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**MIND THE GAP: INDIGENOUS INPUT IN THE MANAGEMENT
PLAN OF SHAI HILLS RESOURCE RESERVE IN GHANA**

MA Thesis in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management.

Central European University

Budapest

December 2019

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by

Hilda Andoh

(Ghana)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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I, the undersigned, **Hilda Andoh**, candidate for the MA degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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ABSTRACT

The management of a community-based heritage site cannot be complete without involvement of the indigenous heritage bearers even after such local populations are removed from their settlements on the heritage site. A community's heritage cannot be protected without including their traditional practices in governmental management plans or policies concerning national parks in Ghana. Conflicts often arise whenever heritage bearers are not actively involved in their heritage. The existing relationship between the locals of the *Se* traditional area and the governmental agency for the protection and management of their heritage in the Shai Resource Reserve, suggest that there is no symbiotic relationship with regards to collective preservation. The problems between government stakeholders and the *Se* local population started when the Government of Ghana designated the Shai Hills Resource Reserve a protected area which led, the reservation rights under the management of reserve the Forestry Commission under the jurisdiction of the Government of Ghana. This research is necessitated by the existing management plan of the Shai Hills Reserve that does not include elements of the traditional practices of the *Se* people that are relevant to both the locals and the reserve. The data collection methods used for this research was participatory observation, unstructured interviews and online research regarding local participation of the *Se* in their heritage. The purpose of this thesis is to propose a revised management plan that will include selected traditional practices relevant to the *Se* community and the reserve in the interests of promoting a reciprocal system of preservation between government stakeholders and the *Se* traditional people living by the Reserve. The aim is to promote a "revised" relationship based on the integration of traditional and emergent preservation practices for the benefit of the reserve and not to change the existing plan in a way that suggests it is wrong. On the contrary, the work gravitates towards a modernization approach that is open to emerging best practices. It is hoped that a proposed

revised management plan can ultimately be put into practice for all community-based heritage sites in Ghana.

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INTRODUCTION

According to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee, 2007: 2:

For the purposes of heritage protection, the World Heritage Convention sees communities as encompassing all forms of non-state actors. Noting that, this may be true of even the smallest groups of citizens. This can include groups of indigenous, traditional, and/or local peoples and maybe presented as, among others, community groups, tribes, non-governmental organizations, private enterprise, and/or local authorities. What defines these communities is usually what they possess, which may be a direct connection, with relevant interests, to individual sites and often they have a connection that has endured over time. Characteristically, 'these communities share a close proximity with the sites in question. These peoples and/or entities are not necessarily directly representing official state positions, and may actually be in dissent from official positions.¹

Community non-involvement concerning the protection and management of local heritage is a common phenomenon at most heritage sites in Ghana. Various scholars have identified this management problem. The lack of local community engagement can be found, more or less, everywhere when it comes to the cultural heritage of local populations living around former heritage sites. In light of this general problem of community noninvolvement, I have taken a case study from Ghana connected to the *Se* people from the Dangme West District of Accra, who were the original inhabitants of the Shai Hills Resource Reserve. The *Se* people were forcefully removed from their ancestral settlements by the Government of Ghana in 1892 and are currently not involved in the management and protection of their own heritage, now managed by the Forestry Commission of Ghana. My interest in this research field was first piqued when the locals of the Kintampo waterfall in Ghana complained about not being involved in the protection of their heritage connected to the waterfall. A terrible tragedy occurred when some students who went to visit the waterfall accidentally died there on 20th March 2017, an accident connected to the fact locals had no input into how the area around the

¹ UNESCO World Heritage Committee, "Evaluation of the Results of the Implementation of the Strategic Objectives of the Committee," Decision, Thirty-First Session Christchurch, New Zealand 23 June-2 July 2007 (New Zealand: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage World Heritage Committee, 2007), <https://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-24e.pdf>.

waterfall had to be maintained to keep it safe. This incident was widely reported in Ghana and it prompted me to delve into the reasons why local, indigenous communities in Ghana are not more closely involved in the preservation of their heritage. During a news report on this incident, an elderly person who was interviewed by a media house stated that, “the day these students visited the waterfall was a day set up for the gods and no one from the community or tourist should have visited the reserve. Because local, indigenous people were not involved in the management of the waterfall this traditional norm was not adhered to, hence this tragedy. Also, there were cases of poor management of facilities like a certain walkway and bridge that led people to the falls was damaged, this then suggests that because the people were not involved in the management, they may have overlooked the problem because, perhaps, they were not given any share of the proceeds. I could not use the Kintampo waterfall as my case study because it was closed down after the incident, but I realized this lack of local, indigenous community represented a general problem at all the community-based heritage sites in Ghana, leading me to Shai Hills Resource Reserve as a case study. The methodological approach used for this research comprised both participatory observation, structured, unstructured interviews and online research regarding *Se* community involvement in their own heritage and the management plan for the Shai Resource Reserve, their former ancestral homeland. The participatory observation approach was used by the researcher to familiarize herself with the *Se* local population and acquire most of the basic information about the area relevant for this research. The structured interviews were conducted with the government stakeholders at the reserve and the traditional leaders from the *Se* community. The unstructured interviews were conducted with the tour guides working at the reserve and local people from the *Se* traditional area. This research illuminates the causes of the conflicts that arise between the government stakeholders at the reserve and the local people from the *Se* community. In parallel I wanted to understand why the government stakeholders at the reserve do not involve the heritage bearers

in the management of the reserve. Part of the problem will be shown to be the lingering influence in Ghana of colonial attitudes concerning indigenous traditional heritage. This thesis comprises five chapters. Chapter 1 describes both the positive and negative impact colonialism has had on the West African continent and Ghana in particular, regarding the cultural heritage of a community. The traditional practices of these local people are seen as archaic and demonic. Thus, traditional practices are marginalized in the government's management plan and policies. Chapter 2 of this thesis deals with land policies in Ghana and the land category that the Shai Hills Resource Reserve falls under. It also includes an in-depth discussion about the ways traditional practices were formerly used to keep social order within communities through the preservation and protection of the community's heritage. Chapter 3 of this work describes the legislative background in Ghana from traditional norms versus policy and how these norms were used as guiding principles in traditional communities. This chapter further suggests how the UNESCO policy on indigenous involvement should be used as a reference in the creation of a revised management plan for the Shai Hills Resource Reserve. Chapter 4 provides the data collected at the Shai Hills Resource Reserve regarding the history of the *Se* local people, the traditional, historical narrative of the five Ancestral homes in the reserve and the settlement pattern in and around Sayu and the Manya Yo Caves which were the focus of this research because of the richness cultural heritage preservation. Lastly, Chapter 5 of this research presents a revision of the already existing management plan and how the local *Se* people should be involved in the management of Shai Hills Resource Reserve. This chapter also shows how cooperation between the two groups of stakeholders would positively impact the running of the Reserve, reducing constant areas of conflict that arise between the government stakeholders of the reserve and the local *Se* community. The suggested changes comprise inclusion of some of the local traditional practices of the communities living in and around the *Se* traditional area, traditions that are still practiced and relevant to the running of the reserve. Further consideration

is also given to the enforcement of the management plan to make sure the local *Se* leaders are given a real voice in the management of their former ancestral homeland, now the Shai Hills Resource Reserve. These traditional practices will be incorporated into the current management plan after it is been analyzed along with some aspects of the UNESCO policy for indigenous people and the heritage policy of the National Trust of Western Australian Aboriginal and historic heritage.

METHODOLOGY

This chapter includes a discussion of the research methods chosen to answer the research questions in this study. The chapter describes various stages in the research, including the selection of participants, the data collection process and the process of data analysis. This aspect of the chapter also contains the qualitative approach the researcher used to gather data for the study. Through the methodological approach used, I gained an in-depth understanding of the causes of conflicts between government officials of the Shai Hills Resource Reserve and the local *Se* traditional population through both participatory observations, structured and semi structured interviews. This type of qualitative approach was the main source of data collection for this research. The secondary research method I also used included blog posts, and scholarly literature on community heritage participation. This research explored the reasons for the noninvolvement of local people in the management of their own heritage, a common and general problem with most community-based heritage sites in Ghana. In an article by Sandra Bruku titled *Community Engagement in Historical Site Protection: Lessons from the Elmina Castle Project in Ghana*, Bruku also writes about the lack of participation of local population from the Elmina community who are not involved in the management of the castle and how these local people shared their grievances concerning this problem.² These concerns of local heritage bearers need to be addressed in order to reduce the conflicts that arise between management of heritage sites and the local population. Using the results of her research, I aimed to create a balance in the management and protection of the Shai Hills Resource Reserve between the government officials and the local *Se* population. The chapter ends with a

² Sandra Bruku, "Community Engagement in Historical Site Protection: Lessons from the Elmina Castle Project in Ghana," *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 17, no. 1 (February 2015): 67–76, <https://doi.org/10.1179/1350503315Z.000000000094>.

discussion of the way the three methods applied in the qualitative research approach were used in the thesis. The research was guided by these three major questions:

- What is the perception of the government officials on the reserve about the locals, especially with regard to involving them in decision making and management of the reserve?
- Since the relocation of the *Se* community members from the reserve, have the obstacles put up by the reserve officials to their access to performance of their religious practices in the area of the reserve had any impact on their daily activities and maintenance of local tradition?
- Are there any government plans to involve the local *Se* population in the management of the reserve?

According to Jonathan Potter, interviews allow a relatively standard range of themes to be addressed with different participants and are a valuable tool for collecting data in qualitative research. He further argues that a one-on-one interview method allows the researcher to interact with the participants and to observe non-verbal cues during the interview process.³ In this study, a structured interview was used to collect information from the manager of the Shai Resource Reserve and a representative of the Paramount Chief of the *Se* Traditional Area. This structured interview was used for these two stakeholders because of the occupational rank of their offices required a formal approach. An unstructured interview was used for the tour guides at the Shai Hills Resource Reserve, some elderly men and women from the *Se* traditional area and educated/uneducated, employed /unemployed teenagers and young adults from the *Se* community. The unstructured interview was used for all these focus groups because I did not want to feel restricted in my questions as I did when interviewing the manager of the reserve or the representative of the Paramount Chief. The unstructured interview was adapted to enable the participants express their opinions openly, choosing their own communicative words regarding the problem statement. This approach also helped the researcher probe for a deeper understanding and asked for clarification on the concerns raised by these participants in the

³ Jonathan Potter, "Discourse Analysis and Constructionist Approaches: Theoretical Background," *Research Gate*, 1996, 21, <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265273243>.

interviews (see Table 1). In order for the researcher to get relevant information and to understand the views of the community participants an observation participatory approach was also used for data gathering. In the article *Participant Observation as a Data Collection Method*, Barbara B. Kawulich defines participatory observation as:

Participant observation allows researchers to check definitions of terms that participants use in interviews, observe events that informants may be unable or unwilling to share when doing so would be impolitic, impolite, or insensitive, and observe situations informants have described in interviews, thereby making them aware of distortions or inaccuracies in description provided by those informants.⁴

With this methodological approach, the researcher understood the complaints of the local *Se* community regarding their noninvolvement in the management of the reserve as well as their eagerness to be involved in the protection and the preservation of their ancestral heritage. Below is a table of the both structured and unstructured interview showing the participants involved in gathering the data for this study.

Table 1. Structured interview for Shai Hills Manager and the *Se* Traditional representative of the Chief

PARTICIPANT	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	RANK IN THE <i>SE</i> COMMUNITY
Current manager	60 years	Higher level of Education	Manager at the Shai Hills Resource Reserve
A representative of the Paramount Chief of the <i>Se</i> traditional council	80 years	None	Elder of the <i>Se</i> Traditional Council

⁴ Barbara B. Kawulich, "Participant Observation as a Data Collection Method," *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 6, no. 2 (May 31, 2005), <https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-6.2.466>.

Table 2. *Unstructured interview for elderly community members and local people.*

PARTICIPANT	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	RANK IN THE <i>Se</i> COMMUNITY
Tour Guides	30-40 years above	Junior High School	Tour instructors
Anonymous elderly men	80 Years & above	None	Member of the <i>Se</i> community
5 Elderly women	60-65 years	None	Members of the <i>Se</i> community
Mr. Nii Boi Tamakloe	85years	Secondary Education	Community leader
4 educated youth in the <i>Se</i> community	20-25years	Secondary school	Community members
4 uneducated youth in the <i>Se</i> community	20- 26years	None	Community members

LIMITATIONS

This study has potential limitations. Due to lack of finances, the researcher was able to visit only two of the Ancestral homes in the Shai Hills Resource Reserve, both of which possessed good historical and cultural relics of the *Se* people. The costs involved in visiting the five Ancestral homes were very high, so the researcher had to choose two of the five heritage sites which was a difficult decision. Getting participants to interview from the *Se* community was difficult because most of the elderly people I was referred to were often not available, including the Paramount Chief who appointed a representative on his behalf because he had an emergency to attend to. Also, most of the interviewees wanted to stay anonymous because their livelihood depended on the reserve and they wanted to protect their reputation within the *Se* community. Looking forward to outreach work in the future, the researcher would want to organize participatory approach to involve the whole community if possible.

CHAPTER 1: CULTURAL COLONIALISM

Cultural Colonialism is a much-debated topic. The term cultural colonialism has also been defined from various perspectives by cultural anthropologists and other researchers. Some authors deliberate about the way cultural colonialism has led to globalization while other research considers the positive and negative influences of cultural colonialism on the colonized nations. Patrick Colm Hogan, in his article *Science, Literature and Cultural Colonialism*, defines the classic form of colonialism most obviously involves the political domination of one nation (or region) by another nation. This enterprise involves the restriction of political decision-making and typically represents an asymmetrical economic relationship in which wealth tends to flow from the dominated regions to the dominant nation.⁵ Patrick's definition explains how most underdeveloped and dependent countries were colonized by the wealthy and powerful nations of the Western European world. Advanced and powerful nations also control the affairs of these less privileged countries through manipulation of the cultural values and practices of the colonial nations such as their education, religious beliefs, languages and their way of life for the economic and political benefit of the dominant nation(s). Patrick further explains that:

In a colonial situation, the norms of the dominant colonial culture come to have default or global hegemony. In other words, the norms of the colonial culture (say England) came largely to define what is valued in the shared society of the colonizer and the colonized. The colonizers assume a hegemonic place in certain regions and context. The areas of hegemony include education, finance and politics. However, the value of the indigenous traditions was preserved more locally, in certain aspects of domestic life and the religious celebrations. As it suggests "the indigenous" areas of values were often associated with emotions, women and to some extents non-productive practices of religion. Also, areas of colonial hegemonic values were commonly linked with reasons of economic productivity and men.⁶

⁵ Patrick Colm Hogan, "Science, Literature, and Cultural Colonialism," *Scientific Study of Literature* 1, no. 1 (May 23, 2011): 165–72, <https://doi.org/10.1075/ssol.1.1.17hog>.

⁶ Patrick Colm Hogan.

In a nation where cultural colonialism is in effect, the traditional practices that define a community are largely replaced by imposed practices. Thereby, through necessary adaptation to the colonial leaders' ways of doing things, the traditional practices of the local community often come to be perceived as inferior. These perceptions and imported practices can be seen in several traditional communities in Ghana whereby most of their traditional ways of doing things have been affected by these colonial prejudices. The colonial influences can be identified through dress, moral ethics, the fast diminishing use of traditional languages and negative impacts on the cultural heritage of a communities. Practical examples can be seen at most heritage sites in Ghana. The traditional and indigenous ways of preserving these places have been disregarded, seen as inferior and outmoded. Rather, colonial forms of management are embraced and used to manage these heritage sites. Although, the concept of founding national parks and protected areas represents good colonial ideology and has helped in preserving heritage sites, the traditional practices of the heritage bearers should also be included in the modernized management plans so that the indigenous people can play a part in preserving their own heritage.

Sarah Amsler also defines cultural colonialism as:

the extension of colonial state power through cultural knowledge, activities, and institutions (particularly education and media) or the systematic subordination of one conceptual framework or cultural identity over others. The understanding that culture is a medium for political and economic power, and for resistance, predates postcolonial theory in social and political thought. The specific concepts of "cultural colonialism" and "cultural imperialism" emerged later, as part of wider critiques of colonial and neocolonial power in post-World War II movements for national independence from Anglo-European rule. Although less popular in academic sociology now than in the 1970s and 1980s, discourses and theories of cultural colonialism have continued to appear in public debate. New critiques of cultural colonialism have emerged from within both the World Social Forum and the Occupy movements. While the political and economic systems that initially gave rise to the analytical concept of cultural colonialism have been transformed through decolonization, new knowledge is being

produced to explain both global inequality and the cultural dimensions of contemporary struggles for power, autonomy, and resistance.⁷

The explanation by Amsler also emphasizes the way wealthy and powerful nations practice power by extending their influence over colonized countries to secure economic and political supremacy. The intention of these wealthy and powerful states was to discourage colonized nations, so that the western ideologies, replaced traditional practices. These colonized nations, after accepting the ideologies then become dependent on the wealthy nations and can be manipulated to exchange their traditional cultural practices for the supposedly perfect traditions of the colonizing nation through the mediums of religion, education and their traditional ways of preserving their heritage. The existence of cultural colonialism has influenced most colonized countries both positively and negatively. Some of the positive benefit Ghana acquired from the Europeans are the missionary schools and the introduction of the National Parks and Protected Area concepts for the protection of the cultural heritage of locals in a community. Implementation of these concepts has proven more difficult in the face of unconscious but enduring colonial attitudes.

1.1. THE COLONIAL PERIOD IN WEST AFRICA

For the purposes of this thesis, colonialism will be considered a form of domination control by individuals or groups over territory and/or the behavior of other individuals or groups. Colonialism will also be treated here as a form of exploitation, with emphasis on economic variables.⁸ The African continent, before each country achieved its independence, was colonized by wealthy nations of Europe such as Great Britain, France, Portugal, Holland, Belgium and even Germany. The colonization of Africa swept away local pride, traditional

⁷ Sarah Amsler, "Cultural Colonialism," *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, Major Reference Works, August 1, 2016, 1, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405165518.wbeosc202.pub2>.

⁸ Ronald J. Horvath, "A Definition of Colonialism," *Current Anthropology* 13, no. 1 (February 1972): 45–57, <https://doi.org/10.1086/201248>.

identity and human resources, which constituted the slave trade in Africa as well as both the economic and political freedoms the continent once enjoyed.

Between the 1870s and 1900, Africa faced European aggression, diplomatic pressure, military invasions, and eventual conquest and colonization. At the same time, African societies put up various forms of resistance against the attempt to colonize their countries and imposed foreign domination. By the early twentieth century, however, much of Africa, except Ethiopia and Liberia, had been colonized by European powers.⁹

The struggle between the Europeans and Africans was so intense that the wealthy and powerful nations of Europe conquered most of the African continent. The quest to obtain political power to rule and dominate resulted in the colonization of the West African continent by the British, Portuguese, Dutch and French. The European push into Africa was motivated by economic, political, and social factors. Colonization developed in the nineteenth century following the collapse of the profitability of the slave trade, its abolition and suppression, as well as the expansion of the European Industrial Revolution. The imperatives of western industrialization, including the demand for assured sources of raw materials, the search for guaranteed markets and profitable investment outlets—spurred the European scramble and the partition and eventual conquest of Africa. Thus, the primary motivation for European intrusion was economic.¹⁰ Stephen *et al* in their article *Analysis of Colonialism and Its Impact in Africa* restate the notion behind the colonization of African by the Europeans:

The colonization of Africa by European powers was necessitated by several factors. Notable, among the factors was the emergence of the industrial revolution which brought about a rapid change in the socio-economic transformation and technology of the European countries. The industrial revolution led to increase in production. The progress in the industry went faster than the progress in agriculture. It was becoming increasingly hard or difficult for the agriculture to satisfy the demand for raw materials required in the industries.¹¹

⁹ Ehiedu E. G. Iweriebor, “The Colonization of Africa,” accessed February 24, 2019, <http://exhibitions.nypl.org/africanaage/essay-colonization-of-africa.html>.

