

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES



INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR PEACEBUILDING IN GHANA:

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL

BY

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**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,
LEGON IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR
THE AWARD OF MPhil IN POLITICAL SCIENCE DEGREE**

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DECLARATION

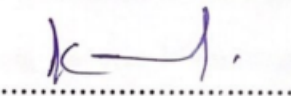
I, **MIRRIAM ANOKYEWAA MENSAH**, hereby declare that this Master of Philosophy (MPhil) thesis is submitted to the Department of Political Science of the University of Ghana. I am completely certain that this is an original and independent work and does not contain any material that has been previously published or material that has been accepted by any institution for the award of any other degree. Sources of materials used have been duly cited and referenced.



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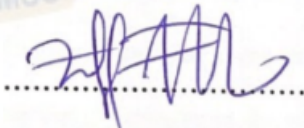


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ABSTRACT

Peace is essential to the development of every state and it is also crucial to the realisation of human rights. For this reason, many states have put in place infrastructures to help consolidate their peace. Ghana forms part of the few states in Africa with a national peace architecture.

The study discussed the institutional framework for peacebuilding in Ghana and focused on assessing the National Peace Council. The objective of the study was to do a comprehensive assessment of the Peace Council to ascertain how it has performed in the process of consolidating Ghana's peace, especially after 2011 when it was given parliamentary recognition in Act 818.

The study employed a qualitative approach to data collection. Data gathered was then analysed within the Conflict Theory which underpins the study and the literature review.

The study found that the mandate of the NPC is essential to Ghana's peacebuilding and the Council has to an extent contributed to Ghana's peace by preventing, managing and resolving conflicts including electoral, chieftaincy, ethnic and land disputes as well as engaging in capacity building activities. It was, however, found that the NPC tends to become more prominent in electoral related disputes than other areas of conflicts due to the differences in the nature of the various conflicts that exist and also the availability of funds for the Council to operate during elections. The study identified financial impediments as the major challenge that confronts the Council and hence, it has not been able to operate at its full capacity to yield the best results in Ghana's peacebuilding. The study thus highlights the relevance of the NPC and the extent to which it has contributed to Ghana's peacebuilding. It also serves as a policy note for the government and a guide for the Council to revamp its activities.

DEDICATION

I respectfully dedicate this study to my mother, Madam Gladys Asamoah. I also dedicate this study to my brother, Pascal Asamoah Opare and my sister, Mercy Addobea Opare.



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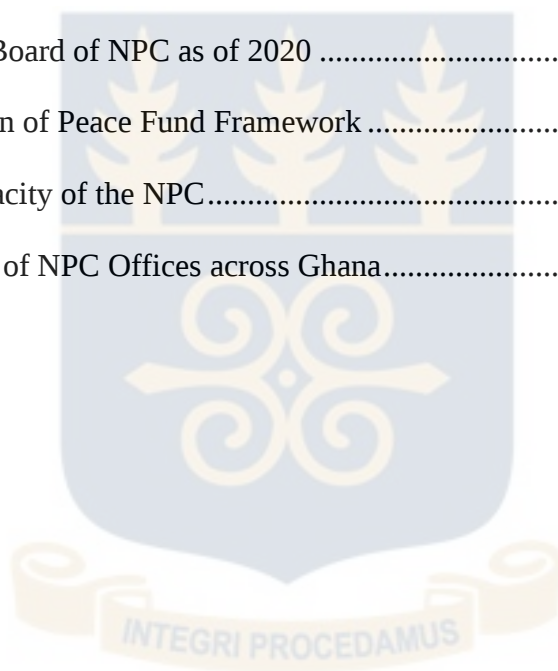
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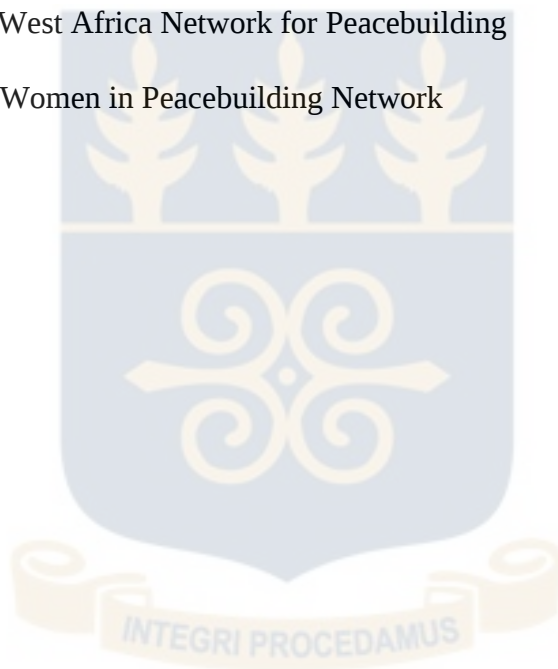
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMU:	Arab Maghreb Union
AU:	African Union
BTI:	Bertelsmann Transformation Index
CDD:	Centre for Democratic Development
CHRAJ:	Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice
CIA:	Central Intelligence Agency
CSOs:	Civil Society Organisations
DISEC:	District Security Council
DPAC:	District Peace Advisory Committee
DPCs:	District Peace Councils
EC:	Electoral Commission
ECCAS:	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOMOG:	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
ECOWAS:	Economic Community of West African States
ERPC:	Eastern Regional Peace Council
GES:	Ghana Education Service
GNACSA:	Ghana National Commission on Small Arms
GSGDA:	Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda
IDEG:	Institute for Democratic Governance
IEA:	Institute of Economic Affairs
IGAD:	Intergovernmental Authority on Development



INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organisations
MARWOPNET:	Mano River Women's Peace Network
NADMO:	National Disaster Management Organisation
NCCE:	National Commission for Civic Education
NDC:	National Democratic Congress
NDPC:	National Development Planning Commission
NEEWARG:	National Election Early Warning and Response Group
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organisations
NPC:	National Peace Council
NPP:	National Patriotic Party
NRPAC:	Northern Regional Peace Advisory Committee
NSC:	National Security Council
NYA:	National Youth Authority
OAU:	Organisation of African Unity
PCRD:	Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development
PPOs:	Peace Promotion Officers
RECs:	Regional Economic Communities
REEWARGs:	Regional Election Early Warning and Response Groups
REGSEC:	Regional Security Council
RPAC:	Regional Peace Advisory Committee
RPC:	Regional Peace Council
SADC:	Southern African Development Community
SALW:	Small Arms and Light Weapons

SDGs:	Sustainable Development Goals
UK:	United Kingdom
UN:	United Nations
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
USA:	United States of America
USAID:	United States Agency for International Development
WANEP:	West Africa Network for Peacebuilding
WIPNET:	Women in Peacebuilding Network



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

An environment that is tranquil and safe is crucial to every society. This is because, it has an impact on all facets of economic and social progress in a state and it is relevant to human rights realisation (Kimanuka, 2018). The fastest-growing countries are those which have a well-developed structure or architecture for security and have peace and composure growing vigorously within them (ibid). In his 2006 Progress Report on the Prevention of Armed Conflict, United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan acknowledged that “...the relevance of creating National Infrastructures for Peace that allows societies and their governments to resolve conflicts internally with their skills, institutions and resources” (UN, 2006: 6). In the view of Tongeren (2011:91) “Infrastructure for peace refers to building standing capabilities or infrastructures for peacebuilding and conflict prevention within countries, communities and regions, and involving the main stakeholders”. Sustained peace is not something that comes about naturally; it must be consciously and persistently be created and renewed (Jenkins, 2013). For this reason, several countries have over the years operationalised the concept of infrastructures for peace and Ghana is one of such countries.

Ghana has been given significant recognition as a “ beacon of hope” in Africa due to the peace she has so far enjoyed. According to UNDP Ghana (2013), irrespective of the fact that the country suffered tremendous military interventions in the past decades; she has been given recognition as a strong democracy, with its accomplishments including the successful elections held since she transitioned to a constitutional democracy.

Despite the international accolade as a relatively peaceful state in Africa, Ghana still experiences a series of ceaseless conflicts which have mostly been violent and destructive (UNDP, 2013). This is to indicate that though Ghana has not experienced any civil conflict, she continues to suffer from some form of trivial conflicts that very much tend to threaten the peace and tranquillity within the state (Ministry of Interior, 2006).

Many of the internal conflicts that take place in Ghana begin with little disputes at the community level and eventually erupt into violence (UNDP, 2013). Ghana has seen instances of conflicts which can be classified as political, social, religious and economic. There have been instances of political clashes and political antagonism. Bentil and Aidoo (2018) assert that political contest is not a bad thing, however, extremes of it to achieve a political objective tends to hinder the country's democracy and peace. Ghana has witnessed many cases of antagonism between its major political parties which are NPP and NDC in the years which have brought them in power or opposition (Ofori, 2016).

Similarly, Ghana has witnessed a series of electoral violence in all the general elections and the by-elections she has conducted since she transitioned to a constitutional democracy. A series of ethnic disputes, chieftaincy disputes, land disputes, issues of corruption and the like exist in the country. Some of these conflicts have been in existence for a long period. The National Development Planning Commission (2010) notes the need to bring an end to recurrent intrastate conflicts. This is because these conflicts if left unchecked will hinder the state's peace, growth and development (NDPC, 2010).

In order to help effectively respond to hindrances of development, national infrastructures for peace become an important substructure to handle security and transformation in various societies (Awinador-Kanyirige, 2014). Peace, however, cannot be gained effortlessly and neither can it be

put in place by an external body; it has to be put in place by the people it concerns (Marfo, 2013). Even though conflicts in Ghana may be deemed as minimal as compared to other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, to pay little attentiveness to its manifestations is to generate conditions which can foster a society in which violence is allowed to persist (Fischer, 2016).

Annan (2014) posits that a majority of a population looks up to the state to see to social justice and peace through its formal institutions and structures which include the police, military, courts and other peace and law enforcement institutions. In this vein, informal institutions and their role in peacebuilding cannot be overlooked. These include the roles of traditional chiefs and community leaders, religious bodies, and Civil Society Organisations (Annan, 2014).

Ghana in the bid to ensure that peace and democracy continue to thrive made a decision to create a National Architecture for Peace (Tongerren, 2011). The National Peace Council forms a major component of the architecture. The NPC was established upon the successes of the roles of the Northern Regional Peace Advisory Council and the Volta Regional Coordinating Council. The roles of these councils were seen in the Dagbon Chieftaincy conflict in 2002 and the Alavanyo/Nkonya conflict in 2005 in the Northern and Volta Regions of Ghana respectively (Kotia & Aubyn, 2013). The government of Ghana at that time decided to extend this role to the rest of the country by setting up the NPC to respond to occurring conflicts and also to prevent conflicts through the detection of early signals.

The NPC was administratively established in August 2006, however, it was given legal backing in 2011 as the 818th Act of parliament. The NPC was given a national mandate which is “to facilitate and develop mechanisms for conflict prevention, management, resolution and build sustainable peace” (NPC Act, 2011:3). The NPC, therefore, has the mandate to contribute to Ghana’s peace by handling instances of conflict situations. With a vision which is to “have a country characterised

by a dynamic environment where people can engage in their lawful activities confident that the institutions, mechanisms and the capacities for mediating differences and grievances are effective and responsive” (Ministry of Interior, 2006:1), the NPC was set to play a role in Ghana’s peacebuilding.

Kumaza (2020), argues that having institutions without putting into practice the concept of institutionalism is pointless. However, establishing institutions and allowing them to function effectively helps to ameliorate their capacity and effectiveness to manage the society that puts performance demands and pressures on them. While it is crucial to establish peace infrastructures, it becomes important to assess them to know the level of their impact on peacebuilding within the societies in which they exist (Tongeren, 2011). This indicates that while the NPC has been mandated to play a role in Ghana’s peacebuilding, it becomes imperative to ascertain what it has been able to accomplish in Ghana’s peacebuilding.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

In Africa, Ghana forms part of the few countries with a well-developed national infrastructure for peace (Issifu, 2015). The NPC forms a major component of Ghana’s Peace Architecture. The NPC is, therefore, deemed as a pivotal upcoming framework for enhancing Ghana’s capability to provide protection to its population and to prevent conflicts (Awinador-Kanyirige, 2014). This indicates that as a peace infrastructure, the NPC has been mandated to play a role in Ghana’s peacebuilding. The NPC was thus established and given the mandate to prevent conflicts as well as manage and resolve the ones already in existence to bring about peace in the country. It, therefore, becomes prudent to assess the Council to find out the extent to which it has contributed to Ghana’s peacebuilding.

Several scholars among whom are Awinador-Kanyirige (2014), Anumel (2017), Fischer (2016), Irene (2018), Issifu (2015 & 2017), Kotia & Aubyn (2013), the Commonwealth Observer Group (2017), Owusu (2017) have written about the NPC; however, they have mainly focused on the role the NPC plays during general elections, the effectiveness of the conflict resolution mechanisms used by the NPC and some successes and weaknesses. For instance, Kotia and Aubyn (2013) argue that the most visible achievement of the NPC is the role it plays during elections. Awinador-Kanyirige (2014) and Issifu (2015) also share that one of the failures of the NPC is that they have focused more on elections than other areas of conflict. There is little knowledge on the extent to which the NPC has been successful in averting electoral disputes and how the Council has performed in other areas of conflicts.

There is, therefore, a need to add to the literature in the field by doing a comprehensive assessment of the NPC to find out how the Council has performed towards Ghana's peacebuilding.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The central objective of the study is to find out how the NPC has performed in Ghana's peacebuilding.

Specific objectives are:

- To establish the relevance of the mandate of the NPC in Ghana's peacebuilding.
- To explore how successful the NPC has been towards Ghana's peacebuilding.
- To point out the major challenges that confront the NPC in exercising its mandates and how they can be dealt with.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The central question for the study is: How has the NPC performed towards Ghana's peacebuilding?

Specific questions are:

- How relevant is the mandate of the NPC in Ghana's peacebuilding?
- How successful has the NPC been towards Ghana's peacebuilding?
- What major challenges confront the National Peace Council in the course of exercising its mandates and how can they be dealt with?

1.5 THE STUDY INSTITUTION - THE NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL

Though the Ghana National Peace Council was set up in August 2006, it was given a legal binding in 2011 in the 818th Act of parliament known as the National Peace Council Act 818. That is to argue that though the National Peace Council was established in 2006, it was only given parliamentary recognition in 2011 (Kotia & Aubyn, 2013).

The decision that brought the NPC into existence was based on the events put together from the activities of the Northern Regional Peace Advisory Committee (NRPAC) (Rashid, Mohammed & Woodrow; 2009). This body was mainly made up of representatives from Christian and Muslim bodies, traditional chiefs, women and youth groups, and security agencies (ibid). The success of the NRPAC in the 2002 Dagbon Chieftaincy conflict following the mediation and conflict resolution mechanisms used, brought trust among the opposing sections and also helped to ensure peaceful elections in the then fragile Northern Region in 2004 (Kotia and Aubyn, 2013). Similarly, the Volta Regional Coordinating Council in 2005 helped to mediate the Alavanyo/ Nkonya conflict in the Volta Region. The then government of Ghana intended to extend this role to the entire country which the Ministry of Interior also pushed for its approval. The establishment of the NPC then got an unopposed consensus from all the political parties (ibid).

The NPC Act specifically states the objective of the Council. The broad objective of the Council is “to facilitate and develop mechanisms for conflict prevention, management, resolution, and to build sustainable peace in the country” (NPC Act, 2011: 3). The National Peace Council is also to raise awareness fostering around the use of non-violent steps to respond to conflicts and also use the strategy of networking, campaigning, and coordination with peace partners (UNDP, 2013).

According to the Memorandum of the NPC Bill (Clause 3), “...the Council is to strengthen capacities in relation to its objects in the country including but not limited to chiefs, women, youth groups, and community organisations. It is also the role of the Council to make recommendations to the government and key stakeholders in issues bothering around peace.

The structure of the institution per the prescription of the Act is to have Regional and District Councils in addition to the National Council. This is to give wider participation of stakeholders and also to extend the objective of the Council to the grassroots.

The Regional Peace Advisory Councils in the bid to ensure peacebuilding in the state are given the mandate to mediate inter-district conflicts or disputes that take place among groups in different districts, conflicts that happen between interest groups, and conflicts between politicians in that particular region. Besides, the RPACs are to indulge in the education of the public, sensitisation, and the creation of awareness concerning signals of conflicts in the regions and the best ways to handle them. They are again to ensure that there is co-existence between groups by organising games and peacebuilding programmes within the regions (Ministry of Interior, 2006).

The District Peace Advisory Councils are to nurture peace in the districts, establish spaces for dialogue and communication between groups and communities, and for exchanging their thoughts on issues that have the potency to threaten peace within the districts. It is also the responsibility of

the DPACs to indulge in confidence and trust-building activities to also help to bring about peace in the districts (Ministry of Interior, 2006).

In the same way, the NPC Act spells out the membership and structure of the National, Regional and District Peace Councils. Firstly, the membership of the Council is made up of people who are deemed as renowned and trustworthy and who have integrity and are believed to have the capacity to help facilitate peace in the country in a sustainable manner. The NPC Act makes provision for 13 distinguished people to be nominated from the various religious bodies and other groups in the country. The NPC Act makes provision for four (4) individuals from Christian bodies, three (3) from Muslim bodies, two (2) from traditional bodies as well as two (2) each from identifiable groups and the president's appointment. Table 1.1 displays the membership structure of the NPC governing board.

TABLE 1.1: The Membership of the National Peace Council Governing Board

Christian Bodies	• Catholic Bishops Conference • Christian Council • Ghana Pentecostal Council • National Council for Christians and Charismatic Churches
Muslim Bodies	• Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission • Al-Sunnah Muslims • Tijaniyya Muslim Group
Traditional Bodies	• Practitioners of African Traditional Religions • National House of Chiefs
Others	• Nominees of the President of the Republic (two and one must be a woman) • Two other persons nominated by identifiable groups

Source: (NPC Act, 2011)

The members of the board of the Council are to have four years of tenure and are eligible for re-appointment. There are, however, some conditions that can make a member vacate his or her position in the Council. They include the following; when a member resigns, when a member

absents himself or herself from meetings on three consecutive times, when a member partakes in the deliberations of a situation he or she has an interest in and fails to disclose it, and lastly when a member dies (NPC Act, 2011).

The membership of the board of the Regional and District Councils follow the same as the National Council except that the two appointments done by the president at the National level are to be done by the Regional Coordinating Council and District Assembly for the Regional and District Peace Councils respectively (NPC Act, 2011).

The key partners of the NPC include the government, government institutions, CSOs, NGOs and INGOs, security agencies, traditional authorities, research institutions, and others.

