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Small-Scale Wars in the Northern Parts of Ghana: A Case Study of the Forced Migration during 1994 Nanumba-Konkomba War and its Effects on Women[1]

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Abstract

This study is a part of an on-going research project on violence against women in Ghana. It is based on the Ghanaian newspapers' coverage of the 1994 Nanumba-Konkomba ethnic conflict and small war in the Northern Region of Ghana. Additionally, the study benefits from oral history collected from female victims of the war. Framed as a case study and defined by the 1994 Nanumba-Konkomba ethnic clash, the most violent and tragic to date, the study illustrates that the intermittent ethnic conflicts, their consequent wars, and forced migrations adversely impact women in the region the most. Overall, the principal subject matter of the study, which is the adverse effects of the ethnic wars on women, fills a major gap in the emerging historiography on ethnic conflicts in northern Ghana and contributes to our understanding of gender and wars in postcolonial Africa as a whole.

Keywords: ethnic conflict; Konkomba-Nanumba; migration; non-governmental organization; women.

[1] Interviews with Female Victims (henceforth cited as Interview with Female Victims). These were collected in June 1997, June 1998, and in 2023. In all, the interviews in 1997 and 1998 involved twelve female victims of the 1994 war, who had relocated from the region of the conflict to Accra, the national capital city. The respondents included seven Konkomba and five Nanumba. Subsequent interviews in 2023 were a follow-up to assess the lived-experiences of those who were interviewed in 1997 and 1998. Unfortunately, only four of the interviewees were traced. We dedicate this study to the memory of Associate Professor N. J. K. Brukum of the Department of History, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana, who among other stellar academic achievements, contributed to pioneering the study of ethnic conflicts in the Northern Region of Ghana. Portions of this essay, with copyright permission from the publisher, appeared in Kwabena Akurang-Parry, "Postcolonial Localized Politics and Wars in Africa: A Case Study of the 1994 Nanumba-Konkomba Small Ethnic War in Northern Ghana and its Effects on Women," in Toyin Falola and Emmanuel Mbah, (ed.), *Intellectual Agent, Mediator and Interlocutor: A. B. Assensoh and African Politics in Transition* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle Upon Tyne, 2014), 67-87.

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Contextualizing the 1994 Konkomba-Nanumba War

In an article in the *International Journal of World Peace*, Eghosa E. Osaghae remarked that research on ethnic violence "has gone from irrelevance to relevance in Africa:" among others, he noted that the "intensification of, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, virulent conflicts that threatened to destroy the fragile foundations of the post-colonial state all over the continent, forced a rethink of the role and function of conflict research."[2] This theoretical forte is applicable in two ways to the ethnic conflicts and small wars in the northern parts of Ghana. First, the ethnic conflicts and small wars that manifested in 1981 and 1994, and which have since registered intermittently on smaller seismic scales, have attracted national concerns.[3] Second, more than other events in the postcolonial history of Ghana, the ethnic clashes and small wars in the northern parts of Ghana, especially in the aftermath of the 1994 Nanumba-Konkomba small war, have garnered a spate

[2] Eghosa E. Osaghae, "Conflict Research in Africa," International Journal of World Peace, 16, 4 1999, 53–72, 53.

[3] For example, in 1988 and 1994 the Bimoba also went to war with the Kombas. Ethnic tension and fighting arose between Konkombas and Bimobas in 1998 and 2007. The gruesome murder of the King of Dagbon, Ya Na Yakubu Andani on March 27, 2002, led to fighting and displacement which has continued to date. The Konkomba and Basare beat war drums in 2005, and in 2007 war between Konkombas and Bimobas occurred in the Bunkpurugu-Yunyo district that led to the burning of over 455 houses with 10, 000 people displaced. In September 2010, the member of Parliament for Bimbilla, Dominic Ntiwul, warned that there was a "looming war between Konkombas and Nanumbas" due to the "detention and trial of a 26-year-old Konkomba man who had injured a Nanumba person in apparent self-defense" Also four huts were burnt down in Bawku in 2008, and the Ghanaian government-imposed curfew from 8.00 PM to 5. 00 AM each day and the curfew were extended to other towns, including Pusiga, Zabugu, Binduri, and Zoozi. In 2010 chieftaincy dispute in Bunkpurugu-Yunyo left three people dead and a total of 101 houses were burnt down in the area. See Ghana News Agency (hereafter GNA), Tension Resurfaces between the Konkombas and Bimobas," Ghanaweb, General News of November 26, 1998, http://www.Ghanaweb.com; GNA, "Konkomba, Basare Beat War Drums," Ghanaweb, Regional News of December 13, 2005, http://www.Ghanaweb.com; GNA, "Konkombas Reaffirm Commitment to Peace in N/R [Northern Region]," Ghanaweb, General News, June 10, 2007, http://www.Ghanaweb.com; GNA, "455 Houses Burnt during Bunkpurugu/Yunyoo Conflict," Ghanaweb, General News, November 25, 2007, http://www.Ghanaweb.com; GNA, "Three Dead in Renewed Chieftaincy Dispute at Bunkpurugu-Yunyoo," Ghanaweb, General News of March 9, 2010, http://www.Ghanaweb.com; and GNA, "Konkomba-Nanumba War Looming –Ntiwul Warns," Ghanaweb, General News of September 28, 2010, http://www.Ghanaweb.com

of scholarly research with a budding historiography that addresses the composite causes, resolution, and effects of the ethnic wars.[5] What remains tenuous in the historiography is the effect of the war on women. Undoubtedly, the subject of marginalization and violence against women in Ghana has attracted popular activism and scholarly embracement.[5] In spite of this, the actual adverse effects of the ethnic conflicts and small wars on women in the northern parts of Ghana

[4]Martin Staniland, The Lions of Dagbon: Political Change in Northern Ghana (London: *Cambridge University Press*, 1975); Paul Andre Ladouceur, *Chiefs and Politicians: The Politics of Regionalism in Northern Ghana* (London/New York: Longman, 1979); Susan Drucker-Brown, "Local Wars in Northern Ghana," *Cambridge Anthropology*, 1988-1989, 13, 2, 86-106; N. J. K. Brukum, "15 years of Ethnic Conflicts in Northern Ghana: An Appraisal," Paper Presented at the Canadian Association of African Studies (CAAS) Meeting, May 1-5, 1996, Montreal: McGill University; N. J. K. Brukum, *The Pito, Mango, and the Guinea Fowl Wars: Episodes in the History of Northern Ghana*, 1980-1999 (Accra: University of Ghana Press, 2001); N. J. K. Brukum and M. D. Sulley. et al., *Traditional Constitutions and Succession Disputes in Northern Region* (Legon: University of Ghana) mimeo.; N. J. K. Brukum, "Chiefs, Colonial Policy and Ethnic Conflict in Northern Ghana, 1980-2002," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, 1999, 3101-122; N. J. K. Brukum, "Ethnic Conflict in Northern Ghana," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana,* 2000-2001, 4 & 5, 131-147; Artur Bogner, "The 1994 Civil War in Northern Ghana: The Genesis and Escalation of a 'Tribal Conflict,' in Carola Lentz and Paul Nugent (eds.), *Ethnicity in Ghana: The Limits of Invention* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 183-203; Yakubu Saaka, (ed.), *Regionalism and Public Policy in Northern Ghana* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001); Kwabena Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis: The 1994 Nanumba-Konkomba Ethnic Conflict in Ghana" in Toyin Falola (ed.), *Ghana in Africa and the World: Essays in Honor of Adu Boahen* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2003), 639-657; John Kusimi, et al., "Conflicts in Northern Ghana," *asterikos*, 2006, 1, 2, 209-228; Carola Lentz, *Ethnicity and the Making of History in Northern Ghana* (London: Edinburgh University Press, 2006); Jeff D. Grischow, *Shaping Tradition: Civil Society, Community and Development in Colonial Northern Ghana*, 1899-1957 (Boston: Brill, 2006); Brenda Faye McGadney-Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana: Indigenous Knowledge about Ethnic Conflict," Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work, 2008, 23, 4, 324-337; Julie Kaye and Daniel Beland, "The Politics of Ethnicity and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: The Case of Northern Ghana," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 2009, 27, 2, 177-200; and Benjamin Talton, *Politics of Social Change in Ghana: the Konkomba Struggle for Political Equality* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

[5] Akosua Adomako Ampofo, "Controlling and Punishing Women in Ghana," *Review of African Political Economy,* 1993, 56, 102-111; Kwabena Akurang-Parry, "The Internet and the Debasement of Women in Ghana," *Refuge,* 1998, 17, 13-16; Kwabena Akurang-Parry, "Transformations in the Feminization of Unfree Domestic Labor: A Study of Abaawa or Prepubescent Female Servitude in Modern Ghana," *International Working-Class and Labor History,* 2010, 78, 28-47; Dorcas Coker Appiah and Cathy Cusack, *Breaking the Silence and Challenging the Myths of Violence Against Women and Children in Ghana: Report of a National Study on Violence* (Accra, Gender Studies and Human Rights Documentation Center, 1999); Margaret Ivy Amoakohene, "Violence against Women in Ghana: A Look at Women's Perceptions and Review of Policy and Social Responses," *Social Science and Medicine,* 2004, 59, 2373-2385; Rose Mary Amengo-Etego, "Violence against Women in Contemporary Ghanaian Society," *Theology and Sexuality,* 2006, 13*, 1*, 23-46; Rosemary King, "Is it Time for a Progress Report on Violence against Women in Ghana." *Human Rights Review,* 2006, 7, 2, 75-97; Akosua Adomako Ampofo, et al., "Researching African Women and Gender Studies", New Social Science Perspectives," *African and Asian Studies*, 2008, 7, 327-341

