

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

**A HISTORY OF THE NAWURI VILLAGE OF
BALAI 1900-2000**

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that apart from the quotes and paraphrases, which I have duly acknowledged in this thesis, this work is from my effort carried out at the Institute of African Studies under the Supervision of Dr. Richard Asante.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my late father Kamabukong Brukum whose fatherly care and advice still reigns in memory.



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TERMINOLOGIES

Alfai: the name used to refer to the Nawuri Traditional Area by the migrant Gonja

Ayaforli: Youth

Ayaforli Eblisa: Youth leader

Ewura: refers to a chief

Ewureche: Female chief or women's leader

Eblisa: Elder

Ekpanpu: Hunter

Kakpan: Hunting

Kibii: hill/mountain

Ebun: River

Ekaator: Boundary

Ai: Home

Tutukpeni: Vain hunting

Misaawu: My in-law is dead

Kiwareware: A special ritual food prepared by a daughter in-law before the burial of a father in-law among the Nawuris of Balai

Kigbiriwura/Eseipu: Fetish Priest

Kigbelebi: Chain

Nawuri Traditional Area: The Nawuri Traditional Area is used in this thesis to mean land occupied and controlled by Nawuri people whose language is Kinawuri

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ABSTRACT

There exist limited scholarly historical studies on the Nawuris of Northern Ghana. In addition, a few studies made on the Nawuris are limited in scope, have a number of conflicting accounts, and often give different interpretations concerning the socio-cultural and political history of Nawuris. For these reasons, I make a strong case to study the socio-cultural and political changes and continuities that had taken place due to their interaction with the global political economy.

The study employed qualitative and ethnographic methods such as interviews, as well as the phenomenological research approach. It shows that before the Nawuris of Balai settled at their current place, there were no traces of human settlement in the area. Later, other Nawuri groups migrated from Larteh to join them. The study revealed that significant changes have occurred in the Balai village overtime especially in aspects religion, ideology, values, political orientation, way of life among others due to modernity and globalization. Finally, modernity has produced far-reaching socio-cultural implications for the village including identity problems, and use of the Nawuri language by the youth.



CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

Generally, it is believed that in Ghana the adage “everyone comes from a village” including those born and raised in the city is in fact a reality. This adage may however sound less true today than a generation ago, but it captures the roots of families, cultural practices and the type of food consumed in village life. Since villages are seen as sites of cultural connection and continuity, village life is sometimes imagined as less subject to change than city life. This idea influenced early studies by anthropologists like Rattray (1927, 1929) who sought out “greybeards” in “remote villages” to learn about “a world... of pristine customs and traditions” (McCaskie 1983:189).

Recent studies however shows that village life have long been shaped by changes in the global political economy and that village communities have been undergoing a change in religion, ideology, values, political orientation, way of life, etc. Village communities have become like any other component of the Ghanaian society. From a civilizational perspective, Sinha (1958) tries to demonstrate the changes taking place among the tribes of peninsular India. He noted that the tribal society had moved from a non-stratified and homogeneous society marked by some degree of disconnections with the Great tradition, and possessing a value system of equality, closeness of human, natural and supernatural world to a stratified category based on hierarchical ordering and gaining greater geographical connectivity.

On the religious front, Sarpong (1974) and Abotchie (2008) examined the religious beliefs of some Ghanaian villages and found significant changes in the religious beliefs in some villages. They demonstrated how some Ghanaian villages have moved from their traditional religious practices to the adoption of Christianity or Islam.

Among the traditional areas in the Northern Region, the Nawuri are among the few traditional areas where little has been written about when it comes to historical accounts. Apart from the Nawuris and Nchumurus, all the other traditional areas of the northern region exhibits some common characteristics when it comes to socio-cultural and political systems.

There are therefore differences in many fronts between the Nawuris and the ethnic groups of Northern Ghana, which make it curious to study the Nawuris to uncover the true socio-cultural and the political history in terms of the changes and continuities and the impact of global political economy in Nawuri land. It is in the light of limited scholarly historical studies on the Nawuris and their distinct socio-cultural and political system that this thesis seeks to look into the socio-cultural and political changes and continuities that has taken place overtime.

1.1 Statement of Problem

The Nawuris of northern region of Ghana have a distinct history. While all the other traditional areas in the north have a common feature of chieftaincy, which is based on the promotion system (N. J. K. Brukum, 2004), the Nawuri is the only ethnic group in the north where the position of Nawuriwura rotates among all the villages of the area (N. J. K. Brukum, 2004). Furthermore, the Nawuris did not have kingdoms among the traditional areas of the north. Despite these distinct and striking differences between the Nawuris and the other tribes of the north, the existing studies concentrated on the relationship between Nawuris and other traditional areas such as the Gonjas (Mbowura, 2014) or specific historical account on a particular tradition of the Nawuris (Awubomu, 2010). Although a few of the existing studies provided some insight into the history of the Nawuri people, they failed to do a systematic study of the socio-cultural and political history of the

Nawuris. Worse yet, the studies often gave conflicting and different interpretations of the history of the Nawuri people, which raises the question of validity and reliability of such works. It in this context that this study seeks to fill up the lacuna by focusing on the history of the Nawuri people, one of the major non-centralized groups in northern Ghana whose histories tend to be submerged in the histories of the centralized and dominant groups.

1.2 Main Objective

The main objective of the study was to investigate the history of the Nawuri village of Balai.

The specific objectives are to:

- i. Examine the socio-cultural and political history of Balai village
- ii. Analyze changes and continuities in Balai village
- iii. Examine the impact of western influence on Balai village

1.3 Research questions

- i. What is the history of the Balai village?
- ii. What have been the changes and continuities in Balai village?
- iii. What has been the impact of western (global) influence on Balai village?

1.4 Significance of the Study

The period 1900-2000, is significant in the study because it marks the period of colonial rule in Africa including Ghana. Thus, in examining the history in terms of continuity and change among the Nawuris, it is important to use this period, as it is the period that the Nawuris had political alliances and at the same time affected by colonial rule under Gonja mandate. The study will also help to understand the history of the Nawuris in terms of the socio-cultural and political changes and continuities. The study will further show the

extent to which Balai village had long been shaped by changes in the global economy. Finally, the results of the study will serve as a reference point for future studies on the history of Balai village in Nawuri land.

1.5 Methodology

According to Kotler and Armstrong (2006), methodology refers to the theoretical analysis of the method appropriate to the field of study or the body of the methods and principles to the branch of knowledge. It therefore presents an overview of the methods and approaches employed to collect empirical data and the rationale behind the usage of these approaches. In this study, issues considered under the methodology are the research design, study population, sampling procedure employed, sample size for the study, data sources, data collection instruments, data collection procedure as well as data processing and analysis.

1.5.1 Research Design

The study employed a qualitative design and ethnographic methods such as interviews, which assisted the researcher to obtain information from people who have knowledge on the village as well as its people. This approach enabled the researcher to analyze and interpret findings, not only from the insiders' perspective but also from those of the outsiders. This was meant to ensure a balanced analysis and a reliable conclusion.

The phenomenological research approach is also appropriate to the aims of the study, which among others, is to explore and understand the lived experiences in terms of the effect of globalization on the local population. Phenomenology aims to gain a deeper understanding of the nature and meaning of our everyday experiences. The phenomenological approach will allow participants, through in-depth interviews, to elicit

their own meaning of their experience of the effect of globalization on the economic, social and political activities in the village. Phenomenology aims to describe a person's lived experiences (phenomena) in an attempt to enrich lived experience by drawing out its meaning (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002).

Streubert & Carpenter (2003) have indicated that in addition to the general advantages of qualitative research, phenomenology has the following advantages. Firstly, it is a highly appropriate approach to researching human experience. Secondly, as a research method, it is a rigorous, critical and systematic investigation of phenomena. In the light of the above, the researcher considered phenomenology the best method and approach in this study.

In addition, I chose because the researcher wants to develop a rich or dense description of experiences. In this study, the researcher adopted a special strategy used in phenomenology known as bracketing in order to hold assumptions and presuppositions in suspension to improve the rigour of the research (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002).

With this the researcher is in a position to explore personal assumptions and preconceptions in order to set them aside or keep them in suspension, rather than conceal them, so that they do not interfere with the information given by the participants. The bracketing process is crucial throughout the research process, especially during data analysis. Bracketing requires the researcher to remain neutral with respect to belief or disbelief in the existence of the phenomenon (Streubert & Carpenter, 2003).

1.5.2 Sources of Data

The study employed both primary and secondary methods in collecting data for the research. The primary sources involved archival sources and interviews conducted to collect information on the history and people of the community. The secondary data comprised related literature on the study.

1.5.3 Primary Sources

Primary sources of information came from interviews, informal discussions, and observations. Interviews were conducted using focus group discussions comprising the leaders and elders, the youth, and the women of the community. This was to enhance understanding on the various strata of community life and the changes over time.

The researcher made personal trips to the study area to conduct interviews to elicit both oral and historical data needed for the study. These trips made enabled the researcher to meet and interact with the members of the community and other non-members. In addition, the researcher used the observation method to observe the social and economic life of the people.

A limitation of the oral sources was the lack of chronological presentation of facts on the part of respondents, feedback given and inconsistencies. It therefore required a prolonged period of field studies, restructuring the information obtained through interviews in a chronological order and ensuring that information obtained from the field flowed in a sequence. The choice of primary data gave the researcher a first hand and accurate account, which other scholars have not altered. The primary method also gave the researcher a complete control of the research process and helped the researcher to streamline the research as far as the research objectives and scope is concerned. Furthermore, the primary method was chosen because the researcher wants to interpret the raw data based on the needs of the study rather than relying on the interpretations from secondary sources.

The thesis also relied on archival material, which gave the researcher some insights on the topic. The researcher visited the Public Records and Archive Administration Department (PRAAD) in Tamale and in Accra. The archival material that was obtained from PRAAD was added to the information obtained through interviews. This validated the information

obtained through oral sources. The Tamale archive was selected because the study was based in the Northern Region and the Accra archives was selected to address missing information that was not available in the Tamale Archives. The use of archival data was necessary because they supplemented the secondary and oral information obtained which gave further insights and chronology to the historical accounts on the political history of the people.

A limitation of the archival source was the difficulty to retrieve some vital documents needed for the study while some files were difficult to trace because of wrong filing and inefficient record keeping. Such files include PRAAD Accra, ADM 56/1/240, Salaga Native Affairs, 1913-1931. PRAAD, Accra, ADM 56/1/234, Letter from the Provincial Commissioner, Southern Province to the Acting Chief Commissioner dated 17th August 1925. PRAAD, Accra, ADM 56/1/413, Annual Reports of the Gonja District, 1904-1905, PRAAD, Tamale, NRG8/2/210 Nawuri and Najeros (NTS) under United Nations Trusteeship, 1951-1954 and PRAAD Tamale, NRG8/2/211, Enquiry Regarding the Claims of the Nawuri and the Nchumuru, 1954-1957.

1.5.4 Secondary sources

The researcher also reviewed some written sources relating to the field of study. As a topic, Balai as a community has not been adequately researched; as such, it was rare to have books that dealt with the community. However, some articles and draft papers discussed some of the activities in Balai. The secondary sources helped the researcher in his analysis of the data collected on the field.

A limitation of using the secondary sources is the possibility of authors becoming bias in the presentation of information, which often do not convey the true information about the Nawuri people. The major reason for using secondary data was to supplement the primary

data. Secondly, secondary data were used because they are cheaper and more quickly obtainable than the primary data and may be available when primary data cannot be obtained at all. The secondary sources of data used in this study include published books, unpublished books, articles and journals.

1.5.5 Sample Size and Technique

Purposive sampling technique was employed to select a sample size of thirty (31) people for the study. Twenty-five of them were from the Nawuri settlement of Balai in the Northern Region. Out of the twenty-five, five members were selected from each of the five nbuno (clans) including Akosi, Anwulachina, Wurai, Whintimai and Chaaga. Interviews were also conducted with focus groups consisting of chiefs and elders, the youth and the women in Balai.

Beside these groups, other Nawuri chiefs in the Nawuri area such as the Nkanchina, Kpandai, Kateijali, Blajai and Kitare as well as other ethnic groups like the Kotokoli, Konkonba and Basare were interviewed. The focus group of chiefs and elders of the Balai village gave a detailed knowledge about the settlement, the people, their culture and traditions. The purposive sampling technique ensured that some specific information needed for the study was sourced from the key members of the community who have relevant information about the community. In all 31 respondents were interviewed.

1.5.6 Methods of Data Collection

The study employed focus group discussions, in-depth interviews and observation methods, to collect data in order to acquire first-hand information about the settlement and its people. With reference to focus groups, the chiefs and elders of the various clans of Balai were interviewed. The youth and women of the various clans were also interviewed.

The researcher ensured that the discussion remained within the broad scope of the research topic. One of the advantages associated with the focus group discussion is that it often develops its own dynamics. It also requires little interference of the researcher. With this method, some outcomes not expected by the researcher were obtained in the process.

In addition, group members motivated one another in terms of the discussion and that generated a series of ideas which the researcher could have skipped or might not have considered important for the study. A disadvantage of the focus group discussion was the little opportunity to ask many questions for detailed information within limited time. This is because the method allows free expressions of views, counter-opinions and arguments that took much of the interview time, unlike one-to-one interviews permitted.

Individual meetings were scheduled with the major informants such as Nana Obenpeh, Nana Sei, Nana Sami, and Nana Abadei among others in order to interact orally with them. Interviews were conducted in the Native language to assist the members to communicate freely with the researcher. This enabled the researcher to obtain detailed information from such key informants about the opinions, knowledge and personal experiences on the research problem and the objectives of the study.

Thus, the in-depth interviews granted the researcher the ability to investigate, probe and to seek clarity of thoughts, ideas, and facts concerning the village, the people and their land as well as the changes overtime in some of the customs and traditions of the people. The in-depth interviews enabled the researcher to pose questions in any order he considered appropriate. This method was relevant because it allowed for flexibility in terms of both sequence and the structure of questions. It also enabled the researcher to ask follow-up questions and the respondents had the chance to express themselves in any direction they deem appropriate. During the interview process, the researcher recorded the

responses with a tape recorder. Follow-up interviews were occasionally employed to seek further explanations on precise issues. The recorded interviews were played later and transcribed into written texts, which aided the analysis.

Apart from interviews, I employed the observation method by attending various political and social gatherings and other cultural performances in the community. Observation approach allowed me to observe the cultural processes and later sought clarifications on such socio-cultural issues. This helped me to acquire firsthand information about the real practices and the significance of traditional performances of the village.

1.5.7 Instrument for Data Collection

The major instrument that was used to source information was the interview guide. It contained designed questions under various sub-themes organized in a systematic and sequential order about Balai Nawuris. This ensured easy data collection on the themes under investigation as well as recorded responses in a standardized flair. The questionnaire was therefore categorized into broad sub-sections; each section explored a major theme. The first part interrogates the origin and the peopling of the settlement.

The second part dealt with the religion and political leadership of the people and the changes overtime. The third sub-theme explored social, economic and political activities of the people as well as issues of continuity and change. The last section was on the effects of globalization on the way of life of the people. To date, there are different approaches that have been used to assess the effects of globalization on the lives of people. Many studies provide a very narrow assessment of the effects of globalization, while ignoring its other dimensions. This is problematic in that a single dimension cannot be a sufficient indicator of a complex multidimensional phenomenon.

Globalization is a complex concept and for that reason, its economic, political and socio-cultural dimensions were examined. Just as it is difficult to describe globalization in a single sentence, studying a single dimension such as its economic dimension simply cannot encapsulate the effects of globalization on the people in rural areas. For this reason, the interview guide was designed to explore the economic, political and socio-cultural dimensions in the course of the interviews. The interview guide permitted the researcher to ask the interviewees the same questions. It also assisted the researcher to cover all the broad themes of the study and maintained the interview in focus.

The instrument with its open-ended nature aided me to take signals and incorporate questions I did not plan to ask. Besides, the open-ended questions were posed to give respondents the opportunity to express themselves in their own words, thoughts, opinions and impressions about the problem under study. This facilitated the inclusion of relevant responses that initially were not incorporated in the interview guide. In the course of the study, I used field notebooks, pen and pencil to document the information I obtained from the respondents and the observations made.

1.5.8 Ethical Considerations

Since the issue of informed consent constitutes a significant part in social research, research subjects were informed about the objective of the study. Respondents were made aware of the nature of the research project and its purposes.

I seek their consent to tape record some of the socio-cultural performances of the people. Involvement in the study was based on respondents' willingness to participate. Interviewees were offered the opportunity to opt out from the study at any time they deemed necessary. The researcher assured respondents of anonymity relating to some information they deemed secret and which when made known to the public might be

detrimental. I equally ensured that the dignity of respondents was respected. In this light, the respondents were made aware of the ways in which the research will help them, the community, the entire Nawuri society and the Nation at large. The research subjects were reassured that the information they would provide in the process of the research would be made available to them any time they requested for it.

1.6 Limitations and Delimitation of the Study

A few days into the research, a chieftaincy dispute erupted in Balai. Even though, it did not lead to open warfare, it nonetheless has poisoned the research environment. As a result, some respondents concealed some vital information, relevant for the researcher. For this reason I vigilantly sought information from the members, whom I deemed ready to contribute towards the success of the study. Information was also sought from other Nawuri communities to confirm the authenticity or otherwise of the information taken from the community of study. There are many Nawuri communities in the Nawuri area, which equally have no written histories. However, due to insufficient funding, the study concentrated solely on the Nawuri settlement of Balai in Northern Ghana.

1.7 Duration of the Study

The yearlong study lasted from July 2014 to July 2015. This period of study granted the researcher some time to collect the data needed for the study and to observe certain changes especially in the traditional political setting of the community. The study duration was also adequate for data analysis and then the write-up of the research. It granted the researcher enough time to conduct follow-up interviews for further explanations and observation

1.8 Organization of the Study

This thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter one consists of the introduction, the statement of the problem, the objectives and research questions, the significance of the study organization of the study and the research methodology which includes the research design, study population, sampling procedure employed, sample size for the study, data sources, data collection instruments, data collection procedures as well as data processing and analysis.

Chapter one also considered reviews of various literatures. In this vein, the works of various authors related to the study are examined. Chapter two discussed the origin, migration and the early history of the Balai people. It also examined the geography and clan formation of the Balai. Chapter two also highlights the dominant discourses in Balai regarding aboriginality, autonomy and settlers.

In chapter three, indigenous religion and traditional politics of Balai people are discussed. The chapter also discussed the interconnectedness between the indigenous religions and traditional politics. The fourth chapter focused on the socio-cultural and economic systems of the people. In this chapter the economic organization, marriage, birth rites, death rites and some festivals of Balai people are discussed.

Chapter five focused on the impact of globalization on the Nawuri people as well as the changes and the continuities that had occurred under the period of study. Chapter six summarized and concluded the study. In this chapter all the chapters are summarized and conclusions were made based on the findings of the study.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

The study is based on the *cultural imperialism theory*. Herbert Schiller (1976) postulated the cultural imperialism theory. The theory focuses on the cultural aspects of imperialism. That is, the creation and maintenance of unequal relationships between civilizations when they come in contact, thereby favouring the more powerful civilization. The term cultural imperialism emerged in the 1960s and it is based on the conquest and control of a nation's culture by a more powerful nation. Cultural imperialism theory suggests that ideas, worldviews and cultures of the more powerful nation, in this case the western nations, dominate the media around the world through the tool of globalization which has a great influence on the third world nations (Herbert Schiller, 1976). This has dire consequences on the continued survival of the cultures in most developing countries of the world as westernized cultures, views and ideas are imposed on them thereby destroying native or indigenous cultures.

In addition, Alexandra (2003) described cultural imperialism as the practice of promoting a more powerful culture over a least known or desirable culture. It is usually the case that the former belongs to a large, economically or militarily powerful nations and the latter belongs to a smaller, less powerful one (Alexandra, 2003). Cultural imperialism can take the form of an active, formal policy or a general attitude. The modus operandi of cultural imperialism can be likened to a form of colonization in that, the cultural product of the developed country invades the developing countries and overwhelm the indigenous cultures of these countries (Alexandra, 2003).

Bello & Adesemoye (2012) submitted that based on the assumption of the cultural imperialism theory, humans do not have the free will to choose how they feel, act, think and live. Therefore when cultures come in contact through whatever medium-the internet, television, music, technology or religion and the culture of the western world imposes

itself on the cultures of the third world countries, such influences question some of the fundamental beliefs of the indigenous cultures and the way of life of the people.

Other studies (Rauschenberger, 2003; Hamm, 2005) have traced the emergence of cultural imperialism in historical perspective. They contend that cultural imperialism emerged in the post-World War II period under various names including neo-colonialism, soft imperialism,” and “economic imperialism.” (Rauschenberger, 2003; Hamm, 2005). Over the years, it has gained numerous other labels such as media imperialism, structural imperialism, cultural dependency and synchronization, electronic colonialism, ideological imperialism and communication imperialism (Rauschenberger, 2003; Hamm, 2005). Such theories describing cultural imperialism emerged in the 1960s and gained prominence by the 1970s. Such research encouraged the establishment of international organizations such as UNESCO, designed to research and monitor global information flows (Rauschenberger, 2003; Hamm, 2005).

In addition, Schiller (1976) described cultural imperialism as the sum of the processes by which a society is brought into the modern system, and how its cultures or value systems are attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes bribed into reshaping or changing its orientation to conform to or even promote the values and structures of the dominant center of the system. According to Barker (2004), there are three central difficulties with the cultural imperialism thesis under contemporary conditions. First, it is no longer the case, if it ever was, that the global flows of cultural discourses are constituted as one-way traffic. Second, in so far as the predominant flow of cultural discourse remains from West to East and North to South, this is not necessarily a form of domination. Third, it is unclear that the current period of globalization represents a simple process of homogenization since the forces of fragmentation and hybridity are equally strong.

The influence of globalization is fast redefining conventional traditional views and beliefs. Traditional and cultural worldviews concerning political and economic power relations, kinship ties, virginity, sex, gender and marriage are fast changing due to the cultural erosion occasioned by the embrace of globalization (Barker, 2004). Traditional societies are seriously going through transformation from what it used to be in the past (Barker, 2004).

Udoakah (2014) has noted that this is often attributed to the effects of globalization as dictated by the internet, industrialization, education, exposure and enculturation through importation of various western films and foreign cultures which were alien to these indigenous cultures in particular and Africa as a whole. The study was, therefore, anchored on the cultural imperialism theory because the theory offered a useful framework for explaining the effects of globalization on the way of life of the people of Balai.

Despite the prevalence of the term, the idea of cultural imperialism is not without its detractors. Critics such as Dunch (2002) Krishnaswamy (2002) and Bello (2010), are of the view that the concept assumes that human beings lack free will, painting human beings as mindlessly assimilating what they absorb through media without retaining their own personal frame of reference. Other critics such as Barker (2002) note that while economic aspects of cultural imperialism can be concretely measured, the cultural component is subjective and difficult or impossible to quantify. For instance Barker (2002) expressed fragmentation and multi-polarity of cultural expression, living experiences and subjectivities. He noted that cultural imperialism suggests that cultures are somehow pure and fails to account for processes of hybridity, evolution, and dialogue among cultures. Despite the weaknesses, the theory is relevant to this study for a number of reasons. First, it helps us to appreciate and understand the changes and continuities in the cultural and

traditional practices of the people of Balai. Yet still the theory offers a useful framework for explaining the effects of globalization on the way of life of the people of Balai

1.10 Literature Review

Introduction

This literature review examines the various research works on the topic. This will help in evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of other researches on the topic. This is important as it lays the foundation for detailed discussions about the Balai Nawuris. Generally, it was very difficult to come by any detailed literature on the Nawuri. Most especially, literature on Balai has been very scanty. The migration history and settlement pattern of the Nawuri people have taken different explanations from scholars. For example, J. A. Braimah and J. Goody (1967), Awedoba (2009), Maasole (2006), Mbowura (2002 and 2014), Tamakloe (1931), and Mpene (1986) have all given different perspectives on Balai and the Nawuris. This review thus focuses on the theoretical perspective as well as the origin, religion and social history of the Nawuris.

1.10.1 The origin of the Nawuri people

The origin, migration and occupation of the Nawuris to their current place have generated a heated debate among scholars. Scholars have therefore given various accounts about the origins of the Nawuri people. Ntewusu (2007) notes that Nawuris are part of the larger Guan group in Ghana. Guans are believed to be the first settlers in modern day Ghana. They are scattered across eight of the ten regions in Ghana namely, Greater Accra Region, Volta Region, Central Region, Eastern Region, Northern Region, Upper East Region, Upper West Region and Brong Ahafo Region.

