THE PROSPECTS AND CONSTRAINTS OF REINTEGRATING ACCUSED WITCHES IN MAINSTREAM SOCIETY: THE CASE OF TINDANG AND GAMBAGA WITCHES' CAMPS

BY:

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I declare that this thesis is my own work. It is the result of my own original research undertaken under the supervision of Professors Kodjo Senah and Max Assimeng. As far as I know, it has not been presented elsewhere either in whole or in part, for another degree. Where references have been made to other published and unpublished works, these have been acknowledged in the text and bibliography.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my mother, Madam Florence Lamisi Kpeb who did not live to see this dream come through. “Ma” you gave me focus, perspective, strength as well as love and support. Wherever you are, I want you to know you were the most wonderful person on earth, the best I knew and you will forever live in my heart.
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ABSTRACT

Belief in witchcraft is a world wide phenomenon. In Africa, its occurrence is almost universal. Although in some societies this belief plays a very minor role in the daily lives of the people, in most it is no exaggeration to say that one cannot gain any fundamental grasp of the attitude which people have towards one another nor can one understand many aspects of their ideas regarding good, evil and causation and their associated beliefs without understanding their belief in witchcraft.

There are four established witches’ camps in northern Ghana: Gambaga witches’ camp in Mamprusi, Kpatinga camp located in north of Yendi, Kukuo camp in the south of Yendi and Tindang/Gnani in the east of Yendi (Waibel, 2001). However, due to time and financial constraint the study was limited to two witches’ camps, Tindang and Gambaga witches’ camps.

This study is a follow up to an earlier study the researcher undertook for her bachelors’ degree (Idrisu, 2002). The objective of the first study was to determine whether witchcraft is a naturally occurring phenomenon or a product of social interaction and inter-relationships. In the present study, however, the researcher examines the prospects and constraints in reintegrating accused witches in the Tindang and Gambaga witches’ camps into mainstream community life.

To achieve this objective, the researcher surveyed not only the two camps, but also conducted interviews with members of two communities near the camps. She also conducted in-depth interview with the staff of some institutions working with the camps, traditional leaders, District Assembly officials and selected key informants.
Data were gathered through the administration of questionnaire in the two witches’ camps and in the two communities near the witches’ camps (Nalerigu and Yendi). In-depth interviews were conducted with identified key informants, some institutions working with the witches’ camps, members of the Dagbon and Mamprugu traditional councils, and officials of the Gambaga and Yendi district assemblies.

Main Findings

- Conditions in both Tindang and Gambaga witches camp are bad. However accused witches are willing to stay in the camps.

- Some respondents are willing to be reintegrated based on the following conditions:
  - To be reconciled with family members and family of the accused
  - To be resettled in a completely different environment
  - To be assured of security (not to be attacked again)

- Views from the two communities revealed that they are willing to accept and interact with the accused but based on the following conditions:
  - The accused must put a stop to their ‘wicked’ activities; and
  - The accused must be economically independent

- Some methods employed in reintegration by the Presbyterian Project include dialogue and education. The study revealed that apart from the Presbyterian Project which is involved in the reintegration of accused, the other institutions
The potency of women's sexuality is generally controlled by men – be it fathers, brothers, husbands or sons.

- About 38 percent of respondents in Gambaga and about 22 respondents at the Tindang witches camp have children living with them. Most of these children were of school going age but do not go to school.

- It is significant to note that in spite of food donations made to accused, they still go hungry because donation of sorghum given on monthly basis by the CRS is not appropriate. The reason is that sorghum is considered a foreign grain which cannot be used to prepare “Too Zaafi” which is the staple dish of the people. Accused, therefore, sell or exchange the sorghum for maize or millet.

- Soothsayers, diviners, chief priests and some chiefs are among the people who are capable of identifying and establishing the true status of an accused.

- The chiefs of Gambaga and Tindang are willing to allow accused to be discharged from the witches' camps, once the necessary rituals are performed. However, the cost of rites involved in exorcising accused is expensive. The cost ranges from three hundred thousand to a million cedis (US $ 30-100).

- High numbers of accused reintegrated are chased back to the witches camps due to threats and re-accusations.
Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are provided to aid the reintegration of inmates in the Tindang and Gambaga witches' camps:

- The Government and non-governmental institutions should intensify educational campaigns both in English and in the local languages in northern Ghana, to effect positive behavioral change and attitudes. Also institutions working with the witches' camps in their educational campaigns should offer alternative ways of explaining events.

- Development agents and institutions working with the witches camps need to be aware that to change the witchcraft mentality of people takes time, and therefore they should be patient and tactful. Changes that have to do with the mentality, beliefs and attitudes are not easily achieved within a short time.

- Human rights institutions, non-governmental organization and development agents should dialogue with the traditional authorities involved in the identification and or treatment of accused witches, so as to integrate their views and concerns.

- The Presbyterian Project should involve the traditional council and the soothsayers in their reintegration programme so as to prevent the accused from being chased back to the witches' camp. Experts should be employed to handle the reintegration programme of the Project. Also other NGO's should
include reintegration programs in their dealings with the witches’ camp so as to contribute to the reintegration process.

- The Dagbon and Mamprugu traditional councils should launch a prevention and reintegration program in their various jurisdictions so as to target diviners, soothsayers, chiefs and all persons involved in the identification and persecution of witches.

- The East Mamprusi District and the Yendi District Assemblies should support the witches’ camps with the District Common Fund through education, provision of amenities, research and even liaising with institutions working with these camps.

- Associations like the Christian Mothers and the Christian Women’s Fellowship and other religious women’s groups could visit these poor women accused of witchcraft and listen to and minister to them. This would help these unfortunate women to deal with their present situation of helplessness. Also MOWAC, FIDA and 31st DWM could explore the possibilities of emancipating these women from the clutches of traditional, cultural and religious prejudices.

- Specific programs should be designed to offer children in the camps an opportunity to growth and development as normal children would have in school.
What Next

Activities of human rights institutions, NGO's and even government have contributed very little in reintegrating accused at the two witches' camp. Accused witches on the other hand have not shown the desire to go back home. Reintegration does not appear to be an easy task. Reintegration is possible and can be achieved only when the concerns of all persons involved are considered. The expectation of most institutions especially, the human rights institutions is a rapid response, which in reality is not achievable. Issues that have to do with negative mentality, beliefs, and attitudes are not easily addressed within a short time. Consequently, this study can only end by raising a question: What next? Answers to this question may trigger more critical discussions on the witches' camps in Ghana.
BESIP - Basic Sector Improvement Project
CAMFED - Cambridge Female Education
CHRAJ - Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice
CRS - Catholic Relief Services
DCE - District Chief Executive
DFID - Department for International Development
DOVVSU - Domestic Violence and Victims Support Unit
DRC - Democratic Republic of the Congo
EU - European Union
FIDA - Federation of Women Lawyers Association
GES - Ghana Education Service
GHS - Ghana Health Service
KVIP - Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pit
MAID - Management Aid
MOWAC - Ministry of Women and Children Affairs
NGO - Non Governmental Organization
OPD - Out Patient Department
TBA - Traditional Birth Attendant
YPPIP - Young Professionals Internship Program
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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Witchcraft as a Global Phenomenon

In all societies, whether developed or developing, attempts are made by individuals, families and communities to explain what appears to be unusual (Mensah-Aborampah 2003). According to Ray (1976), unlike western religions, African thought does not conceive the source of evil to be a fallen god or spirit like Satan or the Devil. He argues that instead, the source of evil is located in the human world, in the ambitions and jealousies of human being. The origin of evil is, therefore, traced to demonic humanity personified by the witch or sorcerer – the antisocial person. Belief in witchcraft is common in Africa. It is so common that two heads of state in Africa have accused their political rivals of bewitching them (Mair 1969). Everywhere in Africa as well as in the industrialised countries, people not only believe in witches but frequently attribute misfortunes which befall them to witches' (Mensah-Aborampah, 2003).

Although Africa has been singled out as the proverbial abode of witchcraft, it is interesting to note that witchcraft beliefs were prevalent in Europe and America in the past centuries (Mensah-Aborampah 2003). In pre-Christian Europe, there was a fairly generalised belief in witches and also in evil spirits that copulated with human beings. Fear of witchcraft often manifests itself in the persecution of people (Lea 1978). Christians accused witches of making pacts, bringing misfortune, engaging in illicit sex, eating the flesh of infants and observing 'black Sabbaths'. In Europe, hundreds of thousands of people, mostly women, were burned as witches in witch-hunts that lasted
for 300 years; the last burning of a witch in Europe took place as late as 1782. In Christianity, with its belief in a supernatural power of evil, the witch became a human associate of the devil, closely associated with demons and occasionally indistinguishable from them. The witch came to be seen as a pawn of Satan, a tool used in his efforts to destroy humanity and block God's plan of salvation. Thus, the witch in Christianity was a minor symbol of that transpersonal evil of which Satan was the major symbol (Hughes, 1965). The belief in the physical embodiment of evil is the concern of many religions. For example, Pope Paul VI stated in 1972 that 'evil is an effective agent that sows errors and misfortunes in human history' (Russel 1972:432). It should be noted that in all societies where witchcraft is a component of the belief system witchcraft beliefs are of utmost importance since they offer explanation for the persistence of evil and the ability of humans to eradicate it. Krige (1947) has aptly summarized this:

"Witches and sorcerers are considered (by the Lovedu) to be the embodiment of malignant forces ever on the alert to enter into unholy matrimony with the criminal impulses of the human heart. Witchcraft particularly (as opposed to sorcery) is the essence of all evil, vicious and inscrutable, that swirls through the universe and seeks asylum in sinful souls in which the germs of wickedness lie ready to be quickened into life".

While witch hunts and persecutions were a serious social problem in Western Europe and in North America, it is assuming antagonistic and alarming proportions in Africa.
Organized campaign against suspected witches, which culminated in mass witch trials, took place in 1645 in England. A combination of exorcism and torture resulted in hundreds of people being put to death as allies of Satan. The accused were often older women or beggars who lived alone or who were regarded unneighbourly or abrasive. Many witches who lived in West Germany from 1562 to 1684 were women (Lea 1978). In America, the world witnessed the outbreak of witch trials in Salem, Massachusetts in 1692. Although the first hanging of a witch in New England occurred in 1647, it was at Salem that the colonies produced their most spectacular series of witch trials, in which nineteen persons were executed.

Literature on North America indicates that witchcraft belief is not peculiar to Africa (Mensah-Aborampah 2003). In many American Indian and Alaska Native groups, illness and misfortune are attributed to numerous causes, ranging from taboo violation or wrongdoing to other forms of supernatural interventions that may occur as a result of witchcraft or sorcery. For example, in one tribe a condition such as epilepsy may be viewed as the consequence of behaviour such as incest. In another, the same condition may be attributed to supernatural causes such as soul possession or witchcraft (Mensah-Aborampah 2003).

Belief in magical practices was widespread in the cultures of the ancient Middle East, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Palestine. Magical power to heal sickness and other acts of witchcraft or sorcery was ascribed to gods and heroes. There was also the fear of malevolent magic or sorcery, especially in Mesopotamia, and a search for counteraction (Hughes, 1965). According to the biblical record, the Hebrews, as well
as their neighbors, were conversant with these practices, fears, and avoidances. It is disputable whether any of the Hebrew terms rendered "witch" or "sorcerer" in various translations refer to witchcraft in the special modern sense. Very often they have to do with mediums and necromancers applying certain techniques of divination (Hughes, 1965). The so-called witch of Endor used by King Saul, according to the story in the First Book of Samuel, is a good example of this; actually the King James Version calls her "a woman that hath a familiar spirit," and the Revised Standard Version, "a medium" (Mensah-Aborampah, 2003).

In ancient Greece and Rome only magical practices intended to do harm were condemned and punished; beneficent sorcery was officially approved. It was believed that certain persons could do harm to others in their economic, political, athletic, and amorous endeavors and even cause their death (Hughes, 1965). Such activities were often ascribed to the gods themselves, who, unlike the Judeo-Christian God, were not purely good and were, moreover, subject to the same impulses as human beings (and also to human sorcery). Certain goddesses (e.g., Diana, Selene, or Hecate) were associated with the performance of malevolent magic that took place at night and according to a fixed ritual, with various paraphernalia and spells (Cohn, 1982).

In spite of modernization, witchcraft is recorded in Euro-American world, although it has taken new forms. The current version of witchcraft, commonly called Wicca, attempts to put itself into a more benevolent light. Wicca was the original Anglo-Saxon spelling of the modern English word "witch" (Adler 1979). Wicca as a
modern religion is popular and mainly found in Britain and North America (Mensah-Aborampah 2003).

Belief in witchcraft has been widely distributed in human society. Records of such beliefs go back to the dawn of history. If certain interpretations of rock paintings and other archaeological evidence are accepted, then witchcraft beliefs can be traced probably to the prehistoric period as well. Nevertheless, there are some people (for example the the Kalahari San and Andaman Islanders) among whom belief in witchcraft does not exist; others (e.g., the Javanese) believe in sorcery but not witchcraft; and still others (e.g., in Arab-Muslim cultures) believe in the Evil Eye, but do not believe in witchcraft (Hughes, 1965).

The witch-hunts of early modern Europe took place against a backdrop of rapid social, economic, and religious transformation. The witch-hunts waxed and waned for nearly three centuries, with great variations in time and space. The rate of witch hunting varied dramatically throughout Europe, ranging from a high of 26,000 deaths in Germany to a low of four in Ireland (Mensah-Aborampah 2003).
1.1 Witchcraft in Africa

Beliefs about witches have a world-wide distribution, in Africa their occurrence is almost universal (Jahoda 1970, Assimeng 1977, Senah 2004). Writing about witchcraft in Africa, Idowu (1973:195) says:

In Africa today, it is real that the majority of the people believe that there are witches and there is witchcraft. Witches and witchcraft are sufficiently real as to cause untold suffering and innumerable deaths...... When I speak of witchcraft, I am referring to that which is disturbingly real as to affect the lives of Africans in every walk of life. And by Africans I mean not only the illiterates who carry on their traditional customs intact, almost as they were received from their forebears: I mean also 'educated men and women in the civil service, in the mercantile houses, well known politicians, university professors, university graduates and undergraduates, medical doctors, Imams, Alhajis, Archbishops or Bishops, and a host of Christian ministers, Muslims and Christians. To most of the persons in these categories, witchcraft is an urgent and very harassing reality; it is diabolical, soul-enslaving presence....I will assert categorically that there are witches in Africa; that they are as real as the murderers, prisoners and other categories of evil workers, overt and surreptitious. This and not any imagination is the basis of the strong belief in witchcraft.

In Africa, witchcraft has become a topical issue in conversations as all kinds of misfortune are attributed to witches. This, according to Idowu (1973) is because the concept of witchcraft is real to Africans. In writing about witchcraft, he observed that as absurd as it may seem, an African head of state suggested the use of witchcraft to end Apartheid government of South Africa in the early 1970s.
been instrumentalized in three ways for political purposes over rival politicians. First, politicians document their power in the spiritual realm by attributing personal magical powers to them (e.g. Nigeria and Benin of West Africa). Secondly, autocratic leaders also use magic and witchcraft beliefs in an offensive way, either by attacking rivals directly by means of “black” (poisoning, psycho – terror) or psychological warfare e.g. by threatening potential voters and political opponents under the pretext of being able to see who is voting for them, and threatening to react accordingly (Schatzberg 1993; Ellis 1993). Opposition against the belief in witchcraft may be used as a cover or convenient means to discredit other political opinions (Kadya Tall 1995; Elwert-Kretzschmer 1995). For Kohnert, occult forces have in the form of magic and witchcraft therefore, become a weapon in the battle for supremacy for over rival politicians. The African believes that witchcraft is ubiquitous, that it permeates all sectors of life such as farming, hunting, fishing and other occupations.

Sarpong (2004) argues that witchcraft beliefs are part of African culture and cannot be eradicated. Sarpong (2004) explains that nineteenth century scholars such as Fraser and Malinowski predicted that belief in witchcraft and magic would disappear, to be replaced by scientific rationality. Unfortunately recent studies have revealed a different scenario. For example Camaroff (1993), demonstrates that witchcraft beliefs adapt to new economic and social realities. He indicates that belief in witchcraft may be a reaction to an increasing ‘conflict – producing potential’ caused by processes of social differentiation in the context of the evolution of a market economy and “modernization” of economy and society (Drucker – Brown 1993; Geschiere and Fisly 1994; Jong 1987b; Kohnert 1983; McLeod 1975). This is still arguable because
witchcraft belief existed in pre-industrial rural communities of Europe and yet it was eradicated. Moreover, as societies develop so do beliefs fall away.

In South Africa, specifically in the Northern Province and Mpumalanga and the former Transkei of the present Eastern Cape, incidents of witchcraft accusations are often reported. In almost all the cases, women (especially the aged and the poor) are the accused. Such victims have either their houses burnt down or even lynched. Those often attacked are the poor and on the margins of society. They are the powerless who are seemingly at the mercy of decision makers in the black African community (Mensah Aborampah, 2003). Newspapers have recorded many serious crimes committed as a result of what people claim to be superstition. Below are a few extracts from newspapers and magazines.


In some areas of Angola the belief in witchcraft is strong, and an accusation of sorcery can lead to violent and sometimes lethal retribution by the community (Ajavon, 1998). Also in M'Banza Congo, the provincial capital of Zaire in northern Angola, at least 23 young boys are forced to live in an orphanage run by the Catholic Church. They were thrown out of their homes for allegedly possessing supernatural powers (Amuzu, 1997).
In 1992, 300 Kenyans accused of witchcraft were executed by vigilante mobs that burned the homes of the accused. In 1993, killings among the Gusii tribe in Kenya were occurring at the rate of one a week. "In most cases, village mobs several hundred strong locked the victims inside thatch-roof houses and set them on fire. According to tribal elders, the Gusii have always executed people found to be witches. Villagers had a foolproof method for determining guilt. The most respected men in the community would call a meeting. Next, they would smear local herbs on the hands of the suspect and that of a second, innocent man. Both men would be ordered to dip their hands into a pot of boiling water, and then return in five days. If the suspect was a witch, burns would appear on his hands. However, the innocent man's hands would remain unscarred" (Adam A. H., 1995). Much of the same pattern is evident in Tanzania and Kenya. Lynch mobs have killed hundreds of Tanzanians whom they accuse of witchcraft as black magic hysteria sweeps East Africa. Most of the usually elderly victims have been beaten or burnt to death by gangs of youths (Adam A.H., 1995).

