



**NATIONAL PEACE
COUNCIL**



REPUBLIC OF GHANA

BUILDING AN INCLUSIVE NATION: DIALOGING WITH VOLTA AND OTI REGIONS

REPORT

**Report
on
Building an Inclusive Nation: Dialoging
with Volta and Oti Regions**



30th August, 2021

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The National Peace Council

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------|--|
| 1D1F | One District One Factory |
| AYA | Alavanyo Youth Association |
| AYC | Anlo Youth Council |
| DD | Deputy Director |
| ECOWAS | Economic Community of West African States |
| ES | Executive Secretary |
| FC | Forestry Commission |
| GAF | Ghana Armed Forces |
| GETFUND | Ghana Education Trust Fund |
| GIS | Ghana Immigration Service |
| GNFS | Ghana National Fire Service |
| GPRTU | Ghana Private Road Transport Union |
| GPS | Ghana Police Service |
| HSGF | Homeland Study Group Foundation |
| KNUST | Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology |
| LECIAD | Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy |
| MP | Member of Parliament |
| MYA | Mepe Youth Association |
| NDC | National Democratic Congress |
| NPC | National Peace Council |
| NPP | New Patriotic Party |
| NSC | National Security Council |
| OR | Oti Region |
| RES | Regional Executive Secretary |
| UHAS | University for Health and Allied Sciences |
| VR | Volta Region |
| VRA | Volta River Authority |
| VRHC | Volta Regional House of Chiefs |
| VRPC | Volta Regional Peace Council |
| UCC | University of Cape Coast |

1.0 Executive Summary

The dialogue with the people of the Volta and Oti Regions for the purpose of Building an Inclusive Nation studied the perception and claim of some that there is an ethnic identity-based discrimination against Eves, in particular, and the Volta and Oti Regions, in general. The objective was to understand the origin, sources, nature, salience, and implications of the perception and claims with the view to avert threats to national cohesion and peaceful co-existence. The National Peace Council (NPC), from July 6 to August 6, 2021, dialogued with selected civil servants, traditional rulers, educationists, assemblymen, clergy, civil society organisations (CSOs), farmers, transport unions, the youth, and other opinion leaders strategically selected eighteen communities in the Volta (16 communities) and Oti Regions (2). It employed Eveness, Eve Language, exigencies of citizenship, Eve Culture, stereotyping, discourse, appointments, employment, education, development, harassment, and violence as variables in ascertaining the claim that Eves, and Volta and Oti Regions are being marginalized.

The key findings: *Citizenship*: Eves and others from the Volta and Oti region are not indigenous Ghanaians aliens or second-class Ghanaians since the Trans-Volta Togoland joined the Gold Coast (Ghana) through a plebiscite. The perception of Eves as aliens is reinforced by the discourse of demagogue politicians, and discrimination in the administration of Birth Certificate, National Identity Card, Passport, Voters' Register, and Elections.

Eve identity, Culture, Language and Stereotyping: Eve identity, culture, and language are discriminated against, stereotyped, and denigrated as evil doers, juju-lovers, murderers, witches and wizards, and uncivilized people in sectors of the Ghanian society even in the Christendom.

Appointments: Despite very qualified and public spirited Eves, only one Ewe is appointed a Minister, while highly qualified Eves are being sacked from their jobs and being replaced by Akans.

Employment: Eves are discriminated against in employment in all spheres of jobs, especially in recruitment into the security agencies. The absence of jobs in the Volta and Oti regions, and a large army of unemployed youth has engendered a flourish of middlemen, job contractors, fraud, and extortion in the acquisition of jobs. Unemployment was identified as the single most important factor in the indoctrination and recruitment of the unemployed and restive youth into

the Western Togoland group. They are being promised security and other employment prospects in an independent Western Togoland.

Education: Relatively, school infrastructure is poor and insufficient; limited or no supply of textbooks; dwindling government scholarship opportunities; lack of tertiary education opportunities; and non-appointment of supervisory directors that work against the attraction and retention of good teachers and students.

Development: Since independence, the main bane of is lack of employment opportunities since development was not promoted in the Volta and Oti regions. The underdevelopment of the regions was identified as the push factor that drives Eves and other Voltarians to other parts of Ghana in search of jobs and makes them vulnerable to denigration and marginalisation. The marginalisation of the people and the regions are manifest in the non-exploitation of regions' mineral resources, cessation of the sea defence project, delay in the Eastern Corridor Road, non-completion of other government projects, and the non-implementation of 'One District One Factory (1D1F)' policy.

Harassment and Violence: The Eves and the regions are harassed because of being the stronghold of the National Democratic Congress (NDC). And that this has resulted in a discourse of violence against the Eves, the deployment or inundation of the region with security agencies who harass the people through the closure of the Ghana-Togo border, denial of free movement and eking of livelihoods, numerous and unnecessary security checkpoints, and deployment of immigration post cited deep inside the regions demanding citizenship identifications. Security brutalities against innocent civilians were orchestrated with impunity during the administration of National Identity Card, Voters' Register, and 2020 Elections. Unprofessional security agents with Rasta hairdo and earrings are promoting immorality and destroying the moral fibre of young girls in the regions

Other findings: There is regional boundary disputes and population census concerns where people of communities in the Volta Region were counted and included in the data of the Greater Accra and Eastern Regions; (b) Communities along the Volta Lake complained of reneged Volta River Authority compensation promises; (c) Non-construction of access road where the railway projects cross existing roads; (d) Closure of Ghana-Togo borders; (e) Boundary conflict between the Akwamu and the Volo/Tongu/Juapong people (Eastern-Volta boundary conflict); (f) Volta and Oti Dynamics as residents are labelled as aliens and indigenes; and (g)

Muslims complain of harassment because of their costumes and names particularly at the Asikuma Immigration post.

Observations: The perception of marginalisation, stereotyping, and denigration of the positive self-identity of Ewes, and the promise of security jobs to the youth is making the Western Togoland idea popular even among Ewes areas which were not part of the Trans-Volta Togoland.

Recommendations: (a) review security deployment in the Volta Region to balance security objectives with human rights imperatives; (b) remove immigration checkpoints to the border posts; (c) security checkpoints must be reduced to reflect what obtains in the other regions; (d) engage and dialogue with the Western Togoland secessionist movement; (e) consider transferring the Head of Immigration at Leklebi Kame to restore the confidence of the people in the Government; (f) resume construction of the Eastern-Corridor Road, revamp the Aveyime Rice Project, the Juapong Textile Factory, Dzodze ECOWAS Market, and prioritize the Keta Port and the Keta Sea Defence Expansion Project; (g) improve infrastructure in Junior and Senior High School in the two regions; (h) consider re-opening Ghana's land borders as critical economic security need; (i) sensitize nation on tolerance and peaceful coexistence in diversity as critical national social cohesion, harmony, peace, and development prerequisite.

