

CHIEFS IN DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA: A STUDY OF TWO CONTEMPORARY GHANAIAN CHIEFS

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ABSTRACT: The central government has been mandated by the citizens to promote development in all the sectors of the country. In spite of the government's responsibility of promoting development in the country, the private sector also has a role to Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Thus. international development partners, civil society organizations, and faith-based organizations have all played diverse roles in promoting development in Ghana. However, a key stakeholder of development at both local and national levels is the Ghanaian chieftaincy system. In contemporary times, some chiefs have redefined their roles as agents of development. Using the qualitative approach and through the lens of modernization theory, this paper investigates the contributions of Otumfuo Osei Tutu II and AgbogbomefiaTogbeAfede XIV to development at both local and national levels. The paper argues that Otumfuo Osei Tutu II and TogbeAfede XIV are modern chiefs who have used their positions and experience to promote development in areas of education, health, business and industry, settlement of disputes, information and communication technology, and sports among others. The paper concludes that both chiefs are agents of development who complement the role of the central government in promoting development in Ghana.

KEYWORDS: Chiefs, Development, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, TogbeAfede XIV, Ghana.



INTRODUCTION

The institution of chieftaincy is the foundation of leadership in indigenous African societies. This institution formed the bedrock of societal organization. It provided the axis around which development of local communities revolved (Bewiadzi, 2018). The institution of chieftaincy existed in many indigenous societies and represented local governance, politics, and leadership before the coming of Europeans in the fifteenth century (Boateng, 1996). Prior to the coming of Europeans to the African continent, chiefs mobilized their subjects to contribute to societal development in areas of economic, social, religion, and politics. Chiefs were very powerful and respected in their various societies prior to the coming of the Europeans. However, Boateng and Afranie (2020) observed that, prior to establishment of colonial rule by the European imperialists, governance, leadership, politics, and development were the responsibilities of chiefs. Following the emergence of colonial rule, the powers and functions of chiefs have been reduced drastically and limited to ceremonial functions. Kyed and Buur (2007) argued that most post-colonial governments banned traditional leaders, describing them as collaborators of the colonial regime and saw them as threats to development efforts. Arhin and Pavanello (2006) pointed out that the government of Kwame Nkrumah reduced the political, economic, and judicial powers of chiefs as he saw them as agents that would work against the development of Ghana. The assertions above point clearly to the fact that chiefs faced certain challenges after independence, due to the roles they played during the British Indirect rule system in Gold Coast.

In spite of these challenges, it has been observed that the institution of chieftaincy continues to provide some needed relief to the indigenes of various societies across Africa. These chiefs continuously respond to the daily needs of their subjects. This is because the institution of chieftaincy remains a powerful force to reckon with and its powers in rural areas are greatly entrenched (Williams, 2010). Accordingly, Kyed and Buur (2007) argued that in recent times, there has been the revival of the institution of chieftaincy, and the role of traditional leaders in national political discourses, governance, and development has been greatly acknowledged. These assertions above point to the fact that the Ghanaian chief has a role to play in development in spite of the challenges that it faced from some governments after independence. Using the qualitative approach and through the lens of modernization theory, this study chronicles the contributions of two renowned Ghanaian chiefs to development both at the national and community level. This study is guided by two research questions: What are the specific contributions of Otumfuo Osei Tutu II to development in the Asante Kingdom and Ghana? What are the contributions of AgbogbomefiaTogbeAfede XIV to development in Asogli State and Ghana? In organizing this study, the paper explores a brief history of the institution of chieftaincy in Ghana. Secondly, the paper reviews related literature on chieftaincy and development in Ghana. The paper further discusses the modernization theory as a framework that guides this study. Finally, the paper discusses the contributions of Otumfuo Osei Tutu II and AgbogbomefiaTogbeAfede XIV to development at both national and community levels.

The justification for selecting Otumfuo Osei Tutu II of Asante Kingdom and AgbogbomefiaTogbeAfede XIV of Asogli State stems from the fact that these two chiefs have served their communities and the nation diligently and are the epitome of development in contemporary development discourse. In addition, these two chiefs have left great legacies nationally and internationally. Hence, they have shown that the institution of chieftaincy is a great force to reckon with in terms of rural and urban development. Finally, the selection of



these two chiefs emanates from the fact that Otumfuo Osei Tutu II serves as the life President of the Asante Regional House of Chiefs and also served as the Chairman of Eminent Chiefs in Ghana while TogbeAfede XIV had served as President of the Volta Regional House of Chiefs for two terms (2008-2016), President of National House of Chiefs for a term (2016-2020) and also a former member of Council of State. With the pedigree of these two chiefs, it is important to interrogate how they have used their positions and experiences of leadership to promote development at both local and national levels.

