

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES IN RURAL
DEVELOPMENT AT ABURA-ASEBU- KWAMANKESE DISTRICT

CLASS NO. _____	
ACCESSION NO. 238956	
GAT. CHECKED	FINAL CHECK

BY

EUDORA LYSBETH HANSON

THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES,
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST,
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE AWARD OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE
IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES


2008

THE LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

DECLARATION

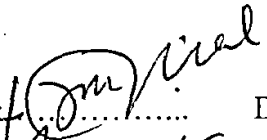
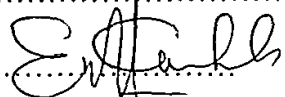
Candidate's Declaration

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.

Candidate's Signature:  Date: 12/02/2008
Name: EUSORA LYSETH HANSON

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.

Principal Supervisor's Signature:  Date: 9/12/2008
Name: Prof. S. B. Kendie
Co-Supervisor's Signature:  Date: October 2, 2008
Name: Dr. Francis Enu-Kweisi

ABSTRACT

It is now a fact that the position of traditional authorities has undergone major transformations. The outcome has been that the power of traditional authorities has experienced ebbs and flows mostly depending on regime preferences and changes in the traditional institutions themselves. Some people are of the view that traditional authorities are no longer relevant while others think they are.

This thesis uses the Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District as a case study and examines the role of traditional authorities in rural development. Through interview schedules, group discussions and observations, traditional authorities have been noted to be contributing immensely to the development process in the District. One would have expected the traditional institutions and their leaders, to cease being of importance to the community with the establishment of the District Assembly system. This, however, was noted to be far from the reality.

The study found that though the traditional authorities and District Assembly representatives are operating cordially, there needs to be more improvement in the area of collaboration. Traditional authorities are also development oriented and able to initiate and mobilise their people for self-help projects.

The conclusion is that traditional authorities are very relevant for rural development due to the multifaceted roles they play, especially, as the leaders of their community. It is recommended that they need to improve their administrative role as governors in order to reduce chieftaincy conflicts.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my profound gratitude to all who in diverse ways and means helped me to successfully complete this thesis. I am most grateful, especially to my supervisors Professor Kendie and Dr. Enu-Kwesi, for their efforts of painstakingly supervising this work. God richly reward their efforts.

To every teacher and lecturer who has taught me, for the knowledge they have imparted to me thus far, I say thanks. My family and friends have been a source of continual encouragement and driving force for me not to give up, I truly appreciate you, your efforts and love.

There are so many others whom I cannot name, I ask the good Lord who knows the secret of my heart to reward each of them for their contribution in making me what I am.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Content	Page
DECLARATION	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
LIST OF ACRONYMS	x
LIST OF AKAN WORDS	xi
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	
Background of the study	1
Statement of the problem	12
Objectives of the study	15
Research questions	15
The scope of the study	16
Organization of the study	16
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	
Introduction	18
Participatory development	18

Participatory development in Africa	21
Traditional authorities and development	24
Traditional authorities in Ghana	28
Decentralisation	32
Local governance	37
Conceptual framework of the partnership between traditional authorities and the District Assembly for development	39

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction	43
Study area	43
Study design	49
Target population	49
Sampling	51
Data collection	52
Data analyses	53
Data presentation	55

CHAPTER FOUR: TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE ABURA-ASEBU-KWAMANKESE DISTRICT

Introduction	56
Characteristics of the respondents	57
Types of traditional authorities	64

Role of traditional authorities in development in the District	76
Co-operation between traditional authorities and the District Assembly	98
Relevance of traditional authorities	117
Traditional authorities' role	118
Traditional authorities and problem solving	121
Collaboration of traditional authorities with District Assembly authorities	122

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction	125
Summary of findings	125
Conclusions	129
Recommendations	132
REFERENCES	134
APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	141
APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE	154
APPENDIX III: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE	166

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Sex of respondents	58
2. Age of respondents	59
3. Educational background of respondents	61
4. Occupation of respondents	63
5. Expectations of the people	77
6. Involvement of traditional authorities in the development process	80
7. Role of traditional authorities in the development of their community	83
8. Role of traditional authorities in the community	88
9. Constraints of traditional authorities	92
10. Role of District Assembly in Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District	101
11. Constraints of the District Assembly representatives	105

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AAK	- Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese
PNDC	- Provisional National Defence Council
NGO	- Non Governmental Organisation
PTA	- Parent Teacher Association
DCE	- District Chief Executive
DCD	- District Coordinating Director
KVIP	- Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pit
CDS	- Centre for Development Studies
UCC	- University of Cape Coast
OECD	- Organisation for Economic and Co-operation Development

LIST OF AKAN WORDS

- Akan* - Tribe in Ghana
- Asafohene* - Leader of traditional institution called *Asafo*
- Asafo* - Akan traditional institution noted for defence and development
- Omanhene* - Overall leader (chief) of the traditional area
- Asantehene* - Overall leader (chief) of *Asante* kingdom
- Asante* - Tribe in Ghana
- Okyehene* - Overall leader (chief) of *Akyem* kingdom
- Akyem* - Tribe in Ghana
- Apakamhene* - Leader (chief) of divisional area
- Odikro* - Leader (chief) of village
- Gyasehene* - Leader (chief) of 'gyase' division
- Adonten* - Main lead
- Adontenhene* - Leader (chief) of 'Adonten' division
- Benkum* - Left
- Nifa* - Right
- Nkyedom* - Rear group
- Ankobe* - Stay put
- Gyase* - Kitchen (home)
- Benkumhene* - Leader (chief) of left division
- Nifahene* - Leader (chief) of right division
- Nkyedomhene* - Leader (chief) of rear group division
- Ankobeahene* - Leader (chief) of group of the division that stays put

- Obaahenba* - Prominent female traditional leader
- Nana* - Traditional leader, elder
- Nananom* - Traditional leaders, council of elders, elders, ancestors
- Mpanyinfo* - Elders, council of elders
- Okyeame* - Linguist
- Tufuhene* - Divisional leader of *Asafo* company, war leader
- Supi* - Leader of *Asafo* company at village and divisional levels
- Safohene* - Leader of *Asafo* unit within the *Asafo* company
- Asafohenfo* - Plural form of safohene
- Ebusua* - Clan, family unit
- Ebusuapanyin* - Leader of clan or family unit
- Akom* - Fetish
- Akomfo* - Fetish priest or priestess
- Ninsini* - Herbalist

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background of the study

The world is not static. It is always changing from one stage to another. The most desired change in the world is in the form of advancement, which includes improved facilities and problem solving to make living standards and conditions better for human survival. This change may be referred to as development. Nations which have changed rapidly and have advanced in better conditions of human survival have been termed as developed, while nations whose change has been slow have been termed underdeveloped and/or less developed. Development may therefore be defined as change in a situation, conditions and living standards of people of a nation for the better (World Bank, 1975).

Development can be said to be an ongoing process; in some areas this process is rapid and in others it is slow. Development, like any process that results in improved conditions, requires the directions and influence of good leadership. Looking at developed countries, one is not surprised to learn from their history that these feats were achieved by good leadership. It is the leaders of the citizenry (monarchs in the case of Europe, kings and chiefs in Africa and emperors in the Middle East), who ensured that these nations

reached where they have reached. In modern times good leadership by heads of state, presidents and governors also results in development.

In modern Ghana, municipal directors, District chief executives, community leaders, chiefs and clan elders are responsible for the development of their localities. In some rural areas, nothing gets done without the chiefs because they have existed as the sole authorities in such communities. Traditional authorities most often give good leadership and influence development of their communities positively (Chambers, 1986).

Lele (1975), sees rural development as improving the living standards of the masses of the low-income population residing in the rural area. She believes that the process of their development should be self-sustaining. It should involve the rural people themselves in finding best ways to change their plight. There should be indigenous leadership from among the rural people, usually one of their own type, who knows their needs and finds appropriate (home grown) ways of meeting such needs.

Other studies have shown that when development originates from and is steered by people outside the area, it usually is not sustainable (Chambers, 1986; Morris, 1991). It is when development involves the active participation of local people; especially their leadership, that rural development can be sustained (Chambers, 1986; Morris, 1991). Rural areas can then improve to be like the urban areas which will result in the overall development of the country.

Brown (1986), also defines rural development as an improvement in the living standards of the masses. According to him, rural development is an improvement in both the material and non-material conditions, and the continuous favourable changes in the way of life of the rural people such that they realise their full potential. He further states that development of the rural areas involves both improvement in the conditions of living and improvement in human resources. Based on this, the general welfare of the rural people should improve for development to be realised. It is through these improvements that rural people can realise their full potential: rural development.

Dixon (1990), also defines rural development as an aspect of development which is a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a group of people living in the rural area. According to him, rural development involves extending the benefits of development to the poorest among those seeking a livelihood in the rural areas. This group includes mostly small-scale farmers, tenant farmers, landless males and females as well as the rural unemployed. Development is then closely related to the welfare of the people. Traditional rulers in Africa, for example, are known to have the welfare of their people as their priority (Busia, 1968). They are therefore concerned with and involved in the development of the rural people.

From the discussions above, rural development comprises strategies and processes aimed at changing and improving the conditions of the people

living in the rural areas for the better. One can infer therefore that, improving the conditions of the rural people and making this change self-sustaining are the important aspects of rural development. The change in the living standards and conditions of the rural poor for the better would require a strategy or a process in addition to good leadership, a leadership that implements, monitors and evaluates the strategy and process. This strategy and process of rural development should be such that the development will and can be sustained on its own and by the people who will benefit from it.

Several approaches have been adopted in the process of rural development. The most popular approaches are the 'top-down' and the 'bottom-up' approaches. These approaches are discussed below.

In the top-down approach to rural development, 'outsiders' or non indigenous people are the leaders in charge of the whole developmental process (Chambers, 1986; Morris, 1991; Dipholo, 2002). The 'outsiders' and their agents plan design, and sometimes, even implement the 'best strategies' for the development of the rural area. In this approach, there is little or no active participation of the local people or their local leaders. The involvement of the local people is often limited to the provision of communal labour for the development projects. In other words, the people do not often count except when manual labour is needed. According to Dipholo (2002), the rural people are the passive vehicles of production. The development professionals dish out development prescriptions, while rural communities are expected to swallow the package. This approach to development is,

therefore, conceived at the 'top' by a few usually non indigenous people, and brought 'down' to the local people. In addition, the strategies are designed for the rural people without their active involvement; thereby making the strategies and plans alien, both in the process and its implementation.

The top-down approach has been criticised as failing to make the local people (the beneficiaries) feel committed to the process and project, and therefore in some cases not patronising the outcomes of the projects. The rural people may not feel obliged to see to its maintenance and sustenance for that matter. The style of management has often failed to enthuse and entice the communities into accepting and identifying themselves with development projects meant for them (Chambers, 1986; Ewusie, 1987). This arrangement, furthermore, contributes to the unsustainability of the projects and leaves the dependency of the rural poor still on government (Ewusie, 1987; Dipholo, 2002).

Ghana as a developing nation adopted the 'top-down' approach to rural development in the provision of social amenities for rural communities in the 1970s. With this approach, some communities in the rural areas were provided with good infrastructure facilities such as hospitals, schools, good roads and markets with the conviction that there would be good health care service, education and commercial activities. These, the government expected, would lead to increased productivity and ultimately development in the rural areas. However, due to the none involvement of the local people and their leadership in the planning, most of these amenities have ended up

being underutilised. The rural people see the projects as infrastructure for the government and not them. Also, the rural people do not care about the utilization or maintenance of these projects. This has resulted in most of such projects becoming very much under-utilised, abandoned/left to the vagaries of the weather and sometimes vandalised. The health of rural people is therefore still poor, and the majority of the rural folks are still illiterate, while commercial activities are still very low (Ewusie, 1987).

Similarly, agrarian reforms adopted by most developing nations including Ghana, which is also informed by the top-down approach, have not yielded the expected results. The non-involvement and/or participation of the local people in the planning and implementation of such projects, results in minimal achievement of the desired objective which is, improvement in the welfare of the rural people. In the worst of cases, such projects branded 'government facilities', become rejected, neglected and sometimes vandalized (Dipholo, 2002).

A variant of the 'top-down' approach is the 'bottom-up' approach. In the 'bottom-up' approach, the developmental process starts from the 'bottom', among the local people together with development planners and moves to the 'top' (Brown, 1986; Chambers, 1986; Ewusie, 1987; Morris, 1991). Here the local people and/or their representatives, usually the local leaders, are expected to be actively involved in the planning, designing and implementation of the development process. The planning process is done usually through consensus building with people at the grassroots level. The

approach advocates the active participation of the people, especially the rural leadership of the people at the bottom. Their active involvement in the process of development, planning and the implementation makes the rural people committed and thereby see to the maintenance and sustenance of the intervention.

The “bottom-up” approach to rural development is, again, informed by the participatory approach which, according to MaKumbe (1996), is a process of co-operative action in which a group of individuals willingly share in the responsibilities and consequences of a common undertaking or achievement of a particular task. Participation helps to develop a better compromise between what the rural people want and what development agencies/government can offer. It implies an increased role of the communities and a decreased role of the state (Chambers, 1986; Dipholo, 2002).

Local people need to be empowered by strengthening local institutions (e.g. traditional authorities, local farmers’ co-operatives), through their leadership sustained participation of the whole populace is then guaranteed. The ‘bottom-up’ approach to rural development has, unlike the top-down approach, been used more recently for rural development in most developing countries. This latter approach, the ‘bottom-up approach’, seems to offer a better hope for the development of the rural areas (Chambers, 1986; Morris, 1991; Dipholo 2002).

In Ghana, rural development has been the task of central government since independence. The government is expected to ensure that the people in the rural areas experience improved living conditions. The pace of development has, however, been generally very slow; especially in the rural areas owing to the nature of centralized government. To this effect, local institutional leaders - traditional authorities (mostly chiefs and elders) – have, to some extent, spearheaded the development of their areas to change the situation.

Historically, the colonial masters used the traditional authorities and leaders to get to the people for developmental purposes (Busia, 1968; Boafo-Arthur, 2000; Brempong, 2001). During and after independence, the state continued in a similar manner to make use of traditional authorities and leaders to ensure development at the local and rural level. Brempong (2001), stresses this by adding that the Ghanaian society is rooted in chieftaincy and believes that the experiences and wisdom of chiefs (traditional leaders) should be utilized fully at all levels of government for the development of the rural areas. According to Dipholo (2002), the local institutions represent structures that the local communities identify with and thus acknowledge their leadership. Strengthening these existing structures should therefore take precedence over the creation of new institutions, which is a move usually employed by agents of change (Dipholo, 2002).

Ghana adopted a package of reforms aimed at decentralising her political and administrative system in the late 1980s. This decentralisation

process was expected to result in improved governance, empowerment of local communities, accountability, efficiency and reduction in rural-urban drift. Through decentralisation the government was expected to reach down to the local people in the rural area in order to hasten the development process there. The decentralisation process assumed that there would be participatory approaches to rural development, and that the development process would be bottom-up. Decentralisation was to help improve rural development. Decentralisation, it was thought, would lead to the active involvement of the people at the local level, because the government, through its agents (the District Assembly), would then act at the lowest level together with the traditional authorities to develop the rural areas (Ayee and Tay, 1998). Decentralisation saw the creation of new institutions - the District and municipal assemblies - whose task was development, especially, in the rural area.

The Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese (AAK) District in the Central Region of Ghana is one of the poorest Districts (Ghana Statistical Services, 2002). The District Assembly represents the central government at the District level and is expected to spearhead the process of development as is enshrined in the 1992 Constitution of Ghana. The District lacks in the provision of basic social services such as good health and educational facilities, water, electricity, telecommunication and even good access roads (AAK District, 2000).

In the AAK District, some traditional leaders, were reported to have initiated some developmental activities in the areas of education and electrification in Asebu, a poultry project and co-operative farms at Ebirim in Kwamankese, all in a bid to improve living standards of their subjects.

One observes that the traditional institutions in the District are performing their duties along side the District Assembly. They are providing leadership for the rural people. They have periodic meetings with the people. They solve cases in the community and people consult traditional leaders for advice, help and direction. Development projects often do not get completed without traditional authorities having a stake in the process. One is tempted to believe that alongside the efforts of the District Assembly to ensure development, traditional authorities too seem to be also making an impact on the development process in Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese.

Furthermore, in line with these initiatives, other leaders in the rural areas have taken up the challenge of developing their communities. Leaders of traditional institutions are advocating for development in their areas of jurisdiction and the country as a whole. In Abakrampa in the Abura traditional area, in particular, through the initiative of the traditional authorities, pits have been dug in various places in the community for refuse collection and burning. This action is making the community a relatively cleaner place.

Despite the positive efforts of traditional authorities, generally towards the promotion of development in the Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese

District, some of the people tend rather to blame the traditional authorities for the low and slow pace of development. In the Kwamankese traditional area of the District, there is an apparent conflict as to who is the true paramount chief, the supreme traditional leader. The uncertainty makes it seemingly difficult for effective development activity to go on. This also makes it difficult for the District Assembly to engage the active participation of the people in efforts aimed at development. The conflict as to the true leader to give approvals and orders to the citizens to engage in communal labour, for example, makes developmental activities generally seem to be difficult to move on smoothly. The people do not willingly participate in activities aimed at development as they would have had there been no conflict due to the fear of punishment from traditional leaders.

Traditional authorities, generally, and those in the AAK District, in particular, are believed to have discussions and plan together with the populace and arrive at the best solution to their needs through consensus. Through such consensus, the involvement and participation of the people are solicited and assured for the implementation of the developmental activity. The people, having participated actively, will feel responsible for the development and therefore take steps to ensure its maintenance and sustainability.

The introduction of the District Assembly concept has made the assembly, not traditional leaders, the central focus of development at the District level. The District Assembly members are expected to act as the

branches of the main government. In light of this, all developmental processes and activities are to be initiated, implemented, monitored and sustained by the District Assembly. A top-down process where the Assembly plans and designs programmes for the people. The decentralisation process is expected to encourage rapid development, especially of the rural areas through the District Assembly common fund.

According to Morris (1991), projects using the top-down approach deteriorate almost as fast as they can be constructed. He attributes this phenomenon to the fact that local people lack the interest to maintain them due to their not being actually involved in the planning process. Morris further adds that when success is occasionally achieved of such "top-down approach projects", closer inspection shows it to be the result of enlisting at least a local leader's influence (Morris, 1991).

Statement of the problem

District Assembly and traditional authorities are expected to be joint partners in development, so there appears to be duality of governance. However, as suggested by Lele (1975), Dixon (1990), Morris (1991), MaKumbe (1996), and Dia (1996), sustaining and maintaining developmental activities in the rural areas are most often to be ensured by the influence of local leaders (traditional authorities). In this respect, in recent times some traditional authorities, as seen in the Asante and Akyem paramount chiefs (*Asantehene and Okyehene*), have been heard and seen through the media

advocating for, as well as promoting, development of their areas. According to Akuoko-Frimpong (1986), an analysis of the situation suggests that the administration and political framework of Ghana does not provide the right basis for local authorities to play the developmental role expected of them.

In the Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District for example, there seems to be a problem concerning its development. The pace of development is slow (AAK District, 2000). Key informants in Kwamankese reported that some development projects have been stalled because of the issues of conflict among some traditional leaders. These traditional leaders appear to be preventing development progression. Key informant reported that while the citizens say that traditional authorities are relevant for rural development, there are others who dispute this assertion. These citizens claim that traditional authorities are rather responsible for the current state of development, which is slow. They claim that traditional authorities are to be blamed for the slow pace and lack of development because they are not working together with the District Assembly by readily giving the needed resources such as land.

In the District, one is not sure of what the case is. Is it that the District Assembly is unable to perform its role of spearheading development or is it that the traditional authorities are blocking progress to development? On the one hand, the traditional authorities in Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District seem to be promoting and maintaining development. The traditional leaders have started hygiene campaigns to help keep their communities clean,

youth campaigns for school leavers and dropouts to equip them with skills which will make them productive.

On the other hand however, it seems as though the traditional authorities are stumbling blocks to the whole process of development because they are at conflict with themselves or with the District Assembly in terms of functions in the area. Are they, traditional authorities, still relevant for development or are they irrelevant due to the presence of the assembly? What is the situation of the traditional authorities in Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese? Are traditional authorities then helping development of the District or are they stalling the process? What is the state of traditional leaders in this District? What is their role in AAK District in terms of rural development?