¹⁰ Ehiedu E. G. Iweriebor.

¹¹ Stephen Ocheni[a]; Basil C. Nwankwo, “Analysis of Colonialism and Its Impact in Africa,” *Canadian Academy of Oriental and Occidental Culture* 8, no. 3 (2012): 9, <https://doi.org/10.3968/j.ccc.1923670020120803.1189>.

Therefore, the drive for the colonial masters to attain power over the African continent was to develop their nations using both human and natural resources. In addition, the Europeans also imposed their religious practices, their languages and other social practices on African peoples. Moreover, since the colonial push involved multiple European countries, the quest for power to dominate Africa meant competition and disagreement between Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Portugal, and Spain resulting in:

an interplay of economic, political, and social factors and forces that led to the rush to Africa and the concerted attempts by European commercial, military, and political agents to declare and establish a stake in different parts of the continent through commercial competition, the declaration of exclusive claims to particular territories for trade, the imposition of tariffs against other European traders, and claims to exclusive control of waterways and commercial routes in different parts of Africa.¹²

1.2. THE QUEST FOR POWER AMONG THE EUROPEANS

These European struggles lead to the Berlin West African Conference of 1884-85. The conference was called by German Chancellor Bismarck to set up parameters for the eventual partition of Africa. The European nations present were summoned to discuss issues of free navigation along the Niger and Congo Rivers and to settle new claims on African coasts”.¹³ At the end of the meeting, a treaty was signed to resolve the disputes that resulted in the competitive demand for the European countries to dominate African. The treaty was called The Berlin Act (Treaty). The treaty was used as a check on all the European countries present and dominated most of the African countries.

This treaty set up rules for European occupation of African territories. It also stated that any European claim to any part of Africa would only be recognized if it was effectively occupied. The Berlin Conference therefore set the stage for the eventual European military invasion and conquest of the African continent. Except for Ethiopia and Liberia, the entire continent came under European

¹² Nwando Achebe, “8: Colonial Rule in West Africa – History Textbook,” accessed February 24, 2019, <https://wasscehistorytextbook.com/8-colonial-rule-in-west-africa/>.

¹³ Ehiedu E. G. Iweriebor, “The Colonization of Africa.”

colonial rule with Britain, France, Germany, Belgium and Portugal as the major colonial powers.¹⁴

After the peace treaty, all European nations concentrated on the territories they had occupied and continued with industrial revolution. Even though some of the African chiefs protested the proposals by the Europeans to take full control of the African market, they were not successful. Thus, the Europeans instructed farmers in most African countries to grow products needed by the colonial masters in their country and by so doing robbed them of the profits that had previously gone directly to the African chiefs. The African economy was then controlled by the Europeans economically and politically so that there could be enough produce for industrial workers in Europe. The African chiefs lost their source of income and their power to the European leaders including how the heritage of a community should be protected. Colonization by the Europeans had a severe impact on traditional belief system of Africans, creating a kind of brainwashing that convinced people on the African continent that their traditions and practices were of no importance or relevance. Arowolo argued that:

colonialism distorted and retarded the pace and tempo of cultural growth and trend of civilization in Africa. One of the most profound consequences of colonization has been how the political and economic rape of the colonies has also led to what sometimes seem to be an unbridgeable cultural gap between the nations that were the beneficiaries of colonization and those that were the victims of the colonial assault. The era of colonial pillage and plunder led to the relative stagnation and often precipitous decline of traditional cultural pursuits in the colonies. With Africa subjugated and dominated, the Western culture and European mode of civilization began to thrive and outgrow African cultural heritage. Traditional African cultural practices paved the way for foreign way of doing things as Africans became fully 'westernized'. Western culture now is regarded as frontline civilization. African ways of doing things became primitive, archaic and regrettably unacceptable in public domain. Not only were certain aspects of the material culture in the colonies lost or destroyed, colonial societies also lost the power and sense of cultural continuity, such that it became practically impossible to recover the ability to strive for cultural progress on their own terms.¹⁵

¹⁴ Nwando Achebe, "8."

¹⁵ Dare Arowolo, "The Effects of Western Civilization and Culture on Africa" 1, no. 1 (2010): 14.

Given this assertion, there was a complete transfer of western ideals as the Europeans came to dominate Africa. Since they became the colonial masters, every representation that identified as African changed in imitation of the white man's culture. The sense of confidence gradually died out among African leaders during colonial times and had an impact on the ways forest and heritage sites were protected traditionally. Europeans underestimated and disregarded values that ultimately came to be prohibited in the African communities, a process which has continued into the 21st century. However, the British, aside their quest to conquer most of Africa, introduced conservation legislation. Their primary concerns focused on the protection of wild animals and the collateral efforts to protect other natural resources such as the flora, soils and water.¹⁶ Even though this was a positive initiative, it excluded the traditional practices of the communities where these resources were situated. This conservation legislation led to the western idea of having 'National Parks and Protected Areas', with the intent of protecting all wild animals and natural resources in the forest but with little attention paid to the communities who were moved off their traditional lands.

1.3. HISTORY OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD IN GHANA

Given the short period of time that has elapsed since Ghanaian independence, it is not surprising that many of the policies and social attitudes inherited from the colonial power still hold sway in the country today including forestry management and the heritage assets of Ghana. Before, Ghana attained its independence, the first European masters to arrive in Ghana after signing the peace treaty in Berlin were the Portuguese who settled on the coast of Ghana, formally known as the Gold Coast. When the Portuguese discovered gold in Ghana, they then started to trade in gold and other natural resources. Their interest and the growth of their gold business

¹⁶ Hermann von Wissmann wa, "The Game of Conservation," *Ohio University Press*, 1985, 44, https://www.ohioswallow.com/extras/9780821418666_chapter_1.pdf.

grew bigger, contributing to their remaining on the coastal areas as well as the building of the famous Elmina castle in the central coastal region of Ghana. LaVerleBerry, in his book *The History of Ghana*, probes further,

By 1471, under the patronage of Prince Henry the Navigator, they reached the area that was to become known as the Gold Coast. Europeans knew the area as the source of gold that reached Muslim North Africa by way of trade routes across the Sahara. The initial Portuguese interest in trading for gold, ivory, and pepper increased so much that in 1482, the Portuguese built their first permanent trading post on the western coast of present-day Ghana. This fortress, Elmina Castle, constructed to protect Portuguese trade from European competitors and hostile Africans, still stands.¹⁷

The Portuguese stayed on the coast of Ghana for centuries with no major problems between them and the indigenous populations living in the Gold Coast until the Dutch and British conquered some of the forts along the coast in the 17th and 19th centuries respectively. When the British also settled on the coast, they gradually purchased most of the castles built by the Portuguese in the ensuing years along the coast. The existence of the British in Ghana not only aimed at occupying territories and controlling the socio-economic benefits of the region but they introduced the foundation of ecotourism in Ghana through conservation and protection of the forest and wildlife. Even though introduction of conservation notions, protection of the forest and other wildlife was a good idea it never included the traditional practices of the communities where this natural heritage was situated. The colonial administration introduced measures on the need and how to protect areas for wildlife purposes. The first law instituted by the colonial administration was the Game Preservation Ordinance which was created by the 1900 London Convention Ordinance to ensure that the colonial government did not merely exploit the colonial state but rather protect it.¹⁸ Many centuries after colonial

¹⁷ LaVerleBerry., *Ghana: A country study/Federal Research Division, Library*, Third Edition, Area Handbook Series, DAPam;550-153 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office Washington, D.C. 20402 -5220, November 1994).

¹⁸ Hermann von Wissmann wa, "Africa's Apartheid Parks."

rule, began in the region, the nation state of Ghana gained its independence on the 6th March 1957, 62 years ago. The change was presided over by Kwame Nkrumah. An assurance of self-governance was introduced by Kwame Nkrumah after completing his studies. He was invited to be an executive member of the only political party in existence in 1947. His motives for the self-governing agenda aimed at ensuring that the Gold Coast would be a self-sufficient country and less reliant on foreign countries for help. During, Ghana's independence struggle, human resources were insufficient, and this led to the need to develop an able group that could contribute to the transformation of the country from a colony to a state. The vision for the Nkrumah led government was to create the Ghana Education Trust schools, state corporations, roads, hospitals and the cultural heritage sector to make Ghana self-sufficient and less reliant on other foreign countries and create more employment for the citizens of Ghana.¹⁹ Under the Nkrumah regime, Ghana was divided into ten regions until the year 2019 when six additional new regions were created under the leadership of His Excellency, the President of Ghana, Nana Addo Danquah Akuffo -Addo. Within all sixteen regions in Ghana, there are variety of tangible and intangible heritage sites and assets, practices and cultural values which adds up to the cultural identity of modern Ghana. I argue here that the work of self-sufficiency in cultural matters still most go on. There is a need to examine where continuation of old colonial attitudes toward indigenous customs still lingers on, resulting in management structures that do not include or properly respect the cultural norms of the people who formerly lived in and around these national parks. This research work will focus on one protected forest reserve area located in the Greater Accra municipality, that is, the Shai Hills Resource Reserve. Figures 1 and 2 are maps

¹⁹ John MacBeath, "Living with the Colonial Legacy: The Ghana Story," CCE_Report_No.3-Ghana_LivingTheColonialLegacy. (The Centre for Commonwealth Education: University of Cambridge, October 2010), https://www.educ.cam.ac.uk/centres/archive/cce/publications/CCE_Report_No3-Ghana_LivingTheColonialLegacy.pdf.

showing the sixteen regions of Ghana and the location of the Shai Hills resource reserve.



Figure 1. Map of Ghana. (Source: Internet and map adapted by author)

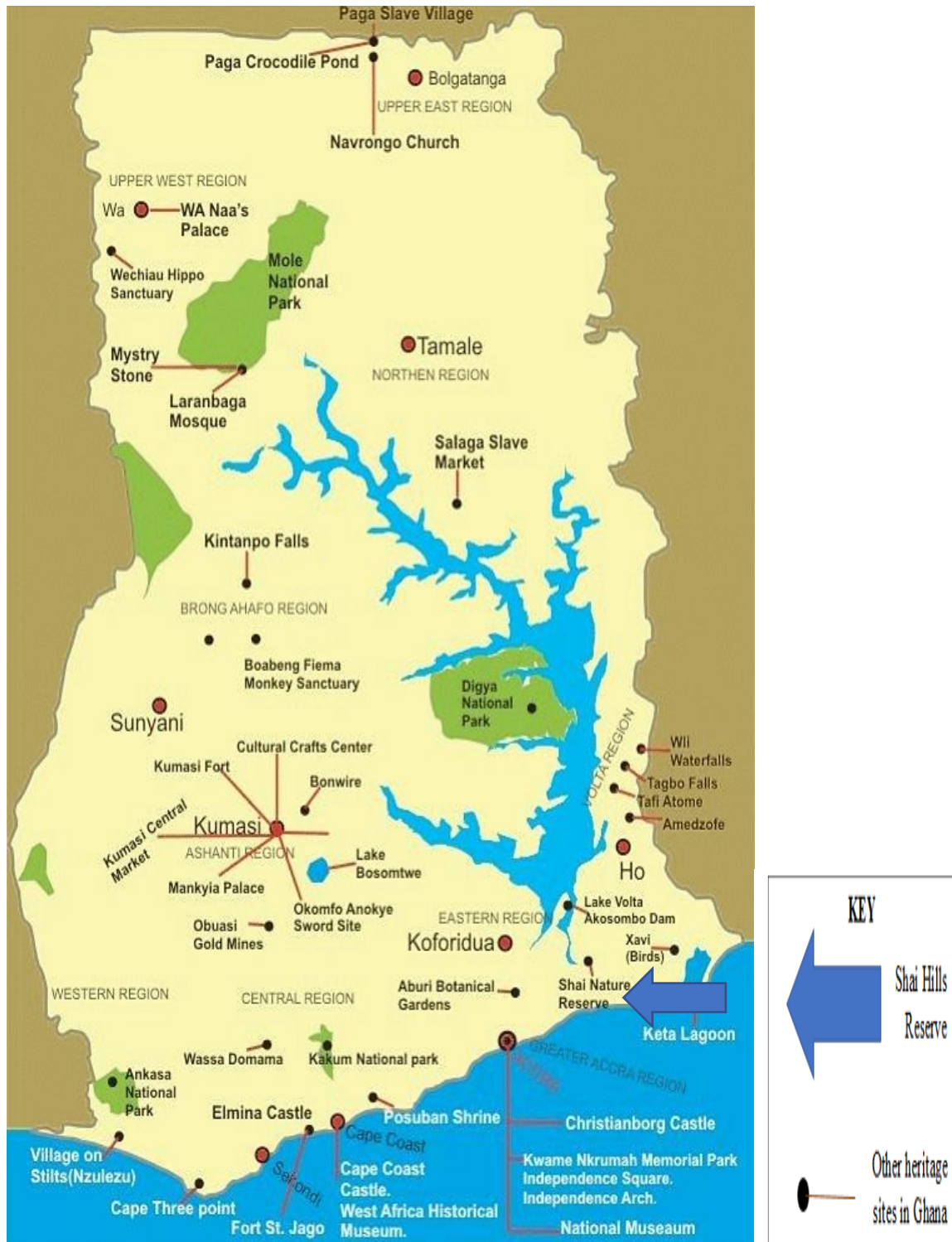


Figure 2. A map indicating the location of Shai Hills Reserve and other major heritage sites in Ghana. (Source: Internet and map adapted by author)

1.4. POST-COLONIAL GHANA

The colonization of Ghana by the Europeans nations whether the Portuguese, Dutch, Germans or the British brought both positive and negative influences to bear on various aspects of the cultural life of Ghanaians. These influences can be seen in our languages, educational reforms, religious beliefs, traditional practices, the cultural and heritage assets, policies and even in the mindset and attitudes of Ghanaians. Even, after Dr. Kwame Nkrumah won independence for Ghana, colonization is still present, demonstrated through the inferiority complex inculcated by these colonial masters. Local traditional communities living around natural heritage sites are regarded as less important when it comes to the management of their own heritage. These effects of old colonial attitudes can also be seen in the management plans and policies regarding National Parks and Protected Areas in Ghana whereby the traditional practices of a community that relate to the protection, conservation and management of their ancestral heritage are not effectively incorporated into management plans. The noninvolvement of these community members in the management of their heritage gives rise to most of the conflicts recorded in these National Parks and Protected Areas in Ghana. Moreover, many of cultural practices in Ghana were even banned in the colonial period. Most Ghanaians today is still influenced by this negative perception of local tradition.

One shortcoming of the colonial masters was the banning of the African culture as being linked with satanic or paganism hence the Dipo custom, for example, as practiced by the Ga Dangme of the Greater Accra Region which was banned at that time. African religion, art, music and dances were highly discouraged among the converts. Thus, in effect there was this idea of isolation of the Christian minority from the rest of the pagan community though the Christian religion instilled high character training in the beneficiaries.²⁰

In relation to the above statement, demoralization of the cultural practices of Ghana existed, in part, because of the introduction of Christianity by the Europeans. For Ghanaians to accept the

²⁰ Maxwell Gyau, "Overview of Education in Ghana," *Unpublished*, 1990, 194, http://wikieducator.org/images/archive/3/37/20080227200726!OVERVIEW_OF_EDUCATION_IN_GHANA.

Christian doctrine of the colonial masters, these cultural practices by Ghanaians were tagged as inhumane and demonic although these same practices were what identified one particular community from one another. This notion of satanism or paganism still exists. Most traditional cultural practices are not appreciated or showcased because of this stereotypical kind of thinking. Thus, if one is seen pouring of libations or other, ritual practices performed for festivals and all coming of age rituals, that person or community is seen as demonic and not part of proper Christian society. Meanwhile, these cultural practices of culture are part of what defines Ghanaians and yet, because of such perceptions, most of the younger generation know little about their culture. Arowolo also argues that:

Traditional African cultural practices paved the way for foreign way of doing things as Africans became fully ‘westernized’. Western culture now is regarded as frontline civilisation. African ways of doing things became primitive, archaic and regrettably unacceptable in the public domain. Not only were certain aspects of the material culture in the colonies lost or destroyed, colonial societies also lost the power and sense of cultural continuity, such that it became practically impossible to recover the ability to strive for cultural progress on their own terms.²¹

Ghana is no exception to the concept of adopting a culture that does not culturally define the nation as regards Arowolo’s assertion that Africa is influenced by western cultures. Such attitudes affect the way Ghanaians dress. Some communities struggle to continue to use or at least adapt traditional forms of dress and behavior. The struggle comes with its own challenges which traditional leaders are striving to deal with. In addition, the traditional practices and norms that used to protect the community and its natural environment are considered archaic and no longer permitted. Such community practices are still not reflected in the national policies written for all heritage sites that have communities living in and around them. Meanwhile, before the introduction of these policies, the local people who lived in these heritage areas had their own traditions and cultural norms for protecting, preserving and

²¹ Arowolo, “The Effects of Western Civilization and Culture on Africa.”

managing these natural areas which are now occupied by the Government of Ghana and designated Protected Heritage Cultural Sites. Yet, these local practices also prevented local communities from engaging in poor or unsustainable practices because the norms were accompanied by socially accepted sanctions. In westernized Ghana, most of the policies that relate to locals and their heritage do not factor in their needs and the suggestions of local the communities who once traditionally occupied these sites and now live around them. As a result, problems arise between the heritage bearers and the managers of the heritage. This problem of noninvolvement of heritage bearers of a community in the management of the original settlement they once occupied is the area of focus in my research. Shai Hills Resource Reserve will be used as the case study for this research. The Shai Hills Resource Reserve is located in the Greater Accra municipality. The original inhabitants are the Dangme tribe known as the *Se* people. The next chapter in this research will consider the land policy system used by the Government of Ghana to acquire the land from the *Se* people and designated their original settlement area as a Protected Area as well as the traditional norm of conservation which were practiced by the *Se* traditional community.

1.5. CONCLUSION:

This chapter starts with the debate on what cultural colonialism is and how it is connected to globalization and western imperialism, its challenges and influences. It further explains both the negative and positive influences of colonization on West Africa, including Ghana. The cultural practices that once defined African and Ghanaians were largely replaced by cultures of the colonial powers including religion, education and traditional ways of living. In a western sense, the traditional and cultural practices are perceived, even today, as archaic and satanic. Some attitudes inherited from the colonial era can also be seen in the policies that are used to protect natural heritage sites, surrounded by the local traditional communities that used to occupy these now protected areas. In these colonial influenced policies, the traditional norms

of the heritage bearers have not been seriously considered. I will use the example of the Shai Hills Resource Reserve where the management plan of the reserve does not involve or consider the value of the traditional practices of the local *Se* people.

