THE EFFECTS OF THE GONJA-NAWURI CONFLICT ON INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IN KPANDAI DISTRICT

MACLEAN NINSAW GBATI

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

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BY

MACLEAN NINSAW GBATI

(ID. NO. 10083706)

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JULY, 2017
DECLARATION

I MACLEAN NINSAW GBATI, therefore declare that apart from the references that was made from other literatures which were duly acknowledged, the thesis is my personal original research work which has not been researched by any person for the award of partial or full degree elsewhere.

MACLEAN NINSAW GBATI

Student ID: 10083706

DATE:...........................................

DR. SEIDU MAHAMA ALIDU
Principal Supervisor

DATE:.................................

DR. ZIBLIM IDDI
Co-Supervisor

DATE: ...........................................
ABSTRACT

Inter-ethnic conflicts have flared up intermittently in Ghana, especially in the northern part of the country, which has a large number of different ethnic communities. These conflicts have left damaging implications for socio-economic development, but also for inter-ethnic relations. This study sought to analyse the Gonja-Nawuri conflict of 1991-1992 in Kpandai in the Northern region. The objective was to establish the impact of the conflict on inter-ethnic relations. A cosmopolitan area, the Kpandai District is home not only to the ethnics Nawuri (indigenes) and Gonja (overlords), but also settlers, including Konkomba, Kotokoli, Bassare, Ewe, Nchumuru, Chokosi and Akans and others. The main cause of the conflict was the claim and counter-claim of Nawuri and Gonja to the ownership of the land, with both ethnic groups claiming to possess documents testifying to their ownership. The study found that the conflict, among other things spawned coalition, even if temporarily and fragile. Nawuri were supported by other ethnic groups against the Gonja. It noted further that the alliance was strengthened by the subscription to a common religion of the coalescing communities. Moreover, prior to the outbreak of the war inter-ethnic marriages helped to promote the peaceful co-existence between the Nawuri and the Gonja.
DEDICATION

I dedicate this study first of all to my parents Mr. Gbati Ninsaw and Madam Wananke Bassina. Secondly, I dedicate it to my wife Madam Grace Gyeng and my son Philip Tasunte Gbati, and finally to all my course mates of the Department of Political Science.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

UN: United Nations

US: United States

USA: United States of America

n.d: No Date

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

EU: European Union

EUR: European Union Rate

NDC: National Democratic Congress

NPP: National Patriotic Party


MDGs: Millennium Development Goals

EFA: Education for All

UNICEF: United Nations Children’s Fund

UNHCR: United Nations High Commission for Refugees
**HIV/AIDS**: Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

**STDs**: Sexually Transmitted Diseases

**NCDP**: National Committee for the Defense of the People

**LECIAD**: Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy

**KAIPTCL**: Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre

**N**: Nawuri

**B**: Bassare

**G**: Gonja

**KO**: Kotokoli

**K**: Konkomba

**MP**: Member of Parliament

**EP**: Evangelical Presbyterian

**ATL**: African Traditional religion
CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Inter-ethnic conflicts have become an albatross on the neck of Ghana and their effect on inter-ethnic relations cannot be underestimated. Conflicts have always had serious ripple effects on humanity across the country as human lives are lost, property destroyed and women and children rendered homeless.

According to Bacal (1991), people live together for so many reasons which include earning a living for themselves, for religious ritual purposes, and for governance and administration. They are ranked based on their ethnic group, gender, age, disability, sexuality or class position which leads to their coexistence. Rewards, privileges, and power also vary depending on the group’s position within the system of human society.

Ethnicity itself is not a conflict phenomenon, but as a result of its manipulation by some people and political activists for their selfish gain, it has resulted in several inter-ethnic conflicts in the world. In the U S A, for instance, the English Americans in their racial and ethnic system had much greater authority and resources than Native Americans, African Americans or Latinos. However, even though their hostility and misunderstanding led to an outbreak of some few armed and bloody ethnic conflict, that of Africa has been more frequent.

Disputes such as those of Cyprus, Kosovo, Northern Ireland, and Rwanda, Kashmir, Sri Lanka, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and others, are inter-ethnic conflicts. As ethnic groups settle together either through migration, conquest and coercive phenomena or emerge in
the aftermath of military and political conquest, they establish various modes of spatial, economic, cultural and social relations (Bacal, 1991).

These phenomena, if not managed well, can lead to inter-ethnic conflicts which can affect inter-ethnic relations. Ghana, since the pre-colonial era to the post-colonial era, has been battling with inter-ethnic conflicts across its length and breadth which in effect draws back its socioeconomic development.

According to Lentz (2000), one cannot write the history of Ghana in this twentieth century and not make reference to ethnicity or inter-ethnic relations. Northern Ghana bears the worst brunt of inter-ethnic conflicts in Ghana, due to its multiple ethnic group settlers. Most of these conflicts occurred as a result of the struggle for lands, chieftaincy, water bodies.

Mbowura (2014), concurs to this assertion when he indicated that, for many years, the Northern Region of Ghana has existed in a state of confusion and anarchy for the reason of intermittent inter-ethnic disputes on a broad layer of issues. It was indicated that, due to the ethnically and culturally heterogeneous area, with about sixteen (16) diverse ethnic groups of different cultural, historical and religious antecedent, Northern Region is prone to inter-ethnic conflicts (Mbowura, 2014).

These writers have given the historical account of the northern conflicts in Ghana. These include the 1981 conflict between the Konkomba and the Nanumba in the Nanumba District; the 1985, 1986 and 1989 conflicts between the Konkomba and the B’moba in the East Mamprusi District, the 1991 conflict between the Mossi and Konkomba in the area around Guerin Kouka (Republic of Togo) and the 1992 conflict between the Nawuuri and the Gonja in the East Gonja District, now Kpandai District (Lentz and Nugent, 2000; Mbowura, 2014).
In 1991 and 1992, Kpandai and its immediate neighboring areas called Alfai, now called Kpandai District in the Northern Region, was tangled in inter-ethnic conflict between the Gonja and Nawuri over the ownership of land. This conflict was extended to other ethnic groups such as the Konkomba, Bassare, Kotokoli and Nchumuru (Mbowura, 2014).

Kpandai and its surroundings, at the time of the war in 1992, was made up of different ethnic groups such as Nawuri, Bassare, Konkomba, Chokosi, Nchumuru, Kotokoli, and the Gonja. Before the conflict, these various ethnic groups had very good inter-ethnic relations except the Gonja and the Nawuri who had cold relations due to allodial land rights in Kpandai. The inter-ethnic relations in the aftermath of the conflict have been different. Mbowura (2014 p. 114) reaffirmed this by indicating that “For close to two decades after the Nawuri-Gonja conflict, the Kpandai area continued to experience its rippling effects”.

Indeed, a lot of work has been done on conflicts in Ghana in general, and Northern Ghana in particular. Some of such works include Lentz and Nugent (2000), Mbowura (2014), Mbowura (2012), Awedoba (2009), and many others. Even though a lot of lessons can be drawn from such works, it must be stated that most of the work reviewed, analyzed, the causes of the conflicts in general, but little efforts were made to investigate the effect that conflict had on other settler communities in Kpandai district. For this reason the research will focus on the effects on inter-ethnic relations of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict on other ethnic groups together with the Nawuri and Gonja in Kpandai District.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM
Ghana over the years has experienced a lot of inter-ethnic conflicts from the pre-colonial period to post-colonial period and these conflicts had diverse consequences on inter-ethnic relations.
Most of these ethnic conflicts were triggered by diverse factors as a result of the indirect rule introduced by the colonial masters and the Gonja-Nawuri conflict on which this study is being carried out is not an exception.

Various scholars have written about the conflict. These scholars focused on the causes of the conflict, the effect it had on human lives and properties and confined their analysis to the two conflicting parties.

Mbowura (2014), for instance, in his research into the conflict, stated that the colonial indirect administration system by the Europeans in the year 1932 permitted centralized societies to exercise control on and above the less centralized ones, in which case the Nawuri for instance lost their authority and power over Alfai to the Gonja. It was further stated by the author that since 1932 till 1992, there has been a protracted conflict that existed between the Gonja and the Nawuri as they competed for the ownership and authority over the Alfai. Though a conflict situation existed which expressed itself in a sporadic attacks, there was no bloody physical engagement between the Nawuri and the Gonja.

Lentz and Nugent (2000), in their work wrote on the 1991-2 conflict in East Gonja involving the Gonja-Nawuri, which focused on the cause of the conflict. Stacey’s (2013), work on the Gonja-Nawuri conflict focused on the Local Democratization and Struggles over Traditional Jurisdictions in the new Kpandai District in the Northern Region. Basically, the work focused on the balancing of traditional power between the Gonja and Nawuri and circumstances that led to the conflict.

Awedoba’s (2009), work on the Gonja-Nawuri conflict focused on the cost of that conflict. Upon most of the literature reviewed, little has been done to explain the effect of the conflict on inter-
ethnic relations on the other settler groups and the Gonja and the Nawuri. This study, therefore, seeks to fill this gap by establishing the effect that this conflict had on inter-ethnic relations on the other settler groups in the Kpandai district.

The conflict which began between the Gonja and the Nawuri drew in other ethnic groups. Those ethnic groups perceived to be aligned with either of the sides were being intimidated, frustrated and abused. Gonja, when they took control over Kpandai, were very suspicious of the Bassare and Konkomba since they were perceived to be aligned with the Nawuri but got closer to the Kotokoli since they saw them to be on their side.

When the Nawuri later took over, they also became suspicious of the Kotokoli. There were perceptions, misrepresentations and mistrust not only between the Gonja and the Nawuri but with other ethnic groups. The worst of it all, other ethnic groups rose up to defend themselves from the frustration and the abuses being perpetrated during the conflict. Each ethnic group is now cautious of another. This situation left the following questions unanswered: what was the nature of the relationship that exists between the Gonja and the Nawuri before the conflict? Who controlled economic, social and political activities before and after the conflict? What was the consequence of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict on other ethnic groups within the Kpandai district? Who were perceived to be the settlers and the indigenous; the majority and the minority ethnic groups and whether the dynamics have changed after the conflict? Do Gonja still exercise economic, social and political influence over Kpandai after they were defeated?

It is in the midst of this situation that the research seeks to investigate the type of relationship that exists now between the various ethnic groups in Kpandai after the conflict. The impact will be assessed based on the economic, social and political dimensions within Kpandai district. The
burden of this study is therefore to examine the effects of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict on Inter-ethnic relations taken Kpandai District.

1.3 OBJECTIVES AND AIMS OF THE STUDY

The broad aim or objective of the study is to examine the effect of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict on inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai and make recommendations for the way forward.

The specific aims are:

1. To examine the general understanding of the Gonja–Nawuri conflict;
2. To identify the causes of that conflict;
3. To examine the economic, political and social effect of that conflict on the inter-ethnic relations;
4. To identify the efforts made at normalizing ethnic relations in the district.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main research question is what effect has the Gonja-Nawuri conflict had on the inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai district?

The sub-research questions are as follows:

1. What is the general understanding and overview of Gonja-Nawuri conflict?
2. What are the causes of the ethnic conflict between the Gonjas and Nawuris?
3. What are the effects of the conflict on inter-ethnic relations on the ethnic groups in Kpanda? And
4. What practical measures can be put in place to normalize inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai?

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study on the effect of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict on the inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai District seek to present empirical evidence that ethnic conflict negatively impact the social, economic and political development of the local communities they occur.

The research examines the effect of the conflict on inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai district on political, social and economical and make recommendations which will help improve the well-being of Kpandai people.

The research on inter-ethnic relations also helped mobilize and bring people of different ethnic groups together. Again, identifying the causes and effect of the conflict in the research will also contribute to knowledge and will provide a basis for policy making towards resolving and managing inter-ethnic conflicts in Ghana.

1.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The research faced some challenges which include, first and foremost, data gathering for the research work. Most of the rural people may not be willing to release some vital information for fear of being exposed or thinking that giving vital information could re-escalate the conflict. Some may not want to give out information because they believe that information could remind them of the effect the conflict.

Nonetheless, the researcher assured them of strong confidentiality and make them again understand that, the data collected will purely be for an academic purpose. The second limitation
will have to do with getting the right theory for the study. Many theories seem to have emerged with a different understanding of the study area. Again the issue of getting relevant literature for the study is also going to be a big challenge.

Even though, a lot of research has been done as far as the Gonja-Nwuri conflict is concerned all focused on the causes and the effect of the conflict on the combatants but no-one has written on the effects of the conflict on other settler communities.

Another problem is funding. The funds to carry out this research since data collection have always been expensive. The inadequate of funds at my disposal would pose challenges. Nonetheless, these financial challenges would not in any way affect the research authenticity, reliability and findings.

1.7 SCOPE OF STUDY

This research dealt with the causes of conflict and the effect of conflict on inter-ethnic relations with a focus on three areas: social, economic and political effect of conflict on inter-ethnic relations to Nawuri-Gonja conflict. It covered the colonial period, post-colonial period to 2015.

1.8 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The thesis was structured in five (5) chapters. They include the following.

Chapter One is the background chapter. This includes the introduction, the statement of the problem, the research objectives, the research questions, the scope of the study, the limitations of the study, the significance of the study and the organization of the study.
Chapter Two focused on the literature review and Theoretical framework. The literature review looked at the various sub-headings of the objectives of the study. They included the general understanding of the conflict, the causes and effect of the conflict in general from the broader perspectives narrowing down to the study area.

Chapter Three focused on the Methodology and Research instruments and methods of data analysis. The research adopted the phenomenological approach. It included the study methodology, the study population, sampling procedure and rationale, sampling size justification, method of data collection, ethical consideration and data analysis and presentation.

Chapter Four concentrated on Data analysis, presentation and discussion. The various data gathered from the participants on the field were analyzed and discussions and presentation made on them.

Chapter Five will deal with the summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

For the main aim of this research, the literature would be analyzed at three levels. The first level would look at materials on the general overview of conflicts which will include the various definitions of conflicts by different scholars, and the types of conflicts. The second level will look at the theoretical framework, that is, reviewing the theories of conflicts and stating the theories that will be used for this study and giving reasons to that effect. The third level will handle the empirical literature which will include discussions on the causes and effects of conflict from the wider perspective down in the study area.

2.2 Definition of Terms

This will look at the various definitions of ethnicity and conflict by different scholars.

2.2.1 Ethnicity

Bacal (1991), defined ethnicity as the differentiation of a group of people, who have shared cultural meanings, memories and descents, produced through communal interaction.

The United Nations report on ethnicity and development in 2014 described ethnicity as the accepting of the growth of people calling for their inclusion in the community, for the respect of their language, religion and ethnic background and these take more than just consensus and fair development. The report went further to state that, it requires also the different cultural policies that recognize differences in the people, promote variety and increase cultural freedoms in that, everyone can make a choice of which language they speak, worship the religion of their
preferred choice and together help to shape their own culture so that everyone can select and choice to become who he or she wants to be (UN, 2004).

It is significant to note that ethnicity has to do with different groups of people living together, in a communal form with much reverence to their language, religion and culture which identify them. Even though the groups live in a communal form, they have the right to practice their own religion, speak their preferred language and practice their preferred culture without any hindrance or restrictions.

2.2.2 Defining Conflict

Conflicts have been defined and given different meaning by various scholars in Political Science, Economics, Psychology, Sociology and other disciplines due to the complexity of the term. Various scholars’ definitions of conflict are based on their perception of the conflict to be a positive or a negative phenomenon.

According to Coser (1956 p. 5), “conflict is a struggle between opponents over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources”. One cannot but agree with the author that the variables such as power, values, scarce resources and status drive individuals in the society to compete for them. By scrambling for these variables, in most cases, leads to conflicts and wars. It is significant to note that in this struggle for these scarce resources, it is not clear when the conflicting parties come to an agreement or a disagreement.

Schelling (1960), rather defines conflict in broader terms. He defined it as negotiating condition in which one party’s capabilities to achieve the aim will rely on the choices or the judgments that the other party will make.
The definition here portrays conflict as a situation where an individual will find any possible means to achieve their ambition depending on the type of tactics employed.

Galtung (1996 p. 3), went further to include the processes or stages of conflict into its definition when he defined it as “a dynamic process in which structure, attitudes and behaviours are constantly changing and influencing one another”

In the author’s definition, much emphasis is placed on key words such as structure, attitudes and behaviours which the author describes as the processes through which conflicts occur. The implication is that, when proper structures are not put in place, they influence the attitudes of the people, culminating in the establishment of behavioral patterns and if not managed well can lead to a conflict.

In Deutsch (1973), view, conflict occurs anytime incompatible events happen. When individual goals are incompatible, then there is bound to be a conflict. One cannot but agree with some scholars when they conclude that conflict in human society is inevitable for human needs will always be incompatible. Wall (1985), might have agreed with Deutsch (1973 p. 10), when he defined conflict as “a process in which two or more parties attempt to frustrate the attainment of the other’s goals”

The author concluded that the factors underpinning conflict is in three major areas which include interdependence, differences in goals, and differences in perceptions.

**2.3 TYPES OF CONFLICTS**

Scholars have generally categorized conflicts in terms of magnitude, causes, course and impact.
2.3.1 Intra-Personal Conflict

Intra-personal conflict, also known as Psychological Conflict, is a conflict that individual battles within him or her mind. This type of conflict occurs within the state of mind. Ross (1993), refers intra-personal conflict as a state of implosion in an individually shaped by the state of mind. According to him, it is essential to recognize that such human condition is largely driven by situations around him. In the author’s view, frustrations can lead to hostility, erratic behavior and dangerous situations can also lead to people killing themselves.

This conflict has to do with the mind of a person. Man turns to battle against himself because of circumstances. Lamb (2008), refers to the conflict as man against himself in which man continually struggles or fights with his mind. Though this type of conflict is not the same as the Gonja-Nawuri conflict in Kpandai district, it will serve as a base for the study. The area of circumstance, annoyance, sadness, misunderstanding and hindrance will give a clear interpretation as to how conflict revolves from personal or individual to group.

2.3.2 Inter-Personal Conflict

Inter-personal conflict is a type of conflict that occurs between two individuals struggle over something very dear to each of them. This is what Nikolajeva, (2005), refers to as man against his fellow man from a narrow perspective. According to the author, this kind of conflict can occur in face to face in the form of individual engaging in physical battle, or using arms to fight each other and among others. This type of conflict may be very close to that of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict only for the case that the said conflict involved two ethnic groups other than two individuals. But nonetheless, they have common features like arms usage and destruction.
2.3.3 Man Against Society; Man Against Nature

According to Folarin (1997), this type of conflict appears to be the most hilarious kind of conflict when man decides to battle with society that he lives in and nature as well. Noor and Maad (2009), gave the causes of this type of conflict as when a man rises up to confront institutions he created. According to the author, the causes of the conflict often lead to some sought of social vices in the society. In her view, this type of conflict can also develop into man against nature.

Lamb (2008), asserted that, Man against nature is a kind of battle that portrays a circumstance of disagreement between man and his environment; He contends that the factors of nature generate a circumstance on which man will fight against his environment to conquer and dominate it.

This type of conflict is not similar to that of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict since it has to do with man against the institution or the environment which he finds himself in but that of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict had to do with two ethnic groups. However, it is significant to note that, this type of conflict will give the researcher an in-depth knowledge and understanding of conflict which will be helpful in the Gonja-Nawuri conflict analysis.

2.3.4 Family Conflict

This is a conflict that occurs in the family mostly in the nuclear family. According to Folarin (1997), this kind of battle happens in nuclear families. Most often, family battles emerge from difficulty in occasioning household responsibilities and difficulties in family management.

Banks (2015), identifies money as a major cause of this conflict. According to the author, not having enough funds to pay utility bills, pay for rent, feed the family and entertainment can generate family conflicts. This kind of conflict can also go beyond the nuclear family to include
extended family system. According to Folarin (1997), family conflict can also occur in the extended family. In the author’s view, these battles may come about as a result of factors such as disrespect, right to superiority, idleness, absence at school, deceitfulness and others.

This type of conflict too is not similar to the Gonja-Nawuri conflict under study. However, a lot of lessons can be drawn from it, as it will serve as a foundation for the study.

2.3.5 Intra-State Conflict

This is the kind of conflict that occurs within the confined boundaries of a country. Đuverović (2012 p. 13), defined Intra-State conflict as “a conflict between government and non-government entity over contested incompatibility with the use of armed forces which results in at least 25 battle related deaths in one calendar year” This type of conflict is usually bloody, destructive and death related in nature.

Đuverović (2012), further contends that it is a conflict that involves sustained combat, involving organized armed forces capable of effective resistance, resulting in a minimum of 1000 battle-related combatant fatalities within a one year period.

According to Folarin (1997), economic factors can also cause this conflict. He contends that most of the Africa conflicts are due to value difference and can also be caused by social factors using old Sudan as an example. Moghalu (2015), agrees with this assertion when the author indicated that the Sudan area was endangered by Islamic religious fundamentalists and because it was not managed well, it brought opposition between the Sunni and the Shi ite Islam. According to the author, Socio-ethnic and political causes can also influence this conflict. Conflicts such as Malian crisis, Ivorian crisis, and Libyan conflict, Democratic Republic of Congo conflicts and others are all examples of intra-state conflicts.
This type of conflict also differs from that of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict, however, a lot of lessons can also be drawn from it for the study.

2.3.6 Inter-State Conflict

Unlike the intra-state conflict which occurrence takes place within the sovereign borders of the state, inter-state conflict occurs when there is a conflict between two independent states. It is a type of conflict that exists or come between two or more countries which, if not managed well can degenerate into a state war. This type of conflict can be triggered by land invasion by another country.