The NPC again uses peacebuilding channels such as mediation, facilitation, negotiation, education and awareness, dialogue, and other forms to help bring peace to the country. Through workshops, training, conferences, and other key activities, the NPC intervenes in the national, regional, and district as well as inter-party, traditional, inter-religious, ethnic, and other areas of conflicts using financial and material resources (NPC, 2017). The operations of the NPC are summarised in table 1.2.

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TABLE 1.2: Operational Set-up of the NPC

Operational Set-up of National Peace Council		
KEY PARTNERSHIPS	VALUE PROPOSITION	PEACEBUILDING CHANNELS
1. Government of Ghana (GoG) 2. Development Partners (UNDP, etc.) 3. Government Institutions. 4. CSOs in Peace Building 5. Security Agencies. 6. Traditional authorities. 7. Religious Bodies. 8. NGOs and INGOs. 9. Communities and Conflicting Parties. 10. Research Institutions & Varsities. 11. Private and Business Community.	1. Harmony and peace 2. Stability. 3. Security. 4. Justice. 5. Inclusiveness. 6. Consensus. 7. Human Dignity. 8. Recognition. 9. Mutual Respect. 10. Tolerance. 11. Diversity/Unity.	1. Mediation 2. Facilitation. 3. Negotiation. 4. Education and Awareness Building. 5. Dialogue. 6. Back Channels. 7. Conciliation. 8. Preventative Diplomacy.
KEY ACTIVITIES:		LEVELS OF INTERVENTIONS:
1. Workshops. 2. Training. 3. Conflict management resolution training sessions. 4. Conferences. 5. Sharing of best practices. 6. Focus Group Discussion. 7. Research 8. Election monitoring and observations		1. National 2. Regional 3. District 4. Inter-party. 5. Traditional 6. Inter-religious, ethnic, etc.
RESOURCES REQUIRED		PEACE DIVIDENDS
1. Financial 2. Logistic 3. Knowledge and expertise. 4. Office accommodation and infrastructure. 5. Goodwill and reputation.		1. Development 2. Unity, mutual respect, and trust. 3. Tolerance. 4. Security and stability. 5. International Respect and Investment.

Source: (NPC Report, 2017)

1.6 OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

1.6.1 Conflict, Conflict Prevention, Conflict Management and Conflict Resolution

Conflict

Folarin (2015) argues that conflict dates back as far as the existence of humans. To him, conflict is an important feature of human society. He defines conflict as the existence of dispute or antagonism between two or more people. This indicates that two or more parties do not have an agreement on the same issue. This he argues enforces incompatible goals. Adetula (2006) defines conflicts as the pursuit of incompatible goals and interests by different groups. Similarly, Bujra (2002:3) views conflict as “a violent and armed confrontation and a struggle between groups, between the state and one or more groups and between two or more states”. Galtung (2009) argues that conflict originates from one point, expresses itself and progresses until the resolution stage can be attained before the conflict is dissolved. It is important to recognise the fact that men need not arms alone to fight but can do so with just their fists (Morgenthau, 1948). From the above, it can, therefore, be argued that conflict is an inescapable aspect of human existence and hence the numerous conflicts that have happened around the world.

Conflict Prevention

Conflict prevention implies the ability to steer clear of ruinous conflicts through external intervention before any serious conflict can happen (Aggestam, 2010). To Stewart (2006), conflict prevention refers to the efforts by a third force to avert the upsurge of destructive conflicts. Conflict prevention is mostly categorised into two. The first is known as Direct Conflict Prevention which involves the mechanisms that are focused on averting short term and the mostly impending rise of potential conflicts. The second which is Structural Prevention aims at long term initiatives that deal with foundations of possible conflicts together with possible spiral components (Swanstrom

& Weissmann, 2005). It is crucial to understand that the term conflict prevention is growingly becoming a principal aim of the new global and security governance agenda, with advocacy of preventive policies by the international and regional organisations and non-governmental actors (Ackerman, 2003).

Conflict Management

The starting point for a more effective conflict resolution is through the process of conflict management (Swanstrom & Weissmann, 2005). Conflict management refers to the clampdown, alleviation, and confinement of a conflict without necessarily resolving it (Tanner, 2000). Zartman (1997) defines conflict management as getting rid of destructive and violent-associated activities and leaving that particular conflict to be resolved at a political level. This implies that conflict management can be defined as devising methods to control and reduce the level of violence in conflicts without necessarily resolving it. The styles of conflict management include accommodating, avoiding, compromising, collaborating and competition (Tanner, 2000).

Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution can be defined as the resolution of basic differences in a conflict and a required acceptability of the stand of each party (Swanstrom & Weissmann, 2005). Conflict resolution may be official thus focuses on settling or putting an end to conflicts in a more foreseeable procedure concerning lawful propositions (ibid). Conflict resolution can also be informal, thus aims at attempts to expand collaboration between the actors in conflict and strengthen their alliance by responding to the causes of the disputes, stimulating productive viewpoints and eliminating cynicism through conciliation. Ramsbotham, et al (2011) argue that conflict resolution has become crucial in the international system especially after the Cold War. This, therefore, brings out a

positive means for societies to deal with conflicts in a violent-free manner and gradually settle their altercations.

1.6.2 Peace and Peacebuilding

Peace

Merriam Webster dictionary (2016) defines peace as “a state of tranquillity or quiet from civil disturbance, a state of security or order within a freedom from disquieting or oppressive thoughts or emotions, harmony in personal relations and a period of mutual coordination between governments”. Peace, like many models and concepts, is difficult to define and it is something that is often recognised by its absence (Webel & Barash, 2018). This means that peace is often given meaning and concentration when there is the presence of conflict.

Galtung (2009) gives a deeper meaning to peace by differentiating positive peace from negative peace. The former means that though there are several thoughts and ideas in every society, that society still experiences harmony, justice, equity and the like. The latter means that war is absent and there is no form of violence between humans; which is not peace in essence (ibid). For the mere fact that conflict should happen for peace to be necessitated, several measures have been made by states and several organisations to manage, resolve and prevent conflicts.

Peacebuilding

The University of Notre Dame (2018) defines peacebuilding as an activity that deals with injustice in non-violent methods and metamorphoses the cultural and structural conditions that lead to destructive conflicts. The establishment of structures for institutionalising peace can also be termed as peacebuilding (Boutros-Ghali, 1995). The process of peacebuilding involves conflict

prevention, management and resolution or change as well as conciliation or trauma alleviation in post-conflict societies (Rapoport, 1992).

1.7 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study assesses the NPC to determine how it has performed in Ghana's peacebuilding. While acknowledging the relevance of the mandate and the performance of the NPC in the country's drive towards peacebuilding; the study is limited to how the NPC has performed in conflict prevention, management and resolution in areas such as electoral disputes, chieftaincy and land disputes as well as ethnic disputes. The study also looks into what the NPC has been able to achieve in relation to the capacity building of other groups and institutions. The study finally explores the major challenges that confront the Council as well as how these challenges can be dealt with. Though the study investigates what the NPC has been able to achieve since it was established in 2006, more emphasis is placed on the period after 2011.

1.8 JUSTIFICATION AND RATIONALE OF RESEARCH

Peace is essential to the development of every society and the realisation of human rights and thus, the establishment of peace infrastructures and their effective operation becomes crucial. Ghana forms part of the very few countries in Africa which have operationalised the concept of infrastructure for peace. This is to enable the state to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts. The NPC is given a national mandate to operate to ensure that Ghana's peace is consolidated and sustained. The creation of institutions without practising institutionalism is meaningless and thereby creating the necessity for them to function adequately. It then becomes relevant to assess the NPC to ascertain how it has performed in the consolidation of Ghana's peace. Although several scholars have written on the NPC, the problem chosen for this study has hardly been investigated. Most scholars, for instance, have particularly focused on the role the NPC plays when it comes to

elections, without necessarily taking a broad look at what the NPC has been able to achieve as far as its mandate in Ghana's peacebuilding is concerned.

The researcher focuses on how the NPC has performed in conflict prevention, management and resolution in areas such as electoral disputes, chieftaincy and land disputes as well as ethnic disputes because these areas of conflict are more prominent in the country. The researcher selects these areas because, during elections, Ghana's peace and democracy are always put to test. Also, Ghana has experienced a myriad of chieftaincy and ethnic disputes, most of which come about as a result of competition for land. The researcher, therefore, assesses the NPC on what it has been able to accomplish in these areas. Though the researcher assesses the Council from 2006 when it was administratively established, much emphasis is placed on the period after 2011. This is because it was not until then that the Council was given legal recognition to operate.

1.9 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Every study is bound to have challenges in one way or the other. To begin with, the researcher could not get her hands on all of the documents such as the activity plans and annual financial budgets of the NPC despite constant requests for them. The researcher, therefore, could not bring out entirely some of the engagements of the Council as well as their actual financial data over the years, with the exception of that of the year 2020. This is a limitation to this study.

The researcher was met with financial constraints which made it impossible for her to reach some of the respondents who were recommended through snowballing. Also, the researcher was challenged with limited time especially with the presence of Coronavirus which led to lockdown in some parts of the country. This rather made it difficult for the researcher to reach some respondents within the time that was set for the interviews.

While all the above-stated limitations were faced by the researcher, it is worth mentioning that the researcher was able to complete the study within the estimated.

1.10 ORGANISATION OF CHAPTERS

The study is divided into six chapters in terms of structure. The first chapter (Chapter One) which is the introduction encapsulates detailed background to the study, statement of the research problem, research objectives, research questions, brief background of the NPC and operational definition of concepts. It is in this same chapter that the justification of the study, the scope of the study, limitations of the study and chapter organisation are discussed.

The second chapter (Chapter Two) reviews relevant literature in the area of the study. Chapter Three focuses on the theory within which the study is situated. This chapter on the theory essentially and adequately explains and justifies the study. In the fourth chapter (Chapter Four), the research methods and methodology within which the research is carried out are discussed.

Chapter Five focuses on the analysis and discussion of data. The data which has been gathered on relevant themes are analysed and discussed. The sixth and final chapter (Chapter Six) summarises findings from the analysis and discussions, makes recommendations for policy guidelines and academic purposes, and also includes a conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Ghana though has been praised by the world for the peace she has so far enjoyed; is still vulnerable to sporadic ethnic strife and some form of communal tensions that very much threaten the country's path towards peace, democracy and development. Ahorsu & Gebe (2011) posit that, for the most part, finding ending solutions to some of these conflicts have proven to be pointless. Ghana has, however, established a peace architecture to respond to instances of conflicts that may challenge the country's peace.

This chapter pays attention to the review of relevant literature in Conflict and Peace Studies. By so doing, it looks at infrastructures for peace and peacebuilding in general terms and also examines the nature and scope of conflicts in Africa as well as efforts towards peacebuilding. It is then narrowed to identify some sources and types of conflicts in Ghana. Lastly, peacebuilding in Ghana is discussed by establishing Ghana's peace framework.

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to acknowledge and give credit to knowledge in the field of Conflict and Peace Studies. The aim of every literature review especially in research work seeks to relate the study to the field in which it is being carried, situate the work in the ongoing debate in the field, fill the gaps identified and finally add up to the existing knowledge (Ridley, 2008). The literature for this study is, therefore, reviewed in the following order to get a better understanding of the entire chapter. It first looks at Infrastructures for Peace and Peacebuilding, Conflicts and Peacebuilding in Africa, some sources of Conflicts in Ghana, and lastly looks at Peacebuilding in Ghana.

2.2 INFRASTRUCTURES FOR PEACE AND PEACEBUILDING

Conflicts have been experienced in almost all parts of the world and for this reason, conflict theorists argue that conflicts are inevitable. Due to the consequences of conflicts, attempts have been made by several states around the world to prevent them and also handle them when they take place (Tongerren, 2011). Building infrastructures for peace have become crucial over the years.

The literature available indicates that the concept of infrastructures for peace is a recent phenomenon. Even though it was coined by Lederach in 1997, it stayed unexplored for nearly fifteen years and after which it was advanced in 2010 by UNDP (Kovacs and Tobias, 2016). In 2011, the Global Peace Building Strategy in partnership with the High Commission of Ghana to the United Kingdom organised a meeting for peace. One of the results of the meeting was to set up an International Steering Group to enhance infrastructures for peace worldwide (Tongerren, 2011). According to Verzat (2014), the Accra declaration of September 2013 announced the interventions by every member of ECOWAS to establish infrastructure for peace after three years. This shows that the concept of infrastructure for peace has recently gained prominence in the international system. Before we go ahead with this discussion, it is prudent to get an understanding of the term infrastructures for peace.

The concept of infrastructures for peace is still advancing and keeps being enriched from one perspective to the other and hence, there is no single definition given to it. Lederach (1997: xvi) first defined infrastructures for peace as “building peace in today’s conflicts calls for a long-term commitment to establishing an infrastructure across the levels of a society, an infrastructure that empowers the resources for reconciliation from within the society, and maximises the contribution from outside”. To Kumar (2011: 385), infrastructures for peace is defined as “a network of interdependent structures, mechanisms, resources, values and skills through dialogue and

consultation, contribute to conflict prevention and peacebuilding in a society”. Giessmann (2016: 4) broadly defines infrastructures for peace as a “dynamic network of skills, capacities, resources, tools, and institutions that help build constructive relationships and enhance sustainable resilience of societies against the risks of relapse into violence”. From the above definitions, I simplify infrastructures for peace to mean building institutions and structures that use skills and resources to aid in peacebuilding within societies.

Infrastructure for peace could be an important approach for several states which lack the mechanism and structures to effectively respond to existing conflicts and the ones that are likely to erupt (Tongeren, 2011). To him, due to the rampant nature of violent conflicts, enhancing infrastructures for peace becomes critical. In the same way, Ghimire (2016) avers that the notion of infrastructures for peace is created based on the ideas coming out in conflict transformation entirely from the basic level. To ensure that there is peace, there is the need for the establishment of a feasible infrastructure or foundation upon which it can be built (Ghimire, 2016). That is to argue that the activities of peacebuilding involve the creation of peace infrastructures. This also brings out the notion that due to the inevitability nature of conflicts, the creation of infrastructures for peace becomes crucial and Ghana is one of the countries in the world very known due to her creation of a peace architecture or infrastructure to respond to instances of conflict situations.

Tongeren (2011) offers the view that many existing structures or mechanisms in several countries may not be effective enough to handle violence and conflict situations and thus, infrastructures for peace becomes important in peacebuilding. Ghimire (2016) on the other hand argues that peace infrastructures contribute to security sector reforms in defence, police disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration and also combat SAWs. Giessmann (2016) concurs that infrastructures for peace are not to focus on replacing the unavailability of governance structures,

but must give out appropriate subordinate structures to help existing institutions and mechanisms for political and social governance. Peace infrastructures may, therefore, complement existing peace institutions and not necessarily replace them. The NPC of Ghana thus complements the activities of other peace institutions in the country and not replace them.

According to Tongeren (2011), infrastructures for peace can transform fragile, divided, transitional or post-conflict societies to develop a sustained peace by managing conflicts. This can be achieved by looking for internal solutions to particular conflicts, the implementation of multi-stakeholder dialogue, and arranging and executing new governing policies. To Tongeren, putting peace infrastructures in place means “the adoption of a cooperative, problem-solving approach to conflicts based on dialogue and non-violence which includes all stakeholders and also the development of institutional mechanisms appropriate to each country’s culture, which promote and manage this approach at local, district and national levels” (2011: 45). It is imperative to ask the question of how the NPC has transformed Ghana in terms of peacebuilding. From this point, it becomes crucial to identify how the NPC has contributed to Ghana’s peacebuilding.

The need for peacebuilding has increased and so has infrastructures for peace to contribute to it. The increasing need for peace infrastructures is due to the rampant nature of conflicts which has become a worldwide problem, evidence that peace structures work, the cost-effective nature of peace compared to the cost conflicts bring, and finally the ineffective nature of foreign intervention in conflicts (Tongeren, 2011). Ghimire (2016) expresses a nearly different view from Tongeren’s perspective and argues that infrastructure for peace has gained an increasing push due to its association with the grassroots, cost-effectiveness and resultant sense of ownership. Thus Ghimire offers a more society-centred reason for the increasing need for peace infrastructures and thus to subvert violence and help in negotiations as well as advance structural transformation. From the

Ghanaian perspective, the NPC was established due to the increasing nature of conflicts and the consequences they bring, a sense of ownership, linkage with the grassroots and the need to sustain peace in the country.

Due to the importance of peace infrastructures in contemporary times, the UNDP Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery in partnership with the UN Department of Political Affairs has offered assistance to the creation of infrastructures for peace in nearly thirty countries (Tongerren, 2011; Bolton, 2020). This, therefore, explains the UNDP collaboration with the NPC in Ghana in a Five-year Strategic Plan to support the Council to revamp its activities. However, the level of successes of the NPC in this collaboration remains shrouded. It becomes relevant for the study to establish how the NPC has performed with this collaboration being a contributing factor.

It must also be understood that infrastructures for peace take different approaches. According to Bolton (2020), peace infrastructures may either take a top-down or a bottom-up approach. However, each approach has its known advantages and disadvantages. Bolton (2020) argues that the bottom-up approach occurs in situations where national bodies formed independently from the government have had an effect on their country. These according to him include Inter-Religious Council in Uganda and the Public Affairs Committee in Malawi. The bottom-up approach is made up of membership-based organisations and they gain their consent by attracting a huge number of members. One disadvantage of the bottom-up approach is that, even though they may have a higher legitimacy, they are likely to be confined by a local authority.

In explaining the top-down approach, Bolton (2020) argues that peace infrastructures that adopt this approach have an authorised mandate, political and legal accountability structure, interest and assistance of the government for an effective operation, availability of funds, professional circulation of information, and easy access to the media. The top-down approach may have some

challenges which include political interference by the government, problems from bureaucratic procedures, overdependence on government support, lack of independent public supervision, and reception of prejudiced information. Zondi and Langa (2019) on the other hand posit that peacebuilding interventions that come from a top-down approach may be an imposition of a preconceived model which may not be very much successful because they tend to disvalue local actors in the process of peacebuilding.

Zondi and Langa (2019) offer the viewpoint that for peace infrastructures to be effective, then they must recognise national level methods as well as local propellers of violence and security. To them, states must, therefore, continuously embrace more systematic and institutionalised ways to deal with conflicts. From the perspective of Bolton (2020), Ghana's peace infrastructure comes from the top-bottom approach and it moves beyond the argument of Zondi and Langa. This is because even though it takes the top-bottom approach, it gives recognition to the grassroots. After all, its mandate is not limited to the national level. Ghana is, however, likely to face the challenges that come along with the top-down approach. This, therefore, drives the researcher to explore the achievements and some of the major challenges that may confront the NPC with this approach.