Guans speak distinct languages, which are different from the major languages in Ghana. However, major languages in Ghana, depending on where a particular Guan group is located, influence some of these Guan languages. Guans in the Volta Region include Kraakye/Krachi, Akpafu/Lolobi, Buem, Nkonya, Likpe, Logba and Anum-Boso (Ntewusu 2007).

In the central region, we have the Effutu, Awutu and Senya in Winneba and Bawjiase areas. There are Larteh and Kyerepong in the Eastern region. The Gonja, Nawuri, Nchumburu and Mpre people in the Northern and Brong Ahafo regions. Some indigenes of Kpeshie in Greater Accra also claim Guan ancestry Ntewusu (2007). Ntewusu further noted that the Nawuris are concentrated in present day Northern Region, where they have Balai, Bladjai, Kabonwuli, Katiejeli, Kitari, Kpandai, Nkanchina, Awuratu, Tampoai, and Gyiman as their settlements. There are Nawuris also in the Volta Region and can be found in a town called Njari. The Nawuri are predominantly farmers, hunters and fishermen (Ntewusu 2007). Briamah and Goody (1967: 2) noted that the Nawuri who now occupy the Kpandai area were brought there by the Gonjas.

Dixon (1955) presents two origins of the Nawuri people. In the first instance, he presents a distinct view from that of Braimah and Goody (1967) and sees the Nawuris as originating from Techiman in present day Brong-Ahafo Region. He asserts, “The Nawuri of Katiejeli originated from Techiman together with the Kalandi and Kablima sections of the Gonja that came directly under the Kpembiwura and Yagbonwura respectively.

In the second instance, Dixon (1955) agreed with the view of Braimah and Goody and noted “Dodoai Nawuri came from Kafaba in the Gonja state”. Dixon stated the Konkomba who were driven out by Jakpa inhabited Dodoai. He notes further that, there is an exchange of burial customs between the people of Kafaba and that of Dodoai. This view Nawuri of

origin is very questionable, as one cannot conclude that for the fact that sections of Nawuris come from Techiman and Kafaba means that Nawuris are a part of Gonja or a part of the Brong-Ahafo. Linguistically, Katiejeli people speak Nawuri while those of Techiman speak Twi, which indicates a sharp linguistic variation. These are two distinct languages with no mutual intelligibility even though they are of the same language family. The relationship that exists between these groups might have developed out of trade ties or inter-marriages and not originating from there.

In his report, Dixon indicates how Balai Nawuris came from the sky using metal chains as transport mediums to reach the earth. This story has been confirmed by interviews with oral historians in Balai. It is the information from Braimah and Goody that was combined with archival and oral interviews to write chapter two of this thesis. Maasole (2006: 54) identified three traditional accounts of origin of the Nawuri people. In the first place, he notes that Nawuri came from Bowiri or Bawiri in La Cote D'Ivoire and were led by a man who bore the title of "Kasaawura". The Nawuri were hunters and farmers. Their land was fertile and there was plentiful game in the environment. He added that the Nawuri were however much more inclined to be hunters than eking out a living from the soil.

Maasole (2006) gave another narrative, which explains that the Nawuri came from Larteh in Akuapem in southern Ghana. They were in Larteh with other Guan groups before they departed from there to other places. Several reasons have been given to explain their departure from Larteh. Maasole (2006) notes "the Nawuri might have left Larteh probably because of population explosion".

Maasole (2006) states that their departure might have also been prompted by the occurrence of ethnic conflicts in Larteh. From their occupation as hunters, one may also explain that they are always on constant move in search for places where they can get

game. That means they could not have settled at a permanent place but rather had to make temporary settlements. Nevertheless, during their stay there, they may have been neighbours and may have shared borders with people such as the Nkonya, Chiripong and Anum.

It seems that during their migrations to the north from Akwapem area, Nawuri sojourned at other places before they finally decided to settle in present-day Nawuriland. It is important to note that their neighbours such as the Nkonya and Anum also left Akwapem. The Nawuri were said to have been led out of Larteh under the leadership of one Awula Koronpaw. He was said to have led his people in a westward direction, and from there, they continued to a point known as Nkombi in the present-day Brong-Ahafo region.

It appears that the Nawuris were constantly on the move, from there it is believed that they found their way northwards to Krachi and settled in places such as Ahenkro and Tariaso. They crossed the Oti at Dambai. From there they found their way to the present day Nawuri area Maasole's third account states, "The Nawuri evolved at a place in the Northern Region known as Balae (Balai). It was believed that at that place the Nawuri descended from heaven through a chain.

Later, there was contact between those Nawuris who came from Akwapem and those who descended from heaven along a chain at Balai. The Gonja assert that their invading army cut the chain mid-air to facilitate the descent of the Nawuri. This very chain is today in the custody of the fetish priest at Balai and is venerated annually during their yam festival" (Maasole, 2006: 54-55). This third source of origin is very important to the current study as it reveals to some extent the origin of one of the indigenous clans of Balai-the village under study.

The challenge with this point is the cutting of the chain, as that point of view seems to contradict Nawuri oral tradition. Nawuri oral tradition relates that a hunter of the Kabiso Clan of Balai shot and cut the chain. A detailed discussion about the Balai clan and the chain is provided later in this work. The work of Masole provides more insights, which has been incorporated in my discussion of the religious and political history of Balai.

Mbowura (2004) also gives a brief accounts on the origins of Nawuris. He notes that the Nawuri “as one of the autochthonous cluster of Guan ethnic groups in present-day Ghana, the Nawuri trace their origins to the Afram Plains. From here, they migrated to Larteh Akuapem and sojourned with other Guan groups such as Larteh, Anum, Nkonya, Krachi, Nchumuru, and Achode. He explained further that in about the fourteenth Century the Nawuri migrated from Larteh Akuapem. They moved through Anum, Dwan in present-day Brong Ahafo Region and Otisu in Kete-Krachi territory, and crossed the Oti. They settled in the adjoining lands and founded settlements in present-day Nawuri territory of the Kpandai District in the Northern Region. Some of the settlements founded by the Nawuri are Kpandai, Balai, Nkanchina, Bayim, Dodoai, Katiejeli, Kabonwule, Bladjai, and Kitari”.

Kumah (1965) relates that the Nawuris a guan speaking tribe and members of the Atarah Kingdom fled Wurukpanwura for refuge after Atarah had been vanquished. The refugees were first settled at Nawuri but because of further fears they used to entertain about the Ashantis, they moved eastwards to cross the Volta at Kpajae and to settle at both east and west of Oti River within the Gonja and Krachi Districts. The present towns of Nawuri are Katiejeli, Njale (Njare), Kitale (Kitari), Dodope and Kpandai.

Nawuris are believed to be brave hunters and warriors of the land and its neighbouring areas. Kumah (1965 p.3) documents that “as subject ally to the Krachis they fought and

defeated the Ashanti's at Krupi in Gonja District. The Ashantis who were trying to subjugate them fled at night and crossed at Yeji. To Kumah Nawuris and Atsotes (Achodes) claim to have migrated from Mande near Axim in Western Region. Due to Ashanti invasions on their lands, they have migrated in order to avoid further attacks (Kumah 1969).

1.10.2 The Religious, Economic and social Life of the Nawuris

Ampiah (1991: 6) indicated that the Nawuris are traditional worshipers. Like many Ghanaians, the socio-economic and political life of Nawuris is deeply rooted in their religion called Idakpa (Agbiri) which means gods. He states that Nawuris were known to be allies with the Nchumurus and Krachis. They worshiped Krachi Denteh, the most outstanding god in the area. It is important to note that the worship of Krachi Denteh by these groups is an indication that they have a common history of origin. Even though the Achodes have a very powerful god "Brukun" at Shiari and the Nawuris "Kankpe" located at Balai they still have religious affiliation with the Krachis especially, during annual festivals. Ampiah (1991: 6) further stated that special sacrifices and libation have to be performed before a person is buried. To him, the celebrations of festivals such as Gigyogiyam festival and Ayugi-guinea corn festival have strong linkage to the traditional religious practices of the Nawuri. Barker (1986) relates that the Nawuri, the Krachi and Nchumuru served one deity-the Krachi Denteh. He further postulates that in those days, there were no disputes and the only bond between these people was the Denteh fetish.

According to Barker (1986) Nawuris considered birth and initiation, marriage, death inheritance and festivals as part of their social life. He alludes that older women assist in childbirth and circumcision is done for only boys. Both parents of the partners concerned negotiated marriage and the system of inheritance is patrilineal. Ampene (2003: 153)

postulates that the “Osorewia” (Kasiwura or Esuliwura) headed the social structure of the Nawuri. The significance of the Esuliwura is seen during periods of important occasions such as funerals and festival celebrations. The Nawuri people have several performances that are used to mark certain stages of life.

During these performances, the people display their culture in their songs and dances. In performing their funerals for example, the Nawuri people use a number of songs and dances such as Ekpanchaa, Bayaaa, and Kalee among others to make the process a success. This was clearly captured by Ampiah (1991) when he notes, “traditional dances like Kakpancha and Kaake are performed to perform funerals and to commemorate the dead”. Ampiah’s idea about the Kankpancha dance is very useful to this thesis as it gives insights to funeral performances among the Nawuris of Balai.

The Nawuri people engage in several economic activities including hunting, farming, fishing, and smith work among others. Writing on the economic activities of the Nawuri, Barker (1986: 163) holds the view that: *the main occupation of the Nawuri is farming, hunting, fishing, trading and soap making. As part of their usual activities, the Nawuri scouted their land through hunting.* Historically, the Nawuri engaged in hunting as the major occupation before a transition was made to agriculture, which now dominates the economic life of the Nawuri people. According to Ampene (2003: 154), Nawuris were said to be courageous hunters who prospected their neighbourhood by means of hunting along the basin of River Oti. He further noted that the Nawuri were the first to name the area called “Tutukpine” which is currently occupied by the Adele people one of the Guan groups. The hunting culture of the Nawuri people is illustrated in most of their cultural dances like the “Ekpanchaa”, “Misaawu” popularly known as “Saaru”, and “Enyimawu”. Ampene’s history of the Nawuris is very relevant to the study as it gives an insight into the history of the occupation of the Nawuri people.

1.10.3 Effect of Globalization

This aspect of the literature review focuses on Africa to identify how globalization has influenced Africans. It has been observed that globalization is the process of intensification of economic, political, social and cultural relations across international boundaries aimed at the transcendental homogenization of political and socio-economic theory across the globe. It affects significantly on African states through systematic restructuring of interactive phases among its nations, by breaking down barriers in the areas of culture, commerce, communication and several other fields of endeavor (Ibrahim, 2013).

Many scholars, opinion leaders and political analysts etc. have expressed divergent and dissenting views regarding the effects of globalization on individuals, nations and the world at large. A look at the various interpretations of the term globalization reveals interaction and subsequent integration of the peoples and nations into a common system. If the central idea of globalization is interaction and integration, then globalization as a concept is not new to Africa and the world in general (Yeboah, 2012).

Guillen (2001) has noted that the most popular and controversial debates about globalization has to do with the rise of global culture. Globalization has its own set of cultural attendants, which exercise a profound influence on the life of peoples everywhere. Globalization eclipses or at least subordinates all previous ways of answering need and of dealing with vicissitudes of human life. All other ways of life are diminished and marginalized at a stroke (Jeremy, 2004). Globalization is a declaration of war upon all other cultures and in cultural wars, there is no exemption for civilians; there are no innocent by-standers. It has also been described as a confrontation between global civilization and local cultures.

Accordingly, Yeboah (2012) has stated that many towns, villages and ethnic groups in Ghana and/or Africa have similar or different myths and taboos that regulate their lives. Much as these myths and taboos were needed at some point in our society's development to regulate life. The author further identified threats to traditional cultures as a major effect of globalization. It has been established that a lost language is a lost culture, a lost culture is invaluable knowledge lost. It is lamentable that most Africans, especially Ghanaians from the elite background cannot communicate in their mother tongue. Even at home, most parents of a certain linguistic background do not consider it expedient to communicate with their children in their mother tongues, which should be the first language (L1). It is obvious that such children learn English first from their parents and peers. The reasons assigned to this sudden change of events are that English is valuable, and highly necessary hence, they are well pleased when the children are fluent in it (Yeboah, 2012).

Globalization opens people's lives to other cultures and all their creativity and to the flow of ideas and values. Information and communication technologies have eased interaction among countries and peoples. On the flip side of the coin, as cultures interact, some cultures are being diluted and/or destroyed at the expense of others and negative values are being spread all over the world with relative ease (Yeboah, 2012). Because of the cultural domination from outside that goes with globalization, African countries are rapidly losing their cultural identity and therefore their ability to interact with other cultures on an equal and autonomous basis, borrowing from other cultures only those aspects that meet its requirements and needs (Ibrahim, 2013).

Irrespective of how it is interpreted in the contemporary social and economic theory, globalization undoubtedly produces large effects on contemporary economic trends (Zoran, 2008). Specific impact of globalization on Africa were identified according to Oyejide (1998) in the political sphere, the most important consequence is the erosion of

sovereignty, especially on economic and financial matters, as a result of the imposition of models, strategies and policies of development on African countries by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization. More important is the fact that globalization for most part does not facilitate the establishment of the economic conditions necessary for genuine democracy and good governance to take solid roots and thrives.

Economically, globalization has, on the whole, reinforced the economic marginalization of African economies and their dependence on a few primary goods for which demand and prices are externally determined. The dependence on primary products has accentuated poverty and economic inequality as well as the inability of the vast number of Africans to participate meaningfully in the social and political life of their countries. The scientific and technological forces unleashed by globalization have facilitated the extinction of the indigenous development of technology and distorting patterns of production in Africa (Ibrahim, 2013). Globalization on the whole impacts negatively on the development and consolidation of democratic governance. One form of this is the reduction of the capacity of governments to determine and control events in their countries, and thus their accountability and responsiveness to their people, given the fact that the context, institutions and processes by which these decisions are taken are far from democratic (Ibrahim, 2013).

Globalization introduces anti-developmentalism by declaring the state irrelevant or marginal to the developmental effort. Development strategies and policies that focus on stabilization and privatization, rather than growth, development and poverty eradication, are pushed by external donors, leading to greater poverty and inequality and undermining the ability of the people to participate effectively in the political and social processes in their countries. Welfare and other programs intended to meet the basic needs of the

majority of the population are transferred from governments to non-governmental organizations that begin to replace governments making them to lose the little authority and legitimacy they have (Ibrahim, 2013). By imposing economic specialization based on the needs and interests of external forces and transforming the economies of African countries into series of enslaved economies linked to the outside but with very little linkages among them. Democracy, with its emphasis on tolerance and compromise, can hardly thrive in such an environment (Rodrick 1994).

Further still, Mule (2000) views that the economic specialization imposed on African countries makes rapid and sustainable growth and development impossible, conflicts over the distribution of the limited gains realized from globalization becomes more acute and politicized. Vulnerable groups, such as women, the youth, and rural inhabitants, fare very badly in this contest and are discriminated against. This further erodes the national ethos of solidarity and reciprocity that are essential to successful democracies. Globalization, by insisting on African countries opening their economies to foreign goods and entrepreneurs, limits the ability of African governments to take proactive and conscious measures to facilitate the emergence of an indigenous entrepreneurial class (Mowlana 1998).

From the literature discussed above, it is clear that scholars have given different historical origins of the Nawuri people. Not all have come to a consensus on the origins of the Nawuri people. The history of the individual communities which form the whole especially such indigenous communities like Balai have not been discussed. This study seeks to fill this gap. It will specifically look at the history of Balai an indigenous community in the Nawuri Traditional area. The study will also look at the changes and continuities as well as the impact of globalization on the community.

1.11 Relevance of previous studies

The review of previous studies on the topic was very relevant considering the limited scholarly works on the Nawuri people and the insights these works brings. The literature review also helped the researcher in assessing conflicting interpretations, which provided the researcher a constructively critical sense which was applied in the current study. Previous studies were also relevant to the current study as it gave evidence about how families groups, institutions and how the whole Nawuri society were formed and also gave evidence about how they have evolved while retaining cohesion whiles at the same time serving as a basis for understanding how the Nawuri people have interacted with larger historical change.

One major weakness of previous studies on the topic was that their reliability and validity are open to question and that they did not provide exact information required by the study. Another weakness of previous studies on the topic was that, they failed to give a complete account of the socio-cultural and political history of the Nawuris. Lastly, the scope of issues regarding the origin of the Nawuris addressed by these studies was significantly limited.

1.12 Conclusion

Even though the study deals with a small area the issues to be discussed are have much more relevance especially in the context of national politics, governance etc. Besides, as one of the indigenous communities in the area the history of Balai could help in analyzing issues of continuity and change in the area. Discussions concerning this village are also relevant in the context of socio-economic and political organization of communities in Ghana.

CHAPTER TWO

ORIGIN, MIGRATION AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF BALAI

2.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses Balai and its people. It examines, particularly, their geography and origin. Other themes discussed, include the migration and clan formation of the Nawuri people of Balai. The chapter highlights the dominant discourses in Balai regarding aboriginality and autonomy and settlers.

2.1 The social structure of the Nawuris

Nawuri society consists of a number of villages, as noted earlier and traditionally called Ndi (sing. Kadi). The major ones include; Kpandai, Balai, Kateijeli, Nkanchina, Kitari and Blajai. Tradition has it that Balai is among the villages that have the right of succession to the stool of the paramountcy of Nawuris in Kpandai. Each of these major communities has its own stool and principal clan.

A Nawuri village or town consists essentially of one or more core/minor family groups (or patrilines) called mbuno (sing. kabuno), each of which has a male head and its own residential area, ancestral shrine, land, and inter- and intra-village relationships. Among the Nawuris, as with other Guang-speakers, inheritance of property, position, or religious power is by homogeneous transmission (male to the next oldest male, female to the next oldest female) and occurs within the kabuno (Interview with Kinyimawu Asunki). There are five mbuno in Balai namely; Anwulachina, Akosi, Wurai, Chaaga and Chintimai. The kabuno is the most important social unit in the Nawuri village of Balai. Membership in the village is determined by membership in a kabuno, which includes not only the living but

also, and primarily, the dead. Traditionally, kabuno members are required to live around the ancestral shrine usually located in the kabuno head's house.

The concept of the household (lantor) refers to the location and extension of the kabuno. It is also an assertion by a family that a particular space is under its influence or control. Apart from the household head and other family members who eat and sleep in the house, some eat but do not sleep in the house and others who sleep but do not eat there. This situation is not only a reflection of the ordinary flow of persons for reasons of friendship and relationships, but a result of what might be called a "social osmosis" generated by the kabuno system. Balai traditional practice requires that a married person have his own house. Many villagers begin to consider building their own houses in their early twenties. The first house has minimum of two rooms and is built in one's kabuno area (Interview with kinyimawu Asunki).

The location of the house depends upon the occupational priorities of the owner/builder and other members of his or her household, how much social proximity to the kabuno head, the ancestral shrine, and relatives is required, conformity with traditional norms, and other factors, economic or political. The building of the first house requires the blessing of the kabuno eblisa (family head), who is the embodiment of the powers of the ancestral spirit.

2.3 Balai in focus

Balai a small but famous village is one of the Nawuri communities located in the Nawuri traditional area of Northern Ghana. According to oral tradition, the name Balai is a corruption of two Nawuri words "BALI" - the name of a famous Nawuri Blacksmith and "AI" which means home/house. Thus, Balai means the home/house of Bali. A respondent noted that: *The village shares boundary with Nkanchina at a confluence of the Oti River*

called “Koni” about two (2) kilometres east of Kpandai the District capital. To the north, it shares boundary with a village in Nanumba South District called Lungni. While it shares a boundary with the Nchumuru villages of Kojoboni and Kumdi to the west at “Tanglantor” - where the “Ebun Tanglan” (meaning a wide river) belonging to the Anwulachina clan is located and to the south, it shares boundaries with the Volta Region at Bun-ya (Interview with Sami Anyiabas).

In terms of distance, Balai is approximately 69 kilometers from Salaga and 130 kilometers from Tamale the regional capital. It is 3 kilometers west of Kpandai the District capital. The land is generally characterized by flat plains, which are very fertile for plant growth. Like other areas of Northern Ghana, the vegetation is that of the Guinea-Savannah Woodland. The area is covered with very tall grasses and a variety of trees notable among which are the Dawadawa and Shea nut trees. The village is blessed with a number of streams that run through its lands. They include Lanteh, Kachulindi, Kowa, Tanglan, and Kuja among others. These streams are a great source of water that supports the people in their activities during both the dry and the wet seasons.

For example, during the raining season, the people of Balai fish in these rivers and during both the dry and wet seasons, they are a source of drinking water. During festivals, the rivers are an important source of ritual as indicated in chapter four (4). The maps below show the study area.

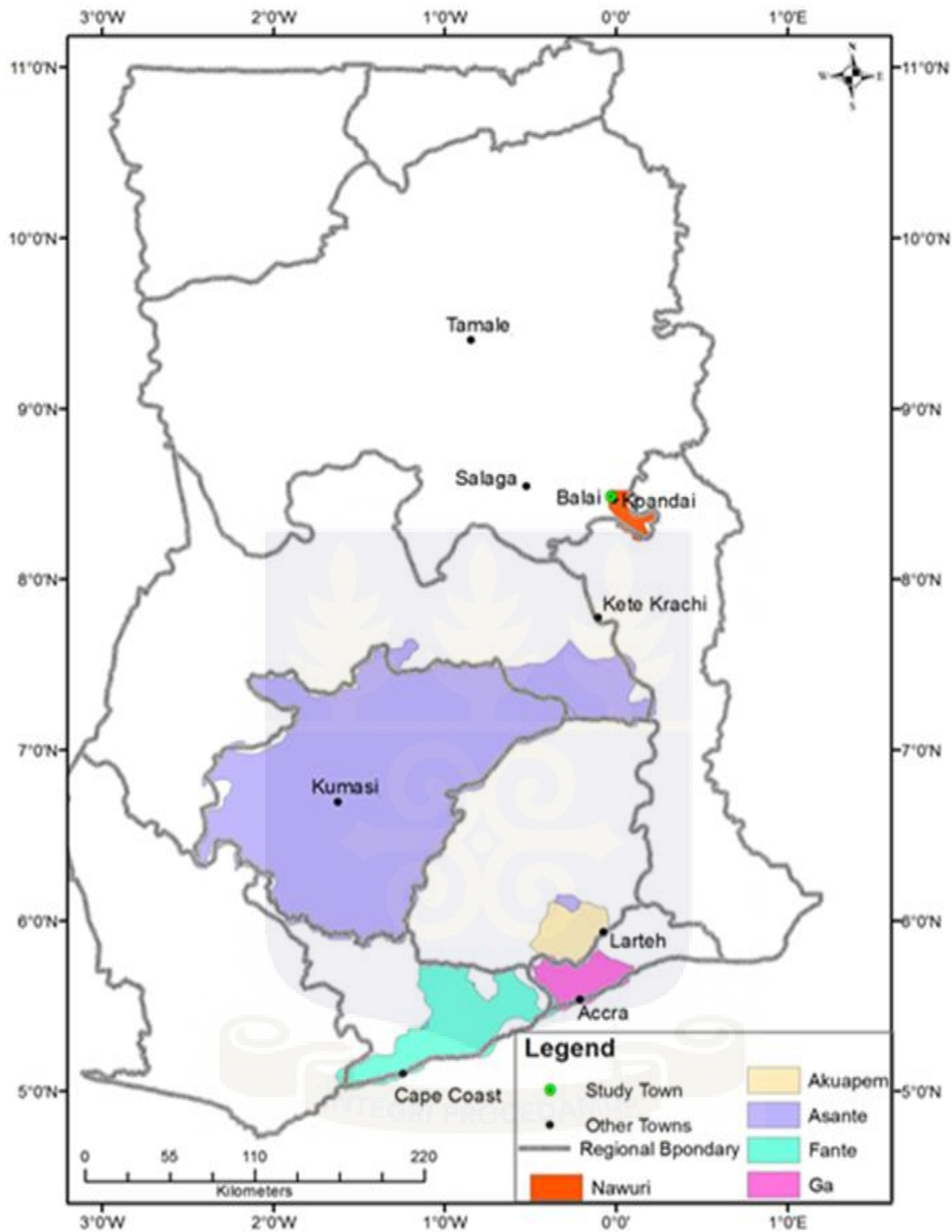


Fig 2: Map of Ghana showing the study area

Source: Emmanuel Akyeampong and Samuel A. Ntewusu (2014)

As mentioned above, there are five Mbuno (clans) in Balai namely Anwulachina (Balai), Akosi (Kabiso), Wurai, Chaaga, and Chintimai. These clans form the social structure of the village. Each clan performs various duties for the general wellbeing of the people.