2.0 Background

Globally, all societies are made up of multiple identities. These may be religious, linguistic, ethnic, race, or regional. Different identity markers originating from diverse values, principles, traditions, institutions, and practices are embed in these identity groupings. These different identity ethe tend to influence and guide group members in their daily lives and serve as anxiety, threats, exigencies, and aspiration handling mechanisms. It is not for nothing that post-colonial West African societies are, particularly, described as multi-ethnic or divided societies. These diverse groups or identities were ‘unequally’ and hotch-patchily assembled to form contemporary West African states. At independence, though the constitutions of the post-colonial states confer citizenship rights on all citizens and groups, the social engineering that attended the colonial foundations left the post-colonial states, not least Ghana, with troubled identity, groups, and regional colonial inheritance.

Ghana is a multiethnic, multi-religious, multi-lingual, and multi-cultural society. There are more than seventy ethnic groups in Ghana. The six major ethnic groups are Akan, Eve, Ga-Adangbe, Mole-Dagbani, Guan and Gurma. Since independence, interdependence and inter-ethnic relations have mostly been cordial; but sometimes conflictual. In the Ghanaian state-building process, the state’s functional inability to satisfy all identity-groups, and politics, especially multi-party politics, have often engendered in-group and out-group fissures such as stereotyping, polarization, and marginalization of groups.

Like all the other identity-based social divisions, ethnic division becomes a risk to social cohesion and peaceful co-existence if ethnic considerations define governance, particularly, the allocation of resources, opportunities, and privileges. The temptation to do so is very high because state authority and power are often attained through the support of some groups (regional, ethnic, or religion) and maintained through the marginalisation of other groups. This is, most probably, the reason why Ghana’s 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution prohibits politics and political parties from being organized along regional, ethnic, and religious lines.

However, since the 1992 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, there have been allegations of exclusive ethnic political expedencies that tended to denigrate and marginalise some ethnic groups. Over the years, watchers of Ghana’s democratic journey, have observed that allegations of ethnocentric politics have become recurrent because of the bifurcation that characterises the organisation and outcomes of Ghana’s Fourth Republic democratic

dispensation with the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) as the dominant political parties. The two political parties have different regions and ethnic groups that are perceived as their strongholds. This bifurcation tends to conflate politics and ethnicity, leading to ethnic exclusionism in political discourse among some Ghanaians.

The expression of dissenting views through healthy political discourse is often considered a mark of matured democracy. Likewise, the use of violence by ethnic subsets of a population to express dissent in a democracy is considered as a misnomer that must not escape proper scrutiny. For this reason, non-confrontational counter-insurgency measures must be employed alongside the robust confrontational approaches to address violent rebellion in a democracy. A non-confrontational counter-insurgency approach starts with understanding the *raison d'être* of the insurgent group.

The Volta Region-based Western Togoland Secessionist Movement has framed the reason for their violent secessionist campaign around neglect, discrimination, and marginalization of Ewes and the Volta Region. But what is the reality on the ground? Objective social reality is not feasible. However, realities constructed through narratives, stories, and subjective experiences of a group of people can form the basis for drawing objective conclusions. These conclusions may be an approximation to the objective reality regarding a social phenomenon of concern. Remedial policies and actions including social engineering strategies fashioned out of such conclusions cannot fail to address the subjective realities of the people concerned.

Based on its mandate and established practice of facilitating dialogue platforms for citizens to discuss contentious national issues, the National Peace Council (NPC), with support from the National Security Council (NSC) designed and implemented this intervention in selected communities in the Volta and Oti Regions to understand what the people say about the claim of discrimination and marginalisation of Ewes and the two regions.

3.0 The Intervention

In the interest of safeguarding the national cohesion and security of Ghana, the National Peace Council initiated the process to interrogate the claim of ethnic identity-based discrimination by some Ghanaians from Volta Region and Oti Region to understand its origin, sources, nature, salience, and implications for sustaining national cohesion and peaceful co-existence in Ghana.

The Council's intervention was aimed at creating a safe and structured opportunity for this claim of discrimination to be thoroughly examined. The National Peace Council convened a series of conferences of prominent personalities from all the ethnic groups in the Volta and Oti Regions. These prominent personalities were representatives of the Traditional leadership, Assembly members, Christian clergy, Muslim clergy, Business, Academia, Youth, and Civil Society in the two regions.

3.1 Objectives

The main objective of the intervention was to help build sustainable peace in Ghana by creating a safe and structured dialogue platform for the Volta and Oti Regions (mainly Eves) to interrogate the claim of ethnic discrimination to inform recommendations to Government.

3.2 Expected Outcomes

The initiative was expected to achieve the following outcomes: to

- ☐ Interrogate and dialogue on the claim of discrimination against the VR and OR and in particular, the Eve ethnic group; and
- ☐ Identify the origin, nature, and salience of the claim and its implication for Ghana's national cohesion.

3.3 Communities Covered

The dialogue was organized in eighteen communities in both the Volta and Oti Regions in three phases as listed in Table 3.1

Table 3.1 Dialogue Phases and Communities

| Phases | Date | Communities |
|-----------|------------------|--|
| Phase I | 6-9 July 2021 | Ho, Dzodze, Afife, Anloga and Sogakofe |
| Phase II | 20-23 July 2021 | Aveyime, Battor, Mepe, Juapong, Kpando, Alavanyo and Logba |
| Phase III | 2-6 August, 2021 | Dambai, Breweniase, Hohoe, Lolobi, Wli Afegame and Leklebi |

Source: Fieldwork, 2021

The programme was officially launched in Ho on Tuesday, 6th July 2021 by the Chairman of the National Peace Council, Rev. Dr. Ernest Adu-Gyamfi. Dr. Archibald Yao Letsa, the Honourable Minister for Volta Region gave the keynote address. The Volta Region House of Chiefs (VRHC) was represented by Togbe Kwaku Ayim IV, Paramount chief of Ziavi traditional area.



Rev. Dr. Ernest Adu Gyamfi, Chairman of NPC delivering the Opening Address at Ho



Representative of VRHC, Togbe Kwaku Ayim, Paramount Chief of Ziavi Traditional Area



Hon. Dr. Archibald Yao Letsa, the Volta Regional Minister, Launching the Dialogue

3.4 Participation

The dialogues were highly patronized by the people and well represented too. Key groups that participated in the dialogue included Traditional leaders (Chiefs, Queen mothers, and Linguists), the Christian clergy, Catholic clergy, Muslim clergy, Assembly members, Local government officials, representatives of youth groups such as Anlo Youth Council (AYC), Mepe Youth Association (MYA), and Alavanyo Youth Association (AYA).



A Cross-section of participants at the Juapong dialogue

Dzodze, Sogakofe, Mepe, Juapong, Kpando, Alavanyo, Logba, Dambai, Hohoe, Brewaniase, Wli, and Leklebi recorded high attendance of Traditional leadership. Many places also recorded the presence of Assembly members and Religious leaders. They included Anloga, Dzodze, Alavanyo, Logba, Hohoe, Lolobi, Juapong, Wli, and Mepe. The Youth leadership

recorded high participation in Anloga, Sogakofe, Logba, Mepe, and Juapong. Before the start of each dialogue session, the National Peace Council assured participants of non-disclosure of identity and urged the participants to speak freely without fear of arrest or post-activity intimidation and this created a safe space for the dialogues. A total of 550 participants took part in the dialogue across the eighteen communities.