[6] Artur, "The 1994 Civil War in Northern Ghana;" Kusimi, et al., "Conflicts in Northern Ghana;" McGadney-Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana;" and Talton, *Politics of Social Change in Ghana*.

have remained in the scholarly margins.[6] The late N. J. K. Brukum of the University of Ghana, Legon, who made stellar contributions to our understanding of the intermittent conflicts in the Northern Region, chronicled that "more alarming is the atmosphere of insecurity and distrust that the conflicts have engendered which has affected all socio-economic activities in the region. The disruption to the normal functioning of northern societies still persists."[7] Unfortunately, no fuller account of the disruptive effects of the war on women has subsequently informed the extant literature, for instance, the most detailed monographic study of the 1994 war which may be credited to Benjamin Talton does not deal with the social, political and economic space of women during the war and in its aftermath.[8]

In sum, the present work, based on an on-going research project on the marginalization of females in Ghana, fills a major gap by contributing to our understanding of the ethnic incompatibilities in the Northern Region, specifically using the 1994 Nanumba-Konkomba small war as a case study, to show the ways that the small wars impact(ed) women and children. Among others and admittedly warranting further study, based on theoretical perspectives of the extant comparative literature, the study suggests that the Ghanaian government's solutions in the form of political intervention and postwar economic reconstruction have tended to focus more on men than women and recommends that the Ghanaian government and other stakeholders should apply more inclusive policies to address the concerns of women. The study draws extensively on the Ghanaian newspapers' coverage of the 1994 conflict and small war. Additionally, the study is defined by interviews with some female victims of the 1994 war;[9] it restores their collective and meta-narrative voices to the history of the ethnic conflicts and small wars.[10] As noted, the recurring ethnic conflicts and small wars exacerbate violence against women in the region and contribute to the impoverishment and marginalization of women. This conclusion takes into consideration the view that women are not always innocent victims of ethnic violence and wars.[11] Although, this is an attractive paradigmatic proposition, the evidence that defines the present study amply does not allow for essentializing that Nanumba and

[7] Brukum,, "Ethnic Conflict in Northern Ghana," 132.

[8] Talton, *Politics of Social Change in Ghana*.

[9] See Interview with Female Victims, 1997; and Interview with Female Victims, 1998.

[10] See for example, Marijke Abel and Annemiek Richters, "Memory, Suffering, Survival Tactics, and Healing among Jopadhola Women in Post-war Uganda," *Development in Practice*, 2009, 19, 3, 349.

[11] M. Caprioli, "Gendered Conflict," *Journal of Peace Research,* 2000, 37, 1, 51–68; M. Caprioli M and M. A. Boyer,, "Gendered Violence and International Crisis," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2001, 45, 4, 504–514; Meg Samuelson, "The Disfigured Body of the Female Guerrilla: (De)Militarization, Sexual Violence, and Redomestication in Zeo Wicomb's Story," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 2007, 32, 4, 833–834; and Isiaka A Badmus, "Explaining Women's Roles in the West African Tragic Triplet: Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Cote d'Ivoire in Comparative Perspectives," *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*, 2009, 1, 3, 808–839.

Konkomba women had something to do with the causes of the war nor were they central to the military action during the war. Important considerations in contextualizing the ethnic conflicts and their effects on women are the variables of patriarchal struggles among social hierarchies of kinship groups over economic resources and political power. Also continuities in male-centered warrior practices of heroism and valor that buttress patriarchy and acquisition of wealth, have contributed to the ensuing political violence and its negative effects on women.[12] In sum, "community or ethnic clashes provide areas for exhibiting bravery."[13] What should be added is that such "areas" for the dramatization of immemorial warrior tradition violate and compromise women's social and political space, the most accessible and vulnerable, consequently leading to the marginalization of women.

Some caveats are duly warranted. This study does not fully demarcate the prewar position of women in the areas of the ethnic conflict, and indeed, Ghana. As noted, focusing on the 1994 small war, this study examines the ways that ethnic conflicts and wars affect women: thus, in so many ways the status and position of women are implicit in the discussions that inform the effects of the war on women. It is well to point out that before the conflict and small war, women played significant roles in the political economy of the area: they were farmers, traders and merchants, teachers, nurses, etc. but wielded little direct political control over land tenure and resource allocation. This was the case for both Nanumba and Konkomba women. In fact, women of all ethnic groups participated in patriarchal worldviews and epistemological constructions that shaped the genealogies of the ethnic conflicts. Thus, addressing the intersections of gender, ethnicity, identity, and social formation would have been warranted. Fortunately, the complex dynamics of ethnic identities, political power, gender structures, and social formations in both the colonial and postcolonial settings that have continued to define the trajectories of ethnic problems in the region have been adequately studied.[14] Therefore, the present study does not intend

[12] Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis," 642.

[13] Alfred Owusu Frimpong, "The Konkomba Factor," West Africa, London, April 4–10, 1994, 591.

[14] Staniland, *The Lions of Dagbon*; Ladouceur, Chiefs and Politicians; Brukum, "15 years of Ethnic Conflicts in Northern Ghana"; Brukum, "Chiefs, Colonial Policy and Ethnic Conflict; Burkum , *The Pito, Mango, and the Guinea Fowl Wars*; Bogner, "The 1994 Civil War in Northern Ghana"; Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis"; Akurang-Parry, "Transformations;" John P. Kirby, "Peacebuilding in Northern Ghana: Cultural Themes and Ethnic Conflict" in Franz Kroger and Barbara Meier (eds.), *Ghana's North: Research on Culture, Religion, and Politics of Societies in Transition* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003), 161–209; Grischow, *Shaping Tradition*; Kusimi et al., "Conflicts in Northern Ghana"; Lentz , *Ethnicity and the Making of History*; Julia Jonsson, "The Overwhelming Minority: Traditional Leadership and Ethnic Conflictin Ghana's Northern Region," *CRISE* (Center for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity) Department of International Development, University of Oxford, Working Paper No. 30, 2007. 2007; McGadney-Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana;" Kaye and Beland, "The Politics of Ethnicity;" and Talton, *Politics of Social Change in Ghana.*

to duplicate such topics. Neither does the study deal with the postcolonial history of the region and that of Ghana as a whole; indeed such topics have been given adequate coverage by scholars of Ghanaian history and society.[15] There are common themes, such as sexual violence and unfree labour, that are normative to the comparative literature on ethnic wars worldwide, but which are not discussed here because the primary sources do not deal with it in ways that would even allow for theorizing.[16] Finally, there are a number of concepts that have been deployed interchangeably and complementarily, such as women and females, conflict and marginalization, and small wars and violence, for their utilitarian application rather than from standpoints of empirical and conceptual rigidity. It should be stressed that unless specified, "women" and "female" refer to both Nanumba and Konkomba gender constituencies.

The northern sector of Ghana, the area of study, constitutes three regions: Northern Region, Upper East, and Upper West. Overall, the Northern Region, the principal focus of this study and the theater of the violence and small war in 1994, is inhabited by several ethnic groups, including the Nanumba, Mamprusi, Konkomba, Dagomba, and Gonja with different histories and cultures.[17] The intermittent ethnic conflicts in the Northern Region had also led to violence, but on a comparatively smaller scale in other years. Apart from the small wars between the Konkombas and the Nanumbas, the recurring ethnic conflicts had also involved other ethnic groups.[18] John Kusimi et al. have stated that the "very explosive ones are those of 1980 (Konkombas against Nanumba)...1980/86 and 2000, Mamprusis and Kusasis went to war in Bawku [and] Dagombas also fought among themselves at Voggu and Zabzugu... The most recent of these intra-Dagbon clashes were those between the Andani and Abudu Gates in Yendi in 2002;" in sum between 1980 and circa 2001 there were about twenty-two ethnic

[15] David Tait, *The Konkomba of Northern Ghana* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961); Ladouceur, *Chiefs and Politicians*; Susan Drucker-Brown, "Local Wars in Northern Ghana," *Cambridge Anthropology*, 1988-1989, 13, 2, 86-106; Bogner, "The 1994 Civil War in Northern Ghana," Brukum , "Ethnic Conflict in Northern Ghana"; A. Adu Boahen, *Ghana: Evolution and Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Accra: Sankofa Educational Publishers, 2000); Lentz, *Ethnicity and the Making of History*; and Talton, *Politics of Social Change in Ghana*.

[16] See, for example, Meredith Turshen, "The Political Economy of Violence against Women during Armed Conflict in Uganda," *Social Research*, 2000, 67, 3, 803-824.

[17] Brukum, "15 years of Ethnic Conflicts in Northern Ghana, 2-15. There are about eighteen ethnic groups in the Northern Region, including the Mo, Vagalla, Safalba, Lobi, Kpariba, Tampluma, Kalande, Choruba, Damptu, Bassari, Nchumuru, Nawuri, "the almost extinct" Mpre, Wasipe, Basari, Konkomba, Chokosi, Bimoba, Tampluma, and Nunum. See Brukum, "Ethnic Conflict in Northern Ghana," 132.