Informants noted that: *the clans that make up the village under study are in two categories namely the indigenous group and the migrant group. The indigenous group consists of the Anwulachina and Akosi clans and the remaining three; Wurai, Chaaga and Chintimai fall under the migrant group (Discussion with Yaw Sami Anyiabasu and Ambasagna).* The issue of indigenous status and migrant status play out well in their social life especially in the performance of ‘Saaru’ rituals and the celebration of festivals, which I discussed thoroughly in chapter four (4). It might also be instructive to point out an important migrant Yoruba and Konkomba component in later discussions even though that might not be followed extensively in this thesis.

2.4 Indigenous Groups

The Anwulachina (Balai) Clan

As stated earlier, the Anwulachina (Bali) clan is one of the indigenous clans of the Balai community. Anwulachina in Nawuri means aborigines or first settlers of an area. The clan is named after the clan head who also was probably the first man to have settled at current location of the village. The man was called Bali who was considered as the founder of the community. As the founder, he has the respect of the other clans as the Kasuli wura (landowner) who keeps all lands in trust of the people. The origin of this clan is however debatable as scholars and informants have different explanations about its origin.

An informant noted that: *members of this clan were believed to have descended from heaven using chains as mediums of transport. Nawuri oral tradition has it that the people of the Balai clan are called “Ebuare ai abi” meaning ‘heavenly beings’ who do all their work on earth each day and after work, they ascend again to heaven through a chain as a medium (Interview with Yaw Sami Anyiabasu).*

This information is in line with the view expressed by Dixon (1955) that: *prior to the arrival of the Gonjas in the Nawuri area, the founding fathers of the Balai were people who were said to be descending on chains from the skies. It is said that until this day the people worship chains as fetishes. The worship of chains by this clan is a way of revering their origin. From that time, the clan came to remain permanently on earth.* Archival evidence supports that there was no archeological evidence of habitation of the Alfai area prior to the arrival of the Nawuri ethnic group (PRAAD, Tamale, NRG8/2/211).

When and how the chain was cut for the people to remain on earth has been narrated differently by people both of Nawuri origin and outside. In an interview with Nana Obimpeh I, it was revealed that “*Ekpanpu Lungrun*” a famous hunter and leader of the Kabiso clan cut the chain with a gunshot as the people were descending to the ground during one of his usual hunting expeditions. This assertion however contrasts Gonja oral tradition as stated in an archival document that “*one of the hunters of Jakpa cut the chain during his usual hunting expeditions. The Jakpa hunter then left for Salaga and ever since, the Balai Nawuris have remained on earth and multiplied* (PRAAD, Tamale, NRG8/2/211).

It is important to point out that even though these two claims contrasts, a common conclusion can be made from them. That is, both views expressed that a hunter was responsible for the cutting of the chain using a gun. As stated earlier, the Nawuri area was not occupied before the settlement of the two aboriginal clans of the Balai village. One may wonder how the Jakpa hunter got to the area and hunting in the vicinity to have cut the chain.

Kinyimawu and others gave another view on the origin of the Balai clan. According to them, *whiles all Guans were at Larteh a war broke out and because of that war, the people all dispersed. It is important to note that during that time, every clan especially the clan*

head had a war protective power popularly called “Juju” for the protection of his people. In trying to protect the people in times of war, some leaders disappeared with their people by flying while others sink into the earth to reappear elsewhere. It said that the leader of the Balai clan and his people disappeared to a particular area called “Kokpenagiyetor” near the Kpandai Roman Catholic Mission. They were said to be moving when the famous Kabiso clan hunter shot a gun and the sound of a gun scared this group to run. The strong ones were able to run away but there was an old man, his wife and little children who could not run faster and far. They decided to seek refuge under a Baobab tree where the hunter followed and saw them and took them home (Interview with Kinyimawu Asunki and Attah Kwame). In their view, the Balai clan did not descend from the skies on a chain. However, they believe that the chain was traditional magic, which the clan use for blacksmithing and now worship it as a deity. They explained that because the found Oldman could not do any hunting or farm work, the Kabiso people decided that he should remain in the house. He told the hunter that at their home, they do smiting and that he will be doing that while taking care of all the children and solve any domestic issues in the absence of the hunter.

Other accounts given by Sami and others indicates that: *the Balai clan first settled at “Kokpenagyie” in Kpandai on their arrival from Larteh before they moved to Balai “Kabonwuli” a place called Balai “Kile” (Baobab tree) some two (2) kilometers away from Balai. Sami explained that while the clan was in Larteh with other Nawuris a war broke out which made the people to disperse. During this period, the leaders of the various clans needed to do something very quick to save their people. Therefore, the leader of the Anwulachina clan sat on his horse and asked that all the followers should hold him and he disappeared with them to “Kokpenagyie” a place near the current location of the Kpandai Roman Catholic mission (Discussion with Sami, Kojokuma and Blisase).*

In relation to the foundation and name of the deity, Wulachina corrupted to Wurachina, Sami explains as follows: when members of the Bali clan got to “Kokpenagyie” the leader exclaimed “Nana Esuili mine asin nde” literally translated as, “ancestor earth what problem is this”, we are tied, thirsty and hungry and nobody is here to help us”. Then the wife said to him “my husband do not worry ‘Anwula ye achina kanin Nin’ which became corrupted as “Wurachina” which means we will just stay like that”. After the death of these two ancestors that led them to the place, they revere them by worshiping them as gods. The female became “Wulachina” female deity of the Balai clan while the man became “Nana Esuili”. The symbol of Wulachina is a chain while that of “Nana Esuili” is “Akotiwura” (tiger).

These ancestors granted the people protection in all their endeavours. In the early periods of their stay in the area, Oral tradition has it that whenever any individual of Balai mentions the name “Nana Esuili” in times of trouble when traveling, a tiger comes out to accompany that individual till the person gets to the destination. The people have enjoyed the company of the deity for a very long time until they started misusing the name. When individuals were not even in any trouble, they call the name and the deity stopped appearing physically to protect them (Interview with Nkiane Noah). It can be explain that the “Akotiwura” (Tiger) referred to is nothing than symbolic courage one gathers after mentioning the name tiger knowing too well that such individual is now well protected spiritually. It grants also some level of psychological relief to such persons.

Ndamile (2012) notes that the original clan of Bali was the Anwulachina clan presently called the Bali clan. They evolved from the Wurachina forest, which in itself was considered a deity. Wulachina, which presently is worshiped by the Bali people, was a corruption from the Nawuri word ‘anwulachina’, which means ‘aborigines’ or we have settled before. The priest of Wurachina owed it a religious role for the ritual cleansing of

all Nawuri lands. In serious Nawuri state affairs, he championed the mediation process. It was therefore not astonishing colonial authorities documented his designation.

The Balai clan were said to be constantly moving. In a discussion with Sami and Kojokumah it is explained that: *from their first settlement, under instruction of their leader they moved further to a place called “Balai Kabonwuli” near a very big ‘baobab tree’. The people moved because they started dying out unknown diseases. They settled there for some time and they moved to “Nana Esuwilitor” area. the reason for their movement was sickness that was killing some members of the clan. The leaders of the clan then decided to move to “Nana Esuilitor”. While at “Nana Esuilitor”, another ailment called “Kitantangbugar” befell the members of the clan and this forced them to move further away from area to their current home (Discussion with Sami and Kojokuma)*

It is important to indicate however that still within the Balai clan the evidence given to Ntewusu during his research in 1998 indicates that the name Balai is a corruption of Ebilipuai, which means the blacksmiths place/home. According to the narrative, the Balai people evolved from a chain whose main work was blacksmithing. With their smith work, when your hoe blade is spoiled, or when your axe or cutlass is spoiled you send it there for maintenance or ask for a new one from them. When is asked where he/she is going they usually reply-I am going to “Ebilipuai, which became corrupted as Balai as indicated earlier. Owing to their role as blacksmiths, the Nawuris of Balai were referred to as “Eblipuae” or “Ebliae” which means, “the home of the blacksmiths” (Ntewusu, 2008).

The Akosi (Kabiso) Clan

One other indigenous clan of the Balai community is the Akosi clan. The Akosi clan is the largest clan and forms the political wing of the village. Unlike the Anwulachina clan, members of the Kabiso clan are said to have originated from a cave at a place called

“Kuwator”. Their leader was called “Ekpanpu Lungurun” who led them in their hunting expeditions daily.

As indicated earlier, oral tradition has it that “Ekpanpu Lungurun” was the one who shot and cut the chain of the heavenly beings after seeing them descend and ascend daily for quite a time. He and his followers daily come out of their cave to undertake hunting activities. In an interview with Nana Obimpeh, he noted that: *the Akosi clan after meeting the Balai clan remained outside the cave and made a settlement at “Kuwator” at an area close to present day “Mbowura” but periodically enter the cave to meet with other beings in the cave and to perform sacrifices to the gods (Interview with Nana Obimpeh I).*

Their claim of being an indigenous clan in Balai and the Nawuri Traditional area is supported by archival reports. A submission made by the Gonjas to Dickson (1955) indicates that *“the Balai people, the fetish priests’ family are the aborigines and they are the only people whom the Gonjas met in area during their conquest (PRAAD, Accra, ADM 56/1/240).* It is important to note that the fetish being referred to is no other than the Kankpe fetish, which is owned by the Akosi clan of Balai. In addition, one must note that the Gonjas came to the Nawuri area not by conquest as they submitted to Dickson in 1955.

At “Kuwator”, they moved further north to stay closer to their deity (Kankpe). Issues surrounding their movement is explained briefly below. Nana Obimpe noted that: *unlike what pre-empted the movement of the Balai clan to “Nana Esuilitor”, the movement of the Kabiso clan is quite different. To him, the Kabiso clan moved because of the movement of the most powerful deity of the Nawuris i.e. “Kankpe”, a deity of the Kabiso clan. He recounts that the people offended the fetish and it relocated to the place it is now. It is said that a very brave woman called Atornibanyi came across the deity and came to inform the father Nana Awa. When they went there to take it back to “Kuwator”, it refused to go back*

with them. As a result, they moved to settle with the deity at Kankpetor to avoid commuting to the place daily (Interview with Nana Obimpeh).

Other accounts given by Eseipu Yaw and John Mane indicate that: *the woman Atornibanyi actually found the fetish in its present location. They postulated that when the woman saw the deity, it actually spoke to her saying: “Atonibanyi taa mi, fi taa mi fi taa ator fi yagi mi fi yagi ator”. This is literally translated as “Atornibanyi, take me if you take me, you have taken good things if you leave me you have left good things” (Interview with Eseipu Yaw Sei and John Mane).*

Even though literally this is what it means a much deeper analysis would explain events better. In Nawuri language ator-, things do not only constitute material things but also other spiritual benefits. Among the Nawuris, there is a symbolic relationship between physical and spiritual. Things should be understood in this context to mean both physical and spiritual things. On a much more broad analysis, things in Nawuri also mean property. Therefore, upon hearing these words, she went and informed her father about what she saw and heard. To get the benefits from the mystery, the Kabiso clan adopted the deity and worshiped it (*Interview with Eseipu Yaw Sei and John Mane*). The deity became popularly known as “Kankpe” and worshiped by the Nawuri people until date. While the Kabiso clan was at “Kankpetor”, the Balai clan settled also settled at “Nana Esulitor”. At their abode, they enjoyed the life they lived and went about their daily activities for quite a considerable number of years. They went on with their hunting expeditions and their various deities namely Kankpe and Nana Esuli helped them to have good hunt and good harvest.

2.5 The Migrant Groups

The indigenous clans of Balai and for that matter Nawuris did not see strangers as a threat to their daily activities. With time, other groups of Nawuris, other clans and other tribes came to settle with Anwulachina and Akosi clans who gave them land to settle and food to eat. This aspect of the thesis however gives accounts of the migrant clans of Balai. These include the Wurai, Charga and Chintimai clans

The Wurai Clan

The “Wurai clan” consists of a group of migrant Gonjas from Kpembi who came to settle with the Kabiso clan. They were said to have been a branch of the Kpembi chieftaincy lineage and thus were given the name ‘Ewura Ai Abi’ (people from the chiefs’ home). The reasons that accounts for their movement into the area have been given different narratives. According to one narrative, the members of the clan came to be part of Balai as result of intermarriages and relations that already went on at that time. According to an informant, members from the Kabiso clan and members from the royal family at Kpembi intermarried and that brought them into contact with each other. The couple and their children expanded and developed to become the Wurai clan (Discussion with Iddrisu, Fatima and Adamu).

The other narrative indicates that a Gonja man and his servant from the royal family of Kpembi once came to consult the deity but the servant who refused to go back to Kpembi with the old man remained with the Kabiso people. This narrative about the Wurai clan further notes that the “Kankpe” deity was and still is a very powerful deity, which could grant power, healing, food, and protection to its disciples. For this reason, people traveled from everywhere to visit and consult the deity on many issues that confront them. As noted by Nana Obimpe: *due to the power and strength of this deity, a Gonja man from the Kpembi royal family traveled to Balai to consult the deity. It is said that he came with a servant to consult the deity. Because of the hospitality of the people, they were given good*

reception. They fed them well and they were given the kind of care, they never thought of receiving. Due to that, the young boy pretended to be sick and that he could not foot back to Kpembe again. Therefore, the elder asked that he should remain with the Nawuri man so that when he is ok he will come back for him. This young boy remained with the priest until he is well and fit enough to foot back to Kpembi. Given the fact that the young man remained in presence he never went back to Kpembi. He thus, remained a servant in the fetish priest's house (Interview with Nana Obimpeh).

Among the Nawuris, custom demands that when a property owner has a servant who is up to age, the master has to assist the person to marry and give the person some yam sets for him to start his own farm for himself and his family. What this narrative has in common with the first one is the fact that, the servant was given a woman to marry in Balai. He and his lineage including other relatives who came to visit him eventually became the Wurai clan as we have it today.

It is important to note that, because of the Gonja connection the members of this clan have mostly Islamic names such as Abudu, Mahama and Fatima among others. According Nana Obimpeh after a period, the man was given a wife to marry by his master (the fetish priest). Another Gonja man came to seek treatment for an ailment and was also brought to the Kankpe fetish priest for help. The priest had a friend called 'Fatenginikpe' whom the people call "Alfa" a Dagomba Muslim who came to settle with the Kankpe Priest. This Muslim man was said to be powerful and could do so many things for the people. Due to this, many people went to him for spiritual support and his fame grew in the entire area as many of the people consulted him for solutions to their problems. The sick Gonja man was also sent to the Alfa to cure because of the powers he possesses (Interview with Nana Obimpe).

Considering his fame, the Kabiso people feared that he would become more powerful and corrupt the minds of the indigenous people. The people took plans to get the “Afa” to move out of the village. To get him out, they leveled some charges against him including: Firstly, the name “Fatenginikpe” is an indication that he has a potential of taking the land from them because of the meaning of the name. Secondly, the people complained that his morning prayer also disturbs their sleep and they do not like that. Lastly, it is said that because of his powers he is likely to defile their gods of the land. Due to the above reasons raised, the people relocated him to a place which became known as “Alfai” about four (4) kilometers east from Balai. The “Alfai” is a corruption of two words: “Alfa” the name given to “Fatenginikpe” by local people and “Ai” which means home and thus the name Alfai (Nawuri) or Alfa-yili (Nanumba). When the dagomba man was relocated to the new place, the sick Gonja man that was sent to the fetish priest was transferred to the Muslim man who was already given him treatment so that he could continue the treatment there (Interview with Nana Obimpe).

As indicated earlier, the main occupations of the Nawuri people of Balai is hunting and farming and as hunters, they believed that good and safe hunting does not come without a spiritual backing. Thus, the hunters usually seek for a spiritual power that could enable them get a good and safe hunt. Even though there is a community “juju” for safe and good hunting called “Siga”, individual hunters also sought for powers elsewhere. Most of the hunters sought spiritual powers from ‘Fatenginikpe’ the Dagomba Muslim whom the call “Afa”. As one respondent noted: *the assistance of this “Afa” was sought everywhere in the area because of his spiritual powers. Each time, the hunters who sought for powers from him returned from hunting with a good hunt, they rewarded the man with a pound of meat* (Interview with Kastah Fatawu).

Incidentally, this Muslim does not eat the meat because it is not slaughtered and as such, it is considered as unclean. For this reason, “Fatenginikpe” always give out the pound of meat to the sick Gonja man whom he was treating. According to Nana Obempe I, other sick people came to join him including his relatives.

A zongo developed and the sick Gonja man requested to be made chief over the Zongo people. At that time, the Nawuri man did not argue about that because he was very busy minding his hunting and farming business. The Nawuri man then gave the Gonja man a chieftaincy title “Kununkuli Wura” in Nawuri, which means the “chief of pounds of meat”.

When the Gonja man was given the chieftaincy title, the Wurai man who came to stay first was not happy because he did not understand why the man that came later was given a chieftaincy title and the one who was there earlier was not given that position. For this reason, the Wurai people and their leader requested for a part of the chieftaincy title that was given to the sick Gonja man. The Kabiso clan decided to mock them with the chieftaincy title “Wurai-abe”- that is the chieftaincy or chiefly people. The title was not backed with any legitimate power. Therefore, they could not exercise any authority over anybody or group of people (Interview Nana Obimpe).

Chaaga clan

The Chaaga clan is said to be made up of a group of warriors of Gonja extraction. According to an informant, they were said to have lost during a conflict that broke out among the Gonjas in and around the Kpembu area in the 1890s. Because they lost, the warriors fled the battlefield. These Gonja warriors could not find their way back and they were not able to find their fellow warriors. In their attempt to find their way home, they suddenly appeared in Balai. They were served food and other courtesies extended to them. Due to the hospitality received, they chose to stay in Balai (interview with Nana Obimpe). This view is supported by the accounts of Dixon in 1955. He stated that the Gonja

infiltration of the Alfai area did not take place until 1892 when a civil war took place in Kpembi near Salaga the seat of the Kpembewura about 40 miles to the west of Kpandai.

Archival information also reveals that the 1892 civil war was fought between three families namely Kanyasi, Lepo and Singbing, which in turn produced the Kpembiwura (PRAAD, Tamale, NRG8/2/211). This account has since dominated Gonja oral historiography, which is used as a basis to legitimize Gonja rule over Nawuris (J.A. Braimah 1967). Similar accounts have been given in Awedoba (2009) when he stated that the Lepo Gonjas who are said to have been the first to arrive in Nawuriland were refugees and had moved there because of fighting around Kpembe where the Gonjas have settled. Eseipu Yaw Sei notes that *the Chargas first settled at a place called "Charga Kitribo" near current day "Onyumbo" a village about four kilometer west of Balai. They later asked that they wanted to settle close to the Nawuris of Balai and they gave them the current place to settle (Interview with Eseipu Yaw Sei).*

The Chintimai Clan

The Chintimai clan is composed of Gonjas. There are two accounts regarding their origin. The first account relates that, the group migrated from Gonja land in search of a peaceful place to settle. Unlike the Chaaga clan that was made up of warriors this group were ordinary Gonjas who were tired of the wars in Gonja so they chose to migrate and settle in Balai (interview with Nana Obimpe). Another account given by Eseipu Yaw Sei indicates that *a Gonja man called "Jilanwura" brought the Chintimai people. This Gonja man was at "Alfai" near current day Leseni a community that is about 4kms south of Kpandai the district capital. This Gonja man was receiving treatment from "Fatenginikpe" the powerful Dagomba Muslim and Medicine man (Interview with Eseipu Yaw Sei).* He further explained that Jalanwura then brought his brother called "Mattatro" and others to settle at "Chintimai" a few kilometers away from "Alfai". He explained that

when they were brought there he made a statement of appeal to the brother and the others that “China Nfa Nsama” meaning in Gonja “settle here for me”. This was corrupted to Chintimai, the name of the clan.

2.6 The Relationship between Indigenes and Migrants and the Impact of Colonial Rule

The relationship between Nawuris, the indigenes and the first wave of migrants especially the Gonjas was one of co-existence and political allies and did not fight each other in the pre-colonial period. Before the arrival of colonial rule, no attempt was made by immigrants especially the Gonjas to establish political control over Nawuri land. The kasiwura (tendana) family remained characteristically Nawuri while the rituals and ceremonies connected with the earth deities remained exclusively in Nawuri hands. More importantly, Nawuri tendanas continued to exercise their traditional powers as custodians of the land and the embodiments of power and control over land rights of their respective settlements. The fact that the pattern of Gonja political control in Alfai was different from the general patterns of political control that the Gonja imposed on conquered territories elsewhere shows that the Gonja intrusion into, and political control of the area was not based on conquest.

According to the Ampiah Committee (1991) which investigated the Nawuri-Gonja conflict in 1991 made no reference of Gonja conquest of the Nawuri. On the contrary, the evidence showed that in the pre-colonial period, the Gonja and the Nawuri were allies and that they fought together against the Asante invasion of Eastern Gonja in 1744-5. Existing historical record shows that a combined army of the Gonja, the Nawuri and other ethnic groups (possibly the Nchumuru and the Krachi) fought against the Asante when they invaded Eastern Gonja in 1744-5.

According to documentary evidence (Braithwaite and Goody, 1967), when the Asante arrived, they met the sultan of Kunbi (Kpembe) with his troops ... and the sultan of Alfāyi with his troops, the Nācūri [Nawuri] ... They all fought against Asay (Asante) until the people of Asay (Asante) overcame them and they ran away. Another point that illustrates the fact that the Nawuri and the Gonja were allies in the pre-colonial period was that the Nawuri assisted the Gonja of Lepo Gate in the Kpembe civil war of 1892-3. According to Braithwaite and Goody (1967), in the Latinkpa battle of the civil war, for example, “about 500 Nawura [Nawuri] lost their lives on the battlefield” as they fought as allies of the Gonja of the Lepo Gate.

The evidence therefore show that in the pre-colonial period, there was no hint of Gonja conquest of the Nawuri since “neither the Gonjas nor the Nawuris claim that fighting took place between them” in the pre-colonial times. Conquest could only be used as a legitimate mode of determining allodial rights if the conqueror succeeds in annexing and imposing a political control over the conquered territory. Since no war between the Nawuri and the Gonja occurred when the latter arrived in Alfai, there could not have been any Gonja conquest and annexation of Alfai lands. The Nawuri were autonomous people in the pre-colonial period and that until 1913 when the Germans recognized Kanankulaiwura Mahama Karatu, he and his predecessors had no political authority over the Nawuri. Allodial rights in Alfai land in the pre-colonial times resided in the Nawuri because of the fact that they were the first to settle in the area. They were also unassimilated; neither did they forfeit allodial rights to Alfai land through conquest.

The impact of colonial rule in Nawuri land has been the creation of conflicts through the colonial policy of subordination, which resulted in the amalgamation of different ethnic groups for the sake of political expediency as local actors exploited colonial and post-colonial situations to arouse the sentiments of the Nawuri and the Gonja against each other

(Pul, 2003). In the colonial and post-colonial times, the relationship between Nawuri and migrants changed into an encounter between the autochthones (first-comers) and immigrants (latecomers).

Colonialism also created conditions for the manifestations of ethnic identities of the Nawuri and Gonja in Alfai. According to Paul André Ladouceur (1979), colonial rule made the Gonja the overlords of Alfai, and thus converted the hitherto generally cooperative relations between the Nawuri and the Gonja into one of the “ruled” and the “ruler”. Colonialism created an opportunity for the Gonja to subjugate the Nawuri and to claim allodial rights to Alfai lands. The result was that between 1932 and 1991, the identity of the Nawuri and the Gonja was seen as one of subjects fighting for their autonomy and allodial rights, on one hand, and overlords fighting to hold to their over lordship and supposed allodial rights to Alfai lands on the other.