The Institution of Chieftaincy: A Brief History

Chieftaincy is a unique institution; from an outsider's perspective, it is the best known and most cherished institution in the country (Addo, 2004). The institution of chieftaincy served as the basis upon which societies were built. The political, social, cultural, and economic lives of societies in Ghana and other parts of Africa were constructed around the institution of chieftaincy. Boateng (1996) argued that chieftaincy remains the oldest of all Ghanaian traditional political institutions which promoted a strong bond between traditional rulers (chiefs) and their people (subjects). This situation gave credence to the institution such that the colonialists accorded the people of Gold Coast great respect. The institution of chieftaincy in Ghana varies from one ethnic group to the other, and the office of the chief was an inherited position of royal families/lineages. Turns are taken to select candidates for presentation to traditionally recognized kingmakers for formal election to the office (Boateng, 1996). Normally, the chosen leader might be the person who founded or who first occupied the area now populated, or he might be a person with sterling leadership qualities or one who, in his own special way, radiated respect and confidence which helped the inhabitants to live in peace and harmony (Addo, 2004). The person chosen in some stances happens to be the head of a particular extended family. To make sure that the leadership fulfilled the hope and aspirations of the community, and to enable accountability to be made manifest in everybody's role, some sort of social contract was entered into by the head of the family concerned on one hand, and the rest of the community on the other through an oath taking. A very serious breach of the social contract could result in the destoolment of the chief (Ibid).

Busia (1951) argued that before 1900, when there were tribal wars, the military duty of the chief and the elders was important. They led different sections of the army to battles to defend the frontiers of the state and expand their territorial framework. Before the military and police services were instituted, the military role of a chief was very important and prominent. This manifests today in the designation or ranks of some of the chiefs in certain parts of the country in terms of the positions traditionally occupied by them, and their followers in battle order during times of war (Boateng, 1996). In the past, chiefs had many sources of income: royalties from lands rich in minerals, timber and other natural resources were paid directly to stool treasuries. Chiefs, in adjudicating cases that were referred to them within their areas of jurisdiction, imposed fines, which improved their revenue. Additionally, chiefs had the right to levy taxes of some sort (Addo, 2004).

However, with the colonization of the country by the British and the general establishment of peace among the various tribes and ethnic groups, the military role of chiefs virtually disappeared except in the impressive military titles, which some of them still bear and the retention of the battle order positions of certain political divisions within respective states (Boateng, 1996). Bewiadzi (2013) identified such titles and battle order among the people of Ho-Asogli in the Volta Region of Ghana. Titles such as *Ngɔfia* (vanguard chief),



megbefia (rearguard chief), Avafia (warchief) bear eloquent testimonies to these titles in some indigenous Ghanaian societies. Similarly, their political role, which was quite important during the height of British rule under the concept of the 'dual mandate' of Lord Lugard, has steadily declined since the achievement of independence. Today their political and judicial authority is almost entirely confined to traditional matters (Boateng, 1996). But then, one important function of the chief in our view which seems to have remained intact is their role as religious and spiritual leaders concerned with the performance of customary rites and duties demanded by the stools or skins which they occupy such as festivals, funerals, libation, prayers and animal sacrifices. In contemporary times, AddoDankwa argued:

The institution of chieftaincy as a political system enforces norms in the society. Today, the chief informs his people about government policies and very importantly, administers land use. He is the symbol of law and order and promotes the welfare and prosperity of his people; he encourages his people to engage in agriculture and in the establishment of industries, where they are needed most within his area. If the government wants to disseminate information on policy or on any issue, the most effective means of reaching the majority of the people is through the chief who uses the town crier's method, namely the beating of a gong as means of reaching his people (AddoDankwa, 2004, pp. 26-27).

Finally, Arhin and Pavanello (2006) noted that the institution of chieftaincy has been mandated with two functions. These include the statutory functions and non-statutory functions. The statutory functions deal with settlement of disputes through the regional and national houses of chiefs, the documentation of customary laws governing the institution of chieftaincy and performance of other duties assigned by the central government. On the other hand, the non-statutory functions focus on socio-economic gaps left by the central government across the country. Chiefs are therefore seen as agents of development who work to complement the efforts of the government in promoting development at local and national levels. It is within this non-statutory framework that this paper explores the development initiatives undertaken by Otumfuo Osei Tutu II and AgbogbomefiaTogbeAfede XIV to help complement the development needs of their subjects.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Many sociologists and some political scientists are of the view that the institution of chieftaincy is undemocratic and it has lost its importance in Ghanaian development discourse. For this reason, they argued that the institution has stalled development at both macro and micro levels. For instance, Assimeng (1981) argued that chieftaincy, however minimal or powerful its power structure, is often regarded in some circles as conservative, and even a counter-revolutionary force which is believed to be a hindrance to nation building and healthy social development. Similarly, Abotchie (2006) pointed out that in the wake of social change, however, modern institutional mechanisms have taken over most of these functions rendering the position of the chief merely ceremonial and therefore, in view of some, obsolete. From the post-colonial era, the greatest challenge chiefs faced was attempts by the new political intelligentsia to subjugate them. In addition, the institution itself was bedeviled with challenges, such as succession disputes, inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic family disputes, and the existence of dehumanizing and obnoxious cultural practices (Brempong, 2007; Boafo-Arthur, 2006). Boateng and Afranie(2020) noted that these challenges impacted