CHAPTER 2 LOCAL LAND POLICIES IN GHANA

There are three main types of land ownership in Ghana namely: State lands, Customary lands, and Private Lands. However, the current regime in Ghana provides for five broad classes of land ownership. These are; the stool/skin lands, family lands, individual/private lands, state lands and vested lands.²² Shai Hills Resource Reserve is an example of the stool/skin type of land ownership in Ghana. The stool/skin land type of ownership is described as:

the type of land which belongs to a community that has a stool or skin as the traditional emblem of the soul of ancestors who originally occupied that parcel of land and therefore owned the stool or the skin. The ancestors might have settled there as a result of traversing in search of game (hunting), good water for fishing, good water for drinking, fertile land for farming, or running away from war front in search of peace. The skin or stool land is administered based on the principles of customary or native law. The occupant of the stool or skin, the chief, administers all the land in trust and on behalf of his people. As a custodian, the chief uses the right attached to the absolute interest distribute part or portion of the said land to members of the community as well as developers who may be strangers. However, according to clause (3) of article 267 of the 1992 constitution of Ghana, any disposition of stool lands must be approved by the lands commission and must conform to the approved development plan of the area concerned. They are also not to be given as freehold interest to both Ghanaians and non-Ghanaians.²³

Shai Hills falls under the stool/skin system of ownership in Ghana. The lands of the *Se* community were owned and managed by the traditional authority which involved the chiefs, priests and elders of the *Se* traditional area until the British invaded and took the land over in 1892. Then, after, British colonial rule ended, and Ghana gained its independence in 1957, the *Se* traditional area fell under the control of the government of Ghana and was named a resource reserve in 1996. The Shai Hills Reserve was the first protected area to be designated a reserve. This led to the creation of a Management Advisory Board (MAB) that is supposed to give advice on the running of the reserve, especially concerning management and community

²² Gyamera, E. A1., Duncan, E. E2., A., Kuma, J. S. Y3, and Arko-Adjei, A3, "Land Acquisition in Ghana; Dealing with the Challenges and the Way Forward," *The Research Gate* 6, no. 1 (January 12, 2018): 664–72, <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/322404530>.

²³ Gyamera, E. A1., Duncan, E. E2., A., Kuma, J. S. Y3, and Arko-Adjei, A3.

outreach issues. Unfortunately, the members of the Management Advisory Board (MAB) from the *Se* community, traditional leaders, farmers, cattle owners, youth and women, are not actively involved in the management of the reserve. However, the acquisition of the Shai Hills resource reserve meant that ownership of the land was transferred to the Ghanaian government. The reserve is managed by the Forestry Commission of Ghana under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Lands, Forestry and Mines. This transfer ownership from the traditional rulers to the government of Ghana is also categorized under the category of vested land ownership type which is explained as:

Lands that were previously been owned by the traditional indigenous community (i.e. town or village) but declared under the Land Administration Act 1962 (Act 123) S7 to be vested in the state and administered for the benefit of the community. Though vested lands are like state lands because of the incumbent legal ownership of the state, they do differ. For vested lands, the state possesses the legal interest in the land as a trustee while the indigenous community possesses the beneficial interest as a ‘beneficiary’. Although it removes the power of the customary authority over the land, it does not assume the allodial interest which remains in the cognate group.²⁴ The cognate group does not receive any compensation for losing the management control. They are however given revenues accruing from the land and the proceeds of every transaction regarding the alienation of the land. It is also estimated that 2% of Ghana’s land is vested land.²⁵

With vested land ownership, the government of Ghana now has authority over the Shai Hills Resource Reserve while the members of the *Se* traditional area are supposed to receive and know all about revenues generated from the reserve. Unfortunately, the *Se* people are not given any of these benefits from the proceeds of the reserve. As a result, the traditional owners of the land harbor resentment against the activities of the workers at the reserve. Nonetheless, before the Forestry Commission created the current management plan used to manage the affairs of

²⁴ This is the highest title in land recognized by law. Only traditional leaders, families or the Ghanaian government can hold such a title.

²⁵ Gyamera, E. A1., Duncan, E. E2., A., Kuma, J. S. Y3, and Arko-Adjei, A3, “Land Acquisition in Ghana.”

the reserve, the local people living in the *Se* traditional area lived on this land.²⁶ After the British invaded their hilly territory and forced them out, the next generation occupied lower lying lands outside the reserve after Ghana gained independence. Figure 1 shows an image of an ancestral hilltop in the Shai Hills Resource Reserve.



Figure 3. Hilltop in the Shai Hills Resource Reserve (Source: By author)

The *Se* people made use of the land they once lived on, co-existing on the land in the ancestral villages of Dworyumu, Manya Dzopanya, Kordiabe, Akomeda and the Dodowa before the government took over. Remains of these villages still exist. Figure 2 shows the location of the villages which previously were inhabited by the common people of the *Se* traditional area.

²⁶ *Se* is the actual pronunciation for the word Shai. Shai was derived from the inability of the British to pronounce the word *Se* when the British took over the reserve in 1892 and name Shai has been used from that time until now. The people from the *Se* traditional area are noted for their cultural heritage artifacts, archaeological remains, bead and pottery making.



Figure 4. *The Dworyumu community in the Dangme Municipality. (Source: By author)*

There were five different tribes who originally lived on the reserve. They include the Sayu, Manya Yo, Mogo Hills, Hieowayo and Adwuku Ancestral homes, scattered around the reserve after the inhabitants were moved from their original homes by the British. This land was later presided over by the Forestry Commission of Ghana who designated the reserve a protected natural area run according to a national government management plan. The introduction of a modernized management plan by the government of Ghana still fails to recognize or factor-in any of the cultural values of the *Se* people themselves. Also, since the land of Shai Hills is now under the authority of the Government of Ghana, there is a military training camp situated close by the reserve which has an extensive Bundase range used for live firing exercises to the north-east and on the east side of the reserve.²⁷ The range extends into the reserve though there is a fire exclusion zone over the reserve itself to prevent any unexpected casualties of the animals

²⁷ Bundase range is the name of the range situated at the north-east and the east side of the Shai Hills resource reserve.

living in the reserve. Below is a map showing the area of the military zone, the cattle range and the location of Shai Hills Resource Reserve.

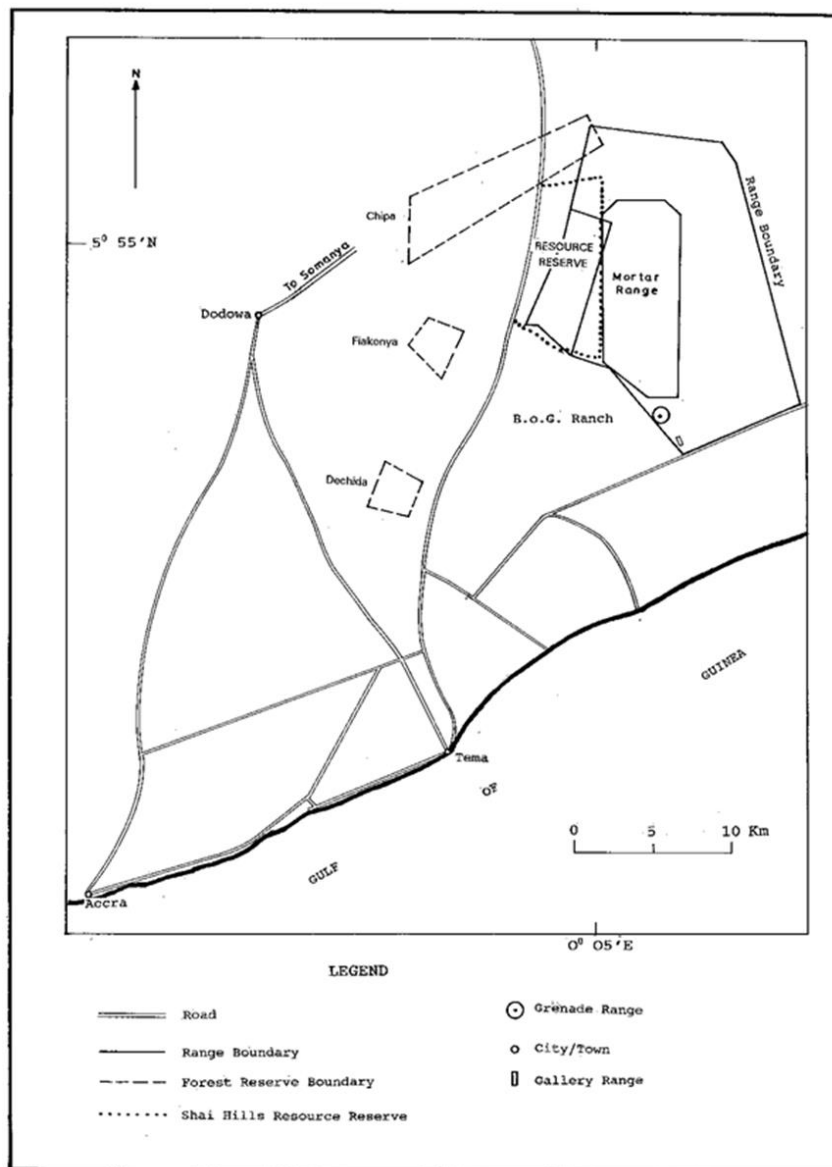


Figure 5. Map of land use around Shai Hills Reserve. (Source: current management plan)

The exclusion zone is currently enforced together with an 800m proscribed buffer zone along the reserve boundaries. However, the military range maps display incorrect reserve boundaries that could cause fire to be directed into parts of the reserve. The range on the other hand is meant to be unpopulated, but cattle herders and their families who live close to the range always

have to move each time firing exercises take place.²⁸ There is also a cattle range about 28 km south east of the reserve and because of poor management there is always bush encroachment over a third of the military range area. This has caused severe overgrazing within the range.

There is a fundamental contradiction in the management plan of the Forestry Commission for the reserve. The management plan of the reserve states that the traditional inhabitants of *Se* traditional area have complete ownership of the land even though it is now owned by the government. This statement in the management plan of the reserve is not realistic because all the activities of the reserve are managed by the commission without involvement of the locals. In relating Gyamera et al's, definition of vested land to the statement of the complete involvement of the locals by the management of the reserve, it would not actually be possible for the indigenous people to take complete ownership of the reserve.²⁹ These locals are supposed to receive proceeds generated from the activities and programs of the reserve although, the views of the community differ from the managers of the park with respect to compensation. The community members are still keen to receive the compensation from the government they were promised and to be a part of the management and activities of the reserve.

²⁸ This information was gotten through an interview with Mr. Christopher a tour guide of the Forestry Commission at the Shai Hills reserve on the 14th of December 2018.

²⁹ Gyamera, E. A1., Duncan, E. E2., A., Kuma, J. S. Y3, and Arko-Adjei, A3, "Land Acquisition in Ghana."

2.1 CONTEXT OF TRADITIONAL POLICY IN GHANA

Ghanaian chieftaincy is well-known as a powerful and important institution, a position which was further strengthened with the guarantee of chieftaincy in the 1992 Constitution of the Fourth Republic.³⁰ Chiefs are the traditional leaders in a community. They make decisions, along with community elders, on behalf of the community members with the aim of developing the community. These decisions governed by local traditional policies embrace the customs and beliefs of the entire community. Traditional policy in the Ghanaian context comprises the norms, values and the religious beliefs of a community. These practices vary from community to community and are implemented in different ways. To a greater or lesser extent, “traditional leaders”, especially in the rural hinterlands, provide citizens with an extra space where they can make political demands and assign public responsibilities to the members of the community. The chieftains are given this power because members of the community trust and believe the decisions of their traditional leaders are meant for their wellbeing. Kings, chiefs and elders can, and do, regularly blur the line between collaboration and competition with local representatives of the state and political leaders in the capital.³¹ The traditional policy of a community is the guiding principle for every community which is spearheaded by the chiefs, elders and leaders of social groups. Before modernization, traditional policies represented the rules and regulations used to manage and control community behaviors. These traditional policies helped in dispute resolution between its members. Today in modern Ghana, traditional authorities, such as “chiefs”, whose claims to legitimacy and power are rooted in the sacred and political order that predates the imposition of the colonial state, are juxtaposed against the formal institutions of the post-colonial era such as the contemporary government of Ghana

³⁰ N. Kleist, “Modern Chiefs: Tradition, Development and Return among Traditional Authorities in Ghana,” *African Affairs* 110, no. 441 (October 1, 2011): 629–47, <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adr041>.

³¹ William M. Myers and Kevin S. Fridy, “Formal versus Traditional Institutions: Evidence from Ghana,” *Democratization* 24, no. 2 (February 23, 2017): 367–82, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2016.1184247>.

whose legitimacy depends on democratic notions of popular consent..³² William et al, further explains that the implication is that traditional authorities such as chiefs and the formal institutions created by the contemporary state draw upon mutually exclusive bases of legitimacy and therefore exercise power separately and independently from one another. The influences from the political terrain have had an indirect effect on the traditional system of governance in Ghana. This is because the traditional ways of guiding society are fundamentally regarded as primitive in modern Ghanaian life. The Ghanaian populace has rather embraced western approaches to governance despite this evidence of substantial traces of colonial influence. The ideology behind western style management has been applied to most heritage sites, parks and reserves in Ghana. These colonial influences have led to the rejection and neglect of traditional ways to protect these reserves and parks including Shai Hills Resource Reserve. William et al in their article *Formal versus traditional institutions: evidence from Ghana* deliberate on how:

The Ghanaian Constitution of the Fourth Republic has formally enshrined the arrangement of power and authority exercised in parallel between the formal institutions of the state and the traditional institutions embodied by chiefs in Article 270, which declared that parliament was prohibited from having a role in the recognition of chiefs. In other words, the Ghanaian state was forbidden by the constitution from fully exercising its sovereignty over chiefs with respect to the selection of these traditional authorities because chiefs derived their legitimacy from custom or without regard to the state.

Even though, the parliament of Ghana has stated that it will not involve itself in traditional matters, it is not seen that way in management issues. Most of the parks and reserves in Ghana once controlled by these traditional authorities are now designated National Parks and Protected Areas, preventing traditional authorities and its members from making use of these parks and reserves in the ways they did when they still lived on the land. Moreover, although traditional authorities are usually promised compensation in some parks in Ghana such as the

³² Myers and Fridy.

Mole National Park, none of the promises made by the government were fulfilled. The locals of the *Se* traditional area, were moved from their original place of livelihood by the British in 1892. After Ghana attained its independence in 1957, Shai Hills Reserve was then designated as protected area by the Government of Ghana. According to Weber et al, indigenous groups that maintained close contact with the land know it well. Where cultures and traditional resource management practices remain relatively intact, they often have mechanisms for dealing with resource scarcity or other changes in the natural resource base but have limited means for assessing the side effects of new technologies or new kinds of exploitation.³³ Disconnecting the *Se* people from the land they know so well with regards to the area's traditional land management and preservation affects the physical, spiritual, emotional, and psychological growth of local people in the area. Since, the reserve's designation as protected area, the *Se* people are only allowed to pay homage to their ancestors once a year in the reserve during a special Ngmayem festival. This single yearly visitation to the reserve does not contribute to or encourage the spiritual connection of the locals to their ancestors and the gods of the land. Moreover, the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous* people emphasizes that the individual and collective rights of a community, which includes rights to self-determination, governance and development, should be encouraged.³⁴ In the same way, the community's rights need to be maintained to strengthen their own institutions, cultures and traditional values. Enforcement of the UN declaration would help the community pursue their social development in keeping with their own needs and aspirations. The declaration also prohibits discrimination against indigenous people because their ways of life are seen as backward, dirty, or subhuman. This pronouncement promotes the full and effective participation of locals from traditional communities in all matters. In the case of Shai Hills

³³ Ron Weber, John Butler, and Patty Larson, "Indigenous Peoples and Conservation Organizations," 2000, 164.

³⁴ Marcus Colchester, "United Nations Research Institute for Social Development" (Koninklijke Brill NV, 1994), https://doi.org/10.1163/1570-6664_iyb_SIM_org_39759.

reserve, the rights of the traditional, local *Se* community should be acknowledged to help the local, indigenous *Se* people pursue their own visions of economic and social development.³⁵ These kinds of rights are aspired to by many communities in Ghana, including the locals in the *Se* traditional area.

³⁵ Marcus Colchester.

2.2 MANAGEMENT WITH TRADITIONAL CULTURAL NORMS

Cristina Bicchieri defines social norms as an etymological attribute of a society, the embodiment of its values and collective desires, a secure guide in the ‘uncertain lands human beings’ traverse’, the common practices that holds humans together. These norms, according to Bicchieri, are not written or codified; you cannot find them in books or be explicitly told about them during first encounters in a foreign land.³⁶ Etzioni Amitai, notes the way norms are used to govern social behavior and are transmitted from generation to generation, through communal processes such as rituals, festivals, and identification with older authority figures. These norms are commonly legitimized on grounds such as tradition, superstition, nationalism, or other cultural factors.³⁷ In the Ghanaian cultural system, norms and proverbs are the guiding principles which are used to organize many aspects of society and are passed on from generation to generation. These norms and proverbs originally had sanctions attached to them so anyone who violated any of the norms faced the socially appropriate punishments which came with them. Even though these norms and proverbs are not documented they are still effective and observed in most rural communities in Ghana. An example of such an existing norm would be the fact that people living along the sea coast in Ghana do not go fishing on Tuesdays. These fishing norms are mostly typical of the *Ga* people who lives along the sea coast of Ghana.³⁸ It is believed that the ancestors who take care of the sea come every Tuesday to bless the sea with more fish. Thus, the members of such communities do not go fishing on these days. Steven et al, further explain in their work, *The Cultures and Customs of Ghana* as:

The most important gods in the *Ga* community, is the *nai*, the sea god, this reflects on the communities’ main occupation as on fishing. The *Ga*’s have a

³⁶ Cristina Bicchieri, *The Grammar of Society: The Nature and Dynamics of Social Norms* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

³⁷ Amitai Etzioni, “Social Norms: Internalization, Persuasion, and History Symposium on Norms, Law, and Order in the City,” *Law & Society Review* 34 (2000): 157–78, <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/lwsocrw34&i=175>.

³⁸ *Ga* is an ethnic group in Ghana and the predominant language spoken is the *Ga*. The *Ga* language is spoken by people in south-eastern Ghana, in and around the capital Accra.

shrine dedicated to the *nai* near the ocean. The shrine is headed by a priest and associated with certain rituals designed to show honor and respect to the sea god. Due to this, the members community do not go fishing on Tuesdays, which is the holiday day dedicated to the sea god, *nai*. The priest pours libation and offers gifts of food on this day because the *Ga*'s believe if the gods are pleased with them, there will be bountiful harvest from the fishing and the community will be assured of prosperity and if the harvest declines, it is also a sign that the sea god is displeased with them and additional actions must be taken to seek atonement.³⁹

Likewise, people who live in the farming communities of Ghana do not go to farms on Thursdays. This is for the same reasons. It is on this day that the ancestors come to rest and bless the farm helping to insure a bountiful harvest. Anyone who violates these norms by going to the sea or the farm are punished and fined depending on the offence committed. Norms were mostly instituted by the chiefs, elders and leaders of the various tribal societies in Ghana. These norms served consciously or unconsciously to help preserve nature and the environment since most communities depended closely on these natural resources. Even though modernization is well underway in Ghana, most of these traditional norms still operate. The local people of the *Se* traditional area are no exception. Before, the colonial takeover of the British, the land was designated a forest reserve. The local people, headed by their Paramount Chief in the traditional area, followed social norms that ruled their behavior. The *Se* people had traditions which protected the plants and animals in what is now the National Reserve. For example, no member of the *Se* traditional community was supposed go to their farm on Friday. This rule also served to protect the natural environment of the Shai Hills but the accepted reason was that the gods of the land mostly visited the community every Friday to bless the food crops and all living creatures in the land. Thus, it was taboo to go to the farm on Fridays. This tradition is still observed today among the people in the *Se* traditional area because of their enduring group loyalties, their respect for their traditions, and the way they were educated to understand the

³⁹ Steven J. Salm and Toyin Falola, *Culture and Customs of Ghana* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002).

correct ways things should be done in their community. Their attitude of not questioning the original rationale of the tradition, led to the emergence of the traditions which were used to govern them.⁴⁰ The local people of the *Se* traditional area trusted and respected their chiefs and the elders of the community. Before a chief is enstooled, he needs the trust, agreement and support from his community. Internalized traditions have greater power to regulate behavior because they operate independently from the expectations and influence of others, do not require enforcement and are more likely to remain stable over long periods of time.⁴¹ The traditions used by the paramount chief to rule the *Se* people can be classified as an internalized traditional norm. These traditions helped to control the behavior of the *Se* people and promoted a peaceful environment over the long period of their stay in the area of what is now the Shai Hills Resource Reserve.

