

**Refugee Review Tribunal  
AUSTRALIA**

**RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE**

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**Questions**

- 1. Please provide a brief summary of the relationships between the Mamprusi and Kusasi ethnic groups. Is there evidence of ongoing conflict between these groups?**
- 2. An election was held in late 2008. Please provide details of the results of the election and whether or not conflict between the contesting parties resulted in ethnic clashes leading up to or after the election, particularly in the North East region.**
- 3. Are there any news or other reports of incidents of violence or attacks in Bawku in August 2005? Are there reports of Mamprusi-targeted violence in April 2006? Are there any other reports of violence or ethnic related violence or accidents in November or December 2006?**
- 4. Please provide information on the treatment of NPP supporters currently.**
- 5. What is the process for applying for and obtaining a passport in Ghana?**
- 6. Please provide information on the availability of state protection for minority groups in the event of ethnic clashes.**
- 7. What is the feasibility of relocation within Ghana?**

**RESPONSE**

- 1. Please provide a brief summary of the relationships between the Mamprusi and Kusasi ethnic groups. Is there evidence of ongoing conflict between these groups?**

Conflict between the Mamprusi and Kusasi ethnic groups is long-standing over some decades and has resulted in sporadic and recurrent outbreaks of serious violence resulting in destruction of property and death on many occasions. In an extended discussion of the politics of northern Ghana, Bawku in the Upper East Region of Ghana is cited as ‘the most intense example of tribal rivalries in the last forty years’ but whose origins belong in the pre-colonial period;

Hostility between the Kusasi and Mamprusi is probably as old as the state of Mamprugu itself, since the town of Pusiga, less than ten miles distant from Bawku, was one of the first stopping places for the band of invaders who established the Mamprusi Kingdom. One colonial administrator in the 1930s traced the history of such hostilities, culminating in open warfare in 1895 after the Mamprusi Nayiri felt he had been insulted by the people of Kugri (Kelly 1974). Since Ghana's independence in 1957 the Kusasi and Mamprusi have largely given their support to various regimes and opposition movements, who have generally obliged by enskinning and deskinning competing candidates for the Bawku chieftaincy as required by their supporters. In the 2000 elections over 50 people were killed in disputes following the alleged NDC claim that an NPP government would reinstate the Mamprusi chieftaincy (Aye 2001: 7). Most recently, in December 2001, violence broke out following a dispute between a Kusasi and a Mamprusi at a lotto kiosk in the Sabongari district of the town. Subsequent tit-for-tat attacks led to at least 29 deaths and 36 serious injuries on the day of 6 December alone.

...It would be wrong to identify a single cause for the violence and division in Bawku, as in other areas of the north. In addition to the Mamprusi/Kusasi rivalry there was considerable resentment at the role of Hawa Yakubu who, as a Busanga, was resented by both tribal groups as something of an outsider in Bawku. Additionally, her refusal to allow a younger candidate to take her place as NPP candidate further stimulated local resentment against a wealthy candidate who was unwilling to allow others to share in the benefits of office (Kelly, Bob and Bening, R. B. 2007, 'Ideology, regionalism, self-interest and tradition: An investigation into contemporary politics in northern Ghana, *Africa*, Vol. 77. No. 2, pp. 200, 201 – [http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/africa\\_the\\_journal\\_of\\_the\\_international\\_african\\_institute/toc/afr77.2.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/africa_the_journal_of_the_international_african_institute/toc/afr77.2.html) – Accessed 1 September 2009 – Attachment 1).

A2003 analysis published for the Netherlands Institute of International Relations also emphasised the complexity of issues involved in understanding conflict in the Upper East Region of Bawku;

Indeed the Bawku conflict brought into play a complex matrix of structural and contingent factors that makes the disaggregating of the events particularly difficult. The area in which the conflict occurred is ethnically heterogeneous and has one of the lowest income (80% living in extreme poverty) and literacy (26.3% of adults functionally literate) rates in the country. It is a relatively densely populated area with over 100 residents per kilometer. There is relatively strong religious (66%) and ethnic (64%) attachment by the populace. Voter consciousness is high and party affiliation (NDC, NPP and PNC) strong with 2000 voter registration figures of 95 per cent. Additionally simmering disputes over the Bawku skin have persisted for years. A number of the protagonists have been brought before the courts, but to date no credible insights have been gained into the motivation for and execution of the attacks (Hughes, Tim 2003, 'Managing group grievances and internal conflict: Ghana country report. Working Paper 11, Netherlands Institute of International Relations, June, pp57-58 – <http://www.clingendael.nl/cru/publications/2003/> – Accessed 2 September 2009 – Attachment 2).

