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CONTENTS

Volume 10

Numbers 1 and 2

June and December 2013

| | |
|--|---------|
| The Impact of Climate Change on the Agricultural Sector within the Volta Basin of Ghana <i>Patricia Woedem Aidam</i> | 1-24 |
| Socio-economic and Environmental Impacts of Mining within the Catchment Area of Mining Companies at Tarkwa <i>Bertha A. Kusimi, John M. Kusimi and Gerald B. Yiran</i> | 25-52 |
| Incorporating E-Learning into Teaching and Learning at University of Ghana: Perceptions of Faculty <i>Michael A. Tagoe</i> | 53-78 |
| Native Courts and Customary Law in Colonial Ewedome, 1914-1949 <i>Wilson Kwame Yayoh</i> | 79-106 |
| Palm Produce Trade in Cameroon's Cross River Region From Early 1800s to 1961 <i>Henry Kam Kah</i> | 107-128 |
| Expansion of the Hausa Migrant Community in Lagos, Nigeria, 1970–2007 <i>Muhammad Mukhtar Gatawa</i> | 129-155 |
| The Socio-Cultural Contexts of Sexual Socialization and Sexual Behavior of Young People within the Family Setting in Ghana <i>Adobea Yaa Owusu, John Kwasi Anarfi and Eric Yeboah Tenkorang</i> | 156-182 |
| Syncretism in Akuapem Society: Death and Funeral of Oyeeman Wereko Ampem II <i>Ebenezer Ayesu</i> | 183-213 |
| Notes for Contributors | 214-216 |

THE IMPACT OF CLIMATE CHANGE ON THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR WITHIN THE VOLTA BASIN OF GHANA

PATRICIA WOEDDEM AIDAM¹

ABSTRACT

The negative effects of climate change on crop production in Sub-Saharan Africa are pronounced, given the high dependence on rain fed agriculture in the region. This study analysed decision making by farmers under risk and uncertainty due to climatic change, using the Multi-Level Analysis Tool for the Agricultural sector (MATA) model. The main objective of the study was to find out the impact of climate change on cropping activities and agricultural income. The results indicated a decrease in water supply leading to changes in the composition and pattern of crop activities, reduced crop yields and smaller incomes for farmers. Reforms in water management policies and investments are suggested to improve water usage efficiency and to expand irrigation to deal with climate change.

Keywords: Agricultural risks, Climate change, Crop production, Volta basin

INTRODUCTION

Agrowing concern among policy makers and researchers is that the agricultural sector in Africa will be very sensitive to future climate change and increase in climate variability (Mendelsohn, 2000). Many poor countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, including Ghana, are particularly vulnerable to such climate variability. Extreme climate events, notably floods and drought, are predominant in the region, and are likely to adversely affect food security and overall rural development.

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Agronomic studies also predict drastic reduction in crop yields in the absence of costly adaptation measures. Von Braun (2008) predicts that by 2050, average yield of major cereals in the region, like rice, wheat and maize, will decline by 14, 22 and 5 percent respectively as a result of climate change. By 2080 agricultural output in developing countries may decline by 20 percent and yields could decrease by 15 percent on the average (Khor, 2009). The number of under-nourished people in Sub-Saharan Africa may rise from 138 million in 1990 to 359 million in 2050.

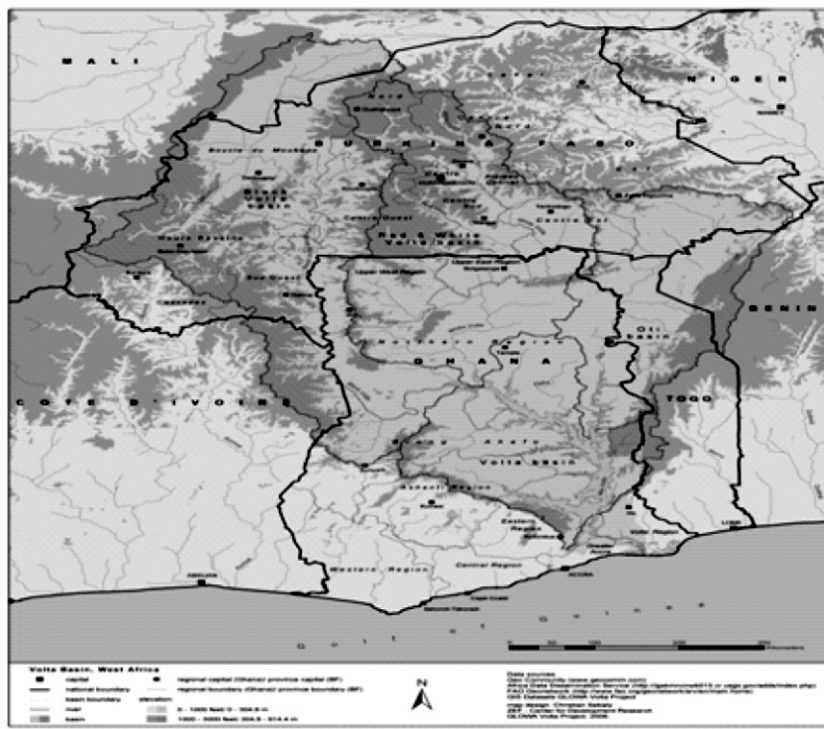
The negative effects of climate change on crop production are especially pronounced given the high dependence on rain-fed agriculture, high levels of poverty, low levels of human and physical capital and poor infrastructure. Despite the growing concern of potential effects of climate change on agriculture in the region, there have been relatively few comprehensive studies on such issues (Kurukulasuriya and Rosenthal, 2003). Most of the quantitative projections are interpolations from empirical studies done elsewhere (Mendelsohn and Williams, 2004).

The study by Dinar *et al.* (2008) is worth mentioning here. It develops analytical methods and procedures to assess quantitatively how climate change affects current agricultural systems in Africa and also discusses adaptation strategies. The results suggest large potential damages, both in absolute terms and as a fraction of agricultural GDP, with effects possibly much higher in the absence of costly adaptation measures. The Ricardian method is used in this study to estimate the effects of climate change on net revenue, including climate, through an econometric analysis of cross-sectional data. The Ricardian method analyses changes in the value of farmland due to changes in a number of exogenous variables such as climate and soils. The method tends to overstate changes in economic welfare of farmers due to large price variability resulting from output changes.

In this paper, we take into consideration price expectation and risk in agricultural decision making using a Multi-Level Analysis Tool for the Agricultural sector (MATA) model to evaluate the effects of water scarcity caused by climate change on cropping pattern/activity, income and employment. It is based on analysis using the Volta River Basin in Ghana, which is one of the poorest regions in the world, and where water and food

security could be seriously undermined by climate change (refer to Figure 1). A regional analysis of the impact of climate change on the Volta Basin conducted by Kunstmann and Jung (2005) shows a high variability of river runoff to changes in climate variables. The study predicts that annual mean temperature in the Volta River Basin could increase by 1.2 to 1.3 degrees Celsius during the next thirty years. A change in precipitation is expected with a mean increase of 5 percent but a strong decrease in rainfall in April, which is connected to a delay in the onset of the rainy season.

Figure 1: Map of the Volta Basin



THE VOLTA BASIN AND AGRICULTURE

The Volta Basin is situated in West Africa and covers an area of about 400,000 km² in the sub-humid to semi-arid part of the West African savanna zone (refer to Figure 1). It is an international basin which cuts across six West African countries, with about 40 % of basin area in Ghana, 40 % in Burkina Faso and the remaining 20% in Mali, La Cote d'Ivoire, Togo and Benin.

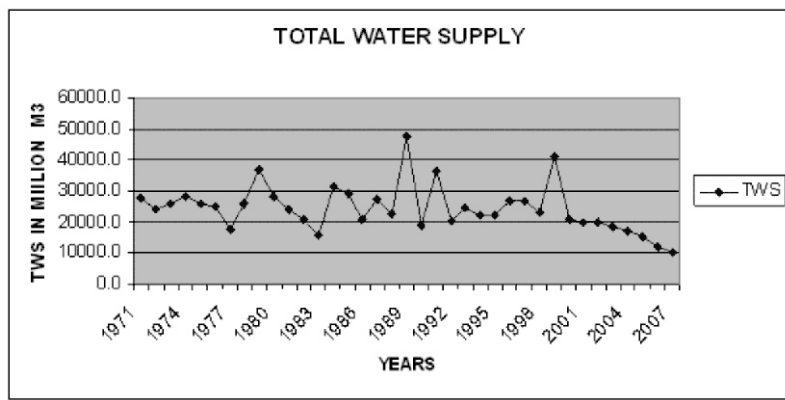
The basin is fed by three major river tributaries – the White and Black Volta rivers and the Oti river. To the west, the Black Volta (147,000 km²) drains western Burkina Faso and small areas within Mali and La Cote d'Ivoire. The White Volta (106,000 km²) drains much of northern and central Ghana and Burkina Faso, and to the east, the Oti river (72,000 km²) drains the northwestern regions of Benin and Togo (Bharati *et al.*, 2008).

Agriculture is the most important source of livelihood within the Ghana part of the Volta basin. The Volta basin includes some of the most significant agricultural districts, noted for the production of maize and rice as well as tuber crops such as yam and cassava. In the lower Volta basin, comprising the Accra and parts of the Ho-Keta plains, livestock rearing constitutes an important agricultural activity.

Agricultural activities in the basin fall under four main land use types, namely (i) rain-fed agriculture, (ii) irrigated agriculture, (iii) animal husbandry and (iv) fishing. The most common land-use type is rain-fed agriculture, which is based on a bush fallow system and is mostly done on a semi-subsistence basis. There is a vast area within the basin suitable for irrigated agriculture, although there are just a few irrigation schemes, such as the Tono and Veia projects in the Upper East Region where rice, onions and tomatoes are grown, and the Kpando-Torkor irrigation scheme in the Volta region which is noted for the production of okro and other vegetables. Some of the Volta region irrigation schemes experienced water scarcity as a result of the recession¹ of the Volta Lake.

Water supply in Volta basin of Ghana has been variable over the years (refer to Figure 2). During 1977 and 1982 to 1983, Ghana experienced a severe drought related to the El Nino Southern Oscillation (ENSO) weather phenomenon which led to water scarcity, electricity crisis and food shortages. Figure 2 shows that water supply has been declining from the year 2000. An ever increasing water demand indicates a looming water crisis in the region.

Figure 2: Estimated Total Water Supply of the Volta Basin



Source: Author's own compilation

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in this study is based on simulating the impact of climate change on agriculture and water policy using scenarios dealing with defined agricultural systems of selected study areas in the Volta Basin. Following a dynamic and recursive approach, a Multi-Level Analysis Tool for the Agricultural sector (MATA), which takes into consideration price expectation and risk attitudes of farmers in agricultural decision making, is employed for the analysis. This tool is a partial equilibrium sector model developed to evaluate response trends on agricultural production and food consumption as a result of policy changes (Gerard, 1998). The MATA model is programmed using GAMS computer language. It utilises non-linear optimization based on the numerical solver CONOPT3. The MATA model employed for this study consists of five modules as follows: (1) the macro-economic module which describes the environment in which farmers, processors and consumers make decisions, (2) the agricultural production module which represents production decisions at the farm level, (3) the consumption module that describes the behavior of processors of agricultural products and the behavior of consumers, (4) the water demand module that simulates the demand for water by various production activities in the agricultural sector in the country and (5) the water supply module which establishes the level of water availability based on the production capacity of rivers and natural sources of water in the basin area.

The four modules are inter-linked. The modules are described in detail below.

The Macroeconomic Module

In this module, the general macro-economic and institutional context is described. Some of its parameters can be modified to simulate alternative conditions such as input prices, credit conditions or urban household revenue as well as interest rates. Key macroeconomic goals such as price stability and rates of economic growth as well as narrower micro-economic targets for production and consumption are considered. The module describes the general macro-economic environment in which decisions of farmers, processors and consumers occur.

It captures trends of macro-economic variables such as population and income growth, evolution of employment opportunities in the non-agricultural sector, interest rate, and relative prices. The scenarios are defined in this module in combination with policy measures affecting variables and can be created directly using the policy simulation file. The impact of policy on employment in the agricultural sector, for example, is calculated in this module by summing up the results of the agricultural production and consumption modules (Gerard, 1998).

The Agricultural Production Module

The agricultural production module begins with a zonation² of the study area to determine homogeneous areas in terms of agro-climatic and socio-economic environments. The next step is to develop representative model farms for each defined agro-climatic/socio-economic zone. The representative farms are derived based on their endowments of resources such as land, labor, capital and management. Each representative model farm simulates farmer management decisions based on a non-linear programming model. The constraints and prospects of a model farm are largely determined by the agro-climatic and socio-economic conditions that also depend on the farming systems. An objective function of the farm incorporates both on-farm and off-farm activities. On-farm activities allow for land allocation among crops. As a result of the recursive nature of the model, the results of each year determine the starting point of the subsequent year. This is done by updating farm endowments. Agricultural production is generally risky, with farmers

facing a host of risks which include those related to prices, yields and resource availability. Thus, variability of farm incomes is common, with major income losses sometimes occurring from floods, fires, pests and droughts.

The nature and severity of the risks vary with the farming system, climatic conditions, policy, political and institutional setting in the region or country. Several empirical studies have demonstrated that farmers are generally risk-averse (Binswanger, 1980). Ignoring risk-aversion behavior in farm planning models often leads to results that bear little relation to the decision small and semi-subsistence farmers make. Several techniques for incorporating risk-averse behavior in economic models have been developed. Hazell and Norton (1986) summarise some of these major models.

For this study, a von Neumann-Morgenstern expected utility function is used to integrate risk into the model by combining income and risk aversion coefficient (de Frahan *et al.*, 2007). It is assumed that each farmer chooses a set of activities that maximize the expected utility of wealth, given the constraints that he/she faces, similar to the approach used by Erwidodo and Gerard (1997). Following Markowitz (1959), it is assumed that farmers' attitudes to risks are analysed using the income mean-variance framework. The mean-variance framework assumes that the preferences of a farmer among various possible plans are based on expected income $E[Y]$ and its associated variance $V[Y]$.

An exponential utility function is assumed, as it provides a good second-order approximation of more desirable functions (Levy and Markowitz, 1979). An alternative derivation of the mean-variance risk decision framework is based on the assumption of an exponential utility function and a normally-distributed income. In this case if the utility function is exponential $U(Y) = 1 - e^{-\beta Y}$ and income Y is normally distributed, then it can be proven that the expected utility of income is a function of the expected income and variance of income, as shown in Equation 1 below.

$$E[U(Y)] = E[Y] - \frac{1}{2}\beta V[Y] \quad \text{Equation 1}$$

where β is the risk-aversion parameter.

The Consumption Module

The consumption module³ simulates consumer behavior as well as the behavior of economic agents engaged in the processing and marketing of agricultural products (Gerard, 1997). The consumption behavior is underpinned by the assumption of minimum household caloric intake constraints. For each consumer, quantities and values of main consumption products, trends in expenditure level and changes in consumer preferences are also considered. The simulated nutrient intake and levels of consumption are taken from official data and these fit well for the three groups of consumption. The consumption behavior of farmers is based on three underpinning factors as denoted below:

- A farm household consumes enough of its agricultural products to meet minimum calorie and protein needs;
- A farm household earns adequate cash income to meet minimal needs in terms of food, clothes, school expenditure and others; and
- Household consumption is related to income (marginal propensity to consume).

Water Demand Module

Water demand is assessed as crop water requirement based on hydrologic and agronomic characteristics. Net crop water demand (XNCWD) in a year or a season is determined using an empirical crop water requirement function (Doorenbos and Pruitt, 1977) as denoted in Equation 2.

$$XNCWD = \sum_{cp=1}^3 \sum_{st=1}^3 K_{cp} * K_{st} * ETo(cp, st) * XA(cp, st) \quad \text{Equation 2}$$

where cp is crop type 1, 2 and 3 representing rice, maize and vegetables respectively; st is soil type 1, 2 and 3 representing loamy, black and clay soils respectively; K_{cp} is the crop coefficient for crop cp, K_{st} is the soil coefficient for soil type st; $ET_o(cp, st)$ is the reference potential evapotranspiration for the particular crop (cp) grown on a particular soil type (st); and $XA(cp, st)$ is the area cultivated of the crop (cp) grown on soil type (st). Part or all crop water demand can be satisfied by effective rainfall ($ER(cp, st)$), which is the rainfall infiltrated into the zone and available for crop use given the soil type. Effective rainfall for crop growth can be increased with

rainfall harvesting technology. Net irrigation water demand (XNIRWD), with consideration of the use of effective rainfall, salt leaching requirement and deep percolation, is denoted as follows in Equation 3:

$$(XNIRWD) = \left(\sum_{cp=1}^3 \sum_{st=1}^3 K_{cp} * K_{st} * E_{To}(cp, st) - ER(cp, st) \right) * AI(cp, st)^{(1+LR)}$$

Equation 3

where AI is the irrigated area, LR is the salt leaching and deep percolation factor, which is characterized by soil salinity and irrigation water salinity.

Water Supply Module

Water supply changes due to climate change were modeled using the MATA model based on a separate but interlinked module. Water supply availability was determined using simulated historic and future discharge time series of the joint climate-hydrological modeling approach (MM5/WaSiM-ETH). The Water Balance Simulation Model (WASIM-ETH) is a process-based spatially distributed hydrological model that was applied to the Volta Basin with a 1 km×1 km spatial and daily temporal resolution (Jung, 2006). The river model was calibrated for the years 1962–1969, but continuous daily observational discharge data was available only for the hydrological year 1968/1969. The model was then run on two time slices (1991–2000) of an ECHAM4 simulation running the IPCC scenario IS92a (IPPC, 2001), which were dynamically downscaled with the regional climate model MM5 to a 9 km×9 km spatial resolution (Jung and Kunstmann, 2007). The IS92a scenario assumes an annual increase in atmospheric CO₂-content of 1 % starting from 1990.

The simulated areal precipitation data of the joint model approach MM5/WASIM-ETH for the time slice 1991–2000 was grouped into five climate categories ranging from wet, below average and average, to above average and dry years. The classification is based on the Standardized Precipitation Index (SPI) by McKee *et al.* (1993) for a 40 year time series (1965–2005) of observed precipitation data for the Volta Basin. With the typical climate years, the effect of various combinations of wet, average and dry years can be evaluated, or historic climate can be roughly replicated. For the drought climate scenario, a time series with two consecutive dry years following a

sequence of three below average years was defined. This was based on the replication of the historic time slice 1992–2000, but the above average year 1996 and the average year 1997 were replaced by dry years following the work of Bhaduri *et al.* (2008).

DATA AND DATA SOURCES

This section gives a brief explanation of the sampling method, data acquisition, type of data collected and typology. The country is divided into six agro-ecological zones on the basis of climate. The natural vegetation is determined by the different climatic conditions and is influenced by different soil types. These agro-ecological zones, from north to south, are: the Sudan Savannah Zone, the Guinea Savannah Zone, the Transition Zone, the Semi-deciduous Forest Zone, the Rain Forest Zone and the Coastal Savannah Zone (refer to Table 1 for a brief description of the various agro-ecological zones).

In this study, the agro-ecological zones – the Guinea Savannah and the Moist Semi Deciduous Forest - are considered for the analysis. These two agro-ecological zones are chosen because the Guinea Savannah is the largest agro-ecological zone and is in the northern part of the country with only one rainy season, whilst the Semi Deciduous Forest is in the southern part of the country with two rainy seasons. The vegetation, population, climatic conditions and soil texture are also different. This choice therefore gives a good representation of the total basin area with the designation of the two major agro-ecological zones.

Table 1: Description of the Climates of the Agro-ecological Zones based on various indicators

| <i>Agro-ecological zone</i> | <i>Area (km²)</i> | <i>Mean annual rainfall (mm)</i> | <i>Range (mm)</i> | <i>Major rainy season</i> | <i>Minor rainy season</i> |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Rain Forest | 9 500 | 2 200 | 800-2800 | March-July | Sept.-Nov. |
| Deciduous Forest | 66 000 | 1 500 | 1200-1600 | March-July | Sept.-Nov. |
| Transitional Zone | 8 400 | 1 300 | 1100-1400 | March-July | Sept.-Oct. |
| Coastal Savannah | 4 500 | 800 | 600-1200 | March-July | Sept.-Oct. |
| Guinea Savannah | 147 900 | 1 000 | 800-1200 | May-Sept. | - |
| Sudan Savannah | 2 200 | 1 000 | | May-Sept. | - |

Source: Adapted from data from the Ghana Meteorological Agency, Legon, Accra.

The common sampling framework is adopted in this study, with the farm typology drawn from principal component analysis. It is validated through a survey of a representative number of farmers in each group and in all regions within the Volta basin. The clusters are defined in terms of three different farm types which are described below.

Large scale farm types (EXP1): These are farm types with relatively large cultivated areas and have many assets such as machinery, equipment and buildings. These have relatively high numbers of workers and larger numbers of livestock compared to the other farm types. They are more commercialized, utilise modern inputs and are mechanized. In the study area, this farm type constitutes about 10 % of the total sample size.

Medium scale farm types (EXP2): These farms have more cultivated land than small farms but less than those of large scale farms. This characteristic is also applicable to the level of livestock maintained and the ownership of machinery and other forms of capital assets. This farm type constitutes about 30 % of the total sample size in the study area.

Small scale farm types (EXP3): These farms constitute about 60% of the farms in the study area. They are characterized by low amounts of cultivated land and relatively little hired labour. Small scale farmers are also more subsistence oriented and use simple inputs and technologies. Their ownership of livestock, machinery and other capital assets is also limited.

Data for the development of the model came from several sources. The crop yields and input prices for 2000 to 2007 in the region were obtained from the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA), Government of Ghana. Other data such as crop allocations were made available from the Glowa Volta Project CSF II⁴. This data set was collected in the year 2005. This study, in a bid to use the same data set from the communities and villages from CSF II for its modeling (MATA model), as its enumeration areas encompassed the Volta basin area, updated the data by using a focus group discussion in all the basin regions to avoid outdated and irrelevant data sets.

The focus group discussion was also done to validate the assertion that most households were still there, that agricultural activities had not changed in

these areas as much and that data in the common sampling round two could still be relevant for use. Other data that were also required for the modeling were not included in the data set. Therefore the focus group discussion was useful in filling data gaps such as labor time surveys and crop budgets of the various major crops that were under consideration.

Baseline and Climate Change Model Scenarios Evaluated in this Study

The baseline scenario is a replication of the actual weather in the Volta River Basin from 1998 to 2005. The employed MATA model simulates cropping patterns and activities of farmers for the three types of farms (large scale, medium scale and small scale), given the available water and other resources over the modeled period of the study. The production levels and incomes are derived for the baseline period for every year within the 1998 to 2005 period. These are then compared with those that are derived when a specific climate change scenario is modeled.

Climate change imposes a shock on the farming system of the Volta Basin primarily through the decline of water availability for the production of crops and for other uses by householders and businesses in the area. For the particular simulation reported in this paper, it is assumed that with climate change the weather patterns observed are similar to those actually observed during the severe drought year of 1983 caused by the ENSO weather phenomenon which are described by Ofori-Sarpong (1986). So for each year during the modeled 1998 to 2005 period, the actual rainfall observed is adjusted by a reduction factor consistent with the intensity of the 1983 drought. Other types of climate-change induced weather scenarios modeled are not reported in this paper but are provided in detail by Aidam (2011).

Model Validation

Model validation or test of robustness refers to evaluating the ability of a model to represent reality or an observed situation. It involves comparison of model results with empirical evidence such as actual crop land allocation, incomes and consumption. If a model's results are close to the reality, the model is considered as a good one and can be used as a base for subsequent analysis. In order to assess the long run robustness, the following statistically robust test procedure, proposed by Kleijnen and Sargent⁵(1997) and adopted

by Kruseman (2000) and Börner (2005), is followed. Model outcomes and empirical evidence are regressed on one another based on the regression technique shown in Equation 4.

$$Y^e = \alpha + \beta Y^m + \mu \quad \text{Equation 4}$$

Where Y^e is empirical evidence, and Y^m constitutes model results, the assumptions are that α is zero and β is one, when the model is valid. Given the criticism of the earlier validation test, Kleijnen and Sargent (1997) propose a different test that is statistically more robust and this is shown in Equation 6.

$$Y^m - Y^e = \alpha + \beta (Y^m + Y^e) + \mu \quad \text{Equation 5}$$

where the null hypothesis is $\alpha=0$ and $\beta=0$, there is no significant difference (and where the alternative hypothesis is H_1 : there is significant difference). This can be tested with the standard F-test. For the validation of the model, the farm survey data collected are used.

Table 2: Estimated Regression Parameters

| | <i>Coefficient</i> | <i>Standard Error</i> | <i>Student t statistic</i> | <i>F Test</i> |
|----------|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|---------------|
| α | 0.057 | 0.199 | 0.286 | |
| | | | | 1.488 |
| β | 0.419 | 0.343 | 1.219 | |

Source: Own compilation

The results of the validation of the model based on regression analysis are reported in Table 2. They show that the null hypothesis is not rejected, meaning there is no statistical difference (at 95% confidence interval) between the observed and empirical observations. Therefore, the model results are assumed to correspond to the observed situation. Hence, at the typical farm type level the simulation model is robust.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Simulations of Farmers' Performance as a Result of Decline in Water Availability Due to Climate Change

The results of the analysis of the effects of climate change on the intensity of cultivation of specific crops, and agricultural incomes are presented in this section based on the simulation runs from the MATA model. The results are presented for the three types of farms modelled - large scale, medium scale and small scale – simulated over an eight-year historical period, 1998 to 2005. As indicated earlier, the climate change scenario involves the simulation of the weather patterns observed during the severe drought of 1983 and deemed applicable to each year during the modelled 1998 to 2005 period.

Changes in Cropping Activities of Farmers Due to Climate Change

Large scale farms

As a result of drought in the country caused by climate change over the period of study simulated by the model, water availability declines as expected and this affects the cropping activities of large scale farmers. As shown in Table 3, over the eight-year period simulated, the average land cropped for rice for each large scale farm declines from 5.74 hectares (ha) to 3.95 ha, a reduction of 31.1%. The corresponding decline for the average land cropped for maize is from 0.66 ha to 0.01 ha. For vegetables the decline is from 0.11 ha to 0.04 ha.

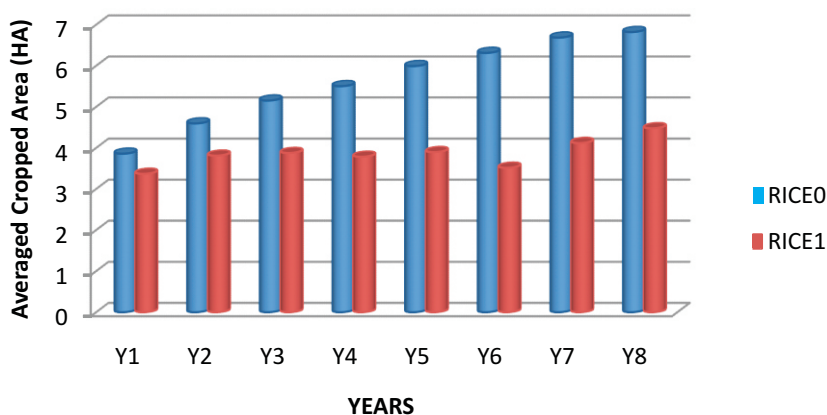
Table 3: Baseline and Expected Land Areas Cropped with Impact of Climate Change for Rice, Maize and Vegetables for an Average Large Scale Farm in Hectares (ha)

| <i>Crop</i> | <i>Baseline Scenario</i> | <i>Climate Change Scenario</i> |
|-------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Rice | 5.74 | 3.95 |
| Maize | 0.66 | 0.01 |
| Vegetables | 0.11 | 0.04 |

Figure 3 illustrates the decline in the land cropped for rice with the onset of climate change for large scale farms. The notation, RICE0 is the base run figure for rice where there is adequate water without the climate change impact and RICE1 is the simulated figure with the impact of climate change. The decline in land cropped for rice is highest in the last three years. The relatively low percentage decrease in rice shown in Figure 3 in the first three years after the onset of climate change can be attributed to farmers using all their available water (both from irrigation and rainfall) during stress periods caused by climate change, given the relatively high value of the rice crop.

Table 4 indicates the baseline and expected land areas cropped with climate change for an average medium scale farm in the Volta Basin. Over the eight-

Figure 3: Baseline and Expected Intensity of Cropping of Rice with Climate Change for Large Scale Farms



year period simulated, the average land cropped for rice for each farm declines from 3.43 ha to 2.32 ha, a reduction of 32.4%. The corresponding decline for the average land cropped for maize is from 0.39 ha to 0.01 ha. For vegetables, the decline is from 0.07 ha to 0.02 ha. Figure 4 illustrates the decline in the land cropped for rice with climate change for medium scale farms over the eight-year period. RICE0 is the base run figure for rice where there is adequate water without the climate change impact and RICE1 is the simulated figure with the climate change. There is decline in the production of rice in each of the eight years with the decline more pronounced in the first

three years after the onset of climate change.

Table 5 shows the baseline and expected land areas cropped with climate change for an average small scale farm in the Volta Basin. Over the eight-year period simulated, the average land cropped for rice for each farm declines from 2.70 ha to 1.83 ha, a reduction of 32.2%. The corresponding decline for the average land cropped for maize is from 0.35 ha to 0.01 ha. For vegetables, the decline is from 0.06 ha to 0.02 ha. Figure 5 illustrates the decline in the land cropped for rice with climate change for medium scale farms over the eight-year period. RICE0 is the base run figure for rice where there is adequate water without the climate change impact, and RICE1 is the simulated figure with the impact of climate change. There is decline in the production of rice in each of the eight years as expected; however the level of relative decline oscillates among the years.

Table 4: Baseline and Expected Land Areas Cropped with Impact of Climate Change for Rice, Maize and Vegetables for an Average Medium Scale Farm in Hectares (ha)

| <i>Crop</i> | <i>Baseline Scenario</i> | <i>Climate Change Scenario</i> |
|-------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Rice | 3.43 | 2.32 |
| Maize | 0.39 | 0.01 |
| Vegetable | 0.07 | 0.02 |

Figure 4: Baseline and Expected Intensity of Cropping of Rice with Climate Change for Medium Scale Farms

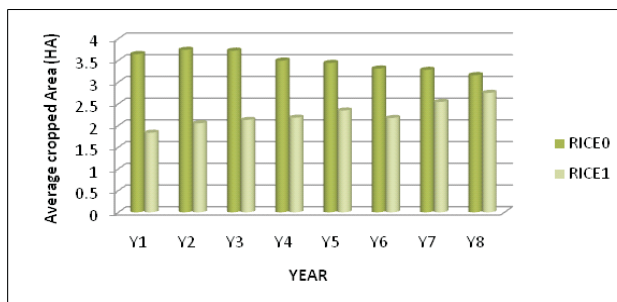
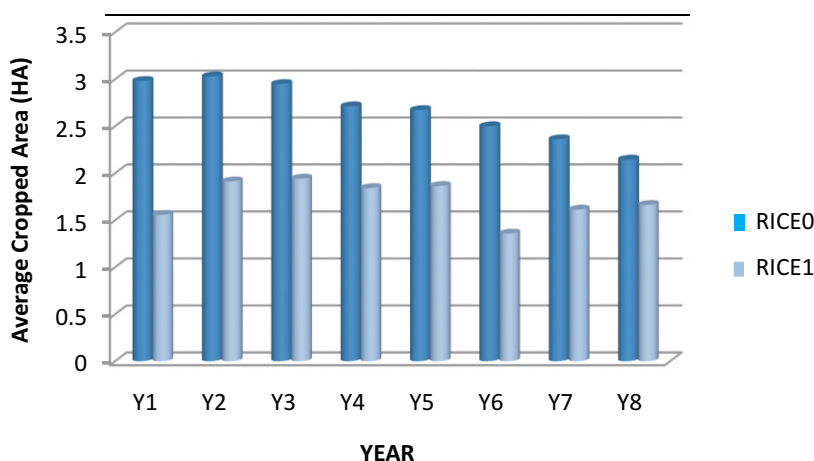


Table 5: Baseline and Expected Land Areas Cropped with Impact of Climate Change for Rice, Maize and Vegetables for an Average Small Scale Farm in Hectares (ha)

| <i>Crop</i> | <i>Baseline Scenario</i> | <i>Climate Change Scenario</i> |
|-------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Rice | 2.70 | 1.83 |
| Maize | 0.35 | 0.01 |
| Vegetable | 0.06 | 0.02 |

Figure 5: Baseline and Expected Intensity of Cropping of Rice with Climate Change for Small Scale Farms



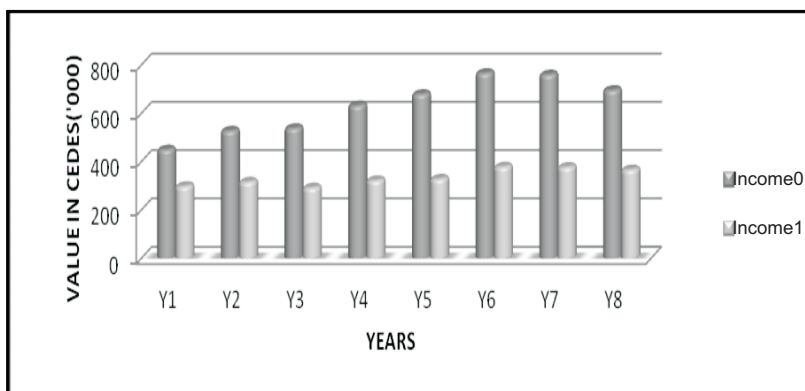
Changes in Agricultural Incomes due to Climate Change

Figures 6, 7 and 8 illustrate the impact of climate change on agricultural incomes based on the changes in the levels of cropped land for the three crops and for large scale, medium scale and small scale farms respectively. For large scale farms, as shown in Figure 6, the income of the average farm decreases from 450.8 Ghana cedis to 299.3 Ghana cedis per hectare in year 1, corresponding to a 34 percent decline. By year eight, the decline is from 697.2 Ghana cedis to 368.2 Ghana cedis, a 47.2 percent decrease.

The average income of a medium scale farm decreases from 398.31 Ghana cedis to 216.91 Ghana cedis per hectare in year one, indicating a 46 percent decrease, and further decreases from 314.72 Ghana cedis to 268.48 Ghana cedis in year eight, representing a 14 percent decrease for the medium scale farmer.

For the small scale farms, the average farm income decreases from 329.95 Ghana cedis to 203.65 Ghana cedis in year one, indicating a 38.3 percent decrease, and further decreases from 211.37 Ghana cedis to 173.63 Ghana cedis per hectare in year eight, an 18 percent reduction.

Figure 6: Agricultural Income for Large Scale Farmers



The general decline in income as a result of increased water scarcity demonstrates the importance of water management. If water is not managed well and water scarcity occurs, the income of the farmer would decrease. The simulated results in this study are comparable to those of Bobojonov (2008), who establishes that the expected income of the farmers declines on average by about 12 percent in Uzbekistan as a result of expected water scarcity resulting from climate change and related shocks.

Figure 7: Agricultural Income for Medium Scale Farmers

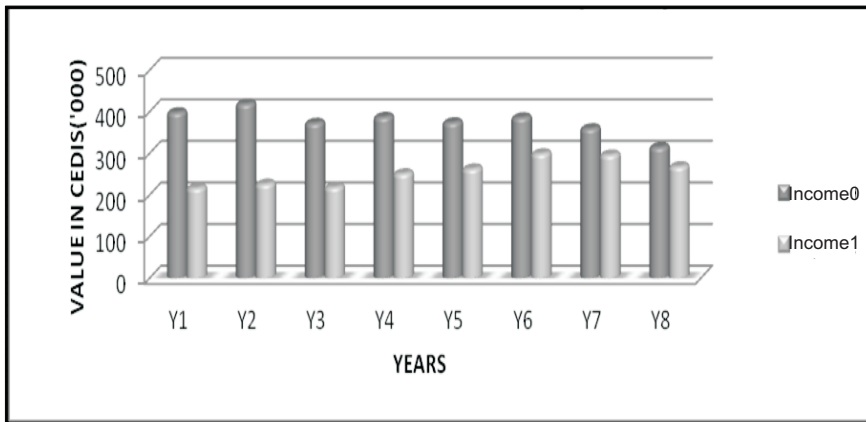
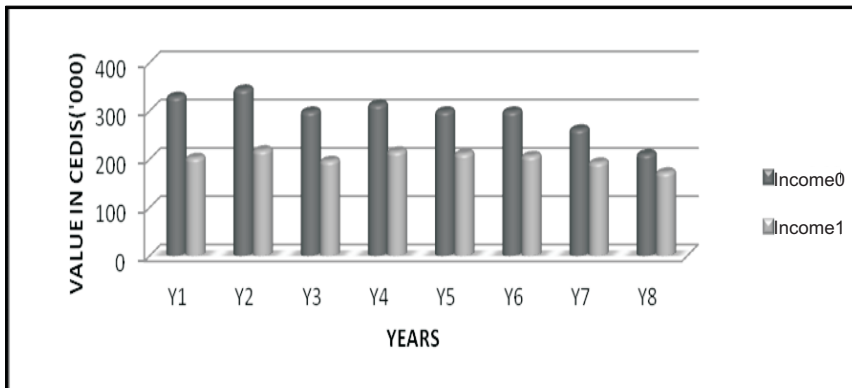


Figure 8: Agricultural Income for Small Scale Farmers



CONCLUSIONS

The main objective of the study was to analyse the impacts of climate change on agricultural production in the Volta Basin Area of Ghana based on changes in cropping activities and agricultural incomes for small scale, medium scale and large scale farmers. The results of the study indicated that a decrease in water supply would result in a decrease in crop yield and changes in cropping activity and farmers' income. The results emphasize the importance of reducing inefficiencies in water use by farmers. Policy reforms suggested by the study include the need to intensify the harvesting of rain water, expansion

of irrigation water use by farmers and assistance to farmers to improve the efficiency of water use through enhanced information and extension services. Reforms of water management, policies and investments to improve water use efficiency should be encouraged through further agricultural research. A design for pricing mechanisms to pay irrigators to use less water and also the establishment of water rights would be a good policy incentive for farmers.

ENDNOTES

¹In 1982 and 1983, there was a very severe drought in the country and that led to the Volta Lake drying up, so there was no water for farmers to use for agricultural production; but the lake has since regained its viability. This drought was linked to the El Nino-Southern Oscillation (ENSO) weather phenomenon. The severe ENSO phenomenon appeared also during the years, 1962 and 1977, and moderate ENSO phenomena occurred during 1998/99 and 2006/2007.

²Zoning is a determination of zones with similar characteristics on agricultural potentiality and socio-economic context. It is usually done to take into account the diversity of agricultural production conditions in terms of activities and techniques (crop management, yield average and variability, risk of pest and diseases), possible impact on the environment and market conditions.

³ In this study, demand systems are not used as in the original MATA model that considered urban consumption through the consumer utility function. This is because the study concentrates mainly on the production side and not on consumption as well.

⁴The full document on the “GLOWA-Volta Common Sampling Frame Selection of Survey Sites” can be found in the document by Thomas Berger, Felix Asante and Isaac Osei-Akoto (2002).

⁵ If the model is robust in the long run the trends indicated by the model should coincide with trends in empirical evidence. This is a second type of model validation for which the same data set as before can be used. The only difference is the type of modelling applied. Short-run robustness validates the

model by comparing model outcomes for each set of input parameters. The long-run robustness looks at the whole period. This type of validation is especially important for dynamic models. The farm household model presented here is static, yet determining its long-run robustness is useful, because the short-run validation runs into real world variability. If the object of the model is not primarily aimed at reproducing the empirical evidence, but geared more towards determining rhythm and directions of change, testing long-run robustness of the static model is useful. This implies that the model is run recursively with changes in input parameters as a result of model outcomes explicitly used.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS OF MINING WITHIN THE CATCHMENT OF MINING COMPANIES AT TARKWA

BERTHA A. KUSIMI¹JOHN M. KUSIMI²and GERALD B. YIRAN³

ABSTRACT

Studies on the impact of mining on socio-economic activities, health and the environment were undertaken within the catchment of three multinational mining companies at Tarkwa in the Western Region of Ghana. This evaluation was done through questionnaire surveys, interviews, focus group discussions and a review of monitoring reports of statutory institutions and existing environmental management regulatory systems/policies in the country. The study found out that mining companies have provided some social, health and educational facilities in communities within their catchment. Nonetheless, mining has resulted in increased air and water pollution, land displacement, poverty and diseases. This situation has arisen due to certain weaknesses in the institutional and regulatory frameworks governing the mining industry. These include inadequate capacity in human and material resources of statutory institutions to enforce legislation, the confidentiality of environmental audit reports, and the low participation of communities in environmental impact assessment (EIA) processes.

