

**UNIVERSITY FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES**

**CHIEFTAINCY INSTITUTION IN THE WALA TRADITIONAL AREA:  
EXAMINING THE PROCESSES OF SUCCESSION SINCE 1933**

**IBRAHIM MOMORI OSMAN**

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EXAMINING THE PROCESSES OF SUCCESSION SINCE 1933**

**BY**

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**DISSERTATION/THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF  
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REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF PHILISOPHY  
DEGREE IN SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION**

**NOVEMBER, 2019**



**DECLARATION**

**STUDENT**

I hereby declare that this dissertation/thesis is the result of my own original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this University or elsewhere:

**Candidate's Signature:** ..... ..

**IBRAHIM MOMORI OSMAN**

**DATE**

**SUPERVISOR**

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the dissertation/thesis was supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of dissertation/thesis laid down by the University for Development Studies:

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## ABSTRACT

The need for a broader consultation in the nomination, selection and installation of a chief especially the role of kingmakers in the prevention of conflict has long been considered by development partners and scholars. The main objective of the study was to trace chieftaincy succession and analyze the processes and procedures of installation in the Wala Traditional Area from 1933 to 2019. To achieve the objectives of the research, the study employed non-probability sampling techniques such as purposive and snowball sampling methods. The interview method was used to collect data from the respondents. The study revealed that the chieftaincy institution is a traditional one and should subject itself to traditional processes and procedures in the nomination, election and installation of chiefs. The first step towards meeting this requirement is the composition of a king making body. The kingmakers are: Busa Na, Kperisi Na, Sing Na, Guli Na, Tendana, Yari Na and Foroko. It has also been established that when a vacancy occurs resulting from the death of a *Wa Na*, the gate whose turn it is to nominate a candidate meet to deliberate on the nominee. When this is done, the name is forwarded to the Registrar of the Wala Traditional Council by the senior prince of the gate in question who convenes a meeting of the kingmakers for an election. A simple majority decides the faith of the nominee. A date for installation is then fixed for the *Foroko* to swear the *Wa Na* elect into office. The study revealed that there have been some breaches in the processes of succession since 1933. There has also been some form of disagreement between customs and traditions on one hand and the court system on the other hand. For example, the

system of succession by rotation has been breached. It has been established through the study that it is now the turn of Dinokpong ward and not Pelpuo Jaga ward of Yijiihi royal gate to present a candidate to succeed the late Wa Na Yakubu Seidu Soale II in line with the principle of fairness and equity used by the court system to give *Naang* to Na Yakubu Seidu Soale II. Therefore, Wa Na Fuseini Pelpuo IV was not the rightful candidate to have been installed as Wa Na. The study further revealed that the processes and procedures in the selection and installation of a Wa Na over the years have been influenced by politicians because they control too many resources in the form of logistics and access to state security apparatus.

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## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my lovely son, Amaan Momori Limaniya, for being a source of inspiration to my life.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BNI	Bureau of National Investigation
CBR	Crude Birth Rate
CDR	Crude Death Rate
CPP	Convention Peoples Party
GFR	General Fertility Rate
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
LI	Legislative Instrument
MCE	Municipal Chief Executive
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MP	Member of Parliament
NLC	National Liberation Council
NLM	National Liberation Movement
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NPP	New Patriotic Party
NPP	Northern Peoples Party
PHC	Population and Housing Census
PNDC	Provisional National Defense Council
PRAAD	Public Records and Archives Administration Department
UDS	University For Development Studies
UGCC	United Gold Coast Convention
UP	United Party
WC	Water Closet

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 BACKGROUND

Chieftaincy institution predates the invasion of Africa by the European colonialists. Pre-colonial African chiefs ruled defined territories based on dominance over others. Kingdoms were expanded through wars and when conquered, the kings imposed themselves on the people. Every community was to surrender their will and authority to the victorious king to be ruled over and failure to do so could be a basis for summary execution. The chief who is the custodian of the tradition was in charge for the administration of pre-colonial African society.

Governance in Ghana according to Linder (2007) is classified as a twofold system as it is the practice in most parts of Africa. These twofold systems are the modern and the traditional. The modern system is an institution with formal structures backed by law while the traditional system is governed by customs and traditions which in many instances are not documented.

The chieftaincy institution occupies an important structure in the administration of both urban and rural populations. Despite the controversies that arise as to its relevance as a framework of political organization by a section of the public, it is of interest to a cross section of Ghanaians. The state calls on chiefs as intermediaries in their interaction with the people. Consequently, chiefs have become agents of development in their respective jurisdictions (Linder, 2007).

The chieftaincy institution is believed to have started in the Wala kingdom probably in the mid- 1600s. An ancient Arabic document, *Khitab Ghanja*, the Gonja Chronicle, is the first written record on Wa. It mentions the death of Abdallah, king of Wa, in 1143 AH (1730-31 AD).

The 1992 constitution of the Republic of Ghana recognizes the traditional political system. The Constitution in Article 270 established the chieftaincy institution by customary law with parliament having no legal authority to pass any law that seeks to confer on any person or authority the right to accord or withdraw recognition to or from a chief. This article in the constitution has exonerated the chieftaincy institution from any political control.

Above all, a chief is the link between his people and the ancestors from which protection against enemies, bad weather and guidance is sought. This is manifested in the sacrifices offered during festivals and major days of the year especially in the Wala kingdom. The chieftaincy institution also upholds the moral and cultural values and aspirations of the people that have been handed over from generation to generation. It is therefore no surprise to see the amount of power and authority some chiefs such as the Asantehene, Ya Na, Yagbonwura, Nayiri, Okyenhene, Agbogbomefia, Ga Mantse, just to mention but a few, have over their respective traditional areas. In pre-colonial and even early post-colonial Africa, most chiefs or rulers exercised both political and spiritual powers that included the authority to raise resources through direct taxes, settle both criminal and civil disputes and the ability to form an army to defend the kingdom during wars (Eric, 2006). Today, part of these roles have been taken over by the institutions of state

and exercised on behalf of the people of Ghana. In today's traditional governance structure, chiefs have continued to establish traditional courts aimed at complementing the efforts of modern political structures in dispensing of justice. However, recent Supreme Court ruling turn to deride the successes gained by the chieftaincy institution over the years. In its latest ruling, the Supreme Court upheld that subjects have discretion of whether to honour a subpoena of a chief or not.

The chieftaincy institution has been given recognition by the state to the extent that a ministry has been created to specifically deal with chieftaincy matters. The Ministry of Chieftaincy and Traditional Affairs has come to stay after it was created in 2006. This Ministry is responsible for creating a linkage between the state on one hand and the traditional authorities on the other hand. Until then, the Chieftaincy Division Secretariat under the Office of the President and the National Commission on Culture created an avenue for linking the state with the chieftaincy institution. The Ministry is responsible for initiating, formulating and ensuring the efficient and effective implementation of policies for the sector. With the successes of the Ministry, the institution is still faced with challenges. Many court cases are still pending waiting final adjudication. Nevertheless, the Ministry of Chieftaincy and Traditional Affairs has brought sanity into the institution with a number of reforms and the increase of allowances received by chiefs.

A chief in both traditional and modern societies is considered to be the father of all the inhabitants living in his traditional area, and do not show bias or favor to any member of the public. A chief is therefore expected to swear an oath to be good to all, treat the society fairly and upholds the customs and tradition of his

people. The deviation of these values could form a basis for his destoolment or deskinment. It is also the custom and tradition that a chief rule his subjects with peace and take decisions in the interest of the people he ruled over. The chief is seen as the light and mirror of the community in which all members of the community look up to for their source of inspiration. Therefore, the chief is expected to preach peace and development in his interactions with the people. As custodians of the land in some traditional areas, chiefs hold the land in trust for the people, giving out the land equitably to members under their jurisdiction. Land in Africa has three owners; the living, the dead and the unborn/posterity. None of the three owners can have absolute use of the land without the permission of the remaining two owners. Since the two owners are not here, the living alone cannot give away the land to non-natives (Eric, 2006).

The state of Wa has gone through many succession plans with little or no challenges arising from the processes until recent times. Current events have marred the once beautiful culture and bond of unity and solidarity of the Wala people all in the name of succession disputes. Succession of kingship began after the sudden disappearance of Na Soalia, the epic ancestor of the Wala princes. Oral tradition has it that Na Soalia did not die a natural death but disappeared near a pond called Salmaana kolee in the Wa West district of the Upper West Region. Succession related challenges first occurred under the reign of Na Gura after succeeding Soalia. The reign of Gura was met with a prolong drought which was discovered to be a sign of bad omen by the oracles. The people therefore protested against Gura because he was not the rightful candidate to the skin. He was chased

out and killed at present day Mangu. Thereafter, the most senior son of Soalia, Pelpuo, was installed as *Na*. According to Wala beliefs and customs, it is only after the demise of a king that his successor can sit on the skin of the Wa Na. Because Wa Na Soalia's death was not confirmed, Pelpuo refused to sit on the skins and established his own palace in present day Nayiri aside the palace in Fongo. It is this palace that is being used today.

It was the turn of Sing to produce a candidate to fill the vacant Wa skin following the removal from office of Wa Na Hamidu Bomi on 4<sup>th</sup> November, 1943. The District Commissioner at the time refused the nomination of Abdullah from the Sing gate on grounds that he did not go through the constitutional stages to chieftom and therefore lacked service in the traditional manner. Another candidate in the person of Mumuni Koray of Sing appeared but Busa Na Sumaila was installed as Wa Na in breach of the Wala constitution. Mumuni Koray's candidature was also opposed because he held no previous skin and was an Ahmadi Muslim. This he threatened to pull down the mosque and destroy the Qurans of the Muslim community who opposed his nomination. The mischief was however cured when Mumuni Koray was installed as Sing Na following the death of Sing Na Mumuni in 1944. Strictly speaking, it was the turn of Boli Na Iddris to move to Sing while Chansa Na Salia moves to Boli. However, Boli Na Iddris relinquished his claims on grounds of old age and ill-health thus making Mumuni Koray to be installed as Wa Na following the death of Wa Na Sumaila in 1949.

The demise of Wa Na Sidiki Bomi in 1978 also occasioned a succession dispute between two candidates, then Chansa Na J. N. Momori and Guli Na

Yakubu Seidu who both advanced claims to the vacant skin of Wa. One faction of the kingmakers had recognized J. N. Momori while another recognized Guli Na Yakubu Seidu. Fighting between the two factions in 1980 left more than twenty six people dead and over forty two seriously injured as reported in the Daily Graphic 1<sup>st</sup> April, 1980 edition. It took the Supreme Court in July 1985 to settle this dispute by refraining from choosing between the two candidates but redefining the composition of the Wala king making body. The dispute was finally brought to a close when the redefined kingmakers met in Wa and confirmed J. N. Momori as Wa Na Momori Bondiri II on 29<sup>th</sup> August, 1985 (Wilks, 1989).

## **1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT**

Chieftaincy in Wala was for the first time given formal recognition when in 1933 a constitution was promulgated for the people of Wala. In the past, succession and its related matters were seen as a tool of causing tensions anytime the Wa skin was declared vacant arising from the death or deskinment of a Wa Na. This noble idea was the brain child of the British colonial masters that sought to correct the imbalances in the way and manner customs and traditions were applied in the nomination, selection and installment of a Wa Na. Before then, succession to the office of Wa Na used to be by seniority irrespective of the gate the most senior prince was coming from. This therefore created imbalances in the processes with some arguing that the system was not fair because one particular royal gate could ascend to the *naang* for more than two consecutive times if the most senior

prince comes from the said gate. It was this issue of fairness that the 1933 constitution of Wala was supposed to address (Wilks, 1989).

The constitution also recognized the existence of three royal gates namely *Yijiihi*, *Jarri* and *Jonyohi* as the only families that could ascend to the office of Wa Na. In addition, a total of six king-makers were put in place comprising the *Tendana* (Land owner), Busa Na, Kperisi Na, Sing Na, Yari Na and Foroko. This king-making body had representatives of all the stakeholders concerned in the Wala chieftaincy affairs and was charged with the responsibility of selecting a Wa Na in the event of the office being vacant.

Notwithstanding the well-crafted 1933 constitution of Wala, its legality as binding on the people of Wala was challenged in court in 1985. The constitution is described so because it cured one leg of the problem of succession by rotation. No one gate could ascend to the throne consecutively in succession. The court upheld the plaintiff's position of the existence of four royal gates with *Kpaaha* as the fourth gate. The plaintiff in the 1985 Supreme Court hearing was *Kpaaha* while the other three gates comprising *Yijiihi*, *Jarri* and *Jonyohi*, served as defendants. The second directive of the court was the inclusion of *Kpaaha* gate to the king-making body bringing the number to seven. Therefore, this body was to meet anytime the office of Wa Na was declared vacant to elect a candidate to fill the position. In the event of any disagreement among the king-makers, a simple majority will determine who is elected as Wa Na. The position of the 1933 constitution recognized *Kpaaha* as princes whose role in the palace was to whip

law breakers. It is based on their role that their name *Kpaaha* is derived from. *Kpaaha* in the Wala language literally means whip.

Nevertheless, the election process was been marred with violence when in 1998, the king-making body met and elected Katua Na Hamidu as the Wa Na after the death of Wa Na Momori Bondiri II on 16<sup>th</sup> January, 1998. The said Katua Na Hamidu obtained five votes to beat then Guli Na Yakubu Seidu who had two votes (Police Report dated 20<sup>th</sup> April, 1998). It is important to state that Katua Na Hamidu comes from *Yijiihi* gate while Guli Na Yakubu Seidu is from the *Kpaaha* gate. Eventually, Katua Na Hamidu was not crowned as Wa Na but Guli Na Yakubu Seidu. What is clear about these processes was that Guli Na Yakubu Seidu was never elected as Wa Na by the king-makers but finally succeeded to be installed. This therefore explained why the *Yijiihi*, *Jarri* and *Jonyohi* royal gates never recognized the *Naang* of Yakubu Seidu.

Therefore, the research will find out why an important body such as the king makers was circumvented as alleged by the three royal families. The circumvention was instigated by then Upper West Regional Minister and Wa Municipal Chief Executive in 2005. The long time bond of unity that has existed among the various royal families within the Wala skin has been broken. There exist divisions even among the same royal family as where to support. This has affected social activities such as naming ceremonies, funerals, festivals, among others. In the past, all naming ceremonies within the Wa township were held before the *Wa Na* in the palace irrespective of the royal gate involved. Today, this has not been the case. Majority of the *Nabiihi* have refused to accept Na Fuseini

Pelpuo IV as *Wa Na*. This majority group recognized Na Issah Seidu II as *Wa Na* and not *Na Pelpuo IV*. As such, all princes of *Jarri* and *Jonyohi* royal families and three of the four wards within the *Yijihhi* royal gate hold such social activities before *Na Issah Seidu II* in his palace. It is only the Kpaaha gate and one out of the four wards within the *Yijihhi* gate also hold social activities before *Na Fuseini Pelpuo IV*.

### **1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The main objective of the study is to trace chieftaincy succession and analyze the processes and procedures of installation in the Wala Traditional Area from 1933 to 2018. The specific objectives of the study include:

- To examine the processes of chieftaincy succession in the Wala Traditional Area.
- To determine the extent of breaches leading to the processes of succession.
- To ascertain the level of political influence on the outcome of the selection and installation of a *Wa Na* and other paramount chiefs in the Wala Traditional Area.
- To investigate the roles of the kingmakers in the selection, installation, enskinment and post-enskinment of chiefs.

## **1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The following questions were raised in respect of carrying this research.

1. What succession processes and procedures are involved in the selection and installation of a Wa Na and other paramount chiefs within the Wala Traditional Area?
2. What are the breaches that take place in the processes of succession in Wala Traditional Area?
3. How does politics influence the outcome in the selection and enskinment of a Wa Na and other paramount and divisional chiefs?
4. What role do the various kingmakers play in the selection, installation, enskinment and post-enskinment of chiefs in the Wala Traditional Area?
5. What challenges confront chieftaincy succession in Wa and how can they be resolved?

## **1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

Although scholars such as Ivor Wilks, Seidu Daanaa, Dougah, J. C and Marie Louise have written about the chieftaincy institution of the people of Wa, not much is mentioned in the area of succession of a Wa Na and his divisional chiefs and the various roles played by key stakeholders. Most of the studies conducted and available point to the recognition of four royal families but only three are qualified to be enskinned as Wa Na. The fourth family, Kpaaha, though accepted as princes, cannot be crowned as Wa Na. However, this widely held belief by

Wala princes had been broken in 2005 when Guli Na Yakubu Seidu was installed as Wa Na. This therefore makes the study very significant in redefining the structure of chieftaincy to accommodate current happenings in Wala.

Furthermore, studies on chieftaincy in Northern Ghana have been low and are mostly in the states of Gonja, Mamprugu and Dagbon. Each of these has a centralized administration in which the chief plays the dominant role. It is against this back drop that this research is significant as it will add unto the body of literature on chieftaincy succession in the Wala Traditional Area. This will serve as basis for further research in this field and also provide the needed information for future comparison with other empirical work. It will also inform state actors on measures to ensure that custom and tradition is followed.

More so, if people are properly educated on the succession processes and procedures on the chieftaincy institution especially the selection of a new chief using this research findings and other findings it would offer credible, effective and acceptable chiefs for enskinment in the Wala Traditional Area and the Upper West Region as a whole. It would also help eliminate any perceived interference of politicians in the selection process and reduce to a large extent, the number of court cases associated with the institution. This would further help reduce the bitterness that characterizes enskinment of chiefs thereby minimizing chieftaincy disputes.

## **1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

The study is limited to the Wala Traditional Area in the Upper West Region of Ghana. The study focused on the processes and procedures involved in installing a new chief in the area. The choice of the area as a study unit first of all was due to the fact that two people from the same royal family but different wards are holding themselves as Wa Na. These processes play a critical role in the selection, installation, enskinment and post-enskinment of chiefs.

## **1.7 THE STUDY AREA**

Wa is the traditional capital of the Wala Traditional Area and is also the regional capital of the Upper West Region of Ghana. The Wala Traditional Area constitutes Wa Municipal and parts of Wa West and Wa East Districts. The Wa skin is a paramount skin and the study area falls under the Wa skin. The study area is bounded to the East, by Wa East District, to the South and West, by Wa West District and to the North, by Nadowli-Kaleo District. The dominant religion in the study area is Islam. The main occupations of the people are farming and trading. The town is cosmopolitan in nature.

## **1.8 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY**

The study is made up of six chapters. Chapter one opens with an introduction and background to the work. This is followed by the statement of the research

problem, objectives to be addressed, the key research questions which the study seeks to answer and the significance of the study. The chapter is ended with some possible limitations, location and organization of the study.

Chapter two is devoted to the theoretical underpinnings of the study as well as the review of literature relevant to the study of the processes and procedures of installing a new chief.

The third chapter presents the community profile of the research. This chapter looks at the land, vegetation, climate, population size, structure and composition, religion, economic activities, among others.

The fourth chapter presents the methodology of the research. This chapter begins with an introduction, followed by the research strategy to be used that is qualitative research strategy together with the sampling technique to be used. The data collection and sources as well as framework for data analysis are present in this chapter. The validity and reliability and ethics are mentioned here with the limitations and possible problems marking the end of the chapter.

Chapter Five presents the details of the evidence or results and discussions under appropriate headings that reflect the objectives outlined in the study.

Chapter Six looks at the summary, conclusions and recommendations derived from the study.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter examines the theoretical framework upon which the study is built as well as a review of literatures which are relevant to the study. This chapter is made up of two major sections. The first section is captioned as theoretical framework will consist of the concept of power and the main sources of power. The second section reviews literature on the Wala state.

#### **2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

A theory is defined “as a system of interconnected abstractions or ideas that condenses and organizes knowledge about the social world” (Mikkelsen, 2005: 157). A theory is used to explain a phenomenon (Johnston et al., 2000) and helps us to think through research. Theory plays a very vital role in research, such that without it there is nothing to research on (Kitchin and Tate, 2000; Silverman, 1993). A theoretical framework provides the conceptual guideposts for choosing the concepts to be investigated, for suggesting questions and for framing the research findings (Corbin and Strauss, 2008).