It can also be caused by a country going centrally to international conventions and thereby distorting diplomatic links or a country bringing in poisonous materials to another state and many others. Nigeria for instance, nearly broke her diplomatic links with Italy in the 1980s due to the hundreds of loads of poisonous materials dumped at Koko, a dignified and respected town in Delta state. This type of conflict existed between Nigeria and Cameroon on countless times over Northern borders and recently that of the Bakassi Penninsula. However, any of these conflicts did not turn into a state war.

The US and Cuba have been in a state of state conflict which again did not turn into a full scale state war. However, there existed some which turned into full scale state wars. They include the 1980 to 1988 Iran and Iraq war, the 1982 Britain and Argentina war and the state war between the United State of America and Afghanistan.

Even though this conflict has to do with two countries and not ethnic groups, a lot lessons can be learnt from since its features are common to the Gonja-Nawuri conflict.
2.3.7 Inter-Group conflict

This is a conflict that exists between two or more groups in the communities. As people live together in a community, they turn to build social structures in the form of religions, pressure groups, civil societies, ethnic groups and other.

As conflicts are inevitable in human habitation due to incompatible goals, they turn to engage in conflict with each other. Folarin (1997), is of the view that this type of conflict occurs in the midst of two or more factional or spiritual groups, tribal groups, societies, or pressure groups. According to Bornstein (2003 cited Campbel, 1965), inter-group conflicts are coherent in that, groups do have incompatible goals and are in competition for scarce resources.

The disagreement between Christians and Moslems in Kumasi some years ago can be a perfect example. Also at the University of Ghana, the misunderstanding between the Sarbah hall members and Commonwealth hall members is another example of this type of conflict. The Alavanyo and Nkonya, the Abdul and Andani inter and intra ethnic conflicts respectively, are also good examples for this type of conflicts.

This is the conflict that the Gonja-Nawuri conflict fits in. This conflict has the same features of the conflict under study. Gonja and Nawuri are different ethnic groups which rose against each other in a gun battle over the ownership of land in Kpandai District. It is essential to note that since inter-group conflict is a type of conflict that Gonja-Nawuri conflict can be found, it will serve as a perfect base for the study.
2.3.8 Environmental or Eco-Conflicts

These are conflicts reflecting contestation over access to environmental resources. These resource may include land, minerals, rivers, grazing and farmlands, forests and others. Libiszewski (1992 p.14), defined environmental conflicts to be “conflicts that manifest themselves as political, social, economic, ethnic, religious, or territorial conflicts or conflicts over resources or national interests, or any type of conflict, or traditional conflicts induced by an environmental degradation”. According to Maphosa (2012), natural resources is a key factor in generating and protracting conflicts. In the author’s view, the resources that contributes to this conflicts include oil and gas, diamonds, columbium tantalite (coltan), drugs, gold, platinum, uranium and other gemstones and also timber, coffee, water, land grazing pasture, livestock and rubber. The Gonja-Nawuri conflicts and most conflicts in Africa are pure examples of this conflict.

2.4 GONJA-NAWURI CONFLICT

The historical antecedent of this conflict traces its roots back in the colonial days in the early nineteenth century when the Gonja and the Nawuri began to struggle over the ownership of Kpandai land. The conflict persisted from 1935 to 1992 in different stages (Mbowura, 2014).

According to Yahaya (2016), the various years that the conflict took place are 1935, 1990, 1992 and 1994 respectively between the two ethnic groups. The major cause of the conflict was about the ownership of the Kpandai land. Mbowura (2012), affirmed to this assertion when he stated that the Nawuri-Gonja conflict in Kpandai District was about who was the rightful owner of the land in Alfaı.
In order to facilitate their rule, the colonial authorities implemented the indirect rule, policy system where the Gonja was made an overload over the Nawuri. This created a state of acrimony in between the two ethnic groups and since then, they have never been on good terms.

Mbowura (2014 p. 110), made a similar view by indicating that: “The indirect rule system introduced in the administration of Northern Ghana in 1932 allowed centralized states to consolidate their power over the subsumed ones, as a result of which the Nawuri, for example, lost their sovereignty. As overlords, the Gonja also claimed allodial rights to Nawuri lands. From 1932 a state of conflict existed between the two ethnic groups as they contested jurisdictional authority and allodial rights in Alfa”

2.5 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON CONFLICTS

Theories are principles or propositions that explain how things happen the way they happen. There are various theories that explain the causes of conflicts. But this study hinges on the Greed and Grievance Theory with support from the Assimilation Theory. The Greed and Grievance Theory will be the main theory and the assimilation theory will be a supporting theory, filling in the gap where the main theory falls short or is weak. The reasons for these theories are explained under each theory below.

2.5.1 GREED AND GRIEVANCE THEORY

The greed versus grievance discussion developed around a number of articles by Collier and Hoeffler in respect of the economic triggers of civil wars. According to Collier and Hoeffler (1998), under the heading, On Economic Causes of Civil War, the theory’s argument has modeled the manner in which social scientists approach research on revolt and civil conflict. In possibly their most well-known research, interpreting statistics from 99 states using utility theory
and econometric regressions, through measures of greed such as primary product exports, and two measures of GDP per-capita, together with indicators of grievances represented by ethnic and religious segregation, ethnic supremacy, and income disparity, the authors conclude that it is mainly the financial viability of a country which inspires rebellious movements and causes civil conflict and not social grievances. In the authors’ view greed essentially denotes the economic opportunity for groups to participate in rebellious conflict which makes loot seeking the foremost motive for civil conflict. Beyond this seminal work, Collier and his associates persistently emphasized the significance of economic indicators by further stating that civil conflicts take place in poor failed countries, ruled by corrupt governments, and in that way the conflict is sustained by rivalry over revenues from natural resources such as oil (Howard, 2005).

The Collier and Hoeffler (2001), framework apart from attributing the occurrence of civil conflicts to rebel economic agendas, also identifies diaspora funding in particular geographical locations to be central to civil war formation. It also states that genuine grievances, such as political exclusion, inequality, ethnic division, and religious segregation only inadequately explain the causes of civil wars.

The contentious nature of the model has produced criticism and persuaded the authors to better include the grievances in their presentation and replaced greed with rebel opportunity. This, they argued, was important in explaining the occurrence and sustenance of rebellious movements seeking or not seeking profit. According to Ibid (2005), the Greed and Grievance theory propounded by Collier and Hoeffler also appreciate that, still the insurgent grievances have a place in factors causing civil war, even if they may be significantly detached from the big social concerns of political rights, inequality, and religious or ethnic.
In sum, the authors believe that, Collier-Hoeffler theory presents grievances as playing only an
insignificant role in the development of civil conflict. It restricts the occurrence of war
principally to the rebel economic agendas expressed in opportunity to rebel (Ylonen, 2005).

2.5.2 Criticisms of the Greed and Grievance theory

The Collier-Hoeffler thesis has offered a seminal contribution to the economic literature which
deals with reasons for civil conflicts. Nonetheless, it has faced substantial criticism. It has been
pointed out that the information employed has been discriminatory and sometimes overlooked
the liberation wars of the 1960s, even though several of them could be labelled as civil wars. In
fact, comparable econometric studies with different information have produced somewhat
contrary outcomes to those of Collier-Hoeffler. Also, the framework neglects the dynamics of
resource distribution in countries and, therefore the development of economic group disparities
have basically been ignored (Joao, 2002).

According to Macartan (2003), moreover, the acceptability of some proxies used for ‘greed’ has
also been confronted. Diasporas, for instance, may be consequences rather than bases of violent
rebellions, making them more representatives of grievances, while the primary product export
dependency variable could be a grievance rather than greed indicator.

It has also been argued that a missing part in this Greed vs. Grievance Model has been the role of
governments of resource-rich states in conflict formation. Usually, government domination of
important state resources and the proceeds that flow from those resources go together with
widespread corruption, acts of impunity, fragile rule of law, and unfair allocation of public
resources. These issues frequently lead to regimes with unaccountable power that regularly
commit human rights abuses; they can also make protracted armed struggle more likely (Arvin and Alex, 2005).

According to Ross (2003), another critic affirms that natural resources are not the sole motivation for conflicts. The author identified varied intricate drives of conflicts such as poverty, ethnic or religious grievances, and unstable governments that play a role. Carter (2003), offers a different explanation for understanding conflicts. He indicates that conflicts should be perceived from a wider sense, away from the greed and grievance thesis. According to him, the focus should be directed at other areas that could also contribute to causing conflicts such as the effects of globalization privatization and regional integration in generating conflicts.

2.5.3 Application of Greed and Grievance Theory to Research Work

Despite the above criticism of the theory, it will be very essential to this study.

First and foremost, inequality variable will help explain how the Gonja dominance in Kpandai brought about social structures where, for instance, some ethnic group enjoyed certain rights to the detriment of other ethnic groups which eventually led to the conflict in Kpandai and its subsequent effects on inter-ethnic relations.

Secondly, the ethnic and religious fractionalization variables in the greed and grievance theory will help explain how as a result of religion, some ethnic groups in Kpandai naturally struck alliance and cleavages.

Thirdly, the political repression variable will help explain how some ethnic groups, as a result of their numbers and higher education, turned to dominate politically to the disadvantages of other ethnic groups in Kpandai.
Finally, the natural resources causality principle will also help explain how land as a natural resource brought a conflict between the Gonja and the Nawuri which late pooled in the other settler communities in Kpandai District.

2.6 ASSIMILATION THEORY

Assimilation can be explained as the interpenetration and fusion of people or ethnic groups for the purpose of obtaining the sentiments, memories and attitudes of the other people or ethnic groups in order to share their experience and history with each other by incorporating a common cultural life.

The authors of this theory include Charles Hirschman, (1978), Robert E. Park, (1921), and Milton Gordon, (1964) and many others.

According to Hirschman (1978), assimilation theory has been a major sociological research’s theoretical framework for tribal and ethnic inequality. The author stated that the reason for the dominance of this theory is the lack of convincing of substitute theories.

Park, (1921), a major Sociological analyst, challenged that European out-migration was a major catalyst for societal restructuring around the world. In Park’s opinion, intergroup contacts usually go through phases of race relations cycle. In the author’s view, the fundamental social forces such as out-migration, lead to reoccurring cycles in intergroup history. The author said the race relations cycle, which takes the form of contacts, competition, accommodation and eventual assimilation, is apparently progressive and permanent. The author emphasized that, at the contact stage, migration and explorations bring people together, which later generate economic competition and a new social organization. Competition and conflict emerge between the host group and the migrating groups as a result of contacts. Accommodation, according to Park, is a
critical condition in the race relations cycles. It involves a migrating group’s forcing itself to the adjustment to a new social environment.

Park looked at accommodation as involving a stabilization of relations, including the possibility of permanent caste systems. The author expressed that, the race relations cycle inevitably leads from contacts to assimilation. However, he and most scholars working in this tradition have challenged that there is a long-term trend toward assimilation of subordinated racial and ethnic groups in modern societies.

2.6.1 Stages of Assimilation

Gordon (1964), distinguishes seven dimensions of adaptation. They include the following:

Cultural Assimilation: The Change of cultural forms to those of the core society; Values, beliefs, dogmas, ideologies, language and other systems of symbols of the dominant culture are adopted.

Structural Assimilation: Where the migrant ethnic groups adopt and become part and parcel of the core or primary groups. Their families and friends begin to mingle with each other in association, like organizations and clubs. The migrant ethnic groups become part of the core groups within the dominant ethnic populations.

Marital Assimilation: The development where the migration groups inter- marry with the indigenous or dominant groups. When they assimilate, there is bound to be an increasing percentage of intermarriages between the two groups.

Identification Assimilation: Development of a sense of identity linked to the core society. Individuals no longer see themselves as distinctive and, like members of the dominant groups,
stake their personal identities to participation and success in the mainstream institutions of the society.

Attitude-Receptional Assimilation: Absence of prejudice and stereotyping; lack of prejudicial attitudes and stereotyping on the parts of both the dominant group and migrant ethnic groups.

Behavior-Receptional Assimilation: Absence of intentional discrimination; absence of intentional discrimination by dominant ethnic groups against subordinate ethnic groups.

Civic Assimilation: Absence of value and power conflict. It is the process of reducing conflicts between the ethnic groups over basic values and access to political arena.

2.6.2 Strengths of Assimilation Theory

Assimilation theory fosters relationships and spirits between racial and ethnic groups in inter-ethnic relations. Since it fosters relationships, it will help strengthen the ethnic relations between the Gonja-Nawuri ethnic groups and others ethnic groups in Alfai.

Assimilation theory can also help provide a more unified regional or national identity among various ethnic groups in Alfai.

Assimilation theory helps explain how the migration group gets fused into host groups in the society. This will help explain how Gonja first came in contact with Nawuri and later fused themselves in Alfai.

2.6.3 Some Problems with Assimilation Theory

Assimilation theorists often take as their primary examples of adaptation from the European groups that migrated more or less voluntarily to countries such as the United States. However,
what of the adaptation and incorporation of non-European groups such as the Gonja-Nawuri ethnic groups?

Assimilation theorists often do not analyze sufficiently the historical development of a particular ethnic group within the larger context of their relationship with other ethnic groups. In the case of Alfai, before the Gonja came there were other ethnic groups living with the host group Nawuri.

The cultural assimilation stage of the theory emphasized on how the migration groups change their cultural patterns to that of the host groups. In the larger context of the Gonja-Nawuri ethnic relations the reverse is the case.

Structural assimilation stage might also not fit in the context of the Gonja-Nawuri ethnic relations since the Gonja, being the migration group, managed to penetrate all its association of core societies to the Nawuri disadvantage.

The theory paints an overly benign view of ethnic relations, viewing assimilation as inexorable or relentless. But in the case of the Gonja-Nawuri settlement, the assumption seems not to be favouring it.

The theory does not explain how discriminatory forces operate instead provides consequences of these. However, it will not affect the outcome and the authenticity of the research study.

2.6.4 Application of Assimilation Theory to Research Work

Despite the above challenges of this theory, it will still be relevant to this study as it helps the researcher to delineate the impact of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict on inter-ethnic relations.
The contact stage, migration and exploration bring people together, which later generate economic competition and a new social organization as explained in the assimilation theory. This will help the research explain how the Gonja through migration and exploration first came in contact with the Nawuri in Alfai.

The theory further explains that competition and conflict emerges between the host group and the migrating groups as a result of contacts. This theory will help the research explain how Gonja later competed with the Nawuri in Alfai which developed to a conflict.

The theory again highlighted that cultural assimilation emphasizes how new groups must conform to the preexisting culture. In the case of the Gonja-Nawuri in Alfai, the reverse is true. The Nawuri, being the host group, had to adapt to the Gonja, thus the migrating group’s culture.

In the theory, it is also indicated that there is marital assimilation and the period of time that the Gonja and the Nawuri coexisted there were intermarriages. This will also help the research explain how inter-marriages between the Gonja, the Nawuri and other ethnic groups in Kpandai district impacted in the Gonja- Nawuri conflict.

The theory also emphasized on racial and ethnic inequality. This will also help the research explain how ethnic inequality played a major role in the Gonja-Nawuri conflict Alfai.

2.7 CAUSES OF CONFLICTS

The end of the Cold War brought a fresh era and various conflicts around the world which made Africa to experience her fair portion of these conflicts. Noaghah (2013, cited Ali, 2006; Yeomans, 2003). According to Noagah (2013, cited Kaldor, 2007; Boege 2006; Idowu, 2005), these new conflicts were more within the country and infused by grounds such as tribal conflicts
between opposing tribal groups, internal conflicts, battles over succession and power struggle inside the country and conflicts over the management of the country’s assets. In most part of Africa, many of these conflicts have been influenced by tribal competition for natural resources and power and the fight for recognition and contemporarily the scramble for the control of a state


According to Noagah (2013), there existed a well-established hatred and destruction among DRC, Burundian and the Sudanese during their ethnic conflicts. This was clearly manifested in the genocide, inequality in resource distribution and power and mistrust in these countries.

Bujra (2002 cited Adedeji 1999), stated that between the 1960s and the 1990s, which is about four decades, there existed about 80 different violent changes in regimes in 48 sub-Saharan African countries. In the author's view, in the very similar era a lot of these states also got their fair share of different kinds of civil agitations, conflicts, and wars. According to the author, eighteen states experienced armed uprising, eleven states also experienced severe political instability and catastrophes and nineteen countries experienced stability at the start of the new millennium.

Some of the countries in the last two categories have only recently moved from the first category. These countries include Eritrea and Ethiopia, DRC, Rwanda, Uganda, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Burundi, Guinea Bissau, Lesotho and others. Most of these conflicts are ethnic related.

Africa has the highest level of ethnic diversity than any other continent.

Most of these African conflicts became more intense after colonialism. The post - colonial period saw most conflicts in Africa. It is significant, to know that most of the world conflicts are either caused by economic factors, political factors or socio-cultural factors.
2.7.1 Economic Causes of Conflict

Almost all conflicts in the world have the element of economic factors in them. Irrespective of the type of conflict, it may be, its root cause may be economically motivated. According to Brown and Stewart (2015), even though most modern conflicts are seen as political, tribal, or religious difference, all these conflicts are mostly economically motivated. Countries and towns that are mostly underdeveloped or lack developmental opportunities, rendering its citizens very poor, often engage in bloody conflicts.

This is in line with Brown and Stewart (2015), views when the author stated that, under development is a leading source of conflict as it brings about a vicious cycle on which poverty will bring forth to conflicts and vice versa as Paul Collier and others started in the greed and grievance theory. This theory seems to support this assumption of a causal relationship between poverty and conflict, but the author was quick to indicate that the middle-and high-income countries are also affected by conflicts, especially Middle Eastern countries, Northern Ireland, the Balkan countries, and the Basque region of Spain as examples.

Even though these conflicts are not ethnic related, a lot of lessons will be learned since it will give more insight into economic causes of conflict. The data collected by Brown and Stewart (2015), indicated that, the issues of conflict are indisputably frequent low-income states. It was projected that, between 1960 and 1995, about 50 percent of people in low-income states lost their lives because of conflict, while the quantity was 30 percent in the midst of lower-middle-income states and 10 percent among upper-middle-income states. Econometric analysis also supported the view by indicating that low income per capita states is influencing cause for conflict.
According to Collier (2006), an economic angle on the reasons for conflict is grounded in empirical patterns across the world over an era between 1965 and 1999. The author has indicated that the danger of conflicts has always been scientifically linked to a portion of economic situations as dependence upon raw product and services exports and low national income. This was due to the fact that the organizers of these conflicts are monetarily sound or very rich. The threat from Michigan to originate danger in the USA was not able to grow beyond a handful of part-time volunteers because of lack of financial resources. Though this work was carried out in the USA, it will relevant to my study because it help me identify the economic element in the Gonja-Nawuri conflict in Alfi.

Abdullahel Shafi and Harun-Or-Rashid (2013) agrees with Collier when the authors states that the Sri Lanka’s conflict was due to economic discrimination. The Sri Lanka conflict has increased momentum due to the fact that the Sinhalese constantly has the feeling that they have been economically marginalized by the other group. They continue to blame the other group of taking undue advantage over them by occupying the topmost positions in government and also trying to run the state institutions of the country to the benefit of only the elite which they are in the minority. According to the author the case of who owes the land and gets the upper hand over it has also been a regular cause of tribal politics in Sri Lanka and has influenced them for long years. Struggling for economic resources is an essential and a major influence in Africa conflict. It lies at the heart of conflict in Africa.

According to Adedeji (1999), this competition for economic resources has accounted for the strength in the scramble for ‘political and economic power’ in a lot of the countries in Africa. This is in line with Bujra’s (2002), view that the economic disruption which took place during
the post-colonial period brought a lot of difficulties and pressure into most of the countries in Africa.

This made that author conclude that individual ownership of land, the development of an agricultural economy for both internal market and for export through large-scale plantations, as well as small-scale farming, inevitably led to a shortage of land in fertile areas. Economic differentiations, landless peasants and inevitable tension and conflict over land and other resources were the hallmark of the African situation.

According to Mullins (1987), many African countries internal conflicts are as a result of separation of economic growth from army abilities. Tilly (1975), makes a comparison to that of Europe when the author stated that at the period of state building in Europe, the heads were forced to offer some degree of economic growth in order to increase revenue for the support of the state military forces. The author affirmed that it stimulates growth because the money that is used to pay the military is more protected when it is done through domestic taxing than taxation from the exotic venture. In the author’s view economic growth became dependent on the country’s military abilities, but in the case of Africa, the author stated that politicians who are educated are mostly not able to extract adequate resources for their less privilege communities to help their large military forces.

Ogachi (1999), agreed with this assertion when the author argued that by 1990, two decades of policies to advance ethnic and individual economic interest by successive governments in Kenya had created a volatile ethnic situation in the country. He supported his point by stating that after independence, and immediately after Kenyatta seized power, he began to put in place his agenda of taking care of the demand of smaller and less privilege societies of the Agikuyu. The author further stated that by 1978, he had a safeguarded state government for the people, a large land
size in the Rift Valley near Kenyan Coast, bringing business to their doorsteps. The author confirms that the Rift Valley and the Coastal Region were actually the main sources of all the violent tribal conflicts that occurred in the era of the 1990s. To the author economic factors continue to be the main causes of African conflicts.

According to Sundberg (1999), due to increasing rates of poverty during the last years in Congo-Brazzaville, the ‘clan system’ had crumbled. None of the clan or family has adequate resources for their living. The less privileged in the society had to find alternative help from somewhere. People in politics often take undue advantage over them by using them to achieve and promote their political ambitions.

Ahmed (2008), added to this argument when he stated that, the issue of underdevelopment and economic marginalization embedded in the notion of oppressors and oppressed explained the conflict in Sudan. The colonial southern policy in Sudan as noted by Ali (et al. 2002), had no economic development objectives apart from the restriction of trade and mobility of labour. The development of irrigated agriculture and the building of transport systems were not a deliberate policy to develop the north, but an effort to make the colony pay for itself through the use of local cheap labour. This is the point at which the two parts of the country started drifting apart in terms of economic development.