Pfeiffer (2014) avers that infrastructures for peace may have objectives ranging from assisting in violence prevention, humanitarian assistance, conflict resolution using different approaches, and the execution of peace accords to dealing with structural causes of conflicts and violence. Pfeiffer (2014) offers more practical objectives which peace infrastructures may undertake. For instance, he argues that from the central objective of a peace infrastructure and the stages of conflicts at a given moment, the components of a peace infrastructure serve different purposes which may include capacity building, advisory services, and internal consultation of conflicting parties. They may also include facilitation of communication or mediation between stakeholders, contribution

to the implementation, and monitoring and advocating in specific sectors of the society. This viewpoint strongly establishes the objectives of the NPC in Ghana. There is, however, little knowledge on what the Council has been achieved as far as these objectives are concerned. This also explains why the NPC of Ghana has different components thus the national, regional and district levels and why each of them has specific objectives to achieve under different circumstances. The study will, therefore, establish the extent of the success of NPC including some of the contributions of the RPCs and DPCs in Ghana's peacebuilding in line with their various objectives.

Even though peace infrastructures have gained prominence and advocacy over the years due to their contribution to peacebuilding in many countries, it is important to note that problems may be associated with the concept. In arguing concerning some of the problems that are likely to come out with the concept of peace infrastructures, Kovac and Tobias (2016) share that the concept is seen as a project of social organisations and thus tends to satisfy the interest of the state elite and the international community who may boast about it before performing its original purpose in the conflict-driven society. That is to argue that states and international organisations who contribute to the creation of peace infrastructures may take credit for their establishment without the institutions necessarily performing their fundamental roles.

Ghimire (2016) also argues that peace infrastructures are likely to be susceptible to political manipulations. He, however, explains that under a dictatorial rule or in very active conflict contexts, peace infrastructures may not be able to function adequately. This means that in democratic states and less active cases of conflicts like Ghana, peace infrastructures are likely to function effectively. Ghimire (2016) notes again that peace infrastructures may be subjected to corrupt activities and may thus muzzle equal and sensible arguments. Finally, Ghimire avers that

both external funding and the absence of it may render peace infrastructures ineffective. Ghimire however, fails to provide recommendations to this situation especially in the context of developing states like Ghana who may not be able to adequately fund peace infrastructures and may mostly depend on external funds.

In the literature on peace infrastructures, Ghana has been used as a case study by different scholars. For instance, Kumar and Haye (2011) provide examples from Guyana, Bolivia, Ecuador-Colombia, Kenya, Sierra Leone, Lesotho and Ghana. Similarly, Tongeren (2011) provides case studies of peace infrastructures and highlights the NPC of Ghana. Despite the mention of the NPC by these scholars, little is known on the extent to which it has performed in Ghana's peacebuilding. These scholars mostly refer to the role played by the NPC during elections and even with this emphasis is mostly placed on the 2008 and 2012 general elections with little knowledge on the extent to which the Council was successful.

Kumar and Haye (2011) for instance, put across that the founder of WANEP Emmanuel Bombande acknowledges the efforts of the NPC in the 2008 general elections and state that when things became difficult, the Council was there to help. However, aside from this, most of the activities of the NPC remain shrouded in the literature irrespective of the structure, approaches, objectives, collaborations and problems that are familiar with the Council. For this reason, Tongeren (2011) recommends that there is a need for a meticulous assessment of peace infrastructures to know the level of their impact in peacebuilding. This, therefore, drives the study to add to the knowledge in the field by doing a comprehensive assessment of the NPC to ascertain the extent to which it has contributed to Ghana's peacebuilding and to also explore the major challenges that confront the Council.

2.3 CONFLICTS AND PEACEBUILDING IN AFRICA

Africa has been deemed as a continent of instability for the reason that, it has seen several instances of intrastate and interstate conflicts (Aremu, 2010). With this background, Aremu argues that some of these conflicts have gone against any significant resolution and their repercussions have impeded progress in many African states. During the period between 1960 and 1990, there were over 80 destructive transitions of governments in most of the sub-Saharan states in Africa (Bujra, 2002). In this period, several states went through civil strife and wars. Bujra accounts that during the start of the 21st century, 18 countries went through armed confrontations and even more conflicts continued to take place in states like Rwanda, DR Congo, Uganda, Namibia, Sudan, Eritrea and several.

The ending part of the 20th century came with a transition from interstate conflicts to intrastate conflicts in West Africa and almost caused most economies to collapse (Annan, 2014). For this reason, the security of the subregion's environment has been labelled as unstable. According to Aremu (2010), the fact that conflicts are regular in Africa has given the continent a distinct outlook. Africa, however, is not the only continent that has had a myriad of conflicts. Several conflicts have taken place in different parts of the world. This has caused scholars to come out with the conclusion that conflicts are inevitable aspects of human existence.

Aremu (2002:551) expresses that “conflicts can be uncontrollable, violent in nature, dominant or recessive and resolvable or insolvable”. This gives the idea that not all conflicts are violent but instead violence is a potential form a conflict may take. Aremu continues that records around the world show that majority of conflicts are violent and have led to severe consequences. Ghana as an African state has also experienced violence from some of the conflicts that have existed in the country.

Several scholars mostly assume that African conflicts are usually political in nature (Bujra, 2002). These include wars that take place between the states, armed secessionist rebellion and coups d'état which have received much attention. There are of course other types of conflicts which previously did not attract serious attention. They include ethnic conflicts, religious conflicts, class-based conflicts and others. Most of these conflicts often go unnoticed and little or no attention is given to them. Some of these conflicts are sometimes even not reported unless under severe circumstances where a lot of killings and destruction have taken place (ibid).

Understanding the background of conflicts makes it possible to establish a framework for identifying their various causes (Adedeji, 1999). In explaining the mainsprings of conflicts in Africa, Adedeji (1999) argues that economic competition of limited resources contributes to conflicts. Adedeji avers that even though economic competition is not the only cause of conflicts, it lies at the heart of the factors that are capable of bringing about conflict situations in Africa. To Adedeji, poorer states have a sky-scraping probability of civil wars as compared to those with abundant resources and fractionalised societies (ethnic and religious). Aremu (2010) agrees with this assertion and notes that poverty makes up one of the major reasons for conflicts in Africa. Africa is counted as a deprived continent in the world and this is mainly because of grating conditions, corruption and high indebtedness to foreign institutions that increase the poverty level in the various countries in the continent. If it is right that “a hungry man is an angry man”, then Africa is likely to experience conflicts for a long period following the poverty that runs through it (Aremu, 2010).

In the view of Adedeji (1999), many African states also have polarised societies. Ethnic groups which have strong identities serve as easy triggers of conflicts. Aremu (2010) concurs with Adedeji that African conflicts happen due to multiple elements. To Aremu, the creation of arbitrary

boundaries without giving recognition to ethnic and cultural differences forms a major cause of conflicts in the continent. Annan (2014) contends that ethnicity is not violent in itself but rather has been manoeuvred in polarised areas into two unequal sides, with one of the groups feeling belittled or demeaned. For the most part, in West Africa which is a heterogeneous community, ethnicity has turned into a condition that persistently brings about conflicts which are violent within and between societies and countries, thereby disrupting the serenity enjoyed by states. Knispel (2019) argues that African states which have multiple ethnic groups that were organised as states following European colonisation are at a higher risk of becoming violent. This is to argue that, the diversified ethnic makeup of African states has yielded the issue of ethnicity. Aremu (2010) further posits that the problem of ethnicity in Africa has affected the political amalgamation in the continent and, therefore, it is no news that ethnic clashes have been the major cause of conflict in many African states (ibid) including Ghana.

Aremu (2010) is again of the view that the problem of leadership has contributed to the retardation of the continent's growth and development. This has also affected political unification in the various African countries. To him, the situation is that several African states have put in position leaders who are infirm, dishonest and their attitudes have resulted in the spread of gory violence in especially states like Sudan, Nigeria, Algeria and several others. This is because most leaders in Africa have refused to bring about cohesion in their various states and hence, created an environment that has fostered violence. Many leaders also lack the legitimacy of the people to lead.

Annan (2014) expresses the view that the aftermath of independence in the continent has brought about many challenges and a common issue among them is bad governance and corruption which have ended in the standstill of the economy, political agitations, and malfunctions of social peace

and safety in West Africa. Aremu (2010) further avers that the impact of corruption also tends to provoke militant nationalism against African leaders and can bring about violence and related actions for the fact that Africa's resources have been misused for a long period and the people are fed up with their leaders and their corrupt acts. This according to him explains the espousal of the "African Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption" by the 2nd Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the Union on 11th July 2003 which is supposed to boost Africa's development through the advancement of measures necessary to avert, identify, sanction, and completely take away fraudulent activities from the various sectors by each state party (Aremu, 2010). With this in mind, scholars like Annan (2014) state that corruption is pointed to as a major cause of the Niger Delta conflict. In Guinea-Bissau, poor governance and fraudulent actions are rooted in all sectors of the state and hence, resulted in a piled-up aggrieved feeling within the indigenous people which are mostly demonstrated through conflicts (ibid). However, not all countries have experienced civil conflicts because of corruption. Ghana is a typical example of such circumstance because though there have been constant reports of corrupt acts within the state, it has not driven her into any civil conflict. It, however, tends to hinder the state's growth and development.

Moreover, Annan (2014) argues that in West Africa, there are several instances of human rights abuses and this contributes to the explosion and recurring of conflicts that are destructive in the sub-region. The subregion has recorded instances of gender-related violence, retaliated murders, beatings, indemnity of state dignitaries and institutions, high rate of social injustice, oppressive and ferocious leadership, and uneven dispensation of wealth. These lead to conflicts which may, in turn, result in severe ramifications (ibid).

The literature thus highlights the reasons why conflicts are rampant in Africa. It is sometimes very difficult to even point out specifically the root causes of many conflicts. In this sense, Bujra (2002)

is of the view that the AU and the UN are much particular with preventing, managing and resolving conflicts in Africa and rather tread cautiously with respect to finding the causes of conflicts for the reason that, different conflicts happen due to different reasons. This makes it essential for both states and peace institutions to understand the various roots of conflicts to be able to prevent them from happening and also find lasting solutions to them when they happen. It is important to also note that irrespective of knowing the causes of conflicts, little has been done by several African states to tackle the very core issues that have the capability of bringing about conflicts. Ghana, on the other hand, is one of the very few countries to take a keen interest in peace and security issues and hence, her establishment of a national peace architecture which the NPC forms a major component.

Conflicts in Africa cannot be discussed without highlighting the damaging consequences they bring to the continent. Bujra (2002) states emphatically that the duration, scale, and level of intensity of conflicts bring about tremendous humanitarian consequences as well as the destruction of the economy. Some of the ramifications of conflicts also include human suffering, destruction of property, and psychological effects. Conflicts may also rekindle after several years (ibid).

In the same vein, Aremu (2010) advances that the persistent political upheavals and conflicts in the continent tend to affect its socio-economic growth. This is because development cannot take place in a conflict-driven society where there is no security and stability. According to Aremu (2010), some of the repercussions of conflicts includes the big problem of reconstruction which in his perspective is the most enfeebling effect of conflicts in the continent. Infrastructural amenities and patriotism are easily destroyed. Also, reciprocal relationships come to a halt between people and even states. Aremu shares the idea that conflicts have brought about the problem of unemployment in Africa. Again, a large number of Africans have died due to the severity of

conflicts in the continent. These include the young, old, males, females, civilians, and military men alike. Refugee problems cannot be overlooked in this discussion. The 2004 Report of the Global Coalition for Africa gave an approximate number of 700,000 people who were locally displaced in 2003. For instance, the Liberian conflicts affected nearby states including Ghana through high refugee flows. In Ghana, for instance, several ethnic and tribal conflicts have brought about severe consequences including loss of lives and properties, which in turn affects the economic growth and development of the state.

Following from the severity of the consequences of conflicts in Africa, Bujra (2002) argues that attention must be drawn towards reconciliation policies as part of the immediate arrangements on the part of the parties during the time of reconciliation. Annan (2014) similarly shares the view that the eruption of destructive conflicts in West Africa has brought about various initiatives by different actors at the regional, subregional, national and the international community as well. To Bujra (2002), it is important to think and reflect upon the causes of conflicts for the fact that they have policy implications at the national level. Aremu (2010) concurs with Bujra (2002) on the fact that the causes of violence in Africa must be the basis for finding solutions to conflicts.

The African experience with peacebuilding indicates that there is a call for a more internationally acceptable foundational peace (Zondi, 2017). To him, years of systemic violence and its expressions in the form of conflicts within and between states show that it is crucial to place more importance on peace. It, therefore, becomes imperative to move in a direction that ameliorates the continued decolonisation of the continent and society to be able to allow a decolonising peace.

At the national level, Bujra (2002) recommends a nation-building approach that involves developing national consciousness mainly enforced through educational systems and cultural policies. He recommends that states should adopt a political system that gives room for

competition for power that assures the likelihood for other groups to achieve power in a given time. There is also a need for African states to focus on economic development while reducing poverty and increasing affirmative action programmes. Burbach (2016) observes that the path towards peace in Africa depends on leadership but also external actors can help to put in place positive trends towards Africa's security. It is important to note that several peace initiatives have been launched in Africa concerning the continent's challenge towards establishing peace and development (Murithi, 2006).

With respect to the regional and international levels, Summits of African Heads of State and Government empowered the defunct Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1990 and 1993 in Addis Ababa and Cairo respectively to intervene in conflicts within its member countries. Curtis and Dzinesa (2012) share the view that the AU proclaimed 2010 as the "African Year of Peace and Security" with the campaign catchword imploring people to "Make Peace Happen". They argue further that Africa has been a place of several international and continental projects to elevate peace. According to Zondi (2017), the AU's strategy to peacebuilding is a result of Africa's past encounters and lessons from the UN. It is all-inclusive and universal but it calls for an authorised government and local parties for negotiations to start. The absence of these strategies rather brings about extended peace enforcement instead of peacebuilding (Zondi, 2017). A major part of this programme is the African Post-Conflict Reconstruction Policy Framework (ibid).

In this perspective, Zondi (2017) wrangles that ECOWAS, IGAD, SADC, ECCAS, and the AMU also have a role to play in building peace within the subregions. The AU framework for peacebuilding also allows and empowers the subregions to assume this role in instances of conflict situations. This indicates that the AU executes the principle of subsidiarity to be able to enhance the capacities of RECs towards peacebuilding in the subregions. Annan (2014) avers that

ECOWAS for instance has achieved a lot in countries like Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Cote d'Ivoire through the deployment of peacekeepers from ECOMOG and also playing mediating roles in the conflicts in the above-listed countries. In the same way, SADC and IGAD have also been successful in peace processes in Madagascar and Lesotho, and Zimbabwe and South Sudan respectively. Annan is also of the view that CSOs including women's groups like MARWOPNET and WIPNET have also contributed to bringing about peace in some conflict-driven countries.

The African continental peace architecture makes provision for an institutional framework for executing an all-inclusive peace that involves conflict prevention, peace-making, peacekeeping, post-conflict reconstruction, and peacebuilding. The highest level of the architecture is the AU Peace and Security Council which is to avert and solve conflicts through the detection of likely security menaces within Africa. According to Zondi (2017: 110), "it sends fact-finding missions and has the potential to order AU interventions in the form of peace envoys, observer missions, mediators, good offices, technical support teams, and armed forces to keep the peace after agreements". Similarly, Hudson and Neethling (2013) argue that Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development as a concept and policy tool has been a focus area of the AU's PCRD policy framework since 2006. It has also become one of the tools created to respond to the serious and repeated nature of conflicts in Africa as well as to promote sustained development.

Though the Mechanisms for Prevention, Management and Resolution of Conflicts are already in place; they lack the required expertise and resources for peace enforcement (Bujra, 2002; Zondi, 2017). To Zondi (2017), despite all these efforts put in place by the AU to ensure that there is peacebuilding, there is a lack of consistency and efficiency since there is an over-reliance on external funding and also the obsession of doing away with the inherited neocolonial state. This,

therefore, explains that the mere establishment of peace institutions does not assure their effective operation. Zondi, however, fails to demonstrate how peace institutions can function appropriately in the peacebuilding process.

Bujra expresses that several African states today lack mechanisms and frameworks for managing and resolving conflicts. There must, therefore, be the realisation of the fact that conflicts are inevitable and states can always have instances of conflicts some of which might be difficult for their judicial systems to resolve. Irene (2018) emphasises in concurrence that when it comes to putting down mechanisms by states to promote peace in Africa, countries including Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya and only a few others have made progress. There is therefore the need to encourage states to put in place peace infrastructures which will include independent arbitrary councils, outside mediators, and also reformed judicial systems. Irene, however, fails to explain how effective these mechanisms for peacebuilding are and how effective they can work suitably in each African state.

Conflict prevention is relatively incessant and hence it requires continual approaches whose results will avert the eruption of conditions that bring about conflicts. Such approaches must be applied to every state to reduce conflicts in the long run in Africa (Bujra, 2002). The major gap identified is that even though most of the scholars offer ways in which conflicts in Africa may be reduced, they have failed to practically demonstrate how they can be achieved in various states. Also, there is little knowledge on the various mechanisms states have put in place to bring sustained peace within them and as to whether they have achieved that purpose. Peacebuilding, therefore, becomes crucial in Africa and the effective operation of peace institutions cannot be overlooked. There must therefore be a meticulous assessment of peace institutions to know the level of their impact within the states in which they have been established. The study, therefore, seeks to add to the literature

by comprehensively assessing Ghana's NPC to know the level of its accomplishments to enable other African states especially to learn from its experiences.

2.4 SOME SOURCES AND TYPES OF CONFLICTS IN GHANA

Compared to several African countries, Ghana is deemed as a calm and secure state; however, she continues to experience several instances of conflict situations (Mahama & Longi, 2013). There remain political clashes, ethnic and tribal conflicts, chieftaincy and land disputes, electoral violence and several which do not make Ghana a conflict-free country.

2.4.1 Political Clashes

Political conflict or clashes can be defined as a situation where political actors act in a contentious manner to increase their interests and prevent others from obtaining theirs (Fink, 1986). Skoog (2015) also asserts that political conflicts take place when there is antagonistic behaviour between the majority and minority in parliament. These definitions give room to identify and understand the political context in Ghana.

The practice of democracy in Ghana is still in its infant stages and recently, politics in Ghana has metamorphosed into politics of insults and personal attacks (Ofori, 2018). Bentil and Aidoo (2018) agree with this assertion by arguing that Ghanaian politics in the Fourth Republic has been extremely confrontational, to the point that competition begins right from the moment election results are announced. Marfo (2013) expresses that as a result of freedom of speech in the political environment of Ghana, there have been series of political insults most of which come from political officials and their associates.