A frequently cited study by Christian Lund provides further information concerning the history of conflict in recent decades, including overlapping issues of land ownership, ethnicity, chieftaincy and others, including the unresolved issue of the Bawku skin (signifying entitlement to the throne);

The skin is the symbol of chiefly authority in northern Ghana, equivalent to the stool in the south. It symbolizes the chieftaincy and the throne. When a chief is enskinned, he is seated on the skin of an ox sacrificed for the occasion. In normal parlance, chiefs who are forced to abdicate are de-stooled, not de-skinned.

According to Lund,

A wide range of political – including party-political – and economic competition over chieftaincy, land, markets, names of places and other issues are thus cut to fit the ethnic distinction as conflicts over rights and prerogatives are constantly rekindled. These competitions are played out through a variety of political practices ranging from legal procedure, through party politics, administrative exclusion, home town association activity, cultural festivals, symbolically charged, well-choreographed receptions of dignitaries, to bloodshed... The fact that the conflict is pattern entrenching does not mean that loyalties do not sometimes cut across the ethnic divide. But it means that such movements are easily denounced and considered invidious. Obviously, internal rivalry among Kusasis and Mamprusis, inter-ethnic marriages and political alliances *contre nature*, all occurring as opportunities arise, do not easily conform to the entrenched pattern (Lund, Christian 2003, “Bawku is still volatile”: ethno-political conflict and state recognition in Northern Ghana’, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 4, p. 589, <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayIssue?jid=MOA&volumeId=41&issueId=04&iid=190478> – Accessed 3 September 2009 – Attachment 3).

In the article by Kelly and Bening referred to above, they point out that all the areas of Ghana are ethnically mixed, with the north being ‘particularly heterogeneous, including as indigenes seven distinct language groups, each with numerous dialects’. Of these, the most significant is the Mole-Dagbani, which includes ‘the languages spoken by the Dagomba, Mamprusi, Kusasi, Dagaaba and Builsa, who can be found in almost all areas of the north’ (pp. 183-84).

Where outbreaks of conflict occur they have often arisen over relatively trivial incidents. The Guinea Fowl War (1994-95) began as the result of a fight between a Konkomba and a Nanumba man over a guinea fowl at a market near Bimbilla in January 1994;

The quarrel quickly degenerated into ethnic abuse, threats of oncoming war, and violence in which the Konkomba man severed a finger. The following day the son of the Konkomba man injured in the fight sought out the Nanumba man on his farm and shot him, after which large-scale Konkomba-Nanumba fighting broke out in Nanun, and quickly spread to Dagomba and Gonja-controlled areas.

Two days after the start of the war, the Konkomba minority in Tamale, numbering about 5,000 people at the time, were attacked by youths from the majority ethnic groups and forced to flee. The fighting centred around the Oti river region, mainly outside the district capitals that were protected by the army. Almost all Dagomba, Nanumba, and Gonja settlements along the Bimbilla-Yendi road were burnt and February-March saw intense fighting in seven districts (Jönsson, Julia 2007, ‘The overwhelming minority: traditional leadership and ethnic conflict in Ghana’s Northern Region’, CRISE Working Paper No. 30, Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, University of Oxford, February, p. 19, <http://www.crise.ox.ac.uk/pubs.shtml> – Accessed 3 September 2009 – Attachment 4).

Ongoing incidents of violence since 2008 seem to indicate similarly localised and minor disputes can become the basis for inter-group conflict on a larger scale. An *Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN)* report in June 2008 referred to a meeting between then President Kufuor with Bawku members of parliament and local leaders.

Kufuor said the local officials should be “ashamed” of the events in Bawku where 17 people have been murdered in a new spat between the Mamprusi and Kusasi ethnic groups in the last week that locals say started in a dispute over the theft of a horse.

Bawku has a long history as a flashpoint town in Ghana. In 2001 at least 28 people were killed there when factions clashed in another battle apparently sparked by a relatively small crime, the destruction of a small shop.

...

The international human rights group Amnesty International has expressed concern about the lack of political will to solve the crisis. The group said in a statement that the failure to resolve the conflict stems from a “game of hurt no one in order to win all votes”.

