



Australian Government

Refugee Review Tribunal

Country Advice

Ghana

Ghana – GHA37075 – Yarigungu – Bawku District – Kusasi people – Kusasi chieftaincy – Hausa language – Kusasi-Mamprusi conflict – Tamale – Dagomba people

24 August 2010

- 1. Please provide background information on Yarigungu, Bawku District, Ghana, including any relevant geographical and cultural information. Are there any distinctive or significant landmarks in the area?**

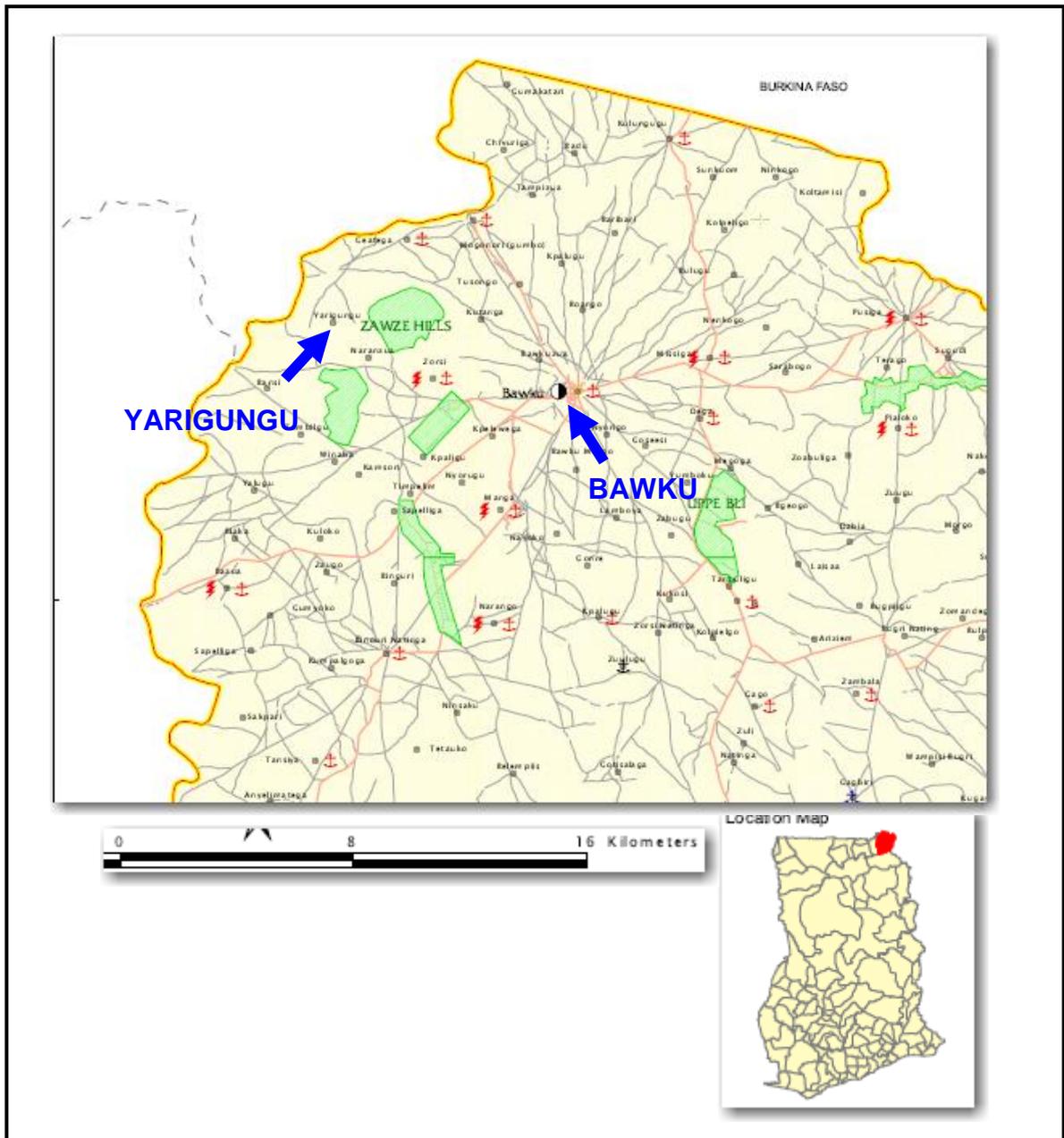
Yarigungu is a settlement bordering the town of Bawku on its northwest side. (Please see Map 1, next page.) Both the settlement and town are located in the Bawku East District – one of the two districts that comprise the “present day territory of the Kusasi in Ghana”.¹ Yarigungu and the surrounding area are the traditional home of a Kusasi sub-tribe, the Agole. While sources indicate that present-day Yarigungu is neither large nor developed, it was once the trade centre of the area before this was relocated to Bawku in the second half of the nineteenth century.² It is also the site of a hill that is sacred to the Kusasi and a crocodile pond “that is the home of a land god called Akalok”.³

¹ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 23-24.

² Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 32.

³ Mather, C 2003, “Shrines and the Domestication of Landscape”, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 59(1) pp 23-45 – Attachment 2, p 36.

**Map 1: North-western corner of Bawku East District⁴
with Bawku and Yarigungu marked**



Cultural profile

A 2001 sociolinguistic survey indicates that Yarigungu had a population of approximately 840 in the late 1990s.⁵ According to Charles Mather, an ethnoarchaeologist who did his PhD on Kusasi shrines in the area northwest of Bawku, the settlement is the traditional

⁴ For a full version of this map showing the whole East Bawku District, see first page of: Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development 2005, "Bawku East District – Facilities Maps", <http://www.ndpc.gov.gh/GPRS/Poverty%20Maps/Upper%20East/BAWKU%20EAST/Bawku%20East%20PM.pdf> – Accessed 11 August 2010 – Attachment 3. (Warning – this file may be slow to load and print.)

⁵ Berthelette, J 2001, "Sociolinguistic Survey Report for the Kusasi Language", SIL International, <http://www.silinternational.com/silesr/2001/009/SILESR2001-009.pdf> – Accessed 11 August 2010 – Attachment 4, p 26.

territory of a “sub-tribe” of the Kusasi known as the Agole.⁶ Residents would almost certainly speak the Agole (or Eastern) dialect of Kusaal, a Gur language and the native tongue of the Kusasi people.⁷ Mather has said that Yarigungu has a chief and an “earth priest”, with a single man occupying both positions.⁸

Facilities

On the basis of available information, Yarigungu does not seem to be highly developed. The survey mentioned above indicates that in the late 1990s it had a Presbyterian church and two mosques and a “literary center for Kusaal”.⁹ This may have changed in the intervening years, but a Ghanaian government “educational facilities” map confirmed that as of 2005, there was still no officially recognised primary school in the settlement.¹⁰ A government “water and electricity facilities” map and another source suggest that the settlement may also lack electricity. The map, dated 2005, indicated that Yarigungu did not have a significant power supply, and a “Bawku Municipality” page on the regional government website did not list it among the local settlements that “enjoy[ed] electricity”.¹¹ A western traveller to Yarigungu in 2006 said there was a road there, but at the time of her travels (during the rainy season), it was “so bad that motor vehicles [couldn’t] use it”.¹²

Geographical features

The climate across the Bawku districts is “arid and semitropical with a wet season between May and October and a dry season... lasting from November to April”, and the landscape is “characterized by gently rolling terrain” covered in “savanna vegetation”.¹³ The areas to the northwest of Bawku are more hilly, with elevations “up to about 420

⁶ Mather, M 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 36, 40.