The continuous politics of insults in Ghana is a result of the liberalisation of the media in Ghana (Bentil & Aidoo, 2018; Marfo, 2013; Ofori, 2018). Cited in Ofori (2018), Van Dijk (1995) shares

the view that separate groups compete to get hold of the media and use it as a tool for social power or an ideological instrument to legitimise and neutralise their ideologies, beliefs, and values. This indicates that the media has contributed to making it possible for political clashes and insults to take place by serving as a platform for these acts to persist.

The two major political parties which are NPP and NDC remained dominant after 1992 when the ban on political parties was lifted and 13 political parties were registered (Ninsin, 2006). Bentil and Aidoo (2018) are of the view that political contest is not a bad thing, however, extremes of it to achieve a political objective has the potency of hindering the peace within Ghana. These two political parties engage in continuous and fierce competition which is backed by emotions to gain political power. Through this, the entire political landscape turns into a dishonest struggle for political power. Over the years, politicians within the state have taken the democratic serenity experienced in the country for granted (Marfo, 2013). Ghana's political arena can be termed as unattractive following the fierce contest between politicians and their cronies.

The widespread politics of insults and its effects on the peace of the state called for criticisms from both scholars and peace institutions in the country (Marfo, 2013). There have been instances of name-calling by both political parties and situations where issues of national interest have been discussed on party lines (ibid). The implications of political clashes and adversaries include political party vigilantism, ethnic conflicts, political tensions, electoral violence, placing party interest above national interest and the like (Bentil & Aidoo, 2018). All these tend to affect Ghana's democratic credentials in one way or the other. It then becomes prudent to find out what peace institutions such as the NPC have done and how it has performed in minimising this situation, which this study seeks to do.

2.4.2 Ethnic and Tribal Conflicts

An ethnic group is characterised by features such as colour, language, religion and common origin including myths of collective ancestry which normally has with it traits that are believed to be inherent (Horowitz, 2000). According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's dictionary (n.d.), a tribe is “a social group especially in a primitive and nomadic culture, unified by language, religion, chieftaincy, claiming or occupying a particular area under one or more chiefs”.

Ghana has had instances of ethnic disputes. Sulemana (2009) maintains that it is a historically empirical and ongoing reality that many of the districts in northern Ghana are challenged by actual or possible ethnic disputes. This is because the various communities continue to depend on ethnicity to establish their supremacy and authority in an ambience featured by trepidation, suspicion, and distortion. The widespread ethnic and tribal conflicts in these regions are so prevalent that there is almost no part of the area which has not had a hint of ethnic conflict (Debrah, Seidu & Owusu-Mensah, 2016; Sulemana, 2009).

The effects of colonialism on inter-ethnic interconnectedness should not be overlooked in trying to understand the causes of conflicts in the northern areas or upper regions of Ghana (Adetula, 2006). According to UNDP Ghana (2013), the colonialists put in place structures that created situations for deepened distrust and upheavals between ethnic groups. Conflicts that have taken place in Ghana's northern areas are complex and have mostly centred on issues of ethnic identity, group history and rights, which are closely linked with other social, political, and economic factors (Debrah et al, 2016). For over two decades, the north of Ghana has been a scene of continuous ethnopolitical violent conflicts. Some of these conflicts have been carefully managed while others have turned into seasonal recurrences and have become protracted (ibid). Debrah et al (2016) for instance state that of an estimated number of one hundred (100) chieftaincy and ethnic conflicts,

seventy (70) per cent of them come from the northern parts of the country. This indicates that when it comes to northern Ghana, ethnic conflicts can be said to be rampant.

Sulemana (2009) avers that the causes of ethnic conflicts in the northern areas of Ghana include the struggle for supremacy and sovereignty, ownership and control of land, leadership, struggle for self-esteem, the need for separate cultural identity, relative deprivation and perception of discrimination, marginalisation by some ethnic groups, socialisation and inferiority complex syndrome, selective interpretation of past historical events, perception of threats from other ethnic groups, and perception of discrimination by the government.

It is important to understand that ethnic conflicts have not only taken place between entirely different ethnic groups such as the Kokomba/Dagomba conflict in 1994 and the Mamprusi/Kusasi conflict but have also occurred between different sects of a particular ethnic group such as Abudu/Andani of Dagbon (Mahama & Longi, 2013). This means that northern Ghana has experienced both inter and intra-ethnic conflicts. The first ethnic conflict to have taken place in Ghana after independence is the Bawku crisis which is an inter-ethnic conflict between the Mamprusi and Kusasi people of Bawku in the Upper East region. Attempts towards peace have been difficult since the beginning of the crisis (Mahama & Longi, 2013). Debrah et al (2016) argue that Nawuri and Gonja are also two powerful ethnic groups and these two have engaged in one of the brutish and elongated ethnic conflicts in Ghana and this has come about due to land ownership and usage as well as other related causes. This is to establish the fact that ethnic conflicts can also be pointed in Ghana despite the applause she has received as a peaceful country.

Ethnic conflicts in Ghana have brought several repercussions. As observed by Debrah et al (2016) conflicts are unwelcomed because it comes along with several damages which are most of the time not reparable. Some of the effects of ethnic and tribal conflicts include human, social, and

economic losses; damages to education; deprivations which are felt by mostly women and children (ibid). In the same way, the UNDP on mapping conflicts in Ghana (n.d.) argues that one major effect of ethnic conflicts in northern Ghana and the country at large is that scarce resources that could have been used for development are now channelled to security in the conflict areas. It has also increased the burden of the government since there is more work to be done through the reconstruction and rehabilitation of destroyed infrastructure like schools and hospitals. There has been the loss of many lives due to these ethnic conflicts as well as the displacement of people and migration of endangered lives to other areas in the country, thereby putting pressure on these areas (UNDP, 2013; Mahama & Longi, 2013). Also, Mahama and Longi (2013) argue that ethnic conflicts slow down socio-economic development and productivity because these conflicts are sometimes brutish so much so that some people find it difficult to return to their previous activities. Public servants are even frightened to receive postings to these areas for security reasons. There is also the possibility of strained relationships between groups which makes it likely to rekindle these conflicts with the least provocation (ibid).

From this angle, we see how the impacts of conflicts are felt by states that experience them, especially in Africa. In this case, though ethnic conflicts have occurred mostly in the northern part of Ghana, the effects are however felt by the government and the entire state, therefore, making it important to look at the efforts put in place by peace institutions to prevent, manage and resolve these conflicts. Some of these conflicts have sought the attention of security institutions and CSOs. While several attempts to resolve these conflicts have proven to be futile, it becomes prudent to establish the role of institutions such as the NPC in their prevention, management and resolution. This is because the role of the NPC in such conflicts have not been very much established in the

literature. It is, therefore, imperative to examine the efforts and extent of successes of the NPC in these conflicts to add up to the literature.

2.4.3 Electoral Violence

As a political system, democracy has dominantly established itself over the years and a major part of it is the electoral process. Multi-party elections have come out as a licit path to political office (Bjarnesen & Kovacs, 2018). Chambas (2016) contends that on too many occasions, Africa has seen how electoral processes which are meant to bring about a peaceful selection of representatives have turned into a source of conflict.

Even though the formal institutional make-up of many African states has been transformed, the fundamental reason of politics remains the same. It is rather the emergence of actual political competition for power and more successful control on electoral artifice including ballot stuffing that has rapidly transformed elections in many countries. While democracy becomes eventually entrenched, electoral competition becomes tough and the possibility of electoral violence may rocket (Chambas, 2016). Electoral violence may be viewed as a subset of political violence that is mainly differentiated according to its timing and purpose.

The presence of a winner takes it all tends to raise the stakes of elections. This is because the winners of an election take it all while the losers are left with nothing much to benefit from. (Bjarnesen & Kovacs, 2018). Fischer (2016) concurs with this assertion and argues that this kind of political culture brings about “winner takes all” results and the shadowing of state wealth turns to be a powerful incentive. This indicates that the incentives that come along with winning elections, rather turn elections into a fierce contest between parties.

The Fourth Republican Constitution of Ghana makes provision for the state to organise parliamentary and presidential elections with a four-year interval and Ghana has held successful elections in the past years (NCCE, 2011). The state has witnessed instances where opposition parties have successfully taken over power from the incumbent (ibid). Despite this fact, Fischer (2016) posits that every election in Ghana has witnessed some degree of violence since 1992; however, the level of intensity of the violence differs from election to election. Chambas (2016) concurs with this assertion by stating that electoral violence which is a form of political violence mostly comes about as a result of long-standing and unresolved grievances which may either be real or perceived and also the means of last resort by governments, opposition, political or community leaders to attain power.

Fischer (2016) advances that the two largest political parties (NPP & NDC) have typically perpetrated electoral violence. Even party primaries have also heightened the fierce nature of political competition in the span of the electoral period. The language revolving around electoral violence in Ghana includes terms such as big men, coordinators, foot soldiers, macho men, and Zongo boys as tags for particular kinds of stakeholders in the perpetration of a chain of electoral violence (Fischer, 2016).

A new episode growing rapidly in Ghana's elections recently is the emergence of vigilante groups by some of the political parties. The aim of such groups includes moving from polling stations to polling stations to scare away their opponents with their brutal activities and these activities end up creating conflicts among the political parties in the country (NCCE, 2011).

Following these intimidations and violence, voter turnout at such areas is believed to have gone below what is expected and this indicates that during such incidents, some qualified voters are prevented from exercising their political rights (NCCE, 2011). There have been instances of assault

and threats, destruction and invasion of state properties, protests and confusion among people, stealing of ballot boxes, and destruction of party properties. All of these affect the democratic feature of free and fair elections. The costs that come along with electoral violence are huge and even though the human death toll may be considered as low, it may have a severe effect on the electoral process. In the end, it is likely to harm the chances of democratic consolidation and the overall viewpoint of the masses concerning democracy as a political system (Adolfo et al, 2012).

This, therefore, brings to light that Ghana's democracy is still not sustained due to the continuous electoral violence that takes place in the country. While several peace institutions such as the NPC have engaged in several initiatives to reduce electoral violence in the country, the extent to which they have been successful remains an issue that needs further investigation. For the purpose of this study, that of the NPC shall be investigated.

2.4.4 Chieftaincy and Land Disputes

Ahiave (2013: 16) defines chieftaincy to fit the Ghanaian context by stating that it is “the law, custom, practice and processes of electing or selecting and installing chiefs in Ghana as well as the legitimacy and exercise of the power of the chief so installed”. In his view, chieftaincy is the oldest system of governance in Africa.

Concerning Ghana, the very incessant, unmanageable, and destructive conflicts mostly happen over land ownership and possession, and ascendance to chieftaincies. Institutions and structures that hail from tradition such as the family system, council of wise men, tribe and the tribunal of the chief and, indigenous religious credence make provision for constructive techniques for managing and resolving conflicts (Agyeman-Duah, 1997). Nonetheless, the occasional instances over religious, political, and ethnic controversies become insignificant when contrasted with land and chieftaincy disputes (Agyeman-Duah, 1997).

Some of the chieftaincy and land disputes in Ghana include Dagbon, Bimbila, Buipe, Gushiegu, Kpandi, Anloga, Ga-Adangbe, Winneba chieftaincies and land disputes and others. In Ghana, chieftaincy and land are interrelated because chieftaincy mainly depends on the authority or ownership of land and as a result, many chieftaincy conflicts centre on land and antagonism between and among people battling to occupy the stool or skin. Some chiefs in most Southern and especially in the Akan speaking parts have eventually gained jurisdictional and proprietary control over wealth and resources (Campion & Acheampong, 2014).

The problem of chieftaincy and land disputes in both the northern and the southern parts of Ghana are due to factors such as land allocation, the sale of land and lines of succession to stool or skin. Some of these issues turn into confusion while opportunities are also created for unethical and manipulative individuals to indulge in them to make it more chaotic. Chieftaincy conflicts mainly come about due to competing claims to the stool or skin, the antagonism between or among kins concerning who has the right to succeed, corruption thus “buying” or influencing the stool or skin, the involvement of politics in the process, and interference by political authorities (Agyeman-Duah, 1997). Sources of land disputes also include the sale of lands indiscriminately by chiefs and landowners, the sale of a piece of land to two or more people, the sale of land by people who do not own the land, and also the tiring process of land acquisition (ibid).

Bukari (2017) argues that the northern areas of Ghana have seen instances of several land disputes and struggles over paramountcy. However, this does not mean that chieftaincy and land disputes only take place in the northern parts of Ghana. Chieftaincy and land disputes take place in mostly the identified traditional areas of Ghana.

The literature, therefore, identifies chieftaincy and land disputes as sources of conflict in Ghana. However, here again, the activities of peace institutions such as the NPC which has the mandate

to prevent, manage and resolve such disputes is not very well established in the literature. It is, therefore, crucial to assess the Council to ascertain what it has done and the extent to which it has contributed to peace in relation to the above-stated sources of conflicts in Ghana.

2.5 PEACEBUILDING IN GHANA

Ghana went through fourteen (14) violent conflicts including ethnic community disputes from 1990 to 2002 (Irene & Majekodunmi, 2017). The country, especially in the north experienced several brutal conflicts that claimed the lives of several people capable of drawing concern and attention of the state and even called for the aid of the United Nations. This development could then be described as the beginning of Ghana's path towards putting in place an architecture for peace which the NPC forms a major component. This was to help effectively respond to conflict situations in the country (Kotia & Aubyn, 2013). I, therefore, expatiate Ghana's institutional framework for peacebuilding below.

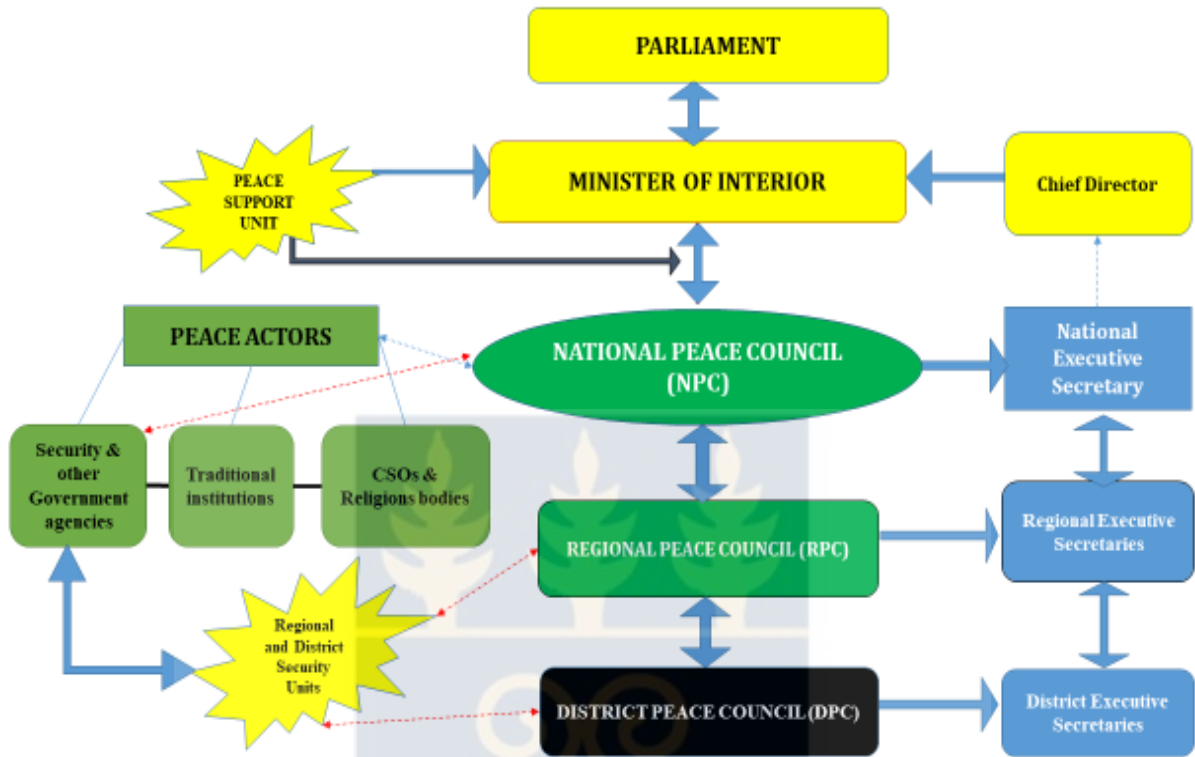
2.5.1 Ghana's Peace Architecture

The initial formal programme in Africa at the national level for peace is Ghana's National Architecture for Peace. This was in line with the Resolution of African Leaders at the First Standing Conference on Stability and Security Development in Africa in 2002 in Durban and this was to ensure that each country put in place a framework for prevention, management, and resolution of conflicts by 2004 at the national level (Ministry of Interior, 2006). The broad policy aim of the framework is "to enable and facilitate the development of mechanisms for cooperation among all relevant stakeholders in peacebuilding in Ghana by promoting cooperative problem solving to conflicts to produce outcomes that lead to conflict transformation, social, political, and religious reconciliation and transformation dialogues" (Ministry of Interior, 2006:2).

The National Architecture for Peace, thus, refers to a framework to help ensure the sustainability of the country's peace. It has a wide range of specific policy objectives which include the following: to harmonise peacebuilding activities in the country, strengthen the capacity of peacebuilding institutions, boost awareness of the use of non-violent strategies in responding to conflicts, develop a conflict prevention framework, develop an understanding on values such as reconciliation, and to build the capacity of groups and public institutions to engage significantly in nurturing and maintaining peace in the country. It also includes the following components: “structures for peacebuilding and the resolution of conflicts; institutionalising a culture of peace; strengthening the media as spaces for public conversations and debates on salient issues; prevention and control of small arms and light weapons and promotion of alternative livelihoods; and lastly to build the capacity of national institutions to manage grievances and differences” (Ministry of Interior, 2006: 3).

The National Peace Council forms a major component of the peace architecture. The NPC is also an institution established for the consolidation of the country's stability by resolving conflicts at the national, regional and district levels (Ministry of Interior, 2006). Also, as part of the architecture, the Peace Building Support Unit within the Ministry of Interior facilitates the work of the Peace Councils and ensures a coordinated approach to resolving conflicts. There are also the Peace Promotion Officers (PPOs) who are the chief advisors on conflict issues in the Districts and Regions and are supposed to be non-partisan. The national security institutions, traditional institutions, CSO's, religious bodies, and other government agencies form part of the architecture (ibid). Each structure has its mandate towards building a peaceful and democratic Ghana. Figure 2.1 displays Ghana's peace architecture and its reporting lines.