3.5 Facilitation

The launch and maiden dialogue at Ho was chaired by the Chairman of Governing Board of the National Peace Council. The rest of the dialogue was led by Most Reverend Kofi Emmanuel Fianu, the Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Ho, and a Governing Board member of the National Peace Council. He was ably assisted by Rev. Seth Mawutor, the Chairman of the Volta Regional Peace Council, and other members of the Volta Regional Peace Council.



Governing Board Members and VRPC Chairman at First Dialogue at Ho (From Left to Right: Sheikh Mohammed Salman, Most Rev. Emmanuel Fianu, Rev. Dr. Ernest Adu Gyamfi and Rev Seth Mawutor-VRPC Chairman)

Dr. Ken Ahorsu, a Senior Research Fellow and Conflict, and Security Expert was contracted and he facilitated all the dialogue sessions. The dialogue was participatory and held in an atmosphere of freedom of expression without fear or intimidation. The main local languages and dialects were used during the dialogues, which allowed for free and eloquent expressions. The presence of the media was minimized and this eliminated any fear that participants may have about their narratives being reported and used to single them out for retribution.

Enough time was given to all participants to state their cases. The facilitator and leadership of the National Peace Council, at all events, promoted fairness and listened more than they spoke. At all the programmes, the facilitator promoted an atmosphere of dialogue, peaceful coexistence and emphasized tolerance and respect for divergent opinions. This created an enabling atmosphere for open and frank expression and discussion.

3.6 Technical Support

The Management and Staff of the National Peace Council provided technical and administrative support to the designing and execution of the dialogue. The Executive Secretary (ES) has been the main lead in the implementation and was supported by the Regional Executive Secretary (RES) for Volta and Oti regions, and core Directors and Deputy Directors (DD) as well as programme staff.



4.0 Main Dimensions of Alleged Discrimination and Marginalisation

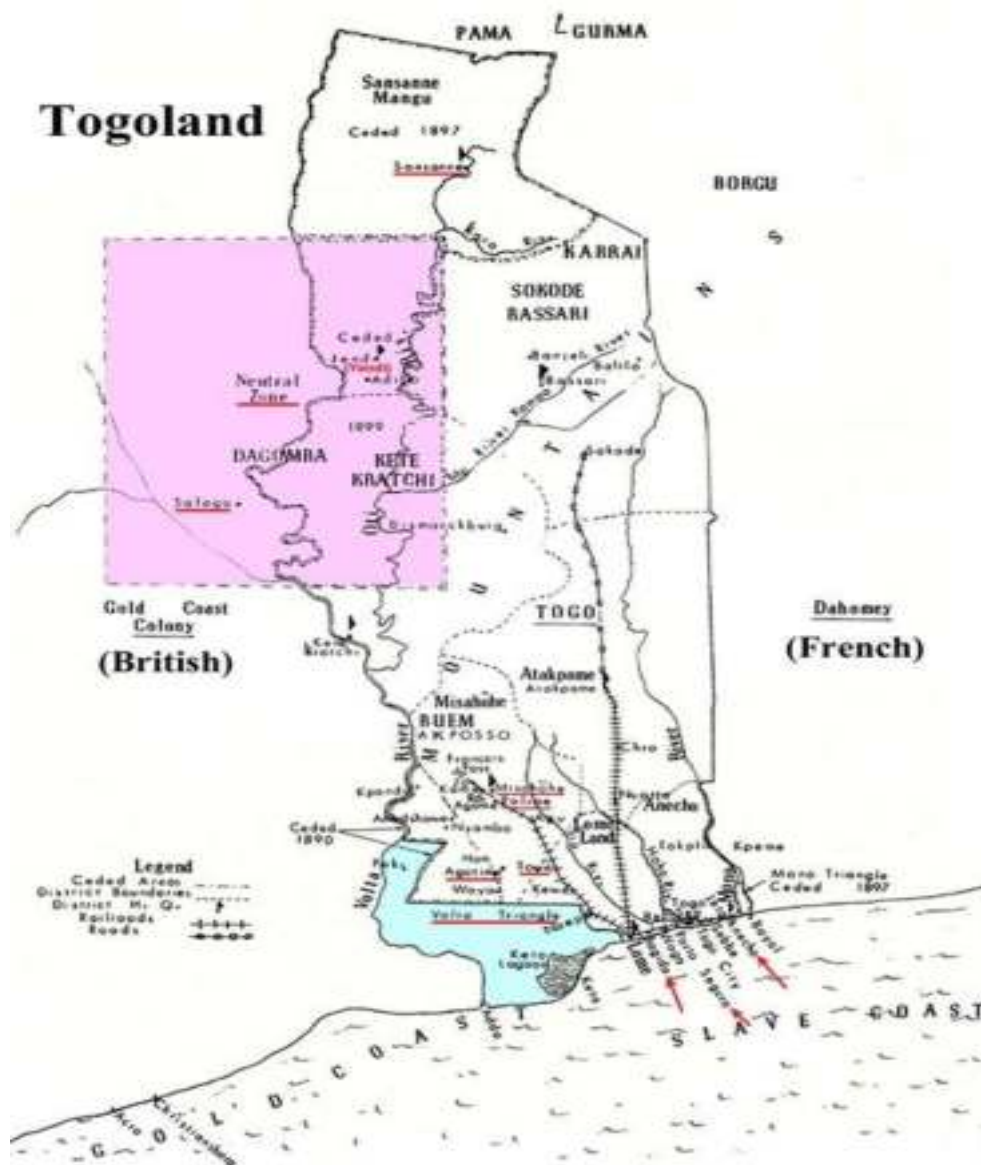
Though many issues found their ways into the basket for deliberation, a cluster of six critical areas of concern emerged at the end of the dialogue sessions: (a) citizenship discrimination, (b) ethnicity, language, culture, and stereotyping (c) education, (d) appointment and employment, (e) development deficit and (f) harassment. Participants deliberated on the issues passionately and provided reasons and examples to support their claim of discrimination or marginalisation.

4.1 Citizenship Discrimination

Alleged citizenship discrimination against Eves include: (a) indigenous vs plebiscite Ghanaian citizenship status; (b) acquisition of citizenship document and exercise of citizenship; and (c) tagging of some as aliens during national card registration and public elections.

4.1.1 Indigenous vs Plebiscite Ghanaian Citizenship Status

The participants observed that there have been both open and subtle attempts at questioning the Ghanaian citizenship of Eves in Ghana. They feel very hurt about a wrong perception, mainly among Akans, that Eves and the Volta Region are not original Ghanaians or an integral part of Ghana because the Volta Region joined the Gold Coast or Ghana very late through the 1956 United Nations Plebiscite. People from Traditional areas such as Peki, Awudome, Anlo, Ave, Tongu, Mafi, Dorfor, and Bator among others who, per historical records, were not part of the Western Togoland or the British Trust Togoland territories that participated in the Plebiscite always feel bitter by the general discourse that seems to make no distinction between Eve territories that were part of the Gold Coast and those that joined following the 1956 Plebiscite.