⁷ Mather, C 2003, “Shrines and the Domestication of Landscape”, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 59(1) pp 23-45 – Attachment 2, p 31, 33; see also “Kusaal: A language of Ghana” n.d., *Ethnologue.com*, http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=kus – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 5. *Ethnologue* suggests the language/group may also be spelled “Angole” and other sources sometimes spelled it as “Agolle”.

⁸ Mather, C 2003, “Shrines and the Domestication of Landscape”, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 59(1) pp. 23-45 – Attachment 2, p 32. The man’s name was not provided.

⁹ Berthelette, J 2001, “Sociolinguistic Survey Report for the Kusaal Language”, SIL International, <http://www.silinternational.com/silestr/2001/009/SILESR2001-009.pdf> – Accessed 11 August 2010 – Attachment 4, p 30, 34.

¹⁰ See second page of: Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development 2005, “Bawku East District – Facilities Maps”, <http://www.ndpc.gov.gh/GPRS/Poverty%20Maps/Upper%20East/BAWKU%20EAST/Bawku%20East%20PM.pdf> – Accessed 11 August 2010 – Attachment 3.

¹¹ See first page of Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development 2005, “Bawku East District – Facilities Maps”, <http://www.ndpc.gov.gh/GPRS/Poverty%20Maps/Upper%20East/BAWKU%20EAST/Bawku%20East%20PM.pdf> – Accessed 11 August 2010 – Attachment 3; “Bawku Municipality” 2010, Website of the government of the Upper East Region, 9 July, http://www.uppereastregionghana.com/Bawku_more.html – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 6.

¹² “Ephalumps and Rastafarians” (blog entry by Western traveller to Ghana) 2006, *Travel Blog*, 27 July, <http://www.travelblog.org/Africa/blog-77710.html> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 7.

¹³ Mather, C 2003, “Shrines and the Domestication of Landscape”, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 59(1) pp. 23-45 – Attachment 2, p 30; Mather, M 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 25, 24.

meters”.¹⁴ Consistent with this, a western visitor to Yarigungu described it as a “small isolated village...hidden in an unusually hilly part of the upper-east region, with streams and ponds surrounded by little circular huts”.¹⁵ The soil in these hills is reportedly fertile but subject to erosion.¹⁶ Although no information was found on farming in Yarigungu specifically, in the Bawku districts more broadly “local agriculture is a form of rain-fed, fixed cultivation, subsistence farming”.¹⁷ It is likely that in Yarigungu, as in other areas, crops would be “grown in farming plots that radiate outwards from [living] compounds”.¹⁸

Significant landmarks

Sources indicate there are at least two significant landmarks in Yarigungu. These are the sacred hill Agole and a crocodile pond. Agole is “the tallest hill in the Bawku East District” and holds great cultural meaning for the Kusasi people and the Agole in particular, who consider it to be a “paramount land god”.¹⁹ (That the sub-tribe is named for the hill/land god is itself an indication of its importance.) The hill is currently a government forest reserve, and according to Mather,

Because it is a sacred place, people have not and do not live or farm directly on the hill. People use the hill, however, for grazing animals and gathering plants and tree parts as ingredients for medicines.²⁰

Yarigungu’s crocodile pond, located at the western foot of Agole, is another site with a cultural-spiritual dimension for the Kusasi. The pond draws from a tributary of the White Volta and is considered to be the home of the land god “Akalok”.²¹ Mather writes:

The pond is a miniature nature reserve that provides precious habitat for indigenous floral and faunal species. Restrictions are placed on the activities that take place around the pond. People are allowed to maintain dry-season farm plots adjacent to...[it], but they are not allowed to interfere with the animals and plants that live there.²²

¹⁴ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 25, 24.

¹⁵ “Ephalumps and Rastafarians” (blog entry by Western traveller to Ghana) 2006, *Travel Blog*, 27 July, <http://www.travelblog.org/Africa/blog-77710.html> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 7.

¹⁶ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 24.

¹⁷ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 27.

¹⁸ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 27.

¹⁹ Mather, C 2003, “Shrines and the Domestication of Landscape”, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 59(1) pp. 23-45 – Attachment 2, p 32

²⁰ Mather, C 2003, “Shrines and the Domestication of Landscape”, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 59(1) pp. 23-45 – Attachment 2, p 36

²¹ “Bawku Municipality” 2010, Website of the government of the Upper East Region, 9 July, http://www.uppereastregionghana.com/Bawku_more.html – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 6; Mather, C 2003, “Shrines and the Domestication of Landscape”, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 59 (1) pp 23-45 – Attachment 2, p 36.

²² Mather, C 2003, “Shrines and the Domestication of Landscape”, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 59(1) pp 23-45 – Attachment 2, p 36.

In recent years the crocodile pond has become a tourist site and the focus of an ecotourism development project funded by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).²³ A western visitor to the pond in 2006 said that it was “lined with [m]ango trees and filled with crocodiles”.²⁴ The Bawku District government claims that the pond “never dries” up and “[t]he crocodiles can be viewed by attracting them with treads which local boys will provide for a small fee”.²⁵

2. Please provide information on the Kusasi ethnic group and chieftaincy. Do the Kusasi have a common language and how widespread is the use of this language?

The Kusasi are an ethnic group from the north east of Ghana and Burkina-Faso.²⁶ A patrilineal people with a long history as “cereal agriculturalists” growing mainly millet and sorghum,²⁷ most Kusasi are still farmers and the group has maintained many of its traditions despite “the onslaught of colonialism and global capitalism”.²⁸ The indigenous language of the group is Kusaal, which is widely spoken in the Upper East Region, and the majority of Kusasi people follow traditional religion. Chiefs wield political authority, while “earth priests” have spiritual and ceremonial duties and hold responsibility for the land.

Traditional territory

The Kusasi people’s traditional territory, known as “Kusoak”, is in Ghana’s far north east

between the Red Volta River and the Togo-Ghana border, extending northwards into southwestern Burkina Faso and southwards as far as the Gambaga embankment.²⁹

In the present day, the Kusasis’ territory in Ghana comprises two districts of the Upper East Region, Bawku East and Bawku West, an area of about 3000 square kilometres.³⁰ There are two Kusasi sub-tribes that correspond to these geographic locales: the Eastern Kusasi, known as the Agole, and the Western Kusasi, the Toende.³¹ (Please see Map 2

²³ “Ephalumps and Rastafarians” (blog entry by Western traveller to Ghana) 2006, *Travel Blog*, 27 July, <http://www.travelblog.org/Africa/blog-77710.html> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 7.