Is it the inadequacies of the decentralisation process and the problems of the District Assembly in rural areas in relation to development that is bringing back the traditional authorities into the development process picture? If that is so, can we say that traditional authorities are playing a significant role in development? Are the traditional authorities still a force to reckon with in development, especially in the traditional area of Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District? Are the local people more at ease with their traditional authorities than they are with the District Assembly?

Objectives of the study

The general objective of the study is to examine the role of traditional authorities in the developmental process in Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District in Ghana.

Specifically the study sets out to:

- document the types of traditional authorities that exist;
- examine the role traditional authorities play in development activities in the District;
- identify possible areas of co-operation between traditional authorities and the District Assembly for development in the District;
- determine the factors that make traditional authorities relevant in current times; and
- make recommendations on how best to take advantage of traditional authorities to promote and sustain rural development.

Research questions

In line with the above specific objectives the following research questions will be addressed:

- What are the types of traditional authorities in this District?
- How are the traditional authorities involved in development?

- What are the possible areas of co-operation between the traditional authorities and the District Assembly in the development process of the District?
- How relevant are traditional authorities for the development of their areas?

The scope of the study

The research covers three villages in the Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District. These are in three localities, the paramount areas of the three traditional areas, that is, Abakrampa for Abura traditional area, Asebu for Asebu traditional area and Ayeldu for Kwamankese traditional area. The study takes into account the past and present duties and roles of the traditional authorities. The views of the people within the District, and those of the District Assembly men and women are also solicited as a basis for identifying the role traditional authorities are performing in terms of development. In addition, the study seeks information on the nature of the relationships that exist or can exist between the traditional authorities and the District Assembly in order to make recommendations that can foster rapid and sustainable rural development.

Organisation of the study

The study is presented in five chapters. The first chapter is an introduction to the study, with a background, the statement of the problem,

the objectives and research questions. Chapter two focuses on the review of relevant literature as well as the conceptual framework for the study. The third chapter is the methodology of the study. This includes the description of the study area, research design and data analysis techniques. Chapter four is the analyses and discussion of the data collected, while chapter five contains the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the review of relevant literature. It gives an insight into participatory development, traditional authorities in Africa and particularly in Ghana, and the issue of development of the rural area. It also includes a conceptual framework for the study.

Participatory development

At the early stages of decolonisation and political independence most Third World nations including Ghana initiated a form of development planning, mostly geared at increasing production and income, based on the modernisation theory. According to the modernisation theory, development is advanced by fast overall economic growth through capitalisation for high productivity and application of science to production such as in the case of the Green Revolution. This approach, in the long-run, would, it was believed, lead to increased production, reduction in poverty and better standards of living (Chambers, 1986; Dixon, 1990; Dipholo, 2002).

In this approach to development, planning was centralised. Decisions were made by the development partners and imposed on the local people (Chambers, 1986). For example, decisions on rural development are always

from the government to the people at the bottom without the people's involvement except the use of their labour in implementing the decision. The people only know what the development plan/project is when its being executed and implemented. In other words, the planning was from top to bottom or from the centre to the periphery; a variant of the top down approach to development (Brown, 1986; Kudiabor, 1986; Morris, 1991).

Over the decades, however, this centralised, top-down approach to development has not been sustainable. According to the 1998 UNDP Report, there are over 1.6 billion people who are worse off than they were 35 years ago. There has thus been a paradigm shift from the established central development planning model towards a participatory approach to development (Chambers, 1986; Dipholo, 2002). "The new paradigm seeks to promote indigenous knowledge; it embraces community participation, environmental sustainability, domestically induced growth and good governance" (Dipholo, 2002:64).

This new approach is also informed by the bottom-up model. Participatory development is a process by the people for their own sustained growth (Brown, 1986; Chambers, 1986). The processes are thought of by the people and the development partners and implemented together. The citizens are not forced to do what they know little or nothing about. Studies have shown evidence of success of this approach. In Bangladesh for example, it was established that a strengthened local authority is better able to secure effective participation than government officials (World Bank, 1975).

Participation means the involvement of the local people in the development of their communities by combining their knowledge, experiences and resources with those of the 'outsiders' and government to achieve sustainable development (Chambers, 1986). Participatory development means approaching development bottom up. According to Owusu-Ansah (1986), this is because active participation is an excellent means of improving the social confidence of the people. It takes account of local wishes. It also makes use of local knowledge as well as secure local contributions. In the bottom up approach, it is argued that local knowledge and expertise are often already present but untapped within the community. The approach, therefore, makes use of these untapped resources. Most rural people, for example, are thought to be poor, yet Morris (1991: 90-93), says 'even very poor people can raise considerable amounts of capital from within when they want the service to be provided'. When they really understand why they have to contribute, usually via leaders of local institutions, they willingly participate both with material and human resources.

Morris (1991), again points out that where top-down projects are successful there has been invariably the influence of a local leader; thus, some sort of participation from the beneficiary group. Without the local leadership, citizens do not feel obliged to participate. One can then agree with Morris (1991), and MaKumbe (1996), that no development programme for the rural area, no matter how grand, can succeed effectively unless the local people are willing to accept it and make an effort to participate in it.

Jennings (2000), also describes participation as involvement by the local population and additional stakeholders in the creation and implementation of a programme or policy designed to change their lives. This is built on the belief that citizens can be trusted to shape their own future.

Participatory development approach therefore combines local decision-making and capacities with those of 'outsiders' to steer and define the nature of an intervention (Chambers, 1986). Through this, the development effort can be sustainable. Where there is no participation, development may not be sustainable. One may ask: 'how do you get the local people to participate'?

Participatory development in Africa

From history we learn that most activities - social, economic, spiritual, developmental, in the rural areas pivot around the chief/king and their elders (the traditional authority). A chief's responsibility is to maintain the link between his people and the government, to maintain law and order, to promote development and ensure its sustainability (Busia, 1968; Nukunya, 1992; Dia, 1996). The traditional authority is thus the focal point around which all activities are expected to be performed. Getting the local people to participate in developmental activities, therefore, requires the active involvement of the traditional authorities since they are the centre of all activities in rural areas.

Rural development, as noted earlier, is about efforts aimed at improving the living conditions of the people. In addition, it is about improving the human resources in the rural area. It is also about identifying the problems of the people and finding ways to solve these problems. Development should involve maintaining and sustaining the best of the solutions. It is then that the living conditions of the rural people will become better. Various strategies have been adopted to improve the conditions of the rural dweller. There still, however, seems to be a problem with the manner in which the issue of development of the rural areas and ensuring its sustainability are handled.

Dixon (1990), suggests that it is clear that while many Third World people have benefited from rural development programmes, many too have not. It is even possible that some are worse-off. According to him it is recognising these failures and investigating what lies behind them that are important. This need is what has resulted in attention being focused on alternative approaches to rural development. These approaches mostly advocate primarily for people's participation, that is, self-help community-based projects. According to Chambers (1986), "attempts to impose change from outside on the rural community can result in unsustainable, superficial and unsuitable development." It is suggested that successful development must originate from within the community and it should be by the bottom-up approach (Chambers, 1986; Dixon, 1990:104-105). In other words, local people should be in charge of and responsible for development.

It is now evident from studies (Brown, 1986; Morris, 1991; Nukunya, 1992; Dia, 1996; Junnings, 2000; Ntsebeza, 2004), that the presence of a strong local/traditional institution, such as the chieftaincy institution, in rural areas has served as one of the best ways of getting the citizenry to be involved in non-routine activities aimed at improving their welfare (for example, the construction of schools, water projects, hospitals, places of worship, etc). This has been attributed to the respect citizens have for the traditional authority and how they also have the welfare of their citizen at heart. Secondly, it is obligatory for such authority to ensure the welfare of their areas of rule as is enshrined in most of the oaths traditional authorities swear when made leaders (Nukunya, 1992; Odei Ajei, 2001; Ntsebeza, 2004).

The citizenry is to support the leaders in any venture that will improve their welfare thus, making it easier for traditional leaders to encourage citizens to participate in developmental activities for the communal benefit. This, according to Dipholo (2002), can be done if local people are empowered by strengthening local institutions through which sustained participation is guaranteed. It results in a reciprocal support relationship of leaders and citizens which enables traditional authorities to ensure citizenry participation better than non-traditional institution leaders like District Assembly leaders, as has been found in studies in Malawi and Uganda (Jutting, Kauffmann, McDonnell, Osterrieder, Pinaud and Wegner, 2004).

MaKumbe (1996), reports that, the use of participatory development in Zimbabwe for example has resulted in the mobilization of greater resources for development. This in turn leads to the accomplishment of many development activities with the same budget. Rural labour is usually grossly underutilized according to him, and this can be reversed through the inclusion of traditional authorities in decision making and developmental processes. It has also been realised that the participation of traditional authorities in development facilitates better use of such labour and local knowledge which reduces project cost.

Involvement of traditional authorities in the developmental process is found to have enhanced self-reliance and the development of internally self-sustaining processes of development (MaKumbe, 1996; Lutz and Linder, 2004). This is the expected outcome of any development. Development should be such that it can be internally self-sustaining by the citizens (Chambers, 1986).

Traditional authorities and development

Traditional authority refers generally to the indigenous form of power and rule that exists in an area or over an ethnic group. This is generally the form of rule such as that of chiefs and kings/queens that existed before nations were created (Nukunya, 1992). In Europe, the rule of kings and nobles was the dominant governing force for a long time until it was gradually replaced by democratic structures. In Africa, Asia and Latin

America, traditional authorities are mostly referred to as chiefs and elders. Traditional authority is vested in traditional leaders (Dia, 1996).

A traditional leader is defined as a person who, by virtue of his ancestry, occupies the 'throne' or 'stool' or 'skin' of an area and who has been appointed to it in accordance with the customs and traditions of the area or tribe (Nukunya, 1992; Mthandeni, 2001; Brempong, 2001; Lutz and Linder, 2004). This individual has traditional authority over the people and power to exercise authority over the area or tribe. Their main function is to regulate and control relationship and social behaviour within a traditional community. The authority of a traditional leader is derived from tradition and is exercised in consultation with senior advisers without being regulated by government legislation (Busia, 1968). Traditional leaders or traditional authorities are therefore social leaders and systems rather than actual government institutions (Mthandeni, 2001).

There is evidence that prior to independence and the democratisation process of most nations, especially in Africa, it was the traditional leaders who ensured the development of their local areas (Nukunya, 1992; Brempong, 2001). In contemporary times successful rural local governance which can ensure development should, according to Dia (1996), depend on mutual respect and co-operation between local government and traditional leaders as well as provincial (regional) governments and traditional authorities. This is because these local leaders and their corresponding

authorities have survived to the extent that they are still an essential part of the social fabric in many rural areas (Mthandeni, 2001).

Traditional leaders have played important administrative and political roles in rural areas and some urban areas too. They represent the ethnic units and are the closest authority to the people. Traditional leaders, according to Mthandeni (2001), act as culture bearers and custodians of customs. As a symbol and representative of the group's collective identity, the traditional leaders are expected to preserve the group's heritage and ensure its transmission. Their duty also includes the judicial role where they act as interpreters of customary laws and practices (Busia, 1968; Nukunya, 1992).

Various functions of traditional authorities are similar to those of local government. For instance, traditional leaders have to ensure enforcement of all laws, orders, institutions or requirements of government relating to the administration within their area. They also have a very important role of mobilizing their communities for development (Busia, 1968; Nukunya, 1992; Dia, 1996).

According to Mthandeni (2001), in South Africa, for example, traditional leaders have been the only authorities at the local level in many rural areas. As a result of that, social cohesion, stability and development in rural areas depend largely on these leaders. Chiefs are very important when one talks about participation of all the people in government because they have popular support at the grassroots level. Constitutionally in South

Africa, traditional leaders are recognised and represented in some local governments (Mthandeni, 2001).

The trend is now changing with democratisation. New institutions have been created to represent the government/state and are expected to assume duties formerly performed by the traditional leaders. There is now duality of governance. Some traditional leaders have to adopt new functions to remain relevant in contemporary times. In some cases, they have become involved in the activities attributed to the modern state such as ensuring the availability and accessibility of modern education. An example of this is found in the *Asantehene* of Ghana. Basic service delivery and infrastructure provision are other activities that the traditional authorities are now involved in. More recently, it is seemingly evident that traditional authorities are regaining relevance, not only because development agencies are looking for possible partners at the local level, but also because many central governments are tending to recognize their importance in local governance (Lutz and Linder, 2004).

In Mozambique traditional authorities have been included in institutional reform. According to Narayan (2002), for a long time the governing FRELIMO party did not recognize the traditional authorities. But the largest opposition party, RENAMO, had supported the formal inclusion of traditional authorities. When the opposition party became stronger, the ruling FRELIMO party realised that the support of traditional authorities could be an important factor. This created an opportunity for some form of

formal inclusion of traditional authorities at the local level, where they participate actively at the meetings of the local council, and no longer as ex-officio members (Narayan, 2002).

How best then can traditional authorities be utilised in Africa to achieve the maximum participation of the rural citizenry to ensure development when there is this duality of power? In order to answer this question, one has to analyse the role the traditional authorities play, and how best that role can be synchronized with that of the newly created governmental institutions, as suggested by Dia (1996).

Traditional authorities in Ghana

In Ghana's decentralized system, local government refers to the District Assembly structure which comprises the District Coordinating Director, District Chief Executive, Presiding Member, assemblymen/women and unit committee members (Afari-Gyan, 1998). A look at the history of Ghana reveals that there seems to have been the presence of traditional authorities and therefore chieftaincy in local governance all the time. According to Boafo-Arthur (2001), and Arhin (2002), from a historical perspective, their presence and position have, however, not been a smooth one. There have been ups and downs. Traditional leaders were at their ups, seen as the only form of authority in existence before the arrival of the colonial masters. This state of affairs continued through the period of colonialism when the Europeans made maximum use of the traditional rulers

to open up the country, but events however changed during the period after independence.

The second Republic further saw another change which, according to Boafo-Arthur (2001), was unlike the first Republic during which every conceivable effort was expended by the government to cut the chiefs to size. According to him the swing of the political pendulum later favoured chieftaincy. Some of the succeeding governments recognised the status, roles and economic base of the institution. However, the seemingly tranquil state of the chieftaincy institution which the 1979 constitution guaranteed was given a violent jolt by the 1981 revolution (Boafo-Arthur, 2001). As Ayee (2000), reports the PNDC decentralisation reforms did not set aside a place for chiefs within the structure of local government.

There have been times when the government of the day saw the worth of traditional authorities and had need for them by using them to promote the development of the country. Their influence at other times, however, was felt as a threat by the government. The traditional authorities had too much power and influence on the people and so government did all it could to change the situation (Boafo-Arthur, 2001).

Boafo-Arthur (2001), is therefore not wrong in saying that the chieftaincy institution has not only served as a centrepiece for mobilizing people for communal development, but has also been the effective link between the people and the central administration. It is this high recognition of traditional authorities by their subjects, that the colonial masters and, later

after independence the government sought to subdue. This was accomplished by the institution of various acts and ordinances such as the Local Governance Ordinance of 1951, State Council Ordinance of 1952, the Municipal Council Ordinance of 1953, the Akim Abuakwa (Stool Revenue) Act of 1958 (Act 8), the Ashanti Stool Act also of 1958 and the Stool Lands Control Act of 1960 (Act 79).

The powers of the chiefs were consequently eroded. These laws, apart from undermining the economic base of the chiefs, created a dependency syndrome whereby most chiefs looked up to the government for economic handouts (Boafo-Arthur, 2001). Pinkney (1972:92), cited in Boafo-Arthur (2001), notes that even the gong-gong which was used to summon the people was often beaten by a (*political*) party official. In a like manner, (*political*) party rallies competed with those in the chief's courts, and village development committees were chaired rather by (*political*) party officials. These acts caused the key roles of the traditional authority to become secondary (Boafo-Arthur, 2001).

These ordinances and acts notwithstanding, the institution of chieftaincy continued to exist. In some communities the traditional authorities created niches for themselves by spearheading local activities. For others it was by aligning with the government officials to gain certain favours. The tone was therefore set for some chiefs to adopt survival strategies. These strategies may be a contributing factor to their continued

existence despite the constitutional provision that District Assemblies are to spearhead development at the local level (Dogbe, 2003).

In this era of democracy and decentralisation, one can still observe that the position of the traditional authority is not clear. For instance, there is no clear-cut designation of the roles or duties of traditional authorities in the most current constitution of the nation, the 1992 Constitution. There is no role stated for traditional rulers in local government. Though both traditional authorities and the District Assemblies are expected to be in charge of local development it is only the latter that have their role clearly stated.

Globally, development partners are now advocating for development using participation for reasons of democracy. Quite recently, the inclusion of traditional authorities in the development process is also being advocated. One of the major requirements in the process of democratisation is decentralisation. Through decentralisation, it is expected that there will be the active participation of people, especially those at the grassroots. Donors and development agencies are advocating for decentralisation, the transfer of power and responsibility from the central to the local level, because it is believed to be an important factor in broadening citizen participation, improving local governance and development.

Decentralisation

The concept of decentralization means the central government transfers some of its powers to local governments to perform executive, administrative and regulatory functions in their areas of authority (Afarigyan, 1998). This concept refers to the process of both deconcentration and devolution. It is believed that when there is proper decentralisation it can lead to an increase in efficiency and improved governance, which are highly relevant for poverty reduction (Akuoko-Frimpong, 1986). In proper decentralisation, as purported by Akuoko-Frimpong, there should be both deconcentration and devolution which are the subsets of decentralisation.

Deconcentration aims at transferring responsibility to field and subordinate units of government (for example, District Assemblies). In deconcentration, field and subordinate units basically remain under the hierarchical authority of central state authorities. This is the type of decentralisation that is quite common in nations that have adopted decentralisation, as in Ghana, for example. Devolution, on the other hand, refers to the transfer of competencies from the central state to distinct legal entities such as District Assemblies.

Decentralisation then is expected to offer citizens the possibility of increased participation in local decision-making process from which they have generally been excluded through lack of sufficient representation or organisation. Jutting, et al. (2004), found participation to be a key ingredient to the success of decentralisation aimed at good governance and poverty

reduction in their study of 19 developing countries. Among their conclusions was that “the involvement of the population in the decentralisation process has had a positive impact on poverty reduction” (Jutting, et al., 2004:20). In Brazil, one of their ‘positive performers’ of decentralisation, it was evident that there were notable results in instances where there had been community participation in individual poverty reduction projects even if there had been only limited participation in the overall programme.

Their study also showed that the ‘bad performers’, on the other hand, had very limited participation. According to them, this tends to reflect a ‘top-down’ culture of politics and distrust of the elected representatives as was evident in studies in Guinea and Mozambique (Jutting, et al., 2004; Lutz and Linder, 2004). This thus buttresses the need for decentralisation and participation (bottom-up approach) to ensure development and more particularly rural development.

It emerged, also in the same study that many of the ‘positive and somewhat positive performers’ had built the decentralisation process on existing and well functioning local structures such as traditional rulers. These structures helped to ensure the people’s participation. In some of these countries, deconcentration was combined with devolution. These functioning local structures strongly supported the process and have rapidly become autonomous in designing and implementing policies (Jutting, et al., 2004).

However, in some countries the process of decentralisation was noted to have been compromised by the existence of some of these traditional

power structures thus creating an imbalance. The imbalance between the new and traditional power structures, according to Lutz and Linder (2004), has led to increased corruption and thus less enthusiasm in participation for development. People see traditional authorities as corrupt, power-drunk and conflict makers. This negative perception is seemingly affecting the otherwise positive image of traditional authorities.

The capacities of the local actors and the distribution of political power have influence on the outcome of decentralisation. This influence could be positive or negative. The decentralisation reform, therefore, involves a delicate compromise between new and traditional structures because it is aimed at redistributing power and changing an existing social power structure (Jutting, et al., 2004). This is what Dia (1996), also refers to as reconciling indigenous and transplanted institutions. According to him, there should be a convergence of the indigenous institutions (traditional institutions and their authorities) with the new 'transplanted' institutions.