[18] Brukum, "15 years of Ethnic Conflicts in Northern Ghana;" Brukum, "Chiefs, Colonial Policy and Ethnic Conflict;" Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis;" Kusimi et al., "Conflicts in Northern Ghana;" and Talton, *Politics of Social Change in Ghana.*

[19] Kusimi et al., "Conflicts in Northern Ghana." See also Brukum, *The Pito, Mango, and the Guinea Fowl Wars;* and Bogner, "The 1994 Civil War in Northern Ghana."

conflicts in the Northern Region.[19] For her part, Julia Jonsson adds that these and other ethnic groups are not homogenous entities because the people in the area, including "villagers, intellectuals, and chiefs hold fascinating far-reaching and sometimes competing visions of how best to promote inter and intra-ethnic peace and further development of their region."[20] Although, the Nanumba-Konkomba small war of 1994 occurred in the Northern Region, it convulsed not only the whole area, but the southern regions of the country as well.

The Sources of Study: Local Newspapers' Coverage of the 1994 War

Media coverage of ethnic conflict and wars worldwide is an important determinant of how the global community responds to such crises.[21] The international media did not give the 1994 conflict and small war as much attention as could be wished to warrant global interest in the periodic violence and small wars in the region. About this, Brenda F. McGadney-Douglass has concluded that because such wars are perceived as "'domestic matters' and are not high profile, they are seldom given the international attention that is needed or the appropriateness of interventions to fit gender and culturally specific services that are required."[22] Nonetheless, the local media should be commended for providing extensive coverage of the intermittent small wars. Due to the neglect of such seemingly small and relatively inconsequential ethnic wars in the international media, local media in the incipient democratic countries of Africa are vital sources of information. The local media coverage of the 1994 Nanumba-Konkomba war illustrates this viewpoint: they vigorously drew attention to the war which in turn engaged the Ghanaian public to call for an immediate end to the war.[23] Ghanaian newspapers, including *The Ghanaian Times*, *Daily Graphic*, *The Mirror*, *Weekly Spectator*, *and The Ghanaian Chronicle* covered the conflict and its ensuing war. With regard to the media and its coverage of violence against women, Rose Mary Amenga-Etego writes that the "constant newspaper reports of gender-based violence are living testimonies to the continuous struggle to overcome violence against women in contemporary Ghanaian society."[24] Thus, the local newspaper accounts, including editorials, opinion pieces, columnists' perspectives, letters to editors, general news coverage, and government policy statements serve as the major sources of this study.

Overall, the local newspapers played significant roles by informing the

[20] Jonsson, "The Overwhelming Minority," 6.
[21] Ford N. Burkhart, *Emergency Warning and Citizen Response* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999), 1–24; and Chukwueme L. Okere, "The Role of the African Media in Early Warning and Conflict Prevention Systems," Round Table, 2006, 338, 1, 1–9.
[22] McGadney–Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana," 326.
[23] Akurang–Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis," 644–645.
[24] Amengo–Etego, "Violence against Women," 26.

Ghanaian public about the atrocities that characterized the 1994 Nanumba-Konkomba war. This was due to the press freedom at the time of the war. Additionally, the 1994 Nanumba-Konkomba conflict did not involve the whole nation, consequently, the most important urban areas that had press houses were spared. These and other favorable conditions enabled the newspapers to publicize the ethnic violence and small war.[25] In the long-term, the "spate of unnerving, apocalyptic newspaper reports alerted the rest of the country to the horrors of the ensuing violence, its debilitating impact in the Northern Region, and its dampening effects on the rest of the country."[26] Additionally, the Ghanaian newspapers played significant roles in the resolution of the conflict and consequent suppression of the violence. In sum, apart from publicizing the conflict and its ensuing war, the newspapers also afforded a platform to discuss the resolution of the conflict.[27]

Although, the newspapers' coverage of the war was praiseworthy, their accounts reeked of symptomatic gender biases inherent in systemic patriarchal discourses.[28] The local press accounts explained that women and children were subjected to violence in the wartime, but the details were obscured. Even where the local newspapers pinpointed the violence and brutalities against women, such as the disemboweling of pregnant women, their accounts were embellished with prosaic, pedantic narratives rather than critical evaluations of violence against women.[29] By adopting a patriarchal view of society, the local mass media marginalized the apparent victimization of women. To mediate this anomaly, the use of other sources, in particular, the interview with female victims and the application of the extant local and comparative literature facilitate the interrogation and distillation of the biases inherent in the media coverage.[30] The empiricist bent and the experiential perspectives of the voices of the victims provide meaningful ways to furnish female voices to the history of the recurring violence and small wars, a composite methodology that has been recently applied to studies of women in conflict situations in other parts of Africa.[31]

The Causes of the 1994 War: Abridged Perspectives

[25] Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis," 640–641 and 644–646
[26] Ibid., 645.
[27] Ibid., 644–647.
[28] Ampofo, "Controlling and Punishing Women in Ghana," 104–108; Kwabena Akurang-Parry, "The Internet and the Debasement of Women in Ghana," *Refuge*, 1998, 17, 13–16; and Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis," 644–646).
[29] *Daily Graphic*, February 14, 1994; and *The Ghanaian Times*, February 14, 1994.
[30] Interview with Female Victims, 1997; Interview with Female Victims, 1998; and Interview with Female Victims, 2023.
[31] Abel and Richters, "Memory, Suffering, Survival Tactics," 340–349.

The causes of the small wars, what Brukum had aptly characterized as "either intra-ethnic or inter-ethnic" and "wars of emancipation" in the Northern Region have been well-documented in the extant literature.[32] Thus, this section offers synoptic perspectives defined by the existing literature, in fact, an abridgement of a study of the 1994 Nanumba-Konkomba conflict and small war, though illuminated with additional insights from other perspectives on the war.[33] Ghanaians were aware of the intermittent ethnic conflagrations in the Northern Region, but the ensuing 1994 conflict was placed in the horizon of the public in early February, 1994, when the ruling political party of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) declared a state of emergency in seven districts of the Northern Region to resolve the tragic ethnic war and violence between the Konkombas and the Nanumbas.[34]

One major reason for the intermittent ethnic conflicts and small wars has been the Konkombas' vigorous demand for political autonomy. This is the consequence of what Talton has called "competing claims to autochthony" between the Nanumba and Konkomba[35], and which Brukum described as the Konkombas' desire for "recognition and self-assertion"[36] under their own indigenous leaders. In sum, the constituencies of Nanumbas, Dagombas, and Gonjas conveniently construct the Konkombas as migrants and as a result consider themselves as the overlords of the Konkombas, but history shows the contrary. This ideological contestation has intensified the struggle for political power in the area.[37] Normative systemic inequalities in land tenure practices that marginalize the Konkombas, who are mostly farmers, but lack direct access to land controlled by the Nanumbas and other ethnic groups, have also contributed to the violence and small wars.[38] Thus, "from an equity-based political-economy standpoint, the Konkombas see themselves as exploited and marginalized by the Nanumba ruling elite and land-owners."[39] Further transformations in land tenure

[32] Brukum, "Ethnic Conflict in Northern Ghana," 131 and 139..
[33] Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis"; Brukum, "Ethnic Conflict in Northern Ghana;" Bogner, "The 1994 Civil War in Northern Ghana;" Kusimi et al., "Conflicts in Northern Ghana;" Jonsson, "The Overwhelming Minority:" McGadney-Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana;" Kaye and Beland, "The Politics of Ethnicity;" and Talton, *Politics of Social Change in Ghana*.
[34] Frimpong, "The Konkomba Factor," 590-591.
[35] Talton, Politics of Social Change in Ghana, 184.
[36] Brukum, "Ethnic Conflict in Northern Ghana," 141.
[37] Ladouceur, Chiefs and Politicians, 28-32; Drucker-Brown, "Local Wars in Northern Ghana;" Frimpong "The Konkomba Factor," 590; Emmy Toonen, "Ghana Mediating a Way Out of Complex Ethnic Conflict and Prevention," in *European Platform For Conflict Prevention and Transformation* <http://www.euforic.org/euconflict/guides/surveys/drafts/ghana.htm>1999; Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis;" Bogner, "The 1994 Civil War in Northern Ghana," 187-188; and Jonsson, "The Overwhelming Minority," 18-19.
[38] Tait, *The Konkomba of Northern Ghana*, 13-25; Kirby, "Peacebuilding in Northern Ghana," 185-189; Jonsson, "The Overwhelming Minority," 6-7; McGadney-Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana," 331-332; and Talton, *Politics of Social Change in Ghana*, 135-151.
[39] Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis," 642.

occurred in 1978 when the military government of Colonel Kutu Acheampong passed a law that vested "all northern lands into the hands of selected ethnic groups chiefs and left out most other groups," including the Konkombas. Apart from the apparent disparities in resource-sharing, another facet of the political economy that defines the trajectory of the ethnic differences between the Konkombas and their overlords is the postcolonial economic verticality and social mobility attained by the Konkombas through farming, trade, and education. These variables of economic development and social change have empowered and made the Konkomba more capable of conscientized agitations for positive change and autonomy. About this Talton writes that "Economic and political development among the Konkomba fostered the sense that there was no basis for their political subordination and marginalization... like the new African elites of the colonial period, Konkomba businessmen constructed, financed, and led the Konkomba political movement."[40]

The marginalization for the Konkomba as the inferior other, which has contributed to the ethnic conflict, is also the result of the British colonial occupation of the then Northern Territories, now a part of the area designated as the Northern Region. Julie Kaye and Daniel Beland write that the "colonial powers perceived the Konkomba as a subordinate group and under British policies of indirect rule the Dagomba chiefs became intermediaries between the colonial administration and the interests of the subordinate Konkomba."[41] In sum, the political economy of colonial policies gave additional power to the Nanumbas, Dagombas, Gonjas, and the Mamprusis, consequently enabling them to exercise control over the Konkombas.[42] Kusimi et al. further clarify that the "[British] indirect rule system of administration introduced in 1932 by colonial governors... vested political and administrative powers in the hands of some selected chiefs who had better organized systems of traditional administration... For instance, the Ya-Na of East-Dagbon was given traditional authority over the Konkomba and Chokosi who are quite culturally different ethnic from Dagomba."[43] In sum, the British colonial policy of indirect rule disempowered and marginalized some states and societies, including the Konkombas, and undoubtedly set the stage for political contestations and consequent violence.