²⁴ “Ephalumps and Rastafarians” (blog entry by Western traveller to Ghana) 2006, *Travel Blog*, 27 July, <http://www.travelblog.org/Africa/blog-77710.html> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 7.

²⁵ “Bawku Municipality” 2010, Website of the government of the Upper East Region, 9 July, http://www.uppereastregionghana.com/Bawku_more.html – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 6.

²⁶ Olson, J 1996, *The Peoples of Africa: An Ethnohistorical Dictionary*, Greenwood Press, London – Attachment 8, p 317.

²⁷ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 3; Olson, J 1996, *The Peoples of Africa: An Ethnohistorical Dictionary*, Greenwood Press, London – Attachment 8, p 317.

²⁸ Olson, J 1996, *The Peoples of Africa: An Ethnohistorical Dictionary*, Greenwood Press, London – Attachment 8, p 317; Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 3.

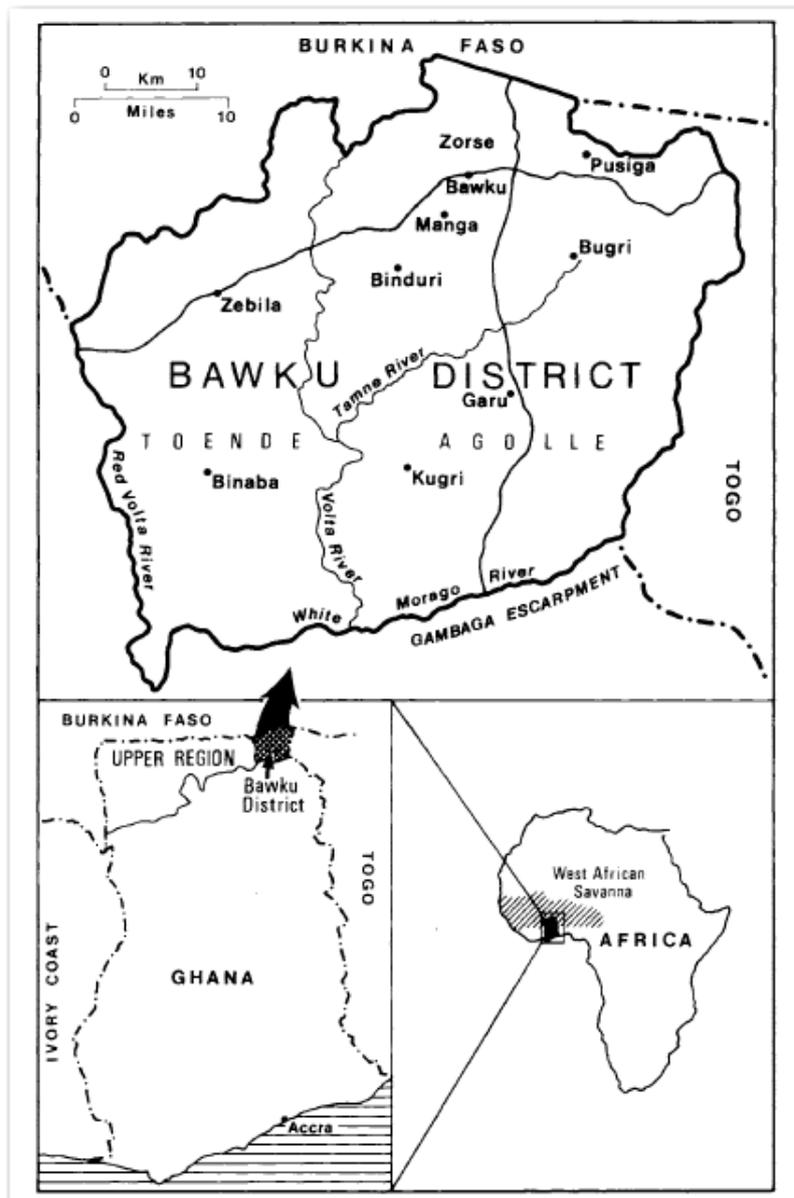
²⁹ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 23

³⁰ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 23,

³¹ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 36; Webber, P 1996, “Agrarian Change in Kusasi, North-East Ghana”, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 66(3), pp 437-457 – Attachment 9, p 437.

below.) Altogether, the Kusasi in the Upper East Region are thought to number between 300,000 and 400,000.³²

Map 2: Kusasi territory in the Upper East Region
(Toende to the west, Agolle to the east)³³



Social structure and daily life

The Kusasi are “strongly patrilineal” and polygyny (the form of polygamy in which a man has multiple wives) is widespread.³⁴ Authority is usually vested in males with

³² Berthelette, J 2001, “Sociolinguistic Survey Report for the Kusaal Language”, SIL International, <http://www.silinternational.com/silest/2001/009/SILESR2001-009.pdf> – Accessed 11 August 2010 – Attachment 4, p 6; Webber, P 1996, “Agrarian Change in Kusasi, North-East Ghana”, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 66(3), pp 437-457 – Attachment 9, p 441.

³³ This image is taken from Cleveland, D 1991, “Migration in West Africa: A Savanna Village Perspective”, *Africa*, 61(2), pp 221-246 – Attachment 10, p 224. Please note, this map collapses Bawku West and Bawku East districts into one “Bawku District”.

“genealogical seniority...[t]hat is, those who are more recently or closely descended from the apical male ancestor of a descent group”.³⁵ (Chieftaincy, which corresponds to political authority, is addressed in the next section.³⁶) Traditionally, men head the Kusasi family unit while women are expected to be “producing and reproducing member[s]” of their husband’s patrilineage.³⁷

This social structure is reflected in Kusasi communities at the physical level. Most Kusasi live in rural settlements, where, according to Mather,

[t]he basic unit...is the earthen walled compound (*yir*), occupied by a residential group (*yirdiim*) headed by a senior male (*yirana*)...The compound is physically divided into courtyards (*zak*), each occupied by a residential subgroup (*zakdiim*) consisting of a wife and her children.³⁸

Supporting these compounds (both as a food source and income generator) are farming plots that “radiate outward” from the residential areas.³⁹ Here people grow grains as well as secondary crops such as peanuts and vegetables.⁴⁰ Work is done mostly by hand with basic tools such as hoes.⁴¹ In addition to farm plots, a compound or family group is likely to possess a range of animals including fowl, sheep, pigs and dogs.⁴² These are a measure of the family’s wealth.⁴³ Cattle are also kept, usually in “kraals” (or enclosures), and “used primarily as bride wealth”.⁴⁴

Religion

Traditional religion has remained dominant among the Kusasi in spite of Christian influences and the spread of Islam in northern Ghana.⁴⁵ While these introduced religions have made “inroads” in urban areas, rural populations have largely maintained traditional

³⁴ Mather, C 2003, “Shrines and the Domestication of Landscape”, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 59(1) pp. 23-45 – Attachment 2, p 31; Cleveland, D 1989, “Developmental Stage Age Groups and African Population Structure: The Kusasi of the West”, *American Anthropologist*, 91(2), pp 401-413 – Attachment 11, p 407.

