UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON
INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES

YOUTH AND CONFLICT IN THE VOLTA REGION: A CASE OF PEKI AND AWUDOME RELATIONS, 1990-2013

BY
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JULY, 2015
DECLARATION

I hereby declare with academic honesty that with the exception of the references and quotations which I duly acknowledged, this work is the result of my own original research. I further affirm that this thesis has never been presented either in part or in whole anywhere. I am the sole author and for that matter responsible for all errors and omissions.

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AMU DIVINE YAW (STUDENT)

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

SIGNATURE:..............................................................................................

DR. OSMAN ALHASSAN (PRINCIPAL SUPERVISOR)

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

SIGNATURE:..............................................................................................

PROF. A. K. AWEDOBA (CO-SUPERVISOR)

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

Inter and intra ethnic conflicts over land are many and could be found in almost every region in Ghana. These pose serious threat to peace, stability and development that the country seems to be enjoying, if not well managed. The study focused on the intra-ethnic conflict of Peki and Awudome in the Volta region of Ghana. The study, specifically, looked at the causes, sequence and effects of the conflict on the development of the youth in the areas of agriculture, education, health, security, commerce and social relations. It also looked at how the conflict has been resolved over the years and the prospects for lasting peace were examined. Purposive, snow ball and simple random sampling were used to select units for the sample from Peki, Awudome and the neighbouring communities. In-depth interviews, focus groups discussions and questionnaires were used to obtained data for the study. Descriptive statistics such as frequencies and percentage were employed in the analysis of the data. The study revealed that the root cause of the conflict is a misunderstanding concerning the ownership of a land albeit historical antecedents. The conflict has become protracted due to historical legacies of hatred and mistrust. Consequently, youth development has been hampered as a result of the conflict. In attempt to resolve the conflict, Peki and Awudome have over the years resorted to the use of the court and mediation which could not work effectively. A number of measures and strategies have been recommended to achieve sustainable and lasting peace.
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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents – Togbe Amu Yao Enos and Madam Hope Dogbe-Amu, both of blessed memory, for their support and encouragement in laying the foundation for my education.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU: African Union
CSOs: Civil Society Organizations
ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States
FGD: Focus Group Discussion
GDP: Gross Domestic Product
GNP: Gross National Product
NGO: Non Governmental Organization
PALCC: Peki – Awudome Local Council of Churches
PRAAD: Public Records and Archives Administration Department
SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
UN-CHS: United Nations Commission on Human Society
UN: United Nations
UNDP: United Nations Development Programme
UNIDIR: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives an overview of the study: background and problem statements of the study, objectives, research questions, significance, methodology and the structure of the study.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Conflicts are inevitable in human life and existence, therefore are a necessary part of life. Conflicts are necessary for change in human society since they help to build relationships in groups, establish a group’s identity, build internal cohesion in groups and can lead to balance power in society as well as create new rules and laws (Coser, 1956). However, when conflicts are violent, and depending on the nature and type of intervention schemes used, and when they remain unresolved and become protracted, they disrupt policymaking and development. Attention therefore, is diverted from issues that would otherwise improve the lives of those involved in the conflict.

Consequently, it is imperative to resolve violent conflicts to prevent such conflicts diverting attention from developmental issues. Historically, the First and Second World Wars resulted in massive destruction of lives and properties as well as decreasing levels of socio-economic development (Blattman & Miguel, 2008). During the Second World War, for instance, 60 million people died; a new wave of arms race arose and nations had many properties destroyed (Blattman & Miguel, 2008). The cold war equally followed suit with the manifestation of proxy and quasi conflicts in developing countries and in Europe, Africa, Asia and America.
Violent conflict poses serious threats to human security, peace, life, social and economic activities; it weakens institutions; breaks social cohesion; and causes humanitarian tragedies such as internal displacement, refugism and rape (Zeleza, 2008). Indeed, violent conflict is one main impediment to development because it seriously hinders development efforts spilling over borders, reducing economic growth and prosperity (Ali, 2006). The example of Haiti, Bosnia, Burundi, Sudan and Somalia are worth noting as development in these states has been seriously curtailed because of violent conflicts. During the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the country lost 2 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as well as losses in other economic indicators (Oelbaum, 2007). In the West African sub-region, countries like Liberia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, La Cote d’Ivoire and Guinea have had violent conflicts with their devastating consequences on stability, political and social development (Adetula, 2006). More than 250,000 lives were lost in Liberia and millions worth of infrastructure destroyed (Adetula, 2006).

During violent conflicts, farmers cannot go to their farms to work for fear of losing their lives and farms are set ablaze leading to the destruction of farm produce. Traders and businessmen cannot engage in commercial activities leaving markets deserted. Properties of individuals and households are lost through arsons and lootings. Local revenue mobilizations are seriously curtailed due to the breakdown of commercial activities and security. Moreover, schools are closed down thereby affecting teachers and students respectively, since they cannot attend school and this negatively affects academic performance. Businesses and most of the workforce also relocate to other places where there is peace. Consequently, many development efforts are adversely affected. However, where peace prevails and there is no violent conflict, security is guaranteed and the environment becomes conducive for engaging in economic and agricultural activities and
people’s livelihood are guaranteed (Francis, 2006). Local investment and businesses are attracted to peaceful areas and not places where there is violence and generally, people are unable to participate in the development process. Thus, peace remains a pre-requisite for development since development can best be pursued in a violence-free environment.

Ghana has often been described at both local and international levels as an ‘oasis of peace’ and stability in a continent besieged by numerous conflicts. However, this image of the country as a beacon of peace in Africa is marred by some internecine ethnic, land and chieftaincy conflicts which sometimes result in violence with negative repercussions for human lives and local level development (Gyimah, Kane & Oduro, 2009). There have been very devastating and protracted ethnic strife among some ethnic groups in Ghana. These include the conflicts among the Dagombas and Kusasis and the Mampruis, Kokombas and Nanumbas, Nkonya and Alavanyo, Akropong and Abiriw, Gonja and Nawuri (Agyemang, 2008).

The Volta Region, one of the ten administrative regions in Ghana, has experienced a number of conflicts in recent times. These include the protracted conflict between Alavanyo and Nkonya, Peki and Awudome, the Zongo community at Hohoe and the local Gbi of Hohoe, the Anloga chieftaincy dispute, and the Kedjebi political party conflict. In all these conflicts, the youth serve as the bedrock for the mobilization of troops. The youth, are to a large extent the greatest in terms of numbers among the fighters in most of the conflicts mentioned above. Most of the youth who become involved in these conflicts do so because there is a war and there is a need for them to protect their communities, families, friends and their own lives. Perhaps the youth possess the energy and the exuberance to drive the forces of conflict.
The people of Awudome and Peki are both subgroups of the Ewe ethnic group. They can therefore be regarded as ‘brothers and sisters’, originally part of one big Ewe family that migrated from Notsie and after their dispersal settled as subgroups in their present day communities. According to Asare (1973), the inhabitants of Peki were originally one with the Hohoe people and were known as ‘Gbi’. Asem (1982) states that the people of Awudome in the course of their journey from Notsie tarried for a while with the Kpele people of the Republic of Togo before finally settling at their present home. Both the indigenes of Peki and Awudome claim to have fought and driven away the people of Akpafu from their present settlements. The sub Ewe groups namely, Peki, Awudome, Takla, Akrofu, Kpando, Taviefe, Agortime and Sokode, inter alia, alongside the Boso and Anum (Guans) in the northern Ewe land were referred to as Krepi, Creepe or Krepey by the European missionaries (Ward, 1949).

From oral account, the Peki and Awudome lived together peacefully for some time. They both shared similar cultural, economic, social and religious features which promoted good and cordial relations. However, towards the early 18th century, as Asare (1973) recounts, Peki was absorbed into the Akwamu kingdom as a Province in the latter’s attempt to control the Krepi and their land for mostly economic and political gain. Akwamu then began to rule Krepi indirectly through Peki. Peki enjoyed some favours from Akwamu, which incurred the displeasure from other Krepi states (Debrunner, 1965). Peki and Awudome continued to live peacefully and even fought the Akwamu to assert the Krepis’ independence from Akwamu hegemony in 1833. The accounts of Asem (1982) indicates that the Bond of 1886 by Charles Riby Williams, the District Commissioner for the Volta District on behalf of Governor Branford Griffith, which made Awudome part of Peki native state, became a rich source of dissension between these two states.
The last half of the 20th century saw Peki and Awudome engaged in series of conflicts which altered the nature of their relations. Preliminary investigation by the researcher revealed that the root cause of these conflicts was a misunderstanding concerning the ownership of a parcel of land. The conflict became protracted due to revenge and historical legacies of hatred and mistrust. Consequently, the socio-economic activities of the people have been greatly hampered. The youth readily joined the Peki – Awudome conflict largely due to the following significant factors – war in itself, poverty, education and unemployment, family and friends, culture and tradition.

Currently, the effects of the conflict have affected the development of the youth in the area. They cannot utilize the potentials of the area for their development due to the fragile nature of peace prevailing from 1990 till date. Therefore, there is an urgent need to identify the effects of the conflict on the youth, emanating from the strained relations between these two communities. By so doing the best measures could be adopted to resolve the conflict which inadvertently would inure to the benefit of the youth for development. This, essentially, is the focus of the study.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Tonah (2007) states that the survival of any of the current positive developments in Ghana – social, political and economic, is derived from the harmony the citizenry seek to forge out of ethnic diversity.

Indeed, as Tonah poignantly posited, it is only when the various ethnic groups embraced peace that we can promote a better development of Ghana. Violent conflicts have very
devastating consequences on local level development because they produce a cycle of violence, and depending on the nature of intervention, can result in the protraction of conflict. The continuous strain relations between Peki and Awudome, as a result of the conflict, have consequences, particularly, on the development of the youth and the area, in general. The violence in the area is a bane to agriculture, commerce, life, property and infrastructure, and consequently exacerbating the poverty situation in the area (Daily Graphic, December 21st 1988). Other reports on the conflict indicate that there is general insecurity curtailing the routine of the people, especially the youth. Asem (1985) recounts that, the history of strained relations between the two states dates back to 1919, when violence occurred between these communities when they were fishing in river Tsawe. The fight was named the ‘Adewuvi-wa’ (Mud fish war). Asem (1982) observed that after this fight, there was relative peace until 1950. However, in 1925, but for the timely intervention of the District Commissioner, an incident nearly resulted in a war when a prince of Peki was murdered by the people of Tsibu-Awudome to avenge the death of a Tsibu man who accompanied a Peki chief to Accra. Again, the people of Awudome petitioned the Gold Coast Governor on two occasions (1921 and 1925) to assert their independence from Peki but these proved futile.

Later in the 1950s, there was local strife due to misunderstanding concerning ownership of a parcel of land at Awalime. In 1988, a similar fighting which occurred in 1979 broke out where the people fought openly and an uncountable number of people from both sides were killed. Daity (1988) claimed that there have been intermittent skirmishes which continue to claim lives. Deaths through communal violence have had severe social and economic repercussions on Peki and Awudome; many people who lost their lives through the wars were breadwinners. Agbeneza (2000) asserts that the disputed land at Kporvi
which used to be one of the vibrant markets in the region has become desolate and the vast arable land which used to provide agricultural produce to many people across the country has been left fallow for years. Consequently, the socio-economic activities of the people have been hampered and in an attempt to resolve the conflict, Peki and Awudome have over the years resorted to the use of the law court.

Currently, the people under utilize the potentials of the area for better development due largely to the fragile nature of their relation. It is abundantly clear from the foregoing that the strained relations between the two communities are affecting the development of the youth in the two areas. The questions in relation to this protracted conflict between these hitherto closely-knitted two communities are: what are the effects of the conflict on the youth in agriculture, commerce, education, employment, health and social relations? Why have the relations between these communities continued to be strained despite many attempts to promote peaceful coexistence between them? One can be tempted to say that the strategies and measures adopted in resolving the conflict have not been effective.

This study, therefore, hopes to examine the effects of the conflict on the development of the youth in the area. It will further, propose some strategic measures to contain the conflict in order to promote peace and development in the area.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The general objective of the study is to examine the effects of the conflict on the development of the youth in Peki and Awudome between 1990 and 2013.

The specific objectives are:
1. To examine the root causes and the sequence of the conflict between Peki and Awudome.

2. To ascertain the roles that the youth play in the course of the conflict.

3. To examine the effects of the conflict on the development of the two communities, especially in relation to agriculture, education, social relations, commerce and security and their impact on the youth of the two communities.

4. To examine the methods adopted to resolve the conflict and the prospect for peace in the area and make recommendations for lasting peace to prevail between the two communities.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study employs the following research questions in investigating the problem.

1. What specific factors accounted for the conflict between Peki and Awudome?

2. What roles did the youth play in the conflict?

3. What are the effects of the conflict on the youth in relation to agriculture, education, social, commercial and health?

4. What were the methods adopted to resolve the conflict over the years and what is the prospects for peace in the area?

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The frequent reoccurrence of the Peki – Awudome conflict remains a source of worry to many people, especially the inhabitants of the area. The under utilization of the youth could therefore be attributed to the conflict. Despite government efforts and other efforts, notably by stakeholders like the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), to resolve the conflict and find a sustainable peace, the continuous insecurity and fragile relations
between the two feuding communities in the period delved into in this research; seem to elude a sustainable solution and peace.

In spite of the fact that a lot has been done on conflict in general, within the Ghanaian setting, the effect of intra-ethnic conflict on the development of the youth in the Peki and Awudome area has not been adequately documented. It is against this backdrop that this study becomes significant because it hopes to uncover the specific issues underlying the strained relations between Peki and Awudome and its ramifications on the development of the youth in the area. By understanding these issues, appropriate measures could be adopted to promote sustainable, harmonious and peaceful co-existence between the two communities.

Additionally, the study will provide an empirical knowledge on the nexus between intra-ethnic conflict and youth development. Finally, this study hopes to add to the existing literature on the effects of conflict on the youth and provide a stratagem for consensus building of peace which will serve as a source of reference to other researchers.

1.6 METHODOLOGY

The methodology discusses procedures that were used in the collection and analysis of data. It includes the research design, study population, sample and sampling technique, sources of data, data collection instruments, pre-testing of instruments, field administration of instruments, method of data analysis and presentation, and field challenges encountered and how these challenges were resolved.
1.6.1 Research Design

Mixed method approach to field research was used for the study to examine, understand and interpret the causes of the conflict, its effects on the development of the youth and prospect for peace in the area. Mixed method research is the process and procedures for collecting, analyzing and inferring both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study, based on priority and sequence of information (Green & Caracelli, 1989). This method was chosen to allow both sets of results to be interpreted together to provide a richer and more comprehensive response to the research questions in comparison to the use of a mono-method design. The triangulation therefore, neutralises the biases and limitations of the quantitative and qualitative approaches as separate entities. The method was also used to combine the data to ascertain if the findings from one method mutually corroborate the findings from the other method. Thus, the method allowed the findings to be elaborated, enhanced, clarified, confirmed, illustrated or linked through triangulation. Due to the flexible nature of the mixed method, words were used to add meaning to the quantitative data and numbers were equally used to inform and supplement the words; the researcher explored a broad range of questions because of the limited restrain which otherwise would have been posed by a mono-method. It finally, provided stronger concluding evidence through convergence and corroboration of the research findings as argued by Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004).

A case study was employed to provide in-depth understanding which cannot be achieved from a structured questionnaire only. The case study method is an approach to studying a social phenomenon through a thorough analysis of an individual case. Case study provides a different sort of data that can supplement other methods of research. Walter (2004) states
that, the use of case study aids the capturing of a process of event; case study provides a sequence and structure that is often omitted when using survey alone.

The conflict under study is a resource conflict and as such needs a proper analysis and grasping of the conflict situation without which interventions to either resolve or manage the conflict would be unsuccessful.

1.6.2 Sampled Population

The respondents for the study included chiefs, community elders, youth groups, a cross section of the general public including teachers, market women, farmers, health personnel, parents and business men, the security agencies, and assembly members and opinion leaders. These groups are selected for the study because they have been key proponents in the conflict in terms of its effects, management and efforts at resolving it and have a fair knowledge about the conflict situation in the traditional areas – thus, the causes, effects and measures at resolving the conflict.

The sample population was categorized into unique groups, thus chiefs, elders, security agencies, opinion leaders, youth (focus groups) and general residents. A few neighbouring communities around the two traditional areas which include Sokode, Abutia, Kpeve and Asikuma are also selected for the study because they are equally affected by the spill-over effects of the conflict's collateral damage. The two feuding paramountcies, however, are the main focus because they are the main protagonists of the conflict and equally have their respective in-depth knowledge on the conflict.
The study covered these towns in the two traditional areas; Peki (Dzake, Avetile, Blengo, Tsame, Wudome, Dzogbati and Adzorkoe) and Awudome (Tsito, Anyirawase, Avenui, Kwanta, Bame and Tsibu). The choice of these communities is mainly because they are directly involve in the conflict, especially, at Awalime, the area between Avetile and Tsito.

1.6.3 Sampling Technique and Sample Size

The study employed the purposive sampling method in selecting key informants comprising chiefs, elders, opinion leaders, youth groups, the security agencies and other members of the Peki and Awudome communities as well as other surrounding communities. The use of this technique was to enable the selection of respondents who were considered relevant to the study and had information relevant to the study such as non-indigenes who witnessed any of the conflicts. This is in line with the assertions of Kumar (1999) who argued that the primary consideration for purposive sampling is the choice of the researcher to identify the one who can provide the best information to achieve the objective of the study. Snow balling was used to identify respondents who played some roles in the conflict. Such people were identified through interactions with key informants. The sampling was not limited to Peki and Awudome who are the main protagonists in the conflict alone; respondents from neighbouring communities also formed part of the study’s sample. Some of these communities include Sokode, Abutia, Dededo, Asikuma and Kpeve. Fourteen communities from the study areas were selected, taking into consideration the fact that they had been the scene and most affected areas of the conflict. These communities are situated in the Ho West and South Dayi Districts. Additionally, the convenience sampling technique was used to choose 115 residents in these communities for the administration of the questionnaire as shown in Table 1.
Table 1: Distribution of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tsito</td>
<td>Ho West</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anyirawase</td>
<td>Ho West</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avenui</td>
<td>Ho West</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwanta</td>
<td>Ho West</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bame</td>
<td>Ho West</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsibu</td>
<td>Ho West</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abutia</td>
<td>Ho West</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avetile</td>
<td>South Dayi</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzogbati</td>
<td>South Dayi</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzake</td>
<td>South Dayi</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blengo</td>
<td>South Dayi</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsame</td>
<td>South Dayi</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wudome</td>
<td>South Dayi</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kpeve</td>
<td>South Dayi</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>115</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Field Survey, 2015*

In all, 220 respondents were involved in the study; 105 respondents were involved in the semi-structured interview and focus group discussion whilst 115 respondents were used for the structured interview (questionnaire). The sample size for the semi-structured interview and focus group discussion comprises 8 security personnel, two members from the Office of the Parliamentarians of the two constituencies, thus South Dayi and Ho West constituencies, 7 opinion leaders and assembly members and a Police Commander. The traditional authorities included Togbuiga of Dzake, Avenui, Avetile and three sub chiefs from Peki, five from Awudome and two each from the other communities (Abutia, Sokode, Kpeve, Asikuma and Dededo). There were also 10 community elders each from the Peki and Awudome traditional areas, respectively, who were involved in the focus
group discussions. Six people from the local council of churches involved in peace building activities in the areas were interviewed. The youth groups involved one from Tsito, Dzake, Tsame and Anyirawase. Each of the groups was made up of ten members who were met separately and at different times. The general respondents who answered the questionnaires were farmers, teachers, students, health personnel, market women and business men, all conveniently selected after the population was stratified. The distribution of the sample population is shown in Table 2.