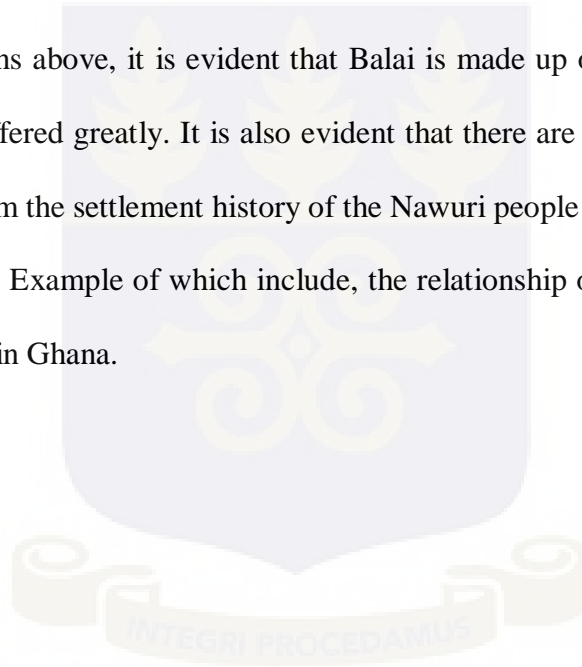
Apart from the ruled-ruler categorization, colonialism ascribed other forms of identity to the Nawuri and the Gonja. Early colonial education policy provided educational opportunities to the children of the Gonja chiefly family to the detriment of those of the Nawuri. As a result, an educated and enlightened Gonja family was established in Alfai in the 1930s and 1940s. Few Nawuri men such as S.G. Friko, J.K. Mbimadong and Yaw Atorsah – the first Nawuri people to be educated – gained opportunities to be educated in the late 1940s and early 1950s (Austin, D., 1963).

By the 1970s, however, education had become pronounced among the Nawuri and the Gonja in Alfai. Nonetheless, the differences in the periods of education opportunities offered to the Nawuri and the Gonja created some notions and stereotypes. The categories “enlightened” and “unenlightened” or “civilized” and “uncivilized” came to be used as descriptions of the ethnic identities of the Gonja and the Nawuri, respectively. Irrespective

of the level of education of the Nawuri, he was still seen as unenlightened or uncivilized in the eyes of the Gonja. On the other hand, an uneducated Gonja was seen by the Gonja community as enlightened and civilized by virtue of his membership of the ethnic group. As the Nawuri attempted to “exorcise the ghost” of these stereotypes and stigmatizations, street fights often occurred between the youths of the two ethnic groups, especially in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1991 and 1992 the Nawuri and the Gonja fought each other three times over conflicting claims to allodial land rights in Alfai.

2.7 Conclusion

From the discussions above, it is evident that Balai is made up of several groups whose source of origin differed greatly. It is also evident that there are several other issues that one can discuss from the settlement history of the Nawuri people of Balai, which goes far beyond Balai itself. Example of which include, the relationship of the people of Balai to other Guan groups in Ghana.



CHAPTER THREE

INDIGENOUS RELIGION AND TRADITIONAL POLITICS IN

BALAI

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the indigenous religion and the traditional politics in the Nawuri village of Balai. There is some level of interconnectedness between the indigenous religion and traditional politics as far as the history of Balai is concerned. Religion has always occupied a central position in the life of the people of Balai. This observation ties in perfectly with the views of prominent scholars like (Mbiti 1969, 1970; Opoku 1978; and Assimeng 1981, 1989) on religion, politics and society. Mbiti (1969, 1970), Opoku (1978) noted that if there is a region where religion is so central to people's lives and their outlook on things, it is in Africa. This chapter therefore discusses the religious life of the people of Balai with special emphasis on the worship of deities. Even though the worship of deities in Balai will be discussed, emphasis will be laid on the Kankpe shrine and how its structure and leadership developed into a political organization and leadership in the village.

3.1 The Origins of “Kankpe”

Tradition has it that the Kankpe deity is the supreme tutelary god of the Nawuris especially of Balai, which gave protection to a number of people who enlisted for its help. The origin of the deity has been a debate among the people as two accounts were given about the deity.

First, some believe that the traditional home of Kankpe is at Kuwator. This narrative has it that the deity was with the Kabiso clan at Kuwator and they worshiped it there as one of the many gods they have. Whiles the Kabiso clan lived at “Kuwator” with the deity, they offended it and the deity migrated to its present home. The kind of offence has not been

known but it was believed that the people broke some of its taboos. A vain search was made to locate the deity for a number of weeks by prominent men in the settlement and its surroundings. All hopes were lost as several days of thorough search proved futile as no traces of the deity was made. An informant noted that: *the people were afraid of any consequences that may follow in connection with their offence. In their fear however, Atornibanyi the daughter of Awa located the deity in a forest about three (3) miles north of the original settlement. When report about the deity reached her parents, they attempted to send it back home but the deity resisted any attempt of movement. From that day, they have to commune daily to perform sacrifices to it at where it is located (Interview with Nana Obimpeh).* Ntewusu (1998) noted that in order to avoid the daily movement Akosi clan from Kuwator to the new place of the deity for sacrifices they decided to migrate there. Thus, the name Kankpe is a corruption of the Nawuri word “Akaa Kpe Nachina”- meaning let us migrate and settle.

The other accounts was given by Eseipu Yaw Sei who indicated that: *the Kabiso clan lived at Kuwator without the deity but a woman called Atornibanyi found the deity at Kankpe forest where the deity is still located currently and that it has not moved to any place since. The legend relates that, one day the woman went to the forest to fetch firewood. While in the forest searching for the wood, she came to a point of the forest near a very big tree when a voice called her name “Atornibanyi”. She got frightened at the mysterious mention of her name, as she was sure no one was around that place. While she was wondering, the voice called her name again; she mastered some courage and went towards the direction of the sound. When she got a point, she saw a mysterious stone under a tree from which the words came from to her. It is narrated that the stone said these words to the woman: Atornibanyi taa mi*

Fi taa mi, fi taa ator. Fikina/fiyagi mi fi kina/yagi ator danbrasa

Translated as:

Atornibanyi, take me. If you take me, you have taken good things. If you abandoned me, you have abandoned good things.

Upon hearing this, she abandoned the firewood search and left for home to tell the father what she saw and heard at the forest (Interview with Eseipu Yaw Sei).

After informing her father about her encounter with the stone, people said she was possessed but the father decided that they should also visit the spot to ascertain the truth before jumping into conclusions. When they got there, the words as narrated by their sister was reiterated again. They wanted to move the stone to Kuwator but they could not move it. The Kabiso clan then moved to settle at where the deity is located so that they can worship it. Because they have to migrate from “Kuwator” to that place, they named the deity “Kankpe”. At the Kankpe forest, the Kabiso clan made a permanent settlement until a plague that they referred to as “Kitantangbuga” befell them and they moved about three (3) kilometers south to the current settlement Balai. A hut was made around the object and sacrifices are made to it on some specific days that the people have considered holy for sacrifices (Discussion with John Mane).

It is important to note that irrespective of the differences in narrative about the origins of the deity, one common conclusion can be drawn from the narratives. The two narratives both concluded that a woman called “Atornibanyi” of the Akosi clan founded the deity. This shows how important women are in Balai village and the central position they occupy in the religious life of the village.

At midnights, mysterious sounds like that of to a cat or a newly born baby made in the skies may be attributed to the deity indicating its presence. Most a time, these mysterious

sounds attributed to the deity are considered as signs that something is about to happen and unless something quick is done to avert it, surely it would happen. Usually, when these sounds are being made, the priest of the deity has the responsibility to pour libation and if he were not awake, someone would have to wake him up to pour the libation. The pouring of the libation is to assure the deity that the necessary action would be taken and that the deity should go back to sleep.

The following day, the priest would send for the “Kasuliwura” (landowner) for the two of them to find out what the cause of the sounds of the deity is and the necessary sacrifice would be made. If the actual cause of the deity’s sound is not established, the priest would pour “libation of promise” and give a period like say one year if that time elapses and nothing happened, they will give the deity a sacrifice of thanks given. The religious fame of the deity spreads far and wide and many people from different parts of the country visited the shrine of the deity. It was through the fame of this deity that the first Gonja man to have been in Nawuriland came. Unlike other gods such as the Krachi Denteh which has moved from place to place and its name changed. The Nawuri Kankpe of Balai not moved to any place outside Nawuri land, as some believe that its current place is its origins (Discussion with Kinyimawu Asunki).

An informant noted that: *apart from the main deity, many other smaller deities are at the shrine of Kankpe whose names are not mentioned unless on special occasions like guinea corn festival. Apart from festivals, their names are also mentioned when a calamity is to be averted. Sacrifices to these gods are offered to them through main deity. These deities include the following; Nana Sunbui, Nana Esuili, Nana Wurafu, Ekpanpu Kapiti, Nana Wunduchaa. They are seen to be servants of the main deity Kankpe. These smaller deities have special functions that they perform for the main deity. That is, there is a form*

decentralization of the functions performed by the Kankpe deity (Interview with John Mane).

3.2 Linking religion to traditional politics and leadership in Balai

Even though, a woman of the Kabiso clan found the deity, women do not ascend to the priesthood of Kankpe. The oldest surviving man of the woman's clan became the first priest of the deity. From that time since, the oldest surviving male of the Akosi clan succeeds the priest if the seat becomes vacant. Women cannot perform sacrifices to the deity but must see a male if they have any sacrifice to make or libation to pour. The tradition of Nawuris in relation to inheritance is patrilineal/paternal and as a result, the oldest surviving male of the clan inherits property and thus the males become priests of Kankpe.

In Balai village, inheritance of property, position, or religious power is by homogeneous transmission (male to the next oldest male, female to the next oldest female) and occurs within the kabuno. Once males become priests of Kankpe they have been leaders in the Nawuri area through the religious office. Oral tradition as well as archival evidence has it that from the time the deity was found up to 1951, eight Aseippu (priests) ascended to the throne of Kankpe. Archival records for instance has it that before the installation of Kigbiriwura Amaoni in 1951 as fetish priest of Kankpe, eight Aseipu had reigned. They included Kigbiriwura Mbemah, Kigbiriwura Sumayila, Kigbiriwura Mahama (Awasa), Kigbiriwura Kwame, Kigbiriwura Anenyibale, Kigbiriwura Akosi, Kigbiriwura Mbemah and Kigbiriwura Yaw (ADM 56/1/234). These Aseipu reigned and worshiped the Kankpe deity before 1951. They also served as the traditional political leaders of the village.

In 1951, the Eseipu installation process of Balai was interfered by the Gonja migrants and Alechun who was the rightful successor to the position was denied of becoming an Eseipu

of Kankpe. From the time of this succession dispute in Balai, that is, 1951 up to the time the 1991 Nawuri-Gonja conflict, the Aseipu of Kankpe who reigned include; *Eseipu Amoani, Eseipu Attah, and Eseipu Kinyinkide*. It was during the reign of *Eseipu Kinyinkide* that the Nawuri-Gonja conflict broke out. After the 1991 Nawuri-Gonja conflict, the aseipu that reigned includes *Eseipu Milechor, Eseipu Ati Yaw, Eseipu Banuamufine, Eseipu Nsuwanse and Eseipu Yaw Sei* who is the current reigning *Eseipu* (Discission with *Kinyimawu Asunki*).

3.3 Benefits derived from the worship of Kankpe

The shrine has exhibited and still exhibits a strong sense of fascination for the Christians in particular in the study area as both Christians and Muslims still patronize the activities of Kankpe. In this light, the assertion of Sarpong (1974) that whether we like it or not, many Christians have one foot in Christianity and the other foot in African Traditional Religion is a reality. Also, Busia quoted by Abotchie (2008), described Christians as ‘thin veneer’ which means that in times of troubles ambivalent Christians fall back on traditional practices.

Ndamile (2012) noted that the significance of Kankpe for its clients is expressed in four distinct views. One view expressed was the notion that the deity has economic benefits. He expressed that in a very competitive economic situation, Kankpe serves as a medium that links a seller to the buyers in order to remain in business. He also indicated that many people believed and have given testimonies about the fact that Kankpe can restore and protect them from competition.

Again, the deity helps to promote fertility in times of bareness where supplicants persistently sought for children. It also strengthens morality by checking sexual misconduct among the populace (Ndamile, 2012).

The shrine serves as a platform for unity, thereby confirming the assertion of Durkheim (1926) that religion brings people together by way of sacred. Others argue that through divination they are told what is likely befall them in the future, so it will therefore be myopic to say revelation is for Christians as Smart (1969) establishes an outstanding bond between the adherents and the supernatural when they sought their livelihood and protection from them.

In this light, the view of Assimeng (1989) about the relation between humans and the supernatural cannot be down played. The Kankpe shrine is the genesis of political leadership among Nawuris. Some said Kankpe played a critical role in uniting the entire Nawuris and Balai until the colonial arrangements that subsumed the Nawuri under the Gonja hegemony. Some commented that traditional chiefs who sought for the assistance of the deity had become great leaders and liked by all their council of elders. This had helped those chiefs to legitimize their positions as the right rulers of their various villages of control.

Kwadjo Kinyinkide indicated that Kankpe help the people of Balai to harmoniously resolve conflicts. He mentioned its role in the Nawuri-Gonja conflict in 1991 and the consequent restoration of peace in the area. It also protects the boundaries of Balai from indiscriminate encroachment. Kankpe evolved itself in the enskinment of chiefs in the Nawuri traditional area, which was probably because of the reason why Gonjas wanted to determine who should become the chief priest of Kankpe. This move later resulted in a succession dispute among members of the Kabisu clan in 1951 after the death of Eseiye Yaw.

Ndamile (2012) notes that another benefit of the shrine is that Kankpe make the village folks and people from all over the country that solicits its help to gain economically. He mentions the promotion of agriculture as people sought help from Kankpe for bumper

harvest, as well as disease-free yield. They allude to further economic significance saying that Kankpe helps in commercial activities, for it promotes tourism because some foreigners pay cash just to see it.

Some stressed that the shrine is being consulted to foretell what the future holds for them and what they can do to prevent calamities. This relates to the view expressed by Sarpong (1974) “when he said people consult deities to foretell unforeseen calamities especially, that of crop failure and poverty. A related argument made by Ndamile (2012) was that, during Kayuji people from different villages come to join Balai people to celebrate, in the process, they make friends. He added that it is a season during which matters of the village are discussed to see the way forward. A respondent (Eseipu Sei) noted that the fetish provide protection to its adherents as it protects them from the power of witches. Oral tradition has it that the deity has the ability to kill the wicked ones and those people who have witchcraft. This to him is a benefit it helps to prevent social vices and gives some kind of security to the community members (Interview with Eseipu Sei).

3.4 Days of worship and taboos of the deity

Special days on the traditional calendar are selected by the people to worship the deity. These days includes; Nakpayili Kijaa Aka, Kikpaa Aka and Wulesi Epode Epodi Aka. Sacrifices are made to the deity only on those days mentioned above. Just like any deity, Kankpe has a set of rules, regulations and taboos. For example one cannot become a priest of Kankpe when he is circumcised thus all “Aseipu” of Kankpe are expected not to circumcise.

A woman in her menstrual period cannot go to the shrine because she is considered as ritually unclean. In addition, no one with a physical defect can become a priest of the deity. Such physical defects include amputated arm, foot, or having any diseases such as leprosy.

It is also a taboo to perform sacrifices to the deity on Wulensi market days or even mention the name of the deity on that day. It is also a taboo for the Eseipu to take food made of new yam or new guinea-corn without first considering the deity (interview with Dari Milechor and Boateng Nsuwase).

From an analytical point of view, these taboos were initiated for these specific reasons. One has to be physically fit to perform most of the duties. Pouring libation demands the holding of ritual objects such as calabash with two hands. It becomes difficult for an amputee to do so. In pouring libation at the shrine, there are two positions assumed depending on the situation. In times of war, the priest is supposed to stand and pour the libation; one whose leg has been amputated cannot do so. The history of the shrine indicates that it was a skin disease which killed several Akosi clan members that led to their migration from the current location of the shrine to Balai. Selecting a priest with such condition reminds them of such occurrence hence the taboo. Wulensi is a market day and a day for people to rest and thus the people undertake no religious activity.

3.5 Other Deities worshiped by the people of Balai

Apart from the Kankpe, the people of Balai worship many other gods. These other gods even though perform separate functions that might seem to be independent of the Kankpe shrine, Kankpe is seen as the superior deity and all others under it. Worship of these gods under Kankpe makes the religious system of the Nawuri of Balai a centralized one. These deities include Nana Esuli, Wuraichina (anwulachina), Buare and Kachulanteh, Gbandawu and Siga and Krachi Denteh.

The Balai clan own the Nana Esuli and Wulachina deities. Wulachina is said to be a female deity of the Balai clan. Wulachina is one of the gods that the Balai clan inherited from their ancestors, which they served until date. It is believed that it gives protection to them

and strengthens their economic activities particularly their smith work. The head of their clan who bears the title “Esuliwura” (Asasewura) and his assistants takes care of the activities that go on in the shrine (Interview with Eseipu Baliane). Nana Esuli is one of the powerful deities of the Balai clan. Unlike Wulachina Nana Esuli is said to be a male deity of the clan and more powerful than Wulachina. Balai is a farming community, rainfall is very important to the people. As farmers, the community members become very worried when there is no rain; it is here that Nana Esuli assumes much importance. For example, when there is drought, the Eseipu of Nana Esuli and his assistants come to the Kankpe Eseipu and his assistants to discuss what they should do to stop the drought. When they meet, they will send one or two elders to a diviner to tell the cause of the drought. Once the cause is established, the necessary action is taken to curb the drought for rain to fall. In most, sacrifices are made to Nana Esuli to end the drought.

The deity is also responsible for cleansing the land of pollution. Among the Nawuris of Balai, occurrences such as suicide, rape, death through fire, death by drowning are all considered pollution of the land. When there is any issue of such nature, the land must be cleansed to avert the anger of the deities on the land and the people. The cleansing is always done by the “Nana Esuli Eseipu” in consultation with the “Kankpe Eseipu” who is the head of all the Aseipu in Balai. The cleansing involves the performance of sacrifices to appease the gods and to cleanse the land from all calamities. Before these sacrifices for the cleansing are done, historically, the Kankpe Eseipu and the Nana Esuli Eseipu contribute to perform the necessary sacrifices. Sometimes, the person involved in the act especially if it is rape is charged to do the pay for the cleansing process. Items used in cleansing the land include”_ water, local drink (pito) a fowl, and a ram (Interview with Yagane Kinyinkide).

3.6 Kankpe and the emergence of chiefs and chieftaincy in Nawuriland

According to article 277 of the 1992 constitution of Ghana “a chiefs is any person who hails from the appropriate lineage has been validly nominated, elected or selected and enstooled, enskinned or installed as a chief or queen mother in accordance with the relevant customary law and usage”. Abotchie (2006) noted that one could become a chief by virtue of a person being the leader of a group of first settlers, through conquest and through military gallantry.

Awedoba (2006) noted that chieftaincy may comprise among other things; the personnel holding office such as chiefs, queen mothers, councilors and staff, ritual symbols such as shrines and other objects, the emblems of office such as stools, skins regalia, crowns, gowns, staff, swords and various paraphernalia. It is the medium for expressing the social, political, and religious and to some extent the economic authority vested in chiefs, queen mothers, priests, religious practitioners and other traditional functionaries in Ghanaian communities.

The people of Balai developed their own chieftaincy that revolved around traditional priesthood and it is that which actually regulated traditional political action in the village. Dovlo (2004) writes about the relationship between religion and politics. He investigates how religious entities impact on political decisions in Africa. He argues that religious personalities or leaders have engaged actively in political and national decision-making.

Cheka (2008), noted that African chiefs or kings wielded both religious and what we today call the secular authority. In traditional societies, religion and politics were never viewed as two separate entities. The chief wielded both “secular and religious authority.

The political structure of the Nawuris of Balai is one that is centralized with the “Balai Wura” at the apex who saw to the day-to-day administration of the land with the support

of the traditional priests, the sub-chiefs, Asafoakyes (youth leaders), and Ewurekyes (queen mothers or female chiefs). The chieftaincy institution among the Nawuris of Balai and the position of the chief can only be understood in the context of the religious history. For this reason, the position of the eseipu or fetish priest from which that of the chief emanated would be discussed before one can understand the position of the chief.

3.7 Aseipu (fetish priests)

The position of the “Aseipu” is very significant in discussing the political history of Balai. Oral tradition relates that the “Eseipu” was the overlord over all Nawuri lands. Thus, an Eseipu headed every Nawuri community. These “Aseipu” were responsible for the day-to-day administration of the village. Before the advent of colonial rule in the area, the “Aseipu” of every community performed political, social, cultural as well as the religious functions in order to promote the wellbeing of their people. All these “Aseipu” were under the political hegemony of the Wurubon of the Kankpe shrine-the most powerful deity in Nawuri land. Every Nawuri community has a number of Aseipu who are in charge of the deities of the community (Interview with Eseipu Yaw Sei). Balai has several Aseipu who are in charge of the various deities of the village. In Balai, every clan has a deity headed by the clan head.

The clan head does not take charge of only the deity but also the people of his clan. The power and respect of the Aseipu is derived from their religious position. The principal Eseipu is the Kankpe Eseipu who acted as both the chief and the fetish priest and went by the title Wurubon. The position of the “Wurubon” was recognized the colonial authorities as the chief of all Nawuris residing in Kpandai who issued a medallion to him in 1925 as a symbol of authority and recognition by the colonial authorities (PRAAD Accra ADM 56/1/234).

The “Eseipu” held a dual position as both the religious and political head of the community until appointment of Nana Kastah a son Eseipu Yaw the fetish priest. His appointment became necessary because of the age and workload of the fetish priest so that he can concentrate on the religious call. With the introduction of chieftaincy in Balai, the chief took over political, social and economic functions, but has no jurisdiction over matters relating to the divinities. The chief of Balai is entitled “Balaiwura” and has always performed his functions under the direct control of the Eseipu.

3.8 The Chief (Ewura)

Nawuri Chieftaincy from a historical perspective

Unlike other centralized societies, chieftaincy system among the Nawuri, which is an acephalous state, has been a recent creation, as it developed only in the 1940s. As a non-centralized state, a transition was made only in the 1940s from an acephalous state to a centralized state with the emergence of chieftaincy structures that redefined the political leadership of the village.

Awubom (2013) noted that the Nawuri chieftaincy system that was developed was a hierarchical one and at its apex was the Nawuriwura (Paramount ruler) of Nawuris. The installation of the Nawuriwura became very important in 1951 out of the oppression that Gonjas meted out to them. With the installation of the Nawuriwura now vested in him the legislative, executive/administrative and judicial functions.

Divisional chiefs, village chiefs, queen mothers and council of elders assisted the Nawuriwura in ruling the Nawuri state. It is important to note that the position of the Nawuriwura came because of the oppression Nawuris received from Gonja over lordship over the indigenous Nawuris since the introduction of colonial Native Authorities for administrative purposes. Under the political hegemony of Gonjas the Nawuri were

oppressed and obnoxiously treated by the Gonja. Because of this oppression, the Nawuri wrote several petitions to the colonial government asking for a separate administrative district for Kpandai (PRAAD Tamale, NRG8/2/211).

The Nawuri realized that the demands made to the colonial authorities have been neglected. The Gonja oppression under the “Kanankulaiwura” rather keeps increasing all the time. The Nawuri natives and rightful owners of the land were forced to pay illegal taxes to the Kanankulaiwura. They were also made to farm for him without any reward for their labour. For this reason, the Nawuri decided to forge for a political leadership by electing a paramount chief, who will champion their cause. In 1951 therefore, a Paramount Chief was elected in a meeting held at Kateijeli. Nana Atorsah Agyeman I was then installed as paramount chief of the Nawuri in 1951 (PRAAD Tamale, NRG8/2/211).

3.9 Balai Chieftaincy in focus

As noted earlier, emergence of chieftaincy in Balai predates that of Nawuri Paramountcy. As such, the position of the chief in Balai has been very central in Nawuri Affairs since the beginning of the development of the Nawuri state. All leaders were under the control of the Wurubon of Balai before the emergence of the chieftaincy institution in Nawuriland. Chieftaincy in Balai was politico-ritual in nature and therefore predates the rotational paramountcy system meant for all Nawuri villages which was introduced in the 1940s.

Following the re-alignment of political institutions Nawuriland, the political leadership in Balai was divorced from the religious position of the eseipu. However it emerged as a subsidiary body which was groomed by the “Kankpe Eseipu”. The first chief “Nana Kastah” a son of “Kigbiriwura Yaw” was appointed by a collaborated council of elders to help the father who was then a priest of the Kankpe shrine to rule and to represent the

village in meetings. It was because of this that the Gonja became peeved to the extent of interfering in the selection of a successor to the fetish priesthood of Balai in 1951.

After the appointment of Nana Kastah as the chief of Balai, the medallion that was given to the Wurubon was transferred to him as his symbol of authority and recognition by the colonial authorities. In a discussion with Sami, it was revealed that the Gonjas stole this medallion from him on one of his visits to Gonja land to treat himself. The chieftaincy position, which emerged out of the priesthood, was reunited to it after the death of the first chief Nana Kastah. After his death, the esiepu acted as both chief and esiepu as before. All other Aseipu after the death of Nana Kastah occupied a dual position as both religious and political heads.