⁴⁰ Wendy Minato, Allan Curtis, and Catherine Allan, "Social Norms and Natural Resource Management in a Changing Rural Community," *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning* 12, no. 4 (December 2010): 381–403, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1523908X.2010.531084>.

⁴¹ Etzioni, "Social Norms."

Policy, on the other hand, is an active concept which can initiate or change the characteristics of ongoing management activities.⁴² Therefore, the management plan of the Forestry Commission of Ghana needs revision and the current management plan be enforced to guarantee efficient and effective management of the reserve. The revised management plan presented in this thesis would involve the original inhabitants of the *Se* traditional area. Wies Rene explains that time considerations are important in the implementation of a policy. This is because a policy recommendation may be active throughout the lifecycle of its target objects or may only be activated for a short while. Therefore, the implemented policy should be monitored and evaluated in order to assure its effectiveness. A policy may only consist of monitoring or enforcing actions or reacting to an event. According to Wies, a monitoring policy will only produce a report on observations but never produce actions. Enforcing and reactive policies can initiate management activities (actions and reactions).⁴³ Hence, the revised management plan will be implemented for the enforcement of the current management plan of the Shai Resource Reserve. The revised management plan will comprise three phases. The three phases are the enforcement, monitoring, evaluation of the monitoring aspect and the education of the local community in their rights. Policies can be a constraint or represent empowerment (Wies 1994). In order not to make policy a constraint it must be monitored to see how well it accomplishes the goal of empowerment and enforcement. The revised management plan to be developed for implementation in this thesis will have the interests of the local *Se* people at its heart. The intended revised management plan to be constructed for the Shai Hills Resource Reserve is intended to achieve its aims of community involvement and positively impact both the local communities and the management of the reserve. Combining the management of Shai Hills with *Se* traditional norms with government policies will result in

⁴² Rene Wies, "Policy Definition and Classification: Aspects, Criteria, and Examples," 1994, 13.

⁴³ Wies.

a combination of the cultural values, practices and the belief system of *Se* society and a politically active concept, initiating changes in the management plan of the Forestry Commission of Ghana for the Shai Hills Resource Reserve. The revised management plan, combining traditional norms and official government policy, will include the active involvement of the community members, through their leaders, in the processes of identification of values, conservation and the use of the Shai Hills Resource Reserve. Such an involvement will be integral to good conservation outcomes, community appreciation of these conservation goals and community compliance. Conservation by negotiation should be an objective.⁴⁴ These methods of management in relation to the behavior of local people will not only ensure or harmonize the smooth running of the reserve but present guiding principles of organization the community is familiar with. Moreover, a revised management plan will prevent community members from sneaking into the reserve to engage in poaching and other practices that lead to bush fires. Traditional norms, together with the management plan will produce a cohesive bridging structure between the managers of the reserve and the people of the local *Se* community ensuring collaboration between the two factions that are both involved in managing the reserve. The local *Se* people living around the traditional area will also learn to exercise self-control. This is because the constraints imposed by both traditional norms and government policy will encourage the locals to conform to these new rules. The new management plan must be practical and enforceable so that it can also act as a warning to both local people and the reserve managers to exercise discipline in their behavior towards one another and the reserve itself.

⁴⁴ Annie Wyatt, "Heritage Policies – National Trust," Web Content Accessibility Guidelines 2.0, National Trust, 1945, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.au/heritage-policies-wa/>.

2.3. CONCLUSION

This thesis chapter elaborates on the way land policies are applied in Ghana whether for stool/skin lands, family lands, individual/private lands, state lands or vested lands. The chapter provides an explanation of the way, under the three-land ownership system in Ghana, the basis for assigning piece of a land can be variously considered the State, Customary, and Private Lands official definitions. Shai Hills Resource Reserve is categorized as a vested land in Ghana and the benefits the locals of the *Se* traditional area are supposed to receive are prescribed although compensations for lost land have not been followed through by the Government of Ghana. Resentment by the local people in the *Se* traditional area and problems encountered by management of the reserve are described in this chapter. Moreover, modern influences on traditional policy of Ghana and the way traditional norms have been understood by the populace of Ghana before and after colonization is elaborated on. However, this chapter further expatiates on the need to use these traditional norms which were used to govern the *Se* people before the reserve was designated as a protected area, to guide the government officials in the reserve.

CHAPTER 3 LEGISLATIVE BACKGROUND TO TRADITIONAL NORMS VERSUS GOVERNMENT POLICY

As stated in Chapter two, traditional norms can be used as guiding principles to organize local people and are passed on from generation to generation within the various communities in Ghana. Margaret et al also describe traditional norms as culture specific expectations on how to behave in a given situation. A community without norms will be chaotic; with established norms people know how to act, social interactions are consistent, predictable and learnable.⁴⁵ Traditional Ghanaian life ways are constructed from inherited norms of behavior that provide orderliness and to prevent social chaos. Norms are not created by just anybody but can only be arbitrated and affirmed by the chiefs and his elders. Chiku Malunga writes about the leaders eligible for creating norms for a given community. He explains in detail:

In pre-colonial Africa, the king was often not an absolute ruler, that is, he was not ruling alone or without any accountability mechanisms. The king ruled with the help of a council of elders. The king could not make decisions single-handedly; he always had to consult the council of elders. The composition of the council of elders was crucial. The council consisted of wise men and women. They lived among the people; they were known and recognized by the people; they shared the same living conditions as the people. They had to be people of higher moral standing in society; integrity was a key qualification. Wisdom and integrity were the main considerations in considering one for eldership. Because they believed that wisdom and integrity take time to develop, it was usually the elderly who were considered for these positions. Up to the present, in some traditional societies, one may not be considered for eldership until he or she reaches the age of 60. But there were cases where much younger individuals, who distinguished themselves, could become elders, as the proverb, “the child who washes his hands will eat with “kings” attests. Groups of people were only categorized by their contribution to the community or their occupations, e.g. hunters, traders, farmers, rain-makers, etc. In matrilineal societies, women had more direct space in the composition of the council of elders, while in patrilineal

⁴⁵ Margaret L. Andersen and Howard F. Taylor, *Sociology: Understanding a Diverse Society, Updated* (Cengage Learning, 2007).

societies ways and means were sometimes created to ensure adequate participation of the women.⁴⁶

In the Ghanaian system, chiefs and elders in a community are elected based on a person's integrity, how well the individual knows the community traditions, and the acknowledged wisdom and moral behavior of the person. It is believed that the elderly are the most knowledgeable people in the community because they have learned traditional family issues and the traditional values of the community. The knowledge held by the elderly is also based on the challenges they have encountered that have given them experience and maturity in dealing with situations they are confronted with. Thus, elderly men and women are selected to be part of the council of elders who advise the chief. Together, they make beneficial decisions on behalf of the community. There is a proverb in Ghana which says "*Nea opanyin ho ebere aa otinase, abofra nho ebere ogyina ho*" which translates as *What an elder saw while sitting, a youth could not see it standing*, literally, meaning that elderly members of the community have more knowledge and wisdom than the young members. This proverb explains why most members of the council of elders for the chiefs in most Ghanaian communities are elderly men and women. However, due to modernization sometimes there are little conflicts that arises between government representatives and the traditional leadership council whenever the traditional practices are sidelined by the government officials. As Chiku Malunga notes, the king was often not an absolute ruler and did not rule alone or issue edicts on traditional norms alone but ruled with consultations from the spiritual leader of the community and his council of elders which explains the community leaders' procedures before a norm is created. Norms created and traditional norms are passed down from generation to generation within local communities. First and foremost, the chief and his council of elders sit to deliberate about the exact norm required for everything that happens in the community. These elders are members

⁴⁶ Chiku Malunga, "Identifying and Understanding African Norms and Values That Support Endogenous Development in Africa," *Development in Practice* 24, no. 5–6 (August 18, 2014): 623–36, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09614524.2014.937397>.

of and live in the community. The norms created are derived from the practices and behaviors of members of the community in order to combat negative attitudes which may have been observed by community leaders over a period. The norms created are mostly backed up with sanctions, practiced over a longer period and passed on to new generations. Spirituality also play a key role in the creation of norms for a community. It was recognized that the Chief and elders were ultimately accountable to a God of justice and One concerned with the welfare of all the people. The chiefs took their role as one delegated by and from God. The chief of the community is expected to channel God's life-force throughout his whole leadership. Any lack of integrity on his part would undermine and diminish this life-force during his reign. The high priest played a very significant role as the king's spiritual advisor and as a mediator between the physical and the spiritual.⁴⁷ In this regard, the creation of norms is the responsibility of the chief and his council of elders mediated by spiritual counselling from the gods of the land through the priest. The norms are not only centered on the wellbeing of the community members but also take into consideration the protection of the natural environment, animals, and the bodies of water within the community. Until the spiritual leader, the chief and his council of elders of the *Se* traditional area come to an agreement, the norms of the community will not be implemented. Thus, after the proposed norms are agreed upon by the priest, chief and the elders of the community, all the community members of the *Se* traditional area are invited to a gathering and they are told of the proposed norms and the sanctions that go with the norm through an official spokesperson who repeats every word of the chief spoken during public gatherings.⁴⁸ From that point, the proposed norms are declared valid and anyone who violates any of the norms is sanctioned accordingly.

⁴⁷ Malunga.

⁴⁸ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Refworld | Ghana: The Role of Linguist or Chief Linguist in the Eastern Region, Including the Selection Process, Initiation Rites and Duties Performed; Whether the Linguist Performs Activities Involving Animal Sacrifice and the Consequences for Refusing the Position," Refworld, March 26, 2003, <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3f7d4d9931.html>.

Policy on the other hand, is instituted through the formulation, implementation, and evaluation of social ideologies and is heavily guided by the values and concepts of social realities shared by the leading actors in the various process levels, or by bureaucratic elites.⁴⁹ In view of this, policy is a principle of action that is proposed by an organization or individual which considers the social interactions with a given community and transcends these motives and actions into enforcement. Ward et.al others also define policy as any course of action which relates to the selection of goals, definition of values or the allocation of resources. Policies are also ways of representing, accounting for and legitimating political decisions that goes to the heart of the relationship between the state and the welfare of its citizens and goes through different processing channel before it is accepted as a policy.⁵⁰ For policy to be effective and precise, its creators must consider the views of citizens or members of the community as well as ideas from the State in order to be able to serve the two parties equally. In the formulation and implementation of a revised management plan for the *Se* people, the norms of the community members, a review of the existing management plan of the Shai Hills Resource Reserve and the Unesco policy on the involvement of indigenous people of a heritage site will be considered to create smoother, efficient and less combative relationship between the managers and local populations in the *Se* traditional area. Consequently, policies are instituted by a legal authority who formulate public policy. Those involved in the formulation of policy are legislators, the executive branch of government, administrators and the judiciary. Each group performs policy-making responsibilities in a different way. There are governmental actors who occupy formal public positions and political offices to serve as the actual policy makers.⁵¹ There are

⁴⁹ Celia Almeida and Ernesto Báscolo, "Use of Research Results in Policy Decision-Making, Formulation, and Implementation: A Review of the Literature," *Cadernos de Saúde Pública* 22 (2006): S7–19, <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0102-311X2006001300002>.

⁵⁰ Sc Ward et al., "What Is 'Policy' and What Is 'Policy Response'? An Illustrative Study of the Implementation of the Leadership Standards for Social Justice in Scotland," *Educational Management Administration & Leadership* 44, no. 1 (January 2016): 43–56, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1741143214558580>.

⁵¹ Olufemi O Popoola, "Actors in Decision Making and Policy Process," 2016, 5.

representatives from the government who work together with policy experts to draft policies for the country and these policies pass through different channels of operation. Popoola says that the channel of operation for a policy to be implemented as follows:

The executive, who comprises of the president, prime minister, premier or governor, (as the case may be), ministers, special advisers, special assistants, top political aides and the administrators. The main responsibility of the executive is to implement public policies and to supervise, coordinate and manage ministries, departments and agencies that are involved in the implementation of policies. The effectiveness of government depends substantially upon executive leadership both in policy formation and in policy execution. The second channel of the operation policies pass through are with the legislators. Legislators are members of parliaments, for example, the National Assembly and state assemblies of a country. They possess direct constitutional authority to initiate and formulate policies. As elected law makers, they represent their people from their various constituencies. Consequently, they are expected to collate the views, interests, demands and problems of their constituents, harmonize them and translate them into policy proposals for the legislature. The next channel of operation is the judiciary who comprises judges and the courts. Their constitutional responsibilities are the interpretation of the constitution and the laws, as well as adjudication in conflicts between individuals, groups, governmental institutions and the arms/levels of government. It is instructive to note that the judiciary is not constitutionally empowered to initiate, formulate or implement policies. However, through the interpretation of the constitution and laws, it contributes significantly to the policy making process. The last channel for the processing of policy is the administrators who works directly under the executive arm of government as they are implementers of public policy. The role of administrators in the policy process has become so crucial, and this has transcended mere implementation of policies. Through the executive, they now generate, initiate and formulate policy proposals and push for them.⁵²

A policy must go through the above operative channel before it can be implemented and made valid as opposed to, the creation of norms which involves the spiritual leader, the chief and the council of elders who represents the members of the community for a norm to be initiated and practiced. Policy making involves the representative of the government who institute the policy in accordance to the laws of a country as well as keeping in mind the desires of the citizens included in the policy to prevent social alienation.

⁵² Popoola.

3.1 TRADITIONAL POLICY IN GHANA

The beliefs and practices of traditional religion varies from one ethnic group to the next. Even within an ethnic group there may be variability based on familial practices and beliefs. There are many different types of traditional religions in Ghana but as there are also basic similarities. The most fundamental trait in all Ghanaian traditional religions is the belief in hierarchy within the human condition. At the top of the hierarchy is the supreme God, followed by lesser gods, ancestors, witches, diviners and other spiritual powers some of whom are life-damaging.⁵³ Most communities in Ghana believe that the environments they live in are ruled, governed and protected by the gods and ancestors of the land. Therefore, all-natural element of these natural environments needs to be protected by people in the community in the interests of prosperity. This perception is expressed in an Akan proverb which says that “*Kwae a agye wo no yenfre no kwaewa*” This literally means that you should not be ungrateful to the forest that has saved you.⁵⁴ This proverb reminds people of the need to protect and conserve the forest and other natural resources that serve as food, shelter, clothing and provides other medicinal products for survival. If these natural resources and the forest are destroyed it then affects the members of the community because these natural resources constitute most of the elements of survival necessary for people. Therefore, it is the responsibility of humankind to conserve all these resources for their own benefit which explains why, the ancestors of most of the different ethnic groups in Ghana, including the people of the *Se* traditional area, created norms and sanctions to protect these natural resources. Furthermore, Steven Salm et al, (2002) suggests in *the Culture and Customs of Ghana* that indigenous religion incorporates a system of beliefs and practices that play a fundamental role in interpersonal interactions and explains the origins and development of the physical and spiritual environment. Unlike the declining importance of

⁵³ Salm and Falola, *Culture and Customs of Ghana*.

⁵⁴ Dickson Adom, “The Philosophical Epistemologies of Asante Proverbs in Ghana’s Biodiversity Conservation,” 2016, 9.

religion in most Western societies, indigenous religions continue to form the core of the Ghanaian cultural and ritual life. Religion explains both the good and bad in a situation and provides a means to comprehend the unknown through the belief in the supernatural phenomenon invoked by ancestors and witches. The *Se* people had a belief system where they performed sacrifices and poured libations to their god of the environment. The relationship between the people and the environment is expressed in the way they traditionally protected the reserve based on long-held cultural values and norms. This makes the reserve a sacred place and a protected area for the *Se* people. Also, because the *Se* people believed in their ancestors and the gods of their land, the sacred days were set aside as holy. The ancestors of the land were thus duly respected by the people. Anyone who behaved in a manner contrary to the norms and rules of the community were punished so that the ancestors of the land would not show their displeasure by bringing misfortunes to the people and the land. An example of such sacred days is reflected in the custom of not going to the farms on Fridays is still practiced by the *Se* people. Steven Salm et. al suggest that:

In traditional religions, there are no literary documents, such as the Christian Bible or the Muslim Quran, which tells stories about God or prophets. There are no written rules, rituals, doctrines or practices. Such beliefs and practices are recorded or however, in various forms of oral history and literature myths, folk's tales, songs and proverbs pay respect to important gods and ancestors, and call on them for protection and good-will. Indigenous religion manifests itself in everyday life through its belief in the spirit world, its principles of morality, and special ceremonies of worship. Although the number of the people who actually proclaim their adherence to traditional religion is declining, this does not reflect on its importance to society. Despite the impact of Christianity and Islam, traditional religion continues to have influence in social and political life because of the individual commitment to the well-being of the family, lineage and the community. Whether people see themselves as Christians or Muslim, many continue to maintain indigenous religious beliefs about the existence of supernatural forces and follow certain traditional religious practices that accompany these beliefs.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Salm and Falola, *Culture and Customs of Ghana*.

Even without documentation of such local community cultural practices of the community, most of the ills are curbed by the continuous practice of such traditional norms within the community. At the same time, these practices maintain the cultural values and identity of an ethnicity. Traditional policy can be recognized as the oral practices and rules of a community which are not written down anywhere but are performed and sung through songs, dances, prayers, praise chants and are placed at the service of the community.⁵⁶ These media represent the traditional forms of educating members of community in the cultural practices and values they possess to be eventually passed onto the younger generation. Regardless of the undocumented cultural practices of the *Se* people, they still practice their cultural values as well as their ritual practices that are carried out once a year in the reserve during their festival. *Ga* is the preferred name for the heterogeneous people of the Greater Accra area in Ghana who are closely related to the Dangme or Dangbe people to the northeast of Accra. The people of the *Se* traditional area are part of the heterogeneous people from the Greater Accra region precisely *Ga Dangme*.

3.2 UNESCO POLICY

There are internationally recognized and practiced policies that detail the importance of involving locals in the management of a heritage site. This policy will be used as a reference for my intended revised management plan needed to improve the existing management plan of the Shai Hills Resource Reserve. These internationally recognized policies will include The *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples by UNESCO* which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 13 September 2007.⁵⁷ It is the most

⁵⁶ Tanure Ojaide, "Modern African Literature and Cultural Identity," *African Studies Review* 35, no. 3 (December 1992): 43, <https://doi.org/10.2307/525127>.

