

Country of origin research and information

CORI Research Analysis

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Country: Ghana

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Issues: (1) Regions where Traditional Heads maintain strong authority over the

population

(2) Relationships between the Government and local Traditional Heads (whether an individual may be arbitrarily arrested and/ or detained by the authorities for personal motivations held by Traditional Heads, and whether there are any legal protective measures which are effective from which a person can benefit), such as:

- -What is the relationship between local Traditional Heads and the central/local Government and the judiciary?
- -What type of power or authority, local traditional heads have; i.e. can they be linked to local authorities; do they have (official or unofficial) authority to order police to arrest individuals and/or have prosecutors try individuals in court, and if so, would the federal authorities intervene (for example if the traditional head manipulates the authorities to arrest, falsely charge try individuals in trails which lack due process guarantees)
- -Can the local traditional heads exert their power beyond their own/ local areas, for example to the capital city?
- (3) In the event a power struggle among Traditional Heads, including a fight to take over the Traditional Headship, occurs in particular regions, whether the central/ regional Government would be able to exert control, including through administrative regulations, legislative activities and/or exercise of judicial/police authority. In other words, can the federal or local authorities protect an individual from threats by non-state agents who want to take over the role? Would the Traditional Head themselves be able to protect an individual appointed as the next Traditional Head from non-state agents wanting to take over the role?

CORI research analyses are prepared on the basis of publicly available information studies and commentaries and produced within a specified time frame. All sources are cited and fully referenced. Every effort has been taken to ensure accuracy and comprehensive coverage of the research issue however as Country of Origin Information (COI) is reliant on publicly available documentation there may be instances where the required information is not available. The analyses are not and do not purport to be either exhaustive with regard to conditions in the country surveyed or conclusive as to the merits of any particular claim to refugee status or asylum. Please read the full text of each document referred to using the URL provided in the footnote.

(1) Regions where Traditional Heads maintain strong authority over the population

Article 274 guarantees the establishment of a Regional House of Chiefs in each region of Ghana,

- "(1) There shall be established in and for each region of Ghana a Regional House of Chiefs.
- (2) A Regional House of Chiefs shall consist of such members as Parliament may, by law, determine. (3) A Regional House of Chiefs shall -
- (a) perform such functions as may be conferred upon it by or under an Act of Parliament;
- (b) advise any person or authority charged under this Constitution or any other law with any responsibility for any matter relating to or affecting chieftaincy in the region;
- (c) hear and determine appeals from the traditional councils within the region in respect of the nomination, election, selection, installation or deposition of a person as a chief;
- (d) have original jurisdiction in all matters relating to a paramount stool or skin or the occupant of a paramount stool or skin, including a queenmother to a paramount stool or skin:
- (e) undertake a study and make such general recommendations as are appropriate for the resolution or expeditious disposition of chieftaincy disputes in the region;
- (f) undertake the compilation of the customary laws and lines of succession applicable to each stool or skin in the region.
- (4) The original and appellate jurisdiction of a Regional House of Chiefs shall be exercised by a Judicial Committee of the Regional House of Chiefs consisting of three chiefs appointed by the Regional House of Chiefs from among its members."¹

In November 2012 *Ghana Business News* reported that in the run up to the 2012 general elections traditional leaders received training from the West African Network for Peace Building (WANEP) on election monitoring, looking at potential risks of violence and developing strategies for mitigating violence due to the influence they have within their communitities,

"The meeting, held in Accra, was to review electoral violence indicators per region to develop strategies for intervention and identify relevant stakeholders to work towards preventing and a mitigating such violence. []

the Committee of Eminent Persons from the 10 regions had been trained by WANEP with support from Star Ghana Project to receive information generated from the monitoring processes intervene and facilitate dialogue in their respective communities."²

Ghana Business News, 28 November 2012, Election 2012: WANEP holds strategic meeting with traditional leaders, The meeting, held in Accra, was to review electoral violence indicators per region to develop strategies for intervention and identify relevant stakeholders to work towards preventing and a mitigating such violence. - See more at: http://www.ghanabusinessnews.com/2012/11/28/election-2012-wanep-holds-strategic-meeting-with-traditional-leaders/#sthash.81E4hcBC.dpuf, accessed 8 July 2013

¹ The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana 1992, http://www.judicial.gov.gh/constitution/chapter/chap_22.htm, accessed 8 July 2013

In June 2013 *Myjoyonline.com* reported that the Paramount Chief of Alavanyo facilitated peace talks between the leaders of two towns which had experienced violence.³

The homepage of the *Council of Women Traditional Leaders, Ghana* states that women traditional leaders have power and influence within their communities,

"Initiated 10 years ago during a conference on Culture, Chieftancy, Governance and Development in Ghana, the Council of Women Traditional Leaders (CTWL) has organized various training programs in Accra, Kumasi and other places, to empower women traditional leaders and help them be more effective in dealing with the issues in their communities and using the great power and influence they already wield for peace and development."

