



## INTRODUCTION

.....

This book narrates a tale of attachment to old, of becoming new, of adaptation between. It tells the tale of the creation of a new African elite, tracing its members' beginnings, influences, movement, and change; of their relocation from "home" to a new place, across space and levels of social and economic development. It sketches out their visceral attachment to that natal home, and ultimately, how that attachment has led to their involvement in hometown affairs. This new elite composes a sub-section of the Dagomba (Dagbamba), an ethnic group that itself is composed of two clans (known as "gates"), the Abudu and the Andani. Offshoots of two brothers, they have been at odds for decades, fighting over the rights of succession to kingship and disrupting Dagomba solidarity. The Dagomba new elite were born and bred in Dagbon in Ghana's Northern Region. The Northern Region, together with the Upper West and Upper East, account for about forty-one percent of Ghana's land mass and house twenty percent of its population. The north suffers from Ghana's north-south inequality, which represents one of the most politically salient socioeconomic divisions in Ghana (Abdulai 2012). This has produced a narrative of deprivation affecting most of the north, but which the new Dagomba elite have succeeded in escaping.

In this book, I consider how this new elite became a bridge generation—what they have taken along, what they have left behind, how they have achieved new status, and how their manipulation of that status has impacted the Dagomba as a whole. I tell the story of the new Dagomba elite, both Andani and Abudu, how they came to be patrons, highly educated professionals living and working mainly in urban southern Ghana (Pellow 2011). As members of the modernizing world they have gained power, which as patrons they use to influence the world they left. The book covers a period of seventeen years, bookended by two events: the murder of the Ya-Na in 2002, so chillingly described by three of his widows in the Prologue, and the installation of a new king in 2019. The men (and a few women) of this bridge generation are bicultural and multilingual. They easily identify with both Western and home culture accord-

ing to the situation they find themselves in. They live graciously in the “modern” south without relinquishing but rather adapting many customs and practices of the “traditional” north. They are members of a between-generation, called 1.5ers, who have one foot in the less-developed north and one in the modernizing south and who have become patrons for those less fortunate who hope to follow in their steps. They themselves characterize their success as serendipitous.

They may live at a distance, but their attachment to the homeland, and to gate, is palpable and intense, made even more so with the death of the king. The kingship of the Dagomba, the *ya-na*, defines their ties to that place. Their ultimate influence is on who succeeds to chieftaincy in Dagbon. They have also a new sense of home in the south, creating, remodeling, renovating and maintaining their homes. Their place attachment, whether to their natal homes in the north or to their new homes in the south, is tied to bundles of social relations. The materiality of home plays a part in the production of their social life. One might say that their dual existence or ties epitomize what McIntyre labels a new kind of dwellingness, “specifically dwelling in multiple places” (2006, 8). One might also assert that their dwellingness—how they dwell and what the dwelling accommodates (behaviors, aesthetics)—varies with the place.

## Memorable Attachment

All societies share collectively held memories. As Halbwachs (1992) has written, the group has the capacity to remember and, like culture and personality, one might argue that individual memory correlates with group memory, “a totality of thoughts common to a group, the group of people with whom we have a relation at this moment, or with whom we have had a relation on the preceding day or days” (p. 52). Memories include the idea of a type of life, a reconstructed picture of what was, of what might have been. Place memory plays a powerful role in “the construction of a social and cultural identity” (Bahloul 1996, 2). Ideas of society incorporate collective memories; they are embodied in persons or groups and individual memory relies on them. “Those groups and persons exist in the passage of time and leave their traces in the memory of people. In this sense, there is no social idea that would not at the same time be a recollection of the society” (Halbwachs 1992, 188). Halbwachs speaks of locating such memories through social landmarks that people carry within themselves.

The power of place, of hometown, of memory, of Dagbon, has played out in Accra, hundreds of miles south. During the Ya-Na murder trial

in the capital, “violence and a near bloodbath” occurred between rival factions (“Six injured . . .” 2010). I would argue that salient landmarks include the home, that memories “build” that site and are also anchored there. Homes are built with ideas of lifestyle and status—they enable behaviors and activities—and in turn provide a significant locus of sentiment and meaning for the self (Cuba and Hummon 1993). Bahloul, born and raised in France, focuses on her extended family’s home in Setif, Algeria, in the years 1937–62, to understand the cultural history of the Jewish community. She argues that the house is an architecture of memory, and that it is through the house’s meaning system that an uprooted people such as her own share a collective memory (Bahloul 1996): “the domestic and family world makes up the woof of remembrance, of memory. The house is ‘inhabited’” (p. 29). Remembered objects and places may be carried materially or be stored in memory. “Remembrance of the house evolves as a narrative interpretation of the past” (Bahloul 1996, 126). As she reminds us, the house is where everyone begins life, it is there that the developmental cycle unwinds. It is the first spatial environment that the child inhabits. The embedding of memories is non-verbal—or pre-verbal—and experiential. It is those memories of home (or place) in a village (place) that are commonly held. The memories and attachments of those spaces evoke the place relationships.

The dwelling place that the Dagomba elite living in Accra, and even Tamale, remember and revisit, in their memory and on the occasional trek north, helps provide their identity. The person and the group use environmental meaning to symbolize or situate identity (Cuba and Hummon 1993, 112). Place identity understands locales for the creation, maintenance and transformation of identity, as “it answers the question —Who am I?—by countering—Where am I? or Where do I belong?” (Cuba and Hummon 1993, 112). This is because culture is spatialized and spaces in the physical and social world are linked (Low and Lawrence-Zuniga 2003).

Beyond home, there is community and even region, through which collective memory speaks and is performed, at festivals, reunions, marriages and funerals. Indeed, to understand the significance of place to the re-located new Dagomba elite, I have found valuable the approach of place attachment, “an affective bond or link between people and specific places,” and more specifically, “the tendency of the individual to maintain closeness to such a place” (Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001, 274). There are myriad ways in which people form meaningful relations with places—place attachment helps us understand that people “invest places with meaning and behave accordingly” (Lawrence 1992, 212).

Place attachment involves both the social and physical dimension and reflects and helps cultivate group and individual identity (Brown et al.

2003). There are four processes associated with the formation/maintenance of place attachments: the biological, psychological, environmental and sociocultural. It is nourished by interaction with others from the same socio-physical background, as they reproduce their collective identity through their common attachment by recreating memories, festivities and occasions. Phenomenologists were among the first to write about place attachment, emphasizing its emotional component. Bachelard (1964), for example, ruminated on the importance of memories, and “the more securely they are fixed in space, the sounder they are” (p. 9), constituting a “poetics of space.”

