



# UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

University of Calgary

**PRISM: University of Calgary's Digital Repository**

---

University of Calgary Press

University of Calgary Press Open Access Books

---

2003

## Grassroots governance?: chiefs in Africa and the Afro-Caribbean

University of Calgary Press

---

Grassroots governance?: chiefs in Africa and the Afro-Caribbean. Donald I. Ray, P.S. Reddy, eds.  
Series: Africa, missing voices series 1, University of Calgary Press, Calgary, Alberta, 2003.

<http://hdl.handle.net/1880/48646>

book

---

<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>

Attribution Non-Commercial No Derivatives 3.0 Unported

Downloaded from PRISM: <https://prism.ucalgary.ca>



## GRASSROOTS GOVERNANCE? CHIEFS IN AFRICA AND THE AFRO-CARIBBEAN

Edited by Donald I. Ray and P.S. Reddy

ISBN 978-1-55238-565-4

**THIS BOOK IS AN OPEN ACCESS E-BOOK.** It is an electronic version of a book that can be purchased in physical form through any bookseller or on-line retailer, or from our distributors. Please support this open access publication by requesting that your university purchase a print copy of this book, or by purchasing a copy yourself. If you have any questions, please contact us at [ucpress@ucalgary.ca](mailto:ucpress@ucalgary.ca)

**Cover Art:** The artwork on the cover of this book is not open access and falls under traditional copyright provisions; it cannot be reproduced in any way without written permission of the artists and their agents. The cover can be displayed as a complete cover image for the purposes of publicizing this work, but the artwork cannot be extracted from the context of the cover of this specific work without breaching the artist's copyright.

**COPYRIGHT NOTICE:** This open-access work is published under a Creative Commons licence.

This means that you are free to copy, distribute, display or perform the work as long as you clearly attribute the work to its authors and publisher, that you do not use this work for any commercial gain in any form, and that you in no way alter, transform, or build on the work outside of its use in normal academic scholarship without our express permission. If you want to reuse or distribute the work, you must inform its new audience of the licence terms of this work. For more information, see details of the Creative Commons licence at: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>

### UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY**:

- read and store this document free of charge;
- distribute it for personal use free of charge;
- print sections of the work for personal use;
- read or perform parts of the work in a context where no financial transactions take place.

### UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS LICENCE YOU **MAY NOT**:

- gain financially from the work in any way;
- sell the work or seek monies in relation to the distribution of the work;
- use the work in any commercial activity of any kind;
- profit a third party indirectly via use or distribution of the work;
- distribute in or through a commercial body (with the exception of academic usage within educational institutions such as schools and universities);
- reproduce, distribute, or store the cover image outside of its function as a cover of this work;
- alter or build on the work outside of normal academic scholarship.

## INDEX

- Abolition of Racially-Based Land Measures Bill, 197
- Accompong, 230, 232, 236
- Adabre, Donald, 50
- Adu, A. L., 53–54
- Adusei, Richard, 63
- African Advisory Council, 251
- African National Congress (ANC), 178, 182, 193, 195, 203, 205, 214, 277
- chiefship as obsolete, 131
- land and local government reform, 199
- rivalry with IFP, 22
- support for progressive traditional authorities, 196
- Agyeman, Nana Fredua, 8
- AIDS, 25, 45, 115, 269
- Akan democracy, 54–55, 240
- Akan folktales, 56–57
- Akuoko, Kwaku, 50
- Albasini, Joaõ, 129
- Amakhosi (appointed chiefs), 267–68, 270, 276–77, 284 *See also* inkosi; chiefs
- Ampem II, Agyewodin Nana Adu, 55
- ANC. *See* African National Congress (ANC)
- Annan, Kofi, 33
- apartheid, 138, 175, 190, 193
- appointment of chiefs, 178
- attempt to control traditional leaders, 19
- Betterment Plan, 128, 189, 191
- Arhin, Kwame, 33, 41
- aristocrats, 2–3
- Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), 88
- Asafo, 55, 240
- Asante, 9, 87, 103
- culture, re-evaluation of, 47
- political structure, 33
- Asantehene, 20, 32, 41, 45–46, 50, 60, 98–99, 231
- Ashanti Administration Ordinance 1902, 103
- Ashanti Ordinance 1935, 104
- Ashanti Protectorate and the Northern Territories, 95, 103
- Ashanti Regional House of Chiefs, 47
- Ashun, Percy, 43
- Assembly of First Nations, 26
- Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU), 47
- Association of Regional Councils in Kwazulu-Natal, 283
- Atta, Osabarima Kwasi, 43
- authochthony, 138, 141
- Ayeni, Victor, 296
- Ba, Amadou Hampâté, 36
- BaFokeng people, 187
- Balandir, Georges, 39
- Bambaras, 36
- Bantu Administration Act, 190
- Bantu Authorities Act, 124, 141, 178–79, 193, 208–9
- chiefs as bureaucrats, 142
- power to depose and appoint chiefs, 191