In Zimbabwe, as in neighboring South Africa, the witch-hunts also seem closely related to "the black market demand for human body parts, which are used in making evil potions." The upsurge in such practices, the ritual murders they require, and the vengefulness that results against accused "witches," are all linked to the country's precipitous economic decline. The worse the economy gets, the more political tension there is in society, the more frustrated and frightened people get. They turn to witchcraft to gain riches or to hurt their enemies (Adama, 2004).
One brutal method of executing witches in Central Africa is by burying the accused alive in 1995, over 50 Ugandans were killed by witch hunters. That same year, more than 70 people in South Africa's Northern Province were lynched to death as suspected sorcerers. In June of 2001, villagers of Congo's northeast provinces began a bloody witch eradication campaign, sparing neither neighbor, nor friend. Alleged witches were unceremoniously hacked apart by machete-wielding vigilantes, bringing about a scene of carnage unmatched since the machete killing-sprees of the Rwanda Crisis. The innocent victims were first "smelled out" (identified by tribal healers as witches) before they were savagely beaten into incriminatory confessions about others allegedly engaged in the black arts.

The witches' camp in Burkina Faso is called "Centre Delwande" located in Ouagadougou. The centre was transformed from a home for the aged into a witches' camp. It was managed solely by the state until the Catholic Church (Soeur Mission Notre Dame) rendered support. The centre is now managed by both the state and the church. The government has appointed two nurses and coordinator. A nun is also stationed there to support in the administration. The women are supplied one meal a day and that is lunch and so for their breakfast and dinner they have to fend for themselves. For the very old who cannot work the Catholic Church supports them with money. However, the coordinator was quick to add that no matter how old they are, they are still able to at least spin cotton. The coordinator claims even the blind inmates do spin.
1.2 Witchcraft in Northern Ghana

The phenomenon of the witches’ camps of Northern Ghana dates back to the pre-colonial times, but it is only in the last decade that it has caused a stir. Dozens of newspaper and articles (Badoe 2004, Mair 1969, Waibel 2001, Schauber 2003) as well as a number of television (Mahama 2005) and film documentaries (Berg 2004) have appeared in which the unfortunate residents of these villages are depicted as suffering inhumanly (e.g. tied to a log and tortured for three months) [Badoe 2004]. “Older women are ‘accused of using’ witchcraft to cause illness and almost always subjected to various forms of abuse that includes physical attacks, humiliation in public, destruction of property and ostracization (Akosah – Sarpong 2006).

According to Kirby (2006) these camps are all located in the cultural shrines of traditional earth shrines. Shrine- sanctuaries are an old tradition in Ghana and Africa as a whole (Kirby, 2006). The Guan divinity called ‘Bruku’ in Kwahu and ‘Brukung’ at Shiare in the Volta Region, ‘Kukuro’ at Nkyere near Wench and “Nana Tongo” or ‘Tenzug’ in the Tongo hills are all note worthy Ghanaian earth shrines that still offer sanctuary and discern witches. In the past, those seeking asylum included persons accused of witchcraft, runaway slaves, wives and war refugees. Under the power of the shrines, those accused of witchcraft lose their power and become servants or wives of the shrines (Kirby, 2006).
In the 21st century, where human rights are widely enjoyed by all, and most governments are resorting to democratic system of governance, some men and women in some parts of northern Ghana are “caged” far away from their homes because of witchcraft accusation. As such, they are barred temporarily or most times permanently from returning to their community of origin (Yaba, 2005). As one author described the situation of witchcraft in Northern Ghana: “It starts with an old woman being dragged… Villagers shout curses at her, while others grab her arms, pulling her along. The commotion wakes up residents in the area… Once awakened, the villagers are not surprised by what they see and hear…rural people know what this unplanned drama means” (Amuzu, 2003).

There exist about 5,000 women scattered throughout the Northern Region. These women are forced to live on the fringes of society because they are believed to have caused the deaths of children suffering from malaria, polio and cerebral-spinal meningitis (CSM), etc. Many of the social evils of the day such as drug-using youth who become mentally disturbed or refused to go to school or even to work on family farms, are all blamed on alleged witches (Adama, 2004).

In northern Ghana, elderly women accused of being witches have been forcibly banished to witches camps. When crops fail or children die of mysterious illnesses, the villagers of northern Ghana usually suspect that a witch is to blame. The accusation is most likely to come from within a family. The same feeling that binds a village together in adversity can be turned ruthlessly against a scapegoat, and it takes little more than suspicion for a witch to face death at the hands of a lynch mob (CHRAJ, 1997).
In Ghana, literature on women indicates the distressed circumstances in which some women and children live (Van Den berg, 1999). Violence against women in Ghana often occurs in the context of patriarchal relations, which perpetuates a system of female subordination and male domination (Tsikata, 2001). Also sexual harassment is believed to occur widely in Ghana, but not widely acknowledged or reported, partly because of problems of its definition and problems associated with tradition and difficulty of proof (Tsikata, 2001).

From the perspective of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, witches camps can be conceived as a breach of the Universal Declaration of Human Right (Tsikata, 2001). The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women held in Beijing 1995 sets out steps for governments and the non-state actors to take in order to eliminate violence against women. Confining accused witches in a camp is a violation of their human rights. Treatment meted out to accused witches is also dehumanizing (Waibel, 2000).

The consequence of witchcraft accusation to the individual and society is manifold. Socially, there is a dislocation in the community in the sense that the accused and their relatives are hurt. This results in a perpetual hostility between the accused family and those who were involved in the accusation.
Also when the women parliamentary caucus in 1998 visited the camp after presentations of clothes, food items and utensils, the fervent pleas from the outcasts to the women parliamentarians was that the government should allow them to live the rest of their lives at the camp since they would die or be killed as soon as they returned to their communities (Waibel, 1997).

These are but some measures employed by traditional authority, governmental and non-governmental institutions alike in the integration process. It is, however doubtful if these legislations have achieved the desired results, since the belief in witchcraft is still entrenched in these communities. This is an indication that there are more problems, albeit unknown to policy makers.

It should however be noted that emphasizing the legal means of reintegration has not only been fruitless but has not achieved results (Smith, 1995). FIDA, CHRAJ amongst other institutions, which tried reintegration by this means have failed woefully. This is an issue that needs more tact, diplomacy, sensitization and advocacy rather than mere utterances and orders.

Inadequate literature exists on the acceptable means of reintegrating accused witches. The problem, therefore, is to find acceptable means of reintegrating accused witches by soliciting views from the accused, institutions working with the witches’ camps, traditional authority, district assemblies and some community members.
1.4 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to analyze the problems and prospects of reintegrating inmates of the Tindang and Gambaga witches' camps into mainstream society.

In pursuance of this objective, the following specific issues would be examined.

(1) To assess living conditions in the witch camps

(2) To solicit views of the accused on their possible return to mainstream society.

(3) To gather views of community members on possible return home of alleged witches

(4) Evaluate existing ways of reintegration by some NGO's

(5) To assess the role of the District assemblies and traditional authority in reintegrating accused witches.

1.5 Method of Data Collection

To be able to gather information for the study, data gathering mechanisms were employed. Primary and Secondary data were used. Secondary data were derived from books, journals, newspaper reports, research works from government and non-governmental institutions. Primary data were obtained from survey.

1.5.1 Sampling

Officially, there are four witch camps in the Northern Region (Waibel, 2001). Out of the four, only one camp has both male and female inmates. The researcher purposively selected the camp with both male and female population, so as to obtain views from male inmates. The other camp at Gambaga was selected through the simple random sampling procedure.
In the Tindaang/Osnani witches' camp two main ethnic groups (Dagomba and Konkoma) were present. Also, both male and female inmates co-exist. The Gambaga camp however, has three ethnic groups, the Bimoba, Konkomba and the Mamprusi/Dagomba. The researcher used stratified sampling technique in both to enable information to be gathered from all the ethnic groupings and from both sexes.

1.5.2 Tools for Data collection

A community survey was conducted to gather data from near by villages around the witches’ camp. All categories of persons were interviewed. The essence was to gather varied opinion on the possible return of the accused back to their communities of origin. Data from community survey was supported by data from focus group discussion sessions conducted in the communities.

In-depth interviews were conducted with the chiefs, tindana, members of institutions working with the camps (MAID, Action Aid and Presbyterian Project) and some elders and individuals who have contributed literature in the area of witchcraft.

In all, the researcher interviewed 40 inmates and 60 respondents each (from the two communities near the camps), six institutions working with the witches’ camp, two human rights institution and about ten key informants.
Three separate questionnaires were developed and employed for data collection. A structured questionnaire was administered to randomly selected accused witches in both witches camp. Another set of structured questionnaire was administered in two selected communities near the witches’ camps (Nalerigu and Yendi). Another set of questionnaire was employed for informal groups, institutions and individual discussions. This included the chief, staff of some NGO’s operating there, staff of CHRAJ and FIDA. The last set of questionnaire was administered on the district assemblies and traditional authorities of the two study communities. The reason was to determine what has been done by these authorities and what plans they have for the witches’ camps.

Structured questionnaire is more appropriate when the number of respondents is large or where a large number of interviewers is employed. Hence the need for systematization and uniformity in the interviewing procedure. Also it follows a set pattern. This type of interview saves time and presents information collected from different respondents in almost the same form and order (Kumekpor, 2002).
1.6 Limitation of the Study

Several constrains were encountered during the study. These include time and financial constraint and accessibility of respondents. Financial and time constraints limited the study to two witches’ camps and two communities near the witches’ camp. The cost involved in accomplishing the work was unbearable. This is because the work covered four separate communities which are located differently geographically. This called for printing separate questionnaire, transportation and hotel bills. A second visit was necessitated to investigate emerging trends. This was actually not budgeted for and therefore put much financial strain on the researcher.

Gardener (1968) has correctly stated how witches are warned in their initiation to refrain from any conversation about their activities. The researcher encountered difficulty in obtaining information especially from the accused witches in particular because of stigma and the manner in which the media utilizes information gathered from the witches’ camp. Whilst the traditional authority and chiefs were afraid of media publications and exaggerations, institutions like FIDA simply refused to respond to any interview whatsoever.

In addition, the low level of education of most respondents made it difficult to administer questionnaire in English, especially to the Konkomba. As a result, the researcher had to resort to the services of an interpreter. This situation did not only distort the work but slowed down the pace of the study.
The two district assemblies lacked current data on the study area, which made it difficult to effectively study and compile the report on the study area. The researcher had to depend on reports on the district development plans which were not up to date.

Institutions like the CHRAJ and MOWAC were not prepared to respond to any interview whatsoever and so the researcher spent much time re-booking and canceling appointments.

Access to the accused was not easy since most go to work on people's farms for income during the day time. So, the researcher used the evenings for the interview. This increased the number of days spent in the research community.

In spite of these difficulties, the researcher was able to achieve her set objectives.

1.7 Organization of work

The thesis is organized into five main chapters. The first chapter covers the research problem, problem justification, objectives, research methodology and the limitations of the study. A critical review of existing literature and work that has been done on the subject of study is the content of chapter two. Chapters three and four focus on data analysis on the witches' camp, communities near the witches camp and institutions working with the camps. Chapter five, the final chapter, covers the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.
CHAPTER TWO

2.0 Literature Review

In this chapter the researcher reviews relevant literature in the area of witchcraft. Several writers have contributed literature on witchcraft depending on their area of interest. Whilst some literature examines the general concept of witchcraft, other writers have postulated theories associated with witchcraft. Another school of thought that incidentally includes recent scholars emphasizes the socio-political dimensions of witchcraft. Although this is not new, the approach operates within the discourse of modernity. The basic consideration is about the impact of urbanization, political economy, power and gender issues. This chapter is divided into five sub-headings:

(i) Concept of Witchcraft, (ii) Belief in witchcraft (iii) Theories of Witchcraft
(iv) Motives of Witches (v) Functions of Witchcraft.

2.1 Concept of Witchcraft

Literature on witchcraft in Africa appears to be interdisciplinary. Scholars from disciplines such as psychology, anthropology, sociology, history and religion have conducted research into the phenomenon. Such scholars include Evans-Pritchard (1937, 1965), Debrunner (1961) and Parrinder (1963), to mention but a few. Unfortunately these eminent scholars have delved into the subject from the vantage point of their respective disciplines. Emphases and conclusions, rightly or wrongly, have reflected the worldview of the authors and not those of the people studied.
Witchcraft as a subject has been studied extensively, but there is no agreed meaning on what it is. There is no single description of the witch or the sorcerer that may be taken as an authoritative picture fitting all societies (Waibel, 2001). In most, the witch is characteristically depicted as female, but in many, either sex may be conceived of as witches or wizards. One common notion underlying witchcraft, is the belief that supernatural forces may be used as a means to achieve a personal goal (e.g., harm, profit, fertility). In other words, witchcraft beliefs embrace a wide range of ideas, practices, and motivations, but in their various forms, they usually share the idea that the power to inflict injury and benefit could be exercised through unobservable, supernatural means (Waibel, 2001).

Evans-Pritchard (1937) is one of the most influential writers in the area of witchcraft. His work among the Azande yielded several concepts that have been used extensively by other scholars. Evans-Pritchard (1937) defines witchcraft as an innate psychic ability of an individual within a community to affect the supernatural and natural world. Sorcery is the skilful use of substances to affect the supernatural and natural world. Evans Pritchard's (1937) definitions of sorcery and witchcraft have been used to clarify other aspects of these phenomena. Among the Azande and some other central African peoples, the source of this evil-working capacity is believed to be located in the witch's stomach, and its power and range increase with age. It can be activated merely by wishing someone ill and is thus a kind of unspoken or implicit, curse. At the same time, the Azande believe that evil deeds can be wrought even more effectively by the manipulation of spells and potions and the use of powerful magic. In anthropological terminology this is technically "sorcery," and thus, like the "witches" in Shakespeare's play 'Macbeth' who dance around a pot stirring potions...
and muttering spells, the Azande practitioners may more properly be termed "sorcerers" rather than "witches" (Pritchards, 1937).

According to Evans-Pritchard (1937) sorcery is always a conscious act. Defined within several East-African cultures as the skilful use of substances to harm another, the practitioner usually knows exactly what he or she is doing. The necessarily conscious nature of sorcery and the possibility of unconscious witchcraft establish an important distinction concerning how society deals with them. In many societies a witch acting unconsciously may return to society after restitution. However, because of the conscious nature of sorcery, a sorcerer may not always have this option. Moreover, this distinction between witchcraft and sorcery is somewhat flawed. The distinction used by Evans-Pritchard does not exist in every society. The intention to harm another individual is more important than the use of substances in determining sorcery in many East-African societies. In addition, in many East-African societies many individuals practise both witchcraft and sorcery simultaneously. However, Evans-Pritchard’s distinction is applicable to some cultures (Pritchard, 1937).

Writing on witchcraft, Nukunya (1992) defines witches as people, both male and female, who are believed to possess inherent supernatural powers which they use knowingly or otherwise to harm others to benefit themselves. Sarpong (1992) agrees with Nukunya but adds that a witch may or may not be conscious of the fact that he or she possesses witchcraft. According to Sarpong (1992) a baby could be a witch even
before it is born. Nukunya (1992) mentions features associated with witchcraft to include ageing, persons with red eyes, excessive wealth, abject poverty and senility.

Jackson (1998) argued that, the Beja of Sudan do not conceptualize witchcraft as malevolent substance used to harm people. He points out ‘although the notion is present among Beja people, they have never heard of a concrete episode where people applied a specific incidence to a witch’ (Jackson 1998). Although Jackson makes a point, this does not mean witchcraft activity in one area cannot shed light on such activity in a different region of Africa or within the same country. On this issue, Geschiere (1997) and Wilson (1973) have explained that, the terms for witchcraft in different parts of Cameroon reflect the impact of urbanization and of an industrial, capitalist economy.

According to Pool (1994) and Rosny (1985), in Cameroon, witchcraft and divination are seen as ‘meaning-making’ activities and attempts to come to grip with reality. The problem with this approach is that religious issues are integrated with healing, medicine, and divination. This situation shatters the demarcation of religious questions from human experience (Rosny 1985; Pool 1994).

Debrunner (1961) defines witchcraft as some supernatural power of which one can be possessed, and which is used exclusively for the evil and antisocial purposes. Witchcraft according to Debrunner (1961) is only one of the ways in which Africans react to upsetting challenges.
For Standefer (1972), the main question that must be asked is why the image of the witch takes the form it does from society to society throughout Africa and indeed throughout the world. Hughes (1965) noted that there is similarity in the witch’s images in all these societies. And the similarity of this image—one of evil, anti-social and somewhat abnormal being is not limited to East Africa; it may, in fact be universal. According to Middleton (1963, 1964) the characteristics of witches among the Lugbara of East Africa, are as follows: ‘a witch has the characteristics of an abnormal person; his face is grey and drawn, like a corpse; he may have red eyes or a squint; he may vomit blood; he walks at night, and is associated with night creatures.

Kaguru witches are characterized as possessing the opposite qualities relative to those of a Kaguru human. Witches associate with wild animals, prefer the night, commit incest and cannibalism and endanger the community. One interesting point concerning Kaguru witches is that they are always aware of their evil actions. This is opposed to Evans-Pritchard’s notion that witches may not always be conscious of their malevolent dealings (Beidelman 1986).

A witch is a person thought capable of harming others supernaturally through the use of innate mystic power, medicines or familiars, and who is symbolized by inverted characteristics that are a reversal of social and physical norms. The tendency of scholars is to give definitions that are normally comparable with those in literary studies. This, according to Standefer (1972:115), does not give one a clear idea of precisely what witchcraft is.
For instance, the Encyclopedia Britannica of 1911 emphasized on black magic. Witchcraft was defined ‘as magical practices of all sorts, but here confined to the malevolent (black) magic of women’’ (Volume 28: 755). The emphasis on black magic in the domain of woman was equally applicable to European communities as well (1911 Volume 28:755). The same volume refers to data from the Congo, Australia and India as classical examples of ‘primitive’ witchcraft. Among other things, similar images of witchcraft are that: they fly through the air; they use medicines concocted from human bones and herbs gathered from cemeteries; they eat flesh of the victim and so on.