**Table 2**: Categories of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Sampled population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community/General Respondents</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Actors</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elders</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth Group</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security/ Opinion Leaders</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Council of Churches</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Field Survey, 2015*

1.6.4 Data Collection Instruments

The main instruments used for the data collection were interview schedules and interaction guides for focus group discussions. The instruments combined both open and close-ended questions. The study employed interviews so as to get pertinent issues with regard to the conflict in the area. In-depth interviews were used as a data collection tool for the chiefs
and elders, security agents, opinion leaders, assembly members and the commander of the security agencies on the origin, effects and how to resolve the conflict. The purpose of the interview was for respondents to give deeper insights into the issue of the conflict, its origin, effect and resolution process. Different sets of interviews were prepared each for the community resident, traditional actors, opinion leaders, security agencies and focused groups. Focus group discussions (FGDs) were held with community elders and youth groups so as to get more information on the conflict. The information from traditional actors and opinion leaders obtained in the in-depth interviews on the conflict were used to supplement and corroborate information from the questionnaire. The group discussions were held separately with 10 community elders from Peki and Awudome. Four youth groups from Peki and Awudome who were made up of ten members each were met separately. The FGDs were organized by first identifying the groups involved and then arranging to meet them in their respective communities for the discussions. Individual observation was also used to have a first-hand view of the effect of the conflict. The aforementioned method of data collection were combined (which is triangulation) to enable the researcher use the strengths of each to overcome the deficiencies of any of either methods (Sarantakos, 2005).

1.6.5 Data Sources

For this study, data was obtained from primary and secondary sources. Primary data was collected from in-depth interview guide, structured questionnaire, personal observation and archival materials from the Public Records and Archival Administration Department (PRAAD), Accra and Ho. Silverman (2006) refers to in-depth interview as researcher provoked data in contrast to natural occurring data. Focus group discussion was also used to solicit additional information about the conflict. Secondary data sources were also
obtained from relevant books, journals, news items, news paper articles, unpublished thesis and dissertations and information from the internet.

1.6.6 Pre-Testing of Instruments

The first draft of the interview and discussion schedules was pre-tested for possible misunderstanding of instruction, misperception of the goals of the researcher and extent of co-operation. The pre-test was carried out in September 2014. This was done to ensure adequate knowledge about the youth and the elderly people as well as perception of the youth about the causes and effect of the conflict on their development. Interviews were administered with some elderly persons. This was done alongside the discussion which involved mainly the youth. The exercise was carried out in Dzake, a community in Peki and Anyirawase, a community in Awudome. The analysis of the outcome of the pre-test led to the reframing of some questions that are meant for the community members were not included. Gaps identified were filled and some changes were made after editing the usability of responses and readiness for the main study.

1.6.7 Data Collection (main survey)

The actual data collection was undertaken from October, 2014 to May, 2015 and involved the researcher and four other research assistants. Two research assistants each were recruited from Peki and Awudome respectively to help in the study. This was to enable them to move freely into their own community since security was a problem in other rival community. Training was given to them on the proper administration of the instruments as well as the objectives and the critical aspect of the study. The training of the research assistants offered the opportunity to the correct translation of the instruction into the local
dialect (Ewe). They were involved in the pre-testing of instrument to enable them know
the expectation of the field work and also get insight into the research.

The actual administration of instruments was initially done with the research assistants and
the researcher in Tsito and Avetile for two days before the research assistants administered
in different communities. The interviews were conducted along the focus group
discussions. All focus group discussions and key informant interviews were conducted by
the researcher himself.

1.6.8 Problems Encountered in the Study

Conducting a study, particularly in a conflict area entails a number of challenges. One
major problem encountered in the study was the issue of security and trust. Travelling to
some part of the areas was not very secure for the researcher and research assistants.
Though the research assistants were able to go to their own communities, trust was a
problem since people suspected them of trying to seek information about their
communities in order to enable their opponents to attack them. Also conducting the focus
group discussions was a major problem particularly among the elderly groups. This was
because most of them were farmers and so getting them together was not easy. The
researcher had to visit them a few times before getting them.

Also female respondents were unwilling to participate in the study because most of them
were afraid of being dragged into conflict. Also places such as the high court, regional
archives and regional house of chiefs had very little document about the conflict. Again,
when the researcher wanted to know the number of deaths recorded in conflict at the
Regional Police Headquarters, Ho; this was not possible since reports were highly
confidential because of some criminal cases involved. Additionally, the researcher could not obtain data from the Ministries of Agriculture and the Statistical Service Department on the performance of production in the period under review. This problem applied to the Ministry of Education and Health, upon several visits by the researcher to these state departments. This, coupled with the diverse nature of the traditional area, posed both time and financial constraints to the researcher.

1.6.9 Data Analysis Procedure

The data obtain from the field were edited for consistency of the set of interview guides and schedules as well as the set of focus group discussion guides. The results were grouped under general themes for the analysis. The results are presented in descriptive and discussing analysis using the Statistical Product and Services Solution (SPSS) software. Frequencies and percentages as descriptive statistics were used to present the data. According to Glass and Hopkins (1999), descriptive statistics involves tabulating, describing and depicting collections of data and it serves to describe, summarize and reduce large data into manageable forms. Besides, there was also content analysis of the information and document on the conflict which was presented in written forms.

1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH

The study is organized into five chapters. Chapter one provides detailed information on the background, the problem statement, the objectives, the research questions, the significance, methodology and the structure of the study.

Chapter two reviews existing literature on the subject and also discusses the theoretical frame work within which the study fits. This is done to ensure that the study fills an
existing gap rather than duplicating an existing knowledge on the subject. The third chapter discusses the history of the Peki-Awudome conflict, components of their culture and methods and attempts at managing and resolving the conflict.

Chapter four presents and analyzes the data collected. Summary of findings, general conclusions and recommendations are found in chapter five.
CHAPTER TWO
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION
For all empirical researches, theoretical grounding and review of existing literatures are required. This serves as a means by which to exploit fully the implicit as well as explicit premises beneath the study and also help explain behaviour. The nature of ethnic conflicts in Ghana and possible causes of violent conflicts among ethnic groups allow for the application of a variety of theories to explain comprehensively and enhance understanding of the diverse events that necessitate them. This section is divided into two parts: the first deals with theories that explain the intra-ethnic conflict between Peki and Awudome; and the second reviews existing literature on the impact of ethnic conflicts as well as concepts that are relevant in explaining the nature of the Peki and Awudome conflict. Among the several theories explaining ethnic conflicts, this research focuses on three that are relevant to the situation in Peki and Awudome. The first is the Human Needs Theory, which explains the lack of basic human needs as a source of conflict; the second theory which is the Symbolic Politics Theory explains and predicts ethnic conflicts and the third is the Psycho-cultural Theory, which focuses on identity and ethnicity as events that predict ethnic conflicts.

2.1 THE HUMAN NEEDS THEORY
The human needs theory was propounded by Abraham Maslow, an American Sociologist in his 1943 paper “A Theory of Human Motivation”. However, this theory was fully expressed in his book “Motivation and Personality”, 1954. The main underpinning of the human needs theory is that humans have a plethora of needs which they seek to fulfill and hindrance to the fulfillment of these needs can lead to conflict. Abraham Maslow (1970)
in his hierarchy of needs identifies physiological, security, love or belongingness, self-esteem and self actualization as important needs that all humans tend to seek. These needs have been further developed by Burton (1990), Azar (1991) and Max-Neef (1991). Burton (1990) identifies response, stimulation, security, recognition, distributive justice, and the need for a sense of control as needs that are fundamental to humans. Marx-Neef (1990) also puts human needs in a hierarchical order consisting of subsistence, protection, affection, participation, privacy, creativity, identity, and freedom. According to Faleti (2006), these needs are universal to all humans that they seek in order to fulfill their existence.

Marx-Neef (1991) posits that the inadequate satisfaction of fundamental needs results into pathology that can be expressed economically through unemployment or poverty and politically through crime, violence, xenophobia and marginalization. Human needs, he contends are met through satisfiers (those things that are denied). These satisfiers can be compromised but the needs themselves cannot. Needs are inherent and fundamental to human survival and development, and have to be met else, violence results (Burton, 1990).

Thus, the human needs theory sees the source of conflict and violence as resulting from the inability to meet fundamental human needs. The UN DESA (2001) states that, ‘the suppression of needs for subsistence, security, identity, affection, freedom and participation are very relevant for explaining ethnic conflicts’. The needs of Peki – Awudome include subsistence from the disputed land. However, there are other deep interests which tend to drive these needs. These include political power and cultural identity. The needs of both groups remain very fundamental (to them) and they are unwilling to compromise and negotiate.
The human needs theory believes that conflict in society can be resolved when needs are met. This calls for needs-based negotiation which involves assessing the needs of the parties and meeting these needs (Barsky, 2000). With regards to Peki-Awudome, it is not only that the need of both groups move concurrently, but the need is on the same parcel of land which both laid claim to. This raises the question: when the need is on one factor and indivisible between two parties how it can be met? The human needs theory could not help to explain which needs should be met with appropriate satisfiers and how they should be met (Falati, 2006). This theory is much relevant to the study because the need of Awudome and Peki is the utilization of the land in contestation for their development and the attempt by any of the two communities to prevent the other from using the land is what has generated the conflict.

2.2 THE SYMBOLIC POLITICS THEORY

This theory posits that the justification for ethnic conflict or war is a result of people's response and acceptance of ethnic traditional/myth-symbols that provide adequate and reasonable grounds for aggression towards another group (Kaufman, 2001). These symbolic myths provide grounds for antagonism if they can demonstrate that the other group is a traditional enemy. This is also the case if they are linked to a group's assets, such as a territory that requires defense, protection and domination (the notion of dominance is a result of chauvinism; an activity indicative of belief in the superiority of one ethnic group over the other). Critical to this theory is ethnic fear, which is a key contributing factor stimulating and necessitating ethnic conflict. This phenomenon begins with one ethnic group, and finally two or more ethnic groups coming to dread that the survival of their ethnic group is at peril. The constant dreading of one ethnic group's survival provides the grounds to exhibit aggression and antagonism towards the other ethnic group(s) in an

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extreme display of self-defense as well as engaging in activities that strive for domination over the other ethnic group(s). Thus, the moment the fear of ethnical extinction becomes pervasive, they provide the reasonable grounds as well as incitement for an ethnic group to rise up and resort to violence in order to defend and protect their survival. These fears necessitate war as a result of people's desire to avoid losses rather than pursue gains; hence, it becomes easy to mobilize to fight a common threat of loss. This fear of ethnic danger is one that can be extended to explain why leaders of nations rationalize their actions of violence or aggressive attacks on other nations due to other nations being harmful to their survival. Kaufman (1974) also noted that, even the massacre of the Jewish people was rationalized in an ideology that Jews were both a threat and inferior to the Nazi Germans.

Another contributing factor necessitating ethnic conflict and war as espoused by this theory is opportunity. The notion of opportunity necessitating conflict and war holds that ethnic groups must have sufficient freedom to mobilize politically without being restrained by a superior power, such as the state. The lack of freedom as a result of state policing can diffuse ethnic disagreements and prevent them from intensifying into conflicts and wars. Furthermore, political repression from forces above, such as state authorities, can limit the abilities of individuals to successfully deliver their messages of convincing other ethnic members to rally behind them in conflict and war.

The Symbolic Politics Theory maintains that the presence of antagonistic myths, dread and opportunity will necessitate ethnic wars and conflicts if they escalate mass aggression, chauvinist mobilization by ethnic group leaders who make excessive gains from symbolic appeals; thereby creating a sense of insecurity among groups. Moreover, a variety of triggering factors plays a role by sparking hostile aggression or chauvinist militarization.
For example, if traditional myths, dread and hostile aggressions are already pervasive, an opportunity and a stimulating event can trigger the emergence of a strong and powerful ethnic group movement. The consequences of such movements are that they lead to war and conflict if there is a feeling of insecurity, because leaders make dominating/chauvinist appeals that provoke and encourage these movements. At other times, these conflicts are elite-led; whereby, society's powerful elite make advantageous use of these ethnic symbols and ideologies to arouse anxiety, aggression and insecurity among ethnic members. This propels them to engage in violent activities against other groups. In both cases, ethnic war and conflict arise from a cruel feedback cycle that has hostility, extremist symbolic appeals, and a security dilemma; all of which provide reinforcement that triggers violence and antagonism against ethnic groups. Hence, ethnic wars and conflict can be averted in the absence of any of these mechanism; in other words, if there is excessive fear, and opinion leaders and politicians do not exploit mythical appeals to their selfish interest, or even if they do and such appeals are not heeded to by the populace.

Throughout Africa, antagonistic ideas and ideologies, as well as fear of ethnic extinction, have been the root cause of numerous conflicts. For example, the war that persisted in Sudan until the twentieth century was an ethnic one that was deeply grounded in the hostile identities and traditions of the northerners and southerners. Moreover, it was the result of the enslavement of the south Sudanese by North Sudanese, which threatened the former's survival. The same can be said of the ethnic war in Nigeria from 1967; also known as the Biafra war. The triggering factor for this conflict was the dread of ethnic extinction of the Hausa-Fulani group due to the stereotypical activities of the southern Nigerians. Much can also be said of the Rwandan genocide in which several thousands of lives were lost as a result of its ethnic nature. The history of South Africa moments after apartheid
shows how fear of ethnic extinction is important in galvanizing people to war or to peace. Just after the end of apartheid, the white community in South Africa feared extinction. This fear threatened to explode in South Africa, but for the timely intervention of the "Rainbow Message" preached by Nelson Mandela and his African National Congress. The Rainbow Message sought peaceful coexistence between black and white South Africans, and proved successful in resolving the black-white security dilemma.

In summary, the main thrust espoused by the Symbolic Politics Theory as a critical cause of ethnic conflict is a result of people's acceptance of ethnic traditional/myth-symbols that give sufficient grounds for aggression, fear of ethnic extinction with one group proving dominance over others and opportunity where ethnic groups have enough leverage to mobilize resources without any restrained by superior powers. The relevance of this theory to the Peki – Awudome intra-ethnic conflict is that, the two communities believed in their unique identity and traditions and would therefore mobilize resources to protect their group survival.

2.3 THE PSYCHO-CULTURAL CONFLICT THEORY

The psycho-cultural conflict theory sees identity, particularly the one based on ethnicity, as the main basis of conflict in society. The theory argues that conflict in society is mainly culturally induced (Ross, 1997). There are different types of identities, but the type of identity based on ethnicity and culture is at the core of conflicts in society. Ethnic identity according to Chandra (2008) “is a social category in which an individual is eligible to be a member.” This is usually ascribed, in that one attains it from birth and in the ethnic group. The theory further argues that when people are discriminated against or deprived of the satisfaction of the basic needs based on their ethnic or cultural identity, there is conflict,
which is often very violent (Faleti, 2006). In light of this, Asem (1985) argues that, the root cause of the Peki – Awudome conflict is the prevention of the Awudome people from utilizing the disputed land at Awalime which served as their main farmland.

According to the Psycho-cultural theory, identity is the most important need in the hierarchy of human needs and when denied results in violent conflict. The satisfaction of one’s basic needs is intricately related to one’s identity. The Psycho-cultural conflict theory is similar to the Primordial approach to ethnicity which emphasizes the fact that people’s ethnicity (identity) is deeply-rooted in their past. Irobi (2005) argues that memories of past traumas magnify people’s anxieties. This is as a result of ethnic identity which produces fear, hatred and consequently ethnic conflict among two ethnic groups which have a history of ethnic discrimination and stratification. Irobi posits that when an ethnic group has a history of being stereotyped and discriminated based on their ethnicity; it results in violent conflict since ethnicity remains part and parcel of the entirety of an individual’s make-up. Ethnic groups which have been discriminated against and stratified into lower class citizens always harbour a feeling of marginalization and this produces strong feeling of hatred and resentment towards the other group which did the discrimination. This is what Richardson & Sen (1996) call ‘victim mentality’. Irobi (2005) criticizes the inadequacy of modernization theory which holds that modernity will result in the dissolution of ethnic affiliation. He observes that ethnicity is fixed and remains part of the identity of individuals and groups. Therefore any marginalization of an ethnic group or discrimination against it based on ethnicity will receive strong resistance (conflict). This is particularly seen in the mobilizing role of ethnic identity.
Psycho-cultural conflict theorists like Ross (1997) and Horowitz (1998) believe that conflicts which are caused by identity are usually dangerous, violent, intractable and highly protracted, and often very difficult to resolve. This is because identity which is at the centre of the conflict,

“is an unshakable sense of worth, which makes life meaningful and includes the feeling that one is physically, socially, psychologically and spiritually safe” (Faleti, 2006). When this feeling of safety (identity) is threatened, there is a defensive reaction aiming at protecting the identity at all costs and the result is violent conflict which becomes a matter of life and death. This tends to affect development since violence is perpetually continued affecting productive sectors of local economies. The Psycho-cultural conflict theory argues, therefore, that resolving this type of conflict is usually very difficult and tends to defy any resolution mechanism. There is always constant outbreak of violent with such conflicts despite attempts at resolving the conflict. Their resolution takes long and sometimes, it is not possible to talk of resolution, but management.

This is because the issue of ethnic identity is uncompromising and its denial is a complete affront to the group’s very existence. The outbreak of consistent violence as a result of this type of conflict makes life and security fragile, thereby affecting human well-being and development. Thus, the link between ethnic conflicts, their resolution and development is clearly seen. Due to the deep-seated protracted and intractable nature of conflicts based on identity (ethnic conflict), their resolution remains very difficult and takes very long, and this produces strings of violence thereby affecting meaningful development. Seymour (2003) therefore emphasized that identity influences the process of conflict. The Psycho-cultural theory has been heavily criticized by scholars such as Bowen (1996) and Osaghae (2005).
The theory has been criticized for attributing the main basis of conflict and violence to identity based on ethnicity. Critics are quick to point out that there is a tendency for many people to label any conflict as ‘ethnic identity’ (Tonah, 2007). Bowen (1996) contends that those conflicts which are said to be based on ethnic identity are products of modern politics. He argues that although people have had many identities for long, which are based on their culture (ethnicity), these people only began to see themselves as opposed to others only during the modern period of colonization. Bowen (1996) asserts that the Rwandan, Burundian and Bosnian conflicts are politically based conflicts rather than ethnic identity dimensions. Osaghae (2005) also argues that what is seen as ethnic conflict is not so, but elite manipulation of ethnicity to gain advantage for their political and personal ambitions. Ethnic identity, to him, is elitist manipulation of ethnicity to gain control over political power and what is seen as conflicts emanating from ethnic identity is not but political conflicts. It is possible for elites to manipulate a group of people against each other. It is even possible for conflicts in some parts of Africa and other places to take ethnic dimensions even if the initial cause of the conflict is political, resource, religious or any other cause (Tonah, 2007).