- Basotho, 147, 163, 168  
 inalienable right to residential sites, 164  
 usufruct rights, 156
- Basotho National Party (BNP), 154, 165  
 abolished local government, 158  
 democracy and, 155–56  
 party of chiefs and Catholics, 155  
 strategy to undermine the BCP, 156
- Basutoland Congress Party (BCP), 157  
 commoners and Protestantism, 155  
 established senate (principle chiefs), 157  
 re-establishment of local government, 158–60
- Basutoland Crown Protectorate, 149
- Battestini, Simon, 57
- BCP. *See* Basutoland Congress Party (BCP)
- Bechuanaland Protectorate, 252
- best practice, 2, 291
- Betterment Plan, 128, 189, 191
- Bhunga, 184, 190  
 elected candidates, 188
- Biyela, B. B., 22, 264
- Black diaspora, 37
- Blair, Tony, 9
- BNP. *See* Basotho National Party (BNP)
- Boafo II, Barima Asiedu, 45
- Boatema–Afrakoma II, Nana, 60–61
- Boer Republics, 182, 185–87
- Bond of 1844, 87, 96
- Botswana, 21, 23, 249–62  
 chiefs' conflict with central government, 253–54  
 representative local government introduced, 252  
 rural courts administered by traditional leaders, 110  
 steps to strengthen chieftainship, 255
- Botswana Democratic Party  
 reliance on support of traditional leaders, 253
- Botswana House of Chiefs, 2, 21–22, 289  
 authority to advise government, 25  
 women members, 26
- Botswana National Front, 253
- Britain  
 monarchy, 9  
 mother of democracy, 7
- British colonial state. *See* colonial state
- British House of Lords, 9, 155, 255; as  
 British *House of Chiefs*, 9
- British Togoland, 95
- Brong-Ahafo Region, 101
- Brong-Ahafo Regional House of Chiefs, 50
- burials, 102
- Bush, George W.  
 legitimacy, 7
- Busia, K. A., 53
- Business Day*, 274
- Butha Buthe, 149
- Buthlezi, Chief, 197, 205, 214, 271
- Butler, Lt. Gen. William, 183
- Calgary Institute for the Humanities,  
 University of Calgary, 27, 119
- Canada, 25  
 Assembly of First Nations, 26  
 democracy, 7  
 elected women chiefs, 26  
 lessons from Africa's Houses of Chiefs, 10, 23  
 monarch, 9  
 self-governance (indigenous peoples), 23, 28n  
 Third House of Parliament, 23
- Cape. *See* Eastern Cape Province
- Cauvin, Jean, 56
- Cemeteries Ordinance, 103
- Césaire, Aimé, 37
- Chamba, Paramount Chief, 4
- Charles Town, 232
- Chief Native Commissioners, 129
- “Chief-State Relations in Ghana” (Ray), 42
- chiefs, 5, 10, 84, 124, 178. *See also*  
 chieftaincy; traditional authorities;  
 traditional leaders;  
 African past, 127, 130, 137  
 under apartheid (*see under* traditional  
 authorities)  
 appointed, 176–78, 267–68, 276–77, 284  
 authority, 53, 124, 147  
 as autochthonous, 141  
 as autonomous, 138–39, 141

- at centre (hub), 154
- cultural role, 3, 23, 59, 129, 135
- deposing, 182–83, 191, 214, 253–54
- destoolment, 95
- development (*See under* traditional authorities)
- domination over women and juniors, 136
- duties, 54
- election by community elders and councillors, 124
- enstoolment and/or enskinning, 46
- as father figure, 63, 93, 130, 150
- female chiefs, 161
- impeachment, 55, 95
- as intermediaries, 43, 51
- kinship model (*See under* chieftaincy)
- as law-giver and judge, 59, 63, 128, 130
- leadership in mobilizing public opinion, 261
- link, people and gods, 63
- as mediators in conflicts, 43
- military leader, 59, 63, 128
- need for reconceptualization, 18
- “non-political” power, 18, 125
- official functions, 46, 58
- opinion leaders, 45
- oppression, 128
- as outdated forms of authority, 146
- passin, 264–285
- patrilineal model of authority, 149
- as pejorative term, 178
- as personal leader, 150
- prestige and popularity, 185
- public morality, 17
- rallying points of resistance to colonialism, 3
- relationship with people, 147, 152, 179–80, 182, 192
- stigma attached to term, 2
- traditional authority in tribal membership, 253
- unpopular, 57
- usufructory rights, 164
- variety amongst, 134
- various images, 34
- voting, 282
- as warrior, 53, 130
- wealth, 53
- Whites as, 129
- Zulu, 22, *passim* 264–285
- Chiefs’ Ordinance 1904, 97–98
- chiefship. *See* chieftaincy
- chieftaincy, 9, 33, 41–42, 58, 84, 124, 188, 235, 251, 268. *See also* chiefs; traditional authorities
- advisory role, 126
- as African tyranny, 126
- an anomaly, 131
- under apartheid (*See under* traditional authorities)
- assertion of local autonomy, 127
- bureaucratization, 125, 141, 156
- compatibility with democratic local governance (*See* democratic structures)
- constitutionalization (*See under* traditional authorities)
- contemporary needs, 163
- as different stages of political evolution, 126
- dynastic model, 147
- focus for ethnic and local identity, 136, 148
- future of, 64
- gender inequality, 161
- guarantee of, 101
- hereditary base, 147, 156, 232
- hierarchical structure, 147, 150
- historical precedents, 163
- as hub of wheel, 148, 154
- influence of colonial and post-colonial state, 10, 87–88, 99–100, 113, 146, 149, 152, 154, 166
- as irrelevant, 128
- kinship model, 150–53, 161
- land and livestock as key issues, 163
- legitimacy (*See under* traditional authorities)
- link to both people and land, 129
- under military governments, 157
- neo-African system of, 232
- popular support for, 169
- re-emergence, 142
- re-evaluation, 47
- research in, 13
- respect for, 61