- (2) Relationships between the Government and local Traditional Heads (whether an individual may be arbitrarily arrested and/ or detained by the authorities for personal motivations held by Traditional Heads, and whether there are any legal protective measures which are effective from which a person can benefit), such as:
- -What is the relationship between local Traditional Heads and the central/local Government and the judiciary?
- -What type of power or authority, local traditional heads have; i.e. can they be linked to local authorities; do they have (official or unofficial) authority to order police to arrest individuals and/or have prosecutors try individuals in court, and if so, would the federal authorities intervene (for example if the traditional head manipulates the authorities to arrest, falsely charge try individuals in trails which lack due process guarantees)
- -Can the local traditional heads exert their power beyond their own/ local areas, for example to the capital city?

Article 270 of the 1992 Constitution guarantees the honour and institution of chieftaincy,

- "(1) The institution of chieftaincy, together with its traditional councils as established by customary law and usage, is hereby guaranteed.
- (2) Parliament shall have no power to enact any law which-
- (a) confers on any person or authority the right to accord or withdraw recognition to or from a chief for any purpose whatsoever; or
- (b) in any way detracts or derogates from the honour and dignity of the institution of chieftaincy.
- (3) Nothing in or done under the authority of any law shall be held to be inconsistent with, or in contravention of, clause (1) or (2) of this article if the law makes provision for-
- (a) the determination, in accordance with the appropriate customary law and usage, by a traditional council, a Regional House of Chiefs or a Chieftaincy Committee of any of them,

³ Myjoyonline.com, V/R land dispute: Alavanyo Chief ready to smoke peace pipe, 26 June 2013, http://edition.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201306/108540.php, accessed 8 July 2013

⁴ http://cwtlgh.org/background-to-cwtl

of the validity of the nomination, election, selection, installation or deposition of a person as a chief:

(b) a traditional council or a Regional House of Chiefs or the National House of Chiefs to establish and operate a procedure for the registration of chiefs and the public notification in the Gazette or otherwise of the status of persons as chiefs in Ghana."⁵

Article 276 states that chiefs are not permitted to take part in party politics,

- "(1) A chief shall not take part in active party politics; and any chief wishing to do so and seeking election to Parliament shall abdicate his stool or skin.
- (2) Notwithstanding clause (1) of this article and paragraph (c) of clause (3) of article 94 of this Constitution, a chief may be appointed to any public office for which he is otherwise qualified."⁶

In its 2012 country report covering the events of 2011 *USDOS* reported that chiefs have the power to enforce customary tribal laws but that their authority was eroding,

"The Chieftaincy Act gives village and other traditional chiefs the power to mediate local matters and enforce customary tribal laws dealing with such matters as divorce, child custody, and property disputes; however, the authority of traditional rulers has steadily eroded because of a commensurate increase in the power of civil institutions, including courts and district assemblies."

In January 2013 Ghanaian online magazine *Myjoyonline* reported that the Paramount Chief of the Kukurantumi Traditional Area in the Eastern region stated that Chiefs have "every right to be involved in politics, but not to be partisan" and that "Traditional leaders should participate fully in policy and decision making in the country, especially those that will have impact on their areas, irrespective of the government in power."⁸

In November 2007 *IRIN* reported that chiefs have considerable influence and politicians court their support and the government takes the position of not interfering in chieftaincy affairs,

"In Ghana's complex and powerful chieftaincy system chiefs wield considerable influence. Since independence in 1957, politicians have courted their support. Experts have warned that while Ghana is among the most politically stable countries in West Africa, the intense chieftaincy and ethnic conflicts could threaten stability.