Economic factors have been a major influence in many conflicts in Ghana. Factors such as the sale of land, award of contracts, various mining concessions and the sale of other community properties to the disadvantage of others has led many people in Ghana into conflicts of various kinds and most of them have become protracted. Agyei (2015), threw more light on this assertion when he made the point that most of these conflicts have their roots from the colonial administration. According to the author, the designing of the map by a German cartographer in
1913 has led the Alavanyo and Nkonya neighbours to be at loggerheads with each other in a protracted conflict for a period of over nine years over a piece of land.

Economic factors such as the allodial right to Alfa and the sale of land and other resources was a major cause of conflict in the related study area Kpandai. Gonjas who claim they were the original owners of Alfa put a lot of measures which allowed them to sell lands the people of the area and the Nawuris who felt the Gonjas were taking advantage over them by selling their own lands to them resisted which lead to Gonja-Nawuri conflict in Kpandai.

2.7.2 Political Causes of Conflict

Many conflicts in the world are caused by political factors. Political factors in conflicts have been a major element when we want to assess the causes of conflict. According to Brown and Stewart (2015), contemporary conflicts are all politically influenced. The author further stated that, military interferences in internal conflicts by strong authorities from outside are mostly inspired by ‘political objectives’ of the intervening nations. Most of these conflicts have predominantly been associated with the West.

Examples of these conflicts include Kosovo, the 2001 invasion of Afghanistan and the wars in Iraq. Others are Vietnam’s invasion of Cambodia, Bosnia, and Sri Lanka.

According to Kim (2001), one of the main causes of Macedonian and Albanian ethnic conflict is political. The author stated that the relationship between the Slav Macedonian majority and the ethnic Albanian minority in Macedonia continued to be nervous since independence when the Albanian minority in Macedonia has sort for majority representation in the country’s governance, armed forces and police service.
Abdullahel Shafi and Harun-Or-Rashid (2013 p.25), agreed to the assertion that: in addition to the barriers imposed by the continued use of the English language as the official language after independence, the emerging nationalist forces perceived that Sri Lankan Tamils had access to a disproportionate share of power as a consequence of educational opportunities in the colonial period and were also disproportionately represented in the civil administration. Moreover, considerable mercantile interests were also controlled by non-Sinhalese groups. These fears and concerns were a basis for the politics of language that was to emerge

According to them, the problem of who owes the land and has the right to use it continues to be the angle through which tribal politics in Sri Lanka emerges from and has gained ground over all this years. The authors further established that one of the key things in demographic patterns in Sri Lanka is basically the focus of certain tribal groups in particular ecological areas.

On the political causes of conflicts in Africa, Henderson is of the view that areas where democracies are well established are not opened up to tribal conflicts. The reason being that, those countries have a well laid and legitimate channel for resolving conflict whilst countries with growing democracies will always resort to conflicts as a means of solving problems (Henderson, 1998).

According to Idowu (1999), the continuous conflicts in Nigeria are politically motivated and came as a result of the lack of democracy. The author further stated that, the exact framework of the ‘Nigerian Federal system’ usually foster indigenous and tribal allegiances, but it is unable to grow or improve a nationwide consciousness or unity or citizenship that controls and monopolizes the federal government by the northern Hausa/Fulani and the consequential domination of the other provinces and tribal groups in Nigeria.

Kazah-Toure (1999), agreed with this accession, when the author stated that with the case of Southern Kaduna and Northern Emirates (Hausas) ethnic conflict in the Northern Nigeria, the
regions upper class was forced as overlords against the will of the people in the Southern Kaduna area by the British and the Hausas became the traditional rulers. They also took over areas of economic activities, employment of workers, and other major policy making, and the remaining ethnic groups becoming inferior to the Hausa-Fulani rulers.

I strongly agreed with these cultural conflict scenarios since it is similar to that of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict in Alfai where the colonial masters made the Gonja who were the migrating group the overload over the Nawuri who are the indigenous group. Gonja as agents became the chiefs and made major decisions and the Nawuri and other ethnic groups became subordinated to them.

Noagah (2013), stated that the Bawku conflict between the Kusasis and Mamprusis is a deep-rooted and long-lasting ethnic-political battle between two tribal groups in the Bawku Traditional Area of Ghana. The author further added that the battle is an ‘identity-based’, and rotates around the right and entitlements for customary administrative authority (traditional political power) between the two major ethnic groups.

The major cause of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict in Alfai is political. Factors such as chieftaincy and local government appointment issues were very dominant in the eve up to the conflict. Then Alfai was under Salaga district and all political heads and government appointees were all coming from Salaga. More to the issues was that Kpandai had two prominent chiefs and were all Gonjas. These prominent chiefs were in control of Kpandai. They sat on cases that even involved the Nawuris who were their main contenders.

Yahaya (2013), agreed with this assertion when the author gave an account of the fact the Gonja asserted that after successfully capturing what is now known as the East Gonja, they established the Nawuri on the captured land and put them under and control of the Gonja chiefs. According
to the author, the repercussion is that the Nawuri have no traditional rulers (chiefs) and so would not be able to have lands to themselves as their own.

2.7.3 Socio-Cultural Causes of Conflict

The social causes of conflicts in the world at large cannot be undermined. It has been the silent major cause of conflict which has always been overlooked. Social factors such as religion, ethnic identity, education, language and others are silent major fuel of conflicts.

Many aspects including education which encapsulates the essentials of societies such as schools and universities, matters of books, learning materials and equipping of teachers have impacted directly on tribal ethnic conflicts.

According to Abdullahel Shafi and Harun-Or-Rashid (2013), eventhough the forces of Sinhalese nationalism prolonging ideas of everlasting battle against the Tamils could not really stand because they had already established themselves long prior to their freedom. People who had rural education were mostly Sinhalese. However, their fight for freedom of power and cultural change did not just come into reality even with the independence. In the author's view, after independence, it was obvious that a conflict was evolving between the Sinhalese-educated rural elite and the English-educated urban ruling elite in Sri Lanka.

“The human rights issue also has been a major social problem that engineers ethnic conflicts in the world. Strong protection of civil liberties and human rights does not ensure power sharing, but it does limit the abuse of power and clearly plays an important role. Conversely, some (semi) authoritarian regimes have used the ethnic diversity of their population to justify limitations on human rights, particularly those relating to freedom of speech and freedom of assembly” (Brown and Stewart, 2015 p.78).
The make-up of African people has always generated social issues which because it was not very well managed, led to many conflicts. These include inequality, religious issues, citizenship, human rights abuses, identity, tribalism, culture and other factors. These religions include Christianity, Islam, and Traditional religions.

Pannitch and Leys (2002), argued that the part that religion plays as a cause of conflict in Africa, in independent terms, institutionally and ideologically cannot be overemphasized. They further contend that, history has shown that religion has provided a powerful channel for instigating conflicts. Kastfelt (2005) agreed with this assertion when the author stated vehemently and persuasively that most African battles have religious elements which are adequately significant to be learned in their own right without disregarding their social, economic and political background.

The author cites instances, such as the Mahdist conflict in Sudan, the Shona-Ndebele conflict in Zimbabwe, the Maji Maji revolt in Tanganyika and the Mau Mau liberation struggle in Kenya to back the claim. It is significant to point out that religion per say, does not necessary breeds conflicts; it is its manipulation by adherents for some gains that breeds conflicts. Religions such as Christianity and Islam have the hallmark of peace. This happened to be the foundation and pillar of these religions.

According to Kazah-Toure (1999 p. 10), “the Southern Kaduna region has occupied an unstable position in the twentieth century history of inter-group conflicts and tensions in Northern Nigeria. It has experienced complex conflicts, occasionally violent, mostly assuming the ethnic form. Linked with these have been questions of social equality, citizenship, community rights and democracy. All this has taken place in a rural zone, which is a miniature of Nigeria, with about forty ethnic groups”
In the case of the Southern Kaduna and the Northern Emirates ethnic conflict, the author stated that, mission schools became the main establishments for attaining education, which did not favour the Muslim since education involved instantaneous change in Christianity. Finally, this led to a major separation in the area between the Muslims and Christians and traditionalists. From 1910 forwards, there existed a series of rebellions mainly directed at the management dominated by the Hausa-Fulani. (Kazah-Toure, 1999).

Inequality and marginalization also play a major role in most of the African conflicts. Due to the porousness of continent diversity is reflected in its people who are multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-lingual. According to Ahmed (2008), the passing of the Islamic laws, the struggle for identity among the southern elites and mobilization of support on the basis of ethnic relations by Nimeri created a good environment for the break out of the conflict in Sudan. The author added that, different social organization of various ethnic groups and enormous variations of the physical environment affected the daily lives of the people of Sudan which resulted to the conflict.

Nyaba (2002) threw more light on the above claims when the author stated that the effect of colonial policy in the South on the development of North-South relations came through its impact in the field of education. Christian missionaries were assigned the complete monopoly of running the school systems and the Southerners were discouraged from engaging in politics, political debate and action, and anybody found practicing political dissent was punished and dismissed from either school or job.

According to Akokpari (2008), the time Laurent Gbagbo assumed the presidency in the year 2000, the stage had been set for further inter-communal conflict in Ivory Coast. The politics of
marginalization and exclusion pursued by Konan Bedie and General Guei under the xenophobia-inspired citizen question had left the residue of a deeply fissured Ivorian society, characterized by suspicion and discontent.

Social issues such as religion, inequality, social identity and many others have been the main causes of conflicts in Ghana. Eventhough, that of Ghana has been in the lower scale, compared to other African countries.

According to Yahaya (2013), the inter-ethnic battle that occurred between the Gonja and the Nawuri were instigated by social turmoil with various consequences among the people of Alfai. The Gonja culture dominated the area. The Nawuri find it difficult to project their culture. Other tribes, including the Nawuri were seen as low class citizens. Gonja women were seen as first class women and who would not like to enter a serious relationship with other so call low tribes. Marriage to other tribes was a mystery and made other tribes, including the Nawuri felt miserable.

2.8 THE IMPACT OF CONFLICT

The impact that conflicts have on humanity across the world cannot be underestimated. Many lives are lost and property destroyed. Economic and social activities all turn to suffer. Only the organizers and sponsors of these conflicts turn to gain. The number of people who lose their lives, especially the women and children during conflict, one has no idea.

According to Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict Final Report, (1997 p. 11) “More than four million people are estimated to have been killed in violent conflicts since the fall of the Berlin Wall”
According to Zeleza (2005), destructive conflicts have aggrieved Africa and cast a thick burden on the continent’s people, policies, politics, and economies stealing them of their growth potentials and democratic capabilities. Conflicts in Africa have a significant effect on Africa’s development potentials. Akokpari (2005), affirms to this view when he indicated that conflicts in Africa have generally brought destructions of property and deaths to human lives and had a negative effect on the nascent institutions of governance.

2.8.1 Economic Impact of Conflict

According to Ganegodage and Rambaldi (2013 p. 6), “because of the war, Sri Lanka’s military spending as a percentage of GDP, increased from 1.6 percent in 1983 to 3.5 in 2008. It reached its peak at 5.9 percent of GDP in 1995, a figure that represents over 20 percent of total government spending”. Though this research was conducted in Sri Lanka on government spending during the ethnic conflict, it will serve as a guideline to measure how much various ethnic groups spent on arms and ammunitions during the Gonja-Nawuri conflict. These effects sometimes are not limited to the country that is fighting, but extends to other nations. The dynamics and effects turn to spill over. Russia is the European Union's third-biggest trading partner. In 2014, trade capacity between the European Union (EU) and Russia reduced because of the effect of the downturn on the Russian economy and also the conflict in Ukraine, which made the EU to play more sanctions on Russia and forced Russian to counter measures. (Szczepański, 2015). Rother, (et al, 2016), supported this assertion when they indicated that battles in nations such as Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Yemen, besides disastrous loss of human life and physical demolition of belongings; it has caused deep stagnations, pushed inflation up, deteriorated economic and fiscal situations, and destroyed institutions.
Besides, the damaging impact of the havoc have slipped over into nearby nations such as Jordan, Turkey, Lebanon, Tunisia, and into the larger Middle East and North Africa, and also to other continents, such as Europe. To varying degrees, these nations experience larger records of immigrants, fragile self-reliance and safety, and deteriorating social cohesion that weakens the quality of institutions and their capability to take on a much-needed economic restructuring. This situation is not different from what happened in the French revolutionary and Napoleonic conflicts in 1793 and 1815.

According to Rourke (2006 P. 126), “what happened in the French case is the huge drop in trade between the eve of the Revolution, 1787–9. Export volumes in the latter year were just 36% of their pre-Revolution level; import volumes had declined by 55%. This decline was largely due to the collapse in trade with France’s overseas colonies, particularly Saint Domingue: France’s American colonies had accounted for 15% of French exports in 1787–9, and 40% of her imports.”

Havlik and Astrov (2014), stated that even though it will be difficult to quantify the economic loss as a result of EU sanctions on Russia in Ukraine conflict, it was important to specify that the sanctions have undeniably increased the adverse economic growths in Russia coming from the joint consequence of the worsening investment environment, together with depreciation, capital flight and restructuring setbacks. Developmental prospects were reduced down significantly by about 1 percentage point for the period 2014-2016 (compared to pre-crisis forecasts). The author further indicated that a rough estimate of economic effects due to lower GDP growth yields a Russian GDP loss of close to EUR 20 billion in 2014 and more than EUR 30 billion in 2015. Conflict in Syria is not quite different when it comes to the decline in the Gross Domestic Products (GDP). According to Belhaji (et al, 2013), the battle in Syria is projected to be holding
down real GDP growth by almost 3 percentage points each year, producing billions of dollars in
lost economic activity.

Conflicts in Africa have impacted on the people economically. Economic consequences that
bedeviled Africa such as corruptions, financial mismanagement, bad policies which affected the
people negatively and others erupted in most cases as a result of conflict. Whilst some emerged
as a result of the conflict, others also led to conflicts in Africa. According to Shah (2011), a trend
of protests has exploded throughout the Middle East and North Africa. The mixture of the global
financial crisis, rising costs of living, high unemployment, especially of educated youth,
frustration from years of living under authoritarian and corrupt regimes.

The author further contends that the crisis in Libya came in the background of wider unrest
throughout the Middle East and North Africa. Bailey (et al 2007), gave a specific economic
effect of some of the African countries that were involved in conflicts in relations to GDP per
capita before and after the conflict. According to the authors, Rwanda’s GDP per capita before
the war in US dollars was 306 which reduced to 181 after the war. That of Burundi before the
conflict was 207 US dollars, but reduced to 143 US dollars after the conflict.

DRC on the other hand had 122 US dollars as her GDP per capita but it was reduced to 103 US
dollars after the conflict. Guinea Bissau’s GDP per capita before the conflict was 240 US dollars,
but it reduced to 176 US dollars, after the conflict and Sierra Leone before the conflict had 214
US dollars as her GDP per capita but was reduced to 150 US dollars after the conflict. Though
these studies were conducted on the effect of conflict in these countries, the outcome could be
relevant to my study as they serve as a base to analyse the economic effect on the Gonja-Nawuri
conflict in Kpandai.
Destruction of properties is one of the major economic effects of conflict in Ghana. In destructive conflicts, properties worth millions of Ghana cedis get destroyed bringing down the country’s economy. Government of Ghana spends millions of Ghana cedis in the post conflicts in Ghana which that money could have been channeled to other use. Northern Ghana by virtue of its nature has been prone to ethnic conflicts and happened to suffer most (emphasis is mine).

In Gagakuna’s (n.d), view, the Guinea fowl war, for instance, in the Northern Region of Ghana had long effects that will continue to hunt the region’s economic development for many years. Many foreigners declined to invest in Ghana as a result of conflicts, especially in the northern region of Ghana.

According to Sulemana (2009), the overall effects of conflict in the affected areas in Ghana are literally immeasurable. These include the huge destruction of property and economic resources. There were severe economic consequences in the Gonja-Nawuri conflict in Kpandai area. Many properties and businesses were destroyed, leaving many cashless and non-business. The only vibrant market in Kpandai got destroyed. For many undocumented assets such as corn mills, grinding mills, lorries, cars, farm produce, houses, cattle, goats, sheep, markets, stores, filling stations, and shops were destroyed. Most women lost all their properties and many years now some could not reactivate their business activities. As a result of the conflict, thousands of families lost a lot of personal family and household properties. Many victims were not able to get any assistance from the government and Kpandai market has not also been vibrant till now. (Sulemana, 2009).

2.8.2 Political Impact of Conflict

According to Williams and Pradhan (2009), political events that happen during conflict also unsettle people’s lives. These events include changes of government, the prime minister or other
high officials, complete collapse of the government, states of emergency, cease-fires, and major strikes or protests. In the author's view, these events of political instability can decrease the sense of security and authority at all levels on which people depend, creating a sense of chaos, or anarchy. According to the authors, political instability, or lack of political and legal control, can also signal the possibility of violence in the future.

The effect of long sitting governments and the complex nature of some crisis leading to the back and front of democracy in Africa cannot be underestimated. Many of the leaders became dictators, over-lording on the people and the country. In most cases, this led political instability. Overthrow of the government, become too rampant. Some of the conflicts had the effect of escalating to neighboring countries. Shah (2010), agreed with this assertion when the author indicated that the conflict in the DRC (formerly known as Zaire) has involved seven nations.

The impact of destructive conflicts has taken a serious political dimension in Ghana making the country’s democracy shifting from its issues based to ethnic based. Many Ghanaians now follow and vote for political parties’ base on ethnic and tribal affiliation. Sulemana (2009), shares with this view when the author indicated that the aftermath of the intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic conflicts in Ghana have been revealed that general elections and support for political parties are no more issues or ideologically based but that political parties have become vehicles of ethnic interest and sentiments.

Conflicts also have adverse effects in development programme and policies. Policy formulations and implementations become complex when substantive rulers, especially chiefs are being removed or killed in conflict prone areas.

Since the Gonja-Nawuri conflict broke out in Kpandai, the political dimension has changed. Supporting and voting patterns for political parties, both local and national has also changed.
NPP and NDC become the common political parties dominating in the area. Whist the Nawuri became the core supporters of the NPP in the area, the Gonja and other tribes turn to support the NDC. Politics in the area are no more issues based but tribal and ethnic sentiments.

Again, as the Gonja were the traditional rulers in the area and have been sacked by the Nawuri, their support and contributions to the strength of the traditional authority of the area has been little or non-existent. Until Kpandai became a district on its own, the chieftaincy issues in Kpandai was moving back and front.

2.8.3 Social Impact of Conflict

According to available estimates, by 1993 about 400,000 children were displaced in the north-east of Europe as a result of the prevailing situation of violence and instability (Marga Institute, 1994). Dissanayaka (2004 cited Lewis, 1999) gave an account of the social impact on women in Sri Lanka when the author stated that Sexual attacks on women has been a common thing among the military as it has been their strategy throughout conflicts in history.

Most of the women become victims of rape and other sexual transmitted disease. Effects on education are overwhelming. UNESCO Institute for Statistics report (2010 p. 5), indicated that “education has been attacked in at least 31 countries in Asia, Europe and Latin America over the past three years”. This means that, it will be very difficult for such countries due to conflict to realize Education for All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), especially for the universal completion of primary education and gender equality in primary and secondary education. Gender gap issues are not left out in destructive conflicts.

More female children turn to suffer in post conflict in terms of formal education. According to UNESCO Institute of for Statistics (2010 cited UNICEF, 2008), there are persistent gender gaps in education in Yemen after the conflict. According to the report, the female intake has dropped
considerably in the aftermath of the conflict. In Bosnia, the situation is not quite different. The conflict also brought a huge toll on education.

According to Swee (2009), the Bosnian conflict had a serious ripple effect on their educational system. The greatest effect was on lack of teachers and school buildings as most of the teachers were afraid to go to school due to the conflict and ended up affecting the school turn out. There was also the need for reconstruction of some of the school buildings due to their dilapidated nature. In Turkey, the impact on education is also severe. The conflict situation turned to prevent many people from having a formal education. Sirkeci (2000), contends that the percentage of citizens who did not go to school continues to reduce very fast in Turkey since 1950s and became worse throughout the years that conflict occurred.

The issue of refugees spilling over to other countries is a cause to worry in conflict situations. Whenever there is an outbreak of destructive conflicts, people turn to move to safe places and neighbouring countries turn to carry this burden.

According to Coutts and Fouad (2013), more than two years of conflict in Syria had resulted in a massive influx of refugees within Lebanon and across the region at large. Some of the neighboring countries that were mostly affected include Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey and Iraq. The report indicated that Lebanon was the place where these unprecedented numbers of refugees may have had the most destabilizing consequences.

According to them, over 914,000 people have crossed the border between Lebanon and Syria because of the Syrian conflict, of which more than 710,000 are refugees’ already registered or awaiting registration with the United Nations’ refugee agency. This will automatically bring competition for jobs searching, access to public services and infrastructure. Irrespective of years
of conflict in Africa, death and disaster, coverage of issues has often been overlooked, oversimplified.

According to Shah (2010), African conflicts have caused over nine million people to become homeless and refugees in other countries. Many people numbering hundreds of thousands have died in these conflicts and civil wars leading to women and children dying due to starvation in the continent. Shah (2011), established that, in the mid-2011, the world’s worst and devastating food crisis was experienced in East Africa, basically in Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya.

Africans have experienced different types of diseases that were very dangerous and annihilating. Many women and children died from HIV/AIDS, Ebola and STDs and airborne diseases. The issues of relocation have been mind-boggling. United Nations (UN) estimates that fighting in 2007 in Central Africa Republic compelled 100,000 people to run into Chad and Cameroon, and a further 100,000 into the forests of the Central African Republic (IRIN Africa 2009).