³⁵ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 41.

³⁶ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 42.

³⁷ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 41; Cleveland, D 1989, “Developmental Stage Age Groups and African Population Structure: The Kusasi of the West”, *American Anthropologist*, 91(2), pp 401-413 – Attachment 11, p 406.

³⁸ Mather, C 2003, “Shrines and the Domestication of Landscape”, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 59 (1) pp 23-45 – Attachment 2, p 31.

³⁹ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 27.

⁴⁰ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 27.

⁴¹ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 27.

⁴² Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 28.

⁴³ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 28.

⁴⁴ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 27-28.

⁴⁵ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 3.

religious practices.⁴⁶ *Ghanaweb* indicated that approximately 88 per cent of the Kusasi follow traditional religion, with only 7.5 per cent being Muslim and 4.5 per cent Christian.⁴⁷

Kusasi traditional religion places emphasis on “human to land relations”.⁴⁸ According to Mather, the Kusasi

identify land and climate with spiritual forces that they consider to be responsible for prevailing environmental conditions. Through sacrificing and pouring libations at the shrines that house these spirits the Kusasi attempt to improve and sustain relations with the land and thereby improve the odds that positive environmental conditions will prevail.

Land gods are the “spirits of particular places” or sites; the term may also be used to refer to the “shrines that commemorate human relations with those spirits”.⁴⁹ In Mather’s study, most land gods were “large stones set into the ground of forest groves, hills, ponds and other natural features”.⁵⁰ People may appeal to land gods in times of difficulty, and land gods, in turn, are “expected to guard the community”.⁵¹

The “most powerful spirit in Kusasi cosmology” does not have a particular shrine or place on the land.⁵² He is Na-Win, the high god, “the chief of destiny” and the “creative force in the universe”.⁵³ Other spirits – most prominently the land gods – “mediate between the people” and Na-Win, “giving him parts of the sacrifices and libations they receive from the living”.⁵⁴

Language

Reliable sources identify “Kusaal” as the indigenous language of the Kusasi.⁵⁵ According to *Ethnologue.com*, Kusaal is spoken by approximately 400,000 people in Ghana.⁵⁶ There

⁴⁶ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 3.

⁴⁷ “Ghanaian Languages – On Language and Development in Africa: The Case of Ghana” n.d., *Ghanaweb.com*, <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/tribes/languages.php> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 12.

⁴⁸ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 18.

⁴⁹ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 79.

⁵⁰ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 79.

⁵¹ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 81.

⁵² Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 80.

⁵³ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 79.

⁵⁴ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 80.

⁵⁵ Dakubu, M 2000, “Multiple bilingualisms and urban transitions: Coming to Accra”, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 141, pp 9-26 – Attachment 13, p 12; Mather, C 2003, “Shrines and the Domestication of Landscape”, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 59(1) pp 23-45 – Attachment 2, p 29; “Ghanaian Languages – On Language and Development in Africa: The Case of Ghana” n.d., *Ghanaweb.com*, <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/tribes/languages.php> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 12; Berthelette, J 2001, “Sociolinguistic Survey Report for the Kusaal Language”, SIL International, <http://www.silinternational.com/silesr/2001/009/SILESR2001-009.pdf> – Accessed 11 August 2010 – Attachment 4, p 4.

are two dialects, corresponding to the two Kusasi sub-groups, the Toende and the Agole.⁵⁷ The Agole or Eastern dialect is more common.⁵⁸

Kusaal is prevalent across the Upper East Region and in Bawku, where it has been described as the “principal” language.⁵⁹ According to M.E. Kropp Dakubu, a linguistics professor at the University of Ghana, Kusaal is almost universally spoken amongst Kusasi residents of Bawku, and is also spoken by many non-Kusasi residents of the town.⁶⁰ Kusaal may also be present elsewhere in Ghana where there are significant Kusasi populations: Professor Dakubu reported that Kusaal was used by members of the Kusasi community in Accra, though it was “giving way to Hausa”.⁶¹

Of note, sources indicate that the Kusasi, like many Ghanaians, are often multilingual.⁶² For example, Professor Dakubu found that many Kusasi in Bawku were able to speak Moore, Mampruli, Hausa, English and Akan in addition to Kusaal.⁶³

Chieftaincy amongst the Kusasi

Amongst the Kusasi, Mather writes, traditional “[p]olitical authority...is found in the offices of chieftaincy”.⁶⁴ There is a hierarchy of chiefs, from the “paramount chief” who lives in Bawku, to the territorial chiefs, to the settlement chiefs, down to the level of the “sub-settlement” chiefs.⁶⁵ Senior males who become chiefs are “[i]deally...chosen from

⁵⁶ “Kusaal: A language of Ghana” n.d., *Ethnologue.com*, http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=kus – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 5.

⁵⁷ “Kusaal: A language of Ghana” n.d., *Ethnologue.com*, http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=kus – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 5; “Ghanaian Languages – On Language and Development in Africa: The Case of Ghana” n.d., *Ghanaweb.com*, <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/tribes/languages.php> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 12; Berthelette, J 2001, “Sociolinguistic Survey Report for the Kusaal Language”, SIL International, <http://www.silinternational.com/silestr/2001/009/SILESR2001-009.pdf> – Accessed 11 August 2010 – Attachment 4.

⁵⁸ Berthelette, J 2001, “Sociolinguistic Survey Report for the Kusaal Language”, SIL International, <http://www.silinternational.com/silestr/2001/009/SILESR2001-009.pdf> – Accessed 11 August 2010 – Attachment 4, p 6.

⁵⁹ On the prevalence of Kusaal in the Upper Eastern Region see “Ghanaian Languages – On Language and Development in Africa: The Case of Ghana” n.d., *Ghanaweb.com*, <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/tribes/languages.php> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 12; Berthelette, J 2001, “Sociolinguistic Survey Report for the Kusaal Language”, SIL International, <http://www.silinternational.com/silestr/2001/009/SILESR2001-009.pdf> – Accessed 11 August 2010 – Attachment 4, p 6. On it being the “principal” language in Bawku see Dakubu, M 2000, “Multiple bilingualisms and urban transitions: Coming to Accra”, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 141, pp 9-26 – Attachment 13, p 17.

⁶⁰ Dakubu, M 2000, “Multiple bilingualisms and urban transitions: Coming to Accra”, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 141, pp 9-26 – Attachment 13, p 14.