⁵ The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana 1992,

http://www.judicial.gov.gh/constitution/chapter/chap_22.htm, accessed 8 July 2013
The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana 1992,
http://www.judicial.gov.gh/constitution/chapter/chap_22.htm, accessed 8 July 2013

United States Department of State, Country report on human rights practices 2012; Ghana,

http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/humanrightsreport/index.htm?year=2012&dlid=204126, accessed 8 July 2013

⁸ Myjoyonline.com, Kukurantumi chief defends chiefs' role in politics, 23 January 2013, http://politics.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201301/100344.php, accessed 8 July 2013

Interior Minister Bartels told reporters: "The government reiterates its position of non-interference in chieftaincy affairs. The government, however, has an overriding responsibility to ensure peace, tranquility, and law and order.""

In March 2013 *Myjoyonline.com* reported that security forces were advised against arresting a chief in the Bunpurugu Yoyo district following clashes between two tribes over land which had left one person dead. The MP for Bunpurugu argued that arresting the chief may cause further violence and may escalate rather than solve the problem.¹⁰

In August 2012 Ghanaian online news magazine *Myjoyonline.com* reported that youth protested in La, Accra, following the arrest of nine of their peers by the traditional authorities. The nine arrested had been part of a group who accused the traditional council of misappropriating funds,

"The youth of La, a suburb of Accra, are up in arms against the traditional authorities following the arrest of nine of their colleagues.

The nine were among a group of young people who stormed the popular La pleasure beach Wednesday, ostensibly to drive out the managers of the beach.

They accused the management of misappropriating funds. They claim the La community is yet to benefit from revenues generated from the operation of the beach.

When Joy News got to La Pleasure Beach the youth were chanting 'war' against the traditional council.

The traditional leaders have however denied the charges. Nii Tettey Kpobi Tsuru, chief of La told Joy News he will not tarnish his image by dabbling in illegal sale of lands of misappropriate any funds. []

But the head of management of the La Beach, Bernard Sam Nunoo told Joy News he is not aware that the arrested youth were collecting money from revelers.

Speaking on behalf of the youth, Mr Nunoo, said the traditional council has not been transparent in the management of funds.

According to him, he took over the management of the La Beach in November last year and has yet to be furnished with all the accounts after years of managing the Beach."¹¹

(3) In the event a power struggle among Traditional Heads, including a fight to take over the Traditional Headship, occurs in particular regions, whether the central/ regional Government would be able to exert control, including through administrative regulations, legislative activities and/or exercise of judicial/police authority. In other words, can the

⁹ IRIN, Ghana: Four dead as Chieftaincy dispute erupts in violence, 2 November 2007, http://www.irinnews.org/report/75136/ghana-four-dead-as-chieftaincy-dispute-erupts-in-violence, accessed 8 July 2013

¹⁰ Myjoyonline.com, Bunpurugu MP warns arrest of Kokomba Chief could spark fresh clashes, 13 March 2013, http://edition.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201303/102695.php, accessed 8 July 2013

¹¹ Myjoyonline.com, La youth at 'war' with La mantse over La Beach, 4 August 2012, http://edition.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201201/79292.php, accessed 8 July 2012

federal or local authorities protect an individual from threats by non-state agents who want to take over the role? Would the Traditional Head themselves be able to protect an individual appointed as the next Traditional Head from non-state agents wanting to take over the role?

Article 272 of the 1992 Constitution states that the National House of Chiefs has jurisdiction over any matter affecting chieftaincy which has been determined by the Regional House of Chiefs,

- "(1) The National House of Chiefs shall have appellate jurisdiction in any cause or matter affecting chieftaincy which have been determined by the Regional House of Chiefs in a region, from which appellate jurisdiction there shall be an appeal to the Supreme Court, with the leave of the National House of Chiefs or the Supreme Court.
- (2) The appellate jurisdiction of the National House of Chiefs shall be exercised by a Judicial Committee of the National House of Chiefs consisting of five persons appointed by that House from among its members.
- (3) A Judicial Committee of a National House of Chiefs shall be assisted by a lawyer of not less than ten years' standing appointed by the National House of Chiefs on the recommendation of the Attorney-General."¹²

In December 2006 *IRIN* reported that there were a number of chieftaincy conflicts in Ghana, particularly in its three northern regions. In 2002 a chief was beheaded and 40 of his followers were killed, in 1994/5 200,000 people were displaced from Bimbilla after 2000 people were killed. In response to a chieftaincy feud in Bimbilla in 2006, the government responded by sending in troops to impose a month long dusk to dawn curfew,

"Ghana may be regarded as an oasis of stability in a region ravaged by strife. But the country faces a host of bitter ethnic and chieftaincy conflicts, especially in its three northern regions.