Map depicting British Togoland, French Togoland and the Volta Territories (Area Shaded Blue had always been part of the Gold Coast and now Ghana)

Moreover, participants argued that all ethnic groups living in contemporary Ghana had migrated from somewhere; as such, find it very disparaging and condescending whenever other ethnic groups refer to and label Eves as foreigners or newcomers. They consider this an act of discrimination and an attempt to deny their inalienable human right. To buttress their claims of discrimination on this point, the participants reasoned that there was no Ghana and for that matter no Ghanaians until 6th March 1957. And therefore, to label any part of Ghana or Ghanaians as foreigners or aliens is bigotry at its apogee. Many participants reasoned that the constant tagging of the Volta Region and Eves as aliens or ‘plebiscite-Ghanaians’ by prominent Akans is a call to Eves to come together to reevaluate their status as Ghanaians based on the terms of the union that brought the British Trust Togoland territories and the Gold Coast

together following the plebiscite, as Eves cannot accept to be reduced to second-grade citizens. The allegation of tagging Eves as aliens was also made in a public letter dated July 6, 2021 and directed to the National Peace Council by the Homeland Study Group Foundation (HSGF), in which the group congratulated the Council for its efforts to build national cohesion (see Appendix A).

4.1.2 Acquisition of Citizenship Document and Exercise of Citizenship

The participants acknowledged that citizenship discrimination against Eves did not start in 2020 or even 4 years ago; it has always been there either by posturing or by direct actions by some ethnic groups and the state. However, they said that, in recent times, the state and its machinery have been the worse perpetrators. They cited what they claimed to be discriminatory practices in the acquisition of Birth Certificates, National Identity Card and Voter Cards before the 2020 general elections. That:

- a) Until recently, birth registration was halted in the Volta Region except under exceptional circumstances;
- b) During the National Identity Card registration, few machines were allocated to the Volta Region (in comparison to other regions) thereby creating artificial delays and limiting the number of Eves who obtained the cards;
- c) Mainly, non-Eve speaking registration officials were deployed for the Identity Card registration exercise in the Volta Region. Such officials who were unable to spell or write Eve names properly sometimes asked that registrants help write their names. These prolonged the process and limited the number of people served in a day; and
- d) Deployment of security officials to the Volta Region, especially soldiers brandishing offensive weapons during the various registration exercises and voting prevented many Eves in the Volta Region from obtaining their citizenship documents and denied a number of them legitimate exercise of citizenship through voting.

The participants deemed all of these bottlenecks as subtle plots to limit the acquisition of documentary evidence of Ghanaian citizenship and for that matter discriminatory, as they were certain that such bottlenecks were not experienced in other parts of the country.

4.1.3 ‘Aliens’ During National Card Registration and Public Elections

Participants from Anlo and Tongu traditional areas reasoned that they are fishermen by livelihood and often migrate to wherever rivers are found. They practice fishing across the length and breadth of the Volta River. That since 1927, some of their brothers and sisters have been migrating to Ahafo, Bono, and Bono East regions to practice fishing. During the National Identity Card and the 2019 Voters registration and 2020 Elections, these Eve brothers and sisters living in Yeji, Banda, and Pru areas were called aliens, challenged, and prevented from participating in the said national exercises. It was revealed that women of these Eve fishermen often crossed the border to sell fish in Ivory Coast. They were denied the right to return to Ghana and when they insisted, they were beaten, and some were killed in the process. This they consider as discriminatory and a denial of their citizenship. The participants from Mepe called on the National Peace Council to institute an inquiry into the harassment, abuse, and killing of Eves in those areas.

Some participants reasoned that since Eves are not considered and being treated as Ghanaians, the National Peace Council should stop the futile exercise aimed at reconciliation and advise Oti and Volta leaders to work to get independence for the two regions and their people.

4.2 Discrimination per Eve Identity, Culture, Language and Plain Stereotyping

The general view of all the participants is that mostly Akans do not have any respect for (a) Eve name identity, (b) Eve Culture, (c) the Eve Language, and (d) engage in stereotypical discourse targeted at destroying Eve positive identity.

4.2.1 Eve Name Identity

The participants contented the indicators and expression of Eve identity at workplaces, social gatherings and other forms of social interaction have become a reason for abuse, denigration, mockery, harassment, demotion, and stereotyping in contemporary Ghana. Speaking Eve in most Akan-dominated regions in Ghana, the participants said, attracts subjugation, dehumanization, discrimination, and abuse. As a result of such discrimination, the emerging trend is for Eves living in Akan-dominated regions to adopt Akan names or change their Eve names to Akan names to avoid stereotyping and abuse and get employed or promoted. Denial of one's Eve name and identity has become a survival mechanism for many. Participants cited

many examples to buttress their claim: In 2004, a police officer changed his Eve name to an Akan name to be promoted. An Eve colleague of his was denied the same promotion obviously because of his Eve name. An Eve woman, a caterer living in an Akan-dominated area of Tema does not speak Eve to her Eve colleagues to protect herself, else the Akans would not patronize her business and she will be out of business. Participants also cited the case of Caleb Kudah (a journalist at Citi FM) who had to deny being an Eve when arrested and was being beaten by some National Security operatives. He said, he had to say he was a Fanti, else the torture he suffered would have been worse.

4.2.2 Eve Culture

Participants feel that the Eve culture is denigrated and disrespected by Akans. This disrespect, they said, has found its way even into basic school textbooks. The Badu Nkansah Limited publication was cited as a typical example. The participants wondered why Eves could be described as juju-loving people in textbooks to poison the impressionable minds of children against Eves from childhood. One participant asked, Eves are being denied citizenship, jobs, and a fair share of development, now the formalization of Eve stereotyping is to poison the minds of new generations against Eves. Participants perceived the absence of Eve cultural rites during the funeral of the late former President Jerry John Rawlings as hurting and more illustrative of Eve marginalisation. Rawlings being a great son and a traditional Chief of the Eves, should have been accorded due Eve cultural respect, participants said. Some lady participants said when they wear beads some Akan friends see it as a witchcraft insignia.

4.2.3 Eve Language

Participants said they are denigrated in public when they speak the Eve language among other ethnic groups: An Eve woman spoke Eve to another Eve in Tema and they were told it was not yet 11:00 A.M (a reference to Peace FM's 11:00 A.M Programme, News in Eve). A participant in a memo said, "one such case is the often quoted Sallah case (Apollo 568) in which 568 civil and public servants were deemed dismissed by the 1969 Constitution. That Sallah was an Eve may be overlooked but the testimony of one witness Fleischer (who worked with Sallah) would raise eyebrows as to Fleischer's claim to the court that Justice Apaloo and his wife were visitors to Mr. Sallah at the stores. That Justice Apaloo spoke to Mr. Sallah in a strange language

(referring to the Eve language), which he (Fleischer) did not understand’. Would anyone say a similar thing of a Ghanaian language, which he or she doesn’t understand, he asked?

On the contrary, participants argued that the use of the Akan language has become the lingua franca of Ghana. They revealed that at workplaces, people are not willing to accept you or respond to you when you speak English, they all speak and want you to speak Akan. Participants who were past students of Universities of Cape Coast (UCC); Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST); and Trinity College revealed that some lecturers used the Twi language as a medium of teaching although they were not teaching language courses. Participants who were pastors and evangelists narrated the practice of speaking only Twi at national church programmes as an emerging trend. And that even in Christendom one is abused and stereotyped for speaking languages other than Twi. The participants also said the use of only Akan language and culture at public and national events is a deliberate government agenda to elevate the Akan ethnic groups over and above others.