⁵⁷ United Nations Environment Programme, "UNEP and Indigenous Peoples: A Partnership in Caring for the Environment Policy Guidance November 2012," *United Nations Environment Programme*, 2012, 18, https://wedocs.unep.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.11822/11202/UNEP_Indigenous_Peoples_Policy_Guidance_endorsed_by_SMT_26_11_12.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

comprehensive instrument detailing the rights of indigenous peoples in international law and policy, containing minimum standards for the recognition, protection and promotion of these rights. The declaration was established to guide states and indigenous people in developing law and policy that will have a positive impact on indigenous peoples, including various devices meant to best address the right of indigenous peoples.⁵⁸ The revised management plan is meant to harmonize the traditional norms of the local *Se* people with the management strategies for the Shai Hills Reserve. It will consist of some vital points from the *United Declaration on the rights of Indigenous people* and other policies of UNESCO which propagate the need to involve locals' bearers of heritage in its management. The revised management plan will take into consideration the current management plan of the Shai Hills Reserve as well as incorporate the norms and traditional practices of the *Se* people so that their culturally accepted way of preserving their ancestral land in the reserve before they were forced to move should still be practiced— as much as practically possible. In the Akan system, there is an adage which says *se wo were fi na wosan k)fa a, yenkyi* which literally means that there is nothing wrong with learning from the past.⁵⁹ In this regard, the traditional practices which were used by the *Se* people to protect, conserve and manage the reserve before they were moved from the reserve which was later designated a protected area by State-level entities will be incorporated in the revised management plan. This will serve as a guide in the formulation of the management plan to help preserve the traditions of the *Se* people since their cultural norms and practices will be incorporated in the revised plan. The revised management plan will also serve to educate the younger generation who are not as deeply rooted in their ancestral cultural practices in

⁵⁸ United Nation Human Rights, "Indigenous Peoples and the United Nations Human Rights System," *United Nations*, Geneva, 2013, 1 to 50, <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/fs9Rev.2.pdf>.

⁵⁹ G. F. Kojo Arthur, *Cloth as Metaphor: (Re)Reading the Adinkra Cloth: Symbols of the Akan of Ghana*, 2Nd Edition (iUniverse, 2017).

anticipation of a future time when they too will participate in the activities and management of the reserve, perhaps guides and managers.

3.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter outlined the hierarchical steps in the channels of communication need in the creation of norms by traditional community leaders. Leaders of the community take into consideration the interests of the community members as well as local norms of proper behavior. There is a discussion of the way most of the norms of such ethnic groups are not documented but are rather orally transmitted through their songs, dances, praise chants etc. to bring the history of the people to the next generation. This chapter also addresses how State-level government policy is established before its acceptance. Moreover, other international policies from UNESCO will be used in the revised management plan to improve the existing management plan of the Shai Hills Resource Reserve by including traditional policies of the *Se* people. Some recognized policy recommendations of UNESCO concerning issues of indigenous participation in the management of a heritage site are also described.

CHAPTER 4: SHAI HILLS RESOURCE RESERVE AS A CASE STUDY

Currently, the local population who once lived in the Shai Hills are now scattered around the reserve because they were removed by the Government of Ghana when it was decided that the original settlement of the *Se* people was to be named a protected area. According, to the Ghana Statistical Service on the 26th of September 2019, there are 62,200 souls currently living in the Dangme West District of the Greater Accra region including the *Se* people. The word “Shai” was derived from the inability of the British to pronounce the word “*Se*” which refers to the ethnic group of people from the Dangme West District of Accra.⁶⁰ This mispronunciation gave the reserve its present name. Shai Hills lies in a suburb near the district capital of Dodowa in the Dangme West District of the Greater Accra Region of Ghana. Most of the data, collected from the research field were conducted through a participatory observation and interviews with the tour guides of the Shai Hills Reserve, community leaders and some of the locals from the *Se* traditional area. Figure 1 is an image indicating the location of the Shai Hills in the Greater Accra district of Ghana.

⁶⁰ Interview with Mr. Boadi, a tour guide at the Shai Hills Resource Reserve on the 15th December 2018.

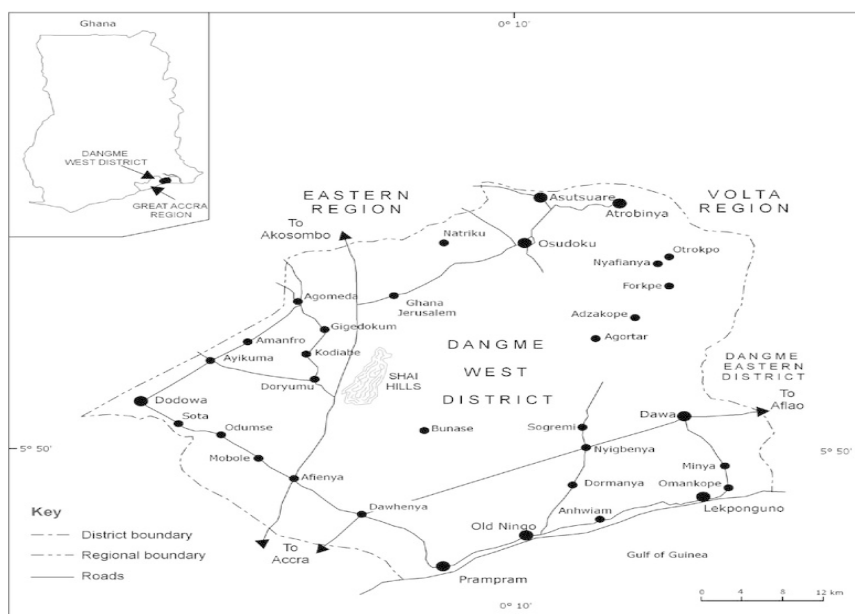


Figure 6. Map of the Greater Accra West district of Ghana. (Source: Researchgate.net)

Shai Hills Resource Reserve lies about an hour north of Accra, bordering the main Akosombo Road. This location makes the reserve one of the wildlife viewing areas closest to Accra and one of the most easily accessible in Ghana. The Shai Hills Reserve comprises a comparatively small fenced area of about 48 sq. km made up largely of savanna covered plains. The hills are covered by undisturbed low, dry evergreen forest.⁶¹ The plains surrounding the hills consist of short grass savanna with shrubs and evergreen trees. To date, there has been a total of 402 species of vascular plants including trees, shrubs, grasses, herbs, climbing plants and epiphytes (plants growing on other plants)⁶² identified within the reserve! A mosaic forest covers the five separate hills in the reserve. There are several species of animal living in the reserve including guinea fowl, antelopes, baboon and francolin.⁶³ To date, 31 mammal species, 13 reptile species and 175 bird species have been identified in the reserve. The dry evergreen

⁶¹ The Forestry Commission (FC) is a public service institution, empowered to implement the functions of protection, development, management and regulation of forests and wildlife resources and to provide the solution needed in matters relating to forestry

⁶² Undisturbed low, dry evergreen trees represent the natural vegetations. It is maintenance free and comprised of indigenous trees that have foliage which persists and remains green throughout the year

⁶³ A large game bird resembling a partridge, with bare skin on the head or neck, found in Africa and southern Asia.

forest, found on the hillsides of the reserve, is the driest forest type found in Ghana. The reserve is noted for its unique ecology and flora and is of high conservation interest.

Only twenty-nine individuals work at the reserve including the administrative and the tourist departments respectively.⁶⁴ Shai Hills Resource Reserve will be used as a case study for the revised management plan that will be suggested for all community-based heritage sites in Ghana. Shai Hills will represent other protected areas and national parks in Ghana where heritage, both natural and/or cultural is involved. The communities living around the Shai Reserve harbor grievances from feeling disregarded and therefore disregard the activities of the management of the Forestry Commission of Ghana centered at the Shai Hills Resource Reserve.⁶⁵ During the gathering of research data for this thesis, the local people of the *Se* community always mentioned one special issue during the interviews. That is, they are allowed once a year to visit the reserve to perform their ritual practices although for them these ritual practices should be practiced daily. The limitations of a single, yearly visit really affect their closeness to and respect for their ancestors and god. In the article *Explaining the Concept of Identity and Sense of Place in Residential Environment and Lifestyle* by Rogayeh Mansouri Parsa and Zohreh Torabi the authors define place attachment as the development of affective bond or link between people or individuals and specific places expressed through interplay of affects and emotions, knowledge and beliefs, and behavior and actions.⁶⁶ In relating the concept of place attachment to the locals of the *Se* traditional area, their forced evacuation from their original homelands by the Government of Ghana created an emotional detachment from their heritage as well as from their cultural practices. The reserve that had once been their home was

⁶⁴ Interview with Mr. Boadi, a tour guide at the Shai Hills Resource Reserve on the 17th December 2018.

⁶⁵ The Forestry Commission (FC) is a public service institution, to implement the functions of protection, development, management and regulation of forests and wildlife resources and to provide the needed solutions for relating matters concerning forestry

⁶⁶ Rogayeh Mansouri Parsa and Zohreh Torabi, "Explaining the Concept of Identity and Sense of Place in Residential Environment and Lifestyle," *Kuwait Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review* 4, no. 5 (January 2015): 27–43, <https://doi.org/10.12816/0018961>.

later designated a natural protected area by the Government of Ghana under the jurisdiction of the Forestry Commission and has since being managed by the Commission. Also, the physical detachment of the *Se* people from the reserve according to community members has created a great gap between them and their gods. This detachment also has resulted in an emotional discomfort within the community because, the traditional ways they once used to preserve their settlement is blocked by the management of the reserve. Local people feel that their cultural identity and heritage expressed through daily tradition are being drained away.

4.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE *SE* PEOPLE

According to the an anonymous elder from the *Se* traditional area, the *Se* people believe they are Jews who migrated from Israel through Egypt and Southern Sudan, settling for a period at Simeh in Niger and then in Ileife in Nigeria. The *Se* people continued their migration to Dahomey(Benin), Togo and later settled in Huatsi, where they stayed for a short time. From Huatsi, according to the tribal narrative, they traveled to the eastern banks of the River Volta, originally called the River Jor. They managed to cross the Volta at a place between Old Kpong and Akuse, establishing settlements on the plains of Tag-logo, where they remained for some time. According to their origin story, they later migrated to the plains of Lorlorvor. Upon their arrival in Lorlorvor, the local population in the land pushed the *Se* people out, fearing they would come to dominate the town. After the *Se* people were forced to leave Lorlorvor, they finally discovered the land that was to become the Shai Hills Resource Reserve and stayed there until they were forcefully moved away by the British in 1892.⁶⁷

Another narrative about the *Se* people with the same information that was given by the elder of the *Se* traditional council was repeated by a worker of the Shai Hills Resource Reserve and explained further how the *Se* people settled at the Shai hills Resource Reserve. According to

⁶⁷ An anonymous elder from the *Se* traditional council narrates the history of the *Se* people in an interview on the 16th of December 2018 at 12noon on Sunday.

Mr. Boadi, a worker at the Shai Hills Resource Reserve, during the continuation of the migration from Lorlorvor towards the coast, the *Se* people discovered the forest, natural resources and mountainous nature of Shai Hills and finally settled there. Since their settlement in the Shai Hills, the *Se* people witnessed tremendous prosperity and expansion during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, primarily connected to coastal trade with Europeans.⁶⁸ The *Se* people were also noted for their hunting, agricultural produce and pottery making, which was their chief source of income.⁶⁹ The new settlement of the *Se* people lay in a defensive position atop a hill enabling the elites to spot their enemies from afar. The *Se* kingdom continued to flourish in this secluded Shai highland fortress until the end of the nineteenth century when they were moved away from their settlement by the British. The territory was later designated a Protected Area by the Government of Ghana. The reserve comprises five ancestral homes in caves, namely Sayu, Manya Yo, Mogo Hills, Hieowayo and Adwuku. These ancestral caves served as a defensive home for people in the *Se* traditional area. There are still remnants of the rich cultural heritage of the *Se* people to be found in these five ancestral homes at the reserve. Also, apart from the *Se* people who lived in the caves within the reserve, there were five other villages in this area: Dworyumu, Manya Jopanya, Kordiabe, Akomeda and Dodowa. These villages contained mud brick and grass houses in the original settlements on the coastal savanna. In 1892, all the buildings collapsed in these villages after their forced abandonment although there are some rock wall remains and pottery from the original sites of the buildings in Manya Jopanya. During research, Sayu and Manya Yo caves were the only two ancestral homes that could be visited for financial reasons. The author chose them because of their rich cultural artifacts and archaeological remains.

⁶⁸ Interview with Mr. Boadi, a tour guide at the Shai Hills resource reserve on the 17th of December 2018 in the morning at 10.

⁶⁹ Elizabeth A Ardayfio, "Spatial Interaction of Markets in the Shai Area," *The African E-Journals Project* 12 (1980): 24, <http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/africanjournals>.

4.2 HISTORICAL NARRATIVES OF THE ANCESTRAL HOMES IN THE SHAI HILLS RESERVE

The five ancestral homes in the Shai Hills resource reserve are all unique in terms of their cultural heritage artefacts and remains, and were quite distant from each other. All the ancestral homes had caves associated with them. The caves served as a defensive place during times of war. There are also guided tours to these caves either by vehicle or hiking because of the distances between all the homes.

4.2.1. Adwuku Ancestral Home

The Adwuku ancestral home lies in the beautiful Adwuku hills. The cave was used by the *Se* people as a fortress and hiding place to defend themselves from other hostile tribes. There are also some remains of archaeological finds that can be seen in the cave reflecting the former presence of the tribal people of the *Se* community who formerly inhabited on these hills. The hill that surrounds the Adwuku Cave rises to 168meters above sea level. The ancient *Se* people used the summit as a lookout point from which to spot hostile tribes. Within the cave, there is a natural rock ladder used to reach the summit which provides a spectacular view of the surrounding countryside.⁷⁰

4.2.2 Mogo Ancestral Home

The Mogo Ancestral Cave is also known as the Bamboo Rock because it is the place where all the bamboos in the reserve grow. This cave is located on an isolated hill in the reserve. The Mogo Hills is a great spot for relaxation and picnics for tourists.

4.2.3 Howeiyo Ancestral Home

⁷⁰ Interview with Mr. Boadi, a tour guide at the Shai Hills resource reserve on the 17th of December 2018 in the afternoon.

There are several sites of major cultural importance to the Dangme *Se* on the slopes of Howeiyo. The Makpin shrine is of particular significance in the annual rites - entry to this site is restricted to selected persons. The Obonutem (or drum) Cave sits on top of the highest hill at 290 meters. It looks like a tunnel and leads to a hole on the top of the hill, where one can emerge – if you are thin. It is told locally that the Dworyumu *Se* people used to store drums and weapons there. Their ruined buildings are still visible. Below is a map that shows all the ancestral homes in the Shai Hills resource reserve. The red arrow on the map points to the location of the Adwuku Ancestral home while the blue and black arrows points to Howeiyo, the Mogo Ancestral homes and the green arrow points towards all the villages currently located around the Shai Hills Reserve were the modern *Se* population lives.

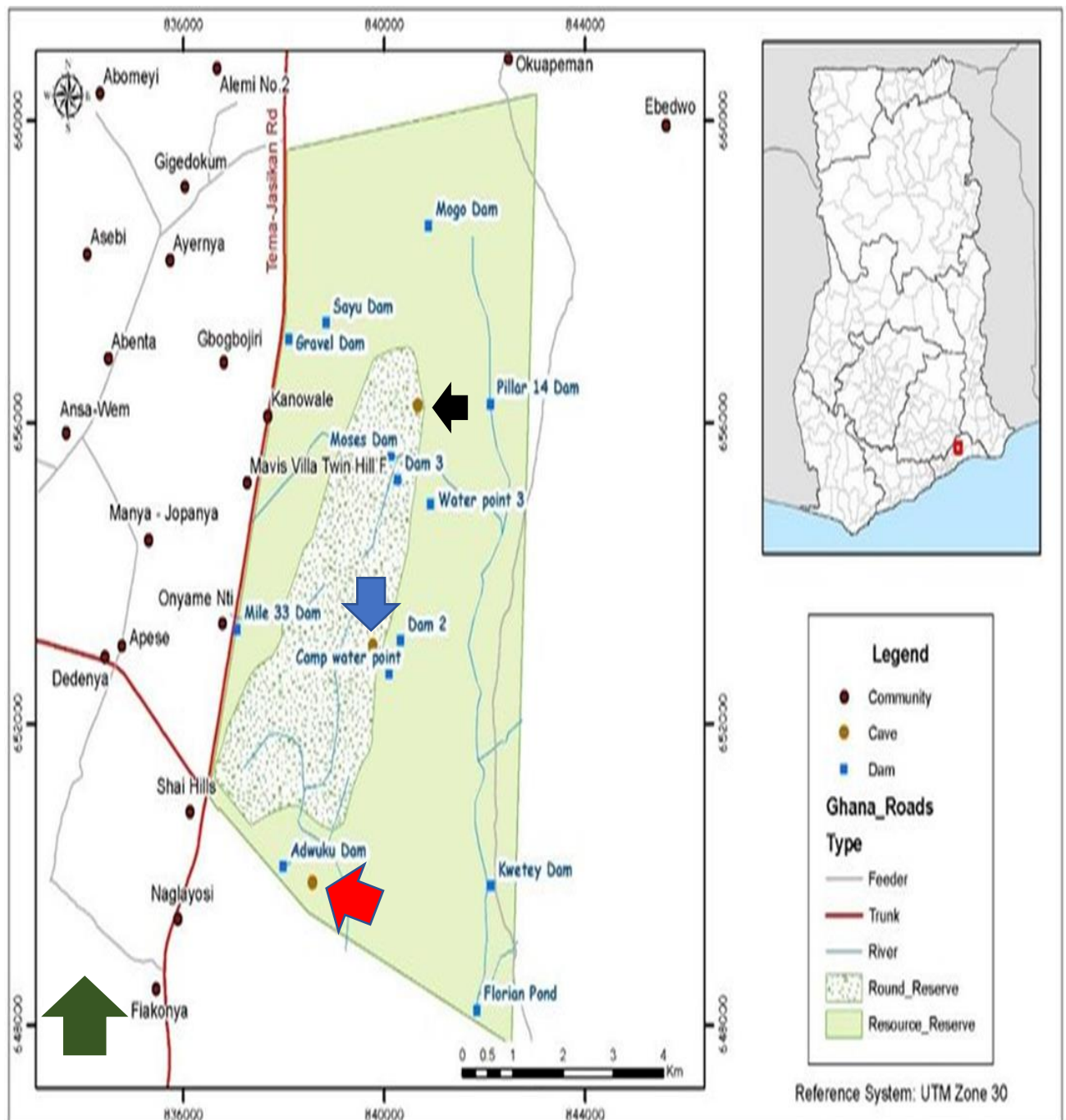


Figure 7. A map of the ancestral caves in Shai Hills Reserve. (Source: Management plan of the reserve).

4.2.4 Sayu Ancestral Home

There is a Baobab tree before the entrance to Sayu ancestral home, facing the Sayu hills. This tree is said to be a sacred tree where the people of *Kordiabe* performed sacrifices during the

Manya Ngmayem festival.⁷¹ Before the festival, the Baobab tree is painted white– this is called the “*kaliko*” to signify that the tree is sacred. The location where the baobab tree grows is also used as a place of gathering where the people of *Kordiabe* traditionally sacrificed fowls and goats for ritual purposes. The Baobab tree is a special tree to the people of *Kordiabe* because it is here that they receive answers to their problems anytime they make sacrifices to please their gods. Below is the picture of the Baobab tree.