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national development as meager national resources were devoted to curbing chieftaincy disputes across the country.

In spite of these challenges that confronted the institution of chieftaincy, it has been acknowledged that chiefs continue to complement government efforts in promoting development at both local and national levels. Alhassan (2006) pointed out that in terms of the mobilization and management of natural resources in local communities, traditional rulers such as chiefs, women chiefs (queen mothers) and community elders have been the axis around which both human capital and natural resources were effectively managed. Odotei and Awedoba (2006) opined that chieftaincy commands considerable power and authority over its constituents; this enables it to legislate, adjudicate, protect and defend its own; thus, chieftaincy is a developmental agency. Similarly, Addo-Fening (2006) corroborated the above assertion by arguing that, with the mention of good governance, accountability and development; to sustain, improve and guarantee every member of society an opportunity for education, health and productive and satisfying life, traditional rulers (chiefs) have been drafted to become agents of development in their local communities. In the same parameter, Brobbey (2008) maintained that chieftaincy is relevant in governance and economic development. Chiefs through festivals generate revenue for developmental purposes. Revenue is generated through sponsorship deals from corporate organizations, fundraising at the climax of the celebrations of festivals and pledges by the central government. These funds are invested into community development projects to improve the standard of living of the people.

More specifically, Arhin and Pavanello (2006) asserted that contemporary Ghanaian chiefs have become agents of development in their societies, contributing tremendously to the development of their communities in areas of education, health, business and industry, agriculture and environmental sustainability among others. These scholars mentioned chiefs, such as Nana OtuoSereboo of Asante Juaben, OsaagyefooOseadeeyoAgyeman Badu II of Dormaa, BarimaKwamiNkyi XII of AssinApimanin Traditional Area and OsagyefooAmoatiaOforiPanin of Kyebi as some Ghanaian chiefs who have contributed in diverse ways to the development of their communities. Arhin and Pavanello (2006) concluded that these traditional rulers who are highly educated have transformed their roles as symbols of unity, custodians of peace and order to new cultural bearers. Hence, these chiefs have become agents of development in their communities.

It is observed from the literature above that these scholars brought out the pros and cons of the institution of chieftaincy in Ghana. Though Assimeng (1981) and Abotchie (2006) argued that chieftaincy is seen as anachronistic and obsolete in contemporary development, Brempong (2007), Boafo-Arthur (2006) and Boateng and Afranie (2020) highlighted the challenges that confronted the institution of chieftaincy, while Boateng (1996) was quick to point out that the Ghanaian chief has a great deal of role to play in development considering the roles it played in the past. On the basis of this, Alhassan (2006), Arhin and Pavanello (2006), Odotei and Awedoba (2006), Addo-Fening (2006) and Brobbey (2008) all spoke with one voice that the institution of chieftaincy, and for that matter the Ghanaian chief is an agent of development in local communities and at the national level.

More commending is the work of Arhin and Pavanello (2006) who interrogated the specific contributions of four paramount chiefs in Ghana. Their study provided the foundation for this current study to be conducted. While their work is highly commendable, there is still a gap