## **2.3 THE THEORY OF POWER**

Power is the ability of others to exercise their will over others. It is the capacity to make things take place, resisting potential force in order to accomplish a desirable outcome. An individual in authority seeks to influence opinion, attitudes and behaviours of other individuals or groups of individuals.

Influence is also defined as the capacity to change or modify other people's views of a situation. Unlike power, influence makes use of positive language and subtle behaviours to promote the desirable outcomes.

## **2.4 TYPES OF AUTHORITY**

The sociologist Max Weber identified three types of authority. Authority is defined as power back by legitimacy (Dahl, 1957). Authority is thus established on the notion that the subjects over who the power is exercised do not have recourse to resist and it is in the interest of the individual and the collective to obey the command or laws that are made. In the state governance process, legitimacy of those in leadership forms the basis keeping law and order. In the Weberian scheme there are three types of authority, namely: traditional, charismatic, and rational-legal authority (Weber, 1958).

### **2.4.1 TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY**

Traditional authority springs from an authority system that is handed over from the past to the present just because that had been the way things had been done from antiquity. Monarchical regimes are particularly noted for traditional authority system. And since the chieftaincy system in Ghana is monarchical in nature our discussion in this essay couched in this framework of analysis. The chieftaincy system in Ghana is also framed within the scope of patrimonialism, where the chief's position scarcely differentiates between public and private spheres. In contrast to the traditional authority system is that which is founded on rational-legal system.

The authority in traditional authority is gotten from customs, traditions or established norms and is derived, says Weber, from the concept of patriarchal mastery in the family unit. Other family members respect the rule of inheritance and obey the patriarch, although he has no real means of enforcing obedience. Traditional authority is legitimated by the purity of custom, the ability and right to rule is handed down through inheritance. This is not changed overtime and does not aid in social change. In fact, Weber stated that the making of a new law contrary to traditional norms is deemed not possible in principle. Traditional authority is usually embodied in feudalism or patrimonialism. In a solely patriarchal organization, "the servants are wholly and individually dependent upon the lord", while in an estate system (i.e. feudalism), "the servants are not personal servants of the lord but independent men" (Weber 1958, 4). But in both cases, the system of authority does not change or evolve.

The divine right of kings is a different type of traditional authority whereby the authority of a monarch is seen as pre-ordained by God and impossible to deny or challenge.

#### **2.4.2 CHARISMATIC AUTHORITY**

This type of authority is possessed in a ruler whose assignment and dream inspires others. It is based upon the supposed amazing character of an individual. Weber saw a charismatic leader as the start of a new social movement, and one instilled with great or mystical powers. Weber seemed to favour charismatic authority, and exhausted a good deal of time examining it. In a scholarly work of charisma and religion, Riesebrodt (1999) postulates that Weber also considered that charisma played a critical role in traditional authority systems. Thus, Weber's consideration for charismatic authority was mostly strong, especially in looking at what takes place with the passing away of a charismatic leader.

#### **2.4.3 LEGAL-RATIONAL AUTHORITY**

Legal-rational authority is sanctioned by a formalistic conviction in the content of the law (legal) or natural law (traditionality). Obedience is not given to an exact individual leader- whether traditional or charismatic- but a set of uniform principles. Weber's theory of authority is very rich and intricate. Weber and others have enumerated many interesting relationships and processes occurring between

the types. The three authority types may be reinforced by traits that differentiate them from other types. Traditional authority is impersonal (unlike charisma) and non-rational (unlike legal-rational). Charismatic authority is dynamic (unlike traditional) and non-rational (again, unlike traditional) and impersonal (unlike charisma).

The chieftaincy institution is tradition in nature that is governed by customs and belief systems, hence, in line with Weber's theory of authority (traditional authority). Chiefs are also leaders that influence decisions to develop their areas of jurisdiction. For such leaders to succeed in their quest, should will charisma in their traditional settings and thereby confirming Weber's theory of authority (charismatic authority). Current laws enacted by the parliament of Ghana make the chieftaincy institution a legal institution with powers to adjudicate on traditional legal matters such as dispute, make by-laws, among others. The chieftaincy institution has become a formal institution and has agreed to Weber's legal-rational authority.

## **2.5 LITERATURE REVIEW**

This section reviews relevant literature on chieftaincy in and around the Wala Traditional Area.

## **2.5.1 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHIEFTAINCY INSTITUTION**

According to Awuah (2009), chieftaincy is a system of governance or political arrangement in which the leader is known as a chief. The chieftaincy institution is the most visible and prominent form of political system among most of the ethnic groups in Ghana. However, the history of the institution in Ghana is not uniform. Chieftaincy varies from society to society and there is proof that not until the colonization of the country, some Ghanaian societies did not have centralized government under chiefs but lived in what has been described as acephalous-groups with no centralized political heads. Asante in Odotei *et al.*, (2006), describes the chieftaincy institution in terms of an institution relating to the traditional political system or governance in Africa and that this institution in many respects is sacred.

In Ghana the chieftaincy institution dates back at least five centuries and preceded European contact and continue to be the basis of traditional governance in Ghana. According to Addo (2004), in the pre-colonial period, chiefs were people who were nominated, elected, enstooled or enskinned according to customs and traditions. It implies that chiefs held office ordained by tradition. The communities or the societies concern have the power or authority without any outside interference to either enskin or enstool or deskin or destool a chief.

Addo (2004) further postulated that during the colonial period, a chief were people who were nominated, elected and installed in accordance with

customary law and was recognized by government. This was the period when colonial enactments of chieftaincy made all chiefs to be somehow answerable to the governor in matters involving enstoolment and enskinment. The chief ceased to be a chief if the colonial government withdraws its recognition at any time. This meant that even in a situation where a chief continued to enjoy the good will of his subjects whom he presided over, the chief could not have ruled effectively. Also, if the people rejected their chief but his recognition by government is not withdrawn such an infamous chief could continue to function as a chief. That was the beginning of government interference with the chieftaincy institution. Chiefs became rubber stamps doing the will of the governor. Chiefs could not criticize the governor as and when it became necessary to do so. This shows that literally chiefs only sat on government gazettes and not on skins or black stools. They were therefore afraid, that if they went contrary to the wishes of the government, they could lose their positions as chiefs.

Early literature on Northern Ghana primarily looked at trade and Islam other than the social and political lives of the people. British colonist, George Ekem Ferguson first wrote about the non-centralized societies occupying the areas between Mamprugu to the south and Mossi to the north. In his interpretation, he did not identify the existence of chiefs in those areas.

### 2.5.2 COMPETITION FOR THE OFFICE OF A CHIEF

Tonah (2006) cited Anamzoya 2004 and Ladouceur 1972 as saying that in “Northern Ghana, competition for high traditional office is particularly fierce among the centralized and hierarchical states of Dagbon, (Abudu and Andani).” In Nanun, conflicts between Gbugmayili and Bangyili have characterized succession to the Bimbilla *Na* (Skalnik 1987). To become a chief is a noble accomplishment of all persons of royal lineage hence a fierce struggle which sometimes leads to violence and chaos among the contestants. The consequence is that those places often suffer in terms of development because the state scarce resources are used in maintaining law and order at the expense of providing social amenities.

To curb the challenges faced in the selection of a chief, a soothsaying method was adopted. Tonah (2009) noted that “the soothsaying method was adopted and later abandoned after the selection of *Na* Gungobli in 1627 because according to the elders by choosing Gungobli (the younger of the two princes) the soothsayer had gone wrong. Exactly five years later, Staniland (1973) contends that “in present circumstance, it is absolutely impossible to talk about a ‘proper’ procedure [of selecting a *Ya na*], since there are conflicts over several critical fundamentals of nomination.

However, Wilks (1963) maintained that the opinions of diviners and *mallams* have been closely associated with the appointment or selection of suitable candidates among a number of competitors for a vacant traditional title or chieftaincy position.

Goody (1996) noted that whatever the procedure that may be used to select from among a pool of candidates, the human element or factor often requires the affirmation of a godly authority. The kigmakers are seen to be guided by God.

Rattray (1932) states that in Dagbon when a chief dies and a new chief is to be selected, the chief of Kpatia and councilors of the chief of Gushiegu call soothsayers or diviners to enquire who is to be the next chief. The soothsayers meet in the bush out of the sight of everyone else to begin the process. When done, all the soothsayers or majority settle on a common candidate and the installed as the chief. In the event that there is no agreement among the soothsayers on a common candidate, different soothsayers are invited far away from the community until a majority decision is attained. It must be stated that although these processes of selecting a candidate are supposed to ensure objectivity and prevent any form of biases in divination, if not handled properly, can degenerate into chieftaincy conflict. After selection and installation are completed, the chief elect is led into the palace and lowered three times on the skin. He is also made to bath herbs of chiefship. This traditional bath is supposed to fortify the chief spiritually in the discharge of his duties.

Rattray (1932) again maintained that in Mamprugu Traditional Area, when a chief dies and a new chief is to be selected and enskinned, among some of the processes that he goes through include the following: his hair is shaved with a blade by a court barber and the hair is then handed over to *poa-na* (a female chief or Queen) and *Saduko-dana*, the clothes of the chief- elect are taken off and he is dressed in a *walega* skin. After he is dressed in this skin, the *Saduko-dana* takes

him by both arms and makes pretense of sitting him on *Na-Mogele* (a skin of the late chief). He does so for three times before sitting him upon the skin of the late chief. After this ceremony, he is made to bath and drink concoction made up of leaves prepared by the Queen.

### **2.5.3 HISTORY AND ORIGIN OF THE WALA PEOPLE AND WA**

Wala are an amalgamation of several Gur speaking Wali (Waale) ethnic groups with Dagaaba, Mande (Mandingo/Mandinka/Malinke), Mamprusi, Potuli (of Kojopere), Chakali, and Lobi (Birifor) ancestry living in the Upper West Region of Ghana, who recognize the authority of Wa Na and identify themselves with the entire structure of governance of which the Wa Na is an element. They are more of cultural assimilation than a political one. They are the most multi-ethnic of all the northern ethnic groups; that is why anthropologist R. S. Rattray described them as heterogeneous people under the jurisdiction of the Na (chief) of the palace. They are known for their extraordinary Sudano-sahelian style mosques and palaces.

Waale language of the Waala people has been identified by linguists as a dialect of Dagaare, though little different from that spoken in Kaeo and other Dagaaba villages of the district. Nakuma (1998) argues that Wala people speak three main dialects of Dagaare Language. This is because majority of Wala people are of Dagaaba origins, with significant number also coming from the Mande extraction. The Dagaaba people that form the population in the Wala land are from

the villages of Daffiama, Issa, Kaleo, Busie and Nadowli. This confirms L. G. Binger's assertion that the Wala are 'Dagari' or 'Dagabakha' mixed with 'Mande Dioula'. Indeed, there are Wala Muslims who use a Malinke dialect (juula) as their first language and identify themselves as Wala, but refer to their unconverted Wala compatriots as Dagaaba (meaning pagans)

Aweodoba (2009) also found that Wa comprises of three estates- the indigenes who are Dagaabas, the Muslims and the royals. The chiefly class in Wa, however, do not see themselves as belonging to any of the named ethnic groups. They see themselves as 'Wala Piene', meaning white Walas. It is the belief by a section of the Wala that through persuasion, Widana of Suuriyiri ceded the chiefship of Wa to the Soalia while the earth-priesthood was held by the original settlers known as *Tendambas*.

Wa is the capital of the Wala people. The first European to have arrived in Wa, Lieutenant Baud, a French noted the existence of three authorities as the king, the Imam, and the chief of the capital (village-capitale)". This means that the central authority at Wa was the king, Islamic religious power was with the Imam who occupied the Mosque and traditional earth-god powers reside in the Tendana (landlord).

Awedoba (2009) explains that the name Wa means "we came to watch a dance". This attest to the fact that the founder of the royal dynasty, one Adam Tor, a Mamprusi or Dagomba prince on self-imposed came in peace and that he found people already in the location, the lineage of earth-priests.

#### 2.5.4 EMERGENCE OF CHIEFTAINCY IN WALA

Daannaa (1992), writes that the chieftaincy institution of the Wala was an offshoot of the *Naang* (chiefship) of the Mamprusi. Soalia, who became the first *Na* (chief) of Wa was a Mamprusi prince who migrated from Nalerigu to Wa. Soalia came to Wa in the seventeenth century as a migrant and with the assistance of the *Tendana* (Landowner) of Wa as well as Yamuori, the Muslim cleric, founded the Wala kingdom as an independent entity. Indeed, the *Naang* of Wa was created in Wa and by the Wala. The statement here that the *Wa-Naang* was an offshoot of the *Naang* of Maprugu only infers that it was from Mamprugu that the concept of *Naang* as an institution of authority found its way to Wa. It may also be added that since Soalia the first *Na* (chief) of Wa was himself a Mamprusi royal, it is not out of place to say that there was a blood relationship between the newly found *Naang* of the Wala and the *Naang* of the Mamprusi people.

Daannaa (1992) further gives credit to the fact that, when *Naang* as an institution of authority was established in Wa, it was in the hands of one united *Nayiri* (Royal House) without divisions or gates so to speak. However, as time went on, this state of affairs came to an end. By the end of the eighteenth century, the *Wa-Nayiri* had developed into divisions or royal gates. These gates or divisions were: *Yijiihi*, *Jarri*, *Jonyohi* and *Kpaaha*. Each of these four gates was simply named after the *Na* who was its founder. Tradition has it that Yijiihi, Jarri and Jonyohi were the sons of Na-Pelpuo I who ruled Wa towards the end of the seventeenth century. Sometime after the death of Pelpuo, Yijiihi, the most senior of the three sons, became *Na* and founded the Yijiihi division. After his death,

Jarri succeeded him and also founded the division which was named after him. Jonyohi, the youngest of the three sons, succeeded Jarri as *Na* of Wa and founded the Jonyohi gate. The fourth gate was founded by Kpaaha who was the patrilineal cousin of Yijihhi, Jarri and Jonyohi. Kpaaha perhaps sat on the Wa-Skin around the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Each division or gate was made up of the descendants of the founder and father. Mention of the Yijihhi gate, for instance, was a reference to the descendants of Na-Yijihhi. Each gate in a sense was by itself the royal house of a part of the kingdom. In other words, each of these four divisions of the Nabiihi (princes) had the exclusive right to provide *Nas* (chiefs) for a number of villages within the kingdom. The Yijihhi gate provided *Nas* for Nakora, Tampala and Busa while the Jarri gate provided heirs to the Skins of Jonga, Yeru and Kperesi. The Jonyohi gate, on its part, provided *Nas* (chiefs) for the villages of Sing, Boli and Chansa. The villages of Guli, Konjihhi and Nyagili had their *Nas* recruited from among the princes of the Kpaaha gate.

Daannaa (1992) accepted the fact that it is not clear as to why the *Wa-Nayiri* became separated into four gate segments. The popular view about the matter seems to be that these divisions developed as the kingdom increased in size. A strong *Na* who conquered new territories after death bequeathed them exclusively to his descendants. In other words, although newly conquered villages were annexed to the Wala kingdom, by and large such villages were only ruled over by the descendants of the *Na* who carried out the conquest. When the villages of Boli and Logu were conquered in the eighteenth century by Na-Jonyohi, they

were annexed to the Wa kingdom but their Skins made the exclusive seat of Jonyohi princes. Thus, the Skins of Boli and Logu villages have always been occupied by the members of the Jonyohi gate.

However, when it came to the question of succession to the Wa-Na, the gate system was important in that any person who presented himself as a nominee for the *Naang* did so on behalf of his gate. The success of a candidate or nominee in the tussle for the *Naang* meant the success of his gate. On the other hand, if he is unsuccessful in his bid to occupy the skin, he shared his humiliation with the entire membership of his gate. It followed, therefore, that once the elders of a gate had put forward a nominee for the *Naang*, all the members of that gate were duty bound to support their man against rival contestants from the other gates.

This narration of the account of the emergence of *Naang* (chieftaincy) differs in two ways. While the *Tendambas* (landowners) and the *Kpaaha* gate hold a similar view to the earlier narrations as advanced by Daannaa (1992), the other three royal gates (Yijiihi, Jarri and Jonyohi) believed otherwise. Salih (2008), observed that, both the *Tendambas* and *Kpaaha* believe that Tengdaana Suuri who was the leader of the landowners conferred *Naang* (chiefship) on Na Soalia who was a maternal grandson to him, Suuri. However, it has emerged that this version is rejected by the three gates most importantly, the Yijiihi and Jonyohi gates. Their account is that the first *Na* (chief) of Wa, Na Soalia, is rather the epic ancestor of the Yijiihi, Jarri and Jonyohi princes and not a son of Adanto. According to them, Adanto was a maternal nephew to Soalia and as such not even a prince since they are a patrilineal group.

Furthermore, it was not the *Tendambas* who gave the *Naang* to Soalia, rather Soalia was already a chief and simply expanded his chiefdom through subduing of the *Tendamba*. Soalia therefore is a descendant of Gbewa and the first *Na* of Wa. According to the three gates, a dispute arose between Soalia and his brother in Manprugu which he lost to the brother. He therefore left with his family and travelled through Kundugu, Finsi, Kajokperi, Yaru, Gbetore and finally arrived in Wa. Admittedly, Salih (2008) has concluded in his book that the current protracted acrimonious chieftaincy dispute that has bedeviled the Wala takes its roots from the dichotomy in the oral traditions of the *Nabiihi* about their past.

Salih (2008) further remarked that Na Soalia, the first metropolitan Wa Na was succeeded by Na Gura, the second son of Adanto, as the second Wa Na. In an interview, Alhaji B. K. Adama explained as follows:

*There were chiefs in between Soalia and Pelpuo, but we the Royals (the three Royal Gates i.e. Yijiihi, Jonyohi and Jarri) regard them as usurpers. Some of the sons of the sisters of Soalia followed him to Gbetore. They were grown up than his own children. These nephews took over the chieftaincy after the death of Soalia. These sisters' children are the people today called Kpaaha. When Gura wanted to take over later as chief, the people objected, saying that Soalia's own sons were there.*

These accounts about the death of Na Gura have differed in two ways. The Tendamba account had it that during the reign of Na Gura, Wa was in a state of perpetual insecurity as a result of wars which created fear and panic among the people. This was worsened by a severe drought at the time. Consultations to the oracles were made and revealed that Na Gura was not the right candidate to ascend the throne. Gura together with his followers left Wa towards the Black Volta and on reaching present day Mangu, requested to attend nature's call. He was reported to have disappeared in a nearby thicket leaving his sandals, spear, gown and hat. Other sources suggest that Gura was chased out of Wa and murdered at Mangu where his corps was left to rot in a nearby thicket.

According to Wilks (1989), the Wa *Nabiihi* skins are located in Wa and the Wala Divisions of Busa, Kperisi, Sing and Guli. All these claim the status of "dinorin" (gates), to the Wa *Naang*. Furthermore, Dorimon, Wechiau and Kojopere though under different jurisdictions, are also classed as Wala Divisions. None of the three skins is held by Wa *Nabiihi*. Each has its own subordinate skins. The Dorimon *Nabiihi*, for example, hold skins within the division from which promotion to Dorimon *Na*, but not Wa *Na*, is possible. Dorimon, Wechiau and Kojopere thus have a certain measure of autonomy, and it has been noted that it was possible for Dorimon *Na* Meni to make a bid for independence in 1898.