⁶¹ Dakubu, M 2000, “Multiple bilingualisms and urban transitions: Coming to Accra”, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 141, pp 9-26 – Attachment 13, p 23.

⁶² On multilingualism in Ghana, see Dakubu, M 2000, “Multiple bilingualisms and urban transitions: Coming to Accra”, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 141, pp 9-26 – Attachment 13, and on the Kusasi in particular, see p 14. See also “Ghanaian Languages – On Language and Development in Africa: The Case of Ghana” n.d., *Ghanaweb.com*, <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/tribes/languages.php> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 12.

⁶³ Dakubu, M 2000, “Multiple bilingualisms and urban transitions: Coming to Accra”, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 141, pp 9-26 – Attachment 13, p 14.

⁶⁴ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 42

⁶⁵ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 42. The current paramount chief in Bawku is Naba Asigri

descent groups from which former chiefs originated”.⁶⁶ In Ghana’s north, the “[animal] skin is the symbol of chiefly authority... equivalent to the stool [a kind of throne] in the south”.⁶⁷ Thus, when a Kusasi chief is “installed in an office”, that is, “enskinned”, he “receives the skin from his superior in the political system, the man who presides as chief at the next highest administrative level”.⁶⁸ Kusasi chiefs are often called by the title *naba*.⁶⁹

Mather describes the duties of a Kusasi chief as “largely judicial”,⁷⁰ commenting that a chief will spend “[m]ost of his attention... [on] settling disputes between settlement residents... [and] is also expected to mediate between those above him in the chieftaincy system and his own people”.⁷¹ Described in this way, Kusasi chieftaincy seems to differ from that of some other people groups in Ghana, in which chiefs may also perform religious ceremonial rituals – for example, pouring libations to the gods.⁷² Mather suggests that amongst the Kusasi, duties of this nature fall to an “earth priest” (*tengindana*).⁷³ Earth priests are “individuals who hold ritual authority over the land and human relations with the land” and perform ceremonial tasks such as making sacrifices to land gods.⁷⁴ Of note, the Yarigungu case indicates that the offices of chief and earth priest may be occupied by a single person in some instances.⁷⁵

Abugrado Azoka II – as indicated by recent news reports such as “Tension in Bawku over T-shirt comments” 2010, High Life Today, 29 March, <http://highlifetoday.com/2010/03/29/tension-in-bawku-over-t-shirt/> – Accessed 18 August 2010 – Attachment 14 and “Bawku Naba condemns recent killing of two people in Bawku” 2010, *Ghana Reporter*, 4 January, <http://www.ireportghana.com/ghana/local/news/2786-bawku-naba-condemns-recent-killing-of-two-people-in-bawku> – Accessed 18 August 2010 – Attachment 15.

⁶⁶ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 42.

⁶⁷ Lund, Christian 2003, “Bawku is still volatile: Ethno-political conflict and state recognition in Northern Ghana”, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 41(4), pp 587-610 – Attachment 16, p 589.

⁶⁸ Lund, Christian 2003, “Bawku is still volatile: Ethno-political conflict and state recognition in Northern Ghana”, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 41(4), pp 587-610 – Attachment 16, p 589; Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 42.

⁶⁹ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 80.

⁷⁰ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 42.

⁷¹ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 42.

⁷² For example amongst the Akan people. See RRT Country Advice 2010, *Research Response GHA36553*, 19 May – Attachment 17.

⁷³ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 41; see also Mather, C 2003, “Shrines and the Domestication of Landscape”, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 59(1) pp 23-45 – Attachment 2, p 31.

⁷⁴ Mather, C 2003, “Shrines and the Domestication of Landscape”, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 59(1) pp. 23-45 – Attachment 2, p 31; see also Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 41.

⁷⁵ Mather, C 1999, “An Ethnoarchaeology of Kusasi Shrines, Upper East Region, Ghana”, Doctoral Thesis, University of Calgary, September – Attachment 1, p 41.

3. How common is the Hausa language in Accra, and in the Bawku District?

Hausa is primarily a Nigerian language, though it is also spoken in Benin, Burkina Faso, Niger, and the Sudan, as well as in Ghana, where it is a “trade language” in the North, according to *Ethnologue.com*.⁷⁶ Ghanaweb indicates that approximately 22 million Ghanaians speak Hausa, and the figure is higher – 35 million – when those who speak it as a second language are counted.⁷⁷ Although precise figures were not found regarding the prevalence of Hausa in Accra, an academic linguist has indicated that it is widely spoken there.⁷⁸ The language is also common in Bawku.⁷⁹

Hausa in Accra

A book-length study by M.E. Kropp Dakubu, a professor of linguistics at the University of Ghana, identified Hausa as one of the “four main languages” of Accra, along with Ga, Akan and English.⁸⁰ Professor Dakubu wrote that historically, the language “structure” of Accra

[had] been built up in layers, the Ga foundation closely followed by the Akan, with the Hausa and English presences gaining strength in the course of the nineteenth century.⁸¹

Actual statistics on the prevalence of Hausa in Accra were not available in the portions of Professor Dakubu’s book that were viewable online, but it is clear from the larger study that it is an important and widely spoken language in Accra.⁸²

Hausa in Bawku

Hausa is also commonly used in Bawku.⁸³ In fact, Professor Dakubu’s book *Korle meets the sea: A sociolinguistic history of Accra* notes that a survey from the mid-1980s indicated that Hausa was more prevalent in the “centre of Bawku” than Kusaal.⁸⁴ In a separate paper, Professor Dakubu found that while Kusaal was the dominant language in Bawku, more than half of the surveyed town residents spoke Hausa, and among Kusasi residents specifically, approximately one-third were confident in the language.⁸⁵ This is

⁷⁶ “Hausa: A language of Nigeria” n.d., *Ethnologue.com*,

http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=hau – Accessed 12 August 2010 – Attachment 18.

⁷⁷ “Ghanaian Languages – On Language and Development in Africa: The Case of Ghana” n.d., *Ghanaweb.com*, <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/tribes/languages.php> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 12.

⁷⁸ Dakubu, M 1997, *Korle meets the sea: A sociolinguistic history of Accra*, Oxford University Press, Oxford – Attachment 19, p 11.

⁷⁹ Dakubu, M 2000, “Multiple bilingualisms and urban transitions: Coming to Accra”, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 141, pp 9-26 – Attachment 13, p 14.

⁸⁰ Dakubu, M 1997, *Korle meets the sea: A sociolinguistic history of Accra*, Oxford University Press, Oxford – Attachment 19, p viii.

⁸¹ Dakubu, M 1997, *Korle meets the sea: A sociolinguistic history of Accra*, Oxford University Press, Oxford – Attachment 19, p 11.

⁸² Dakubu, M 1997, *Korle meets the sea: A sociolinguistic history of Accra*, Oxford University Press, Oxford – Attachment 19, p 11.

⁸³ Dakubu, M 1997, *Korle meets the sea: A sociolinguistic history of Accra*, Oxford University Press, Oxford – Attachment 19, p 67.