Environment-behavior studies emphasized individual psychology, such as understanding of the environment, and later emotional and cultural attachment perspectives. The space-place field was enriched by the entry of cross-cultural research perspective from environmental psychology (Altman and Low 1992). Louise Chawla wrote of the value of continuity with important environments and people of the past—that they anchor people to times, people and places (1992, 68)—and that this occurs through memories. In her research among the Swazi, Hilda Kuper (1972) has written about the symbolic values of certain indigenous places, as compared to those established by the British, and the difference in meanings that attach to them respectively. The Swazi shared a symbolic relationship with these institutionalized places. Through their attachment to these culturally salient places, the Swazi kept the past alive, “maintaining a sense of continuity, fostering identity . . .” (Rubinstein and Parmalee 1992, 140).<sup>1</sup> In their introduction to the volume *Place Attachment*, Altman and Low (1991, 7) characterize places as “repositories and context within which interpersonal, community, and cultural relationships occur” and thus place attachment “*is to those social relationships, not just to place qua place, to which people are attached*” (emphasis added). Writing about the urban compound house in Accra, Ghana, I argued that people’s attachment to place emerges from their experience living there, that it socializes them into the urban system and teaches them new roles and ways of being (1992). Thus, while there is a psychological element to place attachment, there is also a social one, and it is the latter that I am pursuing to better comprehend the Dagomba new elite who have left the hometown but yearn for it.

Furthermore, strong residential bonds need not equate to aesthetics or style. In a classic article on neighborhood relocation in Boston, Fried (1963) illustrates the strong place attachments and community viability, despite deteriorated housing. I found the same affective connection of residents with their dilapidated community in my work in Sabon Zongo, Accra (2008).

Hidalgo and Hernandez point out (2001, 273) that as important as are the “feelings that people develop toward the places where they were born and brought up,” there is much that we do not know. In this book, I am arguing that it is through symbol and ritual, sociality and practice, that the Dagomba elite who have relocated to the big city are bonded to places (their hometowns in the north, the family house). These inscribe identity and meaning (chieftaincy, festivals, holidays, family occasions) and spatialize culture (indigeneity). While the hallmark of attachment is the affect, emotion and feeling that one associates with certain places, such as childhood haunts, the attachment people feel is enacted and performed, through the relationships and encounters that they created and in those places where they created them. The attachment is social—it is generated through social practice. It can be by the individual or by a collective group. For some people, places are bridges to the past that provide continuity. They may suggest nostalgia, sentimentality or inspiration as a result of their infused meaning” (Lawrence 1992, 212). For example, in Yendi, the seat of Dagbon, every Friday and Monday, the king comes out and sits in state. His enactment of kingship, the ritual of his emergence, is observed by his people and allows them to engage in deference to him, which also reinforces the power of that space as the seat of the kingdom.

## Hometown Disruption

The Dagomba, numbering about 985,000 people, make up 8 percent of the Ghanaian population at large, 32.9 percent of Ghana’s Northern Region, which is twice as much as the next largest group, the Konkomba. In Accra, the Dagomba as a whole constitute 5 percent of the population, the fourth largest ethnic group following the three main southern groups of Akan, Ga-Adangbe and Ewe.

The Dagomba patrons are a tiny sub-set of this Dagomba whole and occupy a unique and privileged position within the Dagomba community. They have inspiring and compelling personal stories. All come from humble beginnings, growing up in homes without electricity and running water, in polygynous families with many siblings, and with parents who were almost universally illiterate. Their linkages to both customary and state offices have given them the power to influence home politics, both of state and chieftaincy. They exercise what I call “leadership by remote control.” This was exemplified by the killing of the Dagomba king, Ya-Na Yakubu Andani II. By all accounts the regicide was fueled and funded by Dagomba patrons living in Accra. The murder further defined the ties of the patrons to the place, to the Kingdom of Dagbon.

This book tells the story of an elite group's journey to eliteness: from humble homes in an underdeveloped, illiterate region in the north, to the cosmopolitan and modern south, but holding on to the north as imaginary. In the course of this book, I detail their life histories, how these people came of age as education was opening up in the north, and in many cases, their sheer luck at gaining access to secondary schooling. Northern Ghana has been relatively underdeveloped since the colonial period and purposely so. (I will give a more detailed accounting in Chapter 1.) The north and south of what would become Ghana were constituted by the British as two regions with different policies (Bening 1975). In the south, the investment of money and attention paid off; in contrast, "the colonial takeover of the north of Ghana prepared the way for several decades of neglect and stagnation . . ." (Eades 1993, 26). The northern third of the country was delineated as the Northern Territories in the late nineteenth century. The belief of the Governor, F.M. Hodgson was that the north was commercially unimportant, thus there was no reason to open it up (Eades 1993)—despite successful pre-colonial trade with Asante and to points north and east, and the potential of a shea nut industry that could have been developed. This also meant little investment in infrastructure.

The north was developed by the British to be far poorer than the south. The two regions also exhibited inequalities in terms of population density, modernization, and residential amenities. The north was not to be developed economically beyond its role as supplier of labor for The Colony and Ashanti (Grischow 2006). Moreover, northerners were considered to be war-like and thus military recruitment was disproportionately from the north (Abdulai 2012).

When modernization started under the colonial administration, resources and political will went largely to the south. Accra has been Ghana's primate city since 1877, when the British moved their administrative headquarters there from Cape Coast. When they arrived, it was a trading town; the modern city took shape under British town planning. Until 1940, the educational system in the country developed slowly and was confined largely to Asante and The Colony (i.e. the south). Secondary school education had already come to the south, with the establishment of Mfantshipim in Cape Coast in 1876. Another premier school, The Achimota School, opened in 1927 on the outskirts of Accra with the encouragement of the British Governor Guggisberg. As of 1943, the Northern Territories had only twenty schools, not one at the secondary level. Tamale Secondary School was only established in 1951, due to the persistence of Kwame Nkrumah, elected six years later as the country's first president.

Accra today has five-star hotels, divided highways, shopping malls, fancy restaurants, and beautiful suburbs. It is the country's commercial

center. Tamale, the big city in the north, has little to compare. It is not “bush,” i.e. the village but it is also not particularly cosmopolitan. It is looked down upon by southerners. For those who have professional training, Tamale offers few opportunities, Accra offers many.

Tamale today is the political center of Dagbon, the territory of the Dagomba people, and it is the regional capital of the Northern Region. It is a provincial city, with hotels, restaurants, wide boulevards and a couple of traffic lights. The landscape is constituted by round houses, with more recently built rectangular structures interspersed. Dagbon is estimated at 8,082 square miles and has a population of 650,000. Yendi is the traditional capital of Dagbon, the seat of the Dagomba kingship. It lies fifty miles east of Tamale. Twenty-nine miles north of Tamale is Yendi Dabari, the original capital of the Dagomba.