President Kufuor has held two separate rounds of talks with leaders of the two rival ethnic factions this year (‘Ghana: Conflict in north could threaten elections’ 2008, *Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN)*, 27 June – Attachment 5).

The BBC reported that at least four people had died during fighting between members of the two groups in May of 2008 (‘Ghana: Four killed in Ghana tribal clash’ 2008, *BBC*, 6 May – Attachment 6). At the beginning of May 2009, *The Chronicle* reported that 28 people had been arrested for questioning following the shooting of two people in Bawku (‘Ghana: Let’s be sensitive with Bawku matters’ 2009, *All Africa* [source: *The Chronicle*], 5 May – Accessed 3 September 2009 – Attachment 23). Further violence occurred a few weeks later, shortly after the visit of President John Mills to the area. In a report by the *Daily Guide*, the President had apparently prayed and met with local leaders, including the Mamprusi chief and the Bawku Naba, a Kusasi, during peace talks;

During the said historic meeting, which was thought to have sealed the incessant scenes of inter-ethnic conflicts, President Mills entreated all concerned about the need to support the peace effort, as this is a pre-requisite for development.

Many Ghanaians did not find the spectacle of the two personalities who appear to hold the key to the peace in Bawku as particularly refreshing.

Even as the President enforced the handshaking segment of the encounter, one of them, as the pictures showed, appeared to be looking away from his counterpart.

“That was enough to show that it is not yet peace in Bawku,” one curious person told DAILY GUIDE.

On Sunday afternoon, a popular Moshi young man was shot and killed in Bawku, following which Mamprusis went on a revenge attack.

The military and police action averted what could have been worse than what was reported in the media yesterday. However, by press time yesterday, the death toll was three.

The Deputy Commissioner of Police in-charge of the Upper East Region, Alhaji Hamidu, told the media a day after the incident that there was an underlying factor beyond the ethnic one responsible for the resurgence of violence in Bawku.

He however fell short of giving details due to, as he put it, security reasons.

An extended curfew has been slapped on the town as the security agencies maintain law and order (‘Ghana: 3 killed as Mills embarrassed over Bawku’, 2009, *Daily Guide*, 2 June – Attachment 7).

More recently, the BBC reported on 7<sup>th</sup> September that new curfew hours had been imposed following the killing of a Mamprusi taxi driver;

The Ministry of Interior has imposed new curfew hours on the Bawku Municipality [north-eastern Ghana] and its environs. The new hours are from 1pm to 6am [local time]. This follows clashes between the Mamprusis [northern Ghana] and the Kussasis [north-eastern Ghana] leading to the death of about five people this morning.

According to the director of police public relations, DSP [Deputy Superintendent of Police] Kwesi Ofori, the minister of interior, Cletus Avoka has been meeting with the district and regional security council to bring the situation under control.

According to the minister, Rufai Sumani a taxi driver with Opel Cadet registration number GR6092D was plying between Bawku and Sankasi [north-eastern Ghana] when he was attacked by an unknown gunman. The taxi driver was with three others in the vehicle when he was attacked. Two of the passengers were injured and have been hospitalized at Sankasi. The third person escaped unhurt.

According to the DSP Kwesi, the attack on the taxi driver who is a Mamprusi triggered a counter attack which led to people taking the law into their hands. In the ensuing violence, one Adam Kubila a NADMO [National Disaster Management Organization] officer was killed near the Barclays Bank in Bawku as well as commercial motor rider ('Ghana: Government renews curfew in conflict-torn north' 2009, *BBC*, 7 September – Attachment 8).

Various efforts have continued to bring peace between the groups frequently in conflict. The role of ethnic youth associations in such efforts has been highlighted in the 2007 CRISE paper by Julia Jonsson referred to above (esp. p. 34 ff).

In May 2009, a new Inter-Ethnic Peace Committee consisting of 5 Mamprusi and 5 Kusasis members was established with the aim of encouraging peaceful co-existence and 'constructive and effective dialogue among all people of Basku', according to a report in the *Ghanaian Times*;

Its terms of reference included helping to resolve putty squabbles and delinking them from ethnicity.

The members are expected to educate all to appreciate the need to differentiate criminal acts and activities from those related to the conflict and to allow the law to take its natural course.

