



Uit

THE ARCTIC
UNIVERSITY
OF NORWAY

Faculty of Humanities, and Social Sciences and Education

BRITISH TOGOLAND MOVEMENT: AN OFFSHOOT OF HISTORICAL CREATIONS

Agbessi Laglo

SVF-3901 Master's Thesis in Peace and Conflict Transformation ... May 2019



DEDICATION

To my wife:

For your untiring care and support.

To my beautiful daughter:

For always putting smile in my face

To my mother, brother and sister:

For sacrificing everything you cherish for my success

To all peace lovers:

For your endless fight for what the world needs most

...you all deserve a big thank you!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to express my profound gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Christine Smith-Simonson for her guidance throughout this study. Her patience for me in difficult times made me believe that there is always a chance to do better. Her advice and suggestions helped me build self-confidence and kept me in a better position to see through issues regarding this study.

My gratitude equally goes to the entire staff of Centre for Peace Studies (CPS) at University of Tromsø for preparing me academically to embark on this research journey. Their purpose-oriented academic curriculum and excellent delivery made CPS a Centre of excellence and cannot go unnoticed. Their contribution to my success goes beyond the academic field. They gave us (students) the feel of what happens beyond the walls of the Institution by organizing seminars, conferences and trips which have exposed us to the global world.

Finally, I wish to thank my family especially my wife, daughter, mother brother and sister for their support and care. To you all my friends and course mates, I am honored for having you in my life.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an inquiry into the political evolution of British Togoland to identify factors that have contributed to the emergence of British Togoland Movement as well as those factors which continue to foil and sustain it from 1916 till now. The study focuses on colonial activities in Eweland from 1886 to the independence of Ghana in 1956 and how these activities continue to influence opinions among Ewe people.

Eweland was first divided between the Gold Coast, a British colony and Togoland under German rule. However, this division did not create much attention at the time. After the defeat of Germany in World War 1, German Togoland was divided between France and Britain and put under the respective administrative authorities of Dahomey and Gold Coast. This arrangement further divided Eweland and became source of agitations among ewes led by Ewe Unification Movement which aimed to unite Ewelands under one administrative authority. Ewe Unification Movement dies off when British Togoland formerly became an administrative region of independence Ghana in 1957. The post-independence period of Ghana also continues to witness periodic agitations and protests led by British Togoland Movement which comprises other smaller movements for the restoration of British Togoland as an independent state. The latest agitations by street demonstration took place in 2018 and some of the protesters were arrested by the security agencies.

Data was collected by triangulating three data sources namely: interview, archive documents and observation of a specific Facebook platform. To identify the foiling factors of these agitations, the objective and demands of the movement, and the impact of the movement on Ewe people, study used three school of thoughts namely: post-colonial theory, deprived actor (grievances) theory and rational actor (opportunity) theory to explain occurrences of event and actions taken thereof in the context of British Togoland Movement. This led to arriving at findings which would inform stakeholders to find everlasting solution to a problem the study considers to be an offshoot of historical creations. Findings from the study indicate that the decision leading to the union between British Togoland and Cold Coast and how it was implemented continue to be the major foiling factor; the British Togoland Movement's major demand is the restoration of British Togoland as independent state; the emergence of the movement has contributed to the development of a new ethnic sentiment among Ewe people than before, creating a situation of 'Us' against 'Them' between Ewe people and other ethnic groups.

**BRITISH TOGOLAND MOVEMENT: AN OFFSHOOT OF
HISTORICAL CREATIONS**

ABBREVIATIONS

UN: United Nations

AU: African Union

PNDC: Provisional National Defense Council

HSGF: Homeland Study Group Foundation

EUM: Ewe Unification Movement

NDC: National Democratic Congress

NPP: New Patriotic Party

CPP: Convention People's Party

PNDC/L: Provisional National Defense Council Law

ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States

UNLO: United Nations Legal Office

EU: European Union

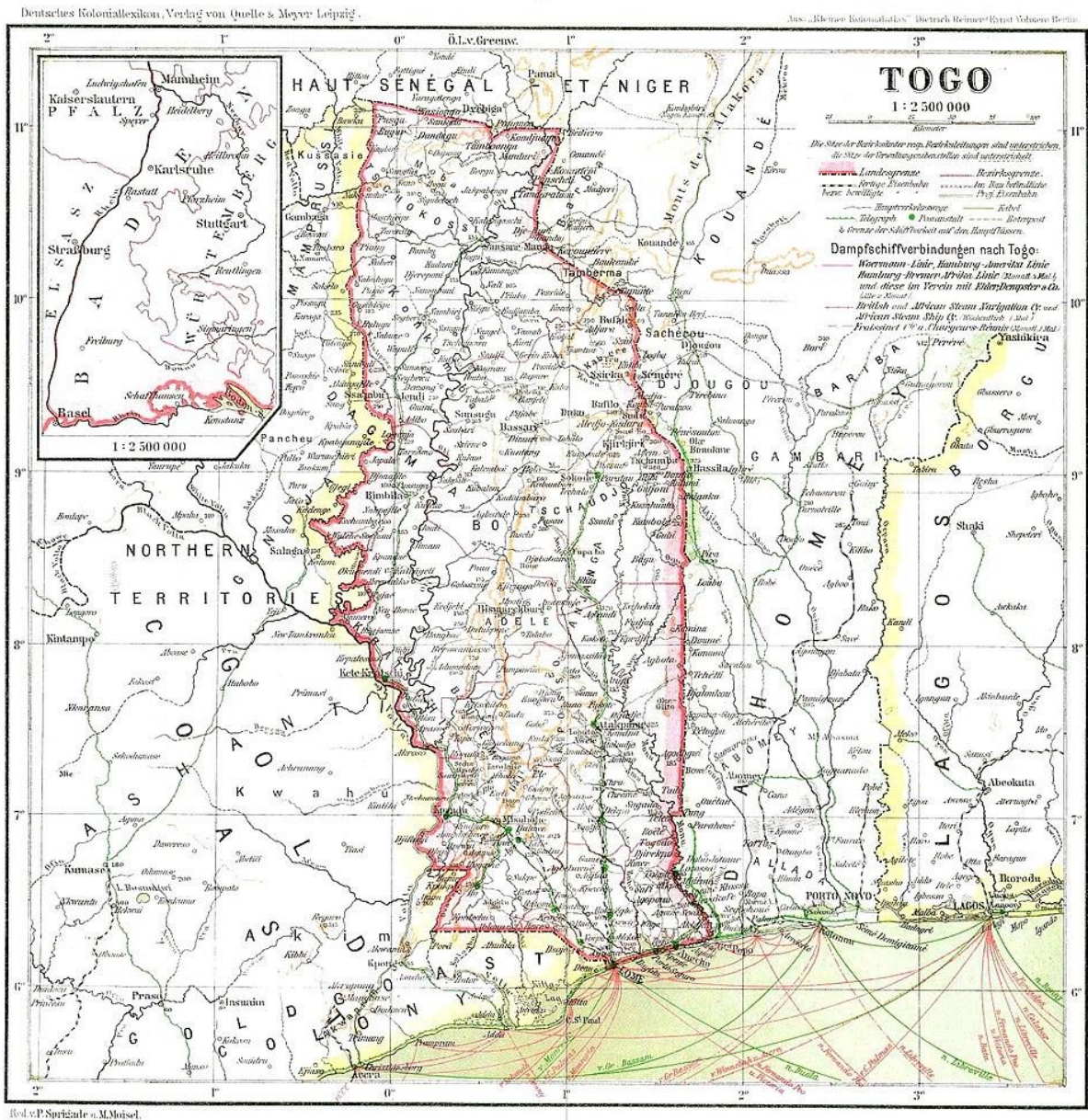
UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNGA: United Nations General Assembly

LIST OF FIGURES

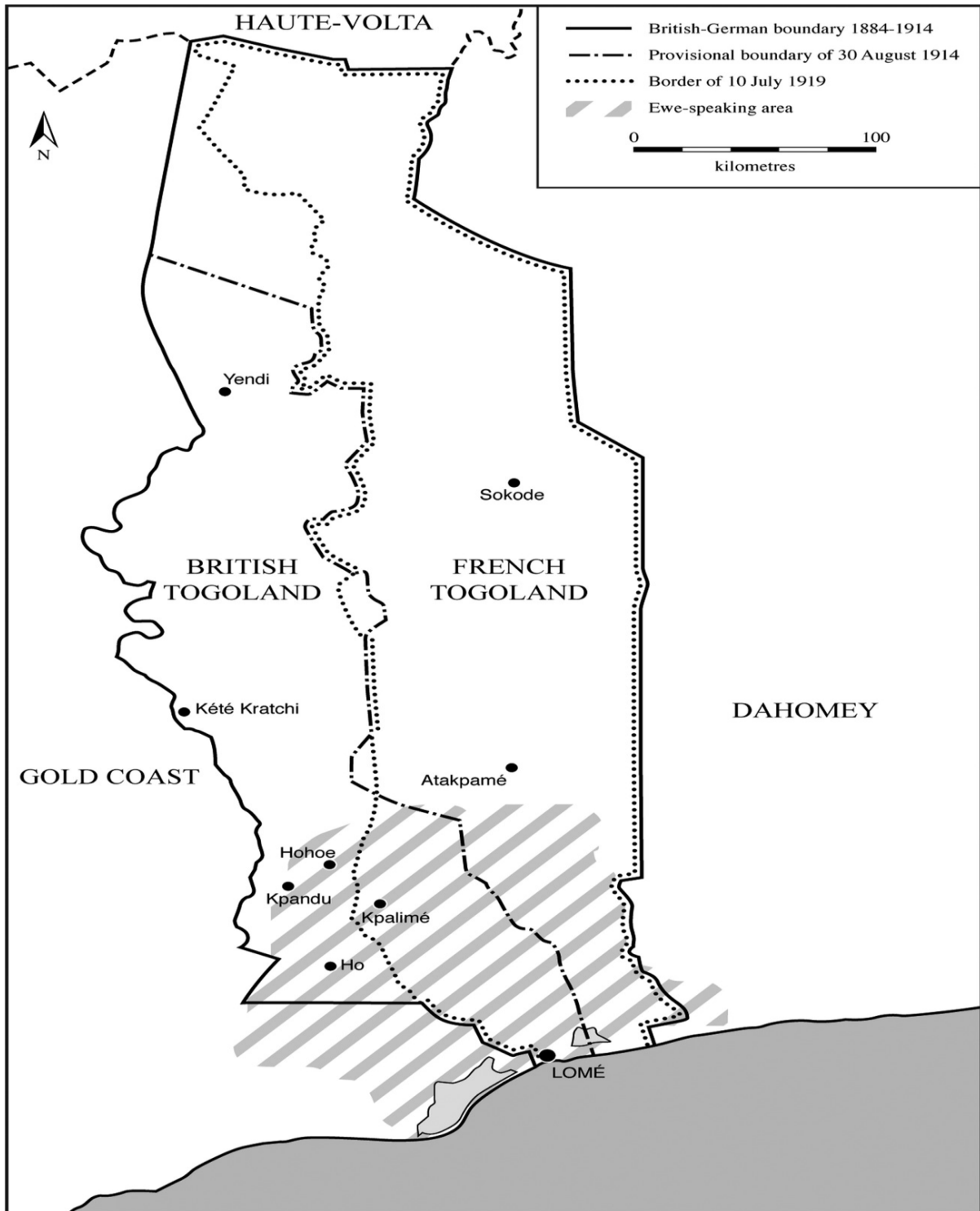
1. Map of German Togoland
2. Map of British Togoland and French Togoland
3. Map of Cold Coast and British Togoland 1922 - 1950
4. Map of Ghana 1960 with British Togoland completely integrated
5. Map of Ghana 2018 with proposed Oti region and others

Figure 1: Map of German Togoland



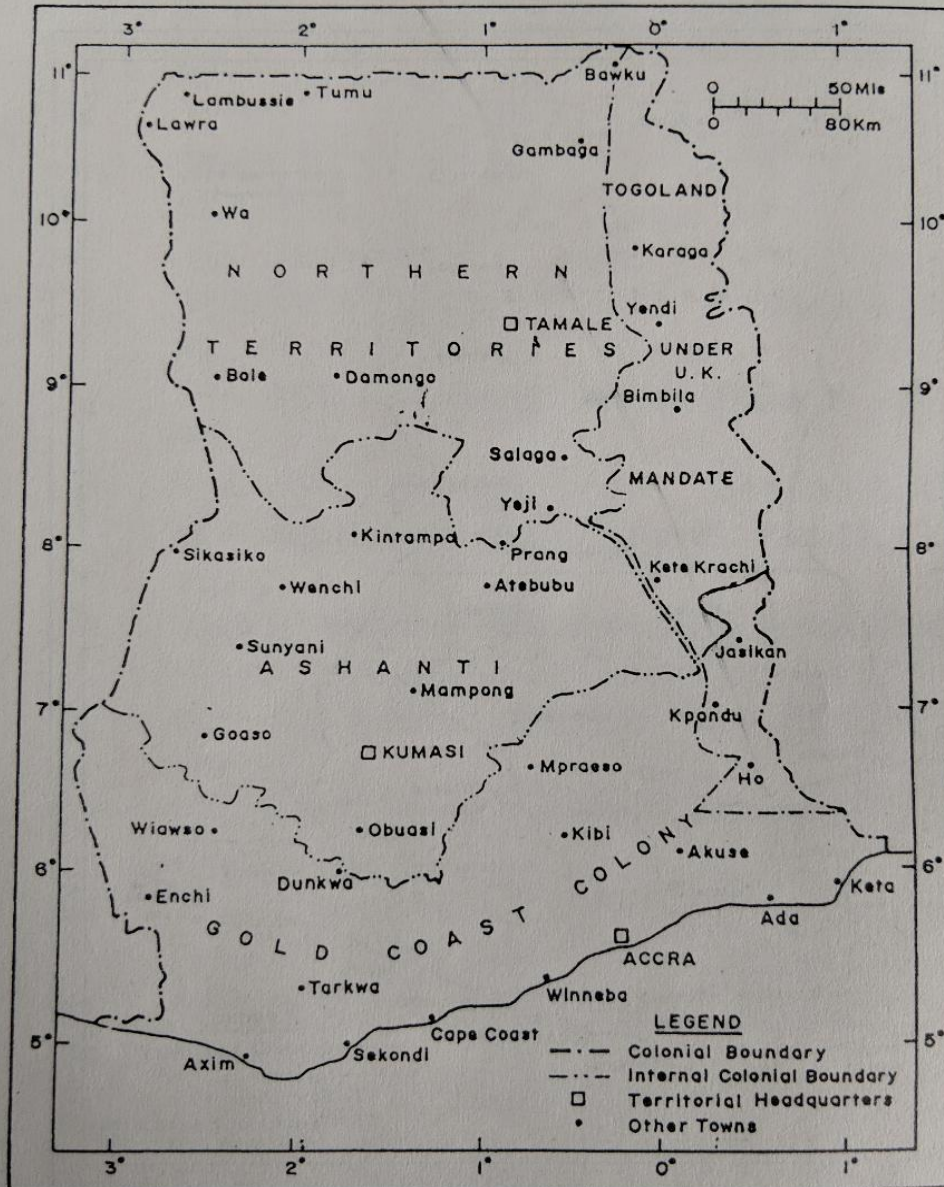
Copied from: howlingpixel.com

Figure 2: Map of British Togoland and French Togoland



Copied from: cambridge.org

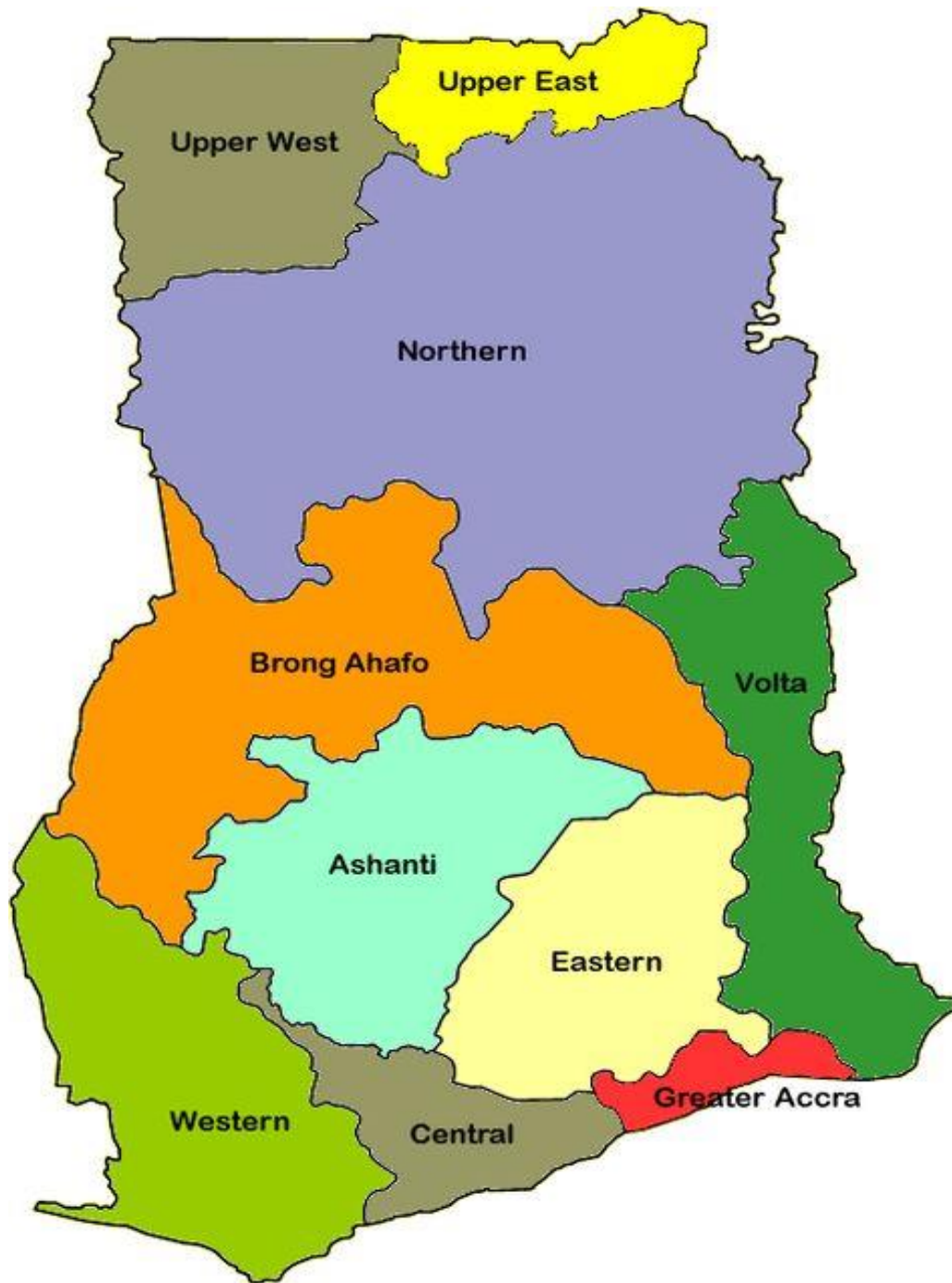
Figure 3: Map of Cold Coast and British Togoland 1922 -1950



The Gold Coast with British Togoland 1922

Copied from: Kedem, K. (2005).