Wilks (1989) again holds that Wa *Naang* is centralized and unitary, but it is not unchecked. The way in which the Wa *Naang* is 'eaten' is supervised by a group of elders representing *Tendamba* and Muslim interests. This group of elders is known as *Na Kpanbihi* (chief's elders). In 1933 when indirect rule was

introduced into Wala, this body was described as “the Wala Judicial Council and Court of Appeal from the Divisions”. It is note mentioning that three particular elders appear, however, always to have been the ranking members of the *Na Kpanbihi*. The *Widana* represents the *Tendambas*, the *Wa Yeri Na* do for the Muslims whiles the *Foroko* is also represented. The *Foroko* is the head of a section of Wa known as *Tuomuni* (under the baobab tree). The *Foroko* is the spokesperson for the *Wa Na* and the *Kpanbihi* and at the same time crowns the new *Na Na* into office. Therefore, the three assume a major role in the selection and enskinment of a *Wa Na*.

#### **2.5.5 THE WALA CONSTITUTION OF 1933**

The Wala constitution of 1933 was also discussed by Wilks (1989). H. G. Ardron, on transfer from the Southern Province, assumed duty as District Commissioner in Wa on 28<sup>th</sup> December, 1931 pioneered the writing of the Wala constitution. In the views of Wilks (1989), Ardron convened a preliminary conference in 1933 to record the Wa Constitution. He found the Wala chiefs quite unhelpful, and speculated that this was because so much of the Wala traditional laws and customs have been discarded or broken, and that the Wala people were shy of exposing the fact. This conference was later suspended purportedly for further study. However, this did not in fact take the form of further investigation of Wala institutions, but the Dagomba constitution, as codified by Duncan Johnstone in 1930, was simply adapted for the Wala. On, 15<sup>th</sup> July, 1933, H. P. Dixon, who temporarily replaced H. G. Ardron as District Commissioner, chose

the occasion of the *Damba* festival to present the constitution. He duly had the chiefs placed their thumbprints on eight appendices to the constitution marking its acceptance by the people of Wa. In his conclusion, Wilks (1989) holds a firm belief that comparing the Wa constitution of 1933 with that of the Dagomba constitution of 1930, reveals the nature of fraud that has been perpetrated.

The 1933 constitution therefore represented Wala as, structurally, a replica of Dagomba, ignoring the fact that the two had evolved historically in quite different ways according to Wilks. Appendix A of the constitution established the paramountcy of the *Wa Na* over thirteen Divisional chiefs. These are Busa Na, Kperisi Na and Sing Na, and in order of precedence laid down in appendix F, Dorimon Na and Wechiau Na; the heads of the Sissala towns of Kojopere, Funsu and Kundungu; and those of the Dagaaba towns of Kaleo, Issa, Daffiama, Busie and Nadowli. Appendix B created a Wala State Council of fixed membership consisting of thirteen Divisional Chiefs and eight Judicial Councilors. The latter comprised , in order of precedence listed in Appendix H, *Widana, Foroko, Salanga, Kabuidana, Yijihidana, Yeri Na, Tandaga Na* and *Sambadana*. Busa, Kperisi and Sing have been given recognition in Appendix C as the three gates to the Wa Naang, for which they should provide occupants in turn.

It therefore appears to Wilks (1989) that the 1933 Constitution of Wa, was an imposition to the Wala people and not their own will. He alluded that the Constitution was read out to the then Wa Na (Wa Na Pelpuo) and his councilors on the day of the *Damba* festival on 7<sup>th</sup> May, 1934. It indicated that Wa Na was practically asleep and had no comments whatsoever to make regarding the said

constitution. Furthermore, he was reported to be extremely sick and was to die on 15<sup>th</sup> September, 1935. How this determination concerning his death was arrived at, is not clear to me.

In practice, the structure of the Wala Native Authority system as established by the 1933 Constitution worked indifferently. A part of the problem was that in the Dagaaba and Sissala parts of Wala, the traditional structures of authority were not such as to lend themselves to the new system of chiefs and councilors. In the Nadowli Division, for example, the highest local authority was the *Tendaana* (landowner). The administration therefore appointed an ex-soldier who was not even a native of Nadowli as Nadowli *Na*, and attempted to conjure up a three gate system to the *naang*. In Wilks' opinion, the 1933 Constitution of Wa was a recipe for disaster because the *Limams* (Muslims) were afforded no recognition under it, and the ranking head of the old Muslims, *Yeri Na*, was relegated in status to sixth of the *Wa Na's* Judicial Councilors. The customary liberty to remove an unsatisfactory *Wa Na* or other chiefs from office was also abolished. The claims of the *Na Kpaahi* gate to the *Wa Naang* were treated as extinct.

#### **2.5.6 GATE SYSTEM IN WALA**

According to Wilks (1989), the gate system to the *Wa Naang* has evolved since the eighteenth century. He postulated that Guli, Gbetore and Yaro were the original gates of the Wala. Gbetore by his logic developed into the present Busa and Sing gates whiles Yaro became Kperisi. The configuration of the gate system by Wilks' analogy in the early twentieth century is shown below:

Nakore → Ducie → Katua → Busa → Wa

Yibile → Yaro → Jonga → Kperisi → Wa

Loggo → Chansa → Boli → Sing → Wa

Guli → Wa

**SOURCE:** *Ivor Wilks (1989)*

By custom, each of the gates, namely, Busa, Kperisi, Sing and Guli, had the right to put forward candidates for the *Wa Naang* anytime a vacancy was declared. All the gates have frequently vied for the office even though unsuccessful. It is on the basis of this that the *Na Kpaahi* gate has never produced a *Wa Na* since the eighteenth century.

**Table 2.1:** *Distribution of Wa Nas by gate and Divisional population*

Division	Population		Wa Na	% Population		% Na
	1931	1948		1931	1948	
Busa	4,497	4,629	15	52	46	50
Kperisi	2,351	3,139	10	26	31	33
Sing	1,818	2,363	5	22	23	17

**SOURCE:** *Ivor Wilks (1989)*

Inference can be made that the *Wa Naang* oscillated but not rotate between gates. *Table 1.2* above which shows the distribution of *Nas* by gate from Wa Na Pelpuo I in the early eighteenth century to Wa Na Sidiki Bomi, who was enskinned in 1961 confirmed this position. Regrettably to note is the omission of Guli from the Kpaaha gate to ascend to the highest office *Naang* in the Wala State. Wilks (1989) therefore suggest that if the proportional distribution of population over the three Divisions, though not of course the gross figures, has been reasonably constant over time, then the implication of the *table 2.1* may be that population resources and political power are related variables in the Wala perspective. Therefore, the larger the Divisions in terms of population, the greater its chances of successfully advancing to the *Wa Naang*. The processes leading to the selection of a *Wa Na* are complex in nature and were known by the colonial administration at the time. The only error in Whittal's ( judgment was the assumption that the Chief Imam together with the *Widana* (head of the *Tendambas*) serve as judges in the event of a dispute between two or more candidates when in actual fact is rather the *Yeri Na* (head of the Muslims) and the *Widana*. In the true nature of events in the Wala, the Chief Imam is not the head of the Muslim community but rather the *Yeri-Na*.

R. S. Rattray as cited by Wilks investigated the matter of the Wala chieftaincy. 'The Chieftainship is, in theory', he wrote, 'supposed to be held alternately by members of the four family groups ... but in practice, the claimant who was strongest would seize the *Na-ship*'. It was at this point that Whittall, the then representative of the colonial administration, thought there was a

disinclination to have the *Naang* held by one gate successively. In 1933, a rotational principle was enshrined in the new constitution. This matter of rotation is the only one on which the Wala Constitution of 1933 varied considerably from that of the Dagomba model.

This rotational system became an innovation in the Wa context, and is still practiced today. Therefore, with the coming into being of the 1933 Constitution of Wala, the legitimate successor to Wa Na Pelpuo III (who was in office prior to the constitution) was Kperisi Na Hamidu. However, *Na* Hamidu had been senile for some years and the same time, Guli *Na* Adama representing the Kpaahi gate had constantly pressed the colonial administrators to acknowledge that the 1933 Constitution had unjustly disregarded their rights to the *Naang*. To cure this, in February 1934, a concession was reached to recognize Guli *Na* as equal in status to Dorimon Na and Wechiau Na; that is, as holding a chiefship skin from which there is no promotion to the *Wa Naang*. Unfortunately, this compromise was rejected by the Kpaahi gate.

The First Wa Na to be selected and enskinned in accordance with the 1933 Constitution was Wa Na Hamidu Bomi even though the processes were faced with challenges. Under the customs and traditions, a *Na*-designate was supposed to enter Wa and remain hidden in the Yijihhi section of the town until the ceremony commenced. This part of the ritual was however omitted under the instructions of Commissioner Ardron for fear that Na Hamidu Bomi could be poisoned to death. All efforts by the District Commissioner to have consensus in ensuring that Hamidu Bomi is formally enskinned was met with resistance among a section of

the *nabiisi*. Notably among those resisting to the selection and enskinment of Na Hamidu Bomi was Busa Na Bukari who refused to be reconciled and further declined to pay allegiance with the Wala Native Authority. True to his words, Busa Na Bukari refused to have any dealings with the Wa Na Hamidu Bomi. Before the death of Busa Na Bukari, he partitioned the District Commissioner against Na Hamidu Bomi's disregard of constitutional procedures in dealing with his subordinate chiefs, and his persistent love for intrigue with village headmen. Against this backdrop, all the royal gates, including Na Hamidu Bomi's own gate, petitioned for the Na's deskinment. Therefore, on 4<sup>th</sup> November, 1943, Wa Na Hamidu Bomi was removed from office, notwithstanding the provisions of the 1933 Constitution of Wala.

It was obvious the turn of the Jonyohi gate to ascend to the throne per the constitution and by extension the Sing Na to take the *Naang*. The affairs of the Sing gate, however, were in a state of disarray as a result of colonial administrative interference. After the death of Sing Na Najre in 1934, the Sing Kingmakers chose Abdallah who had held no previous skins to succeed. The District Commissioner refused to accept this decision even though the said Abdallah commanded a very strong support of his people. The reason for the Commissioner's rejection was because Abdallah had not gone through the Constitutional stages to chieftdom and therefore lacked service in the traditional manner. Therefore, Boli Na Bukari was made the Sing Na who died a year later. Boli Na Mumuni succeeded him as Sing Na in 1943 but was senile, deaf and almost blind. Now, by the constitution, it was Sing Na Mumuni's turn to succeed

Wa Na Hamidu Bomi who was deskinning in 1943. However, a delegation comprising representatives of the gates, the Wa Liman, the Yeri Na and the Widana, informed the District Commissioner that they wanted to pass over him and elect Busa Na Sumaila. Per the customs and traditions, a chief before his enskinment should not be deformed.

Because of the difficulties in enforcing the constitution of 1933, the District Commissioner this time wanted to make things right by seeking the opinions of all the people. When the matter was about to be resolved, another candidate from the Jonyohi gate appeared. This was Mumuni Koray, a grandson of Wa Na Dangana, a marine police, an Ahmadiyya Muslim and in 1943, a superintendent in the Customs Preventive Service at Denu, on the Togo border. In his bid to become the Wa Na, he was supported by his gate (Jonyohi) and the Ahmadiyya Movement in Wa while at the same time, the orthodox Muslims opposed his candidature, and the fact that he had held no skin made him quite unacceptable to the administration. On 20<sup>th</sup> November, 1943, Busa Na Sumaila was installed as Wa Na. This development angered Mumuni Koray who threatened to pull down the mosque and destroy the Qur'ans of the *ulama* (Muslims) who had opposed him. The Jonyohi gate drew the obvious implication from accession of Wa Na Sumaila to the *naang* that the system of rotational succession could not be enforced by the colonial administration. In 1949 when Wa Na Sumaila died, Mumuni Koray was installed as Wa Na. It is important to state that Mumuni Koray before becoming Wa Na was elected Sing Na after Sing Na Saliya abdicated on the ground of ill-health, thus, eliminating the earlier charge

that he had previously held no skin. Wilks (1989), has therefore concluded that that the system of rotational succession embodied in the 1933 Constitution was truly a dead letter by saying “If the election of Wa Na Sumaila had violated the rotational principle, that of Wa Na Mumuni Koray defied the whole concept of advancement through gates”.

Furthermore, according to Houghman (1989), Wa Na being a paramount chief has jurisdiction over fourteen Divisional Council Areas who are responsible to him. Similarly, each Divisional Chief has a number of sub-chiefs within his area of authority and all the sub-chiefs in turn are responsible to him. The Wa Na by virtue of his position is the life president of the Traditional Council and presides over Traditional Council meetings. A vice president is elected among the fourteen Divisional Chiefs of the Wala Traditional Council who presides over meetings in the absence of the Wa Na. the fourteen Divisional Chiefs are said to be equal in status with an equal right of being elected to the vice presidency.

### **2.5.7 CUSTOMARY LAW IN WALA**

In discussing the subject matter of Customary Law as applied until 1933, Houghman (1989) noted that when the new Customary Declarations were formally promulgated, succession to the Wa skins used to be based on a system of ‘*Guided Primogeniture*’. This is taken to mean succession by seniority. It is important to emphasize that the term ‘Primogeniture’ as used in this context, means claim by the most senior person (senior by birth) of the three ruling families: Yijiihi, Jarri and Jonyohi. Yijiihi, Jarri and Jonyohi are the *Nabiisi* of Wa and are the only three

ruling families, who have claim to the Wa skins. They have their seats at Busa, Kperisi and Sing respectively and the chiefs in these royal villages are Divisional chiefs. Customarily, the order of seniority is: Yijiihi, Jarri and Jonyohi.

The most important thing to note however, is the definite declaration of the existence of only three ruling gates by Houghman. Even before the 1933 Constitution of Wala came into force, these three gates were acknowledged by Houghman to be those in existence. The 1933 Declaration only came to abolish the old system of 'Guided Primogeniture' and ushered in succession by rotation among the ruling gates, namely:

1. Yijiihi - Busa gate
2. Jarri - Kperisi gate
3. Jonyohi - Sing gate

These gates succeed to the skins by turns in order of seniority. The signatories to this historical document which became law and has since been the accepted customary law were: Wa Na Pelpuo, Busa Na Bukari, Kperisi Na Hamidu and Abudu for Sing Na Nagra. Houghman noted that the Kpaaha family claimed to be Nabiihi and in 1951 demanded to be considered as partners to the law of succession. This was however resisted by the three royal gates and the matter is still unresolved.

In its meeting presided by Wa Na Mumuni Koray in 1951, the State Council ruled that in view of the importance of the functions of the *Kpaaha* gate, the gate should be accorded Divisional status. The *Kpaaha* lineage which used to be under the jurisdiction of Kperisi Divisional Council, consequently assumed autonomous

status, and Guli has since become the seat of its Divisional Council. Among other functions, Houghman (1989) outlined the important functions that the Kpaaha play in chiefly matters as:

1. The widows of the *Wa Na* used to be looked after by this lineage until the funeral was performed.
2. The firing of muskets which is an important funeral performance of the deceased *Wa Na* is done at Fongo- the section of *Wa* where the Kpaaha live.
3. They are the custodians of the tombs or graves of deceased *Wa Nas*.

Customarily, it is unusual to dis-skin a paramount chief for the simple reason that the chief is expected to live above reproach. However, he is removed from office when commits a criminal offence resulting in his prosecution or he violates an important customary practice. The following traditional office holders are to enforce the removal of the chief from the skin:

1. The *Busa Na*
2. The *Kperisi Na*
3. The *Sing Na*
4. The *Tendana*
5. The *Yeri Na*

Therefore, the following constitute the charges sufficient to justify the removal of a *Wa Na* or any of his Divisional Chiefs from the skin:

1. Cowardly running away from battle field or abandoning his people in any cause where his leadership is a matter of course.
2. Seducing or unlawful adopting as wives, the wives of his subjects.
3. Criminal indictment either of a felony or a misdemeanor for which he has been found guilty by a competent court of law and sentenced to a term of imprisonment.
4. The acquisition of property by unlawful means.
5. Selling or giving part of any land secretly to any person within or outside his jurisdiction without the consent of his subject.
6. Failing to honour or to perform any customary duty or intentionally abolishing any custom without the consent of his elders or subjects.

Busia (1951) , suggests that after a candidate is elected and accepted, all adult men and women of the royal lineages hold a meeting with the chief-elect in the queen's house to settle any disagreements or differences that might exist previously between the chief-elect and any member of the royal family. When this is done, the adult male members each swear an oath of allegiance to the chief-elect, promising to serve him as the chosen occupant of the stool of their ancestors, and to support him in his administration as a chief of the Division. This is an important requirement aimed at reducing conflict even after the processes of installation are completed. It is evidently clear from the literature that some royal families do not pay homage to their chiefs because their preferred candidate was not selected.

Abdul Hamid (2002) observes that kingship in Dagbon has always generated conflict. However, the cause of the recent conflict could be traced to 1948 after the demise of Ya Na Mahama I. Ya Na Mahama happen to have come from the Andani family. He was succeeded by Mahama II between 1948 and 1953 and an Abudu. Following his death, it was the turn of the Andani family to produce the Ya Na. But the British denied this royal family and gave kingship to the Abudus again.

In the discussions, it can be deduced that the colonial administration has contributed significantly in most of the chieftaincy conflicts bedeviling northern Ghana. The British used their powers to install chiefs that were loyal to the administration and also removed chiefs who were disloyal to the governor. By 1904, majority of Ashanti stools and the northern territories were occupied by appointees of the colonial masters. By also passing the Chief's Ordinance, the tenure of office of chiefs was on the determination of the British governor. The Wala chieftaincy was not left out of the atrocities perpetuated by the colonial administration.

#### **2.5.8 STRUCTURE OF TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY IN GHANA'S LAWS**

The 1992 Constitution of Ghana has given legal backing to the chieftaincy institution as provided in Chapter 22. It can be said that the framers of the Constitution have recognized the challenges emanating from this institution and

have devoted a whole Chapter for that. But it is also not far from right to say that in view of the importance attached to the institution, accounted for this acknowledgement in the constitution.

The Constitution of Ghana established a House of Chiefs which consists of three levels, namely, the National House of Chiefs, the Regional House of Chiefs and the Traditional Councils. The National House of Chiefs in article 272 seeks as part of its functions to:

- (a) advise any person or authority charged with any responsibility under this Constitution or any other law for any matter relating to or affecting chieftaincy;
- (b) undertake the progressive study, interpretation and codification of customary law with a view to evolving, in appropriate cases, a unified system of rules of customary law, and compiling the customary laws and lines of succession applicable to each stool or skin;
- (c) undertake an evaluation of traditional customs and usages with a view to eliminating those customs and usages that are outmoded and socially harmful;
- (d) perform such other functions, not being inconsistent with any function assigned to the House of Chiefs of a region, as Parliament may refer to it.

The Regional House of Chiefs complements the work of the National House of Chiefs while the Traditional Councils also work to complement that of the Regional House of chiefs. In all, the reasoning behind this process is to ensure that

the Houses of Chiefs play an oversight responsibility in ensuring that proper procedures are following in selecting and installing a chief.

The Chieftaincy Act of 2008, Act 759, has further enhanced the institution by giving it a clear mandate to operate. This Act is necessary to revise and consolidate the Chieftaincy Act of 1971 (Act 370) to make it consistent with the National Constitution of Ghana.

The Chieftaincy Act 2008 (Act 795) makes categorization of Chiefs as stated in section 58 of the Chieftaincy Act 759 as:

- the Asantehene and paramount Chiefs
- Divisional Chiefs
- Sub-divisional Chiefs
- Adikrafo
- other Chiefs recognized by the National House

A person is not qualify to be a chief if that person has ever been convicted of high treason, treason, high crime or for an offence involving the security of the state, fraud, dishonesty, or moral turpitude.

Article 13 (1) says “The paramount chief of a traditional area or in the case of the Kumasi Traditional Area, the Asantehene, shall be the president of the Traditional Council”. Article 13 (2) further states that “In any case, the presidency shall be held by the paramount chiefs in the Traditional Area on a two yearly rotational basis in alphabetical order of stool or skin name”. However, as put it by Houghman (1989), the Wa Na is the life president of the Wala Traditional Council

even though a number of paramountcies do exist. Clearly, this is an inconsistency in the literature reviewed. Therefore, this matter would be looked at to ascertain the compliance level of the Chieftaincy Act.