that needs to be filled. There are more Ghanaian chiefs who are also contributing to development in diverse ways which they have not captured. Two of such chiefs are Otumfuo Osei Tutu II of Asante Kingdom and AgbogbomefiaTogbeAfede XIV of Asogli State in the Volta Region. These two renowned chiefs have left indelible marks on the governance and development pedestal of Ghana and need to be interrogated in academia. The significance of this study stems from the fact that it will give specific facts about Ghanaian chiefs who have redefined their roles as cultural bearers to agents of development in their communities and the nation as a whole. These two chiefs have used their positions, education, and experience in business and industry to complement the development efforts of the central government. It is therefore important to bring their activities to the academic limelight, hence, the significance of the study.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is guided by the modernization theory that was propounded in the late 1950s. Modernization theorists such as Rostow (1960) and Lewis (1980) argued that less developed countries could enter into the path of development if they emulate political and economic modernization models implemented by the West in promoting development. The theory stated that developing countries need to adopt modern cultural systems in order to engineer the appropriate social, political, and economic institutions that will be in line with modern development. In this regard, it was important for the less developed countries to consider transforming their old cultural values and systems by embracing new models of development in line with Western industrial countries. Rostow and Lewis pointed out that development is largely driven by domestic cultural values and systems and that a change in those cultural systems is the way to promote modern development trends. These scholars maintained that by the West sharing its capital and know-how with the developing countries, it would bring these countries into the modern age of development. Thus, for developing countries to develop, there should be a progressive journey from tradition to a modern-industrial society. Thus, development meant overcoming the barriers of tradition, which are impediments to the process of growth, progress and development. Modernization theorists outlined essential factors, which if adopted by the developing countries, could enable development to take-off. These principles are: high investment, urban based culture, higher education, quality health systems, savings, and use of reproductive capital, new entrepreneurs, and establishment of industries, financial institutions, western foreign aid and investment, modern legal systems among others. These principles according to the modernization theorists would facilitate the process of development in the developing world. Hence, the basic assumption of this theory is that tradition impedes development while modernity serves as the catalyst for development.

However, this basic assumption is not a true reflection of reality in contemporary times. The institution of chieftaincy is a traditional institution which serves as the bedrock for community development in contemporary Ghana. This role of the institution defeats such an assumption by the theory. It may be argued that this theory is archaic and has outlived its usefulness since it was developed in the 1950s. It is argued in this study that the institution of chieftaincy is far older than modernization theory but still remains useful to the African people especially Ghanaians. Hence, modernization theory cannot be accepted as an archaic theory as its age resonates with the institution of chieftaincy. Accordingly, the motivation for using modernization theory has to do with the fact that the principles outlined by



modernization theorists in the 1950s are still manifesting in contemporary times. For instance, the Ghanaian chief calls himself a modern chief. He is well educated, understands the essence of education, modern healthcare systems and the general development of his community. To achieve this, he collaborates with some development partners to promote Western education, modern health care systems, investment, savings, and building human capacity among others. Ghanaian chiefs have therefore gone beyond their images as cultural bearers and have assumed important roles as modernizers and vehicles of development. This portrait shows how some Ghanaian chiefs are promoting the principles outlined by modernization theorists as guidelines for modern development.

METHODOLOGY

The study design adopted the qualitative model (Babbie, 2004; Creswell, 2008). Owu-Ewie (2008) argued that qualitative research is that type of design that uses interviews, documents and observations to study and interpret data in a subjective manner. Hlovor and Botchway (2021) asserted that this approach is rooted in constructivist ontology and interpretivist epistemology where knowledge is socially constructed. Accordingly, data was obtained from in-depth interviews in both Kumasi and Ho. The paper also relied on the desk review approach of Johnston (2014) to search for existing secondary literature to aid in the literature review. The secondary data was reviewed to lay the foundation for this paper and it was also used to buttress primary data that was gathered through interviews. Regarding the sample size, thirty (30) informants were interviewed. The breakdown is as follows: fifteen (15) informants were interviewed in Kumasi by Dr. Ismaila and fifteen (15) interviewed in Ho by Mr. Akakpo. The reason for this approach stems from the fact that Dr. Ismaila has command over the Twi language, has been doing research in Kumasi for some time now, and thus knows the terrain well. On the other hand, Mr. Akakpo's first degree dissertation and master's thesis were conducted in the Asogli State; hence, he is very familiar with the area under study. The sample frame included sub-chiefs, queen-mothers, ordinary citizens, some workers in Manhyia Museum, the administrator of Asogli State Council, and the registrar of the Volta Regional House of Chiefs. Both purposive and simple random sample techniques were used in recruiting samples for this study. It is argued that these two techniques provide the framework for the selection of samples that provided adequate data for this study. Secondly, the selection of sub-chiefs, queen-mothers, administrators and registrars was necessary as it was believed that they had adequate knowledge about the subject matter. The simple random technique was used to recruit samples that provided balanced and unbiased perspectives to the study. Data was collected between April 2019 and March 2020.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Otumfuo Osei Tutu II and AgbogbomefiaTogbeAfede XIV have contributed to development in diverse ways, both at the local and national levels. This section is devoted to discussing some of these contributions. The first section focuses on Otumfuo Osei Tutu II while the second section discusses AgbogbomefiaTogbeAfede XIV.