Ernest Penan (cited in Bowen, 1996) believes that ethnic identity is constructed by intellectuals for their personal interest and that ethnic identity is a set of ideas rather than people’s values in conflict. Chandra (2006) believes that ethnic identity does not matter or has not been shown to matter in explaining most outcomes of violence. Fearon & Laitin (2000) also argue after an enquiry into the relationship between ethnic identity and violence that the mere observation that ethnic identities are socially constructed is not so.
In concluding, the Psycho-cultural Theory simply argues that, identity based on ethnicity explains the main reason for conflict in society. The weakness of the theory makes it imperative for this study to be able to properly identify the sources of the conflict and its ethnic dimension in Peki – Awudome Traditional Areas in order to devise appropriate resolution mechanisms to them.

2.4 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Reviewing literature is an important aspect of every research. In this particular context, it is relevant to the extent that it presents a general view of the previous works conducted and how the research will be situated in a proper context. Literature review captures vividly the differing views or opinions as well as perceptions on the phenomenon under study and further places the study in its right context. In essence, it shares light and also enhances the understanding and appreciation of the reader in relation to previous knowledge and perspective.

2.4.1 Overview of the Peki – Awudome Conflict

To Asem (1982), Asem (1985) and Nyalemegbe (2011), the remote cause of the Peki – Awudome conflict lies in historical incidents that date back to the early 19th century when the two communities engaged in a battle over an issue concerning an elephant tusk. The account from the national archives confirmed the incident and exposed the difficulty in determining which of the hunters first shot the elephant. Other historical incidents include the alleged murder of the Fiaga (paramount chief) of Awudome at the entrance to Peki Blengo, the Anglo-German Treaty that placed Awudome State under the political authority of Peki and the Adewuviwa (mud fish war).
Asem, Asem and Nyalemegbe have all agreed that the main cause of the Peki – Awudome conflict was a disagreement over a parcel of land at Awalime which both communities laid claim to. Asem (1982) in his work contends that the two communities fought several battles over the disputed land which led to loss of lives and destruction of properties. Nyalemegbe (2011) asserts that, the conflict has affected the general development of the two communities. Asem (1985) further explained that, the effect of the conflict was not felt by the feuding communities alone, but it also had a spill-over effect on other neighbouring communities.

According to Asem, Asem and Nyalemegbe, the people of Peki and Awudome adopted some strategies in attempt to resolve the conflict. These include court actions, mediations and traditional arbitrations. Government efforts to promote peace in the area according to them include the building of police barrier at Kporvi in the heart of the disputed land and the imposition of curfews during the conflict. However, all these efforts could not bring a lasting solution to the conflict and this has continued to affect the development of the people.

Asem, Asem and Nyalemegbe’s works are important because they provide knowledge on the causes, sequence and the effects of the conflict on the communities. What they failed to do is the youth dimension of the conflict-the role the youth played and how the conflict has affected the development of the youth of the two communities. In contrast, this research seeks to establish the effect of the conflict on the development of the youth in the areas of agriculture, education, commerce, health and social relations.
2.4.2 Conflict

Conflict is one of the most inevitable things in life and occurs at all levels of human society – at home, school, the family, society or at work level. The term however has been defined and used differently. According to Lund (1997), conflict occurs when two or more parties pursue incompatible interests or goals through actions that the parties try to undo or damage each other. These parties could be individuals, groups or countries. The parties’ interests can differ over access to resources, the control of political power, their identity and values or ideology (Maiese, 2003). The realization of these needs and interests by people can lead to conflict. When two groups or individuals such as ethnic groups pursue incompatible interests and needs which could either be political, economic, social or cultural, they can engage in conflict.

In the opinion of Coser (1956), “conflict occurs when two or more people engage in struggle over values and claims to status, power and resources which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals”. Coser seeks to argue that people in conflict are in competition or struggle over resources or power and the protection of their identity in which the conflicting parties attempt to undo one another. One thing that is worth mentioning in Coser’s definition is the fact that it identifies the causes of conflicts which include struggle over resources or power and the protection of identity. Conflict, therefore, is a struggle which is either positive or negative between two individuals or groups in pursuit of interests and goals on which they sharply disagree.

2.4.3 Ethnic Conflict

Ethnic conflict entails a clash of cultures. It pits against each other people whose values are in conflict, who want different things, and who do not understand each other. This sets
up a great scramble for resources. Hence ethnic conflict is the result of economic competition between ethnically differentiated segments of the working class or ethnic rivalries. Often times, elites manipulate ethnic identities in their quest for power, and they construct ethnic conflict. Ethnic conflict is generated by insecurity that emerges when an actor is unsure of the intentions of another actor and the two are already mutually hostile. It may take several forms and can be classified as violent and non-violent.

To Walter (2004) the problem of ethnic conflict in Africa was mooted under colonialism. This is because Africans had no control over the central power and often was kept divided into administrative districts by Europeans. Stedman (1991) sees violent and intractable internal conflicts in recent years in Somalia, Liberia, Rwanda, Burundi, and Sudan as the failure of states in sub-Saharan Africa to cope with ethnicity. He examines the association of ethnic identities with the colonial period and the ‘instrumentalist’ contention that ethnicity was invented for political purposes. He notes that the imperial powers in Africa did little to prepare the colonies for independence and that, given the imperatives of the colonial system; it was unrealistic to expect them to do more.

Since the 1960s, increasing numbers of ethnic groups have been pressing on their demands and needs that are now recognized as the major source of domestic and international conflict in the post-cold war world. The quest for independence from an existing state, the demand for self-sufficiency within a state, or recognition and protection of minority interest are among the issue that promote ethnic conflicts.

Other ethnic conflicts arise from efforts by minority groups to advance their status within existing boundaries of a state rather than to split from it. Most black South Africans for
instance want majority control of state power. They either do not identify with the
dominant model of nation-state, or they are not accepted as full members of the state or the
nation, which it purports to be or represent. From the perspective of the modern nation-
state, the existence of ethnically distinct ‘sub-national’ groups always represents a
potential threat, a destabilizing force, particularly when they are politically planned. This
is especially the case when power in the state rests principally with a dominant or majority
ethnic group.

Most independent states existing today are composed of more than one ethnic group, and
this diversity poses challenges to governance and to the prevailing concept of the nation-
state itself. One of the problems is that most states do not legally recognize the ethnic
pluralism existing within their borders, and those that do are still struggling with ways to
deal with diversity constructively. Some governments may deny their existence altogether,
whereas others impose strict legal criteria on ethnic groups and make them the object of
specific policies. Of course there was inter-village warfare between and within states in
pre-colonial era. The Berbers of North Africa and Massai of East Africa were victims in
this regard. There were also hostilities between the Yoruba and Fon, the Ewe and Asante
and Mossi (Asamoah, 2007). However ethnic conflicts became severe after colonialism.

Violent ethnic conflicts usually erupt in places where the government is an instrument of
group domination and where the channel for articulating demands is closed. They include
riot to secession and civil wars (which are experienced in most parts of the continent of
Africa notably Congo, Nigeria, Liberia, Sudan, Ethiopia, Rwanda and Cameroon).while
non-violent conflict includes articulation of changes of discrimination, neglect or
domination, demands for redress through the press, ethnic leaders, political parties, law
courts and other civil methods of articulating demand (Osaghae, 1992). Owing to the fact that the roots of ethnic conflicts are not being tackled, cosmetic solutions, such as the creation of more local government councils and chiefdoms, lead to the emergence of new minorities and more agitations and class contradiction. Before the advent of colonialism, Ghana like anywhere in sub-Saharan Africa, ethnic groups which have now been grouped as Ghana lived as separate entities, some were organised as political communities such as the Asante and Dagbon. Others like the Ga and Talensi lived as acephalous groups. These ethnic groups had different traditional, cultural, social and political backgrounds and each group was coterminous. During that period, economic and commercial factors and the deliberate policies of the polity and administrative forces of the state combined to create an environment that was conducive to integration and assimilation of the different ethnic groups (Walter, 2004).

Colonialism led to shifts of groups across the nation. People were forced to come to terms with foreign ideas. The foreign input shades the perception, goals and relationship between political actors without, melting the ethnic groups into a single entity. In some cases, members from the same ethnic group were split into parts and administered by the British and French colonial powers. By the time Ghana attained independence; ethnicity had eaten into the fabric of the Ghanaian society. Until 2002, most of the violations and abuses during the military regime had not been investigated, acknowledged, or officially redressed, resulting in considerable bitterness and divisions within Ghanaian society. Long term effects of the perpetration of these human rights violation included economic hardship, the deprivation of education for children, health problems, social divisions and animosities and disintegration of families. Socio-economic inequalities have also aggravated the deep suspicion and mistrust among the people of Ghana. The North-South
divide in Ghana (North being comparatively poorer), income and service availability disparities between urban and rural settings, a lack of opportunities for segment of the population, particularly the disabled, and gender insensitivity have all proven to be obstacles to coexistence in Ghana. Another area Ghana’s march to coexistence remains a work in progress is the treatment and attitude towards immigrants from neighbouring African states, particularly Nigerians. Ghana’s record in this area, like most African states, is not the best. A common perception exist that Nigerians living in Ghana are the primary source of crime and job competition, specifically in the banking industry. There are signs that this fear of “other” is also abating. Certainly Ghana’s record in hosting the small numbers of refugees fleeing the conflict in Liberia has been widely praised, and political leadership in Ghana has not exploited the xenophobia. Nevertheless, with globalization, the looming oil boom, and the likelihood of more immigrants coming, coexistence issues must be monitored. Sometimes the government acquires land from natives but does not use the land for its purpose, infuriating the original owners and generating prolonged conflict within the state. This particular issue is prevalent in Gater Accra Region, where apart from individual and family conflicts over land, there is also re-occurring disputes between the natives of the Region and the Government. The latter has sometimes produced ethnic undertones (Tonah, 2007).

It must be noted that Government has in recent times attempted to redress some of the lapses. The new comprehensive Land Administration Project (LAP) and the Government’s promise to return some of the compulsorily acquired land back to their rightful owners may contribute to mitigating the tension and animosity that these unresolved land disputes bring to the body of politic. Religious conflict has also been part of Ghana’s history, for instance the conflict between the Ga traditionalist and the charismatic churches. These
cleavages are a source of worry and debate over the prospects and coexistence in the country.

The Nkonya-Alavanyo conflict in Ghana is one of inter-ethnic conflict that has gone on for over 80 years as a result of land dispute. Similarly the violent clashes between the Nafana and Ntore ethnic groups at Brohani near Wenchi in the Brong Ahafo region is an example of inter-ethnic conflict over land. Another type of inter-ethnic conflict recorded in the 1990s is that between farmers and herdsmen in the mid-Volta basin. Since the 1960s Ghana’s Volta basin has become a major destination for migrant farmers, fishermen and herdsmen from the impoverished savanna regions of Ghana and Burkina Faso. The herdsmen are basically Fulbe who have migrated southward from Northern Ghana, Burkina Faso and Niger to the mid-Volta basin (Agyeman, 2005).

Intra-ethnic conflicts are conflicts that occur within the same ethnic group. Instances of intra-ethnic conflicts over land chieftaincy succession are many and can be found in almost all the regions in Ghana. Nsuta-Beposo and Effiduase-Asorkore in the Ashanti Region, Weija-Oblogo in the Greater Accra Region and Peki - Awudome in the Volta Region which is the focus of this study are examples of intra-ethnic disputes over land. Intra-ethnic chieftaincy disputes include Old Tafo near Kumasi, Banda-Ahenkro in the Brong Ahafo Region, Brekusu near Aburi Mampong-Agyem, Nkwantanang and Asutuare both in the Eastern Region, Tanoso-Subin in the Brong Ahafo Region following the elevation of four traditional areas to the status of paramountcy by the Asantehene, the Bimbagu in the West Manprusi District and the Dagbon chieftaincy crises in the Northern Region (Agyeman, 2005). One would have thought that groups of the same ethnic background should always maintain peace, this is not the case. This re-echoes the fact that
conflict can never be avoided in society; the closeness rather promotes the changes of conflicts. Closeness and a high degree of involvement make it highly possible that conflict will assume a greater intensity. Thus intensity is expected in relationships of which participants suppress their feelings over time; subsequently such feelings intensify conflict when they finally explode.

2.4.4 Youth

There is really no universally acceptable definition of youth. The National Youth Policy produced by the Ministry of Youth and Sports in March 1999 defines the youth as those falling within the age bracket of 15 – 35. Another document defines the youth as those between the ages of 15 and 25 years (Gyekye, 2006). Youth is defined by the United Nations as the age between 15 and 24. Definitions based on age offer a degree of objectivity, but overlook many important realities. To a large extent, youth is socially constructed, and it has less to do with age than with status and behaviour (Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery, 2005). The meaning of youth, and the way society regards youth, varies across time and space. In particular, youth has an important gender dimension: boys and girls might experience being young in a considerably different ways. Hence, in addition to being defined chronologically using age, youth is also defined functionally involving a process of transition from childhood to adulthood, marked by rituals or physical changes, as well as culturally - pertaining to the role that individuals play in a given social context.

The underpinning rationale of the body of international legal definitions on youth is that children constitute a vulnerable category in need of special protection because of their physical and psychological immaturity. Youth as an age category therefore positions itself
between the boundaries of childhood and adulthood. The age cohort between 15 and 18 is sometimes also referred to as “adolescents” (Lowicki and Pillsbury 2000). However, this age categorization is not universally accepted.

Some authors remark how the idea of a single, gender-neutral age of maturity is a Western product. In many non-Western societies, this chronological cut-off point is an arbitrary concept. For example, in pre-colonial African societies, adulthood was reserved for men with wealth and social status, and a very small number of older women.

To a large extent, youth is a sort of transition territory between the more established social categories of childhood and adulthood. Adding to which, there is considerable cross-cultural variation as to when an individual becomes an adult. As a transition concept, youth is intrinsically linked with rites of passage of some kind. In most traditional societies, there are well defined rituals that mark this transition. In the case of West Africa, for example, Stephen Ellis (1999) has described the important role played by “secret societies” in the initiation of young boys and girls. In contemporary societies, a number of symbolic steps can be identified, such as acquiring the rights to vote, getting married, obtaining a driving license, or buying alcohol. Richard Curtain, one of the main theorists of the idea of youth as a transition phase, suggests that in most societies, the defining dimension of the transition to adulthood coincides with demonstrating the capacity to contribute to the economic welfare of the family. Curtain considers youth as a complex interplay of personal, institutional, and macroeconomic changes that most young people have to negotiate.
The transition from childhood to adulthood has a crucial gender dimension. How each gender experiences this transition stage and the societal expectations and personal aspirations young men and women may have for their futures begin to diverge. Youth is often the time when “the world expands for boys and contracts for girls”. Girls begin to experience new restrictions and the attitudes, behaviour, conduct and, in particular, the sexuality of young women begins to be more closely watched sometimes even “policing.” As a consequence, cultural norms dictate that females are sheltered at the stage of puberty, for reasons such as purity and marriageability, stigma, or family reputation.

In some societies, young women end up with fewer “safe spaces” and narrow social networks. Few places exist where they can meet peers or form alliances and friendships because of their relegation to the private, domestic sphere. In some parts of the world, adolescent girls’ enrolment in school often declines sharply due to the need for their services domestically, De Waal (2002). A study carried out by the Women’s Commission for Refugees, Women and Children points out that “the English term adolescent, meaning a person in transition from puberty to adulthood, is based primarily on Western theories of child development that might not apply cross-culturally”. For the purpose of this study, the youth would be defined as all able-body men without children and elderly men who served as the base for troop mobilization and actively participated in the conflict.

2.4.5 Development

The term development has been used and defined variously by different scholars at length. However, the term is generally about change and growth in human well-being at the individual, community, regional, or global levels. Historically, development used to be equated to economic growth and generally concerned with the ability of a country’s
economy to increase and sustain its Gross National Product (GNP) or Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in real items at certain levels. In this way, development was measured in terms of ‘real’ growth in per capita income (Schoeman, 1998).

Until quite recently development was seen as economic. Many still see it as shorthand for ‘socio-economic’; however, the meaning of the term development has changed from merely looking at development as increase in GNP or GDP. According to Stewart (2004), this is a very inadequate characterization and definition of the term “development”. There is now a change towards alternative development strategies due to the inadequacy of the economic growth paradigm (Kendie, 2002). Development generally is about improvement and qualitative change in the lives of individuals and an entire society. Development, according to Todaro (1997) is: “a multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes and institutions, as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and eradication of poverty”. This involves changes in human conditions which involve important facets such as economic well-being, security, reduction in inequality and poverty, the absence of violent conflict and its proper resolution and management.

Todaro & Smith (2009) observe some important aspects of development:
They observed that development should focus on raising people’s level of living which comprises their incomes and consumption levels of food, education and medical services. Not that alone, but also, development should create conditions that are conducive for the growth of people’s self-esteem through the establishment of social, political and economic systems as well as institutions that promote human dignity and respect.
Stewart (2004) equally conceptualised development simply as a progress in human well-being. This includes well-being in the general life of human beings including peoples’ health, education and security. The reference to security presupposes the absence of violent conflict and a proper resolution and management of these conflicts when they occur. Similarly, Ibeanu (2006) posits that development: “is a process of improving the conditions in which human beings live”. Ibeanu (2006) believes that these conditions emanate from a complex interplay of both the natural and social environments. These include peace, justice and security which are important tenets of development. Amartya Sen (1999) also sees development simply as ‘freedom’. That is freedom in all forms - economic, social and political freedom. Sen believes that political freedom empowers individuals to build their capabilities for development.

One important tenet that can ensure development is human security – the ability of people to be safe, and feel safe. Violent conflict which constitutes an obstacle to security is a serious impediment to development, and development cannot be realized in an insecure and conflictual environment. The UNDP Human Development Report of 1994 notes that human security is an important part of development and development can only occur in a peaceful society (UNDP 1994).

2.4.6 Human Security

The security of humans remains a very important part of their well-being and development. The term ‘human security’ was first introduced in 1994 by UNDP Human Development Report to focus security from the point of view of people, as opposed to the security of states (Jolly & Ray. 2006). Thus human security is ‘people-centered security’ or ‘security with a human face’ which places human beings – rather than states – at the
focal point of security considerations (United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), 2009). Since then discussions on security have been focused on human security more than states security.

In defining human security, the UNDP (1994, p. 3) states that: for too long, the concept of security has been shaped by the potential for conflict between states. For too long, security has been equated with threats to a country’s sovereignty. For too long, nations have sought arms to ensure their security. For most people today, a feeling of insecurity arises more from worries about the necessities of daily life than from the dread of a cataclysmic world event. Job security, health security, environmental security, security from crime, these are the emerging concerns of human security all over the world.