- similarity to NGO, 135–36  
 as undemocratic, 146, 157  
 Chieftaincy Act 1961, 99  
 Chieftaincy Act 1971, 100, 109, 111  
 Chieftaincy (Amendment) Act 1963, 99  
 Chieftaincy (Amendment) law 1985, 101  
 Chieftaincy (Membership of Regional Houses of Chiefs) (Amendment) Instrument, 101  
 Chieftainship Act (Botswana), 253  
 Chieftainship Act of 1968, 155–56  
 Chieftainship Act of 1978 (Kingdom of Lesotho), 154, 158  
 Christaller, J. G., 53  
 Churcher, Christine, 43  
 circumcision schools, 135–36  
 Civic Associations, 194  
 class, 71, 154  
 clenched fist, 175–76, 194  
 CLGF. *See* Commonwealth Local Government Forum (CLGF)  
 Codesa. *See* Conference for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA)  
 College of Chiefs, 157  
 colonial encounter, 179–84  
 colonial state, 3, 5, 9–10, 17, 19, 21, 28n, 83–121, 235, 251  
 Africa's legacy of, 19, 175  
 attempt to erase pre-colonial past, 37  
 attempts to transform chiefs into functionaries, 146  
 co-opting legitimacy of traditional leaders, 113  
 direct control over traditional leaders, 98  
 exploitation, 179, 181  
 indirect rule, 99, 141, 176, 179, 183, 232, 252  
 legitimacy rooted in imperial power and racism, 5  
 recognition of traditional leaders in local governance, 95  
 recognition of traditional leaders' legitimacy, 97  
 reserves, 183  
 Commission on Gender Equality, 272  
 Commonwealth Local Government Forum (CLGF), 14, 289, 291, 295  
 Commonwealth Roundtable, 1995, 14  
 Communal Property Associations (CPA), 213, 215–16  
 Communal Property Associations Act 1996, 200  
 community councils, 159–60  
 community ownership, 293  
 community participation, 276  
 complementary sovereignty, 21, 238–44;  
*See also* divided sovereignty  
 compulsory unpaid labour, 103, 176  
 Conference for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), 196, 205  
 “Conference on the Contribution of Traditional Authority ...Strategies for Africa,” 13, 41  
 Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), 272  
 Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa. *see* Contralesa  
 Constitution of the Fourth Republic 1992, 42  
 Contralesa, 2, 124, 126, 134, 196, 205, 210, 212–14, 216–18, 271, 274  
 aims of, 129  
 critical in recognition of traditional leaders, 196  
 Convention People's Party (CPP), 11, 88, 95, 104  
 Coon Come, Matthew, 26  
 council system, 184–85  
 Crothers, Charles, 17, 69  
 cultural renaissance, 34, 37  
 Currie, Melvin, 236  
*Customary Law*, 42  
 customary laws, 102, 110  
 Dadié, Bernard, 37  
 Dadson, Frederika, 60  
*The Daily Graphic*, 37–38, 45–46, 51  
*Daily News*, 270, 272, 274  
 Dalindyebo, paramount Chief Buyelekhaya, 218  
 Dalindyebo, Sabata, 178, 193  
 Damas, Léon G., 37  
 de Klerk, F. W., 197  
 decentralization, 43, 296  
 decentralized despotism, 175–77

- Demarcation Act, 1998, 266
- Demarcation Board, 270–71
- demarcation process, 264–65, 273–74, 277, 284
- democracy, 5, 7, 10, 91, 104, 126, 129, 146, 155–57, 211, 220, 257, 273. *See also* elections
- Akan system, 54–55, 240
  - ballot polls, 241, 244
  - concensus, 141, 239
  - Eurocentric notion of, 240
  - historical and cultural variations, 90
  - legitimacy from, 90
  - in local government and land, 159, 176, 185, 198, 203
- democratic structures
- and traditional leaders, 7, 10–11, 19, 73–74, 90, 104, 124, 146, 157, 175, 196, 206–7, 211, 215, 219, 257, 264–65, 271–72
- Department of Land Affairs (DLA), 199–201, 209, 212, 215, 218
- relationship with researchers, 218–19
- Department of Native Affairs, 191
- development, 17, 113, 115, 207, 276, 289
- chiefs and, 22, 161
  - economic, 270, 279
  - local, 93, 208
  - rural, 269
  - and service delivery, 293
  - and traditional authorities, 11, 17, 170, 192, 293–94
- Development Facilitation Act, 203
- dictatorship, 63
- Diop, David, 37
- District Administration, 260–61
- District and Town Councils, 257, 261
- District Assemblies, 106
- District Councils, 22, 184, 203, 252, 254, 257, 261, 264–68, 277, 283
- as check to traditional authorities, 175
  - financing, 284
  - increased numbers, 273
  - lack of revenue base, 273
  - too remote from rural people, 220
- District Development Committee (DDC), 165
- chiefs participation, 259
- divided legitimacy. *See* legitimacy, divided
- divided sovereignty, 15, 17, 21, 28n, 84–121 passim, 238–45 passim. *See also* complementary sovereignty
- DLA. *See* Department of Land Affairs (DLA)
- Doma, 36
- Donkoh, Wilhelmina, 60
- donor agencies
- on chiefs need for training, 161
  - criticism of land use, 156
- Dubulingqanga, Chief, 216–18
- legal action, 219
- durbar grounds, 58
- dyarchy, 88, 95, 99, 104
- Eastern Cape Province, 174–222
- Cape-Coast Municipal Assembly, 43
  - rural local government, 19, 187–88
- ecological conservation, 293
- education, 51, 115, 178, 192, 275
- civic and community, 293
  - effect on view of chieftainship, 158
- elections, 5, 70, 91, 159. *See also* democracy
- chiefs, 160
  - franchise, 187, 190
  - local authorities, 159
  - rural local government, 159, 175, 185
  - in traditional leadership forums, 114
- Electoral Commission, 112
- Emmanuel, Akwasi, 61
- environmental issues, 61, 115, 293
- Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM), 14
- female chiefs, 161. *See also* queenmothers
- festivals, 46, 52, 58
- Finkelkraut, Alain, 35
- First Nations Governance Institute, 26
- First Republic, 1960–66, 88
- First-Time people, 233
- folktales, 56–57
- forest conservation, 102
- Foucault, M., 88–89