### **2.5.9 THE POSITION OF THE LAW ON CHIEFS AND POLITICS**

The 1992 Constitution in Article 276 provides that “A chief shall not take part in active party politics; and any chief wishing to do so and seeking election to Parliament shall abdicate his stool or skin”. This notwithstanding, a chief may be appointed to any public office for which he is otherwise qualified. These two provisions are contradictory. On one hand, a chief is debarred from active party politics while on the other, he can be appointed by a government to hold a public office. There is an implied partisanship in this since in practice, governments have appointed chiefs who are either sympathizers or owe political allegiance. This has compromised the neutrality of some traditional authorities. Even though barring them from party politics is an infringement on their right, the neutrality of traditional authorities is important because of the father-figure role they play in society (Ayee, 2007).

However, it cannot also be denied that this will enable them (chiefs) to contribute their quota to development, not only at the local level but also at the national level. Therefore it can be argued that there are chiefs who will not compromise on their neutrality on development issues even though they may be appointed to public offices by a government.

## **2.5.10 SUCCESSION RELATED CHALLENGES IN NORTHERN GHANA**

Issues of successions if not handled with care have the tendency of degenerating into conflicts. It can be argued that conflict of ideas should necessarily take place within the chieftaincy settings in the nomination, selection and installation of a new king. However, in many parts of the north, this has not been the case as violent clashes are adopted as the last alternatives. Johnsson (2007) has therefore provided an analysis of the social tensions in Northern Ghana in which his studies makes a case for alleviating some of the pressures that have caused communal violence through a careful review of traditional institutions. The origin of the Yendi chieftaincy dispute was also discussed by Staniland (1975). In his description, Dogbon is considered as the most important ethnic group in Northern Ghana which has a strong tradition of chieftaincy. He traced the history of Dagbon politics with particular emphasis on the conflict between the Abudu and Anadani gates.

Whereas Staniland and Jonsson attempt to trace the genealogy of the perennial inter-ethnic and chieftaincy disputes in Northern Ghana, Ferguson and Wilks (1968) on the other hand focused on how such disputes were essential to the viability of the chieftaincy institution in particular.

The position held by Staniland on the history of the Dagbon conflict did not differ fundamentally with that of Abdul Hamid (2005). In discussing the communal violence of Dagbon which erupted on March 25, 2002 resulting in the death of Ya Na Yakubu Andani, he noted that remote cause of the three day war

was a long standing dispute, relating to the succession to the Dagbon skin. “The Dagbon crisis has become a complex web of power play among family members, political manipulation or interference and the politics of justice”. Abdul Hamid noted however that these conflicts did not begin in 2002 but trace their historical antecedents to 1953 in which all governments that have ruled this country, have intervened in the dispute in one way or the other. In his thinking, there can be no political solution to the Dagbon crisis since political involvements have only deepened the rift and accentuated the disagreements. He therefore advocates for a combination of Islamic, traditional and development based solutions.

It can be said that before colonial rule, some ethnic groupings in Northern Ghana had constitutions which helped them to protect the institution of chieftaincy even though some were undocumented. In the quest to strengthen the chieftaincy institution and make it more effective, the British Colonial Administration between 1930 and 1933 organized conferences in various traditional areas to draw a constitution stating the chiefly hierarchies and qualified gates. The chieftaincy institution was then described to be very useful after the exercise.

Brukum (2004) noted that even though traditional constitutions exist for some traditional areas, chieftaincy conflicts are still rampant in Ghana. In many instances, it is always an attempt by one royal gate to influence the processes within the institution to their advantage and thereby creating enmity with the rest. In other occasions too, higher chiefs may intercede in the processes and procedures of succession and thereby creating tensions which generate to

chieftaincy conflicts. Notwithstanding the numerous chieftaincy conflicts, the institution continues to show its relevance to society.

Seth (2012) has outlined four important processes and procedures of succession among the Akans of Ghana. He noted that the Akan method of succession to the stool is by a system he calls “selective democratic procedure” which is carried out by the kingmakers after careful consultations. Per his study, the first procedure is to be qualified as a candidate and hailing from an appropriate royal family. In situations where there is more than one qualifying royal family, the method of succession is usually by rotation. The second most important stage is the nomination of the chief by the queen mother. The third stage is the election of the chief by the kingmakers. Finally, the fourth procedure is the installation of the chief. During this stage, the new king takes an oath to defend his people and the land.

#### **2.5.11 SUCCESSION IN GONJA LAND**

The system of rotation has been a common practice in Northern Ghana. Jawula (2010) discusses the scenario in Gonja land. The demise of a Gonja king paves the way for the selection of a new king as noted by Jawula. This process is a consultative one among chiefs and kingmakers. It is therefore the expectation of all and sundry within Gonja land to have an incident free process of succession.

Gonja is made up of about twenty-six Guan ethnic groups that appeared in present day Ghana as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> Century. Gonja history was first written by Islamic scholars within the Gonja army as they moved away ancient Mande

through to Bole (Jawula, 2010). During the reign of Jakpa from 1675 to 1697, he expanded the kingdom and left it with a vast land mass. He also decided to install his sons as chiefs in smaller communities that were conquered during the process of expanding the Gonja land. These smaller communities became known as divisions of Gonja. These divisions were Kusawgu, Kadia, Kong, Tuluwe, Bole, Kpembe and Daboya. Chiefs in these communities also referred as divisions regard their Over-Lord in Damango as a father. These divisions also have sub-divisions operating a system of rotational kingship. Since then, the divisions of Gonja come to the skin of Yagbon on rotational basis starting with Waipe with Kusawgu ending the rotation list.

Conflict is said to arise in the event that there is a breach in the principle of rotation whether at the divisional or Gonja state levels. These breaches have being the major causes of conflict within the chieftaincy institution in the Gonja land. It was one example of such a dispute that reduced the number of divisions from seven to five as a result of dispute between Bole and Kong in which the latter got assistance from outside and Kadia. Kong and Kadia were expelled as divisions after Kong was defeated.

#### **2.5.12 SUCCESSION POLITICS IN DAGBON**

The chieftaincy institution still holds its relevance in many parts of the country even though the state power still exists. Many indigenes have faith in their traditional rulers and seek assistance from them despite the existence of modern

day political leaders. Chiefs command a high sense of respect from the society which explains why the aspiration to be enskinned or enstooled is very competitive among royal families (Arhin 1985; Awedoba and Odotei 2006).

Chieftaincy disputes are widespread in many parts of the country but are most common in northern Ghana. This conclusion has been reached because these conflicts have been violent and protracted resulting in the death of many people including women and children. Many of these conflicts are succession related that involve two or more gates advancing claims to the stool or skin. It is also common to see the same royal gate caught up in this conflict because two or more candidates have emerged to lay claim to be installed as the king. These conflicts also arise over who is the most suitably candidate to go through the customary rituals as chiefs (Abubakari 2008; Anamzoya and Tonah 2012).

Society has also found a way of drawing national politics into the violent chieftaincy conflicts in Ghana especially northern Ghana. Both Government and the opposition have thrown accusations and counter accusations at each other of supporting the different factions for political gains. These political parties that have gained any time chieftaincy conflict erupt in the north are the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) both in government and in opposition (Linde and Naylor 1999; Bogner 1996, 2009).

In Dagbon in particular, chieftaincy succession and its attendant conflicts have engulfed two feuding clans, the Abudus on one hand and the Andanis on the other hand about the authority to lay claims to the vacant skin of Dagbon. As mentioned earlier, the British played a very significant role in fueling chieftaincy

conflicts in the north and more especially Dagbon. It is a result of the British interference of Dagbon's customs and traditions that the kingdom is still experiencing prolonged conflicts making political parties profit out of it.

Many studies have been conducted on chieftaincy disputes in northern Ghana arising from succession challenges. These studies have centered both on intra ethnic and inter ethnic groups. Whereas intra ethnic conflicts occurred between individuals of the same ethnic group while inter ethnic conflict occurred between two or more ethnic groupings. In both cases, claim for legitimacy of chieftaincy office is the driving force fueling the conflict. Lentz (1993) described the Dagara of Nandom succession conflict as a typical example of an intra ethnic conflict involving two clans of the same ethnic group over the position of Nandom Na. Lund (2003) also considered the Mamprusi-Kusasi conflict as an example of an enter ethnic conflict where both the Mamprusis and Kusasis are laying claims over chieftaincy in Bawku.

Dagbon's chieftaincy succession conflict is an example of an intra ethnic conflict involving two clans of the same people, the Abudus and Andanis. Both families are laying claim on the nomination of a candidate as Ya Na. The Dagbon conflict is said to have its root causes in the events of 1948 following the demise of Mahama II as Ya Na. Two Abudus have been installed as Ya Na in succession and thus violating the principle of rotation as well as the principle of fairness. This incident made the Andanis very aggrieved and did not recognize the authority and legitimacy of Abdulai III as Ya Na. The Andanis also employed all possible ways

of fighting to correct this imbalance but failed until Ya Na Abdulai III's death in 1967 (Staniland, 1975).

The polarized nature of kingship in Dagbon following the violation of traditional processes and procedures made Dagbon's elite in society aligned themselves with political parties at the time. While the Abudus royal family joined the United Party (UP) led by K. A. Busia, the Andanis on the other hand aligned itself with Convention People's Party (CPP) of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. This decision of political alliance of the elite in society with the Up and CPP was to seek political favour. These disagreements went on until 1960 when the government of Kwame Nkrumah intervened in an attempt to bring back the principle of rotation by succession. The general consensus was that following the death of Abdulai III, the Andanis will lay claim to the vacant seat of Ya Na. In 1968, Andani III was nominated, selected and installed as Ya Na following the demise of Abdulai III in 1967.

The National Liberation Council (NLC) government after overthrowing Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party (CPP) in 1966 set-up a committee to look into the Dagbon chieftaincy dispute. The committee known as the Mate Kole Committee was set-up in 1968 to within a specific time frame present a report to the government. The Kole Committee declared Ya Na Andani III's enskinment as null and void for reasons that the processes were not in accordance with customs and traditions of Dagbon. A new candidate in the person of Gbonlana Mahamadu was installed as Ya Na. After taking office in 1969, the administration of K. A. Busia accepted the Mate Kole Committee's report and to

implement its recommendations. Attempts to forcibly remove the Andanis from the Gbawa palace resulted in fighting between the police on one hand and the Andanis on the other hand. In the long run, the state through the police was able to throw out the Andanis from the palace and enskinned Gbonlana Mahamadu as Ya Na.

Upon a coup d'état that saw Acheampong as head of state, the Ollenu Committee was constituted to verify the true custom and customary practices required for the nomination, selection and installation of a new Ya Na following agitations from the Andani royal family. After finishing its work, the Ollenu Committee upheld that the deskinment of Ya Na Andani III was illegal and recommended for the removal of Mahamadu Abdulai IV. Subsequently, Yakubu Andani was installed as Ya Na in line with the recommendations of the Ollenu Committee.

Traditional rulers in Dagbon indeed hide under political parties to solve their needs not excluding chieftaincy matters. Similarly, politicians do same with the hope of winning votes during national elections. This reason justifies why politicians meddle in the traditional politics of Dagbon over the years. The politics of Dagbon is centered on two main issues which both the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) used and continue to use for their political advantage. Whiles the NPP promised in opposition to give access to the Abudus perform the final funeral rites of Ya Na Abdulai IV when they win political power, the NDC promised the Andanis justice in the murder of Ya Na

Andani. Both political parties (NPP and NDC) used these as the basis to make political capital out of it.

### **2.5.13 CHIEFTAINCY IN MAMPRUGU AND BAWKU**

Ghana's north has seen an unusual increase in violent conflicts arising from chieftaincy succession disagreements and land ownership even though the country is noted for peace in the eyes of the international community. Ghana's neighbors such as Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast and Togo have not known peace for sometime. Many of these communal violences are as a result of the colonialist attempt to establish modern political authority in the north and Ghana as a whole. Before colonialism in Ghana and Africa, some societies were described as stateless or acephalous in nature.

Generally, there is a division of scholarly work on the root causes of majority of the conflicts that have engulfed the north. While a section of scholars hold the view that inter-ethnic conflicts are traced to attempts by anthropologists and British colonialist to categorize the north into acephalous or non-centralized and centralized societies, the other group of scholars identified factors above the colonial administration. Therefore, the genesis of the Kusasi-Mamprusi conflict in Bawku is seen within the context of the first school of thought.

The Mamprusis are a part of the Mole-Dagbani speaking ethnic group found in the North East and Upper East regions of Ghana. This ethnic group inhabits the areas of Nalerigu, Walewale and Gambaga in the North East Region

and Bawku in the Upper Region. The Mamprusi kingdom was founded around the 16<sup>th</sup> century by the Great Na Gbewa at Pusiga with Mampruli as its language. The Mamprusis consider Pusiga and Bawku their ancestral home explaining the reason why Na Gbewa's tomb is a shrine in Pusiga. The Mamprusis see kingship also as religious where the king is responsible for the fertility or otherwise of the land.

Bawku is a cosmopolitan town and its diverse population is engaged in a myriad of commercial enterprises. The Kusasi who claim to be the autochthones and the Mamprusi seen by the Kusasi as warrior newcomers, however, have remained the dominant ethnic groups in Bawku. Chieftaincy title has been the major issue of litigation between the Kusasis on one hand and the Mamprusis on the other hand (Longi 2014). The Kusasis and the Mamprusis are different ethnic groups but live together in Bawku. Both ethnic groups have made claims to be indigenes of the town. The Alhassan Committee of 1978 identified first settlers as the basis upon which claims of land ownership can be made.

The subject of first settlers has been a controversial topic between the Kusasis and Mamprusis. For this issue to be properly addressed, it is important to look at the roots of migration and settlement patterns of both ethnic groups. The Bawku conflict is traced to 1930 with the Kusasis claiming title over the Bawku skin (Awedoba, 2009). Studies conducted by Bukari and Guuroh (2013) argue that the ethnic conflict is a longstanding conflict, which is centered chieftaincy title between the Mamprusis on one hand and the Kusasis on the other hand.

The emergence and for that matter the formation of political parties established political contacts with northern chiefs especially the Nayiri. The presence of the Convention People's Party (CPP) and the Northern People's Party (NPP) created divisions among northern chiefs. Nkrumah's CPP that had the support of some northern chiefs became threatened after the formation of the NPP. Nkrumah's CPP felt the Nayiri and other northern chiefs were likely to withdraw their support from the CPP to the NPP. The northern chiefs were said to have commanded respect and could influence divisional and sub-divisional chiefs against Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and the CPP. Nkrumah and his CPP began targeting the Nayiri and other division under the command of the Nayiri. This selective targeting gave the Kusasis an advantage over the Mamprusis. The Kusasis gave their support to the Convention People's Party while the Mamprusis and the Nayiri on the other hand threw their support to the Northern People's Party (Longi 2015).

Northern Ghana became deeply divided on party and ethnic lines. Nkrumah and his CPP began undermining the Nayiri as a way of making the Northern People's Party irrelevant in the north. As part of the propaganda machinery of the Convention People's Party (CPP), the CPP penetrated into the divisions of Frafra and Kusasi areas to incite its supporters to make calls for succession to the Bawku skin. After the 1954 elections, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and CPP's perception on the Nayiri were confirmed when the Northern People's Party won majority seats in the Northern Territories and thus making the Kusasis and the Mamprusis divided on ethnic, chieftaincy and ideological lines. As a way of

rewarding the Kusasis' efforts and loyalty to Nkrumah's CPP government, the Frafra and Kusasi District Councils were created out of the Nayiri. This decision was also to weaken the NPP in the north and to down size the Nayiri.

After the demise of Bawku Naba Awuni in 1956, the Kusasis advanced claims to the vacant position of Bawku Naba because they had the support of the Nkrumah government. This move by the Kusasis angered the Mamprusis arising of a competitive contest by three Mamprusi candidates. The Nayiri as sole king making authority, selected Yerimiah Mahama as the new king of Bawku resulting in protestation from supporters of the lost Mamprusi candidates. The Kusasis took advantage of the Mamprusis's protest among themselves, to install one of their own as the new Bawku Naba. These two incidents created confusion and thus war broke between the Mamprusis and the Kusasis ethnic groups in Bawku. Lives and property were lost leading to the setting-up of a Committee of Enquiry. This Committee was chaired by Opoku Afari with the responsibility to investigate the root causes of the conflict and to recommend the way forward.

The outcome of the Committee's report was preempted as the Mamprusis did not accept the recommendation of the Committee of Enquiry describing the report as politically motivated and an interference in traditional chieftaincy matters.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was accused by the Nayiri of being the cause of the conflict in that part of the country. Despite the accusations leveled against the CPP, Nkrumah's government only recognized Abugrago Azoka as Bawku Naba

and went ahead to gazette his name in the register of chiefs at a time when the Opoku Afari Committee of Enquiry has not made its findings public.

Relationship between the Nayiri and the CPP government became worst when some Mamprusi chiefs who were loyalists to the Nayiri were replaced with Kusasis. Tensions arose between the Mamprusis and the Kusasis over what Nkrumah was doing. Thus Nkrumah and the CPP were seen as being hostile to the chieftaincy institution (Longi 2015).

Nkrumah's CPP was then gaining popularity for what they have planned for against the Northern People's Party. NPP supporters began defecting to join the CPP including Jambaidu Awuni and Mumuni Bawumia who resigned their positions (Ladouceur, 1979:171). Even before Nkrumah appeared on the political scenes, the Kusasis and Frafras made complaints about how they were ill treated by the Mamprusis which the CPP and Nkrumah used to their advantage. Apart from Nkrumah's role in the installation of a Kusasi Bawku Naba, he also created the Upper Region from the Northern Region in 1960 to further reduce the Nayiri's jurisdiction over the Kasasis and Frafras. The bond between the Nayiri on one hand and the Kusasis and the Frafras on the other hand was weakened.

Relations between the Nayiri and the Convention People's Party continue to worsen by the day when a number of Mamprusis were arrested and accused of an assassination attempt on the life of President Kwame Nkrumah in Kulungugu near Bawku. The president was reported to have visited then Upper Volta and on his return when the incident occurred. Other accused persons included three of the

President's close associates. They were Tawia Adamafio, Ako Adjei and Coffie Crabbe. A number of Mamprusi opinion leaders were forced into exile in the then Upper Volta.

#### **2.5.14 COLONIALIST ATTEMPTS TO CHANGE NORTHERN CULTURE**

Colonialism has contributed to the distortions of customs and traditions of the African people. These distortions arise as a result of the periodic reports by District Commissioners to the Chief Commissioner in Tamale and to the Governor. The reports contained information on the culture, economic activities, history and social life of the people in the north.

The report so sent covers areas such as culture, social life, history and economic activities of the people of northern Ghana. These reports also contained some perceived misconceptions about Northern culture. This made the colonial administrators make attempts to reform the traditional institution in northern Ghana to be in line with that of the western world. This therefore became the first attempt to introduce western culture into the north and Ghana as a whole.

Firstly, the indirect rule was introduced as a way of governing the people through customary institutions. Commissioners studied the people's culture, social life and others in order to better write their report. Gonja, Mamprugu and Dagbon cultures were comprehensively researched on. This research into the culture of the afore mentioned ethnic groupings by the colonial administration was necessary to have a fair understanding on how the people governed themselves in order to put

measures in place to support the system of indirect rule. In doing so, history was re-written to favour a section of the people at the expense of the others and thus a basis of generating inter-ethnic conflict in Northern Ghana.

Jonsson (2007) who looked into conflict provided an analysis of social tensions in Northern Ghana. The research expresses the need to reduce factors that fueled communal violence by reviewing the set-ups of the chieftaincy institution. The major worry of Staniland (1975) on the other hand was on how the Dagbon chieftaincy conflict started. Staniland noted Dagbon as a major ethnic grouping with a rich culture in chieftaincy. He looked into history of Dagbon from the pre-colonial era to date and relating it to the chieftaincy conflict in Dagbon between the Abudu royal clan on one hand and the Andani royal clan on the other hand.