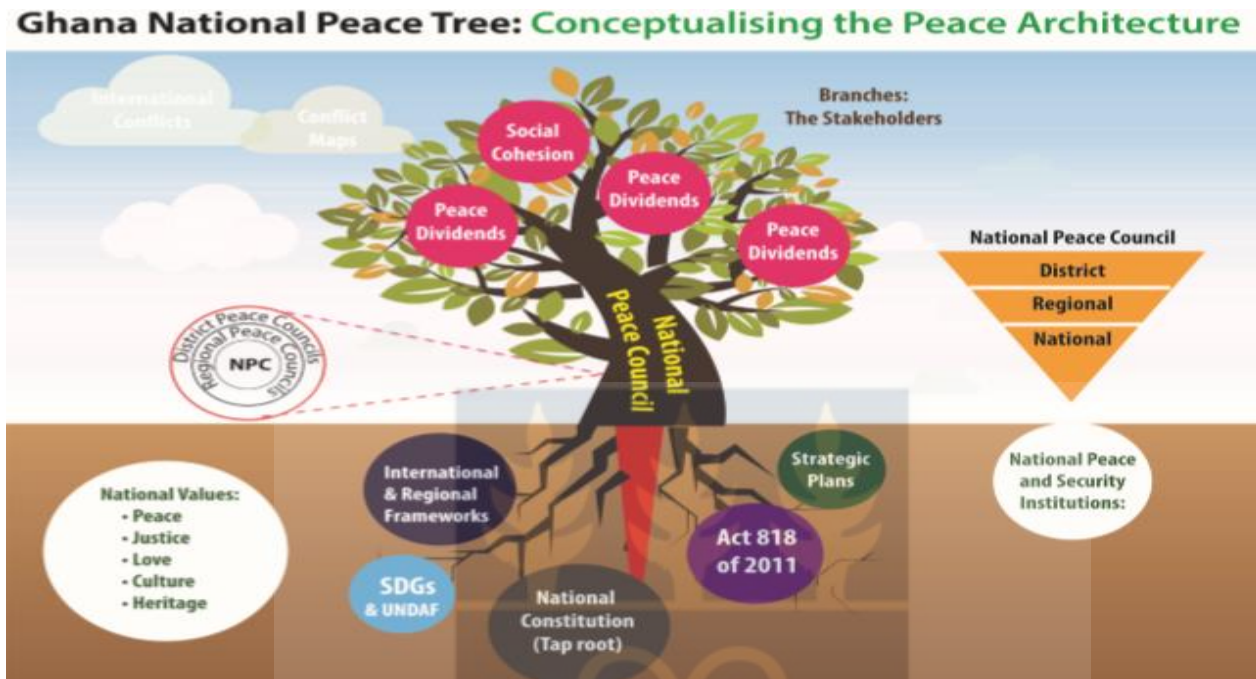
FIGURE 2.1: National Architecture for Peace/Structure and Reporting Lines



Source: (Commonwealth, 2017)

Figure 2.2 displays a framework of Ghana's peace tree. It shows the National Constitution which gives room for the use of local, regional, and international frameworks for building peace in the country. Through the use of strategic plans and SDGs; national peace and security institutions like the NPC, police, military, courts, traditional institutions, and other CSOs are together supposed to deal with conflict issues in the country to bring about social cohesion and peace dividends such as development, mutual respect, unity, tolerance, stability and security, and international respect in Ghana (NPC, 2017).

FIGURE 2.2: Ghana's Peace Tree



Source: (NPC Report, 2017)

The structures as shown in Ghana's Peace Architecture do not work independently. The NPC, therefore, works hand in hand with other peace and security institutions (Ministry of Interior, 2006). The Security and Intelligence Agencies Act (Act 526) stipulates the tasks of the security councils. As per the Act, the national security is to take necessary steps to safeguard the internal and external security of Ghana and to make sure that there is the collection of data concerning Ghana's security. There should also be the incorporation of the local, alien, and security stratagems concerning it to give space to the security services and other departments and agencies of the state to work together effectively on issues bothering national security. The REGSECs and DISECs are all involved in this process (Security and Intelligence Act 526). The Security Council thus complement the activities of other peace institutions in Ghana to help in security issues as well as contribute to peacebuilding.

The Ghana National Commission on Small Arms (GNACSA) for example has worked together with the Police Service to control the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (UNDP, 2013). Also, several disputes have been taken to the courts by conflicting parties to be adjudicated to minimise the use of violence as a means of settling disputes.

Although the institution of chieftaincy as an informal peace institution is likely to create or bring about conflicts and disputes in the respective traditional areas or societies, they equally contribute to peace when conflicts arise (Agyeman-Duah, 1997). The National House of Chiefs has the mandate to especially handle chieftaincy disputes that may arise in the country (Ahiave, 2013) hence, their attention and contribution in the management and resolution of conflicts in several parts of the state.

According to the UNDP on Ghana's democratic consolidation (2013), the BTI 2012 Ghana Country Report states that law enforcement agencies like the police and court systems are not generally viewed as efficient enough to deal with future challenges of conflict situations and peacebuilding. They have, however, contributed to instilling a certain level of law and order in many parts of the country. That is to argue that these institutions together contribute to Ghana's peace and also more importantly where necessary collaborate with the NPC at both the national, regional and district levels to provide better outcomes for peace. For instance, when there is violence, the security agencies ensure that they instil a calm atmosphere before the NPC can go there to talk peace.

2.5.2 The NPC and Peacebuilding in Ghana

Awinador-Kanyirige (2014) advances that the NPC is an emerging crucial model to handle issues relating to peace. The NPC has had some achievements in Ghana's peacebuilding which include

its role in elections, partnerships, stakeholder leadership, and the UNDP five-year strategic plan. To him, the role the NPC plays during elections has contributed to Ghana's democratic credentials. Also, the fact that the NPC includes other partner institutions in the peacebuilding process where necessary is an achievement on the part of the Council. Again, the NPC's partnership with the UNDP to revamp its activities is one of the Councils's achievements (Awinador-Kanyirige, 2014). The NPC's five-year collaboration with the UNDP for instance was to give financial and technical support to facilitate the mandate of the Council. Also under this plan, the NPC was expected to put the Act into its entire capacity to operate and thus, to establish its Regional and District Councils together with their executive secretariats by 2017. It was also to promote greater communications and synergies between actors at the various levels of the peace architecture and clarify points of intervention in the emerging conflicts, conduct research and assessment to promote knowledge about conflict prevention modalities and enhance women and youth participation in conflict management (UNDP, 2013).

Irene and Majekodunmi (2017) concur with Awinador-Kanyirige and aver that the NPC has contributed to Ghana's democratic consolidation by playing a massive role in Ghana's electoral processes. Issifu (2015) agrees with this view by also stating that the mere establishment of the NPC in itself is an achievement. He further emphasises that the NPC has been successful especially when it comes to the extirpation of electoral disputes which eventually lead to violence. Similarly, Kotia and Aubyn (2013) account for the NPC's involvement in the 2008 and 2012 general elections and posit that the Council was able to put down measures to avert unnecessary tensions before and during the elections. To Kotia and Aubyn, the most visible achievement of the NPC is the role that it plays to curb electoral disputes.

On the other hand, Awinador-Kanyirige (2014) and Issifu (2015) posit that the NPC is challenged with inadequate finances, resources and support, and these may hinder its effective operation. Awinador-Kanyirige (2014) further advances that the NPC pays more attention to electorally related conflicts than other important areas of conflicts that bother Ghana's peace. In the works of Tongeren (2011), Kumar and Haye (2011) and several scholars who emphasise the importance of peace infrastructures, the NPC has been used as a case study especially concerning its structure and mandate as well as its role in the 2008 and 2012 general elections. However, apart from the few instances where the Council's involvement in elections are acknowledged, most of the activities the Council may have engaged in are not noted.

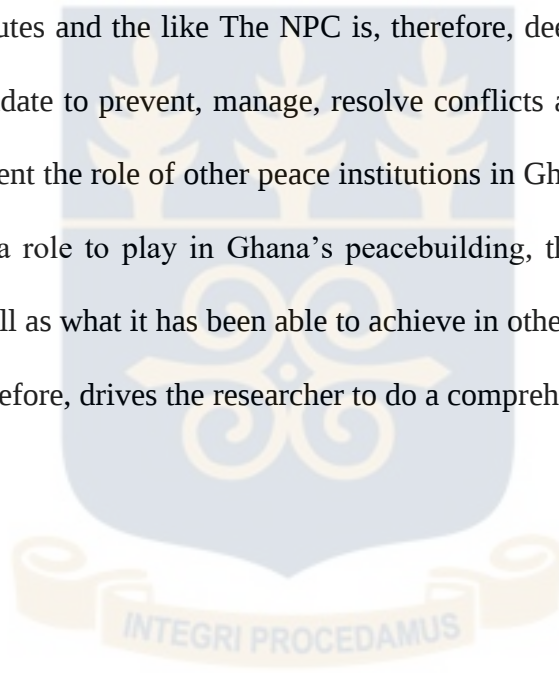
That is to argue that though these scholars account for the achievement of the NPC, they have focused on the NPC's role when it comes to elections and even with this, the extent to which the Council has been successful is not very well known. For example, Awinador-Kanyirige and Issifu do not give a detailed account of the activities the NPC has engaged in to determine its success level. They fail to state specifically the other relevant areas of conflicts that the NPC has engaged in and also should pay attention to. They also fail to establish some of the major structural challenges that hinder the activities of the Council. This shows that even though the Council has undoubtedly played a role in Ghana's peacebuilding, the extent of the Council's performance is not very well known following the mandate and the specific activities of the Council. This, therefore, drives the focus of the study to do a general and comprehensive assessment of the NPC to know the extent to which it has contributed to Ghana's peacebuilding process.

2.6 CONCLUSION

The chapter focuses on literature in Peace and Conflict studies and also provides indispensable knowledge and data to this study. The literature was reviewed according to the following thematic

areas; Infrastructures for Peace and Peacebuilding, Conflicts and Peacebuilding in Africa, Some sources and types of Conflicts in Ghana and Peacebuilding in Ghana with particular emphasis on Ghana's Peace Architecture and the NPC.

It is argued that the creation of infrastructures for peace has become crucial over the years. The literature has also established that, though Ghana has been deemed as a relatively peaceful state in Africa, she continues to face instances of conflicts ranging from electoral disputes, chieftaincy and land disputes, ethnic disputes and the like. The NPC is, therefore, deemed as a crucial emerging model which has the mandate to prevent, manage, resolve conflicts and build sustainable peace and by so doing complement the role of other peace institutions in Ghana. It has been established that, while the NPC has a role to play in Ghana's peacebuilding, the extent of success of the Council in elections as well as what it has been able to achieve in other conflicts remain shrouded in the literature. This, therefore, drives the researcher to do a comprehensive study of the NPC.



UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

To be able to carry out this research, it is essential to take into account a theoretical framework that will buttress the study. According to Swanson (2013), the theoretical framework brings out the theory that explicates why the research problem exists. The theory that underpins the study is the Conflict Theory. The origins, features, assumptions, justification and, strengths and weaknesses of the Conflict Theory are discussed below.

3.2 CONFLICT THEORY

3.2.1 Origins

The Conflict Theory dates back to the 1800s in Karl Marx's works in Sociology (Dahrendorf, 2006). The theory tends to offer some explanations for why conflicts take place in human societies. According to the World Atlas (2017), Karl Marx originally came up with the Conflict Theory to elucidate reasons why societies were money-driven. The Conflict Theory was also intended to throw light on reasons the wealthy did everything possible to retain what they already owned even if the only means for achieving that was to suppress the poor. Karl Marx was mainly interested in class and debates of capitalism with the view that capitalism would yield its gravediggers by bringing out situations under which class awareness together with a faulty economy would come into existence (Dahrendorf, 2006).

Dahrendorf (2006) also asserts that in the early 20th century, Max Weber responded to Karl Marx's Conflict Theory by vehemently arguing that conflict did not necessarily border only on the economy but rather both the state and the economy together make conflicts take place. Weber argues that in addition to economic disproportions, the power that comes along with politics and

social structure also brings about disputes. To Weber, class is much more complicated than how Marx sees it and different elements bring about social inequality than just status and power. To Weber, there is the existence of several types of conflicts taking place at any given period in any society (Chappelow, 2019).

3.2.2 Features

Conflict theorists tend to emphasise Max Weber's three systems of stratification thus class, status, and power (Dahrendorf, 2006). Power is mostly seen by conflict theorists as the main feature of society and hence making power the fundamental characteristic of Conflict Theory (Dahrendorf, 2006). It is important to observe that scholars like Lewis Coser, Ralph Dahrendorf, and Randal Collins use the ideas of Marx and Weber to give a fair understanding of Conflict Theory. Generally, Conflict Theory tends to empirically expound the contours of conflict in a society, thus how conflicts begin and differ, and the consequences they bring. The main reason why conflicts happen is due to the disproportionate distribution of scarce resources and power. Dahrendorf (2006) argues that scholars like Lewis Coser see conflict as something which is part of human instinct. This is, therefore, to maintain that society must at all times deal with the psychological need of individuals to indulge in conflict and this need if not handled correctly has the tendency to pile up over time and become explosive.

To explain several social phenomena such as wars and revolutions, wealth and poverty, and discrimination as well as domestic violence Conflict Theory is used (Chappelow, 2019). Conflict Theory attributes several of the basic progress in human existence, including democracy and civil rights to capitalistic attempts to take over the multitude instead of the desire for societal stability and peace. Theorists like Marx are of the view that innate societal conflict brings about transformation and progress in society (ibid). Conflict Theory posits that society is persistently in

a conflict state over the struggle of scarce resources (World Atlas, 2017). Thus Conflict Theory examines that there is a natural human instinct towards conflict.

3.2.3 Assumptions

Chappelow (2019) shares the view that social order is kept by supremacy and power instead of consensus and adherence. To Chappelow, the fundamental assumption of Conflict Theory is that people in a given society will put effort into maximising their interests. Conflict theorists argue that in most conflicts only some of the causes are influential, however, pointing out the operative causes in any conflict helps to understand that particular conflict and also devise the appropriate measures to deal with it (Bartos & Wehr, 2002).

Chappelow again argues that currently, there are four primary assumptions of Conflict theory.

The first he mentions is Competition. Conflict theorists believe that competition is unending and sometimes an immense element in human relationships. The result of the competition is due to insufficient resources including money, property, commodities, and more. People are also likely to compete for intangible resources within the society beyond material resources. These include leisure time, supremacy, social status, sexual partners, and others. Conflict theorists are of the view that competition is the default instead of consensus and cooperation (ibid). According to UK Essays (2018), in a society there are subgroups and members of such groups have various beliefs, ethics, and norms. For this reason, theorists argue that inter-group conflicts are also inescapable.

Chappelow mentions Revolution as the second assumption of Conflict theory. One outcome of the conflict between social classes is a revolution and that transformation in a power dynamic between groups does not come as a result of adaptation. It rather takes place as a result of a conflict between these groups. In this manner, changes to a power dynamic are mostly sharp and large in scale, instead of being imperceptible.

The third assumption of Conflict theory according to Chappelow is Structural Inequality. To conflict theorists, human relations and societal structures together are bound to experience power inequalities. In this vein, some individuals and groups are likely to acquire excess power and benefits than others. With this background, those individuals and groups who gain more from a specific system of society end up working tirelessly to hold onto those structures to sustain and strengthen their power. Conflict theorists see the deprived to be under the suppression in a state of inequality within which they are extremely vulnerable in the society (UK Essays, 2018).

The fourth and last assumption of Conflict Theory is War. To conflict theorists, war is a consolidator or a cleanser of societies. The outcome of progressive conflicts existing between individuals and groups and between the various societies is war. In one way, a society may become unified but conflict still exists between several societies. In another context, war may also bring about the end of an entire society (Chappelow, 2019). These assumptions help to understand the society, its structures, and how conflicts are bound to take place within the structures, groups, and individuals.

3.2.4 Justification of the Theory

Several theories could have been used to explain the study at hand. For instance, the Functionalist Theory which is also known as Structural Functionalism and has its origin in the social thought embraced by Auguste Comte, Emile Durkheim, Hebert Spencer, Bronislaw Malinowski and others could have been used to explain the problem at hand. This is because, Functionalists postulate that society is a social system that is made up of interrelated parts, which work closely together in achieving a situation of structural parity (Turner & Maryanski, 1979; Holmwood, 2005). According to the Functionalist view, societies are assumed to behave like organisms, with different social institutions working together to maintain and rebuild societies (Lumen Learning, 2020).

Structural Functionalists, therefore presume that institutions come about and thrive for the reason that they play a role in society to enhance stability and integration. This indicates that Functionalist Theory or Structural Functionalism is better at explaining why some societies are stable with the presence of workable institutions.

The Functionalist Theory, however, was not used for the study because it has been criticised for overlooking the role of individual actions which may bring about social change or conflicts within societies (ibid). This indicates that Functionalist Theory cannot explain why some societies are conflict-prone. The theory may again fail to establish the importance of peace institutions in preventing, managing and resolving conflicts that are caused by certain human activities.

The study, therefore, employs the Conflict Theory because it expatiates why conflicts take place in various societies. It also emphasises that conflicts are inevitable aspects of human existence and hence, there is a need to create peace institutions that will be able to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts in societies.

3.2.5 Strengths and Limitations of the Theory

Like every other theory, the Conflict theory has its strengths and limitations. The theory tends to explain the nature of the society that has the tendency of bringing about instances of conflict situations and also the various dynamics that conflicts may take.

It further emphasises that conflict forms part of human instincts and hence making it an inevitable aspect of human existence (Dahrendorf, 2006). The theory is thus important to the study because it brings out the idea that conflicts are likely to take place in every society depending on several circumstances.

The theory brings out the idea that conflict is something which is part of human instinct and thus a society must at all times try to handle the psychological needs of individuals to indulge in

conflict. This need if not handled appropriately has the tendency to pile up over time and become explosive. The theory is relevant to the study because it explains the fact that it is important for states to put in place institutions and mechanisms to help manage, resolve and prevent these conflicts for the mere fact that at any point in time conflicts can occur in any society. Irrespective of how stable or peaceful society is, it can at any point in time change dramatically causing instances of conflict situations which when overlooked can be very damaging. This thus makes the establishment of the peace institutions such as the NPC, its role and its effectiveness relevant towards Ghana's peace and democracy.

Also, the theory tends to explain the reasons why conflicts happen in the first place. This again brings to the knowledge that every conflict has its causes and so when dealing with conflicts, there is the need for peace institutions to develop mechanisms to identify both the root and immediate causes to be able to find lasting solutions to them. This makes the theory relevant to the study because it tends to explain why the NPC is set to use several peacebuilding mechanisms to uncover the root and immediate causes of different conflicts to find lasting solutions to them.