- Fourth Republic, 88, 106–7  
 guarantee of chieftaincy, 101–2  
 franchise, 187, 190  
*Free Press*, 45  
 funerals, 46–47, 61, 111
- Gando, 36  
 garrison politics, 240, 242  
 Gaseitsiwe, Chief  
   elected to parliament, 253  
 gender issues, 26, 51, 115, 137, 161  
 Ghana, 11, 17, 21, 23, 33–67, 84–121  
   Akan region, 230, 233, 240  
   partial reconciliation of state with  
     traditional authorities, 241  
   policy of decentralization and local  
     government, 43  
   rural local government, 33  
   stance on chieftaincy, 41  
   transformed survival of traditional  
     authority, 19  
   women in local governance, 26  
 Ghana National House of Chiefs, 2  
   authority to advise government, 25. *See*  
     also House of Chiefs system  
*Ghanaian Chronicle*, 45  
 Ghanaian press, 34, 37  
*The Ghanaian Chronicle*, 37–38  
 Glen Grey Act, 188–89, 194  
   liability of forfeiture, 184  
 globalization, 127, 296  
   hidden dangers, 34–35  
 Gold Coast, 95–96, 98, 230  
 Gold Coast Native Jurisdiction Ordinance  
   1883, 96  
 Golden Stool of Asante, 46, 49  
 governance, 15, 26, 102, 114, 234, 275,  
   289  
   definition, 9  
   nature of, 113  
   pre-colonial, 19  
   re-Africanization of, 234  
 government  
   definition, 9  
   nature of, 113  
 grassroots, 92, 187  
 Gwadiso, Chief, 213, 216
- Hailey, Lord, 96–97  
 Hammond-Tooke, W. D., 125, 185, 193  
 Hamnett, I., 150, 152  
   on kinship model, 151  
   placing system, 151  
 Harare Declaration, 296  
 health, 115  
 heredity, 147, 156, 232  
   African tradition of hereditary leaders,  
     183  
   break with during colonial period, 177  
   monarchs, 7, 9  
*Hermansberg Mission Society v.*  
*Commissioner of Native Affairs and*  
*Darius Mogale*, 181, 185  
 HIV-AIDS, 8, 25, 45, 115, 269  
 Holomisa, Patekile, 125, 129, 216–17  
 House of Chiefs system, 17, 84, 88, 94,  
   101, 106–7, 109, 112, 208, 212  
   comparisons with systems in Canada,  
     United Kingdom, 291  
   conflict resolution, 25  
   funding for, 107  
   lessons for Canada and others, 23, 26  
   as model, 26  
   National House of Chiefs, 2, 11, 13, 45,  
     109–10, 114  
   principles underlying, 23, 25  
   as recognition and mark of respect, 255  
   social customs, 110–11  
 House of First Peoples, 23  
 House of Lords in Great Britain, 9, 155,  
   255  
 House of Traditional Leaders, 2, 114–15,  
   206, 210, 271, 274, 281  
   functions, 282  
 House of Traditional Leaders in Bishop,  
   212, 214, 217  
 House of Traditional Leaders in the  
   Eastern Cape, 212, 217–18  
 Hughes, Langston, 37  
 human rights, 34, 124, 129–30, 219, 295  
 Hut tax, 251
- IASIA, ii, iii, iv, vii–ix, 13–15  
 IDRC. *See also* International Development  
   Research Centre of Canada



- IFP. *See* Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)
- immunization campaigns, 47
- inculturation, 58
- Independent on Saturday*, 271
- indirect rule, 99, 141, 176, 179, 183, 232, 252
- failure in Jamaica, 235
- Induna, 124, 135–36, 144n, 276
- Ingonyama Board, 281
- Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), 22, 196–97, 205, 212, 270–71, 275, 277
- support for traditional authorities, 195
- Inkosi, 277. *See also* amakosi; chiefs
- Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, 13
- integral state, 238
- Integrated Development Plan, 277
- International Association of Schools and Institutes of Administration (IASIA), ii, iii, iv, vii–ix, 13, 15
- International Development Research Centre of Canada. *See also* IDRC; 13, 27, 64, 67, 116, 143, 163, 223, 262
- International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 85
- international trends, 296
- Jamaica, 19, 228–47. *See also* Maroons
- jural corporateness, 230–32, 236–37
- legal pluralism, 232–33
- job opportunities, 278–79
- Jonathan, Chief Leabua, 154
- The Just King - The Story of Osei Tutu Kwame Asibe Bonsu*, 60
- kgotla, 115, 252, 257, 289
- Khaketla, B., 155
- Khama, Sir Seretse, 253
- Kindah tree, 230–32
- Kingdom of KwaZulu, 282
- kings, 2–3, 84, 98, 148, 155, 268, 281–82
- Asantehene, 41, 45–46, 50, 60, 98–99, 231
- conversion to Christianity and Islam, 50
- converted to chiefs, 10, 87
- exiled, 11
- military role, 60
- role in contemporary South Africa, 124
- Zulu, 22, 128
- Kromanti culture, 230, 237
- Kronama, Obaapanyin Yaa, 12
- Kufuor, President John, 86, 108
- Kumasi Public Health Board Ordinance, 103
- Kwanaloga, 283
- Kwarteng, Nana Serwaah, 61
- KwaZulu-Natal, 22, 128, 271, 273, 275
- lack of resources, 265
- neglected during apartheid area, 268
- rural local government structures, 264
- viable local government, 278
- war, 195
- KwaZulu-Natal House of Traditional Authorities, 212
- labour tax, 184
- land, communal, 181, 189, 200–202
- land, tribal, 134, 217, 254, 271
- Land Act of 1979 (Kingdom of Lesotho), 156, 164
- land administration, 156, 197, 202
- land allocation, 22, 160, 194, 254, 281
- Land Boards, 257–58, 261
- allocation of tribal land, 254
- relationship with traditional leaders, 259
- Land Committees, 164
- land ownership, 70, 181, 212–13, 278, 280
- ambiguity surrounding, 180
- complexities, 181
- Deed of Grant, 280
- legal entity, 212–13, 216
- registration, 183
- separated from governance, 200
- title deeds, 280
- land purchase and sale, 183–84, 186–87, 279
- land reform program, 174, 269
- Land Regulations 1980 (Kingdom of Lesotho), 164