4.2.4 Negative Stereotypical Discourse

Participants complained of deliberate stereotyping of Eves, which, they said, is replete with abusive discourses and clichés used against Eves. Some are: “Eves are inward-looking”; “are Eves also human beings?”; every thief for instance among the Gàs is described as “Ayigbe djulor”; and “how can you marry an Eve?” A group participant averred in a memo that “Positive self-identity is essential for human development and ultimately all other aspects of development. Positive self-identity is essential for confidence. Confidence is essential for creative and constructive engagement with opportunities and challenges for our development. We cannot accept to be considered second-class citizens to another group of people in our country.” These are serious allegations because stereotyping, a strong tendency to characterize people of other cultures unfairly, collectively, and often negatively is insidious and infectious. It often leads to scapegoating and dehumanisation. Stereotyping, scapegoating, and dehumanisation are three interlinked social-psychological processes that tend to create and nurture enemy image. It is often difficult to clearly see each of these social-psychological processes in action, but they surely and frequently work together against social cohesion as the precursors for mass violence.

4.3 Marginalisation in Development

Participants raised concern about the proverbial underdevelopment of the Volta and Oti Regions. They said since the end of Kwame Nkrumah's reign, subsequent governments have neglected the development of the Volta Region. They cited: (a) non-exploitation of mineral resources in Volta and Oti Regions; (b) lack of interest to save coastal communities from tidal wave erosion; (c) delays in construction of Eastern corridor road and other projects; and (d) unsatisfactory implementation of 'One District One Factory (1D1F)' policy.

4.3.1 Non-exploitation of Mineral Resources in the Volta and Oti Regions

The participants argued that there are mineral resources in commercial quantities in the Volta and Oti regions, but successive governments are not eager to exploit them because they do not want the regions to be developed. Iron ore in the Akpafu, and oil in the Keta basin are the minerals that are purported to be found in commercial quantities. It must be added that these are some of the stories the advocates of the Western Togoland secession movement are bandying about. The participants believe the non-exploitation of the alleged minerals is designed to deny the people of Volta and Oti regions jobs and other forms of developments that the exploration of such minerals afford. The participants also cited the delay in actualizing certain key projects in the region such as the ECOWAS Market at Dzodze and the Keta Port Development as some of the projects they claimed the government is dragging its feet.

4.3.2 Unwillingness to Save Communities from Coastal Erosion

The tidal waves continue to erode and wash away coastal communities to the extent that towns and livelihoods of coastal dwellers from Fuveme to Aflao are threatened. The communities threatened include Agavedzi and Salakope (Ketu South Municipal), Fuveme and Tegbi (Anloga District), and Kedzikope and Abutiakope (Keta Municipality). The participants from Anloga said the Volta region is by far the most affected by coastal erosion in Ghana. The coast is receding at a rate of 2.2m per annum against 0.6m per annum for the rest of coastal Ghana. Currently, the Ningo beach, which has lost less than 1m over the past 20 years is being protected at the cost of \$70 million while communities losing over 100m for the same period are being left to wash away. They adjudged this as the worst form of marginalisation and discrimination against Eves.

4.3.3 Delays in Construction of Eastern Corridor Road and other Projects

Participants raised concerns about the many abandoned roads and projects in the Volta and Oti regions. A mention was made of the infamous Eastern Corridor Road, as a participant labeled it, especially the Asikuma-Peki-Hohoe section that has been delayed for about a decade. The Sokode to Ho dual carriage, Dzodze to Ho, Dzodze to Aflao, Lolobi to Hohoe, and Atimpoku to Asikuma roads are some of the very important roads that the participants said have been neglected and have every negative effect on commuters' comfort and livelihood. Though large portions of the Eastern Corridor Road in the Oti Region have been constructed, large parts of the road are still under construction. The participants, however, perceive the suspension of works on the Volta stretch as a demonstration of discrimination against the Volta region and Eves. They argue that the suspension of work on the roads by the current government is due to the support of Eves for the opposition National Democratic Congress.

4.3.4 Unsatisfactory Implementation of 'One District One Factory' Policy

The participants adjudged what they termed "visible absence of the implementation of 'One District One Factory (1D1F)' policy in the Volta and Oti regions" as deliberate discrimination against the people of the two regions. Five (5) years after the inauguration of the programme, not one factory is built in the two Regions. This, according to them, goes to confirm barefaced disregard for the two regions in terms of development. The participants from Brewaniase complained bitterly about the failure which they referred to as the refusal of the Nkwanta Municipal Assembly to extend electricity to thousands of acres oil palm farm situated at Brewaniase that could have provided jobs for their teaming unemployed youths. The failure to extend the electricity led to the agro-industry being cited in Kadjebi. Likewise, participants from Juapong argued that over the years, the Juapong Textile Factory, which had a workforce of over 2000 employees now has only about 100 caretakers. The collapse of the Juapong Textile and inaction of the government to revamp it was also cited to support their claim of the neglect of the two regions. They suggest that government should revive the factory as part of its 1D1F initiative to create jobs for the youth, who feel neglected.

4.4 Discrimination in Appointments and Employment

In terms of alleged discrimination in appointment and employment, the percipients cited (a) regional imbalance of government appointees, (b) removal of Eves from office, (c) hijacking

of recruitment into security services, (d) middlemen in the acquisition of government jobs and (e) high unemployment among others.

4.4.1 Regional Imbalance in Current Government

It was cited that beyond the Member of Parliament (MP) for Hohoe, Hon. John Peter Amewu, the only other Ministers from the Volta and Oti Regions are the two Regional Ministers, representing the two regions. They argued that this defeats the equal employment opportunities and fair distribution of public office portfolio as enshrined in Article 35(6b) of the 1992 Constitution, which states “achieve reasonable regional and gender balance in recruitment and appointment to public offices.” Participants further argued that despite the Constitutional provision of appointing the majority of ministers from Parliament, the fact that there are over 80 ministers, the government could have done better by appointing some other persons from the two regions as ministers.

4.4.2 Akans Replacing Eves at Workplaces

Participants were of the view that there is a general and deliberate targeting of highly qualified and employed Eves. The removals of Professor Avorke as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Education, Winneba, and Mr. Daniel Domelevo as the Auditor General was cited examples in almost all the dialogue communities. Participants were unhappy because it looked as though the men had been targeted. After all, they were Eves. They further adduced that both have been replaced by Akans and this seems to be the norm. They argued that the practice is rife with the current government. The participants spoke about an emerging trend in Ghana where Akans are considered for jobs or are being employed more than people of any other ethnic groups without recourse to objective criteria of competence, experience, and academic qualifications but based on their ethnicity and political party affiliation.

4.4.3 Hijacking of Recruitment into Security Agencies

Participants said the phenomenon of ‘winner-takes-all’, which leaves appointment of high public office holders in the hands of the ruling political party, has crept into the recruitment of personnel into the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF), Ghana Police Service (GPS), Ghana National Fire Service (GNFS) and Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) among others. Recruitment into the security forces/services used to be based on qualification and regional basis. And once

applicants went through the fair and transparent processes, they felt satisfied whether they were employed or not.