Inaugurating the Committee, Mr Mark Woyongo, condemned last Thursday April 30 shooting incident at the Bawku Cattle Market and described it "as needless and very irresponsible" on the part of the perpetrators and their accomplices.

"I want to believe that these are acts of the few miscreants and men of dubious characters who are outnumbered by we the genuine peace lovers," he stressed.

He stated that the recovery of the stolen cattle by the security agencies buttressed his assertion and called on the committee not to be discouraged by these damnable acts but to preserve in the peace effort.

Mr Woyongo expressed concern about the fact that people in the North has misplaced priorities because they are engaged in conflicts which cannot in matters that eliminate their abject poverty or reduce it.

He said it was sad that some people rather devote their energies and scarce resources to the acquisition of deadly weapons to destroy lives and life-long properties badly needed for sustenance ('Ghana: Inter-Ethnic Peace Committee formed at Bawku' 2009, *Ghanaian Times*, 8 May – Attachment 9).

In August 2009, the gift of a 32-seat bus was made by the government to the Inter-Ethnic Peace Committee in order to conduct outreach programs educating people on the need for peace in the area. Two motorbikes were also donated to the Committee by UK-resident Bawku citizens;

Making the presentation on behalf of the government on Tuesday at Bawku, the Upper East Regional Minister, Mr. Mark Woyongo, said it was in fulfillment of the committee's request to the government for a means of transport to discharge its duties effectively.

The Minister urged members of the Committee to remain neutral in the discharge of their duties, especially in the area of ethnic and political differences, in order not to derail the peace currently being enjoyed in the area.

Mr. Woyongo was hopeful that with the current situation, there would be sustenance of peace in the place, but however regretted that the Bawku Municipal Assembly had retrogressed in terms of development, as a result of the conflict.

He assured the Committee that the Regional Coordinating Council (RCC), and the Bawku Municipal Council, would collaborate with them to ensure that peace was maintained, to pave way for development.

The co-chairmen of the Inter-Ethnic Peace Committee, Mr. Thomas Abilla and Mr. David Belko, both leaders of the Kusasis and Mamprusis respectively, assured the government that they would build upon what had been achieved so far, in searching for peace.

The Secretary of the Inter-Ethnic Committee, Mr. Joseph Abugre, said the committee had drawn up an elaborate plan, including community meetings, radio discussions, engagement of citizens in the area, and residents outside the Bawku Traditional area, and counseling among others. According to him, one of the challenges the Committee was faced with, was gossip and spread of false information ('Ghana: Bawku Inter Peace Committee gets bus' 2009, *All Africa* [source: The Ghanaian Chronicle], 14 August, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200908171386.html> – Accessed 3 September 2009 – Attachment 10).

**2. An election was held in late 2008. Please provide details of the results of the election and whether or not conflict between the contesting parties resulted in ethnic clashes leading up to or after the election, particularly in the North East region.**

A previous Research Response from July 2009 provides information on the 2008 election, including results. Some incidents of violence prior to the election throughout 2008 were reported, however it was generally agreed that the election itself was, overall, peacefully conducted (RRT Research & Information 2009, *RRT Research Response GHA35085*, 30 July (Question 3) – Attachment 11). Although clashes between ethnic groups did occur in the north east of the country and in Bawku in 2008, a 2009 analysis of ethnic block voting by academics from the German Institute of Global and Area Studies and the University of Edinburgh does not identify this area as one in which such instances of conflict could be matched with the voting patterns. As the authors of the study note there is a constitutional

and legal framework designed to prevent divisions along ethnic or tribal lines. Ashanti and Volta regions were seen as possible exceptions;

The history of Ghana's electoral processes shows that, at least in popular perception, ethnicity matters more than any other socioeconomic variable (cf. Fridy 2007:281, 302; Tonah 2009). Fortunately, during these (and previous) elections it did not result in large-scale election violence as in other African states, like Kenya or Nigeria.<sup>8</sup> However, the menace of bloody conflicts is also omnipresent in Ghana: The outbreak of the Dagomba and Konkomba conflict in Northern Ghana in 1994 proved that 'tribalist' conflicts can easily escalate into lethal confrontations with thousands of death (cf. Bogner 2000). In 2008, violent confrontations in Bawku between Kusasis and Mamprusis threatened to become politicized in this manner, but fortunately this was avoided. All it takes is chieftaincy and land disputes to become linked to party political alignments to produce an explosive mix (Jockers, Heinz, Kohnert, Dirk & Nugent, Paul 2009, 'The successful Ghana election of 2008: A convenient myth? Ethnicity in Ghana's elections revisited', pp. 3-4 – <http://mpr.a.ub.uni-muenchen.de/16167/> – Attachment 12).