- Land Rights Bill  
 implications for traditional authorities, 202
- land tax, 278
- land tenure, 19, 161, 184, 189, 199, 212, 279  
 under British and Boer rule, 182  
 communal ownership, 201  
 individual freehold, 201  
 permission to occupy, 188–89, 197–98, 200  
 reform, 19, 174, 199, 209, 211, 215  
 security, 198  
 traditional authorities role, 175
- land values, 25
- landscape  
 faith in, 140
- Laws of Lerotholi, 156  
 colonial influence, 150  
 missionaries, 150
- legal pluralism, 17, 232–33, 237, 247n
- legitimacy, 9, 42, 141, 146, 243, 264  
 American presidents, 7, 29n  
 from ancestry or from popular support, 70  
 based on democracy, 91  
 based on nationalist struggle, 91  
 chiefs, 9, 124–25, 146, 234–35  
 citizen withdrawal of, 9  
 colonial roots, 89–90  
 cooption of, 113  
 cultural, 93  
 customary law and usage, 102  
 different bases of, 90  
 differently rooted, 3, 5, 17–18, 22, 25, 41, 93  
 divided, 5, 15, 17, 28n, 41–42, 83–121  
 passim, 234–35  
 history and religion as basis, 42  
 from popular support, 180  
 post-colonial roots, 5, 9, 17–19, 90  
 pre-colonial roots, 9, 15, 17–19, 25, 84, 113, 233  
 of self-governance, 233  
 state recognition, 234  
 of traditional leaders, 14, 97–98, 103, 106, 113
- Lekhanya, Major General, 157
- Lesotho, 18  
 Basotho, 147, 156, 163–64, 168  
 chieftaincy in, 146–71  
 government intervention seen to favour wealthy, 167  
 government regulation on use of grazing land, 167  
 intelligentsia, 158  
 intrusion of colonial settlers, 149–50  
 land allocation, 160, 163–64, 166  
 livestock economy, 163, 166–67  
 placing system, 151  
 rich vs. poor stockholders, 167–68  
 traditional and modern governments evolving together, 146
- Lesotho Evangelical Church, 163
- Lesotho National Livestock Task Force, 168
- liberal welfare state, 34
- local government, 19, 85, 87, 89, 93, 159, 175, 184, 200, 264  
 budgetary constraints, 210, 220  
 and chieftaincy, 43, 135  
 demarcation process, 264–66, 270–71, 273–74, 277, 284  
 elected representation, 176, 187  
 financing, 94, 278–79  
 legislation, 160  
 reform, 174, 213  
 restructuring, 161  
 traditional authorities role, 10, 13, 22, 99, 103, 175
- Local Government Act, 105, 160, 204
- localism, 130
- Lugard, Frederick, 126, 141
- Luthuli, Albert, 193
- Malele, Chief, 131
- Malingoaneng, 153
- Maloka, T. A., 207
- Mamdani, Mahmood, 126, 175–76, 194, 221–22
- Mandela, Nelson, 124, 193
- Manuh, Takyiwaa, 61
- Marcel Mauss Conference of the Société des Africanistes, 39

- Maroons, 19–21. *See also* Jamaica  
 as anti-colonial tribes, 233  
 cultural uniqueness, 229  
 dynamic organization, 229  
 fidelity to African cultural principles,  
 229  
 freedom struggle, 237  
 jural corporateness, 230–32  
 law, 237  
 neo-African identity, 230  
 peace treaty, 232, 236–37  
 pressure to integrate into national state,  
 238–39  
 resistance against British, 228  
 self-governance, 244  
 sovereignty, 233, 235  
 symbolic landscape of meanings, 230  
 tradition of self-determination, 233  
 West African structures, 244  
 marronage, 228  
 Masego, Chief George, 132, 134  
 mass mobilization, 194, 196  
 Matanzima, Chief Ngangomblaba, 213  
 Matanzima, K. D., 193  
 Mbambazela, Mr., 216–17  
 Mbeki, Goven, 178, 184, 187, 190–91,  
 193, 196  
 Mbeki, Thabo, 213  
 on traditional leaders, 271  
 McCaskie, Tom C., 231  
 Meyer, Roelf, 214  
 migrant workers, 195  
 Millennium SYMONS Award, 48  
 mining industry, 163  
*The Mirror*, 37–38, 45  
 missionaries, 150, 163, 178, 183, 186, 192  
 modern nation state. *See* post-colonial state  
 Mokhehle, Ntsu, 155, 157  
 Mokhotlong, 149  
 Moletele, Chief, 132–33  
 monarchy, 2, 7, 97  
 Moore Town, 232  
 morena. *See* chiefs; chieftaincy  
 Moshoeshoe I, King of Lesotho, 147,  
 149–50  
 as founder of dynasty, 151  
 kinship, 153  
 Moshoeshoe II, King of Lesotho, 155  
 Mtshali, Lionel, 271, 274  
 Municipal Council Ordinance 1953, 104  
 Municipal Demarcation Board, 282  
 Municipal Structures Act, 266–67, 274  
 Municipal Structures Second Amendment  
 Bill, 272  
 Natal, 182  
*Natal Mercury*, 274  
 National and Regional Houses of Chiefs  
 tasks, 42  
 National Council of Traditional Leaders,  
 114–15, 206, 212  
 National House of Chiefs, 2, 11, 13, 45,  
 109–10, 114  
 advisory body to state, 109  
 codification of rules of succession, 110  
 determination on chieftaincy questions,  
 112  
 entrenched in 1992 constitution of  
 Fourth Republic, 109  
 evaluation of traditional social practice,  
 110  
 forums for public debate, 111  
 National Register of Chiefs, 100, 111  
 public education, 111  
 National Liberation Council (NLC), 88,  
 105  
 withdrew recognition from chiefs, 100  
 National Party, 178, 190, 197, 205, 214  
 National Redemption Council (NRC), 88  
 Native Administration Act, 188  
 Native Administration Ordinance for the  
 Gold Coast Colony 1927, 97, 102–3,  
 107  
 Native Administration Proclamation, 252  
 formal recognition of tribal chiefs, 251  
 Native Affairs Act, 187  
 Native Authority (or clenched fist), 175–76  
 Native Authority Ordinances, 98, 103  
 Native Courts Proclamation, 252  
 Native Jurisdiction Ordinances, 96–97,  
 102–3, 107  
 Native Land Act 1936, 189  
 Native Representative Council, 190  
 Native State prisons, 102  
 Native Tribunal Proclamation, 252