Bannerman-Richter (1982) stated that among the Fante and for that matter the whole of Ghana, a witch could cut part of her body in payment for her regular contribution to the company, which he belongs in place of a full human being. This appears to be a gross over-simplification and generalization. Ghana is a vast country with different ethnic groups, diverse cultures and many languages. As a result of the diversity in Ghana, it would not be advisable to generalize on issues concerning traditional beliefs and practices. As Idowu (1973:87) rightly pointed out, it is foolhardy to generalize in so far as belief and cultural practice are concerned’. Probably reacting to the tendencies in scholars to oversimplify and gross generalize, Auslander (1993) pointed out that since witchcraft discourses are profoundly implicated in local and regional contradictions and conflict, they are not homogenous even with one particular community.
Macfarlane (1975), points out that the terms 'witchcraft', 'sorcery' and 'magic' are notoriously difficult to define. He maintains that there is no consensus of opinion on their meaning, either among present-day historians and anthropologists or among writers living in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Definitions offered vary greatly and tend to come from a European point of view. The question is whether these definitions relate or are relevant to African experiences, particularly from the native perspectives.

The question is whether there is any difference between African witchcraft and witchcraft in Euro-American world and elsewhere. African witches (in the generic sense, including sorcerers) are believed to harm others either because they have powers (of which they may not be aware) that come from their abnormal personalities or because they perform antisocial magic. At the same time they resemble witches in other continents since they are believed to utilise certain types of animals or familiars as their servants, spirits or messengers. Like their counterparts elsewhere, they belong to associations that meet periodically at night or around fire to discuss matters of common interest and to celebrate antisocial accomplishments. These associations are exact opposite of the societies in which they exist. They reverse the normal ethical standards by indulging in acts of promiscuous activity, going naked, frequenting forbidden places such as graveyards, and by murdering and eating human beings who are relatives.
The difference in Africa is that witches are believed to attack their neighbours and relatives rather than distant and unrelated persons. Furthermore, there is a striking similarity with other parts of the world in which women are targets of witchcraft accusation. A few notable African exceptions are Azande of Sudan, Bemba of Northern Province (Zambia) and Tonga in Gwembe Valley in Southern Province of Zambia. There is also some parallel as to what happens to people who are accused of witchcraft activities. The penalty for those persons found guilty of witchcraft was that they were burned. Finally, as in other parts of the world, the belief in witchcraft and other components of the religious system provides an explanatory framework by which misfortunes that afflict people may be understood and avoided in future.

To summarise, witchcraft in the less industrialized countries, particularly in Africa is practised in secrecy; it is still in its perennial state and it maintains all the supernatural dimensions associated with it. To put it more bluntly, Bannerman-Richter (1982:30) rightly argues that the kind of witchcraft said to be believed and practised in Africa today is practically the same kind of witchcraft believed to be practised in pre-industrial Europe. The common denominator is that witches can transcend their physical bodies in the form of astral projection that enables them to consciously perform actions, sometimes in a physical setting, but most often in the so-called spiritual world. To Bannerman-Richter, the only point of departure between the witchcraft of the pre-industrial West and that of modern Africa is that the Western brand has religious dimensions to it, while the African type carries no such overtones.
2.3 Belief in Witchcraft

Belief in witchcraft in the generic sense is conspicuous in most small-scale communities (e.g., in preliterate cultures), where interaction is based upon personal relationships that tend to be lifelong and difficult to break (Douglas 1971). In such societies belief in witches makes it possible for misfortunes to be explained in terms of disturbed social relationships.

Witchcraft cannot be dismissed as a mere fantasy. There is evidence to show its existence. The fact is that the educated and the illiterate, the rich and the poor, whether living in the city or the village, the young and old believe in witchcraft. Besides, self-confessions, revelation by diviners, as well as inexplicable deaths, to a large extent, give credence to witchcraft existence. It may, of course, be difficult to prove this scientifically.

Sarpong (1992) argues that witchcraft beliefs are part of African culture and cannot be eradicated. This is arguable because the belief existed in pre-industrial rural communities of Europe and America and yet it was eradicated. The witchcraft craze gradually flicked out at the end of the seventeenth century with the Essex witch trials in England and the Salem witch-scare in America in 1692.

Generally, European writers argue from the Christian point of view and are prejudiced by their own cultural and religious background. Hence, Parrinder (1963) concluded that witchcraft is a 'pathetic fallacy' and that everything should be done to destroy it through the introduction of a pure and enlightened religion'. It seems Parrinder
displays cultural arrogance by elevating his religion (although not stated explicitly) at the expense of other religions. His position is not peculiar.

Assimeng (1977), observed that the strong belief in witchcraft in Ghana is the social change brought about by education, industrialization, urbanization and western religion (Assimeng, 1977). People who have toiled hard to attain high positions in life are believed to have been supported by good spirits or “bayie”. Therefore such people need security from the envious eyes of the drop-out at the lower rung and thus move from shrine to shrine consulting witch hunters and others as to who is seeking their downfall. Failures in life according to Assimeng can be attributed to witches. A student fails exams because witches have taken away his brains and so cannot remember what he has learnt. A man may find his business collapsing because witches are operating the business at night. People may be drunkards because witches have spiritually placed pots in their stomach so they have at all times the urge to drink and fill the pot.

Assimeng (1977) has forcefully argued in this regard that it’s not appropriate to attempt an understanding of the structure, process and social organization of a society or of its institutional components such as religion and health or the interpretation of fortune and misfortune without a prior understanding of the society’s beliefs and practices which afford a striking insight into their immemorial thoughts and craving as well as their morbid fears and wish-fulfillments.
Debrunner (1961: 177-179) writing as a missionary and assuring his congregation of the powerlessness of witches also had this to say: “Christ’s powerful spirit can act and make you strong not only in the fearlessness of witches but in having pity for all those held sway of fear and who are possessed by neurosis that they are witches themselves”. The extent to which such statement of assurance helps the native Christians to solve their problems on witchcraft is problematic. People continue to believe in the existence of witches in spite of what Debrunner says. Some African scholars (Assimeng, 1977, Sarpong, 1992, Boi-Naa 2004) have also disagreed with Debrunner’s assertion.

2.3 Theories on Witchcraft

Various theories have been put forward to account for the existence of witchcraft. Theories of more general applicability include the diffusionist, psychological, and sociological theories and various theories from anthropologists and historians. Diffusionist theories are concerned with accounting for the distribution, either at present or in historical times, of beliefs and practices relating to witchcraft. Psychological theories stem ultimately from Freud’s doctrine of the displacement of affect (that emotions repressed in one situation find an outlet in another), as exemplified in the theory of Malinowski, who regarded magic (including sorcery) as institutionalized “substitute activity” resorted to when urges for survival or for revenge are blocked by the inadequacies of technology or (following Kluckhohn’s development of the theory) are limited by the closeness of social relationships that can be ended only with great difficulty (Mair, 1969).
Among theories advanced to account for the occurrence of witchcraft in early modern Europe is that of Murray (1965) who considered the witches of Western Europe to be the lingering adherents of a once general pagan religion displaced by Christianity. Most contemporary scholars in witchcraft reject this theory as unfounded historically. A more recent theory relating to the so-called European witchmania lasting from the mid 15th to the mid 18th century is that of the British historian Trevor-Roper. He views witchcraft as an outgrowth of the systematic "demonology" that the medieval church constructed out of the scattered folklore of peasant superstitions and that acquired a momentum of its own in the centuries of political and religious strife that transformed Europe from the so-called Dark Ages to the modern period.

Sefa-Dede (2004) looks at witchcraft phenomenon from the perspective of attribution theory. The standard attribution theory, refers to the ways, people explain events including misfortunes. She indicates from her case studies types of attribution with regard to the witchcraft phenomenon in Ghana. According to Sefa-Dede (2004) people may revert to witchcraft attribution because they wish to avoid shame or emotional discomfort including scape-goating. Those blamed, are usually the least able to defend themselves. Also the lack of information for misfortune some times provoke witchcraft attribution and finally the need for the very weak to be secure and gain some control over their circumstances sometimes provokes witchcraft attribution to one self. She maintains that in each of these cases it is the power of the phenomenon in the popular imaginations in general and in particular the power of the accusations to induce fear that is at the heart of the matter. Sefa-Dede (2004) maintains that the road to sanity and community health is to clarify and create
Sociological theories of witchcraft, however, stem from Evans-Pritchard's work among the Azande and illuminate two fields, the sociology of knowledge (the social conditions of knowledge and explanation) and the study of the micro political processes. Although Evans-Pritchard's book was a study in the sociology of knowledge in a particular society, it contained several acute insights into the links between social structure and belief that led other investigators to consider applying them in their studies of other societies. As a result there has emerged a body of theory that takes the relative frequency of accusations or supposed instances of witchcraft or sorcery to be social strain gauges that reveal which roles and relationships in a social system are especially subject to tension, tension for which articulation and periodic discharge must be provided if the structure is to survive.

There are two types of theoretical explanation: one that looks for characteristic 'patterns of accusation and explains them by 'tension' in particular social relationships, and the other, the functional theory which sees accusations that have been associated with the division of a social group. It has also been described by the word 'obstetric'. The directions of accusations are based on social structure—people who are closely related, either by marriage or blood.
Basically, functional theories seek to show that witchcraft beliefs meet a necessity of social existence that must be met in one way or another. Witchcraft as a phenomenon makes some contribution to a socially desirable end. In studying the Navaho (of the United States) from a functional perspective, Kluckhohn (1967) interprets witchcraft beliefs primarily in terms of their significance for the individuals who hold them, in facilitating their adjustment to the society in which they have to live. He argues 'man craves reasons and explanations and that they usually involve the personification of the agencies responsible for the events to be explained'. Kluckhohn interprets Navaho witchcraft as providing a psychological safety valve for the tensions that develop from living in small groups at close quarters with kinsmen with whom one must cooperate in order to survive. He sees witchcraft beliefs as important means of social control in that they check wide divergences from economic and social norms.

Marwick (1982), another psychologist has developed further Kluckhohn’s theory. He confirms that all persons experience tensions and this need to be resolved. For him, locating the solution in the deflection of hostile feelings from a dangerous to a harmless direction, it should be matters where conflict is recognized and the means of resolution should be through judicial proceedings, the type of licensed rudeness between persons in specified relationships that anthropologists call ‘joking’, and accusations of witchcraft.
enables people to put a name to their anxieties and feel they can take action to relieve them. Beattie (1963) thinks it provides a 'stereotyped response' in situations of anxiety. According to Kluckhohn (1967) virtually all existing works in Africa indicate that witchcraft efficacy is held to be a direct function of the intimacy between the witch and the victim. The majority of accusations involve relations between peer, kin and co-wives.

Witchcraft belief provides for displacement of aggression as well as anxiety. People who would like to fight their parents or siblings, but are retrained by rules of social behavior, discharge their aggression on the imaginary person whom it is proper to fear and hate. He argues further that few other means of expressing aggression are available to the Navaho and suggest that without some means they would become a population of neurotics (Kluckhohn, 1967). The point here is that, ascription of witchcraft gives people opportunity to vent their pent-up feelings on persons who under normal circumstances, would have been absolutely impossible to accuse. Arguing further Kluckhohn maintains that witchcraft belief reinforces confidence in magic for curing sickness, since its failures can be ascribed to the interference of witchcraft rather than its inherent inadequacy; that the image of the witch is capable of every forbidden act allows people to contemplate such acts with a clear conscience; and finally that it affirms solidarity by dramatically defining what is bad (Mair, 1969).

Evans –Pritchard (1937) emphasizes the practical rather than the emotional value of witchcraft belief to those who hold them. He shares the experiences of missionaries, doctors and anthropologist and argues that functional theories do not explain the selective incidence of disease or accident. For him, although there may be search for
explanations through chance or providence, the workings of witchcraft are inscrutable (Mair, 1969).

2.4 Witchcraft Accusations

The political economy of occult belief in Africa can highlight hidden social and political conflict in times of transition which remain otherwise undetected. This has been demonstrated in taking the development of witchcraft accusations over time as indicator, and the Nupe of Northern Nigeria as an example. A tentative long-term study, on the growth of the Nupe state since pre-colonial times points towards a close relationship between the content and form of witchcraft accusations and the mode of production under which the stakeholders used to live and work. Over time, witchcraft accusations among the Nupe apparently served different, even antagonistic ends, depending on the mode of production in which they were embedded. Much confusion in literature on the apparent contradiction between 'emancipating' and 'oppressive' functions of witchcraft beliefs is evident in Nadel's (1952) work, by considering his articulation between modes of production, witchcraft accusations, and the underlying vested interests of the ruling powers.

Nadel (1952) found that witchcraft accusation commonly occurred between a man and his maternal uncle. He associated this with the fact that in this matrilineal society the senior man is expected to give a cow to his nephew when the latter reaches puberty. This is recognition of adulthood; it is the young man's first share of the herd that he will one day inherit. The older men dislike having to make this gift. They perceive this as the first sign that authority would one day pass from them. Witchcraft
accusation is thus employed as a strategy of refusal. Nadel (1952) suggests that accusations of this sort should be interpreted as pointers to weak spots in the social structure.

The threat of being accused of witchcraft or attacked by witches may well be a source of social control, making people more circumspect about their conduct toward others. Witches, who are blamed for misfortunes, often by their kinsmen and neighbors, are conceived of as inhuman and beyond decent society. They are thus, convenient scapegoats who are blamed for events otherwise inexplicable in terms of the limited empirical knowledge prevailing in a society with a poorly developed technology (Douglas 1967).

Evans-Pritchard (1937) wrote that “the concept of witchcraft . . . provides [the Azande] with a natural philosophy by which the relations between men and unfortunate events are explained and a ready and stereotyped means of reacting to such events. Witchcraft beliefs also embrace a system of values, which regulate human conduct.” All types of misfortune that are not clearly caused by some other factor are attributed to witchcraft. This includes accident, illness, and death but also economic misfortunes such as the loss of crops or the failure of some technological operation.
Witchcraft beliefs among the Navaho serve the same general functions as witchcraft beliefs do among the Azande. Kluckhohn (1967) writes: "One of man's peculiarities is that he requires 'reasons' for the occurrence of events. One of the manifest 'functions' of belief in witchcraft is that such belief supplies answers to questions which would otherwise be perplexing; and because it is perplexing, it is thus disturbing." Witchcraft beliefs among the Navaho also act to prevent the accumulation of wealth. Navaho values stress the sharing of wealth and the responsibility of one individual to assist another. Accordingly the accumulation of material goods is often considered to be a sign of witchcraft.

According to Mair (1969) beliefs in witchcraft provide the mystical medium in which deep-lying structural conflicts, especially those not susceptible to rational adjustment by social intervention and arbitration may be expressed and in some measure discharged (Mair, 1969). The inherent disharmonies in the social system are thus cloaked under insistence that there is harmony in the values of the society, and the surface disturbances that they cause are attributed to the wickedness of individuals. This is why the witch and sorcerer become the villains of the society's morality (as personified vices), the ones to whom the most inhuman crimes and characteristics are attributed (Mair, 1969).
Accusation of witchcraft, if they are successful, aim at devastating ones reputation, they punctuate the micro political processes relating to many forms of competition for some scarce status, power, resource, or personal affiliation (Mair, 1969). For example, among the matrilineal Chewa of east central Africa the generally accepted succession rule states that a headman's office should pass to his younger brothers in turn, followed by the eldest son of their eldest sister. In practice, however, the Chewa takes personal qualifications into account and would not permit the succession of the rightful heir. Here accusations of sorcery are used to disqualify the rightful heir.

Mair (1969) argues that witchcraft is said to be unambiguously evil. She maintains that often times it is ascribed to the ill-feeling generated in some quarrels, which is remembered when one of the parties falls sick or meets with some other misfortune. Explaining further, she says ill-feeling is always held to be unjustified; the witch may have had good cause for anger, but if he had not had an evil disposition he would not have expressed his anger in this way. To her, the anger of a witch is by definition not 'righteous anger.'

Other writers like Crawford (1968) think that witchcraft provides a solution to the problem of causation. The Shona believe witchcraft is the cause of death, illness and misfortune. Crawford (1968) has further suggested that witchcraft may be given as the explanation for the irrational behavior of persons suffering from diseases like delirium and sleepwalking. Among the Shona a witch is the embodiment of all that is evil in the community and hence the concerted action by the community against the destruction through deaths and diseases (Crawford, 1968). Again since one lives in
close contact with other people, it is quite reasonable to understand why close relatives are usually accused.

Belief in witchcraft on the other hand may, under certain circumstances, have the effect of accelerating social change by facilitating the rupture of close relationships that have become redundant but are difficult to break off. In such a situation an accusation of witchcraft has the effect of making a public issue out of what started as a private quarrel (Baroja 1964).

Navaho witchcraft beliefs also provide for the culturally sanctioned manifestation of immoral and anti-social behavior (Kluckhohn, 1967). The witch is the personification of evil and thus defines what is bad. Behavioral traits such as greed and envy, personality traits that contradict basic Navaho values and such behaviors as cannibalism, incest, and nakedness are things that Navaho find horrifying. People who exhibit antisocial behaviors are likely to be identified as witches and eventually eliminated from society.

Beidelman (1986) like Evans-Pritchard and Middleton is also interested in how witchcraft functioned in societies. According to Beidelman the Kaguru believe, witches hold an antithetical position to moral society. Witches in Kaguru life are the embodiment of evil. Witches do not honor social obligations. Thus, they are not considered human although they appear as such. Within Kaguru society, social obligations and relationships are extremely important and it is believed that any true
human will honour his or her obligations. African societies uphold community as a whole and so practitioners of witchcraft are dangerous because they endanger the community. It is quite possible that any particular action that does not endanger the community may or may not be considered to be witchcraft. Therefore, an action is defined as unifying or dividing based on a particular society’s definition.

According to Hughes (1965) women in the Middle Ages hated their subjugation by men and found solace in a cult in which women featured prominently. The cult served as an outlet for emotional, repressed and masculine women and those suffering from personal disappointment, or from nervous maladjustment, which the traditional churches helped to perpetuate. Perhaps witch-hunt is an attempt to maintain the status quo.

2.5 Conclusion

The dictionary and encyclopaedia definitions of witchcraft reveal that a witch is a person believed to be capable of harming others supernaturally through the use of innate psychic power. A witch is symbolised by inverted characteristics, both physically and socially. Numerous writers have engaged in witchcraft discourses but anthropologists are very prominent in this field. Not only have African and non-African scholars approached the topic from the perspective of their various disciplines but they also have interpreted the concept of witchcraft from their cultural backgrounds. Functional theories of witchcraft indicate that witchcraft beliefs meet a necessity of social existence. In other words, it makes a contribution to a socially
All existing work particularly in Africa indicates that the power of witchcraft involves kith and kin - between peers, co-wives, nephews and uncles, grandmother and grandchildren. In recent time, research shows that urban elites are afraid of those left behind in their villages because they can bewitch them.