Figure 4: Map of Ghana 1960 with British Togoland completely integrated



Copied from: [pinterest.es](https://www.pinterest.es)

Figure 5: Map of Ghana 2018 with proposed Oti region and others



Copied from: adomonline.com

TABLE OF CONTENT

DEDICATION.....	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	ii
ABSTRACT.....	iii
BRITISH TOGOLAND MOVEMENT: AN OFFSHOOT OF HISTORICAL CREATIONS	iv
ABBREVIATIONS.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vi
Figure 1: Map of German Togoland.....	vii
Figure 2: Map of British Togoland and French Togoland.....	viii
Figure 3: Map of Cold Coast and British Togoland 1922 -1950.....	ix
Figure 4: Map of Ghana 1960 with British Togoland completely integrated.....	x
Figure 5: Map of Ghana 2018 with proposed Oti region and others.....	xi
CHAPTER 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION.....	1
1. Introduction to the study area.....	1
1.1 The socio-political evolution of British Togoland.....	2
1.2 Problem Statement.....	5
1.3 Research Questions and Objectives.....	6
1.4 Chapter Outlet.....	7
1.5 Conclusion.....	8
CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS AND REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE.....	9
2.1 Introduction.....	9
2.2 Post-colonial theory.....	9
2.3 Deprived actor (grievances) theory.....	15
2.4 Rational actor (opportunity) Theory.....	17
2.5 Conclusion.....	19
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY.....	20
3.1 Introduction.....	20
3.2 Method: Triangulation.....	20
3.2.1 Defining the principle of triangulation.....	20
3.2.2 Understanding the terms: credibility, validity and reliability.....	21
3.2.3 Towards the understanding of the philosophical position.....	24
3.2.4 Data collection.....	25
3.3 Challenges and limitations.....	32

3.4 Positionality: Possibilities and limitations	33
3.5 Ethical considerations	34
3.6 Conclusion	35
CHAPTER 4: UNDERSTANDING THE SECESSIONIST SENTIMENTS	36
4.1 Introduction.....	36
4.2 Defining the boundaries of British Togoland	36
4.3 The puzzle of Trans-Volta Togoland and union document	37
4.4 British Togoland as a taboo issue	39
4.5 The objectives of the British Togoland Movement	42
4.6 The effect of Ghana-Togo relations on the British Togoland movement.....	44
4.7 The concerns of the British Togoland Movement	46
4.8 The demands of British Togoland Movement	50
4.9 The creation of Oti region: a necessity or a political game?.....	51
4.10 Impact of British Togoland Movement on Ewes as ethnic group	54
4.11 Summary	57
CHAPTER 5: GENERAL CONCLUSION	58
5.1 Introduction.....	58
5.2 Summary	58
5.3 Study findings	59
5.4 Conclusion	60
REFERENCES	61
APPENDIXES	65
Appendix 1: Mobilisation activity of British Togoland Movement	65
Appendix 2: Sensitization activity of British Togoland Movement	66
Appendix 3: How British Togoland Movement is influencing opinions.....	67
Appendix 4: How British Togoland Movement is being inspired by Anglophone Cameroon Separatist Movement.	69
Appendix 5: Creation of cultural awareness by British Togoland Movement	70
SAMPLE OF INTERVIEW GUIDE	71

CHAPTER 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction to the study area

The study was carried out in the territory known as British Togoland located between the Gold Coast and French Togoland. British Togoland was established by splitting German Togoland (Griffiths, 1986; 205). As a recall, German Togoland was established by German explorers and missionaries in 1880s. Before the arrival of the German, this part of Africa was occupied by various ethnic groups and administered by traditional rulers of the various states. The south was mostly populated by Ewes and the north by ethnics like Dagomba, Mamprusi, Kabye, Gurma, Lamba, Losso, Kotokoli etc. After the German occupation, the area became what was known as German Togoland (Figure 1) in 1884 and administered by the German (Amenumey, 1989: 3-4). The regime established by the German in Togoland was described as harsher as compared to their neighbouring British regime in the Gold Coast. It was characterised by compulsory labour, flogging and other severe sentences, imposition of direct tax, prevention of indigenous people from commercial opportunities and restriction of the powers of chiefs (Amenumey, 1989: 4).

The defeat of Germany in the World War I by the allies (British-French) brought significant changes to the boundaries of German Togoland and its administration. On December 13, 1916, German Togoland was split between France and Britain (Figure 2) as stated earlier in the first paragraph. The Eastern part called French Togoland became the protectorate of the French and administered by the French colonial administration in Dahomey. It subsequently became Togo upon independence in 1960 (Skinner, 2007: 123). The Western part now called British Togoland also became the protectorate of Britain in 1922 (Figure 3) and administered by British administration in the Gold Coast. Historically, British Togoland was not administratively part of the British colony. However, the area was administered by the British colonial administration as a separate entity until a solution was found to the controversies surrounding the future of the two Togoland: British Togoland and French Togoland (Bening, 1999:37).

Currently, British Togoland is located at the eastern part of Ghana along Ghana-Togo border with an estimated area of 13,000 square miles (Bourret, 1949:96) (approximately 33,669.85 square kilometers) comparatively bigger than the size of the present Volta region of Ghana which has a size of 20,570 square kilometers. It comprised the present Volta region, part of Eastern, part of Northern and Upper East regions of Ghana and its estimated population in 1946

(including northern and southern British Togoland) was over 400,000 inhabitants (Bourret, 1949: 87).

1.1 The socio-political evolution of British Togoland

Before British Togoland was established (in 1916), British colonial rule was admired from far by people of western part of Togoland who were then under German rule. Although British colonial rule was appreciated and advocated for by the people of British Togoland, the British administration witnessed numerous protests and agitations emerging from Ewelands in British Togoland and Gold Coast. Their concerns were based on the ground of lack of development in the territory and what they called 'ethnic division'. These agitations were led by a movement called Ewe Unification Movement which became very active after the split of the German Togoland. The emergence of this agitations created a ground for anyone to conclude that although the people of British Togoland opted for British rule instead of French rule, they preferred unification of Ewelands with self-government than colonial rule. There were a number of petitions from groups including A Committee on Behalf of Togoland Nations and Fia Sri II Delegation to that effect. In one of their petitions, they concluded that "the Ewe people can never develop properly if they are again put under different flags" (Amenumey, 1989:11).

On December 20, 1922, the United Nations General Assembly passed Resolution 652 (VII) in favour of the unification of the two Togoland. This was based on the conclusion of United Nations (UN) Visiting Mission Special Report which stated that "the people of the Trust Territories desire in principle unification of the two Trust Territories"¹ (United Nations General Assembly, 1952). The Assembly therefore instructed the Administrative Authorities concerned (including Gold Coast) to take necessary steps to effect the union to reflect the will of the majority of the people. This development gave hope to Ewe Unification Movement. Notwithstanding, during the consideration of Resolution 750 (VIII), the UN General Assembly (UNGA) regretted that organs which will be responsible for working toward the determination of what will be in the best interest of the people failed to act to that effect. The UNGA observed: "The joint council for Togoland Affairs has not yet been re-established"² (United Nations General Assembly, 1953). Therefore, the UNGA requested the Trusteeship Council "to submit

¹ [https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/652\(VII\)](https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/652(VII))

² <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/086/15/IMG/NR008615.pdf?OpenElement>

to the General Assembly at its ninth Session, a special report concerning the steps which have been taken towards the implementation of the present resolution”³. Surprisingly, UN passed Resolution 1044 (XI) (b) on December 13, 1956 accepting that a plebiscite should be organised. The plebiscite was eventually organised to determine whether British Togoland should form a unitary state with Gold Coast or not. The result of the plebiscite was in favour of the union and British Togoland became part of independent Ghana on March 6, 1957. Whether this move respected the will of the people of Togoland, that is a matter that will be discussed later in this study.

Upon joining Gold Coast as unitary state, all administrative, security and development matters of British Togoland became the responsibility of the Republic of Ghana. Short before British Togoland became part of Ghana in 1957, the CPP Government and the British created a new administrative region called Trans-Volta Togoland in 1952 (Figure 4) by putting together the southern British Togoland and Eweland of British Togoland (Kedem, 2017:48-49). As a recall, British Togoland was already a mandated territory and then later was put under the trusteeship of Gold Coast before the 1956 plebiscite. According to the Gold Coast Administration, the Trans-Volta Togoland was created for administrative purposes. Later the nomenclature of ‘Trans-Volta Togoland was changed to Volta region when the it became an administrative region of Ghana. Recently, the two main political parties in Ghana, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and New Patriotic Party (NPP) have promised the people of the northern part of the Volta region that they will create Oti region by dividing the Volta region into the northern and the southern parts. How his unfolding development will be perceived and interpreted by the people of Volta region, it is a matter which will be discussed in Analysis Chapter.

During this evolution as outlined above, from 1916 to date, British Togoland experienced significant adjustment of its boundaries: in some instances, it gained territory and in other instances, it lost a portion of its territory. This implies that the current Volta region is not the true representation of British togoland in terms of size the population. Notwithstanding, Volta region represents to some extent the land populated by Ewes. For clarity, it is important to note that the southern French Togoland (now Togo) is also inhabited by Ewes. This means that Ewelands includes territories occupied by Ewes in Volta region of Ghana and the southern part of Togo. Although British Togoland no longer exists administratively and officially, the study maintained the nomenclature in order not to lose the essence of the issues. The land is engorged

³ <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/086/15/IMG/NR008615.pdf?OpenElement>

with all types of landscapes and vegetation that can be found in other parts of Ghana and believed to be endowed with mineral resources such as gold, iron ore, bauxite, talc, jasper, lithium, rutile, etc. (Gavua, 2000:134).

The study targeted selected towns and villages like Ho, Kpando, Hohoe, Alavanyo, Kpedze, Kpetoe, Kete Krachi, Flao, Tsito and Akatsi, along the southern Ghana-Togo border line – predominantly Ewes where participants were selected from. The selection of these villages and towns was based on their strategic location and role their inhabitants played in the past or are still playing vis à vis the formation, activation and sustenance of the British Togoland Movement.

Since Ewe ethnic is the targeted population of this study, the study focused more on the southern part of the British Togoland which covers the present Volta region to some extent⁴ and mostly populated by Ewes. Historically, Ewes migrated from Ketu in the Republic of Benin to their current locations around the late 16th or early 17th century⁵ (Agbodeka, 1997:14-16). The 2010 census estimated the number of people living in the Volta region to be 2,118,252 representing 8.6% of the national population. The report however shows that Ewes constitute 13.9% of the Ghanaian population; placing them in the position of the third ethnic group in Ghana in terms of number after the Akan (47.5%) and the Mole-Dagbon (16.6%) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012:6)⁶.

Ewes are known for their cultural conservation and diversities. The cultural conservative nature of Ewe society makes their traditional heads enjoyed a latitude in the day-to-day administration of their subjects. Their level of influence runs parallel with the modern system of government (Amenumey, 1989:8). The traditional authority in Eweland is believed to have derived its authority from the gods of the land therefore their position on matters are believed to have the blessing of the gods and for that matter divine. Notwithstanding, the traditional administrative system makes it possible for Ewes to resist oppressors and leader who rule with tyranny. The powers of an Ewe chief are substantially limited by Councils of Elders which can be described

⁴ Although Anlo, Adidome and Peki lands were not administratively part of British Togoland, their people share the same tradition and cultural practices with their counterparts of British Togoland. Therefore, they see themselves more Ewe than any other belonging (Amenumey, 1989:8). They eventually became one administrative unit with the southern British Togoland under the name 'Trans-Volta Togoland' leading to the independence of Ghana and then 'Volta region' after independence.

⁵ The specific timeline of when Ewes began to settle in their new home is not known. The period between the late 16th and early 17th century was based on deductions made by historians. These deductions were supported by archaeological analysis which revealed that Notsie, where Ewes claim to have come from, may have been founded during the 16th century (Agbodeka, 1997:16)

⁶http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/docfiles/2010phc/2010_POPULATION_AND_HOUSING_CENSUS_FINAL_RESULTS.pdf

as a traditional institution which acts as checks and balances on the powers of a king (Agbodeka, 1997: 63). In instances when decisions have to be taken on very important matters, the chief has to act in consultation with the Council of Elders. Chiefs who rule arbitrary or violate certain traditions could be destooled (Amenumey, 1989:17). Many of leaders were resisted on that ground in the history of Ewe societies.

1.2 Problem Statement

Before independence of Ghana, there were agitations from Eweland demanding the unification of all Ewelands under one administrative authority. Again, shortly after independence of Ghana on March 6, 1957, there have been series of agitations and protests for the restoration of British Togoland as independence state. Recently, in January 2017, soon after a new president was sworn in, a cross-section from Volta region (mostly Ewes) named Homeland Study Group Foundation (HSGF) based in Ho, the capital city of the Volta region of Ghana also demanded the restoration of the ‘Western Togoland’ as an independence state. This recent agitation has come to add to the already existing bigger movement: British Togoland Movement. It is regrettable that very little was done by successive governments to find everlasting solution to the problem. Very often, agitators were tagged secessionists and treated as such, and the substance of the problem is completely ignored. In many instances, government reacted by deploying military and police forces to the area. This always resulted into negative peace rather than positive peace and consequently the agitations resumed as soon as the presence of security forces becomes less visible. Recently, some of the group members were arrested and charged with treason. They were later freed by the court for lack of evidence by the state prosecutors to prove the charges levelled against them. It is becoming evidential that the police arrest and subsequent prosecution are not enough to deal with the possible grievances and conditions that occasioned these agitations. The time distance between uprisings suggests that there are deep-rooted foiling factors that continue to exist across generations and only pragmatic and conscious efforts can address them. So far there is no indication that the political authority is considering changing its approach about how to tackle the problem. The recent electoral promises made by both NDC and NPP to create Oti region by dividing Volta region into two is yet another political decision which has the potential of degenerating into conflict if care is not taken.

1.3 Research Questions and Objectives

To conduct an investigation into the emergence of British Togoland Movement, the research seeks to provide answers to the following questions:

1. What are the factors what are motivating and sustaining the British Togoland Movement?
2. What are the concerns and demands of British Togoland Movement?
3. What is the impact of the emergence of British Togoland Movement on the Ewes of Ghana as ethnic group.

The research is a conflict prevention strategy with the overall objective of helping find appropriate solution to British Togoland Movement's problems. Providing answers to the above-listed questions will contribute to identifying foiling factors underpinning the agitations of British Togoland Movement. The study is not conceived to place judgement on actions and inactions of the various interested groups and individuals involved in British Togoland Movement. However, the study is interested in the analysis of these actions and inactions to create alternative view and divergent perspectives leading to peaceful resolution of the problem. As a student of 'Peace Studies', my objective is to contribute to the existing efforts by peace-loving organisations and individuals through this study.

As a researcher, I perceive the creation of peaceful social environment not as an event but a process which takes into account potential conflict situations, even at the time where there seems to be no violent conflict as it is the case of British Togoland Movement currently. Although government of Ghana has taken some steps by arresting some members of the movement, it is still necessary to put these actions in a context vis a vis current development both in Ghanaian and worldwide. Putting issues relating to British Togoland Movement in perspective will help understand whether or not the foiling factors of the movement are born out of historical developments as postcolonial school of thought indicated or whether current situations such as economic conditions and ethnic sentiment as deprived actor (grievances) and rational actor (opportunity) theories respectively suggested. One of the key elements considered when embarking on a research project is how relevant will its finding be for this current situation. This thinking at the preparative stage has been considerably influenced by similar movements in Anglophone Cameroon and Nigeria. Therefore, this study has the vision of helping avert a possible secessionist violent conflict which may have the tendency not only to reshape borders of many countries but also destabilize the entire West African sub-region. Achieving the above objectives was not without challenges.

One of the major limitations of the study was the legal nature of my target group's claims. I admit that it is possible that some of the arguments bordering on legal interpretation which have been advanced in this thesis were not done with informed legal opinion. As a researcher with no legal background, coming to terms with this shortcoming, I only highlighted opinions expressed by my informants in a way that does not compromise the credibility and validity of my findings. I hold the view that issues raised by my respondents as I have presented them in this thesis can be understood without much legal interpretation. Another limitation of the study is how to determine the impact of the British Togoland Movement on Ewes as ethnic group. This became an issue because how people feel at a particular time and how what they see or feel influences them is not the same at individual level. Moreover, the effect of an incident on individual today may not be the same for the same person tomorrow. Therefore, the level of impact British Togoland Movement has on Ewes as presented when the study was conducted may differ from current situations depending on unfolding events.

1.4 Chapter Outlet

The study is structured into five chapters. Chapter one provided background information about the study. this include the description of the study area and how it evolved socially and politically over the years. This part also outlined questions that led to achieving objectives of the study. Chapter two provided the theoretical foundation of the study and the review of the related literature. The schools of thoughts used include the post-colonial theory which explains how colonial activities are still influencing the socio-political development of the colonized societies; the derived actor (grievances) theory which explains the dissatisfaction among group members about their culture, political or economic standing in relation to the dominant group; the rational actor (opportunity) theory which also propounded how opportunity and potential reward can be used to explain conflict. Chapter three discussed the methodology used for data collection. Here, I use the principle of triangulation to triangulate three data sources namely: interview, documents and observation. Chapter four presented the data collected and proceeded to analyze it to find answers to the research questions. Chapter five concluded the study and also outlined the study finding.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter described the general overview of the study. It comprises the introduction to the study area which put the study in its geographical and social settings, the background of the where I recounted the political evolution of British Togoland Movement, the research questions, the objectives which guided the conduct of the study and the structure of the study where I outlined the various chapters which constituted the overall study.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS AND REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

In order to get pertinent answers to the research questions stated above, this part would provide a theoretical background to the study by using concrete theories to explain situations and events in connection with the British Togoland secessionist movement. The study will be looking at three main school of thoughts which help throw light on the foundation of claims and demands of the study population. In line with this, the study made use of deprived actor theory and rational actor theory to situate discussions in the right context and also to identify and explain risk factors that are foiling and sustaining the conception of the British Togoland Movement. In summary, variables such as resource distribution considerations, economic deprivation, political deprivation, ethnicity and colonial legacy are discussed in the chapter.