- Natives Land Act 1936, 188, 197  
 natural rulers, 2  
 Nault, Robert, 26  
 Négritude poets, 37  
 Neighbourhood Watch, 47  
 neo-colonialism, 17, 37  
 neo-traditional  
   as creation of colonial or post-colonial  
   states, 3  
 NGOs, 43, 135  
 Ngwenyathi, Chief, 217  
 Nkrumah, Kwame, 11, 95, 101, 104–6, 234  
   control over traditional leaders, 99–100  
   electoral victory, 1951, 88  
   Local Government Ordinance, 107  
 Nkwankwaa of the Asante, 240  
 nobles, 2  
 Nonkonyana, Chief, 216–17  
 NP government, 196  
 Ntsebeza, Lungisile, 19, 173, 217  
 Numapau, Odeneho Oduro, 290
- Obote, Milton, 11  
 Offori Atta, Osagefu, 44, 288  
 Oguaa Traditional Council, 43  
 Okyenhene, King of Akyem Abuakwa, 8,  
   44, 288, 292. *See also* Offori Atta  
 oral tradition, 37, 52, 150  
 Orange Free State, 182  
 Osei Bonsu II, Daasebre, 62  
 Osei Tutu II, 6, 32, 41, 46–47  
   acclaimed as “the Millennium King,” 47  
   development of education, 48  
   education, 50  
   Golden Stool, 49–50  
   meeting with queen Elizabeth II, 49  
 Owusu, Opanin, 60  
 Owusu-Sarpong, Christiane, 15, 31
- Pact Government, 188  
 parallel rule, 252  
 Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, 163  
 partial sovereignty, 233  
 partnership in local government, 289  
 patriarchal authority, 153, 163
- Peires, J. B., 179–81  
 People’s Defence Committees, 105  
 permission to occupy (PTO), 188–89,  
   197–98, 280  
 Phondoland, 184–85  
 Pim Report of 1933, 149  
*The Pioneer*, 38, 45, 47–48  
 plantocracy, 228, 233  
 PNDC. *See* Provisional National Defence  
   Council  
 political and legal pluralism, 15, 34, 39–42  
 political decentralization, 296  
 poor communication, co-ordination and  
   co-operation, 208–9, 220–21  
 post-apartheid South Africa, 199–225  
   conflicting constitutional principles, 19  
   district model, 203–5  
   efforts to retain and dismantle clenched  
   fist, 176  
   land administration, 201  
   land tenure policy, 174, 199–202  
   local government policy, 201–2  
   recognition of unelected traditional  
   authorities, 177, 195  
   traditional authorities in local  
   government, 205–8  
 post-apartheid South-Africa  
   development and democratization, 19  
 post-colonial state, 3, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15,  
   17–19, 23, 25, 37, 41–42, 84–121,  
   235, 252–53  
   centralizing of local government, 105  
   influence of colonial state, 90  
   legitimacy based on government duly  
   elected, 91  
   legitimacy rooted in struggle for  
   independence and democracy, 5  
 Poto, Victor, 193  
 poverty, 269  
 power and authority  
   distinction, 233  
 praise-genre, 52  
 pre-colonial African past, 37  
 pre-colonial institutions, 234  
 pre-colonial state, 3, 5, 9, 15, 17, 21, 28n,  
   84–121 passim, 235, 251  
   subordinated or eliminated, 10, 235  
 Prempeh I, Asante king, 98

- Provincial Houses of Traditional Leaders, 2, 114–15, 206, 282
- Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), 88, 105–6
- violent chieftaincy disputes, 101
- PTO. *See* permission to occupy (PTO)
- Public Services Commission, 112
- queenmothers, 12, 45, 61, 84, 102, 109
- moral leaders, 26
- role of women, 60
- Quinlan, Tim, 18, 145
- racism, 5
- radical pluralism, 237
- Ramaema, Colonel, 157
- Range Management Areas (RMAs), 168
- Rastafari movement, 241
- Rawlings, Fl. Lt. J. J., 41
- Ray, Donald I., 17, 34, 41–42, 83, 241, 295
- Reddy, Purshottama Sivanarian, 15, 22, 263
- Regional Authorities, 269, 281–82
- Regional Councils, 284
- Regional Houses of Chiefs, 99, 101, 105–6, 109, 112, 114–15
- Regional Police Committee, 106, 112
- Regional Prisons Service Committee, 106, 112
- Regulation of Development in Rural Areas Act, 208, 214
- republicanism, 7, 9
- reserves, 190
- Residential Environmental Bill, 198
- resurgent heritage, 15, 35–38, 46, 50
- African Cultural Renaissance movement, 34
- Rhodes, Cecil John, 184
- royal courts, 58
- royal funerals, 52
- royal ideology, 179
- royalty (Ubukhosi), 282, 284. *See also* amakhosi; chiefs
- Rural Development Bill, 198
- “Rural Local Governance and Traditional Leadership,” 15
- rural populace
- reliance on chiefs, 166
- sacred horn of the Akan, 232
- sacred texts
- link between living and dead, 52
- Sarpong, Nana Akuoko, 241, 244
- Sarpong, Peter K., 58
- scapegoats
- appointed headmen as, 185
- Scott’s Hall, 232
- SDI. *See* Spatial Development Initiatives (SDI)
- Sebotto, Kgosi Mosadi, 4
- Second Republic (1969–72), 88
- chiefs in local government, 105
- intervention in traditional leadership status, 100
- secret powers, 142
- Seepapitso IV, Chief, or Kgosi, 4, 254, 289
- Sekhukhuni, Chief, 178
- Sekonyela, Lelingoana, 153
- Senghor, Léopold Sédhar, 37
- Serafini, Shirley, 26
- Setlhare, Chief, 132, 134
- Sharma, Keshav, 21, 249
- Shepstone, Theophilus, 129
- Sherlock, Sir Philip, 243
- Smuts, Jan, 126
- social change, 289
- social levelling through free education, 55
- Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), 27, 116
- Solomon, Allavi, 38
- Soma, 36
- South Africa, 2, 23, 264–85. *See also* post-apartheid South Africa
- South African Constitution
- contradiction, 219
- recognition of unelected traditional leadership, 175
- South African Houses of Chiefs
- authority to advise government, 25
- South African Local Government Association (SALGA), 272, 283
- South African Republic/Transvaal, 182