Keywords: Environmental management system, Gold, Impacts of mining, Mining and environment, Mining and health, Tarkwa, Western region of Ghana

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INTRODUCTION

Mining has been a major contributor to the growth and development of the Ghanaian economy, especially since the introduction of the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) in 1983. Mining is intensively undertaken in commercial quantities by multi-national companies in the western corridor of the country, including parts of the Ashanti and Brong Ahafo regions, due to the rich underlying geology, Birrimian and Tarkwaian rocks. Benefits of gold mining to the nation have been in the form of payment of taxes by companies, royalties and employment. For instance, between 1990 and 2002, corporate income tax paid to the Ghana Government by mining companies amounted to US\$18.7 million (Bank of Ghana, 2003 cited by Botchie *et al.*, 2008). Also, the contribution of mining and quarrying to the GDP of Ghana increased from 2.4% in 2008 to 8.8% in 2012 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013). Gold export earnings form a major component of the foreign exchange earnings of the country (Aryee, 2001; Garvin *et al.*, 2009). As at 31 December 2007, direct employment by mineral-producing members of Ghana's Chamber of Mines was 12,658; 98% of the employees being Ghanaians (Bermúdez-Lugo, 2010).

The export earnings from gold and other minerals to Ghana increased during the first decade of the 21st Century (2001 to 2009) due to the high international market prices, but have declined over the last three years due to the general slump in world market prices of minerals. Mining has well known adverse impacts on communities and the environment throughout the life cycle of its operations from exploration to development, production, processing, and decommissioning (Warhurst, 1994). Some of the major impacts are acid mine drainage, deforestation, water pollution, public health and safety, climate change and biodiversity loss (Akabzaa and Darimani, 2001; Kusimi, 2008; Kusimi and Kusimi, 2012). Surface mining is practised in Tarkwa and this results in the clearing of lands, which leads to deforestation and biodiversity loss (Kusimi, 2007).

These environmental effects can neither be understood nor dealt with in isolation from the socio-economic context of both the industry and the enterprise structure (Warhurst, 1994). Local communities around mines suffer varied and complex adverse impacts of mining. Many lose their property and land in return for a pittance as compensation. In many cases,

state machinery has been deployed to supervise the demolition of houses and the clearing of farms. For example, in Ghana, between 1990 and 1998, the development of large scale gold mining in Tarkwa led to the displacement of 14 communities with an estimated total population of more than 30,000 (Akabzaa and Darimani, 2001). Also, mining activities in the Tarkwa area have over the years generated profound social conflicts arising mainly from land use, unfair compensation schemes for displaced communities, unfair distribution of mining royalties and general physical environmental degradation (Akabzaa, 2000).

Despite improving developments in the mining sector in Ghana, the general consensus has been that this sector's performance in terms of employment and contribution to socio-economic and infrastructural development is nothing to write home about. From 1983-2003 over 15,000 workers from various mines lost their jobs due to redeployment exercise by the government and also most farmers lost their lands to the mines (Akabzaa, 2000; Akabzaa and Darimani, 2001). These significant job losses incapacitated the affected individuals and their families, rendering them unable to meet their basic needs of food, shelter and access to education and health services. Air quality monitoring and water quality analysis at Tarkwa show that levels of dust and certain heavy metals are beyond allowable limits, and this is said to be the cause of certain diseases such as tuberculosis, skin rashes, acute conjunctivitis and diarrhoea (Akabzaa, 2000; Akabzaa *et al.*, 2007; Botchie *et al.*, 2008; Kusimi and Kusimi, 2012). Elsewhere in the world the literature shows that mining has resulted in many environmental disasters and human rights abuses. Hydro-geochemical and biological studies of groundwater and surface water bodies in many mining provinces in Johannesburg, Brazil and India revealed elevated concentration levels of heavy metals in these water resources, with significant implications for aquatic ecosystems and biodiversity (Malm *et al.*, 1990; Malm, 1998; Naicker *et al.*, 2003; Tiwary and Dhar, 1994).

The deleterious impact of mining activities on safety, health and environmental quality has motivated mining companies to adopt environmental management systems (EMSs), sustainable development and corporate social responsibilities to systematically address the environmental effects of their operations and build public trust with stakeholders (Alemagi *et*

al., 2006; Jenkins, 2004; Schaefer, 2004; Garvin *et al.*, 2009). Environmental protection, sustainable development and corporate social responsibility became global concerns during the 1960s and 1970s in response to a growing range of pollution problems linked to industrialization and the adoption of potentially hazardous new technologies (Bryant and Wilson, 1998; Beck, 1992; Mould, 1992). Steps towards solving these problems culminated in the Brundtland Commission's Report, *Our Common Future*, in 1987, and since then the commitment of industries to environmental protection, sustainable development and corporate social responsibility has increased throughout the world (Alemagi *et al.*, 2006).

In line with EMS procedures, some environmental regulatory agencies have been established in Ghana to design policies and regulate the mining industry to ensure good environmental systems and clean production. Some of these agencies are the sector Ministry (currently the Ministry of Lands, Forestry and Mines), the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) established by Act 490 in 1994, the Minerals Commission established in 1986 by PNDCL 154 and the Inspectorate Division of the Minerals Commission. Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), Social Impact Assessment (SIA) and Environmental Social Impact Assessment (ESIA) (Act 490) are some of the environmental management system tools of particular concern in the field of mining and the environment, as well as exploration and small-scale mining. These regulatory frameworks are part of the Mining and Environmental Guidelines, published in 1994 by the EPA Ghana to ensure sustainable environmental management. Thus it is mandatory under the guidelines for new mining companies to prepare Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and for mines already in operation to prepare Environmental Management Plans (EMP) (Akabzaa and Darimani, 2001; Ayine, 2001) to ensure safe environmental management in the mines.

Apart from ensuring safety in the industry, regulatory and policy reforms in the mining industry since the 1980s (e.g. the *Minerals and Mining Law 1986 - PNDCL 153*) were to attract investment and increase productivity in the sector and also to increase the portion of revenue from mining being allocated to the communities directly affected by their operations (Tsikata, 1997). Some of these regulations include an additional profit tax law (PNDCL 122) in 1985, Minerals (Royalties) Regulations (LI 1349) in 1987, Mining and Explosives

Regulations 1970, the Small-Scale Gold Mining law of 1986 and the Mercury Law, also of 1986. Some of these regulatory frameworks have now been revised and embedded in the Minerals and Mining Act 703 of 2006. Despite all these laws to address environmental and socio-economic problems in the industry, mining communities, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other stakeholders complain of serious problems arising from mining activities in the country.

The study sought to investigate socio-economic, health and environmental impacts of mining within the catchment of three mining companies at Tarkwa to ascertain the level of compliance/commitment of these mining companies to the existing environmental management systems as well as the effectiveness of these policies in ensuring clean and safe production within the mines in the study area.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE STUDY AREA

The study is conducted at Tarkwa, the capital of the newly created Tarkwa-Nsueam Municipal Assembly and its surrounding environs (Figure 1). Geographically, the area is located between latitude 5°14'N to 5°25'N and longitude 1°53'W to 2°42'W (Figure 1). The study area forms part of a mining enclave in Ghana that has the largest agglomeration of mining companies on the African continent. Out of 16 multinational companies in Ghana, eight are located in this mining enclave and three in Tarkwa Township. The three companies which were the focus of the study are Gold Fields Ghana Ltd (GGL), AngloGold Ashanti (AGA) Iduapriem Mine, and Ghana Manganese Company (GMC), Nsuta.

The total population of Tarkwa and its surrounding towns, Tamso and Nsuta, grew from 9,342 in 1970 to 38,113 in 2000, with an average growth rate of nearly 3% (Ghana Statistical Service, 2002). The spatial distribution of the population in the Municipality is highly skewed towards mining towns, particularly the urban centres such as Tarkwa, Nsuta and Bogoso (Botchie *et al.*, 2008). Seven communities in all were studied. These were three communities, namely Teberebe Village, Mile 7 and AdisaKrom within the concession of AngloGold Ashanti Iduapriem Mine (AGA), and two communities each within the catchments of other mines: Abekoase and Huniso within Gold Fields Ghana (GGL) and Tarkwa Bansa and Nsuta within

Ghana Manganese Company (GMC).

Apart from mining, agriculture forms the major economic activity of residents and crops cultivated are primarily food and cash crops such as maize, plantain, cassava, rubber and oil palm. Agricultural land use forms 46% of total land area in the District, and close to 50% of labour force is engaged in semi-subsistence farming and 10% in plantation agriculture (Wassa West District Assembly Medium Term Development Plan, 2002-2004). There is therefore competition for land, between the indigenes for farming and among the companies for mining.

The locality falls within the south western equatorial climatic zone, which experiences the highest rainfall amount in the country. The District has a mean annual rainfall in the range of 1500 and 2000 mm, with a double maximum rainfall starting from March to June as the main, and September to November as the lean season (Dickson and Benneh, 1995; Wassa West District Assembly Medium Term Development Plan, 2002–2004). The dry season is from October to February. This gives the district a bimodal rainfall regime. Daily temperature ranges between 20° C in August and 40° C in March while the mean monthly temperature ranges from 24° C to 30° C (Dickson and Benneh, 1995). The municipality is drained by the Bonsa, Ankobra and Huni Rivers and their tributaries, namely Buri, Anoni, Sumin, Essumang and Ayiasu (Wassa West District Assembly Medium Term Development Plan, 2002-2004). These rivers provide ready water for gold processing by the mining companies and serve as receptacles of mine wastes.

RESEARCH METHODS

Questionnaires were administered and interviews and focus group discussions conducted in an effort to understand issues relating to socio-economic, health and environment impacts of the mining industry in selected communities. These approaches are used to collect information on the vulnerability of people to socio-economic shocks and environmental changes (e.g. Reed *et al.*, 2006; Stringer and Reed, 2007). According to Choma (2009), the use of interviews for such a study allows for a comprehensive assessment of the communities' perceptions of the activities of mining companies, as more members of the community and mining companies can be reached to get views on the impact of the mining industry on their lives.

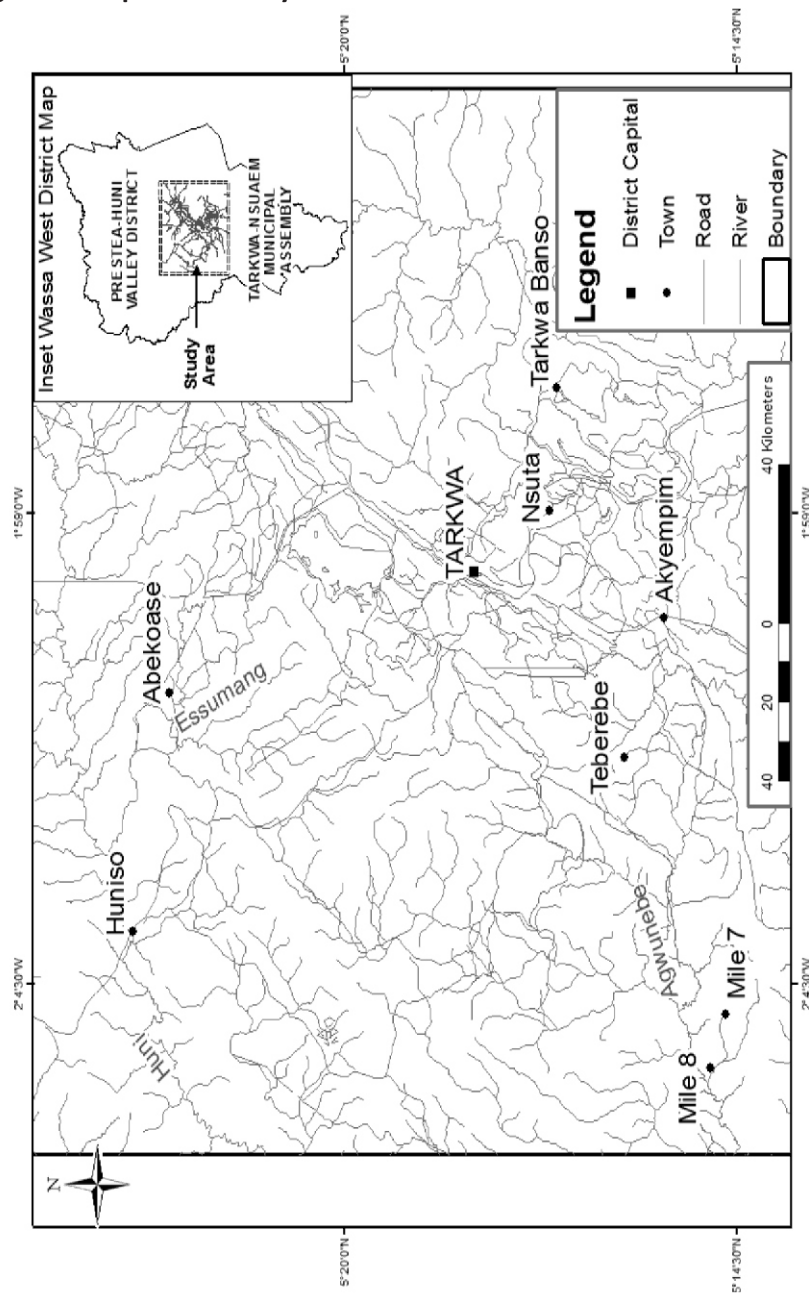
The questionnaires were administered to residents of 18 years and above who had been resident in the community for not less than five years. Except Nsuta, whose population is known, the other communities are very small, and consequently they were captured under major townships in the 2000 Housing and Population Census. A rough idea of the population sizes of these communities was obtained from the village chief and Assembly man/woman. Ten percent of the estimated population was administered with questionnaire. The distribution is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Distribution of Questionnaires among the Sampled Communities

| <i>Mining Company</i> | <i>Community</i> | <i>Number of Questionnaires</i> |
|--|------------------|---------------------------------|
| Anglogold Ashanti – Iduapriem Mine (AGA) | Teberebe Village | 20 |
| | Mile 7 | 20 |
| | AdisaKrom | 5 |
| Gold Fields Ghana Ltd (GGL) | Abekoase | 20 |
| | Huniso | 40 |
| Ghana Manganese Company (GMC) | TarkwaBanso | 40 |
| | Nsuta | 60 |
| Total | | 205 |

Interviews were conducted with opinion leaders (chiefs, assemblymen/women) in each community, mining companies and institutions such as the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in Accra and Tarkwa, the Mineral Resources Commission Inspectorate Division - Accra, and the Ghana Chamber of Mines - Accra. Focus group discussions were also held in each community to obtain any relevant information. The focus group discussions involved 12 discussants composed of the village chief, the assemblyman/woman and farmers. The proceedings of discussions were recorded to augment findings from the survey. Questionnaires were processed using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) and results presented in descriptive statistical measures such as tables and graphs/charts. A review of environmental management policy and regulatory framework within the mining sector in Ghana and other relevant literature from the Minerals Commission and the EPA was undertaken. Pathological records of common causes of death were also secured from the Tarkwa Government Hospital and other clinics.

Figure 1: Map of the Study Area



RESULTS

Socio-economic Impacts

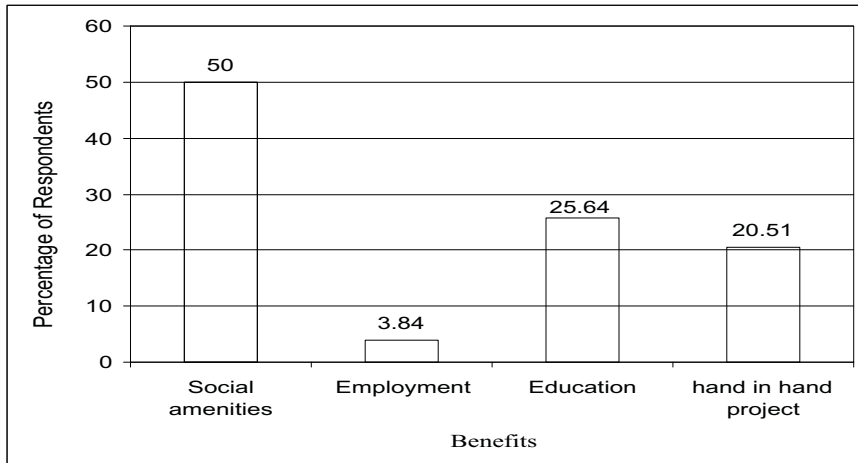
The socio-economic impacts of mining in the communities have been both positive and negative. The positive benefits are illustrated in Figure 2. The provision of social amenities and economic ventures constitutes the major positive impact of mining to the communities (50%; refer to Figure 2). Some of the social facilities provided include boreholes, educational infrastructure, graded roads, palm oil and cassava processing mills, community centres and public toilet facilities. Gold Fields Ghana and AngloGold Ashanti had provided palm oil and cassava processing mills for women in some of their surrounding communities such as Teberebe and Huniso. However, these mills were not functioning because they were manually powered, and the women claimed they could not operate them. Thus the mills were abandoned and overgrown with weeds. Secondly, certain individuals in these communities owned mills, hence the village people were not patronising those of the mining companies. Besides this, farmers stated that since their lands had been taken by the mining companies, they had no lands to cultivate oil palm, thus they had less raw materials to feed the mills.

It was also revealed from interviews with the companies, questionnaire surveys and discussions from the communities that AngloGold Ashanti and Gold Fields Ghana had previously provided alternative livelihoods in animal husbandry (e.g., bee keeping, goat rearing, snail and grass cutter farming) to a number of individuals at Abekoase, Huniso, Teberebe and Mile 7. This project failed because most of the animals that were given to the farmers died. Mining companies attributed the failure of the project to the lack of proper care for the animals, while the communities claimed the mining companies did not train them in proper animal husbandry techniques, hence their inability to properly manage the projects.

According to GGL, the company had established an oil palm plantation, a piggery and fish ponds called “hand-in-hand” project for itself, and locals are employed to work on these projects in furtherance of providing alternative livelihoods for the surrounding communities. Residents however stated during group discussions that these jobs were not sustainable because they were not full employees, but were rather paid

wages for the number of days worked. Further, the wages paid were generally low. The companies explained that their inability to employ many residents was because the villagers did not have the requisite skills demanded by the mines.

Figure 2: Illustration of the Socio-economic Benefits Derived from Mining based on Respondents' Assessment



The provision of social amenities such as boreholes, community centres and toilet facilities formed part of the corporate social responsibilities of the multi-national corporations to communities. In all the communities studied, boreholes had been drilled by companies except at Tarkwa Bansa where boreholes were not funded by mining companies. According to the Unit Committee Chairman of Tarkwa Bansa, the boreholes were drilled by a German exploration company. Most boreholes were either out of order or had such low yields that residents found it difficult to draw water from them. For instance, at Huniso, out of five boreholes, only two were functioning and their yields were very low, so residents had no option than to still draw untreated water from the Huni River for domestic consumption. At Mile 7, the community had only two boreholes which had low yield. Residents indicated that they had to spend a lot of time drawing water, which made them go to farm late. Another concern in the communities was the perceived pollution of both their underground and surface water bodies.

At Abekoase and Teberebe, only one borehole was perceived to be wholesome throughout the year because residents indicated that a thin reddish-orange film appeared on the surface of water that they fetched from boreholes, particularly in the rainy season. The reddish colour was due to the oxidation of ferrous iron (Fe^{2+}) to ferric iron (Fe^{3+}) when the groundwater was exposed to the atmosphere (Kusimi and Kusimi, 2012).

Residents of Nsuta township were however supplied with pipe-borne water from the Bonsa Water Works, augmented by a few boreholes drilled by GMC. All the communities within the mining companies had their roads continuously graded by their respective companies, except the Tarkwa Banso road. Residents complained bitterly of the refusal of GMC to use their mine wastes to fill pot-holes on their road after several persistent appeals to the company. From the survey questionnaire analysis, the provision of educational infrastructure was an important source of benefits derived by the communities from the mining companies. Individual mining companies either fully funded educational projects alone or did so jointly with other companies and stakeholders. For instance, the teachers' living quarters, Primary and Junior High School (JHS) buildings at Huniso were built by Gold Fields Ghana Ltd (GGL). The Abekoase and Tebe Primary Schools were funded by Gold Fields Ghana, Mantrac and Cat Companies. AngloGold Ashanti (AGA) also put up a nursery and refurbished the primary and Junior High School structures for the people of Teberebe.

However, most schools lacked teaching staff because of the poor state of social amenities. Consequently, most teachers either did not accept postings to these communities or stayed in Tarkwa and trekked to school daily. GMC had not provided any physical educational structure in Nsuta and Tarkwa Banso. Other corporate social responsibility programmes embarked upon by companies included the establishment of bursaries/scholarships which had been set up by all three companies. Despite the availability of these funding opportunities for the education of the poor and brilliant students from the second cycle (including technical and vocational education) to the tertiary level, only a few students could benefit from them. This was because, due to the poor state of educational facilities and services provided, and the refusal of teachers to accept postings to these mining communities, most pupils did not do well in their Basic Education Certificate Examinations.

The major socio-economic problems identified in the mining communities included civil conflicts, social unrest, poverty, loss of land and property and unemployment. From the focus group discussions, many residents claimed that they had been displaced from their prime farmlands due to the production of minerals. These displaced people claimed that the compensations paid were generally too low to allow them to earn a decent living. The low compensation was related to the apparent lack of consultation of displaced farmers before compensation rates were established. Other issues of concern raised during discussions included the inadequacy of the resettlement rooms and houses built for displaced farmers and the low fertility of the alternative lands provided to them.

It also came to light in the group discussions that residents were not allowed to farm on parts of the concession lands that the companies were not currently using. The refusal of mining companies to permit any economic activity by villagers on their unused concessions contravenes the Minerals and Mining law 2006, Act 703. According to this law, the lawful occupier of land subject to a mineral right has grazing and cultivation rights in so far as such grazing and cultivation do not interfere with mining operations. Farmers complained that if they cultivated any crop on unused parts of the mining concession, the crops were destroyed under the supervision of security guards. Another common complaint was that the youth of the areas were not employed by the companies. Rather, the companies preferred to employ people outside the mining communities.

Several important environmental problems resulting from mining activities emerged from this study. These were derived through interviews of members of the local communities, government officials and specific scientific tests that we conducted for the study. The most important environmental problems included (1) pollution of water bodies, (2) air and noise pollution, (3) destruction of farm lands and (4) destruction of roads. In the following section, we discuss in more detail the pollution of water bodies and air and noise pollution that were ascertained from the study.

Environmental Impacts

Communities of the three mining companies perceived their water resources (ground and surface water) to be polluted due to the release of toxic chemicals and sediments into their water bodies. According to the residents, several cases of spillage of chemicals (e.g. cyanide) had been experienced in the Essumang River at the Abekoase and Agwunebe Rivers at Adisakrom, making the water bodies unwholesome. The death of fish and other aquatic species and skin rashes experienced by people after bathing in the rivers were used as evidence of the pollution of the water bodies.

Examination of the ground and surface water quality showed that the concentration levels of trace elements such as iron, cadmium, copper, cyanide, arsenic and zinc exceeded World Health Organisation (WHO) and Ghana Standards Authority/Ghana Water Company guidelines for safe drinking water in all the communities (Kusimi and Kusimi, 2012). The international literature documents pollution related to surface and ground water and sediments by multinational corporations engaged in mining as a major problem in many developing countries, including South Africa, Brazil, Kenya and China (for example, refer to Malm *et al.*, 1990; Naicker *et al.*, 2003; Ogola *et al.*, 2002; Zabowski *et al.*, 2001; Zobrist *et al.*, 2009).

A high level of river sedimentation was observed, particularly in the Agwunebe River around Adisakrom, and the sediment source was a nearby refuse dump of AGA. The river had a brownish/grayish look and was turbid with much sediment deposits in the river channel. The village chief and elders indicated that the Agwunebe River used to be very clean, clear of sediments and they could swim/bath in it, use the water for their domestic chores and also catch fish and crabs from it. But due to its current bad state, they did not depend on it for environmental amenities. However, the water in River Essumang, which ran through the concession of AGA, was clear and devoid of sediments. But residents indicated that River Essumang was also contaminated with mine wastes because they got skin rashes when they bathed in the river.

Geochemical test of this river conducted as part of this study showed a very high level of cyanide: 8 mg/l, well above the WHO acceptable limit of 0.07mg/l, confirming residents' perceptions of pollution of the river (Kusimi and Kusimi, 2012). Similarly, zinc, cadmium, arsenic and copper concentration levels in Lake Abibiri at Tarkwa Bansa within the GMC concession were also found to be higher than WHO threshold limits for drinking water (Kusimi and Kusimi, 2012).

Another serious environmental problem confronting these communities was air and noise pollution resulting from dust pollution from cars plying through the communities and from the crushing and blasting of rocks. Though companies indicated that air and nose pollution was managed by water sprinkling, residents indicated that this measure was ineffective. GMC was doing little to manage the dust, compared to GGL and AGA. A source at the Minerals Commission, Accra told us that “companies look at profit first before safety but hide behind safety and actually think of profit”.

The source explained that water should be put in the crushers before crushing to suppress dust emission, but companies did not follow this procedure. Also, an extractor was supposed to be attached to the top of the crushers to trap some of the dust, but companies only complied with this regulation when monitoring officials were visiting the mines. In order to make companies more responsible in managing environmental pollution, Smith (2007) proposed that management must counter the negative image that most companies were not sincere in their efforts to be socially responsible.

Blasting of rocks was another serious environmental challenge confronting the mining communities, as this generated intense vibrations and noise. This situation was said to be so serious, especially at Abekoase, Tarkwa Bansa and Nsuta Zongo, as to cause sleepless nights, shocks and cracks in buildings. Though monitoring records of noise and vibration (Table 2) were within regulatory standards (Table 3), these measurements were not done during the periods when blasting of rocks was being undertaken, thus resulted in low values. If noise levels during periods when rocks were not being blasted could be as high as 112.9 decibels, then it could be inferred that actual noise levels were likely to exceed the threshold safety level of 125 decibels during periods of blasting of rocks.

Table 2: Anglogold Ashanti–Iduapriem: Noise, Vibrations and Dust Monitoring at Teberebe Pit Cut-Back

| <i>Month</i> | <i>Noise and Vibrations (2009)</i> | | <i>Noise and Vibrations (2010)</i> | |
|--------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | <i>Overpressure Level (dBL)</i> | <i>Vibration Level (dBL)</i> | <i>Overpressure Level (dBL)</i> | <i>Vibration Level (dBL)</i> |
| Jan | | | 108.0 | 0.69 |
| Feb | | | 108.3 | 0.58 |
| Mar | | | 108.0 | 0.51 |
| Apr | 112.4 | 0.51 | 107.7 | 0.61 |
| May | 107.1 | 0.56 | 108.4 | 0.75 |
| Jun | 111.5 | 0.67 | 109.7 | 0.97 |
| Jul | 112.4 | 0.65 | | |
| Aug | 111.3 | 0.56 | | |
| Sept | 111.7 | 0.65 | | |
| Oct | 112.9 | 0.80 | | |
| Nov | 107.0 | 0.77 | | |
| Dec | 111.6 | 0.66 | | |

Source: Inspectorate Division, Minerals Commission, Accra.

NB: Noise not monitored during blast

Residents indicated that dust pollution, vibrations and noise from excavations and explosives were still major environmental problems in the Tarkwa area. Pollution of water sources from mercury and cyanide, dust and mine pits, as well as the cracking and the collapse of buildings were also reported by Kitula (2006) to be problems experienced by local people in the Geita District in Tanzania due to gold mining.

Table 3: Vibration and Air Overpressure Limits

| <i>Category</i> | <i>Type of blasting operation</i> | <i>Peak component particle velocity (mm/s)</i> | <i>Peak sound pressure level (dBL)</i> |
|---|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| Residential Area | all blasting | 5mm/s maximum | 115dBL maximum |
| Occupied non-sensitive sites, such as factories and commercial premises | all blasting | 25mm/s maximum | 125dBL maximum |

Source: Draft Explosive (Mining and Civil) Regulation 2008.

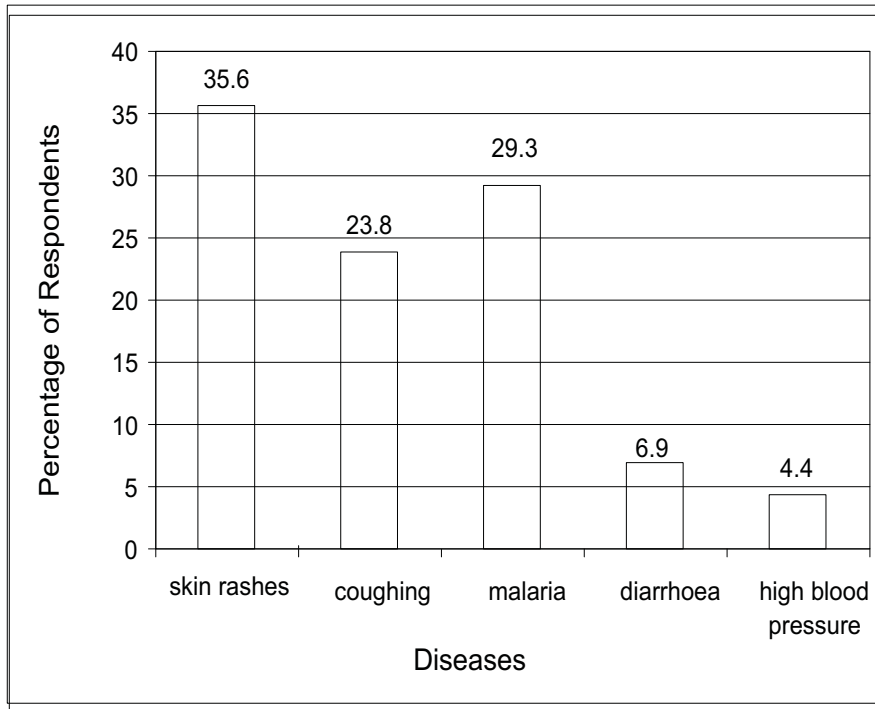
Health Impacts

In order to handle the health needs of their workers, companies have built hospitals and clinics within their concessions around Tarkwa. Though clinics/hospitals had been built, only workers of the companies could access free medical care from these health facilities. Since only a minority of residents were workers of the mining companies, it was not surprising that many respondents complained that they did not benefit from the free health care facilities offered by the companies. However, they indicated that they could attend the health facilities when they were sick, provided they were willing to pay their medical expenses. Figure 3 indicates the major diseases recorded in the mining communities. Skin rashes were the most prevalent disease followed by malaria and coughs.

Skin rashes were common health problems amongst the communities, arising out of bathing with stream/river water or swimming in the rivers that drained the locality. Dust from the untarred roads and from rock crashing was also said to account for coughs in the communities. The frequency of diseases related to dust poisoning was similar to the results reported by Ogola *et al.* (2002) from the underground gold mine in the Migori Gold Belt in Kenya. They stated that due to the enclosed nature of the mine, it acted as a breeding ground for infectious diseases such as tuberculosis and dust poisoning resulting in respiratory ailments.

Information obtained through interviews from officials of the Tarkwa Municipal Hospital indicated that mining related health hazards included physical (noise and vibration), chemical (release of chemicals like cyanide and lead), biological (helminthiasis), ergonomic (backache and neck pain), psycho-social (management and labour issues) and mechanical (accidents). The Out Patient Department (OPD) data on reported and diagnosed clinical diseases were not available. Malaria, tuberculosis, cardiac failure and diarrhoea were among the top ten causes of death recorded at the Tarkwa Hospital for 2008 and 2009. Some of the leading causes of death appeared directly related to the hazards of mining in the area and these included tuberculosis. However, the prevalence of malaria was not unique to Tarkwa, as it was a major source of morbidity and mortality throughout Ghana.

Figure 3: Major Diseases in the Sampled Communities



DISCUSSION

Countries which are endowed with mineral resources often depend heavily on the exploitation of these natural resources to finance their socioeconomic development. Local communities are often made to understand that there will be development in their particular communities through employment creation, payment of taxes/royalties and purchase of local goods and services by mining companies. On the basis of the enclave thesis, Bloch and Owusu (2012) indicate that a number of Western Ghana's mining towns' formal and informal business activities have been stimulated by mining incomes; however the communities which are directly impacted by mining activities do not derive these benefits.

Mine workers stay in the Tarkwa township and most workers are either expatriates or do not come from Tarkwa, hence their incomes are spent at Tarkwa rather than in the adjacent communities. Farm produce from mining communities is also insufficient to sell at local markets. Only a few people from the communities are employed by the mining companies. Hence, these communities are unable to reap the consumption linkage benefits of the mining industry due to limited experience, unskilled development and limited funding opportunities, as observed in other countries by Sosa and Keenan (2001) and Ghose (2004).

It is obvious that many of the expectations of the communities do not materialise at the local level where mining activities take place (Akabzaa and Darimani, 2001). Consequently, mining is seen as benefiting primarily the foreign investors and the elites in Ghana, with little trickling down to the mining communities (e.g. Ayee *et al.*, 2011). Mining equipment is imported and most mining companies are international or are owned by organizations/individuals outside the catchment area of the mines.

Strained relationships often exist between mining companies and communities due to the mistrust the communities have of them with regard to their unmet expectations. The strained relationship is also related to the relocation of local people to marginally productive areas, often with inadequate compensation (Ballard and Banks, 2003; Third World Network Africa-Africa Secretariat, 1997).

At the local level, mining companies have launched a number of corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives to enhance capacity for sustainable livelihoods and skill building for the communities. Nonetheless, these initiatives have not been very effective owing to the lack of accessibility, maintenance and sustainability of the programmes. Some projects are misplaced, as locals do not make use of them. This situation has arisen because the consent of residents is not sought in the development of policies and the provision of facilities, and as a result companies are unable to satisfy residents.

Also, the development of some of these projects is not carefully thought through to see their viability, acceptability and sustainability. They are often

ad hoc measures to calm down growing tensions arising in these communities as a result of the failure of the mines to honour their promises of sustainable development of local communities during the production and economic phase of mining. This accounts for the failure of the alternative livelihood programmes introduced to the people.

Land, the primary source of livelihood in these communities, is taken away without providing any good alternative farmable lands, and one wonders how residents are expected to be able to grow cassava and palm trees to feed the processing plants. Since residents are primarily farmers, training in other alternative livelihoods in the artisanal industry could make them employable in the mines, but such training is not available.

Thus communities do not feel the positive impact of mining in their localities; the negative socio-cultural impacts of mining are what linger in the minds of residents. Royalties paid by the companies are used by the chiefs for their parochial interest without the consent of residents within the concession, and this raises questions about governance and accountability. The low level of education of residents is one reason why the villagers cannot demand accountability from the chiefs.

These mining-related problems noted above have attracted the attention of civil society and the media and have resulted in massive campaigns for better socio-cultural and environmental management practices in these communities. The result is a range of new mining policies and processing technologies such as the use of extractors, cyclones and water sprinkling to suppress dust, cementation and ventilation which are cost effective environmentally and in socio-economic terms (e.g. Warhurst, 1994; Winde and Stoch, 2010). The government of Ghana has enacted a number of legal and institutional frameworks to combat these problems. Among these are the Mining and Explosives Regulation 1970, the *Minerals and Mining Law 1986 - PNDCL 153*, the Minerals and Mining Act 703 of 2006.

Apart from adopting some of these regulatory frameworks, the country has also established a number of institutions such as the Minerals Commission, the EPA and the Inspectorate Division of the Minerals Commission to regulate mining activities in the country to ensure sustainable environmental

management in the mining communities. However, these institutions have been ineffective because of lack of human and material capacity (i.e., expertise and finance) on the part of the regulatory agencies to execute their stipulated mandate of supervision.

The lack of capacity is a function of both the lack of political incentives to meaningfully invest in sector reforms and a quantitative indicator of the government's scarce human and material resources (Ayee *et al.*, 2011). Thus mining companies flagrantly flout environmental regulations with impunity as breaches of regulations go undetected or unpunished, or as punishment meted out to these corporations is not deterrent enough. These institutions are normally found attending to issues only when they become large scale environmental disasters. They also comply with EMSs policies only when regulatory agencies are visiting the mines.

The modalities of developing an EIA for the mining companies is one main structural defect in drawing up a good EMS in the country, as they fail to incorporate the views of stakeholders in developing a responsible and environmentally sustainable EMS. According to Environmental Assessment Regulations 7, 8, 9 and 10, mining companies are supposed to submit Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) reports to the EPA in line with EMS procedures to ensure safe and clean mining.

However, these environmental guidelines are associated with practical weaknesses that account for poor environmental management in the mining industry in Ghana. For instance, EIA proposals are often inaccessible by mining communities as they are deposited at the District Assemblies, District and Regional Offices of EPA or at the mining company (Environmental Assessment Regulations, 1999, LI1652). Consequently, residents are often not aware when the EIA proposal notice is published; hence they are unable to make any input into the document.

Another major setback of the EIA process is that the report is presented in technical language in English which cannot easily be read and understood by the majority of residents of these communities, and secondly, during public

hearings government and mining company officials present only the positive aspect of the proposed project without bringing out the negative impacts of the project and how they will address such issues. In short, the views of communities directly impacted by mining operations are often side-lined in EIA procedures. Thus, stakeholders are unable to hold mining companies accountable to the set environmental goals of the mines, particularly on reclamation and chemical spillage. The study also found that regulations governing air and noise pollution enacted in Ghana's Mining and Environmental Guideline (1994) were ineffective, because the EPA Office in Tarkwa indicated they did not do regular monitoring of dust emissions unless there were complaints from the communities; rather, it was the mining companies that did regular monitoring.

A question that needs to be answered is: how honest will the mining companies be in giving out actual records of their monitored data? Second, the Inspectorate Division of the Minerals Commission in Accra states that mining companies do not abide by the regulations for economic reasons, that is, to minimize cost and maximize profit, unless they are aware that officials are coming for inspection. Thus the required impact assessments are conducted by the mining companies themselves without sufficient oversight (Ayee *et al.*, 2011). It is therefore not surprising that the mining communities are complaining of high dust and noise pollution levels while the mines indicate otherwise.

The annual environmental audit reports of the mines were also found to be confidential (Minerals and Mining Act 2006) and they could not be accessed during the study. Thus mining communities cannot ascertain the state of their environment to demand for appropriate control/management measures. The laxity in these EMS tools explains the failure of the mining companies to stick to laid down clean environmental measures resulting in occasional spillage of chemicals and other mine wastes into streams, causing environmental pollution. The environmental concerns of these villagers are often not adequately addressed. Mines have taken advantage of the inefficiencies of these monitoring institutions and the weaknesses in the policies not to follow standard clean production procedures resulting in the pollution of the environment and health problems for residents.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Compliance and enforcement of environmental regulations is a major weakness within the Ghanaian mining industry due to the lack of institutional capacity and resource base, and to weaknesses in the environmental management regulations themselves. This has resulted in a number of socio-economic, environmental and health problems within mining communities in the study area. Thus despite the provision of a number of facilities such as schools, educational scholarships and water supply systems by mining companies as part of their CSR to the communities, residents feel they are worse off in the midst of the mining activities.

The negative socio-economic impacts of mining are unemployment, loss of land and property and poverty, among others. Dust pollution, excessive noise and vibrations are environmental problems facing these mining communities, and little effort is being made by companies to remedy the situation, particularly with respect to noise and vibration. The study has also found diseases like skin rashes, coughing/TB, malaria and diarrhoea to be prevalent in these communities. The prevalence of these problems has been blamed on the release of toxic chemicals and dust particulates into the environment.

The government is in charge of setting the rules governing mining in a given jurisdiction; thus, its actions are critical to achieving sustainable benefits from the mining sector for the nation as well as for the local economy. Hence the government must provide strategic policy direction and the requisite legal, regulatory and institutional frameworks to pursue social and environmental goals to promote accountability, openness and inclusion, and to achieve widespread and tangible benefits for the mining communities.

Specifically, there must be some overhauling of the legal and policy framework on mining to impose stronger environmental and social responsibility on the mining companies. Statutory institutions (the EPA and the Minerals Commission) charged with the implementation of environmental management policies and monitoring in the mining industries need to be resourced adequately to enable them discharge their obligations efficiently to ensure safe environments in mining communities.

There is the need to re-examine the mode of resettlement and compensation to affected mining communities. Mining communities should be properly consulted and affected victims' views considered in arriving at the type and amount of compensation, and the mode of disbursing the resources to the people. It is suggested that due to the lack of investment skills on the part of these rural dwellers, affected victims should be given some training on how to invest monies or assets given to them to provide sustainable livelihoods for the people. If such alternative livelihoods or sustainable means of livelihoods are provided, they will minimise poverty and encroachment on concessions and therefore bring an end to the perennial social conflicts between companies and the local people.