However, during the reign of Kigbiriwura Kinyikide, the chieftaincy position resurfaced as a separate entity and Nana Kofi of the Amoani lineage was installed as chief of the village. After his death, the position laid vacant until Nana Obempeh I was made chief of Balai after 1991 (Interview with Sami Yaw Anyiabaso). What this suggests is that there has not been consistency in the position of chief until recent times.

3.9.1 Mode of succession

Among the Nawuris of Balai, any individual hailing from the clan that ascends to the priesthood of Kankpe is qualified to ascend to the chieftaincy throne. In this regard, only members of the village that belong to the Kabiso clan can become chiefs. This is because, before the establishment of chieftaincy in the entire Nawuri land the Essiepu of Kankpe was considered as chief of Nawuris bearing the title “Wurubon”. The colonial authorities recognized this when in 1925 the Wurubon of Nawuris (the Kankpe Esiepu) was given a Medallion by the colonial administration as noted earlier.

During this time, the Kankpe Esiepu occupied the position as chief as well as the fetish priest. This was a kind of theocratic leadership headed by the traditional priest. This order continued until about 1940 when Esiepu Yaw the then Esiepu became too weak to be able to respond to the pressures associated with the two offices. His son Kastah was appointed by the council of elders to manage the political aspects of the position under the direction and control of the Esiepu. As a young man he could travel, to places for meetings since the means of transport was scarce and people mostly travel by foot. At this time, there was increased pressure from Gonja authority and political hegemony on the Nawuri. This forced most of the Nawuris of Balai to move to exile in Chifili (PRAAD Tamale, NRG8/2/211), but periodically come home to visit their farms and perform sacrifices to their shrine-Kankpe. When Esiepu Yaw died, his son Kastah remained chief of Balai but not fetish priest.

The death of Esiepu Yaw in 1951 led to a succession dispute within the Akosi clan. The dispute was between Amoani and his allies and Alechun and his allies. The priest/kingmakers of the village -that is the Balai clan members and the family of Alechun of the Kabiso clan were in support of Alechun who was the rightful successor according to age.

The Gonja Kanankulaiwura at Kpandai and the family of Amoani and some members of the Wurai clan were in support of Amoani whose quest was based on the position as the chief attendant of the late priest (PRAAD Tamale, NRG8/2/211). This divided the entire community into two factions namely, the Amoani faction and the Alechun faction.

3.9.2 Chieftaincy gates in Balai

The Balai village today has three gates that ascend to the throne of Balaiwura. These gates are three big families of the Kabiso clan namely the Amoni, Kastah and Dari who ascends to the priesthood of Kankpe. The “eseipuship” is ascended to on the basis age in the clan as a whole. However, the 1951 dispute led to a division of the Kabiso clan into three gates making the eseipuship to be on a rotational basis among three families of Kastah, Dari/Alechun and Amoani. Today, the separation of the chiefship from the eseipuship during the reign of Esiepu Kinyikide has followed suit of the rotational basis.

3.9.3 The 1951 dispute (Amoani vrs Alechun) and rise interest of the Gonja in traditional Nawuri affairs

Currently, violent conflicts in Northern Ghana have featured prominently in newspapers, radio stations, on the television and even in our daily discussions for the past few decades. What even caught much attention of most Ghanaians is the recurrent nature in which they occur. For this reason, most people have largely labeled northern Ghana as a violent conflict zone and branded northern Ghanaians as violent people. Unfortunately, these negative views pervade the minds of many who do not really understand the nature of these conflicts and the circumstances under which they often occur.

In looking at the causes of conflicts in northern Ghana, Awedoba (2009) noted that disputes frequently arise over succession to chieftaincy office resulting from the death of the incumbent chief. Chieftaincy disputes are common in both acephalous communities that have institutionalized chieftaincy and centralized communities, which have entrenched chieftaincy traditions. In some of the acephalous societies, ethnic groups lacking chieftaincy traditions may not maintain clear distinctions between royals and non-

royals. In some of such communities, there still may be memories of past where institutionalized chiefs were non-existent, and it may be called that claiming royal ancestry today do not trace claim beyond a few generations in the past. In such societies, we come across the spectacles of other members of the community refusing to concede that members of certain families alone may compete for the title of chief (Awedoba 2009).

Balai priesthood just as chieftaincy has witnessed some conflicts. The most serious one was in 1951. Balai priest making process was without troubles until 1951 when the Gonja interfered in the installation process.

Among the Nawuris of Balai, the successor or heir to the throne of Kankpe, which is the highest traditional authority, was appointed according to age among members of the Akosi clan. Usually, the oldest surviving male succeeds the late priest. The installation is on the last day of the funeral performance of the departed. The symbol of authority of the priest is the priest-making bag called “Kuwawi” contains symbol of priesthood of Kankpe and some extra-ordinary powers. This bag is very important such that the possessor of the bag could become the priest if he is sworn into office with it. When Eseiye Yaw died on 9 August 1951, Amoani who was then with him took the Kuwawi and send it to the Gonja chief at Kpandai.

Having got the symbol of authority with him, he then made a claim that the late chief made the pronouncement that he should succeed him (PRAAD Tamale, NRG 8/2/210). Even though, he was not the right person to take over, he wanted to use a pronouncement of the late chief to legitimize his claim. Since the oldest surviving male was alive except that he was not immediately present when the late chief died, he was supposed to be installed as the new priest irrespective of the fact that he was away at Chifili (Interview with Eseiye Yaw Sei).

Archival evidence indicates that on August 17, 1951, the last day of the funeral proceedings of the late chief and priest of Kankpe, the Kanankulaiwura was invited as Nawuri custom demands to witness the proceedings. According to Nawuri custom, on the last day of funeral of an Eseipu, a new Eseipu (chief and priest) of Kankpe would be installed (PRAAD Tamale, NRG 8/2/210). While priest makers were still in process to send the rightful heir for installation, the Kanankulaiwura was also planning to get someone he can manipulate as an eseipu irrespective his age.

While the priest makers knew Alechun was the right heir and would be installed after the funeral processes, the Kanankulaiwura also interfered in a process that was purely traditional to the indigenes of Balai by appointing Amoani as the next priest. The appointment and installation of Amoani by the Kanankulaiwura led to a brutal confrontation between Alechun, Balai Kojo and others on one side and Amoani, Kanankulaiwura and others on the other side. After the Native police officers and the Gonja young men have beaten the Nawuris to their satisfaction, they went to the spot where customary rites for the installation of fetish priest are performed with the Traditional Fetish Bag. They then installed Amoani as Fetish priest of Balai without the knowledge and consent of the priest maker and the elders (PRAAD Tamale, NRG 8/2/210).

The Nawuri priest makers and Alechun the rightful heir to the priesthood did not take this action of the Gonja lightly. They saw it as an affront to the Nawuri tradition and a sign of disrespect for Nawuri customs. With continues threat from the Gonjas a number of the Nawuri of Balai deserted the village to seek refuge in Nanumba land. Alechun and others wrote a petition to the Regional Colonial Administration seeking a redress to this problem and the non-interference of the Gonja Kanankulaiwura in Nawuri affairs (PRAAD Tamale, NRG 8/2/210). The above clearly indicate how conflicts in society frequently arise out of succession disputes. Awedoba (2009) captures this when he stated that “Chieftaincy

disputes frequently arise over succession to chieftaincy office resulting from the death of the incumbent chief". This dispute featured in most colonial records given it an international value.

3.10 The Unique case of Nana Obimpeh

Nana Obimpeh I known in private life as Joseph Kwesi Yumpoo Mbimadong became the chief of Balai after the 1991 Nawuri-Gonja conflict. Under his reign, Balai and the entire Nawuri land enjoyed considerable autonomy over their local affairs. Nana Obimpeh I was a very powerful chief of the village whose authority was recognized by all and sundry in the Nawuri Traditional area. An informant noted that: *before his appointment as chief, Nana acted as the main leader who championed the Nawuri cause for complete autonomy and the creation of a district for the area. He represented the Nawuri Traditional area in the absence of a paramount chief after the death of NawuriWura Nana Bakianiso Asaseadjo. He ruled Balai and served as a uniting force to all Nawuri chiefs and the liberation fighter who championed Nawuri nationalism to remain independent and indigenous rulers of their land (Interview with Nana Matorjimile).*

The composition of songs to commensurate the work of nana is very important to note. During "Baya dance", women compose songs in praise of his struggle for the liberation of the Nawuri from Gonja oppression. One song of note goes like this:

Ane Mandela, Nawuri Mandela, Ane Mandela mueji ane, ane Mandela mue ane. Mue ji yumpo, Mue ji Obimpeh Translated as:

Our Mandela, Nawuri Mandela, who is Nawuri Mandela. Our Mandela is Yumpo, He is Obimpeh

Like Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Obimpeh is seen as the Mandela of Nawuris. Songs which questions who the liberator of Nawuris is such as “who is Nawuri Mandela? Songs composed to mark his status as the Mandela of the Nawuri sang during the Baya dance. The song leader will raise a song like “Our Mandela, Our Mandela, Our Mandela is who? Then the respondents will say he is “Yumpo”.

Ntewusu (2013) notes that Nana’s position as leader of Nawuri Affairs came partly because of charisma and partly because his educational level. He was the first Nawuri man from Balai to have been educated. He had his education at Kete Krachi under a German called Henkel. Under Henkel, he learnt a lot about human freedom, justice and hard work, which he sets out to implement. He was a very hard working teacher who taught in many Nchumuru and Nawuri villages. It is worth to state that his education in Kete-Krachi was because of the Nawuri connection with the Krachis. In short, there was a cordial relationship between the Nawuri and the Krachi than there was between the Gonja and Nawuri.

Because of the bitter relationship between the Gonja and the Nawuri, all Nawuri students who were sent to Salaga to school were brutally maltreated and they dropped out of school.

With the emergence of Nawuri Paramountcy in the 1950s, it became very important in the 60s and 70s to get a very vibrant youth leader who will rally behind the chief and to make claims to the government for the liberation of the Nawuri people from the shackles of Gonja Oppression.

A respondent noted that: *Nana then became the secretary of the Nawuri Youth Association and a mouthpiece for channeling information to the government and receiving information from the government about the Nawuri state. The letters and petitions that he wrote in the*

70s have accorded him recognition in local, National and International politics (Discussion with George Mbimadong).

Nana Obimpeh was invited by the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations to New York, United States of America. As indicated earlier, the Nawuri area was part of the Trans-Volta Togoland that was under the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. Under the United Nations charter, the trusteeship council was authorized to examine and discuss reports from the administering authority on the political, economic, social and educational advancement of people in the Trust Territories and in consultation with the administering authority, examine petitions from and undertake periodic and other special missions to trust territories. Nana in 1950 1951 had written a number petitions to the United Nations complaining about the economic and social neglect of the Kpandai of the Kpandai area. His petitions formed part of the general report on racial and ethnic abuses in the Trust Territories in Africa and Asia that were to be discussed in December 1952 for which his presence and input were considered very crucial and necessary (Ntewusu 2013).

In New York, he met black intellectuals, a significant segment press, and black organizations such as the Council African Affairs under the leadership of Paul Robeson and other notables such as Max Yergan Alpheus Hunton among others. After deliberations it was obvious that internal reforms that internal reforms in the trust territory had a long way to go but the meeting was significant as it meant that the affairs in the territory in general and the Nawuri area in particular were monitored with keen interest by the United Nations (Ntewusu 2013).

On his way back from New York through England, the secretary of the Labour Party in London offered a four-year scholarship to study in Oxford University. Nana turned down the opportunity as he considered that as an opportunity to take away from home and thus

allow for the manipulation of the Nawuri people. A few months after arrival, the late Theodor Asare, a Barrister-at-law and solicitor from Worawora in the Volta Region worked out a scholarship meant for natives in Trans-Volta Togoland for Nana to study law at Lincoln University in the United of America. Again, Nana turned down the scholarship with the same view that it was a plot to get him permanently out of the country and end Nawuri struggle for freedom. In 1954, he was instrumental in the formation of the Nawuri Youth Association. At that time, the Trusteeship Council had indicated that it was not interested in handling individual affairs but will consider collective decisions. Unfortunately, the Nawuri Youth Association did have any pan-Nawuri appeal and only a few were interested in its activities. It was not until 1975 that that it was officially registered as the Nawuri Youth Association (Ntewusu 2013).

Ntewusu (2013) noted that when Ghana returned to constitutional rule in 1969, after the 1966 coup, Nana contested the parliamentary elections under the ticket the National Alliance of Liberals (NAL) was a political party in Ghana formed by Kwabena Agbele Gbedemah during the second republic (1969-1972). In the election that was held on 29 August 1969, Nana emerged victorious among three other parliamentary contestants. By his victory, he became the first Nawuri parliamentarian and one of the 29 that NAL won countrywide.

Nana's victory and presence in parliament was significant in many ways. First, it paved the way for him to put before parliament a number of issues that he considered very important for the upliftment of his constituency as well as the Nation. For example, he discussed the need for a separate district for Kpandai on the floor of Parliament several times. He backed his request by a number letters and petitions to the government and other international organizations such as the United Nations. His request and petitions led to the establishment of a committee of enquiry in 1971 to look into the economic, social and

political situation of the people living in Kpandai in particular and the Gonja, Nchumburun, Krachi and Nanun area in general. The committees' report became the blueprint that will guide governments in their dealings with the areas mentioned above (Ntewusu 2013).

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the relationship between traditional religion and leadership in Balai. It traced the foundation of Kankpe and other deities in the area. Central to the discussion in this chapter is the extent to which the Kankpe Priest came to dominate the political affairs in Balai.

The life history of Nana Obimpeh, chief from (1999-2013) was also discussed. It is because of the clan that he hails from that in part Nana Obimpeh succeeded as a leader and chief because of the community in which he lived. He was born into the Kabiso clan, which has a great attachment to the Kankpe deity. He grew up in Balai, which gave him the opportunity to understand the link between traditional religion and political development. He combined these to become a successful leader. He has for example successfully pursue the campaign for the freedom of the Nawuris from the over lordship of the Gonja. He has also succeeded in uniting the Nawuri communities to fight a common course for Nawuri development. He position has projected Balai as a center for Nawuri affairs locally and nationally making the village unique among other Nawuri communities.

He was however faced with stiff antagonism from the Nawuri leadership of Kpandai over land ownership and boundaries, which resulted in several years of court litigation. This issue over land ownership is still before the appeal court for determination. Some

individuals in the community of Balai had also attempted to flout his authority as a chief some of whom he arrested and detained in police custody.



CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the socio-economic organization of the Balai village. The social and economic organization of the Nawuri of Balai is intertwined. The social activities of the village evolve around the family. In the same vein, the economic activities of the people are organized on family basis. It is therefore important to treat both the social and economic life of the people of Balai in the same chapter. The economic life will however be discussed first before the social life of the people.

4.1 Economic Activities

The survival of every economy is dependent on its ability to sustain itself. The traditional economy survives when its members are engaged in various economic activities. These activities in most economies are usually undertaken on very small scales with the family at the center of affairs. The connection between the social structure and the economic activities that they undertake cannot be overemphasized.

In Balai, several economic activities come into play to sustain the traditional economy. The people of Balai undertake these activities for their daily survival at the family level. Over the years, they have developed various local industries through hard work and their daily sustenance depended on them. Due to their hard work, bravery, initiative and resourcefulness, they have been very popular historically and in recent times. They engage in a number of economic activities, which helps in the development of the community and the entire country.

Balai people like other Guan groups were originally hunters but due to development of human settlement leading to the disappearance of game, their attention is now on farming. Barker (1986: 263) notes, “The main occupation of the Nawuri is farming and others include hunting, fishing, trading, pottery and soap making”. It must be stated here that smith work has been an integral part of the Nawuri economy and a source of daily bread for most individuals who engage in it. Their farm implements such as; hoe blades, cutlasses etc. were made by the blacksmiths of Balai.

4.2 Marriage System (Mate selection, Approval, Courtship)

Marriage has been an integral part of all human societies and the life cycle is never complete in the life of individuals without marriage especially in the traditional society. Thus, individuals see marriage as a social responsibility. Marriage is seen as the means for developing and continuing society. Among the Nawuris of Balai, marriage is seen as responsibility for all male and females and a certain degree of respect is accorded to married couples. For this reason many young men and women make it a point to at least also get married so that they can also be accorded that kind of respect. For one to get married certain processes are followed as discussed below.

The first stage in marriage among the Nawuris of Balai is *Mate selection* which is the ultimate responsibility of the man. The second stage is where the man seeks approval from the parents to either go ahead with the marriage or not. After the approval of the woman, the marriage process enters the third stage which is the courtship stage which is characterized by periodic visit of the man to the woman’s family house at night.

The next stage of the marriage is the payment of bride price (Kisaaji) to the woman’s family. “Kijafor” is the final stage of the marriage process where the man and his family set a day when they want their wife to come to the house.

4.3 Birth Rites

4.3.1 Outdooring among the Nawuris of Balai (Kabi Kawu Kile)

Outdooring has been and continues to be an integral part of the life of most traditional societies. Before a child is considered a part of the society in most African societies, the child must be out doored. Integrating a child into society thus starts with the outdooring of the child. It only after outdooring that other people in the most communities get access to the child and usually refer to the child with a general name.

Like in other African societies, a child that is born into the Nawuri community of Balai is considered a part of the dead until that child is outdoor. In a discussion with Sami Anyiabasu, he noted that: *all children born into the Nawuri community of Balai are outdoored by custom before a name could be given to them. Among the Nawuris of Balai, children are outdoored two months after birth. However, due to modernity and constant postnatal medical care, the period has been reduced to two weeks (Discussion with Sami Anyiabasu).* The Anwulachina clan members in charge of “Gbandawu” cult are responsible for the outdooring of a child. The main notion behind the outdooring of a child is to welcome the newborn into the land of the living. It is said if the outdooring is not done and a leader of the Gbandawu cult by chance set eyes on the child, the child is likely to die. For this reason, a newborn is always hidden in the room until the outdooring is done.

The outdooring process in the past starts on the 60th day after birth. Usually it is done at midnight when almost all people are sleeping in order to conceal certain ritual processes from the general public. It is believed that the person performing the outdooring process is dressed naked before performing the ritual and no one is allowed to see him in that ritualistic state until he finishes the process. Custom relates that if the child to be outdoored cries in the process or anyone sees the ritual man in the process the child cries, the process

will have to be rescheduled to another different day. The elder usually carries along with him an item called “Kissibi”, which is the main ingredient for the outdoorizing process. This item is chewed and the liquid is dropped in the mouth of the child three times. After the third time, the outdoorizing process is said to be complete and the child can now be brought out of the room to see day light and for others to see the child. Thus, the socialization of the child to the outside world begins after the outdoorizing. Then a day is set for the naming ceremony of the newborn child (Discussion with Sami and Blisasi).

4.3.2 Naming Ceremony and Significance among the Nawuri of Balai

Traditionally, among the Nawuri of Balai a month after the outdoorizing of the child a suitable day is set for the child to be given an identity. Names are very significant for the people of Balai and the naming ceremony marks a remarkable stage in the life of the child in this village.

A name given to the child allows people to avoid the use of general names such as “Nyinform” for males or “Chifor” for female children. The names “Nyinform” and “Chifor” refer to male stranger and female stranger respectively. The naming of children are clan specific in this community, thus names given may follow a certain pattern and process according to the clans own arrangement. Regardless of this, certain common procedures are identified.

In the first place, the parents of the child informs the clan head that their child has been outdoorized and they want the naming ceremony to be organized for the child to give the child a societal identity. This information is usually given out a month after the child is outdoor. Then the clan head selects a suitable day usually, a Saturday that falls on the special day called “Kikpaa” on the Nawuri calendar is selected for the ceremony. After the day has been identified, the clan head informs other members of the clan the clan and other

clan heads of the ceremony. Both the parents and other members of the village towards that day will now make preparations (Discussion with Sami and Blisasi). The parents have the responsibility of getting a suitable dress to wear on that day. A very nice dress is also bought for the child to wear on that day.

When the day is due, in the morning the mother will bath the child and begin to set out for the ceremony. The ceremony usually takes place in the morning in the house of the clan head. The members of the family and other people from the community in general will gather at the ceremonial grounds before 7:00 am. When all the signatories of the occasion are set, the clan head gives a short prayer for the ceremony to begin. Usually, the child's paternal aunt will collect the child from the mother and seat on a special seat prepared for that purpose (Discussion with Sami and Blisasi and Bayin).

As part of the items needed for the ceremony, usually, some money equivalent to about GHC 6 and 6 pieces of cola and some grains of guinea corn and a calabash are brought to the ground by the child's parents. The grains of guinea corn, cola, and the money are put in the calabash and placed in front of the family head. The family head uses these items to pray for the child by asking for long life, prosperity, and greatness for the child. After the prayers are said and libations poured, a name is given to the child. Usually, the clan head has the responsibility of announcing the name of the child to the public (Discussion with Sami and Blisasi and Bayin).

The parents or any other member of the family may give a name, but this is done when the family head permits it. Even with that, the name is told to the family head who will then say the name into the ear of the child allowed. After that, the name is then announced to the public by the clan head. This process reveals that the clan head has the authority over all clan members and the kind of respect accorded him (Discussion with Sami and Blisasi).

The names that are given to the children in this village are usually significant proverbs loaded with meaning. These names usually manifest situation and statuses of individuals and families in this community.

Special names usually given include; Anasinachor- which means: it is big with us, Anuabasi that means: let us listen to one another, Awaki which means let us try and see, Anyitapuichor which means destructors are many. Others are Attekusu which means: it's on somebody, Manetorwi-Whom will I speaking to, Asunkpa-lets pray for life, Buarenyi-God knows, Nkibuare-I am looking up to God, Anupualuwi-listeners are no longer there, Kinyinkide-Name remains, Atorwisun-lets speak short (Discussion with Kwesi Sei and Esipu Yaw Sei).

The naming ceremony is crowned by a collection made by the people at the ceremonial grounds for the child's mother to use to buy soap. After this, the elder of the clan closes the ceremony. Modernity has had some influence on the naming ceremony among the Nawuris of Balai. During the naming of child among the Nawuri of Balai, all the hair of the child is removed because the hair is considered as "Ebunimini" –the hair of a ghost. So this hair must be removed for the proper human hair to grow. Due to modernity, the mothers of children who have accepted for their children to be named traditionally refuse that their hair should be shaved. Just a small portion of the hair is shaved (interview with Sami and Blisasi, Balai).

In addition, due to modernity and influence of modern religions such as Islam and Christianity, after the traditional naming ceremony, the Christian or Muslim will go further to give another name to the child. This in most instances has made children to have dual name apart from the surname. For example you get a child who bears the name Burukum Achor Mohammed, Awubomu Anuabasi Richard. In most instances such children prefer

the foreign names to the traditional names and therefore will at best abbreviate the traditional name or not even use it at all. Thus, the build-up development of this is that when such children bearing such foreign names also give birth, their children will now bear two foreign names such as Mohammed Hajia, Robert Roberta and Joseph Ebenezer etc. What this implies is that tradition is given way for modernity and the identity of people is now being concealed under the influence of modernity (Interview with Dari Milechor, Balai).

4.4 Death Rites

Among the Nawuri of Balai, death is considered as a passage of from the land of the living to the land of the spirits and as such one of the stages of life. It is believed that individuals go on a journey to the spirit world when they are announced dead.

4.4.1 Honouring the dead: the installation of the dead as chief and its practice

(part1)

An interesting aspect of the funeral performance among the Nawuris of Balai is “Kinana”. “Kinana”, which means grandparent or chief, has been an integral part of the funeral performance of Nawuris. It is usually organized by the grand children of the deceased to remember their grandfather/mother by imitating his deeds and behaving in the same manner he used to behave. In doing so, on the day the person died, they will organized themselves take empty things and begin to beat those things starting from the house around town and back to the house as many times as they could. They sing songs that questions the source of grandfather’s death and he will not come back, what will grandpa/grandma give us. Some of them will be giving the response-goat and a sheep. After the burial, they will organize and select one of the grandchildren who could imitate the behavior of the

deceased well and ask the person to replace the person (Personal observation made on 5/5/2014).