This automatically will lead to the competition for jobs, access to public services and infrastructure. According to Decalo (1980), education was the most neglected sectors of French colonial policy in Chad. The author went further to state that as at 1958, there were only three secondary schools in the entire country.

Collelo (1988), threw more light on the above assertion when that author indicated that the conflicts in Chad have created an insecure environment that affects teacher and student retention and contact to school, and averts government resources away from education. The author further stated that there were vivid cases of the destruction and looting of primary and secondary schools during the conflict and even the attack on national university’s archives in 1979 and 1980.
The educational issue of that of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has to do with child labour and school children used as rebels in conflict. It is tagged by international organizations as the lead country in terms of children being used as soldiers in conflict.

According to Bell (2006), UNICEF ranks the DRC as the country with the highest number of children used as soldiers, sexual slaves and labourers. Schools are no safe harbor for children in conflict-affected DRC. A lot has been kidnapped on their way to school by rebel groups to be used as child soldiers, and schools have been looted by police and rebels and occupied by the army and the rebel group, the National Committee for the Defense of the People -NCDP (UNESCO 2010). Rape of women and girls is another canker being perpetuated in conflict in Africa. Many turn to suffer sexual abuses from the rebel and military officers. Some end up picking unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases. Though these issues happened in areas not in the research area but it will serve as a guide to the Gonja-Nawuri conflict in Alfai.

The social impact of conflict has almost been the same across the globe. These include the loss of lives and properties. Many people die when destructive conflicts occur and this had a heavy toll in Ghana.

According to Gagakuma (n.d), there are many effects of conflicts in Ghana and the major one is the loss of lives and injuries. In bloody conflicts in Ghana, human resources are being eroded. Education which is seen as a key to national development also turns to suffer.

Sulemana (2009), disagree with this assertion when the author indicated that the social effects of destructive conflicts are many and will not be simple to measure, especially the psycho-social ones which leave the victims homeless, landless, destitute, injured, dead, abused and many others. The author further went further to mention the loss of security in conflict prone areas where many take the law into their own hands to victimize others perceived to be their enemies.
Many social issues affected the people of Kpandai during and after the Gonja-Nawuri conflict in the Alfai. Issues such as sexual abuse, victimization, diseases, hunger and many more were very serious in the area. Schools were closed down for a long time making a lot to be a school dropout today.

Many lives were lost and many were left homeless. Many women and children suffered abuse and victimization as security issues become loss and many took the law into their hands to terrorize others. Sulemana (2009), agreed with this assertion when he concluded that, in Gonja-Nawuri conflict, many people sustained physical injuries and others were traumatized. There were trust and mistrust among the ethnic groups in the area as innocent people from other tribes became victims during the conflict and this is the gap this research is set to fill by looking into the effect the Gonja-Nawuri conflict had on the inter-ethnic relations in the Alfai.
CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND STUDY AREA

3.1 Study Methodology

Methodology is the study of how a research work is conducted in a given research topic or a field of study. Creswell (2014), described the study methodology as plans and procedures for research that span the steps from the broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, data analysis and result interpretation. A decision to adopt a research method for a research study will depend on the nature of the research problem or issues being addressed, the researcher’s personal experience and audiences for the study. This research has adopted a phenomenological approach.

3.2 Study Design

According to Creswell (2013), research design means the plan for conducting the study. Polit et al (2001), have also described a study design as a blueprint which indicates how, when and where information is to be gathered and examined. The survey design has been employed in the course of this investigation due to the fact that it allowed the researcher gather information from a comprehensive sample of elements speedily and a cost effective manner (Ary, et al., 2002).

The researcher also adopted a phenomenological or a qualitative approach to this study. A qualitative approach has been defined by Burns and Grove (2003), as a methodical subjective method employed to characterize the individuals’ understanding and reflection of circumstances
to make sense of them. The qualitative study concentrates on people’s reflections and underscores the distinctiveness of the person. Holloway and Wheeler (2002), indicated that qualitative study is a system of social investigation, which emphasizes the manner in which individuals construe and utilize their reflections of real life situations. The investigators employed the qualitative method in order to examine the actions, viewpoints, practices as well as the emotions of individuals and stresses on the understanding of these factors.

A principal advantage in using the qualitative approach is that the investigator’s involvement in the research adds to the distinctiveness of information gathering and examination. This approach, however, suffers a major drawback in the sense that complete impartiality is not guaranteed and qualitative approach is not entirely accurate for the reason that there are at all times a tendency for people not to act rationally as expected (Holloway and Wheeler, 2002). The justification for employing the qualitative method in this study is because it is easy to probe, capture and define the views of persons who have knowledge on the Nawuri-Gonja conflict and the effects of the conflict on inter-ethnic relations.

3.3 Phenomenological Research

Phenomenological research is commonly used in qualitative research. Simon et al (2011), indicated that, one of the most common qualitative methodologies used in the dissertation is Phenomenology.

Creswell (2013), defined phenomenological study as a research method that describes the common meaning for several individuals of their life experience of a concept or a phenomenon. Phenomenologists focus on describing what all participants have in common as they experience phenomenon.
The study has the main aim of explicating the importance of the lived experience of a person or a group of people. Christensen et al (2010), asserted to this when the author indicated that the primary purpose of a phenomenological research is to explain the meaning, structure and essence of the lived experiences of a person, or a group of person, around a specific phenomenon.

In the phenomenological research, one of the most important instruments used is the data collection tool. In this method, participants describe their lived experience and this could be used to gather data in the study. In data collection, interview is used to gather the participants’ descriptions of their lived experience and the participants’ writings or oral self-reports could also be used to gather data. Data analysis is also another important tool used in the phenomenological research. After data is collected, it needs to be analyzed. In doing that in the phenomenological research, the first principle of analysis used in data analysis is an emergent strategy to allow the method of analysis follow the nature of the data itself. (Waters, 2016)

The phenomenological research study has the following advantages making it a more comprehensive methodology to use in the qualitative study.

First and foremost, Phenomenological research provides a very rich and detailed description of human experience.

Secondly, Phenomenological research aims at gaining a deeper understanding of the nature or meaning of our everyday experience.

Thirdly, it also provides results that emerge from the data collected instead of being imposed by a structured statistical analysis.
Fourthly, it has a wide coverage of the range of situations; it can also be fast and economical.

Finally, it helps in the understanding of people’s meaning and help gather data which is seen as natural rather than artificial.

Despite the above advantages of the phenomenological research, it has some setbacks which include the following:

First and foremost, the analysis and the interpretation of data may be very difficult.

Secondly, data gathering in the research method can take a great deal of time and resources.

Finally, the research method may be harder than the positivist approach to control pace, progress and end point.

3.3.1 Justification of Phenomenological Research to the Study

Despite the above disadvantages of the phenomenological research, with commitment and determination it can be carried out and will be very relevant to the research study in the following ways:

As the research is about lived experience of people, it will make the researcher understand the conflict between the Gonja and the Nawuri by interviewing very prominent personality within Alfai who were alive, witnessed and experienced the conflict.

As the approach is one of the most commonly used in qualitative research and the researcher is also embarking on a qualitative study, it will serve as a guideline for carrying out a successful research on the Gonja-Nawuri conflict.
Since phenomenological research gathers data which is seen as natural rather than artificial, it will help the research, gather not only natural data, but also help the researcher come out with accurate results.

Phenomenological research outlines some guidelines for data collection, data analysis and presentation of results. This will help the researcher during his study how his data is going to be collected, analyse and how the result is going to be presented.

Since phenomenological research helps understand people’s meanings, it will serve as a base on which the research will capitalize to understand why the people reacted the way they did against each other in Alfai.

3.4 Study Population

Population is defined by Parahoo (1997), as the entire amount of elements from which information can be gathered, including people, objects, activities or institutions. Burns and Grove (2003), also view the study population as encompassing all the units which qualify to be included in a research. For purposes of this study, the traditional leaders of all the ethnic groups in the study area, historians with knowledge on Nawuri-Gonja relations, politicians and security experts have been interviewed for their views on the topic.

3.5 Sampling Procedure and Rationale

According to Burns and Grove (2003), sampling refers to a procedure of picking a collection of individuals, activities or action with which to undertake an investigation. Polit et al (2001), indicates that in sampling a percentage that exemplifies the entire population is carefully chosen.
In this research, the sampling used is the non-probability and purposive. The justification for using the purposive or non-probability sampling procedure in this study can be situated within the context of what was stated by Merriam (2009), who argued that qualitative study analysis require the application of non-probability sampling instead of probability sampling. The author further submits that for the reason that qualitative investigation deals with answering questions concerning how a method operates or phenomenon develops, therefore employing probability sampling is not convenient. Instead, Merriam suggests that researchers use the most popular type of non-probability sampling, purposive or purposeful sampling.

According to Parahoo (1997), in non-probability sampling, researchers use their judgment to select the subjects to be included in the study based on their knowledge of the phenomenon. This will help develop a comprehensive understanding of the Nawuri-Gonja conflict and the effects of the conflict on inter-ethnic relations. Purposive sampling will be used in this study. Parahoo (1997), describes purposive sampling as “a method of sampling, where the researcher deliberately chooses who to include in the study based on their ability to provide necessary data”. The rationale for choosing this approach is that it will enable the researcher to seek knowledge about the Nawuri-Gonja conflict and the effects of the conflict on inter-ethnic relations, which the participants would provide by virtue of their experience. In this study only persons who are eligible will be purposively chosen to participate in this study.

3.6 Sample Size and Justification

Holloway and Wheeler (2002), assert that in qualitative studies, sample size does not influence the importance or quality of the study and note that there are no guidelines in determining sample size in qualitative research. In this study, the researcher has worked in conjunction with
traditional leaders of all the ethnic groups in the study area, politicians with knowledge on the
Gonja-Nawuri conflict, and historians with knowledge on Gonja-Nawuri relations, security
experts, victims and survivors. The sample size of eleven (11) participants from the five major
ethnic groups and a former Member of Parliament for Kpandai Constituency were selected for
primary data collection. These people were selected based on the purposive sampling method.
The sample size is in line with Bamberger (2002), who also stated that the number of
respondents does not matter in a qualitative studies but what matter is the quality of the findings.
Obtaining data from participants with different experience will also prevent information bias and
thus increasing credibility regarding the information.

3.7 Method of Data Collection

In this study, an Open Ended Questionnaire will be the primary data collection instrument
because the data from participants will be analysed using the Content Analysis techniques.
According to Parahoo (1997), a research instrument is “a tool used to collect data. It is a tool
designed to measure knowledge, attitude and skills.” The semi-structured interview guide was
used to gather primary data from persons viewed as important to the subject matter under
investigation. According to Holloway and Wheeler (2002), this approach will allow greater
latitude in providing answers and therefore the respondents will be able to provide in-depth
information regarding the phenomenon. The participants’ answers will not be guided by the
researcher’s prior knowledge of the phenomenon, but by their own experience.
The primary data were sourced from unstructured interviews in the form of an interview guide.
Secondary data were also sourced from published and unpublished materials, books, journals,
from the Balme and Institute of African Studies libraries of the University of Ghana, the Legon
Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD) library and the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center (KAIPTC) library. Also archival material and committee reports were used. Before the interviews were conducted, an introductory letter was obtained from the institution of study, namely the Political Science Department of the University of Ghana and copies sent to the individuals from which information was sought. The student personally collected the information by visiting the field to acquire responses. The investigator also sort verbal or written consent from the participants before commencing the research.

3.8 Data Analysis and Presentation

Data analysis means to organize, provide structure and elicit meaning. Analysis of qualitative data is an active and interactive process (Polit et al, 2001). The responses generated was discussed along the main objectives and related to theory and existing literature. The researcher used the method of thematic content analysis to analyse data collected. The open coding approach was also adopted.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are the moral standards that the researcher should consider in all research methods in all stages of the research design (Polit et al 2001). After approval from the Political Science Department was obtained to conduct the study, the investigator ensured that information that was provided to the researcher or the participation of participants was used against them. The researcher-participant relationship was exploited. The tapes and written narratives will be safely stored after the study.
Moreover, the researcher ensured that prospective participants were not coerced into taking part in the study. Participants were given the right to decide whether to participate without incurring any penalty. Participants were approached and the purpose of the study as well as the data collection procedures explained to them. No remuneration was offered and they were informed of the opportunity to withdraw at any stage of the research. Verbal and written consent were obtained. Individuals who refused to participate were not compelled. In addition, the information provided by participants will not be shared or used in another study without their consent. There will also not be an intrusion of privacy with regard to the information provided (Babbie, 2014). Anonymity will therefore be upheld. The participants were assured of confidentiality verbally and in the written consent form.

3.10 Background of Kpandai District

According to Mbowura (2014), until 2008, Alfai now called Kpandai District was under the East Gonja District in the Northern Region of Ghana.

The Kpandai district was carved out of the East Gonja district in February 2008 by Legislative Instrument 1885 with its capital located at Kpandai. The district is located at the South-Eastern corner of the Northern Region of Ghana and lies between latitudes 8° N and 9.29° N and longitudes 0.29 ° E and 1.26°W. It is bordered to the North by Nanumba South district, East Gonja to the West, Krachi West district to the South-West and Nkwanta North district to the East. The district has a total land surface area of 1,132.9 Km Square. The district is strategically located at the central point between the northern and southern part of the eastern corridor of Ghana.
The District is both farming and fishing area. Among all the food crops produced in the area, yam is the most leading with cattle and goats as the leading live stocks. Kitare, Njare, Bladjai, Nkanchina, Awuratu and Linkpan are the fishing villages located around the borders of River Oti (Mbowura, 2012).

The population of Kpandai District, according to the 2010 Population and Housing Census, is 108,816 representing 4.4 percent of the region’s total population. Ninety percent of the populations are in rural localities and about 85.7 percent are engaged as skilled agricultural workers. The district has diverse cultures. All the ethnic groups in the district have their local chiefs.

They are further divided into clans with recognized clan heads. The Nawuri were the first ethnic group to migrate to the area. The clan heads play various roles in mobilizing their people for special functions. Amongst the various clans, there is no established structure or hierarchy. This often leads to chaos as to who amongst the numerous clan heads to pay homage to on a visit to a particular community.

The district population is diverse in terms of ethnicity Komkomba (68%), Nawuri (8%), Nchumuru (9%), Kotokoli (1%), Basare (4%), Ewe (4%) and other (6%). Major celebrations that bring the people from all over the country to their traditional homes include funerals and festivals such as the yam festival.

In terms of religion, traditionalist recorded the highest proportion of 28.3 percent followed by Pentecostal/Characteristic (22.6%) while other Christians recorded the least with 5.5 percent. Islam recorded a proportion of 7.9 percent while those with no religion recorded a significant
proportion of 11.2 percent.

Figure 1.1: A Map of Kpandai District showing the areas affected by the Gonja-Nawuri Conflict.
CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0 Introduction

An interview guide was designed and questionnaires were administered to acquire information on the effects of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict on inter-ethnic relations. As a result, information was gathered on the following objectives: understanding the Gonja-Nawuri conflict in Kpandai, the major causes of that conflict, the effect of that conflict on inter-ethnic relations and the practical measures to normalize inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai.

The study has adopted a phenomenological study method where two people, each of the five major ethnic groups and a former member of parliament in Kpandai were interviewed. In all a total number of eleven (11) participants were interviewed.

For the sake of the research, various participants from the various ethnic groups will be represented as N1 and N2 in the case of the Nawuris and G1 and G2 in the case of the Gonjas and so on as shown in the table below. Table 4:1 below, indicates the five major ethnic groups in Kpandai in which two participants were selected from each.
Table 4.1: Ethnicity Background of the Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categorization</th>
<th>No. Of Representative</th>
<th>Representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nawuri</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>N1, N2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonja</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>G1, G2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassari</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>B1, B2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konkomba</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>K1, K2,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotokoli</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>KO1, KO2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former Member of</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>P1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: field data (April, 2017)

Table 4.2: Gender of Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categorization</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: field data (April, 2017)
Table 4.3: Educational Level of Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORIZATION</th>
<th>LEVEL OF EDUCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary level</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary/Post-Secondary level</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary level</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: field data (April, 2017)

4.4 Understanding the Gonja-Nawuri Conflict in Kpandai

In trying to understand the Gonja-Nawuri conflict, participants were asked if they could still remember the conflict and what they know about that conflict. All the eleven (11) participants interviewed said they could still remember the Gonja-Nawuri conflict that occurred in Kpandai between 1991 and 1992 since they were matured at that time and happened to witness the conflict.

In recounting what happened about twenty five (25) years ago, the respondents were forthright. Many of them stated that at the initial stages, the conflict appeared innocuous, but it gradually turned bloody and escalated beyond Kpandai. Out of the eleven (11) respondents interviewed, six of them traced the outbreak of the conflict to the attempts of the Gonja Youth to organize a Gonjaland Youth meeting in Kpandai but were opposed by the Nawuri. The Nawuri opposition
stemmed from the fact that the designation “Gonjaland” connoted Gonja ownership of Kpandai and its surrounding areas.

According to the participants, the Nawuris were inclined to allow the Gonja to hold the meeting, but not under the designation “Gonjaland”. According to the participants, ominous signs of conflict began to appear from the disagreement, which eventually culminated in war on the 7th of April, 1991. The trigger was a disputed piece of land given to the a Roman Catholic Father by the Nawuri but was resold to another developer by the Gonja. The argument between the Nawuri and the Gonja over who had the right to sell land in Kpandai sparked off the conflict. This confirms the views of Lentz and Nugent (2000 p. 190), when they stated that “the situation become problematic when the Gonjaland Youth Association, a political organization of the Gonja, made plans to hold a meeting at Kpandai. The Nawuris interpreted this as a conscious affront on the part of the Gonja”

Out of the six participants, two of them went further to point out that there were similar outbursts between the two ethnic groups in the past, but did not assume bloody proportions as the 1991 communal violence did. They indicated that the issues of conflict between the Gonja and the Nawuri had persisted since some of them were born. Mbowura (2012), agreed with this assertion when the author indicated that from 1932 to 1990, there existed conflicts between the Gonja and the Nawuri in Alfai which were not bloody. As indicated by a participant:

“The whole thing started when the Gonjas claimed that this land was theirs and they wanted to come and organize the Gonjaland Youth Association meeting in Kpandai which the Nawuris did not agree. That if they allowed them to organize the programme, then their claim that the land was theirs could gain more grounds. The effort to stop them from organizing it proved futile.”
They insisted on organizing it. As a result of that, tension started boiling up and on the 12th of March, 1991, somebody gave a hint that the Gonja were preparing to fight the Nawuri (interview with participant N1 on 04/04/2017).

Another participant giving a similar account indicated that: Gonja wanted to organize their youth association in Kpandai called The Gonjaland Youth Association. They even made T. Shirts with the inscription “Gonjaland. Like we the Nawuris also have our youth association called the Nawuri Youth Association. So we advised them not to come to Kpandai with the name Gonjaland because the land is not theirs. They could come and organize their youth association, but the Gonjaland name is the problem. If we allow them to organize it with that name it would have meant that the land was part of the Gonjaland (interview with participant N2 on 05/04/2017).

In the view of another participant: What I remember or know about the Gonja-Nawuri conflict is that there was a time Kpandai was growing so everybody was rushing for land. It was at that time the Nawuri realized that the Gonja were sitting on their interest (Interview with participant B1 on 12/03/2017). This is what another participant indicated: the Gonja-Nawuri conflict started way back in 1940. Since that time till 1991, the two tribes have been having petty quarrels and when it happens they settle it and afterward, they go back to live together again (interview with participant KO 1 on 05/04/2017).

In a related view, another respondent said:

the Gonja-Nawuri conflict did not start from today. It has been there many years before some of us were born. The Kpandai land was called Alfai (Muslim) because a man stayed with the Gonjas in those days and was a spiritualist and whoever was going to him for spiritual help will say I am going to Alfai which means Kpandai. When Gonjas came to Kpandai they settled in the town and the Nawuris being hunters and farmers at that time settled in the surrounding villages. So as a result, even though the Gonja came to meet the Nawuri because they settled in Kpandai town itself, they gained more ground and established total control over the land (interview with participant P1 on 13/04/2017).
Giving accounts of the conflict, some of the respondents traced the roots of the conflict to the British rule which brought the Nawuri the indigenous and land owners under the authority of the Gonja, and that, this created the structures of the conflict. As a participant indicated:

during the amalgamation period in 1932, the then chief of the Ganja Alhaji Jawula was so particular about Kpandai and as a result had to postpone his going to Mecca just to make sure that the British do not add Kpandai land to Krachi district. Another respondent offered a similar view by indicating that: the British ignorantly placed Kpandai under the Gonja. Kpandai was under Krachi district when it was in the northern region, but when it withdrew itself from the northern region to join the Volta region, instead of them going with Kpandai, the white man rather added Kpandai to the Northern region (interview with participant B2 on 06/04/2017).

This position is in line with the view of Mbowura (2012), who indicated that, the colonial policy of indirect rule introduced in 1932 permitted centralized societies to exercise control over the less centralized ones, in and thus subjected the Nawuri to the Gonja. Views were sought from the participants about the necessity of the conflict, but their views were varied. A participant indicated that:

I will say yes because, the Nawuri were the indigenous owners of the land, but due to administrative reason, the Gonja became a super force over them. Nawuri were hunters and farmers and so left the town in the hands of the Gonja. The Gonja settled cases as though the land was theirs which made them to take the land from the Nawuri. The need for the conflict was because the Nawuri wanted to gain back their land (interview with participant B1 on 04/04/2017).

Another participant agreed with this assertion by stating that: Yes. The war was necessary because if we had not fought this battle we would have still been slaves on our land. It was God’s own plans and so he saw it as Divine Intervention. This means we defended ourselves and are now free from slavery (interview with participant N2 on 05/04/2017).