Citizen participation should be encouraged in mining towns. So should free information with regard to concepts on the EIA, the EIS and other environmental management plans: information which should be free to the people and devoid of disaggregation. This could take the form of the translation of these documents into local languages and public education on these environmental management plans in the local languages of affected communities on community radio stations and information vans.

Lastly, to improve upon the employability of locals in mining communities, District/Municipal Assemblies should, as part of the National Youth Employment Programme, develop a module to train the youth in vocational and technical trades so that they can take advantage of such jobs in the mines. Children should also be motivated to study hard to acquire higher education that can give them employment opportunities in managerial positions in the mines in the future.

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INCORPORATING E-LEARNING INTO TEACHING AND LEARNING AT UNIVERSITY OF GHANA: PERCEPTIONS OF FACULTY

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ABSTRACT

The technological revolution has increased pressure on universities to incorporate information, communication and technology (ICT) into teaching and learning. One of the critical prerequisites for successful incorporation of e-learning is its acceptance by lecturers. The purpose of this paper is to determine the perceptions of lecturers towards e-learning at the University of Ghana. Lecturers had a more favourable attitude towards the introduction of web-supplemented and mixed modes of e-learning than they had regarding web-dependent and fully online modes. Most of them were of the view that the university was not ready for fully online programmes at the undergraduate and graduate levels. Some of the challenges identified which could affect e-learning were the relatively low bandwidth which made the internet slow and unreliable, and the low level of participation in training in the use of open source platforms. It is recommended that the training of faculty in the use of learning management platforms should be intensified.

Keywords: Adoption, E-learning, Higher Education, ICT, Teaching and Learning

INTRODUCTION

Universities all over the world are going through change. The winds of change affecting universities include the impacts of globalization and the information, communication and technology revolution (World Bank, 2002; Duderstadt, cited in Taylor, 1995; Cummings, Phillips, Tilbrook and Lowe, 2005). The advent of the personal computer in the 1970s and the

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growth of the Internet in the mid-1990s have changed not only the world's capacity to store, transmit, access, and use data and information, but also the administration, research and pedagogical styles in universities in the developed and developing countries. The use of ICT has brought significant changes to universities and these changes will for a very long time continue to affect teaching, learning and research (Bates, 2000; Drucker, 1999; Reid, 2007). Lately, ICT has been adopted by some universities as a subject of study and scholars are seeking for reasons why many universities use the technology intensively while others use it little; and to understand the changes that it fosters among administrators, lecturers and students.

The use of Information, Communication and Technology in teaching and learning in universities in the developed countries has brought many advantages. E-learning, which is an example of the use of ICT, offers many benefits such as greater information access, enhanced knowledge of educational technology (Shea, Pickett and Li, 2005); greater communication via electronic facilities; synchronous learning; and pedagogical improvements (Sife, Lwoga and Sanga, 2007). Whilst acknowledging these benefits, studies have shown that universities in developing countries are yet to reach the technological level achieved by the developed countries and therefore are benefiting less from the information and technological revolution.

In the 21st century, universities in sub-Saharan Africa are still struggling to deal with an enrolment crisis (Sawyer, 2004; Daniel, 2007; Girdwood, 1999; Effah, 2003; Obeng, 2008) and large class sizes. Even in the face of this enrolment crisis, age participation rates (APRs) in sub-Saharan Africa remain well below 5% (UNESCO; cited in Daniel, Kanwar and Clarke-Okah, 2006), compared with the APR's of 40-50% in Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries (Guri-Rosenblit, Šebková and Teichler, 2007). Indeed, African universities can no longer afford to be complacent in the way they have managed the challenges they face (O'Neill, Singh and O'Donoghue, 2004). Universities in Africa need to consider how to explore cost-effective and efficient methods of operation if they are to survive in the competitive global world and to benefit from globalisation through e-learning.

E-learning is not new to the University of Ghana. In 2005, the university articulated a clear vision in its policy document on ICT, where ICT would be (a)

integrated into teaching, learning and research and drive most of the university's administration services, such that teachers/researchers use ICT as a basic tool to teach, communicate and collaborate with students, peers and researchers within and outside; (b) used by students (on-campus and off-campus) for learning and for accessing learning resources over various multimedia platforms; and (c) used to promote e-learning by making lecture rooms and classrooms ICT-enabled (University of Ghana, 2005). On e-learning specifically, the University identified the establishment of the Staff Development and Learning Centre as a one-stop shop for training and for the preparation of computer-based instructional materials¹. Other objectives outlined include the adoption and use of a computer-based course management system for the preparation and administration of online courses and an ICT-enabled distance education programme (University of Ghana, 2007).

In spite of these laudable objectives, not much has been achieved in the use of ICT to enhance teaching and learning. More has been gained in the use of ICT for administrative purposes than for addressing challenges of teaching and learning, thus leaving out faculty in the pre-planning, design and implementation of e-learning. O'Neill, Singh and O'Donoghue (2004) caution that in situations where faculty is not involved in the pre-planning and planning of e-learning but are forced down the e-learning route as a consequence of management directives and mission statements by university administrators, the latter rather sacrifice sound pedagogical practice that would benefit students for greater emphasis on technology.

This means that the role of faculty is critical in the adaptation and innovative deployment of e-learning (Mishra and Panda, 2007). The acceptance of technology by faculty is the first step towards the enhancement of the quality of teaching and learning, especially for students on campus. Unfortunately, little research has been done on the perceptions of faculty on e-learning, especially at the University of Ghana (Awiti, 2008; Dadzie, 2009). This study suggests ways of scaling-up e-learning to transform teaching and learning and to provide management with the information that could be used in future strategic directions for e-learning adoption at the University of Ghana.

The purpose of this study was to explore the perception of faculty at the University of Ghana towards the incorporation of e-learning into teaching and learning through survey research. Volery (2000 cited in Singh, O'Donoghue and Warton (2005) maintains that lecturers will always play a key role in the effective delivery of e-learning initiatives, since it is lecturers and not technology that facilitates the students' learning. This study attempts to answer the following questions:

What are the perceptions of faculty regarding the incorporation of e-learning into teaching and learning?

What are the benefits to be derived by lecturers with the scaling up of e-learning?

What are the challenges that may be faced by lecturers with the scaling-up of e-learning?

What are the future strategic directions for e-learning at the University of Ghana?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Within the last decade, e-learning has had a significant impact on learning and teaching at universities globally. However, the term lacks a universally-accepted definition. According to Oblinger and Hawkins (2005:2), there are many questions which come to mind when one mentions e-learning: Is it online coursework for students at a distance? Is it the use of online tools to enrich, enhance, and extend content or collaboration? Is it totally online, or are only portions of the course online? What is e-learning?

It is worth noting that e-learning was initially used synonymously with terms such as web-based learning, online learning, computer-assisted learning and Internet-based learning (Ruiz, Mintzer, and Leipzig, 2006; Kirk, 2002; Oblinger and Hawkins, 2005), and therefore earlier definitions were couched within the context of online learning. Over the years, the meaning of e-learning "has morphed from a fully on-line course to use of technology to deliver some or all of a course independent of fixed time and place. Students can be residential, commuting or at a distance" (Oblinger and Hawkins, 2005: 14).

Various writers have provided definitions of e-learning that are broader than online learning and that cover a wide set of applications and processes such as Web-based learning, computer-based learning, virtual classrooms and digital collaboration. It includes the delivery of content via Internet, intranet/extranet (LAN/WAN), audio and videotape, satellite broadcast, interactive TV, CD-ROM and DVDs, and the use of PowerPoint (Kaplan-Leiserson, cited in Paulsen, 2002; Wesley, 2002; Govindasamy, 2002; DiPaolo and Laurilland, 2004; LaRocque and Latham, 2003; Selim, 2007).

According to the OECD (2005:36), e-learning refers to the use of information and communication technology (ICT) to enhance and/or support learning in tertiary education. E-learning may include:

- Web-supplemented modes (e.g., course outlines and lecture notes online, use of email, links to external online resources).
- Web-dependent modes (e.g., students are required to use the Internet for key “active” elements of their study programme – e.g., online discussions, assessment, online project/collaborative work – but without significant reduction in classroom time).
- Mixed modes (e.g., students are required to participate in online activities such as online discussions, assessment, online project/collaborative work, as part of course work, which **replace** part of face-to-face teaching/learning. Significant campus attendance remains). Nichols (2007) argues that several synonymous terms such as blended, flexible and resource-based learning describe education that combines on-campus and distance approaches.
- Fully online modes.

From the above, one can fairly say that e-learning has many different faces (Gibbs and Gosper, 2006). Nichols (2007) has noted that e-learning is dependent on pedagogy. If there is little or no pedagogy, the technology will be ineffective. Also, if the technology is unreliable and too complex to use, e-learning will be an exercise in frustration (Nichol, 2007). Several models have been adopted to explain the acceptance of e-learning among faculty. Engelbrecht (2003) notes that e-learning models provide valuable tools for

understanding the integration of technology and pedagogy and may help identify key disparities between the current and desired situation.

Some scholars have focused on the adoption model (Shea, McCall and Ozdogru, 2006; Jebeile and Reeve, 2003; Shea, Pickett and Li, 2005), while other writers (Fox, Yuen, Evers, Lau and Deng, 2007) have used the institutional model of flexible learning developed by Collins and Moonen (2001 cited in Fox *et al.* (2007)). Rogers' (2003) diffusion theory serves as a valuable theoretical framework for the acceptance of innovation in organizations. Faculty's response and uptake of e-learning is based on what Rogers defines as the innovation-decision model. The innovation-decision model is "the process through which an individual (or other decision-making unit) passes from gaining initial knowledge of an innovation, to forming an attitude toward the innovation, to making a decision to adopt or reject, to implementation of the new idea, and to the confirmation of this decision" (Rogers cited in Shea, McCall and Ozdogru (2006:3)).

Rogers (cited in Bates, Manuel and Oppenheim (2007)) further notes that the 'innovation-decision' categorises the steps an individual takes from the awareness of an innovation, through the formulation of an attitude to the innovation, to the decision as to whether to implement, and finally confirmation of this approach. The five stages of the innovation-adoption process are: knowledge, persuasion, decision, implementation, and confirmation (Roger, 1995; 2003; Shea, McCall and Ozdogru, 2006; Shea, Pickett and Li, 2005). At the knowledge stage, individual characteristics are critical since they determine how one could be persuaded towards acceptance of the innovation. At the persuasion stage the individual considers the *relative advantages*, *compatibility*, *observability*, *trialability*, and *complexity* of the innovation (Rogers, 2003).

These five attributes determine the likely rate of adoption (Bates, Manuel and Oppenheim, 2007). According to Rogers (2003), *relative advantage* refers to the degree to which the adopter perceives the innovation to represent an improvement in either efficiency or effectiveness in comparison to existing methods. This means that the innovation should be perceived as better than the idea it supersedes (Mahoney and Wozniak, 2005). At the University of Ghana this means that the introduction of e-learning should be seen as a more

effective and efficient way of teaching and learning than the teacher-centred approach currently being used by all stakeholders. This, according to Shea, Pickett and Li (2007), is contingent upon the communication of all relevant information on the advantages of e-learning and the existence and success of faculty and students' development and training efforts.

Compatibility is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as being consistent with existing values, past experiences and media of potential adopters (Rogers; cited in Jebeille and Reeve, 2003). *Observability* refers to the ease with which the technology can be seen, imagined, or described to the potential adopter (Rogers, cited in Jebeille and Reeve, 2003; Shea, McCall and Ozdogru, 2006, and Shea, Pickett and Li, 2007). During this stage of the model, faculty members and students should be provided with access to views and examples of technology and pedagogy of technology-based teaching and learning (Shea, McCall and Ozdogru, 2006). This can be done through demonstration activities such as preparation of online content, use of learning platforms and other activities critical to effective and efficient use of e-learning (Shea, Fredericksen, Pickett and Pelz, 2004). *Trialability* refers to the capacity to experiment on a limited basis with the new technology before adoption. The greater the opportunity to test the technology, the more likely it will be adopted (Rogers; cited in cited in Jebeille and Reeve, 2003; Shea, McCall and Ozdogru, 2006, and Shea, Pickett and Li, 2007). *Complexity*, which is the fifth characteristic of Rogers' model, refers to the degree to which the innovation is perceived to be difficult to understand or apply (Rogers, cited in Jebeille and Reeve, 2003; Shea, McCall and Ozdogru, 2006).

Adoption of e-learning does not only happen at the individual level, but also at the organizational level. The University of Ghana as an organization, defined as “a stable system of individuals who work together to accomplish an overall, common goal or set of goals”, will go through change as it accepts e-learning to enhance teaching and learning. Rogers (2003) has proposed a model of five stages to explain an innovation process in an organization. The first two stages (i.e. agenda-setting and matching) are concerned with the *initiation* phase of the innovation and the other three (i.e., redefining or re-structuring; clarifying; and routinising) are associated with the *implementation* phase (Cardellino and Finch, 2006; Shea, McCall and Ozdogru, 2006).

The *initiation* phase deals with the setting of strategic directions and priorities by senior management at the university. This phase encompasses information gathering, conceptualizing and the planning efforts leading to the adoption of an innovation (Rogers, cited in Cardellino and Finch, 2006; Shea, McCall and Ozdogru, 2006). During the implementation phase, Shea, McCall and Ozdogru (2006) have pointed out that the diffusion stages of redefining or restructuring, clarifying and routinizing determine the sustainability of the innovation within an organization. This phase covers all events, decisions and actions made by the university to integrate the innovation (ibid.). Cardellino and Finch (2006) have also noted that during implementation period innovation and the supporting processes are expected to change to better fit the need. That is, the innovation will be assimilated within the organization and cease to be on the periphery.

METHODOLOGY

The population comprised all University of Ghana lecturers, who were 1,050. Excluding lecturers from the University of Ghana Medical School² and the Agricultural Research Stations, the accessible population was six hundred and fifty-nine (659), out of which 450 lecturers were selected using the simple random sampling approach and the register of Members of Convocation for 2007/2008 at the University's Internal Mail office as the sampling frame. The study was carried out in February 2008. A questionnaire was used to gather data from faculty members on variables such as demographic characteristics, access to computers, ICT training and skills and perceptions about e-learning. Out of the 450 questionnaires sent by postal mail, only 100 questionnaires were returned, a response rate of about 22%. Locke, Fitzpatrick and White (1983), cited in Dadzie (2009), have reported that low response rates are normal for university surveys. The questionnaires were analyzed using SPSS.

Univariate and bivariate analyses were undertaken to construct frequencies and establish relationships among variables. The study tested for reliability using the Cronbach alpha (α) to measure the internal consistency and reliability of the questions (Gliemand Gliem, 2003). Indeed, the overall Cronbach alpha (α) (Nunnally, 1978, cited in Santos (1999)) for 31 items of the study was 0.858 as shown in Table 1. On ethical issues, the study sought the voluntary informed consent of respondents through a letter written and attached to the questionnaire. Respondents were informed about the objectives

of the research and adequate steps were taken to ensure anonymity and confidentiality.

Table 1: Reliability Statistics

| <i>Cronbach's Alpha</i> | <i>Number of Items</i> |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 0.858 | 31 |

Note

The estimated Cronbach's alpha for this study of 0.858 was above the critical level of 0.70 that is deemed to be the minimum for good consistency.

RESULTS

Demographic Characteristics of Faculty

In terms of gender, 76.5% of respondents were males, while 23.5% were females. With respect to age, the majority of respondents (70.4%) were 40 years and above, while only 29.6% were below 40 years. Respondents were made up of lecturers (72.0%), senior lecturers (11.8%), Associate Professors (3.2%) and Professors (12.9%). Respondents were from the Faculty of Arts (21.6%), the Faculty of Social Studies (45.5%), the Faculty of Engineering Sciences (4.5%), the Faculty of Science (27.3%) and the College of Agriculture (1.1%). With respect to length of service, a significant number of respondents (71.1%) had been working with the university for between one and 10 years, whilst 28.9% had been working with the university for more than 10 years.

Access to Facilities

Table 2: Access to Computers

| <i>Access to Computers</i> | <i>All lecturers</i> | <i>Male</i> | <i>Female</i> |
|----------------------------|----------------------|-------------|---------------|
| Laptop | 18 (18.6) | 12 (66.7) | 6 (33.3) |
| Desktop | 20 (20.6) | 16 (80.0) | 4 (20.0) |
| Both | 59 (60.8) | 46 (78.0) | 13 (22.0) |

Access to computers and Internet connectivity has been identified as critical to the scaling-up of ICT. The study found that most of the respondents (60.8%) had both laptop and desktop computers. A few had only laptops (18.6%) or desktop computers (20.6%) as shown in Table 2. Respondents who use desktop computers in their offices indicated that these computers were mostly provided by the University (56.2%) and were Internet enabled (79.1%). A few of the computers were acquired through the execution of projects. Regarding the laptop computers, it was found that they were mostly acquired by respondents from private sources (84.8%). The Microsoft Office Application (Word, Excel, Access and Power Point), the Web Browser and Adobe Acrobat Reader were the commonly installed software on computers used in the offices.

ICT Skills and Training

Table 3: Software Which Aids Teaching of Senior Members on Campus by Gender

| <i>Software which aids teaching</i> | <i>All lecturers %</i> | <i>Male</i> | <i>Female</i> |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| Microsoft Word | | | |
| Yes | 88.8 | 60 (75.9) | 19 (24.1) |
| No | 11.2 | 7 (70.0) | 3 (30.0) |
| Microsoft Excel | | | |
| Yes | 53.3 | 34 (85.0) | 6 (15.0) |
| No | 46.7 | 24 (68.6) | 11 (31.4) |
| Presentation (Power Point) | | | |
| Yes | 72.3 | 46 (76.7) | 14 (23.3) |
| No | 27.7 | 16 (69.6) | 7 (30.4) |
| World Wide Web (WWW) | | | |
| Yes | 75.9 | 45 (71.4) | 18 (28.6) |
| No | 24.1 | 17 (85.0) | 3 (15.0) |
| Educational Resources (e-resources) | | | |
| Yes | 32.0 | 19 (79.2) | 5 (20.8) |
| No | 68.0 | 39 (76.5) | 12 (23.5) |

N = 99

With respect to participation in ICT training programmes of the University, 42.7% of faculty indicated they had participated in ICT organized by the University, but indicated that they had participated only once in these training programmes. In spite of the low level of training among respondents, the majority of them used the Microsoft Word Application (Word, Excel, and Power Point) and the Internet regularly (ranging from every day to a few times a week), while Educational Resources (e-resources) were used less frequently by respondents. Furthermore, Power Point and the Internet were identified as critical aids to teaching by lecturers (refer to Table 3).

Table 4: Learning Management Systems Used before by Senior Members

| <i>Learning Management Systems used before by Senior Members</i> | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> |
|--|------------|-----------|
| Black board | 9 (10.0) | 81 (90.0) |
| Lotus | 3 (3.4) | 86 (96.6) |
| WebCT | 7 (8.0) | 81 (92.0) |
| Open Source (KEWL) | 16 (17.9) | 73 (82.0) |
| N = 99 | | |

On the use of 'Learning Management Systems' (LMS), it was quite obvious from responses that a significant number of senior members had not used these systems extensively. The common ones associated with senior members were the Blackboard (10.0%) and KEWL (17.9%) as shown in Table 4.

Perceptions of Senior Members on E-learning

The scaling up of ICT at universities is based on a well formulated strategy. The strategy needs to be communicated and disseminated among lecturers so that they are not only familiar with the strategic direction of the university but also integrate electronic learning into teaching and learning (Jenkins and Hanson, 2003). Tables 5 to 9 provide summary results of staff perceptions concerning the strategic position for E-learning at the University of Ghana.

TABLE 5: Strategic Position of University of Ghana for E-Learning Innovations

| <i>Is the University of Ghana strategically positioned to introduce the following:</i> | <i>All lecturers %</i> | <i>Male</i> | <i>Female</i> |
|--|----------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| Web-supplemented | | | |
| Yes | 68.1 | 49 (79.0) | 13 (21.0) |
| No | 31.9 | 20 (69.0) | 9 (31.0) |
| Mixed Mode | | | |
| Yes | 56.0 | 41 (80.4) | 10 (19.6) |
| No | 44.0 | 28 (70.0) | 12 (30.0) |
| Web-dependent | | | |
| Yes | 34.8 | 29 (93.5) | 2 (6.5) |
| No | 65.2 | 39 (67.2) | 19 (32.8) |
| Fully Online | | | |
| Yes | 22.2 | 19 (95.0) | 1 (5.0) |
| No | 77.8 | 49 (70.0) | 21 (30.0) |

N = 99

Table 6: Crosstabulation of Age Distribution and University of Ghana's Strategic Position to Offer Web-supplemented Mode

| | <i>Web-supplemented</i> | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| Young Lecturers | 22 (88.0) | 3 (12.0) | 25 (100.0) |
| Middle-aged Lecturers | 17 (68.0) | 8 (32.0) | 25 (100.0) |
| Older Lecturers | 22 (56.4) | 17 (43.6) | 39 (100.0) |

($\chi^2 = 7.05$, $df = 2$, $p < .05$)

Table 7: Crosstabulation of Age Distribution and University of Ghana's Strategic Positioned to Offer Mixed Mode

| | <i>Mixed mode</i> | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------|--------------|
| | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| Young Lecturers | 21 (80.8) | 5 (19.2) | 26 (100.0) |
| Middle-aged Lecturers | 11 (44.0) | 14 (56.0) | 25 (100.0) |
| Older Lecturers | 18 (47.4) | 20 (52.6) | 38 (100.0) |

($\chi^2 = 9.09$, $df = 2$, $p < .05$)

Table 8: Crosstabulation of Age Distribution and University of Ghana's Strategic Position to Offer Web-dependent Mode

| | <i>Web supplemented</i> | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| Young Lecturers | 14 (56.0) | 11 (44.0) | 25 (100.0) |
| Middle-aged Lecturers | 8 (32.0) | 17 (68.0) | 25 (100.0) |
| Older Lecturers | 9 (56.4) | 29 (76.3) | 38 (100.0) |

($\chi^2 = 7.06$, $df = 2$, $p < .05$)

Table 9: Crosstabulation of Age Distribution and University of Ghana's Strategic Position to Offer Fully Online

| | <i>Fully online</i> | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------|--------------|
| | <i>Yes</i> | <i>No</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| Young Lecturers | 11 (44.0) | 14 (56.0) | 25 (100.0) |
| Middle-aged Lecturers | 3 (12.0) | 22 (88.0) | 25 (100.0) |
| Older Lecturers | 6 (15.8) | 32 (84.2) | 38 (100.0) |

($\chi^2 = 9.12$, $df = 2$, $p < .05$)

On whether the university is strategically positioned to introduce e-learning across the board, the study found that lecturers thought the university was better positioned to offer the web-supplemented and mixed modes than the web-dependent and fully online ones. The study showed that more male lecturers indicated that the University was well positioned to offer web-dependent and fully online modes than their female counterparts. As to which of the modes (web-supplemented; mixed mode; web-dependent and fully online) should be implemented immediately by the University and when respondents thought this should start, the results showed that most of the respondents would like the web-supplemented mode to be implemented within one year, the mixed mode within two years and the web dependent and fully online modes in three years, as shown in Table 9. The study found that younger lecturers felt the University was strategically placed to offer web-supplemented, mixed, web-dependent and fully online modes (refer to Tables 6, 7, 8 and 9).

Table 10: Scaling up of ICT

| <i>Scaling up of ICT</i> | <i>All lecturers %</i> | <i>Male</i> | <i>Female</i> |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| <i>Web-supplemented</i> | | | |
| Next year | 51.3 | 32 (78.0) | 9 (22.0) |
| 2 years time | 26.3 | 16 (76.2) | 5 (23.8) |
| 3 years time | 22.5 | 12 (66.7) | 6 (33.3) |
| <i>Mixed Mode</i> | | | |
| Next year | 26.9 | 15 (71.4) | 6 (28.6) |
| 2 years time | 39.7 | 25 (80.6) | 6 (19.4) |
| 3 years time | 33.3 | 19 (73.1) | 7 (26.9) |
| <i>Web-dependent</i> | | | |
| Next year | 14.3 | 7 (70.0) | 3 (30.0) |
| 2 years time | 32.9 | 15 (65.2) | 8 (34.8) |
| 3 years time | 52.9 | 32 (86.5) | 5 (13.5) |
| <i>Fully online</i> | | | |
| Next year | 11.5 | 6 (85.7) | 1 (14.3) |
| 2 years time | 14.8 | 6 (66.7) | 3 (33.7) |
| 3 years time | 73.8 | 32 (71.1) | 13 (28.9) |

N = 99

Table 11: Crosstabulation of Age Distribution and Scale-up of ICT and Estimate of When It Should Happen (Web supplemented)

| | <i>Web supplemented mode</i> | | | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| | <i>Next Year</i> | <i>2 Years Time</i> | <i>3 Years Time</i> | |
| Young Lecturers | 16 (66.7) | 5 (20.8) | 3 (12.5) | 24 (100.0) |
| Middle-aged Lecturers | 14 (70.0) | 2 (10.0) | 4 (20.0) | 20 (100.0) |
| Older Lecturers | 9 (26.5) | 14 (41.2) | 11(32.4) | 34 (100.0) |

($\chi^2 = 14.23, df = 2, p < .05$)

Table 12: Crosstabulation of Age Distribution and Scale-up of ICT and Estimate of When It Should Happen (Mixed mode)

| | <i>Mixed mode</i> | | | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| | <i>Next Year</i> | <i>2 Years Time</i> | <i>3 Years Time</i> | |
| Young Lecturers | 11(45.8) | 8 (33.3) | 5 (20.8) | 24 (100.0) |
| Middle-aged Lecturers | 6 (30.0) | 8 (40.0) | 6 (30.0) | 20 (100.0) |
| Older Lecturers | 2 (6.2) | 15 (46.9) | 15 (46.9) | 32 (100.0) |

($\chi^2 = 12.34, df = 4, p < .05$)

Table 13: Crosstabulation of Age Distribution and Scale-up of ICT and Estimate of When it Should Happen (Web-dependent mode)

| | <i>Web-dependent mode</i> | | | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| | <i>Next Year</i> | <i>2 Years Time</i> | <i>3 Years Time</i> | |
| Young Lecturers | 4 (19.0) | 8 (38.1) | 9 (42.9) | 24 (100.0) |
| Middle-aged Lecturers | 3 (15.8) | 7 (36.8) | 9 (47.4) | 20 (100.0) |
| Older Lecturers | 1 (3.6) | 8 (28.6) | 19 (67.9) | 32 (100.0) |

($\chi^2 = 4.81, df = 2, p > .05$)

Table 14: Crosstabulation of Age Distribution and Scale-up of ICT and Estimate of When It Should Happen (Fully online mode)

| | <i>Fully online mode</i> | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| | <i>Next Year</i> | <i>2 Years Time</i> | <i>3 Years Time</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| Young Lecturers | 3 (45.8) | 3 (15.0) | 14 (70.0) | 20 (100.0) |
| Middle-aged Lecturers | 3 (30.0) | 2 (10.5) | 14 (73.7) | 19 (100.0) |
| Older Lecturers | 0 (0.0) | 4 (46.9) | 17 (81.0) | 21 (100.0) |

($\chi^2 = 3.89$, $df = 2$, $p > .05$)

A crosstabulation of age and scale-up of ICT and when the various modes should be implemented shows that young and middle-aged lecturers would prefer that web-supplemented and mixed modes were implemented a year later, as compared to their older colleagues who preferred to have the process spread over longer periods, as shown in Tables 11 and 12. Indeed, all the lecturers, age notwithstanding, preferred that web-dependent and fully online were implemented in three years, as shown in Tables 13 and 14. To further measure the perceptions of respondents towards the scaling up of e-learning, the study asked lecturers whether they agreed or disagreed to 10 questions based on a 5-Likert scale. Table 15 shows that the majority of the respondents were of the view that e-learning would enhance teaching and learning on campus and that it should be used as an integral part of university education. However, respondents were divided regarding the level of university education e-learning should be embedded into teaching and learning. Respondents indicated that there should be a mixed mode approach at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. Respondents disagreed that e-learning should be offered only at the graduate level (Table 15).

Benefits and Challenges

Lecturers identified several benefits that they could derive from the introduction of e-learning. Firstly, the scaling up e-learning would increase access by larger numbers of students to quality university education. Secondly, scaling up e-learning would allow lecturers to use a broad range of teaching methods, which would lead to improvement in course delivery methods and allow students to be involved in the learning process. Thirdly,

it would release lecturers from the drudgery of face-to-face teaching and allow them to have more time for research. Finally, it would improve the university's revenue generation capacity.

With respect to challenges, lecturers indicated that a good number of them, particularly the older ones, were not abreast of technology. Other challenges were the non-availability of computers, irregular Internet access, lack of adequate systems and unreliable power supply. Finally, the refusal of lecturers to learn Information Technology (IT) skills and inadequate training opportunities were also mentioned as possible challenges.

Table 15: Perceptions of Lecturers on E-Learning

| <i>Perception of senior members on e-learning</i> | <i>Strongly Agree</i> | <i>Agree</i> | <i>Neither agree or disagree</i> | <i>Disagree</i> | <i>Strongly disagree</i> |
|---|-----------------------|--------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| a) Introducing e-learning will enhance the quality of teaching of lecturers | 51 (53.7) | 29 (30.5) | 10 (10.5) | 5 (5.3) | 0 (0.0) |
| b) ICT use should be an integral part of university education | 65 (68.4) | 27 (28.4) | 3 (3.2) | 0 (0.0) | 0 (0.0) |
| c) Full online courses should be introduced to replace all face-to-face teaching at the undergraduate level | 4 (4.2) | 12 (12.5) | 14 (14.6) | 39 (40.6) | 27 (28.1) |
| d) We should combine e-learning and face-to-face teaching at the undergraduate level | 34 (35.8) | 48 (50.5) | 8 (8.4) | 4 (4.2) | 1 (1.1) |
| e) We should combine e-learning and face-to-face teaching at the graduate level | 37 (38.9) | 47 (49.5) | 6 (6.3) | 3 (3.2) | 2 (2.1) |
| f) Offer e-learning only at the graduate level | 0 (0.0) | 7 (7.4) | 15 (16.0) | 53 (56.4) | 19 (20.2) |

N = 99

DISCUSSION

The results of the study show that incorporating e-learning into teaching and learning at the University of Ghana depends on three critical factors. These are

access to infrastructure, computer literacy and the perception of lecturers about e-learning. With respect to access to infrastructure, the findings of the study showed that whilst access to computers had improved for lecturers, there was a serious challenge with Internet connectivity. It was often slow and irregular.

With respect to the use of software applications in teaching and learning, an important finding was that although lecturers used Microsoft Office Applications (i.e., Word, Excel and PowerPoint) and the Internet often, these were not embedded in teaching and learning. Educational resources (scholarly online journals) provided by the University of Ghana Library were popular with lecturers.

On Learning Management Systems (LMS), the study found that although the University had been promoting the integration of e-learning into teaching and learning, few lecturers were using the Knowledge Environment for Web-based Learning (KEWL). Other proprietary Learning Management Systems used by some lecturers include the Blackboard and the WebCT.

The study noted that members of the Faculty of Science and the Faculty of Engineering Sciences, which had fewer students, had been championing the use of KEWL, rather than lecturers in the Faculties of Arts and Social Studies (now Social Sciences), which had the largest number of students. According to the former coordinator of E-learning at the University, the low patronage of KEWL may not be attributed to insufficient awareness, but to lack of interest. Courses have been run for lecturers who want to learn to use ICT for teaching, but very few people have taken advantage of them.

The low rate of adoption of KEWL by faculty members reinforces Rogers' (2003) argument that technology would be accepted when it is perceived as better than its absence, and that potential adopters would only accept the technology when they are convinced that it will serve their needs better than what is currently in place. Trialability is also critical to the adoption of KEWL. When lecturers do not have the opportunity to try out the technology for sometime before its adoption campus-wide, it is probable that several faculty members will not adopt it, as in the case of KEWL. What may aid in the adoption of KEWL is observability, that is, when the results of the innovation

are visible to others. Sahin (2006) has argued that role modeling or peer observation is the key motivational factor in the adoption and diffusion of technology.

Perceptions of lecturers go a long way in determining the rate of adoption of e-learning. Compatibility and complexity become important indicators for the adoption of e-learning. On compatibility, Rogers (2003) has argued that any innovation that is not consistent with the existing values, past experiences and the needs of potential adopters will not be adopted easily. With respect to the different e-learning modes, lecturers identified the mixed and web-supplemented modes as those which could be implemented immediately. However, web-supplemented and fully online modes were not favourably accepted by lecturers and therefore, the suggestion was that they should be implemented later (in about three years' time). The study found that younger lecturers were more likely than middle-aged and older lecturers to accept the scaling-up of web-supplemented and mixed modes.

These findings support other works which have established that mixed, web-supplemented and web-dependent modes hold more promise than fully online ones (Larsen and Vincent-Lancrin, 2005; Buzzeto-More and Sweat-Guy, 2006; OECD, 2005; Awiti, 2008). Indeed, Awiti (2008) has argued that in the case of universities in Ghana, blended learning would be more appropriate than completely online learning because real-time online interaction is not realistic at this early stage. He identified challenges such as unstable power supply, insufficient technical support (especially the absence of instructional designers) and inadequate infrastructure. The acceptance of the mixed mode and the web-supplemented mode, and not of the fully on-line mode, explains the perceived difficulty lecturers think they may have with the use of on-line as compared to face-to-face teaching. Rogers (2003) has argued that any innovation may be classified on the complexity-simplicity continuum and therefore the choice of mixed method mode is closer to face-to-face teaching, which is also compatible with existing values and practices of lecturers.

The lecturers were unanimous in their decision on the statement that e-learning would enhance quality of teaching of lecturers and therefore should be an integral part of university education. They further agreed that e-learning

should be combined with face-to-face teaching at both the undergraduate and the graduate levels. They however disagreed that fully online courses should replace all face-to-face teaching at the undergraduate level. This finding supports the evidence of OECD (2005) that fully online programmes at campus-based institutions will be limited within the short to medium term period.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There is no doubt that e-learning will feature strongly in the strategic plans of African universities, and for that matter the University of Ghana, because of the huge prospects e-learning has for revolutionizing teaching and learning. The web-supplemented, web-dependent, mixed and fully online modes offer solutions to the problems of large-class sizes, lack of access, as well as inadequate lecture halls and library facilities currently being experienced by the majority of universities in Africa. Although the study found out that the University of Ghana was not ready to offer programmes fully online, the University must see this option as critical to not only increasing the number of prospective candidates who may want to enroll for graduate studies, but also as a means to offer undergraduates opportunities to pursue programmes without having to be residential students.

In spite of these prospects for scaling-up ICT, there are four areas of challenge which need the immediate attention of university authorities. These are: (a) access to hardware (computers), (b) improvement in bandwidth infrastructure, (c) skills training, and (d) e-learning strategy. In the area of provision of access to computers for lecturers, much improvement has occurred in recent times. However, there should be a policy in place to make sure that lecturers have access to laptop computers to facilitate teaching on campus. Efforts should also be made to network offices of lectures and improve internet connectivity. The present bandwidth, though improved compared to 2008, still places restrictions on the number of people who could have access to the Internet. Although most lecturers have intimated that e-learning will enhance teaching and learning they also attribute the slow adoption of e-learning to the frustrations they experience due to the frequent interruptions in connectivity. One lecturer has noted that the university will experience serious challenges if students are allowed to use the intranet to access lecture notes and course outlines, should lecturers post such materials

on the University of Ghana Intranet.

Finally, efforts should be made to achieve a university-wide acceptance of the benefits of KEWL and its adoption. The confidence of lecturers to participate in web-supplemented courses and mixed mode courses should underscore the need for greater attention to the training of lecturers in the use of the learning platform. There should be a rigorous attempt to change the perception of lecturers towards fully online learning. If all the Faculties cannot join in, strategies should be developed to get the two large faculties, that is, the Faculties of Social Sciences and Arts, to start working towards web-supplemented and mixed mode courses.

The university needs an e-learning strategy to make sure that all the departments and lecturers can easily get connected to the internet. Accessibility and infrastructure are critical to the adoption of new technology. As part of the e-learning strategy, an agenda should be set to move the University towards the inclusion of web-supplemented and mixed mode courses which lecturers have intimated should start soon. Although fully online courses were identified as courses which should be implemented in the future, some of the graduate courses could be placed online on pilot bases until most departments decide to follow suit. This will widen access to the increasing number of prospective students who want to pursue graduate studies. Another critical area which the university authorities need to look at is the introduction of the mixed mode into campus-based programmes to reduce the pressure on lecture halls. Finally, e-learning should be incorporated into the University of Ghana Distance Education programme to reach inaccessible geographical areas and non-traditional students.

ENDNOTES

¹The Staff Development and Learning Centre has been established.

² Courses offered at the Medical School and the Agricultural Research Stations are practical-based and it will be difficult to incorporate e-learning into them.

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NATIVE COURTS AND CUSTOMARY LAW IN COLONIAL EWEDOME, 1914-1949

WILSON KWAME YAYOH¹

ABSTRACT

Customary law was an essential part of oral tradition and it was central to the debate and negotiation on power relations and identity within the colonial state. Throughout British colonies, native courts were the principal agencies through which indigenous law was adjusted to the needs of the new conditions with which Native Authorities were faced. The paper argues that the process frequently involved entry into a field in which the customary law itself afforded no precedents and created conflict between the local people, on the one hand, and the traditional leaders and colonial officers, on the other. By criminalising some customary laws and declaring others 'repugnant to natural justice', the colonial administration changed traditional jurisprudence; in which case customary law ceased to be wholly indigenous law.

Keywords: Colonial rule, Customary Law, Native courts, Negotiation

INTRODUCTION

Ewedome is the region occupied by the northern Ewes of the present-day Volta Region of Ghana.¹ It was part of the interior hinterland of what was known during the era of the trans-Atlantic slave trade as the Slave Coast, but during the colonial period, Ewedome was referred to vaguely as Krepi.² Recent researchers now prefer the name Ewedome, which is the indigenous name for the northern Ewe region.³ The area was made up of diverse ethnic and linguistic groups such as the Ewe, the Guan and those often referred to as the Togo remnant groups, with the Ewe being the dominant group.⁴ The area was part of German Togoland, which was partitioned between Britain and France following the expulsion of the Germans in 1914.⁵ The partition placed Ewedome in what came to be known as British Togoland.

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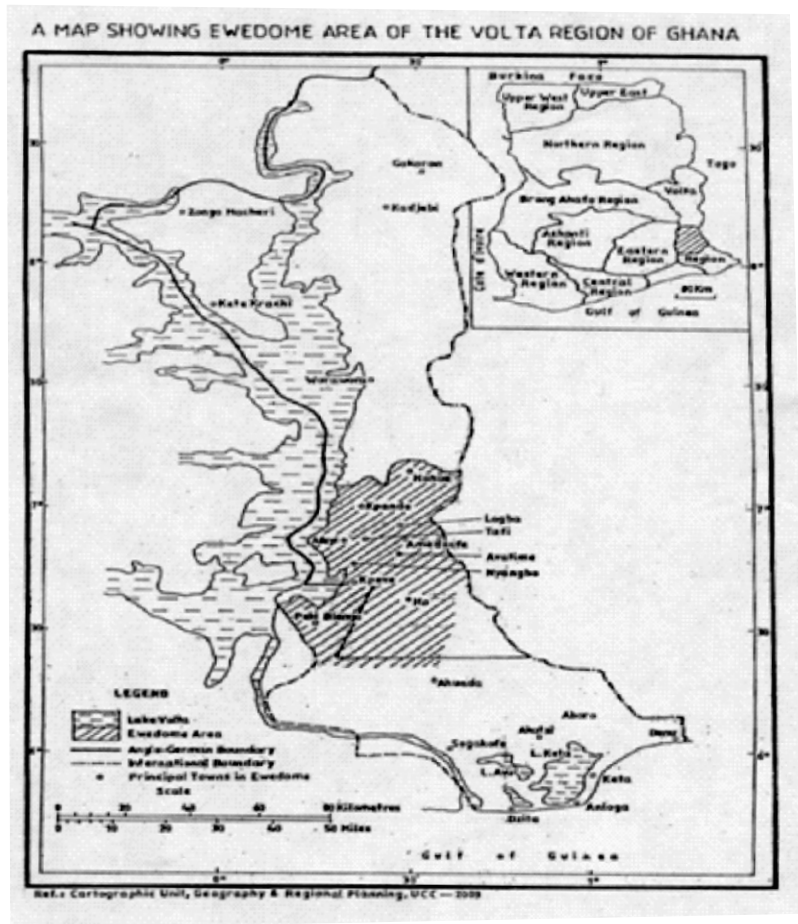
As part of the move to reorganise the political landscape of the territory, the British colonial government sub-divided their sphere of administration into two – the southern and northern sections. Ewedome formed part of the southern section of British Togoland⁶ (refer to figure 1).