In another viewpoint, it is noted that prior to colonialism, traditional constitutions existed for a number of Northern ethnic groupings which helped them to rule in their respective localities. As a way of ensuring that indirect rule was consolidated, kingdoms that were nearing collapse were rebuilt and strengthened. Between 1930 and 1933, conferences were organized in different traditional areas to write their constitutions. It was through such conferences that Wala and Dagbon constitutions were written and adopted. The constitutions state the number of royal gates for each skin and the qualifications of a candidate to be installed as a chief. The chieftaincy institution became very relevant after the process.

Brukum (2004) however noted that despite the coming into being of traditional constitutions, chieftaincy conflicts persisted arising from issues of succession. To him, such disputes came about as a result of one gate wanting to control or dominate the traditional passage of enskinning chiefs. Occasionally, higher chiefs attempting to impose chiefs at the lower level resulted in succession disputes in northern Ghana.

#### **2.5.15 CHIEFTAINCY SUCCESSION IN BIMBILLA**

Bimbilla is the capital of Nanumba District in the Northern Region of Ghana. The District for sometime now is saddled with chieftaincy conflict. The Nanumba state was founded by Mantambu between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Mantambu was said to have conquered the autochthonous populations to establish the Nanumba kingdom (Rattray, 1932).

Nanum's political system is a centralized and at the same a hierarchical system under the authority of Bimbilla Na. The Bimbilla Na is the overlord and traditional leader of the people of Nanumba. He has jurisdiction over a number of divisions. All the Nanum divisions have chiefs while the elders make up a court with the power of administering the affairs of the land. Female chiefs are known and are part of the traditional political structure of Nanum.

Like the Wala and the Mampruis, Nanum's traditional political system is the principle of rotation and promotional system. Under this system, a prince becomes a chief in a smaller village and gets promoted upon the death of any of

the higher chiefs in the traditional ladder. This promotion goes on until he is qualified for the position of Bimbilla Na taking into consideration the two royal gates in Bimbilla. The principle of rotational kingship is applied between the two ruling gates, namely, Gbugmayili and Bangyili. This practice is similar to what is being done in Wa especially amongst the Jonyohi royal gate. A lower chief from Gbugmayili royal gate is qualified as a candidate of Bimbilla Na after going through the chiefly positions at Makayili, Djua, Suga, Gundo, Bakpaba and finally at Nakpa. Similarly, the Bangyili royal gate starts as a lower chief from Gbinbgaliga, Chamba, Shikpam, Tua, Sakpe and finally at Dokpam before he is qualified to be enskinned as Bimbilla Na. However, a departure from the already known lay down processes has generated a conflict in Bimbilla.

Bimbilla Na Abarika passed on in 1999 creating a gap of succession to be filled by the Gbugmayili royal gate since the late king came from the Bangyili royal gate. After the final funeral passage, the nine king makers disagreed on the next Bimbilla Na. This was because two candidates from the same clan emerged as candidates to the vacant seat. Six kingmakers were in favour of Andani Dasana Abdulai whereas Salifu Dawuni's candidature was upheld by the other three kingmakers. Per the accepted processes and procedures as spelt out in the principle of rotation among Gbugmayili royal gate, a candidate must rise from the chiefly office starting from Makayili, Djua, Suga, Gundo, Bakpaba and finally at Nakpa before the candidate is installed as Bimbilla Na. Between the two candidates, one was the sitting Nakpa Na was automatically the Bimbilla Na in

waiting. But what went wrong to have informed six kingmakers to change their position contrary to the normal practice of filling a vacant skin of Bimbilla Na?

The peace of Bimbilla was threatened by the events of Salifu Dawuni and Andani Dasana Abdulai as in the case currently in Wa between Na Fuseini Pelpuo IV and that of Na Issah Seidu II. Violent clashes broke between the supporters of both candidates. Andani Dasanan Abdulai was hurriedly installed as Bimbilla Na by the six kingmakers to benefit from a custom in Nanum saying that once a chief goes through the customary processes as chief cannot be removed from office. Not satisfied with the turn of events, Salifu Dawuni filed the case at the High Court for an injunction on the enskinment processes and any other matter related to the vacant Bimbilla Na seat. The matter was also brought under the Bimbilla Traditional Council which up held that a candidate for the position of Bimbilla Na must previously held the office of Nakpa Na. Per this ruling, judgment was delivered in favour of Salifu Dawuni and therefore Andani Dasana Abdualai was disqualified.

The literature reviewed above, is about chieftaincy in Ghana and particularly, Northern Ghana. Others also describe the socio-cultural and economic life of the people in the North. However, little is done to examine succession processes and procedures in the Wala Traditional Area. The literature available on Wala has even deepened the cracks and accentuated the already existing problem. The literature is also divided on the actual number of royal gates within Wa and its adjoining villages. However, it must be noted that, these scholarly works collectively lay the foundation of our knowledge of Northern

Ghana and Wala Traditional Area in particular. It is therefore to fill these gaps in the various works, that this research work has become extremely necessary.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **COMMUNITY PROFILE**

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

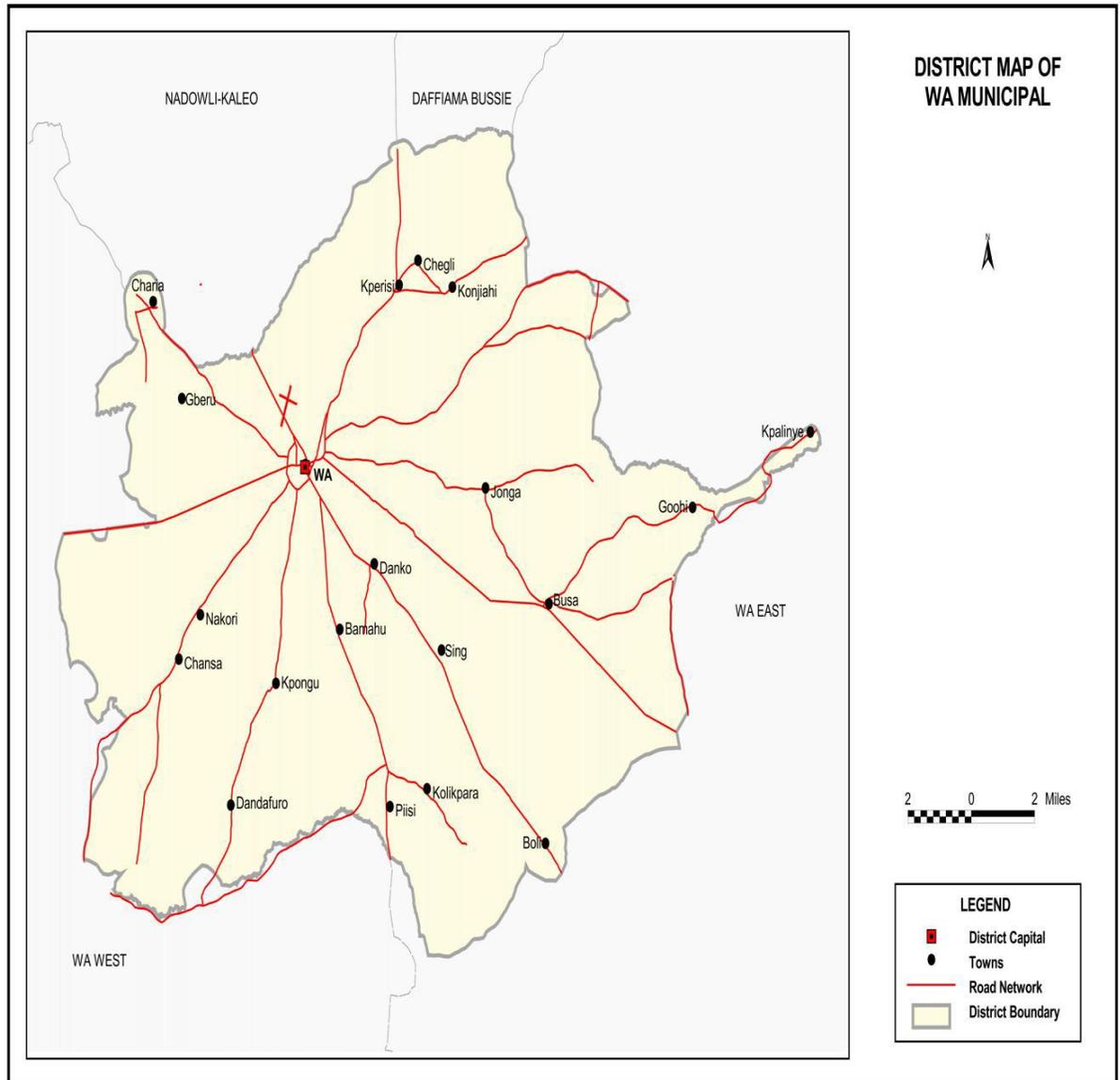
This chapter discusses the community profile which includes the geographical settings, historical origin of the people, economic activities and the socio-cultural background of the people of Wa. The socio-cultural background will include marriage and funerals.

#### **3.2 LAND**

The Wa Municipal is one of the eleven Districts that making up the Upper West Region of Ghana. Wa was upgraded to a Municipality in 2004 with an LI 1800 in pursuant of the policy of decentralization which started in 1988. Wa shares administrative boundaries with Nadowli District to the north, Wa East District to the east and to the west and the south with Wa- West District. It lies within latitudes 1°40'N to 2°45'N and longitudes 9°32'W to 10°20'W.

The Municipality has its capital as Wa, which is also the Regional capital of Upper West Region. It has a land area of approximately 579.86 square kilometres, which is about 6.4% of the Region. Figure 3.1 presents a map depicting the Wa Municipality boundaries and selected major towns.

**Figure 3.1 Wa Municipal Map**



**SOURCE:** Ghana Statistical Service

### **3.3 VEGETATION**

The vegetation of Wa is that of a guinea savannah grassland with short trees. Common trees found in this part of the area are shea, dawadawa, kapok, baobab, cashew and mango.

### **3.4 CLIMATE**

The Municipality has two seasons, namely, the wet and dry seasons. The rains start in April and ends in October, while the dry season is between November and March.

Crops such as millet, guinea corn, yam, groundnuts and beans are cultivated. The rainfall pattern is irregular and unreliable. Sometimes, it results as long period of no rain during the farming season which affects harvest.

### **3.5 PHYSICAL FEATURES**

The land is gently undulating with an average height between 160m and 300m above sea level. Low lying areas are found in the following localities; Charia, Zingu, Kperisi to the north and Piisi, Dapouha, Boli, Sing, Biihe and Busa to the south. Valleys in the low lying areas collect and retain water over long period during the rainy season. They also constitute the two main drainage systems in the capital. These are the Sing-Bakpong and its tributaries to the south and Billi and its tributaries to the north. The streams are seasonal and thus dry up

during the long dry season thereby reducing available water for agriculture and other uses such as domestic, industrial and construction (Wa Municipal, 2012).

### **3.6 GEOLOGY AND SOIL**

The Municipality is largely Pre-Cambrian, granite and metamorphic rocks that have seen minor weathering than similar rock types in other parts of the country owing to little rainfall, high evapo-transpiration and less vegetation. Nevertheless, sourcing water from boreholes has been successful because the rocks have well-developed fracture systems. This situation has created the opportunity for the development of a quarry on the Wa Busa road.

There are two main types of soil, the laterite and the savannah ochrosols. The others are clay found in the Charia community which is famous for pottery and sand found in Nakore. The laterite soil occurs abundantly all over the Municipality and is excavated for roads and housing construction. The savannah ochrosols on the other hand are shallow but support the growth of a variety of crops including millet, sorghum, soya beans, groundnuts, rice and yams.

### **3.7 POPULATION SIZE, STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION**

The population of Wa Municipal, according to the 2010 Population and Housing Census (PHC), is one hundred and seven thousand two hundred and fourteen (107, 214) representing 15.3 percent of the region's total population. Males constitute 49.7 percent while females represent 50.6 percent. 34 percent and

above of the population is estimated to be residing in the rural areas. The Municipality has a sex ratio of 97.7. The population is also said to be youthful (35% of the population is below 15 years) depicting a broad base population pyramid which tapers off with a small number of elderly persons (60 years and above) representing 6.2 percent. The total age dependency ratio for the Wa Municipality is 65.1, the age dependency ratio for rural localities is higher (77.5) than that of urban localities (59.4)

### **3.8 FERTILITY AND MORTALITY**

The total Fertility Rate (FR) for the Municipality is 3.3 which is slightly lower, compared to the regional fertility rate of 3.5. The General Fertility Rate (GFR) is 82.6 births per 1000 women aged 15-49 years. The Crude Birth Rate (CBR) is 22.7 per 1000 population. The Crude Death Rate (CDR) for the Wa Municipal is 5.0 deaths per 1000. Accident, violence, homicide/suicide account for 7.4 percent of all deaths while other causes constitute 92.6 percent of deaths recorded in the Municipality.

### **3.9 MIGRATION**

Majority of migrants constituting 64.6 percent living in the Municipality were born in another region while 35.4 percent were born elsewhere within the

Upper West Region. Ashanti migrants constitute the highest proportion of 25.3 percent followed by Northern with a percentage of 21.2.

### **3.10 HOUSEHOLD SIZE, COMPOSITION AND STRUCTURE**

The Wa Municipality has a household population of 102, 264 with a total of 9,592 houses. The average household size in the Municipality is 5 persons per household. Children constitute the largest proportion of the household structure accounting for 42.0 percent of the household population. Spouses form about 9.7 percent. Nuclear households (head, spouse(s) and children) constitute only 9.5 percent.

### **3.11 RELIGION**

Islam is the dominant religion in the Municipality with 65.9 percent of the population. Christian groups collectively makeup 29.0 percent of the population. The largest religious group among the Christians category is the Catholic (18.5% of the population). The Pentecostal/Charismatic group consists of 5.0 percent and other religion is 0.4 percent. Those who claimed no affiliation to any religion is 0.6 percent.

### **3.12 EDUCATION**

The Wa Municipality houses a number of basic schools both public and private. It also has eight public Senior High Schools and one private. The Wa Campus of the University for Development Studies and Nusrat Jahan Ahmadiyya College of Education are also in the Municipality.

### **3.13 ECONOMY ACTIVITIES**

The structure of the economy of the Municipality is dominated by agriculture sector in the previous years. However, the situation changed in the year 2010 when the Population and Housing Census was undertaken, with the service sector employing about 51.3 percent of the working population, agriculture 30.2 percent and industry 18.4 percent (GSS,2010). Other key sectors of the economy are transport, tourism, communication and energy. Under the agriculture sector, most of the farmers are engaged in peasant farming and the main crops grown include millet, sorghum, maize, rice, cowpea and groundnut cultivated on subsistence basis. However, soya beans, groundnuts, bambara beans are produced as cash crops. Economic trees within the municipality include sheanuts, dawadwa, mango, baobab, and teak among others.

### **3.14 SOCIAL AND CULTURAL STRUCTURE**

The 2010 Population and Housing Census show that 80.4 percent of the people in the Wa Municipality belong to the Mole-Dagbani group which comprises the Waalas who are the indigenous people, Dagaabas and the Sissalas. There have been considerable inter-marriages between the Waalas, Dagaabas and the Sissalas. This has removed language barriers to a matter of linguistically and semantic variations especially between the Waalas and the Dagaabas. Peaceful co-existence is further enhanced by commerce. However, the adoption of Islam by the Waalas on one hand and Christianity the Dagaabas on the other remains a factor of value differences between the two groups. Other ethnic groups found in the Municipality include the Frafra, Akan, Ewe, Ga, Dagomba, Grushi, Gonja and Moshies who are engaged in secular work and commercial activities.

### **3.15 MARRIAGE AMONG THE WALA**

Marriage is an important social institution among the people of Wa. The marriage of a young man to a young girl is usually conducted by the two families. There are laid down stages involved in the performance of the marriage ceremony. The first stage is the courting stage where the two undergo. During the early periods of the courtship, the parents of the two may not be aware until the time of presentation of cola.

Marriage among the Wala is a hybrid of both Wala customs and traditions on one hand and Islamic practices on the other hand. The duration of the courtship is

until the two individuals are ready to announce their intentions to the respective families. Courtship may take few weeks and many cases travel to months and years.

The second stage is the “first knocking” where the man’s family sends one hundred pieces of cola to greet the woman’s family to formally declare or announce the intent to marry their daughter. The acceptance and eating of the cola signifies that they have also accepted to give their daughter out in marriage. However, in some cases the woman’s family will invite their daughter before the man’s family members for final approval. But in many cases, the man’s family is asked to come on a stated day for the confirmation. During this period, the woman would give the go head to her family to eat the cola to complete the “knocking” stage. If she refuses to give her consent, the cola is returned to the man’s family.

The third stage is the “beg for marriage” where the man’s family go to request for the actual marriage to be performed. During this stage, cola is sent for the second time to beg for the marriage. Prior to this, the man’s family has already settled on a particular day to perform the marriage ceremony and will communicate it to the woman’s family. If the date is accepted by the other party, information is sent to relatives and friends to grace the occasion. On the other hand, if the date is not accepted, a new date is fixed.

The fourth stage is the payment of the bride price in line with Islamic teachings. It is the sole prerogative of the would-be wife to determine her bride price to be paid. This is in the form of cash. Many at times, the bride price is paid a day to the marriage and in some few cases, paid on the same day of the ceremony but before proceedings begin. The marriage can also go ahead when the bride price is not paid

but to be paid at a later day. This practice only applies to a man who wish to marry but is not financially able to do so. Family and friends gather in the mosque or any convenient venue for the necessary Islamic prayers to be performed by a Muslim cleric. On this day, the man and woman are regarded as husband and wife.

The last stage is the merry making where the woman is officially accompanied to her husband. This stage is not compulsory and both couples may decide not to perform it. But on this day, food and drinks are served to relatives, friends and visitors who come to show solidarity to the new couples. In the evening of the same day, the woman is sent to the man's house to begin her next journey in life.

### **3.16 FUNERALS AMONG THE WALA**

The death of an individual is not only a loss to the immediate family, but of the whole Wala communities. This is exhibited by showing concern to the affected family. Again, the Walas perform their funerals Islamically. As soon as the death of an individual is confirmed, preparation commences to bury immediately in line Islamic doctrines.

On the death of a family member, people troop to the cemetery irrespective of whether they know the deceased or not for the digging of the grave. Islamic prayers are also offered on the dead before burial is taken place.

A day after the burial, the deceased family members sit outside the compound for friends, neighbours and other sympathizers to come and shake their hands. This activity starts early in the morning and ends before the Islamic noon prayers. On the

third, seventh and twelfth days, special prayer are said to the deceased person by gathering in large groups to read the Quran. These special prayers are optional depending on the different Islamic sects you belong to. However, majority of the people offer them.

### **3.17 UTILITIES**

The three main sources of lighting in dwelling units in the Municipality are electricity (72.1%), flashlight/torch (15.1%), and kerosene lamp (10.9%). The main sources of fuel for cooking for most households in the Municipality are charcoal (55.2%) and wood (22.9%). About 16 percent of households also use gas as their main source of fuel for cooking. The proportion rural households which use wood as their main source of cooking fuel is 56.2 percent, compared to 9.8 percent of urban households in the Municipality.

There are four main sources of drinking water in the Municipality which include borehole/pump/tube well used by 36.1 percent of households, pipe-borne outside dwelling used by 27.8 percent of households and public tap/standpipe which is used by 8.4 percent of households.

The commonest toilet facility is used by 37.0 percent of households in the Municipality and that is public toilet. The use of water closet (WC) is the second commonest. About 41.8 percent of the households in the Municipality has no toilet facility. As high as 42.7 percent of households in the Municipality share separate bathrooms in the same house while only 29.4 percent own bathrooms for their exclusive use.