Dia (1996), refers to these new institutions, for example, the District Assemblies as "transplanted". According to him, they have come to seemingly replace the indigenous institutions. They have been planted upon the already existing institutions, and it is only by a 'reconciliation and synergy of the two (transplanted and indigenous institutions) that Africa's management and therefore development will progress (Dia, 1996:5-7). Lutz and Linder (2004), agree that the existence of traditional authorities means that both the decentralisation and the strengthening of local government are

not taking place in a vacuum. Recent experiences have shown that a successful decentralisation has to take into account existing traditional structures (Dia, 1996; Lutz and Linder, 2004; Jutting, et al., 2004; Ntsebeza, 2004). For they can, especially in the rural areas, make the outcomes of decentralisation positive or negative due to the influence they have on the citizenry.

In Ghana, which is ranked among the “somewhat positive performers” by Jutting, et al. (2004), one can say that the decentralisation process has led to improvement in development in general and, to some extent, in the rural areas. With its adoption in 1988 and the creation of over 138 districts, now the central government has indeed moved down to the local people as is expected. The District Assembly, which is the representatives of the government at the local level, is the focal point of all administrative and developmental efforts of the District. In addition, they are charged with deliberative, legislative as well as executive functions, and constitute the planning authority at the district level. With decentralisation the government, which was seen as far from the local people, has indeed moved closer to the people (Ayee and Tay, 1998; Ayee, 1999; Kendie and Mensah, 2002; Jutting, et al., 2004).

Prior to decentralisation, however, it was mostly the traditional authorities who were in charge of the rural areas (Busia, 1968; Nukunya, 1992). However, with the adoption of decentralisation, the District Assemblies have assumed this role of being in charge of the rural areas.

Traditional authorities, though enshrined in the constitution just as the District Assemblies, are not given any specific roles and responsibilities. Some tend to act along with District Assemblies which seems to foster peace and progress, while others do not, thus, creating conflict and reducing the pace of development (Crook, 2005).

Generally speaking because decentralisation is basically about devolution and deconcentration of authority, one can say that it is the duty of all the various institutions to ensure development. According to Jutting, et al. (2004), decentralization has so far been somewhat positive in Ghana because there has been some deconcentration. The government has given off some of the duties of central government to District Assemblies, thus involving various bodies (NGOs, District Assemblies, private investors, traditional leaders, etc.), in the development process. Despite this action, one is not sure of some of the roles of the various bodies.

In Ghana the role of the District Assembly, for example is known, since it is enshrined in the 1992 Constitution. The District Assembly is governed by the Local Government Act of 1993 which prescribes the expected role of the District Assembly. The District Assembly is expected to be responsible for the overall development of the District, formulate and execute plans, programmes and strategies for the effective mobilization of resources for production. They are also expected to promote and support activities aimed at productivity and social development. They are responsible for the development, improvement and management of programmes for

human settlement and the environment in the District. Additionally they are to work in co-operation with the necessary and appropriate private, national and local agencies to maintain security and public peace. In general District Assemblies are expected to ensure that the rural area gets developed.

Dia (1996), however, says that formal institutions like District Assemblies, not being rooted in local culture generally fail to command rural society's loyalty. The District Assemblies are seen as replicas of the government. They therefore fail to trigger local ownership of development projects. These two qualities, loyalty and ownership, both of which are catalysts for sustainable rural development are lacking in some District Assemblies. In contrast, indigenous institutions like traditional authorities, rather, seem to have a stronger hold on people's commitment, dedication and sense of identity. They can therefore ensure better participation of local people in activities geared toward their own development. Generally traditional leaders are assumed to be better governors in the rural areas. It is believed that the participation of the local people in rural development is a step towards ensuring rural development's sustainability.

Local governance

Powel (1986:182), states that, "it has generally been realised that rural development depends upon the local people, what they do, what they could do and what they can be taught". Dia (1996), therefore suggests that a networking of the two bodies (formal and indigenous institutions) is needed

to share lessons of experience and best practices to achieve utmost local development. This networking would ensure that rural development will be sustainable. What is essential, according to Dia (1996:2), is “a convergent synergy” of both formal and indigenous institutions. Convergence begins when both informal/indigenous and formal institutions recognise the need for some level of sustained interaction. With this convergence there will be co-operation and not conflict so that a common goal of developing the rural area can be achieved (Dia, 1996).

Similarly, as has been noted by Jutting, et al. (2004), in many countries the recognition of traditional authorities plus their formal and informal integration in local government and various forms of co-operation will lead to improvement in local governance and rural development. The linkage/interaction created between the District Assembly and traditional authorities in Ghana would be the recognition Dia (1996), and Jutting, et al. (2004), are advocating for. This will lead to the peoples’ participation and sustained development at the rural level.

But in Ghana, the leading actor in rural development is the District Assembly. Yet from the discussions one realises that the District Assembly system is not ‘rooted in the local culture’ to ensure the loyalty of the people. In addition, the Assembly is faced with numerous problems which authors like Brown (1986), Dia (1996), and Jutting, et al. (2004), suggest can be made better with local participation through traditional authorities in the process of rural development. This proposal however does not make clear

what role the traditional authorities should play. One is tempted to come to the conclusion that when this lack of clarity as to the precise role of traditional authorities' is made clear, there will be improvement and progress for rural development to be sustainable.

There is then the possibility of traditional authorities playing a significant role in rural development. However, little evidence is available, on what the role of traditional authorities is in Ghana's decentralised state. It is therefore prudent for a study of this nature to attempt to understand what the precise role of traditional authorities is in rural development in Ghana.

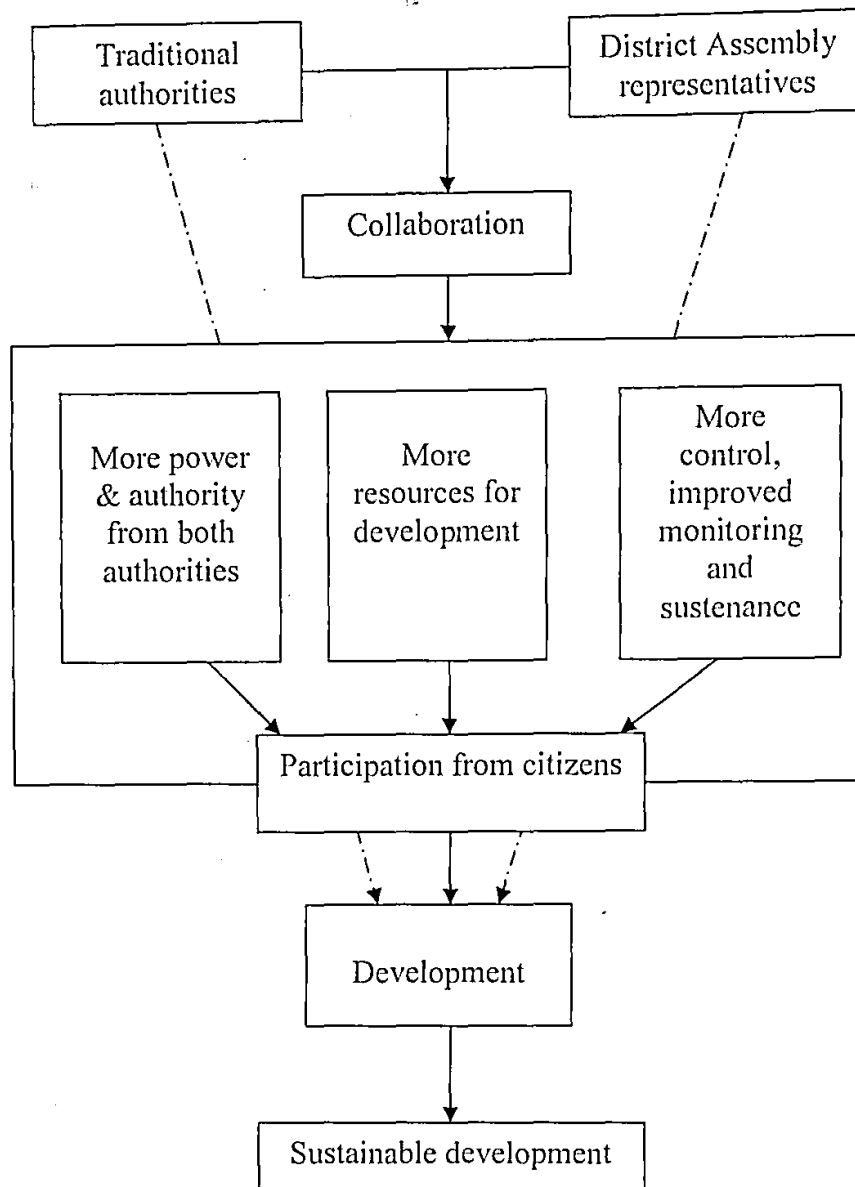
Conceptual framework of the partnership between traditional authorities and the District Assembly for development

Based on the above review, two important things concerning rural development come to mind. These are traditional authorities and people's participation. Traditional authority, as has been mentioned above, is the indigenous form of authority and rule in a given area. In Ghana, the chiefs and council of elders mostly represent traditional authority. People's participation is getting the citizenry of an area involved in development activities.

In this study, people's participation is defined as the involvement of the people in activities aimed at the promotion of development of their locality. Decentralisation is a process that basically delegates roles and authority to smaller units. In Ghana, it is the delegation of roles and

responsibilities of the central government to smaller units called District Assemblies. The literature reviewed proposes that for rural development to be effective and sustained there should be partnership between indigenous leaders (traditional authorities) and the District Assembly representatives with respect to the identification of problems, finding solutions, implementation as well as in monitoring and sustaining the solutions (Chambers, 1986; Dixon, 1991; Dia, 1996; Narayan, 2002; Jutting, et al., 2004).

In Figure 1, it is assumed that both traditional authorities and the District Assembly are very much concerned about development of their areas. While these two agents of development are aiming at local development one is not sure if there is partnership between them. According to Jutting, et al., (2004), these bodies are treated as independent actors. They each have different influences on the people. The influence might cause people to either participate or not to participate as shown by the broken lines. If both traditional authorities and District Assembly leaders have effect on the people to influence their participation in the process of development, what will be the result of the combined efforts of the two through partnership? There will be more power and authority for the people's participation, increased resources, and more control for development. There will also be better ideas and suggestions for monitoring and evaluation to sustain the development as indicated by bold arrows.



Key:
 Existing activities - - - - ->
 Expected activities based on collaboration - - - - ->

Figure 1: Conceptual framework of the partnership between traditional authorities and the District Assembly for development

Source: Author's construct, 2004

According to the literature, to ensure rural development, there should be the participation of the local people (Chambers, 1986; Dixon, 1991; Dia, 1996). This participation is usually obtained through the influence of the traditional authority. It is also believed that through the newly created institutions such as District Assemblies, if they are to act as a team with the traditional authorities as proposed by Dia (1996), there will be more involvement of the local people in development for its sustainability.

The framework is thus suggesting that through the interaction of the two authorities their combined influence will maximise the participation from the people. The combined efforts of the two, the District Assembly and the traditional authorities, result in doubling efforts aimed at development.

The framework supports the assertion of Lutz and Linder (2004), Jutting, et al. (2004), and Ntsebeza (2004), that traditional authorities are relevant in rural development. This is because they as the governors of the rural people most often ensure the implementation of projects in the area. In Ghana, where there have been planted institutions in rural areas such as the District Assembly system, it is still the traditional authorities who ensure the participation of the people in development projects because they have the 'gong-gong' power.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In this chapter, the methods employed in the study are outlined. The chapter deals with the selection of the study area, the study design, the target population, the sampling methods used and data collection. The process of data collection and the method of analyses are also explained in this chapter.

Study area

The study is about the role of traditional authorities in rural development and for this reason it is ideal that the study area be a rural one with traditional leaders and where some development activities are in progress. According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2000), the four poorest regions are the three northern regions and the Central Region. The Central Region has been purposively selected because it is the closest to the researcher. The Central Region is largely rural and of its twelve districts, only four can be categorised as urban (Ghana Statistical Service, 2002).

The Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District with a population of 90,093 has again been purposively selected out of the rural Districts in the Central Region. Firstly, it is located very near the Cape Coast municipality. This gives the researcher easy access to the District for purposes of data collection. It is relatively less expensive and time saving to collect data from a nearby locality than one that is far. Fante is the main language of the citizens. This is an added advantage because it facilitates easy translation where respondents do not understand English because the researcher is fluent in the Fante dialect.

The three villages that are seats of the three traditional areas were purposively selected as the study sites. The three villages/towns are Abakrampa, Asebu and Ayeldu representing the Abura, Asebu and Kwamankese traditional areas respectively. Their selection was also due to their statuses as the business centres of the three traditional areas where it was very appropriate and easy to obtain the needed data for the study.

The Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District (AAK) is a typical example of a rural District where development efforts have been slow (AAK District, 2000). It is located in one of the four poorest regions in Ghana. Within the Central region it has again be classified as one of the rural Districts where development is slow (Ghana Statistical Service, 2002). It is predominantly a Fante speaking District with a few Denkyira speaking communities in the northern part of the District.

It is a relatively young District, and was created out of the Mfantseman District in 1988 by Legislative Instrument 1381. It has a land area of approximately 380 square kilometres and a population of 90,093 people (Ghana Statistical Service, 2002).

The District is located between the Mfantseman District on the east, and Twifu-Heman-Lower Denkyira District on the north-west. On its south-western border is the Cape Coast Municipality as indicated in Figure 2. The northern border is occupied by Assin Denkyira District, while the south-east of the District is a short coastal belt of approximately 5.2 kilometres along the Gulf of Guinea (AAK District, 2000).

The land of this District is generally low and undulating with a few hilly areas such as Ekroful and parts of Abakrampa, Amosima and Edumfa. The District contains four main water bodies: the Kakum, Bruku and Kura rivers, and the Menkensu spring. There are several other small streams which, in addition to the four main water bodies, all empty into the sea in the Cape Coast and Mfantseman Districts. The vegetation was originally tropical rain forest. This, however, is gradually changing into secondary forest due to human activities such as farming and logging.

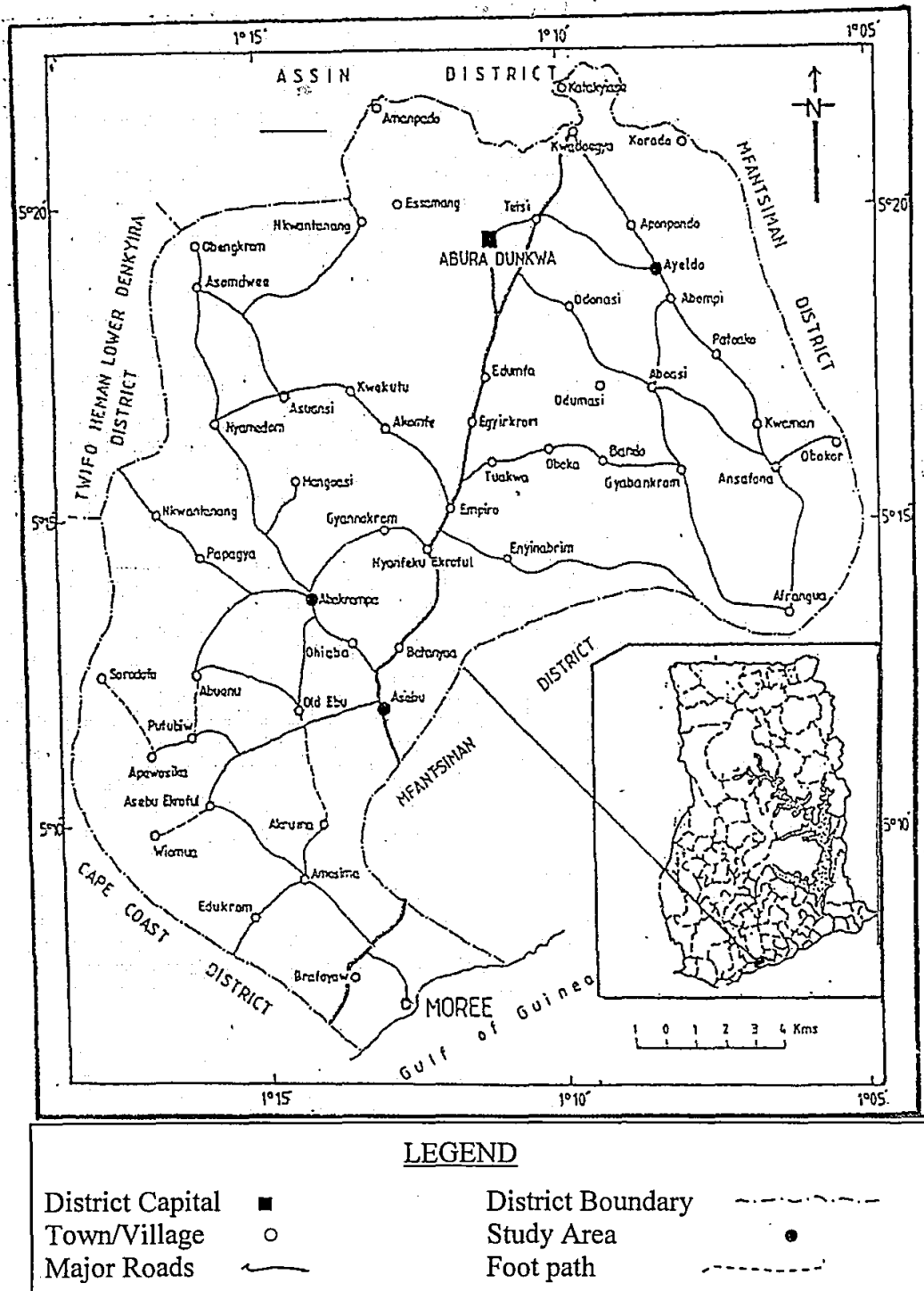


Figure 2: Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District

Source: Cartography Unit, University of Cape Coast, 2007

There are two main rainy seasons in the District. Just like most of southern Ghana, the major one is between April and July and the minor season from October to December. August -September and January - March are dry and usually that is the time most of the traditional festivals take place (AAK District, 2000).

Only six out of the 145 communities are urban with populations of 5000 and above. According to the 2000 Ghana population census report of the Ghana Statistical Service, over 63,893 of the total District's population of about 90,093 dwell in rural areas, with 74% of this number engaged in agriculture. The District has a large dependent population of about 60% of the total population. This is derived from 43% of the population being below age 14, 10% between ages 15 - 19 and 6% being above 60 years of age.

Infrastructure in the District is generally poor. Educational and health infrastructure, water and sanitation, post and telecommunication and even good roads are mostly non-existent. Where they exist, they are either few or of very poor quality. In the health sector, for instance, there is only one hospital at Abura Dunkwa (the District capital) to serve a population of over 90,000 people. The Abura Dunkwa hospital was only recently up-graded into a hospital status. There are also three health centres, one private clinic and one dispensary (AAK District, 2000). There are about thirty-two trained

and recognised traditional birth attendants who also assist with healthcare.

Though the District can boast of quite a sizable number of educational facilities at the basic level, about 60 and 40 schools for primary and junior secondary, there are four secondary schools and two technical institutions in the District. Compounding the situation is the presence of “inadequate trained teaching staff, inadequate equipment and other accessories for practical training and inadequate financial support from PTA” (AAK District, 2002). Aggrey Memorial Secondary School can be said to be the only one with a good standard.

There are only a few skilled people in the District in formal employment. The population is made up of mostly subsistence farmers, fishermen and a few traders. The nature of the population structure (40% active), makes the output of agricultural production, which is the main occupation of the District, to be very small. In addition too, the poor road infrastructure in the District results in low accessibility of these products to major markets.

The District is made up of two town councils, Abura Dunkwa and Moree, with Abura Dunkwa as the capital. There are six area councils and ninety-two unit committees making up the Assembly. There are three traditional or paramount areas Abura, Asebu and Kwamankese each headed by a paramount chief. The traditional

council is in charge of traditional administration and traditional governance.

Study design

The main objective of this study was to examine the role traditional authorities play in rural development. Therefore, the exploratory approach was adopted. By this approach, an attempt is made to explore what exists in the selected location. The exploratory approach was employed because exploratory research is aimed at (i) discovering what exists, especially where knowledge is limited, (ii) advancing knowledge about the structures, processes and nature of social events, and (iii) linking factors and elements of issues into general statements that can be used for testing, revising and even building theories (Sarantakos, 1998).