Key to understanding Dagomba worldview is to bear in mind what many observed to me: Dagombas appreciate leadership—they are very hierarchical: “[b]y seniority and merit, in family and community, and sometimes by wits” (Issa Naseri September 28, 2005). And if hierarchy, and succession and progression collapse, “I bet you Dagbon will collapse. There will be no Dagbon state” (Inusah A.B. Fuseini, aka “Lawyer” Inussa May 2, 2006). Many have said to me, “one can’t talk about Dagbon without talking about chiefs—central in Dagomba life” (Issa Naseri September 28, 2005); because “chieftaincy is the state” (Lawyer Inussa May 2, 2006). A Member of Parliament, and former Minister for Lands and Natural Resources, “Lawyer” Inussa of course is referring to the Dagomba state, with the king at its core. The new elite have ties to both the tradition-based state and also federal state-based rules and laws. Most are not chiefs (*na*) and they are not spiritual custodians of the land (*tindana*). Most are not state politicians, such as Members of Parliament. But they have had access to new kinds of resources—education in a region with a 20 percent literacy rate, and after relocation, professional status, social connections, urban cosmopolitan linkages. They have become patrons, creating new rules and resources for themselves and their clients, the less fortunate Dagomba. As is the case throughout Africa, patron-client relations are pivotal in structuring access to power and resources (Diamond 1987). Members of this Dagomba elite are regularly approached by northerners who know of them through the network, in hopes that they can help them go to school, find a place to live, get a job. The patron-clientage structure fits the Dagomba appreciation of hierarchy. The patrons fit into a different form of structure than the leaders in Dagbon—that of the modern urban society. It fits the needs of those who request help. Many of their clients want to relocate in part because the opportunities do not exist in the north, in part because they do not want to stay there.

The latter was particularly true during the four years after the Ya-Na was murdered, until he was buried and his son installed as Regent of Yendi.

On March 27, 2002, Malik Yakubu, the then-Minister of Information was quoted in the *Daily Graphic* as saying that Yendi was “calm.” And yet, a military occupation took over. When I began this project, the Ya-Na Yakubu Andani II had not yet been buried. Both Tamale and Yendi bristled with tension. To drive to Yendi from Tamale in 2004, we had to go through several checkpoints. There were periodic disturbances, such as the incineration of NDC’s political headquarters in Tamale. Yendi in particular was on edge. I had wanted to see the new “temporary” palace that the government built; the area was off-limits. A priest walking by the new palace to church on a Sunday had been remanded for twenty-four hours before he was released. The then-MP Malik Yakubu allowed a soldier to drive me by, but nothing more. The market in Yendi during the seventeen years after the Ya-Na’s murder was barely functioning.

During the four-plus years between the king’s death and burial, many of the Dagomba new elite did not go up to Dagbon out of fear of reprisal (especially those who were Abudu, since it was Abudu who murdered the king) or just discomfort. One man told me he was afraid his car would be incinerated. The larger Dagomba community in Accra was riven in two. The coherence of the Dagomba, and of the Dagomba new elite in Accra, born of common provenance and socio-spatial attachments, was shattered. Gifty Mahama, a senior civil servant, remembers that in the past, people did not know about the gate differences. “Those days, we didn’t have Andani, Abudu—we could go to the chief’s house and they’d feed you . . . I miss the unity, because when we were growing up we were one. Now we’re afraid of each other” (March 27, 2013). Fuseini Baba was one of the few I know who did not stop visiting his hometown Yendi during the four-year break, but like Gifty, he missed the unity of the past. As a child, he did not travel from Yendi to Tamale, he says, because it was a day’s journey (today with a paved road it takes one hour) and because Yendi was so lovely. “In those days, Yendi had a whole street of trees planted by the Germans. Kapok trees. And they’re gone” (April 28, 2006).

As a result of the murder, much of what the Dagomba hold dear was put on hold: festivals were suspended, drumming and dancing were banned and the *luntse* did not recite. The *luntse* have always mattered, because Dagomba like to hear about their ancestors. Normally the “tom-tom beaters” recite the history. During the four-year cessation between the murder and the burial, the children “were not learning it-o, they’re not learning anything” (BA Fuseini 2008). The sense was that between the time of Na Yakubu’s murder and the return to some degree of normality, people lost their culture: “The things we saw and valued we haven’t

preserved or paid attention to. If the Ya-Na hadn't died, fewer people would know about Dagbon history and culture" (Abdul Majid October 22, 2005). Members of the two gates did not interact, and inter-gate marriages broke down.

Following the so-called Road Map to Peace enacted after the Ya-Na's burial in April 2006, tensions subsided. The drumming recommenced with a vengeance. Laughing, the Kunbun-Na told me that when the drumming resumed, the dogs at his palace all ran to hide; they became frightened, having not heard the music for four years, or, for the young dogs, ever. Not only do the drummers make music; according to A. A. Iliasu, they constitute an "elaborate, accessible and efficient machinery" to propagate history (quoted in MacGaffey 2013, 39). This machinery is particularly evident at festivals, celebrations, and traditional events such as the installation of the king and chiefs.

After the burial, the Accra Dagomba elite began returning to visit. They stayed in their respective father's home, mother's home, family house. The houses now have plumbing and electricity, but they look little different from when the men and women of this bridge generation were growing up. Like Ghanaians from the south, these northerners say that they want to retire to the north, to return to their roots. Many own plots in the hometown or Tamale, and some have begun to build. Several have farms. Dr. Muta Iddrisu has combined the two: he has built a home on the Yendi road, where he has a cashew farm. While his home only has two bedrooms, he said guests can all sleep together: "Even I can have 100 people sleep in my house here—just put mats on the floor" (March 9, 2013).

The town of Yendi has a renewed spirit. Many people are on the streets, and there is even an express bus to Accra. The local market is bustling. The military barriers are gone (security cost the state millions of dollars), though the military presence in Yendi near the king's palace has remained until today. In July 2019, I made a formal visit to the palace in Yendi to greet the new Ya-Na, who had been enskinned in February. He was surrounded by highly armed state military.

## A Dagomba Sample

I spent time with thirty-two Dagomba professionals in Accra and seventeen in the Tamale area, as well as seventeen traditionalists—chiefs, linguists, imams—in Accra and the north. I interviewed both Andani and Abudu. The Accra group included lawyers, politicians, economists, engineers/contractors, people in the medical field, researchers, university faculty, civil servants, architects, administrators, accountants, journalists

and the military. The Accra elite group is fairly homogeneous in the sense that all but one of its members were born in Dagbon. They span a generation, between forty to sixty-five years of age—all coming of school age after 1951, when Tamale Secondary opened.

The voices of women are not prominent in this book. As important as the women are, as a labor resource, for procreation, there just are not many of them of this generational cohort who have been educated. Their sphere of agency was largely internal to the family, helping their husbands and as traders. But they were also influential in their sons' success in school—supporting them in material and non-material ways. I discuss this at some length in both Chapters Three and Four.

The bicultural and multilingual Dagomba professionals have compelling personal stories that encompass north and south, hometown and new town. In this book, they tell them—the discrimination and deprivation they experienced but how through luck, ability, indecipherable parental motivation, and the accidents of life, the (largely) sons gained good educations, became successful professionals, and created lifeways that are socially and materially different from those of their childhood. They live in various affluent Accra suburbs and work in venues closed off to their fathers and grandfathers. Given the distance and difference between their hometown and place of relocation, I consider them internal transnational migrants or transmigrants (Pellow 2011).