Figure 8. The Baobab tree in front of Sayu Cave. (Source: the author)

Sayu Cave is the ancestral home of the local *Se* community in *Kordiabe*. This cave formerly served as the home of the Chief of the *Se* people. His rock-built palace and court remain intact as evidence of his former reign. There was a third chamber in this cave that the chief used as the well-protected place he slept. This third chamber is now inhabited by insectivorous bats, giving the cave its second name, the Bat Cave. Below are pictures of the Chief’s courtyard and the Bat Cave.

⁷¹ Manya Ngmayem festival is celebrated to mark the end of a period of famine and the struggles their forebears faced after migrating from Israel



Figure 9. *The Chiefs' Courtyard.* (Source: the author)



Figure 10. *The Bat Cave.* (Source: the author)

Long ago, the summit of the rocky Sayu Hills could be accessed from within the cave by a climber which allowed the ancient *Se* people to quickly reach a vantage point where they could spot far-off enemies. Since, this observation point could be reached without leaving the safety of the hills, it provided a significant defensive advantage against enemies. The ladder they used was originally a tree root, but it became damaged and the reserve replaced it with this improvised metal structure to show how the locals accessed to hilltop. Below is a picture of the structure that traditionally allowed the *Se* people to spot their enemies from the hilltop.



Figure 11. Access to the hilltop. (Source: the author)

In the Sayu Ancestral home, the Chief had a special hiding place for his family. There was also an escape route used by the Chief and his people during times of war. Figures 6,7 and 8 show the hiding place, escape route and homes used by the *Se* Sayu tribe.



Figure 12. Hiding place for the chief and his family. (Source: the author)

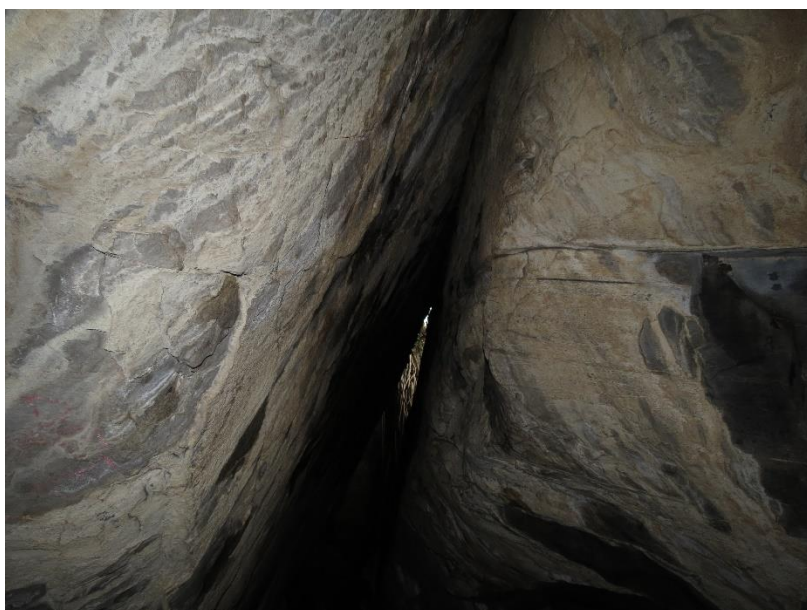


Figure 13. *Escape route from the Sayu Ancestral Home. (Source: the author)*



Figure 14. *Home of the local people of the Se of the Sayu tribe. Source: (the author)*

4.2.5. Manya Yo Ancestral Cave

Manya Yo is the ancestral home of Manya – Jopanya. Manya Yo is the largest of the ruins left by the *Se* culture. It lies on one of the highest hills in the reserve. Sites along the 1,200m trail are strewn with artefacts over 130 years old, offering visitors a glimpse into the past of the *Se* people. It is the most comprehensive experience that the reserve has to offer. The Manya

Ancestral home is noted for its rich cultural remains including fragments of the diverse ancient pottery which reflects the thriving pre-colonial pottery industry of the *Se* people. At Manya Yo, there is the so-called Elephant Rock which was used as a defense point for the locals of the *Se* Manya tribe. Manya Yo comprises two sites: the “*Sitohie Kekeleke*” and “*Sitohie Enyo*” (“first stop and “second stop). These mark the places where women from the *Se* Manya tribe rested when fetching water. Remnants of their pots can still be seen. Below is a picture of the Elephant Rock and the two resting places in Manya Cave.



Figure 15. *The Elephant Rock at the Manya Yo. Source: (the author)*

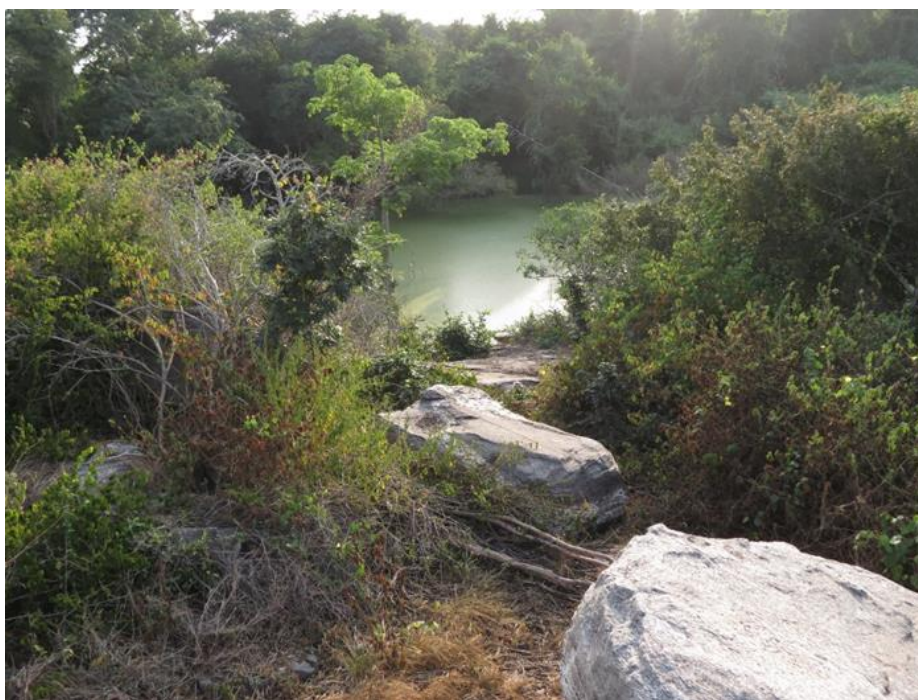


Figure 16. *Sitohie Kekeleke” and “Sitohie Enyo and the river used by the locals of Many. (Source: the author)*

The “*Tahohoie Bloe*” is a rock shelter which was used by the *Se* people to monitor the activities of their enemies. Below is a picture of the “*Tahohoie Bloe*” and an escape route for the chief and local people during times of war.



Figure 17. *The “Tahohoie Bloe”. (Source: the author)*



Figure 18. *An escape route used by the chief and his people. (Source: the author)*

Up on the hills lies a so-called Maternity Cave which reportedly contains a bath as well as a mud cot made for an infant. It was believed that one of the Manya chiefs hid his pregnant wife there during a time of war. Below is a picture of the Maternity Cave.



Figure 19. *The Maternity Cave and hiding place. (Source: the author)*

The *Se Asafoatse* rock Palace, Court and War Shrine lie within the Manya Yo Cave. The name *Asafoatse* refers to the remains left behind by the ruler of the *Se* people, the rock palace of the

Se chief, the so-called Coronation Court, and the War Shrine where the *Se* people prayed before battles. Below are pictures of the Asafoatse Palace, Court and War Shrine.



Figure 20. *The Asafoatse Rock 'Palace' in the Manyo Yo Cave. (Source: the author)*



Figure 21. *The so-called Coronation Court at Manyo Yo Cave. (Source: the author)*



Figure 22. *The War Shrine prayers were made before battles. (Source: the author)*



Figure 23. *The War Shrine prayers were made before battles. (Source: the author)*

The locals of the Manya Yo tribe did not live in the caves but built their houses out of small stones. Whenever there was war, the local population moved into the caves for safety. Below are the remains of the stones-built settlement the local population lived in.



Figure 24. *The stone wall remains from the settlement of the local population at Manya Yo. (Source: the author)*



Figure 25. *The stone wall remains from the settlement of the local population at Manya Yo. (Source: the author)*

Lastly, the ancient dry-stone walls comprising its architectural remains reveals how the *Se* combined stones, mud and wood to build dwellings. The largest stone foundation is thought to be part of the King's palace. Also, there are remains of the pottery and grinding stones which were used by the local people, found in the Manya Yo Cave. Below are pictures of the dry-stone dwellings in the caves with grinding stones and pottery fragments in Manya Yo Cave.



Figure 26. *Old dry-stone wall. (Source: the author)*

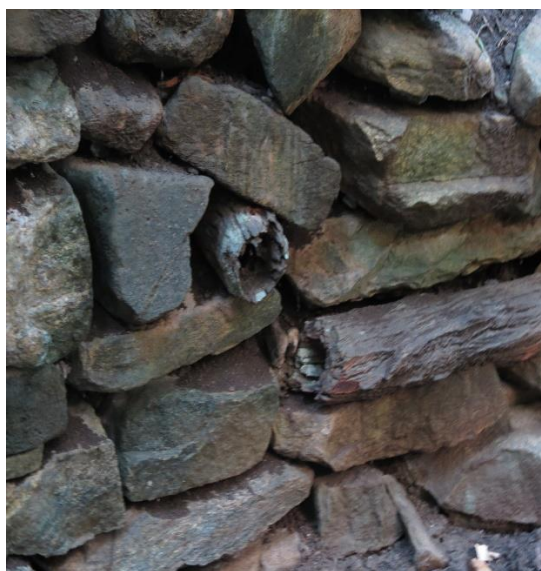


Figure 27. *Old dry-stone wall. (Source: the author)*



Figure 28. *Some grinding stones used by the former local population. (Source: the author)*



Figure 29. *Some grinding stones used by the former local population. (Source: the author)*

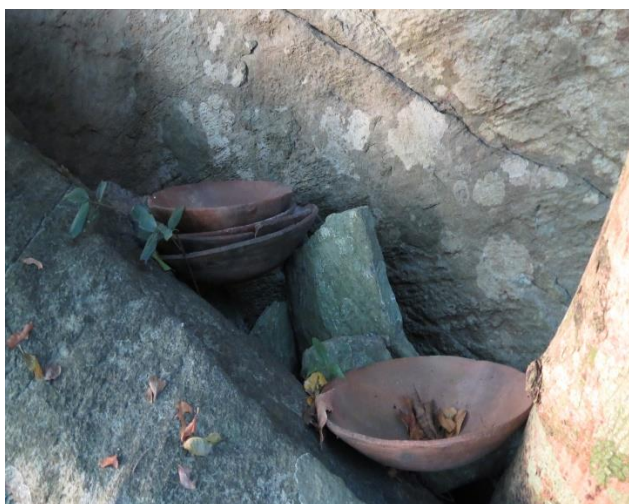


Figure 30. Pottery remains found in Manyo Yo Cave. (Source: the author)

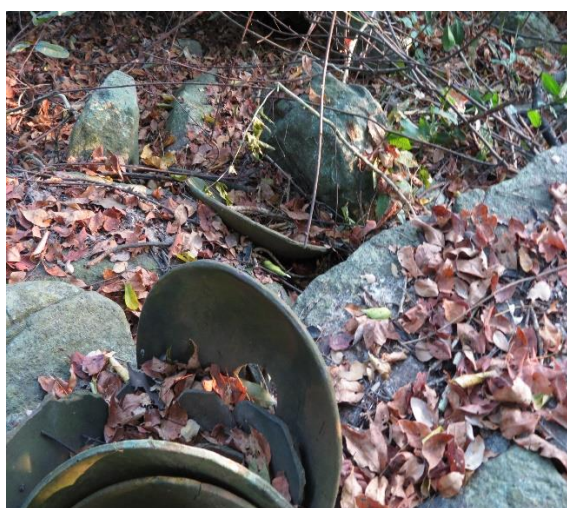


Figure 31. Pottery remains found in Manyo Yo Cave. (Source: the author)

4.3. SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN THE SAYU AND THE MANYA YO CAVES

The location of a settlement influences the traditional behavior of the people living in them. Zhonghao Zhang *et al* in their article *Fractal Characterization of Settlement Patterns and Their Spatial Determinants in Coastal Zones*, defines settlement patterns as one of the most fundamental links between people and the earth. Settlement patterns, reflect interactions between people with the surrounding environment.⁷² Relating the definition of settlement

⁷² Zhonghao Zhang, Xiaoqin Yang, and Rui Xiao, "Fractal Characterization of Settlement Patterns and Their Spatial Determinants in Coastal Zones," *ISPRS International Journal of Geo-Information* 4, no. 4 (December 3, 2015): 2728–41, <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijgi4042728>.

patterns to the strategic positioning of the chiefs and locals from the Sayu and Manya Yo ancestral homes, it was of core importance for the locals from these two ancestral homes to stay on the hilltops to be safe and to know whenever an enemy approached their territory. This created a link between the local populations of these two ancestral homes because of the security the hilltop afforded them. There was also a tiny cave in the Sayu and Manya Yo ancestral homes that both populations used in their respective locations as the main entrance into these ancestral homes before one came into the living areas of the chiefs and the locals. Below are images of the cave entrance to the Sayu and Manya Yo ancestral homes.

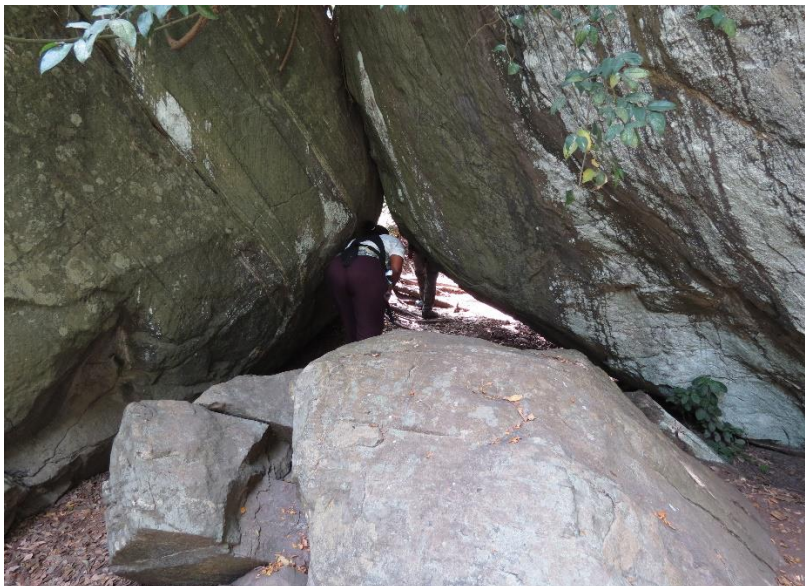


Figure 32. *Entrance cave to the Se Sayu Ancestral Home. (Source: the author)*



Figure 33. Entrance cave to the Manyo Yo Ancestral Home. (Source: the author)

4.3.1. Settlement Structure in The Sayu Ancestral Home

The local population of the Sayu Ancestral home was located on the Sayu Hills in the reserve. The location of the home places it at a defensive vantage point for the locals. Before one could get access to the ancestral home, he or she had to pass through the cave entrance because the actual settlement of the local population of the Sayu ancestral home was located behind the entrance cave. Willey in his article *Prehistoric settlement patterns in the Virú; Valley, Peru* defines settlement patterns as

the dwellings in which man disposed himself over the landscape on which he lived, their arrangement, and to the nature and disposition of other buildings pertaining to community life. These settlements reflect the natural environment, the level of technology on which the builders operated, and various institutions of social interaction and control which the culture maintained. Because settlement patterns are, to a large extent, directly shaped by widely held cultural needs, they offer a strategic starting point for the functional interpretation of archaeological cultures.⁷³

Willey's definition of settlement patterns reflects the hierarchical arrangement of the houses at the Sayu Ancestral home. In the Sayu Ancestral home, the house of the chief was located

⁷³ Gordon R. Willey, "Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Virú; Valley, Peru," 1953, <http://repository.si.edu/handle/10088/15450>.

in a bigger rock cave where he lived with his wife and children. The chiefs house also had a hiding place where he could hide his family when there was war. While the leaders and the homes of the former local population can be seen as walls made of smaller rocks, they were located close to each other in the ancestral home. The rocky nature of the Sayu Ancestral home was reflected in their occupation. There was not much fertile land to grow crops in this rocky environment. The local *Se* populations from the Sayu Ancestral home were noted for their hunting and gathering expertise. Below is the settlement structure showing how the houses of the local population were organized within the Sayu Ancestral Home.