For the purpose of local administration, in 1932 the British colonial government passed the Native Administration Ordinance which sought to amalgamate all small chiefdoms, particularly in the Ewedome region of the southern section of British Togoland, into larger states called Native Authorities headed by paramount chiefs⁷. It is important to note here that it was the Akan system of centralised administration headed by paramount chiefs that provided the template for colonial officers in their creation of Native Authorities in the southern section of British Togoland. By 1939, three Native Authorities were created in Ewedome - Akpini, Asogli and Awatime - with the exception of the independent states which would later form the irregular Atando State. It is important to note, however, that total amalgamation was never achieved in Ewedome. Divisions such as Anfoega, Gbi and Ve persistently refused to amalgamate.

In 1949, the British colonial government allowed Gbi and Ve to join Likpe and Santrokofi (Guan divisions to the immediate north of Ewedome) to form Atando Native Authority, with its headquarters at Ve-Golokwati. Atando was therefore a confederacy headed by a president, not a paramount chief⁸. Anfoega division, on the other hand, refused to amalgamate 'right up to when Native Authorities were abolished in 1951'.⁹

The role of chiefs under the indirect rule system in Africa is well documented.¹⁰ It is important to note that the indirect rule system varied from colony to colony. The degree to which chiefs or traditional custom was used in the administration of any British colony varied according to the peculiarities of each colony. For instance, in the Gold Coast Colony the powers of the tribunals were defined by an ordinance, under the terms of which they could not try cases of homicide, arson, rape, assault causing grievous bodily harm, or robbery, though they could try the offence of 'putting any person in fetish'.¹¹ But in Ashanti and the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast the highest grade courts could try such criminal offences punishable by a fine not exceeding £50, or a sentence of imprisonment not exceeding six months.¹² There was, a great

deal of diversity in the extent to which criminal jurisdiction was entrusted to the native courts because conditions varied widely from one ethnic group



or territory to the other. Therefore, a region by region analysis of colonial policy gives a more comprehensive understanding of colonial rule and its transformational effects than the broad narrative has so far offered.

This paper discusses the working of the Native Authorities in Ewedome with particular reference to the judicial function of chiefs. I argue that although colonial officers tried to preserve divisional identities, the standardisation and

codification of customary law encouraged indigenous people to embrace identities beyond those of lineage, family or clan. The process of writing down customary law also had the added effect of making them uniform and unsusceptible to change. The paper starts by discussing the structure of native courts in Ewedome and adds to the debate on how the application of customary law within the colonial state changed African jurisprudence.

STRUCTURE OF NATIVE COURTS

By the structure of the Native Authorities in Ewedome, all political disputes inside the division went first of all to the divisional council. The state council, the highest body, was given the powers of an appeal court from the divisional councils, and it had the powers to enquire into all constitutional disputes which could not be settled within the division.¹³ In addition, it acted as an appeal tribunal from the divisional tribunals and as a court of first instance in political matters and land disputes between two divisions.¹⁴ In other words, the state council could act either in the first instance when the divisional council could not function or on appeal from the divisional council.¹⁵ A serious snag that arose, however, was how to educate the local inhabitants and members of Native Authorities to come to grips with the blend of customary executive and judicial powers of chiefs, on the one hand, and the new powers of the Native Authorities as enshrined in the 1932 ordinance, on the other.

Thus, while the foundation of the whole Native Authorities structure was the state council, made up of all divisional chiefs, efforts were made to preserve the separate entities of each division. This certainly explains the reason for creating and establishing divisional councils and tribunals which empowered divisional chiefs to deal with all matters of a political and civil nature arising within their divisions. In addition, divisional tribunals were created to take cognisance of the social fabric of the communities at every level of the judicial system. In Ewedome, the composition of the tribunal reflected the traditional notion of a court, for although the governor had discretion in deciding on the composition of the tribunals, the members were always recommended by local leaders.¹⁶ The tribunals were normally composed of the chief, the linguist and four or five elders or councillors.¹⁷ In other words, membership of the tribunals was dependent upon one's constitutional position within the state.

Some councillors were elected by virtue of their occupancy of a certain office or position in the state.¹⁸ In addition to those who usually formed the majority, the local people could choose any member of the community who was specifically distinguished by his wisdom, his influential position or his services to the *duko* (state), to be a councillor.¹⁹

Traditionally, the *tsami* (linguist, from the Akan Okyeame) of any *duko* was selected by the king-makers, much the same way that a chief was selected. Linguists expressed the views of the chiefs; therefore they were expected to be tactful and eloquent.²⁰ The list of those chosen was sent to the Assistant Commissioner. He in turn made his recommendations to the Governor, who formally constituted the tribunals.²¹ The rationale behind this arrangement was to ensure that the composition of the court was not left entirely to the discretion of the chiefs. Normally, the number of panel members of the tribunals was ten.²²

CUSTOMARY LAW AND ITS APPLICATION IN NATIVE COURTS

One important area where Native Authorities functioned prominently as agents of development was in the realm of the administration of justice. The jurisdiction of the tribunals thus covered almost every facet of customary law, especially those concerned with social custom.²³ Customary law is difficult to define, for it varies in nature and interpretation from society to society. From the British official point of view, customary law meant:

*a rule or a body of rules regulating rights and imposing correlative duties, being a rule or body of rules which obtains and is fortified by established local usage and which is appropriate and applicable to any particular cause, action, suit, matter, dispute, issue or question, and includes also customary law recorded or modified by a traditional authority under and in accordance with the provisions of any ordinance for the time being in force relating to such traditional authority.*²⁴

Although the officials were clear as to what constituted customary law, its interpretation was devolved to the tribunals.²⁵ The philosophy behind the creation of native tribunals was to establish 'institutionalised and authoritative procedures for settling disputes'.²⁶ Without native tribunals, the district courts presided over by the District Commissioners would have been overwhelmed by the numerous litigations emanating from various parts of the territory. In 1936, there were 1,978 cases tried in the native tribunals in

the southern section of British Togoland.²⁷ It was found that recourse to colonial district courts for the settlement of every petty case and the solvent action of Western ideas on native institutions generally could weaken the vigour of the traditional system and lower the authority of the chiefs.²⁸ It was in this regard that native tribunals became very important to British officials and the right to hold tribunals was jealously guarded by the chiefs. The first tranche of revenue that came into the various treasuries in Ewedome was from fines and fees from the tribunals. From 1946 to 1957, native tribunals in the southern section of British Togoland heard 983 civil cases and 1,213 criminal cases, giving a total of 2,196 cases. The Native Authorities collected revenue to the tune of £3,183 while expenditure amounted to £1,971.²⁹

In 1946, there were a total of 58 tribunals and 12 registrars in Ewedome.³⁰ Most of these registrars were young Standard Seven (equivalent to the present-day Junior High School) graduates from the Ewe territory of the Gold Coast Colony. The Technical Department of the Gold Coast assisted the Native Authorities in training their prospective candidates for their administration. Normally, the basic qualification for training was the Primary School Leaving Certificate, but a further period of training was given in the case of entrants to the teaching, medical, health, agricultural, veterinary, and forestry branches of the Native Authorities.³¹ In all of this, divisions which refused to amalgamate, such as Anfoega, were prevented from exercising jurisdiction over their subjects by way of tribunals. Cases emanating from those divisions were sent to the district court at Kpando.³²

Table 1: Tribunals in Ewedome in 1946

| <i>State</i> | <i>Population</i> | <i>No. of Tribunals</i> | <i>No. of Registrars</i> |
|--------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Akpini | 28,238 | 22 | 5 |
| Asogli | 20,666 | 26 | 4 |
| Awatime | 13,285 | 10 | 3 |
| Total | 62,187 | 58 | 12 |

Undoubtedly, the number of tribunals appears excessive as far as the mere administration of justice and the population served were concerned. In the Gold Coast Colony, when it was realised that some states were too small to operate a tribunal, a number of them were combined with their neighbours to form federal native courts.³³ Similar arrangements were made in what colonial

anthropologists called 'stateless' areas in the Northern Territories, while in Asante there were 'area courts'.³⁴ Therefore, the general principles that guided the establishment of courts in other areas under British control were that an area should have a minimum population of 10,000 and a minimum of 200 cases heard annually to warrant the establishment of a tribunal.³⁵ In Ewedome, historical and political factors did not make for the application of these principles. It will be recalled that when the policy of amalgamation was instituted each divisional chief who agreed to amalgamate with others into one state was promised a tribunal, irrespective of the size or population of his division. In reality, many of the separately constituted tribunals were little more than local panels. Yet, any attempt to constitute fewer courts could be construed as a theoretical breach of the promise at the time of creating the Native Authorities.

Nevertheless, while the administrative officers went as far as possible to retain the theoretical judicial independence of the divisions, they also tried to reduce costs. Although each division had a tribunal, it did not mean that each tribunal maintained a full separate staff of a registrar, bailiff and other secretaries. A registrar travelled on a circuit devised so that he could reach each tribunal, roughly once a week.³⁶ Parties wishing to institute proceedings would await the registrar's arrival or would apply to the president of the tribunal who in turn notified the registrar.³⁷ Under the treasury system in vogue in the territory, cash receipts were kept at the tribunal headquarters and were taken at the end of each month with the cash book to the central state treasury by an 'elder' of the tribunal.³⁸ The state registrars were paid from state funds, for the state retained one-third of revenues received from the divisions.³⁹ It was the responsibility of the Native Authorities to provide buildings to house the tribunals and pay members' allowances.

The district magistrate, who was stationed across the Volta at Akuse in the Gold Coast Colony, visited Ho and Kpando each fortnight and heard all criminal cases and inquests as well as all appeals from tribunals.⁴⁰ In practice then, the circuit system in Ewedome meant that the operation of tribunals was not dissimilar to the system in vogue in Asante, the Colony, and the Northern Territories, where court panels included names of people from a number of towns in the state, enabling the tribunal to sit in various towns. Since there were no Native Authority prisons in Togoland at the time, all

persons convicted were sent to the government prisons at Ho and Kpando. The decision to maintain the divisional tribunals and to operate them under a circuit system was based on the complex political landscape of Ewedome. We noted earlier that there were non-Ewe speaking divisions: Awatime, Logba, Nyangbo and Tafi, located within the territory. In dealing with the question of native tribunals, one of the first considerations should be the relation between the theory and practice of administration. The two essential elements could not be divorced. Both elements had to be weighed by anyone who was considering the problems of multiplicity of tribunals and the heterogeneity of the area under review.

One challenge was that the theory of administration of law through the native tribunals had to relate to the conditions in which that theory was made to work. The heterogeneous nature of Ewedome meant that divisions differed according to custom and tradition. Therefore, allowance had to be made for the varying social conditions of the different communities. Indeed, the legislative framework applied to the territory in 1932 was specifically intended to take into account social groupings and customs. The bewilderment which 'local people were said to have had when they appeared before British courts' would be the same when people from non-Ewe divisions had to appear in a court in an Ewe division where the procedure was dictated by a strange custom.⁴¹ Therefore, allowing each division to have a tribunal afforded the non-Ewe divisions the opportunity to dispense justice based on their peculiar customs and traditions. Some chiefs who were local actors in the whole policy of amalgamation supported these arrangements but there were those who opposed them.⁴² In 1942, 97 sub-divisional chiefs sent a petition to the governor in which they asked that their tribunals should be reopened.⁴³ They premised their demand on what they termed 'insufficient tribunals in Ewedome'.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, as expected, the Commissioner for the Eastern Province observed that some of the sub-divisional chiefs were at the time captains of quarters where the population of their subjects did not go beyond 300 people. To grant the request would mean that divisions such as Dedome with a population of 1,200 would have five tribunals; Hoe with a population less than 400 people would have two tribunals; Akoviofe with a population of 120 people would also have its own tribunal. Certainly, that number of tribunals

would have been unnecessary and it would have been impossible to obtain competent registrars for them. The petitioners continued to grumble until 1946 when most of them, with pressure from their own subjects, grudgingly joined the divisional tribunals.⁴⁵

A second snag that arose was that in Ewedome the basis of punishment prior to the inception of colonial rule was the maintenance of the balance of power between family and family as well as clan and clan. Therefore what could be considered a criminal offence under customary law might not be criminal under English law. To find a common ground between English law and customary law, the officials came out with 22 petty offences whose contravention was to be tried by the tribunals.⁴⁶ Yet, out of this number, eight were offences which would not be criminal by English law but were criminal by custom. This included 'putting persons into fetish', ignoring the oath, frivolously swearing the oath, having sexual relations with a pregnant woman and having sex with a woman in an open place.⁴⁷

One interesting case in which the incongruity of native customary law and English law was exposed was the manner of the destoolment of Adzatekpor V, the paramount chief of Awatime Native Authority, in 1937. When the young men and some aggrieved elders of Awatime division in conjunction with the stool father decided to destool the paramount chief on the charge that he was trying to introduce a Poll Tax in disguise, they did so in accordance with custom.⁴⁸ In Awatime division, the destoolment of a chief involved the removal of his sandals and the rubbing of those very sandals on his head. Once this ritual was performed, the chief was deemed to have been destooled. And this was exactly what the stoolfather did.⁴⁹ However, the government refused to recognise the destoolment.⁵⁰

Consequently, a Gold Coast police force was sent to Awatime to arrest the 'stoolfather', his elders and some of the youth and arrange them before the magistrate's court at Kpando. At the court, they were found guilty of assault.⁵¹ The submission of the stoolfather that the rubbing of the chief's head with his sandals was a ritual of a purely customary nature was rejected by the magistrate. The magistrate indicated that 'even pointing one's finger at another man meant an assault in the police law', and that he would not accept the rubbing of the paramount chief's head with his sandals as a performance

of a custom. In the end, all the youth were sentenced to terms of imprisonment.⁵² The stoolfather and his elders were asked to pacify the paramount chief with 'fifty-five pounds and a live sheep'.⁵³ The stoolfather and his collaborators were never happy with the charge of assault of which they were convicted. In their view, the conviction was an affront to their custom.

This incident and many other frequent cases of destoolment engendered uncertainty that threatened the stability of Ewedome. The British colonial government decided to rectify the problem by laying down the procedure required for bringing a case against a chief in the 1932 Ordinance.⁵⁴ All of this showed divergence between the native and the government courts in the interpretation of customary law. Over time, customary law was adapted to cover issues involving sanctions of a penal character. New offences were created, for instance, which bore close resemblance to the use of the English law of nuisance. A case in point was fines imposed for riding bicycles at night in the Akpini Native Authority, on the grounds that 'it was contrary to native custom to endanger public safety'.⁵⁵ In essence, customary law ceased to be a matter of precedent and became just common sense. This created considerable uncertainty as to the state of the law, and led to attempts by Native Authorities to crystallise customary law by the enactment of bye laws. This measure could not curb the rampant destoolment cases, for the requirements as enshrined in the ordinance were often overlooked whenever there was a spontaneous agitation to destool a chief.

Indeed, the procedure of the native tribunals was more familiar to the people than the British court system operated by colonial officials at the district headquarters. The fact that the District Commissioner and his officials did not interfere directly in the procedure of the native tribunals made the local people feel that they were actually in control of their own affairs.⁵⁶ The only officials who were directly involved in the tribunal system were the registrars whose duty it was to explain the procedure and the provisions of the ordinances to the illiterate members of the tribunals.⁵⁷ By and large, native courts altered the relations among the chiefs of the various divisions in particular and the people in general. The chiefs met frequently without formality; they often dined together when they attended state council meetings.⁵⁸ This provided an opportunity for informal discussions between divisional chiefs.

From 1946, steps were taken to reappraise the working of the native courts. In practice, the tribunals presented certain weaknesses of a technical nature such as the excessive cost of litigation, the partiality of tribunal members, and the power of the registrar, whose knowledge of the law was generally greater than that of any of the tribunal members.⁵⁹ As stated earlier, the executive and judicial functions of the chiefs were closely bound together. That was why varying measures of control over native tribunals were embodied in the 1932 ordinance. It was up to the officers and the registrars on the ground to enforce those controls. There is no gainsaying the fact that the effectiveness of the entire Native Authority system was contingent largely on the degree of supervision or stimulus they received from the officials on the ground.⁶⁰ These happened to be some of the weaknesses of the British policy of indirect rule. In Ewedome, it appears that the close co-operation between the District Commissioner and other officers and the chiefs tended to weaken the enforcement of regulations.⁶¹ So extensive were the political quarrels, personal distrusting and partiality among the chiefs that some reforms were necessary to maintain the successful functioning and integrity of the tribunals.⁶² The strength of the Native Authorities depended largely on the prestige of the tribunals. Whenever the integrity of the tribunals was compromised, the position and authority of the Native Authority system was seriously impaired.⁶³

A more serious problem had to do with the enforcement of the orders of the chiefs. Since the establishment of the tribunals, chiefs in most cases had to resort to the use of the oath to enforce their orders. This traditional method of enforcing court orders was found to be no longer effective. This was due in part to change in African jurisprudence; a change evinced by the task of adapting the tribunals to new duties imposed by the colonial state. The change was little felt on the civil side, but it was more apparent on the criminal side, where the colonial officers introduced to the indigenous people the notion of public offence and the punishment of private wrongs by fine or imprisonment instead of compensation or other arbitral adjustment. In 1936, for instance, 58 applications for the enforcement of tribunal judgement were sent to the District Commissioner, out of which 57 were enforced.⁶⁴

This arrangement was not the best, for it led to the delay of justice. The question then was whether the District Commissioner should continue to

enforce tribunal judgements or if the tribunal should be empowered to enforce their own judgements through conventional means. Certainly, clearer arrangements had to be made for the support of the authority of the native tribunals in any action which they legally or rightly undertook. The absence of such a policy was making the administration of justice illusory and the power of the Native Authorities weak.

The inability to enforce Native Authority laws, coupled with the wishes of the rising groups of educated young men for a wider representation on the state council and the desire to make the 'stranger communities' feel part of the system, led to the passing of the Native Authority (Southern Section of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship) Ordinance in September 1949.⁶⁵ The ordinance made it possible for approximately one-third of the members of each Native Authority to be individuals who did not hold office by tradition and for members of 'stranger communities' to be represented⁶⁶. These non-chiefs were initially nominated.⁶⁷ Though the inclusion of educated non-chiefly elements in Native Authority administration was part of the general reshaping of indirect rule following the Second World War, the 1949 ordinance has to be understood within the context of post-war labour militancy, riots and a surge in anti-colonial sentiment in the Gold Coast in 1948.⁶⁸ In 1949, it came to light that a key to the problem of how to enforce the orders of the native tribunals was the introduction of Native Authority police forces to assist in law enforcement at the local level.⁷⁹

A critical aspect of the 1949 ordinance was section 46 which stated that, 'there should be established in and for the area of authority of a Native Authority a body of police'.⁷⁰ This was welcomed by the chiefs. Nonetheless, there was the contrary view that investigating and prosecuting offences against Native Authority bye-laws should be undertaken by the Gold Coast police.⁷¹ The fact is that bye-laws were of local application and required local interest and knowledge for their enforcement. The Gold Coast police were liable to constant transfer from one area to another, which made it difficult for them to acquire the necessary local knowledge. Although it was held that chiefs could be overly empowered by providing them with a police force, it was important that an effort be made to enforce local bye-laws. Furthermore, the Native Authority Police conveyed convicted persons to the nearest prison and maintained order at Native Authority court sessions.⁷²

One major policy evinced by the 1949 ordinance was the conferment of powers on the Native Authorities to legislate by means of orders and rules.⁷³ Orders could be made when it was intended that legislation should only be temporary. Rules could be made for the same purpose as orders, and for any other purpose providing for peace, order, good government and welfare of the persons.⁷⁴ The difference between orders and rules was that whereas only the approval of the District Commissioner was necessary in the case of orders, rules necessarily required approval of the governor.⁷⁵ Examples of rules applied by the states concerned markets, deaths, marriages and divorce, activities of herbalists and palm wine sellers, slaughter houses, lorry parks, and the registration of births.⁷⁶ Orders were used by all Native Authorities to control the practice of bush burning and to establish native police forces.⁷⁷ That the zeal of the Native Authority was emboldened from 1949 by the presence of the Native Authority police was not in doubt.

Consequent to the 1949 ordinance, a Native Court 1949 Ordinance for Togoland was introduced to amalgamate existing divisional tribunals.⁷⁸ The courts so constituted were grade 'B' courts and there was only one grade 'A' court for a state. In all, 24 courts were established in the whole of southern Togoland in place of the divisional tribunals.⁷⁹ This idea of native courts replacing divisional tribunals was part of a general reform of courts in the Gold Coast since Governor Sir Alan Burns assumed office in 1941.⁸⁰ At the time, it was observed that most of the tribunals were too unwieldy to be considered as 'a model of judicial decorum'.⁸¹ Consequently, a committee was appointed by Burns in 1942 to consider the working of the tribunals. The report of the committee led to the passing of the 1944 Native Court (Colony) Ordinance, which in turn shaped the native court arrangement in Ewedome in 1949.

Table 2: Native Courts in Awatime NA in 1949

| <i>Court No. 1</i> | <i>Court No. 2</i> |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| Awatime Tribunal | Honuta Tribunal |
| Akome Tribunal | Hoe Tribunal |
| Dodome Tribunal | Klave Tribunal |
| Dzolo Tribunal | Kpeze Tribunal |
| Saviofe Tribunal | Kpoeta Tribunal |

The arrangement in Awatime vividly illustrates the amalgamation of tribunals in Ewedome in 1949. In Awatime Native Authority, the tribunals in Awatime, Akome, Dodome, Dzolo and Saviofe were grouped together to form one grade 'B' court. The court thus constituted had jurisdiction over only the five divisions grouped under it. The court however did not sit permanently in one division.⁸² For example, if there were many cases in Awatime at one time, the court would arrange to sit at Awatime. At the same time, if there was, for instance, one case from Saviofe, the court could try that case while it was sitting at Awatime. In effect, there were two grade B courts in Awatime state with three magistrates. In other words, the court rotated among the divisions whose tribunals constituted the court. In preparing the schedule, opportunity was given to effect any desirable reorganisation, having regard to both tradition and efficiency.⁸³ This enabled the state to reduce the number of tribunals to only two grade 'B' courts.⁸⁴

PROTESTS AGAINST NATIVE COURTS

The new courts continued largely in the firmly rooted traditions of the existing Native Authorities. The only modification was the inclusion of a greater number of non-chiefs on the Native Authorities. It was expected that the new Native Authorities and courts would enjoy identical powers to those held in the Colony.⁸⁵ The new composition of the state councils drew a protest from some of the educated youth in Ewedome. Their concern was that the appointment of non-chiefs to the state councils was dictatorial and undemocratic.⁸⁶ They contended that non-chiefs should have been elected by universal suffrage.

One of the main grievances with the Native Authorities system in Ewedome was the reservations that many people harboured about the native courts. The native courts as constituted by the chiefs and their elders had become unsatisfactory in dealing with litigations which were fast passing from 'customary' cases to ones which required a higher standard of knowledge of law and legal procedure. The courts also were far too cumbersome in their composition. Generally, the ordinances which established the courts only stated that the courts should be composed of chiefs and their councillors in accordance with native custom, without specifying the mode of selection of these councillors and the number that should be selected. This left the composition of the courts to the discretion of the chiefs, thereby increasing

their numbers and compromising efficiency and effectiveness.⁸⁷ Attacks on the native courts were part of the broader anti-colonial movement of the post-war era when lawyers began to demand the codification of customary law and the professionalization of the native courts.⁸⁸

There had been constant attacks in many parts of the Gold Coast on the continuous recognition of the oath by the Native Authorities as a means of bringing cases before the native courts.⁸⁹ The oath was one essential customary judicial procedure that was preserved by the statutory rules. The main ground for objection to the oath was its use by the native courts to extort heavy fees and fines from litigants.⁹⁰ In Ewedome, the use of the oath as a means of instituting a civil action unnecessarily increased the cost of litigation. For example, a person who swore the oath had to report the fact and terms of the oath to the Registrar of the nearest native court and pay a fee of £1 for the case to be heard.⁹¹ The argument by most educated citizens and law officers was that the oath was archaic, unnecessary and undesirable.

We noted that these problems with the native courts were already emerging by the early 1940s, prompting the enquiry set up in 1942 by governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Allan Burns.⁹² Rathbone described the report as 'utterly devastating'.⁹³ The 1943 report noted *inter alia* that the cost of litigation was inflated and that the courts were regarded by members 'as a source of revenue instead of a fount of justice'.⁹⁴ But the 1949 ordinance which replaced native tribunals with native courts in the southern section of British Togoland did not go far enough to address these pent-up concerns. It will be recalled that one way by which chiefs enforced executive orders was to swear the oath on their subjects. Such orders could be for the execution of development projects such as the construction and maintenance of roads and classroom blocks. A classic example was the use of the oath to bring about the cocoa hold-up of 1929-30 in the Gold Coast.⁹⁵ The attack on the oath had the effect of eroding the authority of the chief and, by extension, that of the Native Authorities.

In Ewedome, the Native Authorities had been unwilling to spend money on the staff and infrastructure of the courts to bring them to an appreciable standard. A disturbing trend was the huge disparity in the quality of court buildings.⁹⁶ The salary of most of the Registrars and court staff was woefully

inadequate.⁹⁷ This, coupled with an inadequate training programme for court staff, led to poor service delivery. The native police established in 1949 were poorly paid and trained with no prospects of advancement. Constables attached to the Native Authorities were paid as little as £1/10 a month, far below the government approved minimum wage of £5.⁹⁸

Furthermore, the combination of executive and judicial functions by the Native Authorities meant that there was too close a connection between the courts and the chiefs. Although the Native Authority Ordinance of 1932 made a clear distinction between the functions of Native Authorities and those of the state councils, the distinction was largely theoretical. In reality, the same people served on both councils and that blurred the supposedly distinct functions of the two. Mamdani was thus right when he remarked that the Native Authority system effectively 'fused in a single person all moments of power; judicial, legislative, executive, and administrative', a point also made by Spear.⁹⁹ This gave rise to corruption, the use of the courts as a political weapon and delays in dispensing justice. To avert such delays in the Colony and Ashanti, the 1944 ordinance set a minimum of 200 cases to be dealt with annually by the federal courts to ensure that they carried out a reasonable amount of business.¹⁰⁰ In the southern section of British Togoland, the report noted the inability of this guiding principle to have much effect because of the territory's particular history.¹⁰¹ As noted earlier, the 69 native tribunals introduced under the 1932 Ordinance were reduced to 24 amalgamated native courts under the Native Courts Ordinance of 1949.¹⁰²

But the reduction in the number of courts did not, in fact, represent a fundamental change, for the panels of the new courts were greatly increased to include members drawn from all component divisions.¹⁰³ From 1949, there were as many as 30 persons on each panel of a native court in Ewedome and other parts of southern Togoland.¹⁰⁴ Besides, the underlying problem of combination of magisterial and executive functions by the Native Authorities was not resolved. It is interesting to note that the administrative officers themselves combined magisterial and executive functions in the colonies. This perhaps accounted for their lack of enthusiasm in separating the two functions.¹⁰⁵

A further sore point was the name 'native courts' which was considered to be no longer appropriate in view of the complexity of cases brought before them. The name 'native court', as originally conceived, was solely concerned with the administration of 'native law'. Admittedly, the courts had grown beyond the mere administration of 'customary law' or 'native law'. Native courts, after 1949, began to exercise jurisdiction in matters falling quite outside the ambit of native law, and in particular, they were empowered to adjudicate in respect of criminal offences under the penal code.¹⁰⁶ As we shall see, customary law has been undergoing synthesization since the start of colonial rule.¹⁰⁷ In fact, the criminal law which operated in Ewedome combined both the Gold Coast law, as set out in the criminal code, and native customary law.¹⁰⁸ From 1949, the likelihood that the native courts could extend their jurisdiction over all persons, irrespective of race, was probable. This would inevitably have serious ramifications for the substantive law administered, and also for the composition of the courts, the training and qualifications of court officials as well as court procedures.¹⁰⁹

Throughout colonial Africa, the use of native custom for the administration of justice in societies which were becoming more complex as a result of social change posed a major problem in the administration of justice. Customary law became important in the formulation of British colonial policy in the inter-war period when colonial officials wanted to synthesize the native legal system and use it 'to regulate their dealings with local people'.¹¹⁰ Meanwhile, most appeal cases from the native courts went to the district courts which were essentially English courts. Native custom varied greatly and was too little known in many areas outside the locality for it to form the basis of law enforceable, ultimately, in English courts. The practice of sending disputes to the English courts at district headquarters had, in many regions in Africa, already 'undermined the authority of the local rulers and profoundly affected indigenous law'.¹¹¹ It created a scenario whereby 'a dual system of law was administered by two forms of judiciary, the English and the native courts'.¹¹²

In his analysis of the evolution of customary law, Spear remarks that by removing what was deemed repugnant to natural justice from indigenous legal systems and combining 'colonial and common law, administrative regulations and Christian injunctions', customary law ceased to be wholly indigenous law.¹¹³ Mann and Roberts see the fusion of European laws and

indigenous African legal systems as an 'elaboration of customary law, [which limited the] power and authority of local rulers'.¹¹⁴ The case of Awatime as illustrated above was a classic example of how colonialism subordinated African indigenous systems of law 'to metropolitan legal traditions'.¹¹⁵ As these elaborations continued and the society was becoming more complex, chiefs were finding it difficult to reconcile native custom with the defined law of the ordinance.¹¹⁶ Worse yet, the absence of such codification rendered native customary law largely a contradiction in terms.

Admittedly, codification was a formidable task which could take a very long time to accomplish.¹¹⁷ As Spear has shown, in every colonial territory there were many variants of customary law that made attempts at codification illusive.¹¹⁸ Moreover, as Mamdani notes, codification had the potential of limiting 'the scope for local initiative'.¹¹⁹ It had always been the policy of the British officials not to interfere with customary law unless it was found to be 'repugnant to natural justice'. Customary law touched on the values and belief systems: birth, puberty, marriage, death, inheritance and the veneration of ancestors that held African societies together. Therefore, any unbridled modifications could affect the very existence of the societies.

CONCLUSION

Customary law was a key part of African tradition which was regularly interpreted to meet changing conditions and it could vary widely within a geographical area. By standardising and codifying customary law, colonial rule encouraged indigenous people to embrace identities beyond those of lineage, family or clan. The process of writing down customary law also had the added effect of making them uniform, inflexible and unsusceptible to change. To the British officials, the use of customary law through the native court system was successful in the way it provided a layer of local 'legitimate authority' between themselves and the mass of people, whose immediate concerns were somewhat dealt with by local chiefs. Part of the satisfaction felt by the local people in the native courts was due to the fact that the procedure of those courts was more familiar to the local people. An obvious disadvantage was that the traditional authorities no longer derived their power from their subjects. Instead, colonial officials became the source of the chief's political authority.

This eroded the chief's accountability to the people. By and large, the Native Authority system was a superimposition of a bureaucratic administrative structure on the pre-colonial system of authority in Ewedome. As the territory began to witness social and political transformation, changes were introduced into the native court system to accommodate the balance of forces that were developing. In many respects, the coming into force of the trusteeship system in British Togoland and economic, social and political unrest in the Gold Coast following the Second World War changed the chemistry of native administration, and for that matter, native courts, and set in motion a series of reforms in 1949. These reforms were a last-gasp attempt to keep an increasingly out-of-date system afloat.

ENDNOTES

¹For a detailed account on the name Ewedome, see Wilson K. Yayoh, 'Protests against Amalgamation in Colonial Ewedome, British Mandated Territory, 1920 to 1948', *Journal of History and Cultures*, 2 (2013), p. 2.

²*Ibid*, p.13.

³*Ibid*.

⁴Some of the Guan and Togo remnant groups found within this region include Awatime, Logba, Nyangbo and Tafi.

⁵Togoland Report of 1926, Enclosure 'A', pp. 6-7; Togoland Report of 1950, p. 4. See also RAG/H, Anglo-French Boundary Protocol, 1926. All RAG/H papers cited in this article are in the Regional Archives of Ghana, Ho. [Hereafter, RAG/H].

⁶RAG/H, United Nations Trusteeship Council Report, 1947.

⁷PRAAD/AADM39/1/559, Native Administration (Southern Section) Ordinance of 1932. All PRAAD/A cited in this article can be found in the Public Records and Archives Administration, Accra. [Hereafter, PRAAD/A].

⁸For further information on the creation of amalgamated states in Ewedome, see Yayoh, 'Protest against Amalgamation', pp. 1-15.

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰ See for instance, A. E. Afigbo, *The Warrant Chiefs: Indirect Rule in Southern Nigeria, 1891-1929* (London, 1972); Iliffe John, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge, 1979); Richard Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs: Politics of Chieftaincy in Ghana 1951-60* (Oxford, 2000).

¹¹NA CO96/824/4, Constitutional Matters Affecting Chiefs, 1951.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³Togoland Report of 1931, pp. 14-15.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵PRAAD/A ADM 39/1/277, Notes on the Ordinance by Captain Lilley, 1932.

¹⁶RAG/H RAO C.144/2, DC to Governor, June 1941. All RAG/H papers cited in this paper are in the Regional Archives of Ghana, Ho. [Hereafter, RAG/H].

¹⁷British Togoland Report of 1927.

¹⁸Interview with Togbe Kwadzo Dei XI, Paramount Chief of Peki, 3 July 2007.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰Interview with Togbe Kwadzo Dei XI, 3 July 2007.

²¹NA CO 96/746/7, Report to the PMC, Thirty-Fifth Session, Geneva, 24-25 October 1938.

²²NA CO 96/790/2, Togoland Report of 1947, p. 27.

²³NA CO 96/790/2, Togoland Report of 1947, p. 25.

²⁴NA CO 96/822/2, Comments by Colonial Office on Coussey Report, 1949; NA CO 96/824/4, Constitutional Matters Affecting Chiefs, 1951.

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶David Brown, 'Politics in the Kpando Area of Ghana, 1925 to 1969: A Study of the Influence of Central Government and National Politics on a Local Factional Competition', PhD Thesis (University of Birmingham, 1977), p. 16.

²⁷Figure compiled from Togoland Report of 1936, p. 34-35.

²⁸It was in recognition of the traditional judicial system that the Gold Coast Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1883 was enacted and it subsequently became a model for the development of native courts in Asante, Ewedome, among others. See PRAAD/A ADM 5/3/80, Report of Commission on Native Courts in the Gold Coast, 1951.

²⁹Expenditure was in respect of salaries of registrars and allowances to tribunal members as well as other administrative costs.

³⁰The table does not include independent states, some of which later formed Atando state. Figures compiled from RAG/H RAO C 214, DC, Ho, to the CEP, Koforidua, 2 May 1946. For the population figures, see Togoland Report of 1936, p. 5.

³¹Togoland Report, 1950, p. 30.

³²For detail, see Yayoh, 'Native Courts and Customary Law', pp. 1-15.

³³PRAAD/A ADM 5/3/80, Report of Commission on Native Courts in the Gold Coast, 1951, p. 9.

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶RAG/H RAO C.214, DC, Ho to CEP, Koforidua, 2 May 1946.

³⁷Ibid. Some of the registrars were stationed at the district headquarters while a few lived within the Native Authority area.

³⁸ PRAAD/AADM 11/1/1544, Native Administration Policy, Native Tribunal Committee of Enquiry, 12 February 1943.

³⁹RAG/H RAO C. 214, DC to CEP, 2 May 1946.

⁴⁰PRAAD/A ADM 39/1/594, Togoland Mandated Area-A Report to the League of Nations, 1945.

⁴¹PRAAD/A ADM 5/3/42, p. 29.

⁴²PRAAD/A ADM11/1/1544, Native Tribunal Committee of Enquiry, 12 February 1943.

⁴³PRAAD/A ADM 11/1/1048, District Quarterly Reports, Eastern Province, CEP to the Governor, 1 December 1942.

⁴⁴PRAAD/A ADM 11/1/1048, Petition by Sub-Divisional Chiefs to the Governor of the Gold Coast, 17 October 1942.

⁴⁵PRAAD/A ADM 39/1/456, Handing over Report, 1949.

⁴⁶NA CO 96/790/2, Togoland Report of 1947, p.27.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸RAG/H DA/D 142/32, Protest against Direct Tax by AwatimeState, 13 August 1937.

⁴⁹ The 'stoolfather' is the one who is responsible for performing rituals to purify the stool.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²The records are silent on the length of the sentence.

⁵³ RAG/H DA/D 142/32, Protest against Direct Tax by AwatimeState, 13 August 1937; PRAAD/A ADM 39/1/47, Awatime Criminal Records, 1937-1940.

⁵⁴ NA CO 96/673/5, Protest by the Chiefs of Anlo against Native Administration Ordinance of 1927.

⁵⁵ RAG/H A/C Native Affairs – Apkini Traditional Council, 1948.

⁵⁶ The control exercised by officials was through the various ordinances that were enacted since 1924.

⁵⁷ Togoland Report of 1936, p. 34.

⁵⁸ NA CO 96/746/7, General Statement by the Accredited Representative to the P.M.C., 24-25 October 1938.

⁵⁹ RAG/H ACC No. 337, Native Courts, Petition from Chiefs, 1946.

⁶⁰ PRAAD/A ADM 5/3/42, Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa, 1940-42, p. 22.

⁶¹ PRAAD/A ADM 11/1/1544. DC to CEP, June 1946; PRAAD/A ADM 39/1/559, Acting CEP to the Governor of the Gold Coast, 29 January 1946.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ PRAAD/A ADM 5/3/42, p. 24.

⁶⁴ Section 38 of the 1932 ordinance empowered the DC to enforce tribunal judgements.

⁶⁵ From the administrative point of view, the 1949 ordinance was largely influenced by the coming into force of the trusteeship agreement.

⁶⁶ RAG/H ACC No. 64, Gazette Extraordinary, Togoland under British Mandate, 4 August 1949.

⁶⁷ Fourth Report of the UN Trusteeship Council Ad Hoc Committee on Petitions, 13 July 1950, p.23.

⁶⁸ An examination of post-war rethinking of indirect rule by the British government is found in Richard Reid, *History of Modern Africa, to the Present* (Oxford, 2009), p. 254.

⁶⁹ PRAAD/A ADM 39/1/450, Chief Police Commissioner to DC , Ho, 11 August 1949; PRAAD/A ADM 39/1/450, Conference of Senior Police Officers, June 1946.

⁷⁰ Native Authority Ordinance 1949, Section 46.

⁷¹ R AG/H RAO 7/9, Native Authority Police, Petitions, 1949.

⁷² Togoland Report of 1950, p. 47.

⁷³ See detail provisions in the 1949 Native Authority (Southern Section of Togoland under UK Trusteeship) Ordinance of 1949.

⁷⁴ Ibid; Togoland Report of 1950, p. 34.

⁷⁵ Most often the Governor delegated this power to the Chief Commissioner of the colony.

⁷⁶ Togoland Report of 1950, p. 34.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ RAG/H ACC No. 64, Gazette Extraordinary, 4 August 1949.

⁷⁹ PRAAD/A ADM 5/3/80, Report of Commission on Native Courts, 1951, p.8.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸²RAG/H DA/D 71, Awatime Native Authority, Awatime State to the DC Ho, 27 April 1949.

⁸³Schedule to the 1949 Native Authority Ordinance for Southern Section of British Togoland.

⁸⁴*Ibid.* In addition to the two grade 'B' courts, there was one Native appellate Court for the state served by one Registrar.

⁸⁵Coussey Committee had been set up in 1948 to make recommendation for constitutional reforms in the Gold Coast. Therefore, the 1949 ordinance was enacted pending the receipt and consideration of the Coussey report.

⁸⁶RAG/H ACC No. 5128/8.067, TUNA Youth Section to Senior DC Ho, 4 December 1949.

⁸⁷See PRAAD/A ADM 5/3/42, Native Administration and Political Development in British Tropical Africa, 1940-42, p. 24.

⁸⁸For a broader analysis of post-war reforms of customary law in Africa, see Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Kampala, 1996), pp. 128-137. With specific examples in the Gold Coast, see Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs*, pp. 13-15.

⁸⁹PRAAD/A ADM 5/3/80, Report of Commission on Native Courts, 1951.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁹¹*Ibid.*

⁹²PRAAD/A ADM 11/1/1544, Native Tribunals Committee of Enquiry (Blackall Report), 12 February 1943, p. 4-55.

⁹³Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs*, p. 18.

⁹⁴PRAAD/A ADM 11/1/1544, Native Tribunals Committee of Enquiry (Blackall Report), 12 February 1943, p. 18; PRAAD/A ADM 3/3/80, Report of Commission on Native Courts, 1951, p. 8.