This term, transnationalism, is defined as “the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Basch et al. 1994, 8), to their development of networks, activities, patterns of living and ideologies that spanning home and their host society. In this way “[t]ransnational communities commonly refer to migrant communities spanning two nations” (Kearney 1995, 559). The word “transmigrant” has been coined to refer to those transnational individuals who “develop networks and engage in activities that span home and host society” (Mahler 1998, 87). Southern Ghana is so socially, economically and spatially distant and different from the homeland in the north that residents of each operate in environments perceived as being worlds apart. I am accordingly arguing that elite Dagomba internal migration is similar to international migration. This transnational framework captures the processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization (Brettell 2016, 50; Appadurai 1996). Deterritorialization refers to the transformation migrants produce in new places as technology progresses, while in reterritorialization, they reproduce the homeland in new places. In the case at hand, they easily shuttle back and forth between two very different material and social existences, identifying with their Westernized quotidian while also venerating their home culture.

---

## Bridging Place

In a very real sense, the new Dagomba elite are a bridge: culturally, between the norms and values of the north and those of the south, socially, for a new generation of northerners to whom they perform as models for migration, and materially, to take on the appearances of those they are desirous of resembling. They are internal transmigrants to the big city, ever a crucible for socio-spatial change, but they are also connected to the rural hometown. They are exposed to and absorb modernity, but they manipulate it to fit their wants and needs, creating a hybrid modernity.

As neither first generation migrants nor second generation people who were born in the new place, they were born and bred in the north and maintain strong ties to their respective hometowns. Even as they may have gone through a life change, they have also actively maintained strong ties to the hometown area. Thus, to a large extent, they have developed dual loyalties.

Sociologists have coined the term “1.5 generation” to describe such an in-between generation of immigrants, for example Latinos who came to the United States as children or teens (Holloway-Friesen 2008, 38), distinguishing such immigrants from first generation migrants, or those who came as adults, and second generation people, those who were born in the new place (see also Danico 2004 for Korean migrants). “It recognizes potential differences between [the] adaptation processes and experiences of this population of immigrants and first and second generation immigrants” (Holloway-Friesen 2008, 38). The 1.5ers represent, in theory, a bridge or in-between generation between the home and host nations.

The Dagomba 1.5ers have social and economic links with their home area, which contribute to the development of community both among themselves and with those “at home.” While they live graciously in the south, they hold onto the north: “You don’t want to forget your roots,” one of them, an accountant, told me (Yakubu Andani October 18, 2005).

According to the literature, three main characteristics shape and construct the 1.5 identity. First, 1.5ers are conscious of being bicultural. A biculturally competent person is one who “understands, appreciates, and internalizes the basic tenets of two cultures or societies [and has an] awareness of gender roles, religious practices, political issues, and societal conventions that govern the way people carry themselves within each culture” (Holloway-Friesen 2008, 45). Geography or locality plays a large role in how such ethnic identity and understanding is formulated, how adaptation proceeds, and how ethnic or hometown connectedness is maintained. For members of a 1.5 generation “[a] strong connection

to either or both cultures indicates a deep appreciation, admiration, and identification with elements of the culture(s), including values, languages, and socially acceptable roles" (Ibid., 48). Bicultural competence appears to buffer such immigrants from acculturative stress and as well as to protect their self-esteem (Holloway-Friesen 2008, 58).

A second characteristic of 1.5ers is the tendency to identify with both their new and their home cultures and values in varying ways, but with the ability also to switch identities in different situations, becoming what is appropriate in different situations. And finally, 1.5ers have a tendency towards bilingualism, and particularly, the ability to code-switch (Danico 2004). While 1.5ers are foreign-born, due to fluency in the language of their host society they are able to "pass" as locals while also having a home language, which can help buffer their experience of acculturative stress, the problems of self-identification resulting from transnational migration. Language is particularly important for such identity formation.

In her conversations with Vietnamese who fled Vietnam and came to America, Sucheng Chan (2006) reports that many speak of discrimination as newcomers due to language issues. There were also tensions in the home as immigrant parents missed the home culture and were saddened by changes in the immediate family, as the children became Americanized and lost their heritage. But the children themselves gained recognition for their success in school despite coming from a poor country, which gave them pride. "Living in America, I am also an Asian American. Being Asian American does not mean we have to lose the Asian parts of our identity. I am trying to be a person with a broader view, open to the loftier parts of [my home] and American cultures" (Chan 2006, 142).

The 1.5ers are more adaptive than the first generation while still being connected to the homeland. While the age at immigration is not necessarily the key factor in typifying the 1.5er, "what is key are the process, the experience, and the socio-cultural environment—specifically, the role of family, education, and community in forming and constructing a 1.5 ethnic identity" (Danico 2004, 5). These foreign-born individuals must have "memories of [ ] and an understanding of the culture" they left behind (Danico 2004, 5), while also internalizing new norms and values in their new home and identifying with both.

The Dagomba 1.5ers, "foreign" born though from the same country, succeeded against all odds and in only one-plus generation. Educational and occupational successes are fundamental to their identity. Many are cosmopolitan, what Appiah (2006, xviii) characterizes as "being a part of the place you were and a part of the broader human community." He tells the charming story of visiting the Asantehene, the Asante king, with his mother. Appiah is from the royal Asante family but he himself lives in

New York City and at the time of writing was teaching at Princeton University. His mother, a British woman whose father Sir Stafford Cripps was a diplomat and politician, met A. K. Appiah's father in London, married him and lived in Kumase until her death fifty years later. There is an empty throne, two columns of people in traditional cloth sitting on stools, with their cloth baring their shoulders out of respect. People are on their cell phones. After some time, a horn player blows the ram's horn, informing those gathered that the Asantehene has arrived. Everyone stands. Once seated there is music making. When it is Appiah's turn to greet the king, he is formally introduced, and he presents the Asantehene with bottles of Schnapps and cash. They speak briefly, the Asantehene asks how things are in America, and he informs Appiah he will soon be travelling there to meet with the head of the World Bank (2006, 88–89). As Appiah points out, around the world people are rooted in old traditions, even as they are connected to places at a distance. While Appiah grew up in Kumase, he lives thousands of miles away. But he notes, "like many, when I am there, I feel I both do and that I don't belong" (2006, 91). He does fit and knows how to behave. He also recognizes unfamiliarity and can become comfortable with it.

I have seen this with the Dagomba 1.5ers especially in their split between home in Accra and home up north. They live in Western contemporary homes in the Accra suburbs. They entertain in living rooms or modern equivalents—for example, a roofed porch or pergola outside by a swimming pool. When spending time in the family house in Tamale or one of the other towns, they socialize in the compound yard or drag chairs outside of the compound. Working in a bank in Accra, the bank president wears a Western suit. At home in Sarnargu, or among family and close friends in his Accra home, he dresses in a *batakari* (a Dagomba smock) or Hausa tunic and pants. The split is not confusing. The activity, behavior, and accoutrements match the locale.

Their cosmopolitanism does not necessarily connote "Western," as there may be "multiple modalities of cosmopolitanism" (Leichtman and Schulz 2012, 2). We may think of cosmopolitanism "as a set of practices, a disposition, and a specific cultural and social condition that allows [individuals] to inhabit the contemporary world" (Leichtman and Schulz 2012, 2). They "live and position themselves in the world in ways that cross borders, involve complex positionalities and experiences, and require a mastery of different registers, languages and forms of interaction" (Schielke 2012, 29). For Appiah, this includes as a Kumase man (although not living there) knowing how being enmeshed in a web of relationships in Kumase translates into a particular status. If one has the social standing which translates into helping someone acquire what he

needs, he becomes a patron—“it’s a sign that you think he has the status to get things done” (2006, 92).