### **3.18 WASTE DISPOSAL**

The most widely used method of solid waste disposal is by public dump (container) accounting for 44.6 percent households in the Municipal. Twenty four percent of households also use public dump (container) which constitute the second widely used method of solid waste disposal. As high as a proportion of 17.6 percent of households dump their solid waste indiscriminately. House to house waste collection accounts for 4.3 percent of households. For liquid waste disposal, throwing waste onto the street (53.5%) and onto the compound (17.7%) are the two most common methods used by households in the Municipality.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter will focus on the research methodology being used during the study. This will include the research design, sampling units and sources of data as well as the analytical processes adopted for the study.

#### **4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN**

The study employed the case study research design. A case study design enables the researcher to focus on a single individual, group, community, event, policy area or institution and study it in depth, over a period of time (Burnham et al., 2004: 53). Even though case studies can generate both quantitative and qualitative data, it generates a wealth of data relating to one specific case and has more of qualitative feel to it. The study under investigation necessitated the employment of a qualitative research to gather data. Since the case study research design involves an in-depth investigation, there was the need to employ a method that allows the researcher to get a detailed experience of the participants hence the use of qualitative research method.

### **4.3 TARGET POPULATION**

The target population for study is made up of the families within the Wala royal gates (*Yijiihi, Jarri, Jonyohi and Kpaaha*), the ‘*Tendabas*’, ‘*Foroko*’ and the ‘*Yeri-Na*’. This is due to the fact that these four groups are the main stakeholders in the Wala chieftaincy affairs.

### **4.4 SAMPLE SIZE**

A sample size of twenty one (21) has been selected to carry out this research. This is made up of three respondents from each of the four families under the Waroyal gates (*Yijiihi, Jarri, Jonyohi and Kpaaha*), the ‘*Tendabas*’, ‘*Foroko*’ and the ‘*Yeri*’. The research topic is a traditional one and that three respondents from every family would be most appropriate since not every member knows the tradition very well. These respondents are deemed qualified and selected because as chiefs or family heads, they have gone through or involved in similar processes in becoming chiefs or enskinning a chief.

### **4.5 SAMPLING TECHNIQUE**

The study employed purposive and snowball sampling methods. The purposive and snowball sampling is used to select the respondents. According to Kumekpor in purposive sampling, the units of the sample are selected not by random procedure, but they are intentionally picked for study because of their

characteristics or because they satisfy certain qualities which were not randomly distributed in the universe but they are typical or they exhibit most of the interest to the study. This decision is necessitated by the fact that the researcher needs people who have adequate knowledge on the chieftaincy institution in the Wala Traditional Area. Snowball sampling method was also used to select the respondents in the study area. Family heads were selected who intend recommended other respondents knowledgeable in the field of study.

#### **4.6 DATA COLLECTION**

Data collection is an essential task in research work. According to Burnham et al. (2004), the collection of data is crucial to the success of a project. For the purpose of this study, data was collected from both primary and secondary sources.

##### **4.6.1 PRIMARY DATA**

Primary data is the information gathered by the researcher himself during the research. The primary data was obtained from the various respondents in the target group through the identification of certain individuals with in-depth knowledge on Wala chieftaincy matters. The researcher sought information from the four chieftaincy families (*Yijihi, Jarri, Jonyohi and Kpaaha*), the *Tendabas*, the *Forokos* and the *Yari Nas*. These groups together form the main stakeholders in the Wala chieftaincy affairs.

The study employed unstructured interview as an instrument in the collection of primary data. Interview is one of the many research instruments used in qualitative studies. An interview, in the words of Kvale (1996:2) “is an interchange of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest”. An in-depth interview in particular is a ‘special kind of knowledge producing conversation’ (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006:128). According to Punch (2009) interview is considered the most prominent data collection tool in qualitative research. In that, it aids in the assessment of the perceptions, meanings and definitions of situations as well as constructions of realities of people.

#### **4.6.2 SECONDARY DATA**

The secondary data on the other hand is obtained from the Upper West Regional House of Chiefs, Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD) in Accra and Tamale, the Wa High Court as well as Supreme Court rulings.

#### **4.7 DATA ANALYSIS**

The data collected were analyzed qualitatively using qualitative content analysis. According to Schreier (2012) qualitative content analysis is a method for systematically describing the meaning of qualitative material. This is done by ordering material as instances of the classes of a coding frame. Qualitative content analysis was initially developed to analyze and interpret the text. However,

recently, it is applied to verbal data such as interview transcripts, emails, archival material and so on. Therefore the qualitative content analysis is used when dealing with data that needs interpretation.

Qualitative content analysis is done by translating all the meanings in the material that are of interest to the researcher into the classes of a coding frame. Then, order the successive parts of the material based on the classes mentioned above. That is, the researcher must examine the material and decide for each part, where in the coding frame it fits (Stake 2010; Schreier, 2012). An advantage of the qualitative content analyses is that large quantities of data can be analyzed in a precise and systematic way, Burnham et al. (2004). Thus, it is systematic, flexible and reduces data. However this method has its weakness, according to Burnham et al. (2004), if the categories are very broad, interesting material may be neglected.

#### **4.8 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY**

Validity and reliability is the trademark of every good scientific research. According to Altheide and Johnson (1994), Reliability refers to the stability of findings while validity represents the truthfulness of findings. Kitchin and Tate (2000) shared similar view in that validity “concerns the soundness, legitimacy and relevance of a research theory and its investigation while reliability may refer to the repeatability or consistency of a finding”.

The research findings when subjected under same conditions are expected to produce similar outcomes.

#### **4.9 ETHICAL ISSUES**

Burnham et al. (2004) in their book *Research Methods in Politics*, they enumerated five basic ethical principles. These ethical principles are: the avoidance of harm, veracity which is the avoidance of deception, privacy or autonomy, confidentiality and informed consent which is recommended as an operational principle for the conduct of research. These are therefore the necessary conditions a researcher must consider in embarking on his/her research journey. Ryen (2011) also viewed the concept of ethics in scientific research around three main themes, that is, codes and consent, confidentiality and trust. This reinforces the view of Burnham et al. (2004),

Codes and consent has to do with informed consent. Informed consent means “the exercise of free power of choice on the part of human participant, without coercion, deceit, promise of future benefits, or other forms of influencing the participants to act against their better judgment”(Mauch and Birch, 1983). That is the research subjects have to know that they are being researched and give their consent either written or orally. Confidentiality which is the assurance of the privacy of the individual’s identity and earning the trust of the interviewees by upholding to the assurances made are very crucial in the field of research. This concept applies to any research involving human participation with this particular research not being an exception.

In the case of this research, the researcher provided the respondents with detailed information about the research.

Interviewees were assured that the research was purely academic. Responses provided in the course of the study would be kept confidentially since the topic for study involves traditional matters. Therefore the names or positions of the respondents were not shown in the research work without their consent. The researcher also assured them that all recordings of the interview will be destroyed after the work is completed.

#### **4.10 CONCLUSION**

This chapter discussed the community profile as well as the methodology which will be employed in this study. The chapter started with the research design employed in the study, the target population, sample size, sampling technique, the data collection techniques, as well as the validity, reliability and ethics. The framework for data analyses was also outlined in this chapter.

For the purpose of this study, the qualitative method was employed in both the collection and analyses of data using the purposive and snow-ball sampling techniques, data were gathered from respondents from all the four royal gates, the *Tendana*, *Yari-Na* and *Foroko*. Secondary sources of data such as books were also employed. Issues regarding confidentiality, anonymity and trust were discussed under ethics in this chapter.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS**

#### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

The 1933 Wala constitution is a well-crafted law to govern chieftaincy in the Wala Traditional Area. It was established to correct the imbalances in chieftaincy succession and prevent any dispute among the royal gates (1933 Wala Constitution). However, it has been observed that the constitution is defect in the number of royal gates in Wa. The constitution recognized three while the actual number is four per a Supreme Court ruling in 1985. The process of succession is also marred with politics. This research therefore seeks to investigate the processes of succession and its associated politics.

This chapter presents the findings from the field and discusses the findings vis-a-vis the literature. The findings of the study were extracted from the views of experts in the field through interviews and secondary sources of data. The participants of the interviews were selected by employing purposive and snow-ball sampling techniques.

#### **5.2 PROCESSES AND PROCEDURES INVOLVED IN THE SELECTION AND INSTALLATION OF A CHIEF**

This section presents issues regarding chieftaincy succession processes and the need by all stakeholders to follow these outlined procedures so as to prevent any unnecessary tension particularly in the study area.

### 5.2.1 NOMINATION PROCESS

It is important to note that the information by the respondents especially eight (8) out of the twelve (12) respondents from the four ruling royal gates in Wa are either divisional chiefs or sub-divisional chiefs and were based on the processes they themselves went through during their nomination, selection, installation and enskinment some years back. The remaining four respondents from the royal class are family heads who are not necessarily chiefs.

The other respondents who shared their perspectives on the topic were also based on their interactions with the chieftaincy institution in Wala. In an interview with Kulpong *Na* Abu Salia on the processes involved in the nomination, selection, installation and enskinment of a chief in the Wala Traditional Area, he admitted that these processes start immediately the seat is declared vacant through death, resignation or removal. When any of the above mentioned occurs, as a temporary measure only in the case of a *Wa Na*, a regent or a caretaker chief is immediately appointed from the successive royal family. This process is only required in order to perform all the necessary customary and traditional funeral rites of the late *Wa Na*. The nomination of a regent or caretaker chief is done to avoid any administrative gaps that might occur during the performance of the funeral rites. It is only after the traditional funeral rites are performed that the process for the search of a new chief is activated. In the case of a divisional chief, *Na* Abu Salia holds that the brother of the divisional chief acts as the regent. Where he has no brother, his elder son performs this role. This information was

verified and accepted by all the respondents interviewed to be the true reflection of what pertains in the Wala Traditional Area.

According to Na Abu Salia, since the principle of rotation began, the first important step towards becoming a chief is the declaration of interest before the senior prince of the gate concerned. In the specific case of a Wa Na, the 1933 Declaration abolished the old system of “guided primogeniture” and ushered in succession by rotation among the ruling gates, namely Yijiihi, Jarri, Jonyohi and now Kpaaha. Na Abu explained that the term “guided primogeniture” is used to imply succession by the most senior person (senior by birth) of the ruling royal families. These gates therefore succeed to the Wa skin by turns in order of seniority- Yijiihi, Jarri, Jonyohi and Kpaaha. He added that the four have their seats at Busa, Kperisi, Sing and Guli respectively. Therefore, based on this claim and accepted by all the respondents, the *Busa Na*, *Kperisi Na*, *Sing Na* and *Guli Na* are the next *Wa Nas* in-waiting depending on which royal gate is succeeding. However, in the event that the *Busa Na*, *Kperisi Na*, *Sing Na* and *Guli Na* whose turn is it to succeed the Wa skin is disqualified by any stated reason or if he expresses his intention to withdraw, then another candidate is nominated from the same gate and presented to the kingmakers for confirmation.

For divisional chiefs, the respondents interviewed believed the process is entirely different from the nomination of a *Wa Na*. The process of nominating a sub-divisional chief begins with the declaration of interest to the senior prince of each gate as indicated before. This is done immediately after the burial of the said chief. Respondents hold the view that an individual begins the process as a

“*Dabuo Na*”. The term *Dabuo Na* is used in this context to mean the chief of an uninhibited place. In all the four royal gates, the practice of succession is known as shifting where one sub-chief move from one village to the other when a vacancy is created. This practice involves a system where sub chiefs climb a chieftaincy ladder to become a *Wa Na*. Respondents explained that when a divisional chief such as *Busa Na*, *Kperisi Na*, *Sing Na* or *Guli Na* dies, the practice of shifting is then applied where the next sub-chief in the hierarchy after the divisional chiefs (*Busa Na*, *Kperisi Na*, *Sing Na* and *Guli Na*) shift from his village to occupy the said mentioned seats. This process is repeated until the lowest in the hierarchy of chiefs is vacant. It is at this point that individuals declare their intentions before the senior prince of each royal gate. Where there is only one candidate, message is sent to the *tendanas* (Landlords) and a date is set for his official installation. On the other hand, where there are two or more candidates involved, the senior prince uses his discretion to nominate one of the candidates. In all these processes, it is explained that the outcome in the choice of a particular candidate must be communicated to the *Busa Na*, *Kperisi Na*, *Sing Na* or *Guli Na* depending on the gate involved and later to the *Tendanas* for prayers to be said on the day of the installation. Since the four *Nas* (*Busa*, *Kperisi*, *Sing* and *Guli*) are divisional chiefs, the process is incomplete if they do not accept the said choice of the senior prince. It is therefore on this basis that the four divisional chiefs are formally informed through the presentation of cola. However, all the respondents believe that in the event these processes are followed and one party

feels he has been treated unfairly, the issue is resolved by the four chiefs so stated above and the outcome is binding on all parties.

Succession amongst the various gates has been laid down to reduce the incidence of disputes between one candidate and other. Over the years, this path has been deviated and necessitated the current dispute between two candidates from the same royal gate. The only gate that continues to follow this path of succession is the Jonyohi royal gate. An interaction with Kulpong Na Abu Salia, he pointed out the merits one stands to achieve. According him, before the demise of one king, everybody knows who is next in the line of succession. There exists a ladder for an individual to climb to become a chief of a particular village or town once the intention is there. For example, one cannot become a Wa Na when you have not sat on the skins of certain villages. Na Abu Salia puts it simply as “a beginning village to an ending town”. The beginning village is Chasia while the ending town is Wa. This implies that the individual should begin as Chasia Na and pass through six other villages before becoming a Wa Na. The ladder of chiefs is as follows: Chasia Na; Jayiri Na; Kulpong Na; Loggu Na; Chansa Na; Boli Na; Sing Na; and finally Wa Na. The ladder is represented as:

**Chasia Na → Jayiri Na → Kulpong Na → Loggu Na  
→ Chansa Na → Boli Na → Sing Na → Wa Na**

This means that before the death of a Wa Na especially when it is the term of the Jonyohi gate to produce a candidate, the family already knows the candidate to sit on the skin as Wa Na. This procedure applies to any of the ladders

mentioned above except Chasia Na where competition exists as many people may declare their interest to contest for the chiefly office. It therefore suggests that it is only at the lower level that the system may experience challenges because of the competing interest. There is little or no difficulty at all once the first ladder has been clamped. However, there are instances where a particular chief may decline to move higher in this ladder and remain on his skin. In this case, the lower chief is promoted above the one who declined to move ahead. Both Wa Na Mumuni Koray and Wa Na Momori Bondiri II of the Jonyohi royal gate did not sit on the Sing skin before becoming Wa Nas in 1949 and 1978 respectively. They were both promoted to Wa Na because the chiefs ahead of them in the ladder declined to move and wished to stay where they were for personal reasons.

The practice of climbing a ladder to become a Wa Na has however eroded in the case of the *Yijihhi and Jarri* royal gates. In the case of *Kpaaha* royal gate, the ladder exists but practiced differently from that of the *Jonyohi* gate. The highest in the ladder of the *Yijihhi* gate Busa Na while that of the *Jarri* gate is Kperisi Na and that of the *Kpaaha* is Guli Na. Emphasis can be made that none of the competing candidates (Na Fuseini Seidu Pelpuo IV and Na Issah Seidu II) never sat on any skin before contesting to occupy the office of Wa Na.

## **5.2.2 INSTALLATION PROCESS**

The processes for installation start immediately after the kingmakers are unanimous or a simple majority in their choice of a candidate, a Traditional Council meeting is summoned for the purpose of according formal recognition to

the *Wa Na* elect. Na Mahama Topie explained that the role of the Traditional Council is a formality and this council does not have powers to challenge or overturn the decision of the kingmakers. It is at this meeting that the Council sets a date for the official enskinment of the *Wa Na* elect. On the day of crowning, the *Foroko* (head of *Foroko* family) whose duty it is to conduct the *Wa Na* elect to sit on the appropriate skins, reciting the customary rituals and putting the gown on him and pronouncing him *Wa Na* from that day. The assertions of Na Mahama Topie was corroborated with the *Forokos* and proved to be true. The *Tendana* who is being represented by the *Widaana* offers prayers through the pouring of libation for protection for the new *Wa Na*. On his part, the *Yeri Na* who represents the Muslim community offers special prayers for Allah's guidance and blessings of the land.

When asked whether the kingmakers do any divine or spiritual consultation in the selection of a *Wa Na*, it was unanimously agreed that this practice has ceased to exist since the coming and acceptance of Islam by the people. According to respondents, before the coming of Islam their forefathers used to consult Diviners or Soothsayers in the selection of a chief who would be accepted by the people. However, with the introduction of Islam, some Islamic rites and practices are now incorporated into the chieftaincy institution in the *Wala* Traditional Area. On the day of installation, the *Wa Na*-elect takes the oath of office pledging to rule impartially while his elders swear another oath pledging their allegiance to the *Wa Na*.

It is also on this day that the *Wa Na* is expected to wear the red hat as noted by respondents. Wala tradition has it that no royal member can wear a red hat except the *Wa Na* and that when any royal is caught wearing one, the victim is summoned before the *Wa Na* and his chiefs and the necessary disciplinary actions taken against the individual which includes disqualification from ever holding himself as a chief.

On the enskinment of the *Wa Na*, he is led into the skin house and lowered three times on the skin. A cow is then slaughtered to invoke God's guidance towards a peaceful rein. The sacrificing of the cow is a religious act and is very significant. During this period, the *Wa Na* is confined for a period of seven days before he begins his official duties as chief. This is done to fortify the *Wa Na* against his enemies and help prepare him towards his new office.

### **5.3 CHIEFTAINCY SUCCESSION PROCESSES AND POLITICS**

The chieftaincy institution as being recognized by the 1992 Constitution and the Chieftaincy Act of 2008, Act 759 has barred chiefs from engaging in active politics. Any chief who wants to do contrary to these provisions must vacate his stool or skin. However, politicians have managed to find ways and means of enticing chiefs to their side of the political divide possibly to do their bidding. To this end, politicians would want their "men" to be considered as chiefs when a stool or skin is vacant. To some degree therefore, the chieftaincy institution, with its independent structures as prescribed by the relevant laws is politicized. This is because the institution is not empowered on its own to work

effectively. Budgetary allocations of the National House of Chiefs and the various Regional Houses of Chiefs are being approved by government through the Finance Ministry.

What came out during interview with respondents was that it is possible for politicians to interfere in the processes of the selection and installation of a new chief. A section of the respondents bemoaned how security personnel are used by politicians to intimidate them during such processes thereby influencing the outcome of the election of a *Wa Na*. A respondent claimed that the huge number of security personnel presence creates tension among the kingmakers and the fact that they know nothing about the law, they are threatened with the law. These claims therefore do not come as a surprise when traditional leaders mounted public platforms to solicit votes for political parties much especially the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) during the 2016 general elections. The open declaration of personal support for political parties as well as canvassing votes for political parties were some of the allegations levelled against chiefs. These are the basis that informed respondents' perception of political interference in traditional chieftaincy matters.

Another respondent also accused government of creating unnecessary disturbances through the installation of Yakubu Seidu as *Wa Na*. In the past, government used the police and military to illegally install people as chiefs. He contended that any attempt to install someone who is not nowhere the skin is regarded an act of desecration of the spirituality of the skin. It also emerged during interview that some past Regional Ministers and Municipal Chief Executives also

abused their political powers that led to the installation of chiefs in the area. In 2005, some respondents explained how the Regional Minister and the Municipal Chief Executive influenced the processes to the advantage of their preferred candidate. They explained that the then Regional Minister happen to be the lawyer to one of the parties in the dispute. It therefore did not amuse them when he did the bidding of the late *Wa Na* Yakubu Seidu to be installed as they believed.

According to another respondent, the actions of the Regional Minister and his Municipal Chief Executive to install *Na* Yakubu Seidu through the back door were not sanctioned by the government of J. A. Kuffour in 2005. However, he explained that the Municipal Chief Executive was coerced to accept responsibility leading to his dismissal from government.