From the review of relevant literature on the subject matter, evidence shows that, there is widespread belief in witchcraft. Discussions on the subject matter are varied and useful for the purpose of this work. Areas covered by most writers include the definitions of Witchcraft, Witchcraft accusation, theories of Witchcraft and functions of witchcraft. However, not much has been done in the area of reintegration of accused witches, which is the focus of the study.

2.6 Conceptual Frame Work

Several attempts have been made by sociologist to explain the phenomenon of witchcraft. Different theories have been advanced in the discussion of witchcraft beliefs. Such as the social relations theory, Girard's theory of religion etc. As far as this study is concerned Robert Merton's functionalism is used as framework. Merton postulates that every social phenomenon plays both functional and dysfunctional roles. “In any given instance, an item may have both functional and dysfunctional consequences, giving rise to difficult and important problems of evolving canons for assessing the net balance of the aggregate of consequences” (Abrahamson, 1986:84). Merton further argued that functional analysis of a
phenomenon should be characterized by identifying the net functions of that phenomenon.

Functionalists view society as a system, which is a set of interconnected parts, which together form a whole. The basic unit of analysis is society. This theory emphasizes the functions within the structure of the main parts of society and the contributions of each for the overall society's survival and growth. As such witchcraft accusations play very functional role in maintaining social order in such communities. They help to solve some unanswered questions and problems faced by communities. Just as reproduction, stratification and religion play functional roles in maintaining society, witch camps are some society's ways of dealing with its deviants.

Beliefs in witchcraft provide the mystical medium in which deep-lying structural conflicts, especially those not susceptible to rational adjustment by social intervention and arbitration may be expressed. The inherent disharmonies in the social system are thus cloaked under an insistence that there is harmony in the values of the society and the surface disturbances that they cause are attributed to the wickedness of individuals. This is why the witch and sorcerer become the villains of the society's personified vices, the ones to whom the most inhuman crimes and characteristics are attributed.
Witchcraft accusations and the existence of witches’ camps in northern Ghana are an attempt by society to solve its own problems. Methods employed by society in dealing with problems associated with witchcraft play a very functional role in these societies. Witches camps are society’s means of dealing with deviants and such deviants are considered threats to society and as such must be sent far away (witches camps). This is to allow both groups to live peacefully.

2.6.1 Social relations Theory
While functionalist explanation of witchcraft belief affords insights into world-view of the African, it does not explain tensions in illness and healing. Functionalist theories also do not show any ways of strutting experience so that the world, which in William James’ describes as ‘a blowing, buzzing confusion’, can be made meaningful, and therefore, can be seen to make sense. As Bongmba (2001) argued, human beings cannot tolerate ambiguity, and chaos that flows from it.

Girard’s (1977) theory of religion proposes an explanation of envy as the motive for witchcraft activities. According to Rene Girard, human desires are never spontaneous and direct. He argues that external mediation never gives rise to tension because the psychic distance between mimic and model (imitator and the imitated) is too great. However, since the psychic distance between imitator and imitated (the model) is small, it can lead to serious tension and even violence between them. For him, people desire things because they are desired by other people. Human beings mimic the desires of others. It can be argued that witches mimic the desires of others-usually important others in the immediate family and that this results in accusations, violence and disorder. He also explains religion in terms of a concept such as the ‘scapegoat
mechanism’. Applying the scapegoat mechanism, the elimination of witch or wizard restores a chaotic situation to sanity. While ‘mimetic desire’ affords valuable insights in many fields, it is doubtful whether it fully explains the world of desires. Girard’s theory does not explain why people who live in a neighborhood and are not related are said to bewitch their neighbors.

Douglas (1971) has stimulated a great deal of interest in social structures and has also given adequate attention to religious beliefs and actions. She argues that witchcraft is social equivalents of beetles and spiders that live in the cracks of the walls and wainscoting. They attract the fears and dislike which other ambiguities and contradictions attract structures; the kind of powers attributed to them symbolizes their ambiguous and inarticulate status. Once again this approach only highlights ambiguities in relationship and how witchcraft manifests itself in various societies. Such an approach does not explain the tension and contradictions from the African world-view. On the contrary, Turner (1968) relies on Van Gennep’s (1960) model of three phases in analysis of social structures. The use of this model assists in seeing the positive and negative aspects of witchcraft, particularly its association with illness. Illness, to the traditional African, is alienation. The sick is always alone in the hospital, confined to bed, and even on the sick bed at home. He or she is removed from many or most of daily occupations and contacts. The sick bed is in fact a prison (Shorter, 1985). In African communities, sick people are not usually sacrificed or punished. Their sickness is viewed as being inseparable from a condition afflicting society as a whole. And in treating them, the society is carrying out a social therapy. The community becomes a therapeutic ward in which the members act as healers to
one another. The restoration of social harmony and wholeness is an object of communal concern and the ritual that are used are a celebration of social healing. Unfortunately, the restoration of social harmony is very costly because witches may have to be eliminated completely from the society. Turner’s approach on social upheavals inherent in modern Africa societies explains witchcraft belief and accusations. The functionalist explanations emphasize the 'symptoms of a disease' by concentrating on the social function of witchcraft and the direction of accusation in societies. It is against this background that the researcher proposes an African 'social therapy' perspective because witchcraft beliefs mediate tension and not irreconcilable in illness and healing.
CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Data analysis of Gambaga witches camp and Nalerigu community

This chapter focuses on the profile of East Mamprusi District where the Gambaga witches camp is situated. Data have been presented to articulate views from the inmates and Nalerigu community members. The essence is to ascertain the prospects and constraints of reintegrating accused. The chapter is divided into the district profile, followed by the discussion of views from the witches camp and community.

3.1 The Profile of East Mamprusi District

The East Mamprusi District is one of the twenty districts of the Northern Region, with Gambaga as the capital. The district lies within the Tropical Continental Belt and the interior woodland savannah belt. Baobab, acacia and shea-nuts trees are the common vegetation found. Grasses grow in tussocks and can reach heights of three metres or more. The topography gently rolls and the Gambaga escarpment marks the northern limits of the Voltsin sandstone basin. The scarp stretches from east to west and at Nakpanduri, the peak of the escarpment and its waterfalls present natural beauty of the area.

3.1.1 Location and Size

The East Mamprusi District is 3,060sq.km, which is about 4.4 % of the total land area of the Northern Region. The East Mamprusi District is one of the twenty Districts of the Northern Region. It is located in the north-eastern part of the Region. To the north it shares boundary with the Upper East Region and to the East the Republic of Togo.
It is bordered to the south by Gusheigu-Karaga and the Cherepone districts and the West Mamprusi District is to the west.

3.1.1 Population

The current population of the East Mamprusi District according to the 2000 housing and population census is 174,863 (85,769 males, 89,094 females). The average population density is 59 persons per square kilometer. There are three hundred and nine (309) communities in the district with 17,656 houses and 22,281 households. The average household size is 7.7 (East Mamprusi district, 2005).

3.1.2 Climate

The District lies in the tropical continental belt western margin and experiences a single rainfall regime, from around April to October after which it comes under the influence of the tropical continental air masses (CT). The mean annual rainfall is about 115 cm. The annual range of temperature is high about 11\(^\circ\)c as compared to 7\(^\circ\)c in the middle belt and 6\(^\circ\)c along the coast. The annual average temperature of the district is 27.4\(^\circ\)c. This varies from about 35\(^\circ\)c in March to about 27\(^\circ\)c in August.

3.1.2 Economy

Agriculture is the district’s main economic activity and it provides employment for about 83\% of the working population (East Mamprusi district, 2005). The bulk of the district’s agricultural production depends on small-scale farmers whose holdings vary from a hectare to twenty hectares. Maize (Zea mays), millet (Urochloa ramose), sorghum, beans (Phaseolus lunatus) and groundnuts (Apios americana) are produced on large scale. In almost every house, goats, sheep and chicken are reared for domestic use as well as for cash. Those who live along riverbanks and big streams
mostly do fishing in the dry season. In some communities dry season gardening is also practised during the dry season to produce vegetables such as bra, bean leaves (Urbanus proteus), ‘alefu’ and tomatoes. Women usually engage in ‘pito’ (a local beer) brewing, shea-butter extraction, retail trading activities, pottery works and selling of cooked food. Shea nuts picking and processing fluctuates according to the year’s harvest. The majority of rural farmers are poor mainly due to over-dependence on agriculture (food crop production) which is done on small-scale subsistence level yearly.

3.1.3 Income Levels

Income levels are generally low. The district is considered one of the poorest (East Mamprusi District, 2005). Household real incomes are too low to satisfy basic needs. The situation is even worse among rural dwellers who are predominantly engaged in small scale subsistence food production. Women are the most vulnerable group, a situation that affects children as well. Incomes are as low as between ₵700,000 to ₵900,000 per annum (US$ 70-90). There are two community banks operating in the district currently. These are the East Mamprusi Community Bank at Gambaga and Besfa Rural bank at Nakpanduri.

3.1.4 Education

In 1996 there were 127 primary schools, 35 junior secondary schools and 2 senior secondary schools in the district. Well-established pre-schools were few. Currently, there are 41 pre-schools, 152 primary schools, 42 Junior Secondary Schools and 3 Senior Secondary Schools. The total number of basic schools is 234. Enrolment and attendance is high according to the District Director of GES.
Through the efforts of NGOs such as CRS, DFID, CAMFED and donors, about 27 communities have constructed swish buildings being used as schools. In 2000-2001, the district benefited from four 6 classroom blocks and fourteen teachers' quarters under the Basic Sector Improvement Project (BESIP). The Primary Education Rehabilitation Programme (PERP) rehabilitated 11 schools and constructed 11 others. The EU Micro Programme assisted in the provision of eight 3-classroom blocks and the District Assembly constructed 16 schools. These institutions contributed significantly in complimenting governments efforts of making education accessible to the inhabitants of East Mamprusi District.

3.1.5 Health

The district has one hospital located at Nalerigu. There are seven health centres and four health posts in the district. The Baptist Medical Centre, managed by the Baptist Mission, is equipped with modern facilities. The centre serves as the District Hospital and is one of the four health facilities owned by churches. The other three Christian Health Association of Ghana health institutions are the Langbinsi, Bindi and Nakpanduri Health centres owned by the Presbyterian Church, the Catholic Church and the Assemblies of God Church, respectively. Gambaga, Sakogu, Bunkpurugu and Gbintiri have health centres. Health posts are located at Jimbale, Yunyoo, Gbingbani and Nasuan (East Mamprusi district, 2005). Generally, shortage of qualified personnel is the problem. There are two private clinics in the district, forty chemical shops, two hundred and eighty one trained traditional birth attendants and one hundred and eighty untrained TBAs and 389 Community-based surveillance volunteers (East Mamprusi district, 2005). Malaria remains the highest OPD reported disease. The ten top diseases are diarrhea diseases, intestinal worms, skin diseases,
gynaecological disorder, pregnancy and related complications, pneumonia, anemia, and rheumatism (GHS Annual Report, 2004, East Mamprusi district, 2005). It is within this context that we now turn attention on the Gambaga witches camp.

3.2 The Gambaga Witches Camp

The Gambaga witches camp, is located close to the Gambaga township, about 150km north of Tamale. The home is situated right behind the Gambaga chief palace. The home does not really look different from the village. Apart from a few children loitering around, almost all inhabitants of the camp are old. The witches’ camp has a population of about 200 women. Gambaga witches camp is inhabited by women only. The women live in four different ethnic groups, namely Dagomba, the Bimoba, the Mamprusi and the Kokomba. Each group has a leader called ‘Magadyia’

3.3 Historical Origin

The small, provincial town of Gambaga is about 150 kilometers north of Tamale. During the early period of British colonization of the north in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Gambaga was the capital of the Northern Region, and the centre of Islam. According to the present Imam of Gambaga, Muslims were permitted to practise their religion in the royal palace of the Nayiri – the paramount chief of the Mamprusi. Islam spread throughout the region, co-existing with traditional African religion.
It is claimed that around 1870, a woman accused of witchcraft was almost lynched by her relatives. The Imam of Mamprugu sent her to Gambaga, where she lived as a refugee. Women accused and condemned of witchcraft lived under the protective custody of Imam Baba, until his successor quarreled with the then Nayiri over who should become the next Nayiri of Nalerigu. Since then, women accused of witchcraft in the region have been given sanctuary by the Gambarana, who established a settlement for them. The Gambarana places them under the protection of the gods of Gambaga to prevent them from practising witchcraft. As the number of accused women increased, their relatives built a collection of compounds made up of thatched mud huts on what was then the outskirts of the town. This is where the Gambaga witches’ camp is situated today. The belief in witchcraft is widespread in Ghana but the practice of keeping the suspects in camps is only known from the Northern Region.

3.4 Inmates views

Camp inmates were interviewed to solicit their views. Views from accused are considered very important since they form the core of the study. For purposes of clarity data have been classified under four sub-headings. These are

(i) Socio demographic characteristics, (ii) Witchcraft accusation,
(iii) Life at the witches’ camp and (iv) Concerns of accused.
3.4.1 Socio Demographic Characteristics

Some socio-demographic features considered for the study includes age, religion, sex, marital status and education. One key socio-demographic feature examined during the study was the age distribution of respondents.

Figure 1

![Age distribution of respondents](image)

The graph above depicts that, about 80% of the respondents fall within the age range of 51-70. This implies that the camp is dominated by the aged. It is important to note that age is a feature which is very difficult to obtain from rural people. The Presbyterian Project has estimated and documented the ages of all inmates at the Gambaga witches camp. The study depended on this document for ascertaining the ages of the accused. It was however, observed that most inmates appeared much older than the ages documented.
Another important socio-demographic characteristic considered was the educational background of respondents. Virtually all (95%) the respondents at the Gambaga witches camp are illiterates. This implies that the educational status of a person plays a vital role in whether or not a person will be accused of witchcraft. Also it exposes the low educational background of women in northern Ghana.

With respect to the religious background of respondents, the study identified 59% as Christians and 41% Moslems in the Gambaga camp. It implies that witchcraft accusation cuts across the religious divide since Moslems and Christians are represented at the camp. Both religions believe in the power of demonology and so promote witchcraft accusations (Senah, 2004). Important information revealed was that, most inmates converted to Christianity whilst at the camp and this could be attributed to the activity of the Presbyterian Church and other churches around Gambaga township. Most of the converts, however, are the Konkomba. The reason gathered from key informants, the chief and the Presbyterian Project was that the majority of the Konkomba are traditionalists and thus it is much easier to convert them to Christianity than their Moslem counterparts.

The study also considered the communities of origin of respondents. It revealed that apart from two respondents who come from the Upper East Region, most respondents come from communities within the Northern Region. High patronage from the Northern Region can be attributed to the location of the witches’ camp, illiteracy, poverty and strong belief in witchcraft (Iddrisu, 2002)
The study also took into consideration the ethnic background of respondents. The figure below shows the level to which each of these ethnic groups is represented in the camp.

Figure 2

Ethnic groupings in the camp

Four major ethnic groups can be identified in the camp. They are the Dagomba, Mamprusi, Konkomba and Bimoba. Gruni and Builsa are the minor ethnic groups. Apart from the Builsa who are located in the Upper East Region, all the other ethnic groups are located in the Northern Region. The large number of the Mamprusi in the Gambaga witches camp can be attributed to the fact that the camp is located in Mamprusi territory and also to the people’s strong belief in witchcraft.
Views were also gathered from respondents with diverse marital status, they include the divorced, married, widowed and unmarried respondents.

Figure 3

The figure provides the marital status of respondents at the Gambaga witches camp. According to the figure 22% of respondents at the Gambaga camp are married. The marital status of women plays a role in witchcraft accusation (Iddrisu, 2002). As shown in the graph above, only 22% of respondents are married against 78% of respondents who are not. Also as many as 62% of respondents are widows. It can, therefore, be deduced from the data gathered that being single predisposes a woman to witchcraft accusation (Iddrisu, 2002).

About 15% of respondents in the Gambaga camp are physically challenged. This is significant because it indicates how physical disability also contributes to witchcraft accusation. Physical disabilities observed in the Gambaga witches camp include, the deaf, blind, lame, and hunchback etc. This situation confirms Nukunya’s observation. According to Nukunya (1992), features or characteristics associated with

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Witchcraft include ageing, persons with red eyes, excessive wealth, abject poverty and senility. Thus some physical features of a person serve as grounds for witchcraft accusation.

Some accused are accompanied by children in order to assist them with domestic chores. The study sought to identify relations living with accused. A good number (62%) of accused also live alone. Such inmates would have wished to have young girls to assist them in their daily domestic chores and also give them company. As a result of this neglect, they suffer from isolation and boredom. Relations and other dependents living with accused were not left out of this study.

Figure 4

About 38% of respondents have at least one relation living with them. Most of these are children who help their relatives with household chores. Some of the tasks performed by these children include running errands, cooking, washing and selling. In an interview with Jon Kirby, one of the key informants, it was gathered that giving out children especially to aunties (Npiriba) is a common practice among the
Dagomba. The reason is that auntsies among the Dagomba are not friendly and thus are in a position to offer children the appropriate training required for their future. So, in the Dagomba society, children are given out as some form of security to the aged. It should be noted that most children living with accused relatives were of school-going age but do not go to school. These girls are denied access to education and health care, a clear violation of Article 24 of the Convention on the Rights of Children, to which Ghana is a signatory (Tsikata, 2001). Children living with accused are also stigmatized. The study revealed that stigma was one reason why children do not patronize the schools around Gambaga.

The study revealed that about 55% of school-going age were not in school. The School record of the few was not encouraging. Only 5 out 11 children living at the camp go to school. The Presbyterian project has made provision for children within the camp to go to school but patronage is very low. The study revealed that stigma, poverty, lack of teaching and learning materials account for low enrolment of children living in the camp.
3.4.2 Witchcraft Accusation

Douglas (1967) study of witchcraft accusations in diverse cultures has been synthesized into a model which seeks to describe and predict the cosmology of a given social unit and to explain how accusations of witchcraft or demonic possession function within it. Douglas notes that, witchcraft accusations indicate a certain cultural view of the world, and reflect an important mode of social behavior within that cultural context.

Sources of witchcraft accusation were considered vital for the study since it enabled the study to identify persons and relationships susceptible to witchcraft accusation. The table below provides the varied relations involved in witchcraft accusation.

Table 1: Sources of accusation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relations</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>57.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rival's children</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-laws</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbours</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identified by soothsayers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table provides some sources of witchcraft accusation. Almost 60% of respondents were accused by family members. In-laws and rival's children registered a significant percentage. This supports Nukunya's (1992) assertion that “Witchcraft does not strike at random. For witchcraft accusation to come from some one, the supposed victim must have some relationship with the accused”. Family members easily notice
The researcher, however, observed that those who claimed to be guilty did not want to challenge the authority of the chief. These are proofs of coercion and desperation. It is significant to note that about 40% of these respondents claimed not to be guilty.