The simplest definition of human security, according to Jolly & Ray (2006), is “primarily an analytical tool that focuses on ensuring security for the individual and not the state.” Tadbakhsh (2005) also conceptualizes human security as ‘freedom from fear’ and ‘freedom from want’. That is, to be secure is to be free from both fear (of physical, sexual or psychological abuse, violence, persecution, or death) and from want (of gainful employment, food, and health).

The UN Commission on Human Society (CHS) (2003) gives a broader definition of human security as the protection of the “vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment”. According to the CHS, this means:

- Protecting basic rights and freedoms;
- Protecting people from severe and widespread threats and circumstances;
- Motivating and empowering people to take their destiny into their own hands; and
Providing the necessary political, social, environmental, economic, military as well as cultural framework and systems within which people can live meaningful and dignified lives (CHS, 2003).

Thus, the key premises of human security contained in the UNDP 1994 Report are: (i) its focus on freedom from fear and freedom from want, and (ii) its four-fold emphasis includes universality, interdependence, and people-centeredness. The elements of human security include security from violent conflict, poverty, humanitarian crises, epidemic diseases, injustice, inequality, fear, and wants (Alkire, 2003).

Violent conflict remains one major threat to human security in that it threatens peoples’ opportunities for development. Violent conflicts deny humans the security to engage in their commercial, agricultural and other activities. According to the CHS (2003), some strategies must be put in place to ensure the security of people in relation to violent conflict. These include protecting people caught up in violent conflict, designing a holistic approach to protect people caught up in violent conflict and curbing further violence: empowering people recovering from violent conflict through conflict resolution and prevention and building social protraction systems for the poor after conflict.

2.4.7 Conflict and Development

Conflict is intricately linked to development. The relationship between conflict and development is such that underdevelopment can cause violent conflict. This view argues vigorously that conflicts are driven by underdevelopment, poverty and inequality (Subrke & Chaudhary, 2007). This view has its proponents mainly coming from the World Bank. In several of its studies on the nexus between armed conflict and development, the World
Bank has emphasized that conflict is a bane to development since it tends to reverse development efforts.

Richardson & Sen (1996) note that, ethnic conflicts have the potential of undermining economic development; this is because it slows down economic growth as resources are diverted to maintaining peace and security; it also destroys physical infrastructure, causes brain drain; and curtails foreign investments. This produces a cycle of violence which results in underdevelopment since ethnic violence leads to insecurity which affects investments, commerce, education and other sectors of development. They maintain that development is an essential key in diffusing tensions between ethnic groups. This is why Ernest Gellier (1983, cited in Subrke & Chauhary, 2007) states that ethnic conflicts will become less pronounced with the growth and development of a country where poverty and spatial inequalities are reduced.

Some parts of Africa have had conflicts which arose from poverty and unequal distribution of resources and power. Liberia and Sierra Leone have had their development destroyed by conflicts as their economies were almost grounded, their infrastructure seriously damaged and many of the human resource were either killed or incapacitated for life (Zeleza, 2008). During their conflicts, Liberia and Sierra Leone had more than half of their population below the poverty level and their economies declined by an average of 1.8 percent per annum. Even the aftermath of conflict on development is so devastating such that household income, asserts and general well-being are negatively affected by conflict (Justino, 2008).
2.4.8 Peace Building in Ghana

Ghana currently enjoys the well-deserved reputation as one of Africa’s most democratic and stable countries. This does not take away from the fact that the country has experience high level of debilitating and often violent inter-community conflict. Between 1990 and 2002, for example, 14 violent clashes between ethnic community groups took place. Most of these conflicts took place in the Northern region where strong perceptions of economic and political marginalization exist vis-à-vis the more powerful and prosperous south. One of the conflicts, the Konkomba-Nanumba ‘war’ in 1994-1995, left 5000 people dead (Tonah 2007). At this time (1994) civil society organizations combined efforts to facilitate peace building. An ‘Inter-NGO Consortium’ was formed. They intervened by facilitating processes of dialogue and negotiation that had been successful in restoring peace in a number of these conflicts. Civil society’s approach contrasted sharply to that of Government. The approach of Government was to suppress the violence through the use of force; the appointment of commissions of inquiry that allocated blame; and then often ignore the sanctions recommended by the commission because of the perceived unpalatable political consequences. In contrast civil society’s approach sought to uncover the deeper sources of conflict and focus on dialogue, deeper mutual understanding joint problem-solving and reconciliation.

Another violent conflict broke out in 2002 in the Dagomba Kingdom which led to the murder of the King of Dagbon and 40 others. The violence was caused by a long-simmering dispute between two royal ‘houses’ on issues of ascension to the throne or skin. The conflict was serious because of its potential to destabilize the Northern region and to be excessively politicized with general elections looming in 2004. The two major political parties were perceived to have taken opposing sides in the conflict. In March 2003, the
Government declared a state of Emergency in the Region. At this point, Government because it had taken notice of the sources of civil society’s methodology, approached the UN country office in Accra for assistance. Following a UN assessment mission, a Peace and Governance Advisor was appointed. They latter worked with Government and civil society in the facilitation of a process of dialogue and negotiation that had defused the violence potential of the conflict and made substantial progress in dealing with the underlying issues (Miller, 2003).

Following the success of this intervention, the Government with support from the UN system, set out to create a national mechanism for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict. The rationale was to provide formal recognition of and institutional support to the approach that has proved to be successful. The ‘national architecture for peace’ would consist of councils like statutory bodies that would consist of representatives of other stakeholders as well as individual Ghanaians that enjoy high levels of trust and respect in society. These councils would exist at national, regional and district levels with the mandate to facilitate dialogue, problem-solving and reconciliation processes at the levels of their jurisdiction. They would be saved by a body of full-time, professional peace promotion officers connected to the regional peace advisory councils. Furthermore, a peace building support unit was established within the ministry of the interior to coordinate support and collaboration from Government agencies.

The process of erecting this ‘architecture’ is currently ongoing. The national peace council has been established and yet to have legal standing. Parliament still needs to debate a bill to legalize their role. Even so, the council has reportedly played a major role in ensuring peaceful election in 2008 and a smooth transfer of power. They have done so through
discreet meetings with stakeholders that had defused considerable tension. The fact that the role of the council has not yet been legalized also meant that it remained dependent on donor funding, the bulk of which was supplied by UNDP. UNDP had, apart from funding, also spent considerable energy in building the capacity of the council and providing support to it (Zeleza, 2008).

The current position with regional councils is more complex. Regional peace advisory councils have not been established in all regions, and in some of the regions where they have been established, they have merged with regional security structures that have a primary interest in issues of early warning and security. There is, in other words, not complete consensus on the precise role of the peace councils. There is a difference in role between a peace building body that focuses on dialogue and problem-solving and a body that has a primary security function. The regional peace advisory council in the North, however, has reportedly played a constructive role in ensuring peace during the elections of 2008. Despite the unfinished nature of the Ghanaian peace architecture, a number of features stand out:

- The national architecture for peace is the first official national level programme for peace building in Africa. It is in consonance with the Resolution of African leaders at the First Standing Conference on Stability, Security and Development in Africa, in Durban in 2002, for each country to establish a national framework for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts,

- Ghana provides one of the most interesting examples of a local peace building process that made a substantial contribution towards national security. Essentially the Dagbon-conflict was treated as a distinct conflict cycle and peace was secured
through engaging local actors and stakeholders in a carefully facilitated process. This has defused much of the political tension that had built up at national level.

- Political consensus has been achieved across the board regarding the usefulness and value of the Peace Councils.

- The consensus has been forged on basis of the experience that all parties had with the peace-making methodology that had been employed in the North and during the 2008 election period. In other words. The success achieved through carefully facilitated dialogue and joint problem-solving processes, as compared to strong-arm tactics, has provided the basis of the consensus.

- The success of this process had much to do with the quality support and capacity building provided by civil society and the UN system. With particular reference to UNDP, the presence of highly professional peace and Development Advisers and the sustained attention of the programme to capacity building have definitely had good results.

- The design particularly provided for the provision of technical and administrative support to the councils in the form of peace building Support Unit.

- At a conceptual level, there is a clear distinction between the roles of the peace councils and that of governance structures. The peace councils facilitate dialogue and joint problem-solving, they do not arbitrate nor do they have the authority to intervene with or override governance functions. The importance of role-clarity is highlighted by the impact of the remaining confusion regarding peace-making and security roles.

Drawing on the in-roads made by the peace council so far, it is a gain saying that, the peace council should be well resourced and given legal backing by government to enable
the council to intensify its work of peace building in the country. This to a large extent would inure to the benefit of the people of Peki and Awudome in their quest to find a sustainable peace for development.

2.4.9 Conflict Resolution, Peace and Development

Conflict and its peaceful resolution are linked with development since development thrives in a secure and violent-free environment. According to Richardson & Sen (1996), if development is to be enhanced, there must be proper ways to diffuse ethnic tensions since violent conflict has considerable negative costs. They, therefore, insist that ethnic conflict resolution and management, which are all part of the peace process, must be made an economic policy goal and a development policy since violent conflict disrupts development efforts. Conflict resolution must also be an important facet of every institution within the state if development is to be enhanced. Kendie & Akudugu (2010) observe that the ability of a state to develop strategies towards the management and resolution of conflicts should be a critical component of its development agenda.

Irobi (2005) believes that ethnic conflict is likely to be properly managed and resolved in a country with reasonable economic growth and development. Irobi argues that South Africa’s development and economic growth have put it in a better place to effectively manage and resolve conflicts than a country like Nigeria. Generally, development remains an essential key in conflict resolution because it can lead to poverty reduction and modernization of state structures which help to diffuse ethnic tensions. Africa’s inability to resolve ethnic conflicts in some parts of the continent is underlined by the continent’s underdevelopment and weak economic structures (Irobi, 2005). Thus, development helps to promote a speedy resolution of conflicts.
Linking conflict to its resolution and development, Lipchitz & Crawford (1995) argue that ethnic conflicts are not only caused by ethnicity or religion, but the lack of early warning systems and economic and political development. Thus, Lipchitz & Crawford believe that when there are developments in both economic and political structures, conflict can be properly resolved and other areas of development vigorously pursued.

Also, Dervis (2006) argues that the ability of a society to organize itself on a basis of consensus and inclusion in order to manage and grow its available resources in the best possible manner leads to development. He states that sustainable development and sustainable peace result from the same common variable: the social and political infrastructure of a society through which consensus is built across religious, social, political or ethnic lines on the basis of the society’s assets. When a society lacks the infrastructure to manage and resolve conflict, they inevitably overwhelm the quest for both peace and sustainable development and this leads to mass violence.

Dervis (2006) posits that conflict resolution involves, first of all, providing feasible and external mediation necessary to end conflict and prevent them from turning violent and secondly, to resolve conflict to ensure development of communities. When a conflict is resolved effectively and totally, it leads to sustainable peace which is lynchpin for development. Rwanda, Liberia, Sierra Leone and other countries are going through post-conflict reconstruction (peace-building) after resolving their conflicts (Galadima, 2006). Although, the process of reconstruction has not been easy for these countries, security and development are now being pursued vigorously because of the minimum existence of peace. This is indicative of the need for conflict resolution to ensure sustainable peace which provides opportunities for development. However, the argument that peace and the
timely resolution of conflicts attract foreign investment and lead to development is not completely true. There remain many peaceful areas which still remain undeveloped.
CHAPTER THREE

THE HISTORY AND NATURE OF THE PEKI - AWUDOME CONFLICT AND
SOME ASPECTS OF THEIR CULTURE

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the Peki – Awudome conflict in detail. It looks at the background of the study area, its socio-economic and political characteristics, the causes and the sequence of the conflict, the strategies adopted in resolving the conflict and some aspect of the Peki – Awudome culture.

3.1 STUDY AREA

The two communities involved in the conflict are found within two different districts. Awudome is found in the Ho West District while Peki falls under South Dayi District, all in the Volta Region. Ho West District is located between latitudes 6.33° 32” N and 6.93° 63” N and longitudes 0.17° 45” E and 0.53° 39” E. It shares boundaries with Adaklu District to the south, Afadjato South to the North, Ho Municipal and the Republic of Togo to the East and South Dayi District to the West. It has a total land area of 1,002.79 square kilometres and a population density of 94.3, which means on the average there are about 94 persons per square kilometre in Ho West District. This implies that there are fewer people living in a square kilometre of land. Land therefore is in abundance for other land uses, in terms of agriculture investment, estate development, commercial and industrial activities among others. South Dayi shares boundaries with Kpando to the North, Ho West to the east and Adaklu-Anyigbe to the south with the Volta Lake stretching to the western part of the district.
Ho West District in which Awudome is located has two types of vegetation; these include the moist semi-deciduous forest, which mostly covers the hills in the district. The several tree species provide for domestic wood fuel. Species like wawa, mahogany and extensive strands of ‘borassium’ palm ‘agorti’ are used for construction. The other is shrubs and grass which provide food for livestock. The vegetation of South Dayi of which Peki falls is a mix of guinea woodland and deciduous forest. The savanna woodlands consists of grass with scattered trees including acacia, bamboo and baobabs, these dot the Dayi basin. The semi deciduous is found on the slope of Akwapim – Togo, Atakora hills and the hills found at Tsate, Kpalime and Dzemeni areas. The vegetation has served as a source of rich agriculture production in the district.

**Figure 1:** A Sketch Map Showing the Towns of the Peki and Awudome

![Sketch Map](http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh)

Source: Reproduced with permission from A. K. Asem’s *History of Awudome*
Figure 2: A Volta Regional Map showing Peki and Awudome

Source: Volta Regional Coordinating Council, Ho
3.2 SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PEKI AND AWUDOME

The Peki and Awudome communities are characterized by some shared common economic characteristics including agriculture and commerce. A major economic activity in both communities is agriculture, which employs majority of the community members. Most community members are engaged in farming either for subsistence or for the market. Some major crops grown in these communities include maize, cassava, plantain, cocoa and palm. Some other community members engage in livestock rearing, including poultry, sheep and goat.

Another economic activity engaged in by inhabitants of Awudome and Peki is commerce or trading. This involves the trading of goods such as farm produces, livestock, clothing, farm inputs among others. People frequent the Peki – Awudome areas to buy and sell the above mentioned products.

Peki and Awudome are located in two different administrative districts; two main levels of political authority exist in these areas. The first is the administrative authority where in the case of Awudome it is the Ho West District Assembly and South Dayi District Assembly for Peki. This is instituted by the Local Government Law (PNDC Law 207, 1988) to provide political administration at the local level. The assemblies are the highest political authority in the districts, running the functional administration in addition to ensuring the provision of social amenities for local people. The assemblies are responsible for the day-to-day administration of the districts, the provision of social services, preparation and submission of development plan and budget. The second is the chieftaincy institutions of the two communities which form their traditional authorities; both communities have
paramount and sub chiefs or traditional leaders who engage in series of activities including
land allocation, dispute settlement, upholding traditional customs and serving as the
custodians of the people’s beliefs, aspirations and culture at the local level.

3.3 THE PEKI AND AWUDOME CONFLICT

According to Amenumey (1976) the Ewe-speaking people, who inhabit the south-eastern
part of Ghana, trace their original home to Nigeria. After leaving Nigeria, they settled in
several places before arriving at Dahomey in Benin around the 15th century. In Benin, they
lived with the Yoruba, Aja, Fon and the Ga people. The Yoruba expanded and this led to
the exodus of Ewes. After leaving Benin, the group split into two with one part settling
near a river called Mano in the mid–16th century. The second half also settled at Notsie in
Togo just around the same time. This could be considered as the second stage in the
migration movement of the Ewe people. At Notsie, the Ewe people lived together and had
a thick wall around the community which served as a protection for them. The various
clans within the community of Notsie had their chiefs and elders who were accountable to
the supreme king who ruled over them.

Amenumey (1986), notes that the Ewes lived together happily and as one people. Trouble
started when famous King Agokoli ascended the throne. This King was said to be wicked
and treated his subjects as slaves. He made his subjects knead clay with thorns and broken
glasses embedded in it. He also demanded that they made ropes with clay. When things
became unbearable for the Ewes, they hatched a plan to flee his tyrannical rule. Around
the early 17th century, the Ewes had the opportunity to flee from Notsie when the great
wall was broken. This migration is referred to as the “Great Migration” of the Ewes.
From Notsie, the Ewes split into three broad groups with one group settling in Ho, another in Hohoe and the third group, Anlo settling along the coast. The Ho group founded the state of Takla, Akovia, Klevi, Sokode, Abutia and Awudome (one of the two study communities). The people of Awudome consist of communities such as Anyirawase, Dafor, Kwanta, Avenui, Tsibu, Bame and Tsito. On their arrival, the Awudome met the people of Akpafu, (a guan group) whom they fought, drove them away and took over the land (Asare, 1973). Amenumey (1986) confirms that there is much evidence to prove the earlier settlement of the people of Akpafu. There are some artifacts such as stones, broken pottery and other tools suggesting earlier habitation of the area. The people of Awudome settled and laid claims to all the land in the area which they parcelled to the various clans and families. The population grew and they had chiefs in addition to chiefs who came with them from Notsie.

The Peki state (the other study community) includes the people of Wudome, Dzake, Afeviwofe, Blengo, Dzogbati, Tsame and Avetile. They were originally with the Hohoe group and were known as the Gbi people. The Peki left the Hohoe group to found their present place. The Peki also claim to have fought and driven away the people of Akpafu (the same people driven away by the Awudome). These sub-Ewe groups, namely the Peki, Awudome, Takla, Kpando, Taviefe, Agotime, Sokode among others together with Boso, and Anum (Guans) were referred to by the European Missionaries as the Krepi (Ward, 1949).

Towards the end of the 17th century, the Kwahu acquired control over some of the Krepi states. In the 18th century however, the Kwahu was superseded by the Akwamu. Akwamu under the Akwamuhene Dako (r.1747 – 81) conquered most of the Krepi communities in
the 1760s even though the process might have begun as early as 1730s. In all, about 19 Krepi towns including Peki and Awudome towns were conquered at first and later 20 towns were added. Akwamu’s bid to dominate Krepi was motivated by political and economic considerations. Krepi states were strategically placed on important trade routes on the Volta Lake that linked the coast with important market centers inland up to Salaga and Krachi. By maintaining their hold on Krepi, Akwamu could control traffic on the Volta Lake and also the land traffic between the coast and the north of Akwamu. Akwamu exploited to the full the economic advantages of her conquest of Krepi. She acquired and exported many slaves as well as a vast quantity of ivory from Krepi. The Akwamu exercised their control over Krepi through Peki; so Krepi paid tribute to the Akwamu through Peki. In war times, Krepi offered military assistance to Akwamu. While Peki enjoyed some favour from the Akwamu, she incurred the displeasure of the other Krepi states because of her role as tax gatherer for Akwamu (Debrunner, 1965).