The US Department of State recorded in its most recent report on human rights practices for Ghana on violence prior to the election in December;

During the run-up to the election there were some incidents that involved violence. On September 1, there were violent clashes in Gushiegu District in the Northern Region between NPP and NDC supporters when they attempted to erect campaign flags in the same location. The clashes resulted in six deaths and the burning of houses and vehicles. An NPP rally in Tamale was disrupted by gunfire, forcing the party's vice presidential candidate to flee, also in early September. The incident led to attacks on NDC supporters returning from their own rally, and in the destruction of houses and vehicles.

In August the Electoral Commission conducted an exercise to update the voter registry, generally for persons who had turned 18 since the last update in 2006. The exercise was marked by long lines and shortages of registration materials. Media reports and accusations by political party representatives described efforts to register underage persons and to transport persons into areas to facilitate multiple registrations. In October, the Electoral Commission (EC) published revised voter lists with duplicate names removed, and allowed public review in each constituency of the revised list (US Department of State 2009, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2008 – Ghana*, February, Section 3 – Attachment 13).

Freedom House referred in its annual country report on Ghana to allegations of voter registration problems and some other electoral fraud, although these were eventually dismissed by the Electoral Commission:

The National Enforcement Body of the Political Parties Code of Conduct reported a number of violations by both major parties in the run-up to the December elections. Instances of violence included a September campaign rally in the north at which six people were killed. The enforcement body also cited the parties for lack of cooperation with the police and the use of inflammatory language.

In the end, however, the elections were viewed as a success by both domestic and international observers. In the first round of the presidential election held on December 7, Akufo-Addo won 49 percent of the vote against Atta Mills's 48 percent. As neither candidate received more than 50 percent, a runoff vote was held on December 28, when Atta Mills won with just 50.23 percent of the vote, marking the second ever peaceful transfer of power by democratic means in Ghana. Power similarly transferred hands in parliament as the NDC secured 114 seats against the NPP's 107. Both parties reported minor instances of electoral

fraud, but all were dismissed by the EC (Freedom House 2009, *Freedom in the World 2009 – Ghana*, 16 July – Attachment 14).

**3. Are there any news or other reports of incidents of violence or attacks in Bawku in August 2005? Are there any reports of Mamprusi-targeted violence in April 2006? Are there any other reports of violence or ethnic related violence or accidents in November or December 2006?**

A search of the sources consulted has been unable to find any reports of violence or attacks in Bawku in August 2005 or April 2006. No reports of incidents of ethnic or other violence in Bawku in November or December 2006 were found.

**4. Please provide information on the treatment of NPP supporters currently.**

The previous Research Response of July 2009 provides information concerning the treatment of NPP supporters (RRT Research & Information 2009, *RRT Research Response GHA35085*, 30 July (Question 4) – Attachment 11).

**5. What is the process for applying for and obtaining a passport in Ghana?**

Information concerning the requirements and eligibility criteria for a passport are provided on the website of the Ghana Immigration Service. The Constitution permits a Ghanaian citizen by birth, marriage, or naturalization, to obtain a passport. Information is provided concerning the documents that are to be submitted and instructions on completion of the application form. Submission and collection information are also provided:

**SUBMISSION**

- Submit completed application form and all attachments in person to the nearest Immigration office in your locality.
- The Immigration officer-in-charge shall examine, in your presence, that your application form has been dully completed. Insist on this.
- Pay the processing fee of ₵100,000.00 or GH₵10.00 for fresh passports and ₵500,000 or GH₵50 .00 for replacement of lost passports and demand a receipt.
- The date of collection of passport shall be written on your payment receipt.
- Between the immigration office and the passport office your application will be processed for issue.
- The Passport Office shall inform you in writing if there are any queries with your application.

**COLLECTION OF PASSPORT**

- The Passport shall be ready for collection within 30 (thirty) days on submission of the application.