The study examined the number of years accused had spent at the witches’ camp. This was considered vital because it enabled the study to further investigate reasons why some accused stayed longer in the witches’ camp.

Figure 5

![Number of years at the camp](image)

About 40% of respondents have lived in the camp for more than ten years. The study, however, revealed that accusations relating to death were much more difficult to deal with. This is because such accusations demand longer time for negotiations. Another important reason gathered was that, most accused who had stayed ten years or more were people affected by accusations relating to death (Presbyterian Project, 2006).
The admission procedure for admission into the camp. It usually starts with an accusation, then sometimes followed by a formal complaint to the family of the accused. Depending on the intensity of threat or attack, the accused might find his or her way to the camp. Whilst in most cases accused males willingly and voluntarily report to the witches' camp on their own accord, on the contrary about 70% of respondents at the Gambaga witches’ camp were sent to the camp by one relation or the other. Accused are usually accompanied to the camp by a male relation. Reasons gathered from the chief and the Presbyterian Project were that, rituals performed at the camp demand the presence of men and not women. Also men are in a position to defend women in times of attack. This scenario goes a long way to depict the role men play in issues of witchcraft.

Just like any other phenomenon, witchcraft accusation affects marriages and family relationships. The study revealed that 8 out of the 10 respondents who claimed to be married suffered some marital problems. Neglect and lack of financial support were some difficulties they experienced. Actions and inactions of men such as inability to visit, send money or food were interpreted by accused as lack of concern on the part of their spouses.
Another effect of witchcraft accusation on accused was that, most husbands do not visit their wives at the witches’ camp. Reasons provided by the accused were that, the men have other wives. Also, because of the stigma associated with the accused, most men would not like to associate with their accused wives and so stay away. Also according to the chief and some key informants and the Presbyterian Project officials, some husbands were too old to travel and so most would rather send their children or other relations to visit their wives in the camp.

It is important to note that those who visit are mostly children of the accused. Accused who do not have children are not visited at all and would prefer to stay in the camp forever. In an interview, a childless mother had this to say: “My daughter, if you don’t have a child of your own, please try and have one as soon as possible. This is because it’s not easy to live without a child of your own. I was sent home, but because of threats and further accusation and I had to return to live here. Once you are childless any sickness or misfortune on anybody’s child is blamed on you. It’s very peaceful here and I intend to spend the rest of my life here”.

3.4.3 Camp Life

According to Schauben (2003), one worse thing that can happen to the human being is to be excluded since the human being is a social being. To be excluded kills this human drive and does not encourage initiative and creativity. When a person is accused of witchcraft, he/she does not have access to the community resources such as land, forest, and source of water. Again he/she cannot sell in the market and so is economically deprived. An identified witch/wizard socially, cannot have a fraternity with people in the community, family and his/her own siblings freely. He/she is deprived of social relations as a human being. Because he/she said to be the cause of destruction to human life, he/she is feared and treated like fierce animal; the inhuman treatment makes him/her loose human dignity as a social being Schauben (2003).

According to Adama (2000) about 1000 women are in witches’ camps in Northern Ghana. The state of the Gambaga witches camp can be described as bad: the houses are dilapidated, their roofs leak, and the in-mates have no beddings and toilets.

Occupations of in-mates include farming, trading, weaving, spinning of cotton, sale of firewood, sales of soup ingredients. It is significant to note that about 90% of respondents work for people for their livelihood. The study revealed that in-mates have no access to farm lands and so work on people’s farms. Considering the ages of these women, farming at their ages is very strenuous and over burdening. All year round, these women are hired to work on people’s farms and in homes for food stuff. Also they take up menial jobs of washing and thrashing corn and beans. About 4% of respondents are involved in spinning of cotton for a living. These categories are the very old and cannot do strenuous work. Although most
Sacked claimed to be involved in one economic activity or the other, food security remains a big problem in the camp.

Table 2: Means of accessing food

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buy with income earned</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food from CRS and Presbyterian Project</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food from relatives</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food from the Chief</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrow from other inmates</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a typical Northern community setting, women are supported by their families in their old age. However, in the camp they must fend for themselves. The table depicts varied sources of accessing food. Occasionally, some relatives bring foodstuffs to their people. The CRS supplies some food items on quarterly basis which is woefully inadequate and the grains given are foreign (sorghum). So, accused sell or exchange them for local grains like maize and millet. The food ration from the chief is given once in a year. So, most accused depend on their labor to access food. Important information gathered was that food stuff (maize and other grains) was not much of a problem. When accused work on people's farms they are usually remunerated with local grains. The problem however is how to get money to buy soup ingredients.
Almost all accused appear weak and sick, so the study considered it important to investigate their sources of accessing health care.

Figure 6

The graph displays varied sources of accessing health by accused witches at the Gambaga witches camp. The Baptist clinic offers free medical care for accused; the chief also supplements this with herbs. An arrangement has been made between the Presbyterian Go Home Project and the Baptist Mission Hospital at Nelerigu so that the women receive health care. So when they fall ill, they inform the chief who in turn informs the Project staff. The project arranges to send them to the hospital where they receive treatment and drugs. The clinic is the biggest in the district. However, Bawku and Tamale Hospital serve as referrals points. Generally, accessing health is not much of a problem to the accused. They have all attested to the fact that they do not need to pay each time they visit the hospital. It is important to note that for minor health problems, about 90% of accused revealed that they collect drugs from their colleagues or do a self-medication (buy from near by drug stores).
3.4.3 The Chief and In-mates

The study also considered the relationship that existed between the chief and accused and also among accused themselves. In an interview with the chief, the accused and the officials of the Presbyterian Project, it came out that there was no friction between the chief and the inmates. It was deduced that the accused see the camp as a kind gesture from the chief and so would do nothing contrary to rules governing the camp. The chief solves petty quarrels amongst the accused, provides herbs to the sick and also provides them with food once a year. Accused were observed interacting freely with one another. They support and help one another. Adishetu, an accused, had this to say: “If society does not want us, then we ought to love one another”.

Officials from the Presbyterian Project claim that the chief benefits from running the camp (through food, monetary and other donations) and so would do nothing to disturb this collegiality among in-mates.

3.4.4 Concerns of Accused

Since reintegration involves an integrated approach, concerns of accused would definitely be beneficial for the reintegration process. Several concerns were raised by in-mates in the Gambaga witches' camp. It is important to emphasize that despite the deplorable condition in the Gambaga camp, conditions and life at the Gambaga witches camp is much better in terms of facilities and access to food than in the Tindang witches camp.
In an interview with Ngotah, the Presbyterian Project Coordinator, he had this to say:

"These days what gives us the most difficulty has been the various groups of visitors, especially women's groups from the south and Europe. They don't understand our situation here. They usually think that we are simply keeping these women against their will. But believe me when I say that the women would rather be here than at home. The minute it is safe for them to go home they pack up and go. Nobody here would stop them. FIDA sent a delegation recently, which caused us a lot of headaches. They said that it was against the law to keep women against their will and they tried to make our situation look like it was a form of slavery for old ladies. They simply could not accept the fact that the women stay here on their own accord. They mean well but they are not looking at the whole picture."

Forty three percent (43%) of inmates have expressed desire be released. It is significant to note that most accused, however, would like to be resettled in a completely different environment. Most respondents explained that they would prefer to stay with their children and not to go back to their home of origin. The researcher gathered that the category of people who wanted to be resettled in their home of origin were very old who thought that it was much respectable to die at home. On the contrary those who had spent less than ten years did not express any interest in going home. This situation is evidence of the pain still being nurtured. Religious institutions would have to step up their activities in this dimension, so that reintegration would entail forgiveness.
Another reason contributing to 42% of accused wanting to go home was revealed in an interview with officials of the Presbyterian Project. In recent times about three in-mates have been reintegrated without being chased back, so most accused are motivated to go home. They, however, emphasized that the type of accusation and timing, were important facts that had to be considered before reintegrating an accused. Reintegration depends on the type of accusation: accusation of causing sicknesses and other issues were much easier to reintegrate. The researcher gathered from the Presbyterian Project, the chief and some of the accused that accusations relating to death were much more difficult to handle.

The study also revealed some problems faced by the accused in the Gambaga witches camp. The researcher observed that most of the accused wore two or more clothes because it was the dry season and the weather was cold. This was their strategy to combat the cold. NGO'S, MOWAC, Human Rights Institutions should direct more attention to the camp.

The burden of work performed by accused is of interest to the study. The researcher gathered from the accused, Presbyterian Project workers and community members that the women worked on the chief’s farm for just small quantity of maize once a year. Thus, the inmates serve as cheap labor for the chief. Most community members also contract the accused to trash and do other menial jobs for a fee. These women are paid less than 2 dollars for trashing a bag of groundnuts or in return some food stuffs. Most of the accused work on the farms of the chief and other community members to be able to get food (Presbyterian project, 2006). Considering the ages of these women and the kind of work associated with farming, it is easy to appreciate their concern.
Housing and bedding were concerns raised by accused. Accused claimed their thatched rooms leaked during the raining season. Also their, mats were torn. The researcher observed that there were no beds or mattresses in their rooms. The researcher went to the camp in January which was the peak of dry ‘harmattan’ season in the Northern Region.

One problem identified was the issue of going back home. This mostly came from the very aged. The researcher gathered from this category of respondents that it was a disgrace to die in the witches’ camp. Some of the aged suggested that after being in the camp for 5 years they should be allowed to go home. On the contrary, the younger appeared to be content with living in the camp than going back home. The biggest question here is ‘does time really heal wounds?’ However about 5% of respondents claimed they would have wished to be living in the community than in the camp. They claimed they appear different and alienated when living in the camp.

After dilating on views and concerns of accused, we now turn to views expressed by respondents from the Nalerigu community.
3.5 Views from Nalerigu

To obtain views on reintegrating accused witches, views were gathered from various age groups. It is important to note that the youth below the ages of 18 were considered for the study. The researcher gathered from key informants and other sources that the youth often determine the fate of an accused in the community. The youth would usually hoot and drive accused out of the community. So the researcher considered views from this age group as very vital for the reintegration process.

A total of 60 people were interviewed. Witchcraft accusations cut across both sexes, views of males and females respondents are important for the reintegration process. More males were interviewed because the males were more accessible.

Another important socio-demographic characteristic considered for the study was the educational background of respondents. About 38% of respondents have had no education whatsoever. The data depict the low levels of education in Nalerigu and rural Ghana. Belief in witchcraft cuts across different levels of educational background. Therefore, views of the educated and uneducated alike are important for the reintegration process. The graph below provides the educational background of respondents.
The religious background of a person affects the person’s beliefs, perception and also attitude towards accused witches. Views were gathered from Muslims, Traditionalist and Christian respondents. The figure below explains the religious distribution of respondents.
According to the data, Muslims form 60% of respondents. This is expected because Islam is the dominant religion in Nalerigu. Belief in witchcraft cuts across the religious divide since both Moslems and Christian are found in the witches' camp. Views from the Christians, traditionalists and Moslems perspectives are important for the reintegration process.

The ethnic background of respondents was also considered for the study. Although a typically Mamprugu community, Nalerigu is a very big community with several migrants. Thus, the study considered the views of several ethnic groups including the Hausa, Dagomba, Mamprusi, Dagaaba, Bisa, Kaseem, Kusasi, Gruni etc. However 73% of the respondents are Mamprusis.
Views were gathered from respondents with different marital status

Figure 9

The figure above provides the marital status of respondents. Views were obtained from all the above category of people in order to provide the researcher with varied opinion on the topic of study. Although unmarried women are more prone to witchcraft accusation (Douglas 1967), views were obtained from people with different marital status. The reason was to obtain a balanced view on the topic. The graph depicts that married respondents constitute 70% of respondents; the reason is that the married respondents constitute were mainly male adults who were more accessible than their female counterparts.

It is important to note that respondents cut across different occupational backgrounds. Farmers, traders, civil servants were all considered for the study. Farmers and traders alone form about 60% of respondents. This confirms data from the East Mamprusi District that 83% of the populace depends on agriculture for livelihood.
3.5.1 Witchcraft Beliefs

Sarpong (2004) argues that witchcraft beliefs are part of African culture and cannot be eradicated. The witch does not exist in his own right; it is the judgment of society that creates him. Society creates the image of a witch and pins this image down onto particular individuals (Boi-Nai, 2001). Although witchcraft accusations usually stem from the community, the study was interested in investigating the category of persons more prone to witchcraft accusations.

Table 3: Category of people prone to witchcraft accusation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Women</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>78.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Women</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Men</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Women and Men</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study sought to identify the category of persons prone to witchcraft accusation. The table above provides the category of people prone to witchcraft accusations. Old women rank highest on the table above. According to the table, 78% of respondents claim old women are more prone to witchcraft accusation. Some reasons are that when women become old and realize they have achieved nothing, they become jealous of people who are successful in their families and communities and would bewitch and destroy them. Another reason is that once old, women have they had more time on their hands to pursue their witchcraft on a full scale.
Karlsen's (1987) analysis can be employed to explain this situation. Karlsen argues that being a woman is the most important common factor among those accused of witchcraft. She also shows that women over the age of forty "were consistently more vulnerable to accusation". Thus, it is not our expected stereotype of the old woman, but the middle-aged woman who is more commonly at risk of witchcraft accusation and prosecution. She also associated economic factors with witchcraft accusation Karlsen (1987). Elias (1965) also contributes to this argument. Elias argues that women who are accused of witchcraft do lack sufficient power base on two levels: First of all, they lack the power of being perceived worthy enough to be supported in case of witchcraft allegations. Secondly, the accused persons cannot mobilize a sufficient power base, be it formal law enforcement or social support.

3.5.2 Women and witchcraft accusations

The account in the media reveals the most striking social correlation between witchcraft and women. More women than men were accused. The question is whether it is mere coincidence to read of such parallels in the history of witchcraft in Africa, Europe and North America. In Europe, although in certain areas and for brief periods of time more men were accused than women, the opposite has always been true, and over the entire history of the witch craze, women outnumbered men by at least three to one. In New England for example, 80 per cent of the accused were women. One pertinent question which comes to mind is: To what extent do women in traditional Africa constitute an homogenous grouping which, in terms of power, status, and privilege make up an analysis which shows that in society worldwide,
women as a class of people are those with least rights, particularly those in the ‘Third World’ or non-industrialized countries?

On the other hand, Lupri (1983) and Dolphyne (1991) caution that even if women although a numerical majority, do comprise an underprivileged group, it must be recognized that not all women share the same interests, needs and desires, neither do they experience the same degree of oppression. This is especially true of African women where there are variations in the ranks of different ethnic groups (Oboe, 1980). Since women do not constitute a social category, it is still a puzzle why women should continue to be victims of witchcraft accusations.

Kirby (1999) maintains that today the number of accusations is increasing and that the consequences are more disastrous than ever. The hierarchical system of unequal statuses continues to marginalize women whose “success” and security depend on their aggression and dominant behavior, while these very characteristics make them susceptible to witchcraft accusation. Formerly it was old ladies who were accused; today it is the youthful entrepreneurs, both men and women.
### Table 4: Record of Witch camps in Northern Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Camp</th>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Female Inmates</th>
<th>Male Inmates</th>
<th>Total Inmates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gambaga</td>
<td>35-70</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kukuo</td>
<td>35-80</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kpatinga</td>
<td>48-78</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gnarni/Tindang</td>
<td>40-90</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>815</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>815</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The table provides gender distribution of accused in the four witches’ camp. Whilst women constitute 802, the total male population is only 13 in all the four witches’ camp. Also the table shows that only one camp accommodates males accused as against four camps which accommodates accused female.

Allison Berg’s documentary is exceptional in exposing some harmful traditional practices that affect women, like female circumcision. This she also uses to explain the belief system which underlies witchcraft. In ‘Witches in Exile’ she explains that one cannot successfully attack a phenomenon like witches’ camps in isolation; it must be seen as part of a wider set of beliefs designed to exclude women, especially older women, who have out-lived their usefulness in Dagbon society.

The film untangles the complex intersection of anthropology, political science and economics which must be addressed in any strategy for liberating women in Africa (www.witchesinexile.com).
Witchcraft is portrayed differently from one society to another. It is important not just to know the image of a witch but also how the Nalerigu society identifies a witch. It is important to note that although about 80% of respondents believe in the power of witchcraft about 75% agreed that they could not identify a witch. They claimed the ability to identify a witch demands a ‘third eye’. So, usually it is the chiefs, mallams and soothsayers who have the powers to identify a witch. What then is the basis of large scale witchcraft accusations in the community? In many societies the idea of witchcraft is taken very seriously. All evils which befall a member of a our social group - from a bad day’s hunting to the death of a relative - may and often are explicated through witchcraft and a person who feels that they have been wronged will do their utmost to ensure that the witch is revealed and punished.

Beliefs about witches have a world-wide distribution, in Africa their occurrence is almost universal (Jahoda1970, Assimeng 1977, Senah 2005). The study considered it important to investigate whether respondents could identify a witch or otherwise.

The research also sought to establish the ability of respondents to identify a witch. The findings revealed that, 8% of respondents claim had the power to identify a witch but they claimed it is a spiritual exercise which had nothing to do with physical features. In an interview with some soothsayers in Tamale, it was revealed that witchcraft identification cannot be described and explained to ordinary people; it is a spiritual exercise.
The study also identified persons involved in the identification of witchcraft. It was revealed that soothsayers, diviners and some chiefs are the persons actually capable of determining the true status of an accused. In the case of Nalerigu both minor and major witchcraft accusations are confirmed at the Gambaga chief’s palace. This can be compared with the Azande. According to Evans-Pritchard (1937) among the Azande witchcraft identification was achieved through divination by witch doctors or by means of various oracles, especially one in which a poison, benge, was administered to chickens. The outcome depends on whether or not the fowl survived.