The Dagomba new-elite fit this characterization. They are individuals who are seeking to be “up-to-date,” combining a modern life-style with hometown tradition, leading satisfying lives and enjoying the material fruits of their labor. We might say they are more consumption-oriented, insofar as (Western) consumables are so available and so much a part of the lifestyle to which they aspire. At the same time, even as they live in Western suburban homes and work as professionals, they simultaneously maintain active, affectionate and strong ties to the hometown area. Thus, to a large extent, they have developed dual loyalties. In their lives in Accra, they blend and juxtapose elements of modernity with elements of tradition in modes of doing business, raising a family, and designing new spaces for living.

They help newly arrived countrymen lacking education, money and contacts, to get settled, find work, educate their children. They also influence hometown politics from afar, using tools gained through education and social connections. The patrons have also become the power behind the throne. Succession to chieftaincy, and especially the kingship, has been a flashpoint of conflict for more than a century. This speaks to their continuing attachment to the Kingdom of Dagbon.

Like transnational migrants, their links with the place they come from are not fixed but are reworked from place to place through practice. And like 1.5ers elsewhere, no matter where they go, they remain attached to the place they hail from, the place where they were socialized. Attachment is generated through social practice. This is embodied in the material environment, for example taking in dwellingness and place. Place memory plays a powerful role in “the construction of a social and cultural identity.” The Dagomba patrons remember nostalgically the place they grew up, elements in their surroundings, activities they engaged in, and social institutions, in particular chieftaincy. A repository of culture, chieftaincy is located socially and spatially. There are socio-cultural and political dimensions and benefits of migrant communities and their impact on the home community (Danico 2004).

Although they may seem otherwise, members of this group are not unique. Such communities exist throughout the developing world, bi-cultural bridges between the rural and the urban, the illiterate and the professional, the past and the present, creating through their social and spatial positionality unique new communities across differences and distances.

Emigrants from a particular place are often conscious of the need to maintain links with the home country, which “is at the core of the

transnational global landscape” (Orozco 2005, 4). Transmigrants, the foreign-born members of these communities, have social and economic links with their home countries which contribute to the development of community both among transmigrants themselves, and over the great distance to the homeland.

Their communities in the host society are often referred to as diasporas. The paradigmatic case is the Jewish diaspora. The narrative implied by this usage often focuses on “negative interpretation of displacement, discrimination, and oppression” (Totonicaguena 2007, 13). But diasporas have been categorized and defined according to various other criteria (e.g. Cohen 1995; Safran 1991; Sheffer 1986). When I speak of diaspora, I follow the definition of Patterson (2006, 1896):

a people dispersed from their original homeland, a people possessing a collective memory and myth about and sentimental and/or material links to that homeland, which fosters a sense of sympathy and solidarity with co-ethnic diasporans and with putative brethren in the ancestral homeland.

This fits the West African scene, where for hundreds of years, people moved from one area to another, one country to another, creating stranger communities (Pellow 1991, 422; Shack and Skinner 1979). In his book on Hausa communities in Chad, Works (1976, 1) used diaspora as follows:

Outside Hausaland, emigrants have exploited simultaneously their high degree of cultural unity and their ethnic flexibility, which are the hallmarks of their homeland, to create a new form of community, the outpost.

The territorialization of such communities with networks are bound by shared morality and attachment to home (Mohan 2006), and the creation of a diaspora is contingent on an identity that ties it to home. The Hausa have created a migrant culture throughout West Africa, which is part of a “wider diaspora . . . : the Hausa communities in Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Gabon, Congo, and Zaire . . . ” (Works 1976, 2). Their links with the Hausa homeland have encouraged their unique activities, such as long-distance trade and the transport business.

One can also speak of diasporic citizenship and cosmopolitanism. Multiple identities abound in modernizing society, most defying national (internal) boundaries. Transnationals, including internal transnationals, are simultaneously embedded in more than one social group. Migration, obligation and development link the diaspora to the homeland, through kinship, community and the state. The active help of prosperous migrants cements their status. For southern Ghanaians, to gain respect, the relocated person must take care of the extended family and contribute to

the welfare of the community. Town investment in the southern hometown communities include infrastructure and beautification. The patron's pursuit of respect is tied to place. The Dagomba patrons are different from the southerners, as their support for the hometown area is far more family or network based. As with communities throughout Ghana, associational life is rich, and for the Dagomba like the Akan, this includes chieftaincy structures.

The Dagomba new elite living in Accra are a diaspora community specifically because they self-identify as a diaspora and both form and maintain, among themselves, networks of sociality and community, while also remaining integrally connected to the homeland in the north (see Sökefeld 2006). Indeed, this group exists and maintains itself because of the homeland and the obligations members of this small group of educated elites feel towards their networks in the north and due to their normative place within the traditional "moral matrix" of power and authority (Schatzberg 1993). They constitute a community with critical mass, outside of the homeland, whose members embrace a solidarity with and affection for the hometown area, but a diaspora nonetheless, located *within* Ghana (Pellow 2011). Elite Dagomba have belonged to diaspora associations, their affiliations linked to internal disagreement—not with Ghanaian society as a whole, not with Dagomba as a whole, but to class, gate and chiefly succession. Their diaspora is largely a collection of social (sub) units, constituting one node in a network of obligation and responsibility that ties it to the north.

I propose, in short, to lower the target zone of migration from *trans-national* to *trans-regional*, as Abner Cohen (1969) has done for the Hausa network of communities in Nigeria but outside of Hausaland. Thus, like the Yorubaland Hausa, I view the Accra Dagomba as living in a diaspora. Members of this diaspora fit the category "1.5 generation." I purposefully reconceptualize the 1.5 perspective, applying it to the Dagomba new elite: namely, a sub-national diaspora group, which is a migrant community. It is made up of cosmopolitan elites, is engaged in the process and experience of globalization, but it is located *within* the same nation from which the members originate and continue to identify and engage with, and indeed some members have returned to, their home community.

While educational and occupational successes are fundamental to their identity, Dagomba 1.5 status is more than that. Each of this group of elite men and women has gone through a "process" whereby they "became" 1.5ers: growing up and getting their basic education in one place, establishing themselves in a qualitatively very different place, and nurturing split loyalties. This is typical of Ghanaian internal migrants generally: even though they may have gone through a life change, they have also

actively maintained strong ties to the hometown area. Thus, to a large extent they have developed dual loyalties.

Like others throughout the global south, the Dagomba internal transmigrants both straddle and serve as a bridge between the rural, impoverished and underserved, and the urban, privileged and cosmopolitan. Unlike migrants to the United States, their adaptation is easier in a very important way, that of language: “culturally pervasive multilingualism that involves a high degree of individual participation is one of the most distinctive characteristics of urbanism in West Africa” (Dakubu 1997, 22).