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[40] Talton, *Politics of Social Change in Ghana*, 138–139.

[41] Kaye and Beland, "The Politics of Ethnicity," 181–182.

[42] Staniland, *The Lions of Dagbon*, 84–102; Ladouceur, *Chiefs and Politicians*, 39–64; Peter Skalink, "The Concept of the 'Traditional State,'" *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law*, 1987, 25 & 26, 301–325; Bogner, "The 1994 Civil War in Northern Ghana"; Brukum, "15 years of Ethnic Conflicts in Northern Ghana"; Brukum, "Chiefs, Colonial Policy and Ethnic Conflict"; Brukum, *The Pito, Mango, and the Guinea Fowl Wars*; Toonen, "Ghana Mediating a Way Out," 2; Grischow, *Shaping Tradition*; Jonsson, "The Overwhelming Minority," 6–8; and Talton, *Politics of Social Change in Ghana*, 4–13 and 77–108.

[43] Kusimi et al., "Conflicts in Northern Ghana," 219.

Warrior tradition and how it contributes to the causes of the ethnic tensions and conflicts has been considered by scholars, Kusimi et al. have concluded that "There is also the general 'militarization of the youth', indiscipline, and political chaos, creating a state of insecurity in the conflict zones."[44] Militarization is facilitated by the availability of weapons of all types in the region; this has been stressed as a major contributory factor to the ethnic wars.[45] I have examined the availability of different weapons of war in the region and how during the war the warring factions ferried arms to the region from other parts of the country. In fact, I show that the Ghana armed forces at one time or another seized 1,097 cartridges, 44 rounds of Heston super point ammunition (762), and one round of MM ammunition; 119 shotguns at Nakpayili; and 176 shotguns, 54 cap guns, and a "large quantity of bows and arrows, cudgels, and spears."[46] Also Julie Jonsson writes that the "large number of weapons in the NR [Northern Region] ranging from machetes... single-barrel guns and bows and arrows for hunting, to more sophisticated small arms and AK47s, in combination with the 'traditional' nature of the conflicts with their emphasis on magic or 'juju' was seen as having contributed to the gruesome nature of the recent conflicts."[47]

In sum, weapons were accumulated in preparation for the war effort: some were made locally, while others were brought from the southern regions of Ghana.[48] Although the government of Ghana banned the possession and carrying of small arms in the Northern Region in the aftermath of the 1994 war, the area has remained a big market for arms.[49] These viewpoints do not mean that the causes of the war arise wholly from what Hugh Gusterson has critiqued as "essentialist notions... that such wars were caused by an eruption of ancient tribal identities in countries that were somewhat deficient in their pursuit of modernity."[50] Rather, what it suggests in so many ways is that political violence

[44] Ibid., 224.

[45] Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis;"648–649; Jonsson, "The Overwhelming Minority," 36; and McGadney-Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana," 331.

[46] Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis," 648–649. See also *The Ghanaian Times*, February 14, 1994; *Daily Graphic*, March 12, 1994; and *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, February 24–27, 1994.

[47] Jonsson, "The Overwhelming Minority," 36.

[48] Interview with Female Victims, 1997; Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis," 648–649; and McGadney–Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana, 331.

[49] . In July 2007, the Ghana News Agency (GNA) reported that "numerous conflicts in the Northern Region have turned the area into one of the largest markets for the sale of small arms and light weapons in the West African sub-region." The then Northern Regional Minister, Alhaji Saddique Boniface, stated that "although the 1994 ban on the possession and carrying of arms in the region has not been lifted, people still import and use them with impunity and the way forward was to institute more measures aimed at preventing the infiltration of arms and the retrieval of the existing stock" See GNA, "Northern Region – Big market for Small Arms," Ghanaweb General News of July 10, 2005, http://www.Ghanaweb.com.

[50] Hugh Gusterson, "Anthropology and Militarism," *The Annual Review of Anthropology*, 2007, 36 (2007, 160).

and warfare can be used by constituent groups to attain political dominance fueled by sustained competing ideologies that tend to be localized and therefore should not be broadly Africanized.

The above remote causes are long-standing and have been worsened by contemporary factors, one of which is the emergence of radical ethnic youth associations, whose membership is politicized and militant. Such groups are led by powerful literate male leaders who capitalize on local grievances for political verticality and social mobility. This has contributed to the ethnic disharmonies and their consequent small wars.[51] One of the well-known political groups, the Konkomba Youth Association (KOYA), was founded in 1975-1977 to articulate popular resistance of the Konkombas with the hope of liberating themselves from political domination. In sum, the KOYA championed vigorous corporate kin demands for the creation of Konkomba paramount chieftaincy which in 1994 was one of the wartime grievances.[52] The influence of the KOYA in mobilizing the Konkomba and packaging revolutionary ideologies extended all the way to the Konkomba Yam Market in Accra, the national capital, where resources were obtained to support Konkomba causes in the Northern Region.[53]

It has also been suggested that sloppy law enforcement by the national government in the region has contributed to outbreaks of the ethnic problems in the area. Political commentators have argued that the NDC government's partisan politics of vote-seeking in the region in 1992 contributed to the outbreak of violence in 1994.[54] Elsewhere, I explained that during "the 1992 national presidential and parliamentary elections, the NDC promised to fulfill the hopes of the Konkombas for a paramount chief, but relented when the... KOYA broached the subject [to the NDC government] in the post-election period.[55] In sum, the NDC government failed to fulfill its promise which in turn compelled the Konkombas, championed by the KOYA, to seek redress on their own terms.[56] Kusimi et al. note that "often for political expediency (i.e., for fear of losing votes from an ethnic group), governments do not seek permanent solutions to conflicts... Rather, postcolonial

[51] Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis," 642-643. See also Kusimi et al., "Conflicts in Northern Ghana," 221-223; Kaye and Beland, "The Politics of Ethnicity," 183-184; and Talton, *Politics of Social Change in Ghana*, 151-161.

[52] Talton, *Politics of Social Change in Ghana*, 1-2 and 151-161.

[53] Kaye and Beland, "The Politics of Ethnicity," 183; Kirby, "Peacebuilding in Northern Ghana," 184-185; and Talton, *Politics of Social Change in Ghana*,, 151-161.

[54] Frimpong, "The Konkomba Factor," 591; Brukum, "15 years of Ethnic Conflicts in Northern Ghana," 21-22; and Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis," 643.

[55] Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis," 643.See also *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, February 10-13, 1994; *West Africa*, February 28-March 6, 1994, 404; and Talton, *Politics of Social Change in Ghana* 166-173.

[56] Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis," 643. See also Jonsson, "The Overwhelming Minority," 18-20.

governments resort to brokering fragile peace, in a way to please feuding factions, which usually breakdown soon after the peace process."[57]

Although the combatants were men, some women, for example, of Konkomba origin, somewhat participated in the war, and this is an aspect of the conflict and war which needs further research but is worth discussing now. The Daily Graphic reported that:

> Behind them [male fighting force] come ululating [Konkomba] women, cheering the men on. The women carry pick-axes to bury their dead and they are said to attack [Konkomba male] cowards who try to turn back.[58]

Based on some theoretical considerations wedded to the primary evidence, some Konkomba women may be constructed as actual participants in the war. In fact, Turshen and Clotilde Twagiramariya have pointed out that contrary to popular opinion, women do engage in as much violence as men in wartime due to women's assimilation of patriarchal ideologies of warrior "traditions," and this occurs in addition to women's struggles to protect and redefine their structural and economic space.[59] Also De Pauw clarifies that women "Encouraging men to fight has taken many forms. The most dramatic involves women on the battlefield itself, sometimes clutching their children, singing war songs, screaming or cursing to inflame the fighting spirit of their men and terrify the enemy."[60] Placed in the context of struggle for power, the Konkomba women did not contribute to the causes of the war and became irrevocably tied to the war because of their subordinate positions. Thus, the roles of the Konkomba women in the ensuing violence and war were engendered by patriarchal control and domination, but such roles also illustrate what Gusterson describes as "Mobilization for war often involves a collective mobilization of memory about past injuries."[61] This theoretical standpoint is supported by the female victims' accounts: women knew about the impending war and had internalized the ensuing ethnic antipathies not only because "traditions" expected them to support their men, but also the fact that women had experienced ethnic disharmony and conflict. Long before the actualization of the violence, women from both camps had dramatized the conflict, for instance, at the Bimbilla market Konkomba and Nanumba women