Otumfuo Osei Tutu II and Development in Asante

Promotion of Education

Data gathered from the field indicated that one major contribution of Asantehene to development is education. Following his enthronement on April 26 1999, he promoted education by paying fees for students, providing textbooks to schools, providing infrastructure such as classroom blocks, among others. Informants pointed out that within seven months of his reign following his installation, Otumfuo Osei Tutu introduced an Education Fund (Otumfuo Education Endowment Fund) to support smart, intelligent, but poor and needy students. This fund was not only limited to students of Asante Kingdom, but also those from other regions of the country. During field work as of 2019, about six thousand (6000) people have benefited from this fund. Data gathered indicated that annually, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II awards outstanding teachers who work in deprived and rural areas of Ghana.

Data showed that in 2012, one hundred (100) teachers were awarded across the ten regions of the country. These awards were meant to motivate these teachers for the selfless services that they rendered to students in such deprived areas. For these teachers, there is the need to recognize, motivate and inspire them in order to remain committed to their work in the deprived communities of the country. As part of Otumfuo's contribution to education in other regions of the country, he donated an amount of Gh¢ 10,000.00 (\$ 1,000.00), in the year 2004 as seed money towards the establishment of Asogli Education Fund of the people of Asogli in the Volta Region. This donation was made when TogbeAfede XIV visited Otumfuo in the year 2004, following the former's enstoolment as the Agbogbomefia of Asogli State. This signifies collaborative work between chiefs in their quest to promote education in Ghana. In an interview with an informant, he stated:

The contributions of Asantehene to education development in Ghana is incomparable. Among all the chiefs in Ghana, he is the leading traditional ruler who has contributed tremendously to education in Ghana apart from the central government. His establishment of Otumfuo Education Endowment Fund which provides financial assistance to the poor, needy, but brilliant students has influenced other traditional rulers to follow suit (Fieldwork, 2019).

The above extract points to the contributions of Otumfuo Osei Tutu II to education development not only in Asante but across the country.

Health and Sanitation

Findings from the field revealed that another important area where Otumfuo Osei Tutu II has contributed to development in the Ashanti Region is the area of health and sanitation. Interviews indicated that the health and well-being of the people of Asante remains paramount on the agenda of the King. Hence, he has constantly encouraged his sub-chiefs to ensure good health, and promote environmental hygiene practices so as to eradicate all forms of diseases from the kingdom. Accordingly, he has constantly embarked on communal labor and clean-up exercises by desilting choked drains and gutters, protecting water bodies, clearing water ways to allow for free flow of running water among others. In addition, he has also embarked on massive campaigns against infant mortality rates in the kingdom in order to reduce maternal and infant mortality. To achieve this, he has provided funds to numerous health facilities in his jurisdiction to support this worthy course. In addition, Otumfuo Osei

Tutu in collaboration with all the subdivisions of Asante Kingdom have established SerwaaAmpem AIDS Foundation which is managed by Lady Julia Osei Tutu. This foundation works with international organizations to support children with HIV AIDS in Ghana. In an interview with an informant, he narrated:

Otumfuo Osei Tutu has contributed tremendously to the health development of Asanteman. This is seen in initiatives such as community clean up exercises, health walks during the Akwasidae, organizing health seminars to educate people, the establishment of Asanteman Health Fund to expand health infrastructure, and upgrading existing health infrastructure in the region (Fieldwork, 2019).

The extract above points clearly to the contributions of Otumfuo Osei Tutu II to the development of the health sector of Asanteman. It is important to note that he has received a huge financial support from the World Bank and other international organizations to embark on these development initiatives. Kpessa et al. (2014) and Bongo (2005) acknowledged the fact that the World Bank gave a grant of \$30 million dollars to Otumfuo Osei Tutu II to support development initiatives in his kingdom.

Information and Communication Technology Development

Another significant contribution of Otumfuo Osei Tutu II to development is the promotion of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) education. In 2012, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II called for nationwide promotion of ICT education. In his view, this was the path to rapid socio-economic progress and that Ghana could not afford to be left behind by globalization. In effect, he initiated the establishment of Community Knowledge Centers (CKC) in Suame and Kenyasi. With support from development partners, such as Vodafone, Google, Vital Capital Fund, TechAide, and AppleSeeds Academy, these community knowledge centers were constructed. According to informants, this initiative was to equip students with skills in ICT and encourage them to use the internet for research in order to promote effective learning.



Fig. 1. Otumfuo Osei Tutu II, King of Asante Kingdom

(Manhyia Museum, Kumasi, 2019)



Secondly, the facilities were also aimed at exposing non-students to trade and business opportunities online so that these youths will be able to establish links with businessmen and become entrepreneurs in the community. It is argued that this initiative will enable the youth to make a living to sustain their livelihoods thereby reducing crime in the community.