⁸⁴ Dakubu, M 1997, *Korle meets the sea: A sociolinguistic history of Accra*, Oxford University Press, Oxford – Attachment 19, p 75.

⁸⁵ Dakubu, M 2000, “Multiple bilingualisms and urban transitions: Coming to Accra”, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 141, pp 9-26 – Attachment 13, p 14, 17.

consistent with a *Ghanaweb* page that said Kusaal speakers were often bilingual in Hausa.⁸⁶

4. Please provide information on the Kusasi-Mamprusi conflict in Bawku in 2008. Was it confined to the local area?

The year 2008 was another volatile chapter in the long-running (and currently ongoing) conflict between Kusasi and Mamprusi populations in Bawku. According to the US State Department, “violent outbreaks” occurred in January, May and mid-year and “caused an estimated 18 deaths”.⁸⁷ Ghanaian news reporting indicated that the violence was not limited to these periods,⁸⁸ and many sources indicated higher death tolls.⁸⁹ The conflict seems to have been confined to the Upper East Region in 2008, and the only reports found to indicate that it spilled into other areas were later news stories on the murder of a Kusasi man in the Northern Region in November 2009.⁹⁰ This was presumed to be a revenge killing for the shooting of a Mamprusi man in Bawku the previous month.⁹¹

Kusasi-Mamprusi conflict in Bawku in 2008

The clashes between Kusasi and Mamprusi residents of Bawku in 2008 were a continuation of a longstanding land and chieftaincy-related conflict between the two ethnic groups.⁹² *Reuters* reported that the first outbreak of violence in 2008 followed directly from events in December 2007, when a “dispute over land rights triggered fighting between rival groups of youths during a tribal festival”.⁹³ A communal clash in Bawku on New Year’s Eve “ushered the people of the Upper East Region into 2008”,⁹⁴ and on 1 January there were “thick smoke and flames” and “sporadic gunshots” all over town.⁹⁵ By the end of January, the *Ghanaian Chronicle* was reporting that ten people had

⁸⁶ “Ghanaian Languages – On Language and Development in Africa: The Case of Ghana” n.d., *Ghanaweb.com*, <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/tribes/languages.php> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 12.

⁸⁷ US State Department 2009, *2008 Country Reports on Human Rights: Ghana*, 11 March – Attachment 20, see sec 1a.

⁸⁸ For example there were also reports of deaths in March. See “Kufuor Can’t Save Bawku” 2008, *The Accra Daily Mail*, 13 March, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200803130490.html> – Accessed 18 August 2010 – Attachment 21; “Conflict in North Could Threaten Elections” 2008, *IRIN Humanitarian News & Analysis*, 27 June, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200806271180.html> – Accessed 18 August 2010 – Attachment 22.

⁸⁹ See for example, “Ghana: Red Cross comes to the aid of a town divided by inter-tribal fighting” 2008, Website of the International Red Cross, 26 August, <http://www.icrc.org/web/eng/siteeng0.nsf/html/ghana-feature-260808> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 23. Additional reporting cited below also points to higher casualties.

⁹⁰ “PNC Chides Police For Linking Nalerigu Murder To Bawku” 2009, *Peace FM Online*, 15 November, <http://elections.peacefmonline.com/politics/200911/31754.php> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 24; Zoure, S 2009, “‘MP’ Killed•As Bawku Conflict Spills Over”, *Daily Guide*, 14 November, <http://www.modernghana.com/news/249252/1/none.html> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 25.

⁹¹ “PNC Chides Police For Linking Nalerigu Murder To Bawku” 2009, *Peace FM Online*, 15 November, <http://elections.peacefmonline.com/politics/200911/31754.php> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 24; Zoure, S 2009, “‘MP’ Killed•As Bawku Conflict Spills Over”, *Daily Guide*, 14 November, <http://www.modernghana.com/news/249252/1/none.html> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 25.

⁹² For background on this conflict, please see question one of RRT Country Advice 2009, *Research Response GHA35666*, 10 September – Attachment 26.

⁹³ Kpodo, K 2008, “Ghana sets curfew after five killed in tribal clash”, *Reuters*, 5 May, <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSL05587581> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 27.

⁹⁴ Jalulah, W 2008, “Bawku Naba Accuses Past Gov’ts”, *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, 10 January, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200801100889.html> – Accessed 18 August 2010 – Attachment 28.

⁹⁵ Jalulah W 2008, “Bawku Carnage”, *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, 4 January, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200801040526.html> – Accessed 18 August 2010 – Attachment 29.

died in the fighting, and many more had been injured.⁹⁶ In addition, large parts of the town were damaged by fire.⁹⁷ Authorities introduced an overnight curfew to bring the area under control, but the peace was short-lived.⁹⁸ News sources reported additional flare-ups in March, May and June, as follows:

- In **March**, the *Accra Daily Mail* indicated that two additional deaths had prompted local authorities to tighten the “stiffen the curfew from the relaxed 2000 hours to 0500, to the present 1500 hours to 0700”.⁹⁹ The deaths were corroborated by *IRIN Humanitarian News & Analysis*.¹⁰⁰
- **May** saw more reports of conflict-related deaths.¹⁰¹ The *BBC* said that a “clash between Kusasi and Mamprusi tribesmen” had started on 4 May after a Kusasi man was shot outside a mosque in Bawku.¹⁰² The *Ghanaian Times* reported on this murder and on that of another Kusasi man, which happened later that month in Yarigungu.¹⁰³ Government authorities responded to the violence by deploying extra troops and police and imposing a very restrictive curfew.¹⁰⁴
- In late **June**, the *Ghanaian Chronicle* reported that a Mamprusi man was stoned to death on 21 June near a Kusasi community after going in search of his missing

⁹⁶ Kotey, L 2008, “Don’t Politicize Bawku Conflict – Bartels”, *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, 30 January, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200801300805.html> – Accessed 18 August 2010 – Attachment 30.

⁹⁷ “Conflict in North Could Threaten Elections” 2008, *IRIN Humanitarian News & Analysis*, 27 June, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200806271180.html> – Accessed 18 August 2010 – Attachment 31.

⁹⁸ “Conflict in North Could Threaten Elections” 2008, *IRIN Humanitarian News & Analysis*, 27 June, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200806271180.html> – Accessed 18 August 2010 – Attachment 31.

⁹⁹ “Kufuor Can’t Save Bawku” 2008, *The Accra Daily Mail*, 13 March, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200803130490.html> – Accessed 18 August 2010 – Attachment 21.

¹⁰⁰ “Conflict in North Could Threaten Elections” 2008, *IRIN Humanitarian News & Analysis*, 27 June, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200806271180.html> – Accessed 18 August 2010 – Attachment 31.