4.4.2 Installation of the “Enana” (part 2)

In a way of honouring the dead person, someone who will serve as a replacement is selected from among the grandchildren of the dead person. Custom demands that he/she is installed as a chief by wearing the clothes of the dead person. All other grandchildren of the deceased will now give him the support needed for the rituals that are accompanied. Each day of the funeral becomes a great opportunity for the chief grandchild to go round with the other grandchildren to visit the children of the deceased asking them for breakfast if for instance it is morning. They could also demand that an individual should accompany the person to farm to carry firewood home or carry yam home. Custom demands that one gives out money to them so that they will move away. They could ask someone to send the deceased to the hospital because he is sick. Therefore, the individual will only be able to escape their demand by given them and amount of money he/she could give (Personal observation made on 5/5/2014).

This process is carried out throughout the period of the funeral. In all this, days where the chief grandchild has been installed will be full of drumming, dancing, and fun making. Three days to the end of the funeral marks a day that a goat will be slaughtered for all the Grandchildren. This goat is popularly called “Anana Kabui” a goat that given to the grandchildren. This contributes greatly to funeral performance process amongst the Nawuris of Balai as it keeps the funeral grounds busy and lovely.

In addition, prominent value of the Kinana making among the people of Balai is its economic significance. Economically, the chief grandchild of the deceased collects money from a variety of people who have come to the funeral. On market days, serious Anana

could even block a road and seek funds from individuals on the road on that day. This practice is acceptable by the people, as they understand that it is part of the traditions of the indigenous people of the area. Through this the customs and traditions of the people are preserved.

These moneys collected are used to defray some of the cost incurred during the performance of the funeral. One may also argue that it is a means of extorting moneys from the sojourners. However, it still proves that culture is paramount when it comes to ethnic identity (Personal observation made on 5/5/2014).

4.5 Final Funeral Rites (Kakyutuu) among the Balai Nawuris of Northern Ghana

The funeral performance among the Nawuri of Balai is not completed until the final rites are performed. Among the Nawuri of Balai, the final funeral rites are usually performed annually. The performance of these rites is very necessary as they connote a ritual cleansing of the bereaved family and the final farewell for the deceased. Final funeral rites referred to by Nawuris, as “Kakyutuu” is a yearly ritual that constitutes an integral part of rituals for funerals. Among the Nawuri of Northern Ghana, funerals are traditionally incomplete until the performance of “Kakyutuu” rituals. The ritual, aside its significance of cleansing the bereaved family, creates a general atmosphere for mutual interaction of all the members of the village. It is during this ritual process that the ‘Wuruko’ (meaning successor) of the dead is installed.

Also relevant to this discussion is the preparation of “pito” a local drink made from guinea corn. A pot of this drink is prepared for each dead member of the village whose funeral is being performed. Specifically, this aspect of the thesis examines the installation of the wuruko and the main Kakyutuu among the Nawuri of Balai. Attention is given to the “Saaru dance” and the impact of Western cultures (particularly education and Christianity)

on the Kakyutuu rituals as well as the relevance of the rituals to the Nawuri village of Balai.

Among the Nawuris, there are elaborate rituals concerning the “Wuruko” what we may liken to a successor or ‘reagent’. Usually, the “Wuruko” is the elderly male son of the deceased who has all the traditional rights to take over the roles of his father when he is no more. The term “Wuruko” may be equated to “Gborn Lana” in Dagbani which literally means, “Skin owner”. The installation process generally opens with a gunshot that calls all members of the community into a state of awareness that they are to install the Wurukos (Interview with Nkiane Noah). Custom presupposes that a person qualified to be installed as a Wuruko has never been installed before. Thus, the installation process is done with proper scrutiny of the individuals that are to be installed as Wurukos. While it is not clear as to what will happen anyone that is installed twice, it is customarily forbidden for one to be installed twice. The Installation process is done by first dressing the Wurukos and finally installing them according to custom.

4.5.1 The dressing of Wurukos for installation

Wurukos (whether males or females) are usually clad in white pieces of cloth, what the Nawuris refer to as “kikyebi fufuli”, from their neck covering one shoulder to their knee level. The “kikyebi fufuli” is the prescribed customary piece of cloth for burial among Nawuris. It is a common belief among the Nawuri people of Balai that any dead person is a chief and therefore to act in place of a dead person, the actor is accorded due respect. Wurukos are installed only once in their lifetime. This gives the opportunity to the rest of the young ones to undergo the installation rites (Personal observation).



Fig 3: Wurukos being dressed up for installation

(Picture by Burukum Achor at Balai, March 2014)

They are usually installed in white cloths and seat on a locally made mat. Boys, like chiefs, are lowered three times before they are allowed to seat and four times for their female counterparts before they also seat. Their installation presupposes that among the Nawuris of Balai that the dead person is not “really dead”, since his roles are to be performed by the newly installed person. Wurukos are installed a day to the performance of the final funeral rites. For every deceased person, two Wurukos (usually male and female) are installed. Once installed, they are clothed in white cloths, given a special food and are exempted from doing any work until the following day. While they could move freely in

town with no restriction, they are forbidden to have sex but could sleep with their partners. Their foods prepared for the wurukos must be kept clean and void of poisoning. For instance if a housefly falls into their food, they are forbidden to eat it and immediately new ones are prepared for them. Most often agushi soup, one of the favourite Nawuri soup is prepared after the installation as they are seen as the “actual” fathers or mothers of their families (Personal observation made on 5/5/2014).

The following day, very early in the morning, the Wurukos are given a ritual bath by mainly the old women of the village. After the ritual bath, the Wurukos are given a ritual shaven of hair to signify their new status.



Fig 4: Installed wurukos

(picture by Burukum Achor, March 2014)

4.5.2 The main Kakyutuu

Guinea corn and fowls constitute the major items for the ceremony. The guinea corn is prepared into pito and T.Z (Tuo Zafi in Hausa), a steered food entirely different from that prepared with cassava. The T.Z is put into a calabash but not a plastic or any metallic

object. The soup is mainly made up of light dry okro soup. For every dead person of the community, a fowl is slaughtered. It should be indicated that the fowl remains whole and not cut into pieces. The full fowl is thus, cooked and put on the millet T.Z already served in the calabash. Mostly, a stick is made into a ring-like form and around it is tied a rope which serves as a stand for the calabash. A mat is then spread preferably in the compound. The arena that is determined by the first person to have died in the Balai community has not connection with age. Therefore, at one time it could be the Balai side and at another, Kabisu.

The activities are normally conducted under the “*ɛbilisa*” (an elderly person). The “*ɛbilisa*” selects both children and the adults (who normally would sit behind the children) to sit on the mat. The interaction between the various clans is played out here. For instance, if the deceased hails from the Kabisu clan, a child from Balai, but not Kabisu, is selected to sit on the mat. On the other hand, if the deceased hails from Balai, a child from Kabisu, but not Balai is selected to sit on the mat. As indicated, adults, like children equally play an important role in *kakyutuu*. In line with the number of dead persons and for that matter the number of children selected for the ceremony, the same number of adults is selected with each sitting behind a child. While members of the clans have gathered, the ceremony opens with a libation then they proceed to the first deceased person. The elder, while standing in front of the food prepared for the dead person mentions first his/her name and then offers a short prayer. A small quantity of the food prepared for him/her is then poured onto the palms of the child in which he is required to pour on the ground.

The child is again given some of the *pito*, which she receives in her palms and then pours on the ground. Finally, the child washes his hands in a calabash filled with water. Afterwards, he is asked to eat the food in the calabash. Not all the children start eating at the same time; they eat as the elders are done with their incantations. Behind each child,

as it has already been pointed out, sits an adult. While eating, the adult hits and or sometimes tickles the child sitting before him while saying “gyi buri ka fiwi kunun” meaning literally, “eat the T.Z and eat the meat”. The tickling, which is meant to discomfort the child while eating, allows the adult person to have access to some of the food and chicken. Finally, the child escapes with part of the chicken leaving the remaining in the calabash. Some children sometimes would escape with the whole chicken especially when the adult person sitting behind him over hits and tickles him. While the child escapes with the chicken, the rest of the children would pursue him for a share of it. As mandated by custom, once the child escapes with the chicken and it falls, his guardian (herein referred to as the adult sitting behind him) does not collect the chicken. This is repeated until the last to have died is reached. Having reached the final deceased person, the *ɛbilisa* would announce to the *abilsa* (the rest of the elders) seated the end of rite and there the spectators (mostly children) would rush in for the remaining food, chicken and drink.

Apart from its religious significance, the final funeral rites unite all the members of *Balai* (including those of *Wurai* and *Chintimai*) as their indulgence is often created before the ceremony takes place. The two clans could observe the rites but do not actively participate. Usually, after the final funeral, there is a heavy downpour, an indicator to the acceptance of the ritual by the metaphysical world.

4.5.3. Western influence on Kakyutuu

Western influence, specifically Christianity and Education have very much impacted on this colourful event such that in some cases, as was seen in the recent installation, most of the elderly sons of the deceased have refused to take part. Some young ones, somewhat related to the deceased have, however, accepted to stand-in and underwent the installation

rites. An important innovation, to some extent explaining the changing dynamics of Nawuri customs is the use of plastic materials (comprising gallons of different sizes) in the event.

The custom of wuruko is restricted only to the Anwulachina, Akosi and Charga clans. The Chintimai and Wurai clans practice “Kilagbensi” in which ritual drumming; dancing and the killing of fowls are seen. During this ritual, maize and groundnuts are fried together with a goat for libation pouring. It is within the “Kilagbensi” ritual that the joking relationship between the Wurai and the Chintimai clans is seen. For instance, should the deceased clan be Chintimai, the clan as mandated by custom, kills a goat. Customarily, the Wurai people would steal the slaughtered goat and when caught is beaten accordingly (Interview with Nkiane Noah).

This ritual is an indication that among the Nawuris of Balai and other Nawuris in general, the dead are revered as chiefs and they see them as not dead but still have replacements in the community. It also indicates that the Orphans, whose parents are no more, should be integrated into the society and well catered for by all members of the community.

4.6 The Guinea-Corn Festival

Introduction

This aspect of the thesis is about the Nawuri Guinea Corn festival called Kayuji. Through the festival, I discuss the role of food, drink, land and deities in the daily life of Nawuris.

4.6.1 The Guinea Corn Festival (Kayuji): A description

The Nawuri word Kayuji literally translates as ‘guinea corn eating’. For the Nawuris the Guinea Corn festival marks the end as well as the beginning of the year. As a result, the festival focuses on the land, the environment, the deities and the ancestors. The guinea

corn festival is also concerned with the development of society therefore during the festivities rituals are performed to ensure the progress of everybody. As it marks the end of the year in former times, a ban was imposed on any form of celebration for a month. At the physical level, the ban was to allow for the processing of the guinea corn that will be used to prepare the guinea corn beer -ayuu nta popularly called pito. At the spiritual level, the ban also enables Nawuris to be at peace with nature and ancestors.

There is a traditional officer called Kulondiwura who keep the ritual calendar and will remind the Kankpe shrine priest called the Eseipu as well as clan and lineage heads, chiefs and the public when the time of the festival is approaching. Usually the time of the festival is calculated to fall on a special day called Kikpaa. Kikpaa is a seven-week calendar of the Nawuris and the last day of the seventh week is Kikpaa, which is considered very sacred for Nawuris. Usually the festival falls within November or December. A few weeks to the festival, hunters go to hunt for antelopes. The meat from the game is smoked and the lumps preserved for the festival.

Three weeks to the festival the Kankpe priest goes through a number of rituals to cleanse himself and the general community from pollution. While these background activities are going on, clan heads also perform some spiritual rites to curtail the adverse effect of enemies on clan members. Elders also within this period go into spiritual consultation with diviners to find out whether some abominable acts have been committed and at the same time appealing to individuals who have committed various crimes to come out for the right pacification and sacrifices to be performed.

A week to the appointed day women start the preparation of the local beer pito. The preparation of pito involves soaking guinea corn, in water for two days, followed by malting, and allowing them to sit for five days in the basket or on the floor. The malted

grains are milled and mixed with water and boiled. The resulting mash is allowed to cool and later filtered through a fine mesh basket. The filtrate thus obtained is allowed to stand overnight until it assumes a slightly sour flavour following which it is boiled to a concentrate. A starter from the previous brew trapped in a kind of fibre locally called bilide is added to the cooled concentrate, which is again allowed to ferment overnight. Pito the product is thus obtained. The product varies in colour and could be dark brown or golden-yellow. The taste also varies from sweet to bitter and contains lactic acid, sugars, amino acids, some vitamins and proteins with 2-3% alcohol (Ekundayo, 1969).

According to the ritual calendar of the festival, the day that the pito is ready for drinking should coincide with the day of celebration. On that day the traditional office holder selects young boys and girls preferably virgins and send them to the stream to fetch water around 4.a.m. They carry the water in gourds and are dressed in white calico with clay marks on their arms, legs and forehead. In the meantime, women assemble in the house of the Kankpe shrine priest to grind or pound the fresh guinea corn into flour. The pounding and grinding is supposed to coincide with the bringing of the water from the stream. Once the water is brought, it is used to prepare soup and a special food called kikari. The soup normally contains the lumps of smoked meat from the antelopes that were killed by the hunters the previous weeks. Kikari is prepared by pouring freshly milled or pounded guinea corn into boiling water. This is stirred for about forty minutes or one hour until a sticky substance, which is similar in texture to Tuo Zafi or T.Z is obtained.

The food is served in calabashes, usually the calabashes number about forty and each calabash is marked with two white and red lines. The lines are not crossed. This is significant because in Nawuri culture anything that is crossed is a negation and since during the festival what is needed is progress the marks must be straight. Also, to serve the food in a calabash is of ritual importance. Ritually, each calabash signifies wholeness

of life. As it represents a complete life, eating in it is a way of symbolically ensuring that one lives throughout the year.



Fig 5: Empty calabashes yet to be served with kikari, note the white markings on the calabashes and a pot containing pito to the left

(Photo by Ntewusu Samuel 2007).

As indicate already some of the food is served to family and clan heads. The one served to family and clan heads are normally in small calabashes with the food in bigger calabashes reserved for the Kankpe shrine. Once the food is served to clan heads, technically, everyone is permitted to ‘eat the new guinea corn’. ‘Eating guinea corn’ has a much broader implication and goes beyond the physical food that has been prepared. It shows that the ban on eating the fresh guinea corn has been lifted and from then on people could use the guinea corn for every purpose that they want.

Among the Nawuris it is used to prepare over six different kinds of dishes and also significant for spiritual offerings where the raw guinea corn seeds are mixed with kola nuts and placed by roads and bush paths to pacify unknown spirits that are perceived to be

causing havoc in their lives. As previously stated in most cases people still want to wait till the final rites are performed at the Kankpe shrine before they eat the food.

As previously indicated as the food is being served the hair of the Kankpe priest, is shaved leaving a small portion in front or on the side of the head. In Nawuri, such a hairstyle is called wiliba.

The shaving of the hair is very significant. The Kankpe priest shaves the hair only once a year and only during the guinea corn festival. Shaving off the hair means shaving off the past and preparing for the New Year, this definitely is exemplified by the new hair that will grow on the head of the Kankpe priest. At the same time, the small portion of hair signifies transition and continuity. Hence, in the rituals surrounding the hair of the Kankpe priest one can analyse how the festival represents both the old and the New Year. Wiliba is also of symbolic essence. Wiliba in Nawuri means 'hard core' or 'resilience'. Therefore, the haircut of the Kankpe priest serves as reminder to the community of their resilience throughout the year. It is important to mention that both the preparation of the food and the shaving of the hair of the Kankpe priest are punctuated with singing of war and hunter songs and recital of appellations especially in praise of past and present hunters and brave men.

The second aspect of the festival has to do with the Kankpe shrine. Kankpe is a shrine for a clan in Balai called Kabisu and it is situated in a big grove situated about one mile and to the northeast of Balai. Initially the clan was staying in an area called Kowato, which is just about one mile southeast of Kpandai and very close to present day Mbowurai. As a result of the discovery of this deity the Kabisu clan decided to move to the place where the shrine is located today and name it Kankpe which means to 'migrate or move to'. This

kind of migration was not external as the Kabisu never migrated from anywhere but instead moved around the same area where they are founded today.

As indicated the priest first takes the lead to the shrine and the rest follow him in a single file. As he approaches the grove that houses the shrine, he begins chanting words and praises to the deity. When he arrives, he instructs the youth to take brooms and sweep around after which he takes his sit. He takes a calabash containing freshly grind millet called “Along”.

He puts water in it and stirs it for about five minutes then pours libation with it after which he pours everything on the Kankpe mound. Second, he takes a calabash with the food-kikari then he cuts smaller pieces and put it on the Kankpe mound. After that, he pours some of the pito into a calabash and offers libation. In the offering of “Along” and “Kikari” the prayers are usually short but it is in offering pito that he really intensifies his prayers. This is indicative of the importance of the local beer in ritual prayers involving the priest, deities and ancestors.

After the libation, the remainder of the food is sent into a small hut/room, which houses additional objects related to the shrine. The same prayers are repeated there after which the food is brought out again and served to other five smaller deities dotted about twenty metres away from the main Kankpe shrine. The five small deities are consulted for specific needs. The first is for protection, the second for fame, the third for success, the fourth for re/production and the fifth for victory both in war and over enemies. After the offering of food and drinks to the smaller deities the priest returns to the big mound. It is at that moment that those who consulted the Kankpe deity for specific needs or solutions to problems the previous year come forward in a single file to thank the deity for answered

prayers. Some show appreciation by donating money or bringing goats, sheep or cows to the shrine.

After that, those who have particular concerns or needs for the incoming year, also come forward and the priest equally will put their request before the deity. This would have taken the time to about 2:00p.m. The priest makes sacrifices of fowls, goats and sheep, mostly these would have been provided by those whose request the previous year were granted or others who have already pledged to give to the deity the aforementioned animals to facilitate or ensure a quick solution to their problems.

After the sacrifice, the animals are roasted or cooked and served to all present. When everyone is served the roasted or cooked meat, some pito, which has been, reserved all this while is mixed with sand. The sand is used to make cross marks on the forehead of the people who went to the shrine. Portions of the sand are also carried away in fresh leaves to be used for the same purpose at home. It is important to point out how in the case of the food two straight marks are made and yet with the sand it is a cross. The issue is that the sand is supposed to negate bad luck.

In Nawuri spirits that inhabit the head causes cosmological belief system bad luck and sicknesses. One can only negate the power of the spirits by physically putting the cross sign on the forehead. After the 'anointing' session, the Kankpe priest declares all rituals related to the festival completed. The priest is escorted from the shrine through the thick forest to the village. However, just before the Kankpe priest and his elders enter the village, hunters meet them half way with songs. Some of the hunters' fire musketry and at the same time brandish animal horns, jaws, tails, skins and skulls as trophies. Women join again to chant out appellations. The whole village leads the Kankpe priest to his house. The rest continue to a popular dance arena in the village where the hunters or brave peoples dance

(Kakpancha and Enyinawo) is performed. As the dance is performed the pito that has been brewed for the purpose of the festival is brought out and served to both indigenes and visitors free of charge. As the drink is being served the greeting changes from antire or anulaa that is good afternoon or good evening to ye ani kosu pupoe, meaning ‘and our new year’ for which the response is ebuare eti anisu ko su pupoe, ‘May God add us another new year’. Thus marking the end of the guinea corn festival.

4.7 Conclusion

The chapter established that the main occupation of the Nawuri people included farming, hunting, fishing, trading, pottery and soap making. Marriage among the Nawuris have five major stages after which a man is viewed as duly married to a woman. The birth rites of the child includes the outdooring of the child to signify his coming to the land of the living and the naming of the child which gives identity to the child. The death rites among Nawuris include the performance of funeral and final funeral rites to cleanse the bereaved family and to say farewell to the deceased. One important festival of the Nawuris is the guinea corn festival which is a harvest festival associated with the harvesting season that is around November and December. The festival in a general sense shows the relationship between the Nawuri and their land and deities. But the fundamental need throughout the festival is the ‘appeal for divine grace’ through the prayers offered by the Kankpe traditional priest.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION AND THE CHANGES AND CONTINUITIES IN NAWURI VILLAGE OF BALAI

5.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the impact of the global political economy as well as western influence on the people of Balai. The chapter also examines the continuities and changes that have occurred within the period of study in the Balai village under three dimensions namely; political, socio-cultural and economic. This is important, as it will help in determining the magnitude of changes and continuities as well as the impact of globalization on the Balai village.

5.1 Political dimension

The political organization, political thought, and political behaviour of the people of Balai have a number of important structural features. First, the indigenous community is the basic unit of indigenous political organization. Indigenous political behaviour can only be understood within the context of this organizational unit. Political relationships within the community and between the community and other political actors are shaped by several additional structural characteristics. The most important and durable of these are kinship structure, community ideology, etc. All of these structures have had a fundamental role in shaping the way that the people see the material and spiritual world and the way that they interact with it. Finally, communities have their own formal political organization.

The political structures have been very important in shaping political activity within the community and between the community and others.

One of the remarkable effects of globalization on political organization has been on authority structures as one respondent indicated: *The political institutions of the village were mainly the fetish priesthood of Kankpe shrine headed by the (Kankpe Eseipu) who is the political head of the people and a clan head. With globalization and modernity, many other political institutions had been introduced. That is after 1900; the introduction of colonialism and the subsequent creation of modern administrative structures led to the split of the political office of the chief from that of the priesthood.*

The priest for instance as a leader was required to travel for meetings personally and to do other administrative works. One of the sons of the Eseipu was appointed to act on behalf of the priest. The fact that the priest (Eseipu) was usually the oldest person from the Akosi clan of Balai, his age will not permit him to be active in travelling and live up to the task of the colonial authorities. Apart from that, the priest was not allowed by custom to eat food prepared by a woman in her menses. He was not also allowed to eat in public. He and other members of the Akosi Clan do not eat Rabbit. Travelling means that he will have to eat foods prepared by unknown persons whose ritual cleanliness is not known and the type of meat used to prepare the soup. These made the people to split the political office from the religious office. Other political institutions created as a result of globalization included the office of the Youth leader (Ayaforli Eblisa) in charge of youth affairs and Female chief (Ewuriche) in charge of female and marriage issue (Interview with John Mane, Balai).

The current Eseipu of the Kankpe deity and the most eldest of the Akosi clan of Balai, Eblisah Abadie Mensah, expressed a similar view on the effects of globalization and modernity on political institutions:

Apart from the Eseiuship (fetish priesthood), Kasuliwura (landowner) and the clan headship, all other institutions that we see today are modern creations. They were created because of pressure from colonialism, modernization and the infiltration of migrant ethnic groups into the area. To him the white man came and because of the white man, they have to change to get certain things that the white man was looking for, leading to the creation of the position of the chief. He further noted that with modernity, the political institutions of the Balai village have now been expanded to include the chieftaincy (Ewura), Amankrado, clan headship, Youth leader (Ayaforli Eblisa) and Female chief (Ewuriche) (Interview with Ablisah Ntanki Ndamile and Abadie Mensah, Balai).

The views expressed in the course of the interviews are consistent with those of Guillen (2001) who noted that globalization has its own set of cultural attendants, which exercise a profound influence on the life of peoples everywhere; it eclipses, or at least subordinates all previous ways of answering need and of dealing with vicissitudes of human life. All other ways of life are diminished and marginalized at a stroke (Jeremy, 2004). It has also been described as a confrontation between global civilization and local cultures. Accordingly, Yeboah (2012) has stated that many towns, villages and ethnic groups in Ghana and/or Africa have similar or different myths and taboos that regulate their lives. Much as these myths and taboos were needed at some point in our society's development to regulate life. The author further identified threats to traditional cultures as a major effect of globalization.

The traditional authority structure is one of the main ways that the political, economic, cultural, religious, and ideological reproduction of the community takes place. The responsibilities of traditional authorities in the village can include duties such as enforcing community moral values, maintaining law and order, resolving conflicts between members of the community. They also organizing communal labour and assuring communal

cooperation for a wide variety of tasks, taking care of communal fields, making sure the sick are taken care of, and a variety of ritual responsibilities connected with all these tasks as well as religious duties. Throughout the community's history, traditional authorities played a very important role in defining the relations between the community and the outside world.

