflict, it is obvious that the Asafo groups have become part of the Effutu chieftaincy dispute. The Dentsefo Asafo No.2 and part of the No 1 have aligned themselves to the non-consanguineous matrilineal family and the other part of No 1 aligned to the other gate.

### **Resolving and Managing the Conflict**

It was also the objective of this study to ascertain what the Asafo groups can do to resolve the conflict. Therefore, key informants including a Government representative (MCD), chiefs and sub-chiefs were to indicate how the conflict in Effutu traditional area could be resolved or managed.

In the opinion of the government representative, there is no solution to the Effutu chieftaincy conflict in the foreseeable future, as both gates have taken entrenched positions. According to him, the two royal gates enjoy some support from the Asafo groups and some political faithfuls and these have seriously contributed to the intractability of the conflict.

In the opinion of a chief from the matrilineal royal gate, politics must be out of the conflict for Effutus to see an amicable solution to the conflict. A chief from the patrilineal royal gate was of the view that the king who has been

gazetted by the state must be recognized as such and at the same time, there must be intensive education of all people involved in the conflict in addition to the fact that government should remain neutral in an effort at resolving the conflict. Again, the dispute is before the Judicial Committee of the Central Region House of Chiefs and therefore hope their judgement will settle the dispute.

In line with the above efforts at resolving the conflict, a sub-chief from the patrilineal royal family also said:

*“If we want to see the end of the conflict, then the law must be enforced to the letter. There is a king who has been gazetted by the state and must be recognized as such, but we still have others parading themselves as royals with a king. Why is it that the state cannot put its feet down and say no to this second group? Politics has gone deep into the conflict. Politics must be out of the conflict for us to see an amicable solution to the conflict”.*

The opinions expressed by the two royal gates suggest that there is the need for an interim administration; perhaps the Tufuhene who is the head of the two Asafo groups can preside over the celebration of the Aboakyer festival until there is total peace or that the law must be enforced if the gazetted king is to be recognized.

### **Asafo’s view of Resolving the Conflict**

These are responses from the Asafo groups as measures to resolve the conflict:

*Dentsefo Asafo Group:*

- We are hopeful the conflict can be resolved when the truth is established. The truth is that the Effutus inherit maternally and that Nana Ayirebi-Acquah is the true heir to the throne;
- The government must remain neutral and help resolve the conflict;
- The two chiefs must be sidelined during Aboakyer celebrations and see how this can help; and
- The National House of Chiefs must be involved in an effort to solve the conflict.

*Tuafo Asafo group:*

- The government must remain neutral in an effort at resolving the conflict;and
- There must be intensive education of all involved in the conflict.

*The Asafo's Role in Resolving the Conflict- Dentsefo's Role*

According to the Dentsefo Asafo group, the role of the Asafo in the Effutu Traditional system is to protect the leaders and the entire people of the traditional system. Therefore, the Asafo group offers security and protection for its people. A participant had this to say:

*The Asafo plays a key role in the process of enstolling a king. When the position becomes vacant and a new king has to be installed, the Asafo has to give its approval after the kingmakers have presented a candidate. The Asafo can approve of or reject a candidate. The Asafo is therefore seen as an*

*integral part of the traditional system. We will not resort to violence, but rather help the chiefs and all other stake holders in resolving the conflict.*

*Tuafo No. 1 Asafo Role in Resolving the Conflict*

In the Asafo helping to resolve the conflict, this is what a participant said;

*The Asafo will have to be united and stand for the truth. When we are united, then we can bring some force to bear on the two families to see the need to sit up and resolve the conflict.*

Another participant had this to say:

*The conflict is not bringing anything good to us and our children and will want to see the end. The two kings must step aside for the Tufuhene who is the head of the two Asafo groups to preside over the celebration of the Aboakyer festival until there is total peace. We did that this year (2011) and the festival was peaceful. This is what we want to see.*

In terms of the role the Asafo can play to help resolve the conflict, this is what another participant said;

*“We are always ready to support any initiative intended to help resolve the conflict. The Asafo must first unite and help the chiefs and other stakeholders in an effort to resolve the conflict”.*

Another participant said:

*“The Asafo has also petitioned the government to help solve the problem in the area. The Asafo has made its position clear to the government to remain neutral to help solve the problem”.*



From the above responses, it is clear that the two Asafo groups can play some specific roles in resolving the conflict not only by getting together as one family to discuss issues concerning who should be king at a point in time but also they are ready to support any initiative intended to help resolve the conflict.