[57] Kusimi et al., "Conflicts in Northern Ghana," 221.
[58] *Daily Graphic*, February 14, 1994.
[59] Turshen, Meredith and Clotilde Twagiramariya, *What Women Do in Wartime: Gender and Conflict in Africa* (London: Zed Books, 1998), 1–5.
[60] Linda De Pauw, *Battle Cries and Lullabies: Women in War from Prehistory to the Present* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 19–23.
[61] Gusterson, "Anthropology and Militarism,"160.
[62] Interview with Female Victims 1997; and Interview with Female Victims 1998. See also McGadney-Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana," 331–332.

aggressively defended their market space.[62]

The violence and consequent small war began in Bimbilla on February 2, 1994, and lasted five months. The immediate cause of the 1994 war was a "'haggling over [the price of] a guinea fowl' between a Nanumba man (trader) and a Konkomba man (buyer) at the Nakpayili market near Bimbilla" on January 31, 1994.[63] This incident, popularized by a minuscule section of the international press as "the guinea-fowl war," ignited ethnic violence between the Konkomba and the Nanumba. Certainly, the immediate cause of the 1994 war may appear absurd in some ways, yet illustrates the ways that seemingly inconsequential incidents can provide latent powder-kegs in history that have infinite capacities to detonate long-standing conflicts into ruinous trajectories.[64] The immediate effects of the 1994 small war vary in perspectives, but most observers and scholars agree that they were destructive. According to McGadney-Douglass, the war left behind "many widows and orphaned children" and created incidence of internal displacement.[65] Figures on mortality rates during the 1994 ethnic war differ; fortunately, Jay Oelbaum, who has synthesized studies on the wartime mortality rates, has put the number of deaths between 2,000 and 15,000.[66]

Furthermore, the war destroyed the environment, farms, and social amenities.[67] Also, the ensuing ethnic tensions "pitched Dagombas and Gonjas against Konkombas; Tamale, the regional capital, experienced a tornado of violence and rampage;" and eventually, the conflict became a national problem, impacting parts of neighboring Volta and Brong Ahafo Regions, with rippling effects felt in areas as far away as the Konkomba market in Accra, a distance of about 640 kilometers from the core area of the small war.[68] Overall, content analyses of the spate of popular opinions and media commentaries illustrate that the 1994 Nanumba-Konkomba ethnic conflict had considerably shocked the rest of the country. Talton sums up the effects of the war as follows: the "fighting created a wedge between families, businesses, villages [communities], and churches..."[69]

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[63] Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis," 643; see also The Ghanaian Chronicle, February 10–13, 1994; and Toonen, "Ghana Mediating a Way Out," 3.
[64] Kwabena Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis," 643.
[65] McGadney-Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana," 326.
[66] Jay Oelbaum, "Liberalization or Liberation? Economic Reform, Spatial Poverty, and the Irony of Conflict in Ghana's Northern Region," Paper Presented at the International Workshop on Spatial Poverty Traps in Spier Estates, Stellenbosch, South Africa, on March 27, 2007, 7.
[67] Margaret A. Novicki, "Interview with Mohammed Ibn Chambas, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ghana," *Africa Report*, May/June, 1994, 57; Frimpong "The Konkomba Factor," 590–591; Toonen, Toonen, "Ghana Mediating a Way Out;" 4; Bogner, "The 1994 Civil War in Northern Ghana;" 183–185; Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis," 643; and McGadney-Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana," 326–327.
[68] Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis," 643.
[69] Talton, *Politics of Social Change in Ghana*, 188.

The 1994 Nanumba-Konkomba Small War: Women in the Vortex of Violence

Efforts to stop violence against women in Ghana are on the rise, but much remains to be accomplished.[70] In 2004, Margaret Amoakohene pointed out that "in spite of the sharp increases in incidence, the issue of violence against women has received only minimal systematic research attention in Ghana."[71] Additionally, she noted that violence "against women in Ghana can... be pseudo-religious, socio-cultural, sexual, psychological or economic" and goes on to explain that violence against women entails "cultural practices that degrade and dehumanize women... as well as physical, psychological and economic acts of abuse."[72] Writing in 2006, Rosemary King stressed that more rigorous efforts are needed to eliminate the incidence of violence against women and children; her conclusion is worth quoting at length:

> From the progress reports on violence against women and children in Ghana, it is true that since 1992, there has been a flurry of activity to name violence and to set in motion some reaction against the hazardous traditional practices that women and children have faced... while for all intents and purposes Ghana boasts of formal equality provisions and a vehicle for fighting the abuse of its women, it may not be enough ammunition to eradicate the violence. The constitutional provisions will serve as a quasi-reactive stop-gap –but it is doubtful that constructed as they are, they have the sole power to overcome traditional norms and practices of violence against women.[73]

Increasingly, many scholars, women's groups, and political activists have spoken against non-war related problems that affect females in Ghanaian society. Specific areas of scholarly preoccupation and activism include rape and defilement, domestic violence, child labour, house-help or female domestic servitude, serial murder of females, and female migrant labour. The rest are trokosi that requires the placement of prepubescent girls in shrines so that they atone for the sins of their families; and the overall need for equal opportunities for females in the areas

[70] See, for example, Ampofo, Akosua Adomako et al., "Researching African Women and Gender Studies: New Social Science Perspectives," *African and Asian Studies*, 2008, 7, 327–341; and Ampofo, "Collective Activism."

[71] Amoakohene, "Violence against Women in Ghana," 2374.

[72] Ibid., 2375–2376.

[73] King, "Is it Time for a Progress Report," 78–79.

[74] G Ampofo, "Controlling and Punishing Women in Ghana"; Akurang–Parry, "The Internet and the Debasement of Women in Ghana"; Akurang-Parry, "Transformations"; Appiah and Cusack, Breaking the Silence; Amoakohene, "Violence against Women in Ghana"; Amengo-Etego, "Violence against Women"; King, "Is it Time for a Progress Report"; and Isidore Lobnibe, "Between Aspirations and Realities: Northern Ghanaian Women and the Dilemma of Household (Re) production in Southern Ghana, *Africa Today*, 2009, 55, 2, 53–74.

of education, jobs, and national politics.[74]

With regard to the subject matter at hand, McGadney-Douglass has used women's voices, based on an ethnographic fieldwork, defined by social work praxis, to explore indigenous perspectives on the 1994 small war between the Konkombas and the Nanumbas, but she deals mainly with the problem of internal displacement and how female victims perceived the war and therefore does not fully examine the overall effects of the 1994 violence and small war on women.[75] The reasons for not focusing on the effects of the ethnic war on women, using the Ghanaian media as an example, may be assigned to several factors. First, the subject matter lies in the terrain of patriarchal politics rather than within the broad gendered sphere: in fact, McGadney-Douglass notes that "Although "more than half" of the internally displaced persons "are women and girls... public discussions about regional conflicts, civil wars, or ethnic violence rarely focus on feminist perspectives that are derived from women's indigenous knowledge."[76] Second, women's voices in Ghana tend to deal more with the domestic sphere than the political arena;[77] in fact, what Akosua Adomako Ampofo has aptly characterized as the "postcolonial years have seen an increase in collective action around women's issues, including what might be called more specifically gender-equity concerns."[78] Finally, the media coverage of the intermittent conflict and violence tends to overemphasize general atrocities instead of focusing on women's suffering in the wartime.

A spate of studies has demonstrated that violence against women tends to increase in wartime, and that women and children can become the main targets of reprisals during ethnic wars, and indeed, suffer the most from such conflicts.[79] Meredith Turshen and Ousseina Alidou write that "All forms of violence against women escalate in wartime when the economy goes underground... When armed men kill women's male kin, women and children can be rendered stateless. High levels of social violence can hide the effects of gender violence, which predates war and continues in peacetime; social violence can render women passive in the aftermath."[80] Also Araya Mesfin et al. state in their study of post-conflict Ethiopia that "Although women and men (as well as children) are affected by