- sovereignty, 5, 84–85, 87, 138, 233, 235  
 complementary, 21, 238–44 *passim*  
 differently rooted, 93  
 divided, 15, 17, 21, 28n, 42, 84–121,  
 228–44 *passim*, 235  
 internal struggles over, 41  
 post-colonial states, 100  
 shared, 88  
 western assumptions re, 234  
*Sovereignty, Legitimacy and Power in West  
 African Societies*, 41  
 Spatial Development Initiatives (SDI),  
 210, 215, 217–18  
 state. *See also* colonial state; post-colonial  
 state; pre-colonial state  
 concepts of, 84–85  
 definition, 85  
 legitimacy claims, 96  
*The Statesman*, 38  
 Stoeltje, Beverly, 61  
 Stone, Carl, 240  
 Stool and Skin Lands Committee, 109  
*Sunday Tribune*, 272  
 support for small businesses, 270  
 Supreme Court, 101  
 Supreme Military Council (SMC), 88  
 “Symposium on Traditional Leadership  
 and Local Government,” 14
- TAARN. *See* Traditional Authority  
 Applied Research Network  
 (TAARN)
- Tanzania, 11  
 Tapscott, C., 180, 182, 191  
 TCPA. *See* Tshezi Communal Property  
 Association (TCPA)
- Ten Women Achievers from the Ashanti  
 Region of Ghana*, 60
- tenure. *See* land tenure
- Tenure Research Core Group (TRCG), 199  
 Thaba Bosiu, 160  
 Thaba Tseka, 149  
 Third Republic, 88, 98, 105  
 chieftaincy guaranteed, 101–2  
 policy shift toward traditional authority,  
 101
- Thomas, Glen, 213, 217
- Thornton, Robert, 17–18, 123  
 TLCs. *See* Transitional Local Councils  
 (TLC)
- tourism, 270, 279
- traditional authorities, 2–3, 5, 46, 84, 89,  
 97, 124, 127, 130, 177–79, 237, 275.  
*See also* chiefs; chieftaincy  
 abuse of power, 192  
 accountability, 19, 70, 179, 183  
 active politics, 234  
 administration of land, 10  
 age patterns of supporters, 75  
 under apartheid, 19, 99, 124, 127–28,  
 177–78, 190–91, 193–94, 213  
 appointment, 17, 183  
 authority, 22, 97, 192  
 autonomy, own source of, 96  
 Black Africans support, 75  
 changed by colonial state, 19, 87, 99  
 citizen withdrawal of legitimation, 9  
 citizens wish for, 7  
 collaborating on HIV-AIDS, 25  
 collaboration with local governments,  
 43, 294  
 complementarity of state and, 241  
 constitutionalized, 42, 124, 130, 206,  
 273  
 continuing existence in Britain, Canada,  
 7  
 continuing presence during colonial and  
 post-colonial eras, 85  
 contributions to democratization, 11, 14  
 corruption, 42, 178, 191, 194, 198  
 culture, transmitters of, 93  
 culture rooted in pre-colonial, 93  
 current recognition (South Africa), 197  
 current South African law, 135  
 custodians of heritage and values, 51  
 decline in interest in, 11  
 decline in powers, functions and status,  
 260  
 and democracy (*See* democratic  
 structures)  
 development, 11, 17, 22, 170, 192, 289,  
 293–94  
 discredited, 177, 194  
 education, 17, 72, 178, 192  
 education of supporters, 75

- election, 17, 70, 73–76, 91  
 fathers and mothers of the people, 93  
 functions, 272  
 governance, 41, 289  
 government recognition, 274  
 grassroots support, 269  
 growing interest in, 14  
 images from interviews, 61–63  
 images of in Akan orature, 52–58  
 images of in recently published books, 58–60  
 important local functions, 18  
 important topic in other countries, 291  
 income, 73  
 Indian support, 75  
 intermediary between living and ancestors, 59  
 land administration, 174–75, 179, 200–201, 217, 272  
 land allocation, 19, 21–22, 187, 191–92 and Land Boards, 259  
 land reform, 198  
 land settlement, 166  
 land tenure, 175, 221  
 legitimacy, 9, 18, 96, 99, 124–25, 135, 179, 193, 195, 231  
 legitimacy from pre-colonial rooted culture, 92–93, 233  
 legitimacy from religion (ancestors), 92  
 legitimacy from state recognition or popular support, 125  
 legitimacy in post-colonial state, 91  
 legitimacy independent of state acts, 235  
 legitimacy pool of contemporary state, 91  
 legitimacy rooted outside colonial, 102  
 local governance, 9–10, 13, 19, 93–95, 102, 115, 156, 169  
 in local government, 9–10, 17–18, 22, 95, 99, 102, 104, 106–7, 114, 124, 146, 156, 175, 198, 205, 221, 252, 257, 281–82, 284  
 and local political dynamics, 266  
 own interests vs. interests of constituents, 71  
 partial sovereignty, 233  
 partisan politics, 17, 42, 74–76, 125, 154, 294  
 peacemakers, 60  
 perceived as delivering the vote, 70  
 political role, 71, 73–74, 76  
 post-colonial state attempt to control, 10, 19, 88, 99–100, 113, 146  
 powers, 18, 21, 53–55, 125–26, 131, 137, 142, 181, 185, 194, 271, 274  
 public debate about, 146  
 public stances, 74–76  
 recognition by post-colonial states, 17  
 relationship with followers, 71, 291  
 required to carry out all orders, 272  
 response to post-apartheid policies, 175  
 revival of interest in, 11  
 rural vs. industrial, 72–73  
 rural vs. urban, 75  
 salaries, 183, 193, 208, 252–53, 272  
 secret powers, 142  
 service delivery, 289  
 as significant form of authority in rural areas, 146  
 social change, 289  
 social role, 59  
 socio-economic characteristics, 17, 71–73, 178  
 sources of cultural pride, 3  
 sovereignty, 231  
 as spiritual leader, 63  
 usufruct rights, 137  
 Traditional Authority Applied Research Network (TAARN), 13–14, 41, 61, 62, 295  
 Traditional Councils, 109, 112  
 “Traditional Leadership and Local Governance in Social Policy in West and Southern Africa,” 13  
 traditional leadership structures  
 capacity-building support, 293  
 training and infrastructural assistance, 293  
 traditional rulers, 45  
 legitimate moral and social leaders, 42  
 traditionalists (oral tradition)  
 as living memory of communities, 36  
 transhumance system (Basotho), 168–69  
 Transitional Local Councils (TLCs), 203, 220