⁹⁵RAG/H RAO/C 214, Assistant Chief Commissioner to the Senior District Officer, Ho, 1945.

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷Ibid.

⁹⁸PRAAD/A ADM 5/3/80, Report of Commission on Native Courts, 1951, p. 21-22.

⁹⁹Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*, p. 23; Thomas Spear 'Neo-Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention in British Colonial Africa', *Journal of African History*, Vol.44 (2003), p. 13, p. 14.

¹⁰⁰PRAAD/A ADM 5/3/80, Report of Commission on Native Courts, 1951, p. 9.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹⁰²Ibid.

¹⁰³PRAAD/A ADM 5/3/80, Report of Commission on Native Courts, 1951, p. 9.

¹⁰⁴Togoland Report, 1950, p. 76.

¹⁰⁵See PRAAD/A ADM 5/3/42, p. 26.RAG/H RAO/C 214, Assistant Chief Commissioner to the Senior District Officer, Ho, 1945

¹⁰⁶Native Courts (Southern Section) Togoland Ordinance of 1949.

¹⁰⁷Spear, 'Neo-Traditionalism', p. 13.

¹⁰⁸PRAAD/A ADM 11/1/1544, Native Tribunals Committee of Enquiry, 12 February 1943.

¹⁰⁹RAG/H ACC N. 26/50, Conference of African Courts Advisers, Agenda, 1953.

¹¹⁰A detailed analysis of the process by which customary law was created in Africa and its key role in the functioning of indirect rule under the NA system is found in K. Mann and R. Roberts (eds.), *Law in Colonial Africa* (Portsmouth, 1991), pp. 3-47; Spear, 'Neo-Traditionalism', pp. 13-16.

¹¹¹Mann and Roberts (ed.), *Law in Colonial Africa*, p. 13.

¹¹²PRAAD/A ADM 5/3/42, p. 34; Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs*, p. 11.

¹¹³Spears, 'Neo-Traditionalism', pp. 13-14. The point that these changes in customary law were in some cases brought about by the role of administrative officers in the exercise of their appellate powers was noted in PRAAD/A ADM 5/3/42, p. 30.

¹¹⁴For the dual effects of colonial law on the authority of chiefs, see Mann and Roberts (eds.), *Law*, p. 33.

¹¹⁵*Ibid*, p. 8; Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs*, p. 13.

¹¹⁶Togoland Report of 1941, p. 3.

¹¹⁷According to Brett Shadle and Spear, the colonial authorities were less keen on codifying customary law in order to allow for flexibility in its application to the different segments of the African societies. See Brett L. Shadle, "Changing Traditions to Meet Current Altering Conditions", Customary Law, African Courts and the Rejection of Codification in Kenya, 1930-60', *Journal of African History*, 40 (1999), pp. 411-28; Spear, 'Neo-Traditionalism', p. 16.

¹¹⁸Spear, 'Neo-Traditionalism', p. 13.

¹¹⁹Mamdani cited Bechuanaland Protectorate as an exceptional colony where customary laws were codified in the late 1930s. Thereafter, it became part of the main stream British administrative reforms in the 1950s. Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*, p. 129.

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PALM PRODUCE TRADE IN CAMEROON'S CROSS RIVER REGION FROM EARLY 1800s TO 1961

HENRY KAM KAH¹

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the influence of Calabar on the nature, volume and direction of palm oil and kernel trade in the Cross and Manyu Rivers region of Cameroon between the early 1800s and 1961 when Southern Cameroons gained independence through reunification with the Republic of Cameroon. The town of Calabar was an important trading post and an entrepot for European commercial interests prior to and after European colonisation of the area. Her trading influence extended into the interior of the Cross River region of Cameroon and Nigeria. This trading influence led to competition between Calabar and Nkongsambain French Cameroon. This paper relies on a content analysis of archival material and the re-interpretation of some secondary works to examine the influence of Calabar on the palm produce trade within Cameroon's sphere of the Cross River region.

Keywords: Calabar, Cameroon, French Africa, Germany, Oil Palm, Slaves, Trade

INTRODUCTION

The Cross River Region of Cameroon and Nigeria spans the border between South Eastern Nigeria and South Western Cameroon. The total land surface covered by this region is about 22,800 square miles or approximately 62,840 square kilometres (Ntukidem, 1990: 5). The region is a basin which includes its outlying regions of the hinterlands. It is located in South Eastern Nigeria and forms part of the West African sub-region. In terms of hydrography the Cross River region has numerous rivers and swamps which serve various socio-economic purposes. In the coastal marshes including the Rio-del-Rey estuary are a variety of screw pines, giant palm and mangrove trees and many species

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of oil and raffia palms. These have facilitated internal and international trade with different countries. In the hinterland region of the Cross River basin are also numerous rivers, including the Cross River, Manyu and Mone Rivers. There are also regions of fresh water swamps in the extensive depression which are characteristic of this region of Cameroon and Nigeria (Ntukidem, 1990: 9-10).

This geo-strategic Cross and Manyu Rivers region of Cameroon and Nigeria and its hinterlands have a long history of internal and external trade. There was a rich trade between the people of this region in the pre-colonial period in items like ivory, salt, camwood, mats and livestock. There were also contacts with merchants of different European countries which included Portugal, Sweden, Germany, Britain, France, Spain and Holland. This contact made the region to be introduced to the trans-Atlantic slave trade or the South Atlantic system. Slaves were brought from the interior to this estuary by African middlemen, notably the Banyang and Efik slave dealers. The introduction of 'legitimate' trade in replacement of the slave trade only intensified trade relations between the people and European merchants.

The region attracted merchants and trading companies. These were able to link the area to the global economy by way of primary products like palm oil, palm kernels, camwood, salt, cocoa and coffee. Palm kernels were first traded in during the 18th century in the Cross River region. When the Germans officially took control of Cameroon in July 1884, they began to promote the collection of palm kernels and the growing of palm trees. This was done to provide raw materials for industries in Germany, especially those in Hamburg, the hub of the colonial enterprise in Germany.

The relevance of this study is not only in the socio-economic integration of the South Eastern Nigeria with the South West region of Cameroon in the pre-colonial and colonial periods, but also in the present integration of these two regions. In spite of the history of conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon, there has been a sustained interaction between the people of this area in the socio-political and economic domains (Kah, 2013). Nigeria and Cameroon gained independence in 1960 and 1960/61 respectively. Palm oil has remained an important activity of the people. Besides, forest exploitation and other associated products, including trade in other goods and services, have

survived over the centuries in this region of Cameroon and Nigeria. Governments of Cameroon and Nigeria have held several bilateral meetings with a view to lessening conflict and promoting trade between the two countries. Several factors made palm produce trade an important activity in the Cross River region in the 19th and 20th centuries, as slave trade declined in importance.

FROM SLAVES TO OIL PALM

The 19th century witnessed shifts from trade in slaves to other commodities, especially palm products. Among the regions of great palm oil and palm kernel trade were the Niger Delta states of Nigeria, Cameroons River and the Bights of Biafra and Benin. The Bight of Biafra dominated the production of palm oil which later became a key commodity in the West African trade between Europe and America (Alagoa, 1992: 448; Lovejoy, 2000: 182; Argenti, 2007: 94; Nwokeji, 2010: 178-80). The trade in palm oil was reported to have begun in Old Calabar in the 1770s (Iliffe, 1995: 149). This means that the trade started in the area before the start of the 19th century. It was not easy to re-orientate African economies to the trade in oil palm and other primary products due to the long period of the slave trade. Several factors contributed to the shift in this trade focus in the 19th Century.

In the pre-colonial period, palm oil and kernels were major sources of wealth for many people of the hinterlands of the Cross River region of Cameroon. Among the Mangen and Nkongwa people of the Mbo tribal area, palm trees were managed by individuals and the family. The family head divided the palm belt among members of his lineage for exploitation. Part of the proceeds was given to the family head by members of the lineage.¹ In the Bangwa area, owners of palm trees could lend them out to other people, but in the Menka district palms were not given out to non-indigenes of the area. Usually in the producing areas, as in the Assumbo district, there were few conflicts over oil palm bearing areas.² Some communities also used oil from the kernel shell as body lotion (Michels, 2004: 57).

The British long-term policy of economic development contributed to the switch from slave trade to trade in palm produce once the former was abolished in the Cross River region and in the hinterland communities. In keeping with a long term policy of economic development, in August 1844 the

adviser on rural development, Mr J.N. Oliphant, presented a detailed plan for the development of the Bamenda-Cross River-Calabar region. He advised that the British should improve trade outlets from the Bamenda highlands and Mamfe (later Mamfe Division) through the port of Calabar. Mr Oliphant stressed on the need to develop the palm industry.³ Through his paper, the British seriously reflected on the need to diversify their economic activities rather than rely only on the dwindling slave trade at a time when there were forces against it in Europe and also in Africa. It was therefore not by accident that palm produce like oil and kernels became important items of trade for both European merchants and the local intermediaries by the second half of the 19th century. In 1928 a system of produce inspection was introduced which ensured that palm oil and kernels exported from Nigeria met the requirements of European importers (Milne, 1999: 143).

Indigenes of the Menka district seized the opportunity and easily obtained profit from the sale of palm oil. They however used the kernels as fuel.⁴ The people of Bayi Barumbe used kernel for fuel as well. It was reported that in Bayi Barumbe in 1878, blacksmiths were using palm kernels as fuel for their activities (Latham, 1990: 81). Although they had participated in the slave trade as suppliers of slaves to slave dealers, when it was abolished they easily adapted to the production and commercialisation of palm produce. They also used the by-products for other domestic purposes. Unlike other people who continued unofficially in the slave trade, the Menka people had another opportunity to develop the palm economy, especially because of the profit that accrued from its commercialisation.

The investments in the palm produce economy, especially palm oil and palm kernels in West Africa in the 19th century, were due to their importance to Europe's manufacturing industry. These were used in the manufacture of soap, tin plating, animal tallow lubricants and synthetic foods (Lynch, 1968: 341; Austen and Derrick, 1999: 55). In Germany, kernel oil was used in the manufacture of soap, candles and oleomargarine. In the report of Consul Hewett in 1882 which justified the need to establish some form of control of Cameroon, he emphasised that palm oil and palm kernels were important (Rudin, 1938: 258). Considering the economic importance of palm oil and palm kernels to the economic survival of Europe and to the continuous production of soap, lubricants and synthetic food, it became relatively easy for the people

of West Africa, including those of the Cross River region of Cameroon and its hinterlands, to exploit these resources for cash. By doing so they became connected to the global trading system which started with the introduction of the South Atlantic system by the Europeans for their overall economic benefit.

The people of the Cross River region were also encouraged to keep palms through instructions on the methods of exploiting them and establishing plantations. The Germans employed this strategy in the administration of Kamerun (Rudin, 1938: 260). They also discouraged indigenes, for example, those of the Mamfe area from felling palm trees for palm wine. The people were rather encouraged to grow palm trees for palm oil production (Ngoh, 1996: 112). Although this was one of the reasons for Mamfe resistance to German colonial administration between 1904 and 1908, the Germans succeeded in making the people of the Mamfe area grow palms. This was to promote trade beyond the region. A lot of the palm produce like kernels and oil was transported through different means to the port of Calabar or towards Nkongsamba in French Cameroon. Such means included head loading, the use of vehicles or river transportation by canoes.

The general exploitation of the rich palm tree for economic purposes among the Banyang and the increase in the demand for its products like kernel oil during the colonial period was a factor that contributed to the eventual shift from slave trade to trade in the product internally and externally. Fomin and Ngoh (1998: 38) argue that the exploitation of the kernels from the palm fruits and the oil as commodities in Banyang country led to an increase in the demand for palm kernels. With this increased demand for palm kernels people saw palm produce as another means of accumulating wealth. They were able to stop the trade in slaves for this important commodity.

Slave labour provided the initial crucial manpower to develop the palm economy to a complex level in many different ways. The abolition of the slave trade in the first half of the 19th century led to the retention of slaves purchased from the interior for the increasing palm produce economy that replaced the slave trade as an important economic activity in the Cross River region of Cameroon and Nigeria. Greater effort was also made by freeborn citizens in the production of palm oil, kernel oil and palm wine which had a

ready market internally and also externally (Fomin and Nghoh, 1998: 39 and 78). In Calabar, the Grassfields slaves who were variously known as *mbarakom*, *mbrikum*, *mburikum* or *mbudikum* were put to work in oil plantations to harvest nuts, process the oil and transport it. They also manned the canoes trading on the Cross and other rivers of the Calabar area (Nkwi, 1982: 90). Generally, in West Africa including the scattered locations of the Biafra interior, slaves lived in villages and on plantations to produce agricultural goods including palm oil and kernels (Lovejoy, 2000: 166).

Beginning from the mid-19th century, palm produce was the commodity with the greatest capacity for expansion. Austin and Derrick (1999) argue that it was first only in the form of oil extracted from the fruit of the palm tree, *elaeis guineensis*, and later combined with the kernels of the fruit. This was important because the oil palm is indigenous to Africa and its product has been a mainstay of local diets since the earliest period of sedentary civilisation in the West and Central African forests.

The investment in the palm produce sector by mid-19th century was very much dependent on the efficient utilisation of the inland waterways which connected various portions of Cameroon's littoral as well as manipulation of political and social relations between, for example, the Duala merchants and the local communities that occupied the space between Douala and the immediate points of palm cultivation (Austin and Derrick, 1999: 55). In the Cross River and Niger Delta regions of Cameroon and Nigeria, movement inland from the coast was made easy by the Cross, Niger, Manyu and Mone Rivers. Traders in palm oil were able to network with middlemen in the interior through these rivers to have palm products brought to the coast or coastal settlements like Calabar. Without these rivers it would have been difficult to get involved in the palm economy considering the difficulty of transporting the produce to the coast for onward shipment to Europe by merchants.

TRADING COMPANIES, MARKETS, MIDDLEMEN AND ROUTES

The success of the palm produce industry depended on a number of factors. Among these were the establishment of trading companies, markets from where palm oil and kernels were bought and sold, middlemen who sold these products to the European merchants on the coast, the establishment of trade

routes and competition for these products between Calabar, on the one hand, and Nkongsamba and Douala in French Cameroon on the other.

Several trading firms and factories were set up in different parts of the Cross River region to facilitate trade in palm products from the interior to Calabar which was the main port in the English speaking part of this region. In Calabar, there were several firms that exported local produce such as palm oil, palm kernel, rubber and Mahogany. These firms included Miller Bros (Liverpool), the African Eastern Trading Corporation, the African Traders Co., A and F, Harrison's Stores and the John Holt and Company Limited (Liverpool) (Misra 1990:187; Henderson 1945:60). The African Eastern Trade Corporation (AETC) (later renamed United Africa Company (UAC)) set up a number of factories in the Cross River region. Among which were the Nsanakang and Mamfe factories. Another palm kernel buying station was established at Bakebe in December 1942 to attract produce from the eastern parts of Mamfe Division.⁵ Other palm kernel purchasing firms were established at Tali and Tinto by Europeans. These trading stations were often referred to as “factories” (Fomin and Ngoh, 1998: 78).

The UAC began the purchase of palm kernels in January 1924. This attracted a lot of the trade from Obang district of the Mamfe region. Reports in 1927 indicated that kernels were the only product that was being bought by the AETC. They shipped the kernels to Calabar during the rainy season using launches and to Ikom by canoe during part of the dry season. The agent that facilitated the trade of this corporation was Mr A.W. Beales.⁶ Prior to the establishment of the Mamfe factory palm kernels were sold at Ikom where in return cloth and salt were bought for retail back home.⁷

Apart from the AETC, the John Holt and Company Limited also purchased palm kernels.⁸ By 1928, there was keen competition between the John Holt and Company Limited and the UAC Limited. This competition continued into 1929. By 1930 the UAC had established the oil extracting and kernel cracking machine in Badshu-Akagbe, although this venture was a failure because the people continued to prepare their own kernels and sold them at Mamfe.⁹ Throughout the 1930s, the UAC and the John Holt and Company Ltd were in competition in the purchase of palm produce. This fluctuated depending on the situation of the market in Europe and in the Cross River region. Table 1

shows the statistics of palm produce bought by the UAC in the Cross River region of Cameroon from the 1920s to the 1940s. Purchases fluctuated from year to year depending on market conditions.

Table 1: Palm Kernel Purchases in Tonnes by the United Africa Company (UAC) in the Cross River Region of Cameroon, 1929-1943

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Tonnes Purchased</i> |
|-------------|-------------------------|
| 1929 | 931 |
| 1930 | 510 |
| 1933 | 735 |
| 1934 | 550 |
| 1935 | 1045 |
| 1936 | 1046 |
| 1941 | 849 |
| 1942 | 1119 |
| 1943 | 1112 |

Source: File No. 156/1930, Ce (1930) 1, Mamfe Division Annual Report 1930, NAB; File No. 177/1931, Ce (1931) 1, Mamfe Division Annual Report 1931, NAB; File No. (1934) 1, Mamfe Division Annual Report 1934, NAB; File No. 1781, Ce (1935) 1, Mamfe Division Annual Report 1935 (Map), NAB; File No. Ce (1935) 2, Mamfe Division Annual Report, 1935 by M.H.W. Swabey District Officer, NAB; File No. 2084, Ce (1936) 2, Mamfe Division League of Nations Report 1936 [with Correspondence], NAB; File No. Ce (1942) 1, Mamfe Division Cameroons Province Annual and League of Nations Reports [1942, 1943, 1944] NAB.

The purchase of palm produce by middlemen and trading firms was made possible by the availability of important markets within the Cross River region of Cameroon. One of the largest markets for palm kernels and other trade goods was Widekum¹⁰ which lay at the fringes of the forest region and which linked other parts of the western Grassfields of Cameroon that were important supplying regions of this palm product. Basho was also a large market in palm kernels and these were sold in kerosene tins.¹¹ Other markets were Mangen and Fonjungu, two important kernel trading markets in the Mbo area of the hinterlands of the Cross River and Mamfe.¹² Some of the goods went through Igbo markets to the Calabar port. Also on the Nigerian side, Ikom was an important collecting point for kernels brought in from the Basho and Mamfe areas through canoes in the Mamfe and Cross Rivers. Calabar was a final destination for traders of palm and other produce.¹³

Other regions served as important markets in palm produce at different times. Under German administration, the *Gesellschaft Nordwest Kamerun* had a European factory at Tali. For a long time, Fonjungu and Mangan were markets that served middlemen in the kernel trade which, however, largely went towards French Cameroon and precisely Nkongsamba, an important inland market in the territory.¹⁴ In addition, the Fossongo market (Samelkin) was an important one in palm kernels which also went towards Nkongsamba¹⁵ because of the proximity of the settlement to French Cameroon. Meanwhile, in the Balundu district of Mamfe Division there was a big trade in palm oil and palm kernels (Ardener, 2002: 79). Other hinterland markets which specialised in palm kernel trade included Tali, Tinto and Mamfe (Fomin and Ngoh, 1998: 78).

From these markets, middlemen ferried palm produce to other markets and in return came home with other basic items for their own people. Several middlemen took goods from Abokum in canoes to Ikom in Nigeria.¹⁶ These middlemen consisted of Cameroonians and Nigerians. The Banyang were the main middlemen in the trade between the Cross River and the hinterland communities of Cameroon, although the Ardeners and Warmington argue that only a few of them were involved in the trade (Ardener *et al.*, 1960: 238). They also facilitated the flow of trade towards Nkongsamba in French Cameroon.

The disappearance of factories in the Mamfe area following the First World War affected the Banyang middlemen. They lost the opportunity of continuous exchange of salt, cotton and tobacco for livestock. They turned their attention towards the Mangan and Fonjungu markets in the Bangwa area towards Nkongsamba, where they established their leadership in the middlemen's trade in kernels. The Banyang middlemen were largely in control of the palm kernel trade in Nkongsamba.¹⁷ Nkongsamba was an important inland collecting point for goods that were destined for Douala for eventual transportation to France and other European countries where demand was constant. It competed with Calabar and Ikom in export items from the grassfields of Cameroon towards the coast because it served the purpose of sending goods to French Cameroon and Calabar. In Nkongsamba were thirteen firms which were in brisk competition with each other in the purchase of trade items from the hinterlands.¹⁸ To keep trade flowing towards

Nkongsamba from the Fossungo market in the hinterlands of the Cross River region, after the sale of palm kernels bachelors, who were the main traders, bought cloth, tobacco and salt in the town and retailed them on their return journey.¹⁹

Another important group of middlemen in the palm produce trade were the Ikom traders from Nigeria and the Boki who are located astride the Cameroon/Nigeria border (Kah and Nkwi, 2011: 48). Prior to the establishment of the African and Eastern Trade Corporation in Mamfe in 1924, the Ikom traders competed in the middlemen's trade in kernels with Banyang middlemen. The Ikom traders often sold kernels at Ikom and in return bought cloth and salt for the local markets of the hinterlands of British Southern Cameroons which at the time was the Cameroons Province within the Southern Provinces of Nigeria.²⁰ This was exactly what the Banyang middlemen did when they sold palm produce in Nkongsamba. Some indigenous traders acting as middlemen bought kernels from the grassfields and sold them to other waiting middlemen in Mamfe who took them in canoes to Ikom²¹ and then to Calabar, the largest market in this region. In Mamfe too were middlemen charged with transporting canoe loads of kernels towards Ikom through the Manyu and Cross Rivers.²² Apart from the important role of the Banyang middlemen, the Keaka or Ejagham middlemen also traded in palm kernels towards Nigeria.²³ Most palm kernel producers carried the product on their heads for several days to the nearest buying station.²⁴ The overall importance of middlemen and palm produce trade in the Cross River region of Cameroon and Nigeria which was the trading sphere of Calabar is summed up in this annual report of Mamfe Division for 1927:

"The most prolific areas of kernels supply were the Menka and Bali (Widekum) Districts.... They [sic] were numerous middlemen in the trade in Mamfe, Besongabang, Badshu Akagbe, Badshu Ntai and Eshobi. They bought in large quantities during the buying season and resold to the factory. Some of the middlemen sometimes forced bush natives into selling their produce. In one such instant at Eshobi, a middleman bought kernels without measuring them. When he finally turned the kernels into his box the quantity was less than the amount he had given to the native. On demanding a shilling back the native refused. He immediately turned the kernels into the road, took back all he gave this native and left".²⁵

The quotation illustrates the importance of kernel trade, the supplying regions, the important role of middlemen and also their ruthlessness. The colonialist language in which the people are described as bush natives was pejorative and insulting to a people who were the pillars of the trading enterprise.

Despite attempts by European traders in the 1820s onwards to move up the larger rivers into the forest region in the Efik and Ijaw regions of Nigeria, where the oil palms grew, to buy the produce more cheaply and eliminate the coastal middlemen (Oliver and Atmore 1994:63), the Keaka, Banyang and other middle-middle men in the trade in the Cross River of Cameroon and Nigeria continued to be important inland middlemen. The Efik traders were still middlemen and tried to increase the supply of oil by tapping the inland markets along the Cross River. They maintained fleets of war canoes to keep the river open to trade. In one such incident in 1846, they fought against the Umon to gain direct access to the oil markets that were beyond (Nkwi and Warnier 1982: 90). In the early days, however, palm oil was transported to the coast of Cameroon and other areas by monopolists. They got to know about its existence from explorers who spoke about the low cost of getting palm oil from the interior compared to buying it from indigenous middlemen at the coast (Rudin, 1938: 259).

The trade in palm produce in the Cross River region and its hinterlands was made possible by defined trade routes. When the British took provisional control of the area in 1916, there was trade in palm kernels and livestock on a small scale. These passed from the north and Basho through Mfakwe, Takpe, Assam, Takamanda and Kajifu to Abonando and Abokum. From these two places the goods were transported by river to Ikom in Nigeria.²⁶ The kernels that left from Ikom to Calabar often came from the North, North East and West. These kernels went to Calabar and also to some Igbo markets.²⁷ From Tali (where the Germans had set up the *Gesellschaft Nordwest Kamerun*), kernel trade went towards the east in the direction of Mbo country.

There was also an important trade from the hinterlands of the Cross River towards Nkongsamba (Nfi, 2011: 178).²⁸ From the Menka and other areas, the palm kernel trade was towards Bali, Widekum and Mamfe. While there, the traders bought cloth and salt for retail upon return (Nfi, 2011: 179;

Henderson, 1945: 60).²⁹ Interestingly, the palm oil and kernel oil were traded from the oil palm belt towards the grassfields and the coast, and the bulk of the oil consumed in the western grassfields came from the Widekum-Mamfe area of the Cross River, with slave villages playing an important role. These villages were established to produce oil and kernels for the Calabar trade (Nkwii, 1987:118; Michels, 2004: 57). The competition for palm produce between foreigners and the indigenous population led to government regulation to allow for proper functioning of markets to allow for peaceful and orderly trading.

GOVERNMENT REGULATION

Palm products became important items of trade in the Cross River Region in the 19th century as slave trade declined in importance. This trade had started in the Cross River area in the 1770s but it was not in great quantities. It was also in the 1770s that palm oil was shipped from Old Calabar to Europe (Iliffe, 1995: 149). As the trade grew in importance in the 19th century, occasionally skirmishes were reported. This eventually made the colonial government to put in place a form of regulation for this important trade. During the German administration of Kamerun, a decree was passed in 1894 that threatened people with fines and imprisonment if they falsified weights and quality of palm oil and kernels. The colonial government also permitted the indigenous population to exploit the palm products, but the production of oil and felling of trees for palm wine were strictly regulated. The government also encouraged people to set up palm plantations. To facilitate this, they instructed people in the method of exploitation. Government officials also inspected plantations to encourage the people, but this did not succeed as much (Rudin, 1938: 259-60).

Soon after the British took control of Southern Cameroons, the District Officer for Ossidinge, W.E. Hunt, encouraged an organised cultivation of palms. He argued that there would be an increase in the demand for palm kernels after the First World War.³⁰ Meanwhile, on 22 July 1938 the Acting District Officer for Mamfe Division issued a note calling on the people of Maku and Ewisi to refrain from building or reaping palm trees in a disputed area between these two villages.³¹ He did this in anticipation of ensuring continuous supply of palm produce to the manufacturing industries in Britain, notably Liverpool and Manchester. Taxes were also paid to the government by traders in palm

produce. These were dependent on the profit from the collection of and trade in these produce.³²

CONCLUSION

The Cross River region of Cameroon is a region that is geo-strategic to global rivalry and competition as far as the Gulf of Guinea is concerned. This competition, which started during the period of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, intensified in the 19th century when the palm produce economy was developed in the area. After the challenges of the slave trade, the British were quick to put in place a long term policy of economic development with emphasis on the development of the palm produce industry. Even when Germany annexed Cameroon in 1884, she encouraged the development of this industry in different ways, although the inhabitants of the territory always had their own way of handling this sector in a way considered beneficial to them and not to European merchants.

The development of the palm produce economy was based on a combination of factors which included the importance of palm oil and palm kernels to wealth creation and the socio-cultural life of people of this region. The German-Mamfe war was partially due to the disagreement over how palms should be treated. There was the availability of natural palms, and the slave labour that had not been taken to the plantations in the Americas provided available labour supply in this emerging industry. The people were also willing to switch from the dependence on slaves for survival to exploiting palm produce. Palm wine was used for local consumption and socialisation. In fact, the development of the palm produce sector by the British was exploited by both indigenous people and European merchants to their own benefit, the challenges notwithstanding.

In different ways, the trade in palm produce in the Cameroon's Cross River region led to the influx of trading companies. Several markets emerged for this product and employment was offered to both the local population and Europeans at different stages of the transportation of the produce to Ikom and then to Calabar for exploitation. Middlemen came into the scene to mediate between buyers and sellers. There was competition for the trade in palm produce between Nkongsamba in French Cameroons and Mamfe and Calabar in British Southern Cameroons and Nigeria, respectively. The traders

in the commodities bought other goods on their return journey and benefitted twice in the trade. The problems of border control, those associated with the purchase of the palm produce and competition between villages for these scarce commodities prompted the government to step in and resolve them and at the same time encourage greater trade in the area.

The present situation still shows a high degree of trade between the Cross River region and Ikom and Calabar in Nigeria. Trade in many different items including manufactured goods in Nigeria and Cameroon will be intensified with the tarring of the trans-African highway linking Bamenda in the Grassfields of Cameroon to Calabar through Mamfe in the South West Region of Cameroon. This development is even more likely considering that the Kumba-Mamfe stretch of the Mutengene-Abakaliki highway was tarred following the Green Tree Accord signed between Cameroon and Nigeria to end the crisis over the ownership of the Bakassi peninsula.

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⁸File No. 1120/1924, Ce (1923)1, Annual Report, Mamfe Division 1923 [Map], NAB.

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EXPANSION OF THE HAUSA MIGRANT COMMUNITY IN LAGOS, NIGERIA, 1970–2007

MUHAMMAD MUKHTAR GATAWA¹

ABSTRACT

This study examines the growth of Hausa communities in Lagos, Nigeria. The settlement of Hausa people in Lagos is attributed to a chain of historical antecedents. The pre-colonial long distance trade championed by the Hausa in the West African region attracted a considerable number of Hausa settlers to Lagos and other Yoruba towns. Also, with the abolition of the slave trade by the beginning of the nineteenth century, a number of Hausa ex-slaves who gained freedom ended up settling in Lagos. Of profound impact was the colonial policy that favoured the recruitment of these ex-slaves into the police force. Another factor that attracted Hausa migrants to Lagos was the strategic position the city enjoyed up to 1991 as the country's commercial and political capital. Migration was and is still sustained by the fact that Lagos is the commercial hub of Nigeria. This led to the establishment of a number of Hausa communities in Lagos, especially from 1970 to 2007. The study validates the claim that the Hausa community has succeeded in creating a distinct identity in Lagos and has also exhibited some level of adaptation to and cultural assimilation into the host Yoruba community, notably in language and intermarriage.

Key words: Hausa, Inter-group relations, Islam, Lagos, Migration, Nigeria, Trade

INTRODUCTION

The history of pre-colonial Nigerian societies is replete with human migration, inter-cultural and inter-regional relations. Over generations, people have migrated in response to demographic, economic, political and other related factors. Pre-colonial Africa, for instance, has been described as a mobile continent.¹ For example, European explorers in the nineteenth century were amazed with what they considered as the 'exclusiveness' and 'instability' of African settlements and villages, which were easily created and

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easily abandoned.²The migration and subsequent settlement of the Hausa community in Lagos was shaped by a number of historical processes. Commerce and Islam were key elements in Hausa-Yoruba relations. Among the earliest Hausa communities that were established during colonial to post-colonial period were those at Obalende, Agege and Badagry.

This paper seeks to discuss the factors that sustained the continued influx of the Hausa into Lagos. A survey of the Hausa communities established in Lagos from 1970 to 2007, highlighting their peculiar characteristics, composition and socio-economic structure is done. For the purpose of this paper, I adopt Adamu's definition of Hausa as 'those who historically are from Hausaland or their descendants through the male line, or those who became closely associated with Hausa culture by adopting its language, its culture and religion'.³ In this regard, the Hausa community in Lagos comprised migrants and settlers from Hausa and Hausa-speaking Zabarma, Kotokoli, Egbira, Igala, Kanuri, Shuwa Arabs as well as other Hausa-speaking groups from Ghana and from other West African countries.

FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MIGRATORY TRENDS

Behind the phenomenon of migration lies a set of push factors – notably a deteriorating economy, political instability, droughts and wars – that are largely responsible for the exit of people from the sending areas, and other pull factors – such as relative economic prosperity, peace and stability – which are responsible for the attraction of migrants to the receiving areas. Pre-colonial migration in Africa was basically oriented towards trade, labour and religion (for pilgrimage) and occurred without legal restraints and barriers. Thus, nomads, cultivators, fishermen, traders and religious scholars could freely move across regions. Interestingly, whenever the migrating groups entered new territories they added to the population and consequently the pressure on land. This usually pushed the hosting inhabitants to move southwards to new, less densely populated areas. It is significant to state that these migratory movements marked the beginning of cultural integration amongst the diverse Nigerian ethnic groups.⁴ Then, of course, the concept of indigene/non-indigene, settler/non-settler was quite insignificant in African human relations.⁵ For, both the hosts and their guests could adapt to their given environments and adopt each other's cultural traits and traditions.

One interesting aspect of the history of the Hausa community in Lagos, as was the case with pre-colonial Nigerian societies generally, was the mobility of labour, goods and services across various ethnic boundaries. Merchants of different backgrounds were united by a common purpose: optimum utilisation of market opportunities. No doubt, it is argued that migrations and interactions among Nigeria's diverse cultural groups reflected the prevailing land-labour ratio and the spatial distribution of market opportunities.⁶ An important vehicle through which economic relations were established amongst Nigeria's ethnic groups was the long distance trade. The trade is as old as the history of the groups themselves.⁷ The trade routes crossed major geographical and ethnic zones. Of significance in this analysis is the route which ran from the Sahara-Savannah areas to the forest region, particularly the coastal markets of Lagos and Gonja in Ghana.⁸

The Hausa were the leading group of professional long distance traders that dominated commercial activities of the region under discussion. From their base in northern Nigeria, they brought salt, cloth and livestock to the southwest of the country and as far as Ghana, where they exchanged the commodities for gold, kola nuts and slaves, which they in turn took back home.⁹ The works of Lovejoy¹⁰, Hopkins¹¹ and Adamu¹², for instance, provide valuable insights into the role of Hausa pre-colonial long distance trade in the economic development of the West African region. On his part, Cohen noted that the Islamic moral code in the conduct of the trade through the trust and credit systems facilitated the smooth operation of the trade as well as the establishment of a number of trading camps (Hausa-*zanguna*; Singular – *zango*).¹³

One of the famous camps established during the long distance trade period was that of Agege, which served as a coordinating point for the kola nut and cattle trade between the Gold Coast (now Ghana) and the southwestern coastal region of West Africa, and the interior Hausaland and the Sahara region. These trading communities, referred to as 'strangers' or 'Diasporas', continued to increase in population throughout the colonial and into the post-colonial periods. The terms 'strangers' or 'Diasporas' have variously been used by Cohen to refer to 'a distinctive social formation created by a dispersal of Hausa traders amongst Yoruba people in colonial Nigeria'.¹⁴ In this study, following the logic of Cohen, the term 'trading Diaspora' is employed to explain the pre-colonial Hausa trading communities established outside the

geographical space of the then Hausaland. For, a Diaspora community is widely associated with three basic elements: dispersion in space, orientation to a 'homeland' and boundary-maintenance.¹⁵ Thus, the pre-colonial Hausa traders could be considered to be a dispersed community who maintained cultural and emotional attachments to the Hausa homeland.

Thus, the Hausa settlements, initially called *Zangos* (sing. *Zango* or *Zongo*) and now *Sabo*, that were established and inspired by a competitive and acquisitive spirit in search of wealth, had to adjust to the challenges of colonial and post-colonial innovations in technology and political set up. During the colonial and post-colonial periods, the pattern of migrations took a new dimension. On its part, colonialism brought about the introduction of modern transport (steamship, railway and later road) and a wage labour system. The Hausa merchants faced these challenges by switching off from the old caravan system consisting of animal packs, porters and guards by transporting their merchandise from Lagos to the north, this time by railways and lorries. The extension of railway lines into the hinterland, most especially to Kano in 1911, facilitated the transportation of bulk consignments of kola nuts and other goods to the north. Thereafter, the use of porters and pack animals was stopped.

Also, with the introduction of wage labour, greater mobility of labour from the rural north to the urban centres was achieved. Wage-earners and those who desired to 'better' their livelihood began to troop into commercial and colonial administrative centres. In Yorubaland, for instance, the *Sabos* began to grow in size, and as distinct communities to reckon with. Other factors that intensified the migratory pattern of the Hausa to the city of Lagos included the oil boom, the Udoji salary increment and a severe drought, all in the 1970s, and the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in the 1980s and the on-going deregulation of the economy. Each of these had served as either a 'push' or 'pull' factor in compelling the migrants out of their source region or attracting them into the Hausa quarters of Lagos.¹⁶

The transfer of Nigeria's 'Administrative Capital' from Lagos to Abuja in 1991 does not seem to have altered the influx of migrants into Lagos. For, Lagos is still the commercial hub of the country. With the busiest ports and airport, Lagos remains attractive to migrants wishing to offer labour services and those wishing to utilise their entrepreneurial skills and capabilities in search of

material wealth. Abuja attracts more skilled and educated new comers from the north. By contrast, most of the migrants from the north to Lagos from the 1970s onwards were either unskilled or semi-skilled but were determined to succeed in their quest to create better lives for themselves.

The historical pattern of migration highlighted above also shaped the settlement pattern of the Hausa migrants in Lagos. The ex-slaves, mostly those who served in the colonial police force and administration, and later categories of public and civil servants who served in the post-colonial government prior to the movement of the capital to Abuja, were largely concentrated in Obalende and Ikoyi. These were principally service areas, where Dodan Barracks, the Nigeria Police Force Headquarters and the Federal Secretariat were located.

As for the kola nut and cattle traders, Agege and Zango-Ota were their preferred choice. In particular, Agege was for a long time the most renowned Hausa settlement in Lagos.¹⁷ Its strategic location as transit camp for Gonja kola trade to Hausaland and its subsequent transformation into cattle market made it attractive to Hausa migrants in Lagos.¹⁸ Also, its proximity to Ikeja airport has in recent years attracted many Hausa *bureau de change* operators to settle there. However, by the 1970s there emerged other Hausa settlements in Lagos. Prominent among them are Idi-Araba, Oshodi-Isolo, Mile 12 and Alaba Rago. It should, however, be noted that there are some shortcomings observed in some of the works cited above. Cohen¹⁹, for example, does not apply a consistent or appropriate terminology to the Hausa migrants in Yorubaland. He sees them variously as 'strangers', 'community', 'Diasporas' and 'settlers'. The other problem with his analysis of the Hausa traders who finally settled in Yorubaland arises from his inability to discuss how the Hausa migrants related with their source region. Also, his inability to discuss the Diaspora's setting and history beyond the pre-colonial period could lead us to interpret the phenomenon as entirely a product of colonialism.

One missing element in the works cited above is their emphasis on pre-colonial Hausa migration and commercial enterprises in West Africa. Undoubtedly, they made little or no reference to subsequent Hausa migration and settlement in such modern political and commercial cities as Lagos; a

phenomenon that continues to date. This shortcoming might not be unconnected with the fact that those works were published before 1980 and since then the area has received little or no attention from scholars and researchers to allow for updates and further analysis. Among the few scholars who made mention of the Hausa community in Agege, Olukoju offers the most up to date analysis, though in brief and with no attempt to provide historical coherence in the discourse.²⁰

HAUSA COMMUNITIES IN LAGOS

There existed several Hausa communities scattered all over the Lagos metropolis. While some of them have a long history dating back to pre-colonial and colonial days, the majority sprang up from the 1970s as a result of an increase in rural-urban migration that was further facilitated by the political economy of the period, characterised by the 'oil boom', the Udoji wage increase and increased government's welfare policies. The trend was sustained up to 2007 when the main fieldwork for this research was conducted, with once smaller Hausa trading communities now transforming into large settlements of varied migrant elements. Moreover, a number of those settlements were associated with one form of trade or the other, or were established as a result of one historical antecedent or the other.

For instance, Obalende and the greater part of the Lagos Island is considered as a service centre whose Hausa community owes its background to the Hausa ex-slaves and colonial police men who were stationed there. Also, prior to the movement of Nigeria's Federal Capital from Lagos to Abuja in 1991, Obalende had a high concentration of public and civil servants from the north. Other Hausa communities such as those of Mile 12 and Alaba-Rago were established in the 1970s to serve as food and meat markets of Lagos. Still others like Oshodi were a result of business activities taking place in the mega-trading hub of the Oshodi market-Isolo axis.

It should, however, be noted that each Hausa community was composed of seasonal migrants and permanent settlers who had also been seasonal visitors before becoming permanent. Interestingly, permanent settlers and seasonal migrants frequent those communities that served as migration networks through which migrants from same source village, Local Government or State maintained a migration chain between the source community in the north and the migration point in Lagos.

One other interesting aspect of the Hausa communities in various parts of Lagos is the concentration of a large number of female food and beverage sellers from the Republic of Togo (commonly called *Kotokoli*) and from Ghana. The *Kotokoli* women have dominated the food and local market in beverages in all the Hausa communities. Besides their ability to speak the Hausa language, they serve the migrants with *tuwonshinkafa*, *tuwondawa*, *miyankuka*, *miyanguro*, *fura*, *kunu* and food and drinks which are common in the northern part of Nigeria. The *Kotokoli*'s homeland is around the town of Sokode in Togo and it straddles the borders of Benin and Ghana.²¹ They are mostly Muslims, except for a small group that practise Christianity and various traditional African religions. These people are mostly farmers but the majority live in cities along the coastal countries of West Africa. In Lagos and other Yoruba cities, they congregate in Hausa *Zangos* or *Sabos*.²² The male *Kotokoli* in those cities are usually taxi drivers.