Although the respondents claimed they cannot identify a witch, they knew the features associated with witches. Some features mentioned include old age, extreme wealth and poverty, daring women, etc. For this category of people, these features are enough reasons to classify one a witch. This can be compared to Navaho witchcraft. Among the Navaho, witchcraft is generally associated with immoral and antisocial behavior such as greed, vengeance, and envy. Individuals who exhibit antisocial behavior and people in relationships characterized by conflict are likely targets. Navaho witchcraft beliefs also provide for the culturally sanctioned manifestation of immoral and antisocial behavior. The witch is the personification of evil and thus defines what is bad. Behavioral traits such as greed and envy, personality traits that contradict basic Navaho values and such behaviors as cannibalism, incest, and nakedness are things that Navahos find horrifying. People who exhibit antisocial behaviors are likely to be identified as witches and eventually eliminated from society (Kluckhohn, 1967).
The study found out the kind of treatment given to accused witches. It came out that, once accused, people are subjected to all kinds of treatments. About 93% mentioned that accused are beaten and sent to the witches' camp, or even banished completely from the community. In an interview with the Mamprugu Traditional Council it came out that in the past accused were beaten or even lynched. To prevent accused from being lynched, they are sent to the camp. Also the accused are sent to the Gambarana to determine the actual status of an accused. It is significant to note that accused are still maltreated in most communities before facing the judgment of the Gambarana.

3.5.4 Knowledge on Witches Camp

About 60% of respondents are aware of an accused sent to the camp. This shows that witchcraft accusation is quite common in Nalerigu. Douglas (1967) explanation can be employed to explain this situation. According to Douglas, among primitive peoples, an increase in witch hunting is apt to occur both when natural disasters threaten their material interest, and when culture contact threatens their way of life. If witchcraft is a reaction to society's feeling of insecurity, it seems unlikely to disappear from the civilized world at present, unless the feeling of insecurity which haunts these societies is removed.

Although about 30% of respondents claim to have relations at the witches' camp, most respondents (72%) would not visit the witches' camp. Visits to the witches' camps depend on several factors. The researcher gathered that accused came from various communities and some from as far as the Upper East Region. People would usually visit the camp because of a relation there. However, some would also visit out
of curiosity. The study revealed that witchcraft accusation has affected relationship of accused with family members; neglect, abandonment.

3.5.5 Possibility of Reintegrating Accused

Reintegration is a process that involves the accused, community leaders and community members. About 72% of respondents claimed it was possible and that they were willing to accept accused back.

In an interview with respondents, 72% of them claimed it was possible and that they were willing to accept accused back. About 60% of respondents have knowledge of an accused who has returned to live in the community. This shows that most community members were willing to accept the accused back into the community. However, most respondents were quick to add a condition: that accused must put a stop to their evil activities.

The study sought to know respondents willingness to accept accused back into the community.

Figure 10

![Possibility of reintegration](image)
The graph provides responses of respondents on the process of reintegration. Although a significant percentage (70%) claim they are in support of reintegration, the minority views cannot be ignored. Concerns raised by respondents include the possibility of the accused wrecking havoc and recruiting more disciples. However it is not clear how official policy can stop supposed witches from carrying out their activities when they are reintegrated. Indeed any effective community education can resolve all these problems.

The study revealed that those reintegrated are usually chased back to the witches’ camps. In the Gambaga witches camp, the researcher encountered three of such returnees. Reasons gathered as to why the accused returned to the camp include unwillingness of family members to accept them. As long as most problems in the community are explained as activities of witchcraft, reintegration would be a mirage. Once an accused, a person is more likely to be accused over and over again. The Ghanaian demands explanations for all situations and witchcraft seems to best fit these explanations (Boi-Nai 2002). Witchcraft explains the problem posed when one seeks to understand why misfortune befalls oneself rather than someone else.

On how re-integration exercises should be conducted, suggestions offered by respondents included, more community educational, training of the accused in the camp to be economically independent when released, and reconciliation of family of accused with family of accusers.
On how to prevent people from being sent to the witches' camp, the following were suggested: laws to disband the camps, accused must be exorcised and investigations must be conducted into witchcraft accusations. Also government and NGO's must intensify poverty reduction programs.

Respondents have offered views on how to prevent witchcraft accusations. Education ranks highest. Since reintegration demands an integrated effort, all views from all concerned parties must be considered. Action Aid Ghana is working seriously on this dimension in the Yendi district through radio programs and posters.

3.6 Views from the Gambaga District Assembly

The Gambaga District Assembly unlike the Yendi District Assembly has never offered any support to the Gambaga witches camp. In an interview with the coordinating director, the researcher gathered that the district only honors invitations and participates in some of the programs the Presbyterian Project organizes for the camp. It was disclosed that the Gambaga District Assembly would not hesitate to support the witches' camp when a request is officially made. The question is: despite the media reports and public outcry about the witches' camp, what special invitation does the District Assembly need before giving a helping hand to the witches' camp that has been operational in the district for more than a century. Should the existence of the camp not be a call to duty by the assembly?
3.7 Views from the Mamprugu Traditional Council

The Mamprugu Traditional Council has in the past and in recent times demonstrated support and concern for the witches' camp. It has organized educational programs and press conferences to educate and inform the general public about the plight of the accused. In an interview with the registrar of the Mamprugu Traditional Council, he mentioned that chiefs and other traditional leaders use traditional festivities and programs to educate the people on witchcraft accusations. The Traditional Council claims it supports the reintegration of accused and would cooperate with institutions working with the witches' camps. With respect to plans for the witches' camps, the registrar mentioned that witchcraft beliefs and accusations were a big problem in the traditional area and they have plans for the witches camps, but lacks resources to implement their plans. Some of the plans of the council includes, launching an educational campaign, staging drama on radio, TV and in communities, and then establishing a task force to protect accused. These plans however are not serious plans which can reduce the incidence of neither witchcraft accusations nor reintegrating accused.

3.8 Activities of Non Governmental Organizations

The Presbyterian Outcast Home Project has been operating in the Gambaga witches camp for the past two decades. They are the only institution stationed and working solely with the witches' camp. They are involved in the general welfare of all the accused. They cater for their health and feeding and are involved in reintegration. They provide a monthly ration of grains to each accused at the camp. The Presbyterian Project pays for all medical bills and also organizes immunization for accused. The project has an up-to-date record of each accused at the camp.
It should be noted that it is only the Presbyterian Outcast Project which is directly involved in the reintegration process. The project claims to have been able to reintegrate more than 10 accused in the last few years back into their communities. They investigate all accusations leveled on accused, after which they work with the family and some key members of the community to achieve reintegration.

The Presbyterian Church of Ghana in its Go Home Project for the Outcasts at Gambaga, has tried to reintegrate the women into their families and communities. The project has introduced a community-based response system which prepares the community people and puts responsibility in the hands of the community leaders. It has a micro-credit component. They, however, agreed that the reintegration process is very slow and difficult due to factors like resistance from community members; lack of resources (fuel and a strong means of transport to move to and fro of accused communities of origin).

Timari-Tama is another NGO working with the Gambaga witches camp. It has been operating within the camp for the past six years. However, unlike the Presbyterian Project, its activities are limited to caring for the welfare of accused witches. It is involved in providing micro credit activities for accused.
CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Analysis of Data from Tindang witches camp and the Yendi community

This chapter focuses on the profile of Yendi District where the Tindang witches camp is situated. Data have been presented to articulate views from the in-mates and Yendi community members. The essence is to ascertain the prospects and constraints of reintegrating accused. The chapter is divided into the district profile, followed by the discussion of views from the witches camp and community.

4.1 The Profile of Yendi District

The Greenwich Meridian passes through a number of settlements in the Yendi District. The district shares boundaries with seven other districts: to the east, with Saboba/Chereponi and Zabzugu/Tatale, to the south, with Nanumba and East Gonja, to the west, with Tamale and Savelugu/Nanton and to the north, with Gushiegu/karaga. Yendi district lies approximately between Latitude 0 32 ° W-0 25° E and Latitude 91 ° N -9 36 ° N. The district covers approximately 5,350 km and ranks sixth in terms of size among the twenty Districts of the Northern Region.

The centrality of the district within the Eastern Corridor puts it in a better position to sap the energies of the remaining districts. This is manifested by the concentration of major development projects in the district (e.g. Hospital, Telecommunication facilities, Pipe borne water and banking services). The advantages inherent in the centrality of the district, notwithstanding, undue pressure are often brought to bear on the facilities mentioned above due to the large catchments area of the district.
Climates and Vegetation

Mean annual rainfall (Jan - Dec.) for the district is 1, 125 mm. Mean wet season rainfall for the district is (April - Oct.) 1,150 mm. and 600 mm. Rainfall is seasonal and unreliable. Temperature ranges between 21 °C - 36 °C giving rise to high temperature and farming activities. The vegetation is of the tree savannah type in the area not affected by settlements and farming activities. The degraded savannah type of vegetation is found around settlements and heavily cultivated areas. The rampant and extensive bush burning is having effect on the vegetation and consequently the climate. High temperatures make the environment uncomfortable for human, animals and other organisms. Economic trees in the district include ubiquitous butyrespermum parkii (shea trees), Parkia filicordea (dawadawa), Maggifera indica (mango) and Anacardim Occidentale (cashew).

4.1.2 Economy

The Economy of the people is largely subsistence with agriculture being their main occupation. Over 80% of the people depend on agriculture for their livelihood. Out of the total land area of 535,000 hectares, arable land constitutes 481,000 hectares out of which only 15% in under cultivation. Other economic activities include weaving, agro-processing (shea butter extraction), meat processing, fish mongering, wholesale and retail of general goods, transport and many others. These activities are on a small scale.
The potential of the district in agriculture is enormous. The land is suitable for the cultivation of cereals, tuber and rearing of animals. Animals reared include cattle, sheep, goats, pigs and poultry birds for domestic and commercial purposes. A good number of the populations are engaged in small scale manufacturing business. They include smock weavers, blacksmiths, bakers, mechanics, shea-butter extraction and groundnut oil extraction.

4.1.3 Health Facilities
The district has a government hospital located on Yendi and five (5) health centers located at Bunbonayili, Gnani, Kuni, Dabogni. Water supply in the Yendi Township is from the Ghana Water Company Limited (GWCL) plant. Also two hundred and fifteen (215) boreholes have been installed in one hundred and twenty-six (126) communities.

4.1.4 Schools
The district has the following educational facilities: thirty-four (34) early childhood centers, one hundred and seven (107) primary schools, twenty-seven (27) junior secondary schools, two (2) vocational schools.

4.1.5 Demographic Characteristics
According to the 2000 census the population of the Yendi district is 130,504 (54,728 males, 55,776 females) and is varied in terms of ethnicity with the Dagomba constituting the majority. The other ethnic groups include Konkomba, Akan, Ewe, Basare, Moshie, Chokosi and Hausa. The population is largely rural. About 62% live in the rural areas whiles 37% are in towns. The population of Yendi township is
The main religious groupings are Moslems, Christians and Traditionalist. Migration pattern is more pronounced among the youth and especially girls who travel down south to engage in head-porterage. It is within this context that attention would now be turned on the Tindang witches’ camp.

4.2 The Tindang Witches’ Camp

The Tindang witches’ home is located 27km east of Yendi on the Zabzugu road. It is a small rural community in the Yendi district consisting of about 25 households. The estimated population is about 1,500 people. The inhabitants of the village are made up of witches and wizards, descendants of witches and wizards, the priest or ‘Tindana’ (who is the head of the village) and his family and few settlers who are neither witches nor wizards. Tindang’s unique feature lies in its origin. The village started as a witches’ home and is still largely regarded as witches’ village. Tindang has, over the years, grown into a big village. The Tindang witches camp has no defined boundaries like the Gambaga witches camp. Tindang is presided over by a resident chief priest. It is, however, administered by the Tindang/Gnani Chief (Zakaria, 2001). Tindang has no chief; the chief priest is the head of the Tindang community. As a result of the close link with Gnani, most people refer to the camp as Gnani witches camp. However, the chief of Gnani performs all the administrative functions of Tindang. It is important to know that any visitor entering Tindang must seek permission from the Gnani chief. Tindang is the only witches’ camp with male inmates (Wailbel 2001). Settlement pattern of accused is by sex and ethnicity. Tindang has become a very big community with other settlers living permanently
there. It is, therefore, more difficult to differentiate accused from other members of the community. The stigma that goes with witchcraft, however, still follows the witches and the entire village. This has impacted negatively on the development of the village.

4.3 History of the Tindang/ Gnani witches camp

Tindang was started as a witches’ camp by the Gnani chief around the 18th century (Zakaria, 2001). Unlike Gambaga, Tindang was purposely created to cater for accused witches. Accused witches were rescued and kept in the chief’s palace, but as their numbers grew, an alternative accommodation had to be acquired. So Tindang was selected as an abode for the accused. As a unique community, Tindang started as a witches’ spiritual and curative/rehabilitation center where alleged witches who were banished from their families and homes were dumped. A spiritual chief priest, possibly a descendant of the original founder of the Outcast Home is the head of the community. He is believed to have the spiritual powers to deliver a witch from the evil forces of witchcraft. With time other people have now settled and are working permanently in Tindang. The inhabitants of Tindang are made up of the chief priest and his family, the accused witches and wizards, some of whom were accompanied by some relatives and other settlers.
4.4 **Views from the Tindang / Gnani witches camp**

The problem understudy affects accused directly and so it is very important that their views are factored into the work. Views were gathered from both male and female in-mates to determine the problems and prospects of reintegration. In addition, views were obtained from Yendi community, Dagbon Traditional Council and Yendi District Assembly. Data obtained here has been classified into four subheadings (1) Socio demographic characteristics, (2) Witchcraft beliefs, (3) Knowledge on witches' camps (4) Reintegration prospects

**4.4.1 Socio-demographic Characteristics**

As in the case of Gambaga some socio-demographic features considered here include age, religion, sex and education. One key socio-demographic feature examined during the study is age. Unlike in the Gambaga witches camp where ages of accused were estimated and documented by the Presbyterian project, nothing of that sort existed in Tindang. The researcher had to rely on voter's identity cards and some historical events to be able to determine the ages of accused.

According to the data all accused both male and female are above age 50 years. This implies that the camp is dominated by the aged. It is important to note that since most accused had the voters identity card, the researcher depended on the ages recorded on these cards. On a few occasions, however, the researcher had to depend on historical events to be able to estimate the ages of accused. Although the identity cards provided the ages of accused, the researcher observed that these ages did not correspond with the appearances of accused since most appeared much older than the ages recorded.
This figure below provides the computed ages of the accused.

**Figure 11**

![Computed ages Distribution of Respondents](chart.png)

Another important socio demographic characteristic considered for the study was the educational background of respondents. Virtually all respondents at the Gambaga witches camp are illiterates. About 20% of inmates have had access to non-formal education. It is significant to note that this was limited to males only. The data exposes the high illiteracy situation in northern Ghana. It also proves that education is still not accessible to people in the rural communities. Also it depicts the priority given to males when it comes to education in northern Ghana.

Religious denomination of respondents was also considered for the study. The religious backgrounds of respondents were as follows: 42.5% Muslim, 15% Christian, and 42% Traditionalist. Witchcraft accusation cuts across all religious divide since Moslems, Christians and traditionalist are represented at the camp. The reason why Muslims are more than the other religious groups is that, Tindang and its surrounding communities are moslem dominated communities and witchcraft knows no religious boundaries.
The researcher interviewed 13 males and 27 females. At the time of the research there was only one Dagomba in-mate at the witches' camp so he was included among the male respondents. The reason for selecting more female respondents is because there were more female in-mates than males at the Tindang witches camp.

Unlike the Gambaga witches camp where most accused were from among the Dagomba and Mamprusi, in-mates at the Tindang camp come from almost every part of the Northern Region. Inmates came from as far as the Kariga and Bimbilla districts. Probably, the reason could be because Tindang is the only witches' camp which admits male inmates.

Basically, there are only two ethnic groups at the Tindang witches camp, the Dagomba and Konkomba. The reason could be because most accused whether Nanumba or from other ethnic group would prefer to be referred to as Dagombas. The reason could be that the Dagomba ethnic group is widely known and also is the largest ethnic group in the region. Another reason gathered was that, the camp is located within the Konkomba and Dagomba communities and would therefore be patronised more by people within the community. In an interview with the Yendi District Chief Executive, it was revealed that illiteracy levels are much higher among the Dagomba and Konkomba than among the other ethnic groups. This could account for the strong belief and subsequent high record of witchcraft accusation among the Dagomba and Konkomba ethnic groups. The study also revealed that most of the Konkomba were traditionalists and would not hesitate to associate any happenings with the power of witchcraft.
Views were gathered from respondents with different marital backgrounds.

The figure below shows the marital status of respondents.

Figure 12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital status of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figure provides the marital status of respondents at the Gambaga witches camp.

It is important to note that almost all the male inmates are married whilst almost all the female inmates are divorced or widowed. Perhaps, features associated with witchcraft accusations are not the same for both sexes. Whilst being through divorce or the death of a spouse forms the basis of accusations for female, this does not apply rules do not apply to the male since almost all male inmates are married.

The researcher took advantage to interact with some physically disabled persons in the camp. The physically disabled in Tindang witches camp include the blind, persons with facial deformities and the lame. About ten people have one deformity or the other. The researcher observed that these deformities were all limited to females.
The study considered relations and dependents living with accused. The reason was to find out their purpose at the camp.

Figure 13

As the figure above shows, about 22 inmates have a relation living with them at the Tindang witches camp. These people help the accused in performing some household chores. Most of these are children. Some of the tasks performed by these children include running errands, cooking, washing and selling. Most relations living with accused are of school going age but were not in school at the time of the study. Distance was the main reason. The nearest school is at Gani which is about 20km away from Tindang. So, most guardians find it tiring for children to walk this distance on a daily basis. Another factor gathered was poverty. Unlike in Gambaga, in-mates and their relations at the Tindang camp do not face any problem of stigma. This is because there is cordial relationship between in-mates and the rest of the community. It is noteworthy that all the males in the camp were living with their
wives and or children. So, unlike their female counterparts, males do not go through much psychological trauma of neglect and abandonment by spouses and family members. It is very interesting to observe how society reacts differently to the same problem based on sex. Whilst most women face neglect, divorce and associated problems as a result of witchcraft accusations, their male counterparts on the contrary, are living with their spouses at the Tindang witches camp.

4.5 Witchcraft Accusation

Evans-Pritchard (1937) observed that among the Azande witchcraft beliefs and accusations reflect interpersonal behavior in stressful situations and that stressful behavior is frequently a recurring situation in particular social relationship. Douglas (1967) also noted that interpersonal relationship between co-wives has a potential of being a difficult relationship, and this stress is manifested in the form of witchcraft accusations. The table below exhibits similar pattern since accusations stems from the family and close relations.
Table 5: Sources of accusation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relations</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-laws</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbours</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rival's children</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identified by soothsayers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Just like in Gambaga in Tindang witches camp, accusations were limited to close relations. It can be deduced from the table above that accusers are mostly family members. This situation is partly explicable in terms of the arguments by Nukunya (1992) that witchcraft accusation is a function of social relation, which is likely to cause or result from jealousy, hatred, envy and fear. Witchcraft accusation is significantly frequent in one or more specific relationships. Gluckman (1954) also offers an explanation of another kind, based on the social structure of the Zulu homestead. As he noted, co-wives accuse one another in spite of the fact that they are formally ranked in order of marriage.