Asare (1973) notes that there was a new dimension to the Akwamu hegemony when Opoku Kuma ascended the throne; during his time, the Akwamu owed her accession to the Asantehene; hence Krepi became indirectly subjected to the Asantehene. Later, the Krepi states wanted to overthrow the Akwamu. On two occasions, 1829 and 1831, they failed but finally gained freedom in 1833 through the Krepi War of Independence spearheaded by Kojo Dei, the chief of Peki who arranged a pact of unity with the rest of the Krepi states. It was agreed that since Peki was vanguard of the Krepi, she should command the main division of the army; Awudome became the left wing with the Guan towns of Anum and Boso the right wing.
After the victory in the 1833 Krepi War of Independence, some of the Krepi towns still recognized the Peki leadership for a long time before gaining their paramountcies. The Awudome and Boso now had the right to enstool the Peki chief because of their positions as the left and right wingers in the grand scheme of the Krepi new political arrangement respectively. The chief of Boso, the right wing was responsible for the states in the right wing. These states include Anfoe, Anum and Boso. The chief of Awudome was also responsible for the states in the left wing like, Hlefi, Abutia, and others. The states within the left and right wings paid tribute to the chief of Peki through their wing chiefs.
Figure 3: A Sketch Map Showing Krepi Land in 1860

Source: Reproduced with permission for A. K. Asem’s *History of Awudome*
3.3.1 Causes and the Sequence of the Peki – Awudome Conflict

The Peki – Awudome conflict emanated from remote historical incidents and was triggered off by disagreement over the ownership of a parcel of land. Amenumey (1976) and Asem (1982) agreed that the historical dispute between Peki and Awudome begun as a hunting incident in 1829. A dispute arose between two towns – Adzokoe of Peki and Tsibu of Awudome in connection with an elephant that had been killed. A hunter named Akwabina Dashawa from Peki Adzokoe which was a town nine miles north of metropolitan Peki shot at an elephant but missed. The animal fled to the direction of Awudome and was shot at by a hunter called Nkunu from Tsibu Awudome five miles north of metropolitan Peki. The elephant retreated towards the hunter from Adzokoe who finally shot it dead. A quarrel arose as to who actually killed the animal. The people of Adzokoe claimed the head of the elephant for the Akwamu king Akoto; all tusks of elephants killed in Krepi or Akwamu had to be sent to the Akwamu king as the overlord. The people of Tsibu Awudome on the other hand claimed the head for one Asheshi (Adzesi) an influential man in Awudome. The dispute appeared to have been resolved by each side securing one tusk but the people of Adzokoe were still dissatisfied. They allied with neighbouring town of Kpalime – Brofong (Todome) with the help of Peki and attacked Tsibu Awudome, seized the other tusk and presented both tusks to king Akoto of Akwamu. The account from the archives showed that the determination of the hunter who first shot the elephant was difficult and that made the case very intriguing. Revenge by the people of Awudome on Peki led to a full-scale war which drew the Akwamu, Ga and Akwapim into it.

Another incident according to Asem (1982) and Asem (1985) which created dissension between Peki – Awudome was the death of Addae Kwasi, the Fiaga (paramount chief) of University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh
Awudome at Peki in 1897. In this year, the relations between Peki and Awudome worsened tremendously when it was alleged that Kwadzo Dei – Fiaga of Peki tricked Addae Kwasi into going to Peki. He was later found dead in suspicious circumstances at the entrance to Peki Blengo. Archival account on the incident revealed that murder was detected by an inquiry made by the then District Commissioner at Anum but opinion was divided as to whether the Fiaga of Peki had a hand in the death. The chief was found to have suffered from body injuries and a long nail was found in his skull. What probably angered the people of Awudome most must have been the alleged deceitful message sent by the Fiaga of Peki that the late Fiaga of Awudome had committed suicide. However, sufficient evidence could not be adduced to implicate the Fiaga of Peki on the charge of murder. Nonetheless, Kwadzo Dei was ordered by the District Commissioner to pacify the people of Awudome with the sum of fifty pounds (£50). The pacification was deemed necessary because it was upon the summons of the Fiaga of Peki that Addae Kwasi went to Peki before he was murdered.

Finally, the accounts of Asem (1982) indicate that the Bond of 1886 by Charles Riby Williams, the District Commissioner of the Volta District on behalf of Governor Branford Griffith, which made Awudome part of Peki native state, became a rich source of dissension between these two states. For many years, Awudome struggled to assert her independence from the political organization that saw Peki as the overlord to the Krepi state. This political arrangement made Peki to usurp the political autonomy of the Awudome people which as a matter of time they waited to regain. These incidents in a way served as the historical antecedents to the conflict.
Nyalemegbe (2011) attests that the underpinning cause of the Peki – Awudome conflict is over a parcel of land which the two communities claimed ownership to. The conflict first occurred in 1919 and was referred to as *Adewuviwa* (mud fish war). This war occurred when the people of Tsito Awudome went fishing in the Tsawe River in the disputed land without the people of Peki. Hitherto, the two communities usually meet on an agreed day to fish in the river together. The people of Peki interpreted the action of the people of Tsito Awudome to mean denial of their fishing right in the said land.

In 1959, according to G. K. Awuah of Peki Avetile, (chairman of the Peki committee for peace building), the two communities fought over the ownership of Awalime land openly for several days which resulted in many casualties. From his account, the people of Peki alleged that, their crops were harvested by the people of Awudome in the disputed land. As a result, the people of Peki decided to confront the Awudome in the farm and this led to several days of fighting which resulted in many casualties including lost of lives. According to Asem (1985), the 1979 conflict was the most violent between the two feuding communities. From the account, in that year, there was open confrontation at Awalime in the disputed land. The feuding parties used modern sophisticated weapons which exacerbated the already poor relations between Peki and Awudome. This confrontation led to the destruction of Kporvi and Kpetornu townships. Many people died and many more were displaced. Other properties including farms, shops and vehicles were destroyed. It took the intervention of the government using the state security to bring the conflict under control by imposing curfews. G. K. Awuah alleged that, the government provided modern arms to the people of Awudome but this allegation was vehemently denied by Togbe Dansu Komla of Anyirawase and Togbe Zoro of Tsito.
The last incident of open confrontation was recorded in 1988 where many people were reported dead and properties, especially, farms were destroyed. This was captured by Daitey (1988, December 21) in his Daily Graphic report captioned “Peki – Tsito Clash Again”. However, there have been issues of incursions as the people of the two communities adopted guerilla attacks but not to the extent of major conflict. The youth according to Togbe Zoro of Tsito and Togbe Dompreh of Dzake, have been the base for the mobilization of troops in all the violent out-breaks.

In concluding, it is evident from the above accounts that the major cause of the conflict was a misunderstanding concerning the ownership of a parcel of land albeit other historical antecedents. The conflict became protracted due to revenge and historical legacies of hatred and mistrust. Apart from that, the people blamed governments for their inability to resolve the conflict due to perceived interference.

3.4 TRADITIONAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND RESOLUTION METHODS IN PEKI AND AWUDOME

The people of Peki and Awudome have ways of managing conflicts when they occur. They include the voluntary and the involuntary processes. The voluntary process is that which parties have some control over the outcome. They include negotiation, mediation, facilitation and brokerage. The involuntary process is often outside the control of parties to the conflict. These options include arbitration and adjudication. The third parties who broker peace are traditional rulers. Even though the process may be non-violent, the parties to the conflict have to accept the outcome by law (Gavua, 2000).

With the voluntary process of settling disputes, Councils of elders, usually made up of the most elderly and senior members of the community sit to decide on individual and
community disputes. In this setting, dispute resolution has an air of democratization. The community feels and owns the process. The place for settlement of conflict is often a neutral ground such as the village market square or an open hut. If dispute is about a boundary for instance, the venue could be the boundary in contention.

The preparation process begins with consultation and invitations to the disputants involved. A date is chosen, this does not clash with any market or farming day. Materials like drinks are made ready for the event. On the day, persons involved are assembled; other community members could be present. The process is begun with a prayer and libation. In some situations, the spirits of ancestors are involved. The invitation of spirits buttress the link Peki and Awudome have with the ancestors. Disputants are made to take oaths after which they state their cases to the hearing of the elders. After listening to the cases, the elders may decide to give their verdict. Other times the meeting is adjourned and a fact finding is made after which a verdict is made. In the process the guilt may be established, in other situations, solutions are sought without blaming either party. At the end of the meeting, drinks are shared and the peace deal is sealed (Asamoah, 2007).

3.5 PEACE BUILDING EFFORTS

Since the insurgence of the Awudome and Peki conflict, there were efforts instituted to ameliorate the adverse effects of the conflict on the people and to find lasting solution to it. This included court actions, government interventions, mediations by civil society groups and the use of traditional conflict resolution methods by the people.
3.5.1 Court Actions

From the onset of the conflict, the people of Peki have always maintained that the parcel of land in contestation was their land where as the Awudome have challenged this claim by the Pekis and vehemently stated that the land was theirs. This led to the judgement of Simpson in 1960 and the appeal of 1964. The following is an excerpt from the 1960 judgement given by Justice Simpson in favour of Peki but was appealed by Awudome in 1964:

The Plaintiff in this action (from Peki) claims a declaration of title to an extensive and somewhat oddly shaped area of land some 4 miles West of Tsito together with 50 damages for trespass, an order for recovery of possession and a perpetual injunction. The action was originally instituted in Peki Native Court “B” by summons dated 28th April, 1955. There were 3 defendant, Agyawia of Awudome Tsito, Fia Kwadzo of Awudome Tsito and Abba Kwasi Head of Tronsu family of Awudome Tsito, The 1st Defendant has since died and been substituted by his successor, John Ntw Peniana and the 2nd defendant having also died has not been replaced. Both 1st and 3rd Defendants have counter claim declaration of title to the area.

In my view the plaintiff is entitled to the relief claimed, namely of title to the area delineated in blue Exhibit “A”, recovery of possession of these areas occupied by the defendants, a perpetual and damages for trespass which I assess at $25 against each defendant. The defendants will pay the plaintiff’s costs. Counsel’s fees are assessed at $150 guineas. Other costs are to be taxed.

Source: Volta Regional Archive, Ho
3.5.2 Peacekeeping

Government has often deployed military and police personnel to Peki and Awudome to enforce peace and ensure security anytime violence broke out. Curfews have also been imposed by the government following any renewed violence between the two communities. Since the clash of 1979, the government has established a permanent police barrier at Kporvi, the heart of the disputed land. Peacekeeping in the area however, helped mainly to curb and bring down the violence which is a management strategy to the conflict but does not provide a permanent solution to the conflict.

3.5.3 Civil Society Groups

Mediation processes of civil society organizations such as Peki – Awudome Local Council of Churches (PALCC) and youth groups of both communities. These mediation efforts have not helped in bringing the conflict to an end because they have not addressed the underlying issues in the conflict. Hence, violence continues to occur in the area. Though some of the measures – the peace building efforts - have brought some respite to the area for some considerable period of time, their over-all effect of ensuring lasting peace in the area remains to be seen. Peki-Awudome is still a conflict zone, and the fragile peace in the area is a sign of failure in finding a lasting peace to the conflict. The methods adopted in resolving the conflict failed to achieve a sustainable solution to the conflict as both communities have taken entrenched positions.

3.6 COMPONENT OF PEKI AND AWUDOME CULTURE

The components of the Peki and Awudome culture include their language, social, political and economic organizations as well as art and music. Other aspects of their culture that involve religion, festivals and symbols have also been mentioned.
3.6.1 Language of the People

The Peki and Awudome communicate the Ewedome language. With this language they transmit information about themselves to others and receive information from them. The use of language starts within the family when children learn from their parents with whom they live. People identify others through the use of language and this makes socialization easy. Although Peki and Awudome speak the same language, there is difference in terms of dialect. This is one of the bases of division between the two groups and also acted as a catalyst for the conflict due to the element of group identity.

3.6.2 The Social Life of the People

Socially, the people are organized into clans. The clans have segments comprising the major lineages, the extended families and the nuclear families. Each clan lives in a well defined area in a village. Each member of the clan can live anywhere within the clan territory. Clan members often trace their decent to a common ancestry. The various clans have properties in the form of land that are shared among members; this property is protected by a god. Land therefore is unifying force for members of a lineage and as well as serves as community interest. Community interest in land leads to unity amongst members and inter community interest in a piece of land can be a source of conflict.

The heads of major lineages make up the supreme administrative council. Each of the lineage has also got a sacred stool. The people have a belief that the stool is a sacred symbol that represent political office and is always surrounded by the souls of responsible chiefs who ever held political and divine power in their life time. The stool therefore serves as a medium of communication between the living and the dead. Members of the lineage believe they derive their protection from this sacred stool. Clan members provide
emotional and material support to their members and help each other financially, socially and morally. Members are always responsible for the well being of each other. They help in the moral upbringing of children; they counsel members of the clan and care for the aged. When a member of a clan dies, members pool their resources together and help with the funeral and burial activities. Inheritance is patrilineal, when a male member dies; the son of the deceased inherits the father except in a case of no children. In the past, it was only the first born who inherited the properties of the deceased, however, this practice has died off and equal access is now given to all siblings in case of death.

Like all other communities, marriage is an important event among the people of Peki and Awudome. They practice monogamy, polygamy and exogamy. Polygamous marriage is motivated by the need to acquire adequate farm labour, superstitious ideas about menstruation, the desire of a man to have many children and poor sexual performance by the first wife (Asamoah, 2007). Exogamy (the practice of marrying outside one’s clan) is a way of discouraging incest. A woman who marries outside her own clan enjoy all the rights and privileges of her husband, when deceased, however, her clan members bury her in their own clan. It is believed that being buried in one’s clan territory allows a smooth transition into the ‘spirit world’.

Formally, the selection of a bride was the duty of parents. They were to ensure that prospective brides hailed from a family with no dreaded diseases or madness. Immorality, criminality and witchcraft were also frowned at in the selection process. This practice is gradually fading away as men now search for women of their choice. When a man finds a woman of his choice, the message is conveyed through the presentation of a drink to the woman’s father through the delegation of close relatives of the youth. In Awudome, it is
the woman’s mother, who receives the knocking drink to the father of the woman. By this, her voice is important in the initial contacts between the two families. When the knocking drink is accepted, a date is fixed for the marriage ceremony where the actual bride price is paid to seal the marriage. The spouses are expected to live by some moral standards such as mutual respect, security and protection of the wife. While adultery committed by the male spouse is not considered so serious, it is frowned at on the part of the woman. Meanwhile infidelity on the part of either the man or the woman merits divorce.

On the average, men are fairly older than the women they marry. This is intended to forestall misery and neglect in old age. A man aspiring to get married must be fully prepared. He is expected to have his own house that can comfortably shelter a family. In a case where a man is unable to acquire a house before marriage, the wife or wives of such a man stay in their parental homes until the man acquires a house. A new wife could also join the man in his father’s house. In case of separation however, a woman is asked to go back to her natal home. In marriage where a wife is unable to bring forth children, it is seen as a curse or a punishment from the gods. Children are therefore seen as a blessing to the spouses. A new born baby is named after seven days of birth; this is done by the father of the child. The bringing up and training of a child is the responsibility of the parents. The child is gradually brought up and exposed to gender roles. A girl child observes chores performed by her mother. Washing of dishes, drawing of water from the stream, sweeping and cooking are some activities taken up by girl children. A boy child also observes and undergoes the tasks of his father. Farming, hunting, fence making, tapping of palm wine are duties considered as male activities. Periodically storytelling, songs, riddles and myths are shared with children to help in their moral upbringing.
3.6.3 The Political Organization of the People

Politically, the Peki and Awudome are headed by chiefs who are the custodians of their land. They administer their communities together with chief priest of important deities. There are traditional authorities who administer stool land and hold them in trust for the people. They are also custodians of traditional beliefs and customs. The traditional authorities also have courts which adjudicate on matters relating to stool land, family land, chieftaincy title dispute, violation of traditions and disputes between localities, families and individuals.

3.6.4 The Economic Life of the People

The Peki and Awudome are mostly engaged in subsistence farming as their main economic activity. Crops produced include maize, cassava, yam, cowpeas, plantain and vegetables. Tree crops like citrus, oil palm and cocoa are also produced. Livestock reared include poultry, piggery, sheep, goat, cattle and bee-keeping. Farming is done on family basis. Each family is entitled to a portion of the land and the size of land however depends on the size and the amount of labour that can be harnessed into cultivation. Usually men clear the forest while women and children cultivate crops. Carpentry and masonry are also practiced. Besides these activities, services are exchanged among family members. Batter trading which was common in the olden days is still prevalent in the area. Although the people settled relatively close to streams and rivers, they did not develop the interest for intensive fishing. Meanwhile fresh water crabs and fishing for mudfish is done on a small scale. Food that is mostly eaten by the people is fufu with various types of soup. It is prepared with yam, or cassava and mature but unripe plantain or cocoyam and pounded it into smooth sticky paste. Apart from fufu, akple, a meal prepared with corn flour is second most commonly eaten food with soup, stew or raw pepper sauce.
3.6.5 The Religious Life of the People

According to Dzobo (1998), the indigenous religion of Peki and Awudome has no official name. The religion, however, has much influence on their existence and pervades the daily life of the people. They believe in a creator who is the highest God, known as Segbo-Lisa or Mawuga. It is believed that God who is a spirit is of two components, male and female. The male spirit has power over justice, protection, pain and suffering while the female aspect controls care, fertility, forgiveness, harmony, gentility, peace and harmony (Dzobo, 1998a).

There is also a belief in lesser gods or deities which serve as intermediaries between man and God. They serve as channels through which followers reach God. Recognition of these spirits is expressed at the beginning of prayers. During prayers libation in the form of a drink or a solution of corn flour is offered through the smaller gods to God. The gods have a number of responsibilities that could be positive or negative in accordance with the request made by followers. Nevertheless followers believe that these gods protect them against various types of illness, witchcraft, sorcery, accident and deaths. Accordingly, people have a responsibility of abiding by the rules and regulations associated with the gods. Some days are regarded as sacred and as such people must either not farm or fish on such days. A woman in her menstrual period is not allowed to cook or eat with a traditional priest. Punishments are meted out to those who violate their rules.

Ancestors are also greatly revered and they play important roles in the lives of the people. Ancestors are dead people who led exemplary lives when alive. These spirits are believed to exist perpetually and their roles are similar to those of the gods. There are other spirits which people consider as powerful but are not agents from God. They include animals like
dogs and cats which can either protect or destroy life. Some herbs are also known to protect people from their enemies and other forms of ill fortune. There are also destructive ones that could be used to destroy or kill people. Belief in the indigenous religion ensures discipline in the society. This is because followers believe that their actions will be judged while living and upon their death. Following the spread of Christianity which was introduced by the missionaries however, many of the gods have been destroyed and have led to a breakdown of law and order in the society.