- Transitional Local Government Act of 1993, 203  
 limited role for traditional authorities, 206
- Transitional Representative Councils (TrepCs), 203, 205, 213, 220  
 composition and election, 204
- Transitional Rural Councils (TRCs), 203
- Transkei  
 independence, 197  
 as testing ground for local government, 187
- Transvaal Location Commission, 184, 186
- Treasury Proclamation, 252
- Tribal Administration, 257, 261
- Tribal Authorities, *See* traditional authorities
- Tribal Authority Offices, 276–77
- Tribal Councils, 252, 257
- Tribal Land Act, 258
- Tribal Treasuries, 251
- tribes, 178  
 consent to be ruled, 129  
 recognition of chief as chief, 140
- trokosi, 111
- Tshezi case study, 174–75, 218  
 lessons, 220–21  
 role of commissioned research, 221
- Tshezi communal area, 215–17, 219
- Tshezi Communal Property Association (TCPA), 215–18
- Ubukhosi, 282, 284. *See also* royalty; chiefs
- Uganda  
 kingdoms abolished, 11
- Uganda 1967 Constitution, 11
- umbrella (kyinie)  
 of chiefs and queenmothers, 232  
 symbol of kingship, 231
- UN, 124, 130
- UN millennium summit, 33
- Union of South Africa, 182, 187
- United Democratic Front, 195
- United Democratic Movement of Bantu Holomisa, 214
- United States, 7  
 lessons from Africa's Houses of Chiefs, 23
- United States Senate, 255
- United Transkeian Territories General Council (UTTGC), 184
- Universal Bill of Human Rights, 124, 130, 219
- Upgrading and Land Tenure Rights Act amendment, 200
- Upgrading of Land Tenure Bill, 197–98
- urban nouveau bourgeoisie, 131
- usufruct rights, 156, 164
- Valsan, E. H., 15
- van Rouveroy van Nieuwaal, E. A. B., 41, 241
- Village Development Committee (VDC)  
 elected residents, 165  
 villagers view of, 165
- villages  
 kinship model of authority, 153  
 market economy, 163  
 modern nation state and, 164
- violence, 5, 101
- Wallis, Malcolm, 18, 145
- Weber, Max, 135
- The Weekend Statesman*, 38
- West Africa, 230
- White Paper of Local government, 210–11
- White Paper on Integrated Rural Development, 269
- White Paper on Land Policy (South Africa), 200
- White Paper on Land Reform (South Africa), 197  
 challenges to, 198
- White Paper on Local Government, 203, 207
- White Paper on Traditional Affairs  
 development of, 208
- White Paper on Traditional Leadership and Institutions, 271, 273
- witch camp practices, 111



- women, 111, 208
  - domination of, 128, 136
  - land tenure, 199
  - as percentage of traditional leaders, 72
  - progressive role models, 61
  - traditional local governance, 26
  - welfare of women and children, 294
- Wool and Mohair Growers' associations, 168
- Worker's Defence Committees, 105
- World Bank, 47
- Wright, Carl, 14, 22, 287
- Wright, Richard, 37
- youth, 128
  - authority over, 51
  - moral degradation, 51
  - and students, 195
- Youth League, 195
- Zimbabwean reforestation, 115
- Zips, Werner, 19, 21, 41, 227
- Zwelithini, King Goodwill, 128, 271

Traditional leadership is a factor that has been long overlooked in evaluations of rural local government in much of contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa. *Grassroots Governance?*, an interdisciplinary and intercontinental collection, addresses this gap in African scholarship and brings new perspectives on the integration, or reconciliation, of traditional leadership with democratic systems of local government. Articles from the fields of political science, law, postcolonial studies, anthropology, cultural studies, and policy and administrative studies establish a baseline for best practice in Africa and the Afro-Caribbean while taking into account the importance of traditional leadership to the culture of local governance. Case studies are drawn from Ghana, South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, and Commonwealth countries in West, East, and Southern Africa, as well as Jamaica.

**Donald I. Ray** is a professor in the department of political science at the University of Calgary. He is also the International Co-ordinator of the Traditional Authority Applied Research Network (TAARN).

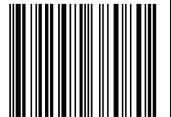
**P.S. Reddy** is a professor in the School of Governance, University of Durban-Westville, Durban, South Africa. He is currently the project director of the Working Group on Local Governance and Development of the International Association of Schools and Institutes of Administration (IASIA), headquartered in Brussels.

**"A very timely and valuable contribution on chieftancy."**

**Roger Southall,**  
Rhodes University, South Africa

[www.uofcpress.com](http://www.uofcpress.com)

ISBN 1-55238-080-7



9 781552 380802