[75] McGadney-Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana," 324–337.
[76] Ibid., 324.
[77] King, "Is it Time for a Progress Report," 80–84.
[78] Ampofo, "Collective Activism," 397.
[79] Jadranka Cacic-Kumpes, "War, Ethnicity, and Violence Against Women," *Refuge*, 1994, 14, 14; Inger Agger, "Abused Refugee Women: Trauma and Testimony," *Refuge*, 1994, 14, 19; Meredith Turshen and Ousseina Alidou, "Commentary – Africa – Women in the Aftermath of Civil War," *Race & Class*, 2000, 41, 4 82–83; and Mesfin et al. 2007, 307.
[80] Meredith Turshen and Ousseina Alidou, "Commentary – Africa – Women in the Aftermath of Civil War," *Race & Class*, 2000, 41, 4 82–83

the severe consequences of armed conflicts and war leading to displacement, women and men are likely to be vulnerable in somewhat different ways. Women are more likely to be exposed to abuse and rape and carry a heavier family burden..."[81] These comparative paradigms mirror the 1994 Nanumba-Konkomba conflict that exacerbated the suffering and marginalization of women and children. *The Ghanaian Times* reported that "many people, mostly women carrying their luggage, are fleeing from the villages around and moving towards Yendi and Bimbilla."[82] Equally illuminating, the same newspaper reported that out of the 6,778 internally displaced persons at the Kamina military barracks in Tamale, the regional capital, "children and women form about 70 per cent."[83] The UNICEF's figures on refugees who had fled to neighboring Togo were 3,940 children, 755 women, and 474 men.[84] These accounts and data as well as the testimonies of female victims adequately point to the fact that women and children formed a larger number of the refugees; in fact, female victims stressed that the large movements of refugees from the conflict region included more women than men, and that women and their children were vulnerable to attacks from the enemy.[85]

Although a larger number of the displaced population constituted women and children, there is a paucity of evidence on casualty figures on women and children. In fact, the estimated casualty figures ranging from 2,000 to 10,000 were not permutated into gender and age,[86] however, the female victims' testimonies show that women and children suffered more than men in the course of the violence, suggesting that more women were killed than men.[87] This deduction is further supported by the fact that most of the displaced persons were women and children. Furthermore, pitched battles were far and between, consequently, the opposing male combatants rarely faced each other.[88] Rather, the war entailed predatory skirmishes directed at the most vulnerable in the wartime situation. As a result, women and children became the main targets of enemy reprisals and terror in a theater of violence defined by masculinity and buttressed by patriarchal warrior tradition. Based on the female victims' accounts, there is a reasonable presumption to suggest that more women and children died than men.[89] In the course of the conflict and small war, maiming and other forms of brutalities were

[81] Mesfin, Araya, Chotai J, Komproe I. H., and de Jong J. T. "Gender Differences in Traumatic Life Events, Coping Strategies, Perceived Social Support and Sociodemographics Among Postconflict Displaced Persons in Ethiopia," *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, 2007, 42, 2, 307.
[82] *The Ghanaian Times*, February 5, 1994.
[83] *The Ghanaian Times*, February 18, 1994.
[84] *The Ghanaian Times*, February 5, 1994; and *Daily Graphic*, June 16, 1994.
[85] Interview with Female Victims, 1997; and Interview with Female Victims, 1998.
[86] Oelbaum, "Liberalization or Liberation?" 7.
[87] Interview with Female Victims, 1997; and Interview with Female Victims, 1998.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.
[90] *The Ghanaian Times*, February 11, 1994.

inflicted on women, children, and babies. As the violence escalated, women and children were subjected to incessant attacks by the opposing warring sides.[90] This pattern of violence is usually directed at women and children in wartime.[91] In sum, "some of the more gruesome murders" in the course of the war "were children and women.[92] The Ghanaian Times described the violence as "Carnage in the North" and stated that "even pregnant women [were] being slaughtered like sheep."[93] The Daily Graphic of the same day went further, elucidating that "there were spectacles of pregnant women whose wombs had been opened and the fetuses thrown out."[94] Such brutal atrocities were committed in the wartime against women whose vulnerable space was easily accessed by combatants willing to capitalize on the lines of least resistance to indirectly humiliate their warring male opponents.

Also, women had to deal with potential disfiguration or mutilation, and some were, in fact, carried out. For example, some women were "forcibly given incisions of indelible tribal marks on their cheeks as a part of the atrocities."[95] Asked to explain the reasons for the facial "mutilation," the female victims stated that the warring combatants disfigured women and children to memorialize a message of putative victory over the enemy. One female victim spoke not only about the violence, but also the psychological effects of "wearing" the enemy's "incisions of humiliation" which in the frame of reference of the enemy exemplified presumptive victory. The female victims also surmised that the facial disfiguration was a marker of dehumanization aimed at depersonalizing females.[96] These explanatory viewpoints are supported by extant studies showing that combatants' humiliation of women in wartime, including rape, forced marriage, torture, mutilation, and hostage-taking is meant to communicate to the enemy forces that they had failed to defend their vulnerable dependants. For instance, Linda G. De Pauw has concluded that "Attacking women and children is an attack on males to whom they are attached."[97]

Female victims explained that during their flight from Yendi to Bimbilla they were subjected to predatory attacks and that had it not been the presence of the Ghana Armed Forces personnel in the region, their situation could have been worse.[98] In fact, children and women involved in the refugee movements were affected by the scorched-earth strategies of the male combatants from the

[91] Turshen and Twagiramariya,(eds.), *What Women Do in Wartime*, 8–9.
[92] Novicki, "Interview with Mohammed Ibn Chambas," 57.
[93] *The Ghanaian Times*, February 14, 1994.
[94] *Daily Graphic*, February 14, 1994.
[95] *Daily Graphic*, February 12, 1994.
[96] Interview with Female Victims, 1997.
[97] De Pauw, *Battle Cries and Lullabies*, 18.
[98] Interview with Female Victims, 1997; and Interview with Female Victims, 1998.

opposing camps. The warring factions destroyed resources such as farm produce. This reduced the female refugee population to a state of hopelessness and utter deprivation. Also, victims explained that the refugee population experienced difficulties in getting clean water from nearby ponds and rivulets because they had been polluted by the combatants. In fact, the female victims believed that the combatants had put some plant or herbal poison into natural sources of water in the area: their conclusion was based on the fact that there were dead animals in the precincts of the ponds and rivulets that had apparently died from drinking water from the poisoned ponds and rivulets.[99] That a substantial number of women and children were prevented from reaching safer destinations is borne out by the testimonies of the female victims of the small war. They explained that some of the refugees were killed because they happened to find themselves in zones of on-going skirmishes. Also, the female victims noted that they avoided bush roads in preference for the "thick bush" because of the fear of being attacked along known bush paths.[100] What is worth noting is that the Northern Region has historically been one of the least developed areas of Ghana, therefore, accessible roads were few. As a result, women fleeing from the conflict zone with their children had to use "bush-roads" that interspersed the backwater of the area which were being used by the warring factions.[101] The situation was exacerbated by the fact that women and children fled in groups, though this was a source of collective strength, such group-flights also exposed and made them vulnerable to enemy targets and reprisals.[102]

Furthermore, the fleeing of women and children to safer zones was hindered by blockaded roads that had been put in place by the warring factions to obstruct not only the movement of the enemy, but also potential transportation of weapons and other necessities of war.[103] Jonsson, commenting on blockaded roads, notes that "Road blocks were also erected along the Tamale-Buipe road in the West Gonja District… it is believed that a considerable number of the Konkomba victims were killed at these road blocks."[104] Apart from the degree to which the blockaded roads affected fleeing women and children, the problem can be gauged from the fact that even Ghanaian soldiers, who had been sent to the conflict zone by the Ghanaian government to maintain law and order, were ambushed in the precincts of blockaded roads subjected to violent attacks leading to injuries and deaths.[105]

[99] Interview with Female Victims, 1997; and Interview with Female Victims, 1998.
[100] Ibid
[101] Ibid.; and Novicki, "Interview with Mohammed Ibn Chambas," 57.
[102] Interview with Female Victims, 1997; and *Daily Graphic*, February 12, 1994.
[103] Ibid, and Jonsson, "The Overwhelming Minority," 19.
[104] Jonsson, "The Overwhelming Minority," 19.
[105] *Daily Graphic,* February 12, 1994.

In sum, there were unprecedented difficulties in the forced migration caused by the small war. The distance of forced migration covered by the fleeing women and children on foot was certainly demanding. They traveled distances of several miles per day.[106] Excepting women and children who fled the region, several thousand sought refuge in the seemingly safer enclaves, including the precincts of churches, local government offices, and police stations around the conflict. According to the female victims, overcrowding and the teeming refugee population stretched space, facilities, and food sources to their limits. For example, water and food were difficult to come by. Additionally, while some of the fleeing women had the opportunity to seek refuge in police stations, a greater number could only stay close to the police station with the hope that they would not be attacked by the enemy.[107] Thus, the general atmosphere of insecurity in the region exposed fleeing women and their children to violence: in the end, some of the so-named safer refugee zones, for example, churches and schools were ransacked and burnt down by the enemy forces.[107] The lack of safer enclaves in the region allowed the roaming band of marauders to have access to women and children, who bore their violent brunt.[108]

The refugee flights from the theaters of the conflict and small war led to permanent internal displacement and involuntary migrations. In sum, the violence and small war affected about 30 districts in the Bimbilla and Yendi polities, led to the destruction of about 322 farming communities, forced 6,000 people to flee to neighboring Togo. "Within Ghana itself, the figures of displaced persons were as follows: 130,000 in some seven districts in the Northern Region, 9,036 in four districts in neighboring Brong Ahafo Region, and 7,707 in the Volta Region. The overall estimates placed the number of internally displaced persons at 150,000–200,000.[110] Writing about the general findings of her fieldwork among the female victims of the small war, McGadney-Douglass notes that "More than half the respondents' lost relatives in the Guinea Fowl War. The on-going disruption of social systems, fear of isolation, and lack of food or other resources forced them to seek shelter or security away from their homes. The respondents reported that