3.6.6 The Festivals of the People

Peki and Awudome celebrate Tedudu Za (Yam festival). The festival is celebrated annually. It provides the opportunity for members to socialize, examine and celebrate their cultural resources. Youth and citizens who are dispersed throughout the country come together and initiate developmental projects. The Yam festival is celebrated mostly on the first and second Sundays in September, six months after the planting of the yam. Early in the morning on that Sunday, Chiefs and elders are summoned to the palace. Three sheep are slaughtered, dressed, cut up and shared among natives. Libation is offered to show appreciation to the gods for the protection of the people. On Tuesday, all citizens weed and clean the communities. Later in the afternoon, dinner is prepared, after, the fireplace is swept and the wood ash and charcoal are collected and thrown away in the outskirts of the town. Some rituals are performed at sunset and there is procession through the town.

On Thursday, people go to their farms and get their yam tubers in readiness for the celebration on Friday. On Friday morning a meal of yam fufu is specially prepared at the fetish house and people go to eat. Then mashed yam, plantain and red are prepared and sprinkled all over the fetish house for the ancestral spirit. On Saturday which is the actual
day of the festival, the chief priest cuts the head of a yam tuber and plants it in a mound in a corner of the fetish house. All Farmers display yam tubers in their houses. Citizens prepare yam fufu and they call their neighbours and wish them Happy New Year. Drumming, dancing and various kinds of games are played. Merry making goes on for the rest of the day and rounded off on Sunday.

3.6.7 Art, Music and Symbols of the People

Peki and Awudome have non verbal ways of expressing themselves. Body decorations, colours, costumes are some of the various ways by which they express their emotional state and also protect themselves against ill fortune that is believed to emanate from metaphysical forces (Gauva, 2000). Females, especially, older women use body paint made up of water and materials such as spices on their body after bathing. These serve as perfume and are also supposed to protect women from some diseases and ill fortune. The people of Peki and Awudome associate artistic experience with certain objects and events. They have a variety of drums, idiophones and aerophones. For instance, game hunting for food is one of the major occupations of Peki and Awudome. To be accorded the status of a fully grown person, a young man must possess a gun. This gun is either bought for him by his father or acquired by him. Hunters have their own association and their own music known as Adevu (hunters’ music or drum). The dramatization of a hunting expedition or experience in the forest is part of the Adevu dance. The Adevu groups perform on special occasions for their relaxation. The idiophones include rattles, hand claps and bells. The aerophones consist of the horn and bamboo flute. These instruments are used for recreation and entertainment. There are also musical activities for different occasions. There are lullaby songs, religious, funeral as well as occupational songs.
Colours that are mostly used are, black and white. Red and reddish colours signify danger and they are mostly at funerals. Bereaved families often wear them to inform the public about the death of one of them. Red flags are also hosted when there is impending danger. Black is associated with sorrow therefore it is odd for people to wear black when there is no mourning or funeral celebration. In moments of joy, peace and victory, the white cloth is displayed. Priests and priestesses also wear white to portray the purity of the gods and the desire of the gods for peace. Costumes worn by citizens are designed in Ewe fashion. Beads are identified with females and are normally worn around the waist to supposedly adorn their hips. Earrings are also worn by women and girls. A girl may avoid them but a woman who goes without them is considered improperly dressed. Other costume items are worn by warriors on festive occasions to assert their personalities. Chiefs are occasionally dressed in gowns known as ‘batakari’.
CHAPTER FOUR
RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The chapter discusses the views of respondents on the conflict in relation to its effects on the youth in the Peki and Awudome traditional areas vis-à-vis agriculture, education, commerce, healthcare and security. It further discusses the views of the respondents on the challenges and prospects for peace in the area, and the relationship between peace building efforts and development of the youth in the Peki and Awudome traditional areas.

4.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

The gender distribution of respondents involved in the study as seen in Table 3 reveals that males constituted 75 percent of the respondents whilst females constituted 25 percent.

Table 3: Sex Distribution of General Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey, 2015

4.1.1. Age of Respondents

With regard to the age distribution of the community residents, Figure 1 reveals that 63 percent of the respondents were in the 46–55 age group whilst 12 percent of the respondents were within the 36–45 age group. 10 percent were within 56–65 and respondents aged 66+ constituted 10 percent. Again, 5 percent of the respondents were within the 26–35 age group.
Figure 4: Age Distribution of Respondents

Source: Field Survey, 2015

4.1.2 Education background of respondents

The educational background of the study’s respondents in Table 4 below indicates that 30 percent of the respondents had no formal education. Respondents with basic education formed 25 percent and those with polytechnic education formed the least of 5 percent; this was followed by 10 percent of the respondents who had teachers/nursing training education whilst 15 percent each had secondary/technical/vocational and university respectively.
Table 4: Educational Background of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No formal education</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic education</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sec/Tech/Vocational</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers/Nursing training</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polytechnic</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey, 2015

4.1.3. Occupational characteristics

Table 5 below reveals the occupation of the respondents. 20% were engaged in trading whilst 45% of the respondents were engaged in farming. 15% were civil servants, 5% were students and 15% on the other hand were unemployed. This study had more farmer respondents mainly because most of the towns from which respondents were selected in the Awudome and Peki traditional areas are predominately farming communities.

Table 5: Occupational Characteristics of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Servant</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trading</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey, 2015
4.2 CONFLICT AND AGRICULTURE

Agriculture plays a significant role in the local economy of the Peki-Awudome traditional areas because it provides livelihood for many people and serves as a source of food. In the event of the conflicts agriculture production of the youth is seriously hampered affecting crop yield and animal production (Zaur, 2006). The impact of the conflict on the youth in agriculture is seen in crop production, animal production, marketing of farm produce and the provision of agriculture services. Table 6 reveals the effects of the conflict on agricultural production as expressed by the respondents.

Table 6: Perceived Effects of the Conflict on Agricultural Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service/Facility</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Has Effect</td>
<td>Has No Effect</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of Tractor Services</td>
<td>105 (91%)</td>
<td>10 (9%)</td>
<td>115 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extension Services</td>
<td>93 (81%)</td>
<td>27 (19%)</td>
<td>115 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fertilizers</td>
<td>71 (62%)</td>
<td>44 (38%)</td>
<td>115 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrigation Facilities</td>
<td>79 (69%)</td>
<td>36 (31%)</td>
<td>115 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Labour</td>
<td>107 (93%)</td>
<td>8 (7%)</td>
<td>111 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>77 (67%)</td>
<td>38 (33%)</td>
<td>115 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey, 2015

From Table 6, the farmers mentioned that extension services were seriously affected (81%) and some said that no extension officers had visited their farms during the period of the conflict and to them, it affected their production. A farmer at Avetile claimed that for three years no extension officer had visited his farm and he had lost more than 20 of his animals to diseases. The use of farm-hands for agriculture production was severely affected. 93% of the respondents claimed that farm-hands which hitherto served as a source of 'cheap' labour on farms were no more available due to the insecurity in the area. Also, the group farming concept which had served as a source of labour was not readily
available because of the violence. Many tractor services were no longer available because their owners were afraid of losing their tractors to arson. A farmer at Sanga claimed his tractor which was used for farming activities was burnt by some unknown assailants in the wake of the violence in 1988.

Also, fall in crop production was identified as a major consequence of the conflict in the agricultural sector within the Peki-Awudome traditional areas during the conflict period. Many farmers highlighted low production in maize, cassava and other cereals. They attributed the low crop yield among other reasons to the fear and insecurity; rising cost of labour; inability to transport farm produce leading to wastage on the farms; imposition of curfews; seizure of lands belonging to farmers; and the lack of access to agricultural extension services.

Togbe Zoro, a farmer, at Tsito whom the researcher visited on his farm, stated that with the relative peace enjoyed from 2009, he has seen improvement in the production of maize from just three bags in 2008 to eight bags in 2010. Another farmer, Foli Kofi at Dzake said he could not cultivate watermelon for six years due to fear and insecurity. One respondent, from Avetile commenting on the issues noted; “there is a short fall in maize and other crop production as experienced over the period. From 1998, I couldn’t cultivate vegetable because of fear of going to my farm due to insecurity”. A farmer at Dededo also mentioned that about six acres of crops on a farm located in the disputed area was completely set on fire in 1997.

Animal production was also affected by the violence in the areas thereby impacting on the development of the youth. Farmers at Sanga and Dededo said that many animals either got
lost or were stolen during outbreak of violence. They also said that it was not profitable to rear animals during the period of the conflict because they were stolen and killed by criminal elements who took advantage of the conflict. Besides, people no longer come from other parts of the country to buy animals because of the security concerns.

The concerns of these farmers were also highlighted by the traditional authorities participating in the study. They acknowledged that the conflict in the Peki - Awudome traditional areas has had dire consequences on agriculture in the areas. In the focus group discussion held among Peki elders, it emerged that the decline in crop production could be partly attributed to insecurity in the area. It also emerged from the focus discussion that since 1997, Tsito farmers whose lands were at the periphery of the disputed area were either seized or the owners felt insecure fearing for their lives and therefore found it increasingly difficult to work on their farms. This means many farmers were missing out on the opportunity to cultivate their lands and this situation obviously led to declines in crop outputs affecting the livelihoods and survival of individuals in the area.

From the analysis above, it is observed that the effect of the conflict on agriculture has seriously affected the youth who were engaged in agricultural activities. This was indicated by the various youth groups during the focus group discussion. They mentioned that low agriculture production had worsened their revenue generation and inadvertently affected their quality of life.

4.3 CONFLICTS AND COMMERCE

The strategic location of Kporvi market in the heart of the disputed land to many trading towns in the region makes it one of the conductive places for commerce. It is not
surprising that the second highest number of respondents (20%) in this study were found to be engaged in trading activities. However the benefits associated with this thriving and vibrant commercial area is being eroded as a result of insecurity in the area.

Table 7 provides the views of respondents on commerce and the outcome of the continuous insecurity on trading activities. Generally, respondents stated that the conflict has had negative impact on businesses or trading activities in terms of low profits and reduced incomes, lack of security to freely engage in businesses, lack of access to financial services such as banks and increased cost of doing business. A respondent at Tsito market complained that:

This fragile peace is making us lose money and this time business is not good. As you can see in the market many sheds are empty because businesses are collapsing and even those of us who are still in business no longer make profits. When fighting erupts now, each of us in this market will run away living our goods for thieves and looters.

This confirms Justino’s (2009) assertion that violent conflict prevents people from engaging in buying and selling and also results in economic shocks such as price changes and the collapse of businesses. Statistics as to the number of businesses that collapsed was not, however, available.
Table 7: Perceived Effects of the conflict on commerce in the Peki – Awudome Traditional Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trading Activity</th>
<th>Has Effect</th>
<th>Has No Effect</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income or profits</td>
<td>94 (82%)</td>
<td>21 (18%)</td>
<td>115 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation to do business</td>
<td>85 (74%)</td>
<td>30 (26%)</td>
<td>115 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business investment</td>
<td>89 (77%)</td>
<td>26 (23%)</td>
<td>115 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security to do business</td>
<td>97 (84%)</td>
<td>18 (16%)</td>
<td>115 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to credit facilities</td>
<td>84 (73%)</td>
<td>31 (27%)</td>
<td>115 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey, 2015

Increased and sustained investment is essential for the growth of small scale businesses in the Peki-Awudome traditional areas if it is to contribute to the social and economic improvement of the youth in the areas. Respondents said individuals interested in investing in the areas have lost interest due to fear of losing their investments. The looting and burning of shops during clashes are detrimental and disincentive for investment. The researcher observed that more than 100 shops were burnt at the Kporvi market. Also, according to respondents more than 21 sheds were burnt in 1988 with other properties at Kpetornu also in the disputed area.

Closely related to the lack of investment in both capital and infrastructure is the problem of the withdrawal and relocation of local businesses and other organizations from the traditional areas to other communities such as Dzemeni, Kpeve and Ho. For instance, 84 percent of the 115 respondents were of the view that the violence had led to the relocation of economic activities to other areas due to insecurity to do business, whilst 16 percent of the respondents believed that the businesses did not relocate as a result of the conflict. The researcher could not get statistics of the number of businesses which have been relocated, but the assemblyman for Tsito Dzigbe stated that, many businesses and even individuals preferred relocating to Ho, Dzemeni, Kpeve and other places outside the Peki and
Awudome traditional areas. In addition, majority of the respondents stated that access to credit facilities to invest in their businesses was difficult to find. This was because the creditors were afraid that they could not retrieve their monies.

Inter-linkages and inter-connectedness between places and markets are important for the success and growth of any area. These facilitate the movements and easy access to goods and services. However, the impositions of curfews, unwillingness of transport owners to operate and the unavailability of transport services retarded the exchange and circulation of goods and services.

In the focus group discussion with elders and youth and interviews with traditional actors from both feuding communities, they share the sentiments expressed by traders in the study. It emerged from the discussions with the traditional actors that a major obstacle to commerce is the relocation of economic activities to other markets outside the traditional areas.

The analysis above shows that the conflict has severely affected commerce since the people could not access credit facilities, business owners and drivers were afraid to ply their businesses in the area, traders and investors did not feel secure enough to do business. The greater effect of the conflict on commerce was felt by the youth in the traditional areas.

4.4 CONFLICT AND EDUCATION

Without doubt, access to quality education is one of the essential ingredients to achieving sustainable transformation in society. Access to quality education helps extend and
empower individuals to make informed choices in society. In conflict situations however, schools are interrupted, children and teachers fear for their lives, and this retards development (Justino, 2009). To this end, the protracted social conflict theory states that the effects of such conflict are often pervasive affecting all aspects of a person’s or community’s social, political and economic and tending to affect institutions such as education and health (Coleman, 2000).

Table 8: Perceived Effect of the conflict on education in the Peki-Awudome Traditional Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspects of education affected</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Has Effect</td>
<td>Has No Effect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of teachers</td>
<td>100 (87%)</td>
<td>15 (13%)</td>
<td>115 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic performance</td>
<td>94(82%)</td>
<td>21 (18%)</td>
<td>115 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrollment</td>
<td>89 (77%)</td>
<td>26 (23%)</td>
<td>115 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Infrastructures</td>
<td>69 (60%)</td>
<td>46 (40%)</td>
<td>115 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Work, 2015

Education of the youth is a basic tool for the development of any society. However, the Peki – Awudome conflict has severely affected education in the area. From the table above, 87 percent of the respondents agreed that the conflict has affected the availability of teachers in the areas though 13 percent were of contrary view.

Most of the respondents from the focus group discussion with the elders, the youth and interviews with traditional actors from the feuding communities revealed that the conflict has affected education of the youth negatively. Migration and transfer of teachers and refusal of posting to the areas have been identified as some of the negative outcomes following the conflict. A retired educationist at Tsito said that some teachers had left the area and others had sought for transfer whilst some refuse to work in the area for fear of
their lives. He mentioned that during the peak of the conflict in 1979 and 1988, a lot of teachers left on transfer to other places. According to him, however, more teachers kept seeking transfer and a few newly posted teachers from teacher training colleges have refused to come to the area. He said that only natives of Awudome mostly remain in the area to teach. This invariably creates shortage of teachers in the educational sector reducing the contact hours between students and teachers. Torgbui Dompreh at Peki Dzake, a retired agric extension officer, intimated that, during the peak of the conflict, many teachers left Peki on transfer and most of the newly posted teachers refused to accept posting to the area. This he said couple with other factors mentioned above, is the basis for high illiteracy rate among the youth of the community.

It is also gathered from the interviews with youth groups, assembly members, Members of Parliament for the two constituencies and elders that the performance and enrollment of students were drastically affected by the conflict. Parents, for security reasons, withdrew their wards from schools leading to decrease in enrollment figures of the schools and non-availability of teachers lowered the academic performance of the students and these invariably affected the education of the youth in areas. This position was confirmed by the respondents as 82 percent believed that the conflict has led to poor academic performance whilst 77 percent believed that the conflict has affected enrollment negatively.

Again, 60 percent of the respondents stated that infrastructure which is the backbone of education had been negatively affected even though 40 percent were of the opposite opinion. The argument raised by the traditional actors and focus group members was that, the conflict has deterred development agents from investing in educational infrastructure in the areas. This, they said had negative consequences in overall on education in the
areas. Accordingly, some of the school buildings in the disputed area were burnt whereas students and teachers had deserted the few ones that were left.

**Figure 5:** A desolate school building at Kporvi.

![Desolate school building at Kporvi](http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh)

**Photo Credit:** Field Work, 2015

### 4.5 CONFLICT AND HEALTH CARE SERVICES

In the area of health, 55.5 percent of respondents confirmed that their health had been affected by the conflict whilst the remaining 44.5 percent said their health was not affected as seen in figure 2. Also, 39 out of the 115 respondents confirmed that they had developed high blood pressure due to the trauma resulting from the incessant violence and sporadic shootings. The Peki Government Hospital could not give actual statistics of the number of lives lost and people injured, but they said that at the peak of the conflict in 1979 and 1988, more than 150 people sustained various degrees of injuries with machete wounds being the highest.
Figure 6: Effects of the conflict on health care in the Peki – Awudome Traditional Areas

![Figure 6: Effects of the conflict on health care in the Peki – Awudome Traditional Areas](image)

Respondents stated that the Peki Government Hospital was inaccessible to the people of Awudome because of its location at Peki Tsame. A retired nurse interviewed at Peki Tsame stated that OPD attendance at the Peki Government Hospital during the peak of the conflict declined as a result of the inaccessibility of the hospital by people from the nearby communities such as Boso and Dededo who were perceived to be sympathizers of Awudome.

Table 9: Perceived Effects of the conflict on health care in the Peki – Awudome Traditional Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspects of education affected</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Has Effect</td>
<td>Has No Effect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of health personnel</td>
<td>92 (80%)</td>
<td>23 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructures</td>
<td>37 (32%)</td>
<td>78 (68%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Work, 2015

According to 80 percent of the respondents, the conflict has affected the availability of health personnel. Most of them indicated that either health personnel were not ready to accept posting to the conflict areas or they left on transfer from the Peki – Awudome areas.
to other places. The retired nurse interviewed at Tsame stated that health workers did not feel safe when going and coming back from work during conflict periods. This necessitated the shortage of health personnel which adversely affected good and quality health care in the area.

On infrastructure, the respondents were of the view that, not much was affected negatively as none of the hospital buildings or bungalows were destroyed in the Peki – Awudome communities. However, some of them suggested that there could have been better improvement of the health facilities but for the conflict. From 115 general respondents, 32 percent believed that infrastructure was negatively affected, 68 percent suggested the otherwise.