In justifying the conflict, another participant said: in life if you do not try to fight for your freedom, somebody will always sit on your interest. He went further to justify by saying that if
the Gonja-Nawuri conflict was not necessary, then the independence of Ghana was not necessary, and that all the countries that fought for independence was meaningless fight and useless (interview with participant B2 on 05/04/2017).

Giving a contrary view debunking the necessity of the conflict, a participant opined:

There was no need for that conflict because with whatever problem, it was I think the dialogue was not given a chance at all. The elders of the various tribes were not actually involved in the issues at all. The young ones on that day just wanted to show each other that they had power. The Nawuri youth thought they have come of age and could stand for what they could not stand for and they all neglected the intervention of the elders. When similar things occurred in the past and elders came in the thing could not generate in this manner (interview with participant KO1 on 05/04/2017).

Another participant in agreeing with this assertion stated that: the war was not necessary, because the aggrieved party could have gone to court to settle their case because there was no difference between the Gonja and the Nawuri (interview with participant N1 on 04/04/2017).

A former Member of Parliament for Kpandai Constituency upheld the view that the conflict was unnecessary. He said: there was no need for that conflict because after they had killed each other in the battle field, they did not settle the matter on the battlefield, but still went to the law court for the case to be settled. If they could do that, why should they wait till people are killed before going to court to seek for settlement (interview with participant P1 on 13/04/2017)?

Another participant indicated that:

There are two ways, it could be yes and it could also be no. Yes in the sense that the Nawuri wanted their freedom and for that matter rebelled against the Gonja. Also, no because if the Nawuri were patient, they could have invited other chiefs around to settle the case to come out with whom the owner of the land is. I think it was in order because the century in which we are now, I do not see why somebody will continue sitting on your neck for a long time and you tell the person to get down that your neck is getting heavy and the person refuse, you have to rebel for your freedom. Also, if the Nawuri had involved
other chiefs from other tribes like Dagomba and others they could have settled the issue in a round table conference (interview with participant K1 on 05/04/2017).

4.5 Causes of the Gonja-Nawuri Conflict

Generally, there are political, social and economic exigencies of conflicts all over the world stimulated by local and or external considerations. Responding to a question about the causes of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict, participants maintained that the conflict had political, social and economic dimensions. Even though some of the causes have socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-economic elements.

4.5.1 Political Factors

According to most of the participants’ the political factor that led to the conflict between the Gonja and the Nawuri is mainly chieftaincy, even though the issues of Native Authority and Native Administration cannot be underestimated. The Nawuri, in their efforts to establish their own kingdom, failed because they were not recognized by the other ethnic groups. All the Nawuri chiefs were seen as headmen and were strictly under the authority of the Gonja. The Gonja then had a well-structured chieftaincy system in Kpandai that enabled their chiefs to rise from the lowest rank to the highest rank. They “planted” their chiefs in all the villages surrounding Kpandai. According to the respondents anytime there was a problem in Kpandai, the Gonja chief settled it. Whether he did it advertently or ignorantly, it was something one could not tell.

But they also stated that all cases settled by the Gonja involved settlers and in some instances, cases between Nawuri and a settler were settled Gonja as well. Nawuri settled their own cases with their headmen. As expressed by a participant: The Gonja evethough were chiefs could not
control the Nawuri. When Nawuri had issues, the Gonja agreed that they settle it themselves. I remember a Nawuri man slapped Alhaji Musah who was second in command in Kpandai some time ago and because it was a Nawuri man who did that, the Gonja could not do anything (interview participant N2 on 05/04/2017).

However, all the participants responded that irrespective of the fact that the, Nawuri settled their own case. The Gonja maintained their supervisory role. This was vividly captured in the response of a respondent when he stated that:

The Nawuri were not free to do all that they wanted to do. The Nawuri were oppressed by the Gonja chiefs. They were oppressed in the sense that in all the Nawuri villages there were no chiefs. Gonja installed their sub chiefs in all these villages such as Baladjaiwura, Dusaiwura, Karbonwuliwura, Balaiwura and others (interview with participant B1 on 04/04/2017).

Supporting the above view, another participant indicated that: Kpandai is for us the Nawuri but when Gonja were here the way they were treating us as if we were slaves. Whenever we met they always referred to Kpandai as ours, but we the Nawuri did not have a recognized chief. We had a land but we do not have a recognized chief can we say the land is ours? He asked in a soft tone (interview with participant B2 on 05/04/2017). Another participant reaffirmed these views by stating that: Nawuri had chiefs, but were like headmen and the Gonja carried the title chiefs and were controlling everyone (interview with participant N1 on 04/04/2017).

In the view of another participant who happened to be the former member of parliament during that time: the Gonja-Nawuri conflict was purely political and was about paramountcy. In the whole Northern Region, we have only four ethnic groups that have paramount chiefs. They include the Gonja, Dagbon, Nanumba and Mamprusi and so the Nawuri felt they should also have one since Kpandai is theirs, but they were being denied by the Gonja (interview with participant P1 on 13/04/2017).
These positions are in line with the proposition of Mbowura (2012 p. 115) who indicated that:

Membership of the tribunals was spelt out in the provisions. They were largely made up of the Gonja ruling class, but provision was made for the representation of subordinate ethnic groups. The president of the Alfai Native Authority was the Kanankulaiwura, the Gonja head chief in Kpandai. Other members of the tribunal included Dusaiwura, Njarewura, Bladjaiwura, Mbowura of Kpandai, the Kasewura (Asasewura) of Kpandai, Wuriche (Gonja Queen Mother of Kpandai), and the Asasewura of Balai. The Nawuri were given three seats in the tribunal, but they refused to occupy them in protest against the appointment of the Kanankulaiwura as the president.

The Nawuri argue that in the 1930s, the Gonja enskinned ethnic Gonja chiefs for Bladjai and Njare and they occupied their seats in the local government. The Mbowura’s position was further affirmed by Ampiah 1991 Committee’s Report which stated that Chiefs from the Nawuri were not given recognition as a legitimate native authority by the British as a result made them come under the Gonja traditional Authority in 1934 after the amalgamation into the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. In describing the nature of the Gonja chiefs’ rule in Kpandai, most of the participants opined that the Gonja chiefs were very hostile to the Nawuri and other settler groups. Their rule was in the form of oppression. A participant affirms this by indicating that: the Gonja chief was a tyrant maltreating the Nawuri and everybody (interview with participant B on 05/04/2017).

However, one participant thinks otherwise. The participant was of the view that the chieftaincy issue was not much a problem to the Nawuri since at some point in time the Gonja consulted them as to how certain issues should be done. According to the participant, the Nawuris were not completely denied their right, but was quick to say that only that the Gonja were not diplomatic in dealing with the Nawuri when it came to issues of chieftaincy. The participant went further to buttress his point by indicating that even though the Gonja were Chiefs with authority, the
Nawuri never took their cases to the Gonja to solve, but always used their headmen to solve their cases and the Gonja too never forced the Nawuri to bring their cases for settlement.

The participant had this to say:

> With the chieftaincy issues there was no much problem with that because even when the Gonja were ruling Kpandai, the Nawuri had a role to play. The Nawuri felt they were not given a fair deal by the Gonja especially when it came to the sale and allocation of land. Nawuri never struggled for chieftaincy position. If there were chieftaincy matters, then it was the Gonja themselves where may be chieftaincy titles were being battled among them (interview with participant KO1 on 13/04/2017).

There were also socio-political issues that brought about the conflict which are more or less triggers and not remote cause. One of such factors was the decision of the Gonjal and Youth Association to hold an annual youth meeting in Kpandai in 1991. Six of the participants interviewed mentioned the plan by the Gonja youth to organize that meeting as the trigger of the conflict. In the participant’s view, since the decision to hold the meeting in Kpandai was made public, the Nawuri started agitating and did everything to prevent it because it gave a connotation that Gonja were owners of Kpandai and its surrounding settlements.

### 4.5.2 Economic Factors

According to Collier (2006), an economic angle of the reasons for conflict is grounded in empirical patterns across the world over an era between 1965 and 1999. The author has indicated that the danger of conflicts has always been scientifically linked to a portion of economic situations as dependence upon raw product and services exports and low national income.

Participants identified the commercialization of land in Kpandai as a major factor. The participant indicated that, the ownership of and commercialization of Kpandai land was a major problem. Whilst the Nawuri claimed ownership, the Gonja also claim ownership. Since political
authority rested in the hands of the Gonja, sale of land and other royalties were solely under their authority. It would appear that the sale of parcels of land in Kpandai was securely in the hands of the Gonja to the extent that the Gonja wanted the Nawuri to buy land from them.

The Gonja controlled the economic activities in Kpandai In the view of the participants; it was when the Gonja made up their mind to start selling land to the Nawuri that was when trouble arose. This view is in line with Abdullahel Shafi and Harun-Or-Rashid (2013) who indicated that who owes the land and gets the upper hand over it has also been a regular cause of tribal politics in Sri Lanka and has influenced them for long years.

From the Beginning, the Nawuri were mainly engaged in farming, hunting and fishing. Issues about buying and selling and sale of lands were not an issue of concern. The Gonja who settled in Kpandai town controlled economic activities and monopolized everything in Kpandai including the sale of land (emphasis mine, 2017). A participant affirms this assertion by indicating that: Also, there was one mistake the Nawuri did which caused this conflict which is that, at the beginning they never care about chieftaincy and land allocation. It was the Gonja who were in charge (interview with participant K2 on 13/04/2017).

4.5.3 Social Factors

As far as the social causes of the conflict were concerned, the majority of the participants responded that the Gonja never respected a Nawuri. They disregarded the Nawuri in the society. They saw them as their slaves and maltreated them anyhow. Sometimes, the Nawuri and other tribes were made to go and farm for the Gonja Chief.

Whenever an official was to visit Kpandai, all the tribes, including Nawuri had to contribute foodstuffs and other items to the Gonja chief to present to the state official. According to them,
whether the Gonja chiefs give out all the gifts to the visitor or not it is something they could not
tell. Above all, they could not tell if the gifts were presented in the name of Kpandai or Gonja.

Also the data gathered indicated that, one could not walk pass the Gonja chief palace without
removing one’s sandals or shoes and if one was on a bicycle or a motorbike, one would have to
get down from it and will only get on board after you have left the chief’s palace. According to
the participants, offenders were either canned or made to go through other punishment. Again,
people were severely punished on a day, including markets day if they were found drunk and
attempted to traverse the palace area of the Gonja chief.

Also, when any tribe apart from Gonja happened to kill bush animal, they were compelled to
bring the thigh to the Kanakulawura (Gonja chief). The Nawuri felt they could not continue to be
slaves in their own land. This affirms the Collier and Hoeffler (2004) greed and grievance theory
which stated that the inequality bread grievance which can often lead to an outbreak of conflict.

A former member of parliament for Kpandai Constituency affirmed to this assertion when he
indicated that:

The Gonja were too overlording. They did not respect other tribes. People were
not happy with the Gonja and just waiting for an opportunity. The Gonja were
doing things that all the tribes were not happy with. For instance, they could
caned you in the house of the chief when you were on a bicycle and when
approaching the chief’s palace you did not get down. You were also not to
wear sandals passed the chief’s palace (interview with participant P1 on
13/04/2017).

Another participant indicated:

Once Gonja were the rulers of the land, they looked down upon everybody, but
even though they were not over controlling the Nawuri as they did to other
settlers, the Nawuri felt like strangers in their own land. Though we live with
them and they never controlled us too much, but certain statements they made
and upon analyzing it you will realize they do not respect you (interview with participant N1 on 13/04/2017).

Another participant stated that: *When the Gonja were to celebrate their festivals; all the settlers, including Nawuri were made to contribute food stuffs for them and money.* Again, another participant had this to say: *Kpandai is for ‘us’ the Nawuri but when the Gonja were here the way they were treating us as if we are slaves* (interview with participant K1 on 13/04/2017). This assertion was in view with Mbowura (2013), who stated that: Gonja made reference to the Nawuri as *nduwurana, binye and nyamasi, meaning people with tails, slaves and refuse respectively.* The author further concluded that by insinuation, the Gonja did not respect the Nawuri, and such implications led to trivial disputes between the two ethnic tribes. To seek the views of respondents on the land ownership conundrum in Kpandai, respondents were asked to point out the indigenous and settlers in Kpandai and its surrounding areas. Opinions of the participants also varied.

Eight of the participants responded that, the Nawuri were perceived as the indigenes and the Gonja and other tribes like Bassare, Konkomba, Kotokoli, Chokosi, among others were perceived as the settlers. In their response they indicated that, according to their forefathers when they were emigrating to Kpandai from the Togo land, they said they were going to Nawuri. (Nawuriland) and not Gonja (Gonjaland). To the participants, the Gonja and other ethnic groups came to meet the Nawuris in Kpandai.

Again, they indicated that as indigenous, the Nawuri poured libation and made sacrifices of pacification, purification and propitiation anytime the land was defiled or there was a catastrophe or natural disaster. The participant, including the Nawuri, argued that if the Nawuri were not the indigenous and landowners, they would not have been in a position to perform such religious
rituals. The other two participants who are Gonja eventhough agreed to the assertion that the Nawuri poured libation and made major sacrifices they did not see them as land owners or indigenes but saw them as co-indigenes.

They believed that the Gonja and the Nawuri came to Kpandai together. According to them, the Nawuri, could not have claimed ownership of the land based on the religious rituals they perform because of the Gonja religious setting, such functions are not performed by the Gonja but delegated to other ethnic groups. As royal, Gonja did not perform religious rituals in relation to the land they occupy; it was performed by other ethnic groups.

So they considered all Gonja living in Kpandai then as the royals and were ineligible to pour libation or offer sacrifices as Gonja custom prescribes, thus delegating the right to perform such ritual rites to the Nawuri. However, only one of the participants had a diverse view. According to the former Member of Parliament for Kpandai Constituency, the indigenes both the Nawuri and Gonja claimed they have proof of ownership. He opined that, to date, Kpandai is still referred to as Gonjaland in Gonja circles.

The respondent further explains that the ownership of Kpandai land remained unsettled, and that it poses a serious danger to peace and security. Finally, the participant explained that the Nawuri claim that the eviction of the Gonja from Kpandai attest to the fact that the land is theirs, but the Gonja have contrary views. To them, they did not leave Kpandai voluntarily; they were forced out by the government in the interest of peace.
4.6 Inter-Ethnic Relations in Kpandai District before the Conflict

The five major ethnic groups in Kpandai before the 1991 conflict were of the Nawuri, Gonja, Bassare, Konkomba and Kotokoli. Demographically, the Konkomba were the largest ethnic group while the Gonja were the minority group in Kpandai (emphasis mine, 2017).

4.6.1 Gonja-Nawuri Relations before the Conflict

Nawuri-Gonja relation before the conflict was a kind of brotherly relationship. All the respondents attested to the fact that it was very difficult to differentiate between a Nawuri and a Gonja. They live like one people and at a point in time almost spoke Gonja language.

According to the participants, when the Gonja first came to Kpandai, they met the Nawuri who welcomed them and gave them a place to settle. The Nawuri were mealy farmers, hunters and fishermen. The initial relationship between the two ethnic groups was so cordial that the Nawuri allowed the Gonja to handle political matters in Kpandai. This was the genesis of the Gonja political control over Kpandai and the Nawuri.

The Nawuri brought meat and farm produce to the Gonja from hunting and farm respectively. Socially, there were inter-marriages between the Nawuri and the Gonja, culminating into the establishment of families from both divides. This assertion affirms Gordon (1964), inter marital stage of assimilation. The author opined that there emerges a high rate of inter-marriages between the migrant groups and dominant ethnic groups. Even though in the case of the Gonja-Nawuri, the Gonja (migrant) became dominant. The Inter-marriages between them established families from both ethnic groups.

As indicated by a participant: The Gonja-Nawuri inter-ethnic relation was very cordial. They inter-married each other and Nawuris never got up in any day to say they wanted their land.
They were brothers; they were in laws and everything (interview with participant BI on 04/04/2017). Another participant affirms this assertion by also indicating that: The Gonja-Nawuri relation was very cordial. They inter-married each other ((interview with participant KO1 on 05/04/2017).

Another respondent stated that:

the Gonja-Nawuri relations before the conflict was cordial. We were like brothers and sisters. We married their daughters and they also married our daughters. We played football together, danced together, and did so many things together. My sister married a Nawuri man and as I am talking to you right now my sister’s grandchildren are more than hundred. Even when Nawuri prepared in secret to fight the Gonja, because of our relationship, the secret was revealed to us by a Nawuri man. I was even wondering how a Nawuri man will take a gun to shoot a Gonja man and how a Gonja man too will take a gun to shoot a Nawuri man because of our relationship’ (interviewed with participant G2 on 06/04/2017).

Another participant recounting their relationship has this to say: The Gonja-Nawuri relations before the conflict was like a brotherhood. A Nawuri never took any tribe as a brother and a Gonja too never took any tribe as a brother. They stayed in one area in Kpandai, married each other and did many things in common (interview with participant KO2 on 06/04/2017).

It would appear that the Gonja-Nawuri relations after the 1932 amalgamation remained cordial for a while. This was because the participants were of the view that the “transfer” of Nawuri land from Kete-Krachi District to Gonja District received the tacit or explicit agreement or acceptance of the Nawuri. A participant supported this assertion by indicating that:

The Gonja and Nawuri became related after the amalgamation of the 1932 when Kpandai was taken from Krachi district to East Gonja. Also, when they began marrying each other also strengthened their relationship. Some of the Nawuri, their mothers were Gonja and the Gonja also had the same thing. There was a Gonja chief, the mother was a Nawuri from Ketari. When the Gonja man Alfai came to Kpandai, he was received by the Nawuri who were
hunters and any time they came from hunting they brought him meat (interview with participant B1 on 04/04/2017).

Religion played a major role in inter-marriage between the Gonja and the Nawuri. As predominately Muslims, the Gonja would only consent to marriage with a Nawuri if the later was a Muslim. Religion was a key factor as most Gonja were Muslims and Most Nawuris were Christians. In this view a participant concurs by indicating that:

The Gonja Nawuri relation was reasonably cordial. Inter-marriages between them was either they were Muslims or in families where Islam had not gained more ground. Because of religious influence, no Gonja was ready to give the son or daughter to a Nawuri who was not a Muslim. Apart from this, the Gonja and the Nawuri were the closest neighbours in Kpandai. Socially activities, they did together. The form football teams and played football games. But all these activities were all under Gonja influence (Interview with participant KOI 05/04/2017).

However, some participants think that Gonja-Nawuri relations were not entirely cordial as being portrayed. There were misunderstandings and confrontations. In the participants view, the Gonja-Nawuri relations were such that the Gonja maltreated the Nawuri. Every Nawuri had to work for the Gonja chief. Nawuris had to bow to the Gonja chief because the Gonja did not allow the Nawuri to have their own chief. Another participant indicated that: A Gonja man was a tyrant maltreating the Nawuri (interview with participant B2 on 06/04/2017). This view was supported by another respondent who was the former Member of Parliament for Kpandai Constituency during the conflict: The Gonja was too over lording. They did not respect the Nawuri (interview with participant P1 on 13/04/2017).

The Gonja dominated political, economic and social aspects in Kpandai before the conflict. All these factors were in the hands of the Gonja. They controlled and monitored every aspect of it according to the data collected.
4.6.1.1 Political Dominance of Gonja before the Conflict

Since the amalgamation in 1932 where Kpandai and its surroundings areas was added to the Gonja land, the Gonja had virtually dominated in all political aspect in Kpandai before the conflict. From that time, the Gonja began to establish their chieftaincy systems by “planting” their chiefs in Kpandai and all the surrounding areas. The Nawuri just acted as the headmen in their respective villages. The Gonja had the power to settle all cases involving the settler communities and in some cases, they arbitrate on issues involving the Nawuri and other settler communities. A participant affirms this assertion by indicating that:

Prior to the amalgamation in 1932, the then Gonja chief Alhaji Jawula was so particular about the addition of Kpandai to the Gonja District to the extent that he had to postpone his Pilgrimage to Mecca to make sure that Kpandai was added to Gonjaland. As rulers of Kpandai, the Gonja interacted with the British, a development which further enlightened them (interview with participant K2 on 06/04/2017).

Another participant made a similar view:

The Gonja flexed their muscles politically and victimized their enemies and nobody could question them. The Nawuri had little education and therefore could not match the Gonja. Apart from this, anytime there was a dispute, the Gonja chief who had to arbitrate. Whether they settled it advertently or ignorantly, it was something one could not tell.

Their chiefs had power all over the surrounding villages. They had installed all their chiefs in these villages. The Gonja chief had police men who had authority to come to arrest if one refuses to respond to his call. The chief had a staff and when you are summoned and the police (Chief police) come to your house with that staff, you first of all have to pay for the staff before you are told the reason for their visit. But the Nawuri never had those powers (interview with participant B1 on 05/04/2017).

The Gonja dominance was not only limited to the traditional system, it affected the national politics. Because the Gonja had earlier education, the exploited the other settler groups, including
the Nawuri to their advantage. The Gonja knew the importance of participating in National politics and so made sure that their natives were the people nominated to contest in national elections. They had influential people both in the local and national levels. A participant indicated this in support of the assertion: *They had the first Member of Parliament in Kpandai in the person of the Honorable J. A. Brimah who later became Yagbowura I in the early 1950s.*

*Kpandai had a Native Council that was controlled by the Gonja.* Finally, *they took it from Kpandai to Kpembe* (interview with participant KO2 on 06/04/2017).