Target population

For the purposes of this study, the target population comprised residents of Abakrampa, Asebu and Ayeldu which represent the traditional seats in the study area, traditional authorities and District Assembly members. All three traditional areas were selected as against

comparative information of events prior to and after the establishment of the District Assembly.

Sampling

In the selection of respondents for purposes of data collection, two major methods, purposive and convenient samplings were used. Two groups were purposively sampled traditional authorities and District Assembly members, while the third, community members, were conveniently selected. Traditional authorities, were selected because they could supply the researcher with the required information on the role of traditional authorities in rural development.

Purposive sampling is a form of non-probability sampling where samples are chosen by intentionally seeking individuals or situation likely to provide greater understanding of a chosen concept of research (Sarantakos, 1998). The purposive method was employed for the first two target populations, traditional authorities and District Assembly groups, in each of the three selected villages due to the nature of the study and number in each category within the selected study sites. Respondents involved are relatively few and very relevant for the study.

Convenient sampling, however, was used for respondents in the third group of adult village members. This is also a non-probability type of sampling where individuals that are most conveniently available

for the study are selected as part of the sample (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Household listing of the selected areas was conducted for selection of respondents. The selection of respondents was based on availability and willingness to be interviewed.

A total of two hundred and forty (241) respondents were successfully sampled with results for the study from the populations of the selected areas. From Abakrampa, Asebu and Ayeldu sixty-three (63), fifty-eight (58) and sixty (60) members of the community respectively were interviewed. Twenty (20) District Assembly representatives were successfully done. Five focus group discussions were conducted in the three areas with the maximum number of group members being ten (10) and the least being four (4) obtained data from a total of forty (40) traditional leaders.

Data collection

Data for the research were obtained from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data were obtained through the use of interviews, questionnaires and focus group. Identified respondents from the selected communities were interviewed by the researcher, using an interview guide while questionnaires were administered to the District Assembly representatives as a means of eliciting the needed information. This was done because most of the Assembly

representatives were literate. Focus group discussions were conducted for the traditional authorities.

The literacy level of the citizens in AAK District was identified to be generally low from interactions with key informants who reported that the majority of the people there had just primary education with few having higher education. Most of those with higher education had left the community to seek for greener pastures elsewhere. This literacy level therefore was the single most important factor influencing the choice of data collection methods that were, the researcher-administered-structured-interviews for the community members, questionnaires for the District Assembly members and focus group discussions for the traditional authorities.

Along side the collection of primary data was the use of secondary sources of information such as books, articles, journals and the internet. Other sources of secondary information were from District reports and minutes of meetings from relevant and related offices and departments. Such information included the historical role and the functions of traditional authorities, function and role of District Assembly and their contribution to development in the District.

Data analyses

Data analyses enable a researcher to “manipulate” the data obtained during the study in order to assess and evaluate the findings

and arrive at some valid, reasonable and relevant conclusions (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Data obtained from the field by questionnaires, interview schedules and the focus group discussion were first checked for non-responses, mistakes, accuracy and uniformity. This was because similar information was obtained from different groups of respondents using different methods. The research was more qualitative so analyses began on the field in the process of data collection by way of data reduction. This is a "process of manipulating, integrating, transforming and highlighting the data while they are presented" which helps to identify important aspects of the issue in question, to focus data collection and thereby arrive at good conclusions (Sarantakos, 1998).

There was a comparative analysis to see what the situation of traditional authorities is in each traditional area. There was also comparative analysis using frequencies and percentages of findings from the three groups of people to establish similarities and differences. For example, what the traditional authorities reported as their role in development was compared with what the District Assembly group reported as the role of the traditional authority and that reported by the community members, and contributions of traditional authorities in each traditional area. These analyses helped portray the role the traditional authorities are performing.

Analysis of the groupings within a traditional area and across traditional areas was undertaken to find out if there are any relationships between the traditional authorities and the District Assembly. The kind of relationship they have and its effects on rural development were also analysed. These analyses then led to the identification of linkages between the traditional authority and the formal institutions.

Data presentation

The final step of a survey is to present one's results/findings so that the various stakeholders know if one's aims and objectives have been realised. This should be done in such a manner that interested parties can easily appreciate the efforts of the research. Data presentation is an organised, compressed assembly of information that permits conclusion drawing and action (Sarantakos, 1998). This can be done using percentages, frequencies, tables, diagrams and networks and graphs (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The findings obtained from the analyses of data obtained were presented in tables as frequencies and percentages. Network diagrams were used, for example, to present identified linkages found in the role and function of the District Assembly and the traditional authority in each of the three traditional areas as well as for the District as a whole.

CHAPTER FOUR
TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE
ABURA-ASEBU-KWAMANKESE DISTRICT

Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the study. It includes the types of traditional authorities found functioning in the District and their relationship with the District Assembly in terms of rural development. It also focuses on their roles to portray the relevance of traditional authorities. This analysis leads to the way forward for traditional authorities in rural development.

The findings are presented in five sections under the following titles:

- Characteristics of the respondents
- Types of traditional authorities
- Role of traditional authorities in development
- The co-operation between the traditional authorities and the District Assembly, and
- The relevance of traditional authorities.

Characteristics of the respondents.

Respondents for the survey were made up of three groups. A total of one hundred and eighty-one (181) community members made up of male and female heads of household, forty traditional leaders and twenty District Assembly representatives. The survey noted that the traditional authorities and District Assembly representatives are gender neutral. A person of any sex could stand for and get elected as a District Assembly representative. It was however noted that in the survey as indicated in Table 1 that most of the District Assembly representatives were more of male than female. There was however no major reason given for this trend. Traditional authorities, it was mentioned by respondents, are also not determined by the sex, but by birth and position in the area.

Again, traditional authorities and District Assembly representatives are adult leaders and it was found in the study that they could be of all ages. There was however, none in each of the categories below the age of twenty-five years as indicated in Table 2. Similarly there was no head of household younger than twenty-five years. The youngest respondent was 27 years and the oldest 83 years. Though a person of any age qualifies and can be nominated and made a traditional leader, it is usually an adult of sound mind who is nominated to be a leader, and is a head of household.

Table 1: Sex of respondents

Groups	Abakrampa		Asebu		Ayeldu		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Traditional authorities	10	6	8	6	5	5	40
District Assembly	8	0	6	0	4	2	20
Citizens	35	28	30	28	34	26	181
Total	53	34	44	34	43	33	241

Source: Field survey, 2004

Table 2: Age of respondents

Age grouped in 10yrs	Abakrampa			Asebu			Ayeldu			Total
	TA	DA	Cit	TA	DA	Cit	TA	DA	Cit	
20-29	2	0	4	0	0	4	1	0	8	19
30-39	6	2	14	4	0	15	2	0	12	55
40-49	6	0	16	4	4	18	4	4	17	73
50-59	2	4	17	4	0	10	1	2	14	54
60-69	0	2	7	0	2	5	2	0	4	22
70+	0	0	5	2	0	6	0	0	5	18
Total	16	8	63	14	6	58	10	6	60	241

TA – Traditional authorities

DA – District Assembly

Cit - Citizens

Source: Field survey, 2004

Responses from respondents of the survey indicated that the educational qualifications of a person do not affect his/her chances of being a traditional leader, District Assembly representative or head of household (Table 3). Some traditional authorities have no formal education while others had formal education with a few possessing tertiary education qualifications. Unlike the traditional authorities, among the District Assembly representatives who responded to the questionnaire, there was none in all the three areas of study who had had no formal education. Though there is no official requirement that one should be educated to be a District Assembly representative, it was noted that all the District Assembly leaders interviewed had some sort of formal education with the least being completion of primary education. In the case of the citizens interviewed, some had had no formal education, with majority of them having some level of formal education. The highest frequency of educational attainment was those who had completed primary level education which goes to confirm what the District profile literature reports that level of education is low. Thus confirming the choice of data collection method, for the citizens which was the researcher administered questionnaire, while that of the District Assembly representatives was questionnaire.

Table3: Educational background of respondents

Level of education attained	Abakrampa				Asebu				Ayeldu			
	None	Pri	Sec	Ter	None	Pri	Sec	Ter	None	Pri	Sec	Ter
Traditional authorities	2	4	6	4	0	10	0	4	0	0	7	3
District Assembly	0	0	2	2	0	4	2	2	0	2	4	2
Citizens	17	24	14	8	6	30	10	12	5	15	30	10
Total	19	28	22	15	6	44	12	18	5	17	41	15

None – No education

Pri – Primary

Sec – Secondary

Ter – Tertiary

Source: Field survey, 2004

Finally it emerged from the survey that all groups of respondents carry on various occupations such as teaching, farming, and trading. Though some of the traditional authorities like the District Assembly representatives were found to be unemployed, Table 4 shows that one does not need to be employed before one can be a leader or a person of authority. The District Assembly leaders like the traditional authorities, reported that they carry out various occupations along side their role as leaders and representatives of the Assembly. It was mentioned that the fact that someone has authority (traditional authority or District Assembly representative) did not mean that the person should not work.

Table 4: Occupation of respondents

Occupation types	Abakrampa			Asebu			Ayeldu			Total
	TA	DA	Cit	TA	DA	Cit	TA	DA	Cit	
Unemployed	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	5
Farming	6	2	18	6	0	22	2	4	30	90
Artisans	0	0	7	0	2	10	0	0	14	33
Teaching	2	2	6	2	0	7	3	0	7	29
Trading	6	4	8	2	2	6	2	2	3	35
Civil servant	2	0	16	0	0	5	2	0	3	28
Contractor	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	2	7
Self employed	2	0	6	0	2	3	1	0	0	14

TA – Traditional authorities

DA – District Assembly

Cit - Citizens

Source: Field survey, 2004

Types of traditional authorities

This section describes the types of traditional authorities found in the District. A brief description of their characteristics is included. It then analyses the expectations of the people in the three traditional areas with respect to the duty traditional leaders perform.

“A traditional authority is any leader in a traditional setting who rules, governs and makes decisions over a group or groups of people who have accepted him/her by virtue of his/her lineage, to be leader over them. These are persons who have wisdom and competence to lead and direct.” This finding from the survey is in line with what the literature suggests of traditional authorities. They are persons who, by virtue of the fact that they hail from the appropriate family and lineage, have been validly nominated, elected or selected and subsequently enstooled in accordance with the relevant customary laws and usage (Nukunya, 1992; Dia, 1996; and Article 277 of the 1992 Constitution).

Data obtained from field survey shows that a person in leadership position in the traditional area has authority and is regarded as such. This was contrary to what is portrayed in some literature for example Crook (2005), who when talking of traditional authorities mostly consider only chiefs. In the AAK District, all the people interviewed reported that a person in leadership position such as the queen mother, clan head, *asafohene* (leader of the *asafo* company) or fetish priest is also considered as a traditional authority. Traditional

authorities are therefore traditional leaders because of the authority they have with which they are able to lead and direct the people below them. It is due to this reason, that in the study chiefs, queen mothers, clan heads, etc., were considered as both traditional leaders and traditional authorities. The two terms, traditional leader and traditional authority were used by the respondents, are used to mean the same thing. This observation in the survey was also noted in some of the literature. While Busia (1968) and Jutting, et al. (2004), prefers 'traditional authority', Chambers (1986), and Dia (1996), both use the term 'traditional leaders'. The two terms, traditional authorities and traditional leaders are therefore used synonymously in the study too.

In order to analyse the role of traditional authorities, their status in the traditional area is first examined. The state of traditional authorities in the AAK District brings out their role in rural development. This was done by noting the types, examining the characteristics and what is expected of them, what they do and what hinders their progress. In addition their relevance in current times was examined.

The survey showed that traditional authorities in the AAK District are not elected by formal elections. They are nominated and accepted by virtue of birth and/or position in society to be leaders. Apart from queen mothers, the traditional authorities in AAK District are either male or female.

The types of traditional authorities found active in the AAK District are chiefs, queen mothers, council of elders, *asafo* leaders, clan leaders, fetish priests and herbalists. There exist three levels of hierarchy: the paramount, which is the highest, the divisional, and lastly, the village level. The traditional authorities exist on the three hierarchical levels with the exception of fetish priests and herbalists who are not part of the political and judicial structure because they exist for the purposes of health and spiritual needs only.

While a village may not have either of these two types of traditional authorities, other villages could have more than one herbalist or fetish priest. The number of fetish priests/priestesses and herbalist depends on the needs and the beliefs of the people in the village/town. In settlements where, for example, access to health facilities is limited and/or difficult to access, herbalists tend to be many. This is because the herbalist's function is to give medicinal and health relief. In a similar manner, in communities where Christian and Muslim religions are not well embraced by the people, fetish priests and priestess are found to be many. These types of traditional authorities arise due to the needs of the residents of the area. Interviewed respondents who mentioned this, however, could not readily give examples of communities where this existed.

Despite this distinction however, they are all considered as traditional authorities and are respected accordingly by their people as

influential leaders and persons in positions of authority. From the survey although chieftaincy is the highest form of traditional authority in the community, it was identified that within the chieftaincy institution there are various levels of authority as is also mentioned in Kendie and Guri (2006). There is the paramount chief (*omanhene*), the divisional chief (*apakamhene*) and the village/town chief (*odikro*).

The paramount chief is the head of the paramount area and thus the overall boss of the traditional area. He has the highest rank and authority. All other chiefs within his paramountcy are under his command and authority.

There are three paramount chiefs in Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District, one each for Abura, Asebu and Kwamankese traditional areas. In the Kwamankese traditional area, however, though someone has been officially gazetted as the paramount chief, some members of the traditional area do not recognize him as a chief. Another person is recognized by a section of the traditional area as their paramount chief and this has created misunderstanding in that traditional area.

The power and authority level of the traditional authorities graduate from the clan heads to the village chief, then the divisional chief and finally the paramount chief. This power and authority is exhibited together with the help of the councils of elders at each level of the chieftaincy.

Next after the paramount chiefs are the divisional chiefs. They rule over a divisional area, which is made up of several villages and towns. As is typical of the *Akan* setting, every traditional area (i.e. paramountcy) has a maximum of six divisions, namely *Gyase*, *Adonten*, *Benkum*, *Nifa*, *Nkyedom*, and *Ankobe* divisional areas. *Gyase* literally in *Akan* means kitchen, fire place and home. This is usually the area (village or town) where the seat/palace of the paramount chief is. The *gyasehene* (divisional chief of the *gyase* division) is comparable to a vice-paramount chief. In the absence of the paramount chief the *gyasehene* takes charge of affairs. He/She holds fort for the traditional area and attends to all matters relating to the traditional area.

Adonten means main-lead in *Akan*. In the past, villages had territorial fights and the 'adonten' is the group that took the lead as the advance group in the fight. The *Adonten* area is usually the settlement(s) at the front of the paramount area due to the role they play. For anyone to become *Adontenhene*, he/she must be a fighter with the ability to attack enemies and defend his/her people. In recent times during meetings/discussions on development, for example, the *adonten* group performs a major role of taking leadership roles.

Benkum and *Nifa* are left and right wings respectively in *Akan*. The *benkum* and *nifa* divisional areas represent the right and left divisions of the paramount area. Similar to the *Adonten* division, the *Benkum* and *Nifa* came about due to the roles performed in wars and

fighters in the past. One is elevated to the position of divisional chief of the left or right wing/division from a village chief because of these achievements. Out of the villages in both the left and right divisions, the chiefs who are most powerful in times of combat and defence of the paramount area become the *benkumhene* and *nifahene* chiefs respectively.

Nkyedom in *Akan* means rear guard. As the name suggests they are the division at the rear of the paramount area. The *nkyedomhene* is the chief of the *nkyedom* area. He/she protects the paramount area from would be attackers who strike from behind. The prowess of the *nkyedom* is similar to that of the *Adonten*.

The last, but not least, is the *Ankobe* division. *Ankobe* means 'staying put' literally or staying at home. In times of war this is the group that stays at home to defend the territory while the rest of the groups are at war. Depending on one's abilities and achievements, the *ankobeahene* is selected from chiefs within the *ankobe* divisional area.

Depending generally on the size and population of the settlement there could be less than the six divisions. The divisional areas are much smaller than the paramount area, but larger and more populated than the town or village. The next highest chief after the paramount chief is the chief who heads the division, a divisional chief locally called *Apakamhene*.

The last of the three hierarchical levels of chiefs in the chieftaincy institution is the town/village head, the *odikro*. Although the *odikro* is the least chief in the hierarchy, he/she is highly respected and accorded the rights and privileges due a chief.

Traditional authorities in the District are generally gender and age neutral. There are however, two exceptions with regard to gender. For chiefs it was identified that the paramount chiefs were all males and queen mothers are always female. Chieftaincy is generally portrayed to be gender biased and male dominated. However, this was only true of the paramount chiefs in the District. All other traditional authorities besides the queen mothers were gender neutral. There was, for example, a female divisional chief in the Asebu traditional area. She, as the *gyasehene* of Asebu, acts as the paramount chief often because the paramount chief was reported and noted to be usually absent from town. At the village level too there were several females who were *odikro*. The divisional chiefs and village chiefs were also gender neutral.

The study noted that the queen mothers (locally known as *obaahenba*) exist on the three hierarchical levels. These are paramount, divisional and village level queen mothers. However, contrary, to the general view of people that the queen mother is the mother of the chief, respondents mentioned that they are not. Again, though they are sometimes referred to as '*Nana*' the name for chief,

they are not chiefs, but traditional leaders with authority. They are rather or usually a relative of the chief (a sister or a female cousin). It is their role and status that makes people accord them the title '*Nana* and *Obaahenba*'.

Unlike the other traditional areas, Abura has no queen mothers at the paramountcy level. According to the elders and opinion leaders, queen mothers have in the past been the cause of major conflicts. Queen mothers play a major and vital role in the selection of chiefs. They have sometimes rejected the choice of some of the council of elders and approved other nominees. This behaviour by the queen mothers had resulted in conflicts among the families of the would-be heirs, which lasted years. In order to prevent future conflicts over chieftaincy, the council of elders stopped appointing paramount queen mothers in that traditional area.

Another type of traditional institution comprising traditional leaders identified was the 'Council of elders'. This is a group of very prominent people in the community who are referred to as *nananom* or *mpanyinfo*. This group is made up of relatively elderly people as their names *nananom* and *mpanyinfo* (elder, old people in *Akan*) suggest. They constitute the Council of elders of the chieftaincy institution (sometimes called 'chief's elders).

This Council of elders exists on all the three hierarchical levels (village, division and paramountcy) as part of the political structure of

the *Akans*. The Elders who constitute the Council are of both sexes and their educational levels vary from none to the tertiary. This Council consists of the very influential people and leaders in the area. It is usually made up of the chief, queen mother (if one exists), clan elders/heads, *asafo* leader, and the linguist. All members of the Council are automatically traditional leaders. The Elders constitute the think tank of the people at the level (village, divisional, traditional area) they occur. They are therefore consulted for advice and direction both on individual basis and on collective basis. In most cases they are consulted as individuals before a case gets to the chief for the council to be called together as a team.

The linguist (*okyeame*) also has authority and is therefore considered as a leader or person of influence. Similar to the other traditional authorities, age, gender and education are not determining factors. Eloquence, oratory and good knowledge of tradition, history, customs and laws was found to be the factors for selection of linguists. What came to light was that the chief usually has a male linguist irrespective of the chief's gender, but queen mothers generally had female linguists. It was explained that either a male or female could play the role of a linguist. The role requires good oratory and the ability to act as an effective link between the people and their leaders by reporting both ways and relaying information from the leaders to the community.

Next after the linguist, are the leaders of the *asafo* company, a traditional institution. The *asafo* institution/company was a warring faction in the lives of rural people, but with changing trends their energies are now being directed towards ceremonial and developmental purposes. The *asafo* is found among the *Akan* and exists also on all three levels, village, divisional and paramount and in all the three traditional areas. The leadership of the *asafo* is regarded as traditional authority. The leadership is made up of the *tufuhene*, *supi* and *safohene*.

The *tufuhene* is the overall head of the *asafo* at the paramount level and divisional level. At the village level there is no *tufuhene*, there is usually either a *supi*, or *safohene* and in some cases both. The *tufuhene* exists on these two top levels and not at the village level. This is because in the *Akan* setting the *Asafo* company (the military group) is at the divisional and village levels. The divisions constitute the traditional area. The *tufuhene* works in cooperation with the paramount and divisional chiefs for the protection of the paramount and divisional area. The village level is headed by the other leaders in the ranks such as the *supi* and *safohene*.