Modernizing the Institution of Chieftaincy

Findings from the field revealed that Otumfuo Osei Tutu II has contributed to the modernization of the institution of chieftaincy in Ghana and beyond. First, as the life President of the Asante Regional House of Chiefs, he has used his position and office to preserve, maintain and promote the rich customs, traditions and culture of Asante Kingdom, especially the institution of chieftaincy. He has constantly reminded his sub-chiefs that in recent times, the major role of traditional rulers was not warfare but development and that the current war that chiefs must fight is against poverty, diseases, unemployment and illiteracy. More significant is his contribution to the settlement of numerous chieftaincy conflicts and disputes in Asante Kingdom and beyond. Data showed that he has resolved not less than two hundred chieftaincy and land disputes in his region. In addition, he has also contributed tremendously to the mediation efforts and the final settlement of the Dagbon Chieftaincy Conflict between the Abudus and Andanis in Yendi, Northern Region of Ghana. As Chairman of the Committee of Eminent Chiefs to mediate the conflict, he held numerous consultative meetings with both the Abudu and Andani gates which eventually saw the development of a roadmap for the enskinment of a new King. Subsequently, YaaNaaAbukariMahama II was enskinned as the overlord of Dagbon in January 2019. His role in the mediation process brought lasting peace and stability into the Kingdom of Dagbon. This is a significant contribution to the institution of chieftaincy and the development of Ghana.

Awarding and Recognizing Important Personalities of the Country

On the national front, Otumfuo Osei Tutu II organized the 2015 Millennium Excellence Awards. These awards saw fourteen (14) distinguished personalities and one institution being awarded. The award recipients were from various fields of endeavor including sports, medicine, literature, education, rural-urban development, science and mathematics, peace, democratic governance, food and agriculture, tradition and culture, climate change and international development. Some of the outstanding award winners AnasAremeyawAnas, Osei Kwame, SerwahQuayeson, James Ebo Whyte, Kofi Anyidoho, Moses Baiden, Dr. and Mrs. Brenda Mensah. Other award winners were Dr. KwakuOheneFrimpong, Prof. Joseph Asare, Prof. Victor Gadzekpo, the late Francis NiiYartey, Dr. Samuel Dapah and Prof. S. K. A. Danso among others. In the view of Otumfuo, the awardees deserved this recognition due to their exemplary achievements in their various endeavors and applauded them, especially for sacrificing themselves to doing things that ensured the general good rather than themselves. He stated that this recognition should encourage them to do more for the society they serve.

Contributions to National Governance and Politics

On the national political front, Otumfuo has also mediated between the various political parties especially during election years. In 2008 and 2012, he organized a national peace seminar, which brought all the presidential aspirants to Kumasi to pledge that they were



going to eschew violence before, during and after the elections. Accordingly, this had a significant impact on the conduct of the election. In 2016, Otumfuo Osei Tutu once again organized the Otumfuo Golf Competition for all the presidential aspirants in the quest to unite them against election violence. Indeed, the outcome of the 2016 election was peaceful; former president John DramaniMahama readily accepted defeat following the declaration of final results by the Electoral Commission. He readily accepted defeat and congratulated newly elected president AkufoAddo. The smooth and peaceful transition of power from one party/government to another bears testimony to Otumfuo's commitment to peace, unity, and development in Ghana. In an interaction with an interviewee, he argued:

The contributions of Otumfuo Osei Tutu II to governance and politics in this country cannot be overemphasized. He has played leading roles in ensuring that he advises the various Presidents who have come to power through the ballot box. He has advised former President Kufuor, late President Mills, ex-President Mahama and current President Nana Addo. In the area of elections, he has constantly advised and mediated between the various presidential aspirants right from 2008 to 2016. This shows his commitment to the deepening of democratic credentials in Ghana (Fieldwork, 2019).

Indeed, one cannot doubt the fact that Otumfuo Osei Tutu II has been instrumental in governance and politics of Ghana. He has played remarkable roles in Ghanaian elections by being the first Ghanaian chief to summon all the political parties and their aspirants to a roundtable peace talks during elections. This is no mean achievement on the part of a traditional ruler. This shows his commitment to deepening and safeguarding the democratic credentials of Ghana. The next session focuses on TogbeAfede XIV.

AgbogbomefiaTogbeAfede XIV and Development in Asogli State

Promotion of Education

Data gathered from the field indicated that TogbeAfede XIV has contributed tremendously to education development in Asogli State. First of all, following his enstoolment in October 2003, he instituted the Asogli Education Fund to support poor and needy students. As indicated earlier, this fund received an amount of Gh¢ 10,000.00 (\$ 1,000.00) from Otumfuo Osei Tutu II as a support to ensure the promotion of education in the Asogli State. TogbeAfede has also instituted the Best Student and Teacher Award Schemes in the Ho Municipality for both basic and senior high schools. Similarly, he also established the Best Lecturer Award Schemes at the Evangelical Presbyterian University College, Ho. Since the inception of the Education Fund in 2004, more than 3000 students have benefited from this fund at all levels of education. In 2005, TogbeAfede XIV donated textbooks worth 480 million Ghana Cedis (\$ 48,000.000.00) to selected schools in the Volta Region. In 2008, he constructed a modern school complex for the Ho Bankoe Roman Catholic Basic School with a student capacity of 400, with well-equipped staff common room, office space for headmaster and a computer laboratory.