### Multiple Modernities

An important element in their 1.5 becomingness, and indeed their spatial relocation, is the Dagomba new elite’s engagement with modernity. While modernity is a vague term, with many meanings and a vast literature, generally it “serves to draw our attention to long-term processes of social change, to the multidimensional yet often systematic interconnections between a variety of cultural, political and economic structures” (Felski, quoted in Hodgson 2001, 3). It refers to modes of social life or organization that emerged in Europe as a product of the Enlightenment, an eighteenth-century intellectual project to demystify knowledge and rationalize relationships and modes of thought. It set out to use science in particular to develop technological innovations and free people from “irrational practices,” reorder the built environment to save time, create efficiencies, and through material and social forms to change people’s perceptions and behavior. This is not true of traditional design or designers/builders. They have not sought to change the built environment. If anything, they wanted to express and reinforce collective understandings.

Yet the traditional-modern binary is far too simplistic. For years, Africanists have worked to negotiate this, attempting to counter the knee-jerk association of “tradition” with indigeneity and “modernity” with Europeanization, as there are continuities between the two (see for example Appiah 1992; Ferguson 1999; Mudimbe 1988; Piot 1999). When a Dagomba villager leaves his home up north for the city in the south, he does not dispose of his identity or kinship connections. He does not forget hometown festivals or ignore obligations of a family member’s death. Nor does he dispose of material elements, such as clothing for ritual occasions or utensils for cooking. He amalgamates the traditional and the modern. While they are different, one cannot contrast them sharply.

Modernity carries a Western bias (Giddens 1990, 174; Menon 2001), because it is typically associated with structures that have their roots in

specific characteristics of European history; indeed, considering modernity “less a historical condition than a political project, whose aim has always been to center the West and marginalized the rest” (Piot 1999, 173), the modern comes in a variety of forms, not simply Western (Tsing 2005). Moreover, non-Western societies have not received modernity in identical ways. “Multiple modernities” (Hodgson 2001, 7) have been produced by the fusion of different colonial traditions with indigenous traditions and newer global forms, “the continual reinterpretation of the cultural program of modernity . . . [and] attempts by various groups and movements to reappropriate and redefine the discourse of modernity in their own new terms” (Eisenstadt 2002, 23; Knauff 2002).

Multiple modernities suggests that “being modern” means different things in different places and to different populations; that cultural programs have been continually constituted and reconstituted in line with actors and movements. While non-Western peoples may struggle to create their own cultural versions of modernity, they improvise culturally and indigenize modernity. And through circular migration, they are part of an “on-going creation of new forms in the modern world Culture of cultures” (Sahlins 2000, 57).

Modernity(ies) is especially evident in the urban context. The African city is what Graeber might call a space of “intercultural improvisation” (Graeber 2008, 289). In the post-Independence period, which stretches from the mid-1950s in West Africa to the early 1990s in Southern Africa, it is the city where changes in subjectivity, status, and lifestyle are most evident. In the African city, as people encounter others from diverse sociocultural backgrounds and experience, they “engage the ideologies and institutions of a so-called modernizing world . . .” (Knauff 2002: 4). Individuals become aware of the world beyond their village or town—through schooling, seeking a better life in cities understood as centers of modernity, and the nation-building efforts of the state (Nyamnjoh 2002, 116). The two locations and sensibilities, while socially and spatially distant from one another, are mutually influencing, embodying what Appadurai terms “tangled modernities” (1996). As among the Dagomba translocal community, many seek to become “up-to-date” in lifestyle and taste, to “appropriate the power and wealth of other places” (Donham 2002, 246) and consumption. Their thoughts and consciousnesses change, and they adapt their practices and their taste in things, indices to a change in their social position (Bourdieu 1984).

Their adaptation represents an African cosmopolitanism which is, empirically, the openness to, acquisition of and use of knowledge gained across sociocultural and spatial boundaries—often boundaries shared with the West, but certainly not restricted to these. Like the Dagara ed-

ucated elite in the Upper West of Ghana whom Lentz (1994) has written about, their distinguishing mark of self and social involvement is that they straddle modernity. Their aspirational role is in part as mediators between “traditional” and “modern” ways. Among the Dagara, the elite are culture brokers in solidifying ethnic ties. Among the Dagomba, I would argue that the new elite solidify *sub*-ethnic (gate) ties. There is a popular association of cosmopolitanism with the elite. But cosmopolitans need not be elite. Stuart Hall (2008, 347) has observed that historically, there have been different forms of cosmopolitanism and that today, globalization enforces a “‘cosmopolitanism from below’,” what we might call “vernacular cosmopolitanism”: people learning to survive by moving to a new place and engaging in new practices.

The actions and interactions among individual people as well as groups of people across space and time result in the sharing of knowledge and practice across boundaries of difference. Throughout sub-Saharan Africa, people have moved from one area to another for hundreds of years, often living in diasporic communities (Cohen 1969; Works 1976). They form and maintain among themselves networks of community, often feeling connected to a distant or historical homeland. At the same time, by relocating to communities very different from the ones they grew up in, where they are exposed to culturally heterogeneous populations, they are exposed to the lifeways of others, their horizons expand, and their relationships with others widen (Pellow 2011).

In Ghana, the hometown area is the source of a primal identity, kinship, community, and while there may be a gulf between the hometown residence and a “cosmopolitan home” elsewhere, there is often an interdependence between the two. In the “cosmopolitan home,” people produce new creations, local adaptations to the modern. I call these cultural hybrids. They are creations of mixed ancestry in all realms, from the aesthetic and symbolic to the behavioral. Cultural hybridity matters, because it can produce social, political, and economic conditions for cultural reflexivity and for change (Werbner 1997).

My use of hybridity does not imply a kind of enlightened diversity, oppositional behavior or a way to describe developing countries with unsophisticated tastes, but rather connotes those who have learned from contact with different social, cultural, and geographically located populations. As Werbner has written, “the history of all cultures is the history of cultural borrowing” (1997, 15). Hybridity “contributes to the understanding of mixing cultural phenomena, regardless of their origins, and refers to the transformation of objects, values and cultural institutions . . .” (Hahn 2012, 27). It is constituted by artifacts, practices and people/groups. The item or practice itself may or may not remain unchanged, but

its transferal into another context, with differing cosmologies and local agency, produces its hybridity. And globalization matters. Western goods, for example, constitute a cluster with appeal. In nineteenth century South Africa, Christian converts appropriated Western clothing but wore them differently than the Europeans they were copying (Hahn 2012).

As I observed for modernity, “*locales of encounter* particularly favorable to cultural exchange, and this hybridization, are the metropolis, the port and the frontier” (Werbner 1997, 19). This is what I found among the Dagomba new elite.<sup>2</sup> In Ghana, it also speaks to those I have called cosmopolitans—intellectually and aesthetically open to divergent cultural experiences and able to make their way into other cultures (Hannerz 2005, 201).