They enjoyed enormous legitimacy within communities and as representatives of the interests of the local population. As one respondent stated: *clan elders settled all problems that they faced in the village at the clan heads or the fetish priest's house. He stated that the 'eseipu' (fetish priest) was the final authority in terms of the decisions that were taken in the village (Interview with Eblisah Sami Anyiabasu, Balai).*

An elder of the Akosi clan and a former linguist of Balai corroborated this narrative: *family heads exert enormous control over family members when there were cases between individuals, the first point of resolution was the court of the clan head. If the case was between two clan members, the clan head uses his position to resolve it. However, if the problem was between different clan members, the clan heads involved also resolved the issue. Cases only get to the chiefs court when a clan heads were not able to give an appropriate solution to the problem (Interview with Eblisah Kinymawu Asunki, Balai).*

Another obvious effect of modernity or globalization on the village is the erosion of the powers and authority of traditional rulers. The reaction of traditional authorities to all of these changes varied. The current chief linguist of the village of Balai, for instance, has observed that: *the creation of modern institutions such as the police and the court system has made the chief to lose some of his judicial and executive powers. Most young and educated men today prefer to involve the police in the settlement of cases rather than the chief. It must however be pointed out that the chief has retained his power in the Balai*

village when it comes to land cases. Because when it comes to land cases and individuals even ignore the chief and send the case to the police station, the police will refer them back to the chief for settlement (Interview with Kastah Binyigni, Balai).

On the contrary, another respondent noted that: *the creation of the court and police authorities by the central government was just to strengthen the decisions taken by the chief as he could let the police take any individual who proves stubborn towards the sanctions of the chief (Kwadjo Kinyinkide)*. In addition, the chief has lost the benevolence of the community members towards him. A respondent stated that: *customarily the community is supposed to work for the chief by helping him to do all his farm work. Modernity has changed this situation because people are no longer willing to work for the chief in any way and the powers he had historically to sanction anyone that defaulted in performing this duty cannot be exercise (Interview with John Mane, Balai)*.

A respondent noted regrettably that: *because of modernity, the youth no longer know that there is even a clan head and when issues arise, they quickly rush to the chief's palace neglecting the hierarchy of authority rendering the clan head just a figurehead (Interview with Eblisah Kinyimawu Asunki, Balai)*. Modernity has also created general disrespect in the youth towards traditional rulers in the village because the youth of these days lack respect towards the chief and elders of the village. One of the respondents noted that: *young men who do not respect the authority of the chief would involve modern government institutions like the police and the court in the resolution of their cases. This is caused by modernity and colonialism because the ancestors never new that. In times past, the chief had his palace guards who were responsible for causing arrest of individuals who attempt to flout the authority of the chief and such people were punished in order not to repeat such actions (Interview with Dari Milechor, Balai)*.

These views expressed are similar to the position of Yeboah (2012) who noted that as cultures interact, some cultures are being diluted and/or destroyed at the expense of others and negative values are being spread all over the world with relative ease. In the same way, Ibrahim (2013) observed that as a result of the cultural domination from outside that goes with globalization, people in Africa are rapidly losing their cultural identity and therefore their ability to interact with other cultures on an equal and autonomous basis, borrowing from other cultures only those aspects that meet its requirements and needs.

The way people view gender relations have altered significantly in the village because of the exposure to other civilizations. Issues of human rights and gender equity are not as were previously known. Modernity has led to the creation of the office of the female chief. Due to exposure to outside influence, the females also have their fair share of political authority: *The position of the female chief exists in Balai village. The entire people in the society honour the female chief. This comes in the form of greetings and gifts given to the female chief. She has the jurisdiction of settling cases relating customary marriage and women issues. She organized the women for all local dances and had the power to sanction any woman who refuses to avail herself for any such occasions. She also monitored the cleaning of the village environment. Those women who do not sweep their homes and environment were sanctioned and punished for not doing so. The position of the female chief to sanction during cultural dance performances is waning because of the introduction of modern sound system, which makes most women to rather lean how to dance those modern music tunes instead of the local tunes and dances (Interview with Abadie Akos (Ewuriche of Balai-Balai).*

Government's development interventions also appear to take away the traditional roles reserved for female chiefs. The current female chief of the village observed that: *the government's creation of sanitary inspectors as a modern development has come to*

replace the role of the female chief on sanitation but noted with regret that people no longer clean their environment until they hear that sanitary inspectors are coming. This was not the case when the Ewuriche (female chief) was fully in control (Interview with Kinyinkide Atosun, Balai).

Another respondent noted that: *the authority of the female chief and other women in the village were subordinate to those of their male counterparts in time past. Because when the female chief was not able to resolve an issue, she sought the presence of a male. Even in the house, the female did nothing without the male. Nevertheless, today, females take decisions on their own without the knowledge of the males; this is because of modern issues, that the female can do anything as equal as the male can do (Interview with John Mane, Balai).*

The issues discussed thus far have been very important in revealing how traditional political activity within the community is fundamental to understanding present community's formal political organization. The interviews have also showed that one of the remarkable aspects of the effects of globalization and modernity has been on the people's participation in local and national decision-making. Politically, the traditional rulers were representatives of their people in all local and national gatherings. The fetish priest of Kankpe was the representative of the village in the Alfai Local Council during the colonial period. One of the respondents stated that: *in recent times, chiefs still take decisions on behalf of the village in the gatherings of the Nawuri Traditional area. However, the privileges the chief of the village enjoyed during that time had been lost with the introduction modern decentralization structures in the country. One or more District Assembly members now occupy the chief's place. Most village folks now look unto the Assemblymen for resolution of issues instead of the chief (Interview with Kwesi Sei, Balai).*

Supporting the view expressed above, an elder of the Akosi clan and former linguist of Balai, stated that: *the creation of the police and court system has waned because if there is a case between two individuals and one sends it to the police station to the neglect of the chief, it is sending the chief to the police station. This is because in most such cases, the chief may be invited to the police station to clarify some issues and by custom the traditions of the people is being subordinated to the authority of the police institution. Unlike in times past, the chief's decision in local and national matters was more powerful than it is today. Also, the clan head is no longer able to take decisions for all the members of the clan as it was in times past because most people in the clan do not even recognize his presence (Interview with Kinyimawu Asunki, Balai).*

The interviews revealed that local power sectors, sometimes local assembly authorities, and the central state impinged in various degrees on the autonomy of community authorities on the matters over which they could take decisions. The village's political organs were also partially shaped by the community's interactions with the rest of the wider community within which it operates.

The issues discussed thus far can be explained within the context of the cultural imperialism theory postulated by Herbert Schiller (1976). The theory focuses on the cultural aspects of imperialism, namely, the creation and maintenance of unequal relationships between civilizations when they come in contact, thereby favouring the more powerful civilization.

The theory suggests that ideas, worldviews and cultures of the more powerful nation, in this case the western nations, dominate the media around the world through the tool of globalization, which has a great influence on the third world nations. This has dire consequences on the continued survival of the cultures in most developing countries of the

world as westernized cultures, views and ideas are imposed on them thereby destroying native or indigenous cultures.

5.2 Economic Dimension

The exposure of the people of Balai to modern ways of doing things has produced effects on the economic aspects of the lives of the people. The economic structures of the local community have altered significantly as a result of globalization and modernity. Women who previously were viewed as subordinates to men now live independent lives and faring very well economically. A respondent observed that: *women empowerment in Balai is at the fore. Women own portions of land in Balai. Usually when a man gives birth to children, all the children regardless of their sex have equal access to their father's land. They can use it for any economic venture they want to use it. The males however hold the land in trust of their sisters. This is because men had better do the defense of the land against encroachment than women had. No woman is however denied access to and use of the land by their male counterparts. Even when the woman is married, the husband could ask for some land from the in-laws to farm and he will be given not because of him but because of the woman (Interview with Kwesi Sei, Balai).*

Another respondent stated that: *some women these days have their personal farms. Women in times past made only backyard gardens where they cultivated vegetables for family consumption. In recent times however, they make very large yam and cassava farms for commercial purposes. This has raised the status and confidence of women in the village. Apart from that some women also engage in other economic ventures such as retail business in yam and fish. The profits that such women make allow them to become economically empowered to compete favourably with their male counterparts. Some of*

them build houses and buy other things that their male counterparts cannot afford (Interview with Ama Tawia, Balai).

Other respondents support this position. One of them observed that: because land is now of economic value and mostly sold these days, anyone could acquire land. *Women who have the money to buy land do so and use the land for several purposes. Women therefore have their own residential apartments, which their male counterparts have not been able to acquire. Some women of the village have farms mostly on commercial bases. Some however have made these farms just for consumption purposes. We need to understand however, that apart from a few of the women who make yam farms most of them are into maize and groundnut farming (Interview with Bakane Manetorwi- Balai).*

In the view of another respondent: *a woman could not own an animal in her own name but in the name of the husband. This is because, the woman was said to have no house of her own and ones she lives in the husbands house, whatever she owns must be owned in the name of the name of the man. However, in recent times, women own huge numbers of animals in their own name. Explaining this he noted that some NGOs into animal rearing came and gave women of the village some number of sheep to rear and not the males of the village. This is a way of empowering the woman economically to match their male counterparts (Interview with Kofi Brukum, Balai).*

The effects also cover the farming methods of the people of Balai, as one respondent observed: *members of this village use Rotational methods of farming. They do land as well as crop rotational farming. In the olden days, farms made by individuals were very large farms and the products were just for consumption. They used the labour of family members to cultivate whatever crops they cultivated. The lands they cultivated were mainly virgin lands and maintaining the farm was easy. With the growth of the village and the migration*

of people into the area, pressure on land led to reduced farm sizes and reduced yield. The members of the village had adopted modern methods of farming. Some now use tractors to plough their lands before cultivation and some use agro-chemicals particularly weedicides to control weeds and fertilizers to enable crop growth. This has however, changed the quality of food items produced through the use of these new methods. Yam for instance cannot be stored for too long this time round and the taste and sweetness of the yam and cassava have changed (Interview with Kwesi Sei, Balai).

Another respondent remarked that: *Products from farms were mainly for family consumption but in modern times products are sent to national markets in Accra and Kumasi for sale. In these markets, the crops can be bought at any price once there are no fixed prices for the product particularly yam. Farmers do not also have any artificial method of preserving the yam and so will sell it at any prices so that they can go back home (Interview with Ama Tawiah).* The foods the people of Balai consume are gradually changing due to the influence of outside cultures, as some of the respondents noted: *the main crops cultivated included Yam, Cassava, Maize and Guinea-Corn. However, mostly women also cultivate vegetables to supplement the four main crops. Like any other area in Ghana, the people consume what they cultivate. In times past the main foods eaten by the people included, fufu, yam slices, TZ, mashed yam, roasted yam and Banku among others (Interview with Nyarkor Asunki, Balai).*

TZ was mostly prepared in the evening so that children will get leftover food to eat in the morning when their parent had left for farms. Fufu is mostly prepared in the afternoon and sometimes in the evening. However, when fufu is prepared in the evening children usually are unable to get leftover food in the morning and therefore they will have to roast yam in the morning and take (Interview with Kwesi Sei, Balai). In recent times exposure to modernity has changed the quantity and frequency of the foods consumed. Children no

longer want to take left over TZ or roasted yam in the morning but will prefer taking rice or indomei. Instead of staples such as TZ, adults prefer to take tea as their evening meal and sleep (*Interview with Bakane Yaw Mameasin, Balai*).

Increasingly, foreign diets, particularly foods of Western and Asian origin, are fast replacing staples because of globalization and exposure to modern ways of living through the influence of the media. It is therefore not strange to find micro indomie and tea retail businesses springing up in different quarters of the Balai community. These food joints are mainly operated in the evening and night hours and patronized by the farming and the business classes within the community after the day's work. The patronage of these modern foods is generally regarded as a mark of one's economic standing. Previously it was common to find farmers consume roasted yam during night hours. This practice has gradually faded away because of the rapid changes the village is experiencing.

5.3 Socio-Cultural Dimension

Modernity and globalization have produced far reaching socio-cultural implications for the village as one respondent observed: *traditionally, three of the five clans in Balai have identity problems as they have somewhat problems with their origin. One way of identifying individuals in time past was the giving of tribal marks and the marks that were given to members of the three clans were different from that of the other two clan. Their names are also of great difference from that of the other clans because they use mostly Islamic names (Interview with Ndamile Frank, Balai).*

Another respondent noted that: *the Nawuri Language is the daily language used in all the activities. It is the language used in daily activities at the shrine, and other community events. Lately, the youth, find it difficult to communicate exclusively in the Nawuri*

Language; they do not know how to speak the original form of the Nawuri Language. He added that most of the youth do not know how to pronounce names of things in Nawuri but rely on English Language words and constructions as substitutes (Interview with Sami Anyiabas, Balai).

The observations of this respondent are consistent with the views of Yeboah (2012), that globalization has declared war upon all other cultures including languages and it has been established that a lost language is a lost culture, a lost culture is invaluable knowledge lost. It is lamentable that most Ghanaians from the elite background cannot communicate in their mother tongue. Even at home most parents of a certain linguistic background do not consider it expedient to communicate with their children in their mother tongues, which should be the first language (L1).

Outside influences on existing cultural structures have also impinged on kinship ties within the community. The interviews have showed that the folks are now more individual centered than community centered. A respondent noted that: *the extended family system is gradually fading away and paving the way for nuclear family system. People now think more about their immediate family members than any other extended family member (Interview with John Mane, Balai).*

In a similar view another respondent stated that: *the extended family system still exists in the village although it is gradually fading out. Now, people in the extended family cannot take decisions on behalf of all others who are not present. In the olden days, child upbringing for example was the duty of all family members. Any member of the extended family can scold a child if the child was going wrong. Unfortunately, today the situation has changed because one cannot scold another's child. The parents of the child will not agree to that. Also, in time past, all moneys of a family and the products of the farms are*

kept with the family head and all people look up to him to solve any problem be it individual or group. When individuals even get any money on their own, they send it to the family head to keep. These days farms are no longer made together, moneys are kept individually, and other economic activities are undertaken individually (Interview with Ndamile Frank, Balai).

These outside influences have also affected the sexuality of the youth as noted by one respondent: *the people of this village cherished virginity in times past. Parents thus trained their wards to keep their virginity until marriage. Husbands rewarded any woman that was able to keep her virginity until marriage with a cloth but the cloth was presented to the parents of the woman to thank them for being able to keep their daughter well (Interview with Ndamile Frank, Balai).* Sexuality in the village had since evolved from what it was during the traditional or pre-globalization era when sex was considered as a thing not to be trifled with. Sex organs were not even called by their right or biological names and issues surrounding sex, sexuality and morality were not to be discussed outside. For example, Amanze (2010) observed that the language used in conversation on issues pertaining to sex and human sexuality in Africa is replete with euphemisms which are usually done in the process concealing the meaning of the subject under discussion.

In the traditional Nawuri ethnic group, sex was strictly either for the purpose of procreation or carnal gratification and not a topic to be discussed with little children. Therefore in pre-globalized traditional Nawuri communities, sex was restricted to family life, between a man and a woman and meant only for persons who are joined in marriage. Also, virginity or girl-child chastity was considered a thing of pride for the bride's family. Anyone who dared to deviate from the norm brought shame upon his family and was stigmatized by the entire community.

There are certain general taboos that are observed by two clans in the village namely the Akosi and Anwulachina. The members of the Anwulachina clan do not eat dog. Members of the Akosi clan on the other hand, do not eat rabbit. However, the observance of these taboos by the youth is not as in times past. They value placed on these taboos and other superstitions had gradually faded.

Further still, every member of the society was guided by general rules as set by societal expectations, superstitions, taboos and culture. This formed the identity and value system of the people and individuals that failed to conform were usually sanctioned heavily. However, with the advent of globalization and the fast changing world of information dissemination and cultural imperialism, traditional ideas about human sexuality are changing fast in the community. Accordingly, Yeboah (2012) has stated that many towns, villages and ethnic groups in Ghana and/or Africa have similar or different myths and taboos that regulate their lives. Many of these myths and taboos were needed at some point in our society's development to regulate life and the environment. The author further noted that globalization has become a threat to traditional cultures.

5.4 Continuity and changes in the Religious, Social and Economic life of the Nawuri Village of Balai

The Nawuri village of Balai have been undergoing a change in religion, ideology, values, political orientation, way of life, etc. The elements of continuity in the Nawuri village of Balai are that the built-up environment of the village have not change from what was observed in the pre-colonial and the colonial era. Largely the religious and traditional practices of the people have not change. For instance the days used in the worship of the Kankpe shrine has not changed as the days of the week specially reserved for the performance of sacrifices has been observed as such since time immemorial. Other

religious and traditional practices such as the oath of the fetish priest, special incantations before sacrifices and periods set aside for final funeral rites remain in the Nawuri village of Balai. One major taboo of the Nawuris is the cultivation of millet and to date it is forbidden to plant millet in Nawuriland.

In terms of economic activity, farming and hunting still remains the main occupation of the Nawuri people to date as majority of the people in into farming and hunting. Another economic activity of the Nawuri people that has survived until today is pottery industry. Women still make pots for cooking and for storing water and sell some to supplement the family income. People are still sanctioned when they flout certain customs and traditions. For example, if you dig yams before the Anwulachina clan performs the rituals regarding new yams. Irrespective of modernity, the people of the village still worship their deities and still perform sacrifices to the ancestors.

Nevertheless, despite these signs of continuity with the pre-colonial past, major changes have been witnessed in religious beliefs and traditional practices especially with the advent of the Christian and Islamic religions. Majority of the people have been converted into the Christian and the Islamic religion, which have not only affected the traditional worship of the people but has resulted in the disregard to some customs and traditions. For instance all people in the village no longer observe days there were days that were set aside for no one to do any work especially in the farm. All do not respect the custom, which barred members of the village from going to the farm when someone dies which covered the entire land. Some trees like the dawadawa and shear nut which are not supposed to be burnt or cut down are constantly been burnt by people. In times past, people were not allowed to pound fufu after six o'clock in the village. However, these days' people pound fufu at any time without caution. The chief had power historically to let anybody that

misbehaves to be publicly flogged but such kind of treatment is absent these days (Interview with Sami Anyiabasu).

On changes in customs and traditions, in an interview with the Kasiwura of Balai, Nana Baliane, he noted with regret the gross disobedience to the customs of the land that not all individual must work on each day that is a Kpandai market day. He explained that: *the natives are the very ones that even go to their farms on this particular day. In his words, “in times past such individuals were fined heavily so that they will refrain from that or are allowed to go and something bad will happen to him because it is on such days that the gods and ancestors also operate. But today people say Christianity and so would not obey and the land is spoiling more” (Interview with Eseipu Baliane).*

Another change is seen in the custom that barns people from digging new yams until the Kasiwura of the Awulachina clan performed the rituals regarding the eating of new yams. To this Samey explained that: *in times past, when someone breaks such a rule intentionally, he is fined at the spot and the yams taken to cleanse the land to avoid calamitous situations. He added that if such a person refuses to pay the items, he is allowed to go with the yams. However, when he is gone, rituals are performed and in the following years, he will farm and not get anything from the farm and not get any good yield until he comes to plead for forgiveness. Today, all these had changed and that is causing the land a great lost in the form scanty rains, low yield of crops and unknown deaths (Interview with Sami Anyiabasu).*

Apart from the changes in the religion and some customs and traditions, there have also been significant changes in the socio-cultural and political systems of the Nawuri village of Balai. In the past, all the clans of the Balai people lived as one people and unity existed amongst the people. It is however sad to state that today there are divisions among the

people because of internal feuds over chieftaincy and people now see themselves more or less as members of a particular clan and not members of the village. Families are now nuclear than extended as people now look up to immediate family members for help and concentrates on the development the nuclear family.

On the issue of language use, Kinyimawu Asunki noted that: *in the past people used the Nawuri language for daily communications, for transaction of businesses, in the church, in the shrine and other public gatherings. However, in recent times only a few elders in the village speak the original form of the language with majority of the people especially the youth not speaking the original form of the language. Most of the youth cannot even do calculations of money in the local language and some original words had lost their place in the speeches made by many people today (Interview with Kinyimawu Asunki).*

Another respondent Sami Anyiabasu also noted that: *the Nawuri language is the daily language used in all the activities. It is the language used in daily activities at the shrine, the church and even in meetings. However, when there are meetings involving strangers who do not understand the Nawuri language they do interpretation into other languages. He however expressed concern about language use by the youth, as they do not know how to speak the original form of the Nawuri language. He added that most of the youth do not know how to pronounce names of things in Nawuri. Drums are still used to communicate certain deeper societal norms and appellations of some great men in the society (Interview with Sami Anyiabasu).*

Even in marriages, the authority vested in men has fast eroded as husbands and wives live in a symbiotic relationship. Wives give maximum respect to their husbands. Husbands were customarily required to provide food for their families and any man that was not able to provide the family with food was not respected. In times past, women were only required

to assist the man by also providing the family's needs. Today wives are no longer servants to their husbands because they are also economically empowered to take certain decision on their own. Now women in the village have their own houses, which they keep without the support of men.

In the past, parents and members of the extended family exercised maximum control over children, which brought about discipline in the family as children obeyed their parents and elders in all aspect of life. A respondent noted that: *it is sad to state that the situation is not the same as today. Today members of the extended family cannot scold a child especially if the child is another family member's child. Even parents are unable to control and discipline their children all in the name of modernity of society. In addition, in time past, all moneys of a family and the products of the farms were kept with the family head and all people look up to him to solve any problem be it individual or group. When individuals even get any money on their own, they send it to the family head to keep. These days farms are no longer made together, moneys are kept individually, and other economic activities are undertaken individually* (Interview with Kinyimawu Asunki).

Other changes have also occurred in the way festivals were celebrated and the kind of food and drinks used in such festivals. For instance, in an interview with Yaw Bakane, he noted that *one change that has been eminent is the use of foreign drinks like schnapps in the pouring of libation to the deities instead of the locally produced drinks like 'Pito'* (Interview with Bakane Yaw Mameasin). Another change noted by Kwesi Sei is seen in the celebration of the guinea-corn festival. He noted that: *in times past, women pounded the guinea-corn used to prepare the gin called 'Pito' and the TZ called 'Kikari', which is used for the celebration. In recent times most of the guinea-corn is grounded in a corn mill instead of pounding. Another change is that in the celebration of the festivals certain*

patronage of certain customs observed have reduced drastically. For example during the celebration of guinea-corn festival in Balai, all children must be marched to the shrine to receive the blessings and strength of the gods by the making of marks on their foreheads and all the joints of the body. Unfortunately, it is no longer like that today children neglect going to the shrine because of Christianity. Hunting and farming remain the two main occupations of the Nawuri people of Balai and crops such as yam, maize, groundnuts, guinea corn, agushi. In the past communal life was at work and age was respected by all and sundry in the community which made life very simple with no competition for individual economic development as communal welfare and community development was a primary priority to all (Interview with Kwesi Sei).

5.5 Conclusion

The chapter discussed the impact of globalization on the Balai people as well as the changes and continuities that has happened over time in the Balai village. The chapter established that that the advent of modernity and the global economy has had significant impact on the political structure of the Balai people. These include; the erosion of the powers and authority of traditional rulers, loss of the benevolence of the chief by community members, caused general disrespect in the youth towards traditional rulers, altered the way people view gender relations in the village and have taken away the traditional roles reserved for female chiefs. The chapter also established that, there exist continuity in some cultural practices such religious beliefs and practices as well as sanctions given to people who flout certain customs and traditions. It was also established that significant changes have occurred in the Balai village overtime as the village has gone through changes in religion, ideology, values, political orientation and way of life.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the summary of the main findings and conclusions that can be drawn from all the findings of the study. The main objective of the study was to investigate the socio-cultural, political and social history of the Nawuri village of Balai. The specific objectives of the study was to examine the socio-cultural and political history of the Balai village, analyze changes and continuities and examine the impact of western influence on the Nawuri of Balai. To achieve this goal, the study made use of a qualitative design and ethnographic methods such as interviews, which assisted the researcher to obtain information from people who have knowledge on the village as well as its people.

The study also used the phenomenological research approach as it helped the researcher to explore and understand the lived experiences in terms of the effect of globalization on the local population. The study employed both primary and secondary methods in collecting data for the research. The primary sources involved archival sources and interviews conducted to collect information on the history and people of the community. The data collected was subjected to analyses so that valid deductions could be made out of it. The uniqueness of the area lies in the fact that, it is one of the few areas in the north, which did not have any written constitution, and the only area where they did not have a kingdom in the past.

6.1 Summary of Key Findings

The study examined the socio-cultural and political history in terms of the continuities and changes as well as the impact of the global economy on the Nawuri village of Balai. The first objective of the study was to examine the socio-cultural and political history of the

Balai village. In doing so, the study examined the origin, religious, economic and social life of the Nawuri people in general and the Balai village in particular.