2.2 Post-colonial theory

Taking a cue from the verified assumption that the colonial borders drawn through not only Ewe territory, but also those of other ethnic groups in Africa to meet the interest of colonial ‘masters’ has done more harm to the interior peace of modern independent African states than good; the research has taken inspiration from post-colonial theory as propended by Edward Said. The interest of this theory lies in what happens to people, communities or societies during and after colonization. Edward Said in *Orientalism* asserted that Western Powers engaged in colonialism, particularly Great Britain and France, created the version of ‘Orient’ for Western consumption that has little to do with the ‘Orient’ (Said, 1979:3). The theory traces colonial activities engaged in by Europeans to many human settlements across the globe including my area of study and presents me with avenues to dichotomize the concept of colonial legacy in connection with my study area; that is the British Togoland.

In fact, in all aspects of life; be it economic, social, religious, etc., the common trend that governed how orientalist’s ideology was put to effect is uneven imaginary line born out of ideological differences rather than nature (geography) (Said, 1985:2). This makes the study of any facts produced as a result of the implementation of this ideology an integral component of social, and not the divine or natural world. In other words, there could be no study of this social phenomenon without involvement of the social actors concerned; that is: the colonialists and the colonized, and more importantly how postcolonial system operates and the effect of the social contract that governed their relationship. The understanding of this relationship

described by Said as “relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony⁷” (Said, 1979:5), influenced greatly the socio-political context in which the study positions the emergence of the British Togoland Movement.

Additionally, the postcolonial theory acknowledges the fact that the present is the reflection of the past. This implies that it would be undeniably naïve to study the present socio-political condition of colonized societies when ignoring the role played by the colonialists. In fact, Ahluwalia described the historical experiences of the colonized societies as “harsh and bitter” which was “based upon economic exploitation and cultural denigration” (Ahluwalia, 2001:8). The theory also recognizes that colonialism is an ongoing process and that the consequences of colonial activities (imperialism) are yet to be over (Ahluwalia, 2001:10). According to Hamadi, these consequences are still continuing in the form of chaos, corruption, civil war, and bloodshed which many ex-colonies are still grappling with (Hamadi, 2014:40). This is because the colonial administrations, through their policies, have infiltrated the social fabrics of the colonized and imposed their language and culture on them in a manner that conflict with values and aspirations of the latter. Said explained that in most cases peoples who have completely different culture, have been stereotyped by the so-called colonial powers who so simply ignored the distinctions and national characteristics of the diverse cultures (Said, 1979:54). Consequently, border lines were drawn leading to the birth of many countries with unrealistic ethnic societies for colonial masters’ interests. Ahluwalia cited India Nation as an example and asserted that although the nation appeared as unified, its internal problems and challenges emanating from “diverse competing ethnicities which are demanding for secession to rebuild their own image and rewrite their history outside the colonial frame they have lived for decades is causing more harm to the interior peace of modern independent African states than good”. He blamed these destabilising tendencies which have not only emerged in India but also in many parts of Africa on colonial legacy (Ahluwalia, 2001:10). This is contrary to the assumption that the end of colonialism will put to an end all grievances and social unrest that it has generated over the years. Additionally, the effect of colonialism continues to find its way into how colonial powers relate to ex-colonies through their international institutions and agencies. Said explained that because colonial powers like Britain, France, and recently United States are powers behind imperialism, their political establishments encourage their civil

⁷ Hamadi also understood Said’s description of this relationship as asymmetric, and characterised by the “domination of the superior ‘civilized’ West over the inferior ‘primitive’ East” (Hamadi, 2014:41; Said, 1979:7)

societies to influence decisions in favour of imperial interests abroad – more especially in the so-called ex-colonies (Said, 1979:11).

In the international front, in order to protect their ‘sphere of interest’ in their respective ex-colonies, France and Great Britain (especially) are still maintaining and expanding their presence and influence throughout Africa continent through ‘Francophonie’ and ‘Commonwealth’ vehicles (Schraeder, 1995:539). Indeed some influential political personalities like Charles de Gaulle and François Mitterrand, both French former presidents from the conservative and socialist traditions respectively consistently maintain the view that placing “francophone Africa within France’s traditional sphere of influence” is justified by the historical relations that existed between France and its former colonies (Schraeder, 1995:540). On this ground, other Western powers like Great Britain, United States of America, Belgium, etc. attributed to themselves demarcated areas in Africa which they consider their ‘natural preserved domains’. This situation heightened competition among Western power who have interest in Africa on both political and economic fronts, and very often, it is the territory of interest which bears the consequences of this competitions: sometimes the ‘super power’ reacts by harsh and unfair economic policies (grants and loans conditionalities) and sometimes sanctions targeting the countries of interest in an attempt to compel them succumb to their dictates (Schraeder, 1995:541-542). In those countries of interest, French and English became languages of administration and education to the extent that African child is thought to see himself or herself as the descendant of European lineage rather than his or her African origin. The expression “nos ancêtres les gaulois” for example has found its way into the educational curricula of many Francophone African countries: Senegal, Ivory Coast, Mali, etc (Binet, 1967:209). This situation which can be best described as ‘cultural genocide’ engaged in by the colonialists was intended to alienate Africans from their culture heritage and consequently impose Western culture on them (Binet, 1967:209-210).

Notwithstanding, this ideological and political ‘encroachment’ did not happen without resistance. In fact, there were spots of resistance across the occupied territories in many fronts: religious, cultural, political, economic, military as well as academic during postcolonial period; despite the technological weaknesses which characterised the organizational structures of the locals (Said, 1979:7). Again, the postcolonial theory identifies the fact that the colonialists hold the view that their colonial activities are benevolent enterprises born out of the good will of the Western society. For them, the colonized people with whom they deal have it as responsibility to “appreciate or even understand the good that is being done them by the colonial occupation.”

Therefore, any form of resistance emanating from the colonies/ex-colonies during or/and after the periods of colonialism or any local who attempts to speak out is perceived by colonialists as “the agitator who wishes to raise difficulties” as opposed to the “good native who overlooks the difficulties of foreign domination” (Said, 1979:33). This mindset is still influencing the relationship between former imperialist powers and their ex-colonies as was described in this section.

For the purpose of argument, it is very important to establish whether or not the German Togoland which later has been split into British Togoland and French Togoland has been ever colonized. Any of the options been equal, its explanation would contribute to the understanding of postcolonial theory in the context of British Togoland Movement. Indeed, Kosi Kedem, a former legislature in the Ghanaian’s parliament and a son of British Togoland alluded to the fact that German Togoland suffered 30 years of German colonial rule. He went further to explain that after German Togoland was split, the western part known as Western Togoland or British Togoland witnessed 43 years of British colonial rule and more than 62 years of Ghana occupation (Kedem, 2007:v). In other words, according to Kedem’s observation, the British Togoland (the study area) has been in the bondage of imperialism and colonialism for at least one hundred and thirty-five (135) years now. This assertion appears to be controversial and meaningless for the fact that British Togoland is not currently a recognized nation among the 54 recognized African nations and more importantly, it is a common knowledge that British Togoland gained independence together with Ghana and was considered part of Ghana since independence. When tracing the genesis of the British Togoland Movement, Gareth Austin recounted that the colonial rule that existed in the British Togoland and the French Togoland at the time began to give place to nationalist governments “on both sides of the former Anglo-French boundary (Austin, 1963:140). Austin’s recall did not only trace the how the nationalist movement began but also pointed at the presence of the colonial rule in British Togoland before it became part of Ghana in 1957.

British togoland did not only witness colonialism but was earlier the ground for slave trade where the work force of the land was traded and taken outside the land. Francis Agbodeka alluded to the fact that slave trade activities undertook by western powers was cruel to the extent that only brave people can survive its treatments. Agbodeka recounted the inspirational song of the time which remains a testimony of bravery among Ewes: “Klinu miekedo adatsiage dzi mele fowò nagbugbò” (When you reach the Whiteman’s slave castle, you will shed tears and if you lack courage, return home) (Agbodeka, 1997:6). This song and likes well attested to

the presence of Western powers in British Togoland prior to colonial period. Base on the three account above, it is therefore prudent to say that British Togoland was a subject of colonial rule but whether or not British Togoland can be described as a British colony, it is a matter which needs to be interrogated further.

The impression created earlier in the discussion of postcolonial theory is that both colonial and postcolonial periods were dark moment for colonized societies and that these dark days continue to frustrate the effort of African states towards development. It appears that those believe in this assertion are still living in the past and do not see it necessary to leave the past behind. One would be quick to say that accepting this position is a smart way of sharing off responsibility. It appears that many African political leaders are hiding behind the pretext of this unpleasant historical event to justify their inability of providing solution for the daily challenges affecting their people. This could be justified on the ground that Ethiopia, the only African country which did not experience colonialism may not serve as the best example many of these African countries would like to emulate. The World Bank 2014 report on Ethiopia Poverty Assessment indicated that not until recently⁸, 30% of Ethiopians were living below the national poverty line. This is in sharp contrast with the economic condition in South Africa which gained freedom from colonial domination recently in 1997. So, if colonialism is the source of poor living condition in Africa today, one would expect that economic conditions in South Africa should be worse as compare to Ethiopia.

Additionally, one would have expected that if there is any blame as a result of colonial activities in most colonized countries, it should be a share responsibility of both western colonial masters and a section of the colonized society. This is because in most colonial systems of administration, Western colonial masters were very few and for effective administration, their number was complemented by the locals. Many of these locals played very important role in colonial administration. Some served as links between the western colonial masters and the locals, and others were in charge of very important projects and institutions. Chinua Achebe, a Nigerian writer painted a glowing picture of this situation in his, “Things Fall Apart” about why colonized society cannot be exonerated completely from blame. In a meeting among characters representing the colonized society ‘Umuofia’, the principal character observed:

⁸ Ethiopia was countered among the poorest countries in Africa. “Poverty in Ethiopia fell from 44 percent in 2000 to 30 percent in 2011 (World Bank, 2015:40)

“Our own men and our sons have joined the ranks of the stranger. They have joined his religion and they help to uphold his government. If we should try to drive out the white men in Umuofia, we should find it easy. There are only two of them. But what of our own people who are following their way and have been given power? They would go to Umuru and bring the soldiers, and we would be like Abame.” (Chinua, 1962: 124).

The statement painted a situation that represented how colonial administrative system operated in most colonized societies including the study area of this thesis (British Togoland). This testifies to the fact that locals who participated in colonial rule were not in any way better than Western powers in terms of provision of social services and the creation of solid economic environment leading to the empowerment of the locals. Rather, there were indications (as indicated by Achebe) that they use their positions to get favour from Western colonial masters through personal vindictiveness and sabotage of the local interests. Some of these people also used their position to suppress their fellows for personal gains. Many of them became rich overnight by diverting resources and confiscating properties of their fellows in the name of western colonial masters. These attitudes put Western colonial masters in a bad light in the eyes of the locals. Indeed, Achebe question the integrity of those who served as intermediaries between the locals and the Western colonial masters:

“What has happened to that piece of land in dispute?” asked Okonko.

“The white man’s court has decided that it should belong to Nnama’s family, who had given much money to the white man’s messenger and interpreter” (Chinua, 1962: 124).

It appeared on the surface that this has confirmed the assumption propounded by postcolonial theory that corruptions cases that are recorded in formerly colonized states (especially in Africa) were preconditioned by colonialism. It would be too simplistic to relate this to colonial activities without interrogating who really took part in creating the system of corruption which continues to affect many colonized societies. As Achebe suggested, it is highly possible that the Western colonial masters were not aware of these incidences of corruption due to cultural and language barriers, and the manner in which the incidents occurred. It will be therefore unrealistic to blame an era rather than people who continue to operate the system for their personal gains.

Some may also argue that colonialism cannot be exonerated completely from African current condition with the explanation that during colonial periods, resources (minerals and human) of the colonies were virtually in the hands of western powers and these were managed to the

benefit of the home country of the colonial administrators. Gareth Austin observed that the “colonial legacy takes the form of ‘path determination’, applying that colonial choices determined post-colonial ones, or at least conditioned them, such that departure from the colonial pattern was, and perhaps remains, difficult and costly” (Austin G. , 2010:11-12). This suggests that colonial pattern was the reason behind Africa’s relative poverty at the end of 20th century and the current economic development with the explanation that the Europeans established institutions and introduced systems that encouraged extraction of resources rather than supporting local industries to grow.

One may also not be wrong to say that ethnicity and culture belonging are some of the major factors driving most secessionists movements in Africa, especially the case of British Togoland. As indicated in the introductory chapter, colonial boundaries did not only affect people of British Togoland economically, but it has also divided them culturally. (Bourret, 1949: 87). This situation made many affected societies lose their ethnic and tribal connections. Achebe his ‘Things Fall Apart’ denounced how colonial activities gradually divided the cultural front of the colonized societies and consequently imposed on them foreign practices which are alien to the latter. “Now he has won our brothers, and our clan can no longer act like one. He has put a knife on the things that held us together and we have fallen apart” (Chinua, 1962: 124-125). This situation as presented by Achebe mirrored the colonial era in British Togoland where people have been divided geographically and culturally by colonial boundaries.

2.3 Deprived actor (grievances) theory

When elaborating on grievance theory, Collier and Hoeffler (Colliers 2004) perceived grievance as “widely shared dissatisfaction among group members about their culture, political and/or economic standing vis à vis dominant group” (2004: 139) and that rebellion is likely to occur when grievances such as lack of political rights, ethnic or religious divisions in society, and high inequality become unusually severe (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004:563). According to Jakobson and De Soysa, the grand approach to understanding deprived actor is based on the logic that “state repression leads to grievances” (Jakobsen and De Soysa, 2009:140) and these grievances constitute in one way or the other important causes of armed rebellion. This model is aimed at explaining the link between violence behavior and perceived and real deprivation. Jakobsen and De Soysa (2009) names “man’s perceived discrepancy between value expectation

and value capabilities” as relative deprivation in contrast with real deprivation (140 – 141). According to them, the occurrence of collective violence is conditioned by intensity and extent of the relative deprivation.

Additionally, the development of this social phenomenon usually follows a causal sequence which leads to onset of rebellion: first, there should be “the development of discontent”; second, “the politicisation of that discontent”, and finally, “its actualisation in violence action against political objects⁹ or actors” (Jakobsen and De Soysa, 2009 :141). This means that when people (citizens) are not getting what they feel entitled to due to social inequality, they become angry and resort to violence not because of what individual got but more especially because of the relationship they have with what is gotten by the group (group expectation). This makes societies with a trend of inequality more prone with war or conflict than equalitarian society because of high legitimate expectations such as food, safety, shelter work equality, etc. In disagreement with this assertion, David Keen held the view that facts are contrary to this position. He cited studies conducted by Stewart, Brown and Longer which came to the conclusion that “Even in the presence of quite sharp socioeconomic HIs (horizontal inequalities), people are unlikely to take to violent conflict if their own group leader are politically included” (Keen, 2012:760-761). He added that when the leadership of the disadvantaged minorities dominate politically the dominant group, this situation is sufficient to prevent onset of conflicts without necessarily taking measures to address the socioeconomic condition of the disadvantaged group. Again, Keen referred to the same studies and pointed at the example of Ghana and Bolivia which have high socioeconomic HIs yet “avoided substantial conflict (Keen, 2012:761).

It is important at this juncture to highlight the ethnicity factor in grievance theory. Collier and Hoeffler believes that in “multi-ethnic or multi-religious societies” as it is the case of my study society, “ethnic and religious hatreds are widely perceived as a cause of civil conflict”. They further acknowledge the fact that inter-group hatreds are often “greater in societies that are fractionalised than in those which are homogenous” (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004:571). In line with this assertion, the study exploits ethnicity, an identity -based factor as a way of arriving at the explanations of group grievance in order to predict whether or not the British Togoland Movement is a possible vehicle for civil war. The theory also shapes the sphere of the study context by helping examine the degree of political and economic empowerment; taking into

⁹ Political objects and actors refer to government installations or properties and government officials respectively. As it was an example in Anglophone Cameroon (International Crisis Group, 2017:2-3).

account whether or not the British Togoland Movement (as a group) is a subject of state repression, has enjoyed or is enjoying freedom of speech and assembly, and freedom of worship.

As alluded to above, Jakobsen and De Soysa also acknowledges that “ethnic fractionalization increases the chances of an onset of civil war” (Jakobsen and De Soysa, 2009:138) and added that under high level of state repression condition, the possibility of ethnic fractionalization to degenerate into civil war becomes very low. On the flip side, the more homogenous a society is, the more the likelihood of serious armed conflict against repressive government than when state repression is absent. This makes societal fractionality and governmental repression very important variables for anyone with an interest in getting into the realm of the possibility of British Togoland Movement generating into civil war. Based on these assertions, grievance-based explanation of onset of civil war predicts that “fractionalized societies are safer when political disempowerment is high” (Jakobsen and De Soysa, 2009:138). This is to say that the presence of group grievances alone is does not create enough ground for onset of civil war. Similarly, ethnic fractionalisation alone is insufficient to trigger independently onset of civil war. Collier and Hoeffler holds the view that there should be “a discriminatory political climate as an explanatory variable to trigger the effect of ethnic diversity” (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004:571).

2.4 Rational actor (opportunity) Theory

On the other hand, the rational actor can be understood by a grand approach which is based on the understanding that “potential rewards and favorable circumstances are the major motivating factors of insurgents” (Jakobsen and De Soysa, 2009:140). The rational school of thought took inspiration from economic theory. It emphasizes on how resource is mobilized and opportunity structures within a defined geographical area (Jakobsen and De Soysa, 2009:141). Contrary to deprived actor theory, rational actor theory does not believe that “deprivation and anger were either a necessary or sufficient condition for violent behavior” (Jakobsen and De Soysa, 2009:141). This model operates on the assumption that grievances are always present with people and that opportunity and potential rewards are behind onset of conflicts and revolutions. This means that for the British Togoland Movement to degenerate into rebellion, there should be motive and opportunity. Rational actor theory identifies ethnicity and opportunity as driven

factors of rebellion. The opportunity includes income level (country's GDP), potential reward, perceived probability of success due weak state institutions and large country size.

According to the theory, humans are rational; they are driven by possible gain and that rebellion is a function of both low-income level and reward for the insurgency (Jakobsen and De Soysa, 2009:141). The theory suggests that a rational decisionmaker is likely to engage in rebellion activity "whenever this approach proves to be the most advantageous way of competing in a world where payoffs are scarce" (Jakobsen and De Soysa, 2009:141). This makes opportunity factors such as income level and potential reward very important variables in explaining onset of rebellion by rational actor model because it is expected that during conflict rebel movements through their activities incurred considerable costs. So, when post-conflict rewards are perceived high it would probably justify and motivate uprising if other conditions discussed above are held constant (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004:564). This may be the case for a secessionist movement but some scholars believe that this may not be the case for some rebellion which often cover their costs during conflicts. Such rebellions which operate as industry for profitable gains are motivated by greed and obviously, their actions cannot be explained by motive but rather circumstances that create profitable opportunities. Certainly, this dimension influences the understanding of the genesis of the British Togoland and unfolding events that followed it.