In terms of tertiary education, following the passage of University of Health and Allied Sciences Act (Act 828) of 2011, TogbeAfede and his sub-chiefs donated six acres of land to the government to begin constructional work. Similarly, he again liaised with the chiefs and people of Sokode Traditional Area to acquire land for the permanent campus of the



university. An interview with a senior administrative staff of the University of Health and Allied Sciences reveals:

The contributions of the Asogli State to the development of this university is tremendous. The university acknowledges the roles played by TogbeAfede XIV and his chiefs towards the establishment of the Trafalgar campus of the University. For this reason, the University's Academic Board has approved the new halls of residence to be named as Asogli Hall, with the five structures named after Bankoe, Dome, Ahoe, Hliha and Heve divisional towns of Ho. (Fieldwork, 2020).

This expression from the university administrator bears testimony to the great efforts made by this chief to the establishment of UHAS in the Asogli community (Ho). Again, it is evident from data that TogbeAfede XIV has contributed to the development of education right from basic school through senior high school to tertiary level.

Construction of a Modern Palace

One major contribution of TogbeAfede XIV to Ho-Asogli State is the construction of a modern palace. Prior to his enstoolment, traditional governance and politics were carried out in the old pre-colonial palace structure. This structure was a mud house where most state ceremonies were held. Following his enstoolment, he announced that he was going to put up a modern palace for the state. In June 2012, the old palace was demolished and immediately, a construction of a modern palace began. The palace was commissioned in September 2013 during his tenth anniversary celebration. This palace has given a new facelift to the traditional governance and politics of the people of Asogli as state ceremonies of importance such as durbars, funerals, festivals among others are held there. In an interaction with the administrator of the Asogli State Council, this was what he said:

This palace was constructed by TogbeAfede XIV from June 2012 to September 2013. The old palace structure which was used by the late TogbeAfedeAsor II was the one constructed by our ancestors when they settled at Bankoe following their arrival from Notsie. But the new structure you see here was constructed by Togbe and this is what we use now as the administrative center of the state and all state ceremonies are performed in this forecourt (Fieldwork, 2020).

This is a great initiative from the traditional ruler in uplifting the infrastructure base of the state. This facility serves as an important ceremonial place where politicians such as members of parliament, presidential aspirants and even Presidents visit by way of paying homage to the overlord of Ho anytime they come for their political campaigns, meetings, conferences and forums. This is a significant achievement.

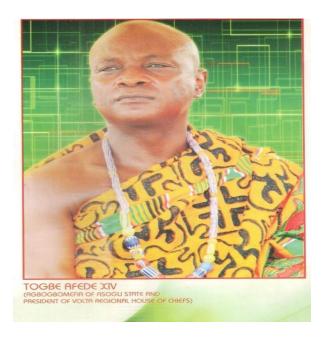


Fig. 2. AgbogbomefiaTogbeAfede XIV of Asogli State

(Asogli State Council Secretariat, Ho, 2019)

Promotion of Health

Since 2009, citizens of the Asogli Traditional area have been given an opportunity to be registered on the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS). According to informants, through the initiative of TogbeAfede XIV, citizens are offered the opportunity to register on the NHIS very cheaply. People are made to register with only GH¢ 2.00 (\$ 0.50.00) per head. This is because, TogbeAfede pays the lump sum of the registration for each individual who registers. For this reason, more than 5,000 people have registered on the NHIS since 2009. The rationale behind this is to give opportunity to people to afford medical checkup whenever they fall sick. TogbeAfede XIV notes that disease is not a good friend to man and for that matter, everybody must have the capacity to deal with it, and dealing with it easily in contemporary times is to have access to the health insurance scheme, which can afford you the opportunity to seek medical attention. He also believes that when people are strong and healthy, they can contribute to productivity and development.