Furthermore, there was an absence of reliable data on the number of the Hausa settlers and migrants in the areas associated with high concentrations of Hausa in Lagos. The traditional leaders of Hausa community members in Lagos did not keep such records. In fact, even the elitist Hausa Unions and Associations that were later formed in Lagos did not have accurate records of membership upon which to rely. It was not until 2001 when, following the ethnic clashes that occurred between the members of the Yoruba-based Odua Peoples Congress (OPC) and Hausa community members in Idi-Araba, Agege and other parts of the city, that Hausa-based associations sprang up, necessitated by the challenge to form a united front against the OPC onslaught. In all, estimating the number of Hausa in any part of Lagos remained a difficult task.

Finally, there is a great linkage between the Hausa and other ethnic groups from northern Nigeria living in Lagos. A Muslim northerner residing in Lagos, regardless of his ethnic background or geographical origin, is generally referred to as *Malam* or Hausa. Hence, the *Ebira*, *Igala*, *Nupe*, *Kanuri* and *Shuwa Arabs*, among others, who are closely associated with the Hausa language through using it as their second native language, share the same religion (Islam), and demonstrate similarities in some cultural patterns, particularly dress, are all referred to as 'Hausa'.²³ Besides these, such Muslim groups that originate from northern Nigeria are concentrated in the major

Table 1: Estimates of the Hausa in Lagos and Agege, 1861-2006

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Total Population</i> | <i>Estimate of Hausa in Lagos</i> |
|-------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1861 | 30,000 | 1,000 |
| 1871 | 29,000 | 1,500 |
| 1881 | 37,000 | 3,000 |
| 1891 | 33,000 | 3,500 |
| 1901 | 42,000 | 4,200 |
| 1911 | 74,000 | 4,700 |
| 1921 | 114,193 | 5,067 |
| 1931 | 126,108 | 7,500 |
| 1951 | 272,000 | 15,000 |
| 1963 | 665,000 | 30,000 |
| 1973 | 2,470,000 | 250,000 |
| 1991 | 5,685,781 | 1,000,000 |
| 2006 | 9,013,634 | 1,850,000 |

Sources: National Archives Ibadan, File No. PX/H1D: *Census of Nigeria 1931, Vol. IV:Lagos*; File No. PX/H2B: *Population Census of Lagos 1950*; Federal Office of Statistics, *Population Census of Nigeria, 1952 and 1963, Lagos*; National Population Commission, *Population Census: Lagos State 1991*, Government Printer, Lagos, 1992; National Population Commission, *Population Census: Lagos State 2006*, Government Printer, Lagos, 2007; and interviews and survey conducted at Agege in 2008

Hausa communities in Lagos. Possibly, the greatest binding factors amongst those diaspora communities in Lagos are Islam and the Hausa language (refer to Table 1 for the estimated population of Hausas in Lagos and Agege from 1861 to 2006).

One of the northern ethnic groups prominent in Lagos is the Ebira. According to Bunza and Ashafa, “Ebira is a term that refers to the people who speak the Ebira language. It also refers to their language as well as their geographical location.”²⁴ They are mostly from Okene, Okehi, Adavi and Ajaokuta Local Government Areas of Kogi State. Another important group from Kogi state is the *Igala*. The concentration points in Lagos for both groups are Shogunle (Oshodi) and all major Hausa settlements. The Igala community was under the leadership of the *Onu* of Igala.²⁵

The Nupe, who claimed to have been the founding community of the Oshodi area of Lagos, are from Niger, Kwara and Kogi states. They are mostly Muslims and are found in Oshodi and other parts of Lagos with a high concentration of Hausa settlers. The present *Etsu* of Nupe in Lagos, Alhaji Jibril Magaji, is also an executive member of the Hausa-based Mile 12 market. There are also the Kanuri from Borno and Yobe states. They are headed by Mai Kanuri, Alhaji Sale. They are found in the Isolo area of Oshodi and within the Hausa communities of Lagos. The *Shuwa* Arabs came mostly from the Gamboru-Ngala Government area of Bornu State.²⁶ Like the Hausa, the *Shuwa* Arabs of Lagos have for long been entangled in a leadership crisis. Attempts by the *Shehu* of Borno (paramount traditional ruler of the Kanuri and Shuwa Arabs in Borno State in northern Nigeria) and eminent *Arewa* community leaders to resolve the succession tussle between *Alhaji* Jibrin Yaya and *Alhaji* Baba Isa Sa'id have been futile.²⁷

OSHODI-ISOLO

The Oshodi-Isolo Local Government Area is located on the North-East of Lagos State. It is one of the densely populated and commercial Local Government Areas in the State.²⁸ The Local Government covers a surface area of about 9 km² and has a growing population of 621,509 people.²⁹ The Local Government Area shares a border with Ikeja Local Government on the North, Onigbongbo Local Government on the North-East and Mushin Ajina Local Government in the South-East. The Local Government is a socio-cultural representative of the typical Nigerian society, with various ethnic groups being represented. This diversity is show-cased during national celebrations, festivals, carnivals, cultural competitions and celebrations.

Oshodi-Isolo has been one of the converging points of the Hausa community in Lagos, though the place adopted its name from a famous Nupe warrior and close confidant of the Oba of Lagos, *Tapa Oshodi*. The growing Hausa community in Oshodi might be attributed to its booming commercial activities. It is interesting to observe that the migrants from Sokoto constitute nearly fifty per cent of the Hausa community members of Oshodi-Isolo.³⁰ This might be due to the influence of *Alhaji* Tukur Wurno, whose residence and shopping complex have been meeting points for the Hausa migrants from Sokoto in Lagos. They are mostly engaged in the sale of vegetables, grains and

electronics. The next important Hausa group in the area is the *Kanawa* who engage in textile and grocery trade. This is followed by '*Yan Lafiya* (those from Nasarawa State) who dominate motor cycle operation (*okada*) in the area. The female '*Yan Lafiya* sell food and local beverages such as *fura da nono*, *kunuand sobo*, among others.

Traditionally, the Hausa community in Oshodi is headed by *Sarkin Hausawa* of Oshodi, assisted by prominent elders such as Alhaji Tukur Wurno and Alhaji Musa Hamma Ali. The death of *Sarkin Hausawa* of Oshodi, Alhaji Jibrin Usman, in 2001, brought about a leadership tussle in the community. His son and successor, Alhaji Ado Jibril Usman, was challenged by other parties interested in the leadership of the community. Recently, *Alhaji* Ado Jibril Usman, who claimed to have been appointed *Sarkin Hausawa* by both the Oba of Lagos and *Sarkin Hausawan* Lagos, was arraigned before the Ogudu Magistrate Court by *Alhaji* Moshhod Adamu (popularly called Adamu Lafiya) over the leadership tussle.³¹ Adamu Lafiya claimed that Ado Jibril Usman was not the *Sarkin Hausawan* Oshodi and that he should henceforth stop parading himself as such. Adamu Lafiya's charge against Ado Jibril Usman got the blessing of the Local Government Council, whose Legal Department recognizes AdamuLafiya, and not Ado Jibril Usman, as the *Sarkin Hausawa* of Oshodi. On May 5, 2013, the Hausa community in Oshodi turbaned Alhaji Tukur Wurno as the *Sarkin Hausawa* of Oshodi.

IDI-ARABA

Idi-Araba was part of the Mushin Local Government Area of Lagos State. It was one of the places in Lagos with a high concentration of the Hausa people. The proportion of Hausa population in Mushin LGA, which was 986,847 as par the 1991 census, has been put at 49 per cent; the Yoruba formed 30 per cent, the Igbo 10 per cent and other groups 11 percent.³² As is the case with Hausa communities in other parts of Lagos, the percentage of the Hausa in Mushin might have represented all Hausa-speaking people of northern Nigerian extraction, Togo, Niger and Ghana. This was because non-Hausa residents of Lagos generally referred to a Hausa Muslim as a *Malam*, regardless of where he comes from.

As already stated, each Hausa community was composed of Hausa speaking people from Northern Nigeria, Togo and Ghana, as well as non-Hausa groups that speak Hausa and share similar historical, geographical, cultural and

religious affinities with the Hausa of Northern Nigeria. In Idi Araba, for instance, the *Zabarma*, *Kanuri*, *Shuwa* Arabs and Fulani were all referred to as *Malams*, and hence Hausa. But each of those groups recognised and tried to maintain its distinctiveness, even though each accepted to exist within the larger Hausa community. For example, each of these groups was associated with a particular form of dress and trade, preferred to share residence with their kinsmen, and had a leader who was under the control of both the *Sarki* (*Mai* in case of Kanuri) in Lagos and the *Sarkin Hausawa* of Idi-Araba. Interestingly, Idi-Araba, like other Hausa communities in Lagos, had two competing *Sarakunan Hausawa*; *Sarki* Usman Auyo was under the lordship of *Sarkin Hausawa* of Lagos, Alhaji Aminu Yaro, while *Sarki* Ba'are was an ally of *Sarkin Hausawa of Lagos*, Alhaji Kabiru. The latter had his palace situated in Mushin. Ba'are was, however, the first *Sarkin Hausawa* of Idi-Araba and was installed in January 1973.³³ For a long time, the Dogara family had been producing the *Sarkin Hausawa* of Lagos. In 2012, however, one Alhaji Kabir laid a claim and subsequently declared himself *Sarkin Hausawa* of Lagos. Since then the Hausa community in Lagos has been led by two competing *Sarakunan Hausawa*. This division has manifested itself in each Hausa community in Lagos.

The *Zabarma* of Idi-Araba traders were focused on shoemaking and repairs, second hand materials and retail/wholesale of electronics and radios. The *Kanuri* and *Shuwa* Arabs were associated with *hula* (cap), tea, perfume, dry fish, meat and soup ingredients. The Fulani were the closest to the Hausa and were in control of the animal market in Lagos. However, in all the groups surveyed in this study, married women confined their businesses to the sale of *fura da nono* (meal made from sorghum to which fresh cow milk is added), *waina*, *kosai* (bean cake), necklaces, and food. Their limitation to those in-house businesses was partly due to the Hausa Muslim practice of secluding their wives. This was in contrast to Togolese women (*Kotokoli*) who dominated the food market. As already discussed, the *Kotokoli* were the food vendors in all Hausa communities of Lagos. Their ability to speak Hausa, prepare local food akin to what obtained in a typical Hausa setting of Northern Nigeria (including *tuwondawa*, *shinkafa*, *waina*, *fura da nono* and *sobo*), coupled with the fact that married Hausa women were secluded, made the *Kotokoli* unchallenged in that regard.

Mushin was one of the hot spots of Lagos because of youth restiveness and a high population density. It was also a social setting where people from diverse backgrounds engaged one another in fierce competition for political and economic space. For instance, the Mushin Local Government Council usually consisted of members from different ethnic groups. One of the prominent *Sarakunan Hausawa* of Lagos, Alhaji Kabiru, was born in Mushin and served as Vice Chairman of the Local Government Council from 1997 to 1999.

However, the part of Mushin with the largest number of Hausa was Idi-Araba. The most densely populated Hausa areas of Idi-Araba were the *Masallaci* and *Gidan Sarki* areas, as well as the Paul Okuntola, Taiwo, Gbolahan and Ishaga streets. In those areas, a majority of the landlords and tenants, shops owners and *okada* riders were Hausa. The Hausa community maintained a cemetery and twenty Islamic schools, out of which three were dedicated to women. The commercial activities at the Masallaci area were enormous. In this area, *Shadda* cloth materials, *hula* (cap), grains (that is North-based *gero*, *dawa*, *masara*, *accha*), *dabino* (palm dates), Islamic and Arabic books, cassettes and meat were displayed for sale. The Mushin market was also close to the Masallaci market. Dealers in fairly used cloth material (popularly called *gwonjo in Hausa*) and shoe cobblers also competed for space in that commercial spot.

There was difficulty in estimating the total number of Hausa community members in Idi-Araba. The area continuously received large Hausa migrants from the late 1970s to 2002, when an ethnic crisis between the Hausa and the Yoruba resulted in a mass exodus of many residents of the area, particularly the Hausa, who relocated to other parts of the city. The estimated population of the Hausa in Idi-Araba in relation to the total Hausa population in Lagos is shown in Table 2.

In 2002, partly owing to the impact of the Yoruba-Hausa clash in Shagamu, Ogun state, the inter-group power tussle in Mushin intensified. This was further aggravated by the activities of ethnic militia that sprang up in the area. In that year, inter-group harmony between the Yoruba and Hausa in Mushin was put to the test by an incident that could have been resolved amicably.

Table 2: Estimates of the Hausa in Idi-Araba, 1979-2007

| <i>Year</i> | <i>No. of Hausa in Idi-Araba</i> |
|-------------|----------------------------------|
| 1979 | 4,500 |
| 1991 | 10,000 |
| 2002 | 30,000 |
| 2005 | 25,000 |
| 2006 | 40,000 |
| 2007 | 60,000 |

Source: A. Bamgbose, 2009. 'Internally Displaced Persons: Case Studies of Nigeria's Bomb Blast and the Yoruba-Hausa Conflict in Lagos, Nigeria', *Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*, Tufts University, Massachusetts, May, p. 4

This incident resulted in the disastrous Yoruba-Hausa clash in Idi-Araba which lasted three days, that is, from 2nd to 4th February, 2002. The fracas publicized Idi-Araba more than ever before.

Various explanations were given for the Idi-Araba incident. One account suggested that the crisis was ignited by the refusal of a Hausa cobbler from the Niger Republic, Musa, to pay a fine of two thousand Naira charged for defecating at Odo Abata, an accusation that was discounted by members of the pan-Yoruba group, the Odua Peoples Congress (OPC). It was further alleged that Musa offered five Naira for his action, but this amount was rejected by the OPC members. Musa was overpowered in the fracas that ensued and his wrist watch and the sum of two thousand Naira were taken from him. Musa reported the case to his tribesmen and this resulted in further riots. Consequently, the Hausa and OPC members engaged each other in a bloody battle. In the end, it was estimated that over twenty houses in Paul Ohuntola, Taiwo, Gbolahan and Ishaga, which were close to Idi Araba, were razed down. Markets and public schools in Idi-Araba were closed for three weeks.³⁴

Another version of what sparked off the crisis was presented by the Hausa community in Idi-Araba when the State Governor, Bola Ahmed Tinubu, visited the area to assess the extent of damage caused by the crisis. The *Sarkin Hausawa* of Idi Araba, *Alhaji* Garba Idris Ba'are, blamed the activities of the members of the OPC and *Yan Kasa* for the crisis. He told the Governor that “the *Yan Kasa* had constituted a serious threat in the inter-group relations in the area because they believed they were born and bred in Lagos and were, therefore, not ready to listen to anybody”.³⁵ The Hausa community also claimed that the *Yankasa* plan was to connive with the OPC to dislodge the Hausa settlers in Idi-Araba so that they could take over their houses and belongings.³⁶

Apart from the sentiments and emotions expressed by both the Yoruba and Hausa community members in explaining the reasons that led to the Idi Araba crisis, public opinion was inclined towards attributing this incident to “the state of hopelessness, joblessness and justicelessness that continued to pervade the country, despite the termination of military rule in May 1999”.³⁷ An unnamed member of the audience informed the Governor that:

The *Yan Kasa* behavior might be an expression of his alienation by the society in which they were born and bred. That a system that guarantees the *Yan Kasa* the right to vote but denies them the right to vie for elective posts pose a threat to the country's effort to achieving national unity.³⁸

ALABA-RAGO

Alaba-Rago (meaning ram), is a large popular animal market in Lagos selling various breeds and sizes of goats, rams and cows. It is located a short distance from the Lagos State University (LASU) along the Lagos-Badagry Expressway in the Ojo Local Government Area of Lagos state. The market was created in the early 1970s and attracts many people and customers daily, especially during festive periods.³⁹ The estimated numbers of Hausa people and their animals in Alaba-Rago over the period, 1982 to 2007 are presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Estimates of Hausa People and their animals in Alaba Rago, 1982 - 2007

| <i>Year</i> | <i>No. of Hausa in Alaba-Rago</i> | <i>No. of Rams</i> | <i>No. of Goats</i> |
|-------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1982 | 1,000 | | |
| 1983 | 2,500 | | |
| 1984 | 2,800 | | |
| 1985 | 3,000 | | |
| 1986 | 4,000 | | |
| 1987 | 4,500 | | |
| 1988 | 7,000 | | |
| 1989 | 8,500 | | |
| 1990 | 15,000 | 1,000 | 2,000 |
| 1991 | 30,250 | 3,400 | 4,700 |
| 1992 | 35,000 | 5,000 | 8,000 |
| 1993 | 10,000 | 3,000 | 5,000 |
| 1994 | 11,000 | 5,600 | 9,000 |
| 1995 | 14,500 | 7,000 | 12,000 |
| 1996 | 15,500 | 8,000 | 13,500 |
| 1997 | 16,000 | 10,500 | 16,500 |
| 1998 | 20,000 | 14,600 | 20,600 |
| 1999 | 25,000 | 14,800 | 24,000 |
| 2000 | 31,000 | 15,700 | 27,700 |
| 2001 | 33,000 | 16,800 | 28,000 |
| 2002 | 30,000 | 17,000 | 34,800 |
| 2003 | 31,000 | 18,500 | 40,000 |
| 2004 | 34,000 | 19,000 | 45,000 |
| 2005 | 35,000 | 21,000 | 47,000 |
| 2006 | 40,000 | 23,000 | 50,000 |
| 2007 | 48,000 | 30,000 | 63,000 |

Source: Figures obtained from Sales Books at *Rago* and *Akuya* sheds, Weekly register of membership of *Kuniyar Yan Raguna* and *Kungiyar Yan Awaki*, all at *Alaba-Rago Market*, May 2008.

People from the northern part of Nigeria started the market which eventually assumed the status of the 'home of goats' in Lagos. Cows, goats, sheep and rams are first brought to this area before they are distributed to other parts of the state. Later, smaller ram and goat markets were developed at *Iyana-Ipaja*, *Oyingbo*, *Suru-Alaba*, *Mafoluku* and *Alaka* near the National Stadium in Surulere. Though *Alaba-Rago* is the first and the biggest market for goats and

rams in Lagos State, the place is dirty and chaotic. The traders have to deal with flooding, bad roads and inadequate drainage network, among other infrastructural problems. To survive the disgusting flood and mud of *Alaba-Rago* market, one needs to wear rain boots. The *Arewa* Community Leader in the area is Alhaji Abdullahi Usman.

MILE 12 MARKET

The Mile 12 International Market was established in 1975.⁴⁰ It is the largest food market for the nearly ten million people of Lagos.⁴¹ It is a primary distribution point for various kinds of food in Nigeria and neighboring countries such as Benin, Togo and Ghana. The major commodities traded in the market are tomatoes, onions, yams, maize, millet, sorghum, rice, beans, cassava products, fish, meat and vegetables.

Due to the absence of proper record keeping, it is not easy to give an accurate volume of trade transactions taking place in the market. Estimates of the volume of grains and vegetables sold in the market on a daily basis are: 700 tonnes of tomatoes, 550 tonnes of onions, 350 tonnes of various grains and 120 tonnes of cassava products.⁴² On close observation, it was discovered that some fifty loads of trailers and twenty loads of buses carry grains and vegetables from the north to the market daily.⁴³ The transportation system from the north to Lagos was risky and took days. Armed robbery was on the rise and losses incurred regarding perishable products whenever trucks developed mechanical problems due to bad roads or when there were delays caused by police and tax collectors on the highways.

The risky nature of the trade in perishable food items has given rise to the Hausa saying, '*gwaribasana*' '*abasaiansayar*', literally meaning 'one cannot count one's profit from vegetable trade until the items are sold out'. Besides the tonnes of tomatoes and onions lost daily in transit from the north to Lagos, an even greater quantity is lost in the market itself due to delays in loading the commodities from the trucks. For, there was insufficient space at the market to accommodate the over eighty trucks bringing in such products on a daily basis.⁴⁴

Thus, the traders had to bear the risk associated with transporting the perishable food items while keeping in mind the cost implications of delays in

loading the commodities from trucks on arrival at the market. The introduction of global system mobile (GSM) network communication systems helped traders keep in touch with one another and ensured efficient monitoring of the market situation. It also helped in balancing the demand and supply factors. Respondents also pointed out that with the modern mobile communication systems, goods in transit could be tracked and trucks with goods that were involved in road accidents could easily be rescued.

There were eleven associations in the market with a membership of over 45,000 traders.⁴⁵ There were associations whose membership is restricted to only traders sharing a similar trade, such as '*Kungiyar 'Yan Albasa*'. Others draw their membership from traders from the same local government or state of origin such as '*Kungiyar Sakkwatawa*' exclusively for traders from Sokoto State of Nigeria. There was also the Amalgamated Mile 12 Traders' Association, headed by *Sarkin Kasuwa*. The available estimates of the Hausa population in the Mile 12 area of Lagos and their means of livelihood are provided in Tables 4 and 5 respectively.

Table 4: Estimates of the Hausa in Mile 12 Market, 1973-2007

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Estimate of Hausa in Mile 12</i> |
|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1973 | 45 |
| 1975 | 2,000 |
| 1980 | 10,000 |
| 1985 | 20,500 |
| 1991 | 24,000 |
| 1995 | 30,000 |
| 2000 | 50,000 |
| 2005 | 67,000 |
| 2006 | 73,000 |
| 2007 | 80,000 |

Source: Mile 12 Market Information Systems and Traders' Organisations of West Africa (MISTOWA) Register of Membership, market monitoring, survey and interviews carried out by the researcher between 15 and 20 June 2007 at Mile 12 Market Lagos

TABLE 5: Occupational Analysis of the Hausa in Mile 12 as at 2007

| <i>Trade/Association</i> | <i>Number</i> |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| Yan Doya | 5,000 |
| Yan Tomato | 3,500 |
| Yan Albasa | 3,000 |
| Grain Sellers Union | 1,000 |
| Sugar Cane Sellers | 320 |
| Provision Stores/kiosk Operators | 513 |
| Motorcycle operators | 712 |
| Food and water vendors ⁴⁶ | 86 |
| Beggars | 103 |

Source: Mile 12 Market Information Systems and Traders' Organisations of West Africa (MISTOWA) Register of Membership, market monitoring, survey and interviews carried out by the researcher between 15 and 20 June 2007 at Mile 12 Market Lagos

BEGGARS AND DESTITUATES

It has been asserted that the Hausa begging tradition was rooted in the culture of the Hausa people and the Hausa Islamic school system.⁴⁷ In 1974 it was found out that there were some 4,591 beggars in Zaria (a town with an estimated population of 150,000), although local authorities said that the number of beggars was over 7,650.⁴⁸ The presence of Hausa beggars in Yorubaland was noticed during the colonial era.⁴⁹ By 1921, Lagos had an elected Head of the Blind, clearly modelled on a Hausa *Sarkin Makafi*. A survey in the mid-1940s revealed that 139 of the city's 153 beggars were Hausa.⁵⁰ In 1975, a sample survey was carried out and revealed that there were 259 Hausa and only 28 Yoruba among beggars in Lagos.⁵¹ Similarly, in Ibadan 421 beggars were counted one Friday morning in the early 1970s, and almost all of them were Hausa. Only 18 were mothers of twins, the traditional characterization of Yoruba beggars.⁵²

It was difficult to get comprehensive data on the number of beggars in Lagos city as a whole by 2005. Thus, for the purpose of this research, analysis of data on beggars was limited to areas with a high concentration of Hausa migrants and beggars alike: Agege, Idi-Araba, Alaba-Rago and Mile 12 (refer to Table 6).

Table 6: Estimates of Northern Beggars in some Parts of Lagos, 2007

| <i>Area</i> | <i>Male</i> | <i>Female</i> | <i>Sub-Total</i> |
|-------------|-------------|---------------|------------------|
| Agege | 250 | 79 | 329 |
| Idi-Araba | 150 | 45 | 195 |
| Mile 12 | 80 | 23 | 103 |
| Alaba-Rago | 82 | 20 | 102 |
| Total | 562 | 167 | 729 |

Source: Survey conducted by the researcher in October 2008 covering 183 beggars and destitute along Agege Railway Line, Agege, Idi-Arba, Mile 12 and Alaba-Rago

The survey shows a preponderance of males over females. Ninety eight per cent (714) of the beggars were Hausa, with over 80% from Jigawa and Kano states. The Hausa beggars were all Muslims by religion. Of this number 547 (75%) of the beggars and destitute attended Arabic (*Qur'anic*) schools, while 277 (38%) had no schooling at all. Statistically there was a significant difference between the educational attainment of males and females, as most females interviewed admitted that they did not attend any school. This is not surprising, considering the Hausa attitude to girl-child western education, though a lot of improvement has been made in the general awareness in recent years. Interestingly also, all the beggars were living as single persons, even though their spouses were in their villages and towns of origin in the north.

About two-thirds (486) of the 729 beggars in the areas studied were adults of over thirty years old. Of this number, 372 were blind, representing 51%; 182 were lepers, representing 25%; 146, that is 20% were cripples; and 29 were disabled, representing 4%. Those with children as guides admitted that the children were 'hired on commission basis' from the north. Some 10 crippled beggars admitted using commissioned agents sourced locally at Agege. The beggars engaged the services of a boy agent to push wheel chairs round the city at an agreed amount per day or week.

CONCLUSION

This paper examined the expansion and nature of the Hausa communities in Lagos, notably in Oshodi, Idi-Araba, Alaba-Rago and Mile 12 areas that were established from 1970 to 2007 as a result of the increase in volume of rural-urban migration that was dictated by the political economy of the period. It also showed the characteristics of communities in terms of the historical antecedents for their individual establishment, the peculiar trade engaged in by their members and the source regions of the members. The Hausa community of Lagos could be regarded as one of the famous trading Diaspora⁵³ communities established by the Hausa in West Africa during the pre-colonial period. The long distance trade had a profound impact on the general economic and socio-political landscape of Lagos. The subsequent flow of Hausa migrants to and establishment of more communities in Lagos ensured 'continuity' and 'change' in the migratory phenomenon analysed. Regrettably, it was only the number of migrants that was increasing; the Hausa were gradually losing grip of trade and markets they founded and controlled. The rising ethnic consciousness and dual problem of indigenization and political participation in multi-cultural groups in Nigeria had curtailed the Hausa migrants' long dominance in the economic life of Lagos, in favour of Yoruba and, more recently, more business-oriented Igbo communities.

ENDNOTES

¹ Phillip Curtin, 1997. 'Africa and Global Patterns of Migration', in W. Gungwu (ed.), *Global History and Migration*, Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 63-94.

² V. Bilger and A. Kraler, 2005. 'African Migration: Historical Perspectives and Contemporary Dynamics', *Vienna Journal of African Studies*, No. 8.

³ M. Adamu, 1978, *The Hausa Factor in West African History*, Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University.

⁴ C. Young, 1993. *The Politics of Cultural Pluralism*, Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books.

⁵ This happens mildly, if not for anything because mischief makers cash on that.

⁶ R. K. Udo, 1975, *Migrant Tenant Farmers of Nigeria: A Geographical Study of Rural Migrations in Nigeria*, Ibadan: African University Press, pp. 5-6.

⁷ This has been extensively dealt with in P. E. Lovejoy, 1970. *Caravans of Kola*, Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press and M. Adamu, 1978, *Op Cit*.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ P. E. Lovejoy, 1970. *op cit*.

¹¹ A. G. Hopkins, 1973, *An Economic History of West Africa*, Essex: Longman

¹² M. Adamu, 1978, *op cit*.

¹³ A. Cohen, 1966. 'The Politics of the Kola Nut Trade: Some Processes of Tribal Community Formation among Migrants in West African Towns', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 36 (1) Jan.; A. Cohen, 1967, 'Stranger Communities: The Hausa', in Mabogunje, A. and Awe, B (eds.), *The City of Ibadan*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; A. Cohen, 1969, *Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns*, Berkeley: University of California; A. Cohen, 1971, 'Cultural Strategies in the organization of Trading Diasporas', in C. Meillassoux (ed.), *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

¹⁴ A. Cohen, 1969, *Custom and Politics in Urban Africa*, *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ C. Nwanna, 'Rural-Urban Migration and Population Problems in Nigerian Cities', in Adejugbe, M. O. A. (ed.), *Industrialisation, Urbanisation and Development in Nigeria, 1950 – 1999*, Concept Publications, Lagos, 2004, pp. 54 – 57 and L. A. Mabogunje, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ See M. Adamu, *op cit.* and Lovejoy, *The Caravans of Kola*, Zaria, ABU Press, 1970.

¹⁸ A. Olukoj, 'Actors and Institutions in Urban Politics in Nigeria: Agege (Lagos) since the 1950s', *Working Paper No.58*, Institute of Ethnology and African Studies, Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz, Germany, 2005.

¹⁹ Cohen, 1966, 1967, 1969 and 1971, op. cit.

²⁰ A. Olukoj, 'Actors and Institutions in Urban Politics in Nigeria: Agege (Lagos) Since the 1950s', *Working Paper No.58*, Institute of Ethnology and African Studies, Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz, Germany, 2005.

²¹ www.gowerstafrica.org/peoplegroups/kotokoli/, accessed on 24 April 2009

²² *Zanguna* (Sing. *Zango*) refers to the trading camps established by the Hausa merchants in the course of Pre-colonial trading mission in West African cities and towns. *Sabo* is, however, the Hausa settlement established by the Hausa in the Yoruba cities and towns during the colonial period

²³ For detail clarification of the term 'Hausa', see M. Adamu, *op. cit.*

²⁴ M. U. Bunza and A. M. Ashafa, 'Religion and the New Roles of Youth in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Hausa and Ebira Muslim Communities in Northern Nigeria, 1930s – 1980s', in *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies*, Vol. 9, No. 27 (Winter 2010), p. 304.

²⁵ Upon the death of Alhaji Muhammed Ako, Alhaji Yakubu Sani Ejima was installed as the new *Onu* of Igala by the Attah of Igala in 2011. The new Onu was until his appointment the *Gbobaniyi* of Oworonshoki in Lagos.

²⁶ A minority of Kanuri living in Lagos claimed to have come from the Chad Basin nations comprising Northern Cameroon, Chad and Niger Republic. Alhaji Isiya Hadi, 53, trader, Opebilkeja, 20/04/ 2009, Alhaji Abdulmumin Usmanu, 46, Security Guard, Ajao Estate, 21/04/2009 and Bubakar Ali, 41, wrist watch seller, Agege market, 22/04/2009.

²⁷ www.hausa.rfi.fr/aladu, accessed on 18 July 2010.

²⁸ Oshodi-Isolo Local Government Council, 2001. *Brief Information on Oshodi/Isolo Local Government Area, Lagos State*, n.p.

²⁹ National Population Commission, *2006 National Population Census*, Government Printer, Lagos.

³⁰ Research survey carried out between 24 to 28 May 2007

³¹ *Saturday Sun*, 18 July 2009, p. 3.

³² A. Bamgbose, 'Internally Displaced Persons: Case Studies of Nigeria's Bomb Blast and the Yoruba-Hausa Conflict in Lagos, Nigeria', *Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*, Tufts University, Massachusetts, May, 2009, p. 4

³³ Alhaji Ba'are, *SarkinHausawa* of Idi-Araba at his palace, Idi-Araba, on 7 March 2007.

³⁴ Vanguard, Thursday, 7 February 2002

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ For full coverage of Lagos State Governor's visit to Idi-Araba, see Vanguard, *Ibid.*

³⁷ This Day (Lagos Version), 4 February 2002.

³⁸ Vanguard, *op. cit.*

³⁹ Respondents, Kallamu Dan Sokoto, 55, animal fodder trader, Khadiza Abdu, 65, food seller, Halidu Ummaru, 61, animal sale agent and Ibrahim Zabarma, 58, tape record cassette seller, Alaba-Ragos market, 21 August 2007, claimed that the animal dealers were initially displaying their commodities along the Lagos-Badagry road before the State Government finally approved from the present site to serve as the parment market in 1970s when the volume of trade was triggering up.

⁴⁰ Based on records at Mile 12 Market Information Systems and Traders' Organisations of West Africa (MISTOWA) accessed on 13 June 2007 at Mile 12 Market, Lagos.

⁴¹ Based on 2006 National Population Census, Lagos has a population of 9, 013, 534.

⁴² MISTOWA records accessed on 13 June 2007 at Mile 12 Market, Lagos.

⁴³ Market monitoring and survey carried out by the researcher between 15 and 20 June 2007.

⁴⁴ The Lagos State Government is considering relocating the market to more spacious place near Ikorodu. The traders are, however, against the plan

⁴⁵ Based on MISTOWA records.

⁴⁶ There was difficulty in identifying who the Hausa food vendors were as the occupation was predominantly associated with Togolese *Kotokoli* women who could speak Hausa fluently and had been acculturated with Nigerian Hausa in other features such as dress and religion.

⁴⁷ John Iliffe, 1987. *The African Poor: A History*, New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 90.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

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National Archives Ibadan, File No. PX/H1D: *Census of Nigeria 1931, Vol. IV: Lagos*, compiled by H. N. G. Thompson, Acting District Officer, Crown Agents.

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THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXTS OF SEXUAL SOCIALIZATION AND SEXUAL BEHAVIOR OF YOUNG PEOPLE WITHIN THE FAMILY SETTING IN GHANA

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ABSTRACT

Sexual socialization enables society to handle sex in a harmonious and decent way. In African settings, sexuality education has mostly concentrated on puberty rites and has focused on providing the framework for sexuality and reinforcing the boundaries of marital unions. This paper focuses on the role of the family in shaping the sexuality of young persons. It explains the socio-cultural contexts that shape the sexual behaviour and expression of sexuality among young people in Ghana within the family. We used qualitative data collection approaches which employed purposive sampling. Our findings showed that the family is seen as the primary agent for the sexual socialization of its members, and that sexual socialization is done both overtly and covertly. Basically, it is done through imitating the general disposition of both the nuclear and extended family, through role modelling. Also, the respondents were of the view that the financial circumstances of the family shape the sexual socialisation and sexual behaviour of its youth. Parents, guardians and members of the extended family themselves will thus benefit from awareness about being good role models to the youth regarding sexuality. The continuation and intensification of poverty alleviation programmes for families in dire financial need could also positively influence the sexuality and sexual expression of young persons in those families.

Keywords: Family, Role Modelling, Sexuality, Socialization, Youth

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INTRODUCTION

Socialization is the process by which children become social beings. It is the course of action through which the young are recruited into adult social roles and the ways in which they learn to assume them. Through the process of socialization, children are also prepared to fit into their societies harmoniously. It has long been recognised that there are as many different kinds of education as there are social milieux in any given community, with variations according to social class, locality and occupational specialisation, and that while the growing child is learning a particular skill or piece of information, he or she is at the same time learning to understand his or her society and perceiving how to play his or her own particular role in it (Oppong, 1973; Okuma-Nyström, 2003).

Our study is focused on Ghana. It sought to explore how the family shapes the sexual socialization and sexual behaviour of young people in the Ghanaian setting. In the context of this study, we define Ghanaian youth loosely as people within the age bracket of about five to about 30 years. Around the age of five the child actively learns informally from his or her immediate surroundings, particularly in the family, and tries to imitate what he or she learns. In fact, some studies have showed that children can be aware of adult sex role differences as early as two years old (Cowan and Hoffman, 1986; Fagot, Leinbach and O'Boyle, 1992; Weinraub, Clemens, Sachloff, Ethridge, Gracely and Myers, 1984; Weinraub, Jaeger and Hoffman 1988). In Ghana, young persons up to about the age of 30 years actively learn both formally and informally, work on getting a job or a trade, and typically settle down within consensual unions. This age bracket selected for our study is mostly informed by the Children's Act of Ghana which defines children as persons below 18 years (Parliament of Ghana, 1998), and also Ghana's National Youth Policy which states that the youth in Ghana fall between the ages of 15 to 34 years (Ministry of Youth and Sports, 2010).

Although our study focuses on sexuality, sexual expression and sexual behaviour, we acknowledge the fact that sexuality and sexual expression begin with imbibing gender norms within a specific cultural context (Ampofo, 2001). We define sex as the biological characteristics that distinguish between males and females, and that make sexual reproduction possible (Krieger, 2003). Society translates sex into gendered norms and expectations (Ampofo,

2001; Krieger, 2003; Paechter, 2003). Gender is the social and cultural significance and conventions, roles, relationship expectations and behaviours attached to being male and female and among males and females which are society specific and time bound (Krieger, 2003: 653; Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC), 2012: 7-8). Again, society largely defines our sexuality. Sexuality denotes our desires and arousal that are informed by and associated with socially learned attitudes, activities, meanings and identities which we express sexually. Finally, sexual orientation means the categories of people to whom we are sexually attracted, which is also largely socially determined.

This paper was carved out of a much bigger study which looked at major aspects of sexuality in Ghana with emphasis on people's sexual behaviour. It focused on answering three broad questions: first, in the face of the HIV and AIDS pandemic which is typically transmitted sexually in Africa south of the Sahara and also among Africans in the diaspora (Millett, Jeffries, Peterson, Malebranche, Lane, Flores and Heilig, 2012), are Ghanaians more open about, and do we discuss our sexual behaviours? Secondly, we sought information on the views and patterns of sexual behaviours among Ghanaians, and the main influences on these. Third, we studied perceptions of sexual behaviours among Ghanaians: what are perceived as mainstream, and what are not, and why? Gupta (2002) observes that gender and sexuality are important influences in the sexual transmission of HIV. In this paper, we discuss findings pertaining to the influence of the family in acquiring and expressing sexual behaviour in Ghana, that is, the sexual socialization and sexual expression of young persons in Ghana. Dankwa (2009) noted with respect to her study of sexual behaviour in southern Ghana that there was the need to pay attention to the cultural and contextual aspects with regards to sexuality and understanding of sexual behaviour.

This paper relates more to the second question for the study which is specified in the preceding paragraph. The paper is important in that it explains the specific ways in which sexual socialization takes place within sections of the Ghanaian society. Previous authors have concentrated narrowly on puberty rites and other rites of passage into adulthood for young persons in Ghana but have not gone into the sexual socializing of the youth in Ghana, for example, Azu, 1974; Boakye, 2010; Huber, 1963; Nukunya, 1969;

Oppong, 1974; Oppong and Abu, 1987; Sarpong 1977). Our study goes beyond rites of passage into adulthood for the Ghanaian youth and their related instructions for home and relationship management for the young girl in Ghana particularly, and looks at the broader socio-cultural milieu in which sexual behaviour and expression of sexuality among young people in Ghana take place. We posit that sexuality and sexual behaviour have great social implications and thus studying the way these norms are imbibed is a fundamental need.

It has been noted by some scholars that there is little discourse on the sexual behaviour of Africans, including Ghanaians (Anarfi and Owusu, 2011; Bop, 2005; Dankwa, 2009; Epprecht 2004; Essien and Aderinto, 2009; Owusu and Anarfi, 2010). More importantly, African scholars are noted to hardly engage in the discourse on sexuality of Africans (Epprecht, 2008). This is against the background that Ghanaians (Anarfi and Owusu, 2011; Bleek, 1976; Dankwa, 2009; Owusu and Anarfi, 2010; Yankah, 2004) and Africans in general (Bop, 2005; Epprecht, 2004, 2008) have a great aversion to discussing sexuality in public. Specific to Ghana, Yankah (2004, p. 181) observed that there are 'cultural anxieties about the open discussion of sexuality'.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Forms of Socialisation

Every society, whether simple or complex, has its own system of socializing its young to actively participate in the society's activities for the common good. Socializing the young for the purpose of active and fruitful life has been and remains a great concern of every society (Osha, 2004). It is, however, important to stress from the start that the objectives and methods of socialization may differ from one culture to the other and over time. Through socialization every child is made to appreciate his or her role as a member of the immediate and extended family as well as the community. In African settings, the newly-born child immediately becomes the child of everyone in the household - uncles, aunts, cousins, and even friends and neighbours who, in conjunction with the child's parents, take responsibility to educate the child to be honest, respectable, skilled and cooperative and to conform to the social order. Apart from developing the child's latent physical and intellectual skills and teaching him/her the shared cultural heritage, high premium is placed on the development of character (Osha, 2004).

There are two main forms of socialization - formal and informal. The informal one is undertaken through indigenous media of learning, mostly in the home by parents and guardians and other relatives as well as by other persons in the community. The church and other religious organisations also engage in non-formal socialization (Anarfi and Owusu, 2011; Avotri, 1992). The same applies to the media, peers, and more recently, particularly for the youth, the internet. Formal socialization is undertaken mostly by the school system (Avotri, 1992).