- Collect your Passport in person from the District or Regional Immigration Office in your region.
- Sign the relevant portion of the passport in the presence of the immigration officer during collection.
- The Passport Office in Accra is not a collection centre. Please note ('Eligibility for a Passport / Procedure' 2007, Ghana Immigration Service [http://www.ghanaimmigration.org/eligibility\\_info.htm](http://www.ghanaimmigration.org/eligibility_info.htm) – Accessed 11 March 2009 – Attachment 15).

A 2006 news magazine on the website of the Ghanaian Immigration Service website includes a two page article relating to travel documents and passports issued by the Service. Amongst other documents the Service issues the Ordinary Passport; Service Passport and Diplomatic Passport;

#### ORDINARY PASSPORT

This is sometimes called Black Passport. It is issued to any ordinary Ghanaian. Any Ghanaian who is qualified for a Passport can apply to acquire one. It currently has 32 pages. It is valid for 10 years and it actually remains with holder unless other wise withdrawn by the State.

#### SERVICE PASSPORT

This is green in colour and is known as a functional passport. It is issued to Ghanaians traveling on official state assignment other than holders of diplomatic passports. This passport is returned to the organization after the purpose for which it is issued expires that is why it is known as functional Passport. The same passport is used by the holder in case another trip is to be undertaken within the validity of the passport.

#### DIPLOMATIC PASSPORT

This is issued to:

- Ghanaians proceeding on official government business.
- Leader of a government delegation.
- Diplomatic representatives of Ghana to any country.
- Any Diplomatic staff or consular officer of Ghana and their dependants.
- By the Passport law amendment, PNDCL 310 of 1993, a Diplomatic Passport may be issued to a prominent Ghanaian when so directed by the government. A diplomatic passport is also functional Passports. They must be returned after the holder's duty tour. As much as diplomatic passport holders enjoy some immunities, their passports are endorsed by the Immigration Service before departure or arrival.

The article states that application for a service passport takes place through 'the institution that is sponsoring the trip'. Obtaining a Diplomatic Passport requires the instruction by letter of the Office of the President to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Legal Directorate of the Ministry will then issue a form and neither the form nor the passport involves the payment of any fee;

The form is only issued by the Legal directorate of Foreign Affairs Ministry. It is not for sale and the applicant pays no money for a Service or Diplomatic passport. The processing of official passports are done solely by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Immigration Service plays no part in the processing. The form is also issued by the legal directorate of Foreign Affairs Ministry. It is not for sale and the applicant pays no money for a Service or a Diplomatic passport. The processing of official passports are done solely by the Ministry of foreign Affairs and Immigration Service plays no part in the processing ('Ghana Passports'

2006, *Migrant News* Vol. 1, pp. 8, 9, <http://www.ghanaimmigration.org/Index.htm> – Accessed 9 September 2009 – Attachment 16).

**6. Please provide information on the availability of state protection for minority groups in the event of ethnic clashes.**

The US Department of State provided a general overview of the state of policing in Ghana in its most recent report on human rights practices:

The police, under the jurisdiction of a 10-member Police Council, are responsible for maintaining law and order. The military continued to participate in law enforcement activities during the year. The Ghana Police Service is within the Ministry of Interior. A separate entity, the Bureau of National Investigations, handled cases considered critical to state security and answered directly to the Ministry of National Security. The police maintained specialized units in Accra for homicide, forensics, domestic violence, visa fraud, narcotics, and cyber-crimes. However, there were significant barriers to extending such services nationwide, including a lack of office accommodation, police vehicles, and equipment outside of Accra.

The police service received repeated criticism due to incidents of police brutality, corruption, and negligence. Impunity remained a problem. Delays in prosecuting suspects, rumors of police collaboration with criminals, and the widespread perception of police ineptitude contributed to an increase in vigilante violence during the year. There were also credible reports that police extorted money by acting as private debt collectors, by setting up illegal checkpoints, and by arresting citizens in exchange for bribes from detainees' disgruntled business associates.

The constitution and law provide for protection against arbitrary arrest and detention; however, the government did not always observe these prohibitions.

Government officials stated that the policy of zero tolerance for corruption applied to police and other security officials; however, low salaries, which were sometimes not paid on time, contributed to the tendency of individual law enforcement officials to demand bribes (US Department of State 2009, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2008 – Ghana*, February, Section 1d- Attachment 13).