African cosmopolites do far more than embrace foreign aspects of culture and politics; they also express innovative identities and belongingness. While we can argue that s/he who is usually taken to be the cosmopolitan African may have been educated in Europe or elsewhere in the non-Western world and thus is affected by particular traditions from abroad, we must also acknowledge that s/he is simultaneously tied to the traditions into which s/he was socialized, themselves products of deep historical interconnection. Connections are made, continuity experienced, modernity negotiated (De Brujin et al. 2001) across a multitude of internal and external boundaries of difference and rootedness. They blend and juxtapose elements of modernity with elements of tradition, expressing cultural hybridity through alternative or vernacular modernities in modes of doing business, raising a family, designing new spaces for living (Knauff 2002).

Most members of the Dagomba new elite who were born and bred in the homeland area and became professionals migrated south, primarily to Accra. Like other members of Ghana’s urban elite, they have embraced modernity—in the aesthetics of their lifestyles and of their everyday life. Their social relations are embodied in goods (Mauss 1990[1950]), a materiality that is also achieved through houses built and occupied. Within their respective sociocultural context, the changes in house style carry positive status, reflecting positively on the homeowner. For example, these Dagomba, as members of the professional elite, move into houses that are “new spaces of transaction” and configure “a new ‘place’ for places” (Simone 2001, 16). The spheres of activity delineated in the spatial layout embody orientations and sensibilities, which can constitute a mixture, not always easy, “of external imposition and local redeployment of selective appropriations of that imposition” (Simone 2001, 18; see also Coquery-Vidrovitch 1991) along with spatial elements of traditional sensibilities and orientations. So just as Zambian villagers are not complete

prisoners of Ferguson's "localism" (1999) as they open up to a wider world, the Dagomba urbanites I am writing about have not thrown out all northern traditions and materialities even as they have taken on cosmopolitan ways.

These urbanites, like other transplanted newcomers, have imported elements of Western modernity, both material and sociological. But while they may showcase them—for example the furnishings in their contemporary homes—they may often also sidestep these modern elements in favor of the "traditional," which is core to who they are. Bourdieu asserts that "taste classifies" (1984, 6), that the system of classification generates "practices adjusted to the regularities inherent in a condition . . . it generates the set of 'choices' constituting life-styles, which derive their meaning, i.e. their value, from their position in a system of oppositions and correlations" and with a change in social position, taste "commands the practices objectively adjusted to these resources" (Bourdieu 1984, 175). The new elite to some extent are copying from the new locale, exhibiting what they understand as "tasteful" or "modern" or whatever it is that they aspire to. It is a kind of sympathetic magic: if so and so has a garage and he appears to belong to a higher social group, then if I build a garage, I too can be a member of that class.

The Dagomba new elite merge their new social status and connection in a very different world than the one from which they hail, and they wear the mantle of "patron." They are not chiefs, a hallowed role in traditional society; they are not *tindamba* (sing, *tindana*, custodians of the land). They do not wield the power of chief or *tindana*, both of which are "communal political leadership positions sanctified by cultural mores and values" and carry legitimacy (Manboah-Rockson 2007, 6), but they are often in the position of making chiefs and supporting the *tindana* in their connection to the land. They represent a new form of advisor with access to a new kind of resources—new social connections, urban cosmopolitan linkages—which they link to the old. In one respect, they are not completely new: someone like Ibrahim Mahama has played the advisory and king-maker role. Mahama is a maternal grandson of Ya-Na Andani III and a powerful traditional elder. He is also a Tamale lawyer, who served as Joint General Secretary of the NAL (National Alliance of Liberals), was elected to parliament in the August 1968 election and was appointed Commissioner for Information by Prime Minister Kofi Busia. After the coup that overthrew Busia's administration, Mahama was expelled and became directly involved in chiefly politics, going to work for Ya-Na Andani IV. People listened to him and he gained power, becoming the lawyer of the murdered king, Yakubu Andani II (who was his nephew). Over the years he has been involved in political brokering, his

influence legendary. The lead-up to the choice of a new Ya-Na in 2019 produced two Andani factions: Andani One are the supporters of the current Savelugu chief (the former Kampakuya-Na, Regent of Dagbon) and Andani Two are the supporters of Ibrahim Mahama and the man selected as Ya-Na, the former Savelugu-Na). Thus Ibrahim Mahama's patronage continues to matter.<sup>3</sup>

The new patrons are different. While their position fits a well-worn model, they have created new rules for themselves. Patronage is integral to the social organization of societies throughout West Africa, where authority is based "on a complex and largely unarticulated moral matrix" that pivots on the balance between patron and client or on the "image and language of father and family" (Schatzberg 1993,451-52). Elites, such as the Dagomba described here, acquire status through multiple "registers of power" that allow them to "achieve bigness" (Lentz 1998, 48). In the case of the Dagomba new elite, the common avenue they have taken to "bigness" has been education, and their educated status, related as it is then to their economic and professional success, allows them to act as patrons to their network of clients in the north.

They are instrumental in the construction of a new Dagomba power structure. Perhaps most significantly, they wield their power and influence from a distance.. In some cases, their distance from Yendi and other Dagomba towns, in combination with their connections, is their power. Certainly for all, it is their education and mobility that provide cachet. They are what is known as opinion leaders. Their opinions vary: some are political, some about chieftaincy, some religious. Iliasu Adam, a former journalist, speaks of Tamale leadership as layered among the three areas, each of which is backed up by different constituencies/structures (November 9, 2005).

These patrons wield authority and enjoy favor and respect, and some have gone into politics. The reinvention or reworking of ethnic loyalties is part of the political mobilization of regional support to gain advantage in the state politics (Nyamnjoh and Rowlands 1998). In a country where the hometown figures large in the collective imagination, the members of this group also maintain strong ties to the people of and the place from which they hail. National politics has also made the hometown or region of origin an important power base for urban politicians (Gugler 2002), possibly altering its significance through privileges accruing from the patronage. The extent to which such urban elites (patrons) play a significant role in defining a regional identity for their home area depends on the resources they bring with them and their ability to mobilize followers (clients). The home region of Dagbon houses some of the poorest of the poor, and while this northern elite cohort has not contributed much to the

transformation of their respective hometowns, they are patrons to their deprived brothers and sisters. Their patronage is largely that of the “social capital of loyalties” (Daloz 2003, 280) at the kinship/individual-based level. Some people come to them who they do not know but who have been referred to them by someone in the network. They are big-men in a region where patron-client relations are core to social organization. They accrue status while dispensing favors within personal networks.

Throughout West Africa urban-rural connections are ongoing: the rural pole provides social security for urbanites, while the urbanites function as a bridgehead for the village to the outside world (Geschiere and Gugler 1998; Lentz 1994). The patrons use symbols, rituals and rhetoric (sometimes customary, sometimes newly invented) to coordinate action beyond the local level, while also connecting with the central government (Kertzer 1988). Their attachment to the hometown area, as is the case elsewhere in West Africa, is reinforced by continuing urban-rural connections (Geschiere and Gugler 1998). As with transnational networks, links between the North and South are not fixed but are reworked from place to place through practice (Carter 2003). All of these individuals still have family homes in the Northern Region, and most have built a separate home in the north as well (or at least have a plot to build on in the future). Most travel periodically to the north; some say they will return there in retirement.