Goffman' (1974) argues that human beings cannot stand the idea of anything being "inexplicable" and therefore must explain all phenomena in terms of either the natural or the social causes. Goffman calls this model "primary frameworks ". The Ghanaian demands explanations for all situations and witchcraft seems to best fit these explanations. Witchcraft explains the problem posed when one seeks to understand why misfortune befalls oneself rather than someone else. It makes sense of the
Also as Evans-Pritchard (1937) wrote, "the concept of witchcraft ... provides [the Azande] with a natural philosophy by which the relations between men and unfortunate events are explained and a ready and stereotyped means of reacting to such events. Witchcraft beliefs also embrace a system of values, which regulate human conduct." Witchcraft beliefs among the Navaho serve the same general functions as witchcraft beliefs do among the Azande. In support of this view Clyde Kluckhohn (1967:121) writes: "One of man's peculiaries is that he requires 'reasons' for the occurrence of events. One of the manifest 'functions' of belief in witchcraft is that such belief supplies answers to questions which would otherwise be perplexing; and because it is perplexing it becomes thus disturbing." So witchcraft accusations explain and perform same functions in most communities in northern Ghana.

In the Tindang camp more than 90% claimed they were innocent of the accusations levelled against them. A male inmate has this to say "my brother accused me of being the cause of his low harvest in recent times. I don't control the rains so how can it be my fault?". On the contrary 9% claimed to be guilty of accusations levelled against them. The reason they gave was that, once the gods has declared them guilty they could not challenge that, because the same gods sometimes judge others as innocent.
The study examined how many accused have spent in the witches' camp. This was considered vital because it enabled the study to further investigate reasons why some accused stayed longer at the witches' camp.

Figure 14

![Number of years at the camp](image)

About 40% of respondents have lived in the camp for more than 10 years. The study revealed that unlike the Gambaga witches camp there has never been any activity whatsoever aimed at reintegrating accused. Thus once admitted to the camp one may spend the rest of one's life in the camp. Activities of NGO's and other institutions are limited to public education and welfare of accused witches.

There is no laid down procedure for admission into the camp. Usually the process starts with an accusation, then sometimes followed by a formal complain to the family of the accused. Depending on the intensity of threat or attack from community members, the accused might find his or her way to the camp unaccompanied. Whilst in most cases accused male willingly and voluntarily report to the witches'
camp on their own accord, female accused were sent to the camp by a relation. When an accused is brought to Tindang and the ritual is performed, the accused is either found guilty or exonerated. When found guilty she has two options: she either pays a fee to be exorcised and returns home or makes the outcast’s the new home. The other problem might be that she would like to pay the fee and return home but the community at her village level would not accept her back. This means the woman has no option but to stay in the home. The difference between Gambaga and Tindang camp is that, in Gambaga it is the chief who performs the rituals, whilst in Tindang it is the chief priest.

Just like any other phenomenon, witchcraft accusation affects marriages and family relationships. Although some women claim witchcraft accusations affected their marriages about 90% of respondents were more concerned with how witchcraft accusations has affected their relationship with family and community members. In the case of Gambaga where accused respondents were only women and thus more concerned about their marriages, male respondents at the Tindang witches camp were more concerned about their relationship with family and community members. The reason could be because their wives were living with them.
4.5.1 Life in the witches' camp

Conditions at the Tindang witches camp appear to be worse than in Gambaga witches’ camp. Poverty, lack of social infrastructure are some of the characteristics of Tindang witches camp.

As in other parts of northern Ghana, 96% of respondents in Tindang witches’ camp are involved in farming; some respondents are also involved in trading and weaving. The researcher visited the community during the dry season when most were not engaged in farm work. The men weave mats for sale during the dry season, whilst the women sell water and firewood. Generally farming is an occupation for both males and females and it is undertaken on a very limited scale.

4.5.2.1 Accessing Food

Inmates in Tindang do not receive much food aid like their counterparts in Gambaga. Aid in whatever form comes once in a very long while and so inmates depend on their capability to access food: 95% get food through their own hard work. The very sick and very old who constitute the 4% depend on charity and on other inmates for food. Generally, accessing health care is not much of a problem to accused in Tindang.

4.5.2.2 Health

The nearest clinic is in Gnani which is about 20km away. The Gnani clinic offers free medical care to the accused; the chief priest also supplements care with herbal treatment. Generally, accessing health is not much of a problem to in-mates in Tindang; the problem is the distance from Tindang to Gnani since there are no
commercial vehicles that ply between the two locations, therefore they walk or travel by bicycle.

4.5.2.3 In-mates Relationship with Chief

In the case of Tindang, inmates do not interact often with the chief because he is resident at Gnani. Thus they relate more with the chief priest whose house is quite distant from the rest of the community. Thus interaction with the chief priest is not frequent. There exist no record of hostility between the inmates and the chief or chief priest. This may be due to lack of interaction. Among in-mates themselves, the researcher observed that, relationship was cordial but was intra ethnic. The Dagomba interacted more with their fellow Dagomba and likewise the konkomba. This was because the settlement pattern was influenced by ethnic considerations and so in-mates have no choice but to interact with persons close to them.
4.5.2 Concerns of Inmates

Although the topic under study was to investigate the prospects and problems involved in reintegrating accused, the study considered it important to identify the major concerns of accused at the Tindang witches camp, since these could directly or indirectly affect the reintegration process. Several concerns were raised by accused at the Tindang witches' camp. These concerns are discussed below.

4.5.2.1 Food security

Food security is one big problem raised by inmates. Food is not accessible to inmates since most cannot cultivate on large scale, due to limited farm space, old age and lack of modern implements. Although, historically the camp was established for accused witches, they are still considered as foreigners. Settlers in Tindang have more claims to farm lands than inmates.

The researcher gathered that only 24% of respondents in Tindang were willing to go home. It is important to note that all accused who expressed interest in going back home were all female. About 55% did not want to be sent out anywhere, whilst just 5% wished to be resettled in a completely different environment. The researcher deduced that almost all the males refused any form of reintegration. They think once community members have rejected them, there was no point going back there.

Mapula an accused in Tindang had this to say “I am from a near village near Saboba. I have 3 children. There was a boy in our house who said he saw me in his dreams. So I decided to come and swear at the Gnani shrine. Here if you swear and you are not good, you will die; but if you are good you can live in peace. Even as I am sitting here I can go back to my village, but I don’t want to go back. They will only try to kill me.”
Inmates of the Tindang witches camp seem to be saddled with more problems than what accused in the Gambaga camp experience. There exists no institution or NGO operating consistently at the camp whose activities can be compared with that of the Presbyterian Outcast Home Project stationed at Gambaga. Support received from institutions is usually sporadic and lack any coordination. Equally important is the fact that Gambaga attracts more attention and visitors than Tindang. The Gambaga witches camp is treated like a tourist attraction and so many foreigners make donations of all kinds to the Gambaga camp.

The main problem expressed by most male accused is the lack of farm lands. Both inmates and community members depend on the same farm lands. In-mates, therefore, find it more difficult to access large portions of land for cultivation; they make do with small portions of land and thus are forced to cultivate on small scale.

In the case of the accused women, accessing potable water was a matter of concern to them. Unlike Gambaga, accused at Tindang have no access to portable water. The only borehole constructed by an NGO has not functioned for the past 3 years. So the only source of water is the dam which is about 7km away from the community. So inmates spend time and much energy just to access water. After discussing views and concerns of accused, we now turn to views expressed by respondents from the Yendi community.
The study considered views from other ethnic groups for the study. Although Yendi is a Dagomba community, other ethnic groups have settled and are working there. The researcher considered views from other ethnic groups for the study.

Figure 15

![Religion of respondents](image)

Views were considered from people from different religious denomination, Moslems, Traditionalist and Christians. Just like Nalerigu, Yendi is a Moslem dominated community. However views were solicited from Traditionalist and Christians as well. Islam is the dominant religion in Yendi and thus more Moslem respondents.

Views were also obtained from people with different marital background that is the married, Divorced and Widows. The reason was to obtain a balance view of the topic. This was to provide the researcher with varied opinion on the study area.

Yendi is a big town where different people from ethnic background have settled. Different category of people was considered for the study. Responses cut across various occupational backgrounds. Farmers, traders, civil servants were all considered for the study.
4.6.2 Witchcraft Beliefs

As Parrinder (1963) argues, “An enlightened religion, education, medicine and better social and racial conditions will help to dispel witchcraft beliefs.” Witchcraft beliefs are said to be typical of pre-scientific, low-technology societies, where there are few rational explanations for illness and misfortune. Belief in witchcraft in the generic sense is evident in most small-scale communities (e.g. in preliterate cultures), where interaction is based upon personal relationships that tend to be lifelong and difficult to break. In such societies belief in witches makes it possible for misfortunes to be explained in terms of disturbed social relationships; and the threat either of being accused of witchcraft or of being attacked by witches may well be a source of social control, making people more circumspect about their conduct toward others.

About 83 percent of respondents claimed witchcraft was a problem in their community. This confirms the strong belief in witchcraft in the society and how most people would not hesitate to associate so many things to witchcraft. Witchcraft explains the kind of questions regarding the peculiarity of the misfortunes that modern world science cannot explain or is not concerned with in the first place. In many senses, then, witchcraft fulfils the function science does in the modern society, that is explaining the previously unexplainable phenomena (Boi-Nai, 2004). The study identified the calibre of persons more prone to witchcraft accusation. In Yendi about 80% of respondents claimed witchcraft was related to old women, although about 10% also associated witchcraft with old men. However, the issue of witchcraft was reduced to sexism; whilst the witchcraft of men was considered productive that of women was considered destructive. Discrimination even exists in the spiritual realm.
Several reasons have been provided as to why old women are the most accused. One reason deduced was that, the life expectancy of women in Ghana is higher (60) than that of men (58) (UNFPA, 2008) and so it was possible to have more widows. Witchcraft grows out of grudges bred from a close-knit society, kept dormant until a seed of jealousy is born (Pritchard 1937). For example, among the Mesakin in the southern Sudan, Nadel (1952) found that accusation commonly occurred between a man and his maternal uncle. Also old women are mostly at home and relate more with relations and so are more likely to be seen in dreams. Nadel (1952) suggests that occurrences of this kind should be interpreted as pointers to weak spots in the social structure.

4.6.3 Identifying a witch

The study also sought to find out ways of identifying a witch. Witchcraft is portrayed differently from one society to another. It is important not just to know the image of a witch but also how the Yendi society perceives and identifies a witch. Although about 97% of respondents believe in the power of witchcraft, only 7% claimed had the power to identify a witch. Although believe in witchcraft and accusations are quite high among the people of Yendi, more than 90% agreed that they could not identify a witch.
Millions of people in East, South, and West Africa believe that there are witches, both male and female (Smith, 1956). In the business world, people maintain that their slow career progress is due to a colleague's witchcraft (Schauber, 2003). Wealthy businessmen have their products "protected" by diviners in case a competitor resorts to witchcraft. Politicians suspect opponents of using witchcraft when they lose an election (Smith, 1956). People of every faith take care when cutting hair or nails not to leave the remains lying around, so that they will not be taken by a witch for use in a spell (Assimeng, 1977). In Africa and elsewhere, the bewitched person seeks help from a diviner, soothsayer, etc to establish the evil person responsible. About 90% of respondents were aware of at least two witches camp in the Northern Region.

Almost 65% of respondents are aware of an accused sent to the camp. This shows that witchcraft accusation is quite common in Yendi.
In Yendi, unlike in Nalerigu where the Traditional Council claims to campaign against witchcraft accusations, maltreatment of accused remains high. In Yendi once someone is accused, the person is beaten and sent to the witches’ camps or even banished completely from the community. This could be attributed to the chieftaincy disputes in Dagbon.

With respect to visiting the witches’ camp, the study revealed that most (72%) respondents would not visit the witches’ camp. Visits to the witches’ camps depend on several factors. People would usually visit the camp when they have a relation there. However some would also visit out of curiosity.

4.6.5 Possibility of Reintegrating accused

Reintegration is a process that involves the accused, community leaders and community members. Reintegration in Tindang seems more difficult and complicated than Gambaga witches camp. Whilst there exist an institution that is involved in reintegration, this is not present in Tindang. Kirby (2006) also offers another explanation. He classifies the witches’ camps into permanent and transitory. In his classification camps of the Eastern Dagbon and (Nanung) – Tindang, Kukuo, Kpatinga are more or less permanent whilst Gambaga is transitory. According to Kirby, the witches at Tindang cannot go back. But the camp at Gambaga has a fairly successful return rate not due to the efforts of the Presbyterian Church but, it is due to the fact that Gambaga camp has an earth –priest who is also the chief. Camps like Tindang lack earth –priest chiefs, thus leaving them without the integral authority, the combined horizontal and vertical mediation that is needed to reintegrate the accused back to their communities because it has such a combined
the accused back to their communities because it has such a combined religious –secular authority figure in the earth –priest chief. It is very unlikely under the present circumstances, however that Eastern Dagbon would be able to follow the lead of western Dagbon by reintegrating the roles of the chief and earth–priest. For this depends on the integration of the two ethnic groups. Chiefs cannot become earth –priest because as the people say," the earth knows its people” (Kirby, 2006).

About 70% of respondents claimed it’s was possible and that they were willing to accept accused back. The researcher had the opportunity of interacting with an accused reintegrated into the community. The figure below assesses the possibilities of reintegration.

**Figure 16**

Although about 70% of respondents claim to be in support of reintegration of accused, the researcher thinks the figure is deceitful as compared to what pertains in reality. The researcher came into contact with this respondent: Rukaya Abukari is a strong woman who collects firewood to sell for her livelihood. Every other day she walks long distances to collect tree branches. She lives in the outcast Home. Rukaya still has
She was told she was likely to be attacked. She did not believe her relatives would defend her in case she was attacked. She therefore left the village in the dark. She spent the next days hiding during the day and walking towards Tindang during the night, without food and water. She finally gets to Tindang in 5 days. She might live the rest of her live in the Outcast Home.

Figure 17

According to the graph above, accused witches are accepted back into their community. Most respondents however, were quick to add that, once they do not continue with their evil activities they would be at peace with members of the community. Witch-hunting goes together with a feeling that basic sentiments, values and interests are being endangered. In order to feel secured, a society must feel that not only its material interests but also its way of life, its fundamental values, are safe. Witch hunting may increase whenever either of these elements seems gravely threatened. Although the degree of willingness to accept accused back in the community is encouraging, it can be deduced from data obtained that as long as problems of poverty, problems related to child bearing, marriages, employment, nightmares, drunkenness, etc exist, witchcraft accusation will not disappear completely.
nightmares, drunkenness, etc exist, witchcraft accusation will not disappear completely.

In Gambaga, the Presbyterian Project has been able to reintegrate some accused. The researcher had the opportunity of interacting with one such accused. In Yendi, however, no such measure exists. But the study revealed that 43% of respondents are willing to accept and interact with accused. Also the study revealed that 35 out of 60 respondents were not in favour of reintegration. The graph provides responses of respondents on the process of reintegration. This situation is very important for reintegration since accused are supposed to go and live with community members.

Varied views have been given by respondents on how reintegration may be conducted. Once accused are going to live in the community it is very important that their views and concerns are considered in the reintegration process. These points above, therefore, serve as a guide to implement reintegration in any community. The whole problem affects and concerns communities directly and so any measure to be taken must involve views of community members.

Respondents also gave views on how to prevent people from being sent to the camp. They are stake holders of the reintegration process and each institution operating reintegration would have to consider these views.
4.7 Yendi District Assembly

It was revealed that the district has in the past supported and continues to support the Tindang witches camp. The District Chief Executive (DCE) claims it uses part of the District Common Fund (percentage for the disabled) to support the witches camp. Support has been in the form of donation of food stuff, clothes and provision of social amenities. The Yendi District Assembly has plans to support the Tindang witches camp. In an interview with the DCE, he mentioned that the district is expecting some support from the US Embassy, purposely to support the witches’ camp. He was hopeful that the funding would commence by next year. With respect to reintegration of inmates the DCE reiterated that the district was in support of reintegration and would work with and support any institution working with the witches’ camp.

4.8 The Dagbon Traditional Council

There exists no record whatsoever of the Dagbon Traditional Council rendering any form of support to the Tindang witches camp. In an interview with some members of the traditional council it was revealed that the Dagbon Traditional Council has been plagued with conflict and so was not able to render any support to the Tindang witches’ camp. The assistant registrar was however hopeful that very soon the council would be united and would render support to the witches’ camp.
4.9 **Activities of Non Governmental Organizations**

Action Aid International (AAI) has been operating in the Yendi District for more than two decades, but its involvement with the witches' camp is only a recent event. Basically Action Aid International involvement with the camp is limited to advocacy. The objective of AAI is to prevent accusation of witchcraft. Its activity is not limited to any particular witches’ camp. Action Aid educates communities on witchcraft accusations. Thus, it has organized radio programs, and produced posters to this effect. Also it has provided financial support to other institutions working with the witches’ camp.

Management Aid (MAID) is a local NGO operating in the northern sector of Ghana. It has been working with the Tindang witches camp for more than 7 years. Just like Timaritama in Gambaga, its activities are not concentrated solely on the witches’ camp. It has been able to provide the camp with some amenities. MAID has provided the Tindang community with a dam, grinding mill and KVIP. It has also renovated some huts of the accused. MAID, however, is not directly involved in reintegration of accused witches. In an interview with the project officer of MAID, it was revealed that MAID was in support of reintegration but lacked funds to implement plans. Also MAID has provided the witches camp with amenities such as KVIP and a grinding mill. They are not involved in reintegrating accused; they only render services to the camp.
4.10 Human Rights Institutions

In an interview with CHRAJ it was revealed that, they have plans for the witches' camp. With respect to reintegration CHRAJ claimed it supports reintegration but would work with the traditional authority to achieve results. The researcher however deduced from available documents that nothing has been done after the last press conference (to campaign against witchcraft accusations) organized by FIDA and CHRAJ.

Although several attempts were made to get the stand of FIDA on the topic, it proved futile. This is because the present director claimed she had no knowledge on the witches' camp. She emphasized that, FIDA had no plans for the witches.