An *Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN)* article reported in June 2008 on the rise of vigilante groups in Accra, due to the poor level of policing. However, it also reported that the European Commission had provided funding for police and judicial reforms;

The Head of Public Relations at the police headquarters, assistant commissioner of police Kwesi Ofori acknowledged the police force has credibility problems. "We have challenges but we are working on it," he said, pointing to short staffing as one of the main constraints.

Ofori said revamping the police force is only half the battle. The court system also needs to be streamlined. "It creates a bad image for us [police] when we arrest people and process them for court and it takes forever to reach a conviction," he said.

There are no exact figures but Ghana's judicial service say several thousands of unheard cases across the country are pending before the courts. Some of these cases [have been pending for as long as five years](#).

**Reforms**

The government of Ghana recently signed a US\$12.5 million financing agreement with the European Commission to invest in the police and Ofori said the service will be embarking on a massive recruitment drive to improve the number of cops on the beat.

Ghana's judicial service has also rolled out ambitious judicial reforms including court automation, building more law courts, appointing more judges and compulsory weekend courts to speed up the pace of justice ('Ghana: Vigilante groups fill security vacuum' 2008, *Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN)*, 23 June – Attachment 17).

In a briefing given to the Vice-President who had visited Bawku early in 2008, the Commanding Officer of the Airborne Force Detachment of the Ghana Armed Forces claimed that police were frustrated by the ease with which arrested suspects were able to be awarded bail by courts;

He told the Vice President that after risking their lives to arrest some of the suspects, the courts easily gave them bail and these miscreants found their way back to town, walking on the streets of Bawku with their heads held high.

This development, according to him, was demoralising to the men and officers on the ground and also compounded the lawlessness in the area.

He suggested to the Vice President to seriously look at the manner in which such persons were released by the courts.

Lt. Col. Awuah-Mantey also informed the entourage that many of the young people lacked basic education and were therefore susceptible to corruption and prone to crime.

Suggesting solutions, the Commanding Officer said the leadership of the feuding parties should be made to smoke the peace pipe and compelled to sign an undertaking not to foment trouble.

He appealed to Mr. Mahama to help the security agents with some logistics such as toilet facilities since those available were not enough for the over 450 men on the ground.

ACP Alhaji Hamidu for his part noted that 'some of the vehicles, especially the armoured cars, had broken down.

In his reaction, Vice President Mahama commended the security agents for their sacrifices to the cause of the nation and promised to immediately tackle their logistical problems ('Ghana: Child soldiers fight in Bawku' 2009, *Daily Guide (Ghana)*, 7 March – Attachment 18).

A January 2008 Ghana Web news report stated that there were 'about 400 police-military persons and officers in the [Bawku] municipality ensuring law and order' since a curfew had been introduced on 2<sup>nd</sup> January ('Fallout from Bawku Conflict' 2008, Ghana Web, 7 January, <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=137193> – Accessed 9 September 2009 – Attachment 19).

Following outbreaks of conflict in May, June, and September 2009, Bawku residents interviewed for an article published on 8 September in the *Ghanaian Chronicle* stated that 'deployment of adequate security, especially to the outskirts where people were being targeted and ambushed' was more important than extended curfew hours;

Some of the residents argued that the killing of the taxi driver did not have any connection with the conflict, but that the late driver was targeted by his assailants.

Others also blamed the security personnel on the ground for taking sides, as they claimed that some of the security officers either belonged to one of the feuding factions (Kussasi and Mamprusi) or the other.

Speaking in a telephone interview with this paper, the Interior Minister and Member of Parliament (MP) for Zebilla Constituency, Mr. Cletus Avoka, said though calm had been restored to the area, the security personnel were still on high alert, to ensure that the situation did not escalate.

...

The Deputy Upper East Regional Police Commander, Assistant Commissioner of Police (ACP) George Tuffour, who was in Bawku on Sunday to assess the situation, admitted that the sporadic shootings in the area were confounding the security personnel.

He however said there was uneasy calm, and that the police were taking drastic measures to avoid any retaliation by the feuding factions ('Ghana: Exploring a lasting solution to Bawku conflict' 2009, *All Africa* [source: The Chronicle], 8 September, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200909090865.html> – Accessed 10 September 2009 – Attachment 20).

## 7. What is the feasibility of relocation within Ghana?

The July 2009 Research Response referred to previously provides information on relocation in Ghana (RRT Research & Information 2009, *RRT Research Response GHA35085*, 30 July (Question 6) – Attachment 11).