[106] Interview with Female Victims, 1998.
[107] *The Weekly Spectator*, February 12, 1994; *The Ghanaian Times*, February 12, 1994; *The Ghanaian Times*, January 31, 1994; *Daily Graphic*, March 28, 1994; and *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, February 10-13, 1994.
[108] *The Weekly Spectator*, February 12, 1994; *The Ghanaian Times*, February 12, 1994; *The Ghanaian Times*, January 31, 1994; *Daily Graphic*, March 28, 1994; and *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, February 10-13, 1994.
[109] Interview with Female Victims, 1997; and Interview with Female Victims, 1998.
[110] Akurang–Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis," 643; see also Jonsson, "The Overwhelming Minority, 18; and McGadney-Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana," 326.
[111] McGadney-Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana," 331–334.

they were afraid and ashamed to return home, because their homes and villages were destroyed."[111] Kusimi et al., though do not wholly stress the migration of women, their conclusions illustrate massive internal displacements and forced migrations to urban areas in southern Ghana. They note that "Accra alone," Ghana's capital city, which is over 600 kilometers away from the theater of the conflict "is home to some ten thousand unemployed girls from the conflict areas, notably Northern Region. They often lack shelter and sleep on pavements... the increasing numbers of homeless people have promoted the emergence of slums in many cities especially in Accra. A typical example is Sodom and Gomora in Accra, a slum, which harbors primarily displaced people of 1994 conflict"[112] who were engaged in meager jobs of the informal economy, for example, porters or carriers known in the local parlance as *kayeyie*.[113]

Victims of the ethnic conflicts and small wars in the Northern Region experience(d) psychological trauma. Indeed, numerous studies have explored the correlation between wartime conditions and psychological trauma.[114] Turshen and Twagiramariya write that "The stress of political violence... leads to health problems, both mental and physical: not just disease and injury, but also diffuse malaise –nervousness, vague bodily pains, weakness and fatigue."[115] In a study that examines gender differences in trauma in the post-conflict Ethiopia, the co-authors write that "Traumatic life events due to war, disasters, torture and mass violence are known to lead to serious psychological consequences and mental disorder."[116] Additionally, Jay Belsky shows how warfare induces both short and long term insecure attachments, anxiety, depression, and aggression in children; he concludes that "children's exposure to war, deadly violence and political conflict is dangerous and potentially seriously harmful."[117] Such theoretical perspectives speak to the overwhelming climate of fear and psychological trauma both during and in the aftermath of the 1994 conflict and small war. Despite the seeming paucity of information in the press accounts regarding psychological trauma inflicted upon the female victims of the war, there can be no doubt that women and children experienced psychological trauma. In fact, the evidence at hand, however evanescent and whatever interpretation is brought to bear on it, adequately deals with the fact that targeted by the enemy, women and children were subjected

[112] Kusimi et al., "Conflicts in Northern Ghana," 225.
[113] Interview with Female Victims, 1998.
[114] Neil Boothby, "Displaced Children: Psychological Theory and Practice from the Field," *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 1992, 5, 106–122; E. Cairns and A. Dawes A., "Children: Ethnic and Political Violence – A Commentary," *Child Development*, 1999, 67, 120–139;9; Turshen and Twagiramariya, (eds.), *What Women Do in Wartime; and Belsky* 2008, 260–271.
[115] Turshen and Twagiramariya, (eds.), *What Women Do in Wartime*, 17.
[116] Mesfin et al. 2007, 307.
[117] 2008: 264–268–269.
[118] *The Mirror,* February 19, 1994; and *The Ghanaian Times*, February 14, 1994.

to terror and fear that engendered psychological trauma.[118] The Ghanaian Times, for instance, reported that "a teenage girl at Jagbali who happened to be the only one left after the massacre [of her family], had regressed, possibly due to witnessing the total extinction of her family and clan."[119] Kusimi et al. state that the small wars in the Northern Region lead to "flagrant abuse of human rights especially women, the aged, and children. The psychological trauma especially to the elderly, children and women is profound."[120] McGadney-Douglass writing about the war states that "Women in the conflict lost their families, property, and support systems... In addition, they suffered from untreated, residual mental trauma, especially from witnessing the killing of their family members."[121]

The above conclusions are supported by the female victims' accounts. One female victim stated that the sound of gun shots and combatants' screams had frightened children and that in the postwar period some children had cried in their sleep. Another female victim noted that her daughter feared the sight of blood and it was due to the fact that her daughter had witnessed a disembowelment of a woman. Yet another victim recalled that her eleven-year-old son refused to accompany her to the farm because he associated open space or the bush with the violence that caused the war. Even after the conflict had ended, women and children were compelled to move in groups, for example, whenever they went to the local market, riverside, etc.[122] Certainly, further study may be warranted, but the evidence is strong enough to posit a conclusion that women and children experience(ed) psychological trauma from the recurring ethnic tensions and violence in the Northern Region. The tendency of the Ghanaian government and NGOs has been to provide logistical assistance to the victims of the violence. Although this may lead to the fulfillment of their immediate material needs regarding economic rehabilitation, it does not really help in the area of post-trauma mental health-care considerations.[123]

In addition, women's economic activities suffered as a result of the war. Turshen and Twagiramariya have concluded that such "wars are also economically paralyzing: they disrupt regional transportation networks, interfere with farming, food production, [and] marketing and trading..."[124] Seventy percent of those affected by the conflict were involved in farming; also a number of

[119] *The Ghanaian Times*, (February 14, 1994; see also McGadney-Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana," 327–334.

[120] Kusimi et al., "Conflicts in Northern Ghana," 224.

[121] McGadney-Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana," 327.

[122] Interview with Female Victims, 1998; and Interview with Female Victims, 2023.

[123] Ibid

[124] Turshen and Twagiramariya,(eds.), *What Women Do in Wartime*,19.

[125] West Africa, March 7–13, 1994, 404; J. Gittinger et al., *Household Food Security and the Role of Women* (Washington DC: World Bank,1990),3–4; and Aderanti Adepoju and Christine Oppong, (eds.) *Gender, Work & Population in Sub-Saharan Africa* (London: James Currey, 1994), 35–75.

studies illustrates that African women in the rural areas, in addition to domestic chores, perform more farming tasks than men.[125] The female victims stressed that the small war made their daily lives more difficult because of the economic downturn that accompanied the war.[126] Overall, the war "had destroyed 322 farming villages, including 42 in the Bimbilla District, 53 in the Yendi area, 11 in Zabzugu/Tatale, 7 in Gushiegu–Kalaga, 25 in Salaga, and 6 in Saboba–Chereponi;" also, all the Nanumba farming communities along the 75 kilometer Yendi–Bimbilla road had been burnt down.[127] Farming which constituted about seventy percent of the economic activities in the region remained at a standstill in the post-conflict period. This was because returning refugees and displaced persons, most of them women and children, had to look for building materials and farm inputs to reorganize their way of life.[128]

Infrastructure and social amenities that facilitated women's roles in the area were compromised. The war had adverse effects on essential services, including the provision of transportation, water, and normative health-care delivery facilities.[129] These and others were significant aspects of women's daily chores and domestic tasks, consequently, a depreciation in such services further burdened women. Thus, the war not only affected women physically and psychologically, but also had adverse effects on their socioeconomic well–being. In sum, the economic effects of the conflict on women may be gleaned from the massive destruction of the environment, homes, and farms, as well as the random killing of livestock. McGadney-Douglass concludes her study with this sad reminder: "The women who participated in this field study, 8 years after the conflict, were still struggling to survive in desperate poverty, with concerns about their children and husbands, education, substance abuse, migration, food, water sanitation, personal safety, and posttraumatic stress."[130]

Conclusion: The Resolution of the Conflict and the Long-Term Status of Female Victims

In the long-term, the national efforts, including the role of the Ghanaian government, social and political groups, local NGOs, and citizenry as a whole in resolving the 1994 conflict and ending the war were remarkable for their generosity. Under the auspices of the Ghanaian government, vigorous national efforts were made,

[126] Interview with Female Victims, 1997; and Interview with Female Victims, 1998.
[127] Akurang–Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis," 645–646; see also *Daily Graphic*, February 19, 1994; *Daily Graphic*, February 25, 1994; and *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, February 10–13, 1994).
[128] Ibid, and Interview with Female Victims, 1997; and Interview with Female Victims, 1998.
[129] Interview with Female Victims; *The Mirror*, February 19, 1994; *The Ghanaian Times,* February 18, 1994.
[130] McGadney-Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana," 335.

with negligible international input to rehabilitate the refugees and the internally displaced persons. Indeed, as the war began to subside in May 1994 and the refugees and internally displaced persons, "mainly women and children" returned home, they faced chronic economic crises and problems of adjustment and resettlement.[131] The Ghanaian government and local NGOs' schemes to resettle the victims of the war were hindered by the destruction of homes, farms, social amenities and other essential infrastructure.[132]