It also came to light during interview that the current *Wa Na* with the collusion of some powerful politicians in an attempt to influence the process nearly prevented the shifting of now *Chansa Na* Bolina Saaka from Loggo to *Chansa*. Letters sighted were written to the Municipal Chief Executive and copied to the Police and Bureau of National Investigation (BNI) to use their power in preventing the said shifting from taking place because the said chief do not pay allegiance to the *Wa Na*. Under the custom and tradition of *Wala*, though the *Wa Na* is higher in status than his divisional chiefs, his powers to halt or either suspends the shifting are limited especially when the royal gate of the *Wa Na* is different from the divisional chief involved. This assertion was supported by all the respondents. Another respondent had this to say;

*This letter was handed to Chansa Na in his house one early morning by operatives of the BNI in Wa. But thank God Chansa Na was an educated person who could explain the tradition and custom of the people. In the long run, they understood his explanation and even requested to offer him protection on the day of the shifting. If the reverse was done, we were prepared to face the security agency in the battle field.*

As part of the politics in the chieftaincy institution in Wa, one can understand the voting pattern of the *Nabiihi* in the Wa Central Constituency. A careful study of the pattern of voting clearly indicated that the two main political parties in Ghana (NPP and NDC) use politics to infiltrate into the ranks of the people by making unrealistic promises. In view of what is at stake, the people vote towards a certain direction. These politicians will therefore go at any length in order to satisfy their “political animals” even if it demands violating custom and tradition of the people. All twenty one (21) respondents agreed with the interference of national politics in the Wala chieftaincy affairs.

Political leaders have aligned themselves with traditional leaders with the hope of getting their support and that of their elders. The support to the chiefs in return is to influence his people to increase the electoral fortunes of the political parties. This has been the main motivating force driving political leaders in the country to mingle in traditional matters.

In analyzing the pattern of voting, Nayiri and Fongo are the only two places inhabited by only the *Nabiihi* and have polling stations. The other *Nabiihi* settlements are now pluralistic in nature. Though Busa, Jonga, Sing, Kperisi, Boli and Nakori are made up of diverse group of people, the *Nabiihi* still remain the majority of the people and will therefore be relevant in the analysis of the data. Interestingly, all the inhabitants of these settlements above come from one of the four royal gates in Wa. This is so because the indigenous people of Wala at the time settled on areas according to lineage. Therefore, the study looked at the Presidential and Parliamentary election results from the Electoral Commission of Ghana on how these settlements cast their votes and to come to a conclusion. Compare Tables 5.1 to 5.10 below:

**Table 5.1: Presidential Elections, 1996**

<b>Polling Station</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>NDC</b>	<b>NPP</b>
Fifamuni	K010603	96	209
Nayiri	K010601	252	174
Busa Primary School A	K010101A	96	276
Busa Primary School B	K010101B	84	183
Fongu Mosque A	K010902A	241	44
Fongu Mosque B	K010902B	101	56
Teachers Resource Centre	K010901	76	63
Boli Primary School A	K011701A	165	92
Boli Primary School B	K011701B	176	74
Jonga Primary School	K011501	88	42
Kperisi Primary Sch.	K011401	109	82
Sing Primary School	K011705	46	141
Nakori Primary Sch.	K011108	143	93
<b>Total</b>		<b>1, 673</b>	<b>1, 529</b>

**Source:** Electoral Commission, Ghana

**Table 5.2: Parliamentary Elections, 1996**

<b>Polling Station</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>NDC</b>	<b>NPP</b>
Fifamuni	K010603	91	187
Nayiri	K010601	231	164
Busa Primary School A	K010101A	87	280
Busa Primary School B	K010101B	68	199
Fongu Mosque A	K010902A	233	40
Fongu Mosque B	K010902B	88	45
Teachers Resource Centre	K010901	71	66
Boli Primary School A	K011701A	143	75
Boli Primary School B	K011701B	157	78
Jonga Primary School	K011501	78	38
Kperisi Primary Sch.	K011401	109	82
Sing Primary School	K011705	39	148
Nakori Primary Sch.	K011108	145	93
<b>Total</b>		<b>1, 540</b>	<b>1, 495</b>

**Source:** Electoral Commission, Ghana

**Table 5.3: Presidential Elections, 2008**

<b>Polling Station</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>NDC</b>	<b>NPP</b>
Fifamuni	K010603	153	311
Nayiri	K010601	192	459
Busa Primary School A	K010101A	166	355
Busa Primary School B	K010101B	165	366
Fongu Mosque A	K010902A	552	81
Fongu Mosque B	K010902B	272	100
Teachers Resource Centre	K010901	280	114
Boli Primary School A	K011701A	238	268
Boli Primary School B	K011701B	222	311
Jonga Primary School	K011501	64	161
Kperisi Primary Sch.	K011401	254	346
Sing Primary School	K011705	159	333
Nakori Primary Sch.	K011108	372	280
<b>Total</b>		<b>3, 089</b>	<b>3, 485</b>

**Source:** Electoral Commission, Ghana

**Table 5.4: Parliamentary Elections, 2008**

<b>Polling Station</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>NDC</b>	<b>NPP</b>
Fifamuni	K010603	146	258
Nayiri	K010601	198	392
Busa Primary School A	K010101A	151	346
Busa Primary School B	K010101B	147	327
Fongu Mosque A	K010902A	518	87
Fongu Mosque B	K010902B	264	84
Teachers Resource Centre	K010901	251	118
Boli Primary School A	K011701A	220	270
Boli Primary School B	K011701B	208	311
Jonga Primary School	K011501	47	159
Kperisi Primary Sch.	K011401	215	356
Sing Primary School	K011705	146	310
Nakori Primary Sch.	K011108	327	302
<b>Total</b>		<b>2, 838</b>	<b>3, 320</b>

**Source:** Electoral Commission, Ghana

**Table 5.5: Presidential Elections, 2012**

<b>Polling Station</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>NDC</b>	<b>NPP</b>
Fifamuni	K010701	211	308
Anglican Sch. Nayiri A	K010601A	168	346
Anglican Sch. Nayiri B	K010601B	162	343
High Court Nayiri	K010602	346	134
Busa Primary School	K010101	194	317
Busa J. H. S	K010102	85	350
Tendanba Centre Busa	K010103	228	164
Fongu Mosque	K011102	366	74
Fongu Mosque Annex	K011103	281	84
Teachers Resource Centre	K011101	507	165
Boli J. H. S	K013002	216	375
Jonga Primary School	K012601	114	179
Kperisi Primary Sch.	K012401	338	317
Sing Primary School	K013102	212	362
Nakori Primary	K011701	496	361
<b>Total</b>		<b>3, 924</b>	<b>3, 879</b>

**Source:** Electoral Commission, Ghana

**Table 5.6: Parliamentary Elections, 2012**

<b>Polling Station</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>NDC</b>	<b>NPP</b>
Fifamuni	K010701	198	315
Anglican Sch. Nayiri A	K010601A	151	355
Anglican Sch. Nayiri B	K010601B	144	359
High Court Nayiri	K010602	341	138
Busa Primary School	K010101	171	322
Busa J. H. S	K010102	80	355
Tendanba Centre Busa	K010103	219	170
Fongu Mosque	K011102	356	88
Fongu Mosque Annex	K011103	251	102
Teachers Resource Centre	K011101	482	177
Boli J. H. S	K013002	191	390
Jonga Primary School	K012601	105	189
Kperisi Primary Sch.	K012401	331	319
Sing Primary School	K013102	199	375
Nakori Primary	K011701	481	372
<b>Total</b>		<b>3, 700</b>	<b>4, 026</b>

**Source:** Electoral Commission, Ghana

**Table 5.7: Presidential Elections, 2016**

<b>Polling Station</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>NDC</b>	<b>NPP</b>
Fifamuni	K010701	190	378
Anglican Sch. Nayiri A	K010601A	123	272
Anglican Sch. Nayiri B	K010601B	122	297
High Court Nayiri	K010602	319	150
Busa Primary School	K010101	184	337
Busa J. H. S	K010102	77	373
Tendanba Centre Busa	K010103	199	208
Fongu Mosque	K011102	365	103
Fongu Mosque Annex	K011103	279	87
Teachers Resource Centre	K011101	402	154
Boli J. H. S	K013002	223	416
Jonga Primary School	K012601	99	207
Kperisi Primary sch. A	K012401A	156	270
Kperisi Primary sch. B	K012401B	155	218
Sing Primary School	K013102	215	394
Nakori Primary A	K011701A	213	252
Nakori Primary	K011701B	197	221
<b>Total</b>		<b>3, 518</b>	<b>4, 337</b>

**Source:** Electoral Commission, Ghana

**Table 5.8: Parliamentary Elections, 2016**

<b>Polling Station</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>NDC</b>	<b>NPP</b>
Fifamuni	K010701	118	411
Anglican Sch. Nayiri A	K010601A	94	294
Anglican Sch. Nayiri B	K010601B	96	315
High Court Nayiri	K010602	291	165
Busa Primary School	K010101	174	341
Busa J. H. S	K010102	71	376
Tendanba Centre Busa	K010103	178	211
Fongu Mosque	K011102	310	145
Fongu Mosque Annex	K011103	247	113
Teachers Resource Centre	K011101	326	188
Boli J. H. S	K013002	232	369
Jonga Primary School	K012601	98	191
Kperisi Primary sch. A	K012401A	137	264
Kperisi Primary sch. B	K012401B	134	218
Sing Primary School	K013102	191	350
Nakori Primary A	K011701A	186	279
Nakori Primary	K011701B	151	218
<b>Total</b>		<b>3, 034</b>	<b>4, 448</b>

**Source:** Electoral Commission, Ghana

**Table 5.9: Summary of Presidential Elections**

<b>ELECTIONS</b>	<b>NDC</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>NPP</b>	<b>%</b>
1996	1673	52.2	1529	47.8
2008	3089	47	3485	53
2012	3924	50.2	3879	49.8
2016	3518	44.8	4337	55.2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12,204</b>	<b>47.9</b>	<b>13,230</b>	<b>52.1</b>

**Source:** Electoral Commission, Ghana

**Table 5.10: Summary of Parliamentary Elections**

<b>ELECTIONS</b>	<b>NDC</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>NPP</b>	<b>%</b>
1996	1540	50.7	1495	49.3
2008	2838	46.1	3320	53.9
2012	3700	47.9	4026	52.1
2016	3034	40.5	4448	59.5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>11,112</b>	<b>45.5</b>	<b>13,289</b>	<b>54.5</b>

**Source:** Electoral Commission, Ghana

A comprehensive analysis of the pattern of voting from the tables revealed that, in the 1996 Presidential Elections, the NDC won in six polling stations out of the ten held by the *Nabiihi* while the NPP won in four polling stations. In the Parliamentary Elections, the NDC won in nine polling stations while the NPP won in only one polling station. In the 2008 elections, the number of polling stations was increased to thirteen. Out of this number, the NDC won in five while the NPP won in eight polling stations. The NDC lost Nayiri, Boli Primary School A, Boli Primary School B, Jong Primary School and Kperisi Primary School polling stations to the NPP. In the Parliamentary Elections for the same year, a replica of the Presidential Elections was repeated. In the 2012 general elections, the number of polling stations was gain increased from thirteen to fifteen. Both the NPP and NDC have maintained their previously held polling stations in the 2008 elections. The two newly created polling stations were shared between the NDC and the NPP. A replica of the Presidential was maintained in the Parliamentary Elections for the year 2012.

In the 2016 Presidential Elections, the number of polling stations was further increased to seventeen. Kperisi and Nakori were both split into two. The NPP won in thirteen polling stations while the NDC won in the remaining four. The NDC has lost in all of Busa, Kperisi and Nakori to the NPP. In the Parliamentary Elections, a replica of the Presidential was again repeated. However, the NDC's number of votes obtained in both the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections have been declining from election to election in these polling stations while the NPP is gaining votes. Furthermore, in all these polling

stations, the candidate of the NDC at the Presidential is doing far better than the NDC's parliamentary candidate even though both are losing votes. Though the NDC's candidate is a prince himself and comes from one of the four royal gates, this has not been translated into votes for him.

#### **5.4 BREACHES IN SUCCESSION PROCESSES**

When posed with question of any possible breaches in the nomination, selection or election and installation of a *Wa Na* or any of his divisional chiefs, respondents were divided in some of their responses. Out of a total of twenty one respondents interviewed, fifteen hold the view that there were clear breaches in the nomination, selection and installation of the office of *Wa Na* and other divisional and sub-divisional chiefs. According to this group of respondents interviewed, there has been a total disregard for rules of enskinment and succession in recent times. They also believe one or two breaches must have occurred in the past but this has been alarming since 2005. One respondent had this to say;

*This is what you get when the elderly in society shut their mouths and watch evil perpetuated to others. Today, people have sold their conscience to the rich in society and such people do not have the morality to question the actions of their pay masters. People are violating traditions and customs and the people who should talk are not talking because of monetary gains. This explains why you see what you are seeing today. We will not know peace until the*

*tradition that has been handed to us by our forefathers is followed to the latter. When you use the police and soldiers to install a chief against the will of the people, the said chief will occupy the skin but cannot speak. The worst is yet to visit us if we do not change the way we are doing things.*

This view was echoed by majority of the respondents and they felt very bitter about the status quo. Furthermore, all the respondents believed in the existence of the principle of rotational succession among the four royal gates. The respondents also accepted the principle of rotational fairness within each royal gate. One respondent explained that every royal gate has two or more wards or families in it. Therefore, it is normal that this system of rotation is observed in order to eliminate any form of future misunderstanding among the same royal gate. This assessment was corroborated by all the respondents. For example, Mahama Topie explained that the Yijiihi royal gate has four wards or families namely Dinokpong, Soboung Jaga, Finsi Na Jaga and Pelpuo Jaga.

He further explained that all these wards except Dinokpong have had their turn to occupy the throne as *Wa Na*. This information has been checked and proven to be accurate. *Wa Na* Pelpuo III from the Pelpuo *Jaga* ward became *Wa Na* from 1920 – 1935. Between 1943 and 1949, *Wa Na* Sumaila Topie of the Soboung Jaga ward became *Wa Na*. *Wa Na* Seidu II of Finsi Na Jaga ward between 1953 and 1961 also served as *Wa Na*. It is based on these preceding events that *Na Mahama Topie* believes it was their turn; Dinokpong ward and not

Pelpuo Jaga ward to sit on the throne. For this reason, the people in this ward think injustice has been served on them.

Interestingly, the Dinokpong ward of Yijiihi royal gate is missing at the forefront in challenging Wa Na Fuseini Seidu Pelpuo IV although they believe it is their turn to fill a candidate. It is rather Na Issah Seidu II of Funsu Na Jaga ward who is leading the challenge. The key question that begs for an answer is: why Na Issah Seidu II and not a candidate from the Dinokpong ward? At this juncture, emphasis should be placed that Na Issah Seidu II started his course way back during the time of Yakubu Seidu Soale II as Wa Na. When asked why the Dinokpong ward was not at the lead again in challenging Na Yakubu Seidu Soale II after the death of Katua Na Hamidu, the impression gotten was that the second candidate of the Dinokpong ward refused to be dragged into chieftaincy matters. This was Yakubu Asani who was at the time the Vice Principal of Tamale College of Education. He later became the Tolon-Kumbungu District Director of Education prior to his retirement from the public sector.

To put the discussion in perspective, it was the turn of Busa Na Asani to succeed the late Wa Na Momori Bondiri II who died in January 1998. However, Busa Na Asani declined and rather nominated Katua Na Hamidu Yakubu to be installed as Wa Na. This was accepted by the kingmakers as manifested in the elections held on 20<sup>th</sup> April, 1998. The decision of the king making body was five in support and two against. The five in support were Sanchiga Na Salifu Hamidu representing the Jarri gate, Alhaji B. K. Adam representing the Yijiihi gate, Sing Na Mumuni Saaka representing the Jonyohi gate, Alhaji Iddrisu Saedu representing the Foroko and Umoru Iddrisu as the Yari Na. The two against the

candidature of Katua Na Hamidu Yakubu were Kofi Ibrahim Bayong representing the Tendana and Guli Na Yakubu Seidu representing the Kpahaa gate. Compare tables 5.11 and 5.12 below:

**Table 5.11:** *Distribution of Wa Na based on the principle of rotation among gates since 1933*

<b>Wa Na</b>	<b>Gate</b>	<b>Seat</b>	<b>Duration</b>
Wa Na Pelpuo III	Yijihi	Busa	<b>1920 – 1935</b>
Wa Na Hamidu Bomi	Jarri	Kperisi	1936 – 1943
Wa Na Sumaila Topie	Yijihi	Busa	1943 – 1949
Wa Na Mumuni Koray	Jonyohi	Sing	1949 – 1953
Wa Na Seidu	Yijihi	Busa	1953 – 1961
Wa Na Sidiki Bomi	Jarri	Kperisi	1961 – 1978
Wa Na Momori Bondiri	Jonyohi	Sing	1978 – 1998
Wa Na Yakubu Seidu Soale II	Kpaaha	Guli	2002 – 2006
Wa Na Fuseini Seidu Pelpuo IV	Yijihi	Busa	2006 – Date

**SOURCE:** *Field Survey*

**Table 5.12:** *Distribution of Wa Nas among the Wards of Yijihi gate since 1933*

<b>Wa Na</b>	<b>Ward</b>	<b>Duration</b>
Na Pelpuo III	Pelpuo Jaga	1920 – 1935
Na Sumaila Topie	Soboung Jaga	1943 – 1949
Na Seidu	Funsi Na Jaga	1953 – 1961
Na Fuseini Seidu Pelpuo IV	Pelpuo Jaga	2006 – Date

**Source:** *Field Survey (Grave yard)*

A comparative analysis of Table 5.11 reveals that from 1933 to date, Yijihi gate has produced four Wa Nas within a matter of eighty four years. Both the Jarri and Jonyohi gates within the same period were able to sponsor two candidates each as Wa Nas while the Kpaaha gate was successful at one.

From the Table 5.12, out of the four Wa Nas produced by the Yijihi gate, two came from the Pelpuo Jaga ward. Both the Soboung Jaga and Funsi Na Jaga wards had one each. It is only the Dinokpong ward that is unable to fill a candidate.

## **5.5 FACTORS INVOLVED IN THE SELECTION AND INSTALLATION OF A WA NA**

The actors are the stakeholders concerned in the selection and installation of a *Wa Na* following the declaration of a vacancy. Individuals and groups participating in these processes no doubt have their own interests, but the manner in which they interpret and pursue their interests, and the outcomes of their efforts, are shaped by customs and traditions.

### **5.5.1 THE *TENDANA* (*WIDAANA*)**

The *Tendana* according to *Wala* customs and traditions is the custodian of the land unlike other jurisdictions where the chief is bestowed this responsibility. In the palace of the *Wa Na* is the *Widaana* who is a representative of *Tendana*. The *Tendana* performs several functions: these functions include the offering of sacrifices and purifying the land, advises the *Wa Na* on land affairs and indicating which land is sacred or that is a fetish land that must not be interfered with. In times of draught, the *Tendana* invoke the spirits for rains. He is also the intermediary between the *Wa Na* and the *Tendambas* and he is the one with responsibility to announce the death of the *Wa Na* after the performance of the necessary funeral rituals. One other important function of the *Widaana* is the fact that he is a kingmaker. It is interesting to note that besides being a kingmaker, the *Widaana* mainly play advisory roles.

### **5.5.2 THE YARI NA**

The people of Tagrayiri are believed to have migrated from Mande through Han and settled in Naaha before relocating to their current place. Tagrayiri is made up of three groups identified as *Naasaalayiri*, *Sungumu* and *Konekunubaalayiri*. Naasaalayiri also comprises of two wards namely *Kulfare Jaga* and *Dodoo Jaga*. The Sungumu group on the other hand is made up of five sections namely *Jangkpong*, *Dabaara Jaga*, *Alabira Jaga*, *Abu Togbera Jaga* and *Gbajaba Jaga* while the Konekunubaalayiri ward comprises three sections as *Sandamuni*, *Jamatutu Jaga* and *Yari Na Maama Jaga*.