According to the UK Home Office's *Operational Guidance Note – Ghana* of January 2009, "the Mamprusis and Kusasis...clans in the Dagbon kingdom are able to receive adequate state protection and are able to internally relocate to another part of the country":

**3.6.1** Applicants may make an asylum and/or human rights claim based on ill-treatment amounting to persecution at the hands of rival ethnic groups or tribes on account of their ethnicity.

**3.6.2 Treatment.** There are numerous small-scale conflicts within ethnic groups, most of which are related to chieftaincy and land use issues. Efforts by NGOs to encourage reconciliation continue. There were several violent clashes between Kusasi and Mamprusi tribesmen in northern Ghana in 2008.

**3.6.3 Sufficiency of protection.** Though the police service came under criticism following incidents of brutality, corruption, and negligence in 2007, complaints of police abuse and misconduct lodged by the public are investigated through the 33-person Police Intelligence and Professional Standards Unit (PIPS). Individuals with allegations of human rights violations, or grievances against government agencies or public officials can also seek redress through the CHRAJ [Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice]. There is therefore no evidence that ethnic group/tribal members would not be able to seek and receive adequate protection from the state authorities were they to face ill-treatment at the hands of rival ethnic groups or tribes.

**3.6.4 Internal relocation.** The Constitution provides for freedom of movement within the country and the Government generally respects this right in practice. As rival ethnic group or tribe disputes are sporadic and regionalised, safe relocation to a different area of the country to escape this threat is generally feasible.

**3.6.5 Conclusion.** Sporadic inter-ethnic clashes are reported, but they are usually short-lived or quickly subdued by the state authorities. Applicants citing conflict between or within any rival groups; the Ewes in the north, Fantes in central regions, the Mamprusis and Kusasis or the Andani and Abudu clans in the Dagbon kingdom are able to receive adequate state protection and are able to internally relocate to another part of the country (UK Home Office 2009, *Operational Guidance Note – Ghana*, 28 January, p.4 – Attachment 21).

In a study of the Bawku East Municipality by Gamel Aganah published in 2008, the need to move elsewhere was cited by a number of the study participants;

Most of the respondents in the focus group discussions claimed that they have been forced to flee the Municipality at least once in the past because of violent clashes. Some held that they had returned to the Municipality only recently, because of the long absence of any violent clash. (The last clashes before this fieldtrip were in 2000/2001). Fresh clashes at the end of 2007 and early 2008 will probably have forced most of these people to flee once more. Most respondents also claimed that they know of several people who have fled the perennial violence to settle permanently in nearby towns and in the big cities of Accra and Kumasi.

#### **4.5.2 Relocation of Economic Activities**

It also became evident from the fieldwork that not only do people relocate to other places, but they relocate their businesses and other economic ventures to more peaceful parts of Ghana as well (Aganah, Gamel A. M. 2008, *The Effects of Chieftaincy Conflicts on Local Development: The Case of the Bawku East Municipality*, University of Tromso M Phil Thesis, p. 44, <http://henry.ub.uit.no/munin/handle/10037/1604?mode=simple> – Accessed 1 September 2009 – Attachment 22).

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UK Home Office <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/>

US Department of State <http://www.state.gov/>

#### **International News & Politics**

BBC News <http://www.bbc.co.uk>

*The Times* <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/global/>

#### **Non-Government Organisations**

Minority Rights Group International <http://www.minorityrights.org/>

UNHCR Refworld <http://www.refworld.org>

European Country of Origin Information <http://www.ecoi.net>

#### **Region Specific Links**

*All Africa* <http://allafrica.com>

*Africa Confidential* <http://www.africa-confidential.com/home>

*IRIN News* <http://www.irinnews.org/>

*Afrol News* <http://www.afrol.com>

Modern Ghana <http://www.modernghana.com>  
The Statesman <http://www.thestatesmanonline.com/>  
Topix Ghana <http://www.topix.com/gh/bawku>  
Ghana Web <http://www.ghanaweb.com/>

### Search Engines

Webcrawler <http://www.webcrawler.com>  
Google Scholar <http://www.google.com>  
Clusty <http://www.clusty.com>  
Hakia <http://www.hakia.com>

### Databases:

FACTIVA (news database)  
BACIS (DIAC Country Information database)  
REFINFO (IRBDC (Canada) Country Information database)  
ISYS (RRT Research & Information database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of State Reports)  
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