Settlement of Chieftaincy Disputes

Findings from the field revealed that TogbeAfede XIV has played an immense role in settling chieftaincy disputes in the Volta Region. In his two terms in office as the President of the Volta Region House of Chiefs, he was able to mediate many chieftaincy disputes. According to the registrar of the Regional House of Chiefs, between 2010 and 2016, chieftaincy disputes such as Akrofu-Xeviwofe, Kpando, Apesokubi, Santrokofi, Krachi, Agotime-Abenyinase, Pai Katanga, Afife, Somé, Likpe, Adafienu and Mepe among others were successfully resolved. The various parties were summoned to the Judicial Committee of the House, and their cases



examined and resolved accordingly. This was aimed at ensuring peace and unity within these traditional areas so that a serene atmosphere is created for development to thrive. In the Asogli Traditional Area, disputes such as the Kpenoe chieftaincy problems, Taviefe Chieftaincy wrangles, Tokokoe disputes among others, have also been mediated successfully.

In addition, one other significant dispute in the Volta Region, was the dispute between the indigenes of Hohoe and the Zongo community. In 2012, there was a misunderstanding between the people of Hohoe and the Zongo community. This confrontation escalated and the palace of the paramount chief of Hohoe, TogbegaGabusu VI was ransacked and some items such as the chief's regalia, burnt by some Muslim youths. This generated a lot of tension in Hohoe leading to a number of deaths and destruction of property. As President of the Regional House of Chiefs, he visited Hohoe to mediate between the two parties. He went in the company of Nana SogloAlloh IV of Likpe (Vice President of the House), OsieAdzatekpor VII of Avatime, TogbeAdzongagaAmenyaFiti V of Aflao, TogbeDelume VII of Ve, TogbeOsei Tutu Brempong of Wusuta and TogbeKorkuAyim IV of Ziavi Traditional Council. On the part of the government, Commissioner of Police (COP) John Kudalor (former IGP), the regional minister, Henry Ford Kamel, the deputy regional minister Mr. Henry Ametefe and other important government functionaries went with TogbeAfede XIV. Through his mediation, he was able to bring a lasting peace to the area. As part of the peace process, he bought new sets of regalia for TogbegaGabusu of Hohoe and called for peace and unity between the people of Hohoe and the Zongo community. Since 2012, both parties have lived in peace and stability. This is a great achievement as development can only thrive when there is peace.

Industrial Development

As a renowned business person, TogbeAfede XIV has contributed to the promotion of industry in Ghana. He has served as board chair for many organizations such as Strategic African Securities (SAS), SAS Investment Management Limited, Strategic Initiatives Limited, Accra World Trade Center, and Africa World Airlines among others. Due to his hard-work and dedication, former President J. A. Kuffuor, meritoriously appointed him to the board of the Bank of Ghana in recognition of his savvy contributions to the nation's financial sector. He is also the brain behind the construction of SonunAsogli Power Limited located in Kpone near Tema for the purposes of complementing energy supply in this country; an initiative he took with the Shenzen Energy Group Company Limited of China and China Africa Development Fund. TogbeAfede XIV has also contributed to the aviation sector by co-financing the establishment of Africa World Airlines, a domestic airline that operates from Accra to Abuja, Abidjan, Lome and Ouagadougou. He has also contributed to the development of sports where he served as the chairperson of Accra Hearts of Oak, a football club in Accra. All these companies have created employment opportunities for the youth of this country.

Awards and Recognition

TogbeAfede XIV has received recognition and several awards across the country for his tremendous contribution to societal development. Awards he has received include Old Vandals Association Award, the Personality of the year award during the Millenium Excellence Awards in August 2005; award from the Volta Regional Secretariat of National Service Scheme during the Ghana at 50 celebration. In addition, TogbeAfede was honoured



by Ho Development Association in July 2007; and in July 2008, he received the Order of the Volta Officer award from former President J. A. Kuffuor. TogbeAfede XIV is an awarded platinum member of the West Africa Nobles Forum; he has also received the Planters of Seed Award at the Ghana Club 100 Awards and other recognitions globally. These awards and recognitions emanated from his contributions to development at both local and national levels. This shows the relevance of the Ghanaian chief to the development and well-being of the people.

CONCLUSION

Based on the findings of this study, we argue that the Ghanaian chieftaincy system has become an alternative model for both local and national development. Otumfuo Osei Tutu II and AgbogbomefiaTogbeAfede XIV have contributed to educational development, health and sanitation, promotion of information and communication technology, settlement of disputes, awarding and recognition of development icons in the country, governance and politics, promoting businesses and industries, enhancing youth and sports among others. On this note, we can say both chiefs are modernizers and developmentalists. The Ghanaian chieftaincy system has become a force that works closely with the central government to promote rural and urban development. The exploits of these chiefs have been widely acknowledged at both local and international levels and this is reflected in the assistance they received from the World Bank and China-Africa Development Fund and other development partners. On the basis of this, the paper concludes that the Ghanaian chieftaincy system complements the development initiatives of the central government, hence, the chief is an agent for both local and national development.

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