On ethnicity factor, the theory suggests that in a fractionalized society, one group can suppress the another and that civil wars are prevalent in polarized and fractionalized societies. In a study carried out by Jakobsen and De Soysa, they came out with the conclusion that "findings are generally unsupportive of the view that grievances due to lack of ethnic group rights drive civil war, but it seems that the opportunity to mobilize does" (Jakobsen and De Soysa, 2009:137). In other words, to know whether grievances emanating from ethnic group are susceptible for civil war, civil unrest, rebellion or not, the best indicators to look at are the conditions that aid and trigger mobilisation of rebellion. In line with the logic of this theory, one would not be wrong to conclude that state repression has the potential of reducing the risk of rebellion because opportunity of rebellion under state repression will be more limited and highly cost venture. Siroky and Hechter on the other hand, placed the discussion of ethno-nationalist conflicts on the premise of ethnic and class solidarities resulting from economic stratification between groups (ethnic or class based) and economic segmentation within them (Siroky and Hechter, 2016:91). They have the view that in countries where there are high inequalities between groups and low inequalities within groups, ethnicity is likely to become the dominant

principle of group solidarity and the primary driver of conflicts. In the reverse situation where inequalities between groups are significantly low and within-group inequalities are high, conflicts are likely to occur in class lines (Siroky and Hechter, 2016:92). The two scenarios point to Sen's assertion that "the relation between inequality and rebellion is indeed a close one" and that the poor regions may see rebellion as an avenue to induce redistribution of resources and similarly the rich regions may use secessionist rebellions as means to pre-empt redistribution of resources (Sen, 1973:36-37). This position contradicts Collier's conclusion that "inequality, whether measured in terms of income or landownership, has no effect on the risk of conflict" (Keen, 2012:760) These scopes of nuances put the discussion of the British Togoland Movement in more opened context which will help diagnose its causal factors.

2.5 Conclusion

The chapter reviews school of thoughts relevant to the study. By so doing, it has situated the study in the appropriate philosophical contexts which contribute to a deeper understanding of events leading to the conception, development and prospects of the British Togoland Movement. The chapter explained that although colonial activities appeared to be over, ex-colonies are still living with its consequences leading to the emergence of secessionists movements and civil wars. The chapter also situated the British Togoland Movement in the context of collective violence which can be explained by grievances in one hand and opportunity in another hand. The two competing theories identified ethnicity among other factors as a vehicle for onset of conflicts.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This part describes the set of tools (methods) and the lay down procedures for data collection. The section serves as link between the philosophical framework of a study and the socio-cultural context in which events occurred by providing measures to take account of the various segments which contribute to the development of the study. Therefore, it seems appropriate to me to conduct a qualitative research into the British Togoland Movement considering the nature of cases about the movement and the objectives I set for myself. In line with this, I have opted for Triangulating my data collection methods: interview, observation and documents sources. How important the triangulation method I have opted for is for my study, challenges and limitations, my positionality as well as ethical considerations will also be discussed under this chapter.

3.2 Method: Triangulation

3.2.1 Defining the principle of triangulation

Etymologically, the term ‘triangulation’ describes a principle in navigation which makes use of the intersection of three different points to estimate the precise position of objects (Yin, 2015:87). Over the years, the principle of triangulation has outlived its boundaries in nautical arithmetic to become one of the methodological strategies in the field of social research.

In social research, the term triangulation is used to describe a strategy aiming at improving the quality of a research work either by taking different theoretical perspectives to study a research issue, adopting different approaches, including different sorts of data in the research project or engaging two or more researchers with difference background¹⁰ in the same research (Flick, 2009:405). Generally, this implies that triangulation as a principle can be adopted at the data collection level, investigator level, theoretical level as well as at the procedural (methodological) level. Triangulating data sources consists of gathering data from different sources or using different techniques in order to make sure that research findings are not simply an artefact of a particular source or method (Nygaard, 2017:147). Silverman viewed this form of triangulation as a process of ‘comparing different kinds of data... to see whether they

¹⁰ The use of background here includes the philosophical orientation of the researcher and their belief in a particular method.

corroborate one another' (Silverman, 2006:290-291). It appears that the rationale behind Silverman's definition is founded on the assumption that when findings obtained through various methods begin to point at the same conclusion, this may lead to valid and reliable research. Triangulating data sources involves the gathering of data from different sources or using different techniques to collect data in the study of the same phenomenon. The content of the triangulation method I have resorted to included interview, documents from archives on political evolution of the British Togoland and social media observation (these methods will be discussed later under 'data collection'). The rationale behind this process is to make sure that my research findings are not merely artefacts of a particular source or method (Nygaard, 2017:147). Whether to use or not to use triangulation in research, is a decision which is dependent on the objective of the researcher and the prevailing dynamism in the field of research.

3.2.2 Understanding the terms: credibility, validity and reliability

As student researcher, my aim is to come out with a credible research what will contribute to solving a societal problem or to understanding unfolding social phenomenon. To this effect, I centered my discussion largely on the 'validity' and 'reliability', the two concepts generally considered central of scientific research (Silverman, 2006:281). In other words, I see validity and reliability as gateways to credible research.

It is imperative at this juncture to interrogate what the credibility of social research entails. A credible research, according to Robert K. Yin, "is one that provides assurance that the findings and conclusions accurately reflect and represent the world that was studied" (Yin, 2015:85). David Silverman also described a credible qualitative research as a state "when the investigator's theoretical claims are supported with evidence from informants, negative cases are included, and alternative interpretations considered" (Silverman, 2006:271). These two descriptions of credible study place a considerable responsibility on the researcher; making him responsible for what he or she considered worthy to be documented by the virtue of the freedom of selection. Uwe Flick described this situation as 'selective plausibilization' and doubt if it can lead to a credible study. He further questions how researchers handle cases and passages that contradict what they are seeking to portray (Flick, 2009:384). Silverman acknowledged the same and his argument suggested that Flick's fear will not arise because credibility process is not self-justification process.

There is also a belief that the views of social scientists about what can be described as credible research is not unanimous. In this regard, different social scientists view a credible research based on their philosophical orientation (Silverman, 2006:272-273) but fundamentally, one can conclude that a credible research is the one that seeks to conform with the conventional standard of social research. Although the assumption of conformity to standard may also be subjective, a research work must demonstrate conscious effort of making its findings an outcome of a credible process. Notwithstanding this seemingly lack of common ground about credibility of a research, considering the above definitions, credibility remains an important aspect of scientific research and its discussion in this study is centered around two concepts. These are 'validity' and 'reliability'.

Reliability is used to describe the degree of consistency with which research instances are linked to the same phenomenon by different actors (actors here refer to individual researchers) (Silverman, 2006:282). In other words, reliability refers to the degree to which research outcomes are independent of accidental circumstances under which they were produced. For instance, the reliability of my study on British Togoland Movement would be determined by the extent to which my experiment or measurement yield the same result as that of repeated trials either by me or different researcher.

Validity on the other hand is a concept originally known in quantitative research tradition and has received a lot of attention in qualitative research (Flick, 2009:387). It is used to refer to the degree of accuracy of which an account represents the reality of the social phenomena it seeks to emulate (Silverman, 2006:289). In simple terms, validity of a study is a matter of whether what a researcher claims to have seen is really what exists. Contrary to reliability, validity is not about how consistent the finding of one researcher is with that of others in the same study but the degree of closeness of the finding to the situation being studied. It appears that where to draw the line between the researcher's version and what is being studied to assess the validity of a research remains a gray area in qualitative research which needs to be covered. From the above descriptions, both validity and reliability concepts appeared to be playing complementary roles: while the validity concept aims at accuracy of findings, the reliability concept seeks to prove the consistency of instances. This makes the effort towards the credibility of research a process of reducing as much as possible weaknesses in research findings. It is very important at this point to reflect on how the reliability and validity of this study is maintained.

To answer the question how applicable the triangulation is to qualitative research; especially this study, it is necessary to clarify reasons why as a researcher, I desire to use it and the expected benefit it will bring to the study. As I have indicated in earlier sections, it is worth repeating that the triangulation principle can be used for credibility purpose which includes reliability and validity. Additionally, I used the principle to capture contextual phenomena under study in more complete and holistic form by eliciting data and suggesting conclusions which quantitative approach may not be able to comply with due to its practical conventions¹¹ (Clark and Creswell, 2008:109). For example, when I came to the realization that my initial method (interview method) alone may not help me to verify and cross-checked the account of my respondents, I made some procedural adjustment by consulting other sources of information such as documents and observation to present not only nuanced account but also to look beyond their narratives to enrich my understanding and also for other perspectives that were not told. My aim is to depend on primary materials to provide answers to the missing gaps in secondary sources (Tosh, 2013:149). In the case of this study, during my field, the documents (from Ghana national archives) I consulted did not only reveal other perspectives which were not told but also provided additional information leading to informed discussion to arrive at valid findings. For example, document from Ghana national archive revealed that traditional leaders of Anlo and Peki lands¹² sent a petition to the Chief Commissioner of colony of Gold Coast to impress upon the French colonial administration to free other Ewe lands to the British colonial administration. The discovery of this petition (from archives) put me in better position to give an informed analysis taking into consideration the interview account.

Triangulation is not limited to within qualitative research only as the paper seek to suggest above. In fact, the definition of triangulation confirms the fact that the principle can make use of qualitative approach and an aspect of quantitative approach as a combine method to achieve a purpose which may not be achieved satisfactorily by every simple one of them. This type of triangulation, some social scientists hold the view, can make important contribution to both qualitative and quantitative studies (Clark and Creswell, 2008:110). The practicality of this approach featured in this study when I adopted quantifiable scheme of coding data I have collected through qualitative procedure (observation). For example, I have quantified the number of Ewes I have observed in Volta region. My observation aimed at knowing how they

¹¹ Comparatively, qualitative approach enjoys greater procedural flexibility (Bryman, 2016:467) which gives researchers opportunity to go beyond the conventional procedure to use other strategies to a specific need so far as this does not violate social research norms.

¹² Anlo and Peki lands are some of the issues of contestation for British Togoland.

relate to other ethnic groups in Ghana in terms of language, religion and aspiration, and how they see their home region¹³. These real-world and systemized observations which interview would have missed, helped me built more confidence in the generalizability of my research results and consequently strengthen the credibility of the study.

3.2.3 Towards the understanding of the philosophical position

As a researcher, my primary aim is to produce a credible piece of work useful to advance the course of the society. There are many schools of thought about when and how to strengthen the credibility of a qualitative study. Whilst there is no specific timeline on when a study can be strengthened, the most desirable is that study credibility issues should be considered during the design of the study to reflect the reality on the ground (Yin, 2015:85).

The need to strive for the credibility of my study fits into the interpretivist school of thought which amongst others, places value on the reliability of the data collected and the validity of the findings. Ontologically, interpretivist school of thought perceives the reality as something that can be constructed from the point of view of the individuals who are directly involved in the activities which are to be studied and that, reality can only be arrived at through the observations and interpretations of these individuals and their actions (Burrell and Morgan, 2005:28; Ritchie, Lewis et al. 2014:21-22). It can therefore be deduced that the objective of this theoretical tradition is to understand the essence of the everyday world as it is from individual witnesses' accounts. This position assigns considerable responsibility to research participants, especially the researcher because it is believed that external reality in itself is diverse and multifaceted, and for that matter it is the prerogative of the researcher to capture that reality in all its complexity and depth. Since the principle of triangulation is a process of using multiple strategies to strengthen the credibility of a research, it fits into the interpretivist school of thought and provides researchers with the necessary variables to achieve the ultimate goal¹⁴. This also raises the issue of accuracy of the study in representing the reality which can only be unveiled and understood by using appropriate methods (Bryman, 2016:25)

¹³ My observation revealed that the majority of the Ewes sees or refers other Ewes (whether from Togo or Ghana) as their 'countryman' or 'countrywoman' and see others as foreigners.

¹⁴ Many social scientists hold the view that one of the fundamental roles of social research is to present credible information that will add to the stock of knowledge about the social world capable of making a positive impact to the social world (Bryman, 2016:6-7).

To boost the accuracy of a study, the researcher has it as a responsibility to make links among the research questions, the data to be collected, and the strategies for analyzing the data so that study findings will address the intended research questions (Yin, 2015:83). So, if one of variables such as data collection process presents considerable signs of weakness, that should be a matter of concern for every researcher and therefore plans should be put in place to address them.

3.2.4 Data collection

My research aims at conducting a historic enquiry into the emerging British Togoland Movement to find answers to three key questions. Firstly, to find out the foiling factors of British Togoland Movements. Secondly, to uncover the real objectives and demands of British Togoland Movement. Thirdly, to access the socio-political effects of British Togoland Movement on Ewes as an ethnic group. To do this, I made use of a wide range of sources which can be grouped as primary and secondary sources in data collection processes to ensure the credibility of my study.

In line with the interpretivist school of thought, a credible study is the one that provides assurances that data is appropriately collected and interpreted so that the findings and conclusions accurately reflect and represent the world that was studied. (Ritchie, Lewis et al. 2014:85). So, I decided to make some credibility choices during my fieldwork by triangulating data sources to insure the validity and the reliability of the study.

I hold the view that these three sources of information as introduced previously (interview, selected documents from archives and the observation of a selected social media), will help me check the veracity of the data, provide balanced information and also to give different perspectives of the narratives. Triangulating data sources fits into the two key approaches of gathering data in history: the source-oriented approach which allows the researcher to gather and draw selected sources he or she considered valuable to be further studied and the problem-oriented approach which aimed at depending on primary materials to provide answers to the missing gaps in secondary sources (Tosh, 2013:149). The rationale behind the adoption of the triangulation method is to take advantage of the rationale behind these two approaches to present a nuanced but balanced data. It important to acknowledge the fact that to arrive at this nuanced and balanced data by triangulation method is a difficult but feasible task. The difficulty arises in the selection of the appropriate sampling which will satisfy all the triangulation

approaches. According to Flick, there is the needs to find one common ground by considering sampling strategy which fit each single method, make sure the interlaced sampling makes sense and follows a logic pattern (Flick, 2009:447-448). In this study for example, I used purposive sampling which (in the case of interview) focuses on individuals whereas in observation and using documents, the focus was directed towards events and context which by the nature of their occurrences have become relevant for this study.

3.2.4.1 Interview

One of the most important aspects of a research design is the choice of data collection methods. In qualitative research, interview is one of the main methods used by many researchers for collecting verbal data through question-answer scheme (Flick, 2009:150). When designing my research, I adopted interview as one of the methods for data collection by taking into consideration the socio-cultural setting of my population, my research questions and the advantage an interview method presents to my research.

Bryman acknowledges the fact that interview method offers procedural flexibility (Bryman, 2016:467). This flexibility opportunity offered by interview enabled me to respond to the direction in which the respondents took the interview. It is also a suitable device in collecting data from rural area and people with little or no formal education (Twumasi, 2001:35). This assumption was a clear representation of my study population and my interview method proved very efficient. Again, interview provided me with the opportunity to assess the mood of the people and also to watch the sentiments that accompanied their answers; a strategy which gave me advantages to probe further with follow up questions.

There are several types of interviews which can be distinguished (Flick, 2009:150). These include unstructured interview, Semi-structured, focused interview, problem-centered interview, expert interview, etc.... This study adopted semi-structured interview to gather data from individuals – starting from unstructured questions to broaden the base of the discussion and introduce structured questions as the need arises to prevent losing site of the focus of the interview. This also prevented the imposition of my frame of reference on the viewpoints of the interviewee. My questions were open-ended which given the respondents room to express themselves fully. The process which led to the selection of these interviewees and how many of them are involved in this research is discussed below.

3.2.4 2 Sampling and sampling size

The issue of sampling in a social research is not limited to only one stage of the study. In fact, sampling could be a matter to consider at data collection stage, data interpretation stage and finding presentation stage (Flick, 2009:115). For the purpose of relevance, this segment will only discuss sampling at data collection stage. Notwithstanding, at all level, sampling is a process which seeks to find answers to questions such as: which specific instances to select, reasons for their selections and the number of instances that the study intended to cover. When instances (samples) are chosen in deliberate manner, Yin referred to this type of sampling as “purposive sampling” (Yin, 2015:93). My choice of this sampling types was not only motivated by my research questions, the cultural norms and principles of the Ewes but also my aim to get rich, in-depth and reliable data about the meaning people derive from events in socio-political contexts, and how the derived meanings contribute to how ideas are constructed, and actions are taken as a result.

My study population consists of Ewe ethnic group. Ordinarily, Ewes are culturally conservative. One of their cultural norms is not to ‘wash one’s dirty clothes in public.’ And by this cultural orientation, sharing very important information or ‘open up’ to a ‘stranger’ to express what one really thinks or feels may be a little too demanding or against social values (Agbodeka, 1997:76). Therefore, I adopted purposive sampling techniques of selecting the sample of my study which enabled me to deliberately select individual participants and groups to reflect specific features within the sampled population as opposed to random sampling (Ritchie, Lewis et al. 2014:131). I have selected specific interviewees based on their knowledge about the British Togoland Movement. This enables me to obtain the broadest range of vital information and perspectives for in-depth study, having in mind specific purpose as fishing for sources for relevant information was significantly reduced (Tagoe, 2009:55). My sample did not include only one side of the story but also include sources that offered contrary evidence. For example, the views of members of Togoland Movement against individuals who opposed the movement.

The study also made use of snowball sampling as strategic sampling techniques to respond to unforeseen circumstances. Snowball sampling describes the process of identifying among others, cases of interest from people who have an in-depth knowledge about aspects of the study (Tagoe, 2009:55). This was necessitated by the fact that some potential respondents were either unavailable at the time of fieldwork or are unwilling to take part in the study. consequently, the study relied on snowball sampling as a complementary strategy to mitigate

the vacuum created by unavailability¹⁵ of some respondents. The snowball sampling enabled me to identify among others, cases of interest from people who have an in-depth knowledge about aspects of the study. My snowball sampling was also purposeful rather than convenience and targeted specific instances as designed. It has given me second chance to “select new instances as an offshoot of existing ones” (Yin, 2015:95). Through the snowball method, I followed lead provided me during some of my interview sections to identify new and equally important key interviewees. This move became possible based on conviction that they have in-depth knowledge relevant to my study topic.

The selection of individuals for interview was not by accident. Rather, they were carefully selected to give a fair demographic representation of my study area. I also considered factors such as age bracket, social status, profession and sex. They include 16 men and 14 women – all comprising of 8 ‘high status’ and 22 ‘low status’ individuals: leaders of the various groups operating within the British Togoland Movement, the youth and opinion leaders, etc. For example, I recorded the account and the position of the founder and leader of Homeland Study Group Foundation (HSGF), whose activities have dominated the Ghanaian media landscape for the past two years.