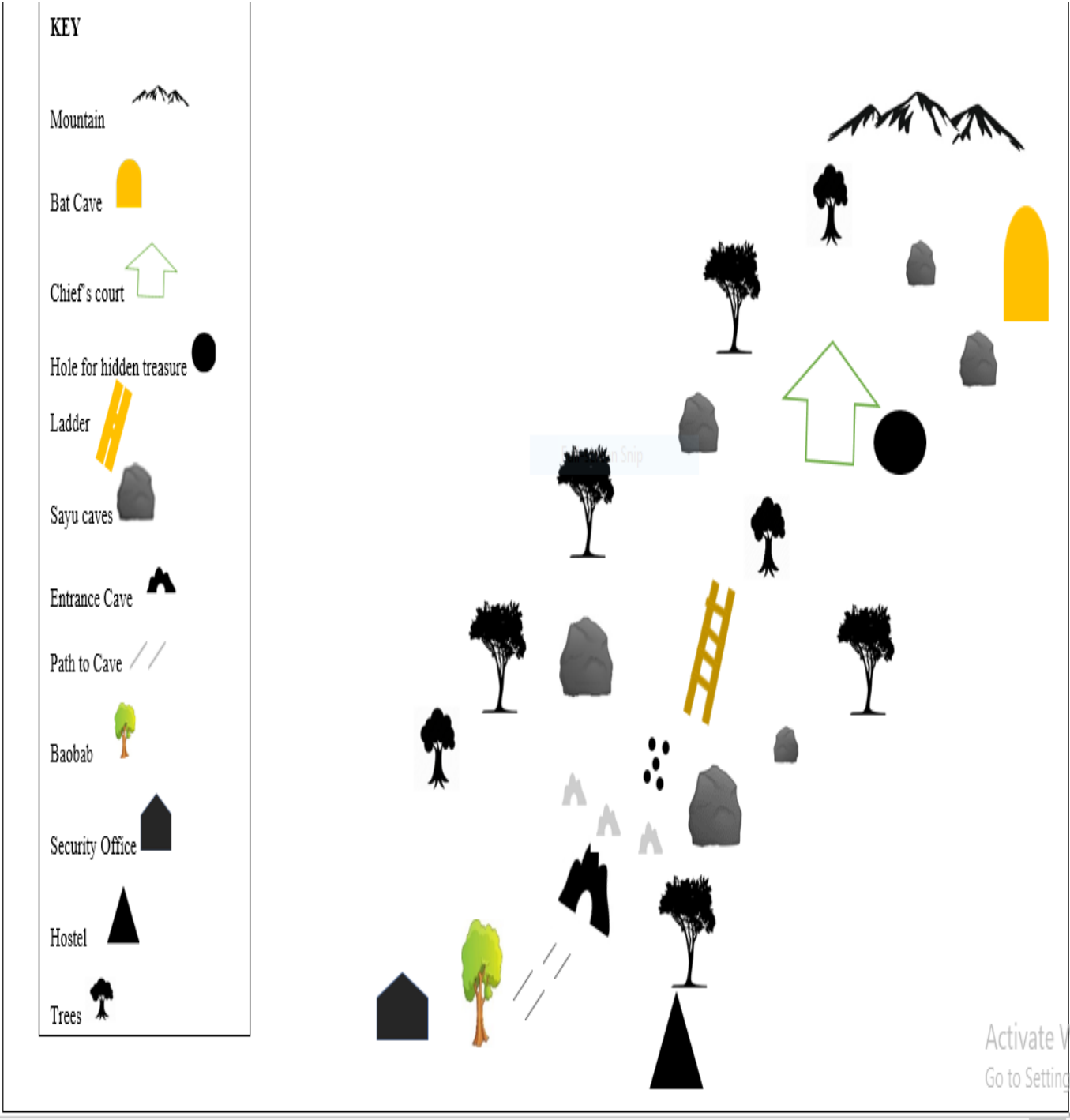


Figure 34. Settlement structure at the Sayu Ancestral Home. (Source: the author)

4.3.2. Settlement Structure Within the Manya Yo Ancestral Home

According to Zhang et al, settlements are influenced by various environmental factors such as topography, water accessibility, transportation proximity, and so forth.⁷⁴ The choice of settlement for the Manya Yo Ancestral home was greatly influenced by the hilly nature of the land which provided the locals with shelter and security. Before an intruder could penetrate the original settlement at Manya Yo, they had to go through the tiny entrance cave and this helped the Manya people easily spot intruders. Thus, the entrance cave served as a strong point of security for the Manya tribe. The Manya tribe also lived close to each other even though their settlements were organized hierarchically. In the Manya Ancestral home, the Chief and his family lived in a cave while the other leaders and the local population built their homes with dry stone walls. The closeness of their settlement promoted unity and peace although there were always those who transgressed traditions and were punished accordingly. The Ancestral home had land for farming which the local population cultivated to provide food and medicine for the community as well as provide a market for them to sell their produce. According to Kantner, a settlement pattern also comprises the distribution of the archaeological remains of human activities across the landscape and the spatial relationship between these remains and features of the natural and social environment.⁷⁵ In relation to Kantner's, definitions, the archaeological remains of the ancient dry stone walled houses of the local population may still be seen across the home area of the *Se Manya* tribe which shows the hierarchical social ranking of the community houses. The remains of the pottery in the Manya home area indicates that the locals were pottery makers in contrast to the *Se Sayu* who were hunters, gatherers and farmers. The location also afforded easy access to water which lay close to their homes. Below

⁷⁴ Zhang, Yang, and Xiao, "Fractal Characterization of Settlement Patterns and Their Spatial Determinants in Coastal Zones."

⁷⁵ John Kantner, "The Oxford Companion to Archaeology," *Oxford University Press* 2 (2012): 11, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/259344904_Settlement_pattern_analysis.

is the settlement structure showing the distribution of the houses of the chief and local population along with other features at Manya Yo.

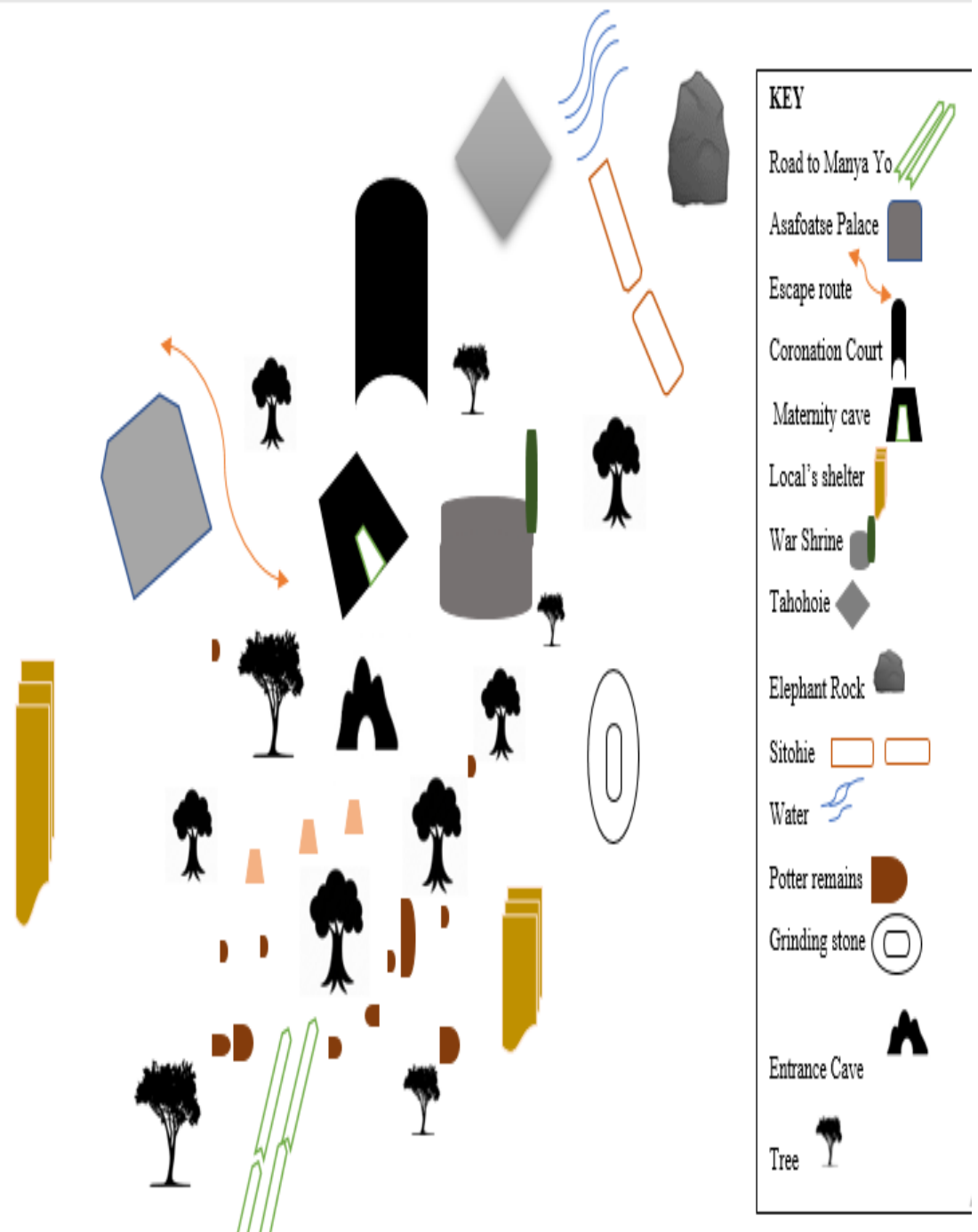


Figure 35. Settlement structure of the Manya Yo Ancestral Home Source: (the author)

4.3.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter explains in detail the data gathered by the author from locals living around Shai Hills Reserve. It describes all five ancestral homes in the Shai Hills Resource Reserve but delves into two of the ancestral homes more deeply: the Sayu and Manya Yo ancestral homes. I focused on these two Ancestral homes because of their rich cultural heritage and archaeological remains. This chapter also details the settlement structure of the Chiefs and local populations in these two Ancestral homes and the hierarchical nature of the house construction.

CHAPTER 5. REVISED MANAGEMENT PLAN FOR THE SHAI HILLS RESOURCE RESERVE

This revised management for the Shai Hills Resource Reserve fuses the traditional practices of the *Se* people with some aspects of the existing management plan of the reserve in light of the foundational UNESCO policy for indigenous people. The ideology behind the revised management plan will allow locals to become a proper part of the decision-making processes at the reserve and participate in developmental projects there. The distance between what is written in the current management plan for the reserve and what is actually practiced by reserve management as regards the locals of the *Se* traditional area is very great. The management plan for the reserve contain some rules which work and others that do not. These discrepancies create a gap between practice and written rules leading to an unstable political power dynamic between the management of the reserve, the local *Se* Chief, leaders and the locals of the *Se* traditional area. There needs to be a balance between some of the western style ways of managing the reserve and the neglected and ignored traditional practices used by the *Se* people to protect the reserve, their former traditional homeland. There needs to be more effective communication between the management of the reserve and the traditional leaders of the *Se* traditional area who would act as information conduits to the local population. Below is a diagram of communication showing the political power dynamics between the various reserve stakeholders.

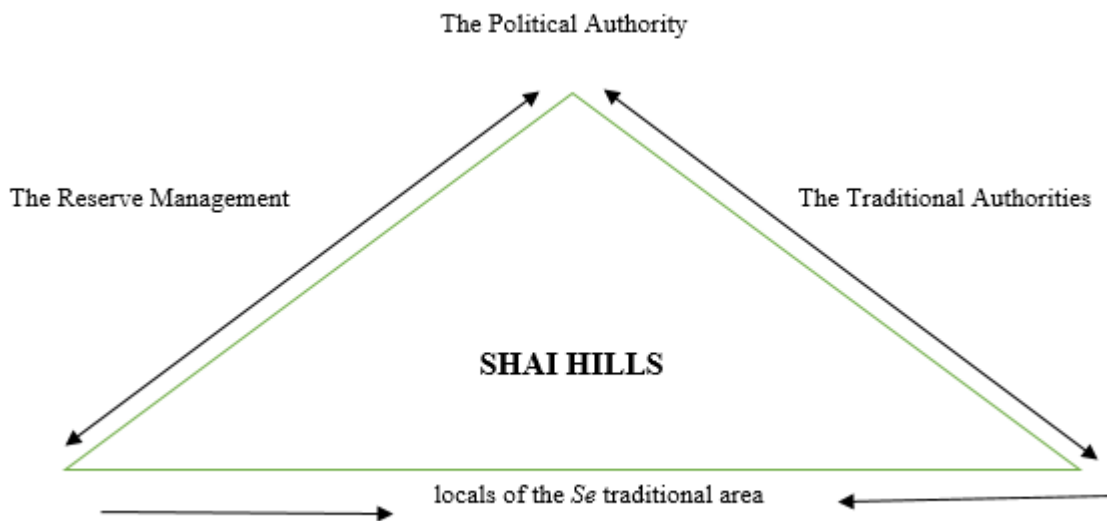


Figure 36. A diagram of the communication dynamics of political power in the Shai Hills Resource Reserve (Source: the author)

The political power dynamics describes how most instructions are given from the political authorities to the Traditional authorities and finally to the locals of the *Se* traditional area. The proposed revised management plan comprises three different parts: enforcement, monitoring and evaluation of the monitoring issues and education, all needed to ensure that the revised management plan is actually put into practice and not remain just words on a page. These three aspects of the revised plan contain some relevant aspects of the current management plan of the reserve, some important parts of the *Se* traditions still practiced by the locals. At the same time, these traditions will be useful guides in managing the reserve in a way more acceptable to locals. Underpinning the plan is that section of the UNESCO policy that emphasizes the importance of local populations involvement with their heritage.

5.1. ENFORCEMENT OF THE REVISED MANAGEMENT PLAN

The enforcement of the revised management plan for the Shai Hills Resource Reserve will help make the proposed management work effectively by involving all three stakeholders of the reserve: the government stakeholders, The traditional leaders and local population of the *Se*

area. should be closely involved in the descriptions of the five ancestral home areas found in the reserve: the Sayu, Manya Yo, Adwuku, Howeiyo and the Mogo. They are the original settlers of these homes' areas. The locals know the close, traditional history of these Ancestral homes.

5.2. MONITORING ASPECT OF THE REVISED MANAGEMENT PLAN

The monitoring aspect of the revised management plan is categorized into different sub topics that address most of the gaps in the management plan. I propose new ideas in the way the traditional practices of the *Se* people connected to protection of the natural environment can also be merged into the management of the reserve.

5.2.1. Leadership from The Government and Traditional Stakeholders

Both the government and the traditional stakeholders of the Shai Hills Resource Reserve should demonstrate the protection, conservation, promotion and management of *Se* heritage values through leadership by example and the application of best practice. The heritage values and practices found in the *Se* traditional area should be encouraged and introduced by traditional leaders to the government stakeholders at the reserve since, in this new scheme, they would constitute equal members of the Advisory Board of the Shai Hills Resource Reserve. In 1996, Shai Hills Resource Reserve became the first Protected Area in Ghana to have a Management Advisory Board (MAB). The MAB gives advice to the people running the Reserve, especially on management and community outreach issues. The membership of the MAB is comprised of stakeholders rather than representatives from surrounding towns to avoid having too many members. The ten members include traditional leaders, farmers, cattle owners, the army, the youth and women.⁷⁶ Even though it is stated in the current management plan that the MAB

⁷⁶ Wildlife Division, Forestry Commission, "Shai Hills Resource Reserve Management Plan," Management Plan (Greater Accra: Forestry Commission, 2005).

supposedly gives advice to the Reserve and community issues it is not been put into practice. According, to an elder from the *Se* traditional area during an interview with the researcher, ‘I haven’t heard about any MAB since we were moved from the reserve that we are part of, we are not even involved in my heritage so how can I give advice’.⁷⁷

Given this gap between the written word and what actually happens at the Reserve, I propose that if the traditional leaders are able to suggest implementation of their traditional practices to the government stakeholders, it would also demonstrate how their leadership concerns are aimed at protecting their heritage from fading away. This action will then correlate to the written aspirations of the Management Advisory Board agenda of giving advice to the Reserve, management and issues of community outreach. In the proposed revised management plan, there would be monthly meetings between the *Se* Traditional leaders and the government stakeholders of the reserve where they deliberate together on the most effective and productive avenues for managing the reserve.

5.2.2. Managing Changes to The Western and The Traditional Perspectives on Protected Areas

Some social patterns and traditional practices of the *Se* people could be treated as rules, complementing more modern ideas developed for protected natural areas by the Forestry Commissions.⁷⁸ There are other compelling reasons why conservationists and the government officials and managers of the Shai Hills Reserve need to collaborate with the local people of the *Se* traditional area. This cooperative way of managing the reserve would better agree with international law. The International Labour Organisation of 1989, states that indigenous people have rights, *inter alia*, to the use, ownership, management, and control of their traditional lands

⁷⁷ Interview with an anonymous Elder from the *Se* Traditional Area on the 17th December 2018.

⁷⁸ Michael W. Morris et al., “Normology: Integrating Insights about Social Norms to Understand Cultural Dynamics,” *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 129 (July 2015): 1–13, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2015.03.001>.

and territories.⁷⁹ Before the Government of Ghana designated Shai Hills a protected area, the locals had traditional practices that also protected the flora and fauna in their settlement area. Even though it was not identified as a scientifically protected area within the settlement of the *Se* people, these places of importance and living creatures and flora were protected by custom and norms. Some of the traditional practices observed by the *Se* people included prohibitions by traditional leaders against allowing locals to hunt, fish or farm in the area on Fridays. These practices were initiated so that the gods of the forest, sea, and the land could rest and also visit these places. Meanwhile, these traditional practices protected the land from being over-worked and the creatures living on the land becoming extinct.⁸⁰ Thus, the *Se* traditional leaders also understood the concept of a protected area in their own terms but did not use this technical term in the same way as it is used by the government officials on the reserve. Nonetheless, in order for the official, government stakeholders of the reserve and the stakeholders represented by the local people from the *Se* traditional area to form an effective collaborative working arrangement using the customs and norms of the local people, there needs to be a mutual understanding of how to work together through partnerships, networks and shared leadership. To involve the structural phenomenon of developing programs that will integrate the norms of the *Se* people, there should also be genuine sharing of formal and informal decision making and mutual recognition of joint interests, whether expressed through self-determination or in other ways by local people and other stakeholders on the reserve.⁸¹ However, for the western concept of a protected area to be properly understood by the locals, there needs to be an improvement in the efficiency and effectiveness of communication surrounding both traditional and western perspectives on heritage conservation. This can be achieved by

⁷⁹ United Nation Agency, “Convention C169 - Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169),” International Labour Organization, 1989, https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C169.

⁸⁰ Interview with Mr. Nii Boi Tamakloe, an elderly man in his late 90’s who witnessed the forced movement of the *Se* people from their original settlement on the 16th December 2018.

⁸¹ Prof Larissa Behrendt, “Journal of Indigenous Policy,” *December 2014*, no. 16 (2014): 124.

strengthening the understanding, cooperation and collaboration between government stakeholders on the reserve and local bearers of the *Se* heritage. Better communication will lead to the promotion and celebration of the diverse cultural values of the *Se* traditional heritage and eventually enhance the local community's appreciation of the resource reserve endeavor which is almost nonexistent now.

5.2.3. Human and Financial Resources

The key to finding the human and financial resources for the successful running of the Reserve and associated programs suggested in the revised management plan is the cooperation of the Paramount Chief of the modern *Se* community. Given that the *Se* community is a socially stratified, ideas on how the human, financial and natural resources can be used effectively to activate the revised management plan to the reserve work amicably for all stakeholders less in the hands of the chiefs and elders. They must first be convinced that the revised plan is useful.

5.2.4 Harnessing Community Expectations

The traditions guiding the local population in the past were adhered to by everyone who was living in the original settlement of the Shai Hills. When the local population still lived in their ancestral settlements, there were protected areas restricted to the chief of the *Se* traditional area alone. Thus, with their knowledge of the ways the forest could be protected, traditional norms could be used as guiding principles for the government stakeholders of the reserve. The *Se* people did not practice bush burning because they believed if any fire occurs, they caused harm to their ancestors. They believe, bush fires caused outbreaks of disease. With this belief in mind, the local people did not practice bush burning and this helped to preserve the trees, plant ground cover and animals who lived in the *Se* settlement area. The locals now behave incorrectly because they are prevented from entering what they regard as their own territory. There is a serious local problem with poaching. Earlier hunting traditions which proscribed

poaching could protect the animals in the reserve. This tradition states that no member of the community could kill any animal in the forest except animals used in their ritual practices and authorized by the chief during their festival. Any member who behaved contrary to this norm was punished in a socially appropriate manner. For the conflicts between the locals of the *Se* traditional area and the government stakeholders in the reserve to stop, there needs to be an umbrella of transparency between these two representative groups of stakeholders. There should be a conscious effort on both sides of the management issue to ensure that the regulatory processes for heritage protection which involves the traditional practices of the *Se* people are included in practice to create openness and transparency that is simple to operate and understand. The changes in the management plan also aim to ensure accountability on the part of all stakeholders and reflect local community expectations. According to the *United Nations Declarations on the Rights of the Indigenous people Article 27*:

States shall establish and implement, in conjunction with indigenous peoples concerned, a fair, independent, impartial, open and transparent process, giving due recognition to indigenous peoples' laws, traditions, customs and land tenure systems, to recognize and adjudicate the rights of indigenous peoples pertaining to their lands, territories and resources, including those which were traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used. Indigenous peoples shall have the right to participate in this process.⁸²

For the locals of the *Se* traditional area to effectively contribute to the management of the reserve those traditional practices, relevant to them as a people and practiced by them when they lived in their former settlements in the reserve, should be recognized by the MAB. Even though the management plan states that local people's concerns in reserve management should be integrated into the management process.⁸³ The present plan, does not address any of the traditional practices of the local population. For the locals to be integrated as effective

⁸² United Nations, "United Nations Declarations on the Rights of the Indigenous People" (Graphic Design Unit, Department of Public Information, United Nations, 2007), https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf.