The Concept of Indigenous Forms of Learning

The indigenous modes of education refer to the native, locally developed forms of bringing up the young by the older and more experienced members of the society (Diallo, 2003). Traditionally, Africans place emphasis on character training. Every member of the society wants the child to be sociable, honest, courageous, humble and in good standing at all times (Chukueggu, 2010; Manly and Duruji, 2013; Saine, 2012). In Ghana, Ampofo (2001, 2007) and Yamada (2009) articulate the importance of traditional African norms in the socialization of young persons. These typically include gendered roles by age and sex (Ampofo, 2001, 2007; Owusu, 2013; Owusu and Oppong, 2013; Saine, 2013). Among the Yoruba of Nigeria, for example, the child is acquainted with codes of manner, convictions, customs, moral values, ethics, myths, superstitions and local laws through members of the household and the nuclear or extended family members living in the same compound or neighbourhood (Diallo, 2003).

Irrespective of the ethnic group, cross-culturally, society abhors children who bring shame and dishonour to the family (Osha, 2004; Saine, 2012). In certain localities, parents make conscious efforts to test honesty, perseverance and truthfulness in their children by subjecting them to tempting situations. Any slight demonstration of 'masculinity' or self-assertion by a girl is classified as bad character, anti-cultural, nonconforming and even rude (Ampofo, 2001; Osha, 2004). In fact, the absence of any other type of education is tolerable as long as good character prevails (Osha, 2004). The child is often directed, corrected or punished by the elders as the occasion warrants. The child also benefits from observing the attitudes and behaviours of elders and learns from the experiences of others (Osha, 2004). Also in Ghana, certain attitudes

and behaviour patterns are expected from children. They cannot neglect these without the risk of being branded uncouth, shameless or foolish (Ampofo, 2001; Sarpong, 1974). Parents watch their children closely and correct them, sometimes sternly, when they go against what are thought to be the accepted standards of conduct, especially in the realm of religion (Sarpong, 1974).

Gendered Sexual Socialization in Africa

In the context of traditional African thinking, the learning process is intimately linked with the eternal life cycle of the indigenous African society (Diallo, 2003). It is no secret that most adult roles are acquired over the course of time through the process of teaching and learning. It is through education that men and women are taught their respective social roles. The family environment is the favoured place where the power relations between men and women express themselves, particularly regarding sexuality, and such relations reflect a generalized situation in society. It is also during their indigenous education that young women learn to submit to the will of men and to never challenge them (Ampofo, 2001; Martine 1997; Saine, 2012).

Sexuality information transmitted to young persons in Africa, particularly to girls, has been mainly in the areas of gender roles for females and males. Additional information given includes menstruation and menstrual care and hygiene, pre-natal/post natal care and responsible parenthood (Boakye, 2010; Osha, 2004). Most other information is usually left until marriage, except the issue of virginity that is constantly drummed into the girls' ears (Osha, 2004).

Paechter (2003) and Quadri (2006) note how in different societies, culture and ideology are significant factors in determining the ways in which women perceive their position and roles. This also applies to human sexuality, which is largely defined by the society. The varying sex-role functions accorded to males and females in different cultures suggest that the sexual behaviours of men and women are not fully biologically determined, but, are also based on cultural definitions related to appropriate sexual behaviour. Quadri (2006) affirms that the ways in which culture or predominant ideology constructs males and females, and provides explanations on how and why they are different from each other, is useful for explaining women's status and their vulnerability in different societies.

According to Quadri (2006), cultural and ideological explanations of the nature of a woman serve as a smokescreen to shield people from the realities of women's lives. By interrogating the societal factors and gender roles that constrain women from expressing their sexuality, he suggests the manner in which culture and ideology conspire to put women in a perpetually subordinate position. Quadri (2006) further notes how in different societies, culture and ideology are significant factors in determining the ways in which women perceive their position and roles. This also applies to human sexuality, which is largely defined by the society.

Another form of inequality common to all societies (African and others) is the greater control exercised over women's sexuality whereas men enjoy greater sexual freedom. Generally speaking, in Africa, women are prevented from sexual activity before marriage, but men are expected to be sexually active during this period of their lives. Furthermore, a woman is expected to marry only one man and be faithful to her husband while a man is allowed to have multiple wives and/or maintain sexual relationships outside his marriage (Oppenheim, 1994). For men in some African societies, the average time between the first sexual relations and marriage varies from five to ten years (Van De Walle, 1990). In the case of women, premarital sexual intercourse often aims only to prove their fertility to their future husbands (Anarfi, 1992) and to please their suitors and boyfriends.

To be in a position to preserve her sexual and reproductive value, a woman is sexually constrained by her husband and family, who determine how her sexual and reproductive capability is used. The control of the woman's sexuality thus remains in the family members' hands (Oppenheim, 1994; Van De Walle, 1990). Since sexual intercourse is considered to be a conjugal duty, it is inconceivable for a married woman to refuse her husband's advances, except under extreme conditions. A constant refusal is often viewed as an incitement for the husband to indulge in extramarital relations, which can even lead to divorce.

Moreover, in the traditional preparation for marriage in several African societies, the bride is always advised not to refuse her husband's sexual overtures under any circumstances, except perhaps during the menstrual period (Amoah, 1990:134, in Awusabo-Asare, Anarfi and Agyeman, 1993: 70). A study conducted in Ghana in 1991 by Awusabo-Asare *et al.* (1993) involving

776 women showed that more than 60 percent of them, particularly those without any formal education, felt that they did not have the right to refuse sex with their husbands if the latter got involved in extramarital sexual relations. In the same study, two thirds of the men who were interviewed said that a woman did not have the right to deny her husband sex, even if he had been unfaithful and it could lead to his passing on sexually transmitted infections to her.

In Ghana, sexuality education to young people is undertaken within the broader background of gender role expectations and behaviours (Ampofo, 2001; Anarfi and Owusu, 2011; Boakye, 2010; Owusu and Anarfi, 2010). Females' gender roles in Ghana are generally much influenced by considerations for lineage and the system of descent (Ampofo, 2001; Dodoo, 1998; Owusu, 2013; Owusu and Oppong, 2013), and women's sexual expectations and behaviours are shaped by patriarchal attitudes which always disadvantage girls and marginalize the sexuality, sexual expression and sexual behaviour of females in relation to those of males (Ampofo, 2001; Owusu and Anarfi, 2010). The traditional status of a female is thus thrust ahead of her sexual socialization and social expectations in terms of her sexuality, sexual behaviour, sexual orientation and sexual expression.

Similarly, Osha (2004) explains that in Nigeria, the traditional status of a girl has a significant effect on receptivity to and acceptance of the subject of sexuality. In the Gambia, accounts by Saine (2012: 91) may indicate a degree of freedom for the adolescent girl in the country who is given room to experiment, assert herself sexually and socialize with boys before marriage, including flirting, but is also expected to avoid pregnancy. Nevertheless, Saine (2012) is quick to add that compared to the adolescent boy, the girl in the Gambia does not have as much freedom as the boy to experiment sexually, but is faced with a biased gendered environment which privileges males and reinforces the superiority of males in the society.

Today, however, women are becoming more visible and form a significant part of the work force in some African countries. The need, therefore, arises for girls to be empowered with life skills that will enable them cope with sexuality-related challenges. In this era of culture dynamism and

globalisation, human sexuality faces more complex challenges. Gender relations and communication have become highly significant in this age of HIV and spiralling teenage pregnancies (Osha, 2004).

METHODOLOGY

The study employed qualitative interviewing techniques. In all, there were 81 interviews, comprising 33 in-depth interviews, 24 focus group discussions (FGDs) and 24 lifeline stories. The respondents, who were purposively selected, were males and females, and ranged in age from ten to 80 years. This included both in-and-out of school youth, people from all walks of life, and specialized groups such as people with disabilities (PWDs), the aged, and community opinion leaders such as religious leaders, politicians, chiefs and queenmothers. Other specialized groups included prostitutes and their clients, as well as a woman who has sex with other women. Attempts to interview men who have sex with men (MSM) were unsuccessful; people declined to self-identify as MSM.

Geographically, the study involved all three ecological zones in Ghana. It covered rural, urban and peri-urban localities in the Eastern, Central, Ashanti, Greater Accra and Northern regions. These regions have most of the main ethnic groups in Ghana (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013). A multi-stage sampling procedure was used, and it involved both convenience and random selection procedures. Some key cities such as Accra and Kumasi, the capital of Ghana and the second biggest town in Ghana, respectively, were selected purposively due to the diversity of people, the conglomeration of culture and also the presence of some key socio-economic facilities such as the seat of government, Ministries, banks, major hospitals and big markets. The peri-urban and rural areas were selected randomly within each region.

Pre-selected study groups were randomly matched to the selected study communities. After this, respondents were selected from the general population and were also selected from specialised groups based on purposive sampling techniques. The specialised groups included school youth, people with disabilities (PWDs), commercial sex workers, community opinion leaders, and persons who were aged 65 years and above. Community informants and leaders aided the purposive sampling by volunteering information on where to locate such persons and groups.

The study was conducted from June to July 2007. Even though the data were collected a while back, we are of the view that given the entrenched nature of sexual behaviour and the cultural influences on it, both of which do not change swiftly, the data are relevant and useful. Due to the sensitive nature of the topic, we used same-sex interviewers. Interviewer training lasted six days. Data triangulation comprising focus group discussions (FGDs), in-depth key informant interviews and lifeline stories were used. A lifeline story is a qualitative interviewing technique that enables a respondent to discuss his or her experiences over a lifetime on a topic of interest. It affords the studying of patterns over time on a phenomenon being studied.

The themes for the FGDs and interviewing guides were informed first by a literature search on sexuality in Ghana and Africa, after which broad themes were identified and reviewed by Ghana-based researchers in sexuality, sexual behaviour and expression, followed by a review by a group of West Africa-based researchers in sexuality, sexual behaviour and expression. The rationale for engaging these experts was to ensure that the study themes covered major aspects of sexuality and sexual behaviour in Ghana and in West Africa in general.

Data collection instruments covered themes such as the normative and non-normative patterns of sexual behaviour, partners and expression, consequences of sexual expression, socialisation agents and other influences on sexual behaviour and expression, among others. The instruments were pretested using respondents and venues similar to those of the study. The data were mostly collected in the local languages, based on the preference of the respondents, and were recorded and transcribed verbatim. These were translated into the English language, with inter-rater agreement and review by language experts in the local languages before analysis.

Quality control measures for the data included interviewer training, pretesting of the data collection instruments, triangulation of the data collection methods, strict supervision of the field work, the use of two language experts to code the findings and to review the final draft of this paper, and the approval of the study guides by the Ford Foundation - the funding agency for the study - before the data collection instruments were finalized. As stated earlier, this paper reports on the section of the study covering sexual socialization by the family.

RESULTS

The results dealing with how the family shapes the sexuality of its youth have been put into sub-themes in this section. They cover the primacy of the family as a socialization agent for the sexuality of the youth, informed by the specific context of each family; overt communication of key expectations and norms; and conversely, the neglect to correct what is perceived as improper sexual expression and behaviours by the youth. Additionally, themes on guidance on mate selection and the effect of the family's financial status on the sexuality and sexual expression of its youth are presented.

The family and its specific context as primary influence on the sexual socialization of its youth: Foremost, the respondents agreed that generally, the family is the first socialization agent in the society and that it has a unique impact on children, including their sexuality and sexual behaviour and expression. There was the general feeling among respondents that the family influenced a person's sexuality primarily, and that this influence could determine whether or not a child became sexually active early or late in life.

A 38-year-old female affirms the idea that young people generally portray the sexual norms they have learned from their families:

Some families are able to marry early. You can see someone very young yet married and that is likely to be what has been ever since. (Key informant interview, Tema, urban, Greater Accra Region)

It was also felt that the general disposition of the larger family often reflected on the behaviour of the individual member. This came out clearly in an FGD of females aged 16-23 years in Agona Nyakrom, a town in the Central Region of Ghana:

Sometimes when the family you belong to has built a very good image you would not want to destroy that image.

A male in-depth interview respondent aged 52 years from Busuo, a rural area in the Northern Region, put it this way:

Some of them (the behaviours) are just a replica of the bigger family. Some could take so many partners at a time.

Further, the respondents said that imitating other family members' sexual behaviour could come about through role modelling as younger members learn from older members of the family. A female in-depth interview participant aged 23 years from Busuo explained further as follows:

You can see that all your sisters, where they have reached, they did not destroy that image. So you too you will make sure you do not destroy that image.

Another male participant noted:

Assuming the father of the child is a pastor, as the child grows, he or she is likely to learn from the parents and abstain from sex. (35 years old, in-depth interview participant, Kumasi, urban, Ashanti Region)

Another respondent from a focus group discussion observed that--

Some families too are virgins; everyone in the family marries as a virgin and when you get to that house, you cannot help but respect everybody. (Males, aged 25-36, Asamama, rural, Eastern Region.)

Sexual socialization of young people through overt guidance: It was also mentioned that the family could deliberately influence the sexual behaviour of a person by overtly guiding their activities through some form of communication. Respondents were of the view that some parents could talk about sex without being shy, whereas others did not come out openly to talk about sex. Thus, in a family where there are many adults who counsel children that having sex early is not good, the members are likely to begin sex late in life.

It was also thought that certain circumstances can influence a person's sexuality and sexual expression. One such circumstance is:

When the parents share one room with the children it could happen that when the parents are having sex at night some of the children could see the act and might be influenced to go and try it. (Male in-depth interview respondent, 25 years old, Asamama.)

Similar influences could come from older siblings:

Sometimes your older sister's boyfriend will come and visit her openly and would say to you that you have reached the time that you have to go in for sex. That way he will pollute your mind and you will also go in for it. (FGD, females 16-23 years, Winneba, urban, Central Region.)

Your senior brother might be someone who is very interested in sex, so if you the younger brother sees what your brother is doing then you will also follow him. (FGD of in-school males, 10-15 years, Winneba.)

Sometimes too the girls, when their older sisters do that (indulge in sexual intercourse) and get money they too try to do that so that they can also get money. (FGD, in-school males, 10-15 years, Winneba.)

Failure to correct perceived wrong sexual behaviours also sets the tone for young persons' sexual behaviour: It was strongly felt that omissions on the part of the older members of the family could result in people adopting certain sexual life styles. For example, there could be a situation where a girl who did not have known sources of income often brought a lot of money and goods to the house and the parents did not complain about this behaviour. The situation became worse when the mother was compelled by necessity to collect money from the daughter instead of reprimanding her. In the view of the respondents, the failure of parents and guardians to discourage a perceived bad example was a recipe for involvement in multiple sexual relationships or even prostitution:

So the girl would think that after all her mother needed the money so she would go there again. (Key informant/opinion leader, 66-year-old female, Agona Nyakrom.)

The family guides its youth on sexual orientation and mate selection: In Ghana, as in many other African countries, marriage is seen as a union between two families. Members of a family may therefore intervene in a sexual relationship between their relative and another person if they have reasons to believe that, that person's family's image is tainted in some way. This “taint” could be in the form of a disgraceful act a member of that family has been involved in, or in the form of someone in that family being known to have had a contagious

disease. The following comment illustrates the point from a male FGD group, 36 to 55 years in Muoso, rural Eastern Region:

When you are growing you are advised by your parents not to go for a girlfriend or boyfriend from a particular house because it is believed that such family is a home of prostitutes so if you do your offspring stand a high risk of becoming prostitutes.

Sometimes you are told that do not go into this family for a lover or partner because their grandmother once indulged in extramarital sex so if you do your offspring are likely to engage in extramarital relations. If you are already in a relationship with someone from that family they will advice, "you must be careful not to bring 'stolen' children into this family."

It was mentioned by the FGD group aged 36 to 55 years old from Muoso that women from such families are only available for strangers as they are despised by the local men. This feeling about such women was summed up in a proverb, "it is only a stranger who eats a meal prepared with a deformed chicken."

The family's economic setting also shapes the sexuality of its youth: There was also the idea that the general economic status of a family could influence the sexual behaviour and sexual expression of its youth:

Yes, because if you come from a wealthy family you think you have everything so if you get into trouble, such as impregnating a girl out of wedlock, you know that you will be safe because your parents will bail you out. In such situations you are not too careful when doing it. But those who are poor, knowing that their parents would not help them in times of such troubles, are extremely careful. They would rather take you to the farm to go and weed .(Participant, FGD, males 10-15 years old, out-of school youth, Tamale, urban Northern Region.)

DISCUSSION

Socialization is an important vehicle for transmitting the values and mores of a society from generation to generation (Saine, 2012). The family is one of the agents of sexual socializing (Anarfi and Owusu, 2011; Heslin, 2010; Saine, 2012). Like nearly everything else, sexual socialization occurs to enable

younger generations of every society pattern their sexual behaviour, more or less in the manner of the dominant society. Obono and Obono (2007) observe that young people are socialized sexually through interaction with other members of society. For instance, in the past, mothers have been known to discuss menstruation and reproduction with their daughters as a natural and necessary part of the maturation of girls (Obono and Obono, 2007). In the traditional Ghanaian setting, puberty rites are/were also undertaken as an approach to sex education for young people (Anarfi and Owusu 2011; Ankomah, undated; Boakye, 2010; Huber, 1963). The purpose of sexual socialization is to enable society handle sex in a harmonious and decent way (Anarfi and Owusu, 2011). With respect to the African setting, sexuality education has been concerned with reinforcing the boundaries of protecting the marital union and the framework for sexuality (Tiemoko, 2007).

Our findings support those of previous authors. The primacy of the family, both extended and nuclear, as an agent of sexual socialization is well documented. In Ghana, Anarfi and Owusu (2011) articulated the family's influence on the individual's sexual behaviour. This paper has provided indications underlying the broader socio-cultural contexts and some specific ways in which the family socializes the sexual behaviour of its members. These included role modelling. With respect to role modelling, it was thought that the sexual behaviour of family members could set the tone for that of an up and coming member of the family through the latter imitating either the good or bad example of the sexual behaviour of other family members such as older siblings, uncles, aunts and grandparents. Examples of such behaviour patterns which were cited include upholding virginity till marriage, marrying early or marrying late, sexual infidelity and/or extramarital relationships, and prostitution.

For a younger member of a family, another form of role modelling of a family's sexual behaviour was said to be the desire to protect a family's favourable image or identity/good name, such as a pastor's children feeling the need to exercise modesty and restraint in their sexuality, in conformity with their parent's vocation. In such instances, the respondents perceived that a young person growing in such a family, both nuclear and extended, would act in ways that would 'protect' the family's image through discretionary and responsible sexual behaviour and restraint.

In this respect, our respondents literally said that when it comes to learning how to behave sexually, 'like begets like': in a family of persons who married as virgins, a young person would remain a virgin till marriage; in a family of persons who married early, a young person has a higher propensity to marry early; and a person from a family where someone is known to have engaged in what was considered sexual perversion, such as adultery (for women), and prostitution (for females), the youth from these families are likely to behave in similar ways. Similarly, when older siblings have boy/girl friends with whom they have sexual intercourse, younger ones would be told/influenced to do the same, and in a family where older sisters go in for boyfriends for financial motives, younger sisters would likely do the same.

Ampofo (2001) notes that the socialization of young adolescents in Ghana on sexual and reproductive issues is done through role modelling. Obono and Obono (2007) also specify that in relation to sexual socialization in the Cross River State in Nigeria, for instance, parents provide role modelling for their children. In what is still more of a traditional society with strong *gemeinschaft* notions, as we consider Ghana to be, our findings in this study indicate that the role modelling and other patterns of primary socialisation of sexual behaviour of young people go beyond the nuclear family to the extended family. However, we need to caution that although the respondents seem to indicate that young people pattern their sexual expression and sexual behaviour after that of their biological and extended families, this may not always be the case. Exceptions to the patterns may be influenced by external factors beyond the families.

The findings also reveal that the family's influence on the sexual socialization of its young is both direct and indirect. Directly, affirmation of the sexual behaviour of its members sends a message of support and encouragement to an individual youth in the family. Open communication about sexuality also patterns young persons' sexual behaviour. Conversely, avoiding communication about a young family member's sexual behaviour, and failure to correct such behaviour as is perceived to be inappropriate also indirectly sends a message of acceptance thereby condoning what a young person may do with his or her sexuality, a situation which is perceived to be socially unacceptable.

Another way in which a family was thought to directly influence the sexual behaviour of its members is through open guidance on mate selection: who would be a bad or good mate, and which family to avoid or enter into, when it comes to mate selection, based on known past sexual behaviours of the members of a particular family, and also on possible contagious diseases that could be transmitted through close association with a particular family. Earlier studies in Ghana, such as those by Assimeng (1981: 54, 1999), and Nukunya (1992) have also documented the role the family plays in guiding its youth to choose suitable life partners/spouses. With modernization, however, it may not be clear the extent to which patterning a young persons' sexual behaviour based on older extended family members' sexual behaviours still plays a key role. This is because previous studies have documented a decline in the extended family in Ghana and elsewhere (Apt, 1990, Apt, 1997; Friedman, 1992; Owusu, 2007).

The decline in the role of the extended family could mean a possible lesser influence of the family on the sexual behaviour of the youth due to less control and increased autonomy for young people (Friedman, 1992). Furthermore, there is currently extensive internal migration within Ghana, mostly from rural to urban areas (GSS, 2013). This has the potential of decreasing the influence of close family members on the mate selection of their youth by virtue of the geographical distance between family members who may have left the traditional family home and community of descent where community members would know one another more closely. However, Ghana is still mostly traditional, and also, there is still a good sense of endogamy when it comes to mate selection in Ghana, making our findings pertaining to the latter still valid. For example, among the Kwahus of Ghana, it is cherished if one marries another Kwahu, and preferably, from the person's hometown.

Our findings also indicated that the respondents were of the view that the economic situation of the family could set the tone for the sexual behaviour of its youth. Specifically, they were of the view that the financial status of the family was likely to influence the sexual behaviour and sexual expression of its youth. They indicate that poverty may drive a young person to engage in certain sexual behaviours; such behaviours would be condoned and entrenched when, in the unfortunate circumstance that a parent asks a young person who is unemployed for money to support the family's living, a clear

message is sent to the young person in the family to continue such sexual behaviours. Obviously, a parent who acts in this manner is not likely to have the moral courage to correct such a young person's sexual behaviour.

Interestingly, the living conditions of a slight majority of families in Ghana seem to pave the way for our finding that if the youth share a sleeping room with their parents, it could influence their sexual behaviour negatively. Our respondents state that children get exposed to sex when older children are compelled by a family's financial circumstance to share one bedroom with their parents, thereby causing the children to want to imitate sexual intercourse by their parents. The latest Ghana's Population and Housing Census (2010) indicated that there was a high propensity for such instances to prevail: over one-half of households (54.4%) had one sleeping room, 54.9% of households with four members had one sleeping room, 35.2 percent of households with six members, one-quarter of those with seven members, and overall, about three in ten households with five or more members (29.2%) shared one sleeping room (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013: 379-380).

There are two additional ways in which the financial status of a family was observed to impact the sexual behaviour of its youth: the youth from affluent families could be careless about their sexual behaviour, knowing that they might have money from home to support their behaviour and also mitigate any undesired outcome of their sexuality, such as getting money to terminate an unwanted pregnancy or financial support to care for a child born to a young person. Conversely, the respondents were of the view that children from poor families would rather exercise caution in this instance, knowing that they would have very limited financial backing for the consequences of their sexual expression.

Using two waves of new data from the South African Cape Area Panel Study to investigate the link between household income, income stress and risky sexual behaviour of young people aged 14 to 22 in 2002, Dinkelman, Lam and Leibbrandt (2008) found that the youth in the households that experienced negative economic shocks had risky sexual behaviours for both boys and girls. Alternatively, Baird, Chirwa, McIntosh, and Özler's (undated) study among young secondary school-going girls in Malawi found that conditional cash transfers and other monetary incentives to these youth, such as paying their school fees, led to some positive behaviour among the beneficiaries. These

behaviours included self-reported increases in school enrolment and decline in early marriage, teenage pregnancy, sexual activity and risky sexual behaviour (including the frequency of having sex). These socially desired behaviours among the young beneficiaries of the cash transfers occurred only one year after the implementation of the program. Cohen, Spear, Scribner, Kissinger, Mason, and Wildgen (2000) also noticed the correlation between living in poor neighbourhoods and risky sexual behaviour of young persons.

Doubtlessly, our study has some limitations. These include the use of convenience samples. Also, the study covers only half of the administrative regions of the country. These make findings in this study lack full external validity for the whole of Ghana. Additionally, the study's use of group discussions, in part, may lead to social desirability bias, as respondents in the group discussions may provide normative responses due to the presence of others. Babbie (2009) and Anarfi and Owusu (2011) note that when discussing sensitive topics, respondents are more likely to make normative statements that reflect the perceived social consensus, which may be different from their personal views on the topic of discussion.

The interviewer training we did with special instructions to probe for other information, particularly alternative viewpoints, would have helped to tone down this possible weakness of the study. FGDs are, nevertheless, a good way of reaching social consensus on an issue; our study was on societal views on sexuality and sexual behaviour, making the use of FGDs important. Finally, this study has focused on the influence of the family on the sexual socialization of young persons, and not covered the broader social contexts outside of the family. For instance, it left out other important influences on the sexual expression of young persons, such as schools, religious institutions, the media, the internet and peers.

CONCLUSION

We have discussed how the family serves as a socialization agent on the sexuality and sexual orientation of Ghanaian youth. Our study provides additional information to describe the broader socio-cultural environments in which the family socializes the sexuality of its youth. Uniquely, we have also specified some of the contexts in which sexual socialization occurs for young persons in Ghana within the family setting. We conclude that the family (both

nuclear and extended) is seen by the respondents as the primary medium which influences the sexual behaviour and sexual expression of its youth. The family shapes the sexual behaviour of its youth in several ways, both directly and indirectly. Basically, it happens through role modelling. This role involves imbibing and exhibiting the patterns of sexual behaviours of adults and older siblings and the larger family as a whole. It also includes avoiding sexual behaviours that would taint what is considered the good image of a particular family, and/or simply copying and/or fitting into what is a trend of sexual behaviours in the family.

Other forms of sexual socialization by the family were said to come directly or indirectly through open discussion of sex or otherwise within the family. Covertly, the family may ignore the actions and sexual behaviours of their youth which are known to be deviant or unhelpful, thereby cementing or encouraging such behaviours. Overtly, the family would be encouraging or soliciting perceived non-normative sexual behaviours from the youth. Direct, open instructions on matters such as appropriate mate selection are also used. Respondents were of the view that the financial status of a family was likely to greatly influence the sexual behaviour of its youth.

Opinion leaders who interact with families should work actively in conscientizing families of origin about the unavoidable influence of their behaviours, overtly or covertly, on the sexuality of their youth. Finding good sexual role models for young people will also be a step in the right direction. We recommend that opinion leaders who impact upon the family work actively in providing the right information on sexuality, particularly to parents. Continuous poverty alleviation measures to families with financial hardships are a step in the right direction.

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SYNCRETISM IN AKUAPEM SOCIETY: DEATH AND FUNERAL OF OYEEMAN WEREKO AMPEM II

EBENEZER AYESU¹

ABSTRACT

The funeral of Oyeeman Wereko Ampem II, Chief of Amanokrom-Akuapem (Ghana), held in February 2006, showcased the convergence of Akuapem traditional chieftaincy rites and Christian rituals. The development followed the decision of the funeral planning committee to carry out the deathbed wish of the late chief - that he should be buried as a Christian and a chief. Much as the chief's dying wish might be seen as a special request, it was foreshadowed by the historic agreement reached between Akuapem chiefs and Basel missionaries in the 19th century over the celebration of Akwasidae, an important ritual of ancestor veneration associated with the Akan chieftaincy. The agreement, novel as it was, provided Akuapem converts an avenue to practise their Christian faith without abandoning the veneration of their ancestors which was embedded in their traditional religions. This paper provides a vehicle to assess some aspects of culture and development through the use of ethnographic data, archival and secondary sources, and to contribute to the study of the history of Akuapems and Akans in general.

Keywords: Akan, Akuapem, Chieftaincy, Death, Funeral, Guan people, Traditional African religions

INTRODUCTION

This paper speaks to the large body of literature on missionary activities that highlight the historical antecedents of the co-existence of Christianity and traditional belief practices in some African societies. Drawing on the burial and funeral rites of the Oyeeman Wereko Ampem II (1975-2005), Chief of Amanokrom and Gyaasehene (i.e., chief of the Gyaase Division) of the

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As a case study, I examine how these rites constitute a blend of Akuapem traditional mortuary practices and Christian burial rites. This study analyses specific issues related to culture and development, and contributes to the discussion on how missionary activities have impacted African societies. It further demonstrates that the religio-ritual drama of the funeral of the late chief is a syncretization of Christianity and traditional chiefly authority framed by dynamic historical and political antecedents.

The fact that this intriguing development was rather easily facilitated by the deathbed-wish of the late chief vis-à-vis the historical relationship between the Swiss-German Basel Mission (now the Presbyterian Church of Ghana) and the people of the Akuapem Hills is, however, underscored.

THE AKAN CONCEPT OF DEATH AND THE FUNERAL OF A CHIEF

Death to the Akan is transitory. It is the process through which one could join the world of the departed. Besides being transitory, it is inevitable (*Ɔbra twa owu*); yet it does not end life. This line of thought suggests that the dead depart the stressful land of the living to a blissful world. Thus, although death is the end of earthly existence, it is only a passage. The people of Amanokrom also subscribe to this belief.

The Akan conceptualization of death as a transitory stage of human existence is grounded in a worldview that perceives human nature as comprising three parts: “the *okra* or soul, the *honhom* or *sunsum*, the spirit or character, and the *nipa dua* or bodily frame of the body”. In death, as an existential transformation, “an individual vacates his abode in human community to take up an abode in the community of the ancestral spirits” while the body, or “dirt,” returns to the earth. On its part, the *Ɔkra* (soul) naturally goes to the spirit world where it joins the revered ancestors and ancestress, and from where, together with the larger community of the departed, they bless or punish the living for their conduct. In the case of the chief, however, as an embodiment and legitimate representative of both the living and the departed ancestors, the society abhors the thought of his death.

Consequently, the King never dies; he only goes to the village.¹ For this reason, the funeral of a chief is turned into a celebration of life; a ritual process that marks the breaking of the bonds between the chief and lineage, between the

chief and the community, and between the chief and the stool as the *Okra* goes to join the ancestors. A chief's funeral further highlights "the life of the community in its totality as a spiritual body comprising the dead, the living and the yet to be born"², and serves to canalize "emotions and control acts of lawlessness and disorder that the absence of a ruler tends to provoke"³.

Since the death of a chief is perceptively a journey, he is given the same services and adulations from his subjects as tradition would demand for him if he were alive. Consequently, the dead body of a chief becomes the centre of a range of activities as people who throng around the body and the funeral grounds see themselves as participating in a send-off characterized by a "triumphal pageant of a royal journey"⁴ While the funeral of the chief is grand, the community also celebrates, albeit on a lesser scale, the death of exceptionally successful or distinguished individuals who have excelled in their works on earth and therefore deserve a befitting send-off to "ancestordom".

A PROFILE OF AKUAPEM AND AMANOKROM

Akuapem is a multi-ethnic community and its history is associated with pre-existing Guan communities and two groups of Akans. The pre-existing Guan communities included Larteh and Adukrom. The two Akan communities were the Akyem Abuakwa with their capital at Kyebi in the current Eastern region of Ghana (who first emerged in the Akuapem Mountains as liberators and subsequently became settlers and paramount rulers) and the Akwamus of the renowned Akwamu Kingdom from 1600 to 1730. The Akwamus were the overlords of the Akuapem territory and much of southern Ghana and southern Togo until their defeat in 1730 by an allied force consisting of the then Akwamu vassal states of Agona, Akuapem, Akyem Abuakwa, Ga and the various Guan groups then inhabiting the Akuapim Hills (Afrifah, 2000; Balmer, 1926).

The expedition and settlement of Akuapem was led by Nana Ofori Dua, also known as Sabori, and his uncle, Amanor, both members of the Asona clan of Akyem Abuakwa.⁵ Upon the creation of the Akuapem state in the 1730s, Sabori became the paramount ruler and established Akropong as the paramount royal seat of the newly formed state while Amanokrom was founded by Amanor. The paramount position of Sabori was a reflection of an Akan political

philosophy which demanded that a ruler should have a counselor who is considerably older than him and who would be in a position to point out his faults without fear or favour. Perhaps, it was for this reason that the founders of Akuapem thought it expedient to offer him the paramount position in place of his uncle who then became the chief of Amanokrom and ipso facto, a principal counsellor.⁶ Incidentally, Amanokrom became the Akuapem Gyaase, the head of domestic affairs of the Akuapem paramountcy.⁷ In addition to Akropong and Amanokrom, the new state incorporated the old existing towns on the Akuapem hills, which until then were under Akwamu suzerainty, into the Akuapem state. Eventually, the two towns collaborated to establish an administration based on the divisional pattern of Akan war formation to manage the affairs of the new state. As a result, the state was divided into five divisions, with Akropong as the paramountcy and Amanokrom as the head of the Gyaase division.⁸

Incidentally, the rise of the Akuapem state attracted the attention of the Danish trading establishment on the Gold Coast. The Danes quickly sought and won the friendship of the then Okuapehene, Oboubi Atiemo (1765-1792) who, under a not-too-clear arrangement, turned Akuapem into a Danish “possession.”⁹ When the British took over the Danish “possessions” in 1850 Akuapem became part of the British colony. Before then, however, the Basel mission, through the pioneering work of Andreas Riis, had long established itself and opened churches and schools in the area.¹⁰ In spite of an initial protestation by the Akuapem court against converting its members, Riis and his colleagues enjoyed tremendous support and cooperation from the people and rulers of Akropong. Consequently, the town became the base from where mission agents went out to establish churches, and later schools in other parts of Akuapem, including Amanokrom.¹¹ The mission's success predictably encouraged others, including the Methodist, the Anglican and the Catholic missions, to extend their activities to Akuapem. These Christian missions equally gained considerable acceptance by the local people.

THE “ADAE COMPROMISE”: CHURCH SERVICE AND ADAE CELEBRATIONS ON SUNDAY

Adae is a traditional festival associated with Akan stools. It is celebrated on every fortieth day, normally on Sunday (*i.e. Akwasidae*). It is dedicated to the veneration of departed ancestors, including chiefs and queenmothers.¹² The

celebration includes propitiatory and cleansing rituals as well as communal feasting. One outcome of the state-wide reception given to Riis at the onset of the Akropong project and the rapport between the church and Akuapem chiefs was the agreement reached over *Akwasidae* observance on Sundays that conflicted with Sunday church service.¹³

The propitiatory ritual of the celebration, which particularly involves ritual slaughtering of sheep, more or less conflicted with the missions' Christian values. That notwithstanding, the celebrations did not initially worry the church.¹⁴ With time, as the celebration interrupted church service on such Sundays on which the *Akwasidae* was observed, the missions became concerned and demanded that it be stopped or celebrated on a different day. The Basel mission, in particular, contended that most of its members participated actively in the festival and therefore abandoned all church activities whenever the day fell.¹⁵ After much hesitation, Okuapehene Kwame Tawiah (1876-1879) and his elders reviewed the day for its celebration and changed it to Wednesday.¹⁶ This compromise was reached after the church had provided a bull and paid the full cost of the stipulated rituals to consummate the change.¹⁷

Perhaps, the Akuapem court anticipated the possibility of creating extra avenues for the people as part of public celebrations of *Adae* festivities and therefore granted the church's request without considering its unmitigated effect on traditional culture and practices. Normally, *Adae* celebrations, like most traditional festivals and funerals, take two forms: the ritual and merry making.¹⁸ While the former is restricted to designated officials and is done in secrecy, the latter is done publicly. The feasting is open to all including visiting non-indigenes of the area. Moreover, the public sessions make provision for groups and individuals to perform whatever dance and music forms they fancy. The review of the *Adae* celebration thus served a dual purpose: it reversed dwindling church attendance and eased full participation of local converts in *Adae* celebrations on Wednesday. This development possibly contributed to the practice in Akuapem courts whereby Christian hymns, songs and prayers became part of chiefly rites and practices.

Possibly emboldened by the "*Adae compromise*," the Basel mission took steps to influence some chiefly courts in Akuapem. This was especially the case with

the use of insignia, the symbol of chiefly authority. For instance, when Odekro Abraham Adu, a traditional leader of Adawso became a Christian, he was debarred from using his blackened stool, drums and all other traditional paraphernalia.¹⁹ He was rather given a black umbrella, a walking stick, and a drum by the church as his symbols of office.²⁰ Such conversion of royals became common, making the influence of the Basil mission on Akuapem quite phenomenal. Wielding such influence, it is arguable that the church's "entry" to the court was made possible by these conversions.

However, the Akuapem royals, unlike their counterparts in Akyem Abuakwa, did not become disinterested or turn their back on traditional office and practices.²¹ Instead, they held on steadfastly to their traditional court craft while they actively engaged in activities of the church.²² Incidentally, however, the mission type of formal education and the messages of peace, love and unity contained in the church hymnals fitted perfectly into the state-building agenda of the founders of Akuapem and therefore received wide patronage at the court. Hymns assuming such use at Akuapem traditional courts truncated of indigenous court music. As it happened, the impact of the unmitigated patronage of the hymns understandably "pushed" court musicians to learn and or sing more church songs, a development that probably accounted for the seeming limited repertoire of traditional music in Akuapem courts. In fact, the church's influence was not limited to the traditional court; it had a great deal of transformational impact on the social structure of Akuapem state. Curiously, although the impact of the missionary activities on Africa as a whole has been enormous, there continues to be much debate about the nature of that impact.²³

OYEEMAN WEREKO AMPEM II: ONE MAN, MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

Previous to his installation as a chief Oyeeman Wereko Ampem II was known as Emmanuel Nortey Omaboe. He was born on Wednesday October 29, 1930 to Mary Opeibea Awuku of the Royal Asona clan of Amanokrom and Peter Nortey Omaboe, a royal of the Osu family. Although he was the only child of the marriage, the respective royal lineages of the couple accorded him a dual lineage with the right to inherit property or succeed to royal office on both sides.²⁴ This was made possible because the people of Amanokrom, being Akans, succeed to office through the mother; while those of Osu, being Ga, trace succession and inheritance through one's father.

He was baptized at infancy into the Basel mission and spent his early childhood in Mamfe and Amanokrom. He later went to live with his maternal relatives, where he attended the Suhum Presbyterian Middle School from 1942 to 1945.²⁵ That his middle school education reinforced his Christian upbringing would be an understatement, for the school's curriculum contained massive teachings of the church and demanded strict attendance of pupils at morning worship, especially at Wednesday midweek services and Children's Service on Sundays. It was also at the middle school that he was confirmed after he had undergone a guided and vigorous study of the catechism, the blue print of the church's Protestant creed and attendant way of life for its members. This mission-based education influenced his life and provided him the requisite training for his statesmanship.