The *Supi* is a leader in the *asafo* company and is next in command to the *tufuhene*. The *Supi* exists on all three levels unlike the *tufuhene* who exists only on the first two levels. Next after *supi* is the *safohene*. The *safohenfo* (plural of *safohene*) are on all levels. They

are heads/leaders of the individual squads. An *asafo* company has various squads each headed by a *safohene* which could be of either sex. These squads – also referred to as *Asafo* are the smallest units of the larger *Asafo* company. The smaller *asafo* are actually groupings which are responsible for keeping charge of defence, ensuring peace, cleanliness etc in the community and in recent times are taking on a very active role in organising community development.

Another group of traditional authorities identified is the leaders of the clan. The clan is a traditional institution that is very vibrant in the AAK District. The leaders here are traditional authorities and in addition some of the members also form part of Council of the chief at the various levels of the traditional hierarchy. This leadership of each clan is also part of the council of elders. The clan or *ebusua* is basically the family system. It is a group of people, male and female, who are believed to have descended from a common ancestor/ress (Nukunya, 1992). In *Akan* settlement there are several clans. Their leaders or heads are either male or female but mostly male. Clan leaders/heads like the other traditional authorities are members of the council of elders because they head and lead the clan at all the three levels of hierarchy. Like the linguist, the clan head is a link between the clan members and the council, chief, or queen mother. At every meeting involving traditional authorities there should be at least a clan elder or head to represent his/her family be it on the village, divisional

or traditional area level. Although the linguist is present, his duty the survey noted, is to carry the message to the whole people within the locality. The clan head – *ebusuapanyin* on the other hand's role which is more specific, is to relate the information to and discuss with the members of his/her clan.

The variation is that a linguist's duty is just to relate the information or message to the community while that of the *ebusuapanyin* is more of having a discussion with the clan members to ensure that the message is understood. The clan head is to ensure that the clan members understand and act accordingly and where necessary the clan head is to send feedback to the chief or council. The clan head's duty also includes seeking the concerns of their clan members in all area of their life and addressing the issues as and when necessary, but usually very timely.

The fetish priesthood, locally called *akom* has a leadership referred to as *akomfo*, who have similar characteristics as the other traditional authorities identified above. They are also gender, age and education neutral. This group comprises two types. There is the general *akom*, for the general welfare and spiritual well-being of the whole village, and the *akomfo* of *asafo* who see to the welfare and spiritual well-being of specifically only the *asafo* company. Respondents interviewed mentioned that the *asafo akom* is more active than the general *akom* of the District.

The final, but not the least, traditional authority, is the herbalist, locally called *ninsini*. The herbalist is still important despite the presence of orthodox medicine. They offer ready solutions to most health issues at relatively cheaper costs and are not restricted by age, sex or education.

Role of traditional authorities in development in the District

In order to determine traditional authorities' involvement in development, the respondents were asked for their views on various issues such as what they think the traditional authorities should do to promote development, what are their expectations of their traditional leaders, how involved are the traditional leaders in the development of the rural area and what things prevent the traditional leaders from giving of their best.

In response to what people think traditional authorities are expected to do, multiple responses were recorded as depicted in Table 5. The general picture shows the people expecting improvement in their living standards to be ensured by the traditional authorities. These expectations are summed up as the development of infrastructure, ensuring peace and harmony, which is good governance, and promoting the welfare of their citizens.

Table5: Expectations of the people

Expectations of traditional authorities.	Abakrampa		Asebu		Ayeldu	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Development	47	74.60	54	93.10	30	50.00
Good governance	39	61.90	33	56.90	45	75.00
Welfare	27	42.86	23	36.66	18	30.00
Linkages	16	25.40	15	25.86	11	18.33

Numbers are multiples responses

Source: Field survey, 2004

The first three expectations of the people suggested that what the people expect is generally an improvement in the social state of living for them, which, according to the literature reviewed, is development. Development is the change in the situation, condition and living standards of a people for the better Lele (1975), World Bank (1975), and Dixon (1990).

The least expectation reported in all the three communities was in the area of establishment of linkages, represented by 25.4%, 25.8% and 18.3% of the responses respectively for the three areas.

Table 5 shows further that the development of infrastructure was the most frequently mentioned aspect of the improvement expected, with 74.6% for Abakrampa, 93% for Asebu and 50% for Ayeldu because infrastructure is generally poor in the District.

The next issue after development was good governance. This, as can be seen from the table, was the expectation of more than half the responses in the three communities (62%, 57% and 75%). The literature states that one of the duties of leaders is to ensure good governance (Donkoh, 2004). It was therefore not surprising that among the people of AAK District, more than half of the study population expected this form of involvement from their traditional leaders. Good governance is meeting the welfare needs of the citizens. That was ranked third.

Linkages was ranked least because it was said that establishing linkages is not expected of traditional authorities. Traditional leaders, as '*Nananom* of their land', are not to go to the other institutions, it is the leaders and representatives of these other institutions, for example, the District Assembly, non governmental organizations, societies etc. that should come to traditional authorities for consultation and advice and not vice versa.

Having established that the expectations of the people of their traditional leaders have to do with change in the living standards (development), the survey next identified how involved these leaders were generally in development activities in the community. The areas of development that the traditional authorities were involved in are shown in Table 6.

Initiation and implementation of developmental plans appeared to be the most frequently mentioned. This finding is not surprising because the literature reviewed indicated that in rural development traditional authorities hold discussions with the people to arrive at a consensus and, based on the consensus reached, implement together the plan of action (Brown, 1986; Dia, 1996; Dipholo, 2002).

Table 6: Involvement of traditional authorities in the development process

Involvement in development	Abakrampa		Asebu		Ayeldu	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Initiation	37	58.70	23	39.63	32	53.33
Advocacy	41	65.07	49	84.48	33	55.00
Implementation	43	68.25	48	82.75	28	46.66
Monitoring & sustaining	41	65.07	46	79.31	24	40.00
Nothing	12	19.04	6	10.34	18	30.00
Other	0	0.00	1	1.70	0	0.00

Numbers are multiples responses

Source: Field survey, 2004

The consultation and consensus between traditional leaders and citizens result in very active participation of the people in developmental activities, and this is also recommended for sustainable development (Chambers, 1990; Dia, 1996).

The idea of encouraging participation through the influence of traditional authorities is described by Dipholo (2002), as the new paradigm which will result in sustainable development. According to him, the new paradigm seeks to promote indigenous knowledge, it embraces community participation, environmental sustainability, domestically induced growth and good governance. In addition to initiation of plans for improving the status of their communities, the traditional leaders are greatly involved in the actual implementation of the activities as part of their contributions to development by providing resource as in Table 6. by respondents of Asebu, Abakrampa and Ayeldu reporting 68%, 82% and 46% respectively.

The rest of the responses showed that there is also a lot of advocacy. Advocacy by the traditional authorities is represented by 65%, 84% and 55% respectively for the three areas. This is in the areas they can not initiate or implement projects by themselves. The advocacy is mostly directed at the government, non-governmental organizations as well as both foreign and local philanthropists. The advocacy role goes to emphasize that traditional authorities are the mouth piece of the rural populace.

Surprisingly a few people in all three areas reported that though it was expected of traditional authorities to be involved in development, in reality, they did nothing. Traditional authorities are not involved in development. According to these few people, it is the District Assembly representatives that see to, and are involved in the development within the District. The traditional authorities were reported to spend their energies and time on litigations, especially that of land, and not on development.

Table 7. shows the role of traditional authorities in the community. It indicates that traditional authorities' leadership is very paramount. This role is revealed in the responses of 'power and authority' and 'governance and unity' mentioned frequently through all the three traditional areas. In all three areas the role of traditional authorities is viewed mostly in their ability to lead, which is through good governance and unity. For development to take place as noted by Nukunya (1992), Mthandeni (2001), and Narayan (2002), there should be unity and peace. It is through these that the community together with their authorities create a favourable atmosphere for progress and growth. Closely linked with this role is the issue of leadership which was also mentioned as an aspect of power and authority. One could also see that traditional authorities are there for the welfare of the people.

Table 7: Role of traditional authorities in the development of their community

Roles	Abakrampa		Asebu		Ayeldu	
	No	Percentage	No	Percentage	No	Percentage
Power and authority	46	73.01	45	77.58	34	56.67
Governance and unity	48	76.19	30	51.72	42	70.00
Possession and provision of resources	16	25.39	24	41.37	22	36.67
Welfare and voice for people	23	36.50	15	25.86	19	31.67
Other	18	28.57	19	32.75	10	16.67

Numbers are multiples responses

Source: Field survey, 2004

They represent the voice of the people through which their needs and fears are met and prevented as stated by Busia (1968), Chambers (1986), and Morris (1991). Traditional authorities as the "voice of the people" in AAK, is mentioned to be mostly through the advocacy role.

They also perform the role of mouthpiece for the people. In respect of the role of meeting their welfare needs 36% of the multiple responses were from Abakrampa while Asebu had 26% and Ayeldu had 31% (Table 7). The authorities meet the needs through the promotion and ensuring of environmental cleanliness for healthy living.

Focus group discussions with the traditional leaders showed that the traditional authorities are also concerned about the state of unemployed youth engaging in social vices and thereby being a burden on society. In order to prevent youth unemployment from generating into a problem, some of the traditional authorities have come together to organize a programme where resource persons train the youth, especially school leavers, in basic skills and artisans such as dress-making, hair-dressing, soap-making, masonry and carpentry. Key informants that were interviewed also affirmed that the traditional authorities do this activity periodically to prevent the youth from idling, becoming deviants or drifting to the urban areas.

In Asebu, some traditional authorities, for example and specifically, the *gyasehene* and her council, have come together and put up temporary market stalls for traders. This action protects traders

from trading under the direct heat of the sun. Additionally, these traditional authorities have set up a day-care-centre to cater for the education of the pre-school children of the traders. The day-care centre serves a dual purpose.

One is promoting education in the early stages of the life of the rural population. Secondly, it reduces the task of the family especially the women (mothers and older female children) since they do not have to allocate extra time to look after and train the young. In the long run, the actions of the *gyasehene* and her council rather leads to increased productivity in the various duties and job for women and female children who would have had to look after the younger ones. It also creates the zeal for education, especially among the females as well as employment for those who run the centre.

In Ayeldu, there is no formal body like the police for maintaining order. The police have long ceased to function and the station has been closed down. According to the Assembly Man as well as some community members, the police had not been able to maintain order and protection as was expected of them by the people in the community. On various occasions the people have had to resort to the traditional authorities (clan heads and *asafohenfo*) to resolve issues for them. The slow response and action of the police resulted in citizens losing confidence in the police system to the extent that sometime ago the people themselves vandalized the police station for not addressing

their concerns. With time the police found it unsafe and not worthwhile working in the community and therefore closed down. This is one of the reasons for the current absence of the police in the community. Another reason is that the police had been made redundant by the traditional authorities such as the clan heads and the *asafo* who are called on to arbitrate and solve issues most of the times. Lodging complaints with the police involved long procedures for action to be taken, while with the traditional authority action taken to resolve and settle matters is faster. People fear the wrath of the traditional authorities than those of the police so are compelled to obey and comply.

The survey found also that though there is controversy and conflict over the paramount seat, the traditional authorities surprisingly still ensured peace. It is these same traditional leaders that ensure the welfare of the people (i.e. protection and maintenance of peace among the citizens). The traditional authorities have also given land to people to cultivate. This provides jobs and generates income which, in turn, helps to meet the welfare needs of their families. Though there is conflict and no police, the welfare of the citizens does not seem threatened since the traditional authorities are playing that role well. The clan heads, in particular, see to the needs and speak for the people, so there is a seemingly peaceful atmosphere.

A significant role of traditional authorities identified in the survey, which runs through most of the literature (Busia, 1968; Nukunya, 1992; Odei Ajei, 2001; Ntsebeza, 2004), is that of ensuring governance and unity. This role was usually mentioned as the top, main or only role of traditional authorities.

The study finds this assertion to be slightly different on one side of the Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District. According to the survey, the role of governance and ensuring unity was ranked first in Abakrampa and Ayeldu, but second in Asebu. This is because there are other bodies like the District Assembly and the security agencies in the Asebu traditional area that assist in ensuring law and order.

Respondents from Ayeldu ranked ensuring good governance and unity as the highest role of traditional authorities. The high response was explained to be due to the absence of any law enforcing body such as the police.

Finally, 17% of the responses from respondents of Abakrampa, 13% from Asebu and 23% from Ayeldu respectively responded that the traditional authorities play a linkage role (Table 8). This finding is consistent with Donkoh (2004), that traditional authorities link the people with actors outside the District, such as government, NGOs and private investors, and this results in the development of the rural areas.

Table 8: Role of traditional authorities in the community

Roles	Abakrampa		Asebu		Ayeldu	
	No	Percentage	No	Percentage	No	Percentage
Political and judiciary (governance & unity)	37	58.73	27	46.55	37	61.66
Leadership (power & authority)	35	55.55	28	48.27	22	36.66
Social and developmental (welfare & voice for people)	27	42.87	19	32.75	29	48.33
Developmental (possession & provision resources)	20	31.74	14	24.13	12	20.00
Liaison and advocacy (linkages with others)	11	17.46	8	13.73	14	23.33
Spiritual (other)	5	7.93	4	6.89	5	8.33

Numbers are multiples responses

Source: Field survey, 2004

Respondents from both Abakrampa and Ayeldu, unlike Asebu, see the political and judicial role (governance and unity) of their traditional authorities as most important. The leadership role found in the power and authority of traditional leaders is the next most popular role evident in the Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District. The social and developmental role which entails the provision of welfare needs and listening to the people was ranked third also across the three areas.

The least mentioned role is the spiritual role. Though this role is still being played it was reported by few respondents. This suggests that though the role exists, it is not as evident as those of leadership, judiciary and developmental.

Despite praises accorded the traditional authorities by the people, the survey found that traditional authorities did not seem to be giving of their maximum. They, like all institutions, face constraints which hamper their performance, especially in their social and developmental roles.

The traditional authorities in the Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District were found to be ubiquitous. One type or the other of traditional authorities could be seen everywhere. The study found that the most common type is the clan heads. This ubiquitous nature of the traditional authorities makes them readily accessible. Even though the traditional authorities are ubiquitous and readily accessible, certain constraints still hinder their effectiveness. These constraints prevent

the full potential of the traditional authorities from being acknowledged by the people interviewed.

'Poor governance' as the major constraint confirms what some literature reported (Lutz and Linder, 2001). Traditional authorities were reported as bad governors and also corrupt, as shown in Table 9.

The people mentioned things like "They are mere figureheads who cannot rule", "They are always in some sort of conflict", "They want to be rich, they show off during festivals and do not help the poor", "They are not democratic in their governance". These responses by the people seem to confirm what is reported by Lutz and Linder (2001), and Fokwang (2005), that some traditional authorities themselves are not good governors. Although poor governance was generally the most prominent constraint in all three communities, individually each community explained it differently.

In Ayeldu, 85% of the responses were that, poor governance, which stems from the long-standing chieftaincy conflict, was indeed affecting the effectiveness of the traditional authorities (Table 9). The conflict situation makes it difficult for the mobilization of people together for any positive activity by traditional authorities. The conflict therefore impedes the traditional authorities from effectively performing their role of promoting development.

The assembly representatives also reported that this constraint has to some extent halted the progress of some developmental projects

in Ayeldu. It becomes a dicey issue as to which traditional authority has to be consulted to obtain permission to embark on any project in the community or even engage the participation of the citizens in activities aimed at community development.

In Asebu, 79% of the responses indicated poor governance as the reason affecting their full potential. 'Poor governance' was explained as frequent absence from the traditional area. This is attributed to the absence of the paramount chief, the highest form of traditional authority, from the area. The paramount chief, the respondents mentioned is not a regular resident. In his absence the next in command, the *gyasehene*, is also not a resident of the traditional area. This did confirm the report of the people that their traditional leader's absence results in poor/weak governance.

The *gyasehene*, however, unlike the paramount chief, confirmed the report of key informants that she regularly visits the traditional area. She affirmed that she visits the traditional area at least four days in a week due to her other role as an educationist in the Cape Coast municipal area. She added that the frequency of visits of the paramount chief or herself as *gyasehene* usually depends on the issues at stake in the traditional area, such as the number of cases to be settled.

Table 9: Constraints of traditional authorities

Constraints	Abakrampa		Asebu		Ayeldu	
	No	Percentage	No	Percentage	No	Percentage
Poor/bad/weak governance	45	71.43	46	79.31	51	85.00
Not being development oriented	11	17.46	7	12.07	4	6.67
Poor linkages with others	10	15.87	3	5.17	6	10.00
Financial constraints	7	11.11	4	6.70	4	6.67
Others	8	13.70	7	12.07	6	10.00

Numbers are multiples responses

Source: Field survey, 2004

The people reported that their routine absence from the traditional area does not make their presence and therefore the multifaceted role to be felt fully. The power needed to govern, rule and command respect from the people as stated by Busia (1968), and Nukunya (1986), is diminished. This invariably affects development in the traditional area. The people want their leaders to be constantly available.

In Abakrampa, 71% of the responses also indicated 'poor governance' as the major constraint of the traditional authorities just as was the case in the other two traditional areas. Though here it was mentioned that the traditional authorities in the study area are proactive generally towards the welfare of their subjects, when it comes to the welfare of the chieftaincy institution itself, the story is different. Traditional authorities in Abakrampa are unable to enforce some of their own laws and rules. In Abakrampa, this practice creates the perception that the traditional authorities are bad governors, and this perception invariably hinders the progress of development. A typical example of such poor governance was mentioned as the case when a chief becomes too old to rule or dies. Here the process of enstooling a new chief is unduly delayed thus stalling other activities aimed at promoting development. This situation results in some people thinking they do not have leaders and so do not obey rules or orders. Some of the people also do not recognize those acting in the place of the leaders.

Others in the traditional area reported that it shows the authorities are not being responsible by not appointing new leaders on time. The delays often break down governance and the rule of law resulting in poor governance which is needed for development at the rural level.

The next general constraint of traditional authorities cited by the respondents is 'not being development oriented'. According to the citizens, this constraint is a reason why there is slow pace of development in the District. Some traditional authorities concentrated on their own welfare, that is, personal (leadership) ambitions and often times do not make time to deliberate on developmental matters of interest and benefits to the whole paramount area. Very little time is spent on discussing ways of improving the infrastructural status of the area and general welfare of the people.

Some traditional leaders still hold on to the idea of doing things the old way, which seems obsolete now. They say: 'if it worked for our forefathers, it will still work for us; it has been our tradition to do it this way, don't spoil the tradition of our ancestors'. They hardly, therefore, explore or avail themselves to the new ways of development. This was observed especially in Abakrampa where 17% of the multiple responses was that this lack of modern orientation has slowed the pace of development in that traditional area. Their leaders are not willing to try new ways and let alone adapt some of these ways. It is these constraints, that make people (Boafo-Arthur, 2001; Mthandeni, 2001)

think that traditional authorities have outlived their usefulness and thus are no longer relevant for the community and development.

The people also mentioned poor linkages as another constraint. The percentages were higher for Abakrampa and Ayeldu (both inland) than Asebu which is along the main Cape Coast/Kumasi road. Their leaders do not get much contact with the world outside their traditional areas. This lack of linkages with the people outside their traditional area helps explain their 'not being development oriented'. There is little link with outsiders to learn from them about current development trends. In Asebu only 5% reported this as a constraint, due, partly, to the fact that its leaders are not regular at the traditional areas. They were reported to be usually outside the traditional area mostly in the bigger towns and municipalities specifically Kumasi and Cape Coast. Their location along the main road, additionally makes them get more contact with the external communities therein to the creation of linkages which have resulted in increase in development. Traditional leaders are making external contacts and linkages that help promote development. Financial constraint was also mentioned in the focus group discussion with the traditional authorities as inhibiting their effectiveness in performing their 'catering for the welfare needs of their citizens' roles.

The status of traditional authorities in AAK District is that they are vibrant in activities within the District, as established by the survey.

There were seven main types of traditional leaders identified. These are the chiefs, queen mothers, council of elders, linguist, clan system, *asafo* company and its *akom*, all on the three levels of paramountcy, division and village.