⁸³ Wildlife Division, Forestry Commission, "SHRR Management Plan."

stakeholders on the MAB, those of their traditional practices relevant to the protection of the reserve should be included as ways for the locals to understand and participate in the parts of the management processes connected directly to their heritage. If the locals from the *Se* traditional area are to be integrated effectively in the management of the reserve, employment opportunities should be generated for local people, for example in the running of the hostel – from its administrative management to the domestic workers such as cleaners. The administrative running of the hostel should involve educated locals and the domestic department should employ locals who do not have an education but are interested in extra income. Lastly, there could be a market area in the reserve which would have a craft center selling local traditional *Se* crafts such as pottery and beads made by the locals, a canteen, and other amenities visitors might need during their stay at the hostel. At the moment, the hostel is poorly run and quite dirty.⁸⁴

5.2.5. Re-Educating Locals and The Managers of The Shai Hills Reserve

All generations of local people from the *Se* traditional area need to have a greater understanding of their heritage values through the development of comprehensive heritage education connected to their rights under the international law for the indigenous people as well as their own history and their religious beliefs. I propose that a comprehensive heritage education could be incorporated in the educational system of Ghana as a compulsory subject from primary school through to the University so that school age children in all areas, both rural and urban, can develop their interests in their local traditional values and heritage rights. This comprehensive education should also have an informal aspect within local communities and urban areas for citizens who never had the opportunity to go to school to also learn about their rights, heritage values and how they can be protected. Such programs would create positive

⁸⁴ This was my personal experience when I visited the Reserve in 2018.

consciousness on the part of the younger generation concerning the need to protect and preserve their heritage. There needs to be mutual collaboration between the traditional *Se* leaders and government stakeholders at the reserve to create a modernized learning strategy to educate the young people on the need to preserve their cultural identity, traditional values and heritage. There could also be a segment apportioned for adult education that will include adults and especially older adults who have authority in the community to act as an information hub of indigenous knowledge as well as a conduit for learning about the modern ways of protecting one's heritage. As stated in the *United Nation Declaration on the Rights of the Indigenous people*, indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.⁸⁵ Therefore, the younger and future generations of the *Se* traditional community need to be educated on their traditional practices as regards the management of their heritage and the reserve as well. The Declaration explains the need for the government stakeholders to also take effective measures to ensure that the rights of the local people concerning their heritage is protected. This also means that management at the reserve must take steps to ensure that the *Se* people can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings, where necessary through the provision of interpretation or by other appropriate means of communication that will provide clarity of understanding for the local population.⁸⁶ The collaboration between traditional leaders and the government stakeholders of the reserve is very important for promoting greater understanding and support for the identification, conservation and management of heritage places in the Shai Hills resource reserve.

5.3. EVALUATION ASPECT OF THE REVISED MANAGEMENT PLAN

⁸⁵ United Nations, "United Nations Declarations on the Rights of the Indigenous People."

⁸⁶ United Nations.

Anisur Rahman Khan *et al* defines evaluation as a tool for measuring the worthiness, performance and efficacy of any program.⁸⁷ I support the adoption of Anisur Rahman Khan *et al* concerning evaluation as a medium to measure the worth of a document created for an institution. Implementing their suggestions, the proposed revised management plan for the Shai Hills Resource Reserve will have an evaluation aspect which would help assess its efficacy.

- First, the evaluation of the revised management plan will help identify potential gaps in the proposed management plan regarding its execution, outline areas which need to be improved and to hold implementers of the documents accountable for every activity that develops during the management of the reserve.
- The evaluation process will ensure that there is proper accountability from the government stakeholders and the traditional leaders of the *Se* community concerning every activity that goes on in the management of the reserve. With proper accountability there would be transparency and more peaceful relationships between all the stakeholders of the reserve.
- The evaluation will make sure nothing is overlooked concerning both western and traditional management practices that is incorporated in the revised management plan from the government stakeholders and the traditional leaders.
- The evaluation will focus on the expected and achieved accomplishments stipulated for defined a period of time by examining the results accruing from the revised management plan. This will help rectify problems that arise when the existing new plan is not being properly implemented.
- The evaluation will help provide evidence-based information that will be credible, reliable and useful in improving the preservation, promotion and management of the

⁸⁷ Anisur Rahman Khan and Mizanur Rahman, "The Role of Evaluation at the Stages of Policy Formulation," 2017, 14.

Shai Hills Resource Reserve. The oversight mechanism that will be used for the effective implementation of the revised management plan will be:

- i. a heritage review board that will examines complaints that will arise from both the government officials and the local *Se* population.
 - ii. an in-house quality control team from the Forestry Commission which will be supervised by the Ministry of Land, Forestry and Mines to make sure that the re-educations curriculum for schools and adult education programs are being implemented and operating effectively.
 - iii. there would be a system by which both students and adults from the *Se* traditional area can evaluate the potential of the revised management plan and suggest ideas for improvement.
 - iv. there would be a diverse committee which will involve well trained and educated heritage practitioners who would review and oversee revised management plans every three years to ensure positive improvement in the management and protection at all heritage sites in Ghana.
- Lastly, for the revised management plan to be effective, this plan must be reviewed every three years, not like the first management plan which was created in 1992 and only reviewed after thirteen years. That review resulted in the current management plan 2005. This second management plan has not been reviewed for nine years now. This long period between implementation of a management plan and its review is not acceptable and allows problems between management of the government and local stakeholders to pile up.

5.4. LIMITATIONS TO THE REVISED MANAGEMENT PLAN

Practically speaking, the revised management plan for the Shai Hills Resource Reserve will encounter some implementation problems due to male hegemony which will prevent

government appointed officials at the reserve from recognizing that their attitudes towards the *Se* local population still reflect something of the old colonial mentality that looks down upon the traditional practices. Getting women on board in the management of the reserve is important for creating equal opportunities and implementing traditional ideas associated with women to boost the protection and management aspect of the reserve. Therefore, getting these two groups of stakeholders to collaborate is not going to be an easy task but it needs to happen to create a peaceful, productive coexistence concerning the running of the reserve.

5.5. CONCLUSION

As mentioned earlier, the purpose of this chapter was to create a revised management plan that integrates traditional conservation norms of the *Se* into the management plan for the reserve and includes enforcement, monitoring, and evaluation aspects as well as the education of the *Se* local population on their heritage rights, history and traditional practices. I also propose ideas concerning how to create progressive collaboration between the government stakeholders and the traditional leaders of the *Se* area that will include propagation of their traditional practices to protect their heritage. An evaluation every three years of the results of the revised management plan will be needed to ensure its effectiveness and efficiency, at least at the beginning of this revised program.

CONCLUSION

The noninvolvement of locals in the preservation and management of their heritage is a common phenomenon in all community-based heritage sites in Ghana. This thesis addresses the need to involve the traditional practices of local heritage bearers in the government management plan and policies created for these heritage sites. This research focused on how the locals of the *Se* traditional area should be involved in the management, preservation and promotion of the Shai Hills Resource Reserve without the interference of the residual negative colonial attitudes which lead to the marginalization of the traditional practices of the community by reserve management. In this thesis I further demonstrated how the traditional practices of the local *Se* population can be incorporated into the current management plan to create a peaceful collaboration between traditional and government stakeholders on the reserve and prevent the continuing conflicts that now arise

In the first chapter, some of the positive and negative colonial influences on the Shai Hills Resource Reserve were detailed as well as how the Government of Ghana came to designate the indigenous settlement area of the *Se* people a Protected Area, including the way the name of the reserve came to be changed from “*Se* to Shai” through British mispronunciation. There is also discussion of why traditional policies and norms are still regarded with some esteem in the general Ghanaian population. Traditional norms still protect the heritage, traditional values and to curb violence and anti-social behavior in local communities, especially outside cities, socially accepted sanctions accompany every traditional norm and perpetrators are punished accordingly.

Shai Hills Resource Reserve was chosen as the research case study because of the richness of its cultural heritage as well as its proximity, one-hour travel time, to the home of the author. Besides its special natural endowments, the reserve still possesses archaeological remains,

building features and special places connected to the local *Se* people when they formerly occupied the five Ancestral homes now in the modern reserve area. The research findings came from all five Ancestral homes lying within the Shai Hills Resource Reserve although only two of these places, the Sayu and Many Yo home areas, could be visited because of time and money constraints. This research also highlights the ways the two main stakeholder groups at the reserve, the government officials and the traditional *Se* community leaders, can positively impact and contribute to resolving the current problems resulting from the noninvolvement of the *Se* local population in the management of the reserve. The possible results of collaboration between these two main stakeholders is addressed at length as well in this research. Without substantive involvement and mutual communication between the various stakeholders on the MAB, local *Se* community members will continue to feel excluded, conflicts connected to bush burning and poaching will not be resolved and *Se* traditions will continue to be eroded.

The outcome of this research work was a revised management plan that would enforce the current management plan for the reserve to ensure that it works effectively and also bridge the gap between traditional practices and the written rules of the management plan. It addressed some gaps in the current management plan and suggested different ideas that include the traditional practices of the *Se* people relevant to the community as well as the reserve to bring it in line with an international policy from the *United Nation Declaration on the Rights of the Indigenous people*. It is stipulated in the revised management plan that, at least in the initial stages, the management plan should be reviewed every three years to get to know its strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats to it. In this way, precise revisions can be made to the plan to insure long-term good and satisfactory reserve management for all stakeholders. Even though the revised management plan actively involves the local *Se* people, there are going to be other limitations to its implementation connected to the human and financial resources required to implement it. On the side of the government officials at the reserve, there is a lack

of recognition and sensitivity in their attitudes, reflecting old colonial mentalities towards the local *Se* traditions. These attitudes can lead to lack of financial support from the government. However, this limitation can be addressed if the local *Se* community, led by the Paramount Chief and his elders, come together to insure their complaints are heard and addressed by the government. In parallel with giving an active voice to the holders of *Se* traditions, educational programs designed to apprise the youth of their traditions and the more powerful elders of their rights and obligations under Ghanaian cultural heritage laws is important for creating value and self-confidence concerning local traditions among local heritage holders. The education is particularly aimed at women whose views are often neglected. Involving women more in the management of the reserve would be important in the implementation of traditional ideas associated with community women. The revised management plan has the potential to make all the stakeholders conscious of the need to and the roadmap for preserving the fading cultural identity and heritage of the people of the *Se* traditional area and, at the same time, result in the smoother running of the Shai Hills Resource Reserve itself.

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APPENDICES

Table 3. Structured interview with reserve manager and Se Traditional Council representative

PARTICIPANT	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	RANK IN THE SE COMMUNITY
Current manager	60years	Higher level of Education	Manager at the Shai Hills Resource Reserve
A representative Of the chief from the Se traditional council	80 years	None	Elder of The Se Traditional Council

Table 4. Unstructured interview with tour guides and some local Se people

PARTICIPANT	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	RANK IN THE SE COMMUNITY
Tour Guide	30-40 years above	Junior High School	Tour instructors
Anonymous elderly men	80 Years & above	None	Member of the Se community
Elderly women	60-65 years	None	Member of the Se community
Mr. Nii Boi Tamakloe	85years	Secondary Education	Community leader
4 Educated youth in the Se community	20-25years	Secondary school	Community member
4 Uneducated youth in the Se community	20- 26years	None	Community member

Table 5. Structured detailed interview questions for the reserve manager and the Chief's representative

PARTICIPANT	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	POSITION/RANK	DUTIES/ RESPONSIBILITIES	INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	INFORMATION FROM INTERVIEW
CURRENT MANAGER AT THE SHAI HILLS RESOURCE RESERVE			MANAGER	He is responsible for the affairs of the reserve. He is an intermediary between the District	How many years has the reserve been functioning as a Protected Area?	The reserve has been a Protected Area for years.

				<p>Forestry Commission and the workers at the reserve.</p> <p>He decides and schedules the time available for a visit to the reserve.</p> <p>He assigns the tour guides on duty schedules.</p>	<p>Who runs the affairs of the reserve?</p> <p>Is there any committee set to deliberate on the management of the reserve?</p> <p>Which people are included in the Management committee?</p> <p>Are the members involved in the management affairs of the reserve?</p> <p>Are the local population involved in the management of the reserve?</p> <p>Are the traditional practices of the Se community included in the management plan of the reserve?</p> <p>Are there conflicts between the management of the reserve and</p>	<p>The activities of the reserve are scheduled by the manager and the administrative staff of the reserve.</p> <p>Yes, there is a Management Advisory Board for the Reserve.</p> <p>It comprises of the administrative staff of the reserve and some representatives from the Se Traditional area.</p> <p>Yes, but reserve is protected area.</p> <p>The reserve is a protected area and needs to be regarded as such but we allow them once a year to perform their rituals during Ngmayem festival.</p> <p>No, they are not included in the management plan because the reserve is run according to a modern standard on how a protected area should operate.</p> <p>Yes, a lot happens</p>
	30 years and above	Primary and Secondary education	Tour Guides	Responsible to taking tourist around in the reserve		

					<p>the local population?</p> <p>What is the history of the reserve?</p>	<p>because they engaged in poaching at the reserve which leads to the arrest of the culprits.</p> <p>Narrates the history of the reserve and everything narratives of the homes in the reserve. Most of the information is in the chapter 4 of this research</p>
<p>CEU eTD Collection</p> <p>REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CHIEF FROM THE <i>SE</i> ADDITIONAL COUNCIL</p>	80 YEARS		ELDER OF THE <i>SE</i> TRADITIONAL COUNCIL	The duty of the elder is to represent the Chief when he is not available for an occasion	<p>How did the <i>Se</i> people settle at the Shai Hills reserve.</p> <p>How did the <i>Se</i> people survive in the reserve?</p> <p>Were there any war between these Ancestral homes?</p>	<p>Narrates the journey of the <i>Se</i> people from Israel through Egypt and Southern Sudan, settling for a period at Sim in Niger and then in Ileife in Nigeria. The <i>Se</i> people continued their migration to Dahomey, Togo and later settled in Hua where they stayed a short time and they finally settling at the Shai Hills.</p> <p>We understood and helped each other regardless of the Ancestral home one was a</p>

					<p>In your original settlement did you have any norms and traditional practices that you lived with?</p> <p>Were these norms and practices applied to the Cultural and natural heritage in the reserve?</p> <p>So how did you protect them?</p> <p>Did the locals break these rules?</p> <p>Comparing how you practiced your norms and traditions when living in the reserve, is it still practiced?</p> <p>Are you involved in the management of the reserve?</p>	<p>member of.</p> <p>We lived us a family so there was no war between the these five Ancestral homes but mostly when war broke between any of the homes and a surrounding village we mostly supported each other. We believed that helping each other made us stronger.</p> <p>Yes, we had norms that was used to guide the locals in the homes. It helped prevented many so vices and to stay peacefully together.</p> <p>The <i>Se</i> people believed that Everything they occupied in the reserve was from God so we had to protect them. We had days every tribe in the Ancestral homes will go to farm or the forest hunt.</p> <p>Also, the communities were</p>
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					<p>Have you tried confronting the official management of the reserve?</p> <p>Why can't you complain?</p> <p>What would you request the government to do for the <i>Se</i> community?</p>	<p>Not allowed to enter the forest the Chief visited because it was for sacrificial purposes. This was done for chief to talk to the ancestors of the land.</p> <p>Those who broke these rules were sanctioned severely.</p> <p>Yes, we still practice our traditions even though there is Christian. Our traditions and norms haven't changed.</p> <p>To my best of knowledge, we are not but we were once told we are part of a committee that we advise the reserve management.</p> <p>We have tried severally but no positive response. At least we are allowed once a year to perform our ritual practices during the Ngmayem festival. This is not but we cannot complain. This is because nothing positive comes from any</p>
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						<p>complains we make. We are told the government is the responsible for every decision in the management of the reserve.</p> <p>To involve us in the management of the reserve because you cannot protect my land without the owner.</p> <p>Allow us to visit the reserve regularly and not once a year.</p>
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Table 6. Detailed, unstructured interview with tour guides and some local Se people

PARTICIPANT	AGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	POSITION/RANK	DUTIES	INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	INFORMATION FORM INTERVIEW
<p>Elderly men and women</p> <p>CEU eTD Collection</p>	80 years and above	None	Members of the Se community		<p>How did the Se people discover the Shai Hills Resource Reserve?</p> <p>Do you still feel connected to your ancestors?</p> <p>What change would you want?</p>	<p>They all narrated the same migration story as that of the tour guides of the reserve. The history can be read in Chapter 4.</p> <p>We do not feel connected because we are allowed only once a year to visit the reserve and this breaks the connections between us and our ancestors.</p> <p>To always visit the reserve everyday to</p>

					<p>Were you compensated when you were moved by the government of Ghana?</p> <p>Are you involved in the management of the reserve?</p> <p>Do the youth know about the history of the Se people?</p>	<p>offer our sacrifices and not yearly.</p> <p>The Government of Ghana told our leaders that we will be compensated but we haven't received anything. Also, our leaders haven't told us anything concerning compensation.</p> <p>If we haven't received our compensation, how are we going to be involved in the management. We would prefer the youth to be involved in the management so that our traditional will not fade out. This is because most of our traditions are still in the reserve. Not everyone knows, that is why we want the youth to be involved so we can guide them through.</p>
<p>Nii Boi Tamakloe</p> <p>CEU eTD Collection</p>	85years	Secondary Education	Community leader	He is a liaison between the Se community people and the Traditional leaders	Does the Se community have a traditional practice that is still observed?	<p>Yes, the Se community has traditional practices that are still observed. Even when we stayed in the reserve, there were norms and practices that were created to protect the local people, cultural and natural heritage. This prevented the locals from misusing the land. We also adhered to</p>

						these practices because we didn't want to face the wrath of the ancestors and the sanctions that accompanied every norm.
4 Educated youth in the <i>Se</i> community	20-25years	Secondary school	Community member		<p>Do you know the history of the Shai Hills and the <i>Se</i> community?</p> <p>Will you want to be involved in the management of the reserve?</p> <p>What role do you specifically want to take part in the reserve?</p> <p>Do you know about any traditional practices of the <i>Se</i> people?</p> <p>How did you know about this norm and traditional practice?</p>	<p>Yes, I learnt it from my grandmother and an assignment in school.</p> <p>Yes, it is my heritage and I will want to be involved to manage and get to understand why also need to pass the historical knowledge to my generation.</p> <p>I want to start with been part of the administrative department and in future be the manager of the reserve so that the other generation can participate in the reserve.</p> <p>Yes, I know we do not go to the forest or the farm on Fridays and we do not kill any animal in the reserve because it is seen as an abomination.</p> <p>It is still practiced, so I get to hear the elderly talking about them.</p>

4 Uneducated youth in the <i>Se</i> community	20-26years		Community member		<p>Do you know the history of the Shai Hills and the <i>Se</i> community?</p> <p>Will you want to be involved in the management of the reserve?</p> <p>What role do you specifically want to take part in the reserve?</p> <p>Do you know of any traditional practices of the <i>Se</i> community?</p>	<p>Yes, I learnt it during most of the Nyagyem festival because the history is always narrated.</p> <p>Yes, because it is my history and my heritage so I have to be involved.</p> <p>Since, I am not educated. I will prefer to work as a messenger or cleaner in the hostel at the reserve. So that I can always enter the reserve.</p> <p>Yes, I know we do not go to the forest or the farm on Fridays. And we are allowed to enter the reserve once a year.</p>
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