However, participants said, the practice of ‘protocol recruitment’, which is a euphemism for nepotism, benefits only the privileged. The participants said, often, heads of the institutions were not informed or involved in the recruitment processes. They are handed recruitment lists by the powers that be. A participant asked “if that were not the case, how could one Member of Parliament sit on public television and say he single-handedly recruited over one hundred people from his constituency into the Ghana Police Service? This hijacking of recruitment processes benefits the “ruling party supporters and sympathizers” but it is unfair and unconstitutional, participants averred. Eves who manage to break through these recruitment hurdles face discrimination in terms of where they get posted. Some participants alleged that Unit commanders at the Police headquarters often direct that newly passed-out recruits of Eve extraction should not be posted to their units at the headquarters. The participants from Alavanyo complained bitterly about what they termed ‘the official unofficial ban’ on recruitment of people from their community into state security forces/services because anybody from Alavanyo is considered as a war-like person who cannot be trusted with guns.

The narratives of incidences of job discrimination against Eves, the people of Volta and Oti regions were so rampant and consistent that their plausibility cannot be ignored. The participants recommended an open-door-recruitment policy that guarantees regional balance as a panacea to ethnic, regional, religious, and political discrimination.

4.4.4 Middlemen, Job Contractors, and Bribery in Acquisition of Jobs

Participants argued that job recruitment application forms and interview processes have become means to eliminate Eves from getting employed. Many participants who claimed to be victims recounted how their names were removed from shortlisted applicants because they bear obvious Eve names. Others said that they were shortlisted because they bore Akan-like names but during the interviews, once it was ascertained that they were Eves, the interview ended and they did not get the job. A participant who is a prominent Chief in the Volta Region said he lived in Europe for over 35 years. On his return to Ghana, he brought his sons who were specialist engineers in oil and gas exploration but when they applied for positions in Ghana’s

oil exploration and exploitation institutions, they were told in the face that Eves were not to be employed in the emerging oil industry.

The participants said in the absence of objective, legal and official avenues for recruitment or employment of prospective applicants, middlemen, and job contractors have emerged that are going around asking people of the Volta region for huge sums of money to facilitate their application and employment of their wards to secure jobs. Thus, whilst recruitment is in the hands of politicians, instead of the established institutions, miscreants take advantage to circumvent the system through dubious means.

4.4.5 High Unemployment in the Volta and Oti Regions

Participants argued that unemployment, opportunities for livelihood, and lack of social mobility in the Volta and Oti regions are very high. These challenges have resulted in increased crime, youth delinquency, and alienation. The participants contended that the lack of opportunities constitutes insecurity and feeds into youth restiveness and clamor for secession. There was a near consensus that it is the lack of job opportunities that are forcing most Eves to migrate to other regions in search of jobs to eke out a living. And it is the migration of Eves to other parts of Ghana that is promoting discrimination, marginalisation, and harassment against the Eve, making them second-class Ghanaians in the places they settle. The participants believe that the development of the Volta and Oti Regions, and the creation of jobs is the only solution to the discrimination and marginalisation, and harassment they suffer in other parts of Ghana that they migrate to.

The participants from Anloga said that the Keta lagoon has been the biggest resource for Anlos with a good number of the population depending on it for livelihood. It was, therefore, surprising for them to discover that the Lagoon was given out to various companies as mineral concessions, rendering the people who depended on it for livelihood unemployed. This was done without recourse to the existing laws of the country regarding the compulsory acquisition. And considering the dangers of natural resource conflict, in August 2017, the Anlo Youth Council headed to the Supreme Court to correct this injustice against the people of Anlo. Unfortunately, to date, a ruling has not been given, a participant lamented.

4.4.6 Delay in Payment of Workers and Cocoa Farmers

There is a concern about workers in the region not being paid on time. A case of the Forestry Commission (FC) employees in the Volta and Oti Regions was cited. Some participants asserted that they have not been paid for some number of months though personnel in other regions in the same institution have been paid. Cocoa farmers have also not been paid for the last year, in some cases, after selling their dried cocoa beans to the cocoa purchasing companies. They said the nonpayment for the sold cocoa beans is affecting the maintenance of their cocoa farms since they cannot hire labourers to weed the farms.

4.5 Marginalization in the Education Sector

The participants cited (a) poor school infrastructure; (b) limited or no supply of textbooks; (c) dwindling government scholarship beneficiaries; (d) lack of tertiary education opportunities and (e) non-appointment of supervisory directors as constituting marginalisation in the education sector.

4.5.1 Poor School Infrastructure

The participants appreciate the fact that there are several basic and secondary schools located in the Volta and Oti Regions, but educational infrastructure and other required facilities are very poor in the regions. Dormitories, dining halls, assembly halls, libraries and books, toilet facilities, and teachers' accommodation are either non-existent or are in very poor conditions. Furniture in terms of beds, and classroom chairs and tables are in limited supply. Some participants said schools in their communities are more like schools under trees or sheds. And that most Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETFUND) provisions do not reach Volta and Oti schools.

It is also alleged that most ongoing school infrastructure projects have been stopped since the inception of the present government. Given the sorry state of most senior high schools, prospective students and teachers/masters posted to the schools relocate to other schools because of the poor and unwelcoming conditions of the schools. Many schools, as a result, lack science and mathematics teachers. They also questioned the limited implementation of the School-Feeding Programme in the Volta and Oti Regions, and that only a few schools enjoy the intervention, while in other regions the programme benefits all schools. They bemoaned

the falling standards of education in the regions and argued that education is a multiplier factor in social mobility and development.

The participants from Alavanyo were very bitter that over the years they have been particularly discriminated against and tagged as coming from a conflict community, which does not deserve good educational infrastructure and that this has left their senior high school in the sorriest state in the whole of Volta Region.

4.5.2 Limited or No Textbook Supply

The participants, especially the teachers and other educationists, said most of the schools in the regions are not supplied with the necessary textbooks, and often when they are supplied it comes in limited or insufficient volumes. There was also the complaint of the issue of different textbooks on the same subject in circulation among schools. In Tongu, Juapong, and the Oti region, the participants maintained that the Volta and Oti regions were supplied with textbooks that differed from those in circulation and being used in other regions of Ghana. They reasoned that since students in Ghana write the same examinations at the basic and secondary levels, the same prescribed/standard books on the same subjects should be supplied to all basic and secondary schools without discrimination.

4.5.3 Dwindling Government Scholarship Beneficiaries

The participants said despite the decentralization of government scholarships, though the Volta and Oti people take education seriously and apply for such scholarships, they do not benefit from national scholarships, especially under the present government.

4.5.4 Lack of Tertiary Education Opportunities

Challenges facing both the University of Health and Allied Sciences (UHAS) Ho and Hohoe Campuses were highlighted: lack of good roads, potable water, and the much-needed infrastructure. The participants questioned how a medical university can function properly without water. The Hohoe Campus of UHAS does not have the necessary structures and amenities for the students to move to their permanent site. The participants from southern Volta and Oti Region bemoaned the lack of universities in their areas. The non-availability of tertiary education close to their areas makes accessibility to tertiary education the sole preserve of the

rich since most of the people cannot afford expensive transport fares, let alone, the costly school and hostel fees.