On the other hand, the Conflict theory has been criticised for focusing too much on conflicts to the neglect that stability in some societies must be recognised. Many social structures are stable and have eventually developed over time rather than changing abruptly as the Conflict Theory would suggest. That is to argue that the presence of peace is often not acknowledged but instead the absence of it is always recognised.

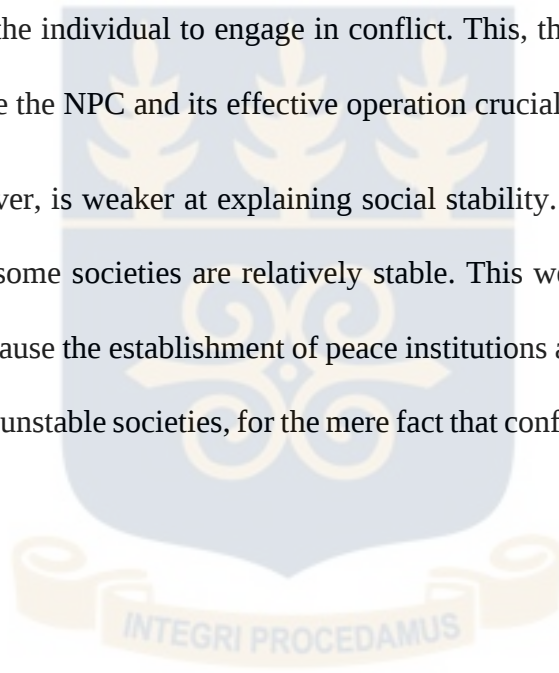
The Conflict theory is better at explaining social change, however, it is weaker at explaining social stability which forms the basis for Functionalist Theory (Lumen Learning, 2019). This indicates that the Conflict Theory may not be able to explain the reasons for the stability of several societies in Ghana. Even though the theory does not explain social stability, it will not affect the study in

any way because the creation of peace institutions is for both stable and unstable societies. After all, conflicts are bound to take place anywhere and anytime.

3.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter thoroughly discusses the origins, features, assumptions, justification, and strengths and weaknesses of the Conflict Theory which underpins the study. The basic premise of the Conflict Theory is that conflicts are inevitable aspects of human existence, hence, there is a need to handle the psychological need of the individual to engage in conflict. This, therefore, makes the creation of peace infrastructures like the NPC and its effective operation crucial to Ghana's peacebuilding.

The Conflict theory, however, is weaker at explaining social stability. The theory may, therefore, be unable to explain why some societies are relatively stable. This weakness, however, does not affect the study. This is because the establishment of peace institutions and their effective operation is crucial in both stable and unstable societies, for the mere fact that conflicts are inescapable aspects of human existence.



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CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the methodology under which the study is conducted. The fundamental goal of this study is to assess the National Peace Council to know how it has performed in Ghana's peacebuilding. The chapter covers the various methods, processes, and techniques that constitute the study. The means of data collection together with the yardstick for data analysis and the criterion for the test of validity, reliability, and generalisability will be discussed.

4.2 PHILOSOPHICAL WORLDVIEW

What mostly stays unrevealed in many kinds of research is a philosophical worldview or paradigm. It is however important that it is acknowledged in every study. The sets of beliefs that are held by individual researchers will mostly lead to adopting either qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods (Creswell, 2008). Keranen (2013) avers that in research, a worldview provides a foundation for the researcher's enquiry. To her, there is a need for researchers to be acquainted with their worldviews to be able to design, carry out, and interpret their research. These are, however, evolving and there are no fixed criteria. In the view of Pettersen and Gencel (2013), the importance of particular menace to specific research relies on the worldviews of the researcher. The philosophical worldviews abridge the researcher's assertion about the nature of reality (ontology), the nature of knowledge (epistemology), the role of values (axiology), the kind of discourse (rhetoric), and the process of the research (methodology) (Keranen, 2013).

The worldviews can be classified into four main categories. They include post-positivism, constructivism, advocacy/participatory, and pragmatism. The worldview chosen as a framework

for this study is constructivism. With constructivism as a worldview; the researcher presents participant's different interpretations, draws closer to the participants in their environment to collect data, reveals his or her biases and interpretations, and deals with inductive reasoning where participants' views are built upon patterns, themes, and generalisations (Keranen, 2013).

This worldview (constructivism) was important to drive this study because the study intended to assess the performance of the National Peace Council (NPC) towards Ghana's peace. In order to be able to conduct this study, it was important to take a very close account of participants who would give the needed responses and details to help handle the problem of the study. Constructivists rely mainly on participant's views towards the particular problem under study. This worldview, therefore, was bound to gain participant's subjective views of events, and as such several views and perspectives were gathered for conclusions through the use of open-ended questions.

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN/STRATEGY

Research methods are very relevant in every research process. This is because they help in the establishment of the study and also serve as a broader foundation within which the research is established. It is from the research methods that the researcher can explain why he or she is choosing a particular approach towards the research be it qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods. This, therefore, indicates that the type of problem in a study determines the research design to be used (Bhat, 2019). Research design is explained as a framework of processes and techniques selected by a researcher to put together the different sections of research in a logical fashion where the research problem is appropriately handled (Bhat, 2019). In the same way, Creswell (2014) argues that a research design is viewed as a set of techniques and processes that are used to collect and analyse measures of variables identified in a problem. The design of a study

explains the study type and therefore refers to a framework that has been developed to find solutions to research questions (Creswell, 2014). According to Flick (2008), a research design is a scheme for the collection and analysis of evidence that will create the possibility for the researcher to provide answers for all the questions he or she has set. The design of an investigation covers almost all the areas of the research. The three main approaches to social science research include qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods. For this study, the qualitative research approach was adopted.

4.3.1 Qualitative Research Method

A good design, one whose elements work in a well-balanced manner, increases efficient and effective research; a faulty design ends in a poor operation or failure (Maxwell, 2005). In recent years, the value and prestige of qualitative enquiry have risen in some fields. In the qualitative approach to research, the researcher constructs his or her argument from the constructivist and advocacy perspective (Maxwell, 2005). In the view of Maxwell (2005), qualitative research is a process that includes handling the various elements of the design, evaluating the connection of objectives, theories, research questions methods, and rationality of menaces for one another. Thus qualitative research goes deep into complexities and processes. Denzin and Lincoln (2005: 3) aver that,

Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them.

Qualitative studies ought to be used for studies that are exploratory and descriptive and types of research that stress the relevance of context, setting, and participants' framed references. Thus

qualitative research brings about implicit knowledge and subjective understandings and interpretations (Maxwell, 2005). To Maxwell, in qualitative research the most compelling argument emphasises the unique strengths of the type of research that is exploratory and descriptive, that takes into account the importance of context and setting, and that also looks for an intense comprehension of participants' actual experiences of the phenomenon under study. Qualitative research approaches use strategies of enquiry such as narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case studies to acquire data (Creswell, 2007). Qualitative research starts with suppositions, a worldview, the likely application of a theoretical lens, and a study of research problems inquiring into the understanding individuals or groups attribute to a social or human problem (Creswell, 2007). According to Creswell, qualitative researchers use an emerging qualitative approach to enquiry, collect data in a natural environment sensitive to the people and places under study, and also use data analysis that is inductive and creates patterns and themes. This type of research includes a close attentiveness to the interpretive nature of enquiry and places the study within the political, social, and cultural context of the researchers, the participants, and the readers of the study (Creswell, 2007). Creswell (2007) is of the view that qualitative research is undertaken for the reason that there is a need for a compounded and holistic comprehension of the problem at hand. This detail can be demonstrated by engaging face-to-face with people, visiting their homes and places of work as well as allowing them to tell stories unencumbered by the ones we anticipate and what we have read from the existing documents. Another important factor for which qualitative research is conducted according to Creswell (2007) is to follow up quantitative research and help to give understanding or meaning to the mechanisms or linkages in causal theories and models.

Marshall and Rossman (2006) are of the view that while the qualitative design is used to comprehend a phenomenon from the participants' views and to investigate and find out in-depth and in context, what may be missed when studies were conducted with predetermined suppositions by researchers, generalisations, replications and control groups, are however not the right criteria they should aim for. Qualitative research is concerned with understanding words as well as focusing on "why" questions, unlike the quantitative research method which is more concerned with quantifying as well as generating numerical outcomes (Radu, 2019). It is important to note that in as much as the qualitative research method is relevant in diverse ways, it also comes along with its limitations. According to Radu (2019), a qualitative research method is time-consuming, labour intensive, not statistically representative, difficult to investigate causality, and also results cannot be verified.

To carry out successful research, the researcher exclusively applied a qualitative approach to the study at hand. A qualitative research method brings out implicit knowledge and subjective understandings and interpretations of the research (Creswell, 2007) and for which it best fitted this study. Also, the selection of a qualitative method of research was informed by its capacity to bring out compounded textual descriptions of how people experience a particular research problem. Qualitative research comes up with information taking into account the human aspect of an issue and thus captures the behaviours, beliefs, views, emotions, and relationships of people. This approach helps explore and discover, in-depth and in context the issue at hand from participant's perspectives (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). The purpose of this research was to seek for non-quantifiable data to be able to better explore and explain the problem of the study.

In assessing the National Peace Council in Ghana's peacebuilding, it became relevant for the researcher to use a qualitative research approach. This research method aided in getting a better

understanding of the activities of the NPC. Also, qualitative research helped to find answers to ‘why’, ‘how’, and ‘in what way’ questions instead of a quantitative research method which concentrates more on mathematical and numerical data. To get a clear picture in the assessment of the NPC, this method contributed to the establishment of how the NPC goes about its activities and also found out how far they have gone with their activities with respect to Ghana’s peacebuilding. This method of research also gave room to probe further, what may not seem to be clear about the issue and hence allowing the researcher to ask follow up questions contributing to the development of research findings. In addition to the issues raised in the research was the major challenges that confront the NPC in the course of exercising its duties. This method, therefore, helped the researcher to find out these challenges and the extent to which they affect the performance of the Council. In all, a qualitative research approach was used for this study since statistical and numerical analysis did not suit the problem under study (Creswell, 2007). Thus quantifying the study would have resulted in the neglect of several issues the research sought to bring out.

Also, as part of the qualitative method which was selected for this study, the case study method was chosen as a strategy to help execute empirical research. A case study is a research methodology that is commonly used in the social sciences. To Haele and Twycross (2018: 1), a case study can be defined as “an intensive systematic investigation of a single, a group of people, a community or some other unit in which the researcher examines in-depth data relating to several variables”. Researchers tend to explain how case studies take a critical look at complex phenomena in the natural setting to boost their understanding. This, therefore, indicates that case studies in research explain that the entire problem can be addressed (Haele & Twycross, 2018). By this definition then we can observe that the case study was used precisely to give a close observation of the problem

and hence, an in-depth study of the NPC to bring out issues that prompted an assessment of the NPC in Ghana's peacebuilding.

4.4 DATA COLLECTION

As an exclusive qualitative study, the research sought to look into the performance of the NPC instead of looking for statistical and numerical elucidations. This section focused on the sampling framework within which the data was collected.

Two sources of data collection were used in the research and they include primary and secondary sources of data. Legislative and executive instruments, reports, and unpublished materials of the NPC concerning peacebuilding were also used. A primary source of data is important because it promotes a deeper understanding of events and encourages researchers to seek additional evidence to enhance a study (Bukowiecki, 2014).

4.4.1 Data Collection Technique

The technique chosen for data collection was interview. This method provided an opportunity for both the researcher and the respondents. In interviews, the individual answering the questions of the researcher, mostly known as the participant may be asked to share experiences, opinions, interpretations, and suggestions known as data, to help in providing answers to the research questions guiding the research (Allen, 2017). What necessitated the use of interviews as a data collection technique was to gain a detailed response from the participants concerning their perception about the performance of the NPC when it comes to peacebuilding and how well the Council can operate.

During the time of data collection, the researcher made a formal request for introductory letters from the Department of Political Science (University of Ghana) to introduce her to the respondents

and also provide them with a general idea of what the research entails. The researcher then proceeded to distribute the letters to the targeted respondents and booked for interview sessions. During the sessions, the researcher sought permission to record and put down points which respondents agreed to. Afterwards, data gathered was transcribed and grouped under relevant themes to be analysed.

Semi-structured interview questionnaires were used to guide the interviews conducted. According to Given (2008), a semi-structured interview can be defined as a data collection technique where the researcher asks informants a chain of predetermined but opened-ended questions. With the use of open-ended questions, the required data is gathered from respondents because it is not restrictive like close-ended, and so respondents have the freeness to choose which information to give out, its extent as well as its comprehensive details.

Secondary data for the study was acquired from secondary sources such as books, journals, articles, publications of the NPC on peace, newspaper publications on the NPC and peacebuilding, reports on the Council's activities, and documents on the membership, staff capacity and sources of funds. Electric sources of data concerning the study were gathered from Google Scholar, JSTOR, SAGE publications, and other websites including that of the NPC and Ministry of Interior. Other materials were obtained from the Balme Library and the Department of Political Science Library from the University of Ghana and lastly from the Kofi Annan International Peace Training Centre.

4.4.2 Study Population

The population which the research targeted were previous and current board members of the NPC and administrative staff at the national, regional, and district levels. The study also targeted other institutions that have worked closely with the NPC and therefore are familiar with some of the activities of the Council. They include NCCE, WANEP and UNDP. The study again targeted

lecturers who are outside the peace network in Ghana but have a speciality in peace and conflict studies. Lastly, journalists who have also reported on the NPC were targeted.

4.4.3 Sample Size and Sampling Technique

According to the Institute for Work and Health (2008), the number of participants or observations in research is termed as a sample size. In qualitative research, only a small sample of a population is chosen for a given study. It is important to note that collecting data from everyone in a study does not assure valid findings. Respondents with in-depth knowledge in the field were chosen. A total of 14 (fourteen) respondents were interviewed to get the required data to support the study.

There are two main methods of sampling and they include the probability and non-probability methods. The study adopted the non-probability sampling technique. This is because, unlike the probability sampling technique where each person in a population must stand an equal chance of being chosen and who may not necessarily have in-depth knowledge and expertise on the issue at hand, the non-probability sampling method creates space for specific target populations who have in-depth knowledge in the study area to be selected by the researcher (Elliot, 2020). To be able to achieve the purpose of this study, purposive and convenience sampling techniques were adopted. The purposive sampling technique is mostly used in qualitative research. The main aim of the purposive sampling technique is to make available a sample that can be assumed to be reasonably representative of the study population. Here subjective methods are applied in deciding which elements should be involved in the sample (Lavrakas, 2008). Purposive sampling gives room for the researcher to conveniently choose respondents who better understand the central issue of the study. In a study like this, the non-probability sampling technique was able to get responses from people who know about the problem at hand. It was, therefore, important to use the purposive sampling technique to select respondents who are known to give responses to questions revolving

around the NPC and peacebuilding in Ghana. Purposive sampling has however been criticised for being vulnerable to researchers' biases.

With the convenience sampling technique, the sample is taken from a group of people who can be easily contacted or reached (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill; 2012) and was used in selecting the regional and district councils due to their proximity to the researcher's location and to also reduce the cost and risk of travelling.

4.5 DATA ANALYSIS

The data that was acquired from both the primary and secondary sources were exposed to evaluative contextual analysis and perusal. Data collected through interviews by recording was then transcribed. A qualitative content analysis technique was used for analysing the data gathered. Qualitative content analysis can be explained as a research approach for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data with the use of a systematic classification process of coding and looking out for themes and patterns (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). With the help of the content analysis technique, the various themes were developed and analysed. The use of this method of analysis in the study was to demonstrate that the data collected from respondents was to be presented in their original forms and with this, the final works were presented in the form of texts and straight quotes from major respondents. This method of data analysis also contributed to interrelating, interpreting, and describing the themes.

The purpose of the interviews to be organised based on specific themes was to help the researcher to focus on the aims and purposes of the study. These themes portray the overall purpose of the study. The interviews were structured based on the following themes: the relevance of the mandate of the NPC, other factors to consider in the assessment of the NPC (membership, partnership, funding and the types of conflicts that are of interest to the NPC), the achievements and weaknesses

of the NPC, major challenges that confront the Council, and the way forward. All of the theme groups of questions were then compared and contrasted with participants' responses.

4.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In order to do away with the researcher's biases and to show some level of precision, interviews conducted were recorded with the consent of the respondents. Also, the principles of confidentiality, the autonomy of respondents as well as avoidance of deception and harm were adhered to as part of the ethical considerations of the study. Lastly, to avoid plagiarism, all the documents used by the researcher in the study were duly acknowledged.

4.7 CONCLUSION

What this chapter sought to do was to demonstrate the methodological framework and methods under which the study is conducted. The philosophical worldview guiding the study which is constructivism is explained. The primary data were gained through a qualitative research approach where in-depth interviews with the aid of a well-developed semi-structured. The secondary data were also obtained using secondary sources such as books, journals, articles, and publications on the NPC.

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on putting across and analysing the data that was qualitatively gathered for the assessment of the NPC in terms of the relevance of the mandate of the Council, how effective the Council has been, the major challenges that confront the Council, and the best ways the Council can ameliorate its activities. It is in this chapter that the answers to the research questions are expressed. The analysis was based on data that was put together from the literature reviewed and in-depth interviews conducted. The theoretical framework introduced in Chapter Three also helps to build some theoretical arguments on the need for peace institutions and also why these institutions need to operate effectively to achieve their mandated duties to bring about sustained peace in Ghana. The whole analysis and discussions are guided by the following objectives:

- look out for the relevance of the mandate of the NPC
- look out for some other factors to consider in the assessment of the NPC (membership, partnership, funding, and conflicts that are of interest to the Council)
- find out how successful the NPC has been with respect to electoral violence; chieftaincy, ethnic and land disputes; and in capacity building
- look out for the major challenges that confront the NPC and how these challenges can be dealt with.

5.2 THE RELEVANCE OF THE MANDATE OF THE NPC

Ghana has been given international recognition as a relatively peaceful country. Ghana has not experienced any civil war and has been labelled as a strong democracy, especially following the successful elections she has held since she transitioned to a constitutional democracy irrespective of the tremendous military interventions she has experienced (UNDP Ghana, 2013). Despite this recognition, Ghana has still seen instances of conflict situations and for the most part, these conflicts have been quite violent. Many of Ghana's conflicts begin with disputes at the community level and eventually erupt into violence (UNDP Ghana, 2013). From the literature reviewed, it was observed that some of the sources of conflicts in Ghana include political clashes, ethnic and tribal conflicts, electoral violence, chieftaincy and land disputes, and several. This helps to explain the inevitable nature of conflict according to the Conflict Theory.