Traditional authorities perform multifaceted roles. These are socio-political governing and ruling the town. They also cater for the welfare of the people and act as a link between the traditional area and development partners. Traditional authorities also perform a judicial role by settling disputes, enforcing law and order, and ensuring peaceful co-habitation. When one look at infrastructural development, again the traditional authorities play roles such as advocating, initiating, implementing, monitoring and sustain development projects within the traditional area. Traditional authorities were noted to be performing in addition a socio-cultural and spiritual role. This is in transmitting cultural heritage from generation to generation, and serving as the link between the present generation and the ancestral world and that of the gods. It is these multiple roles that together make them the hub of the traditional area and the District as a whole.

These differing roles played by the traditional authorities, summed up above are most often demonstrated or exhibited simultaneously as intertwining roles as depicted in Figure 3.

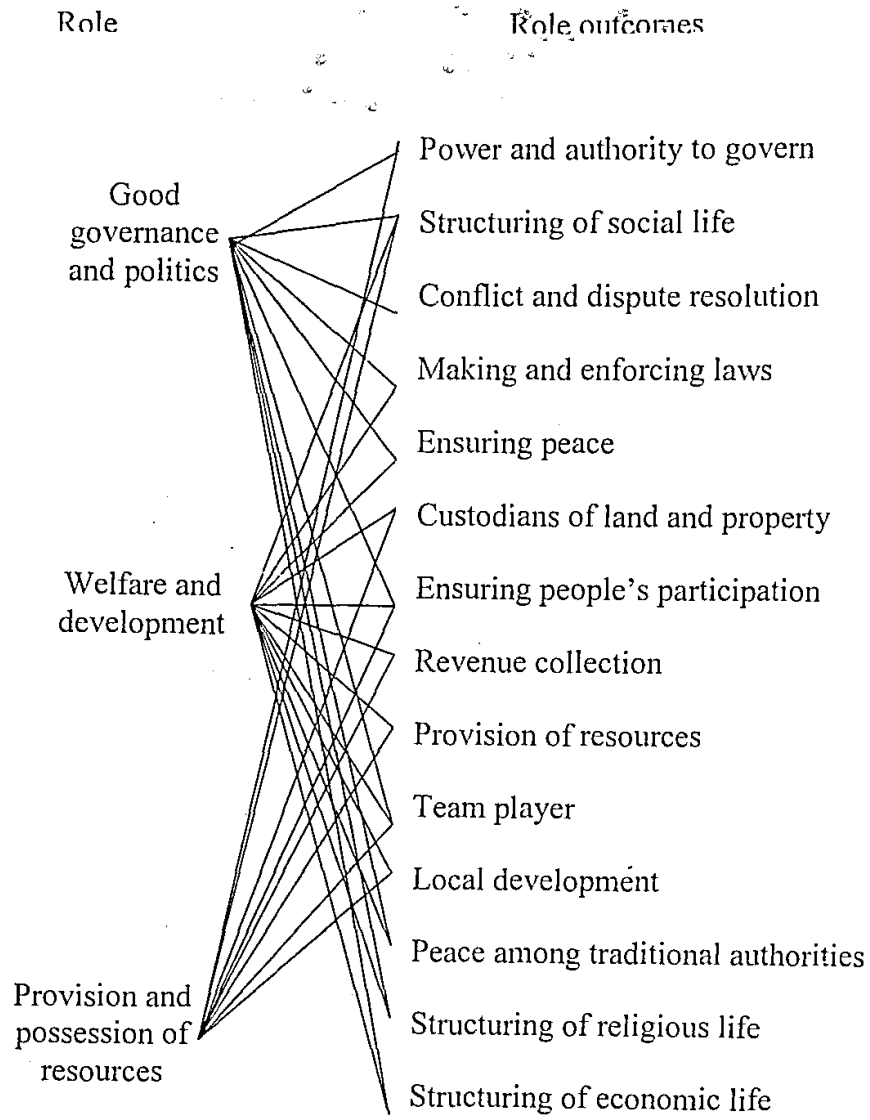


Figure 3: Multifaceted and intertwined role of traditional authorities

Source: Author's construct, 2004

It was also established that despite the multifaceted role that makes traditional leaders the hub and therefore relevant in their communities, a few problems such as poor governance, not being development oriented and financial constraints hinder their strive towards promoting development in the Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District. The constraints, notwithstanding however, the traditional authorities in the study area were found to be the focal point that holds the District together.

Co-operation between traditional authorities and the District Assembly

This section answers the third objective of the study which has to do with traditional authorities and the District Assembly. The first part is unearthing any linkage between the traditional authorities and the District Assembly while the second part is a discussion on the possible areas of cooperation. This section is about how the traditional authorities and District Assembly representatives interact. This is because the two bodies have a common goal, which is to ensure, promote and sustain development.

The section first discusses what the Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District Assembly is in terms of structure and responsibilities. This is followed by a comparison of the District Assembly with the traditional authorities based on which the linkages are identified to see the effect

on development. The aim is to find out how the relationship affects traditional authorities in the study area, and the effect it has on development. It is also to see if Dia's (1996) assertion that 'newly transplanted institutions' (the District Assembly) are not as effective as the indigenous institutions (traditional authorities) is true.

The objective seeks further to find out if the District Assembly has taken over the role of the traditional leaders. The roles and challenges of the District Assembly are also discussed followed by an examination of the relationship between the two bodies with respect to development. Finally, based on the type of relationship that exists, and the effect it has on development, the areas where collaboration needs to be improved are identified.

In 1987 Ghana, adopted the decentralization policy which led to the establishment of District assemblies all over the country. The Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District was created out of the Mfantseman District by putting three traditional areas together as one District. These traditional areas were Abura, Asebu and Kwamankese. The District has one overall leader, the District Chief Executive (DCE), who is appointed by the government. The DCE and the District Co-ordinating Director (DCD) second in rank, together with other administrative staff, assembly men/women and unit committee members represent the government at the local level and are expected to promote the development of the District. The District Assembly, the

governing body of the District, is made up of a three tier hierarchy which is triangular in shape. A few at the top tier but as one gets to the lower tier the number of personnel increases.

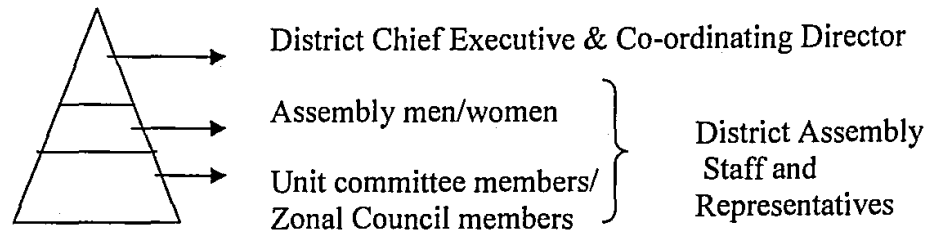


Figure 4: Structure of the Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District Assembly

Source: Author's construct, 2004

The main role of the District Assembly is developmental, as is stated in the Ghanaian constitution. They are to help with the construction of infrastructure, such as, hospitals, schools, roads, markets, as well as the maintenance and sustenance of these infrastructures. The District Assembly as the government's representatives are to ensure development of the District. District Assembly representatives confirmed what is enshrined in the Local Government Act, Act 462 of 1993 as their role. Through the interviews the representatives of the District Assembly added that the constitution prohibits them from meddling in the affairs of other institutions most especially those of the traditional leaders.

Table 10: Role of District Assembly in Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District

Expectations	Abakrampa		Asebu		Ayeldu	
	No	Percentage	No	Percentage	No	Percentage
Development	58	92.06	49	84.48	51	85.00
Welfare	25	39.68	35	60.34	18	30.00
Governance	9	14.28	9	15.51	6	10.00
Link	7	11.11	5	6.62	3	5.00

Numbers are multiples responses

Source: Field survey, 2004

The citizens of the District also agreed that the role of the Assembly is basically a developmental one. Under the laws of Ghana, the District Assembly (local government) has overall responsibility for the development of the District both politically and administratively. They are required by law as stated in the 1992 constitution of Ghana to have executive, legislative and deliberative powers in the District.

As can be seen from Table 10, a little over 92%, 84% and 85% of the multiple responses from respondents of Abakrampa, Asebu and Ayeldu respectively mentioned development to be the most prominent role of the District Assembly. The other roles cited were welfare, governance and linkages in that order.

In each of the three areas, less than 16% of the responses from respondents see the District Assembly to be a body responsible for governance. Similarly less than 12% of the responses from all three areas indicated the role of the District Assembly as being the institution to ensure linkages both within and outside the District and with other institutions, such as, NGOs. The people of the AAK District confirmed the responsibility of overall development of the District to be the role of the traditional authorities. They formulate programmes and strategies for development. For example, in collaboration with the University of Cape Coast, they have modified the development plan for the next six years.

The District Assembly was also reported to be partly responsible for the mobilization of resources for development. These resources include mostly money and raw materials given by the government. A few members of the District Assembly were also mentioned to be involved with promoting and supporting productive activities such as farmers' associations and social welfare groups as well as church welfare groups.

Linkages emerged as the least of the duties of the District Assembly. The reason given is that it is rather the traditional leaders that govern and establish the links with other institutions both within the community and outside the community for the traditional area and the District as a whole. This assertion is similar to what Donkoh (2004), and Fokwang (2005), reported about traditional authorities. Both Donkoh and Fokwang, say traditional authorities are the links between the District and the outside world. Donkoh (2004:3), again adds that the traditional leaders "act as linkage between their communities and development agencies including central government departments, local government organs, NGOs, diplomatic missions, religious bodies and welfare associations". Therefore, despite the developmental role being played by the District Assembly, the role of linking the community with the outside world to enhance their development was not done by the District Assembly. It is the

traditional authorities in Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District who are to play this role in the community and the District.

The study noted that the District Assembly is faced by certain constraints in the performance of the duties which also account for the slow pace of development in the District. These constraints affect the relationship between traditional authorities and District Assembly representatives. District Assembly respondents commented that the continued presence of the traditional authorities had and is in a way reducing the effect of the limitations they face. The presence of traditional authorities is rather in a very subtle way speeding up the process of development.

The major setback faced by the District Assembly is political by nature. In all the three areas, over 50% of the responses indicated that what prevents the District Assembly from progressing as expected is the government or political factor as shown in Table 11. This finding is similar to that of Ayee and Tay (1998), who also noted political factors as the major set back of District assemblies. To them, the over reliance of District Assembly representatives on the government for everything including funds, plans and initiative is the cause of their slow progress in development activities, and especially in the rural areas.

Table 11: Constraints of the District Assembly representatives

Constrain factors	Abakrampa		Asebu		Ayeldu	
	No	Percentage	No	Percentage	No	Percentage
Political	32	50.79	37	63.79	33	55.00
Indiscipline	25	39.68	16	27.58	12	20.00
Poor links	9	14.28	14	24.13	13	21.67
Conflict with traditional authorities	6	9.52	4	6.89	12	20.00
Not being development oriented	4	6.34	4	6.89	5	8.33

Numbers are multiples responses

Source: Field Survey, 2004

The District Assembly faces a problem of insufficient personnel. This constraint is greatly affecting the citizens. There are some villages and settlements that have not seen their District Assembly representatives in a very long time. The only period they saw and interacted with them was just before and after the elections when they came to solicit for votes. The citizens therefore do not 'feel' the presence of their assembly representatives. The body available to see to the needs of the people was reported to be the traditional leaders rather than the District Assembly.

The developmental role of the District Assembly was noted to be based strictly on the plan of the government. The Assembly hardly takes its own initiatives and only acts based on directives from the government and the Central Region Coordinating Council. This sometimes acts as a setback on the District Assembly as is the case reported in Asebu. There the District Assembly constructed a KVIP which was not appreciated by the people because what the people really needed and wanted at that time was electricity and good linking roads.

Such situations occur because there is consultation with government, and a lack of consultation with the people who are the final beneficiaries. All the actions of the District Assembly are mostly political, dealing and liaising with the government.

On the contrary, respondents frequently mentioned that the traditional authorities, unlike the District Assembly representatives,

have regular meeting with the people to know their needs. This has been so because the very existence of the traditional authorities is because of the people. Traditional authorities tailor their actions according to the needs of the people. Their efforts are then in line with the expectations of the people especially where they District Assembly seems to fail them.

Another political constraint which the District Assembly of Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese faces was reported in terms of resources especially finances needed to carry out their duties. As mentioned earlier, District Assembly representatives are fewer in number than traditional authorities and so cannot adequately cover the whole District. It is the traditional authorities who, being relatively more in number, adequately carry out the duty. The District Assembly is financed by the government mainly through the District Assembly Common Fund (DACF). This is a limited fund which is not released on time. The result is that projects get delayed, abandoned halfway or are executed shoddily. The District Assembly has very few means of generating funds or resources, unlike the traditional authorities. The traditional authorities then help the District Assembly out of their constraints by making available most of the resources needed for developmental purposes when funds from government are not forthcoming.

One can see that the political constraint comes about because of various reasons. Another is that the area of operation of the District Assembly is too large in comparison to the size of the personnel. Another constraint is the government not releasing the little funds and resources meant for development on time. In addition, the District Assembly acts, based on the plans of the government rather than on either the wishes of the people or a consensus between the people's wishes and what the government can offer. This finding was across all the three areas.

Indiscipline among Assembly representatives is the second setback of the District Assembly. Unlike the traditional authorities who are checked and guided, to some extent, by the people they rule through the oaths they swear when being made leaders, those of the District Assembly do not necessarily owe any good conduct obligation to the people. Some were reported as being lazy and not carrying out their vision for their electorates, as stated by their own manifesto. Some other acts of indiscipline reported by the people include not meeting with the people regularly to know their needs, not attending meetings (both with the assembly and with traditional authorities) in order to report back to the people, misappropriation of funds and abuse of their position as leaders in the community. These actions of assembly representatives which are rarely found among traditional leaders make it difficult for people to approach them as well as have confidence in

the assembly system. According to key informants, this situation tends to stall progress unduly as the people lose confidence in their authorities and are unable to approach and look up to them.

A poor linkage by the District Assembly with other institutions emerged as the third constraint affecting the role and performance of the District Assembly in pursuing development in the District. Inability on the part of the District Assembly to establish sustainable links with other institutions, especially development agencies, accounted also for the slow state of development in the District. This is seen in Table 11 as reported by 9, 14, and 13 multiple responses respectively in the three communities representing the Abura, Asebu and Kwamankese traditional areas.

The District Assembly has little or no link with other institutions and organizations besides the central government. This lack of linkages acts as a constraint because, besides the government, there was no other source of financial aid to promote development. Due to the poor linkages, development partners are unable to enter into the communities.

Furthermore, it was reported that NGOs hardly link up with District Assembly authorities because of their position as representatives of the government. Too much alliance with them makes the NGOs appear to be partisan, due mostly to the partisan nature of the District Assembly. The District Assembly in AAK

District was found to incline more towards the incumbent political party. This, it was reported, affects the developmental process. The traditional authorities, on the contrary, were found to be neutral so have links with both local and international partners, such as, Plan Ghana, AWARE who have, to date, helped to promote development in the District. The traditional leaders, being non-partisan, find it easier to solicit the help of NGOs.

The next constraint of the District Assembly is disagreement with traditional authorities. This constraint is the result of traditional authorities having linkages with outsiders. The assembly representatives see the traditional authorities as obstacles to progress because of their traditional systems. They see traditional leaders as having more authority than them with regards to their control over the citizens. The District Assembly, for example, has to seek approval from the traditional authorities for the people's participation. The authority of the traditional leaders is derived from the good links they have both with outsiders and the local people. The District Assembly representatives reported that the lack of authority over the people slows the pace of their work. It is the traditional authorities who give authorization for the people to participate willingly in rural development activities. In the constitution, District assemblies are stated as the highest authority in local government, so the representatives find it difficult to acknowledge the traditional

authorities as equally higher authorities from whom they have to seek permission therefore leading to conflicts?

The final setback that was talked of is that some District Assembly representatives are, as was reported of the traditional authorities, also not development oriented. As representatives of the government their major task is to ensure development (Ayee and Tay, 1998; Kendie and Mensah, 2002) as stipulated in the 1992 constitution of Ghana. However, when the District Assembly representatives are not development oriented, then it becomes a factor accounting for the slow pace of development.

Despite the above disagreement between the District Assembly and traditional authorities, there appears to be a relatively general normal relationship between them. As mentioned in Boafo-Arthur (2001), though traditional authorities and District Assembly representatives have their differences, the two usually live harmoniously in the District. The findings of the survey suggest, however, that this apparent normal relationship is one-sided. It is the traditional authorities who relate easily with the authorities of the District Assembly and not the other way round. It was reported that because the traditional authorities are a body that cuts across all aspects of life (multifaceted), they are consulted more often in addition to being present at most meetings. The District Assembly body, on the other hand, see themselves as representative of the government and are,

therefore, only involved in the developmental aspects of the District's activities based on government directives.

The representatives of the District Assembly reach out to the traditional authorities only on matters related to development. The findings suggest that the traditional authorities reach out to the District Assembly leadership on all matters concerning the welfare of the people and the community they rule. For example, the District Assembly leadership is expected to be at the meeting of the traditional authorities where issues concerning the general welfare of the town and its people are planned, yet discussions with both the traditional authorities and District Assembly representatives revealed that this is not happening.

The meetings of traditional authorities are open to members of the District Assembly but the latter rarely do attend, while the traditional authorities make it a point to attend or send a representative to any meeting of the assembly to which they are invited. It was mentioned in all three traditional areas in the focus group discussions that the District Assembly hardly invites the traditional authorities to their meetings because it is expected that the assembly representative will report proceedings to the traditional authorities and the people of his electoral area. This duty is, however, seldom performed.

In the first place, it was reported that most assembly members do not attend their own assembly meetings regularly. Citizens

attributed this to the fact that some of the assembly representatives are not highly educated and do not therefore understand what goes on at meetings (usually conducted in English) to relate them to the traditional authorities. This therefore makes it even harder to report on proceedings to the traditional authorities. Key informants within the District Assembly reported that to make matters easier some District Assembly representatives will rather not attend meetings.

The reported normal relationship stems from the fact that the traditional authorities are able to relate and transfer information to the District Assembly more easily. In addition, the traditional authorities are readily available to District Assembly representatives when they need help. This help is especially in respect of access to land and the people's participation mostly. Besides these two main occasions, there is hardly any effort from the District Assembly to know what is happening in the domain of the traditional authorities with regards to development. The District Assembly representatives see the traditional authorities as backward, traditional and mostly interested in fetish. Respondents in all three areas reported that if the link between the two major bodies were stronger and more cordial it would result in improved development because ideas, resources and efforts would be pooled together.

Specifically for each traditional area it was reported that the proper linking will ensure that there is the active participation of the

people which is a major requisite of development and rural development. This finding is consistent with those of Lutz and Linder (2004). They stated that an increment in the level of participation of the people in rural development will come about only when there is a real link and collaboration between the two bodies. They believe that will result in additional authority over the people. This additional authority is what will cause the increase in participation and thus development. Additional authority in Abakrampa was reported to be in cases where respondents see the two leaders (traditional authorities and District Assembly leaders) working together, for example, during communal labour. This shows there is harmony and it motivates them as citizens to also participate fully in development related issues.

It was reported that the two authorities working in collaboration also leads to unity and peace in the traditional areas. The people's response clearly shows that teamwork between traditional authorities and District Assembly is for the good of the District. The AAK District is rural and needs to be developed. The people reported that because 'two heads are better than one', 'united we stand, divided we fall' and 'there is strength in numbers' they strongly feel that the link between the traditional authorities and District Assembly should be strengthened.

Currently the relationship appears to be only normal and has so far benefited the people, but an enhanced and more cordial relationship

will in no small way add to improving development. Also the general perception of the District as a place of conflict will be changed to a place of peace and harmony, especially in the Kwamankese traditional area of the District.

The survey showed that the Assembly is the representative of the government and sees to the development of the District. The District Assembly representatives, to a great extent, are doing their best in terms of infrastructural development for the District, as reported by the people, and as observed by the researcher. However, like all institutions, the District Assembly is beset by numerous problems which stall their progress.

There also exists generally a normal relationship between the District Assembly and the traditional authorities of Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District. However, the survey established that most of these problems can be reduced further if they link up more with the traditional authorities who are more in number than the District Assembly and have more power and control over the people.