Most notable is the unresolved Dagbon conflict that erupted in 2002 in the northern town of Yendi when the paramount chief of the Dagbon ethnic group was murdered along with 40 of his followers.

The killers, allegedly members of a rival Dagbon faction, have never been found and neither has the dead chief's head.

In 1994-95 a similar chieftaincy feud in Bimbilla, some 65 kilometres away, sparked a conflict in which 2,000 people died, over 400 villages were destroyed and 200,000 people were displaced. Some of the Bimbilla fighters were armed with AK-47s. []

In January this year, a new chieftaincy feud again thrust Bimbilla into a state of violence, forcing the Ghanaian government to send in troops to enforce a dusk-to-dawn curfew throughout the month. 13

¹² The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana 1992, http://www.judicial.gov.gh/constitution/chapter/chap_22.htm, accessed 8 July 2013

In February 2006 *IRIN* published an interview with Emmanuel Bombande, Executive Director of the conflict resolution think tank West African Peace Building Network on the power struggle in Bimbilla in which he stated that conflict started due to Kingmakers delay in determining who was to be the new chief

"Na Abarika, late paramount chief of the Nanumba Traditional area, which has Bimbilla as its capital, died about three years ago. According to custom, once the funeral is over, the kingmakers are to determine the next paramount chief of the Nanumbas, who regard Bimbilla as their traditional capital.

In handling succession, there is a system where two families have legitimacy to the skin [in some ethic groups chiefs are given an animal skin or hide as a symbol of their chieftaincy, like a king his crown]. As a result in Bimbilla, there are two contenders, Nakppa-Naa Salifu Dawuni and Dasana Andani, who are vying to be the next legitimate occupant of the vacant Bimbilla chieftaincy.

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The kingmakers are the custodians of the skin with the primary duty of regulating succession within the traditional area. One would have thought these elders would have no difficulty in supervising a smooth transition for the vacant throne. However, once the kingmakers faltered in their clear determination on selecting the next legitimate chief, this immediately became a recipe for trouble. []

As long as the [chief post] is vacant and there is no chief in the area, the people on the ground become divided into factions, rallying behind the two contenders. Presently, the kingmakers appear to be leaning towards the Dasana Andani with a 6-3 verdict, but this has to be confirmed. Now what is happening is that the Nakppa-Naa Salifu Dawuni faction is adamant that there should be no contention over the skin since it is their turn to rule [as Andani is from the same faction as the previous chief]. This is what has led to the stalemate and the subsequent clashes."¹⁴

Emmanuel Bombande told *IRIN* that those responsible for killing the chief and his followers in Dagbon in 2002 were from a rival clan perceived to have the support of the ruling party and that the perpetrators remained unpunished,

"The Dagbon conflict [2002] has not yet been resolved. Those at the losing end of the conflict in Bimbilla – i.e. the Andani clan – believe that they are being marginalised and aggrieved. Don't forget that the murdered chief and his followers, who were killed, were Andanis. The rival clan involved in that conflict, the Abudus, are perceived to have the support of the ruling party. So as long as the perpetrators of these murders remain unpunished, this perception will continue." ¹⁵

¹⁴ IRIN, Ghana: Why is the north blighted by chieftaincy disputes?, 1 February 2006, http://www.irinnews.org/report/58007/ghana-why-is-the-north-blighted-by-chieftaincy-disputes, accessed 8

¹³ IRIN, Ghana: Why is the north blighted by chieftaincy disputes?, 1 February 2006, http://www.irinnews.org/report/58007/ghana-why-is-the-north-blighted-by-chieftaincy-disputes, accessed 8 July 2013

¹⁵ IRIN, Ghana: Why is the north blighted by chieftaincy disputes?, 1 February 2006, http://www.irinnews.org/report/58007/ghana-why-is-the-north-blighted-by-chieftaincy-disputes, accessed 8 July 2013

Emmanuel Bombande told *IRIN* that the military's role in chieftaincy clashes is to maintain law and order and not to determine who should be made leader,

"We must differentiate between the maintenance of law and order through the presence of the military on the ground from a permanent resolution of the conflict. This resolution must address the underlying issues we have been talking about. The kingmakers should do their duty and elect the new chief without fear or favour. Even if one side is aggrieved at losing its bid, negotiations that will follow should allow them to respect their own traditional norms and customs of seeking redress. The military's role therefore is to ensure that there is no violence and not to determine who should or should not be king."