In all, my sample size was 30. They include: 2 government officials, 10 members of the British Togoland Movement, 2 Chiefs, 4 opinion leaders, 2 journalist, 2 academia and 8 youth who have completed various courses at the University level. My interviews contained open ended questions to give the participants the flexibility to tell their stories. This has revealed their constructions and perceptions of the reality and how they are connected to each other within their immediate social environment and beyond (Kovach 2009). After the collection of data was done, I firstly transcribed them and then did coding to identify components such as themes, patterns and topics which constituted my major findings. The findings were subsequently subjected to analysis and discussions which I will present in the Analysis chapter.

3.2.5 Documents from archives.

Generally, documents are standardized artifacts which occur in various form including notes, reports, contracts, certificates, diaries, judgements, letters, etc. (Flick, 2009:255). To focus the

¹⁵ The unavailability referred to was not substantial to affect the outcome of the research in the sense that key respondents were available and the replacement for the respondents who could not be contacted made equally positive contributions.

discussion within the issues of this study, it is important to know what these documents are, their mode of section and how they are used to achieve the intended result. To start with, they are ‘naturally occurring’ data which exist independently of my data collection processes (Ritchie, Lewis et al, 2014:54). In fact, these documents were not conceived for the purpose of this research but inherently contain vital information which I have tapped into to address research questions and also to draw valid conclusions. They include minutes of meetings, petitions, commissions’ reports, and books written on the study topic.

3.2.5.1 Selection, access and usage

The selection of these documents is not by chance. To arrive at which document is suitable to use in my research, I considered a sizable number of criteria amongst which the relevance, authenticity, credibility and representativeness of the document. The quality of the document depends largely on whether or not the evidence it contains is genuine and of unquestionable origin, free from error and distortions and above all whose view it has represented (Flick, 2009:258). During my fieldwork at the National Archives ¹⁶ in Accra, I came across administrative documents covering different events of the past relating to day-to-day administration of British Togoland. To ensure accuracy and reliability of information, I was guided by the above criteria in selecting documents the relevant documents. This has helped me considerably to distinguish and appreciate the intended meaning of the authors and my derived meaning by taking into consideration the time and the socio-political settings of the document in question.

Access to these documents was not a process I have a control over as it is the case in interview situations. The process is subjected to administrative procedures which I have followed. This procedure included revealing my identity as well as the area and the purpose of the search. In line with my interview sampling method; that is purposive sampling, I have targeted only documents which can help me respond adequately to my research questions. It involves time and decisive mind due to the fact that first, the documents are not conceived for the purpose of research and second, the effort involves in combing through a large volume of documents to select which one speaks to issues in relation to my study. I have documented important

¹⁶The Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD) known as National Archives is a Ghanaian public institution which takes care of public records, archives and documents in Ghana.

information found in files classified as restricted in form of field note and requested for copies of the unrestricted which are also relevant for my research.

Generally, documents can be used both in quantitative and qualitative research. In qualitative research, as it is in this case, I have used them to achieve two things. First, as a complementary strategy to other methods such as interview and social media observation. Second, as data because they contain some information I was not able to get through interview and social media observation; and as analyzing texts because I used them directly as a tool for analysis. In these endeavors, I did not underestimate the fact that documents are simply representations of specific version of realities constructed to achieve specific purposes (Flick, 2009:259). Therefore, using them for validating interview statements would be problematic and misleading. Instead, I used them as a tool to contextualize information to create other perspectives. In other words, I perceived them as means for communication which uses words, graphs and pictures to express opinions and sentiments.

3.2.6 Social media observation

Over the years, observation has been one of the central methods of collecting data in the history of qualitative research (Ritchie, Lewis et al., 2014:244). Observation as a method fits in the gap between generated data obtained through the researcher's own initiatives and naturally occurring evidence by giving the researcher the opportunity to observe phenomenon within a 'natural' context. This raises the question of to what extent an observation can go. Some schools of thought believe that the investigator's active presence in observation process is vital and others hold the view that all depends on epistemological approach every researcher has to the studied subject and the available conditions in conducting the research. These conditions include the cultural practices, technological evolution and social dynamism of the targeted society.

3.2.6.1 Selection and usage

The data collection is a process intended to find answers to the 'why' and the 'how' questions of research in a social world. Therefore, data collection method should be the reflection of the current dynamism of the society especially when the issue being studied has a direct effect on the current society. One of the platforms mostly used currently by both older and younger

generations of our days to express themselves is the social media¹⁷. This includes: Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Imo, etc. In my study, I have selected and followed the Facebook platform “Eveawo Gameasu Minamitso” meaning “Rise-up Ewes! It is time” to observe how opinions are being formed and how people react to specific issues relevant to the research. However, to focus more on the objectives of the study, in selecting this platform, I have considered many criteria in order to strengthen the reliability of data collected through this observation. These include: How relevant is the medium to my research topic? Who are involved in this platform? When was the platform created? Do the platform activities coincide with any socio-political issue? What is the nature of issues raised and discussed at the platform? All these considerations informed my choice of the “Eveawo Gameasu Minamitso” platform and gave me a hint about the nature of observation I should carry out.

It is very important to note that the use of social media observation in this research does not constitute the pivot of my data collection process but rather used as an additional tool to focus on different aspects of the issues being researched and also to support and gage other evidence collected through other means (Ritchie, Lewis et al., 2014:251). In addition, the observation of ‘Eveawo Gameasu Minamitso’ created opportunities for me to explore events or interactions I identified important through earlier data collection methods. For example, Isaac Dogboe’s¹⁸ recent victory over Japanese boxer Hidenori Otake attracted a lot of reactions on ‘Eveawo Gameasu Minamitso’ platform. Contributors to this platform saw his victory as ‘the demonstration of the strength of Ewes’ and ‘a foreplay’ of their independence victory which will soon come to force¹⁹

The degree to which a researcher participate in an observation varies according to the exigency of the research: some may prefer to be ‘complete participant’ whilst others may want to be ‘complete observer’, some also may want to be ‘participant as observer’ and the rest as ‘observer as participant (Ritchie, Lewis et al., 2014:246). The exigency of my research made me to play a role of ‘complete observer’; that is observing from a distance. In line with the purposive sampling I have adopted for the two earlier methods, I have followed specific events which are connected to my study objective to achieve my intended purpose. This accorded me

¹⁷ Social media are interactive computer-mediated technologies that do not only facilitate the creation of information but also sharing ideas, career interests and other form of expression via virtual communities and networks.

¹⁸Isaac Dogboe, a Ghanaian boxer from the Volta region has successfully defended his WBO Super-Bantamweight title with a first-round knockout victory over Japanese Hidenori Otake in 2 minutes 18 seconds on August 25, 2018.

¹⁹ <http://www.facebook.com/100002151363045/posts/1930862046995489>

the chance to capture events that add to the understanding how opinions are formed and treat evidences objectively since I had no role to play in the interactions. My aim was to take out (to some extent) the effect of human direct encounter from expressed opinions and to gage the general feeling of participants and how they form opinions out of events. My observation exercise and other data collection methods did not take place without challenges. In fact, I have identified some ethical and practical issues which will be discussed in the next section.

3.3 Challenges and limitations

Complexity of the process was one of the challenges that this study was confronted with. This is due to the fact that the principle involves the use of three distinct methods. How to make sure that these three data collection methods lead to the same evidence became an issue of concern for me in the field. Although my planning at the design stage took into account access to these varieties of sources, it became a challenging situation at the data collection stage where some field situations and circumstances differ from some of the expectations and projections on which the data collection process was designed. It was not always possible for me to come across different kinds of sources (interview, document and observation) which lead to the same evidence. For example, in the matter of whether or not the then British colonial administration supported the course of Ewe unification at the early stage, I was unable to get the converging line of the three triangulation methods. Although documents from achieve produced evidence in that regard, social media observation and interview were unable due to their nature and timing. Similarly, the unavailability of some actors to cress-check (through interview method) data collected through documents also compelled me to rely on the same source (as the situation demands) – either document, interview or social media observation of different occasions or different actors to make sure that my representations of those views are reliable.

The content and the process of triangulating method requests more time to collect data using different methods (Flick, 2009:447). This was the case during my field work. Time limitation and time management were some of the challenges I faced when collecting data as a result of managing different methods within a limited space of time. This created methodological challenges leading to the adjustment of some processes which affected the time frame of each methods because changes in time fame of one process directly affected other processes of a different method. For example, I had my appointment date and time with the leader of Homeland Study Group Foundation (HSGF) cancelled several times. This has affected my

appointment with the personnel of Ghana National Archives. The overall consequence was that I spent more time in the field than I have planned at the level of study design. The extra time I spent in the field came with extra expenses which also limit field activities. This could affect the quality of data if the researcher has limited financial resource.

3.4 Positionality: Possibilities and limitations

During fieldwork, I have also encountered the issue of positionality. To start with, it is worth mentioning that research project is human endeavor: it is conceived, planned and executed by human beings. For as long as social research continues to be the ‘brainchild’ of individuals with interest in cases of their concern, the issue of self-positioning will continue to dominate debates in the social world. Self-positioning describes the situation of who I am as a researcher in relation to my research and what I want to happen because of it (Yin, 2015:45). So, the decision of which social phenomenon I should focus on as a researcher, which information, materials and individuals are useful for my research were my sole prerogative; so, it is as to what I should prioritize and what I should exclude from my research.

Already, before the selection of this topic I had my way of view and interpreting social phenomena that bordered on my personal life and my social environment. As an Ewe myself, my impressions and position vis à vis the emergence of British Togoland Movement is known (possibly to myself). The question which then arises is how independent this research will be from my personal orientation? It was virtually impossible for me to ignore the cloud of uncertainty over self-positionality of a research of this sort devoid of personal sentiment and judgment. In fact, it is virtually impossible to rule out a possible conflict rising from my relationship with the study area and my choices about what is relevant or not.

Some may argue that my concern is misplaced because the issue of ‘self’ in a study cannot arise if the researcher (in this case ‘me’) knows how to position himself. I am inclined to agree with this position. First of all, there is no doubt about the existence of the ‘albatross’ of how to wean oneself from subjectivity ‘hanging on my neck’ as a researcher especially when I have direct or indirect link with the phenomenon being studied. The most important thing I have done is not to lose sight of the threat of self-positionality and deal with such situations in a way that will not affect the credibility of my study.

Overcoming this dilemma was not an event. Already, how to manage positionality formed part of my preparation towards fieldwork. Knowing where I came from and my relationship with my targeted population. I resolved to adopt the perspective of an outsider rather than insider without ‘sharing off’ my cultural values which naturally make me more sensitive to understand non-verbal cues and other norms of my respondents. This position helped me to develop an attitude of doubt towards all pieces of evidence I gathered from the field. It also enabled me to subject all claims to a subjective check. I have also avoided the expression of my point of view to influence how I relate to explanations given by respondents (Silverman, 2006:381).

Notwithstanding the personal efforts at the research design and data collection levels, the nature of academic research has in-built measures that check the objectivity researches. Some of such measures are the role of a supervisor and the ethical guidelines. In my case, my supervisor who is seen as an independent source, guided me to avoid as much as possible, ‘expressions of self’ that can taint the reliability of my data and the validity of my findings. However, the ultimate responsibility rested on me the researcher. A better self-positioning of the researcher helps create an atmosphere of trust where participants express themselves freely without reservation. This helped me to prevent cases of misrepresentation of facts.

3.5 Ethical considerations

Ethical guidelines of every research depend on its context. Although it is imperative to keep ethical issues in mind at all stages of the study, some research works may require the consent of participants and others may not. Whilst some schools of thought believe that covert observation becomes ethically untenable when a research is conducted without the informed consent, others hold the view that the nature of the site where observation is taking place plays a vital role in determining whether or not a consent should be obtained (Ritchie, Lewis et al., 2014:247-248). On the issue of whether to obtain the consent of the Facebook platform or not, I was inspired by David Silverman’s answer he provided to the question ‘Do you need to approach each patron for permission to observe them?’ He explains that there is a general understanding that what people do in public places is by definition there for all to observe (Silverman, 2006:326). In other words, information put in public domain such as social media platform become public knowledge. This implies that Facebook platforms such as “Eveawo Gameasu Minamitso” are for public consumption which, do not warrant a permission or a consent of the individual who created it as well as people who contribute there before one can make use of it by observation.

However, the same argument cannot be made about interview situation where individuals are directly involved. In this case, it is necessary to obtain the consent of the interviewee in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the supervisory institution as well as that of the relevant state institution. In accordance with ethics guidelines of University of Tromsø where I am student of and the NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS with which I have registered my research, it was therefore imperative for me to obtain the legal consent of my respondents before proceeding with any interview. Faced with situation where my potential respondents were unwilling to sign the consent form, I decided to “cast the respondents’ net wider” by Snowballing (Ritchie, Lewis et al., 2014:129). Snowball sampling identifies cases of interest from people who know people who know more about the study. This process helped me to get into contact with equally important individuals for interviews and at the end, my study was not truncated.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter gave an overview of how the principle of triangulation has been used as a method for data collection. The chapter also identified interpretivist school of thought as the philosophical position which motivated the choice of this principle and went further to explain the terms and concepts that has been used to help understand the triangulation principle as well as what I want to achieve as a researcher. By so doing, I have demonstrated that the diverse nature of the British Togoland Movement and the prevailing issues around its development call for more than one data collection method to find answers to the research questions. The methods used are interview, documents and social media observation. Although the chapter portrayed triangulation method as problem solving principle, it however indicated that no method is free from challenges and limitations, and that, even during field work, the researcher can still make changes to meet the prevailing conditions of the field because when data collected (which eventually form the bases of the analysis) appeared questionable, this will go a long way to affect the credibility of the research outcome.

CHAPTER 4: UNDERSTANDING THE SECESSIONIST SENTIMENTS

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present and discuss data collected during fieldwork. By doing that, I will find answers to research questions I have stated in the general introduction. Basically, the chapter is divided into seven parts. These include: defining the boundaries of British Togoland, the puzzle of Trans-Volta Togoland and union document, British Togoland as a taboo issue, the objectives of British Togoland Movement, the concerns of British Togoland Movement, the demands of British Togoland Movement, the implication of the creation of Oti region and the impact of British Togoland Movement on Ewes as ethnic group.

4.2 Defining the boundaries of British Togoland

Although the name 'British Togoland' is not new in the history of Ghana, it appeared that the name has lost along the line, its origin and what it stood for in the past till recently when it became once again very popular in media discussions and public commentaries. Informant A, leading member of British Togoland Movement compare the situation of British Togoland to "a person who has no parents". He added that one is not also far from the truth to say that the state in which the British Togoland is currently suggests the death of the Nation that it represented. This is because according to him, "it was invaded, occupied and forcibly integrated into Gold Coast". Consequently, it has lost its name, its identity and its birth rights as a nation.

It appeared that British Togoland no longer exists in the mind of many Ghanaians. Informant A asserted that it these days when a Ghanaian is asked to 'define' the former name of Ghana, they are likely to say: 'Gold Coast' and have no or little knowledge about the British Togoland. He explained that Ghana now is the Gold Coast and the British togoland. He added that So, if you define Ghana by the Gold Coast only, you are not only making a historical mistake, but you are actually "denying the people of British togoland their identity and their fundamental rights. When that happens to a nation, that nation is completely dead". As stated in the introductory chapter, the British togoland was derived from German togoland when German togoland was split into two. One part was given to the English to administer on behalf of the League of Nation and later the United Nations. The other half was given to the French (Kedem, 2015:1). The British section extended from the former Ho District which included Ve Afiadenyigba up to Burkina Faso. It included the Ho District, the Kpando district, Boem

district, Gonja district, Dagomba district and Mamprusi district as shown in Figure 3. This knowledge about British Togoland is what informant A believed the general public is lacking. According to him there is perception that British Togoland is the same as Volta Region and this perception is making people think that their movement is fighting for a territory not wealth fighting for because of its relatively small size.

4.3 The puzzle of Trans-Volta Togoland and union document

The Trans-Volta Togoland came into being in 1952. It was created by the CPP government and the British government for administrative purpose. It was composed of the Southern British Togoland and the South-eastern Gold Coast colony occupied by Ewe people. The South-Eastern Coast colony was made up of the Tonus, the Agaves, and the Pekis. This implies that the Tonus, the Pekis and the Anlos were not part of British Togoland. In fact, the British occupied Keta in 1874; 10 years before German Togoland was established in 1884. The Anlo area has never be part of the German togoland this is because there were under British colonial rule before the establishment of German Togoland (Kedem, 2005:7).

Respondent C who is a member of British Togoland Movement stated: “Trans-Volta Togoland is not a recognised territory by UN status”. Clearly, this respondent believed that the creation of Trans-Volta Togoland is illegal. According to him, there was International boundary between British togoland and the Gold Coast which was not to be breached but the formation of the Trans-Volta Togoland in 1952 breached the international boundary between the British togoland and a Gold Coast. He noted that the UN only recognised British togoland and French Togoland as legitimate and legal territories. He described the situation as historical injustice and added that this historical injustice was further perpetuated in 1956 when a plebiscite was held to decide whether British togoland should join Gold Coast at independence or they will stay as a trust territory until their political faith is determined later. As a recall, the overall results of the plebiscite were in favour of the Union with the Gold Coast. When the UN realize that the results of plebiscite alone could not constitutes a Union, or in other words, the results of the plebiscite alone cannot be transformed into a Union, they passed a resolution which was resolution 1044, inviting the British to take all necessary steps to bring about the union between the Gold Coast and the British togoland but it appeared that what constitute the “necessary steps” is either not known or understood differently by the two main stakeholders (Gold Coast and members of British Togoland Movement). Gold Coast leadership believed to have

complied with UNGA's resolution 652 (VII) by organising a plebiscite in which the will of the people was expressed. Informant A on the other hand holds the view that "Britain and Convention People's Party (CPP) government failed to take any political or legal step to bring about the Union" and consequently in 1957, without any constitutional framework, Togoland was forcibly integrated into the Gold Coast. He argued that illegality was perpetuated by the conduct of the plebiscite. He further asserted that if the British claimed that the union has actually been effected then, there should be a written document to that effect. This position was collaborated by all the eight (8) informants who are members of the movement.