It was observed that though the relationship between the District Assembly and the traditional authorities is normal things could be improved because when the relationship is improved to cordial, the outcomes would be the combined efforts of the two leaderships. In addition the link will make the institutions complementary to each other in promoting rural development as the framework of the study

shows. The existence of the apparent 'normal' relationship makes the traditional authorities very much needed because they ensure the active participation of the people, monitoring and sustaining development projects.

Finally, the survey confirms the report of Dia (1996), and Jutting, et al. (2004), that 'newly transplanted institutions' cannot solely see to the development of rural areas as is evident in the constraints faced. A 'synergy of the two' and 'a delicate compromise' of the two is the answer to the development of rural areas as emerged in the AAK District as depicted in Figure 5.

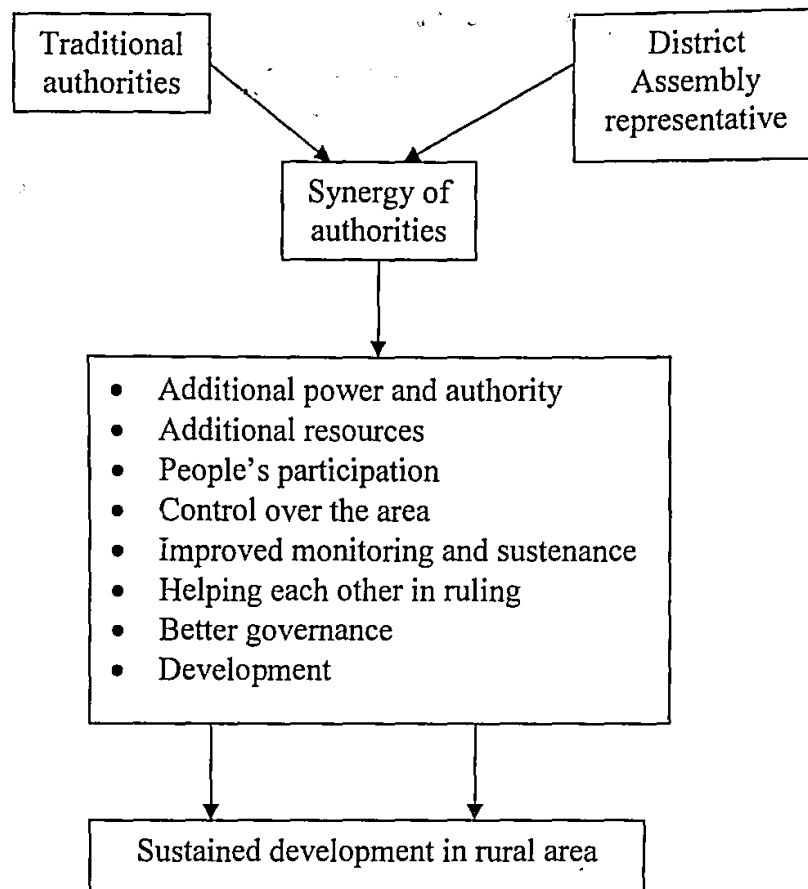


Figure 5: Effect of the linkage between traditional authorities and the District Assembly on rural development

Source: Field survey, 2004

Relevance of traditional authorities

This final section of the Chapter deals with the fourth objective of the research, which is, to determine the current relevance of traditional authorities. There is a lot of discussion these days that traditional leaders have outlived their usefulness, are corrupt, and are

mere figure heads. These assertions notwithstanding, some people believe that traditional authorities still have something to offer and are therefore still relevant.

Issues examined under this objective are the role the traditional authorities play as leaders in the AAK District, the constraints faced by the District Assembly which the traditional authorities help solve, and the effect of the relationship between the traditional authorities and the District Assembly on the District.

Traditional authorities' role

Traditional authorities in the District influence all aspects of life. On the political side, traditional authorities are the rulers of the towns in their traditional area. This is achieved through one or more of the following leaders: chief, queen mother, council of elders, clan heads, etc. Most of them are highly respected (to some extent even more than some District Assembly leaders).

At the social level, traditional authorities play very significant roles, mostly in maintaining law and order and unity, and in social issues particularly related to the family like the celebration of birth, marriage and death. It is traditional authorities who supervise the passage of rites, traditions and festival celebrations. Again, it is traditional authorities who ensure employment by providing land, encouraging education and even health.

Traditional authorities are also noted more than District Assembly leaders for the spiritual role they play in the community. They are the major link between the world of the living and the world of the dead and the yet to be born. Their role as leaders is to seek guidance, protection and prosperity of the citizens as also mentioned by Busia (1968).

The traditional authorities further constitute the judiciary for the people. In the AAK District, because most of the people are poor and cannot afford the cost of formal courts, the traditional courts were found to be thriving effectively. This state of affairs thus makes the judicial role of traditional authorities very much felt in Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese. Most cases are attended to first by the clan heads and if they are beyond them, they go to the higher level of traditional authority, that is, the council of elders, before if unresolved gets to the chief. Rarely do cases get to the District Assembly representatives. The judicial position of the traditional authorities is prominent in the AAK District, because it was reported that the traditional authorities deal with the cases at a much faster pace and in a less expensive manner than the formal courts do.

These numerous roles identified in the study make the existence of traditional authorities very relevant. Without the presence of the traditional authorities development will slow down drastically, socio-economic activities will halt while the judiciary and spiritual services

offered will cease. These roles combined make the traditional leaders the hub of the traditional area and the District. Their role as the hub of the traditional areas and therefore the District is one major reason for their continual existence. Things cannot get done without their involvement. They still exist because they are relevant and are needed.

Traditional authorities were also seen to be playing a significant role in development. As has been noted earlier, they possess and provide materials needed for development, most especially, land. They ensure the active participation of the people, as well as advocate for projects to be undertaken in the District. In sum, one can reiterate that the role of the traditional authorities in the District is multifaceted, and this leads to frequent consultation with them, making it impossible for anything to go on without their knowledge. The District and its people, therefore, need the traditional authorities. Even though some of these leaders do not reside in the District as was the case in Asebu traditional area (both *omanhene* and *gyasehene* live in Kumasi and Cape Coast respectively most part of the time), in their absence there is always a regent or a representative. In the case of clan elders, however, they are always present. As pointed out by Chambers (1986), the study also noted that when the locals are more involved in the development process, especially at the planning stage a sense of belonging is achieved. This leads to responsibility for actions resulting in the monitoring and sustenance of development projects.

Traditional authorities and problem solving

In establishing the relevance of traditional authorities the next issue used by the researcher was the constraints faced by the District Assembly. As was noted earlier, it is the presence of the District Assembly that makes the relevance of traditional authorities once again to be felt. This is mostly because their presence cushions the effects of the constraints faced by the District Assembly representatives.

In the AAK District it was evident that the District Assembly is handicapped politically. Their area of operation is large as compared to their personnel size. In addition, the influence of the government in the plans and activities of the District Assembly makes it difficult for the assembly to perform to expectation. Other factors like lack of finance, people's participation, power, etc., also affect the output of the District Assembly in terms of development of the District. The study established that with all these constraints it is the presence of the traditional authorities and their contributions to society that decrease the effect of the constraints as well as enables development to occur.

It came to light that without the traditional leaders the District Assembly leaders and the District as a whole would not be where it is now. Indirectly then, the short fall of the District Assembly in development is filled up by the traditional leaders' presence, influence and contributions. This situation makes the presence of the traditional

authorities to be relevant. They provide the alternative solution to the problems faced by the District Assembly, hence their relevance and their continual existence in the rural areas.

Although some reports imply that traditional authorities are irrelevant, yet still some authors like Dia (1996), Lutz and Linder (2004), and Jutting, et al. (2004), dispute this assertion. Rather, they say that traditional authorities are still relevant and have not out lived their usefulness. They suggest that for the rural areas to develop to expectation, the solution will be not a replacement of the traditional authorities with new institutions such as the District assemblies, but rather the collaboration of the two institutions. It is the synergy from the collaboration that was found to be ensuring sustainable rural development in the District.

Collaboration of traditional authorities with District Assembly authorities

The third point that emerged from the study which also confirms the relevance of the traditional authorities in the District is in the effect of their relationship with the District Assembly authorities on development. The effect of this relationship was found to be promising if enhanced.

It was reported that through this relationship there is an increase in resources for developmental purposes. There is also an increase in

people's willingness to participate in development activities. Additionally, the effect of the relationship is that while there is increment in participation by the people, there is an additional authority to govern the people as suggested by the framework of the study. This ensures peace and harmonious living in the District. The additional authority provided by the traditional authorities (clan heads and the *asafo* leaders) also ensures the sustainability of development in the District.

The study also noted that the presence of the relationship helps in 'moving mountains'. It was reported that sometimes it is difficult to get some action taken by the government and NGOs unless there is the backing of the traditional authorities who are the custodians of the land. When there are two or more groups requesting for a need or project, it implies that there is harmony and coordination in the community, traditional area etc, within the District between the traditional leaders and the non traditional leaders.

The traditional rulers are more permanent in terms of authority and rule than the District Assembly representatives who have a minimum of four years. This characteristic makes accountability of development assured. The traditional leaders will be available to render accounts unlike the representative of District Assembly who does not get to be re-elected. Though the District Assembly is the highest authority, as the Constitution stipulates, with the backing of the

traditional authorities assignments are accomplished faster than would have been if only the District Assembly had to accomplish them.

The above reasons therefore make the District Assembly some times thankful for the presence of the traditional authorities and more especially for the fact that they are easy to approach. Within the District the normal relationship helps to propel development. There is increased development, people's participation is assured and increased as Lutz and Linder (2004), suggests.

This finding also corroborates Dia (1996)'s, proposition for an intertwining of the two bodies of authorities for effective rural development. In AAK District the two bodies are in a normal relationship which has caused development to be at the level it is now. Traditional authorities are therefore very relevant if development should get better by the relationship moving from normal to cordial.

CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND
RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The study set out with the aim of finding out what the role of traditional authorities is currently with the establishment of District Assembly. This is because though they have been relegated to the background by Ghana's decentralization policy, they are active in the rural areas especially in terms of development. The traditional leadership there has maintained important cultural, social, and judicial functions at the District level. The goal of the research was achieved through identifying the types of traditional authorities, their role, their cooperation with the District Assembly and their relevance in the District in general.

Summary of findings

Traditional authorities are persons who, by nature of their birth (royal family) or their influence and ability are nominated and accepted by the people to rule and lead them. These persons are both male and female and usually are regular native residents of the community. These people are accepted as traditional authorities irrespective of their

educational background. There are two main categories of traditional authorities. The first category comprises six different types of traditional authorities who constitute the political system of the *Akan* society and exist on three hierarchical levels of paramountcy, divisional and village. The six types of traditional authorities are the chiefs, queen mothers, members of the council of elders, the linguist, leaders of the *asafó* companies and the clan leaders. The second category is composed of the fetish priesthood and the herbalists. These two do not necessarily exist on the three levels as the traditional authorities in the first category due to the slightly unique functions they perform. The herbalist sees to the health needs of the community while the fetish priest sees to their spiritual well-being. Even though they are acknowledged as traditional authorities, they do not form part of the traditional political system.

The role of the traditional authority which was the focus of the study was noted to be multifaceted. This multifaceted role makes them the focal point of all activities in their areas of jurisdiction and the District as a whole. The multifaceted role of the traditional authorities is summed as socio-political, judicial, developmental, socio-cultural and spiritual. It is these that make them the hub of the village, divisional area and the Districts. The multifaceted role of traditional authorities as the hub of the traditional area was seen also in three ways which helps to foster rural development. These are ensuring good

governance, ensuring that the welfare and needs of their people are met, and possession and provision of resources for development. Again their multifaceted role was also evident as a buffer in the areas of easing the effects of the constraints of the District Assembly. Finally, the multifaceted role of traditional authorities was felt as the link up with other institutions and agencies to ensure the progress of development by being good team players.

One of the objectives of the study was to find out the relationship that exists between the traditional authorities and the District Assembly representatives for possible areas of collaboration. In the District there is a normal relationship between the traditional authorities and the leaders of the District Assembly. This relationship helps the District Assembly, in particular, and the District, as a whole, to promote development. The effect of the relationship of the two institutions leads to a remarkable increase in development activities such as additional resources from the traditional authorities in the provision of land and the availability of the locals for participation in development projects. It was also mentioned that in some cases the government and development agents would only endorse and give approval for a project only when there is the input of a traditional authority. According to the District Assembly representatives interviewed, the input of the traditional authorities adds 'weight' to their requests. It further assures the development agents that there is

harmony within the District for the activity to go on. Despite the normal relationship, more needs to be done. In the area of authority, there is still that tension of who is superior. It was reported that if there is more collaboration in this area there will be no rivalry which will yield rather to opening up the District for more development projects. Another area for more teamwork was the ability to sustain development which was identified to be a major problem in the District. The District Assembly common fund and raw materials supplied by the government were noted to be limited and hardly released on time. More cordial collaboration means more development which is sustained.

The study sought to establish if traditional authorities were still relevant. The answer emerged out of the outcomes of the other objectives. The first being the presence and existence of the various types of traditional authorities with two main categories, majority of whom make up the political hierarchy of the District at all three levels of authority. If they were not relevant, they would not have existed. If even they did exist, they would not have been the various types and further still they would not have formed part of the political structure at the various levels of village, division and paramount. The second reason to prove the relevance of traditional authorities was through the multifaceted role they perform so well in the District. These roles are summed up as hub of the village, division and paramount area, buffer

for the District Assembly in terms of lessening constraints and team player as links between the people and the government, NGOs and other development partners. Finally the study proved that traditional authorities are relevant in the collaboration they have with the District Assembly. They exist side by side; with the traditional leaders helping the District Assembly representatives in the strive towards sustained development in the District. These reasons are what prove that traditional authorities are still relevant and not irrelevant.

Conclusions

Based on the summarised findings above, the following conclusions are drawn in respect of the study objectives:

There are two main categories of traditional authorities functioning in the District. The first category comprises the chiefs, queen mothers, council of elders, linguist, leaders of *asafo* and clan leaders who form the core of the traditional setting as the political body. They operate on the three levels of authority namely, paramount, division and village. The second category is made up of the herbalist and the fetish priest, who are not part of the political structure of the traditional setting, yet they are equally respected and accorded all the necessary privileges due traditional authorities. The conclusion drawn was that though there is a distinction in the types of traditional authorities, both categories are accorded the respect due traditional

authorities. Again, irrespective of the type it was concluded that sex, age, and educational background are not determining factor in the selection of a person as any of the categories traditional leaders. Finally, the presence of the various types of traditional authority concludes that they are still relevant.

The research concluded also that the role played by the various types of traditional authorities within the traditional area with the people, and outside the traditional area with other institutions makes them to be considered as a hub in the village, division and traditional area. Nothing could go on successfully without an input from the traditional leaders. They further act as a buffer to offset the effects of the constraints being faced by the District Assembly representatives in their strife to promote and sustain development in the District. The traditional authorities' role in linking up the people, the District Assembly and other institutions buttresses the conclusion that traditional leaders are good team players. This role which is played effectively further affirms the conclusion that traditional authorities are better team players than the District Assembly. Once again the study concluded that the role of traditional leaders as the hub, buffer and team player proves their relevance and thus their continual existence for the people, development of the traditional area and District.

The summary findings of the relationship and co-operation between the traditional authorities and the District Assembly

representatives led to the conclusion that there exists a normal relationship in Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District which is contrary to most rumours that there is conflict between traditional authorities and District Assembly representatives especially in the Kwamankese traditional area. This normal relationship helps promote bottom up approach to development. This is because the leaders (traditional authorities and District Assembly representatives) relate easily with the people, reach consensus on issues which result in the people's willingness to fully participate in activities aimed at improving their community and themselves. It was further concluded that the existing normal relationship though fosters progress in development should be improved to make development progress faster and be more sustainable.

Finally, the research concluded that there are no major differences in the behaviours, roles and expectation of traditional authorities based on their locations within the District. Traditional leaders are still very relevant in all parts of the Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District and also for rural development. This conclusion stems from the findings that there are various types of traditional authorities who are performing very significant roles in their traditional areas for the people and in development. In addition they relate and cooperate well with the District Assembly for the benefit of the people, the traditional area as well as development in general. The conclusion

is that traditional authorities irrespective of their location (Abakrampa, Asebu or Ayeldu) in the District are indeed not irrelevant but still vital as has been generally concluded and therefore a force to reckon with in the development of Ghana especially in the rural areas.

Recommendations

Based on the conclusions drawn from the study, the following recommendations are made to traditional authorities, District Assembly representatives, and citizens.

Traditional authorities should:

- improve on the multifaceted roles identified by being more proactive in the village, divisional and traditional area to maintain their position as the hub for development.
- act as the buffer in lessening the effects of the constraints faced by readily providing the necessary resources needed development and progress of the District.
- be better team players in the District by collaborating more with the District Assembly and other agents through their linkage role so that the combined efforts will enhance development as well as improve their status in society.

District Assembly representatives should:

- see and recognise the traditional authorities as co-partners in development who should be collaborated with so that development in the rural area will be rapid and sustainable.
- reduce their over reliance on the government and seek alternative and additional avenues and resources for promotion of development to lessen the constraints they face.

Citizens are also advised to:

- support traditional authorities in the execution of their multifaceted role, by readily participating in activities aimed at promoting and sustaining development in the area.
- recognise traditional authorities as relevant and accord them the due respect.

REFERENCES

- Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District Assembly. (2000). Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District Profile. Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese.
- Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District Assembly. (2000). Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District Report: Medium term development plan 2002 -2004 District Planning Coordinating Unit and UCC Consultancy Unit (unpublished work).
- Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District Assembly. (2004). Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese Annual Report: List of Project for 2001. Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese.
- Afari-Gyan, K (1998). The Ghanaian Constitution: An introduction. Ghana: Friedrich Ebert Foundation.
- Akuoko-Frimpong, H. (1986). The need for an effective decentralised framework to promote development from below. In Brown, C. K. (Ed.). (1986). Rural Development in Ghana. (pp295-304) Accra: Ghana Universities Press.

- Arhin, K. (2002). The Political System of Ghana. Accra: Sedco Publishing Ltd.
- Ayee, J. R. A. (1999). Decentralisation and conflict: The case of District Chief Executives and members of parliament in Ghana. Ghana: Friedrich Ebert Foundation.
- Ayee, J. R. A. (2000). 2000, June. "Chieftaincy and Modern Politics: Chieftaincy and the new local government system". Paper presented at symposium on the theme Chieftaincy and modern politics organised by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon.
- Ayee, J. R. A. & Tay, F. D. (1998). 1998, 9-11 November. A Decade of Decentralization Reforms in Ghana 1988-1998. Paper presented at the project workshop on 'Policies and practices supporting sustainable development in Sub Saharan Africa' in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire, Retrieved April 8, 2004 from <http://www.cdr/dk/sscafrica/ay&ta-ghahtm>
- Boafo-Arthur, K. (2001). Chieftaincy and politics in Ghana since 1982. West Africa Review: 3.1. Retrieved March 4, 2004 from <http://www.africaresource.com/war/vol3.1/boafo.html>
- Brempong, A. (2001). Transformations in traditional rule in Ghana (1951-1996). Accra: Sedco Publishing Ltd.

- Brown, C. K. (1986). Towards a meaningful approach to the organization of rural development in Ghana. In Brown, C. K. (Ed.). (1986). Rural development in Ghana. (pp285-294) Accra: Ghana Universities Press.
- Busia, K. A. (1968). The position of the chief in the modern political system of Ashanti. London: Oxford University Press.
- Cartography Unit, University of Cape Coast. (2007). District map of Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese. Cape Coast: University of Cape Coast.
- Chambers, R. (1986). Rural development: Putting the last first. United Kingdom: Longman Scientific and Technical Group.
- Crook, R. (2005). The role of traditional institutions in political Change and Development. CDD/ODI Policy Brief No. 4. Ghana Centre for Democratic Development. Accra: CDD/ODI.
- Dia, M. (1996). Africa's management in the 1990s and beyond: Reconciling indigenous and transplanted institutions. Washington DC: World Bank.
- Dipholo, K. B. (2002). Trends in participatory development. In Journal of social development in Africa Vol. 17. No 1 (59-80).
- Dixon, C. (1990). Rural development in the Third World. New York: Routledge.