In November 2007 *IRIN* reported that four people were killed in the Volta region in a longstanding chieftaincy dispute and that the government had sent in security forces including soldiers and 160 police officers,

"Security officials said one royal family in the district of Anloga was preparing a ceremony to install a new chief, when at least 100 people from a rival family – armed with AK-47s and clubs – raided the site.

The group opened fire on the some 40 policemen who were guarding the site and the police returned fire, according to El Hadj Hamidu, assistant commissioner of police in Volta. Three of the civilians died in the shooting.

"The government views with very grave concern the rather tragic and unfortunate explosion of violence which has occurred" over the nomination and installation of a paramount chief, Ghanaian Interior Minister Kwamena Bartels told reporters on 2 November.

The two royal families, both of the Anlo people, have been fighting over who should succeed the paramount chief – the 'Awoamefia' in the Ewe language – who died 10 years ago."¹⁷

In August 2010 *The Ghanaian Times* reported that the Vice President had warned that factions should not attempt to draw the government into chieftaincy disputes, noting that it was the governments role to maintain law and order and not to make or unmake chiefs,

"Vice-President John Mahama has advised against attempts by sections of the society to draw the government into chieftaincy disputes. It is not government business to make and unmake chiefs, he said, stressing that the government was willing to work with any chief properly installed and recognized by the Judiciary. Addressing a durbar at Amasaman to mark the Homowo festival of the chiefs and people,, Vice-President Mahama said the Constitution put succession and chieftaincy disputes in general at the doorsteps of the National and Regional Houses of Chiefs.

¹⁷ IRIN, Ghana: Four dead as Chieftaincy dispute erupts in violence, 2 November 2007, http://www.irinnews.org/report/75136/ghana-four-dead-as-chieftaincy-dispute-erupts-in-violence, accessed 8 July 2013

¹⁶ IRIN, Ghana: Why is the north blighted by chieftaincy disputes?, 1 February 2006, http://www.irinnews.org/report/58007/ghana-why-is-the-north-blighted-by-chieftaincy-disputes, accessed 8 July 2013

Unfortunately, one section of the chieftaincy disputes in the Ga Traditional Area would want to draw the government into the conflicts, he said but stated that Ours is the maintenance of the rule of law, law and order.

Expressing concern about the numerous land and chieftaincy disputes plaguing some areas in the Ga Traditional Area, the Vice-President called on the National House of Chiefs to support the Greater Accra Regional House of Chiefs to settle the disputes."¹⁸

In June 2013 *Myjoyonline.com* reported that there were violent chieftaincy clashes following the installation of a Chief in which four people died, police were investigating the violence and the violence was condemned by the deputy majority and minority Leaders in parliament.¹⁹

In April 2013 *Myjoyonine.com* reported that in 2012 two men disputing the chieftaincy in Kade Traditional Area were arrested for breach of the peace and held in custody for four days. The man who installed himself as chief was arrested on suspicion of stealing mining equipment,

"Personnel of the Ghana Police Service on Friday arrested one Twum Debrah a claimant to the Kade Chieftaincy dispute accused of stealing equipment of a mining company in Prankesi near Kade in the Eastern region.

Twum Debrah, who until his arrest, had installed himself as the Chief of Kade Traditional Area, is also the Chief Executive officer of Brookland Ghana limited. []

Mr Twum Debrah is deeply involved in the current chieftaincy crisis in Kade. In May last year, he together with the Krontihene of Kade Traditional Area, Denkyi Ampem-Darko were allegedly remanded in Police custody for four days. The two leaders were arrested for breach of public peace following attempts to enstool a new chief in the area."²⁰

In June 2013 *Myjoyonline.com* reported that the traditional council in Teshie had dissociated itself from the installation of a chief in the town, declaring it illegal,

"The Teshie traditional council and all the clans associated with installation of chiefs in the town have dissociated themselves from the recent installation of a Chief in the town.