### **Measures Proposed to Resolve the Conflict**

The following are the summary responses given by various respondents as measures to resolve the conflict:

- National House Chiefs must play a leading role in resolving the conflict;
- Government to set committee to help resolve the conflict;
- The Asafo groups must be involved in all efforts at resolving the conflict;
- The government must remain neutral in helping resolve the conflict; and
- There is the need for continuous public education to dialogue to find lasting solution to the problem.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter focuses on the summary of the study, main findings, conclusions drawn and recommendations as well as areas suggested for further research. With respect to summary of the study, the issues covered include the objectives of the study, review of relevant literature and the methodology used. The objectives and research questions are also addressed under the findings and conclusions drawn respectively. The recommendations are proposed based on key findings and conclusions drawn and ended with suggesting areas for further research

#### **Summary**

The study sought to examine the role of the Asafo companies in the Effutu chieftaincy conflict. The main issues discussed were the nature of the Effutu Chieftaincy dispute, causes of the dispute and perception of the Asafo companies on the conflict. Review of relevant literature covered the historical background of the Effutu and its people, concepts relating to conflict, theoretical framework and empirical analyses on conflict.

With respect to the methodology, the descriptive survey design was adopted. The chiefs and people of Winneba in the Effutu Traditional Area were the study population. Both primary and secondary data sources were utilised.

The research employed non-probability sampling techniques in selecting the respondents with the sampling method being purposive. The sample size was 25 key individuals. Data collection instruments used was interview schedule and focus group discussion guide. The study made use of case analysis strategy for analyzing the interviews and focus group discussions.

With respect to socio-demographic characteristics 64 percent of the respondents were aged between 40-59 years. The majority (80%) of the participants have had some form of formal education while the predominant occupation of the Effutu people was fishing (68%).

### **Summary of Key Findings**

There were four specific objectives of the study. Therefore, the salient findings are presented in line with the four specific objectives as follows:

1. Most respondents confirmed that the Effutu chieftaincy conflict has a long history dating back to the 1850s. It was established that the conflict is a struggle between the original patrilineal successors to the Effutu Paramount stool; the Otuano royal house, and a faction that came out of a single matrilineal succession to the same stool. Put differently, the conflict has been found to be between the paternal Ghartey's and the maternal Ayirebi- Acquah's over who has the right to the Effutu stool. Thus, the main perpetrators or actors in the conflict are the two royal gates with the Asafo groups aligning themselves with the two royal gates;
2. The majority of the respondents cited the main cause of the conflict to be the struggle over succession to the royal throne. That is, the cause of the conflict is the dispute over the right gate to install a

chief. This has led other problems which are cultural and traditional in nature. Culturally, there is conflict over the celebration of the annual Aboakyer festival and who should be outdoored and preside over the performance of rituals on behalf of the people and the gods of Effutu. With respect to traditions, the two Asafo groups have been aligned to the two royal families. Dentsefo No.2 and part of the Tuafo No.1 are in support of Nana Ayirebi-Acquah, while the other part of the Tuafo No.1 is in support of Nana Ghartey; and

3. Poor socio-economic conditions of the people and strong political alignment to the two gates in the Effutu community were also seen by a number of the respondents as part of the cause of the conflict.
4. Most respondents from the Asafo groups perceived the Asafo as an integral part of the Effutu traditional system. They are kingmakers and have the right to enstool and destool. In other words, when the position of the king becomes vacant and a new king has to be installed, the Asafo has to give its approval after the kingmakers have presented a candidate. The Asafo can approve of or reject a candidate. By this, the Asafo is indirectly involved in the affairs of the traditional set up and the conflict; and
5. The majority of the Asafo respondents claimed they do not support the conflict because it does not bring about development and therefore, would want to see the end of it. The conflict is now seen as a worry to everybody. It has gone on for far too long and has not in any way facilitated the development of the Effutu people

6. The Asafo is a vanguard organization; they act as soldiers of the traditional system; stand to safeguard the integrity of the traditional system;
7. It is the duty of the Asafo to ensure that the truth stands and therefore cannot do otherwise.

### **Conclusions**

1. The Effutu Chieftaincy dispute is traditional, cultural, and to some extent political in nature: Traditionally, both sides have ascended the throne before and therefore makes it difficult to talk about it. Culturally, the two royal gates enjoy some support from the Asafo groups and also some political faithfuls and these have seriously contributed to the intractability of the conflict;
2. The main cause of the conflict was identified as the struggle between the two gates over the right of succession of the Effutu stool. Other causes of the conflict included strong political alignment to the two gates in the Effutu community and poor socio-economic conditions of the people. These have led to other situations such as dispute over the celebration of the annual Aboakyer festival, including right to sit in state to inspect and accept the live deer for the gods of the Effutus;
3. The conflict had drag on for far too long and as such has become a source of worry to everybody since it retards the development of the area and its people. Therefore, it is the hope of everybody and the Asafo groups in particular that the conflict will soon come to an end; and

4. The Asafo play a key role in the process of installing a king; act as vanguard organization (soldiers of the traditional system as well as stand to safeguard the integrity of the traditional system) and above all, they have a duty to ensure that the truth stands and therefore, cannot be done away with in the conflict.