It was observed in the literature review that Ghana's democracy is still not sustained (Ofori, 2018). The politics in Ghana has metamorphosed into the politics of insults and personal attacks. That is to argue that Ghanaian politics have been extremely confrontational to the point that competition begins right after election results are announced. This mostly comes from politicians and their comrades and it poses a huge menace to Ghana's peace. The longstanding political clashes have resulted in the uprising of political party vigilante groups who also stand to fight for the course of their parties. These clashes are mainly between NPP and NDC who have remained dominant following the lift of the ban on political parties in 1992. Political clashes are likely to bring severe ramifications which include electoral violence, ethnic conflicts, political tensions, putting the party's interest above the national interest, and mangling the country's democratic credentials.

Fischer (2016) argues that every election in Ghana has experienced violence since 1992; although the level of violence varies from election to election. Ghana has, for instance, organised more than

20 by-elections. All of these by-elections were reported to have resulted in violence. In recent years, the formation of vigilante groups by some of the political parties has spiralled the rate of violence during general and by-elections. For instance, Kotia and Aubyn (2013) argue that the 2008 and 2012 general elections saw some violence in the form of open confrontations between political parties, death threats, mob actions, intimidations, molestations, and destruction of properties worth millions of cedis. Following these intimidations and violence, voter turnouts in some areas were believed to have fallen below what was expected and this indicates that some eligible voters were denied the right to exercise their franchise (NCCE, 2011).

Ghana has also had instances of several ethnic, chieftaincy, and land disputes. Agyeman-Duah (1997) argues that in Ghana the very persistent, intractable, and violent conflicts tend to take place over land acquisition and ownership and succession to chieftaincies. The effects of colonialism on inter-ethnic relations cannot be overlooked in the attempt to establish some of the conflicts that Ghana has seen over the years. Some of these conflicts have been in existence for a very long period. The northern areas of Ghana have been the scene for sundry ethnic conflicts with a very high recurring rate. Some examples of these conflicts include the Bawku conflict, the Dagbon crises, the Alavanyo/Nkonya conflict, and others. These conflicts tend to have social, economic, and political impacts on Ghana because most of these conflicts are violent.

Figure 5.1 displays Ghana's conflict map with a series of conflicts taking place in different regions in the country ranging from ethnic, chieftaincy, land, boundary, mineral resources, and religious conflicts. From the map, chieftaincy and land disputes have become rampant in the country with a very high recurring rate.

FIGURE 5.1 Ghana Conflict Map



Source: (Adapted from NPC Ghana Conflict Map, 2020)

While these conflicts are in existence several groups and institutions are also in place to contribute to their prevention, management, and resolution. These include the police, military, courts, CSOs, and the like. What happens is that in most cases, the responses to these conflicts have been reactive without finding lasting solutions to them by addressing their root causes. The police and military are most of the time deployed to the areas of conflicts to manage violence. These reactions have not led to finding solutions to the rudimentary causes of the conflicts, rather than managing the

tensions and violence. Again, the use of the courts to resolve some of these conflicts have not produced a very welcoming outcome. Many of the judicial cases remain unattended to and in situations where the courts have pronounced judgments, the losing parties involved mostly decide not to accept the rulings. Typical examples of such instances include the chieftaincy disputes in Yendi, Kandi, and Buiepe. Again, efforts through Inter-ethnic Committees and the use of traditional chiefs such as *Asantehene*, *Nayiri*, and *Yagbonwura* for some conflicts have only provided short-term stability without the troth of long-term stability. In addition, in situations where commissions of enquiry have been set up, the findings and recommendations have mostly not been fully operationalised due to their political outcomes (Kotia & Aubyn, 2013).

The deficiencies in the approach to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts called for a committed approach and infrastructure to complement this role. The National Peace Council which forms a major component of Ghana's Peace Architecture was established. The NPC was established following the successes of the NRPAC and the Volta Regional Coordinating Council in 2002 and 2005 respectively and the need for sustained peace in the country. The NPC has a national mandate to operate and which is "to facilitate and develop mechanisms for conflict prevention, management, resolution and to build sustainable peace in the country" (NPC Act, 2011:3). The NPC, therefore, has a mandate in Ghana's peacebuilding and by so doing engages in several activities to achieve this role. It becomes important to establish how this mandate is also relevant to Ghana's peace and development.

It is from this argument that an official of the NPC establishes that:

The mandate of the NPC becomes crucial to Ghana's peacebuilding because several conflicts continue to take place within the state. Therefore, it becomes cardinal to provide internal mechanisms for handling them as well as detecting and preventing conflicts awaiting to explode. The NPC is set to play this crucial role in Ghana's peacebuilding (Top level official 1, 2020).

In line with this, another official of NPC avows that:

I think the NPC is a very useful institution. You know before the establishment of the NPC, we have had various structures that deal with conflicts in the country. Most of them have not been very effective. For instance, in situations where eminent Chiefs have been used, they have been questioned. The security institutions may only combat violence without necessarily offering solutions to conflicts. So it was out of this and several cases of deficiencies that the NPC was established and given a national mandate to operate to be able to prevent, manage, and effectively resolve conflicts. This makes the role of the Peace Council very relevant to Ghana's peacebuilding process (Top level official 2, 2020).

This, therefore, establishes that the NPC's mandate is essential because of the various conflicts that exist in Ghana which the Council is set to manage and resolve. It also confirms that the NPC is to work hand in hand with other peace institutions and complement or supplement their roles. It further indicates that the NPC was not established to replace any peace institution as far as Ghana's peacebuilding is concerned.

The NPC again is set to use peacebuilding channels such as mediation, facilitation, negotiation, dialogue, and conciliation to unveil the root causes of conflicts to be able to resolve them and prevent them from happening. Also with a national mandate and independence, the NPC is set to adopt a bipartisan approach in dealing with conflicts (Kotia & Aubyn, 2013).

An official of NPC concurs that:

The role of the NPC is relevant because it also gives room for the identification of the root causes of conflicts so that lasting solutions could be found to them. This is because most conflicts especially chieftaincy and ethnic conflicts can be elongated if not properly handled. To be able to resolve some of these conflicts amicably, then it only becomes prudent to identify their root causes. Through the use of peacebuilding channels, the NPC is set to play this role by unveiling the actual causes of conflicts and devising the very appropriate measures in handling them (Lower level official 1, 2020).

The Conflict Theory for instance advances that, several conflicts happen due to various reasons. It, therefore, becomes predominant that peace institutions delve deeper into conflicts to uncover

both their remote and immediate causes to be able to resolve them amicably. Once the NPC is set to use this approach to effectively handle instances of conflict situations in the country, its mandate can then be said to be relevant.

Also, it is important to note that peacebuilding channels such as preventive diplomacy, peace education, and awareness creation are adopted by the NPC to prevent conflicts from taking place. The NPC is mandated to use early warning mechanisms to detect conflicts that are likely to ignite and prevent them from occurring through its Regional and District Councils.

In this view, an official of NPC avers that:

How a state like Ghana looks at peacebuilding is an issue we ought to take seriously. This is because as a state, conflicts can always take place irrespective of actors, environment and the dynamics they would take. Once there are individual differences, conflict becomes a reality. How then do you make someone believe that conflict is a reality and therefore it can take place anywhere and at any point in time? It is important to raise awareness to deepen people's understanding of what peacebuilding entails. It, therefore, boils down to giving space for the creation of peace institutions which would take up the role of ensuring that there is peace throughout the country. The mandate of the NPC is therefore relevant as far as Ghana's peacebuilding is concerned (Lower level official 2, 2020).

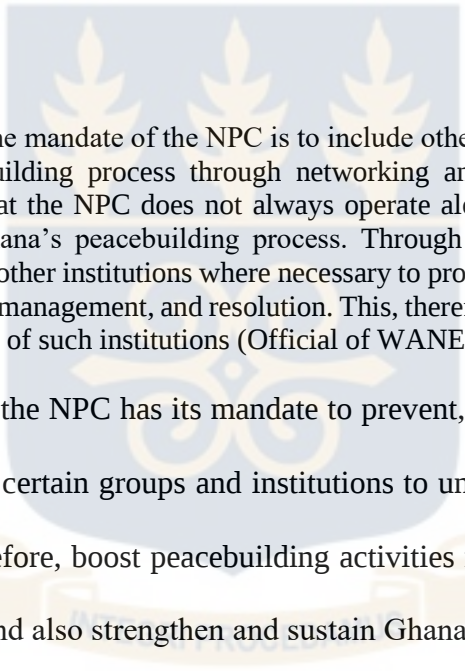
The NPC is, therefore, set to advance understanding about values of diversity, trust, tolerance, and increase awareness on the use of non-violent strategies in handling differences. Through the use of these values and awareness creation and the detection of early signals, the NPC is also set to contribute to Ghana's peacebuilding by preventing conflicts from happening within the various levels of the country.

Moreover, the mandate of the NPC is important because, unlike some peace institutions, it not restricted to any particular type of conflict. The NPC Act is not specific on which type of conflicts the Council is to engage in. It can, therefore, be established that ranging from electoral disputes,

chieftaincy disputes, land disputes and the like, the NPC has the mandate to engage in them to ensure that the peacebuilding mechanisms are put in place to resolve them.

The NPC is also set to “strengthen capacities for conflict prevention, management, resolution, and build sustainable peace in the country...” (NPC Act, 2011:4). The NPC is thus mandated to enhance the capacity of groups such as women, the youth, and other institutions to take up a role in Ghana’s peacebuilding.

In the view of an official:



As part of the mandate of the NPC is to include other peace institutions and CSO’s in the peacebuilding process through networking and coordination. This, therefore, indicates that the NPC does not always operate alone while exercising its mandate towards Ghana’s peacebuilding process. Through a collaborative effort, the NPC works with other institutions where necessary to provide the needed results in conflict prevention, management, and resolution. This, therefore, makes it essential to enhance the capacity of such institutions (Official of WANEP, 2020).

This brings to light that while the NPC has its mandate to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts, it is also allowed to empower certain groups and institutions to undertake peacebuilding roles at various levels. This will, therefore, boost peacebuilding activities right from the household level through to the national level and also strengthen and sustain Ghana’s peace.

Besides, it is part of the role of the NPC to make recommendations to the government and other key stakeholders on actions to promote trust and confidence between and among groups (NPC Act, 2011). Based on the experiences of the NPC on certain vital issues, the Council where necessary is set to make exhortations to the government and other important stakeholders on issues bothering peace and democracy in the country. This may go a long way to enhance the decisions the government may take about Ghana’s peace

From the Conflict Theory, since conflicts are an inescapable aspect of human existence, there is the need to deal with conflicts when they take place and also deal with the human need to engage in conflicts in the first place. For this reason, it is important for peace infrastructures to be established within states to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts. There is the need to surpass the small-scale approach to peacebuilding training and activities into a large-scale and more successful and long-term approach that includes a sustainable peace architecture (Murithi, 2006). That is to aver that architecture for peace is a requirement for creating a friendly business environment at large. Peace can be planned and it, therefore, requires the creation of peace institutions to critically work it out. This, therefore, makes the mandate of the NPC relevant especially when it is set to undertake all the roles stated above in order to promote and sustain Ghana's peace.

An official establishes that:

The NPC is a relevant institution because its objective is a national objective and because peace is what everybody needs, this mandate of the Council becomes essential towards Ghana's peacebuilding. It is a good thing that the Council exists and it is important because their role will contribute to consolidating peace in the country (Academic 1).

From the above, the mandate of the NPC, therefore, becomes relevant because it operates on matters concerning peace and also supplements the work of other peace actors in the country. It is important to note that the relevance of the mandate of the Council could be more expressed when it has been able to achieve the purpose for which it was created. However, the role and mandates of institutions like the courts, the police, the military, and the traditional institutions such as the National House of Chiefs cannot be overlooked when it comes to peacebuilding in Ghana. Therefore, for Ghana to achieve a wave of sustainable peace, all the peace institutions must work together and complement the role of one another. It can, therefore, be argued that the mandate of the NPC is relevant to Ghana's peacebuilding.

5.3 SOME FACTORS TO CONSIDER IN ASSESSING THE NPC

Before a bona fide assessment of the NPC can be done to ascertain what it has been able to achieve, it is important to also look at the membership, partnership, and funding as well as the types of conflicts that are of major interest to the Council. This is because for the NPC to succeed in carrying out its mandate, there is a need for the availability and well-functioning of these factors.

5.3.1 Membership

As per the requirement of every council, and for a council to operate effectively, the calibre of membership it is made up of becomes an essential factor. Therefore, the members need to make efforts towards the realisation of the objectives of the council. The NPC Act makes it explicit how the membership structure of the NPC should be set up.

The NPC Act makes provision for the governing body of the Council to be made up of notable representatives from Christian, Muslim, and African Traditional Practitioner bodies as well as representatives from identifiable groups and the presidential appointees (NPC Act, 2011). It is expected that these representatives are trustworthy and well renowned to handle the responsibilities assigned to them (Kotia & Aubyn, 2013).

In line with this, an official of the NPC avers that:

Most times when there is an issue bothering on conflicts, the presence alone of these renowned members allows the parties involved to agree to sit and talk. This is because these are people who are respected in our society and their views and thoughts make an impact on the lives of people. Due to this reason, the involvement of the NPC in conflict issues is likely to yield positive results (Top level official 1, 2020).

This is an indication that in the Ghanaian setting, much importance and respect is directed towards religious leaders to the extent that people revere them and even agree to do their bid when they are asked. For this reason, the membership of the NPC board also plays a significant role in the effectiveness of the activities of the Council in Ghana's peacebuilding.

It is anticipated that these people have the necessary qualifications to handle conflict issues. These representatives, however, are not necessarily experts in conflict and peace studies and are not psychologists who can understand people's emotions and their reasons for taking up a particular behaviour. This, therefore, becomes problematic if in one way due to their statuses people listen to them and on the other side, they do not have the qualification to handle the roles they are mandated with. To curb the issue of qualification of the board in handling conflict situations, the NPC Act makes provision for the board to co-opt a person to act as an advisor in any of its meetings when there is the need for it. This person, however, cannot vote on an issue (NPC Act, 2011).

An official of NPC concurs and advances that:

The board members have what it takes to handle conflict situations. Even though they are not experts in the field, they can handle conflict issues because their capacities are enhanced to take up such duties. From time to time, the capacity of the members is enhanced for them to be able to understand the nature of conflicts and how they can be handled appropriately. In situations where the Council does not have the requisite skills to handle a particular situation, they are allowed to bring an expert on board to help (Lower level official 2, 2020).

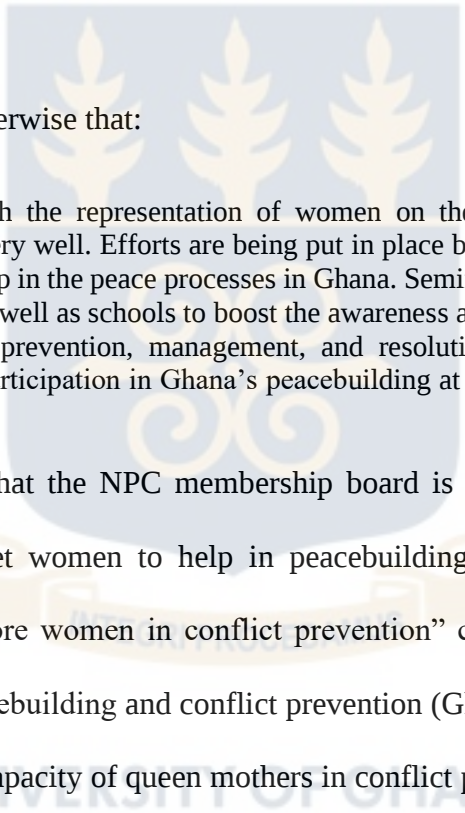
This reveals that for the efficacious operation of the board of the NPC, their conflict solving adroitness are augmented from time to time and, therefore, though they are not necessarily experts in the field, they are able to resolve conflicts and where necessary solicit for expert knowledge.

The NPC Act makes provision for thirteen (13) members to be appointed to the board. Out of this, nine (9) are from various religious groups, two (2) are from identifiable groups and the remaining two (2) are to be appointed by the president (NPC Act, 2011). As maintained by Kotia and Aubyn (2013) the number of members from each group represent the number of people who belong to these groups in Ghana. According to the World Factbook by the CIA, Christians make up 71.2% while Muslims make up 17.6% of the Ghanaian population. For example, representatives from the Christian bodies to the board of the NPC are four (4) as compared to those from the Muslim groups

who are three (3) and this is an indication that Christians outnumber Muslims in Ghana and likewise the rest of the groups (Kotia & Aubyn, 2013).

For the fact that one of the president's appointees is to be a woman (NPC Act, 2011), the Act is silent on gender when it comes to the membership structure of the NPC board. The Act makes it possible for representatives to come from several groups, however, it does not specify the number of women and men who are to come from each group. For this reason, all the groups usually bring men only to the board.

An official of NPC claims otherwise that:



Even though the representation of women on the board is minimal the Council functions very well. Efforts are being put in place by the Council to bring women on board to help in the peace processes in Ghana. Seminars are also held in churches and mosques as well as schools to boost the awareness and capacity of women in the area of conflict prevention, management, and resolution. This is to help to increase women's participation in Ghana's peacebuilding at all levels (Lower level official 2, 2020).

It can, therefore, be argued that the NPC membership board is gender-imbalanced. However, efforts are being made to get women to help in peacebuilding by the NPC. The NPC has commenced with the "get more women in conflict prevention" campaign which seeks to soar women's participation in peacebuilding and conflict prevention (GhanaWeb, October 30th, 2019). For instance, to enhance the capacity of queen mothers in conflict prevention, a two-day program was held in the Ashanti Region with a call on them to raise their voices in conflict prevention and resolution processes (Ibrahim, 2019).

Table 5.2 and 5.3 display the precursory board members of the NPC and the membership of the board as of 2020. Each of the boards shows only one woman who is a president's nominee.