A leading member of British Togoland Movement (Informant K) demanded: "we want that document to know the terms and the conditions under which the union came to effect". He explained that this is because every union has its terms and conditions; even unions like Economic Commission of West African States (ECOWAS), African Union (AU) and European Union (EU) have terms and conditions that govern how the union should operate. According to him (informant K), these are loose unions as compare to British Togoland and Gold Coast union, but the former unions still have legal documents: either treaties, protocols or conventions which regulate their operations. This opinion was shared by 21 respondents out of 30 (samples size) representing 70%. One may argue that the absence of a legal document in this case does not invalidate the existence of the union because the plebiscite by its nature, represented the will of the people of British Togoland. This argument raises a legal objection which the study was unable to discussed. The study is however interested in the implication of the existence of this document or otherwise. In other words, why does the British Togoland need the union document? And more importantly what does the absence of this document means to their movement? Obviously, such a document will not only give legal recognition or backing to the union but also put in place mechanisms for minimizing conflicts and misunderstanding between the components of the union. But in the case of British togoland, it appeared that there is no legal document that the study can refer to.

The study came to a conclusion that in the absence of any legal document, the British Togoland Movement does not recognise the union between the Gold Coast and the British Togoland. They are therefore demanding for two things: first, the government of Ghana, Britain or United Nations should prove them wrong by making available the legal document that binds the two territories as a Unitary State. Out of the 30 interviewees, 19 representing 63.33% agreed that if there is no legal document that legitimised the union, then the demands of the movement are justified. The study revealed that the leadership of the movement has written several times to

the Attorney General of Ghana, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) office in Ghana (UN representative in Ghana) and the United Nations Legal Office (UNLO) in New York requesting for any document (treaties or protocols) establishing union between the Gold Coast and British Togoland, and they all responded negative, stating that they do not only have the document but also there is nothing like British Togoland and Gold Coast union document in their records. The nonexistence of the union document was perceived by 53.33% of the respondents as a deliberate move or a collusion between the Gold Coast government, the British government and the United Nations to deny the people of British Togoland of their right of belonging to a nation of their choice as well as their birth rights. The same 53.33% of the respondents also believed that the British togoland has been forcibly merged with the Gold Coast without any legal provision. The study uncovered that at the time the so-called union was enacted there were two conditions that might have accounted for the ease of which decisions were taken - but not necessarily agreed to by all stakeholders including the people of British Togoland. Firstly, there was a very strong influence of Gold Coast over British Togoland in terms of dependency²⁰. Secondly, there was not much awareness about political rights in the British Togoland. So, British Colonial Administration took things for granted. As a consequence, instead of convening a constitutional conference for the people of the Gold Coast and the people of Togoland to discuss, negotiate and enact a constitution for themselves, the British formally made British Togoland part of Gold Coast on March 4th, 1957 on the back of the 1956 plebiscite (Amenumey, 1989: 276-277).

4.4 British Togoland as a taboo issue

In the current political arena of Ghana, petition concerning issues related to British Togoland often generates controversy and usually, its relevance are raised. The study has identified two factors influencing why the issue about British Togoland Movement is becoming a taboo for the government of Ghana, including some class of people who originated from the British Togoland. The first factor is lack of adequate knowledge about how British Togoland came about. It appeared that majority of informants who are not members of the British Togoland Movement do not understand event leading to the integration of British Togoland in Gold Cost. Like other average Ghanaian, the historical antecedents of the British Togoland made it

²⁰ When British togoland became the mandatory territory of Gold Coast, the daily administration of the territory became the responsibility of the British colonial administration.

difficult for these people to follow the political evolution of the area. The study revealed that this assertion is across board: from the people with no or little formal education to the elite class. That explained why the best these people could tell when I asked them about Western Togoland was 'Volta region'. So, face with this situation, this category of respondents expressed their desire not to talk about issues concerning British Togoland that they have limited knowledge about. What was more revealing was that almost all respondents belonging to this category indicated that prior to recent agitations by British Togoland movement, they did not know that once upon a time, there was British togoland or Western Togoland. This situation should be understood in the context that the few individuals who have relatively deep knowledge about how the British Togoland came about and its political evolution often come under verbal attack and name calling.

Under this condition, it is very difficult for the younger generation of the British Togoland to seek information about the movement. The movement is currently perceived as the preserve of the older generation and this is not a good indicator for a movement which has a bright future. Informants who are relatively younger (between 20 to 40 years bracket) expressed their unwillingness to join the Movement although they were not opposed to it. The low participation of the youth in the activities of the movement seems to give advantage to the cross section of the society that opposed to movement. Nevertheless, this is also generating a lot of anger among the members of the movement. The recent occurrences in Ghana politics and other factors which will be discussed later is pointing at a new trajectory which will also be discussed a little later.

The study took interest in finding out the reasons for the lack of knowledge about the history of British Togoland. Some informants (40%) believed that lack of knowledge about British Togoland could be the result of the policies implemented by the colonial administration and subsequent governments. For Example, informant A accused the colonial administration and the government after the 1957 of deliberately tried to hide the history of British Togoland and have used the system of assimilation "to brainwash" his people to such an extent that the people themselves have forgotten that they have existed as a nation. He explained that the assimilation policy, though was not an open policy, deliberately neglect the history of the British togoland. He cited successive educational policies as an example. A check from the primary and the second circle curriculum revealed that no textbook in Ghana for schools has spoken into detail about British Togoland as an integral part of the history of Ghana. Even in the tertiary level, the history of British Togoland is almost non-existent. However, the historical connection

between Ghana and the Gold Coast or Trans-Volta Togoland has been well established in most textbooks.

Some of the respondents (73.33%) also asserted that the suppression of British Togoland history by the Gold Coast Administration and later Ghana government was engineered by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. They explained that the desire of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah at that time was to see the whole of Africa united. They believed that the Africa unification project championed by Nkrumah affected how issues about British Togoland were handled. This category of respondents also partly attributed the neglect of British Togoland history to territorial expansion and Volta river project undertaken by the British and CPP government led by Dr Kwame Nkrumah at the time. They explained that the major reason why the British and the CPP government were so anxious to integrate Togoland into the Gold Coast is because of Volta River Project²¹. Informant B for example stated: “the Volta River Project was very important for the British and Nkrumah”. To appreciate why a project on river Volta became a subject of contention, it is important to note that geographically, the Volta river forms the boundary between the Gold Coast and Togoland. This did not give the Gold Coast the exclusive jurisdiction over the river. So, if Gold Coast were to execute this project, it will invade the British Togoland’s territory because the two nations have portions of the river within their territories. Some respondents (A, C, K, E, G and F) believed that the intention of the British and the CPP government was to grab British Togoland and make it part of the Gold Coast so that the project will not be impeded. In this way, Gold Coast will have unaffected access not only to the Volta river but also to the British Togoland territory. According to the same respondents, this explained the reason why CPP was very active in British togoland during the plebiscite campaign. Informant H stated that “CPP was not a Togoland political party but rather a foreign Gold Coast party and I wonder why CPP supported by the British should be in Togoland fighting and campaigning for Union if there is nothing to lose or gain?”

The second factor which explained why the British Togoland issues seems to be a taboo in some quarters is the fear of the unknown. This fear of unknown is born out of the relatively fragile and inadequate economic infrastructure that existed in the British Togoland from the time it became a mandatory territory under Gold Coast administration till now. For instance, it is believed by 23 respondents, representing 76.66% that British created a system where the

²¹ “In March 1953 the Gold Coast Government initiated a debate on UK Government White Paper on the Volta River Project” (Amenumey, 1989: 144 -145). The Project seeks to construct a dam on Volta River. As a recall, Volta River served as international border between Gold Coast and British Togoland.

average 'Togolese'²² could not get employment in British Togoland but has to migrate to the Gold Coast to get job. Respondent F alleged that in the 1950s, when youth of British Togoland leave the Middle School those days, there was no other place for them to go than the Gold Coast (Accra Kumasi, Cape Coast, etc) and that those who do not go to Accra or Kumasi go to the mines and cocoa farms located in the Gold Coast. He added that “when the youth of British Togoland go there, they are easily assimilated and completely brainwashed”. As a result, some do not go back to the British togoland at all. According to him, those people have their businesses, wives and families in the Gold Coast. So, economically and politically British Togoland became virtually dependent on the Gold Coast to the extent that the people have lost their identity. He believed that these emigrants from British Togoland often “lose their minds of 'self' upon arrival in Gold Coast” and this is a very serious condition that may not be reversed in a short period of time. He regretted that this has also affected the culture of the people of British Togoland who now have to speak English language or Twi and learn norms of British or Akan culture: how to eat, dress, relate to others, etc.

4.5 The objectives of the British Togoland Movement

Interview with informants (E, A, C, K, and G) who are members of British Togoland Movement suggested that there is currently the feeling of disappointment at the leadership level of the movement. According to informant A, this feeling is not born out of fear for the prospect of the movement but out of “the level of brainwash”. However, informant G feared that if today a referendum is to be conducted in the so-called British togoland to find out whether the people of Togoland want to separate from Ghana, the outcome may not be favourable for the movement. This is because they think many people do not understand issues about British Togoland; a fear that was shared by informant E, one of the leaders of the movement. He stated:

“The only history our people know about Ghana is about the Gold Coast and it is likely that that is what they will vote for. So, our first objective is to create awareness because even if people were asked to decide now, it may not be a favourable result for us”.

The study discovered that there are already books written by some members of the movement (who are not necessarily informants) and people who share the same view with them in addition to periodic meetings, radio programmes and Facebook postings to create awareness about

²² The people of British Togoland were often referred to as ‘Togolese’ in the sense that they are were once citizens of British of a territory called Togoland.

British Togoland, the historical injustices and wrongs which are being inflicted on their people by Ghana government. This books (most of them not published) and other materials like leaflets, book markers and information booklets are in circulation in some areas of the country. Although they are being inspired by the Anglophone Cameroon Separatist movement, the study observed that they do not want their activities to be characterised by violence incidents as it is the case with Anglophone Cameroon currently.

As stated in the introductory chapter, Anglophone Cameroon, Tanganyika and British Togoland have similar historical background. In the Anglophone Cameroon's case, it has turned into violence and no one can guarantee how it will end. Informant A stated:

“In our case we have been applying the brake and praying that the violence will not come because we tested a little bit of it in 1957 when British togoland was invaded to an extent and some of our people were forced to go to exile.”

With that experience, it appeared that the movement is open for negotiation, discussion and tolerance to achieve its objective through peaceful means. Even though the movement has settled on the creation of awareness as its primary objective, they are uncertain on what will happen ten to twenty years to come. They were convinced that when people know that their freedom has be taken away for long, they may not sit down and ask for documentation as it is being done now. So, for them the best weapon they have now is the creation of awareness.

The second objective of the British Togoland movement is to seek national reconciliation. Unlike the first objective, the realisation of reconciliation, from all indication is dependent on both the Government of Ghana and the leadership of British Togoland Movement. This must be preconditioned first, by the government of Ghana acknowledging the existence of the problem and second, the leadership of the movement also ready to incorporate. These conditions appeared to be non-existence at the time this study was conducted. It appeared that Government is determine not to acknowledge the existence of the movement and the potential threat it poses to the peace of the West African Sub-region. All efforts made to seek the view of some key government officials when the study is been conducted did not yield any positive result.

Informant A explained that the National Reconciliation Commission that the British Togoland movement is proposing as part of the solution to their grievances would involve “the recording of accurate history of the country Ghana including the history of British Togoland and the grievances that the people have within a certain given time”. He went further to explain that if the aim of the government of Ghana is to capture accurately the history of the country by setting

up this commission, then government will not have a problem establishing National Reconciliation Commission that the movement is advocating for. All the 8 members of British Togoland Movement interviewed shared the same view. According to informant A, this will put both government and the leadership of the movement on the same line for the fact that the movement is also trying to capture the accurate history of its people. He explained further that a reconciliation of that kind should be based on the principle of mutual respect: the movement should recognize Ghana as a nation as it has been the case, and the government of Ghana on her turn also come to the realisation that “the people of British Togoland do not deserve to be treated as dependents” He added that “without this reconciliation of ideas we will be acting across purposes” and the rush to tag individuals who talk about British Togoland as anti-government and subsequently isolated for victimisation will continue.

4.6 The effect of Ghana-Togo relations on the British Togoland movement

Although the British Togoland movement appears to be more an ethnic-based movement seeking to unite Ewes across the globe, there is no empirical evidence suggesting that the movement has assumed international dimension; that is involving Ewes of French Togoland (current Togo) who were once part of the larger Ewe Nation under German administration.

The study findings suggest that the people of Togo may have also aggrieved that the British togoland was forcibly integrated into the Gold Coast²³. The historical event pointed to the fact that Ghana and Togo were never good fellows because of several territorial claims. There has been always boundary problem between Togo and Ghana. This came out strongly especially during Nkrumah’s time to such an extent that when the military coup in which Sylvanus Epiphanio Olympio²⁴ was brutally murdered occurred on January 13, 1963, there were rumours pointing at Ghana headed by Dr Kwame Nkrumah to be behind the coup although there was no evidence. This was because of the disagreement between the two leaders over the division of Togoland and the subsequent integration of western part into the Gold Coast (Amenumey, 1989: 141). Whether this allegation is true or not, that is a matter which the study did not discuss. Based on this and other incidents of the past, the Togolese have never accepted Ghana as good neighbour. The mistrust between the two countries deeper when coup attempts were

²³ This was expressed in an article “Togo does not forget” written by the former Togolese Minister published in Togo Press, January 21, 1976

²⁴ Sylvanus Epiphanio Olympio was a Togolese politician who obtain independence for Togo. He first served as Prime Minister then became the first President of Togo at independence.

repeated during PNDC²⁵ time. This time, the efforts of causing a regime change was aborted during President Nyassigbe Eyadema's time²⁶ (Edi, 2006: 19). These unfortunate events created tension between Togo and Ghana till now. At the surface, the two countries pretend to be in good terms with each other but deep, there are unresolved issues that continue to create tension between them.

However, it appears that the mistrust between the two countries at the governmental level has no direct effect on the social cohesion among ethnic groups living along their common borders. The feeling of belonging to one linguistic group remained unchanged. This was collaborated by K. B. Johnson, the former Minister of Information, Press, Radio, Television Post Office and Telecommunication in his article titled "Togo does not forget" published in 1976 by the Togolese State daily (Togo Presse). He first acknowledged the rancour between the two countries and linked it to the unrealistic colonial boundaries they inherited. He stated that Togoland (British and French Togolands) existed before and during colonisation and that Togoland was not brought about by colonial activities. Therefore, the political rights of the people of Togoland are not negotiable. In view of this, he expressed hope that there is still opportunity to 'correct the injustice'. He hailed the decision taken by President Léopold Sédar Senghor, the former Head of State of Senegal to return some 26 villages in Kantona region of Senegal to Gambia as the demonstration that political frontiers could and should be altered in the interest of the people who have been separated by the arbitrary decisions of the colonial powers as it is the case of the two Togoland. He cited the unification of British and French Cameroons as example and wonder why there should be one law for one nation and another for the other. He concluded that the division of Togoland between victors of World War I was unwelcomed by the people of Togo and that agitations for unification will continue as long as the people of the two Togoland continue to share the same languages and cultural values²⁷.

There were several attempts to address some of the problems between Togo and Ghana in the past. For instance, there was a Border Demarcation Commission (Ghana-Togo border demarcation) chaired by Mr Sam Okudzeto put in place to find lasting solution to Ghana's border problems²⁸ but it appeared that the problems are yet to be over. Recently, there was a conflict offshore at Keta area between Ghana and Togo. The allegation was that Ghana was

²⁵ Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) was established on December 32, 1981 by Ghana's former President J. J. Rawlings supported by lower-ranking soldiers after staging a military coup.

²⁶ Nyassigbe Eyadema was President of Togo. He ruled Togo from 1967 until his death in 2005.

²⁷ Togo Press, January 21, 1976 "Togo does not forget"

²⁸ <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/maritime-border-dispute-brews-between-ghana-togo.html>

drilling oil in the basement and they were stopped by the Togolese navy²⁹. For many who knew about boundary disputes between the two countries, this is not surprising. The problem is not limited to only maritime boundary, but it has also been extended to territorial borders as well. It appeared that the border between Togo and Ghana is not delineated totally but none of the two countries has shown commitment to deal with it.

4.7 The concerns of the British Togoland Movement

The concerns of the British Togoland Movement arose from events marking the historical evolution of British Togoland as well as current socio-political conditions of its people.

The first concern emanated from what the leadership of British Togoland Movement called “refusal and sabotage” on part of the Administrative Authority of Gold Coast at the time to implement the UN Resolutions 555 (VI), 652 (VII), 750 (VIII) and 860 (IX) (United Nations General Assembly, 1954) which will “take full account of the real wishes of the people’s concerns”³⁰ and respect the aspiration of the majority of the people of the two Trust Territories (British and French Togoland). According to some key members of the group (8 out of 10) the successful implementation of these resolution will see the establishment of the ‘Joint Council on Togoland Affairs’ which would have worked towards a consensus agreement between the two nations. Leadership of the movement (informants A, C and K) noted with disappointment that despite this refusal by Britain and Gold Coast, the UN did not make any effort to take action against Britain or Gold Coast as it did against South Africa in the case of Tanganyika also known as South West Africa (now Namibia)³¹. They have the view that the failure to establish the Council affected negatively the political fortunes and the future of British Togoland. Additionally, they see this as inaction on part of UN and Britain and believe it is contrary to Chapter XII, Article 76 which admonished Dependency Territories to put the Trust Territories on political, economic, social and educational paths leading to their progressive development towards self-government or independent³² (United Nations Charter, 2019).

Moreover, informant A, C and K hold the view that one would have thought that, been aware of the existence of the aforementioned Resolutions and the implication of their non-

²⁹<https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/maritime-border-dispute-breeds-between-ghana-togo.html>

³⁰ <https://research.un.org/en/docs/ga/quick/regular/8>

³¹ [https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/570\(VI\)](https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/570(VI))

³² Cited from The Charter of the United Nations, Chapter XII, “International Trusteeship System, Article 76. <http://legal.un.org/repertory/art76.shtml>

implementation, UN would have taken steps to rectify the window of impediment created by non-implementation of the earlier Resolutions before taking any action that violates the latter. According to them, contrary to this expectation, the UN strangely and unjustifiably passed Resolution 944 (X)³³ (United Nations General Assembly, 1955) to impose a plebiscite on British Togoland. According to informant K This move created a legal conflict between the new Resolution and Resolution 860 (IX) in terms of their implementation and the rationale behind their enactment. It can be argued that if the spirit of resolution 860 (IX) is to protect the Trust Territories³⁴ and their respective citizens against the abuse of their Administrative Authorities, then how can their rights be protected by the same Authority in a plebiscite in which the latter is the organizer and administrator? More especially when the British administrative Authority (acting as referee) has interest in the outcome of the plebiscite. As a recall, it was a claim by British Togoland Movement that the suppression of the history of British Togoland is attributable to the territorial expansion and Volta river project undertaken by the British and CPP government at the time. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that Britain and CPP Government at the time were ‘judges in their own case’. As a result, though not surprising, the result of the plebiscite favoured a Union Government. This implied that British Togoland including the Volta river now form part of the administrative territory of Gold Coast; an agenda championed by the colonial officials led by Governor Sir Arden-Clarke. In one of his writings after the plebiscite, he said:

“We had, too during that time, the problem of Togoland. It seemed to all of us out there that the natural destiny of Togoland under UK Trusteeship was to become an integral part of the Gold Coast; it had been administered as such since it captured from Germans in 1914. I was interested to see how cordially all my Ministers agreed with this view. Indeed, I had occasion to tweet them on the subject. After listening to a diatribe about British imperialism I suggested that in the case of Togoland there seemed to be quite a lot of Gold Coast imperialism and imperialism was not necessarily a bad thing. I am glad to say that Gold Coast imperialism has won the day” (Amenumey, 1989: 262-263).