¹⁰¹ Jalulah, W 2008 “Pregnant Woman Dies During Bawku Curfew Hours”, *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, 8 May, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200805080611.html> - Accessed 18 August 2010 – Attachment 32; Mohammed, A

2008, “2 ARRESTED...Over Murder Of Bawku Businessman”, *The Ghanaian Times*, 20 May, <http://www.modernghana.com/news/166248/1/2-arrestedover-murder-of-bawku-businessman.html> – Accessed

12 August 2010 – Attachment 33; “Bawku conflict: Fifty in court” 2008, *The Ghanaian Times*, 9 May, <http://news.myjoyonline.com/news/200805/16127.asp> - Accessed 12 August 2010 – Attachment 34, Mbord, A

2008, “Fighting erupts at Bawku Again”, *The Ghanaian Times*, 6 May,

<http://www.modernghana.com/newstthread2/164397/1/> - Accessed 20 July 2010 – Attachment 35; Kpodo, K

2008, “Ghana sets curfew after five killed in tribal clash”, *Reuters*, 5 May,

<http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSL05587581> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 27; “Five die in northern Ghana ethnic fight” 2008, *Afrik News*, 6 May, <http://www.afrik-news.com/article13496.html> - Accessed 18 August 2010 – Attachment 36.

¹⁰² “Four killed in Ghana tribal clash” 2008, *BBC News*, 6 May, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7385303.stm> - Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 37; see also Mohammed, A 2008, “2 ARRESTED...Over Murder Of

Bawku Businessman”, *The Ghanaian Times*, 20 May, <http://www.modernghana.com/news/166248/1/2-arrestedover-murder-of-bawku-businessman.html> – Accessed 12 August 2010 – Attachment 38; Mbord, A 2008,

“Fighting erupts at Bawku Again”, *The Ghanaian Times*, 6 May,

<http://www.modernghana.com/newstthread2/164397/1/> - Accessed 20 July 2010 – Attachment 35.

¹⁰³ Mohammed, A 2008, “2 ARRESTED...Over Murder Of Bawku Businessman”, *The Ghanaian Times*, 20 May, <http://www.modernghana.com/news/166248/1/2-arrestedover-murder-of-bawku-businessman.html> – Accessed 12 August 2010 – Attachment 33.

¹⁰⁴ “Four killed in Ghana tribal clash” 2008, *BBC News*, 6 May, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7385303.stm> - Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 37; Mohammed, A 2008, “2 ARRESTED...Over Murder Of Bawku

Businessman”, *The Ghanaian Times*, 20 May, <http://www.modernghana.com/news/166248/1/2-arrestedover-murder-of-bawku-businessman.html> – Accessed 12 August 2010 – Attachment 33.

horse.¹⁰⁵ An *IRIN* news story dated 27 June indicated that this led to more deaths, reporting that in the week that followed, “17 people [were]...murdered in a new spat between the Mamprusi and Kusasi...that locals say started in a dispute over the theft of a horse”.¹⁰⁶

In **August**, the *Ghanaian Chronicle* said peace had returned to Bawku and reported that a regional official had called for government workers who had fled the area to return to work.¹⁰⁷ Although small-scale incidents may have occurred during the remainder of the year, no reports were found of significant further conflict-related violence until 2009.¹⁰⁸

Alleged overflow of Bawku conflict into the Northern Region

No reports were found to suggest that the Bawku conflict overflowed the borders of the Upper East Region in 2008, but news stories from 2009 said that police had connected a murder in the Northern Region to intertribal violence in Bawku. On 15 November the *Daily Guide* reported that a Kusasi man named Moses Alando Banaba had been shot to death in the Northern region “in what [was] seen as a spillover of the Bawku conflict”.¹⁰⁹ The suspect was a Mamprusi “believed to be a brother” of a man who had been killed in Bawku the previous month.¹¹⁰ Police thought Banaba’s death was a revenge killing.¹¹¹

5. Deleted.

6. Where is Tamale and how far is it from Yarigungu, Bawku District? Are there any links or connections between the two areas?

Tamale is located in the middle of Ghana’s Northern Region and its distance from Bawku is approximately 230 kilometres by road, with Yarigungu a little further. Tamale is a commercial centre for Ghana’s north and it is likely that some Kusasi have travelled through it and/or relocated here for work or study. Apart from this, significant connections between the two areas were not apparent, nor was there any indication of a link between Tamale and Yarigungu.

Tamale

¹⁰⁵ Kotey, L 2008, “Bawku is Not an Issue of Chieftaincy But One of Law And Order”, *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, 26 June, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200806260923.html> - Accessed 18 August 2010 – Attachment 39.

¹⁰⁶ “Conflict in North Could Threaten Elections” 2008, *IRIN Humanitarian News & Analysis*, 27 June, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200806271180.html> – Accessed 18 August 2010 – Attachment 31.

¹⁰⁷ Jalulah, W 2008, “Resume Work Now! Samari Directs Civil Servants in Bawku”, *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, 19 August, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200808200164.html> - Accessed 18 August 2010 – Attachment 40.

¹⁰⁸ On 2009 outbreaks, see: US State Department 2010, *2009 Human Rights Report: Ghana*, 11 March – Attachment 41, sec 1.a.

¹⁰⁹ Zoure, S 2009, “‘MP’ Killed•As Bawku Conflict Spills Over”, *Daily Guide*, 14 November, <http://www.modernghana.com/news/249252/1/none.html> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 25.

¹¹⁰ Zoure, S 2009, “‘MP’ Killed•As Bawku Conflict Spills Over”, *Daily Guide*, 14 November, <http://www.modernghana.com/news/249252/1/none.html> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 25.

¹¹¹ “PNC Chides Police For Linking Nalerigu Murder To Bawku” 2009, *Peace FM Online*, 15 November, <http://elections.peacefmonline.com/politics/200911/31754.php> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 24.

Tamale is the capital of the Northern Region of Ghana, which is located to the south of the Upper East Region that is home to Bawku.¹¹² (Please see Map 3 on the next page, which marks both Tamale and Bawku.) Google Maps indicates that the distance by road between Tamale and Bakwu is approximately 230 kilometres.¹¹³ Yarigungu did not appear on Google Maps and a road between Bawku and Yarigungu was not located on any of the available maps, making it difficult to determine the precise distance between Tamale and Yarigungu. However, a local government map suggests that Yarigungu is approximately nine kilometres in a straight north-west direction from the centre of Bawku, so that the distance between it and Tamale might be approximately 240 to 250 kilometres.¹¹⁴ (An excerpt of this map appears at Map 1 under question one.)

¹¹² “Tamale” n.d., *Ghanaweb.com*, <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/geography/tamale.php> - Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 44.

¹¹³ “Driving directions to Bawku, Ghana” 2010, *Google Maps*, 9 August, <http://maps.google.com.au/maps?hl=en&tab=wl> - Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 45.