### **Recommendations**

Based on the findings and conclusions of the study, the following recommendations are submitted:

1. Given the socio-economic, cultural and political nature of the conflict, it is recommended that the issue of the gazetted king should be revisited to enforce laws made by the state while any persons who parade themselves as royals should be dealt with or sanctioned;
2. For the Effutus to reclaim their lost glory, all interest groups/stake holders in the conflict should be persuaded to intensify education of their people involved in the conflict while the government remains neutral in an effort at resolving the conflict. Thus, politics should be out of the conflict for an amicable solution to the conflict;
3. The Asafo groups are important part of the traditional system and must be involved in all efforts at finding lasting solution to the problem. There are systems and structures within the Asafo groups and must all be involved in solving the problem. This can be done by the Asafo reuniting and standing for the truth.
4. The Asafo companies should be ever ready to support any initiative, including persuading the two families to see the need to sit up and

resolve the conflict since they stand to safeguard the integrity of the traditional system.

### **Areas of Further Research**

The study examined the role of the Asafo groups in the Effutu chieftaincy conflict in Ghana. The following areas are recommended for further studies:

1. A similar study should be carried out among other communities in the country, looking at other stakeholders in chieftaincy related disputes;
2. It is important to look at the socio-economic impact of the conflict on the Effutu people; and
3. The need to look at conflict, tourism and development in the Effutu Municipality.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX 1**

#### **FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR ASAFO COMPANIES**

##### **Introduction**

The purpose of this interview is to collect data for academic exercise. The responses would be used strictly for that purpose only and the identity of respondents would be confidential.

Date of Interview..... Code No.....

Name of Interviewer.....

##### **Section A:**

###### **Socio-demographic characteristics**

1. Can you please tell me the age range to which you belong?
2. What is your educational background?
3. What is your occupation?
  
4. How many years have you been a member of the Asafo group?
5. What is your position in the group?

##### **Section B:**

###### **The Effutu Chieftaincy Conflict**

6. Who are the main actors involved in the conflict?

7. When did the chieftaincy dispute start and how did the Asafo groups become part?
8. At what time in the year do you hear of the dispute most?

#### **Causes of the Conflict**

9. What are the causes of the conflict?

#### **Perception of the Asafo groups on the Conflict**

10. What is the Asafos' view of the conflict?
11. Are the Asafo groups key actors in the conflict?
12. What is the motivation of the Asafo to engage in such conflict?
13. Will the conflict persist without the involvement of the Asafo companies?

#### **The role of the Asafo groups in the Conflict**

14. What role does the Asafo play in the Effutu traditional system?
15. What specific role can the Asafo groups play in resolving the conflict?

#### **Resolving the Conflict**

16. Can the conflict in Effutu traditional area be resolved?
17. How can the conflict be resolved?

## APPENDIX 2

### INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MUNICIPAL COORDINATING DIRECTOR

#### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this interview is to collect data for academic exercise. The responses would be used strictly for that purpose only and the identity of respondents would be confidential.

Date of Interview..... Code No.....

Name of Interviewer.....

#### Section A:

#### SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

1. Can you please tell me the age range to which you belong?
2. What is your educational background?
3. What is your occupation?
4. How many years have you served as MCD?

#### Section B:

5. During your tenure of office, has there been any conflict in your jurisdiction?
6. At what time in the year do you hear of the dispute most?
7. Who are the main actors in these disputes?
8. In what ways are the Asafo groups involved?
9. In your opinion, do you think the chieftaincy conflict will still be manifested without the involvement of the Asafo groups?

10. In what way does the conflict affect the municipality?
11. If the Asafo groups are gainfully employed, will they engage in such conflicts?
12. How best can the conflict be resolved?

### APPENDIX 3

## INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE CHIEF AND OTHER SUB-CHIEFS IN WINNEBA

### Introduction

The purpose of this interview is to collect data for academic exercise. The responses would be used strictly for that purpose only and the identity of respondents would be confidential.

Date of Interview.....Code No.....

Name of Interviewer.....

### Section A:

1. Can you please tell me the age range to which you belong?
2. What is your educational background?
3. What is your occupation?
4. How many years have you been ruling as a chief?

### Section B:

5. During your reign, how many chieftaincy disputes have erupted?
6. What do you think are the main causes of these disputes?
7. Are the Asafo groups key actors in these disputes?
8. Without the Asafo groups, will this conflict still persist?
9. Has the conflict limited your operation as a chief?
10. Which period in the year do you hear of the conflict most?
11. What motivates the Asafo groups to engage in conflict?
12. If the Asafo members were fully employed, would they engage in conflict?
13. How best can the conflict be resolved using the Asafo groups?