4.5.5 Non-Appointment of Supervisory Directors

Participants complained that qualified teachers have been examined and interviewed for the position of Supervising Directors in all the regions of Ghana. However, those examined and certified for the positions in the Volta and Oti Regions have not been appointed. The participants reasoned that the non-appointment of qualified directors is affecting the smooth administration of education in the Volta and Oti Regions.

4.6 Harassment

Two types of harassment: (a) harassment because of association with the National Democratic Congress political party and (b) harassment by security agencies were identified as one of the key concerns to the people in the Volta and Oti Regions.

4.6.1 Harassment Because of Political Association

Associating members of the Eve ethnic group with the National Democratic Congress is a big concern for the participants. A participant shared the experience that if you live among Asantes and Akyems (Akans), once they discover that you are an Eve or from the Volta Region, then you are an automatic NDC sympathizer. You cannot be otherwise. Branding one as NDC living among the Asantes and Akyems leads to harassment. The harassment becomes intense during election years and post elections times. It was alleged that fresh teachers with Eve names posted to typical Akan Districts are often posted to the remotest part of the district because they must be sympathizers of the NDC.

4.6.2 Harassment by Security Agencies

Participants alleged that large deployment of military and other security personnel to parts of the Volta and Oti Regions has resulted in egregious and incessant harassment, extortion, and abuse of the people of Volta and Oti Regions. Concerns were also raised about multiple security checkpoints at very short intervals in many parts of the Volta Region. Participants said the Western, Upper West, Upper East, Western North, and Bono are all border regions, but they

do not have the numerous security checkpoints as obtains in the Volta and Oti Regions. Participants from the Ghana Private Road Transport Union (GPRTU) said major roads such as Accra-Kumasi, Accra-Cape Coast, and Cape Coast-Sekondi/Takoradi do not have the number of checkpoints found on roads in the Volta and Oti Regions.

Participants are particularly concerned with the setting up of checkpoints and border posts inside Ghanaian communities, instead of being set at the borders. Ghana Immigration Service officials at such inland checkpoints demand identification cards from community members and commuters. This is seen as deliberate harassment that is untenable and unjustifiable in democratic states. Participants said in situations where one was unable to produce their identity cards, the Immigration officials asked them to prove their Ghanaian citizenship by communicating in the Twi language, which they find very offensive. Muslims said they are often singled out because of the turbans and long dresses that they wear. They are often labelled as foreigners, given extra body searches without cause, accused of not being Ghanaians, and often suffer extortion when they failed to communicate in the Twi language to prove their Ghanaian citizenship. It is alleged that the majority of the security personnel posted to the Volta Region are Akans who do not understand Ewe and pick quarrels with the indigenes without provocation.

The people living close to the borders with Togo such as Wli and Fodome (Hohoe District), Liati and Leklebi (Afadjato South), Dzodze (Ketu North), Agbozume, and Aflao (Ketu South) complained of unnecessary body searches in towns, and at checkpoints without respect for human dignity. In Dzodze, it was reported that Military and Police personnel could just enter houses and search without warrant or decorum. Sometimes the community members are beaten and arrested when they question the authenticity of the security personnel. At Wli, it was alleged that a young lady was physically assaulted by Immigration Officer for the reason of greeting a colleague but not him. The lady was injured and had to be rushed to the hospital for treatment. Citizens doubt the authenticity of some deployed military personnel who wear Rasta hairstyles and earrings. In Leklebi, where the Leklebi Traditional Area is divided between Ghana and Togo, the natives, school children are often prevented from travelling from one community to the other.

Participants are of the view that since the elections are over, the security personnel should be withdrawn from the regions. They see the continued presence of the security agents as a “fishy, deceitful, dishonest and lame excuse on the part of the government to just harass them.”

4.7 Other Issues of Concern

Issues on: (a) regional boundary and population census; (b) reneging on Volta River Authority compensation pack; (c) negative effects of on-going railway construction; closure of land borders, and (d) Volta and Oti Dynamics emerged as sources of concern to the people.

4.7.1 Regional Boundary and Population Census Issues

Participants raised concern about the 2021 population and housing census and how the Eve ethnic group was considered a single entity as compared to all other groupings. To them, the Eves were the only group who were not clustered into sub-groups but all other groupings such as the Akans, Mole-Dagbani captured were duly clustered for recognition. The participants asked if there were no Eves employed at the Statistical Department to educate and clarify group distinctiveness in the Volta Region to the Population Census Officials. Though the participants acknowledged that the errors or oversights were later rectified, they still considered the errors as deliberate state neglect and discrimination.

However, a critical concern to the people of the Volta Region is the boundary dispute between the Volta Region and the Eastern Region. According to participants, historically, the territory of the Volta Region has been demarcated and reduced since independence. The Juapong participants reasoned that there is a protracted conflict ongoing between the Eves and Akwamus, and as a result, Juapong is presently illegally divided into two. And many security personnel have been deployed in Juapong that harass Eve speaking people without cause. Participants say if care is not taken, the ongoing surreptitious, unilateral, unofficial, and illegal reduction of the size of the Volta Region will result in instability. The demarcation of the Regions has also affected boundaries and relations between some traditional areas and ethnic groups such as the Dorfor and the Akwamu peoples.

Parts of Juapong Township, allegedly, were marked as part of the Eastern Region during the population census data collection. At Sogakofe, it was also reported that some communities in the South Tongu District of the Volta Region were designated, counted, and included in the population census data as parts of the Greater Accra Region. This they believed is deliberate efforts by the government to reduce the population size of the Volta Region. They demand immediate investigation and inclusion of data of the mentioned communities in the data of the respective districts and that of the Volta Region.

4.7.2 Reneging on Volta River Authority Compensation Pack

The participants along the Volta Lake complained about Volta River Authority (VRA) Compensation agreements promised the communities such as Dambai, Vakpo, Kpando, Mepe, and Sogakope, which were affected by the construction of the Akosombo Dam. Under the Compensation Act, the communities were to be built resettlement communities, which should be maintained periodically. However, most of the settlement communities built have not seen any maintenance over the years. They alleged that the construction of the Akosombo Dam and the flooding and displacement that took place resulted in the loss of livelihood but promises of subsidized electricity bills to such communities and the desilting of the estuary, and the turning of the weeds harvested in the course of clearing the estuary into compost fertilizer for the communities have not been fulfilled. They complained that all such communities are left with water-borne diseases. They cannot farm and they cannot fish because of the creation of the dam. They also bemoaned the fact that the Aveyime cannery, and Afife rice project that was envisaged to compensate the Afife, Aveyime, and Battor communities have been abandoned.

4.7.3 Negative Effects of Railway Construction on Farming and Livelihood

The participants from Juapong, complained bitterly about the ongoing construction of the railway in their area. And that contrary to the practice of constructing access roads for communities whose road networks such as farm roads have been affected, the contractors have not built any access road in Juapong where many roads and path networks have been affected simply because Juapong is an Eve dominated township. The roads to their farms are now blocked and they cannot go to their farms. The chiefs and elders have protested to the authorities but there is no respite. They also complained about the non-payment of compensation for lands confiscated during the construction of the railway lines.