Oyeeman's secondary education at Accra Academy and subsequent college training as economist at the University College of the Gold Coast (now the University of Ghana) and the prestigious London School of Economics (LSE) further equipped him for civic/public service. Abandoning a post-graduate scholarship for a Master's degree, he returned home to augment the manpower requirement of the new independent nation, Ghana.²⁶

Upon his return, Oyeeman took up appointments at various government institutions, including the University of Ghana. Oyeeman finally left public office when the then ruling National Liberation Council (NLC) handed over power to the civilian administration led by Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia and he established E.N. Omaboe Associates Limited, an American model of business, investments and economic consulting work. The prestigious Barclays Bank of Ghana Limited was one of the firm's clients.²⁸

A new dawn in Oyeeman's life came on 4th August 1975 when he was nominated, elected and installed first as Ohene of Amanokrom and subsequently as Gyaasehene of Akuapem with the stool name Wereko Ampem II. Thereafter, he launched what eventually emerged as his development agenda for his people. For instance, he built a new palace, a market and school blocks for the local Presbyterian primary and junior secondary schools. It was therefore understandable that he was given the honorific and inspirational title, "Oyeeman" (state builder) during the celebrations marking the Silver Jubilee of his ascension to the Amanokrom and Akuapem Gyaase stool.²⁹

Unsurprisingly, he projected himself as a Christian chief and embarked on a vigorous transformation of Amanokrom chieftaincy. For instance, he encouraged and personally patronized the historical practice of singing church (especially Presbyterian) hymns and gospel songs and the offering of Christian prayers alongside traditional cultural drumming and singing as well as the pouring of libation at court functions including *Adae* and the annual *Odwira* festivals.³⁰ He also participated actively in the activities of the Amanokrom local Mount Olivet Presbyterian Church, where he kept alive “... all the sterling principles and disciplines of this faith.”³¹ In addition, he was instrumental in the formation of the Amanokrom chapter of the Local Council of Churches, an umbrella organization of Christian Churches. This he did, possibly, with the view to involve all identifiable groups in his administration.³² And in an apparent duplication of the practice of giving women leadership roles, now in vogue in Ghanaian Churches, he created and installed female counterparts to all male traditional offices in Amanokrom. Until then, female counterparts of chiefly offices in the town, with the singular exception of that of the queenmother, were revealingly non-existent.³³

Additionally, he extended his interest and activities in the Amanokrom church to the larger Ghanaian Presbyterian and Christian community. As a result, he accepted and served in various capacities in the church and was the guest of honor at numerous fund raising programs where he generously donated towards various projects.³⁴ For instance, in 1997 he was made the special guest of honor at the Emmanuel Presbyterian Church at Nsawam in south-eastern Ghana and donated generously to the church's activities. Moreover, he played a leading role in fund-raising programs which culminated in the historic establishment of the Presbyterian University College.³⁵

OYEEMAN'S DEATH AND ITS ANNOUNCEMENT

Oyeeman's passing came as a big blow not only to the Amanokrom royal court but also to the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. Jointly, the royal court and the church initiated the process to officially/traditionally inform the people of Amanokrom, the Akuapem and the Ghanaian public of the sad news.³⁶

The announcement of the death of an Akan chief follows certain traditional protocols that euphonize the death as a voyage to the ancestral village. In order to symbolically project the express stake that both the court and the

church had in Oyeeman's death, both traditional and Christian rituals were observed when the news was being announced. The process was preceded by both Christian prayer and the pouring of libation; a development that became the norm in all the deliberations and activities leading to and during the funeral. However, while the two rites were jointly performed at the palace to thank God for the "peaceful passing" of the chief, the Christian prayer was left out in the rituals at the stool room where the ancestors were being informed about the incident. It was after these activities that the body was sent to an undisclosed private mortuary.³⁷

Following custom, Nana Manko Aba II, in her capacity as Queenmother of Amanokrom and for that matter, the traditional mother of the deceased; Oseadeeyor Nana Addo-Dankwa III, Okuapemhene and traditional nephew of the deceased; and Oyeeman's family held private consultations that were preceded by prayers asking God to console and grant them wisdom to organize a peaceful and fitting funeral for Oyeeman. They also deliberated and agreed on the modalities for the public announcement. In a first logical step, Oyeeman's demise was announced to sub-chiefs and elders of Amanokrom, some of whom were non-Asona members and yet had worked with the deceased in the administration of Amanokrom and Akuapem Gyaaseman for thirty years.³⁹

At the end of the meeting, a representative of the Chiefs, led by Nana Amanor Ntiamoah, Akyeamehene (Chief linguist) and Okyeame Osei Manu went to the stool house to pour another libation. That was done to ask the permission of the ancestors to allow for the suspension of all rites connected with the stools. The significance of this ritual is to honour the belief that a chief's death is an ill-omen that pollutes the court and the people in general. In that context, court officials are deemed "filthy" to go near or touch anything associated with the revered ancestors.⁴⁰ Shortly thereafter, Asona clan members of Amanokrom were also informed of the death of their member.

The announcement was interlaced with singing of war songs and drumming amidst wailing and the firing of musketry. In addition, the gathering sang church hymns which had understandably been absent until now; and which presaged the form the funeral would take. Thereafter, Nana Manko Aba II informed Nana Kwaisi, head of the Asona family and clan members about the

sad news. Following traditional protocols and courtesies, the announcement process lasted over two hours at *Ofikese* (the big house), after which the people were dramatically thrown into uncontrollable wailing and the singing of some Presbyterian hymns and gospel songs. Although at this point the Amanokrom folks had got the information about the chief's passing, it was not until three days later that the people were duly informed by Nana Manko Aba of the regrettable passing of their chief.

Preparation for the late chief's funeral was then communicated. The announcement was deliberately planned to coincide with an Awukudae when most people were available. Very early in the morning, as it is traditionally done in emergencies, *atumpān* (talking drums) were beaten to summon the people to the palace for an important message. The day's proceedings came to an end at about 6p.m., during which the youth of Amanokrom were advised to remain calm while waiting for further announcements concerning arrangements for the funeral. After this the youth organized an unofficial vigil which was dominated by repeated singing of Presbyterian hymn 18 (New Presbyterian Hymnal number 42), "*Anouonyam ne aseda*" (Praise God to whom all mercy flows), generally believed to be Oyeeman's most favorite.⁴¹

Meanwhile, Amanokrom elders, in consultation with Oseadeeyor Addo-Dankwa and in understandable collaboration with Nana Manko Aba II, Leticia (Oyeeman's widow) and their children, established a Planning Committee with the responsibility to organize the funeral of the late chief. The committee was jointly chaired by Nana Adu Bofo, *Apagyahene* of Amanokrom, and Akyempemhene (traditional head of the domestic affairs of the palace), Nana Awuku Sakyi,⁴² Oyeeman's eldest son. Other members included representatives of groups including the Presbyterian Church (and the Christian community of Ghana), Oyeeman's nuclear family, Akuapem Traditional Council and the then Akuapem North District Assembly.⁴³ In addition, some private but knowledgeable individuals in cultural and funeral matters were made members of the Committee.⁴⁴ The seemingly large membership of the committee is best explained by the multiplicity of Oyeeman's life and the diverse institutions he interacted with as recounted earlier in the discussion.

The inauguration of the committee was performed by Nana Manko Aba II. In the course of proceedings, she informed members about Oyeeman's dying

wish regarding the organization of his funeral. Among others, he requested that he should be buried as a Christian chief. In furtherance of that stipulation, and in apparent reference to the historic bond between Akuapem chiefs and the church, he demanded that every effort should be made to involve the church in all activities planned for the funeral. Besides, he asked that individual announcements and invitations should be sent to all the seventeen principal towns of Akuapem in addition to the one usually sent to them through the Akuapem Traditional Council for the same purpose.⁴⁵ The request was intended perhaps to enable the Guan chiefs and people of Aburi, Larteh and Adukrom who had since 1994 denounced their membership of the post-1730 Akuapem state to participate in his funeral.⁴⁶

The logic of his request in general was not farfetched. His whole life had been intractably linked with traditional and Christian practices and it was therefore reasonable for him to demand a funeral showcasing it. Moreover, his thirty year reign saw him working meticulously for the peace and unity of the Akuapem state. And as a possible believer in the adage that death brings unity, he envisaged the possibility of his funeral uniting the people of Akuapem as they came together to mourn his demise.

Incidentally, his first wish was given to the Cultural and Religious Affairs sub-committee of the planning committee to work with the local and national leadership of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana and other Churches in Ghana for its implementation.⁴⁷ The committee was also asked to take every step to facilitate the performance of all Christian rites associated with burial and funeral, including committal, which was usually done at the grave side, to be done at the funeral grounds.⁴⁸ The other wish was however given to the political/cultural sub-committee to handle. Finally the committee agreed to hold the funeral from January 30 to February 5, 2006 under the understandable theme, “Royal Farewell: Oyeeman Wereko Ampem II, Celebrating a Life of Achievements.”

RECOGNIZING ROYAL TIES: FUNERAL ANNOUNCEMENTS AT AKROPONG AND KYEBI

The Planning Committee eventually rolled out an elaborate programme to officially announce to Ghana and the world at large the passing of the late Chief, and to extend invitations to would-be sympathizers and well-wishers.

One of the three most important of these announcements took the committee to Kyebi, the Akyem Abuakwa capital and ancestral home of the Asona people of Akropong and Amanokrom. The program at Kyebi took the form of the earlier one at Amanokrom but with limited Christian rights, for the Kyebi and Akyem Abuakwa courts resisted at a great cost the adoption of Christian rites and practices in chiefly rites and rituals when Christianity first entered the state in the middle of the eighteenth century.⁴⁹

Finally, the Planning Committee visited Akropong to officially inform the chiefs and people of the unfortunate news. In the course of events, the Planning Committee went to the Akropong nkonwafie (stool house) to “inform” the departed founding fathers of the Akuapem state of the sad event. As it happened at Amanokrom, the elaborate ritual was also used to solicit the permission of the ancestors to allow for the suspension of all chiefly rites until after his funeral. This was done through the pouring of libations, the slaughtering of sheep and the eating of a communal meal. After that, a second libation was poured, this time appealing to the ancestors to grant Oyeemana safe passage to *asaman* (the world of the departed). It was poured on the *odosusuman* (a pot containing a concoction) erected very close to the entrance of the stool room.⁵⁰

Later, a sheep was slaughtered over the *monsambo* (evil stone) that was located in front of the stool room, ostensibly to ward off any evil spirits. The animal's blood was then allowed to dribble onto the stone for some time, after which its carcass was thrown backward over the shoulders of an *obrafo* holding it. The significance of the ritual was not far-fetched. Oyeeman's death had created a state of hopelessness in Akuapem and a reconnection with the *odosu* was possibly intended to use his funeral to usher in a new beginning devoid of evil and misfortune. Finally, a special fire was set on which another ritual meal was prepared with the carcass and was eaten by all gathered. Thereafter, ambers of the fire used for the cooking were kept alive and were later used to set another fire at Amanokrom, for as we shall see later in the paper, *ohene-atran* (procession) and other rituals performed by the *banmufo* (custodians of the royal mausoleum) and *abrafo* (royal executioners) were co-ordinated.⁵¹

ROYAL FAREWELL: MORTUARY RITES

The official mourning of Oyeeman started with sobering mortuary rites and highly symbolic fractal rituals and was reminiscent of that of Prempeh I, albeit on a relatively smaller scale. As part of the rites, bath (*aguare*) and burial (*asiede*) items that reflected the Akan belief in life after death were presented to Nana Manko Aba II, who was assisted by her traditional sister, Nana Adutwumwaa Dokua, queenmother of Akyem Abuakwa, and their traditional niece, Nana Dokua, queenmother of Akuapem. Traditionally, the ceremony was held privately and performed by women. But the large group of people carrying assorted funeral items attracted curious spectators, including males, to Oyeeman's maternal home, the venue for the rite. Among the large number of presenters was the Asona family of Amanokrom. They presented, among others, loincloth, native sandals, blankets, a ram and two bottles of imported schnapps; *ahensaw* (traditional sponge), two pieces of white kente cloth, assorted cotton cloth and two hundred cedis (about 120 US dollars).⁵³

Thereafter, other groups including Oyeeman's paternal family (from Osu, Accra), his widow and children and their spouses made their respective presentations. Their noteworthy solemn yet aesthetic presentation attracted a large number of spectators to the already filled ritual grounds. The stage for the emotional scene was further heightened when Oyeeman's paternal family took their turn to present their items. Dressed in assorted mourning clothes and accompanied by the Osu *Asafo* Company, they sang *Asafo* war songs, drummed, danced and fired musketry typical of a chief's funeral. At about 5p.m., Reverend E. B. Afari, a cousin of the late Chief, who had prayed for the commencement of the ritual, prayed to end proceedings. This was after he had in a brief sermon admonished the gathering to participate in the funeral with solemn respect and dignity towards the sympathizers and visiting dignitaries during the funeral, among other things. Then, the people broke into singing groups and paraded through the Amanokrom township singing Presbyterian Church hymns.

OYEEMAN'S BODY ARRIVES IN AMANOKROM

The body of Oyeeman was eventually brought to Amanokrom on Monday 30th January, a day before the official commencement of his funeral. Apparently, 31st January, the agreed date, was a Tuesday, traditionally devoted to *Kwabena Ayesu*, one of the principal deities of Akuapem who prohibited wailing and

noise making in town.⁵⁴ As a result, Nana Manko Aba II, Nana Adutwumwaa Dokua (Okyehemaa) and Nana Dokua (Okuapehemea) took over the body quietly on its arrival, and without much delay handed it over to Asonammerewatia (elderly women of Asona) and the professional undertakers. It was these people who prepared the body for the five days of funeral rites which included viewing and paying of respects by mourners and well-wishers. A funeral service was held, and so were elaborate rituals performed during the period. These were climaxed with the burial of the body on the final day. But before the women could start work, emotionally charged Okyenhene (Paramount Chief of Akyem Abuakwa) Amoatia Ofori Panin and Okuapemhene Nana Addo Dankwa III, in their capacity as the chief mourners, went to see the body of their deceased brother and uncle and confirmed traditionally, the death of their kinsman.⁵⁵

In the meantime, the Afua Nyarkoa Hall in the Manko Aba palace at Amanokrom was turned into a “farmstead” through which viewers would pass before reaching the great Chief who was “relaxing” upstairs; to probably dramatize the euphemism that Oyeeman had “gone to his village.”⁵⁶ In addition, Amanokrom women holding *bubuprae* (special brooms made from palm fronds) swept the funeral grounds amidst the singing of mournful songs and the sporadic mimicking of Oyeeman's witty comments about social deviants.⁵⁷ Later, they spread mats on the floor of the palace's inner perimeter. This was where Amanokrom princes and princesses and immediate descendants (*ahenemma ne ahenenananom*) and their counterparts from elsewhere in Akuapem sat daily to receive condolences from sympathizers.

In a related development, the Presbyterian Church and other churches held series of activities in readiness for the funeral.⁵⁸ For instance, they rehearsed hymns and learned new songs that were sung throughout the funeral period. In addition, the priests, acting in concert with the Funeral Planning Committee, held a series of meetings with the national leadership of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana and other Christian churches in Ghana regarding officiating ministers (priests) and procedural matters.⁵⁹ It was at these meetings that it was agreed that the Rt. Rev. Yaw Frimpong-Manso, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, should preach at the funeral service and perform the committal of the body before burial. In addition, it was agreed that Rt. Rev. Justice A Akrofi, the

Anglican Archbishop of West Africa and a good friend of Oyeeman, should assist the former in the discharge of his assignments. Meanwhile, a grand wake-keeping under the patronage of the Amanokrom Presbyterian church and the Akuapem local Council of Churches was held amidst chiefly rites on the night of January 31 for the commencement of the funeral.

The opening prayer was said by Rev. S. O. Asare, the Minister-in-charge of Amanokrom Presbyterian Church. He later preached a short sermon on the virtues of humility and service, possibly to eulogize the late chief. Later, the wake-keeping was turned into singing of hymns till the early hours of Wednesday February 1. Alongside the wake-keeping, *banmufo* and *abrafo* (traditional executioners) of Amanokrom and Akropong arrived at the funeral grounds in characteristic fashion, singing war songs, dancing and firing of musketry. They brought with them their accoutrements, including the amber from Akropong nkonwafie.⁶⁰ Upon their arrival, Nana Manko Aba II and Amanokrom elders presented them with logistics required for rituals and their sustenance during the funeral period.⁶¹ They then set the ritual fire (*ogyaso*) on which they prepared werempe and *akyere* rites (capture of stray animals) as they embarked on the daily adumfo *santen* (executioners' procession) through the principal streets of Amanokrom. Although a traditional rite, its security implications merit attention. It is a preemptive measure against criminals and social miscreants who might want to take advantage of the period of mourning.

AMANOKROM MOURNS OYEEMAN

On Wednesday February 1, between 5a.m. and 7:30a.m., Amanokrom was filled with sounds of *atumpan* (talking drums) expressing *damirifa due* (condolences) to the late chief and the people of Amanokrom in general.⁶² The instructive timing of the ritual was an ample demonstration of death's disruptive nature; the late chief, if he were alive, would have been awake and attending to his chiefly duties. Amanokrom people would also have been in readiness to engage with him in the daily demands of life. But death had rendered these impossible, and such a void was expressed, albeit mournfully, daily in poetic praise epithets. Unsurprisingly, each session was climaxed with *ohene-atran* (processions) during which sub-chiefs including *Osomanyawa*, *Ankobeahene*, *Bretuhene*, *Twafohene*, *Akyeamehene* and *Dawurutahene*, clad in battle dress and with their lips symbolically sealed with leaves, paraded

through the streets of Amanokrom amidst firing of muskets and singing of dirges and war songs. They were accompanied by their people, and together made gestures with the probable intent of showing their hopelessness in the face of the death of their chief.

AKUAPEM GYAASE CHIEFS AND PEOPLE MOURN OYEEMAN

Later in the day, Gyaase chiefs and elders, for whom the day was designated as their day of mourning, took their seats at the funeral grounds.⁶³ As tradition demanded, they arrived with a large retinue of their subjects, drumming and singing war songs complemented by firing musketry. Some of the subjects carried drinks that would be presented as donations in addition to food stuffs and sheep. At the funeral grounds, they went round greeting the Chief mourners and other elders before taking their seats. In the course of the greetings, *ahenema* and *ahenenananom*, led by Akyempemhene Awuku Sakyi dressed in artistic yet mournful traditional orphans' cap and *kuntunkuni* (black) cloth, went on a procession through the funeral grounds and the streets of Amanokrom to greet mourners and sympathizers. On their part, the females were clad in *kuntunkuni* sleet and *koben* (red) blouse. As they moved around, they wailed and made hopeless searching expedition with the impossible hope that they might locate Oyeeman amongst the crowd of mourners and sympathizers. The rite brought to the fore the despondency of the royals caused by the death of their beloved. It also showcased the essence of the traditional notion of child bearing.

To the Akans, the ideal life pertained when one's children and grandchildren were around to mourn one when deceased. The rite was therefore done several times and on each day till the burial of the body. Incidentally, each round of the Gyaaseohene-*atran* and *Nana due! due!* which was also done by mourners and sympathizers from elsewhere in Ghana on days designated for them, was climaxed with a visit to the deceased's bedside to express their condolences and finally bid their chief farewell.⁶⁴

BEDSIDE OF THE DECEASED

At the bedside guarding the deceased was a group of sword bearers clad in red loin cloth holding swords. Also in attendance were two *Ohenekra* (the chief's soul) clad in their traditional white cloth. The two, through their office, were in

normal times responsible for the chief's safety, especially in matters of food and drinks; on this occasion, like their sword bearing colleagues, they were guarding the lifeless body as they would have done with loyalty if he were alive. Moreover, Oyeeman's widow, Leticia Omaboe as well as *merewatia* (elderly women) of the late chief's maternal and paternal families were also seated at the bedside. These women, like the aforementioned attendants, were once responsible, albeit in different ways, for his actual and representational intimate needs. This time however, they were seated grief stricken as they watched the motionless body of their once beloved husband and relation. It was for this reason that all sympathizers and mourners upon reaching the bedside extended to them also their solemn condolences.

The mourners, after the viewing the body, were served *ayinsa* (funeral drink) and food by the chief mourners. These intervals were also used to change Oyeeman's clothes for a new set. Symbolically, the exercise was reminiscent of *Odwira* and festive occasions when chiefs changed clothes several times in ostensible display of royalty.⁶⁵ In this instance however, the exercise served an important funerary purpose. Although the body was embalmed prior to the funeral, the change was a preemptive measure intended to forestall the premature decomposition of the body as a result of the relative long period of lying-in-state and due to the increase of microbes and bacteria caused by heat that emanated from mourners during the viewing.

PRE-BURIAL SERVICE AND COMMITTAL BY THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF GHANA

At forenoon on Friday February 4, the Presbyterian Church of Ghana organized a pre-burial service and committal of the late Oyeeman - their departed member.⁶⁶ Unlike King Prempeh's that took place at the church, his took place at the funeral grounds. The brief but emotional service was dominated by the usual reading of Scriptures, including Isaiah chapter 57: 1-2, which was insightfully, the text for the sermon. The late chief's remarkable service to the church and his people, coupled with his charitable deeds to society at large, might have kept the numerous mourners at the funeral wondering why he and not the perceived evil ones amongst them should die. It was possibly for this reason that the clergy chose the text which in their estimation would provide the apt explanation for the people's predicament while exhorting them at the same time to emulate the commendable example of the deceased.

Finally, Oyeeman Wereko Ampem II's soul was committed into the hands of God, his Maker, but his body to dust. During the brief session, the clergy and church elders sang hymns and read scriptural sentences related to the assuring Christian belief in the resurrection of the dead upon the second coming of Christ.⁶⁷ This possibly explains the widespread belief of Christians that death, though inevitable, does not mark the end of the believer. It is noteworthy that contrary to the common practice whereby the committal service is done at the chapel or the graveside, all these were done at the bedside.⁶⁸ This remarkable departure from the normal practice was, perhaps, to honour Oyeeman's deathbed wish to be buried as a Christian while still upholding the Akan burial customs for a chief. Akan chiefs are buried in the night at special royal mausoleums by *banmufo* and *abrafo* following some rites that forbid all other individuals to be present. The exclusivity of specific royals to the final "send-off" of Akan chiefs explains why the Christian committal and interment service for Oyeeman could only be done at the bedside.

BIDDING FAREWELL: THE *NKRADI* RITE

The Amanokrom court performed the *nkradi* (parting) rite at the bedside to pave the way for the late chief's burial. Led by Nana Manko Aba, they converged at the funeral grounds to prepare for the rites, each person holding two halves of a lime fruit. They then moved solemnly to the bedside of the late chief and bid him farewell. In the process, they took turns to thank him for the good services he rendered to Amanokrom state, Okuapeman and Ghana during his reign. As though he were still living, they swore to him their loyalty to the Amanokrom and Akuapem Gyaase stool in particular. Subsequently, they squeezed the lime and robbed their hands with the juice. Although the use of the lime might have hygienic significance due to its acidic properties and germ neutralizing potential, its use in this rite is rather symbolic. The lime is a symbolic representation of sourness in parting with a loved one.

Finally, the *banmufo* and the *abrafo* laid the body in a casket stuffed with the requisite grave goods including blankets, mats, assorted cloths and footwear for the chief's eventual "journey" to the land of the ancestors. Led by Nana Manko Aba II with Asona elders, chiefs and Oyeeman's children, the *banmufo* and the *abrafo* headed for the royal mausoleum. On reaching the Bretuo House, however, they halted to allow Nana Manko Aba II and Oyeeman's

children to have a last glimpse of the casket, returning to the palace to await the return of the burial party.⁶⁹

THANKSGIVING SERVICE

On Sunday, February 5, the Christian community, led by the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, organized a thanksgiving service at Amanokrom to “thank God for his mercies throughout” the late chief's life and the “final glory” he might enjoy with “the living Christ through eternal life.”⁷⁰ The Mass Choir of the Akuapem Presbytery (Presbyterian Churches in the Akuapem traditional and nearby areas), the Ghana Armed Forces Band and other singing groups treated the gathering to melodious music to assuage their grief. The church service, characteristic of the funeral period, was attended by a large number of government officials, foreign dignitaries including diplomats, professional bodies and many others. After the church service, the funeral reverted to the drumming and singing of traditional songs by *kete* and other traditional music groups.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The account of Oyeeman Wereko Ampem II's funeral illustrates a blend of traditional rites and rituals and those of Christianity. The planning and execution of his funeral were done to accommodate the two traditions in spite of the obvious difference in personnel, approach and significance, to some extent. Although the funeral was undertaken in a way to honour Oyeeman's deathbed wish that on his demise he should be buried as a Christian chief, the funeral reflects the complex history of Akuapem as well as the influence of the Basel Mission on Oyeeman as a person and on Amanokrom court practices.

For instance, the pouring of libation interspersed with Christian prayers pays tribute to “*Adae Agreement*”; the two were meant to serve the same purpose, albeit through different media of the people's call on God. In the face of the devastating death of their beloved chief, death's characteristic separation of loved ones brought to the fore the urgent need for God's intervention to, on the one hand, console the living, and on the other, to grant the dead chief a safe passage to the other world. Thus the two forms of supplication complemented each other.

Similarly, the singing of Christian hymns alongside war songs, amidst drumming and dancing and the firing of musketry, was a manifestation of the impact of the spread of Christianity in Akuapem. While the lyrics of the hymns were soothing and inspirational, their singing at a typical Akan chief's funeral where special dirges and war songs are the norm, perhaps reinforced the adulteration of Akuapem court music by the advent of Christianity to the area. The Akuapem people may have tried to seize an avenue to improve upon their repertoire of court music by inviting court musicians from the Manhyia palace in Kumasi, widely noted for their large collection of dirges and war songs, to teach them new songs, but these songs were not utilized. This further shows how widespread and influential is church music in Akuapem and people's acceptance of it as a worthy substitution for court music over the years. That notwithstanding, it could be noted that there were some ritual aspects of the funeral that could not be compromised: the ritual at the stool room and at the royal mausoleum strictly followed tradition.

Notably, the Christian committal and interment services, usually done at the graveside, had to be compromised on. Those important services had to be done in a manner to give way for the traditional *nkradi rites* and burial in the night by *adumfo*; a traditional burial rite that requires behind-the-scenes rituals. To this end, the preceding Christian rites became important tools that were used to abate a temporary stoppage of the historic funeral.

The near harmonious blending of traditional chiefly rites and rituals with those of Christianity was made possible by the historic relationship between Akuapem courts and the Basel Mission dating back to the first half of the nineteenth century. Oyeeman Wereko Ampem II's mission-based education, coupled with his commitment and valuable service to chieftaincy and to the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, rather eased and prepared the grounds for the collaboration between Akuapem chiefs and the church to work together in the organization of the great funeral. This provided a vehicle for the study of some aspects of Akuapem culture and historical development which was made possible through the use of ethnographic data, archival and secondary sources.

ENDNOTES

¹George P. Hagan, *The King Has Gone to the Village*, p. 23.

²Ibid. Meanwhile, a funeral as rites of passage is undergirded by the idea of a separation. To this end, the primary responsibility for the organization of the funeral was that of the family (in the case of the Akan, the matrilineage) of the dead. The eldest female and males of the lineage are thus the key players (cf. R. S. Rattary, *Religion and Art in Ashanti*. London: Oxford University Press, 1927, chapter xi, pp. 103-12; see also George P. Hagan, “The King Has Gone to the Village,” end note 4; p. 35).

³Ibid.

⁴George P. Hagan and Irene Odotei, “The King Has Gone to the Village,” p. 24.

⁵See also, Kwamena-Poh, *Government and Politics*, p. 52.

⁶FN: Interview with Nana Baah Abu Okae, Akuapem Oseawuohene.

⁷See, M. A. Kwamena-Poh, *Government and Politics*, pp. 8, 48n, 51, 52, 159.

⁸The other divisions were Nifa (Right); Benkum (Left); Kronti,; and Adonten. For more on the divisions of the Akuapem state, see, Kwamena-Poh, *Government and Politics in the Akuapem State, 1733-1850*, Macmillan, 1973.

⁹See, Kwamena-Poh, *Government and Politics*. See also, Paul Isert, (Translated and edited from the German by Axelrod Winsnes), *Letters on West Africa and Slave Trade: Paul Erdmann Isert's Journey to Guinea and the Caribbean Islands in Columbia (1788)*, Accra, Ghana: Sub Saharan, 2007.

¹⁰M. A. Kwamena-Poh, *Government and Politics*, pp. 58-9; 113-18.

¹¹FN: Interviews with Oseadeeyor Addo Dankwa III, Nana Dokua, A. A. Anti, Nana Manko Aba II. See also, M. A. Kwamena-Poh, *Government and Politics*, 122, 123.

¹² FN: According to Akuapem traditions, the *adae* was the main festival in Akuapem until after 1826. From then on, it was linked to the *Odwira* festival which had been introduced in Akuapem following the Okuapehene Addo Dankwa I's capture of *Odwira Apafram* (the Asante stool paraphernalia for the Odwira festival) from Asante, when the latter was defeated in the battle of Akatamanso. See also, M. A. Kwamena-Poh, *Government and Politics*, 49n; 59n; 139; 141-2.

¹³ FN: Akuapem traditions speak of conflicts between the mission and other communities. For instance, the first mission agent sent to Abiriw to open a station was met with resistance and was withdrawn. The agent's problem with the town's people was associated with his use of church bell which the people claimed the sound disturbed their deity. He was also accused of breaking the taboo by keeping dogs in the town.

¹⁴ FN: Interviews with Oseadeeyor Addo Dankwa and Nana Addo Birikorang.

¹⁵ FN: Interviews with Oseadeeyor Addo Dankwa III, Okyeame Osei, Nana Addo Birikorang, A.A. Anti. See also, Reverend Edward Reynolds, 49-50.

¹⁶ The choice of Wednesday to replace Sunday might have been influenced by the fact that *adae* was celebrated on both days with Sunday being the one with elaborate program and for that matter celebrated with pomp and pageantry. It stood therefore to reason that the elders in granting the request of the church did not consider the change in day as anything in spite of the fact that the change effectively reduced the number of days they performed the ritual. This then was an example of the negative impact of missionary activities on African culture addressed by recent historiography. For more on the development see Emmanuel Akyeampong, 2006, *Themes in West Africa's History*. Athens: Ohio University Press; Oxford: James Currey; Ghana: Woeli Publications (see especially essays by Pashington Obeng; and Brain Larkin and Birgit Meyer); Jean Comaroff, "Missionaries and Mechanical Clocks: An Essay on Religion and History in South Africa," *The Journal of Religion*, Vol. 71, no. 1 (January 1991): 1-17.

¹⁷ This was probably done to appease the ancestors. Meanwhile, *adae* festivals were occasions for the veneration of the ancestors and to alter its celebrations

might have necessitated yet another ceremony to explain and assure the ancestors that the alteration was not meant to spite them but was done to accommodate the “new” faith the living had embraced. To all intent and purposes, the *adae* modification was a test case of the interplay between spirituality and power which is brilliantly highlighted by Emmanuel Akyeampong and Pashington Obeng, “Spirituality, Gender and Power in Asante History,” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 28, No.3, (1995): 481-508.

¹⁸Owusu Brempong, “Chieftaincy and Traditional Taboos: An Empirical Approach,” in *Chieftaincy in Ghana*, Irene Odotei and Albert Awedoba, eds., p. 217.

¹⁹The blackened stool in the words of Abraham Akrong “... symbolizes the way in which a chief, who, through the rituals of installation, becomes a de jure ancestor proceeds on to become a de facto ancestor...” (Abraham Akrong, “Religion and Traditional Leadership in Ghana,” in *Chieftaincy in Ghana*, 198. On this note, one could deduce from the mission's action that they saw the stool and its paraphernalia as fetish which should be discarded by its new convert.

²⁰FN: Interviews with Nana Addo Birikorang and A. A. Anti. See also E. Ayesu, “Conflict of Institutions: Chieftaincy, Church and State ...,” pp. 493-504.

²¹ Interviews with Nana Addo Birikorang; and Oseadeeyor Addo Dankwa III (January 2006). See also, R. Addo-Fening, op. cit

²²Ibid.

²³ A spill over from the debate is the perception of the spread of Christianity in Africa as a matter of passive reception on the part of local communities. While this paper does not intend to wage into the debate, it would however use the developments in Akuapem already discussed to agree with Ogbu Kalu (in Ogbu Kalu, 2008, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; OgbuKalu, 2007, *African Christianity: An African Story*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press) and Lamin Sanneh (in Lamin Sanneh, 1983, *West African Christianity: The Religious Impact*. New York: Orbis Books)

to reject the claim. In all intents and purposes, the Christian Church in Akuapem like elsewhere in Africa is the product of combined European and African agencies.

²⁷“Tribute by H.E. John Agyekum Kufour, President of the Republic of Ghana,” Funeral Programme, 11.

²⁸Ibid. Interestingly, these new developments in his life did not sever the links between him and his profession as a statistician and in 1973 he was elected by the Royal Statistical Society of the United Kingdom to become an Honorary Fellow for his dedicated services to Statistics.

²⁹FN: This was conferred on him in 2000 by Oseadeeyor Addo Dankwa III acting in consultation and support of the Akuapem Traditional Council (interviews with Oseadeeyor Addo Dankwa III, Nana Manko Aba II and Okyeame Manu Osei.

³⁰FN: Interviews with Nana Manko Aba II.

³¹Funeral Programme, p. 19.

³²FN: Interviews with Nana Manko Aba II and Okyeame Manu Osei.

³³See, Funeral Program, p. 17.

³⁴Funeral Program, p. 17. This was confirmed by Rt. Rev. Dr. Yaw Frempong-Manso, immediate past Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana when he preached at Amanokrom during the thanksgiving service to climax the celebration of the 2005 Annual Odwira festival of the chiefs and people of the town. The festival was also used to commemorate the 30th anniversary of Oyeeman Wereko Ampem II's rise to the Amanokrom and Akuapem Gyaase stool.

³⁵FN: Interviews with Mr. Kwame Ayeh, and Madam Agnes Ampadu, retired elementary School teachers and former Presbyters of Emmanuel Presbyterian Church, Nsawam (June – July, 2003 at Nsawam).

³⁶FN: Interviews with Nana Manko Aba II, Rev. E. O. Afari. Meanwhile, under normal circumstance, the death of a Chief was not immediately announced to the general public. To this end, informal means (pending an official announcement) were used to inform key stakeholders in the community of such occurrence. It was in this regard that Amanokrom court used the local Church to pass on the news to relevant church authorities (including those at the national level in Accra) in advance of the sad incidence.

³⁷According to some sources at the Amanokrom palace and rumors in and around Akuapem the body of the late chief was kept at a private mortuary at Lashiebi, near Accra from where it was later brought to Amanokrom for the royal funeral and burial.

³⁸They played the dual role of traditional and biological chief mourners; and on who much depended for the success or otherwise of the funeral. According to Nana Barnie, Akropong Asonahene and Nana Amankwa Awuku Dabanka, Akropong Santeasehene and Akuapem Guantoahene, both members of the Oyeeman's Funeral Planning Committee, the consultations were necessary in view of the fact that funerals of Chiefs which are rare occasions require well-thought out strategies to ensure that every traditional and customary practice was adhered to. And to achieve this it required that the immediate relations, biological or otherwise meet to think about matters relating to finances; security; welfare; and any other issue of interest during and immediately after the funeral.

³⁹FN: Interviews with Okyeame Osei.

⁴⁰Death and funeral, in spite of being necessary rites of passage, were considered profane and therefore pollutants that pollute stool occupants and attendants and were effectively prohibited to perform their normal functions until such time that the funeral was over and all stool personnel including Chiefs and attendants have been ritually cleansed.

⁴¹One such scripture was Psalm 23, which for all intents and purposes reflected the state of the people- people who have lost an old and in want of a "new" shepherd.

⁴²Known in private life as Nortey Omaboe.

⁴³The Akuapem North is currently one of the 216 politically administrative districts of Ghana under which Amanokrom and for that matter Akuapem Gyaaseman is placed.

⁴⁴I was one of them. Meanwhile, I believe my membership on the committee was the result of my involvement in the research activities carried out by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana during and after the funeral of the late Otumfuo Opoku Ware II, the immediate past King of the Asante Kingdom of Ghana in 2000. Moreover, I was a member of the Planning Committee of the Annual Amanokrom Odwira Festival; and a board member of Gyaaseman Education Foundation established by the late Oyeeman Wereko Ampem II to support needy but brilliant students in his Traditional Area.

⁴⁵FN: Address by Nana Manko Aba II, at Opeibea House, Accra. For more on the 1994 crisis see, Kumi Ansah-Koi, "The Akuapem Imbroglia;" E. Ayesu, "Tradition and Change in the History of Akuapem (Ghana) Chieftaincy during British Colonial Rule, 1874-1957," PhD Dissertation, Department Of History, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, USA, July 2011, chapter 6.

⁴⁶The towns took that decision following the 1994 communal violence that engulfed the Akuapem state. For more on the unfortunate incidence, see Michelle Gilbert, "No Condition is Permanent: Ethnic Construction and the Use of History in Akuapem," *Africa*, Vol. 67, no. 4 (1997): 501-33. Aburi, Larteh and Adukrom are originally towns settled by Guans before the arrival of Akans to the area.

⁴⁷Oyeeman's second wish was assigned to the sub-committee on Protocol. In all, five committees were set up. The remaining three were Finance and Administration; Works and Grounds; and Logistics.

⁴⁸The "special" arrangement for the committal became necessary in view of the fact that the royal mausoleum, where the late Chief like elsewhere in Ghana was buried was a restricted area and was limited to only royal executioners and few palace officials.

⁴⁹For more on the development, see, Addo-Fening, R., *Akyem Abuakwa, 1700-1946: From Ofori Panin to Sir Ofori Atta*, Trondheim: Department of History, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, 1997.

⁵⁰FN: The *odosu*, considered the soul of the Akuapem state was different from *Odwira Apafram* which was of Asante origin and kept at Apirede from where it was brought to Akropong during Odwira celebrations. Moreover, the former was believed to have been the guiding spirit that accompanied the pioneer Akyem fighters/settlers to the Akuapem hills. According to Oseadeeyor Addo Dankwa III and Nana Manko Aba II, although the two were important in the religious realm of Akuapem including Odwira activities, they were strategically kept at different places. The assertion by the two confirms claim made by Nana Addo Birikorang in 1997/8 when he spoke on the place of the *odosu* in Akuapem polity. Meanwhile, I sought the confirmation (July 24, 2011) after an earlier reviewer of this paper had sought to locate the two at Apirede.

⁵¹They were joined by *adumfo* and *abrafo* from other traditional areas in Ghana who as tradition demanded, accompanied their chiefs who attended the funeral.

⁵²The venue and the role of the women were reminiscent of the post natal activities associated with birth; and childhood of Oyeeman who was born in the house; and cared for by his maternal relations.

⁵³The items together with those presented by the other groups were normally used for domestic and chiefly rites. Some of them would be used for the mortuary and burial rites. The rationale behind collection was to give meaning to the belief that life goes on after death and that the dead would need them for their use. For more on the belief in life after death, see Peter Akwasi Sarpong, *Dear Nana: Letter to My Ancestors*. Takoradi: Ghana, Francisca. Publications, 1998; J. Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion*, Oxford: Portsmouth, N.H.; U.S.A.: Heinemann Educational Books, 1991; Kwame Gyekye, *African Cultural Values: An Introduction*, Philadelphia: Sankofa Pub. Co., 1996.

⁵⁴ Another prohibition debarred the people from eating food prepared with corn on Tuesdays. The ban however did not extend to areas in and around schools and churches.

⁵⁵ FN: Data from interviews with Oseadeeyor Addo Dankwa II.

⁵⁶ A couple of cocoa and palm trees; plantain, cassava and trees commonly seen at the outskirts of villages were planted in the hall.

⁵⁷ Oyeeman was noted for witty comments, most of which he reserved for irresponsible men who came before him.

⁵⁸ FN: Interviews with Rev. E. O. Afari.

⁵⁹ FN: Interviews with Nana Adu Boafo, Apagyahene of Amanokrom; Okyeame Osei Manu and Rev E. O. Afari.

⁶⁰ Meanwhile, generally mourners sing dirges at funerals but with the close association between *abrafo*, *adumfo* and *asafo* companies, the groups sing war songs instead of dirges. This was because in the past the three groups were the “standing army” connected with the Akan-type chieftaincy institution and were primarily responsible for the security in the community. Consequently, they have understandably developed a war mentality that was amply demonstrated by their martial orientation made visible by their music form, procession and firing of musketry at all their engagements, including funerals (see, James E. K. Aggrey, *Asafo*. Tema: Ghana Publishing Company, 1978).

⁶¹ FN: The items included sheep; bullets; food stuffs; and cola nuts (interviews with Okyeame Osei Manu, Nana Oforiwa, *Twafohemea* of Amanokrom, and Asafo Supi Akowuah Ntow).

⁶² It was culturally believed that until he was buried, the deceased could hear and for that matter receive the condolences from his people.

⁶³ Other groups came from Adawso (located on the Koforidua-Mamfe highway) and Suhum (located on the Accra-Kumasi highway) which were farming

communities founded by people from Amanokrom.

⁶⁴ See funeral brochure for the groups and their assigned days (dates).

⁶⁵ FN: Interviews with Nana Manko Aba II and Nana Dokua.

⁶⁶ The event coincided with the holding of a state funeral by the government and people of Ghana to honor Oyeeman Wereko Ampem II for his exemplary service to the nation.

⁶⁷ Cf. I Thessalonians. 4:13-18; Revelation. 7:9-17; John 14: 1-4, 6, 27.

⁶⁸ This was a major departure from the case of Asantehene Agyeman Prempeh I whose funeral service and committal were done at the St. Cyprian Anglican Church.

⁶⁹ Incidentally, the Bretuo House was where the late Chief like his predecessors was confined as part of the traditional process leading to his installation as Chief of Amanokrom and Gyasehene of Akuapem. The choice of the house is closely associated with the historic settlement of members of the Bretuo Clan in Amanokrom long before the arrival of the Akyem elements in the town. For more details on the Bretuo Clan of Amanokrom, see, Ebenezer Ayesu, "One State, Many Origins: Peopling of the Akuapem State: A Re-Examination," *Contemporary Journal of African Studies* Vol.1, No. 1 (2013): pp. 27-54.

⁷⁰ Presbyterian Church of Ghana: Liturgy and Studies Book, Waterville House, 1987,p. 35.

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