¹¹⁴ As estimated with reference to: “Bawku East District – Facilities Maps”, <http://www.ndpc.gov.gh/GPRS/Poverty%20Maps/Upper%20East/BAWKU%20EAST/Bawku%20East%20PM.pdf> – Accessed 11 August 2010 – Attachment 3. Yarigungu did not appear on Google Maps.

Map 3: Ghana with Tamale and Bawku marked



The third-largest city in Ghana and the biggest in the north-west, Tamale is reportedly a “commercial capital” for all three of the northern regions – that is, the Northern, Upper West and Upper East Regions.¹¹⁵ It is in Dagomba territory and remains strongly Dagomba: over 80 per cent of the metropolis’s population come from this group.¹¹⁶ (For

¹¹⁵ “Tamale” n.d., *Ghanaweb.com*, <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/geography/tamale.php> - Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 44; Bierlich, B 2007, *The problem of money: African agency and Western medicine in northern Ghana*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, http://books.google.com.au/books?id=UrVQvf0hYSAC&pg=PA2&dq=dagomba&hl=en&ei=WMBkTIm_G4vC cYWxyNAK&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CDcQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q=dagomba&f=false - Accessed 13 August 2010 – Attachment 46.

¹¹⁶ “Tamale” n.d., *Ghanapedia.com*, http://www.ghanapedia.org/org/index.php?option=com_directory&listing=Tamale&page=viewListing&lid=25&Itemid=36 - Accessed 12 August 2010 – Attachment 47.

more on the Dagomba and Kusasi, please see question seven.) Given Tamale's status as a fast-growing, relatively developed city and commercial hub for the region,¹¹⁷ it is likely that there is human traffic between it and the Bawku districts, and also probable that some Bawku district residents have moved to Tamale for work or study. That said, no information was found specifically on migration between the Bawku districts and Tamale – though the Upper East Region is known to have a high rate of domestic out-migration,¹¹⁸ and a United Nations source said that “many people from all over the region” had relocated to Tamale.¹¹⁹

7. Are the Dagomba people or family part of the Kusasi?

The Dagomba and the Kusasi are both part of the Mole-Dagbon ethnic group.¹²⁰ This is the second largest ethnic group in Ghana and is made up of about ten “loosely connected subgroups mostly found in the three northern regions”, that is, the Northern, Upper East, and Upper West Regions.¹²¹ Although there are similarities between the Dagomba and Kusasi, sources indicate that the Dagomba are more closely related to the Mamprusi.

Dagomba and Kusasi

The Dagomba and Kusasi are traditionally agrarian people groups from Ghana's north.¹²² Both groups are patrilineal,¹²³ and Dagbani, the Dagomba language, is similar to the Kusasi's Kusaal.¹²⁴ according to Ethnologue.com, it bears an 89 per cent “lexical similarity” with Kusaal.¹²⁵ A notable difference between the two groups is that approximately 60 per cent of the Dagomba identify as Muslims,¹²⁶ while most Kusasi (88

¹¹⁷ “Tamale” n.d., *Ghanaweb.com*, <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/geography/tamale.php> - Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 44.

¹¹⁸ Cleveland, D 1989, “Developmental Stage Age Groups and African Population Structure: The Kusasi of the West”, *American Anthropologist*, 91(2), pp 401-413 – Attachment 11; Awumbila M, Manuh T, Quartey P, Tagoe C, & T Bosiakohwe 2008, “Migration Country Paper (Ghana)”, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/ghana-country-paper - Accessed 18 August 2010 – Attachment 48; van der Geest, K, Vrieling A, & T Dietz 2010, “Migration and environment in Ghana: A cross-district analysis of human mobility and vegetation dynamics”, *Environment & Urbanization* 22(1), pp 107–124 – Attachment 49.

¹¹⁹ “Ghana” n.d., United Nations Habitat, <http://www.unhabitat.org/content.asp?cid=8215&catid=198&typeid=70&subMenuId=0> - Accessed 16 August 2010 – Attachment 50.

¹²⁰ Agyei-Mensah, S & G Owusu 2009, “Segregated by Neighbourhoods? A Portrait of Ethnic Diversity in the

¹²¹ Agyei-Mensah, S & G Owusu 2009, “Segregated by Neighbourhoods? A Portrait of Ethnic Diversity in the

¹²² Olson, J 1996, *The Peoples of Africa: An Ethnohistorical Dictionary*, Greenwood Press, London – Attachment 8, p 151, 317.

¹²³ On Kusasi see Mather, C 2003, “Shrines and the Domestication of Landscape”, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 59(1) pp. 23-45 – Attachment 2; on the Dagomba, see Alhassan, A n.d., “Dagbon and its People”, *Ghanaweb.com*, <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/tribes/dagomba.php> - Accessed 6 August 2010 – Attachment 55.

¹²⁴ On Dagbani being the language of the Dagomba, see Alhassan, A n.d., “Dagbon and its People”, *Ghanaweb.com*, <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/tribes/dagomba.php> - Accessed 6 August 2010 – Attachment 55; “Dagomba of Ghana” n.d., *The Joshua Project* (evangelical Christian missionary research initiative), <http://www.joshuaproject.net/people-profile.php?peo3=11470&rog3=GH> - Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 56.

¹²⁵ “Dagbani: A language of Ghana” n.d., *Ethnologue.com*, http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=dag - Accessed 17 August 2010 – Attachment 57.

¹²⁶ Olson, J 1996, *The Peoples of Africa: An Ethnohistorical Dictionary*, Greenwood Press, London – Attachment 8, p 151; “Ghanaian Languages – On Language and Development in Africa: The Case of Ghana” n.d., *Ghanaweb.com*, <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/tribes/languages.php> – Accessed 9 August 2010 – Attachment 12.

per cent) are followers of traditional religion, with only 7.5 per cent being Muslim.¹²⁷ In addition, Kusasi populations are concentrated in the Upper East Region, while the Dagombas' "homeland" is further south, in the Northern Region, in particular, in the seven administrative districts of Tamale Municipality, Tolon, Savelugu, Yendi, Gushegu, Zabzugu, and Saboba.¹²⁸

Dagomba and Mamprusi

While Kusasi and Dagomba are both Mole-Dagbon subgroups, sources indicate that the Dagomba are more closely affiliated with the Mamprusi, another Mole-Dagbon subgroup.¹²⁹ For example, a *Ghanaweb* page on the Dagomba said that "even though" the Dagomba and Mamprusi seemed to be distinct groups in contemporary times, "their people still identify with each other",¹³⁰ and according to anthropologist Bernhard Bierlich,

[t]he Dagomba...consider themselves to be closest to the Mamprusi and the Mossi...who they speak of as their cousins (brothers' sons). They say they share descent from a common mythical ancestor...¹³¹

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In addition, *Ethnologue.com* states that Dagbani has 95 per cent lexical similarity with the language of the Mamprusi, which is Mampruli. See "Dagbani: A language of Ghana" n.d., *Ethnologue.com*, http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=dag - Accessed 17 August 2010 – Attachment 57.

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