Another participant indicated that:

Gonja control over the Nawuri was not limited to the Dr. Kwame Nkrumah era, it transcended through all political regimes in Ghana since independence. In the 1969 general elections in Ghana, the Nawuri and the Gonja were divided along political lines. The Nawuri supported K.A. Gbedemah’s National Alliance of Liberals (NAL) while the Gonja threw their weight behind the Progress Party (PP) of K. A. Busia. Though the NAL parliamentary candidate for Kpanda, J.K. Mbimadong, who was a Nawuri in ethnicity, won the Kpandai seat, the PP won the presidential elections. Invariably, the Gonja continued to exert political dominance over the Nawuri after the 1969 elections.

When the PP declared the Alien Compliance Order in Ghana, the Gonja identified their enemies. They included Gaw, Kabanda Kwesi, Sabon Kudi and Musah Kpapu all from other ethnic groups who were pro-Nawuri and thus affected their deportation (interview with participant B2 on 06/04/2017).

However, the Gonja participants had a contrary view. They believe as Gonja they were in charge of chieftaincy issues in Kpandai but never victimized anybody. According to them politically, the Gonja and the Nawuri were in control. The Nawuri man was elected in the general elections to represent Kpandai Constituency in Parliament in the Person of Honorable Mbimadong and after him an Nchumuru man followed. They never competed for parliamentary positions apart from chieftaincy after a Gonja man left parliament.
4.6.1.2 Economic Dominance of Gonja before the Conflict

The economic activities in Kpandai consist of farming, fishing, trading and others. The Nawuri and Ewe around the rivers engaged in fishing and the Bassare, Konkombas and some Nawuri engaged in farming.

Trade in the area was controlled by the Gonja and Kotokoli according to the responses collected. The Gonja were rich as a result could own vehicles and so could transport goods from one place to another.

They could buy the farm produce at a cheaper price from the poor farmers and sell at a higher price. They are buying and selling was dominated by the Gonja and followed by the Kotokoli. This was a time Kpandai produced plenty food. A participant concurs with this assertion by indicating that:

trade was virtually controlled by the Gonja and followed by the Kotokoli. They could buy large quantities of Kpandai produce at a cheaper price and sell out there at a higher price, making huge profit at the advantages of the poor farmers. Just a few people from the other ethnic groups could compete with the Gonja and even that there were limitations (interview with participant KO2 on 06/04/2017).

The Gonja apart from controlling trade in Kpandai, was also in charge of the commercialization of land. The sale of land was under their control. One could not acquire a land apart from a Nawuri without the permission and acceptance of the Gonja. They took over all the strategic areas of Kpandai to establish their business. Even when one acquires a land from the Nawuri and the Gonja do not approve it, it was very difficult to develop on that land. The Gonja at a point in time wanted to start selling land to the Nawuri which the Nawuri youth fearfully resisted with a series of agitations. A participant agreed with this assertion when he indicated that: when it came
to the chieftaincy and sale of land, the Gonja had authority (interview with participant N1 on 06/04/2017).

4.6.1.3 Social Dominance of the Gonja before the Conflict

Data from field work shows that social factors also contributed to the outbreak of the conflict. Gonja dominance permeated all aspects, including social life. They determined the location of projects such as schools, churches, and mosques. Gonja instructions were also given to the Nawuri to perform religious rituals on behalf of the entire area. Gonja responsibility in religious matters was limited to the provision of social items.

According to a participant, there were certain things meant for Kpandai but for the Gonja it never got it. For instance the Teacher Training College in Bimbila was for Kpandai (interview with participant KO2 on 06/04/2017). There were also some water projects that were meant to send water from Kpandai to Nkanchina town, but for the Gonja all big pipes that were brought to the project were abandoned and allowed to get rotten.

Even there were some schools earmarked to be built in Kpandai long before the conflict, but all those schools were diverted to other places all due to the power of the Gonja. A participant affirms this assertion by indicating that: A teacher training college, which was supposed to be built at Katejeli (sub of Kpandai) by the Evangelical Presbyterian (EP) Church, was finally diverted to Bimbila by the Gonja (interview with participant B2 on 05/04, 2017).

4.7 Effects of the Gonja-Nawuri Conflict on Inter-Ethnic Relations in Kpandai

It is very interesting to note that the Gonja dominance in Kpandai did not end with the conflict, it went beyond the end of the conflict though indirectly. Indirectly, in the sense that they are not
seen physically dominating on certain things like before, but its influence till date cannot be underestimated.

After the conflict, Kpandai was still under the Salaga District and its developmental projects were determined from Salaga, the district capital. Similarly, the district education office was located there, and the progress of education in Kpandai was securely tied to the apron stick of the decisions of the Gonja. Educational materials and staff in Kpandai and its environs were determined by the Gonja.

As indicated by a participant: after the conflict, for nineteen (19) years as a revenue collector I have not received my salary. It was completely cut (interview with participant N2 on 05/04/2017). Many schools were closed down for a long time and after managing to reopen suffered teachers. It was difficult for Kpandai schools to get newly posted teachers. The town was completely neglected from everything. As indicated by a participant: Those big pipes on the Nkanchina road that got spoilt were for a water project before the conflict, but immediately after that conflict the project was abandoned (interview with participant P1 on 13/04/2017). This continued until 2008 when Kpandai was given a district probably based on Justice Ampiah’s recommendation. Even before Kpandai was given a district, it was a tug of war between the government and the Gonja.

It would appear that the Gonja tried to block the granting of a district status to Kpandai. This perception is illustrated by the view of a participant who said:

yes, they had influence after the conflict. Even the day of the inauguration of the district, what I remembered vividly was that the Gonja said if Kpandai was given a district there was going to be war again. According to them, Kpandai was not ready for a district assembly. They finally said even if they have to give Kpandai a district, then on the inauguration day, the Kpemewura (Gonja Chief) has to come and give a speech before the
district is opened. Then the Nawuri disagreed. I have to see the then Regional Minister the late Hon. Mustapha Idrisu for us to resolve that problem. I have to use myself as an MP for the area as a guarantee (interview with participant P1 on 13/04/2017).

In matters of chieftaincy too the Gonja influence is visible. Twenty five years after the conflict, the various ethnic groups in Kpandai including the Nawuri are yet to get paramount status for the head chiefs. Respondents are of the view that the only way by which Nawuri in particular can get paramountcy is to get Gonja acceptance, a thing which the Nawuri are unwilling to do. In addition, the conflict has perpetuated chieftaincy dispute among the Nawuri.

A participant indicated that:

even with the paramountcy issues our chiefs tried to give them that recognition, it was they Nawuri who were not united. We wanted to give them paramountcy so that their paramount chief could represent all the Nawuri but will be second in command to the Gonja chief but they could not organize themselves well. Whilst some were ready to meet us others were not ready to meet us (interview with participant G1 on 06/04/2017).

This assertion is in line with Stacey (2013 p. 45) when the author stated that: This constellation (pro Gonja group) aims to develop relations with the Gonja as a means to attain government recognition and legitimize their own traditional jurisdiction.

4.7.1 Ethnicity, Religion, Politics and Education in Kpandai

Data from research indicate that religion, politics and education played a role to the effect of the conflict between the Nawuri and the Gonja inter-ethnic relations. Ellis and ter Haar (1998 and 2007) defined religion as a belief in the existence of an invisible world which has substantial influence and power over the material world (Ellis and ter Haar 1998, p.181; 2007, p. 387).

Marx (1844 p. 1), on the other hand, defined religion as “the opium of the people”. According to Marx, religion is a manifestation of physical realities and economic inequality. Kpandai was
dominated by the three major religions. They include Christianity, Muslim religion and African Traditional religion (ATL).

It would appear that ethnic relations in Kpandai were stratified along religious lines. The Kotokoli and Gonja were predominately Muslims, but a majority of the Nawuris and some Bassare and Konkomba were Christians, though an equally large number of the Bassare, Konkomba and Nawuri practiced the African traditional religion. Islam tied the Kotokoli and Gonja together and thus forged strong relations. This led to stronger collaborations between the two ethnic groups in social and economic matters. It is therefore not surprising that when the Gonja–Nawuri conflict broke out, the Kotokoli supported the Gonja. This explains why in the post-conflict era, the Kotokoli had to re-engineer their relations to “pacify” the Nawuri who emerged victorious.

As indicated by a respondent:

When the war started the Kotokoli were with the Gonjas, but when the Gonja lost their stands to the Nawuris, the Kotokoli managed to enter into the good books of the Nawuri. What happen was that Kpandai was a kind of complex. The very things that brought them together were the very things that separated them. When it came to the social aspect the Kotokoli and the Gonja used to do things together. Religion was what separated the Gonja from the Nawuri but rather brought the Kotokoli and the Gonja together. The religion had great influence over their social activities. Mostly the Gonja and the Kotokoli did things together including marriages and other ceremonies. The religion also distanced the Gonja and other ethnic groups like the Konkomba, Bassare and others from each other. The religion was so potent that so far as you belong to the religion, any Muslim could give you a wife or a husband. So marriage was very common between the Gonja and the Kotokoli (interview with participant KO1 on 05/04/2017).

Because religion served as a social bond among the ethnic groups in Kpandai, the Nawuri, Bassare, and the Konkomba naturally forged good relations due to their common religious affiliations and beliefs. This partly explains why the Bassare and the Konkomba entered into the
Gonja-Nawuri conflict on the side of the Nawuri. One cannot rule out the influence of national politics on the Gonja-Nawuri conflict. Since the introduction of multi-party democracy in Ghana in 1992, the Konkomba had exploited their demographic majority to their advantage. The result was that since 1992, an ethnic Konkomba candidate had won the parliamentary seat of Kpandai Constituency. It was won in 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004 and 2008 by Hon. Kojo Tawiah Likpalmor, a Konkomba and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) candidate. In 2012 and 2016, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) candidate, Hon. Matthew Nyandam, also a Konkomba won the seat. The Konkomba factor in national politics in Kpandai continues to determine the support of other ethnic groups for political parties. The Nawuri in particular have oscillated between the NDC and NPP due to their frustration over Konkomba dominance of these political parties in Kpandai.

As a participant indicated:

“Since 1992 it has been the Konkombas who are the MPs. That made most Nawuri to defect from the NDC to the NPP. Nawuri became unhappy on grounds that as land owners they should have been in charge of Kpandai. Other ethnic groups turn to support, NDC more than the NPP. Nawuri had tried to push their candidate, but because of Numbers they are the Konkombas because of their less numbers the Konkomba always defeat them. Another participant affirm this view when indicated that:

the Konkombas are the majority in terms of numbers and since politics is about numbers no other tribe can match them. So if you cannot fight them you join them. That is why, since 1992 till date they always go to parliament. Nawuris being natives would have liked to be in that position but is not possible because of their number (interview with participant N1 on 04/04/2017).

Again, information from most of the respondents indicated that, the Nawuri inability to match the Gonja was as a result of the lack of higher education. The Gonja have exploited their
education earlier academic credentials to dominate the political terrain in Kpandai to the disadvantage of the Nawuri and other ethnic groups. Gonja occupied key positions at the national and local levels and used these positions to thwart the progress of the Nawuri. It was not until the Nawuri began to embrace education that the situation began to change gradually in the last decade after the conflict.

4.7.2 Gonja-Nawuri Relations after the Conflict

The Gonja-Nawuri relation after the conflict has been oscillating. Initially, the relations were hostile soon after the conflict, but it changed gradually in the course of time. In fact, in the early years after the conflict, the Nawuri could not go to Salaga, neither were the Gonja able to go to Kpandai. Due to the role of Nana Atorsah (Nawuri Chief in Kpandai), the Gonja targeted Nawuri bearing that name for destruction. Similarly, Gonja who bore names such as Jawula and Alaja were at risk in the hands of the Nawuri due to the role of the Jawula and Alaja families in the Gonja-Nawuri conflict.

Till date some Gonja have not been able to set foot in Kpandai. Similarly, some Nawuri men have not been able to set foot in Salaga and Kpembe. This was affirmed by a respondent who indicated that: "We the Atorsah’s up till date cannot go to Salaga or Kpembe. A Gonja man once told me that the Atorsahs should never step in Salaga or Kpeme. That they will never forget and the day they will lay hands on we the Atorsahs they will kill us and distribute our meat to all the Gonja across the Gonjaland (interview with participant N2 on 05/04/2017)."

However, the bitter relationship later changed according to response gathered. After some time, the Nawuri could go to Salaga and Kpembe and Gonja comes to Kpandai except that some families like Atorsah and Zak could not visit each other. As indicated earlier, the conflict has
perpetuated a protracted chieftaincy dispute among the Nawuri. The Nawuri decided to engage in a protracted chieftaincy dispute. As a result, there has been a sharp division among the Nawuri. Instead of the Nawuri forming a united front after defeating the Gonja, the reverse has rather been the case. As indicated by a participant:

Nawuri on the other hand have been sharply divided when it came to their relationship with the Gonja after the conflict. Some have regretted for having fought with the Gonja. They believe it has not yielded anything but some too still hold on to their stand and wouldn’t like to see the Gonja at all (interview with participant G1 on 06/04/2017).

Stacey (2013), affirms this by indicating that the Nawuri are divided into pro Gonja group and anti Gonja group. The Nawuri in Balai, Nkanchina and some places led by Nana Abuga (proclaimed Paramount chief of Kpandai) want the Gonja back and for that matter have been having collaborations with the Gonja. Their position is grounded in the fact that eventhough the Nawuri had conflict with the Gonja, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, for the Nawuri to get the recognition and development that they need without the Gonja. They believe the Gonja is very powerful and educated and have great influence in higher authority and can make and unmake the Nawuri. This is in line with Stacey (2013 p. 45), when the author indicated that “The pro-Gonja group is mainly situated in the villages of Balai under the authority of the Balaiwura, Nana Mbimgadong Obimpeh I and Nkanchina under the proclaimed Nawuri Paramount chief. This constellation aims to develop relations with the Gonja as a means to attain government recognition and legitimize their own jurisdictions’’

The Pro-Gonja Nawuri have forged relations with the Gonja to the extent that they travel to Salaga and Kpembe to attend funerals and other social gathering and the same way the Gonja come to them for funerals and other social gatherings; the reverse is also the same for the Gonja. This view is supported by a participant who stated that:
Those who are wishing for the Gonja to come back go to Gonjaland to celebrate the Damba festival with them. Abuja group can go to slogan, but the Atorsah’s group cannot go to Salaga because they are not in support of the Gonjas coming back. When there is a funeral in Balai, the Gonjas come to attend that funeral. For instance, when the then chief of Balai died the Gonjas came with their group to attend the funeral (interview with participant K1 on 05/04/2017).

The Kpandai Nawuri led by Nana Atorsah till date does not want to have anything to do with the Gonja. This assertion is supported by Stacey (2013), who stated that in the center of Kpandai town many came under the de facto control of Nana Atorsah II who is seen as the chief of Kpandai (Kpandaiwura).

They are toughly not in favour of any traditional power of the Gonja in Kpandai and wish for unqualified Nawuri independence and the fulfillment and implementation of the Justice Ampiah’s report’s recommendation. So even on the day of the inauguration of Kpandai district in 2008, a Nawuriwura called Raymond Atio wanted the Gonja chief to give a speech. When the Nawuri decided not to get closer to the Gonja chief on the inauguration day, Nawuri who are now in good terms with the Gonja sat with them and even danced the Damba dance with them.

However, the Kpandai Nawuri led by Nana Atorsah distanced themselves from the Gonja and prevented the Gonja chief from reading his speech. A respondents from the Nawuri confirms this by saying that:

“Yes it is true that on that day some ‘stupid’ Nawuri got up to join the Gonja to dance Damba and when the Kpembe chief got annoyed and left the ground with the reason that they did not allow him to read his speech this some Nawuri followed him and we the ‘correct’ Nawuri stayed (interview with participant N2 on 05/04/2017).”

On the other side, some respondents are of the view that the Gonja-Nawuri relationship after the conflict is a problem. While some say their relationship is unclear others also see it as complicated due to the lack of the trust. They contend that the collaborations between the pro-
Gonja Nawuri and the Gonja were a mere expression which lacked commitment and trust. A participant thinks that the collaborations between the pro-Gonja Nawuri and the Gonja hinged on inter marriages more than a political commitment to foster good relations in the post-conflict era. However, another participant is of the view that overtime memories of the conflict would relapse into oblivion and thus pave way for the establishment of good relations between the Nawuri and the Gonja. As indicated by a participant: The Gonja-Nawuri relation after the conflict is not clear. Eventhough the Gonja come to Kpandai and Nawuri go to Salaga it is still not opened as what their relationship look like. May be because of their inter-marriages it is very difficult to cut each other off (interview with participant KO2 on 06/04/2017). Another participant added that:

As the years passed by forgetfulness is also catching up. If a Gonja woman wants to marry a Nawuri man today or vice versa I do not think there will be any problem. If a Gonja man is transferred to Kpandai to come and work I do not think the person will say he or she would not come because many years have gone by and many things have been forgotten. As I speak now a Gonja man should be in Kpandai and a Nawuri in Salaga. When they come they lodge at the uncles and aunties houses (interview with participant B1 on 04/04/2017).

4.7.3 Nawuri and other Ethnic Groups’ Relations after the Conflict

The relationship between the Nawuri and other ethnic groups has also been a checkered one. In the last war between the Gonja and the Nawuri in May 1992, the Konkomba and the Bassare joined hands to conquer the Gonja; thus turning the war between the Nawuri, Konkomba and Bassare against the Gonja. Recounting this development, Lentz and Nugent (2000) said: “In the third phase, in May 1992, the numerous Konkomba and Bassare settlers in this area intervened on behalf of the Nawuri” (Lentz and Nugent 2000, p. 190).

In the immediate aftermath of the conflict, the Nawuri tried to bring other settlers together, even though they had issues with the Kotokoli who were perceived to have supported the Gonja in the
conflict. The Nawuri organized weekly meetings with all the chiefs of the various ethnic groups to discuss issues concerning development and welfare. A participant affirms this by stating that: *Immediately after the conflict, the Nawuri and other ethnic groups were in a very good relationship. Even meetings were held every week among all various chiefs in Kpandai* (interview with participant B2 on 05/04/2017).

In the course of time, Nawuri efforts to build a rapport diminished as relations between them and the other ethnic groups became strained. A number of factors accounted for the strained relations. One of such factors was the farmland to the settle ethnic communities in Kpandai. The sale of land in Kpandai did not only make the settler communities unhappy, it also strained the relations between the Nawuri in Kpandai and their kinsmen in other settlements. There was also a social factor as the Nawuri were perceived to have shown a demeaning attitude towards the settler communities. One cannot rule out the disunity among the Nawuri as the cause of the breakdown of the inter-ethnic rapport program initiated by the Nawuri after the conflict. The disunity among the sapped the strength of the rapport program and eventually caused its collapse. It raised suspicions among the Nawuri and made them to channel their resource for fighting each other rather than using it to propel development in Kpandai.

They no longer consult them when it comes to developmental issues and when they want to protect their interest than they are told to go to their hometowns since they are not coming from Kpandai. Nawuri turn to tell other tribes that they are settlers and if they are not happy with their role can return to where they came from. They presumed that the Gonja never maltreated them the way the Nawuri is doing.
This very situation is creating big tension in Kpandai. In fact, a Konkomba man was said to have initiated a lawsuit against the Nawuri to defend his land. A respondent indicated: *The sale of lands and seizure of lands from other tribes like Bassare, Konkomba and Kotokoli is creating a lot of disunity among them* (interview with participant K2 on 05/04/2017). Another respondent supported this view by stating that:

Today the Nawuri have sold land to more than two people. If they sell land to and you are not able to farm or put up building on it immediately, they go to bring another person and sell the same land to him or her. It has happened in so many areas in Kpandai and for that matter people are fighting among themselves. So they are putting the other tribe’s heads together. The land issues are bringing a lot of problems between the Nawuri and other tribes (interview with participant KO2 on 06/04/2017).

Another participant also stated that: *I have to be honest with you after the conflict it is not the best. Even farming activities are now a problem. People go to farm on lands and Nawuri tell them not to farm here and there. The Konkomba, the Bassare and the Kotokoli began to have the feeling that what the Gonja were doing to the Nawuri and the Nawuri didn’t like they are now doing the same thing to them* (interview with participant P1 on 13/04/2017).

Another participant affirms this assertion by also indicating that:

Bassare and konkombas are farmers and when a Konkomba man goes to demarcate land to farm, the Nawuri will come to him and say the land belong to them. They tell him that when they were emigrating to Kpandai they did not bring land from their home towns. Because of this problem with most of the Konkomba are not in good relationship with the Nawuri. They either sell the land to the Konkomba man to farm or ask the Konkomba to give them a section of the farm produce. This was not done previously. These brought mistrust between the settlers and the Nawuri (interview with participant K1 on 13/04/2017).

A participant stated: *Nawuris are now telling other settlers that they are sojourners. If they are not comfortable with their rule, they can go back to where they came from. They are now refereeing the Konkomba and the Bassare to Sabobah and Tatale respectively as their home.*
towards (interview with participant B1 on 04/04/2017). Another participant supported this by adding that: *Nawuri has bad relationship with other tribes. They now tell them to go to where they came from and see them as settlers* (interview with participant K2 05/04/2017).

Another participant also had this to say:

> Other tribes are now suffering in the hands of the Nawuri. Even the very little thing that one will do, then Nawuri will refer to them as strangers. Here is not your hometown. At a point in time Konkomba wanted to have a workers union call Konkomba workers union and the Nawuri resisted with the reason that Kpandai is not Sabobah which is originally known to be for the Konkomba. Sometimes I myself as a former Member of Parliament will meet some Nawuri and they will talk and insult me (interview with participant P1 on 13/04/2017).

This was also given by another participant:

> They have not been able to bring the settlers together. In most cases, they have always proven that they are land owners and others are settlers. The settlers feel the land is not going through the right direction, but cannot say it. At a point the Nawuris were hostile to the Kotokoli in particular. It could not turn to other tribes like the Bassare and Konkomba because they are stronger (interview with participant KO2 on 05/04/2017).