Informants A, C and K see this historical development as an unfair treatment meted out to British Togoland and its people.

³³ [https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/1044\(XI\)](https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/1044(XI))

³⁴ [https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/860\(IX\)](https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/860(IX))

Another concern of the British Togoland Movement is the premature manner in which the Trusteeship Agreement on Togoland was terminated. It is important to recall that the termination was based on the plebiscite held in 1956 under the supervision of the Gold Coast Administration. In 1957, the British Administration in Gold Coast sent the result of the plebiscite to UN stating that a union took place between Ghana and British Togoland under the Ghana Independence Act, 1957. Today, the result of the plebiscite is the only existing document used by successive governments of Ghana to prove and defend the union between British Togoland and Gold Coast. Informant C rejected this assertion claiming that “the result of a plebiscite did not spell out the terms and conditions of a union between the two nations”. He holds the view that the people of British Togoland are free to pull out from the so-called union anytime they realise that the union is detrimental to their collective aspirations. Additionally, he held the view that in a situation of union between two separate nations, each of them should be treated equally and this was not the case with the people of British Togoland. In addition to informant A, C and K, informant B and J were also convinced that no due diligence was done by the UN on the British notification of the union and it was very clear to them that the UN General Assembly’s directive that the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement should be done “when the necessary steps had been taken to bring about the union”³⁵ was completely ignored.

Among the recent concerns of the British Togoland movement are deplorable socio-economic conditions of the people and discrimination against them. Informants A, C, K and E perceived the current deplorable socio-economic condition of the people of British Togoland as the product of socio-economic structures imposed on them by Gold Coast Administration. This situation was not unnoticed in the past. In fact, a group of Africans from the three Ewelands published a resolution on 31 December 1945 to point out the socio-economic effect the partition of Eweland has on the progress of Ewes: “We deeply deplore the partition of our country as this constitutes a very serious barrier to our social, economic, educational and political progress as a people” (Bourret, 1949: 119). As a recall, when British Togoland became a British Mandatary Territory, the major infrastructure that supported the socio-economic activities of the people was left with the French Togoland leaving British Togoland with virtually nothing. The Lomé port and Lomé-Kplaimé railway infrastructure are few examples. Once British Togoland became an administrative territory of Gold Coast, its people no longer depend on German Togoland infrastructure which was put in place through their contributions

³⁵ United Nations Decolonisation (1977, p.10)

(taxes, natural and human resources). They then have to depend on Gold Coast for development. According to informant E, “this situation may explain why the people of Gold Coast continue to see us (referring to the people of British Togoland) as foreigners”. Due to this, development of British Togoland became a problem because there was a sentiment of why their resources should be used to develop a territory whose future is not fully determined³⁶ (Bourret, 1949:116). This has stunted the development of the British Togoland and the aforementioned sentiments are yet to be over. According to informant E, their concern about deplorable socio-economic condition can be explained by evidence of “rising youth unemployment, lack of industries and deficit in infrastructure such as school, roads and hospital”. This has reflected in opinions expressed by 28 of the study respondents representing 93.33% of the sample size.

Out of the 30 respondents, 21 respondents representing 70% believe that the restoration of British Togoland as independent state can bring about better living condition. 7 respondents representing 23.33% are not sure if the separation can bring about improvement in their living conditions. 2 respondents representing 6.66% think that separation will not change their current living conditions. The background check of the 70% who were optimistic revealed that 19 of them representing 86.36% are unemployed and have different level of education (the lowest was secondary school certificate and highest was master’s certificate). Among the 7 respondents who were not sure of the prospect of the separation, 6 representing 85.71% were self-employed and 1 representing 14.28% was civil servant. The last category which represents 6.66% of the overall sample size who were pessimistic are all government workers with relatively higher social status. It appeared that the majority of the unemployed in the study area have a very high expectation should it be a separation because of their current socio-economic condition. On the other hand, those who are gainfully employed expressed fear of unknown. This trend is an indication of how economic again and opportunity can be a source of influence to whether or not agitations by British Togoland Movement can degenerate into violent conflict or not. This is because when people begin to see the use of violence to achieve a purpose more profitable than their current situation, they may be willing to take the risk. If that happens, it may be too costly for Ghana as a country to fight individuals or groups who ‘have nothing to lose’.

³⁶ There was a general feeling at the time that British Togoland may not be part of Gold Coast for long. This fear was based on the controversy created around UN Resolutions 860 (IX) and 944 (X).

4.8 The demands of British Togoland Movement

In the absence any legal document stating terms and conditions of the union between Gold Coast and British Togoland, the movement demands the immediate restoration of British Togoland as a sovereign state. It appeared that past agitations namely Ewe Unification Movement and Antor led Movement, and the recent British Togoland Movement through their various programmes have been pressing home this demand although there seems to be no direct connection between them in terms of time frame and approach. For instance, British Togoland is demanding that the illegal, unwarranted and premature plebiscite imposed on Togoland should be declared null and void. The movement also demands that the document of the Union (be it an act, protocol, treaty or an MoU) that was established between Gold Coast and British Togoland as claimed by Britain and Gold Coast should be made public so that the terms and conditions of the so-called Union are known to the citizens of both territories. On the other hand, if a formal Union never existed and therefore, there could not have been a Union document then the international community, UN as well as Britain must take immediate steps to rectify the legal error committed by the latter and her collaborators. Additionally, the Article 76 (b) of UN Chapter XII³⁷ should be implemented with immediate effect in its entirety, particularly with regards to self-government and independence. This will entail, according to informant A, “freeing occupied Togoland from Ghana imperialism and subsequently restoring the fundamental inalienable rights of Togoland without any conditions”³⁸.

According to the movement 7 of the members of the movement, as crucial as this opportunity was, Britain should have convened a constitutional conference for Gold Coast and British Togoland to discuss, negotiate and possibly enact a mutually accepted constitution for the two nations. Informant K observed that “Unfortunately, Britain refused to comply with this directive and the formalisation of the Union was left hanging till now”. All members of the movement interviewed think that if Ghana does not agree that the historical illegality should be rectified, then Togoland is free to have its inalienable rights; that is independence. It includes political rights, territorial rights as well as economic sovereignty which nobody, under no circumstances should take away from the people of British Togoland.

³⁷ <http://legal.un.org/repertory/art76.shtml>

³⁸ Cited from the information sheet of Volunteers for Liberty (G39,638) “The Process of British Togoland Liberation is Irresistible and irreversible” © 2018

The study observed that British Togoland Movement is not intransigent on its demands. All the 10 members of the Movement interviewed think that in the absence of Union document, the two states³⁹; that is Ghana and British Togoland can still sit together to arrive at an agreement that will bind the two parties. In a situation where Ghana refuses to open window for negotiation, then Ghana should expect the people of British Togoland to go their separate ways. Informant K explained that “we are not necessarily asking for separation. We are asking for the natural and the automatic things to be done with regard to the document of the union”. They also debunk rumours which has existed in the British Togoland for a couple of decades. According to the rumours, after 50 years period of union between Gold Coast and British Togoland, the union can be reviewed. The second rumour is that the headship of the union should rotate between British Togoland and Gold Coast. One of the leaders of the movement (informant A) believed that these rumours are nothing but “a demonstration of the people’s desire to see the end of the so-called union one day”. He added that although these rumours do not represent the facts, they clearly show that people are beginning to show interest in the manner in which the union between Gold Coast and British Togoland was implemented. He believed that this is the right time for the government of Ghana to take steps to negotiate with the people of British Togoland. He argued that “the 57.97% who voted in the plebiscite voted for union but not integration”. Union according to him implies equality: equal rights and equal sovereignty. He added that by integration, one party must lose its sovereignty as it appeared to be the case of British Togoland. Therefore, the results of the plebiscite themselves cannot translate into integration because if it does, it will appear to be the circumvention of the sovereignty of the people of British Togoland. Moving forward, he believed that Ghana government still have the chance to organise a constitutional conference for the people of British Togoland and Gold Coast to sit down and enact for themselves a constitution for the union, but it appeared Ghana government will continue to adopt the tactics of ignoring all protests and calls from the British Togoland.

4.9 The creation of Oti region: a necessity or a political game?

On June 26, 2018, the President of the Republic of Ghana, Nana Addo Danquah Akufo-Addo inaugurated a 9-member Commission chaired by Justice Brobbey to make an enquiry into the

³⁹ From the narrations of the members of the movement, they still see British Togoland as a State and that they are only in union with Ghana

petition by some Chiefs to his Office demanding the creating of new region for their respective areas. Among these areas included the Oti region (Figure 5) which will be carved from Volta region. This petition became very important to this study because the Oti region which will cover the Northern Volta falls under British Togoland, the study area for this research. This plan by government was perceived by 28 respondents representing 93.33% as a move to further divide British Togoland. They believed that the plan is just the continuation of the agenda that led to the 1956 plebiscite. They described the decision as a situation that is going to muddy waters for British Togoland Movement but may not enlarge British Togoland or diminish it. So, they are not much bothered about how many regions are created out of Volta region. Informant A explained: “We believe that at the right time, British Togoland will come out as a State on its own whether or not ten regions or twenty regions are being created now”

Long before the inauguration of the Commission of inquiry, the two leading political parties in Ghana namely NPP and NDC made the creation of new regions one of their campaign promises. During the launch of manifesto for the 2016 general election, the then President, John Dramani Mahama stated: “We currently have 10 regions; but we believe that it is possible to increase the number of regions to 15”⁴⁰. NPP on the other hand, took the early lead in promising the creation of new regions. Addressing a mini durbar in the Volta region, the then flagbearer of NPP, Nana Addo Danquah Akufo-Addo promised: “I assure you that when I win this year’s elections, the creation of Oti Region will be done. However, what I cannot promise now will be where the capital will be sited”⁴¹. So, the inauguration of the Commission of inquiry did not go well with many people from the Volta Region especially the British Togoland Movement whose activities became very visible in the region the period before the Commission was inaugurated. The leadership of the movement saw this as yet another attempt by the government of Ghana to divide them in order to weaken their front. All the respondents perceived government’s explanation that the creating of the Oti region became necessary because of factors such as size, population and development as unconvincing. They argued that if the reason were genuine, then Ashanti region should be the first target because, according to them, Ashanti region has the higher population density and bigger size. For example, Ashanti region has population density of 194 per./sq.km as compare to Volta region which has 102 per./sq.km (Ghana Statistical Service, 2011:8). Members of the movement became more

⁴⁰ Cited from Daily Guide Network, September 15, 2016. <https://dailyguidenetwork.com/ndc-promises-5-more-regions/>

⁴¹ Cited from pulse.com.gh, October 27, 2016. <https://www.pulse.com.gh/ece-frontpage/volta-regional-tour-nana-addo-promises-to-create-oti-region/1ygvmts>

agitated when the Electoral Commission of Ghana announced that the referendum will be limited to only the people from the new region that will be created. The Electoral Commission justified this decision by Clause 4 of the Article 5 of the 1992 constitution of Ghana. The announcement was followed by series of demonstrations across the southern part of the region. On March 7, 2018, a group called the Coalition of Volta Youth staged a protest on the principal streets of Ho, the Volta region capital to express their displeasure against what they called “ethnic division”⁴². Among the protesters were Chiefs and opinion leaders from the various parts of the region. At the same time the decision to limit the referendum to only the new region was also challenged at the Supreme Court of Ghana by three citizens of Ghana whose affiliation to the British Togoland Movement the study was not able to confirm, demanding for the interpretation of Article 5, Clause 4.

It is arguable that the creation of a new region (Oti) out of the existing region (Volta) will effectively lead to the creation of two new regions as against just one new region. This is because the boundaries of the existing region will be significantly altered resulting into a new entity. That is why the constitution of Ghana provided that there should be a referendum when a new region is going to be created without being specific. The Article 5 clause (4) of the 1992 constitution of Ghana states:

“when a commission of inquiry appointed under clause (2) or (3) of this article finds that there is the need and a substantial demand for the creation, alteration or merger referred to in either of those clauses, it shall recommend to the President that a referendum be held, specifying the issues to be determined by the referendum and the places where the referendum should be held”

The application of this Article raised a legal issue which divided opinions of Ghanaians. Some (those who are against the creation of Oti region) believed that it implies that there should be a referendum whenever the boundary of a region is going to be altered. In this case both the boundaries of Oti region and Volta region are going to be altered. Therefore, it would be in the spirit of the constitution of Ghana to conduct the referendum in the two affected areas. This position was contradicted by the view of Officials of Government of Ghana and people who do not share the view of the opponents of the creation of Oti region. They believe that the creation of regions forms part of the fundamental rights of the people and should not be dependent on the sentiment of the bigger society which loses or gains nothing as a result of the

⁴² Cited from Graphic Online, March 8, 2018. <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/volta-youth-protest-against-creation-of-new-region.html>

aspirations of a particular group. They expressed fear that if the contrary view is accepted, the will of the people in Oti area will be ‘taken in hostage’ by the people of the current Volta region who do not share the same aspiration with them. Eventually the Supreme Court of Ghana agreed with them. In dismissing the Plaintiffs’ case by unanimous decision, the Court ruled:

“Provisions of Article 5 is clear and contain no ambiguity. The plaintiffs have therefore failed to invoke the original jurisdiction of the court. The case is, accordingly, dismissed”⁴³

Although the decision did not go in favour of the plaintiffs and to a large extent the British Togoland Movement, surprisingly the reaction was rather calm as compare to what was expected. The study revealed that contrary to the general opinion that the Supreme Court verdict was a fatal blow to the interest to British Togoland Movement, key members of the movement and some opinion leaders think otherwise. They believed that the court has rather given hope to the secessionist agenda. A member of the movement (informant K) said:

“Now Supreme Court has cleared our doubt. If tomorrow we want to break away from Ghana, we don’t expect the whole Ghana to vote in the referendum. It will be limited to only the people of British Togoland and this is a good sign”.

Other respondents (all members of the British Togoland Movement) representing 33.33% of the sample size also believe that the boundary that will be introduced as a result of the creation of a new region will only be imaginary and therefore cannot stand “the win of freedom”. It is important at this juncture to state that at the time the study was conducted, the referendum did not yet take place. However, the Commission of inquiry which was inaugurated on June 26, 2018 has started receiving petitions. Therefore, the study is unable to discuss whether or not the Commission of inquiry will recommend to the President the creation of Oti region and this is an important development to watch.

4.10 Impact of British Togoland Movement on Ewes as ethnic group

The study has observed considerable efforts being made by individual and groups of Ewes through various mediums to revise and reshape the culture and political aspirations of Ewe Nation across the globe. Some of these mediums used include Facebooking, television and radio programmes. Generally, although the vision of the British Togoland is not shared by all Ewes, the momentum generated by the activities of the movement seems to orient Ewes into

⁴³ Cited from <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/Supreme-Court-dismisses-lawsuit-on-new-regions-referendum-704559>

ethnic line. The sense of belonging and the need to rebuild the past glory of Ewe people is gradually becoming a deliberate effort as opposed to what existed in the past.

In Ghana, it is a common knowledge that Ewes are secretly and sometimes publicly nicknamed “number 9” (#9). The #9 tag carries a sense of ‘lateness’ reinforced by the thinking that Volta region not until December 1956 was not really an integral part of the Gold Coast. The #9 tag which used to label Ewes was perceived by many Ewes as derogatory due to the misinterpretation of the history behind it by other ethnic groups with the intension of causing damage to the self-esteem of Ewes. It appeared that historical facts did not support this assertion because before the creation of Greater Accra region by Provisional National Defence Council Law (PNDCL) 26 on July 23, 1982 to become the 9th region of Ghana, Volta region already existed as one of the administrative regions of Ghana (Bening, 2010: 37-38). The #9 also carries a sense of backwardness in the minds of many Ghanaians. Again, this cannot be supported by existing facts because Volta region does not come last on a range of important indications in terms of creation, geographical size, population size, literacy rate and even the alphabetic ordering of regions of Ghana. What makes the #9 tag more derogatory is that it is not used in pleasant circumstances but rather often used in situations that clearly show that something is not right. This created the sentiment of ‘Us’ as against ‘Them’ between Ewes and the ethnic group noted for tagging them.

My observation of the Facebook page “Eveawo Gameasu Minamitso” revealed that there is a new sense of feeling emerging among Ewe people about how they perceive the #9 tag. People who patronise “Eveawo Gameasu Minamitso” platform are beginning to accept the #9 tag not as derogatory but as an enviable identity of their ethnic. It appeared that the change in how the #9 tag is perceived is being influenced by the posting of videos of cultural value and the history of Ewes on the platform. Through this, many got to know that the #9 tag is either a sign of ignorance of the history of Ghana or a deliberate attempt to deny the people of Volta region their place in the history of Ghana. This is because the #9 tag came about during the first national beauty contest which took place on March 4, 1957 to herald the independence of Ghana⁴⁴. The winner of this memorable contest was Monica Amekoafia from Alavanyo in the Volta region. As a contestant, she wore the number 9 tag which represent Volta region. This is

⁴⁴ Modern Ghana, October 12, 2016. <https://www.modernghana.com/news/726610/why-are-people-from-volta-region-called-number-9.html>

not the only way the British Togoland Movement, through this platform is influencing Ewes people.

The victory of Isaac Dogboe, a Ghanaian boxer and a son of the Volta region over his Japanese opponent Hidenori Otake in his first WBO Super Bantamweight title defence on August 26, 2018 was perceived by the contributors to the “Eveawo Gameasu Minamitso” platform in different ways. As few people saw the fight as just a game, some people perceived it as the demonstration of the bravery of Ewes. They drew a similarity between the fight and the call on Ewes to work towards their independence. For example, a contributor to the Facebook platform wrote “This guy is a new reference of a wakeup call to we the Ewes” (Appendix 3). The majority perceived the fight as the continuation of the struggle towards the unification of all Ewelands as portrayed by the following post:

“If you are in Ghana and you are hiding your identity, know that we still have people who are willing to die and build back the chosen scattered generation. You can choose to speak Spanish or never step on Eweland, the building of Eweland is a must”⁴⁵
(Appendix 3)

Certainly, this was not an example of a congratulating message; neither was this a comment addressed to Isaac Dogboe. The same sentiment was shared by almost all the contributors. This platform is seen by members of the British Togoland Movement as a contact point of reaching out to Ewes all over the world to educate and create awareness about Ewe culture and also to propagate the independence idea (Appendixes 1, 2 and 3). For participants, the platform represents an avenue to get a deep understanding of matters concerning them as an ethnic group. Sharing of this common platform to express one’s deep feeling is creating a sense of togetherness and a win of consciousness among Ewes which was lacking in the past.