The relation between urban elites and their home areas can be marked by a mixture of sentimentality and jealousy, given the blatant inequality that exists (Geschiere and Nyamnjoh 1998). But for the Dagomba new elite the sentimental attachment is often paramount. Dr. Ramatu Alhassan is an agricultural economist, who was chair of her department at The University of Ghana when I met her. Professor Alhassan’s family is still in Dagbon. She maintained (enacted) her ties by taking her children to visit during vacations. Some discharge their commitment to their hometown community through work. Lawyer Mohammed Mumuni, the previous Minister of Foreign Affairs, went back to Tamale after law school and opened a practice there. Huudu Yahaya, a prominent NDC politician, fulfilled his commitment, initially as the NDC (National Democratic Congress) regional minister for the north. Others travel between Accra and the north for business, for marriages and funerals, and for holidays. Some vote in the hometown rather than in Accra. Networks constitute and sustain diasporas generally, and this is true of the diaspora between Dagbon and Accra. When family members or close friends in Dagbon celebrate life cycle events, individuals travel from Accra to attend. The annual festivals—*Damba*, *Bugum*, and the two *Eid* celebrations—are special attractions. *Damba* commemorates the birthday of the Holy Prophet

of Islam. Celebrants engage in prayers and fasting, and they process on horseback, amidst drumming and dancing. Bugum, or the Fire Festival, performed in commemoration of the dead, is observed on the tenth day of the lunar calendar. It is said to be a Remembrance Day, performed in commemoration of the deceased. In the evening, participants make their way to the Ya-Na's residence with bundles of grass. They are served some food, and then the elders light the bundles of grass. Amidst drumming and dancing, people go to the village outskirts and throw away their bundles of fire (Seyire 1968). Each of these festivals is a celebration that draws the diasporans back to their hometown, to share in the very celebrations that most identify the Dagomba in the north. Damba had also been performed annually in Accra, but after the Ya Na's murder, the community fell apart and the celebration was put on hold.

Life-cycle events (births, weddings, and funerals), which also brought the members of the small Dagomba diaspora together, were celebrated separately by members of the two gates during the seventeen-year interval. One obvious form of connection among and between the Dagomba is marriage. Most Dagomba I spent time with are married to other Dagomba. Both spouses are members of the 20 percent minority of literate people in Dagbon, and an intricate network of other marital links connects their two families. Examples of intramarriage among these Dagomba proliferate (see Chapter Five). To some extent, the Abudu-Andani schism caused by the Ya-Na's murder had for some, resulted in divorces, but even this schism further highlights the importance of Dagomba identity among those in the diaspora, as its very real effect on their social reality is a clear sign of their attachment to the clan division in the north. The basic pattern of the connection has been that of the rural pole providing social security for urbanites and the urbanites functioning as a bridge to the outside world for the village, a mutually reinforcing pattern (Geschiere and Gugler 1998; see also Lentz 2000 on Upper West elite local interests). This pattern is consistent with norms and values of the big man and relationships of reciprocal obligation prominent throughout West Africa.

In these networks, the elite play the very specific role of patron and have very clear responsibilities in that role. They play their part within the moral matrix of authority, into which their relatively new avenue to power, Western education, has been incorporated. In this way, even as educated and cosmopolitan professionals living in Ghana, they are constrained by what Mikael Karlstrom calls "a social matrix of substantive reciprocities" (2003, 68) or what Michael G. Schatzberg (1993, 452) describes as the failure of the father to provide.

As much as these elite form a diaspora community in the south, they also form one node of a translocal Dagomba community, spanning the

distance and difference between the north and the south. As successful professionals, with a new kind of symbolic capital, they have become a new kind of patron to those in the north. All of my informants still have family in their hometowns, and as the hometown children mature, more and more are tapping into the Dagomba diaspora to help with schooling. The elite therefore support various people from Dagbon and act as a bridge to later success. Dr. Yahuza Gomda, the nuclear veterinarian, cares for the son of a friend as well as the boy's orphaned friend. His elder brother's son is also currently living with him while going to school. The house of Dr. Iddrisu, the neurosurgeon originally from Yendi, is often the first stop for young Dagomba men who come to Accra from the north in search of opportunity. He has educated all of the children of his assistant, who is a tailor but spends Mondays at the hospital running interference for the doctor when his countrymen come for help and advice.

Their pattern of patronage is consistent with understood social norms and expectations in Ghana, where "success or failure does not just depend on whom you know but also on notions such as what positions are held and with whom there is a connection" (Hanson 2005, 1292). The patrons themselves have new linkages and they have also created new rules for themselves. In Accra, they and their connections in the professional community in the south assist Dagomba newcomers in their attempts to move toward future goals, demonstrating that social relations and networks are essential assets.

## The Study Schematic

This study follows the creation and evolution of a new elite in Ghana, a bridge generation, through their multi-sited experience as they have relocated: across space, time, levels of education, cultural openness, economic development and society. I've organized this book to follow the developmental life-cycle of the central characters in this study, applying the theoretical approach(es) that fit as I set out to delineate their remarkable routes.

Chapter 1 lays out the context within which these men and women were raised, particularly the inequities of socioeconomic development that they experienced. I begin with a narration of the Kingdom of Dagbon, its founding, and the core institutions of chieftaincy and custodianship of the land. Since gate identity has become so paramount to the Dagomba, I then lay out the history of how it has become embroiled in Ghanaian State politics. The British Colonial Administration set the path for the north and thus its peoples into the post-colonial period, and I

deal with both, in terms of physical and social development. Chapter Two depicts the childhood home—the immediate locale, institutions of Dagomba life, the compound and family and kinship. Here we hear echoes of the nostalgia for a time and place past. The focus of Chapter Three is education—where individuals went to school, the trajectory of getting there and how family on the one hand and national politics on the other impacted their efforts and successes. This chapter in particular illustrates the role of serendipity in the lives of individuals that led to their (accidental) success. Chapter Four considers the careers chosen, examining them in terms of domains of specialty and musing about the transfer from traditional status to modern success. The in-betweenness of this generation is the focus of Chapter Five, in terms of their provenance and the new place, the difference in spaces they have created and behaviors they have adapted. Whether Abudu or Andani, they hail from the same towns and experience attachment to home. They are patrons to family and friends of family. And Chapter Six spells out the primal home attachment and how the chieftaincy solidifies that attachment—why it matters and what happens when it shatters, what happens to the community of dislocated patrons, who no longer share a communal bond, even as they are all invested in the hometown, albeit from afar. The Epilogue draws the tale together, through the royal funerals of the two former Ya-Nas and the installment of Ya-Na Mahama Abukari II.

.....  
**NOTES**

1. This contrast between British and African construction of space is significant throughout Africa.
2. It is no less true of other groups relocating and changing. My focus, however, is on members of the relocated Dagomba.
3. I spoke at some length with Henry Kaleem (March 13, 2013) and Iliasu Adam (March 18, 2013) about the Dagomba power brokers. While Ibrahim Mahama is Andani, he is a very controversial figure even among members of that gate.