The Nawuri have played down the seemingly fragile relationship between them and the settler communities, claiming the relations are cordial and normal. As indicated by a participant: the *Nawuri and other ethnic groups have a good relationship. We and the other ethnic groups do not have any problem* (interviewed with participant N2 on 05/04/2017). Another respondent supported this by indicating that: *Nawuri had a cordial relationship with other tribes. As you can see they are all still here and no-one has migrated to another place* (interview with participant N1 on 04/04/2017). They argue that the reasons outlined above attest to the fact that their relationship with the settle communities is cordial and normal. The Nawuri do not even acknowledge the support of the Bassare and the Konkomba in the conflict which led to the defeat of the Gonja. It is difficult to decipher the veracity of the Nawuri claim since it is a contradiction
of the documentary evidence. For example, Lentz and Nugent (2000 p. 190) said: “In the third phase, in May 1992, the numerous Konkomba and Bassre settlers in this area intervened on behalf of Nawuri”. The second factor has to do with the fact that the Nawuri turn to look down upon other settlers and not respect them.

Division on the basis of chieftaincy is not limited to the Nawuri; the Bassare also have a similar problem as their chief in Kpandai does not exact loyalty from all the Bassare. Some Bassare are claiming that he is not their chief because they do not support his enrollment. According to the Bassare, the enrollment of their chief was orchestrated by the Nawuri of Kpandai led by Nana Atorsah, the Kpandaiwura. Similarly, the Nawuri of Kpandai orchestrated the installation of the Konkomba chief in Kpandai. The political permutations in Kpandai determine where cases are settled, either with the Nawuri of Kpandai or with the other camp of the Nawuri.

A participant indicated that: *Because the Nawuri are divided in chieftaincy, it is causing problems with other tribes. When the other tribes have cases to settle, they don’t know which chief to turn to. There is also an emerging trend dividing other ethnic groups caused by Nawuri division. As they turn to settle cases with different chiefs it creates confusion among them* (interview with participant K2 on 05/04/2017).

Another participant supported this claim by stating that: *Nawuris themselves are divided. Their division is also affecting other ethnic groups. Now if there is a problem with land issues and you are to go to the chief palace to settle it where will you go* (interview with participant G1 on 06/04/2017)? Another participant indicated that:

Within the Bassares themselves, they are divided in chieftaincy. When the Bassare chief died Nana Atorsah group quickly install Mr. Donkor Gau as bassare chief which didn’t go down well with the Bassare. It means it is the Nawuri who determine leadership for the settlers. Whoever is their choice they
install him as the chief. Konkomba too the same happened. When the Konkomba chief died, Nana Atorsah made the son of the old chief to continue ruling because that group of the Konkomba sided with his group. I should have been the next chief of the Konkomba because my father came to fisrt as a konkomba settler. Because I am not on the side of the Atorsah’ group, they decided to give the chieftaincy to the late chief’s son (interview with participant K2 on 05/04/2017).

This development has made most of the settlers to regret that they had supported the Nawuri during the conflict because the effect is too severe and damaging. There is no more trust between the Nawuri and other settler groups and there is no more trust among the settler groups themselves since they have been victims in one way or the other due to the situation. Most of them are getting fed up of the situation and are boiling up waiting for an opportunity to explode, which many respondents are of the view that if it happens no water can quench that fire because tribes will fight against tribes and tribes will again fight among themselves.

This is in line with the view of a participant who stated that:

I am just praying that there will not be any conflict in kpandai again otherwise I will not know how to describe that conflict. It will not be different from that of Sudan and other areas of intense conflict. Tribes will be fighting among themselves because of the sharp division now. Nawuri will kill themselves, bassare will kill themselves and konkomba will kill themselves. Kpandai is sitting on a time bomb. Nawuri are now telling other settlers that they are sojourners. If they are not comfortable with their rule, they can go back to where they came from. Now refereeing them to Sabobah and Tatale (interview with participant B1 on 04/04/2017)

They had wished the Gonja was still around and is in charge of affairs. Because when the Gonja was in charge of Kpandai and because they were one every tribe, including the Nawuri was also one. A respondent supported this view by indicating that: the Nawuris are evenly divided into two and other settlers are divided in following the Nawuri. When we were in chnge of Kpandai, there was no such division. Because we were united the other settlers were below us and were
not divided. There is struggle for power in Kpandai now, which is dividing the ethnic groups
(interview with participant G2 on 06/04/2017)

In the view of a former Member of Parliament for Kpandai Constituency, a “cold war” still
lingers in Kpandai between the Nawuri and the Konkomba despite several attempts in the past to
solve their differences. He said:

In Kpandai now there is some kind of cold war going on. Currently we have to
be proactive to issues because if we allow a gun to be shot in Kpandai again, it
will be very difficult to control it. I am saying somehow Kpandai is sitting on a
time bomb. Even recently in Kajaboni where some Konkomba had issues with
some Nchumuru on land issues I had to go there quickly to see to it that the
issue does not generate into something else. Again the Nawuri themselves
were fighting in Balajai and some faction of the Nawuri ran to seek refuge with
the Konkomba communities and the other faction went to bring soldiers and
they came to beat the Konkomba who gave the other faction shelter.
Konkomba may also be waiting for a least opportunity to retaliate. Just about
two weeks ago some Nchumuru men went to poison the water that the
Konkomba women fetch for cooking for their fishing activities.

When the women went to fetch they realized the water had been poisoned by
the Nchumuru for fishing so they return to inform the few men who were in the
village. So they went there to find out why they did that but were not given the
needed respect and were beaten in addition and so when their families came
back from farms, they nearly took arms with the Nchumuru who are not
different from the Nawuri. I have to make a lot of phone calls to bring the
situation under control (interview with participant P1 on 13/04/2017).

Another participant stated this: Nawuri are having small quarrels against Konkomba and
Bassare about land and other issues which are gradually leading into a conflict. When that one
comes the Nawuri and Nchumuru will be finished within a twinkle of an eye. For now they may
not want to fight them, but it will come to point they will rise against them if the situation
continues (interview with participant G1 on 06/04/2017). Again, another respondent reaffirms
this assertion by indicating that:
4.7.4 Gonja and other Ethnic Groups’ Relations after the Conflict

The relationship between the Gonja and other ethnic group has been the most complex one and very difficult to describe due to the geographical that exists now between them and the other ethnic groups in Kpandai. As indicated earlier, in the Gonja-Nawuri war the Gonja were evacuated from Kpandai to Salaga and Kpembe and they have since not returned.

The Gonja are harbouring some sentiments against ethnic groups such as Bassare, Konkomba and Kotokoli. They contend that it was the collaborated efforts of other ethnic groups with the Nawuri that tilted the scale of the war in favour of the Nawuri. This assertion is supported by Lentz and Nugent (2000) when they stated that in the last stage, in May 1992, the plenty tribes who were not indigenes interfered on the Nawuri behalf. The authors went further to state that the Gonja accused the settlers of being responsible for their defeat.

So the Gonja seem to have lost trust with the other ethnic groups in Kpandai even though they believe they do not have any problem with them. As indicated by a respondent:

The Gonja-other ethnic groups are in good relations, but it was the Konkomba and some Bassare who helped the Nawuri to drive us the Gonja away. So the trust is no more there. When the war started first and the Gonja ran to the bush it was some of the Konkomba and the Bassre who protected them but later turned to help the Nawuri to defeat them (interview with participant G1 on 06/04/2017).

Another participant has this to say:

I do not have a problem with any tribe. If the other settlers’ conscience tells them they have wronged me and cannot come to me fair enough, but if they feel no wrong done or have no bad intention and want to come to me they are welcome. I am not peeved with them, I am not angry with them and my doors are always open to help anybody who comes to me (interview with participant G2 on 06/04/2017).

All the participants attested to the fact that immediately after the conflict, attempts were made to reconcile other ethnic groups with the Gonja. A meeting was held in Salaga and all ethnic groups
except the Nawuri attended in which in that meeting, all differences were trashed and sorted out.

According to a participant:

Gonja are good cementers of issues. After the conflict, even though they suffered most but they tried to bring other ethnic groups to themselves. They met the Kotokoli, Bassare, Konkomba and other tribes except the Nawuri. Now I can say Konkomba and other tribes can go Kpembi and Salaga than before. Gonja are even recognizing other ethnic groups better than the Nawuri (interview with participant P1 on 13/04/2017).

The Gonja are, however disappointed in the Kotokoli for failing to hold on to their support to them. According to the Gonja, the Kotokoli backtracked and threw their weight behind the Nawuri when the scales of the war tilted in favour of the Nawuri. This assertion is vividly encapsulated in the view of a Gonja participant who said: *Eventhough the Kotokoli did not take arms to fight us like the Bassare and Konkomba but they were happy that the Nawuri were fighting us. The Kotokoli acted as hypocrites pretending they were on our side, but along the line we got to know that they were not on our side* (interview with participant G2 on 06/04/2017).

Another participant supported this view by indicating that: *When the war started the Kotokoli were with the Gonja, but when the Gonja lost their stands to the Nawuri, the Kotokoli managed to enter into the good books of the Nawuri* (interview with participant KO2 on 05/04/2017).

### 4.8 Practical Solutions to Normalize Inter-Ethnic Relations in Kpandai

Normalization of inter-ethnic relation is an issue of great concern for national development. No proper development can take place in any environment engulfed with conflicts.

Responding to a question about the appropriate mechanisms to be instituted to normalize relations of ethnic groups in Kpandai, participants gave a repertoire of practical measures. One of the participants alluded to an internal mechanism as the most practical way to resolve
differences. In the view of the participant, mutual respect among the ethnic groups is key to the normalization of relations. In lofty words, the participant said:

Recognition is first. We need to recognize each other as human beings and see ourselves as we have the right to take or enjoy everything that is here. But if we should undermine each other, it can create a whole lot of problems. Equal - recognition. Even though nawuri being the land owner, but has to respect other tribes (interview with participant N1 on 04/04/2017).

Closely related to the above argument, another participant posits that Nawuri appreciation of the contributions of the settler communities in the victory over the Gonja would soothe relations. The participant went further to suggest that:

what the Nawuri and other tribes need to do is that the Nawuri need to realize that it was other tribes that helped them to conquer the Gonja and therefor need to give them that recognition. If they do not do that one day they will be driven away. Again, they have to return all the land they have collected from other tribes to them (interview with participant K1 on 05/04/2017).

Yet another participant has identified intermarriage as the most viable means of normalizing relations between the ethnic groups in Kpandai. This would ensure family and cultural interconnectivity. As emphasized by the participant:

Intermarriages too can be a solution because that is the only thing till date that makes a Gonja man to come to Kpandai and a Nawuri man to travel to Salaga. Because of the inter marriages both tribes have uncles and aunties here and there. If all the ethnic groups begin to marry each other it can foster a strong relationship which can take away future conflicts (interview with participant KO2 on 06/04/2017).

However, another participant expressed a similar view. The participant was very optimistic that intermarriages are the best for normalization of inter-ethnic relations. The participant went ahead to give himself as a practical example: As I speak to you now because my brother married a Nawuri woman now he is in Kpandai. I personally gave my daughter to a Nawuri man after the conflict because of reconciliation. Because of this inter marriage I personally share ideas with
Atorsah (Kpandaiwura). When Atorsah has problems he calls me to help him and even his people (interviewed with participant G2 on 06/04/2017).

A participant view emerged on the question of normalizing relations with the Gonja and other ethnic groups in Kpandai. The participant alluded to the fact that for the sake of peace and security, the Gonja should be made to remain in Salaga and Kpembe.

In a participant’s view, for the sake of peace, the Gonja remain where they are. Because coming together will one day trigger another conflict. May be that time Kpandai would have developed with mansions. As we live far apart when we meet we are friends, but staying together could bring another conflict. The distance is the solution to the conflict. Coming together of a Gonja man, seeing his land being handled by a Nawuri man will not be easy. When they even come, where will they build? Their buildings have been taken away from them (interviewed with participant B2 on 06/04/2017).

Another participant believes the disunity within the Nawuri fraternity is huge hindrance to normalizing inter-ethnic relations. They think the best measure to the fragile inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai is for the Nawuri to unite. A participant confirms this assertion by indicating that:

Living together as one again will only be possible when we begin to live under one umbrella. If the Nawuri are able to come together under one chief the other tribes will also come under that umbrella. Their factions and divisions inevitably attract the support of other tribes. Some tribes in Kpandai are seriously supporting Balai people to come and take over Kpandai and some are supporting Kpandai Nawuri to control the place. Today you cannot beastly knock your chest and say this is the chief of Kpandai. It is even affecting their paramountcy status. According to the participant, one chief will not allow the other chief to gain the paramountcy status and the other one too will not allow the other to get it. So for kpadai to become one, then we need to get one chief under the Nawuris (interviewed with participant B1 on 04/04/2017).

This suggestion is in line with the view of another participant which also stated that: The Nawuri needs to unite if we want to normalize inter-ethnic relation in Kpandai. It will be difficult if the
Nawuri is still divvied with chieftaincy and policy direction (interview with participant K2 on 05/04/2017).

Another participant is of the view that, ethnic relations can only be normalized in Kpandai if the rest of the ethnic groups united with the Konkomba, but suggested that for them to do that, they must first of all build unity within themselves. To him, intra-ethnic unity is a pre-requisite for inter-ethnic unity. The participant has this to suggest:

All these tribes were one and had a common understanding. They saw each other’s problems as one, but unfortunately the war has brought a super power which is the Konkomba force. All the peace other tribes were enjoying with each other was because the Konkomba were out of them because they have a different way of dealing with things.

Other tribes can quarrel today and tomorrow they are together again, but immediately a Konkomba comes in, it becomes a different thing all together. They believe they have been pushed out of town for a long time and must come in and so doing comes with force. There are sayings that if you cannot fight them, join them and for us to live as we were living then we have to join them and manage the Konkomba live stile. Inter marriages can also be a solution to bring them to be part of us (interview with participant KO1 on 05/04/2017).

The participants also supported this assertion, but think if the Konkomba will stop interfering in other ethnic group's affairs; it would foster unity within other ethnic groups. In their view, however, the Konkomba are the obstacle to the normalization of inter-ethnic relations. A Gonja participant contended that: But the Konkomba is the problem. If then they will remove their mind from all these areas, especially Gonjaland, then the ethnic relation can normalize easily. In ethnic relation to normalize, then Konkomba need to change their mind about the Gonjaland and change their way of doing things as they have emerged as a major force among the other ethnic groups (interview with participant GI on 06/04/2017).
As other participants are hinging on inter-ethnic relations as a measure to normalizing ethnic relations, the Gonja had diverging views. The Gonja discounted intermarriage as the ultimate panacea to the normalization of inter-ethnic relations. Their proposition hinged on the fact that the offsprings of the inter-marriages before the conflict became enemies as soon as the conflict broke out. The participant suggests an “apology” as a key factor in normalizing inter-ethnic relations. He contends that: *What can let the trust come back is for other ethnic groups who have helped the Nawuri killed us come and apologies and seek for reconciliation* (interview with participant G1 on 06/04/2017).

References were made to the government and the Regional House of Chiefs as the main avenues for reconciliation among the ethnic groups in Kpandai. The political clout of these bodies can be used to prevail upon the ethnic groups and supervise reconciliation in Kpandai. There participant indicated this to support his claim:

> We need government intervention. The present government can call for a reconciliation to bring the various ethnic groups together. If the regional house of chiefs can also intervene there can be peace settlement. Also, if the Nawuri will stop selling farming land to other tribes and allow them to farm freely there can be a good relationship. Intermarriages can also solve some problems (interview with participant K2 on 05/04/2017).

Mention was also made to the need to suspend the sale of land in Kpandai in the interest of peace. Some of the participants were of the conviction that the sale of the land in Kpandai by the Nawuri has generated mistrust and made the settler communities disgruntled.

Some participants see Gonja-Nawuri reconciliation through dialogue as precursor to the normalization of inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai. In the words of another participant, *we need reconciliation. We can get it cheaper if the Gonja and Nawuri come together first, then other*
tribes will follow suit. By dialogue Gonja-Nawuri can reconcile. We need to get an independent body to bring the two tribes on board (interview with participant K1 on 06/04/2017).

Another respondent also feels the pending Nawuri-Gonja case in court is a worrying situation. He calls for the speedy settlement of the case which to him could reconcile the two immediately if the owner is truly declare and from there other tribes will follow suit. The participant also went further to state that the division of the Nawuri themselves is also a major factor and therefore suggests they unite to bring peace to the other settlers. The participant concluded by calling on politician stop taking advantage of the conflict to disintegrate the various tribes for their political gains.

The participan has this to say:

The history of Kpandai should be traced to establish the truth and the true owner of the place. So the court should quickly judge the case to bring out the real owner of the land. The more the court delays the judgment the longer their relationship get worsen. Again for the normalization of the ethnic relations the Nawuri need to become one. Their division is worsening the whole story. They now say some Nawuri are not real Nawuri and others are real Nawuri. As a result, they have two chiefs who don’t meet eyeball to eyeball. Nawuri should also value other tribes and not see them as strangers and say the land is theirs and so can choose to develop it the way they like. They must listen to their chiefs and opinion leaders and bring them together. They should know that Kpandai has become for all of us. Now Bassare, Konkomba, Kotokoli and other tribes feel they have been neglected. Politics are also eating deep into the problem. Because of political power politicians are playing games with the tribes by trying to make up their figures in elections (interview with participant KO2 on 06/04/2017).

Another participant who was the former Member of Parliament in Kpandai during the conflict supported these views of politics and recognition but had other suggestions he added. In the participant’s view, the political influence must be discouraged in the conflict. We should stop pushing too much politics into the issue. The next one is recognition. Let us recognize and
respect one another. Every tribe must be involved in decision making and not Nawuri hiding something from them. They all need to be carried on board. If we also bring all the literate people in the area and we decide that we want to bring all ethnic groups back together we will be able to do it. But the truth needs to be told. Intermarriages can do to some extent (interview with participant P1 on 13/04/2017).

4.9 Conclusion

The data analysis was done using the content analysis system. Data gathered from the field was analyzed making reference to literature. The research work was to look at the Gonja-Nawuri conflict and assess its effect on inter-ethnic relations. From the analysis made, it was obvious the conflict brought negative effect on inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai than positive effect. As a result of these revelations that conclusion will be drowned and recommendations made in chapter five.
CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The Gonja-Nawuri conflict has been an issue of national concern. However, it was observed that the conflict had an effect on inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai. The study, therefore, sought to investigate the effect of that conflict on inter-ethnic relations. In doing so, the study had the following objectives to achieve:

1. To examine the general understanding of the Gonja–Nawuri conflict;
2. To identify the causes of that conflict;
3. To examine the economic, political and social effect of that conflict on the inter-ethnic relations; and
4. To identify the efforts made at normalizing ethnic relations in the district.

To achieve these objectives an interview guide was designed and interview was conducted on the five major ethnic groups in Kpandai, namely Bassare, Nawuri, Konkomba, Gonja and Kotokoli employing the purposive sampling technique in selecting of the participants.

The chapter summarizes the different findings that were unearthed during the research and draw conclusions based on the findings. It also includes recommendations on how to normalize inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai.
5.2 Summary of Findings

This part of the study gives a brief summary of the findings from the research. With available data collected from the field and the analyses and discussions made, it will be strong enough to make relevant findings in respect to the objectives and research questions. From the research work gathered the following findings were discovered:

5.2.1 Research Question 1:

What is the general understanding and overview of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict?

The study found out that the various ethnic groups in Kpandai are still aware of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict and understand its genesis very well. It was a unanimous view from all the participants that the 1932 amalgamation that brought Kpandai under the Gonja district was the main root cause of the conflict.

The study established that the final phase of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict in Kpandai in 1992 was fought with other ethnic groups joining forces with the Nawuri to conquer the Gonja. In the last conflict in 1992 between the Gonja and the Nawuri, ethnic groups like Bassare and Konkomba rose up to help the Nawuri to defeat the Gonja.

The study again discovered that the Nawuri inability to stop the Gonja dominance was due to the lack of higher education. The Gonja have exploited their education earlier academic credentials to dominate the political terrain in Kpandai to the disadvantage of the Nawuri and other ethnic groups. Gonja occupied key positions at the national and local levels and used these positions to thwart the progress of the Nawuri. It was not until the Nawuri began to embrace education that the situation began to change gradually in the last decade before the outbreak of the conflict.
The study further established that ethnic relations in Kpandai were stratified along religious lines. The Kotokoli and Gonja were predominately Muslims, but a majority of the Nawuris and some Bassare and Konkomba were Christians, though an equally large number of the Bassare, Konkomba and Nawuri practiced the African traditional religion. Islam tied the Kotokoli and Gonja together and thus forged strong relations. This led to stronger collaborations between the two ethnic groups in social and economic matters. It is therefore not surprising that when the Gonja –Nawuri conflict broke out, the Kotokoli supported the Gonja. This explains why in the post-conflict era, the Kotokoli had to re-engineer their relations to pacify the Nawuri who emerged victorious. Because religion served as a social bond among the ethnic groups in Kpandai, the Nawuri, Bassare, and the Konkomba naturally forged good relations due to their common religious affiliations and beliefs. This partly explains why the Bassare and the Konkomba entered into the Gonja-Nawuri conflict on the side of the Nawuri.

5.2.2 Research Question 2:
What are the causes of the ethnic conflict between the Gonjas and Nawuris?

The study revealed that a major trigger to the outbreak of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict was an attempt of the Gonja youth to organize a Gonjaland Youth Association meeting in Kpandai. The Nawuri youth fearfully resisted the Gonja youth holding that meeting in Kpandai with the inscription “Gonjalad” Youth Association. According to the Nawuri youth, if they allowed them to hold that meeting with that inscription, it would have automatically meant that the land was theirs.