4.6 CONFLICT AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

Conflicts usually affect social relations among people living in a particular area manifesting in mistrust, bad community relations, hatred and ethnic marginalization which tend to polarize the society resulting in a cycle of violence. In this study, the majority (81.8%) of the 105 focus group members, traditional actors, assembly members, security personnel and the parliamentarians of the two constituencies agreed that the conflict in Peki – Awudome has led to mistrust and bad community relations with just 18.2 percent disagreeing. As observed by the Protracted Social Conflict theory, protracted conflicts affect many aspects of a society’s social life affecting social relations, intense hatred, suspicion and mistrust, fragmentation and polarization of the conflict producing continuous violence which becomes difficult to resolve (Azar, 1990).
It was also observed that the conflict has led to intense hatred and suspicion among the feuding communities. People from the two traditional areas have indicated that their relations have been strained by the conflict. Beside mistrust and bad community relations, an emerging problem threatening the social cohesion of the areas is the increasing cases of divorce. According to an elder from Anyirawase, it is now uncommon to find inter-marriages between the people of Peki and Awudome. The conflict has culminated in separations and divorce amongst couples who come from Peki and Awudome. This was confirmed in an interview with a traditional chief at Peki Dzake who said that:

*There have been divorces amongst the people of Peki and Awudome who have been married for years, because of the conflict. There is often the belief that the women would not be trustworthy and faithful to their husbands and may leak information to their kinsmen.*

Women and children are vulnerable during conflict situations. Some children are often caught up in a quagmire not knowing where to place their allegiance. In broken homes, the well-being of children in terms of their nutritional, emotional, health and psychological needs are often not met and this is detrimental to their growth and development. Respondents mentioned human rights abuses by the security personnel, especially the youth who broke the curfew and those who were suspected by the peace-keepers of perpetrating violence. A member of a focus group at Tsito claimed that: “I was beaten in my farm by military when they came on patrol because of gunshots that they heard in the area.”

Marginalization and discrimination amongst the two traditional areas also emerged from discussion with traditional actors as one issue affecting social relations in the study area.
In discussions with the Peki and Awudome traditional actors, both groups highlighted that there was no mutual respect amongst the two groups with each feeling superior to the other and judging the actions of each other as an attempt to project superiority.

4.7 CONFLICT AND THE SECURITY SITUATION

In a study of conflict and development in some Sub-Saharan African countries, Fakude-Parr et al (2008) found that continued violence poses threats to peace and security which are both needed to enhance development. Nyalemegbe (2011) states that, the fragile peace in the Peki – Awudome traditional areas continues to pose security challenges. From Figure 3, it is clear that 45.5 percent of the respondents felt less secured, 28.2 percent said they did not feel secured at all, 19.5 percent believed that they were secured and only 6.8 percent felt very secured. Respondents said that even though there was massive security presence at Awalime – the disputed area, they still generally felt insecure as a result of the violence. A respondent at Dededo stated that: “We are not secured mainly due to the unpredictable nature of the guerrilla attack employed by the feuding communities in disputed area”.

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Most respondents mentioned that there were restrictions on their movements such that they could not move to certain places in the area. For instance, a respondent from Sanga claimed that; “I cannot go to my farm at Torle because I could be killed”. These fears were also expressed by Peki respondents in the study. One Peki respondent indicated that; “I cannot move beyond the township even though there are security personnel at Kporvi.”

The District Police Commander at Anyirawase stated that the security situation at times become very dangerous that in 1995 and 1998, some people had to seek refuge at the police station for a number of days. In order to curtail the volatility of the security situation, curfews have being imposed in Peki – Awudome traditional areas several times. In 1979 and 1988 due to the conflict, various curfew times were imposed on the feuding communities. The curfew period in 1979 for instance lasted from 6pm to 6am and this seriously affected the livelihoods of many people particularly the youth since most of them could no longer sell in the night and also go to their farms at dawn. In 1988, the curfew period was from 10pm to 4am. All respondents stated that the curfew was a major hindrance to the development of the youth in the two traditional areas.
Table 10: Indicators of the security situation in the Peki – Awudome traditional areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspects of security</th>
<th>Responses</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proliferation of illegal arms</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>108(94%)</td>
<td>7(6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>7(6%)</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of lives</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>100 (87%)</td>
<td>15 (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>15 (13%)</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawlessness</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>94 (82%)</td>
<td>21 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>21 (18%)</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased violence</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>103 (90%)</td>
<td>12 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>12 (10%)</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>89 (77%)</td>
<td>26 (23%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>26 (23%)</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Displacement of people</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>111 (97%)</td>
<td>4 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>4 (3%)</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of illegal arms in the Peki – Awudome traditional areas aggravated the conflict situation. From figure 4 below, majority of the respondents (94%) in this study identified the proliferation of illegal arms as one of the major offshoots of the conflict in the area. A respondent at Peki Avetile stated that:

“In both Awudome and Peki, each community contributes money to acquire arms in defense of the community in case of outbreak of conflict. These arms are hidden far away to prevent the security agents from retrieving them in times of swoops. We go to take the guns at these places in the event of conflict. Politicians and influential people also support the factions in the acquisition of arms for fighting”.

A security agent stated that their efforts to ensure peace, law and order were being impeded by politicians and influential people who intervene for the release of suspects who have been arrested for looting and possessing illegal arms. This has led to a high level of impunity in that people go unpunished when arrested for committing an offense with regard to the conflict. The security agencies also indicated that “there is lack of cooperation from the people and lack of information to arrest and prosecute culprits. No
one is willing to give information that would help in identifying and prosecuting people with illegal arms.”

Respondents in the study said the conflict has resulted in an increase in crime rate such as armed lawlessness, robbery, murder, looting, arson, and increased violence. From Table 10 above, majority of the respondents (87%, 82%, 90%, 77% and 97% respectively) mentioned loss of lives, lawlessness, increased violence, arson and displacement of people respectively as been persistent during and after the peak of the conflict.

**Figure 8:** A burnt shop at Kporvi.

![Photo credit: Field Work, 2015](image)

An interview with a security agent suggests that there were isolated cases of killings within the two traditional areas over the years which could be linked to the conflict. However, specific numbers of killings could not be provided.
The conflict resulted in the displacement of people. Respondents (97%) indicated that the conflict has resulted in the displacement of many people as shown in table 10 above. A respondent from Dededo claimed that mainly strangers who settled on the disputed land were displaced by the conflict. This, according to the respondent, led to the collapse of settler communities such as Kporvi, Kpetornu, and Tsamikorfe. The people left these villages because their houses were burnt during the conflict. Some of these people have moved to places such as Tsito, Ho, Akrofu and other nearby communities.

The police stated that the rate of armed robbery for instance had shot up because people took advantage of the security situation to engage in nefarious activities. The traders who were interviewed stated that several people were robbed whilst trading their items in the Kporvi market.

4.8 SPILL-OVER EFFECTS OF THE CONFLICT

Although the conflict centres on the Peki – Awudome traditional areas, it had spill-over effects on the other areas, especially the neighbouring communities. Respondents at Asikuma, a neighbouring town claimed that many people in the Awalime area relocated to Asikuma. A respondent at Sanga stated that “the major effect of the conflict on us was the restriction in our movement through Tsito during times of the conflict. Traveling out during times of the conflict became very difficult since we in Sanga usually pass through Tsito before getting to Ho.”

4.9 PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN THE AREA

Peace and the resolution of conflicts will help development thrive in a society. Respondents of this study believed that the Peki - Awudome conflict and its negative
ramifications need a peaceful resolution to enable the youth of the two traditional areas to co-exist and engage in their economic activities. This section of the study presents respondents’ views on the prospects for peace in the area. This include evaluating the conflict resolution methods, examining challenges hindering peace in the area and examining respondents views on how to resolve the conflict.

As shown in figure 4, 80 percent of the respondents believed that the resolution methods used in the past have not been effective in resolving the conflict while 20 percent stated that they were effective. Respondents believed that the various methods used were not helpful since most of these methods were ad-hoc, had no early warning systems and did not provide permanent solutions to the conflict. A respondent stated that: “the methods used to resolve the conflict only succeeded in claiming the spate of the conflict but did not address the underlying issues in the conflict.” Other respondents believed that the past methods were not all-embracing and acceptable to all parties. This is because the methods did not reflect the truth with regard to the underlying issues in the conflict. The methods were bias and lack trust and transparency in the peace process. A Peki opinion leader stated that: “the methods are not effective because there is lack of honesty, commitment and fairness in the approach to attaining peace in the area. They are not all-inclusive, broad-based and there is lack of commitment for peace by some groups who want to see the conflict continue”. This is why Kendie and Akudugu (2010) believe that conflict resolution is only possible through cooperation and negotiation and the elimination of suspicion through transparent negotiations where all actors are seen as equal partners.
Figure 9: Respondents’ views on conflict resolution methods used

Source: Field Work, 2015

Other respondents also mentioned that there is virtually non-implementation of reports of peace agreements. They added that effective actions were not taken after meditation and peace talks. Other respondents also stated that the measures over the years have not involved the right people, especially the youth whose development is mostly affected by the conflict.

4.10 CHALLENGES MILITATING AGAINST THE ATTAINMENT OF PEACE

There are usually a number of factors that protract conflicts. These factors become polarized making it difficult for the attainment of peace despite efforts made to resolve conflicts. This leads to protraction of the conflict which tends to affect development. This is supported by Azar’s (1990) protracted social conflict theory and Coleman’s (2000) description of protracted social conflict which identify a plethora of structural, cultural, ethnic, political, economic, religious, human needs as well as social factors which
challenge conflict resolution. In the study, respondents identified the following as challenges that militate against the attainment of lasting peace in the Peki - Awudome traditional areas.

The respondents identified interference of politicians, government and other influential people from the areas who kept supporting and fueling the conflict financially as one of the major challenges curtailing the attainment of lasting peace in the area. Another challenge observed by the respondents as a factor hindering the peace process was lack of mutual respect for each other. The continuous defense of group identity of the two factions led to hatred, discrimination and stereotypes among the people. The psycho-culture conflict theory states that conflicts which are caused by identity and ethnic marginalization breed fragmentation, frustration and polarization which are deleterious, violent, intractable and often very difficult to resolve (Ross, 1997; Horowitz, 1998). However, it is evidently clear that the protraction of this conflict is due rather to the entrench positions taken by the two communities over the same parcel of land Hate preaching, misinformation, rumor mongering and the transmission of false history to the youth were other challenges identified by the respondents. According to youth groups, some elders and traditional rulers kept polarizing the area along ethnic lines by preaching hatred and transmitting false history about the issues in the conflict to the youth. Some women especially, were identified by some respondents as people who spread rumors and misinformation about the conflict. This tends to protract the conflict by creating deep seated suspicions thus making it difficult for the factions to negotiate a settlement.

The proliferation of illegal and sophisticated weapons was equally identified by the respondents. Many illegal and sophisticated arms like AK47 and G3 assault rifles were
used in the conflict. Security personnel stated: “there were some weapons used in the conflict which we the security do not even have; where they got these guns from is really puzzling. This was a major problem why the conflict cannot be easily resolved.” Lack of neutrality and bias of security personnel was also mentioned by the respondents as a challenge. The security personnel, according to the respondents, remained very bias towards the people of Peki by allowing the people of Awudome to farm on the disputed land at Kporvi.

Non-implementation of peace agreements and reports due to lack of political will was counted as a challenge. According to the respondents, committees of enquiry, court actions or orders and peace agreements reached were not abided by or implemented to the latter. Some heads of CSOs mentioned that lack of political will made it difficult for the implementation of peace agreements and mediation pacts. This confirms Easterly’s (2000) assertion that poor institutions and government structures like the security service have made it difficult for many countries in Africa to resolve conflicts. Criminal elements, especially, armed robbers take advantage of the situation to operate. According to respondents, armed robbery was a major challenge to the peace process since many armed robbers took advantage of the conflict to rob and kill people. High illiteracy rate and unemployment in the area, especially, among the youth was also identified. A respondent at the office of the Member of Parliament for Ho West Constituency said that the high level of illiteracy was one factor that made it difficult to resolve the conflict. A divisional chief at Dzake interviewed asserted that apart from the high illiteracy rate, unemployment remained a challenge to the conflict because the youth who were jobless were used during the conflict. His assertion supports the economic theory of conflict which sees lack of employment among other factors that protract conflict (Collier, 2006).
One key respondent summarized the concerns of other respondents: “our conflict here in the Peki – Awudome is not ending not because we the two main factions do not want it to end, but because of the continuous interference from people within and outside the area who keep supporting the two factions with both arms and money”. In sum, Horowitz (2000) says that when talking about conflicts there should be conflict reduction rather than conflict resolution which can help in enabling people to go about their economic activities.

4.11 WAYS OF RESOLVING THE CONFLICT

Figure 5 reveals that 61 percent of the respondents believed that the conflict can be resolved whereas 39 percent believed that it can never be resolved. Respondents who said the conflict cannot be resolved were of the opinion that since various methods have been used in attempt to resolve the conflict and have failed, the conflict could never be resolved. One respondent opined that:

It has reached a stage where only God can help resolve this conflict because people have taken entrenched positions and are not willing to give up the land. I don’t see how the conflict can be resolved because all measures in an attempt to resolve the conflict have failed. From 1979 to 1987, Peki – Awudome traditional areas enjoyed relative peace and everyone thought that the conflict had died off only for it to resurface in 1988. Even though we have fragile peace today, one cannot predict when there would be resurgence.
Figure 10: Prospects of resolving the Peki – Awudome conflict

Source: Field Work, 2015

However, majority of the respondents identified the following as ways of resolving the conflict.

Since the conflict is about land, it should be referred to the appropriate quarters, i.e., the National House of Chiefs and National Land Commission to resolve it amicably. In this regard, Agyeman (2008) proposes that we can resolve conflicts in Ghana by strengthening and empowering the Traditional Councils, Regional and National Houses of Chiefs in their conflict resolution roles through proper funding.

The use of peace building activities which are new and more proactive than previous methods can also help to find lasting peace to the Peki – Awudome conflict. Also, mediation and negotiation must be done through trust and confidence building of the two factions by trustworthy mediators. The civil society organizations mentioned that there is the need for periodic and sustained community stakeholder dialogue, continuous peace
education targeting the youth through the formation of youth peace clubs and self negotiation between the factions using the inter-community peace committee. A chief mentioned the need to identify the actual frontrunners, like influential youth leaders, and actively involve them in the negotiation process. Respondents believed that the use of traditional methods to resolve conflict in the past by the Peki and Awudome could be revisited as a matter of necessity. The efforts of the Local Council of Churches the respondents trust can eventually help in the resolution of the conflict. This is why Agyeman’s (2008) proposes that the establishment of joint consultative committees comprising representatives from the warring factions in conflicts is crucial in their resolution.

The involvement of the paramount chiefs of Peki and Awudome traditional areas in the mediation and negotiation efforts can also help in promoting a lasting peace. This is because the two paramount chiefs wield a great control over their subjects.

The use of neutral parties from other regions and international bodies such as the ECOWAS and AU should be considered. Some respondents believed that the bodies within the region do not have the capacity to find a lasting solution to the conflict. A key respondent commented that: “I don’t think that Volta region and the country has the capacity to help solve the conflict since some people have soiled their hands in the issues and therefore lacked neutrality to resolve the conflict”.

An opinion leader also believed that the conflict can be resolved when there is the provision of employable opportunities in the areas for the youth. These could be dry season farming and skills training in order to get the youth busy to prevent them from
fighting and killing each other. This confirms the relative deprivation theory which proposes that conflict can be resolved when people’s needs, including their economic needs are met. A security agent mentioned that the conflict can be resolved when the culture of impunity is dealt with. Punishment must be meted out to those who distract the peace process irrespective of their position in society.

4.12 CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

Conflict resolution can be a catalyst for a deep-rooted enduring positive change in individuals’ relations and the development of human community (UN DESA, 2001). When a conflict is resolved, it helps development efforts to be pursued peacefully in the society. All respondents agreed that the youth of Peki and Awudome would develop if the conflict is finally resolved. They contended that the Peki - Awudome traditional areas are business enclaves and were among the fast developing traditional areas in the Volta region prior to the conflict. They, therefore, believed that a resolution of the conflict would enable the youth to flourish in profitable businesses and agriculture production for the overall development of the two traditional areas.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 INTRODUCTION
The dynamic nature of conflict sometimes makes it pervasive and violent with many consequences. The study of the Peki-Awudome conflict indicates that the fragile peace, continuous fear and insecurity in the area create negative impacts on the development of the youth in the two traditional areas, even though a lot of measures have been instituted to resolve the conflict.

The study sought to investigate the causes, the sequence, the roles played by the youth and the effects of the conflict on the development of the youth in Peki and Awudome traditional areas in terms of local level development in agriculture, commerce, education, health, social relations and security.

5.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
Based on the study objectives, the study employed both qualitative and quantitative statistical procedures to analyse the data collected through interviews and questionnaires. The key and general respondents were selected using the purposive, snow ball and convinience sampling techniques respectively. In all, a total of 220 respondents were involved in the study. The data were analyzed using percentages, graphs, frequencies and content analysis of information and documents on the conflict.

5.1.1 The main findings of study
The continuous insecurity and the fragile peace in the Peki-Awudome traditional areas remain a challenge to the development of the youth of the two traditional areas. It was
found from the study that the social, economic and general well-being of the youth was negatively affected by the violence resulting from the conflict in the areas. The impacts of the conflicts on agricultural production were seen in the areas of poor marketing and inadequate transportation of agriculture produce. Lack of extension services, low production of maize and other cereal products due to insecurity and uncertainty about the outcome of farming activities during conflict years, the seizure of lands belonging to some farmers which prevented them from engaging in farming and the general disruption of agriculture activities were also identified.

Commercial activities in the traditional areas had almost collapsed. This was mainly due to the closure of the market at Awalime/Kporvi and the non-availability of transport services to other market centers. Businesses had been negatively affected which in turn affected the utilization of the youth for development. Education had also been affected in the areas of students’ poor performance in their academic endeavour due to insecurity and the fragile relations. The factors that accounted for the students’ poor performance, as shown by the study, included the disruption of the academic calendar, irregular school attendance of both teachers and pupils, teachers seeking transfer out of the area and teachers refusal to accept postings to ‘enemy zones’ as a result of the conflict. The conflict had affected healthcare mainly due to the refusal of injured to attend hospitals in the two communities, i.e. Peki hospital and Tsito clinic, for the fear of being apprehended and harmed. Again, the refusal of health personnel to accept posting to the areas aggravated the challenges of health delivery.

The security situation was made worse because residents generally felt insecure due to unpredictable nature of guerrilla attacks and the fact that people, especially the youth,
were seen wielding of arms menacingly. The main effects of the conflict on security included loss of lives, especially, the parents of the youth, restrictions in movement, the imposition of curfew, increased crime, especially armed robbery and arson, and the proliferation of illegal weapons, all of which undermined the well-being of the youth in the two traditional areas.

Many challenges militated against the attainment of lasting peace in both traditional areas. The interference of politicians and influential people from the areas who kept supporting and fuelling the conflict remained the greatest challenge to peace building in the area. High illiteracy rate, lack of economic opportunities (unemployment), lack of mutual respect for each other and the proliferation of illegal arms among others, challenge the peace process. It was observed that the conflict resolution approaches lack inclusiveness and were not acceptable to the feuding parties. The approaches could not provide permanent solutions to the conflict because the underlying issues were not addressed. Additionally, there is perceived partiality, unfairness, lack of enforcement and implementation of court verdicts as well as reports of peace agreements.