According to them the claim by the Nii Ashitey Kamoah III, that he is the new chief is illegal and should be treated with the contempt it deserves.

At the press briefing Nii Kwabo Tsweii, the Dzasetse said a new candidate had been identified and groomed ,pending enstoolment . He promised that by the end of the year a chief would have been enstooled in accordance with the Teshie customary law and usage to succeed the late Nii Akomfa III.

Nii Kwabo Tswe III added that an arbitration committee was set up to come up with the number of ruling houses and which ruling house's turn it was to instal a chief.

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¹⁸ The Ghanaian Times, Don't drag Gov't into stool disputes - Veep, 23 August 2010, http://newtimes.com.gh/story/don-t-drag-govt-into-stool-disputes-veep, accessed 10 July 2013

¹⁹ Myjoyonline.com, Chieftaincy minister asked to play lead role in resolving Teshie clashes, 21 June 2013, http://edition.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201306/108270.php, accessed 8 July 2013

²⁰ Myjoyonline.com, Police arrest Kade 'Chief', 15 April 2013, http://edition.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201304/104499.php, accessed 9 July 2013

The committee came up with three ruling houses namely the Ashikwe We, Ashitey We, and Okpon We. They proposed a candidate who was disqualified and therefore was not accepted. This issue went to the Ga traditional council and was restrained by the court.

He urges the youth not to take the law into their own hands but to be at peace with themselves since everything is going to be restored to normal."²¹

In July 2013 *Myjoyonline.com* reported that a challenge to the Chieftaincy of Kukuom in the Eastern region was resolved through the Judicial Committee of the Eastern Regional House of Chiefs at a Chieftaincy Tribunal.²²

In May 2013 *Myjoyonline.com* reported that the Chief of Ningo had fled armed men who were taking over and selling land in the area, the Chief reported that he did not trust the police in the area to deal with the situation.

"The Chief of Ningo, near Prampram, and his elders have fled the town to escape young men they call land guards threatening to kill them.

The gun-wielding men are said to have taken over lands in the area and selling them at exorbitant prices.

The Ningo-Prampram area has become attractive following government's plans to build a new international airport there.

The chief and his elders who cannot withstand the might of the land guards are currently seeking refuge at a hideout here in Accra.

Nene Otuaboah Agbi II told Joy News he has to run because he does not trust the police in the area to deal with the situation, alleging that they have been compromised.

"They (land guards) have threatened to kill us anytime they see us," he said.

But police in Prampram have denied reneging on their duty to protect life and property in the area.

DSP Bampoe who is the area Commander told Joy News "nothing" as claimed by the chief, "has come to the attention of the local police". He stressed: "The police have no information about the report given to you now."

DSP Bampoe however admitted that "the whole area has problem of land", adding that several land disputes are currently before court."²³

²³ Myjoyonlilne.com, Ningo Chief, elders flee town due to threats by land guards to kill them, 31 May 2013, http://edition.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201305/106966.php, accessed 9 July 2013

²¹ Myjoyonline.com, Teshie traditional council dissociates itself from the installation of new chief, 28 June 2013, http://edition.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201306/108694.php, accessed 9 July 2013

²² Myjoyonline.com, E/R House of chiefs clears Akwamu Chief, 9 July 2013, http://edition.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201307/109194.php, accessed 9 July 2013

In June 2013 *Myjoyonine.com* reported that the government was cracking down on breaches of public peace as a result of chieftaincy disputes following the death of one person and the injuring of several others in clashes in Accra,

"Government has warned it would not tolerate any breach of public peace by factions in chieftaincy disputes around the country.

On Thursday yet another chieftaincy clashes in Teshie here in Accra, claimed one life whilst several people sustained injuries.

In a statement the Chieftaincy Ministry said government expects all those engaged in chieftaincy disputes to follow the laid down procedures for settling such disputes.

Chieftaincy Minister Dr. Henry Seidu Daannaa told Joy News those in dispute should go to court and not take the law into their own hands.

"As a matter of law government cannot go in and say this person is a chief or this person is not. What we can do is to facilitate and ensure that this structure works."²⁴

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²⁴ Myjoyonline.com, Gov't to crack down on factions in chieftaincy disputes, 22 June 2013, http://edition.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201306/108302.php, accessed 10 July 2013