This was collaborated by respondents during field interviews. Out of a sample size of 30, 10 respondents were members of the British Togoland Movement and 20 were opinion leaders and individuals from the study area. Out of these 20 respondents, 13 representing 65% confirmed that they became aware of the history of British Togoland through the activities of the British Togoland Movement’s periodic forums such as public lectures and talks organised by the movement (Appendix 2). The rest 7 representing 35% admitted that they got to know the political evolution of British Togoland through pieces of historical information posted daily on “Eveawo Gameasu Minamitso” platform. It appeared that although British Togoland

⁴⁵ Cited from <https://www.facebook.com/100002151363045/posts/1930862046995489>

extended to north-east part of Ghana (up to Ghana-Burkina Faso border) which includes other ethnics, the influence of the movement is more felt among the Ewes. This includes the people of Anlo, Peki and Nornu who were not historically part of the British Togoland. One may wonder why the movement is gaining grounds among the people of Anlo, Peki and Nornu when historically, they are not part British Togoland? The study observed that the movement is gradually taking the shape of Ewe Unification Movement which seek to bring all Ewelands under one administrative authority in the past. The difference this time is that whilst Ewe Unification Movement has identified British colonial administration of the Gold Coast as its desired administrative authority, the current movement is seeking to achieve independence for British Togoland; a sentiment that is fast spreading among Ewes.

4.11 Summary

This chapter redefined the boundaries of British Togoland and focused the discussions on the evolution of the British Togoland Movement and its current state. First, the chapter took account of the historical events which provided momentum for the emergence of British Togoland Movement. These included the division of Togoland and manner in which the western part of the Togoland was integrated into the Gold Coast. the second part accounted for how the division and the integration was perceived by people of Eweland. The third part outlined how the people of British Togoland reacted by setting their objectives and demands. The last part discussed the impact the emergence of the movement has on Ewes as ethnic group.

CHAPTER 5: GENERAL CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is the concluding part of the study. It seeks to provide the overall summary of all major discussions in the various chapters. This included the summary which captured the various discussions under each chapter. It also gave indication about the connection between research questions and schools of thoughts which influenced the discussions. This involved a reflection on analysis which led to the study findings and finally the conclusion.

5.2 Summary

This study is structured under five chapters purposefully arranged to match the objectives and the chronology of events discussed in the study. The first chapter which is the general introduction of the study situated the study in its geographical and time settings. It also set the objectives and research questions which constituted points of reference at all stages of the study. The research questions include: a) What are the factors what are motivating and sustaining the British Togoland Movement? b) What are the concerns and demands of British Togoland Movement? c) What is the impact of the emergence of British Togoland Movement on the Ewes of Ghana as ethnic group. The chapter two described the theoretical framework which influences the discussions and analyses of events and opinions expressed by individuals and groups who in one way or the other became subjects and objects of the study. The study holds the view that issues concerning British Togoland can be explained by three main philosophical orientations. These are post-colonial theory, derived actor (grievances) theory and rational actor (opportunity) theory. The study links factors that created the condition of the emergence of the British Togoland Movement to the colonial legacy which among others, left behind unrealistic boundaries between Ewe Nations and the distortion of culture and social structures of the Ewe societies. The study also identified deprived actor and rational actor theories as the philosophical orientations which can explain factors foiling and sustaining the movement. In this context, the study identified ethnicity and opportunity as the major driving forces. The chapter three outlined methods used to collect data. These methods involved the selections of source and nature of information, the procedures used to obtain the information, the challenges faced in the course gathering these information as well as the conformity of the data collection processes to rules and regulations of the institution which supervised the study. To make findings credible reliable, the study used the principle of triangulation to triangulate

data sources. These include interview, observation and archive data. The chapter four is designed to present, analyse, and find answers to the research questions. By so doing, the study presented the opinions of the respondents and the circumstances that surrounded these opinions. In some circumstances, the study presented their verbatim responses and in other circumstances the study paraphrased them. This was interpreted and analysed in combination with the theoretical background. The chapter five gives recap of issues raised in the study and the outcomes of their interpretation.

5.3 Study findings

In view of data presented and analysed, the study has arrived at the following findings which brought clarity to the research question:

The British Togoland Movement is not a new social phenomenon. Its origin is deep-rooted in the political evolution of German Togoland. There are strong indications that decisions taken in the past vis a vis the division of Ewelands and the union between Cold Coast and British Togoland continue to influence opinions among a cross-section of Ewes people (especially members of British Togoland Movement). The recent developments have not considerably departed from the past grievances.

So far, the British Togoland Movement has been a very peaceful movement. Although some of their activities include street demonstrations and protests, no act of violence has been reported yet about them before, during or after these activities. The only incident about the movement which is of public interest is when some members were arrested and charged with ‘treason’ on March 6, 2017 at Ho. Although this arrest created a tension situation in Ho municipality, it has not degenerated into violence⁴⁶. The study is with a view that there seems to be suppression of the activities of the movement and that when ethnic sentiment among the people of the study area becomes stronger, it can degenerate into violent conflict.

The activities of British Togoland Movement are limited to only Ghana. The study has not identified any direct or indirect connections between British Togoland Movement and any other organisation or movement within and outside Ghana. However, there are evidences that the movement is being inspired by other secessionist movements worldwide (Appendix 4).

⁴⁶ <https://dailyguidenetwork.com/3-busted-treason/>

Some of these movements include: Anglophone Cameroon separatist movement and Catalan independent movement.

The study observed that although some of the factors foiling the British Togoland Movement are dated as far back as 1956, the movement is not stringent on its demands. Most of these concerns and demands can be explained by the current socio-economic conditions within the area and what happens in the political scene. These factors include: high level of unemployment, a new ethnic sentiment and political polarization between of Ghanaian society between the two leading political parties (NDC and NPP). It is the view of this study that the government of Ghana leading the path towards the discussion of concerns of British Togoland would be a step in the right direction.

However, the study holds the view that in the absence of any roadmap leading to the resolution of issues raised by the movement, the possibility of degeneration of the situation into a violent conflict similar to the current situation in Anglophone Cameroon is eminent. The relative peace in the study area can be described as negative peace. The use of coercion by government is likely to be interpreted by non-members of the movement as an attack on their ethnic group. The deployment of conflict resolution strategies at this stage will go a long way to avert potential violent conflict situation.

5.4 Conclusion

The study has traced the geneses of the British Togoland Movement from colonial era to independence then to the present and have identified it foiling factors as expressed in the demands of the movement. The study also discussed the objectives of the movement and its impact on the individuals within the area and Ewes people in particular. The geographical setting of the movement and the ethnic sentiment it has generated over the years should be a matter of concern for all peace-loving individuals and organisation to take a key interest in finding a lasting solution to it. This may not be a one-day achievement but a gradual process that demonstrates goodwill and mutual respect on the part of all stakeholders.

REFERENCES

- Agbodeka, F. (1997). *A Handbook of Eweland* (Vol. 1). (F. Agbodeka, Ed.) Accra: Woeli Publishing Services.
- Agbodeka, F. (1997). *A Handbook of Eweland Volume 1: The Ewes of Southern Ghana*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Services.
- Ahluwalia, P. (2001). *Politics and Post-colonial Theory: African Inflections*. London: Routledge.
- Amenumey, D. E. (1989). *The Ewe Unification Movement: A Political History*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press.
- Bening, B. R. (1999). *Ghana Regional Boundaries and National Integration*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press.
- Bening, R. B. (2010). *Ghana Administrative Areas and Boundaries*. Accra: Ghana University Press.
- Binet, J. (1967). L'Histoire Africaine et Nos Ancêtres les Gaulois. *Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer*, 209-218.
- Bourret, F. M. (1949). *Gold Coast: A Survey of the Gold Coast and British Togoland, 1919 - 1946. Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace*.
- Bourret, F. M. (1949). *The Gold Coast: A Survey of the Gold Coast and British Togoland, 1919 - 1946*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Bryman, A. (2016). *Social Research Methods* (5 ed.). Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Cooper, Barry; Glaesser, Judith; Gomm, Roger; Hammersly, Martyn. (2012). *Challenging the qualitative-quantitative divide: Explorations in case-focused causal analysis*. New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Denzin, K. Norman; Lincoln S. Yvonna. (2005). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE Publication Ltd.

- Edi, E. (2006, March). Pan West Africanism and Political Instability in West Africa. *the Journal of Pan African Studies*, 1(3).
- Flick, U. (2009). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research* (4 ed.). London: Sage Publication Ltd.
- Gavua, K. (2000). *A Handbook of Eweland Volume 2* (Vol. 2). Accra: Woeli Publishing Services.
- Griffiths, I. (1986). The Scramble for Africa: Inherited Political Boundaries. *The Geographical Journal*, 152(2), 204-216.
- International Crisis Group (2017). *Cameroon's Anglophone Crisis at the Crossroads*. International Crisis Group. Brussels: International Crisis Group.
- Hamadi, L. (2014, June). Edward Said: The Postcolonial Theory and the Literature of Decolonization. 2.
- Hechter, D. S. (2016, April 05). Ethnicity, Class, and Civil War: The Role of Hierarchy, Segmentation, and Cross-cutting Cleavages. *Civil Wars*, 18(1), 91-107.
- Kedem, K. (2005). *British Togoland: an Orphan or the Death of a Nation*. Accra: Stailof Services.
- Kedem, K. (2015). *British Togoland Profile: The Calm Before the Storm or Peace with Justice*. Accra: Governance and Electoral Systems Agency.
- Kedem, K. (2017). *British Togoland Demands*. Accra: Governance and Electoral Agency.
- Keen, D. (2012, July). Greed and Grievance in Civil War. *The Royal Institute of International Affaires*, 88(4), pp. 757-777.
- Kovach, M. (2009). *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversation, and Contexts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- May, T. (1993). *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Minamitso, E. G. (2018, August 26). *Eveawo Gameasu Minamitso*. Retrieved from <http://www.facebook.com>
- Nygaard, L. P. (2017). *Writing your Master's Thesis: From A to Zen*. Sage Publications.

- Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler. (2004). Greed and Grievance in Civil War. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56(4), pp. 563 - 595.
- Punch, F. K. (2014). *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches* (3 ed.). London: Sage.
- Retrieved from: <http://www.facebook.com/100002151363045/posts/1930862046995489>.
- Ritchie, Jane; Lewis, Jane; Nicholls, McNaughton Carol; Ormston, Rachel. (2014). *Qualitative Research Practice; A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (2 ed.). London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Said, E. W. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Said, E. W. (1985). Orientalism Reconsidered. *Race & Class*, 27(2), 1-15.
- Schraeder, P. J. (1995). From Berlin 1884 to 1989: Foreign Assistance and French, American, and Japanese Competition in Francophone Africa. *The Journal of Modern Africa Studies*, 33(4), 539-567.
- Sen, A. (1973). *On Economic Inequality*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Service, G. S. (2011). *2010 Population and Housing Census*. Accra: Ghana Statistical Service.
- Service, G. S. (2012). *2010 Population and Housing Census Final Results*. Accra: Ghana Statistical Service.
- Silverman, D. (2006). *Interpreting Qualitative Data* (3 ed.). London: Sage Publication Ltd.
- Skinner, K. (2007). Reading, Writing and rallies. Politics of 'Freedom' in Southern British Togoland, 1953-1956. *Journal of African History*, 48(1), 123-147.
- Tagoe, M. (2009). *A Handbook for Writing Research Proposals*. Accra: Ghana University Press.
- Tor Georg Jakobsen and Indra De Soysa. (2009, June 25). Give Me Liberty, or Give Me Death! State Repression, Ethnic Grievance and Civil Wars, 1981 - 2004. *Civil War*, 11(2).
- Tosh, J. (2013). *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History* (5 ed.). London: Routledge.

- Twumasi, P. A. (2001). *Social Research in Rural Communities* (2 ed.). Accra: Ghana Universities Press.
- United Nations Charter XII (2019). *International Trusteeship System*. New York: Codification Division, Office of Legal Affairs.
- United Nations General Assembly (1954). *The Togoland Unification Problem and the Future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under the British Administration*. New York: United Nations General Assembly - Ninth Session.
- United Nations General Assembly (1952). *The Ewe and Togoland unification problem*. New : United Nations General Assembly - Seventh Session.
- United Nations General Assembly (1953). *The Togoland Unification Problem*. New York: United Nations General Assembly - Eighth Session.
- United Nations General Assembly (1955). *The Togoland Unification Problem and the Future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British Administration*. New York: United Nations General Assembly Tenth session.
- Yin, R. K. (2015). *Qualitative Research: From Start to Finish* (2 ed.). London: The Guilford Press.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Mobilisation activity of British Togoland Movement



Appendix 2: Sensitization activity of British Togoland Movement

19:49  LTE  

 **Eueawo Gameasu Minamitso** 
18 Sep 2018 at 12:32 • 

For your reminder.. the fight for freedom is only about the Eues... Thus Mr Charles Kudjordjie inn the Northern Region. Educating the people

 **Eueawo Gameasu Minamitso**
15 Sep 2017 at 09:33 • 

Updates from the Northern Region



1,912 views 

 Like  Comment  Share

  51

 Write a comment...  



Appendix 3: How British Togoland Movement is influencing opinions



19:39



LTE



Eueawo Gameasu Minamitso



Like



Comment



Share



Eueawo Gameasu Minamitso and 200 others

Most relevant



Ransford Akorli

Great warrior by all standard. Neho!

36w Like Reply



Dan Dee

Must be uprooted at all cost.
Ne Ho!!! Ne Ho!!!

36w Like Reply



Doe Mawutor Gustave

If you in Ghana, you hiding your origination,,,, we still have people who are willing to die and build back the chosen scattered generation..... You can choose to speak Spanish or never step on the Eweland,, the building of Eweland is a must.....#NEHO ! #NEHO !! #NEHO



36w Like Reply



Moses Aglago

BRAVE IS MY PEOPLE

36w Like Reply



Write a comment...





Appendix 4: How British Togoland Movement is being inspired by Anglophone Cameroon Separatist Movement.




19:54 LTE

Eueawo Gameasu Minamitso ⋮
7 Oct 2018 at 19:13 •

Kingsley John Chibuzor added 9 new photos. Follow
7 Oct 2018 at 09:21 •

Ambazonia Boys and girls doing their generation proud by sacrificing everything in defence of Fatherland!!
#Biafra
#Ambazonia





Like Comment Share

Write a comment...

Appendix 5: Creation of cultural awareness by British Togoland Movement



SAMPLE OF INTERVIEW GUIDE

SECTION A: BIODATA OF RESPONDENTS

1. How old are you?

- [1].18-24 [2].25-30 [3]. 31-35 [4].36-40 [5].41-45
[6].46-50 [7].51-55 [8].56-60 [9]. 61 +

2. What is your level of education?

- [1] No education [2] Primary school [3] Middle school
[4] Junior high school [5] Senior High [6] Vocational/technical school
[7] Training college [8] Polytechnic [9]. University
[10] Other (state)

4. What is your occupation?

5. What is your marital status?

- [1]. Single [2] Married [3] Cohabiting [4] Divorced [5] Separated [6] Widowed

6. What is your ethnic origin?

- [1] Ewe [2] Akan [3] Mina [4] Hausa [5] Kabiyé [6] Others (state)

7. Who many children and dependents do you have?

- [1] 1 [2] 2 [3] 3 [4] 4 and more

SECTION B: KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE SEPARATIST MOVEMENT

1. Do you know about the agitation of British Togoland Movement for the restauration of the ‘Western Togoland’ as an independence state? (Homeland Study Group Foundation (HSGF), Ator led agitation or any other agitation of a sort?)

- [] Yes [] No

2. How did you get to know?

[1] by a friend [2] hearsay [5] no idea
[3] in the news (radio/television/newspaper/social media) [4] other means. Specify

3. When did you get to know?

[1] less than a month ago [2] between 1 to 5 months ago [3] between 6 to 12 months ago
[4] between 1 to 5 years ago [5] between 6 to 10 years ago [6] others. Specify:
[7] no idea

SECTION C: ROLE IN THE SEPARATIST MOVEMENT

1. Are you a member of the movement?

Yes No

2. Have you ever participated actively in any of the above agitations?

Yes No

If yes, which one? Specify

2. Have you ever facilitated or contributed in any of the activities of any of the movements stated above?

[1] Yes. Specify what you did [2] No

SECTION D: OPINION ABOUT THE MOVEMENT

1. If you have answered ‘yes’ to question 1 under section C, give reason(s):

.....

2. If you have answered ‘yes’ to question 2 under section C, give reason(s):

.....

3. If you have answered ‘no’ to question 1 under section C, give reason(s):

.....

4. If you have answered ‘no’ to question 2 under section C, give reason(s):

.....

5. Currently, Akans are the largest ethnic group in Ghana, do you think these agitations could still take place if Akans are also Ewes?

Yes No

If 'yes', at what percentage point?

[1] 0% to 10% [2] 10% to 30% [3] 30% to 50% [4] 50% to 80% [5] 80% to 100%

6. How do you feel to be Ewe in Ghana?

.....

7. Do you think being a citizen of Western Togoland is a good idea?

[1] Yes, give reason(s).....

[2] No, give reason(s)

[3] No idea

8. Do you think the method being used (agitations and protests) as we have witnessed so far is the best way to go?

[1] Yes, give reason(s)

.....

[2] No, give reason(s)

.....

[3] No idea

9. Which of the following is more related to reasons of the agitations (you can choose as many as possible)

[1] political leadership/tradition [2] colonial borders [3] utterances of politicians

[4] marginalization/discrimination/deprivation [5] other, specify:

SAMPLES OF FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS

1. What do you know about these series of agitations? [Follow up question if necessary to get more information]
2. What do you think are the concerns of members of the movement?
3. what are the demands of the movement?
2. In your view, is there any connection between Ator let movement and HSGF movement? [probe to get a reliable answer]
3. What precisely in your view may have occasioned the emergence of these agitations?
4. [This question is dependent on the answers provided in question 3]. Are these agitations justified? [Probe both 'yes' or 'no' answer].
5. [This question is dependent on the answers provided in question 3]. Do you think the restauration of the 'Western Togoland' as an independence state is the solution?
6. Between Ghana and the Western Togoland we are referring to, which one do you identify yourself with more? And why?
7. Would you have wished Ewes in Togo and Ghana stay together as one country? Why? (probe further).