In an interview with the minister of MOWAC, she explained that the Gambaga witches' camp was in her constituency and so she had good plans for the camp. She claimed she has given out micro-credit to women organization in the East Mamprusi District. Also she recently made donations of food and clothes to accused in the Gambaga camp.
CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

Beliefs about witches have a world-wide distribution. In Africa, their occurrence is almost universal. In the northern regions of Ghana belief is so strong that witches' camps have been established to accommodate people banished from their communities for engaging in perceived witchcraft activities. Although there are several of these camps only five are officially recognized. The study was limited to two of such camps, at Tindang and Gambaga and the communities surrounding them. The objective of the study was to come out with an integrated and acceptable means of reintegrating people in the witches' camps.

Both primary and secondary data were collected. Questionnaire was administered in two witches' camps in Gambaga and Tindang. Another set of questionnaire was administered in two communities near the witches' camps (Nalerigu and Yendi). Interviews were also conducted with identified key informants and some institutions working with the camps. Forty respondents were interviewed from each witches camp. Also a cross section of 60 people each from Yendi and Nalerigu were interviewed for the study.
Main Findings

- Conditions (housing, food security, amenities etc) in both Tindang and Gambaga witches camp are bad. However accused witches are willing to stay in the witches’.

- Witchcraft and the accompanying phenomenon of women accused of witchcraft produce dynamics of social inclusion and exclusion. These dynamics display obvious gender dimensions. The accused are more elderly or young, more physically deformed than healthy, more poor than well to do, more non-educated than educated, more widowed than married, more barren than fertile, more rural than urban and more outspoken than silent. Most accused do not perfectly conform to the traditional role mode of women in the conservative traditional settings of Northern Ghana.

- Some camp in-mates (43% from Gambaga and 24% from Tindang) are willing to be reintegrated, but based on the following conditions:
  - To be reconciled with family members and family of accused
  - To be resettled in a completely different environment; and
  - To be assured of security (not to be attacked again)

- Views from the two communities revealed that, generally people are willing to accept and interact with the accused (58% in Nalerigu, 43% in Tindang) but based on the following conditions.
  - That the alleged witches put a stop to their ‘wicked’ activities
➢ That the alleged witches are economically independent of members of their families

• Apart from the Presbyterian Project which is involved in the reintegration of accused, other institutions were more concerned with community education and improving living conditions in the camps. (87)

• The two district assemblies do not contribute in any form to the reintegration of accused witches. The Yendi District Assembly claims to make donations and contribute in improving living conditions in the Tindang witches camp. The East Mamprusi District, however, has never been involved with the Gambaga witches camp.

Other Findings

• Witchcraft accusations stem from folk beliefs and from the hard times resulting from population pressure, socioeconomic change and the climatic conditions.

• Witchcraft accusations usually stem from family and community members. In other words, People accuse those who are "different" in some way - the unsuccessful, the unusually successful, or barren or rejected wives.

• All the life-stories obtained and analyzed at the witches' camp in Gambaga came from women who, in one way or another, had challenged and transgressed the gender regimes in the patrilineal, patrilocal, polygynous communities from which they hailed in northern Ghana: communities in
which women are supposed to be subject to male authority, and where the potency of women’s sexuality is generally controlled by men – be it fathers, brothers, husbands or sons.

- Some in-mates in the witches’ camps have relations living with them. Most of these were children of school going age but do not go to school.

- In spite of food donations made to the camps by NGO’s in-mates still go hungry because Sorghum given on monthly basis by the CRS is not considered food. The reason is that sorghum cannot be used to prepare “Tuo Zaafi” which is the main dish of the people. In-mates therefore sell or exchange the sorghum for maize or millet.

- Soothsayers, diviners, chief priests and some chiefs play prominent roles in establishing the true status of an accused and in their release.

- The chiefs of Gambaga and Tindang are willing to allow accused to be discharged from the witches’ camps, once the necessary rituals are performed.

- A high number of accused who were reintegrated are back to the camps due to threats and re-accusations from members of the community.
5.1 Conclusions

The activities of human rights institutions, NGO's and even government have contributed very little in reintegrating accused at the two witches' camp. Accused witches on the other hand have not showed the desire to go back home. Reintegration does not appear to be an easy task. Reintegration is possible and can be achieved only when the concerns of all persons involved are considered. The expectation of most institutions especially the human rights institutions is a rapid response, which in reality is not achievable. Issues that have to do with mentality, beliefs, and attitudes are not easily achieved within a short while. Reintegration just like any process of change demands a very gradual process.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are provided to aid the reintegration of inmates in the Tindang and Gambaga witches' camps:

Education

The Government and non-governmental institutions should intensify educational campaigns both in English and in the local languages, to effect positive behavioral change and attitudes.

Development Agents

Development agents and institutions working with the witches camps need to be aware that to change the witchcraft mentality of people takes time. Patience and diplomacy are therefore needed.
Dialogue with diviners, Soothsayers and Shrine Custodians

Human rights institutions, non governmental organization and development agents should dialogue with the traditional authorities involved in the identification and or treatment of accused witches, so as to integrate their views and concerns.

The role of the Traditional Council

The Dagbon and Mamprugu Traditional Councils should launch a prevention and reintegration program in their various jurisdictions so as to target diviners, soothsayers, chiefs and all persons involved in the identification and persecution of witches to educate them on the human rights issues and the repercussions of their activities under the law.

Also the chieftaincy institutions should be supported to develop the right skills to manage the issue. They should be given some orientation in the area of gender and human rights. The chieftaincy institutions can be used to address the issue of witchcraft and human rights abuse. When the chiefs accept a strategy to manage the issue, it becomes the norm for the subjects. The Tindana system can be made an effective mechanism for the management of the concept of witchcraft in the societies, as they are supposed to hold the spiritual powers of the land of the people.

The District Assemblies

The East Mamprusi District and the Yendi District Assemblies should support the witches’ camps with the District Common Fund through the, provision of social welfare amenities, and liaising with institutions working with these camps to promote the reintegration process.
Women's Groups

Associations like the Christian Mothers and the Christian Women’s Fellowship and other religious women’s groups could visit these poor women accused of witchcraft, listen to them and minister to them. This would help these unfortunate women to deal with their situation of helplessness. Also MOWAC, FIDA and 31st DWM could explore the possibilities of emancipating these women from the clutches of traditional, cultural and religious prejudices.

Support for children at the camps

Specific programs should be designed to offer children in the camps, opportunity for growth and development as normal children. There is need for a primary school for children in the village. The facility will be of great benefit to the children of the actual natives of the village as well as the children of relatives who are staying with and caring for their banished relatives.

The role of civil society

Civil society organizations need to engage government and other institutions at the local level to empower the Districts Assemblies to develop a good strategy and to initiate a local level advocacy that feeds into national level one. Also the traditional authorities should assist civil society organizations to address the issue of witchcraft and human rights abuse, especially of women in the society. The chieftaincy institution should be supported to develop the right skills to manage the issue. They should be given some orientation in the area of gender and human rights. The chiefs and land owners (Tindana) could play a prominent role in this respect by
ensuring that an effective mechanism for the management of the concept of witchcraft in the society was handled with circumspection.

Treat Witches Camps as Aged Homes

The witches' camps can be compared to old homes in other countries. In Burkina Faso for example the witches' camp is called “Centre Delwande” and managed by the government and the Catholic Church. Accused are given at least a meal a day with medical care. This could be replicated in Ghana to help improve the lives of accused.

Food Security

A sustainable food security intervention be adopted using a participatory approach, which targets all categories of the community. Here focus should be on the family unit to enhancing the social security network. In response to the food and nutrition needs of the women the soya bean can be used to improve on the protein and other nutrient needs.

Gender Concerns

Institutions like Police station, CHRAJ and DOVVSU should work to integrate gender discussions into community development work in such a way that it becomes a social norm that is more acceptable to the people. In this way the people would see the way they manage the witchcraft issue as a human security issue
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QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CAMP INMATES

The essence of this questionnaire is to gather adequate information on the topic under study. All information and responses received would be treated with utmost confidentiality.

(A) SOCIO DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Name of camp------------------- Interviewer -----------------------------
Date of Interview --/--/-- Time of Interview -----------------------------
(1) Age-----------------------

(2) Sex M( ) F( )

(3) Level of education
No education ( ) Primary ( ) JSS ( ) SSS ( ) Tertiary ( ) Non -formal ( )

(4) From which community did you come to this camp---------------------------?

(5) Ethnicity------------------

(6) Religion
Moslem ( ) Christian ( ) Traditionalist ( ) Other (Specify) ----------------------------

(7) Marital status
Married ( ) Single ( ) Widowed ( ) Divorced ( )

(8) Occupation before entering the camp
Trading ( ) Farming ( ) Other (specify). .............................................

(9) Number of children 0-4( ), 5-9( ), 10+( )
(10) Any physical deformity (Describe by inspection)

(B) LIFE IN THE CAMP

(11) With whom (relative) do you live in the camp?

(12) Why this relative?

(13) What brought you to this camp?

(14) Who accused you of witchcraft?

(15) Why were you accused?

(16) In your opinion is this accusation true?

(17) How long have you been living in this camp?
0-4 years ( ), 5-9 years ( ), 10-14 ( ), 15+ ( )

(18) How did you come to this camp?

(19) Were you aware of the existence of this camp before you came here?
Yes ( ) No ( )

(20) If married do you consider yourself still married? Yes ( ) No ( ) Don’t know ( )
If yes, how often does your spouse visit you here? Yes ( ) No ( )
(21) Has the accusation against you affected your relationship with your spouse?
Yes ( ) No ( ), Don't Know ( )
If yes how has it affected your relationship? --------------------------------------------------------------
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

(22) How often do your in-laws visit you? ---------------------------------------------------------------
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

(23) How often do your own relations come to visit you here? -----------------------------------------------
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

(24) Has the accusation affected your relationship with some members of your family?
Yes ( ) No ( ) Don’t Know ( )
(25) If yes, in what form has it affected your relationship? --------------------------------------------------
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

(26) What work do you do? ------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

(27) How do you feed yourself?-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

(28) How do you care for your health needs?---------------------------------------------------------------
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

(29) How many heads do have apart from the chief?----------------------------------------------------------
Mention some of them-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
(30) What role do these camp head/s play?

(31) How would you describe your relationship with your family head?
Very cordial ( ) Cordial ( ) Not cordial

(32) Who performs your household chores for you?
(a) Children
(b) Grand children
(c) Other relations

(33) Why this particular individual and not any other person?

(34) If minor, does such a person go to school Yes ( ) No ( )
If no why?

(35) What about your relationship with the chief?
Very cordial ( ) Cordial ( ) Not cordial
If not cordial what is the problem

(36) Do you know of any of your inmates who have gone home?
Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, do you hear of them? Yes ( ) No ( )
(37) Do they come to visit when they leave the camp? Yes ( ) No ( )
Have you any idea how they are faring back in their communities? -----------------------------
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                                                                                                                                                      
(38) Do you want to be released?
If yes, when would you like to be released? -----------------------------------------------
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Would you like to go back home when released? Yes ( ) No ( ) Undecided ( )
If no, what are your reasons? ________________________________________________________________
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

(39) Mention some of the problems you are facing in this camp? -----------------------------
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(40) Have got anything to say about your self, your predicament and the camp----------------
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QUESTIONNAIRE FOR COMMUNITY OF ORIGIN OF ACCUSED WITCHES

Name of community---------------------------------------------------------------

Interviewer ------------------------------------------------------------------------

Date of Interview --/--/-- Time of Interview ------/--/--

Personal Characteristics

(1) Age-----------------

(2) Sex---------------

(3) Education ----No education ( ) Primary ( ) JSS ( ) SSS ( ) Tertiary ( )

(4) Ethnicity---------------------------------------------------------------

(5) Religion
Moslem ( ) Christian ( ) Traditionalist ( )

(6) Marital status
 Married ( ) Single ( ) Widowed ( ) Divorced ( )

(7) Occupation- Trading ( ) Agric ( ) Other ( )
Views on Re-Integration

(8) What are some of the problems in this community?

(9) Is witchcraft a problem here? Yes ( ) No ( )

(10) Which category is most prone to witchcraft accusations?
Children ( ), Young Men ( ), Young Women ( ), Old men ( ), Old women ( )

(11) Have you any reasons why this category are the most accused of witchcraft?

(12) Can you identify a witch when you find one? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes how?

(13) What happens to those accused of witchcraft?

(14) Are you aware of witches’ camps? Yes ( ) No ( )

(15) How many of these witches’ camps do you know of?
(16) Do you know of any accused witch sent to the camp? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, how long has the person been there? -------------------------------------------------------------

(17) Do you have any family member or friend at the camp? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, has his/her accusation affected your relationship? -------------------------------------------------------------

(18) Why do you think these accused are sent to the witches’ camps? -----------------------------------------
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

(19) Do you visit the witches’ camp? Yes ( ) No ( )
why? -------------------------------------------------------------
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Can an accused witch return to this community? Yes ( ) No ( )
And if no, why? -------------------------------------------------------------
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

(20) If yes have some of the accused witches ever returned to this community? Yes ( )
No ( ) Don’t Know ( )

(21) Are these accused easily accepted back into the community? Yes ( ) No ( )
If no, provide reasons -------------------------------------------------------------
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

(22) Do people interact with them on return do? Yes ( ) No ( )
If no, why? 

(23) Do you generally relate with accused witches in this community? Yes ( ) No ( )
If no, what are your reasons?

(24) Are you in support of re-integrating the accused? Yes ( ) No ( ) Undecided ( )

(25) Are you aware some accused return to the witch-camp? Yes ( ) No ( )

(26) In your view what do you think are some of the reasons why they return to the camp? 

(27) In your view how should re-integration exercise be conducted to prevent people from being chased back to the witches’ camps?

(28) What do you think can be done here to prevent other people from being sent to the witches’ camp?
(29) Do you believe all accused are guilty? Yes ( ) No ( ) can’t tell ( )

(30) What can be done to prevent people from being accused of witchcraft? ----------------

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QUESTIONNAIRE FOR INSTITUTIONS WORKING WITH THE CAMPS

Name of Institution---------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Position of respondent---------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Date--/--/----. Interviewer Number-----------------------

(1) What kind of support do you provide? ---------------------------------------------------------

(2) How long has this organization been working here------------------------------------

(3) Why working in this area-------------------------------------------------------------------------

(4) Are you involved in reintegration Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes what specific role do you play in reintegration? -------------------------------------------

(5) How many accused have you settled so far? --------------------------------------------

(6) Are your activities limited to only this camp? Yes ( ) No ( )
If no, which other witch camps do you provide help? -------------------------------------------

(7) What are the protocols involved in the reintegration process? -----------------------------
(8) Which parties are involved in the reintegration process?

(9) What are some of the problems you face in the reintegration process?

(10) What problems do you face in your activities with the witch camp?

(11) What are the success stories in your activities here in the camp?
QUESTIONS FOR FIDA, CHRAJ, MOWAC AND SOME SECURITY AGENCIES

Name of Institution ---------------------------------------------------------------

(1) Are you aware of the witches’ camps in Northern Region? Yes ( ) No ( )

(2) What is your position on the witches’ camp? ----------------------------------------

(3) What has your institution done to help solve the problem? -------------------------

(4) What more can you do to help these people in the camp? ----------------------------

(5) Are you in support of the reintegration exercise? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, what are your reasons? ------------------------------------------------------
If no, provide reasons---------------------------------------------------------------

(6) In your view how re-integration exercised should be conducted to prevent people being chased back? -----------------------------------------------

(7) Have you heard that some are chased back to the camp when sent home?
Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, what do you think are some of the reasons why they are chased back-----------------

(8) What do you think should be done to prevent these accused being chased back? ------

Recommendation

(9) Should the witch's camps be maintained? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, give reasons-----------------------------------------------
If no, give reasons-----------------------------------------------

(10) What should be done to prevent more people being brought to the witch camp?-------

Thanks so much for your participation in this exercise.
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE TRADITIONAL COUNCIL

Name of Traditional Council---------------------- Time of interview---------------------

Date of interview---------------------- Title of interviewee---------------------

(1) How many witches’ camps are in the Northern region?  -----------

(2) How many witches’ camps are located in the Traditional council?  -----------

(3) Is the traditional council aware of some institutions working with the witches’ camp? Yes ( ) No ( )

(4) If yes, which institutions are working with the witches camp?-----------------------------

(5) Has traditional council ever offered any support to the witches’ camp? Yes ( ) No ( )

(6) If yes when was this done and what kind of support was offered?
       (i)------------------------------------------------------------------
       (ii)------------------------------------------------------------------
(7) If no, any reasons why the traditional council has not supported the witches' camp?

(8) Are you aware of some of the problems faced by the witches' camp?
Yes ( ) No ( )

(9) If yes can you mention some problems faced at the witches camp?

(10) How did your office gather information about the problems at the witches camp?
(11) Has the traditional council ever had any plans in the past for the witches' camp? Yes ( ) No ( )

(12) If yes what were the plans...

(12) Did the Traditional council at any point in time execute these plans? Yes ( ) No ( )

(13) If yes what was done and when was it done?...

(14) Do you currently have any plans for the witches' camp? Yes ( ) No ( )

(15) If yes, what are the plans of the Traditional council for the witches' camp?
(i)...

(ii)...

(iii)....
(16) Is the Traditional council in support of reintegration of the accused witches back to their communities? Yes ( ) No ( )

(17) If yes what support can the Traditional council offer to achieve reintegration of accused back to their communities?

(i) 
(ii) 
(iii) 
(iv) 

(18) Views and Comments
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE CHIEFS AND IDENTIFIED KEY INFORMANTS

A- Why was the Camp established?

B- When was it established?

C- Population by sex

(1) How do these women come here?

(2) Who takes care of their stay here?

(3) Do they have to pay for their stay here? Yes ( ) No ( )

(4) Do you get any support from anywhere in running the camp? Yes ( ) No ( )

If yes, what form of support do you get?

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(5) What are the criteria for determining a witch?

(6) Would you say each individual here is guilty? Yes ( ) No ( )
If no, why are they also put here?

(7) Are some discharged home? Yes ( ) No ( )

(8) What are the criteria for discharging an accused?

(9) What are the processes involved in discharging an accused?

(10) How many are discharged so far?

(11) Where are they?

(12) How many have returned?
(13) Apart from the rites you perform, what else do you do to ensure they are accepted back in the community?

(14) Is it true some are chased back to the camp when sent home? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, what are some of the reasons why they are chased back?

(15) What do you think should be done to prevent these accused being chased back?

(16) Are you in support of the reintegration exercise? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, what are you reasons?
If no, provide reasons
(17) What are some of the problems you face here? ---------------------------------------------