On the origin and migration history of the Nawuri, the study found that the Nawuri are members of the Guan ethnic group who migrated from Larteh to form several communities both in the Northern and Volta regions of Ghana. Amongst these communities, included Balai the Traditional capital, Kpandai the district capital and others include Nkachina, Kitare, Njare, Bladjai, Kpassa, and Kateijeli among others. Balai is considered as the Traditional capital because it is the first village to have settled in the Nawuri Traditional Area. Even though it is not certain when Balai was settled, the ancestors of Balai were in the vicinity several years before the Europeans first arrived on the shores of the Gold Coast. The study also found that the Nawuris were the indigenous people in Alfai area with a complete autonomy and had a peaceful and friendly relationship with the Krachis and Nanumba and that the Balai people originated from the area and have not moved from there ever since. As one interviewee stated, Balai is the name of the “Wulachina or Anwulachina clan” and maintained that Balai is the oldest community in the whole area.

Ntewusu (2007) who indicated that Nawuris are part of the larger Guan group in Ghana and according to him; the Guans are believed to be the first settlers in modern day Ghana supports the finding. Maasole (2006) who narrated also confirms this finding that the Nawuri came from Larteh in Akuapem in southern Ghana. The finding is further confirmed by Mbonwura (2004) who noted that the Nawuri “as one of the autochthonous cluster of Guan ethnic groups in present-day Ghana, the Nawuri trace their origins to the Afram Plains. From here, they migrated to Larteh Akuapem and sojourned with other Guan groups such as Larteh, Anum, Nkonya, Krachi, Nchumuru, and Achode.

The finding is however in sharp contrast to the view of Briamah and Goody (1967:2) who noted that the Gonjas brought the Nawuri who now occupy the Kpandai area. Tamakloe (1931; p.24-25) who shares the view that the Nawuri people originated from a Konkomba background and Konkombas once occupied the land they now occupy also contradicts the study.

On the religious history of the Nawuris, the study found that, the main religious believe of the Nawuris particularly the Balai is the worship of deities. It was also found that even though there exist several deities in the Nawuri area, the Kankpe deity is the supreme tutelary god of the Nawuri especially the Nawuri of Balai. The study also revealed that apart from the main deity, many other smaller deities are at the shrine of Kankpe whose names are not mentioned unless on special occasions like guinea corn festival. It was found that, worshipers of the deities did not only patronize the deity but also Christians and Muslims patronize the activities of the deity. Sarpong (1974) who noted that whether we like it or not, many Christians have one foot in Christianity and the other foot in African Traditional Religion is a reality in fact confirms the finding. Also, Busia quoted by Abotchie (2008), described Christians as ‘thin veneer’ which means that in times of troubles ambivalent Christians fall back on traditional practices.

It was also found that the benefits of the deity to the Nawuri people were varied. The benefits include economic benefits; promote fertility in times of bareness, strengthening of morality, serves as a platform of unity, source of revelation, providing help in political leadership and a source of protection. Ndamile (2012) who noted that the Kankpe strengthens morality by checking sexual misconduct among the populace supports this finding. In supporting the benefits of uniting the people, Durkheim (1926) noted that the shrine serves as a platform for unity and that the religion brings people together. Also in supporting the benefit of morality, Ndamile (2012) noted that the deity strengthens

morality by checking sexual misconduct among the populace. Furthermore, in supporting the economic benefits of the deity Ndamile (2012) noted that another benefit of the shrine is that Kankpe make the village folks and people from all over the country that solicits its help to gain economically. He mentions the promotion of agriculture as people sought help from Kankpe for bumper harvest, as well as disease-free yield.

On the political history of the Balai people, the structure of the Nawuris of Balai is one that is centralized with the “Balai Wura” at the apex who saw to the day-to-day administration of the land with the support of the traditional priests, the sub-chiefs, Asafoakyes (youth leaders), and Ewurekyes (queen mothers or female chiefs). The chieftaincy institution among the Nawuris of Balai and the position of the chief can only be understood in the context of the religious history. The people of Balai developed their own chieftaincy that revolved around traditional priesthood and it is that which actually regulated traditional political action in the village. This finding is supported by Dovlo (2004) who writes about the relationship between religion and politics. He investigates how religious entities impact on political decisions in Africa. He argues that religious personalities or leaders have engaged actively in political and national decision-making. Cheka (2008) who noted that African chiefs or kings wielded both religious and what we today call the secular authority supports the finding.

On the socio-economic history of the Nawuris, the study found that the social and economic organization of the Nawuri of Balai is intertwined. The social activities of the village evolve around the family whiles the economic activities of the people are organized on family basis. In Balai, several economic activities come into play to sustain the traditional economy. The study established that the main occupation of the Nawuri people include farming, hunting, fishing, trading, pottery and soap making.

On social organization of the Nawuri people, the study found that the Nawuri of Balai practices the extended family system and like many ethnic groups in Ghana, they practice the patrilineal system of inheritance. For this reason, they put individual interests and ambitions after those of the family. The welfare and development of the family is seen as paramount for individual members of the family. Thus for this village, the family becomes an important unit for social and economic activities and development (Interview with Kinyimawu Asunki).

The study also revealed that among the Nawuris of Balai, marriage is seen as a responsibility for all males and females and a certain degree of respect is accorded to married couples. For this reason, many young men and women make it a point to at least get married so that they can also be accorded that kind of respect. The study also revealed that a child that is born into the Nawuri community of Balai is considered a part of the dead until that child is outdoored. All children born into the Nawuri community of Balai are outdoored by custom before a name could be given to them. Among the Nawuris of Balai, children are outdoored two months after birth. The main notion behind the outdooring of a child is to welcome the newborn into the land of the living and it is believed

The study also revealed that among the Nawuri of Balai, death is considered as a passage of from the land of the living to the land of the spirits and as such one of the stages of life. It is believed that individuals go on a journey to the spirit world when they are announced dead. In the Balai village, burial of the dead is done within 24 hours. On festivals, the study found that the Guinea Corn festival remain the most important festival of Nawuris and for them the Guinea Corn festival marks the end as well as the beginning of the year. As a result, the festival focuses on the land, the environment, the deities and the ancestors.

The second objective of the study was to analyze changes and continuities in the Balai village. At the end of the study, it was found that among the Nawuris the elements of continuity are that the built-up environment of the village have not change much from what was observed in the pre-colonial and the colonial era. The study found that largely aspects of the religious and traditional practices of the people have not change.

The study also found that the major economic activity of the Nawuri people that have not change include farming, hunting and poetry. It was further found that people are still sanctioned when they flout certain customs and traditions.

On the changes that had occurred in Balai village overtime, the study found that the village had gone through changes in the aspects of religion, ideology, values, political orientation, and way of life among others. Thus, despite the signs of continuity with the pre-colonial past, major changes have been witnessed in religious beliefs and traditional practices especially with the advent of the Christian and Islamic religions. It was found that several people in the village have been converted to either the Christian or Islamic religion which have resulted not only in the traditional worship of the people but has resulted in total disregard to some customs and traditions.

The study revealed that apart from the changes in the religious and some customs and traditions, there had also been significant changes in the socio-cultural and political systems of the Nawuri village of Balai. In the past all the clans of the Balai people lived as one people and unity existed amongst the people but today there are divisions among the people because of internal feuds over chieftaincy and people now see themselves more or less as members of a particular clan and not members of the village. In addition, families are now more nuclear than extended as people now look up to immediate family members for help and concentrates on the development of the nuclear family.

Again, in the past people used the Nawuri language for daily communications, for transaction of businesses, in the church, in the shrine and other public gatherings. However, in recent times only a few elders in the village speak the original form of the language with majority of the people especially the youth not speaking the original form of the language. Most of the youth cannot even do calculations of money in the local language and some original words had lost their place in the speeches made by many people today. The study also found that wives today are no longer servants to their husbands because they are also economically empowered to take certain decision on their own. Now women in the village have their own houses, which they keep without the support of men.

It was also found that in the past, parents and members of the extended family exercised maximum control over children, which brought about discipline in the family as children obeyed their parents and elders in all aspect of life. The situation is however different today as members of the extended family cannot scold a child especially if the child is another family member's child. Even parents are unable to control and discipline their children all in the name of modernity of society. The study established that unlike before, people now think about their immediate family members than any other extended family member and it is difficult controlling the youth especially girls resulting in several teenage pregnancies. This is because the youth are now exposed to modern forms of communication such as the mobile phone, which they use to communicate with other people without the notice of their parents. Through the mobile phones, teenagers are able to arrange with their peers to meet at modern entertainment grounds like jumps and nightclubs where they learn many social vices like prostitution.

The study also revealed several changes in the way festivals were celebrated and the kind of food and drinks used in such festivals. The study shared that in the past communal life was at work and age was respected by all and sundry in the community, which made life very simple with no competition for individual economic development as communal welfare, and community development was a primary priority to all. The situation today is however different as the communal spirit do not exist because individuals pursue their personal interest in terms of economic development with the disregard to the community interest.

The third and final objective was to examine the impact of global influence on the Nawuri village of Balai. The study found that the political structures have been very important in shaping political activity within the community and between the community and others. One of the remarkable effects of globalization on political organization has been on authority structures as one respondent indicated: The political institutions of the village were mainly the fetish priesthood of Kankpe shrine headed by the (Kankpe Eseipu) who is the political head of the people and a clan head. With globalization and modernity, many other political institutions had been introduced. That is after 1900; the introduction of colonialism and the subsequent creation of modern administrative structures led to the split of the political office of the chief from that of the priesthood.

This finding is supported by Guillen (2001) who noted that globalization has its own set of cultural attendants, which exercise a profound influence on the life of peoples everywhere; it eclipses, or at least subordinates all previous ways of answering need and of dealing with vicissitudes of human life. Yeboah (2012) who stated that many towns, villages and ethnic groups in Ghana and/or Africa have similar or different myths and taboos that regulate their lives also supports this finding.

The study demonstrates that another effect of modernity or globalization on the village has been the erosion of the powers and authority of traditional rulers. The current linguist of the Balai village who noted that the creation of modern institutions such as the police and the court system has made the chief to lose some of his judicial and executive powers confirmed this. Most young and educated men today prefer to involve the police in the settlement of cases rather than the chief. It must however be pointed out that the chief has retained his power in the Balai village when it comes to land cases. Because when it comes to land cases when individuals even ignore the chief and send the case to the police station, the police will refer them back to the chief for settlement.

The study also found that globalization has resulted in the loss of the benevolence of the chief by community members towards him as people are no longer willing to work for the chief in any way and the powers he had historically to sanction anyone that defaulted in performing this duty cannot be exercise. The study also found that modernity has also created general disrespect in the youth towards traditional rulers in the village because the youth of these days lack respect towards the chief and elders of the village. This finding is supported by Yeboah (2012) who noted that as cultures interact, some cultures are being diluted and/or destroyed at the expense of others and negative values are being spread all over the world with relative ease. Ibrahim (2013) who observed that because of the cultural domination from outside that goes with globalization, people in Africa are rapidly losing their cultural identity also supports the finding. Therefore their ability to interact with other cultures on an equal and autonomous basis, borrowing from other cultures only those aspects that meet its requirements and needs.

The study also found that modernity has significantly altered the way people view gender relations in the village because of the exposure to other civilizations. Issues of human rights and gender equity are not as were previously known. Modernity has led to the

creation of the office of the female chief. Due to exposure to outside influence, the females also have their fair share of political authority which has resulted in the position of the female chief exists in Balai village.

The study have revealed that modernity in terms of government's development interventions have also taken away the traditional roles reserved for female chiefs. The issues discussed thus far have been very important in revealing how traditional political activity within the community is fundamental to understanding present communities' formal political organization. The study have also showed that one of the remarkable aspects of the effects of globalization and modernity has been on the people's participation in local and national decision-making. The study revealed that local power sectors, sometimes local assembly authorities, and the central state impinged in various degrees on the autonomy of community authorities on the matters over which they could take decisions. The village's political organs were also partially shaped by the communities' interactions with the rest of the wider community within which it operates.

The study has revealed that the impact of globalization can be explained within the context of the cultural imperialism theory postulated by Herbert Schiller (1976). The theory focuses on the cultural aspects of imperialism, namely, the creation and maintenance of unequal relationships between civilizations when they come in contact, thereby favouring the more powerful civilization. The theory suggests that ideas, worldviews and cultures of the more powerful nation, in this case the western nations, dominate the media around the world through the tool of globalization, which has a great influence on the third world nations. This has dire consequences on the continued survival of the cultures in most developing countries of the world as westernized cultures, views and ideas are imposed on them thereby destroying native or indigenous cultures.

On the economic impact of modernity on the Balai village, the study found that the exposure of the people of Balai to modern ways of doing things has profound effects on the economic aspects of the lives of the people. The economic structures of the local community have altered significantly as a result of globalization and modernity. Women who previously were viewed as subordinates to men now live independent lives and faring very well economically. The study also found that modernization have significantly affected the foods the people of Balai use to consume as people are gradually developing taste for foreign food which were previously alien to the Balai people. Increasingly, foreign diets, particularly foods of Western and Asian origin, are fast replacing staples because of globalization and exposure to modern ways of living through the influence of the media. It is therefore not strange to find micro indomie and tea retail businesses springing up in different quarters of the Balai community. These food joints are mainly operated in the evening and night hours and patronized by the farming and the business classes within the community after the day's work. The patronage of these modern foods is generally regarded as a mark of one's economic standing. Previously it was common to find farmers consume roasted yam during night hours. This practice has gradually faded away because of the rapid changes the village is experiencing.

On the socio-cultural dimension of modernity in the Balai village, the study found that modernity and globalization have produced far reaching socio-cultural implications for the village including identity problems, the loosing of the original Nawuri language by the youth and outside influences on existing cultural structures. Yeboah (2012), who noted that globalization has declared war upon all other cultures including languages and it has been established that a lost language is a lost culture, a lost culture is invaluable knowledge lost, supports this finding. He maintain that it is lamentable that most Ghanaians from the elite background cannot communicate in their mother tongue. Even at home most parents

of a certain linguistic background do not consider it expedient to communicate with their children in their mother tongues, which should be the first language (L1). The study also found that modernity and globalization has had significant impact on issues on sexuality in the village as sexuality has since evolve from what it was during the traditional or pre-globalization era when sex was considered as a thing not to be trifled with. Sex organs were not even called by their right or biological names and issues surrounding sex, sexuality and morality were not to be discussed outside.

In supporting this finding, Amanze (2010) observed that the language used in conversation on issues pertaining to sex and human sexuality in Africa is replete with euphemisms, which are usually done in the process concealing the meaning of the subject under discussion. In the traditional Nawuri ethnic group, sex was strictly either for the purpose of procreation or carnal gratification and not a topic to be discussed with little children. Therefore in pre-globalized traditional Nawuri communities, sex was restricted to family life, between a man and a woman and meant only for persons who are joined in marriage. In addition, virginity or girl-child chastity was considered a thing of pride for the bride's family. Anyone who dared to deviate from the norm brought shame upon his family and was stigmatized by the entire community.

The study also found that in the past, there were certain general taboos that were observed by two clans in the village namely the Akosi and Anwulachina. The members of the Anwulachina clan do not eat dog. Members of the Akosi clan on the other hand, do not eat rabbit. However, the observance of these taboos by the youth is not as in times past. The value placed on these taboos and other superstitions have gradually faded.

The study further found that in the past every member of the society was guided by general rules as set by societal expectations, superstitions, taboos and culture. This formed the

identity and value system of the people and individuals that failed to conform were usually sanctioned heavily. However, because of modernization and globalization resulting in information dissemination and cultural imperialism, traditional ideas about human sexuality are changing fast in the community.

Yeboah (2012) who stated that many towns, villages and ethnic groups in Ghana and/or Africa have similar or different myths and taboos that regulate their lives supports this finding. Many of these myths and taboos were needed at some point in our society's development to regulate life and the environment. He further noted that globalization has become a threat to traditional cultures.

6.2 Conclusions

This study investigated the socio-cultural, political and social history of the Nawuri village of Balai. The specific objectives were to examine the socio-cultural and political history of the Balai village, analyze changes and continuities and examine the impact of western influence on the Nawuri of the Balai village. Based on the findings of the study, the study make the following conclusions and highlight the areas for future research.

The study concludes that it is evident that before the Nawuris of Balai settled at their current place, they have migrated from Larteh. Natural disasters, wars and diseases motivated these migrations. Through the study of Balai, we are able to understand that the migration of Guans from Larteh took different forms some of which were spiritual while others were physical. The migration of the Nawuris of Balai who were an integral part of the Nawuri group who left Larteh could be seen as spiritual since some of the clans claim aboriginality by their claim of descending from the ground and the skies.

Through social celebrations such as festivals and funerals, the people of Balai reconstruct their family life and merge their differences. Economically, Balai is a very busy yam-producing center. Most of the people of Balai are into yam production, which they export to the nation's capital. Balai does not have any market within it where the produced yams could be sold.

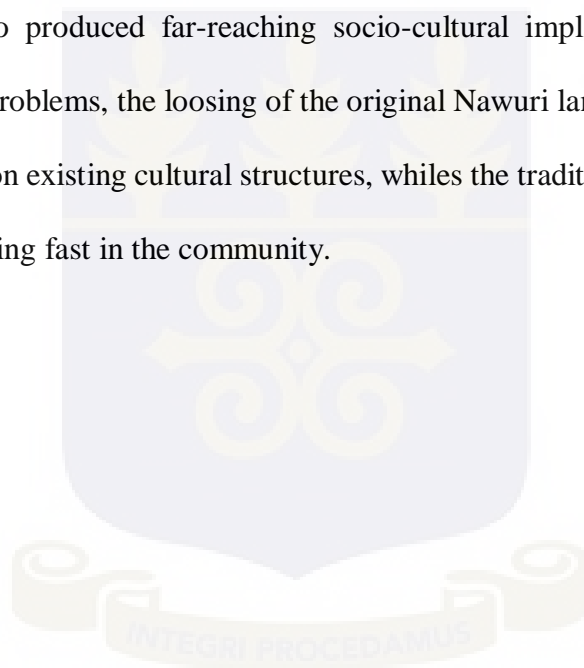
The people of Balai are very religious and religion has been a dictate of the social and political behaviour of the people. Through the worship of deities, the people live their daily lives in peace and harmony. Despite the presence of Christianity and Islam in the community, Traditional Religious practice is still on the rise as many people in the area patronize the services of "Kankpe" the head fetish of Nawuriland. Politically, Balai is relatively a stable community. However, in recent times, the migrant clans of Balai are contesting with the indigenous Kabiso clan over chieftaincy. The study also concludes that largely the religious and traditional practices of the people have not changed much while some economic activities such as farming and hunting have still survive to today. The study also concludes that, there exist continuity in some punitive measures as people are still sanctioned when they flout certain customs and traditions.

The study also concludes that significant changes had occurred in the Balai village overtime as the village had gone through changes in religion, ideology, values, political orientation, and way of life among others. Despite the signs of continuity with the pre-colonial past, major changes have been witnessed in religious beliefs and traditional practices especially with the advent of the Christian and Islamic religions.

The study further concludes that the advent of modernity and the global economy has had significant impact on the political structure of the Balai. These include; the erosion of the powers and authority of traditional rulers, loss of the benevolence of the chief by

community members, created general disrespect of the youth towards traditional rulers, altered the way people view gender relations in the village and have taken away the traditional roles reserved for female chiefs. The researcher recommends that further studies should be made into the impact of democratic governance and conflicts on the Nawuri people.

Additionally, the study concludes that modernity and globalization has ensured that the local assembly authorities and the central state impinged in various degrees on the autonomy of community authorities on matters over which they could take decisions. Modernity has also produced far-reaching socio-cultural implications for the village including identity problems, the loosing of the original Nawuri language by the youth and outside influences on existing cultural structures, whiles the traditional ideas about human sexuality are changing fast in the community.



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Discussion with Yaw Sami Anyiabasu and Ambasagna, 29/12/2014



APPENDIX

INTERVIEW GUIDE

ORIGIN AND MEANING OF THE NAME BALAI

1. What is the history of Balai?
2. What is the origin of the name Balai?
3. Which people occupy Balai?
4. Are there any clans in Balai?
5. How many clans are there?
6. Which of the clans are aboriginal?
7. Who was the first to settle in Balai and when?
8. Which clans are migrant clans?
9. Aside the Nawuri, are there any other ethnic groups in Balai?
10. How important is Balai to other Nawuri communities?
11. What is the occupation of the Nawuri of Balai?
12. How did the Gonjas come to settle on Nawuriland?
13. What is the origin of the title 'Kununkuliwura' and what does it refer to?

LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE OF THE NAWURI OF BALAI

14. What is the political organisation of the Nawuri of Balai?
15. What roles do leaders play in Balai community?
16. Are there chiefs in Balai?
17. What is the title of the chief?
18. Is chieftaincy an institution in Balai?
19. When was the chieftaincy institution instituted in Balai and why?
20. Which clans can ascend to the chieftaincy throne?
21. What is the criterion for the selection of chiefs in Balai?
22. How many chiefs have ascended to the chieftaincy throne of Balai?
23. Have there been or are there any chieftaincy disputes in Balai?
24. Before the introduction of chieftaincy institution Balai, who acted as the head or chief of Balai?
25. Who was/is the 'Eseipu'?
26. Are there any distinct roles assigned to the 'aseipu' and the chief?
27. What is the place of Kankpe as far as Balai leadership is concerned?

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE NAWURI OF BALAI

28. Who is the head of the social structure in Balai?
29. What role does the family head play in the social structure?
30. How do the people of Balai socialize?
31. Are there any social celebrations in Balai?
32. What festivals do the people of Balai celebrate?
33. What is 'Kajoji' (Yam festival) among the Nawuri of Balai?
34. Why does the Nawuri of Balai celebrate yam festival celebrated?
35. What is 'Kayuji' (Guinea corn festival) among the Nawuri of Balai?
36. Why does the Nawuri of Balai celebrate Guinea corn festival celebrated?
37. How is marriage conducted among the people of Balai?
38. What is the criterion for the selection of a partner?
39. Are there any exceptions in the selection process?
40. How is bride price paid?
41. How are funerals performed among the Nawuris of Balai?

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF THE NAWURI OF BALAI

42. What economic activities are practiced among people of Balai?
43. What is the original economic activity of the Nawuri of Balai?
44. Kindly explain why the Nawuris of Balai, moved from hunting to agriculture?
45. What types of crops are cultivated by the Nawuris of Balai?
46. What kind of assistance do farmers seek from the deities of Balai?
47. What are the common crops grown by Balai farmers?
48. Are any livestock kept in Balai?
49. How are they kept?
50. How are fishing activities done in Balai?
51. What local industries are common among the Nawuri of Balai?

RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

52. Who is God, the deities and the ancestors among the Nawuri of Balai?
53. Which are the most supreme deities among Nawuris?
54. Who founded the Kankpe deity?
55. What is the title of the fetish priest of the Kankpe deity?
56. Why do people patronize the services of the Kankpe deity than other deities?
57. What are the benefits of the deity to Balai community?
58. What effects has the rise of Christianity and Islam on the patronage of Kankpe Balai?

Political, socio-cultural and economic dimensions of globalization

Discuss how exposure to media (mainly radio and television) and the fast-paced changes that are shaping modern society's development, have influenced the following:

Social-cultural (comment on positive and negative aspects)

59. Adjusting to issues of identity (crisis)

- a. Ethnic
- b. Community (local)
- c. Family
- d. Personal

60. Thoughts on communication

- a. Language (occasional use of English/foreign words in communication-dying language)
- b. Non-verbal communication

61. Changing domestic power relations (disintegrating family structure-individualism, materialism, etc.

- a. Husband and wife
- b. Parents and children
- c. Dealings with extended family

62. Indigenous value systems

- a. Virginity or girl-child chastity (sexual awareness)
- b. Superstitions
- c. Taboos
- d. Indigenous worship practices

Political dimension (comment on positive and negative aspects)

63. Political institutions

64. Erosion of powers/authority of traditional rulers (views on persons in authority-chief, clan heads, fetish priests, etc)

65. Human rights-gender equity

66. Participation in local and national decision making

Economic dimension

67. Issues of women's empowerment (changing economic relations, women ownership of property-land, livestock, residential units)

68. Land tenure

69. Farming methods

70. Crops cultivated and foods consumed

71. Economic marginalization of peasants

72. Participation in national markets

73. Implications for rural livelihoods

Continuity and Change

74. Comment on the continuity and change of Balai traditional customs

75. Explain any of the societal arrangements altered in the Balai village?

76. What has been the impact of non-tribal traditions and the reaction on the Balai Village?

77. Explain some of the altered behavioral patterns of the Balai village

78. Comments on the continuity and change in the political orientation of the Balai village

79. Comments on the ideological continuity and change that have taken place in the Balai village

80. What has been the continuity and change in the socio-economic life of the Balai Village?

Comment on the continuity and change in the religious beliefs of the Balai village