The research also established that the causes of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict were overlapping. There were some socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-political factors, such as Gonja youth’s attempt to organize the Gonjaland Youth Association meeting in kpandai which the
Nawuri fearfully resisted with the reasons that if they allow the Gonja to organize that meeting with the inscription the “Gonjaland” it would have automatically meant that the land was theirs.

The study further revealed that, the commercialization of Kpandai land by the Gonja was a major cause of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict. The indigines, both the Nawuri and the Gonja claim they have proof of ownership. The ownership question was a major problem, but the Gonja had political authority rested in their hands and all royalties were solely under their authority. For that reason, the Gonja sold land to the settlers and at a point in time the Nawuri as well. It was when the Nawuri came to the realization that the Gonja had the intention of selling their own land to them that the agitation started. The Nawuri youth became uncomfortable with the new development.

The study again found that socially, the Nawuri poured libation and made sacrifices of pacification, purification and propitiation anytime the land was defiled or there was a catastrophe or natural disaster. The Nawuri saw the performance of these religious rituals to mean that because they are the indigenes, the Gonja and other settlers recognized them as such and also because they are the land owners, they therefore have the understanding of the gods of the land. However, their perception turned to be interpreted differently by the Gonja who delegated those duties to them. To the Gonja, the Nawuri could not have claimed ownership of the land based on the religious rituals they perform because in the Gonja religious setting, such functions are not performed by the Gonja but delegated to other ethnic groups. As royals, Gonja did not perform religious rituals in relation to the land they occupy; it was performed by other ethnic groups. So they considered all Gonja living in Kpandai then as the royals and for that reason were ineligible to pour libation or offer sacrifices as Gonja custom prescribes, thus delegating a right to perform such rituals rites to the Nawuri.
It was also established that some social factors also contributed to the outbreak of the conflict. Gonja dominance permeated all aspects, including social life. They determined the location of projects such as schools, churches, and mosques. Gonja instructions were also given to the Nawuri to perform religious rituals on behalf of the entire area. Gonja responsibility in religious matters was limited to the provision of social items. These social factors angered the Nawuri youth to agitate which subsequently led to the outbreak of the conflict.

The research revealed again that till date, the ownership of Kpandai land remains unsettled and that is posing serious danger to peace and security of the area. The Nawuri claimed that the eviction of the Gonja from Kpandai attest to the fact that the land is theirs but the Gonja have a contrary view. To the Gonja, they did not leave Kpandai voluntarily; they were forced out by the government in the interest of peace.

5.2.3 Research Question 3:

What are the effects of the conflict on inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai district?

The study further revealed that socially, there were inter-marriages between the Nawuri and the Gonja, culminating into the establishment of families from both divides. The inter-marriage was a major factor that binds the Gonja and the Nawuri together. There existed inter-marriages between them to the extent that royals from the Gonja took Nawuri women as their wives. It was also revealed that, what made the Nawuri and Gonja not being able to depart from each other completely even after the conflict is the inter-marriages between them. This phenomenon became a very strong force keeping the Nawuri and Gonja close. However, there was a limitation to these intermarriages since it was not widespread. Religion was a limiting factor in determining inter-marriages at that time as Gonja were predominantly Muslims. Gonja only gave their daughter to the Nawuri who were Muslim. This inter-marriage ceased after the conflict and was
replaced with hostility. This got worse when the Gonja was no longer staying with the Nawuri in Kpandai.

The study also found that the Gonja arbitrated in all cases in Kpandai involving other ethnic groups politically. Even though the Gonja dominated politically in Kpandai, it was revealed that their case settlement involved settlers and not with the Nawuri. Nawuri settled their own cases using their headmen. But in some instance, the cases involved the Nawuri and other settler groups were being arbitrated by the Gonja. However, though the Nawuri settled their own cases by the headmen, it was done under the Gonja supervisory role. The Nawuri were not free to do all that they wanted. This situation, however changed after the conflict as the Nawuri now dominate politically, socially and economically in Kpandai and settled all cases involving the other settler communities and the Nawuri themselves.

The study also revealed that the Gonja-Nawuri relationship before the conflict was very cordial. The initial relationship between the two ethnic groups was so cordial that the Nawuri allowed the Gonja to handle political matters in Kpandai. The Nawuri brought meat and farm produce from hunting and farm, respectively, to the Gonja chief. However, this was the beginning of the Gonja political control over Kpandai and the Nawuri. This at a point in time sparked some form of agitation from the Nawuri youth since they began to feel that they were being treated like slaves in their own land. This agitation persisted till the outbreak of the conflict and affected the cordial relations between them severely after the conflict.

The study also revealed that the Gonja control over the Nawuri and other settler communities was not only limited to Kwame Nkrumah’s regime, but transcended through all the political regimes since independence in Ghana. It was established that in the 1969 general elections in
Ghana, the Nawuri and the Gonja were divided along political lines. The Nawuri supported K.A. Gbedemah’s National Alliance of Liberals (NAL) while the Gonja threw their weight behind the Progress Party (PP) of K. A. Busia. Though the NAL parliamentary candidate for Kpanda, J.K. Mbimadong, who was a Nawuri in ethnicity, won the Kpandai seat, the PP won the presidential elections. Invariably, the Gonja continued to exert political dominance over the Nawuri after the 1969 elections. When the PP declared the Alien Compliance Order in Ghana, the Gonja identified their enemies. They included Gaw, Kabanda Kwesi, Sabon Kudi and Musah Kappa all from other ethnic groups who were pro-Nawuri and thus affected their deportation. The Gonja flexed their muscles politically and victimized their enemies and nobody could question them. The Nawuri had little education and therefore could not match the Gonja. Apart from this, anytime there was a dispute, the Gonja chief who had to arbitrate. Whether they settled it advertently or ignorantly, it was something one could not tell. But this control ceased after the defeat of the Gonja.

The study again found that in matters of chieftaincy, the Gonja influence is visible. Twenty five years after the conflict, the various ethnic groups in Kpandai including the Nawuri are yet to get paramountcy status for the head chiefs. It was revealed that the only way by which Nawuri in particular can get paramountcy is to get Gonja acceptance, a thing which the Nawuri are not ready to do. It further revealed that the conflict has perpetuated chieftaincy dispute among the Nawuri. The expectation was that the Nawuri will become stronger after the conflict after taking over Kpandai, but the reverse has been the case. The Nawuri are sharply divided within the chieftaincy line fighting for paramountcy status recognition. While one faction is of the view that, that status could be achieved through the Gonja acceptance, the other faction thinks otherwise. The Pro-Gonja Nawuri have forged relations with the Gonja to the extent that they
travel to Salaga and Kpembe to attend funerals and other social gathering and the same way the
Gonja come to them for funerals and other social gatherings; the reverse is also the same for the
Gonja. Division on the basis of chieftaincy is not limited to the Nawuri; the Bassare also have a
similar problem as their chief in Kpandai does not exact loyalty from all the Bassare. Some
Bassare are claiming that he is not their chief because they do not support his enrollment.
According to the Bassare, the enrollment of their chief was orchestrated by the Nawuri of
Kpandai led by Nana Atorsah, the Kpandaiwura. Similarly, the Nawuri of Kpandai orchestrated
the installation of the Konkomba chief in Kpandai. The political permutations in Kpandai
determine where cases are settled, either with the Nawuri of Kpandai or with the other camp of
the Nawuri.

The study further discovered that one cannot rule out the effect of national politics on inter-
ethnic relations in Kpandai after the conflict. Since the introduction of multi-party democracy in
Ghana in 1992, the Konkomba had exploited their demographic majority to their advantage. The
result was that since 1992, an ethnic Konkomba candidate had won the parliamentary seat of
Likpalmor, a Konkomba and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) candidate. In 2012 and
2016, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) candidate, Hon. Matthew Nyandam, also a Konkomba won
the seat. The Konkomba factor in national politics in Kpandai continues to determine the support
of other ethnic groups for political parties. The Nawuri in particular have oscillated between the
NDC and NPP due to their frustration over Konkomba dominance of these political parties in
Kpandai.

The study again established that in the course of time, Nawuri efforts to build a rapport
diminished as relations between them and the other ethnic groups became strained. A number of
factors accounted for the strained relations. One of such factors was the sale of the farmland to the settle ethnic communities in Kpandai. The sale of land in Kpandai did not only make the settler communities unhappy, it also strained the relations between the Nawuri in Kpandai and their kinsmen in other settlements. There was also a social factor as the Nawuri were perceived to have shown a demeaning attitude towards the settler communities. One cannot rule out the disunity among the Nawuri as the cause of the breakdown of the inter-ethnic rapport program initiated by the Nawuri after the conflict. The disunity among the sapped the strength of the rapport program and eventually caused its collapse. It raised suspicions among the Nawuri and made them to channel their resource to fighting each other rather than using it to propel development in Kpandai.

The study also found that the Gonja are, however disappointed in the Kotokoli for failing to hold on to their support to them. According to the Gonja, the Kotokoli backtracked and threw their weight behind the Nawuri when the scales of the war tilted in favour of the Nawuri. The Islamic religion has been the social bond that kept the Kotokoli and the Gonja together. They performed all Islamic religious rituals together. So at the initial stages of the conflict, the Kotokoli were perceived to have thrown their weight behind the Gonja just to backtrack after the defeat of the Gonja. The Gonja are therefore not happy with the Kotokoli and saw their attitude as hypocrisy.

The study also found that immediately after the conflict, there have been problems going on between the various ethnic groups in Kpandai. The effect on inter-ethnic relations on the ethnic groups in the community has been very severe in the sense that the conflict brought very negative and bad ethnic group relations. Now every ethnic group sees each other as an enemy. There is a lot of mistrust and misrepresentation among the various ethnic groups. It was further discovered that the division within the Nawuri is also creating a serious cracks among the other
ethnic groups. If the Nawuri can come together as one, the other tribes will have no option than to follow suit.

Again, it is also revealed that, Kpandai is sitting on a time bomb since other settlers could raise against the Nawuri especially the Konkomba who are so griefed with the Nawuri about the sale of land. This developed a cold war between the Konkomba and the Nawuri as a result of the way the land issues are being handled by the Nawuri.

The study again revealed that the Gonja eventhough sacked from Kpandai, has not left Kpandai go. They have their traditional system for Kpandai in place. As they are in Kpembe today, there is currently Kunakurawura representing Kpandai Chief, Balaiwura representing Balai chief, dusawura representing Ketajeli chief and all the chiefs for all the villages in Kpandai.

Finally, it was also revealed that, what made the Nawuri and Gonja not being able to depart from each other completely even after the conflict is the intermarriages between them. This phenomenon has become a very strong force keeping the Nawuri and Gonja not too far from each other. Some Nawuri women are still married to the Gonja counterparts and Gonja women too are still married to their follow Nawuri counterparts after the conflict. So they are still father inlaws, mother inlaws, sister inlaws to each other. They still have to attend funerals and weddings together because of these inter-marriages.
5.2.4 Research Question 4:

What practical measures can be put in place to normalize inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai?

The study found that to normalize inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai, an internal mechanism is the most practical way to resolve differences. Mutual respect among the ethnic groups is a key to the normalization of relations.

The study also discovered that inter-marriages are the most viable means of normalizing relations among the ethnic groups in Kpandai. This would ensure family and cultural interconnectivity.

The study further revealed that other ethnic groups are unhappy about the Nawuri not recognizing their contribution in the conflict that led to their victory. Inter-ethnic relations can only be soothed if the Nawuri will begin to appreciate the contributions of the other settler communities in the victory over the Gonja. That is, Nawuri need to realize that it was other ethnic groups that assisted them to conquer the Gonja and therefore need to give them that recognition and the reverence. If that is not done, realizing inter-ethnic relations will be very difficult. And again, they have to return all the land confiscated from other ethnic groups to them sooth relations faster.

The study also found that there were divergent views on the normalization of inter-ethnic relations with the Gonja. It was revealed that for the sake of peace and security, the Gonja should be made to remain in Salaga and Kpembe because bringing them together will one day trigger another conflict. May be that time Kpandai would have seen much more development.
The study again revealed that the Nawuri-Gonja reconciliation will be very difficult because of the Konkomba who emerged as a third force and is also mightier than all the other ethnic groups. It was discovered that the Konkomba has a unique way of doing their things which is not familiar with other ethnic groups. Other ethnic groups can engage in a battle and easily reconcile their differences, but that is not the same with the Konkomba. So the Gonja-Nawuri conflict has drowned in a mightier force who is the Konkomba and with their presence, it will be difficult to bring the Nawuri and Gonja together.

The study further discovered that the disunity within the Nawuri fraternity is a huge hindrance to normalizing inter-ethnic relations. The best measure to strengthen this fragile inter-ethnic relation in Kpandai is for the Nawuri to unite. For the ethnic groups to live together as one again will only be possible when all the ethnic groups in Kpandai begin to live under one umbrella. If the Nawuri are able to come together under one chief the other ethnic groups will also follow suit because their factions and divisions are inevitably attracting the support of other settler communities.

The study also revealed that ethnic relations can only be normalized in Kpandai if the rest of the ethnic groups united with the Konkomba, but must first of all build unity within themselves. It is significant to admit that intra-ethnic unity is a pre-requisite for inter-ethnic unity.

The study further discovered that, the Gonja however; see the Konkomba as an obstacle to the normalization of inter-ethnic relations. To them, for inter-ethnic relations to be normalized, then the Konkomba need to change their mind on Gonjaland and change their ways of dealing with issues concerning them and other ethnic groups.
The study again revealed that the Gonja discounted inter-marriages as the ultimate panacea to the normalization of inter-ethnic relations. They argued that the offsprings of the inter-marriages before the conflict became enemies as soon as the conflict broke out. They rather see an “apology” as a key factor in normalizing inter-ethnic relations. What can let the trust come back is for other ethnic groups who have assisted the Nawuri to defeat the Gonja come and apologies and seek for reconciliation.

The research further found that the government and the Regional House of Chiefs can be the main avenues for reconciliation among the ethnic groups in Kpandai. The political clout of these bodies can be used to prevail upon the ethnic groups and supervise reconciliation in Kpandai. The present government with the collaboration with the Northern Regional House of Chiefs can call for a reconciliation to bring the various ethnic groups together.

The research again revealed that the unsettled Gonaj-Nawuri case in court is a hindrance to the normalization of inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai. So the speedy settlement of the case will be the best avenue to the normalization of ethnic groups in Kpandai. As the Gonja and the Nawuri all claim they have proof of the ownership of Kpandai, the court needs to assess the two documents to ascertain the true ownership of Kpandai and its surrounding areas. Until that is done, it will be very difficult to normalize inter-ethnic relations between them.

The study found that another major hindrance to normalizing inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai is political influence. To achieve good relations among the ethnic groups in Kpandai, too much politics should not be pushed into it. Again, it is important that all literate people from Kpandai constituting the various ethnic groups come together and campaign for peace building and reconciliation to their people.
5.3 Conclusions

In conclusion, it is significant to note that, many people have a wide and deeper knowledge and understanding of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict. The conflict was fought over the ownership of Kpandai land between the Gonja and the Nawuri. Before the outbreak of the conflict in 1991, the Gonja dominated socially, politically and economically in Kpandai. The Gonja were virtually controlling all resources in Kpandai. The Nawuri who claimed the allodial right to Kpandai land, eventhough settled their own cases; all those settlements were being done under the control and supervision of the Gonja. The Gonja dominance was well established when Kpandai in 1932 amalgamation left Krachi District under the British administrative policy to join the Gonjaland. The Gonja who had early education as against the Nawuri who were merely farmers and hunters, exploited the Nawuri to their advantage. The Gonja way of ruling at a point in time sparked some agitation from the Nawuri youth, which later developed into a sporadic conflict which led to the defeat of the Gonja. Religion was very crucial in this conflict since it served as a social bond among the various ethnic groups in Kpandai as far as the inter-ethnic relations were concerned. Kpandai district comprises of three major religions which are the Christianity, Islam and the ATR. The religions were so potent that those ethnic groups who were bound together by it had very strong inter-ethnic-relations. As religion served as a social bond among the ethnic groups in Kpandai, the Nawuri, Bassare, and the Konkomba naturally forged good relations due to their common religious affiliations and beliefs. This partly explains why the Bassare and the Konkomba entered into the Gonja-Nawuri conflict on the side of the Nawuri. Islam tied the Kotokoli and Gonja together and thus forged strong relations. This led to stronger collaborations between the two ethnic groups in social and economic matters. It is therefore not surprising that when the Gonja –Nawuri conflict broke out, the Kotokoli supported the Gonja. This explains
why in the post-conflict era, the Kotokoli had to re-engineer their relations to pacify the Nawuri who emerged victorious. Inter-ethnic relations before the Gonja-Nawuri conflict among the various ethnic groups in Kpandai were good if not the best. The various ethnic groups which comprised the Nawuri, Bassare, Konkomba, Gonja, Konkomba, Ashantis lived together as one people. They had inter-marriages among themselves. They did many things in common both socially and politically. It only got soured after the conflict that various ethnic groups began to distance themselves from one another due to emerging situations. The Nawuri who became the land owners after the defeat of the Gonja got divided along chiftaincy lines. The issue of whom became Kpadaiwura sparked chieftaincy dispute among the Nawuri. One faction of the Nawuri still fills that to get recognition and achieve the paramountcy status, the Nawuri need to get Gonja acceptance. But the other factions are of the view that if it will be the Gonja that should assist them gain paramountcy status, then they will let it go. It is significant to establish that the division among the Nawuri is invariably having a strong bearing on the other settler communities. The conflict has left a negative effect on inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai.

The research was conducted to investigate the extent to which this effect has had on inter ethnic relations. It was discovered that these effects have been so severe that it even brought intra-tribes mistrust. Ethnic groups turn to hate each other and even within one ethnic group there exist division. At the end views where sort on how to normalize inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai. Many suggestions were offered by various participants as to the best way to bring the various ethnic groups together again.
5.4 Recommendations

From the above conclusion, it will now be essential to make the following recommendation for the way forward:

First and foremost, since intermarriages have been seen as a strong force that binds the various ethnic groups together, I therefore recommend that intermarriages should be encouraged among the various ethnic groups in Kpandai and its surrounding areas. The various ethnic groups should be encouraged to marry each other. When they are mother in-laws, father in-laws, brother in-laws and sister in-laws then they will be able to co-exist.

Secondly, since the sharp division among the Nawuri themselves has become an obstacle to unifying the other ethnic groups, I recommend that opinion leaders in Kpandai, including very respectable chiefs within the Northern Regional House of Chiefs strongly intervene to resolve their chieftaincy issues. Through that they can bring all the Nawuri under one chief and umbrella which will make other ethnic groups follow suit.

Thirdly, I also recommend that the government quickly intervene to solve the land problem between the Nawuri and other settlers, especially the Konkomba, to avoid any major clash in the future, which many participants say when it happens there will not be any water to quench that fire. Government needs to dialogue through the Local Authority to make sure that various ethnic groups in Kpandai and the Nawuri come to a common understanding for immediate solutions.

Since it was also discovered that, one of the major factors posing a hindrance to normalizing inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai is the unsettled Gonja-Nawuri conflict in court and that the Nawuri and the Gonja claimed they all have proof to the ownership of Kpandai land and its surrounding areas, I therefore recommend for government intervention to speed up the judicial
system so that the hanging case can be settled as soon as possible to show the true owner of Kpandai land and its surrounding areas.

Finally, I recommend that further study be made into the recent sharp division among the Nawuri after the defeate of the Gonja. Before the conflict the Nawuri were seen as one and fought for a common goal and so one would have expected that after the conflict, especially now that they are currently in charge of Kpandai and its surroundings, they would have become more united to move their town forward. However, this has not been the case for the Nawuri. Even though, the known cause to this disunity is chieftaincy matters, but I strongly assume there are other hidden causes which are not known and only further studies could discover that.
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APENDIX

Interview Guide for MPhil Thesis

Topic: The Effects of the Gonja-Nawuri Conflict on Inter-Ethnic Relations in Kpandai District.

This research is being carried out by a Master of Philosophy student of the University of Ghana in the Department of Political Science. The research seeks to investigate the Gonja-Nawuri conflict and its effect on the inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai. I would like to invite you to participate in this research by providing the necessary information that will help me answer my research questions successfully. The research is conducted for an academic purpose only and your contribution will be treated with strict confidentiality. You have the right to withdraw from the research process at any time.

1. Are you aware of the Gonja-Nawuri conflict that was fought at Kpandai in 1991?
2. If yes, what do you know about that conflict?
3. Do you think there was the need for that conflict at all? If Yes, why? and if no, why?
4. In your view, what do you think were the major causes of that conflict?
5. Who were perceived to be the settlers and the indigenes in Kpandai?
6. In your view has the dynamics change?
7. Who were seen as majority and minority tribes in Kpandai?
8. How were major activities like political, social, economic etc controlled in Kpandai?
9. In your view, what are the major consequences/effects/loses of the conflict on the people in Kpandai?

10. In your view how severe/damaging was the consequences/effects/loses on the people of Kpandai?

11. How will you categorize this consequences/effects/loses as far as the conflict is concerned?

12. Despite that Gonjas were sacked from Kpandai by the Nawuri, are they still having influence over the economic, social, political etc activities in Kpandai?

13. What was the inter-ethnic relation between the Gonja and the Nawuri before the conflict?

14. What is the inter-ethnic relation between the Gonja and the Nawuri after the conflict?

15. What is inter-ethnic relation between the Nawuri and other ethnic groups in Kpandai?

16. What is the inter-ethnic relation between the Gonja and other ethnic groups in Kpandai?

17. What do you think practically can be done to normalize the effect of inter-ethnic relations in Kpandai?