4.7.4 Border Closure

Almost all participants are of the view that the continued land border closure is not justified under any circumstance. They see the continued border closure as discrimination and a deliberate attempt to impoverish the peoples of the Volta and Oti Regions.

4.7.5 Volta and Oti Dynamics and Emerging Issues

Participants raised concern about the name Oti for the new Region. They reasoned that Ahafo, Bono, and Bono East were derived from the old Brong and Ahafo Region, Northeast was derived from mother Northern Region, and Western North from the Western Region to demonstrate the origins and identity of the new regions to the hitherto mother Regions, but it was not the case in the creation of the Oti Region out of the Volta Region. And that Oti does not show any link to the previous Volta Region. To the participants, this amounts to discrimination against the Volta Region and its people.



Participants at the Dambai Dialogue in Oti Region

The Oti citizens believed that since independence, development was skewed to the southern Volta and for many years, infrastructure development (roads, schools, jobs, health facilities, etc.) was concentrated in the middle and southern Volta to their disadvantage. However, the perception and reality remain that even after the creation of the Oti Region, the region and its people continue to be marginalized without witnessing any meaningful development.

The Oti participants reasoned that many minor ethnic groups in the region are not known to Voltarians, and Ghanaians as such they are stereotyped and marginalized when they relate to other Ghanaians. They are teased, ridiculed, and scorned upon particularly when they travelled

on their dusty roads to other cities in Ghana. They said the perception against them and their treatment by other groups in Ghana have not changed much even after the creation of the Oti Region.

Eves in the Oti Region also complained that since the creation of the Oti region, they have been labelled as aliens in Oti Region. They alleged that they are being denied jobs, being replaced in certain positions, being transferred to other Regions, and maligned when they vie for political representations and positions. They argue that this discriminations are working against the development of the newly created region.

There is general uneasiness among the different ethnic groups of the Oti Region. The appointment of a Kokomba as the Oti Regional Minister and to other high-profile offices in the region is seen by other ethnic groups as an agenda to promote the Kokomba ethnic group, which is regarded as a migrant group in the region.

5.0 Significance of Intervention

- a) Cleared doubts about the work of the National Peace Council. It also cleared the misconception and the negative perception people have about the Council.
- b) Participants suggested to the National Peace Council to engage them more on core national and local issues.
- c) People who came to the programme aggrieved left appreciating the work of the National Peace Council and asked that government give better support to the Council to carry out more of such engagements.

6.0 Impression

The following impressions are drawn from the stories and subjective experiences shared during the dialogues:

- a) Eves are pained by acts of perceived stereotyping allegedly targeted at denigrating their positive self-identity.
- b) The secessionist movement is gaining popularity among the Eve ethnic group, especially among the educated youths who are unemployed, some chiefs, and clergymen. Perceived stereotyping and discrimination against Eves is a big factor fueling the movement.
- c) There is also growing support for secessionism even in areas that were originally not part of the Western Togoland or the United Nations Trust Territory (these areas include Anlo, Sogakofe, Tongu, Battor, Dorfor, Adidome, Mepe, Mafi, Peki, and Awudome)¹.
- d) It is also recognised that radical groups are emerging in the Mepe-Battor-Aveyime areas. These communities together with Volo and Juapong are in the North Tongu District and having boundary disputes with the Akwamus of the Eastern Region.
- e) Alleged arbitrary arrest and detention of citizens who were never part of the radical secessionist actions in September 2020 is feeding into the anti-Eve perception.
- f) There is a perceptible lack of professionalism on the part of security agencies who on flimsy excuse resort to physical abuse of community members. Testing the Eve

¹ Reference map on page 11

people's knowledge of the Twi language at checkpoints in the Volta Region to prove their Ghanainan citizenship is unprofessional and feeds into the denegation of Eve self-identity and second-grade citizenship status perception.

- g) Immigration posts being sited inland and not at the borders is a major concern of harassment. Citizens are not happy. They feel threatened and intimidated, and cannot go about their duties without fear. This offends the modern concept of security, which emphasizes freedom from fear.

7.0 Recommendations

Based on the narratives from the dialogue and the impressions flowing from them, the following recommendations are made to the Government of Ghana:

A. Fair Appointment and National Cohesion Law

- a) *Promulgate a law to give effect to Article 35(6b) of the 1992 Constitution. A law that prohibits recruitment and appointment of people of the same ethnic group beyond the percentage point for the largest ethnic group in Ghana to public offices will help the attainment of regional balance anticipated by the Constitution. The same law would regulate the ethnic composition of officials deployed to the countryside during national exercises with the percentage point of the largest ethnic group as the benchmark or ceiling. A law should also be made to make ethnic-based negative stereotyping, harassment, and abuse a crime.*

B. Security

- b) Review security deployment in the Volta Region to balance security objectives with human rights injunctions and see if such a review would not support the removal of checkpoints that are within close proximity.
- c) Strengthen immigration activities at the borders instead of inland communities.
- d) Restore professionalism and discipline in the security personnel deployed in the two regions and elsewhere in the country.
- e) Reinstate transparency and integrity in the processes of recruitment into the security forces and services.
- f) Direct the various state security institutions that are doing recruitments to not recruit any particular ethnic group above the percentage point for the largest ethnic population in the country (based on the latest statistics on ethnic composition) and publicise same.
- g) Adopt a less confrontational approach to dealing with persons arrested on suspicion of having links with the Western Togoland secessionist movement, including freeing those who are found not directly connected will be a goodwill gesture.
- h) Consider transferring the Leklebi Kame Immigration Director to restore the confidence of the people in the Government.

C. Development

- i) Look into the claim of mineral resources deposit in the Volta Region and the allegation of government unwillingness to exploit same as a basis for the allegation of neglect and come out clear with the facts.
- j) Resume construction of the Eastern-Corridor Road and all other major roads that have been suspended since 2017.
- k) Revamp key project job avenues including the Aveyime Rice Project, the Juapong Textile Factory, Dzodze ECOWAS Market, and any abandoned economic project.
- l) Prioritize construction of the Keta Port as a developmental agenda but also for job creation as well as the Keta Sea Defence Expansion Project.
- m) Junior and Senior High School infrastructure should be improved in the two regions.
- n) Reward the people of Alavanyo with a befitting senior high school infrastructure for their cooperation with the National Peace Council's peace process so far (there has never been any conflict-related violence since June 2018).
- o) Consider the opening of land borders as a critical economic security issue.

D. Secessionism

- p) Dialogue (not negotiate) with the Homeland Study Group Foundation through the National Peace Council and the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD) as part of the non-confrontational approach to dealing with the group. It would be noted that in the July 6 2021 HSGF letter (referenced as Appendix A), the group indicated their willingness to work with the National Peace Council to bring closure to their agitations.
- q) Resource the National Peace Council to carry out nationwide public engagement on the 1956 United Nations Plebiscite and related matters to correct the erroneous impression that Eves or the Volta Region was not part of the founding ethnic groups of Ghana and to dissuade those who use this incorrect interpretation of history to tag Eves as newcomers or aliens and those who use it to justify their secessionist agenda.

Picture Gallery

Post Dialogue Interruptions among Participants and Dignitaries



Cross section of Participants



The Leadership and Facilitators of the Dialogue



Group pictures