The female victims of the war contended that at the end of the war, the efforts of the national government, NGOs, etc. to assist the victims of the war favoured men more than women. They explained that they were not a part of the decision-making process as much as they had been in the prewar period. As a result, decisions were made by men that privileged men over women in terms of distribution of resources that were meant to facilitate the resettlement of victims of the war. For example, only male elders were asked about what they would need to make adjustments to the post-war realities. Also, male heads spoke on behalf of women, and as the testimonies of some female victims illustrate, logistics for farming benefited males more than females because men were in charge of land tenure, though women were farmers too.[133] In sum, the policies and strategies employed to remedy the exigencies of the conflict and small war did not change the social location of women; rather, such policies entrenched women in deprived and oppressive terrains.[134] The position of the female victims of the war is supported by a spate of theoretical perspectives on the nature of the resolution of ethnic conflicts that does not only illuminate the ways that the 1994 Nanumba-Konkomba war was resolved, but also shows how such paradigms deal with gender that defines and maps out the resolution of ethnic conflicts.[135] Caroline Moser, for instance, has argued that gender sensitivity does not inform policies in the so-called Third World.[136] Additionally, Haleh Afshar has lucidly concluded that "Peace processes, whether at local, national, or international levels, seldom include the perspectives that emerge from women's shared suffering. Even the choices that many women make at times of war and conflict

[131] Akurang–Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis."
[132] *The Ghanaian Times*, March 24, 1994; *The Ghanaian Chronicle*, February 10–13, 1994; and *Daily Graphic*, June 16, 1994.
[133] Interview with Female Victims, 1997; and Interview with Female Victims, 1998.
[134] Akurang-Parry, "A National Resolution of Crisis;" and McGadney-Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana."
[135] Caroline Moser, "Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Needs," in Rebecca Grant and Kathleen Newland (eds.), *Gender and International Relations*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 85–87; Haleh Afshar, "Introduction: War and Peace: What do Women Contribute?" in Haleh Afshar and Deborah Eade (eds.) *Development, Women, and War Feminist Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxfam GB, 2004), 1–7; and Kaye and Beland, "The Politics of Ethnicity."
[136] Moser, "Gender Planning in the Third World," 85–87.
[137] Afsher, "Introduction: War and Peace," 2–3.

may still be condemned when peace is being negotiated, or be rejected once formal peace has been achieve..."[137] Afshar adds that the "crisis of masculinity and difficulties of facing 'enemies within' make it hard if not impossible to include some of the demands that women would wish to make as a part of the process of peace making."[138]

Overall, postwar healing and reconstruction efforts are based on either human needs or human rights that consider the needs of both genders. The former refers to humanitarian assistance in the form of material needs, while the latter is about human rights.[139] In fact, Meintjes et al. persuasively write that "During the transition from war to peace, or from military dictatorship to democracy, the rhetoric of equality and rights tends to mask the reconstruction of patriarchal power, despite recent emphasis on women's human rights."[140] Added to this dilemma, Turshen and Twagiramariya state that "violence and the threat of violence against women do not end when the peace accords are signed. The violence of the regime begets a general culture of violence."[141] Afshar clarifies that "Commonly, what the returning warriors bring home is violence, fear and domination, while their women are expected to bear the pain and remain silent and submissive in the name of peace and unity."[142] Equally Megan MacKenzie, writing about the empowerment of women in post-conflict situations, states that "Given the growing number of policies claiming to be representative for women, gender inclusive and as source of women's empowerment, it is crucial to investigate the motivations of these policies, what efforts have been made to represent women's needs, and what sorts of gender norms and stereotypes might be implied through the policies.[143] Also Tina Sideris writing about war and Mozambican women refugees recommends that "A gender analysis requires those designing interventions to seriously consider the differential needs of survivors, but more importantly, to be vigilant of how gendered relations of power repress the voices of particular survivor populations. And it is precisely this perspective that challenges us to develop restorative interventions which incorporate social transformation."[144]

A follow-up study to trace the progress or otherwise of the displaced women in 2023, did not yield profound outcomes as only four of the female

[138] Ibid., 3.
[139] Meintjes et al. *The Aftermath*, 3–4..
[140] Ibid, 4.
[141] Turshen and Twagiramariya, (eds.), *What Women Do in Wartime*, 8.
[142] McGadney-Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana," 335.
[143] Megan MacKenzie, "Empowerment Boom or Bust: Assessing Women's Post-Conflict Empowerment initiatives, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 2009, 22 2, 202.
[144] Tina Sideris, "War Gender and Culture: Mozambican Women Refugees," *Social Science & Medicine*, 2003, 56, 714.
[145] Interview with Female Victims, 2023.

victims were available to recount their grim experiences.[145] Group interactions with them revealed several disturbing factors. We learnt from them that all four had remained as porters without any better work in sight. Again, all four had children who were also involved in the porterage business, that is, following in the footsteps of their parents. This means that the children had no access to variables of vertical mobility, such as education and capital input, to push them to routes different than those that their mothers had travelled. They were uneducated and could not read or write, a stigma in a society that prizes literacy as a means of social mobility. In effect they were entrenched in a state of a pernicious cycle of poverty and marginalization just as much as their parents had.[146]

The living conditions of the four and their children were nothing to write home about. The lived in slums: it appeared that time and progress had deserted them in the wood-kiosks whose ventilation and security were impoverished as much as the physical environments. The precincts of the kiosks were decidedly unhealthy and circumscribed by filth, putrefaction, and ambitious mosquitoes that infected them with malaria. Gallons served as water containers. They fetched water from leaking pipelines nearby that had created a dirty pool of water. Electricity was a problem. They claimed the Electricity Company of Ghana (ECG) had clamped down on illicit use of tapped electricity.[147]

All the four victims had children out of wedlock. This meant that their impoverished state subjected them to preying men. Sadly, the children's horizontal mobility was not different from those of their mothers' social location. The children had followed the impoverished lanes of their parents. Moreso, the children had taken to their mother's vocation as porters. Additionally, the moral boundaries of the children were in disarray due to parental penury and environmental determinism. In sum, the long-term effects of the war had contributed to the impoverization of the female victims, not only in the Northern Region, but also in other parts of the country, in this case Accra, where they had sought refuge.[148]

These arsenals of theoretical and empiricist perspectives adequately capture the ways that women from both Konkomba and Nanumba constituencies, as noted, were marginalized not only during the postwar decision-making, but also in the provision of amenities and logistics to help victims of the war to adjust to the immediate postwar conditions. Added to this, postwar healing and reconstruction should not only be a short-term phenomenon but should significantly consider the long-term needs of the female victims, the perpetually marginalized group in society, as well as women's contribution to the maintenance of postwar peace. McGadney-Douglass in her work on the 1994 small war, notes

[146] Ibid
[147] Ibid
[148] Ibid

that because "women remembered the destructive impact of violence in the past, they are the most likely ones to discourage their men from becoming involved in violence in the future and to promote instead strategies to resolve local conflicts. Such intercession is possible only if women are included in the decision-making process at the community level."[149] For this and other reasons, women living in the areas of intermittent small wars should be involved in the processes of postwar reconstructions: their voices and actual participation should be paramount in all postwar efforts to bring about peace and healing. There can be no doubt that ethnic problems in the Northern Region in one form or another are likely to erupt into another tragic conflict, in fact, since 1994, there have been imminent signs that point to the escalation of inter and intra ethnic conflict.[150] This on-going study, in part, is meant to call attention to the fact that women and children suffer the most whenever such small wars occur. Therefore, the endemic, unequal local power structures, systemic problems of economic insecurity, patriarchal domination, gender inequality and insensitivity that buttress violence against women should be addressed in tandem with how to end the ethnic incompatibility and small wars in the northern part of Ghana.

[149] McGadney-Douglass, "Displaced Women in Northern Ghana," 335.

[150] On Wednesday March 30, 2011, Ghanaweb, that carries current news items on Ghana, reported that the "Interior Minister Dr. Benjamin Kumbuor has told Citi News that the volatile situation in the Tamale Metropolis is being contained by security forces on the ground with backing from the Brong Ahafo and Upper East Regions. On Tuesday March 29, [2010], irate members of the Andani Royal Gate who are also members of the NDC, set the Northern Regional party office ablaze following the acquittal and discharge of 14 persons who were standing trial for the murder of the overlord of Dagbon, Yaa Naa Yakubu Andani II. The NDC's Tamale Central constituency office was also attacked, but because it is a rented building, files and other documents were collected and burnt. Dozens of Andani youth, who claim they joined the NDC because of the party's promise in the run up to the 2008 elections to prosecute the killers of the Yaa Naa, have threatened to cause further destruction and attack members of the Abudu gate. Later at about 9:00pm, an Andani middle-aged man was killed amidst rioting by angry youth, according to Citi FM's Northern Regional Correspondent, Abdul Karim Naatogmah. It is not clear who or what killed the man, but eyewitnesses told Citi News he was shot by soldiers who were struggling to control the rampaging youth who continued to burn down several properties. Consequently, the Northern Regional Security Council (REGSEC) imposed a curfew on the Tamale Metropolis as an interim measure to curtail the rising tension. The curfew started at 11:00pm but it is unclear when it is supposed to end. Dr. Kumbuor told Citi News although there is relative calm in Tamale security has been beefed up to curtail a possible escalation in the coming days. He said security will be extended to Yendi to restrain a possible spill over of the violence since Abudus and Andanis live there as well." See GNA, "Northern NDC to Govt: Reverse Ya Na Case Ruling or..." Ghanaweb General News of March 30, 2011, http://www.Ghanaweb.com.

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