By custom and tradition, the *Yari Na* is a representative of the Muslims who is also one of the seven kingmakers. The term ‘Yarihi’ is used to mean Muslims. The *Yari Na* comes from a section in Wa town known as Tagrayiri. Oral tradition has it that this group was the first Muslims to have settled in Wa and that explained why they represent all the various Muslims groupings in present day Wa. The *Yarihi* who were literate in Arabic kept records of Wala in the Arabic language. The *Yari Na* among others is the intermediary between the *Wa Na* and the Muslim community in Wa, advises the *Wa Na* on the appointment of the Chief Imam as well as the *Jameen* (Friday) Imam and advises the *Wa Na* on religious matters especially prayers connected with the blessings of the Wala State.

### **5.5.3 THE FOROKO**

The *Foroko* is responsible for the ceremonial crowning of the *Wa Na* elect by conducting him to sit on the appropriate skins, reciting the customary rituals

and putting the gown on him and pronouncing him *Wa Na*. The *Foroko* is also a kingmaker.

#### **5.5.4 THE TANDAGA NA**

On the death of the *Wa Na*, the *Tandaga Na* acts as regent of the palace until a new *Wa Na* is elected and installed. It is generally accepted by the four royal families that the *Tandaga Na* cannot be nominated as *Wa Na*. During the performance of the funeral rites of the late king, the widows are taken care of and cleansed in the compound of the *Tandaga Na*. He is required by customary law to live in the palace only after the death of the *Wa Na* till a new king is elected and installed. He is also the care taker of the grave yard of deceased *Wa Nas*.

#### **5.5.5 THE SALANGA**

The *Salanga* is the only member of council of elders who lives with the *Wa Na* in his palace. The *Salanga* therefore assumes responsibility for the defense and maintenance of the *Wa Na*'s palace. Among other duties, he informs the royal princes of any looming danger facing the *Wa Na* for an amicable solution to be found. The security of the *Wa Na* is in the hands of the *Salanga* who has powers to arrest law breakers within the palace. He is responsible for ensuring that intruders or evil minded persons do not have access to the palace with the intention of poisoning the food of the *Wa Na*. The *Salanga* is custodian of the skin property during the life time of the *Wa Na* and only transfer custody of the property to the *Tandaga Na* on the death of the *Wa Na*. Above all, the *Salanga* is responsible for

the general maintenance of the palace and constructional works but cannot make any alteration in the original design of the palace without the approval of the four divisional chiefs namely *Busa Na*, *Kperisi Na*, *Sing Na* and *Guli Na*.

#### **5.5.6 THE YIJIHIDANA**

Custom also demands that in the council of elders for the *Wa Na*, the *Nabihi* (princes) is well represented. Therefore, the *Yijihidana* is the representative of the *Nabihi* and other chiefs in the council. The *Yijihidana* is responsible for making appointments for Divisional chiefs and sub-divisional chiefs as well as *Nabihi* who wish to have private discussions with the *Wa Na*. Divisional chiefs who come to the palace for official meetings ask permission through the *Yijihidana* from the *Wa Na* for leave. He further communicates the views of the *Nabihi* on any matter to the *Wa Na* and vice visa.

## CHAPTER SIX

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

The chieftaincy institution in Ghana is a well-established traditional institution respected by all. However, it was observed that the institution in the Wala Traditional Area have been marred by insubordination and unnecessary tension. The study therefore sought to trace chieftaincy succession and analyze the processes and procedures of installation in the Wala Traditional Area from 1933 to 2017. In doing so, the study sought to achieve the following objectives:

- To examine the processes of chieftaincy succession in the Wala Traditional Area.
- To determine the extent of breaches leading to the processes of succession.
- Ascertain the level of political influence on the outcome of the selection and installation of a *Wa Na* and other paramount chiefs in the Wala Traditional Area.
- To investigate the roles of the kingmakers in the selection, installation, enskinment and post-enskinment of chiefs.

To achieve the above, the study employed qualitative case study of chieftaincy succession processes in Wala. The study also employed non-probability sampling techniques such as purposive and snowball sampling methods. The descriptive method of events and analysis was also employed. The choice of the respondents was based on the belief that all of them hail from the study area and have lived

there in most of their lives and have witnessed some succession processes and enskinment of chiefs. In view of these, they have the requisite knowledge and experience in the processes of selection, installation and enskinment of chiefs and can therefore share their views on the topic to the best of their knowledge. The interview method was used to collect data from the respondents. This chapter therefore summarizes the various findings that were discovered in the study and then draw conclusions from it. In addition, recommendations to the various stakeholders on how to improve upon succession processes and procedures are presented in this chapter. The chapter ends with suggestions on further research into the area of study.

## **6.2 SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS**

This section summarizes the findings from the preceding chapter. The following were observed with regards to the objectives sought to be achieved by the study.

### **6.2.1 PROCESSES IN CHIEFTAINCY SUCCESSION**

The study revealed that the chieftaincy institution is a traditional one and should subject itself to traditional processes and procedures in the nomination, election and installation of chiefs. The first step towards meeting this requirement is the composition of a king making body. Contrary to the five stated as the kingmakers in the Wala Traditional Area by Ivoy Wilks and J. Y. Houghman, the

actual number stood at seven per the data gathered on the field. For purposes of clarity, the kingmakers are:

1. The Busa Na
2. The Kperisi Na
3. The Sing Na
4. The Guli Na
5. The Tendana
6. The Yari Na
7. The Foroko

It has also been established that when a vacancy occurs resulting from the death of a *Wa Na*, the gate whose turn it is to nominate a candidate meet to deliberate on the nominee. When this is done, the name is forwarded to the Registrar of the Wala Traditional Council by the senior prince of the gate in question who shall also convene a meeting of the kingmakers for an election. A simple majority decides the faith of the nominee. A date for installation is then fixed for the *Foroko* to swear the *Wa Na* elect into office. Traditional prayer is also offered by the *Tendana* while the Muslim prayer is said by the Imam.

The Busa Na, Kperisi Na, Sing Na and Guli Na are the highest ranked chiefs in their respective gates are to be installed as *Wa Na* when it is their gate to produce a successor. They can however decline and recommend another candidate from the same ward or gate. The order of seniority among the gate system is Yijihhi, Jarri, Jonyohi and Kpaaha.

For other lower chiefs, the family meeting is organized to nominate a candidate acceptable by all parties and same presented for confirmation to the Busa Na, Kperisi Na, Sing Na and Guli Na depending on the gate involved.

### **6.2.2 BREACHES IN SUCCESSION PROCESSES**

The study revealed that there have been some breaches in the processes of succession since 1933. There has also been some form of disagreement between customs and traditions on one hand and the court system on the other hand. It was discovered that majority of the decisions arrived at by the Regional House of Chiefs and the courts were not in conformity with the custom and tradition of the Wala people. For example, the system of succession by rotation has been breached by the House of Chiefs and supported by both the Court of Appeal and the Supreme Court of Ghana. It has been established through the study that it is now the turn of Dinokpong ward and not Pelpuo Jaga ward of Yijiihi royal gate to present a candidate to succeed the late *Wa Na* Yakubu Seidu Soale II in line with the principle of fairness and equity used by the court system to give *Naang* to Na Yakubu Seidu Soale II. Therefore, *Wa Na* Fuseini Pelpuo IV was not the rightful candidate to have been installed as *Wa Na*.

The research has also revealed that the Dinokpong ward of Yijiihi gate is peeved and feels reluctant to participate in any chieftaincy matters in the Wala Traditional Area. This is seen in the way and manner the various wards perform their naming ceremonies. All the wards that oppose *Wa Na* Fuseini Pelpuo IV perform their naming ceremonies before *Na Issah* Seidu II in his palace except the

Dinokpong ward which converge before their ward elder. It is a long standing practice among the princes of Wa to perform such functions before the Wa Na in his palace irrespective of the gate you belong to. Due to distance, the surrounding royal villages are exempted from this practice. The Dinokpong ward does not pay allegiance to Wa Na Fuseini Pelpuo IV but have also refused to conduct their naming ceremonies Na Issah Seidu II. This is an indication that they do not support any of the candidates. However, the Dinokpong ward is seen to perform other rituals such as funerals together with the Na Isaah faction.

### **6.2.3 THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICS IN THE SELECTION AND INSTALLATION OF WA NA**

The study revealed that there are proper processes and procedures in the selection and installation of a Wa Na. However, these processes are subjected to customs and traditions and devoid of any form of political interference. Notwithstanding this fact, politicians can influence the process because they control too many resources in the form of logistics and access to state security apparatus. Therefore, the study revealed that in 2005, the Upper West Regional Minister and the Municipal Chief Executive used their offices to influence the election and installation of Wa *Na* Yakubu Seidu Soale II through the use of security forces to intimidate the people. Furthermore, it was established that prior to his appointment as the Upper West Regional Minister in 2005, Mr. Ambrose Dery acted as counsel for Na Yakubu Seidu Soale II and the Kpaaha royal family.

The Honourable Regional Minister's (Ambrose Dery) neutrality was therefore compromised regarding chieftaincy matters in the Wala Traditional Area.

The study also revealed that it was the then Municipal Chief Executive (MCE) of Wa, Mr. Mac Banda, who order for security protection to the Kpaaha gate leading to the installation of Na Yakubu Seidu Soale II as Wa Na. Interestingly, Mac Banda was receiving instructions from his immediate boss, thus, the Honourable Regional Minister. It therefore came as no surprise when the President of the Republic, J. A. Kuffou, relieved the Municipa Chief Executive (MCE) of his position 72 hours after the installation of Na Yakubu Seidu Soale II. Apparantly, it was Mac Banda who influenced the installation process using armed military and police personnel. It is important to state that the government at the time did not state the reason for Mac Banda's removal from office but it mains a perception that he was removed from office because he meddled himself in chieftaincy matters. According Wala customs and traditions, once an aspiring candidate for the position of Wa Na is taken through the necessary rituals by the appropriate body, he is said to be the Wa Na and cannot be deskinned if he has not misconducted himself. However, it is only the court system that can nullify the enskinment. It is this assumption that kept Wa Na Yakubu Seidu Soale II on the skin of Wa until his death because it became difficult for the court to overturn the decision.

Over the years therefore, political parties namely, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) have used the Wa chieftaincy dispute to propagate their political interest thereby fueling the conflict. To a very

large extent, these politicians have succeeded in dividing the Wa royal gates into political lines each believing that a certain political party in power will favour its fortunes.

Furthermore, the study can conclude that three out of the four royal gates are pro-NPP and the remaining one is pro-NDC. The three pro-NPP gates are Yijiihi, Jarri and Jonyohi while the pro-NDC is Kpaaha. Also, among the Yijiihi gate, out of the four wards, three are pro-NPP while one is pro-NDC. The pro-NPP wards are Dinokpong, Soboung Jaga and Funsu Na Jaga while the pro-NDC is Pelpuo Jaga. This is exhibited in their pattern of voting from 1996 to date and as shown in the certified results of the Electoral Commission of Ghana (EC).

#### **6.2.4 ROLE OF VARIOUS ACTORS IN THE SELECTION AND INSTALLATION OF A WA NA**

One of the actors in the selection and installation of a *Wa Na* is the *Tendana* who is also referred to as the *Widaana*. Apart from being a kingmaker, the *Widaana* advises the *Wa Na* on matters of fetish and land purification, makes sacrifices to pacify the gods and is responsible for announcing the death of the *Wa Na*. He is also an intermediary between the *Wa Na* and the *Tendambas*.

The *Yari Na* is also a kingmaker and is also an intermediary between the *Wa Na* and the Muslim community. He advises the *Wa Na* on the appointment of the Chief Imam as well as the *Jameen* (Friday) Imam and advises the *Wa Na* on religious matters especially prayers connected with the blessings of the *Wala State*.

The *Foroko* is responsible for the ceremonial crowning of the *Wa Na* elect by conducting him to sit on the appropriate skins, reciting the customary rituals and putting the gown on him and pronouncing him *Wa Na*. The *Foroko* is also a kingmaker.

On the death of the *Wa Na*, the *Tandaga Na* acts as regent of the palace until a new *Wa Na* is elected and installed. He is also the care taker of the graveyard of deceased *Wa Nas* lives in the palace only after the death of the *Wa Na*.

The *Salanga* by custom and tradition is the only council of elders who live with the *Wa Na* in the palace. He is responsible for the defense and maintenance of the palace. The welfare of the king is entrusted in the hands of the *Salanga*.

The *Yijihidana* represents all the *Nabihi* on the council of elders. He is responsible for arranging private discussions between the *Wa Na* and his Divisional chiefs. Divisional chiefs sought permission for leave from the *Wa Na* through the *Yijihidana*. He also conveys the views of the *Nabihi* to the *Wa Na* and vice versa.

### **6.3 CONCLUSION**

It is without doubt that a chief should go through some processes and procedures such as nomination, election, installation and enskinment. The name of the chief must also be published in the register of chiefs in order to qualify him of being called a chief. Though there is a clear line between partisan politics and the chieftaincy institution, it is common to see chiefs meddle in politics thereby allowing politicians to hijack the institution.

The violations of Wala customs and traditions by government through security agencies, the rich in society and politicians coupled with the disrespect for these customs and traditions by all stakeholders in the chieftaincy institution should serve as a wake-up call towards breaching the gap among the four royal gates in Wa.

#### **6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS**

Following from the above findings, the study proceeds to make some policy relevant recommendations as well as recommendations for future research.

The findings of the study suggest the lack of information among the stakeholders on a well-structured plan of succession is a major impairment in the chieftaincy institution in Wa. It is therefore imperative to address this issue. The researcher recommends the enforcement of Article 272 (b) of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana by the National House of Chiefs. The said Article reads “the National House of Chiefs shall undertake the progressive study, interpretation and the codification of customary law with a view to evolving, appropriate cases, a unified system of rules of customary law, and compiling the customary laws and lines of succession applicable to each stool or skin”. The National House of Chiefs together with the Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture should expedite action on the Code of Ethics and Codification of lines of succession to the skins and stools.

The researcher further recommends that special attention should be given to the stools and skins that practice a system of rotation among gates or lineages.

This if not properly addressed in the succession plan as pertained in each Traditional Area, can generate more problems than solutions. Such code of ethics and the succession plan should be subjected to review to meet the exigencies of the time. This will go a long way to guide chiefs from misconducting themselves and helping reduce chieftaincy disputes arising from succession.

The researcher is also recommending for the separation of modern politics from chieftaincy affairs in the study area. These two institutions should run parallel even though they complement each other in the development process of a society. Politicians should therefore desist from using chiefs to gain political power as was seen in the run-up to the 2016 Presidential and Parliamentary elections where chiefs openly declared support for the two main political parties (NPP and NDC). In order to achieve this, a framework for political parties should be developed which will spell out the modalities of engagement between political parties and traditional rulers. The framework should be developed with the input of all stakeholders to ensure that it is legally binding. Also, the National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE) should educate traditional rulers and their subjects on political affairs so as to challenge politicians who meddle in chieftaincy affairs. This will help reduce the vulnerability of some chiefs to political manipulation.

In addition, the researcher recommends the documentation of events that take place in the palace so as to serve as reference materials in the future. The absence of documented events is partly responsible for the violation of customs and traditions in the Wala state. To achieve this, a committee of eminent people

should be constituted to put into writing the oral customs and traditions of the Wala state as has been done by other traditional councils.

The researcher further recommends that since *Wa Na* Fuseini Pelpuo IV has been installed and gazetted in the register of chiefs as *Wa Na* and the fact that he belongs to the right gate and not the ward, a reconciliatory meeting of all the four royal gates be initiated by the Regional Peace Council aimed at smoking the peace pipe. This will make the other wards in the Yijiihi gate and the remaining gates accept the legitimacy of *Wa Na* Fuseini Pelpuo IV. In addition, a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) should be signed among the stakeholders to give *Naang* to Dinokpong ward anytime it is the turn for the Yijiihi gate to sponsor a candidate.

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## **APPENDIX**

### **UNIVERSITY FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES**

#### **DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDIES**

#### **INTERVIEW GUIDE (UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW)**

#### **INFORMED CONSENT FORM**

**Interviewer: Ibrahim M. Osman**

Good morning/afternoon/evening, I am an MPhil student of the University For Development Studies (UDS), Wa Campus, undertaking an academic research on the topic “Chieftaincy Institution in the Wala Traditional Area: Examining the Challenges of Successions Since 1933”. I would like to ask you a number of questions on the topic being studied and will appreciate if you would permit me your time. The information you would provide would be used solely for academic purposes and confidentiality of your responses is guaranteed. Hope your consent is solicited?

**YES [ ] NO [ ]**

#### **Interview Guide**

#### **Demographic Questions**

**i. Name of respondent**

\_\_\_\_\_

**ii. Gender: Male [ ] Female [ ]**

**iii. Age \_\_\_\_\_**

**iv. Level of education: Not Educated [ ] Basic Education [ ]  
SHS [ ] Tertiary [ ]**

**v. Marital status: Single [ ] Married [ ] Divorced [ ]  
Widower [ ]**

1. How has chieftaincy started in Wala?

.....  
.....

2. Who is the first Wa Na and which gate did he come from?

.....  
.....

3. a. How many royal gates/families exist in Wa?

.....  
.....

3. b. Name these royal gates/families

.....  
.....

4. Has Na-Kpahaa in the history of Wa *Naang* ever sat on the skin? Yes [ ]  
No [ ]

5. How is the gate system of succession came about?  
.....  
.....

6. From the tom-stones found at the burial ground in front of the Wa Na's palace, there are 10 graves. Is that the actual number of chiefs to have occupied the office of Naang?  
.....  
.....

7. Who was Na Gura and which royal gate did he come from?  
.....  
.....

8. a. Was Na Gura at a point in time ever removed from office?  
Yes [ ] No [ ]

7. b. Why was he removed from office?  
.....  
.....

8. How did Na Gura, the son of Adanto die?  
.....  
.....

9. How did Na Soalia die and where was he buried?

.....  
.....

10. How is present day Mangu important to the Wa Nabiihi?

.....  
.....

11. How many Divisional Chiefs fall under your royal gate? Name them in order of seniority?

.....  
.....

12. In modern era, do Dorimon, Wechiau, Funsu and Kolopere still form part of the Wala Kingdom? Yes [ ] No [ ]

13. What is rotation/shifting of chiefs?

.....  
.....

14. How does this rotation/shifting done?

.....  
.....

15. Are you aware of the existence of the 1933 Constitution of Wa?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

16. What are your general comments about the said constitution?

.....  
.....

17. The system of rotational succession embodied in the 1933 Constitution was truly a dead letter. How well do you agree with this assertion?

.....  
.....

18. Who are the king makers of Wa?

.....  
.....

19. Who is qualified to nominate a candidate?

.....  
.....

20. How is the nomination of a candidate done?

.....  
.....

21. When two or more candidates express interest in the vacant skin, how is the selection done?

.....  
.....

22. What are requirements/qualifications a candidate is expected to meet before he is selected?

.....  
.....

23. How does one express interest in becoming a chief?

.....  
.....

24. What processes are involved in the declaration of interest?

.....  
.....

25. In the event of a disagreement among the king makers on a candidate, how is this resolved?

.....  
.....

26. What is the role of the Wa Na in the nomination and selection of a Divisional Chief either within or outside his gate?

.....  
.....

27. What is the role of the Foroko in the nomination, selection and installation process of a chief?

.....  
.....

28. What will necessitate the removal of a chief from office?

.....  
.....

29. In recent times, has any chief/sub-chief ever been removed from office?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

30. What challenges are encountered in the nomination, selection and installation of a chief?

.....  
.....

31. How can these challenges be overcome?

.....  
.....

32. Who is the president of the Wala Traditional Council and how is the president chosen?

.....  
.....

33. Are you aware of the content of the Chieftaincy Act (759) of 2008?

Yes [ ] No [ ]