In concluding, it is worth mentioning that the study found that the development of the youth in the two traditional areas was adversely affected by the conflict since youth, more than any other age groups have actively participated in the conflict. The outlying communities such as Sokode, Abutia, Kpeve and Asikuma were not spared, though in their case it is mainly the spill-over effects of the conflict’s collateral damage. These areas had suffered in terms of restrictions to access the Kporvi market which was the centre of commercial activities in the area prior to the conflict. The inability to move freely in the
area to do commercial activities, and lack of access to quality health delivery in both traditional areas were also identified as some of the negative effects of the conflict.

5.2 CONCLUSIONS

The conflict had resulted in insecurity which stalls social and economic development efforts of the youth. The overall impact is the continuous worsening of poverty of the vulnerable youth and other members of the areas. Greater challenges confront the building of peace and resolution of the Peki-Awudome conflict. These challenges have prolonged the conflict and led to intransigence. The alleged interference of the government in the past made the state not trust-worthy in its bid to lead any resolution and peace building efforts, and this remained the biggest challenge. Lack of trust in mediation efforts and the amassing and use of illegal arms by residents of the areas was also a big problem. With these challenges, attaining peace in the Peki-Awudome traditional areas is not only difficult, but very challenging to all stakeholders. Resolution of the conflict would need a more participatory and multi-faceted approach. The identification and inclusion of relevant individuals and groups are necessary for the resolution process.

5.3 RECOMMENDATION

The following recommendations are made to help in building peace and finding long lasting positive change for the development of the youth and the communities at large.

5.3.1 Government

The role of Government (the state) is very crucial in the management, resolution, transformation and peace building. As such, the government should be seen as an important stakeholder in the resolution of the conflict. Government must build the trust of
all the parties by withdrawing support for any of the communities in the conflict and must strengthen the capacities of institutions like the house of chiefs to mediate and build peace in Peki and Awudome.

Government needs to strengthen and maintain security in the conflict areas to minimize the effects of the conflict on local development of the youth by ensuring impartiality in the work of security agencies. Also, government must make efforts to deal decisively with the problem of impunity. The efforts of the security agencies in enforcing law and order must not be compromised, especially, in punishing perpetrators of violence from all factions. There should be justice and equity in dealing with perpetrators of violence across the two divides.

Conscious efforts must be made to retrieve illegal arms and measures must be put in place to check the proliferation of the illegal arms, especially, the locally manufactured ones. There should also be disarmament by involving the community leaders and youth groups in the disarmament process and assurance of security for all since it is because people feel insecure that they acquire arms, ostensibly for self-protection.

There is the need for government to fund the activities of peace building agencies. The current peace building effort by the Peki-Awudome Local Council of Churches (PALCC) must be one agency deserving of government financial assistance since the council lacks funds to carry out a detail and comprehensive peace building exercise. Also, the seeming lack of transparency and fairness, perceived by the two groups, in dealing with issues such as the claim over the collection of tax and tribute from some communities like Dededo who settled on the disputed land, need to be seriously dealt with through dialogue. The
council and other committees must also work independently from the state or government interference. CSOs must rather facilitate the activities of the committees towards self-negotiation.

Government also needs to focus on the provision of economic opportunities in the areas, especially, for the youth. Unemployment could be seen as one of the remote causes of the conflict in the area. Providing employment and other opportunities for the youth can help to stem the trend of violence and build peace in the area.

This study also recommends the need for intensive peace education campaigns in the traditional areas through the schools and at the community level by sensitizing people, especially, the youth on the link and the implications of peace and development. These efforts must be sustained and must be a continuous process because peace building is a process and not an event. In this regard, and taking into account the fact that no Ghanaian community is a stranger to conflict, peace education should be part of the larger Ghanaian society through its inclusion in our school curricular beginning from the basic level.

5.3.2 Civil Society Organizations

Resolution efforts of the CSOs must be participatory, multi-faceted, all-embracing and acceptable to all the parties. CSOs must dialogue with all the conflicting parties. CSOs mediation efforts must also deal with the underlying issues in the conflict. Thus, their efforts must get to the roots of the conflict by not only focusing on the land disputes alone but also other remote and contingent factors.
CSOs need to build the capacities of the parties in the conflict to dialogue. The feuding factions must be encouraged and empowered to dialogue among themselves in order to build a sustainable peace for development. CSOs must target politicians and influential people by educating and convincing them to pledge their support for the peace process by openly withdrawing both overt and covert support for factions in the conflict.

5.4 TRADITIONAL APPROACH

Traditional approaches which are acceptable and culturally-sensitive to all the groups should be adopted. The current efforts by PALCC must be encouraged and supported to help build peace and finally resolve the conflict. It is equally crucial to identify challenges and weaknesses of the previous strategies and approaches used and deal with them to ensure the participation of the relevant groups and parties in the peace building process. The involvement and inclusion of the two paramount chiefs in all future negotiations and mediation efforts is paramount in the peace building and conflict resolution process. This is because of the power and recognition they wield over their subjects and this can help to find a solution to the conflict. The use of the court system (arbitration and adjudication) does not encourage a lasting peace since the court system from the 1950s has not helped to end the conflict, perhaps due to the winner – takes all verdicts. Parties to the conflict must recognize the need to engage in extensive dialogue rather than resorting to the court system for redress.

There is the need for a proper stakeholder analysis of actual parties in the conflict to engage them in the negotiation and mediation process. Very often, the key stakeholders are not involved in the conflict resolution process; therefore, those who matter most are not identified and brought on board in the resolution process. These stakeholders include
the leaders of youth and women groups and other relevant people from the two communities who are not included in the mediation and negotiation process in the past.

In a nutshell, it is equally possible for the communities (Peki and Awudome) in this conflict to consider resource (land) sharing as an alternative. This resource-sharing can be fashioned out in such a way that each group would agree to compromise on their claimed parcel of land. This can be done through proper laid-down procedures and clear cut rules about the land-sharing.
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APPENDICES

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CHIEFS, ELDERS AND OPINION LEADERS

Background Information

Date of Interview: / / /2015 Specific

Position…………………………

Sex: Male [ ] Female [ ]

Age: 26 – 35 [ ] 36 – 45 [ ] 46– 60 [ ] 60+ [ ]

Occupation………………………… Level of

Education…………………………

This interview is purely for academic purposes, as such/ it is classified as highly confidential. No part would be reproduced without your express approval.

SECTION A. BACKGROUND AND CAUSES OF PEKI AND AWUDOME CONFLICT

1. How long have you been living in this community?

2. What position do you hold in this community?

3. How did people of your community come to settle in the area?

4. Why do you think people engage themselves in conflict?
   a. Because they feel discriminated against
   b. Because people profit from conflict
   c. Because they need something
   d. Because they are naturally aggressive
   e. Because they want to protect their identity
f. Because of past history that led to the development of negative stereotypes

g. Others

5. Has conflict ensued in this locality?

6. Could you give a brief background/origin to the conflict

7. Can you tell of the years that conflict occurred? (Probe for the number of times the conflict has occurred)

8. Have you personally witnessed any of the conflicts?

9. Will you describe the conflict as violent or non-violent? (Probe for the intensity of the conflict)

10. When did the conflict first start, and why that time?

11. Which area did the conflict occur, and why?

12. What triggers off the subsequent ones?

13. What are the two groups fighting over? (land, identity, power, other resources)

14. What do you think is/are the causes of the conflict? Which categories of people are engaged in the conflict? (The youth, old, leaders of the community, others)

15. Have you ever participated actively in the conflict? If yes, what was the role?

16. Why did you play that role?

17. Apart from the two parties involved, are there any other groups of people engaged in the conflict? (Probe to find the various stakeholders of the conflict)

18. Which other people support the conflict directly or indirectly?
SECTION B. REASONS FOR THE PROTRACTED NATURE OF THE CONFLICT

19. How were the two groups related before the conflict? (Probe for the relationship between the two parties before the conflict)

20. Do you think the two parties were close, if so why should they engage in conflict?

21. Why do you think the conflict is intense?

22. How often do conflicts occur between the parties? (Days, Months, Years)

23. How long does the conflict take to simmer? (Days, Weeks, Months, Years)

24. What happened in between the conflicts?

25. Why does the conflict always occur? (Probe for the reasons why the conflict has been protracted)

SECTION C. EFFECTS OF THE CONFLICT

26. When/which time was the conflict more dangerous, why do you say so?

27. Which people are affected in the conflict? (Probe for all people who are affected, the youth, women, the old, children others)

a. How has the conflict specifically affected the youth in the following spheres?
   i. Education
   ii. Commerce
   iii. Agriculture
   iv. Health care

28. Which of the sexes is most affected and why?

29. How will you describe the atmosphere each time there is a conflict? (Probe for the number of deaths, injuries, destruction of properties others)
30. Do you think there is cohesion in the community each time the parties engage in the conflict?

31. How would you describe the situation at the moment (peaceful, volatile, and calm)?

32. What can you say in general about conflict, has it got any positive functions?

33. Do you think conflicts in general can be resolved?

SECTION D. MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES

34. How has violence been curbed when it occurs?

35. Who are involved in curbing violence?

36. What actions are taken against perpetrators of the conflict?

37. Did you play any role in maintaining peace?

38. How did you play such a role(s)?

39. What was the outcome of the interventions?

40. Were there any attempts in the past to resolve the root causes of the conflict? If yes, which agencies were involved? (Probe: Government, NGOs, Religious groups etc.)

41. Have they made any progress in resolving these issues?

42. Was the outcome accepted by both parties?

43. Was the resolution enough to prevent other conflicts?

44. Which group of people do you think can best help to settle the conflict and why?

45. How best do you think the conflict can be resolved to bring about sustainable peace?

46. Do you think the two parties are prepared for peace, what are the indicators?

Thank you for the participation.
INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SECURITY AGENCIES

SECTION A: Background Information

- Date of Interview: ..............................................
- Specific Position: ..............................................

SECTION B: Effects of the Peki-Awudome Conflict

1. What do you think are the effects of the conflict on the development of the youth?
2. How has the conflict impacted the work of the security?
   (Probe for further information on related-issues)
3. In which ways has the embargo on the use of the land affected the people?
   (Agriculture, trade, education)
4. Which ways has the conflict affected security, and maintenance of law and order with regard to localized activities?

SECTION C: Prospects for Peace in Peki-Awudome

1. Why is the conflict not entirely resolved despite the measures adopted?
2. What challenges do you encounter in your bid to promote peace, law and order in the area?
3. What role can the security agencies play in resolving the conflict and promoting development?
4. What do you estimate should be done to resolve the conflict to promote development?
5. What impact will the resolution of the conflict have on Peki-Awudome and development of the areas?
FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR YOUTH GROUP

- What does your group actually do? (Ask for their aims achievements, challenges and prospects for the future)

- What are the major challenges confronting the youth of Peki-Awudome in terms of development?

- What is actually responsible for the protraction of the conflict? (Discuss the issues raised in detail)

- What are the effects of the conflict? (Discuss effects in terms of localized activities, effects on the youth and development efforts).

- What challenges confront the attainment of peace in Peki-Awudome? (Discuss strengths, weaknesses of the approaches/mechanisms and why the conflict has not been entirely resolved).

- How can the conflict be effectively resolved? (Discuss the roles of the youth in resolving the conflict, new mechanisms and how they can help in peace building in Peki-Awudome).

- What will be the impact of the resolution of the conflict? (Discuss the benefits and relations of resolution of the conflict and youth development in Peki-Awudome).

Thank you for your participation
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE YOUTH AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES

Section A. Background Information

1. Age 16 – 25 [ ] 26 – 35 [ ] 36 – 45 [ ] 46 – 55 [ ] 56 - 65 [ ] 66+ [ ]

2. Sex: Male [ ] Female [ ]

3. Level of education:
   i. No formal education [ ]
   ii. Basic education [ ]
   iii. Senior High/ Technical/ Vocational [ ]
   iv. Tertiary
      a. Teacher/ Nurses Training [ ]
      b. Polytechnic [ ]
      c. University [ ]

4. Marital status
   i. Single [ ]
   ii. Married [ ]
   iii. Divorced [ ]

5. Religious Affiliation
   i. Christian [ ]
   ii. Moslem [ ]
   iii. Traditionalist [ ]
   iv. Other (specify)……………………………………..

6. Occupation:
   i. Farmer [ ]
   ii. Trader [ ]
   iii. Driver [ ]
   iv. Teacher [ ]
   v. Nurse [ ]
   vi. Police [ ]
   vii. Other (specify)……………………………

Section B. Effects of the conflict on the youth in agriculture

1a. How long have you been engaged in farming or agriculture activity?

........................................................................................................................................

........
What problems do farmers face in farming or agricultural activity?

1c. Do farmers feel secure to engage in farming or agricultural activity?
   Yes [ ]   No [ ]

1d. If no, what makes farmers feel insecure in your farming or agricultural activity?

1e. What have been the effects of this insecurity on farming or agricultural activity?

1f. Has the conflict affected access to the following agricultural services or facilities on farm?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Services/Facilities</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Effects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Use of Tractor Services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extension Services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fertilizers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrigation Facilities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Labour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1g. Has the conflict affected marketing of farm produce?
   Yes [ ]   No [ ]

1h. If yes, how has the conflict affected marketing of farm produce?

1i. Have there been shortages of food or farm produce on the market as a result of the conflict?
1j. If yes, give examples of food or farm produce that have run short on the market as a result of the conflict.

1k. Have farm yields been affected as a result of the conflict?
   Yes [   ]               No [   ]

1l. If yes, how have yields been affected as a result of the conflict?

1m. How many crops (number of bags) or animals have farmers lost as a result of the conflict?

1n. What are the other effects of the conflict on your job (economic activity)?

Section C. Effects of the conflict on Commerce

2a. Are traders secured to engage in buying and selling of goods?
   Yes [   ]               No [   ]

2b. If no, what makes them insecure of buying and selling of your goods?

2c. What has been the effect of your inability to get access to buying and selling of your goods?
2d. Has your income or profit dropped as a result of the conflict?
Yes [ ]  No [ ]

2e. If yes, what was your income profit prior to the conflict and what has been your income profit in the course of the conflict?

………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………

2f. Has the prices of commodities soured as a result of the conflict?
Yes [ ]  No [ ]

2g. If yes, what were the prices of the basic commodities before the conflict and what were the prices after the conflict?

………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………

2h. Has the conflict increase your cost of doing business?
Yes [ ]  No [ ]

2i. If yes, how has the conflict increase your cost of doing business?

………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………

2j. What have been other effects of the conflict on your business or trade?

………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………

2k. How has the conflict affected the following aspects of commerce on the youth in Peki and Awudome Traditional Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect of Commerce</th>
<th>Effects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income or Profit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation to do business</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Investment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security to do business</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to credit facilities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section D. Effects of the conflict on education

3a. Has the conflict affected academic performance of students as compared to years when it was less intense?

Yes [ ]       No [ ]

3b. If yes, how has the conflict affected their performance?

........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

3c. Were students secured at school?

Yes [ ]       No [ ]

3d. How secured or insecure were you?

........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

3e. What has been the effect of the conflict on education in terms of;

i. Academic performance
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

ii. Access to educational infrastructure
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

iii. School enrolment
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

iv. Availability of teachers
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

v. Other effects (specify)
........................................................................................................................................
Section F. Effect of the conflict on health

4a. Were you secure to go to the hospital for treatment whenever you fell sick?
Yes [ ]   No [ ]

4b. If no, what prevented you?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

4c. As a result of the conflict, has your health care been affected?
Yes [ ]   No [ ]

4d. If yes, how has your health care been affected?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

4e. Were health personnel secure to work?
Yes [ ]   No [ ]

4f. How insecure were they?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

4g. How has the conflict affected health in terms of:
   i. health infrastructure
       ……………………………………………………………………………………………………………
       ……………………………………………………………………………………………………………
   ii. Hospital attendance
       ……………………………………………………………………………………………………………
       ……………………………………………………………………………………………………………
   iii. Availability of health personnel
       ……………………………………………………………………………………………………………
       ……………………………………………………………………………………………………………
SECTION G: The effects of the conflict on security

5a. Has the conflict increased the rate of insecurity in the area?
   Yes [ ] No [ ]

5b. If yes, how has it worsen security?
   ………………………………………………………………………………………
   ………………………………………………………………………………………
   ………………………………………………………………………………………

5c. How secured were you in transacting your economic activity?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>More Secured</th>
<th>Secured</th>
<th>Less Secured</th>
<th>Not Secured</th>
<th>Do not Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

5d. How would you describe the security situation in the area in general?
   ………………………………………………………………………………………
   ………………………………………………………………………………………

5e.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effect</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Explain</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increased Poverty</td>
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<tr>
<td>Increased Violence</td>
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<tr>
<td>Proliferation of Illegal arms</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mass Migration of Youth to urban areas</td>
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<td>Mistrust and bad community relations</td>
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<td>Weak Local governance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Loss of Life</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lawlessness</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Relocation of economic activities (Banks, market)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Displacement of people</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Section H: Challenges militating against the attainment of peace in Peki and Awudome

6a. Do you see measures to resolve the conflict effective?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

6b. How effective or ineffective are these approaches or measures to resolve the conflict effective?

……………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………

6c. What challenges make it difficult to attain peace despite efforts made?

……………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………

Section I: Ways of resolving the conflict

7a. Do you believe that the conflict can ever be resolved?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

7b. If yes, how could it be resolved?

……………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………

7c. If no, why could it not be resolved?

……………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………

7d. What new measures could be adopted to resolve the conflict?

……………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………

7e. What do you think the youth would benefit from the resolution of the conflict?

……………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………

Thank you for your participation.
INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SECURITY AGENCIES

SECTION A: Background Information

- Date of Interview: ..............................................
- Specific Position: ................................................

SECTION B: Effects of the Peki-Awudome Conflict

5. What do you think are the effects of the conflict on the development of the youth?

6. How has the conflict impacted the work of the security?
   (Probe for further information on related-issues)

7. In which ways has the embargo on the use of the land affected the people?
   (Agriculture, trade, education)

8. Which ways has the conflict affected security, and maintenance of law and order with regard to localized activities?

SECTION C: Prospects for Peace in Peki-Awudome

6. Why is the conflict not entirely resolved despite the measures adopted?

7. What challenges do you encounter in your bid to promote peace, law and order in the area?

8. What role can the security agencies play in resolving the conflict and promoting development?

9. What do you estimate should be done to resolve the conflict to promote development?

Thank you for your participation.
FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR ELDERS

- What does your group actually do? (Ask for their aims achievements, challenges and prospects for the future)

- What are the major challenges confronting the youth of Peki-Awudome in terms of development?

- What is actually responsible for the protraction of the conflict? (Discuss the issues raised in detail)

- What are the effects of the conflict? (Discuss effects in terms of localized activities, effects on the youth and development efforts).

- What challenges confront the attainment of peace in Peki-Awudome? (Discuss strengths, weaknesses of the approaches/mechanisms and why the conflict has not been entirely resolved).

- How can the conflict be effectively resolved? (Discuss the roles of the youth in resolving the conflict, new mechanisms and how they can help in peace building in Peki-Awudome).

- What will be the impact of the resolution of the conflict? (Discuss the benefits and relations of resolution of the conflict and youth development in Peki-Awudome).

Thank you for your participation