- Dobge, T. (2003). Methodologies for engaging with traditional authorities and indigenous institutions. In engaging with traditional authorities and indigenous institutions to facilitate sustainable community organisational development: Some experiences. Accra: CIKOD, July 2003.
- Donkoh, W. J. (2004). Traditional leadership, human rights and development: The Ashante example. Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi: Retrieved May 12, 2007 from <http://www.gpiatlantic.org/conference/reports/donkoh2215.pdf>
- Ewusie, K. (1987). Planning for the neglected rural poor in Ghana. Accra: New Times Corporation,
- Fokwang, J. (2005). Tribal innovators? Traditional leadership and development in Africa. In CODESRIA Bulletin No 3. Africa Development/Afrique et developpement Vol. XXX, No.3, 2005 (41-43).
- Ghana Statistical Service. (2000). Ghana living standard survey Report of the Fourth (GLSS 4). Accra: Ghana Statistical Service.
- Ghana Statistical Service. (2002). 2000 Population and housing census. Summary report. Accra: Ghana Statistical Service.

- Jennings, R. (2000). Participatory development as a new paradigm: The transition of development professionalism. Conference paper on Community based reintegration and rehabilitation in post-conflict Settings. Washington, DC:
- Jutting, J., Kauffmann, C., McDonnell, I., Osterrieder, H., Pinaud, N., & Wegner, L. (2004). Decentralisation and poverty in developing countries: Exploring the impact. OECD Development Centre Working Paper No. 236
- Kendie, S. B & Guri, B. Y (2006). Indigenous institutions as partners for agriculture and natural resource management in African knowledge and sciences. In Millar, D., Kendie, S. B., Apusigah, A.A. & Haverkort, B. (Eds.). (2006). African knowledge and sciences: Understanding and supporting the ways of knowing in Sub Saharan Africa. Compas Series No. 3 USD/Compas/CTA 2006.
- Kendie, S. B. & Mensah, J. V. (2002). Local governance performance: Case study of five Districts of Ghana. Accra: Buck Press Ltd
- Kudiabor, C. D. K. (1986). Policy objectives and strategies for integrated rural development in Ghana. In Brown, C. K. (Ed.). (1986). Rural development in Ghana. (pp 26-32) Accra: Ghana Universities Press.

- Lele, U. (1975). The design of rural development: Lessons from Africa. United States of America: John Hopkins University Press.
- Lutz, G. and Linder, W. (2004). Traditional structures in local governance for local development. Switzerland: University of Berne.
- MaKumbe, J. (1996). Participatory development. The case of Zimbabwe. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.
- Miles, M. B. and Huberman, A. M. (1994). Qualitative data analysis. New Delhi, India: SAGE Publications.
- Morris, J. (1991). Managing induced rural development. Bloomington, Indiana, United States of America: International Development Institute.
- Mthandeni, E. D. (2001). Traditional leaders and new local government dispensation in South Africa. (unpublished) South Africa: Natal University. Retrieved May 11, 2005 from http://www.pacte.cnrs.fr/IMG/pdf_18_Mthandelini.pdf
- Narayan, D. (Ed.). (2002). Empowerment and poverty reduction. A source book World Bank, Washington DC.

- Ntsebeza, L. (2004). 2004, 21-22 October. Rural development, traditional authorities and democracy in South Africa. Conference paper. Reviewing first decade of development and democracy in South Africa, South Africa: University of Kwazulu-Natal.
- Nukunya, G. K. (1992). Tradition and change in Ghana: An introduction to sociology. Accra: Ghana Universities Press.
- Odei Adjei, M. (2001). Indigenous knowledge systems and good governance in Ghana: The traditional Akan socio-political example. Accra: Institute of Economic Affairs.
- Owusu-Ansah, K. A. (1986). Managing rural socio-economic development in Ghana: Towards improved performance. In Brown, C. K. (Ed.). (1986). Rural development in Ghana. (pp237-261). Accra: Ghana Universities Press.
- Powel, J. W. (1986). The Role of Technological University in Integrated rural development. In Brown, C. K. (Ed.). (1986). Rural Development in Ghana. (pp181-190). Accra: Ghana Universities Press.
- Sarantakos, S. (1998). Social research. Hong Kong: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- World Bank. (1975). The assault of world poverty: Problems of rural development education and health. United States of America: Johns Hopkins University Press.

APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

This is a study about the role traditional authorities play in rural development. You will be asked some questions for answers. Anonymity is assured since no name will be attached to information given. The answers you give will be used strictly for academic purposes which are to aid development in rural area.

Thank you for willing to participate in this exercise.

BIODATA

Citizen-ID. _____

- a) Age:
- b) Sex:
- c) Marital status:
- d) Educational background
- e) Occupation:
- f) Length of stay in traditional area/District:
- g) Position in traditional area:
- h) Usual place of residence: (i) in this traditional area,
(ii) outside this traditional area, but
within District,
(iii) outside this District

INDIGENOUS/TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Intro: I will want to ask you some questions about indigenous/traditional institutions (associations) that help in governing, running and development of communities/village/District such as chieftaincy, asafo, clan and fetish priesthood.

Q.1 Are there any of such institutions as mentioned above that help in the governing and running of the community in this traditional area?

No (Go to Q6)

Yes

Q.2 What are these institutions?

.....

.....

.....

Q.3 Who are the leaders of the institutions mentioned?

i iv..... vii.....

ii..... v..... viii.....

iii..... vi..... xi.....

TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES

Q4. What are the traditional roles and functions of the authorities/leaders (Q.3) in these institutions?

Institution authority	Traditional roles and functions of leaders in this traditional area

Q5. What are the current roles and functions of the authorities/leaders in these institutions?

Institution authority	Current roles and functions of leaders in this traditional area

RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Intro: I would like to ask some questions about **rural development** (these are efforts aimed at improving the living conditions of the people living in rural areas such as improved agriculture, better education, improved health, infrastructure development and environmental management).

Q6. What do you understand by the term (rural) development

.....
.....

Q.7 What are some of the roles one can play in carrying out rural development to be sustainable. (tick all mentioned)

- a) Identification of problems ...
- b) Planning and designing of solution ...
- c) Implementation of solution ...
- d) Monitoring of solution (project/intervention) ...
- e) Evaluation of solution (project/intervention) ...
- f) Maintenance of solution (project/intervention) ...
- g) Other please specify:.....

Q.8 What do you perceive as the role of the traditional authority in (rural) development

.....
.....

Q. 9. What factors hinder the traditional authorities from performing this perceived role?

.....
.....

Q10. What is the role of the District Assembly?

.....
.....

Q. 11. What do you perceive as the role of the District Assembly in (rural) development?

.....
.....

Q. 12. What factors hinder the District Assembly from performing this perceived role?

.....
.....

Q 13. What has the role of the traditional authority in (rural) development been in the past?

.....
.....

Q. 14. How have traditional authorities in the past (prior to 1988) contributed to improving the living conditions of their people?

.....
.....

Q 15 Do traditional authorities have a role in development?

Yes.....(go to Q16), No, Why

.....
.....

(if no, go to Q 17)

Q 16 What is the role of the traditional authority in rural development currently with the establishment of District assemblies? How do

traditional authorities now (since to 1988) contribute to improving the living conditions of their people?

.....
.....

RESILIENCE OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES

Intro: Formerly, traditional/indigenous institutions leaders/authorities used to run and develop the communities in the traditional areas together with the government. With the decentralisation policy of 1988, the District Assembly is now expected to perform most of these duties. Traditional institutions are still existing and functioning. In your opinion, what factors contribute to the continual existence of the traditional authorities (institutions)?

Q17. Having stated the functions and roles of the traditional authority, and your perceived role of them in rural development, in your opinions what do you think has helped them continue to exist?

- i).....
- ii).....
- iii).....
- iv)
- v)

Q.18. Would you say that traditional authorities are still relevant for rural development?

Yes..... (go to Q 19)

No.....(go to Q 20)

Q. 19 Yes, why?

.....
.....

Q.20. No, why?

.....
.....

INSTITUTIONAL LINKAGES

Intro: I would like to ask you about projects/efforts that have been done in this traditional area by the traditional authorities aimed at improving the living conditions of the people, this could be in the area of improved agriculture, health, education, infrastructure, environmental management etc.

Q.21. What developmental projects/efforts have been undertaken in this traditional area by the traditional authorities aimed at improving the living conditions of the people?

- | | |
|-----------|----------|
| i | ii |
| iii | iv |
| v | vi |

Q. 22. In the execution of such projects (listed above) was there any involvement of members of the District Assembly such as in planning, finance, implementation, monitoring etc?

No

Yes

Don't Know (go to Q 25)

Q 23 If 'yes' what was the form of involvement

.....
.....

Q 24 If 'no' why was there no involvement of members of the District Assembly?

.....
.....

Q 25. Did the people participate actively?

No

Yes

Q.26. Who ensures that the people participate actively?

.....
.....

Q.27. Why did (answer in Q26) ensure the peoples' participation?

.....
.....

Intro: I would now like to ask you about projects that have been done in this traditional area by the District Assembly aimed at improving the living conditions of the people, this could be in the area of health, education, infrastructure, environmental management etc.

Q.28. What developmental projects have undertaken in this traditional area by the District Assembly aimed at improving the living conditions of the people?

- i
- ii
- iii
- iv
- v
- vi

Q.29. In the execution of such projects (listed above) was there any involvement of members of the traditional authority such as in planning, finance, implementation, monitoring etc?

No

Yes

Don't Know (go to Q32)

Q.30. If 'yes' what was the form of involvement?

.....
.....

Q. 31. If 'no' why was there no any involvement of members of the traditional authorities?

.....

.....
Q. 32. Did the people participate actively?

No

Yes

Q. 33. Who ensures that the people participate actively?

.....
.....

Q.34. Why did answer in Q33 ensure the peoples' participation?

.....
.....

Q.35. What is the general atmosphere of relationship between the District Assembly and the traditional authorities area?
(cordial/conflict)

.....
.....

Q.36. Does this relationship help promote the involvement of the local people (participation) in steps towards the development of this District?
(Explain your answer)

.....
.....

Q.37 What in your opinion should be the relationship between the traditional authority and the District Assembly so as to promote sustainable development?

.....
.....

Q.38 How can your opinion (above) be ensured?

.....
.....

Q.39 How in your opinion should or can traditional authorities be used to promote sustainable development in this traditional area/District to reduce poverty?

.....
.....

Q. 40 How do you see traditional authorities and rural development in this community?

.....
.....

Q. 41 How do you see the District Assembly and rural development in this community?

.....
.....

Q. 42 Who should ensure/promote rural development?

i) Traditional authorities.....

ii) District Assembly.....

iii) Both traditional authorities and the District Assembly.....

Q. 43 Give reasons for your answer in Q 42.

.....
.....

Thank you.

End of interview.

APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE

INTRODUCTION TO DISTRICT ASSEMBLY RESPONDENT

This is a study about the role traditional authorities play in rural development. You are kindly requested to answer all applicable questions. Anonymity is assured since no name is required for the information given. The answers you provide, will be used strictly for academic purposes which are to aid development in rural area.

Thank you for willing to participate in this exercise.

BIODATA

DA-ID. _____

- a) Age:
- b) Sex:
- c) Marital status:
- d) Educational Background
- e) Occupation:
- f) Length of stay in Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District:
- g) What is your position in the District Assembly:
- h) Usual place of residence: (i) in this District:
- (ii) outside this District:

INDIGENOUS/TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Intro: I will want to ask you some questions about indigenous/traditional institutions (associations) that help in governing, running and development of this District such as chieftaincy, asafo, clan and fetish priesthood.

Q.1. Are there any of such institutions as mentioned above that help in the governing and running of the community in this District?

No (Go to Q6 & 7 and skip to Q24)

Yes

Q. 2. What are these institutions?

.....
.....

Q.3. Who are the leaders of the institutions mentioned?

- i iv..... vii.....
ii..... v..... viii.....
iii..... vi..... xi.....

TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES

Q.4. What are the traditional roles and functions of the authorities/leaders (Q.3) in these institutions?

Institution authority	Traditional roles and functions of leaders in this District

Q.5. What are the current roles and functions of the authorities/leaders in these institutions?

Institution authority	Current roles and functions of leaders in this District

RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Intro: I would like to ask some questions about **rural development** (these are efforts aimed at improving the living conditions of the people living in rural areas such as improved agriculture, better education, improved health, infrastructure development and environmental management).

Q.6. What do you understand by the term (rural) development?

.....
.....

Q.7. What are some of the roles one can play in carrying out rural development to be sustainable. (tick all mentioned)

- a) Identification of problems ...
- b) Planning and designing of solution ...
- c) Implementation of solution ...
- d) Monitoring of solution (project/intervention) ...
- e) Evaluation of solution (project/intervention) ...
- f) Maintenance of solution (project/intervention) ...
- g) Other please specify:.....

Q.8. What do you perceive as the role of the traditional authority in (rural) development?

.....
.....

Q. 9. What factors hinder the traditional authorities from performing this perceived role?

.....
.....

Q. 10. What has the role of the traditional authority in (rural) development been in the past?

.....
.....

Q.11. How have traditional authorities in the past (prior to 1988) contributed to improving the living conditions of their people?

.....
.....

Q 12 Do traditional authorities have a role in development?

Yes..... (go to Q13), No....., Why

.....
.....

(if no, go to Q 14)

Q.13. What is the role of the traditional authority in rural development currently with the establishment of District assemblies? How do traditional authorities now (since to 1988) contribute to improving the living conditions of their people?

.....
.....

RESILIENCE OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES

Intro: Formerly, traditional/indigenous institutions leaders/authorities used to run and develop the communities in the traditional areas together with the government. With the decentralisation policy of 1988, the District Assembly is now expected to perform most of these duties. Traditional institutions are still existing and functioning. In your opinion, what factors contribute to the continual existence of the traditional authorities (institutions)?

Q.14. In your opinions what do you think has helped traditional authorities continue to exist?

- i)
- ii).....
- iii).....
- iv)
- v)

Q.15. Would you say that traditional authorities are still relevant for rural development?

Yes..... (go to Q 16)

No..... (go to Q 17)

Q. 16. Yes, why?

.....
.....

Q.17. No, why?

.....
.....

INSTITUTIONAL LINKAGES

Intro: I would like to ask you about projects/efforts that have been done in this District by the traditional authorities aimed at improving the living conditions of the people. This could be in the area of improved agriculture, health, education, infrastructure, environmental management etc.

Q.18. What developmental projects/efforts have been undertaken in this District by the traditional authorities aimed at improving the living conditions of the people?

- i
- ii
- iii
- iv
- v
- vi

Q.19. In the execution of such projects (listed above) was there any involvement of other authorities (e.g. District Assembly) such as in planning, finance, implementation, monitoring etc?

No

Yes

Don't Know (go to Q. 22)

Q. 20. If 'yes' what was the form of involvement

.....
.....

Q. 21. If 'no' why was there no involvement of other authorities?

.....
.....

Q. 22. Did the people participate actively?

No

Yes

Q23. Who ensures that the people participate actively?

.....
.....

Q23. Why ?

.....
.....

Intro: I would now like to ask you some questions about the District Assembly Representatives and their work at improving the living conditions of the people in the Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese and also the District as a whole.

Q.24. What is the role of the District Assembly?

.....
.....

Q. 25. What do you perceive as the role of the District Assembly in (rural) development?

.....
.....

Q. 26. What factors hinder the District Assembly from performing this perceived role?

.....
.....

Q. 27. What developmental projects have been undertaken in this District by the Assembly aimed at improving the living conditions of the people?

- | | |
|-----------|----------|
| i | ii |
| iii | iv |
| v | vi |

Q. 28. In the execution of such projects (listed above) was there any involvement of members of the traditional authority such as in planning, finance, implementation, monitoring etc?

No

Yes

Don't Know (go to Q 31)

Q. 29. If 'yes' what was the form of involvement?

.....
.....

Q. 30. If 'no' why, was there no any involvement of members of the traditional authorities?

.....
.....

Q. 31. Did the people participate actively?

No

Yes

Q. 32. Who ensures that the people participate actively?

.....
.....

Q. 33. Why?

.....
.....

Q. 34. What is the general atmosphere of relationship between the District Assembly and the traditional authorities in this District?
(cordial/conflict)

.....
.....

Q. 35. Does this relationship help promote the involvement of the local people (participation) in steps towards the development of this District?
(Explain your answer)?

.....
.....

Q. 36. What in your opinion should be the relationship between the traditional authority and the District Assembly representatives to promote sustainable development?

.....
.....

Q. 37. How can your opinion (above) be ensured?

.....
.....

Q. 38 How in your opinion should or can traditional authorities be used to promote sustainable development in this District to reduce poverty?

.....
.....

Q. 39. Who should ensure/promote rural development?

i) Traditional authorities:

ii) District Assembly:

iii) Both Traditional Authorities and District Assembly:.....

Q. 40. Give reasons for your answer in Q. 39.

.....
.....

End of Questionnaire.

APPENDIX III: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

This is a study about the role traditional authorities play in rural development. You will be asked some questions for answers. Anonymity is assured since no name will be attached to information given. The answers you provide will be used strictly for academic purposes which are to aid development in rural area.

Thank you all for willing to participate in this exercise.

ID. _____

INDIGENOUS/TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Intro: I will want to ask you some questions about indigenous/traditional institutions (associations) that help in governing, running and development of communities/village/District such as chieftaincy, asafo, and fetish priesthood.

Q.1 What are some of these traditional institutions that are present in this traditional area?

.....

.....

.....

Q.2. Who are the leaders of the institutions mentioned?

i	iv.....	vii.....
ii.....	v.....	viii.....
iii.....	vi.....	xi.....

TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES

Q3. What are the roles and functions of the authorities/leaders (Q.2) in these institutions?

Authority	Roles and functions of leaders in this traditional area

RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Intro: I would like to ask some questions about **rural development** (these are efforts aimed at improving the living conditions of the people living in rural areas such as improved agriculture, better education, improved health, infrastructure development and environmental management).

Q4. What do you understand by the term (rural) development?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Q.5 What are some of the roles one can play in carrying out rural development to be sustainable. (select all mentioned and probe for others)

- a) Identification of problems ...
- b) Planning and designing of solution ...
- c) Implementation of solution ...
- d) Monitoring of solution (project/intervention) ...
- e) Evaluation of solution (project/intervention) ...
- f) Maintenance of solution (project/intervention) ...
- g) Other please specify:.....

Q.6 What do you perceive as the role of the traditional authorities in (rural) development?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Q. 7. What factors hinder the traditional authorities from performing this perceived role?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Q.8. Would you say that traditional authorities are relevant for rural development?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Q 9 Do traditional authorities have a role in development?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Q10. What is the role of traditional authorities?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Q11. What is the role of the District Assembly?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Q 12. What do you perceive as the role of the District Assembly in (rural) development?

.....
.....
.....

.....

Q. 13. What factors hinder the District Assembly from performing this perceived role?

.....

.....

.....

.....

INSTITUTIONAL LINKAGES

Intro: I would like to ask you about projects/efforts that have been done in this traditional area by the traditional authorities (aimed at improving the living conditions of the people, this could be in the area of improved agriculture, health, education, infrastructure, environmental management etc).

Q14. What developmental projects/efforts have been undertaken in this traditional area by the traditional authorities aimed at improving the living conditions of the people?

- | | |
|-----------|----------|
| i | ii |
| iii | iv |
| v | vi |

Q15. In the execution of such projects (listed above) was there any involvement of members of the District Assembly (such as in planning, finance, implementation, monitoring etc)?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Q16. Who ensures that the people participate actively in developmental activities?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Q 17. Why?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Q.18. What is the general atmosphere of relationship between the District Assembly and the traditional authorities in this traditional area?
(cordial/conflict)

.....
.....
.....
.....

Q.19 What in your opinion should be the relationship between the traditional authority and the District Assembly so as to promote sustainable development?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Q.20 How can your opinion (above) be ensured?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Q.21 How in your opinion should or can traditional authorities be used to promote sustainable development in this traditional area/District to reduce poverty?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Q. 22 Who should ensure/promote rural development and why?

i)Traditional authorities.....

ii) District Assembly.....

iii) Both traditional authorities and District Assembly.....

.....
.....
.....
.....

End of discussions

Thank respondents for their participation.