TABLE 5.1: Previous National Board of NPC (2012-2016)

NAMES	RELIGIOUS GROUP/ORGANIZATION
Most Rev Prof Emmanuel Asante	Ghana Christian Council
Maulvi Dr Wahab Adam	Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission
Apostle Prof Opoku Onyinah	Ghana Pentecostal Council
Nana Susubribi Krobea Asante	National House of Chiefs
Most Rev Dr Joseph Osei-Bonsu	Catholic Bishops' Conference
Sheikh Mahmoud Gedel	Al-Sunnah Muslims
Alhaji Adam Abubakar	Tijaniyyah Muslim Group
Rev Gideon Titi-Ofei	National Council for Christians and Charismatic Churches
Nii Otokunor Sampah	African Traditional Religion
Mr Shaibu Abubakar	Ghana Network for Peacebuilding (CSOs)
Mr Mumuni Abudu Seidu	Educationist
Mrs Florence Mangwe Hutchful	Nominee of the President
Rev Dr Nii Amoo Darku	Nominee of the President

Source: NPC Secretariat

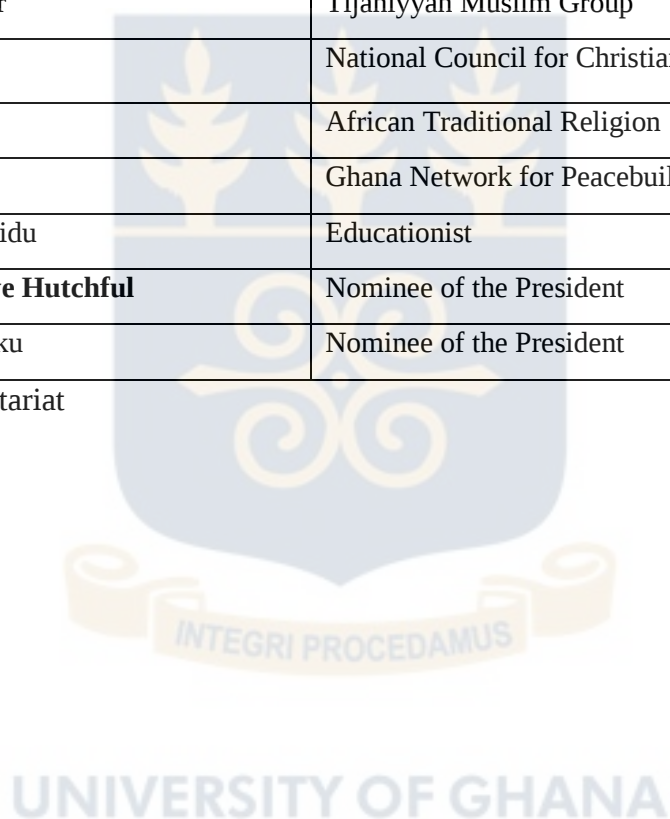


TABLE 5.2: National Board of NPC as of 2020

NAMES	RELIGIOUS GROUP/ ORGANIZATION
Most Rev Vincent Sowah Boi-Nai	Catholic Bishops' Conference
Rev Dr Ernest Adu Gyamfi	Christian Council
Apostle Prof Opoku Onyinah	Ghana Pentecostal Council
Arch Bishop Nicholas Duncan Williams	National Council for Christian and Charismatic Churches
Maulvi Mohammed Bin Salih	Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission
Sheikh Mahmoud Gedel	Al-Sunnah Muslim Mission
Imam Awal Shaibu	Tijaniyya Muslim Group
Osofo Kofi Atabuatsi	Practitioners of African Traditional Religion
Nana Susubribi Krobea Asante	National House of Chiefs
Mr Shaibu Abubakar	Identifiable Group
Rev Dr Nii Amoo Darku	Identifiable Group
Most Rev Prof Emmanuel Asante	Nominee of the President
Nana Agyakoma Difie II	Nominee of the President

Source: NPC Secretariat

In terms of the age of the board members, the Act is also silent. According to the World Factbook by the CIA, Ghana's demographic profile indicates that the country has a young age structure with approximately 57% of the population under the age of 25. The board membership is typically made up of the elderly. This, therefore, tends to disparage the voices of the youth as far as the NPC board membership is concerned. Since the Act does not consider the youthful nature of Ghana's population on the board it will become arduous for the perspectives of the youth to be gleaned when preventing, managing and resolving conflicts.

Another ambivalent issue concerning the NPC is the question of political neutrality. It is likely for people to tag the NPC with political biases. The NPC Act (30) clearly states that "except as provided in the Constitution, the Council should not be subjected to the direction or control of any person or authority in the performance of its functions", which indicates that the Council except

under a constitutional requirement is not supposed to operate under the bid of any other authority. At the same time, NPC Act (32) stipulates that “members of the Council shall not participate in active politics”. This also means that the Council is not supposed to show attachments to a particular political party. Kotia and Aubyn (2013) argue that the presidential power to appoint two people to the board is an indication that the Council could be easily manipulated by the president in power to do his bid. For example, ex-president John Dramani Mahama on February 3rd, 2020 stated emphatically that the NPC is a ‘remote control’ of the NPP.

With this in mind, an official of NPC wrangles that:

The NPC is an independent body and operates in a neutral manner irrespective of the issue they are handling at a particular point in time. Even if the president will try to manipulate his appointees to do his bid, they are just two in number and it will be difficult to influence the other eleven (11) members. It is, therefore, not likely that the members will work politically. When NPP is in power, it is said the NPC belongs to the NDC and when NDC is also in power, people say the NPC belongs to the NPP; so where does the NPC stand? This is an exaggeration that people make concerning the Council (Top level official 1, 2020).

Another official of NPC concurs that:

Whether we are tagged as biased or not or whether we are tagged as political, we know we are not and we operate in a very neutral manner. We are an institution that is set to contribute to peace and not to create divides and we are only focused on achieving our mandate. We do not support any party, period. If party A does something and it is wrong we come in and likewise party B (Lower level official 2, 2020).

Even though the NPC is to operate independently, the appointments of some of the members by the president at the time will continue to bring out the question concerning neutrality and may thus hinder its activities in one way or the other.

All the executive secretaries of the NPC are to be appointed by the president following article 195 of the Constitution (NPC Act, 2011). For this reason, the question about the Council’s neutrality

is still maintained. It is, however, argued that these people are appointed only based on the qualification they hold in the field and, therefore, there should not be any politics involved.

The calibre of board members and administrative staff as well as how they perform will contribute to the level of successes of the Council.

5.3.2 Collaboration/Partnership

It is important to acknowledge that though the NPC is an independent institution, it does not always operate alone. In situations where there is a need for the Council to bring other institutions on board, it is allowed to do so. According to NPC Act (33) “the National, Regional and District Peace Councils shall collaborate with other relevant bodies and with each other in the performance of functions under this Act”. There are instances where it is needed for the NPC to cooperate and work with other germane institutions to yield better results.

It is held by an official of NPC that:

The stakeholders of the NPC include the government of Ghana and development partners. Also where necessary, the NPC partners with institutions such as security agencies, traditional authorities, religious bodies, research institutions and universities, CSOs, and several to carry out its mandate (Top level official 2, 2020).

As observed by Awinador-Akanyirige (2014), aside from the National Security Council (including the REGSECs and DISECs) and the National House of Chiefs that the NPC collaborates with, they also do so with the Electoral Commission, NCCE, CHRAJ and Inter-party Political Dialogue Committee.

The Commonwealth Observer Group in its assessment of the performance of the NPC in the 2016 general elections also acknowledges the NPC’s collaboration with other institutions. For instance, it is shared that, “...state agencies like the NCCE and EC were also invited to deliver messages during NPC programmes” (The Commonwealth, 2017:4).

Although the NPC Act does not specifically show other key actors in peacebuilding except for the National, Regional, and District Peace Councils, there are partners and stakeholders of the NPC. Some of the partners of the NPC are national institutions while others are foreign institutions and development partners. The NPC, therefore, knows the level at which they engage each institution. For instance, the NPC collaborates with the EC and NCCE to spread the message of peace, especially during elections. In the 2012 and 2016 general elections, the NPC was seen majorly working with the EC and NCCE to help spread the news of peace across the country. For example, with the upcoming 2020 general elections, wherever the NPC is seen, there is the likelihood to also see the NCCE.

In the lens of an official:

The NPC collaborates well especially in peace education and awareness creation. There have been instances where the NPC has worked with West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP), Institute of Democratic Governance (IDEG), National Youth Authority (NYA), Ghana Education Service (GES), religious bodies, and more importantly National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) mostly on issues bothering on conflict prevention and peacebuilding through peace education and awareness creation. In the same way, when it comes to human rights issues, the Council does collaborate with institutions like Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) and National Disaster Management Organization (NADMO). The RPCs and DPCs also collaborate with religious bodies and the NCCE when necessary to promote peace in the respective regions and districts. With one of its core functions as public awareness creation and advocacy, the NPC mostly works with the NCCE to create awareness and exert some level of influence on individuals, groups, and institutions in the area of peacebuilding (Official of WANEP, 2020).

Concerning the Council's foreign confederates, the Five-Year Strategic Plan of the NPC in collaboration with the UNDP has been a major activity of the NPC. This collaboration is mentioned everywhere the NPC is mentioned since it sought to enhance the capacity of the NPC by making available some of the needed resources to ensure the NPC works at its full capacity. In the view of an official of NPC:

NPC not long ago has renewed its partnership with the UNDP and has even reviewed the Strategic Plan by looking at all the phases with the structure, what has been achieved, and what can be improved. I am beginning to appreciate the fact that the international community is also interested in peace especially if they have investments around. For this reason, the Danish Embassy, USAID, Commonwealth, Canada, and others put in the effort to sponsor key activities like peace education across the faith-based institution, party politics, and awareness creation around the country (Lower level official 2, 2020).

This indicates that the NPC does not operate alone but rather where necessary collaborates with key partners to execute its plans. Some of the collaborations have not been effective due to the contretemps in their mandates and also financial constraints on the part of the Council (The Commonwealth, 2017). However, partnering and collaborating with key institutions where necessary contributes to the enhancement of the performance of the NPC. While the NPC has its mandate, working hand in hand with institutions that share similar objectives is likely to yield impressive outcomes.

5.3.3 Funding

For the effective operation of every institution, there is a need for the availability of funds. This helps to make the coordination of the activities of that institution possible and also effective. The existence of any institution without adequate funds to operate creates the prospect for such an organisation or institution to be rendered ineffective. Its existence will be meaningless. The NPC Act makes provision for how the NPC is supposed to raise and spend funds.

The allowances and remuneration of the board of the National, Regional, and District Councils are determined by the Ministry of Interior and this is done in consultation with the Ministry of Finance (NPC Act, 2011). The government of Ghana is, therefore, the main sponsor when it comes to payment of allowances of the board members and salaries of the NPC staff to run the day-to-day activities of the Council. At the same time, international sponsors like UNDP, Commonwealth, and international governments like Canada, the USA and others may also contribute to the

sponsorship of specific programmes of the NPC. These include capacity building of women and youth to engage in peace processes and awareness creation through peace education.

The UNDP for instance supported the NPC through the five-year Strategic Plan. The UNDP's collaboration with the NPC was effectuated to ensure that the Council has the financial and technical support that was indispensable to make it work effectively.

According to an official:

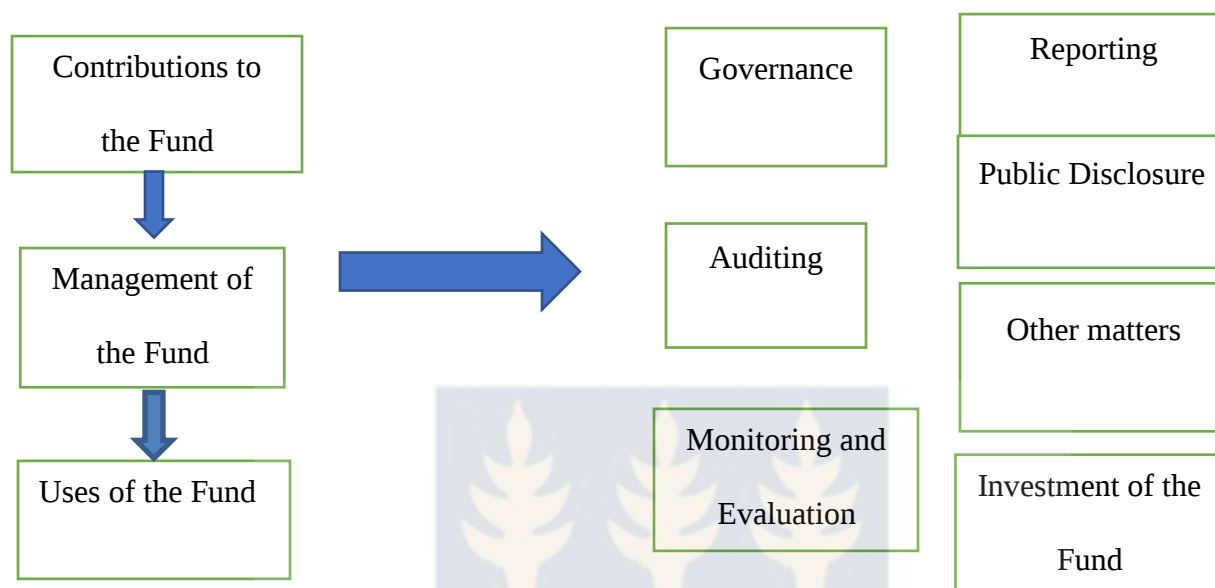
Although there has not been an independent evaluation that has been done to see if the collaboration was excellently done, the UNDP did what it could to support many activities of the NPC. For instance, the UNDP's Insider Mediator Project supported NPC and the Regional Peace Councils with offices and other logistics. Even before the payment of salaries of the NPC was absorbed by the government, it was done by the UNDP. Though there have been challenges in the process, the UNDP has contributed to making what the NPC is today (Official of UNDP, 2020).

The NPC Act makes provision for the inception of a Peace Fund which would come from sources such as the government, local private and public organisations, and international organisations, contributions from foreign governments, and gifts and funds from other donor institutions. The fund is to be used to assist conflict resolution and peacebuilding institutions in Ghana, facilitate and promote conflict resolution and peacebuilding activities in the country and sponsor other projects related to conflict resolution and peacebuilding (NPC Act, 2011).

The Peace Fund is intended to adjunct funding from the government to help the NPC to attain its mandate of preventing, managing, and resolving conflicts (Mensah, 2017). Mensah emphasises that the establishment and management of funds are most demanding and complicated and it requires a lot of expertise to achieve this.

Table 5.3 demonstrates the framework of the Peace Fund. It includes the sources of the funds, contributions to the fund, how the fund is to be managed, and how it is to be used.

TABLE 5.3: Foundation of Peace Fund Framework



Source: (Mensah, 2017)

The Peace Fund is deemed as an essential conduit to send the right resources to activities that are of direct importance towards peace in Ghana (Mensah, 2017). The funds will seek to address specific concerns in peacebuilding and it is to be distributed as follows: 55% is to be used to support programme activities of the National, Regional and District Peace Councils; 10% is to support matters regarding women and youth in peace issues; 10% to be used to support efforts to deal with commercial/industrial conflicts; 10% to support peace initiatives and actors; 5% to support administration related costs and lastly, 10% to support international peace efforts (ibid).

An official of the NPC discloses that:

While the Peace Council goes about its activities, some of these activities are sponsored by individuals and churches. The help from foreign institutions like the USAID and Canada cannot be overlooked because a lot of programmes concerning peacebuilding that is hosted in the various regions are sponsored by these foreign donors. Most of these donations are particularly used to fund specific activities of the NPC especially in the area of capacity building. (Lower level official 3, 2020).

It is important to note that even though the Peace Fund framework has been laid down, it is yet to be operationalised. This will, therefore, make it strenuous for the Council to fund some of its activities. One thing that cannot be overlooked is that peacebuilding is soft work and needs the availability of funds to make it possible. To function effectively and efficiently, the NPC requires the necessary funds to operate. Therefore, even though the NPC has a crucial role to play in Ghana's peacebuilding, the unavailability of funds can render it incapable of performing its functions effectively.

5.3.4 The type of Conflicts that Interest the NPC

As observed in the theoretical framework conflicts are inevitable aspects of human existence; hence, the need for peace institutions and efforts to ensure that majority of conflicts are prevented while the ones that have already taken place are managed and resolved. Also, the literature reviewed indicated that Ghana has had a series of conflicts and some of which are still ongoing. Since it is the responsibility of the NPC to promote peace in the country, it is important to first take a look at which type of conflicts it has an interest in.

According to the National Peace Architecture, the NPC has the mandate to engage in the management and resolution of all forms of conflicts identified in Ghana with the exception of chieftaincy conflicts that are to be handled by the National House of Chiefs (Ministry of Interior, 2006). On the other hand, NPC Act 818 is silent on the types of conflicts that the NPC is to prevent, manage and resolve.

As an official of NPC explains that:

The NPC has the mandate to prevent, manage, and resolve all forms of conflicts that have the potential to cause violence and threaten Ghana's peace and security. Any conflict that can jeopardise Ghana's peace calls for the attention of the NPC. Even if it is labour conflict and has the potential to disturb Ghana's peace, then the NPC has the mandate of going into it. Both the Regional and District Peace Councils have a

role to play as they all help to contribute to peace and also working effortlessly to help identify threats of violence and work together to find lasting solutions to them (Top level official 2, 2020).

This is an indication that the NPC has an interest in conflicts that are likely to bring about severe ramifications to the country and so while they make efforts to manage and resolve them, there is also the need to prevent conflicts from taking place. From these, it becomes relevant to find out which of these conflicts the NPC spends much time on.

According to an official of NPC:

In as much as the NPC has an interest in all forms of conflicts, there are situations where we engage in what is referred to as ‘targeting’. Although every conflict is important there are instances where there happen to be critical parts that cannot be ignored and hence the NPC rushes to get involved in them (Lower level official 3, 2020).

This will create the opportunity for the Council to identify hotspots of conflicts and know what to engage in at a particular point in time. This is because issues concerning conflicts are very delicate. This indicates that the NPC has the mandate to respond to every conflict. However, the Council is likely to be seen to be more prominent in some conflicts than others depending on their level of intensity.

5.4 ACHIEVEMENTS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE NPC IN GHANA’S PEACEBUILDING

5.4.1 Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution

From the Conflict Theory, it is espied that conflicts are likely to take place once humans co-exist. Ghana as a state has had instances of conflict situations as spotted in the literature review. This, therefore, creates the necessity for the establishment of peace institutions. The need for these institutions to handle and prevent conflicts become issues of great concern. It is therefore predominant to look at what the NPC has been able to attain as far as its mandate is concerned.

For the NPC to accomplish its objective, the Council according to NPC Act 3 (a), is to “harmonise and co-ordinate conflict prevention, management, resolution and build sustainable peace through networking and co-ordination”, 3 (d) also states that the NPC should “facilitate the amicable resolution of conflict through mediation and other processes including indigenous mechanisms for conflict resolution and peacebuilding”. Similarly, the NPC is to “increase awareness on the use of non-violent strategies to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts and to also build sustainable peace in the country” and to “promote understanding of the values of diversity, trust, tolerance, confidence building, negotiation, mediation, dialogue and reconciliation” (NPC Act, 2011:4 c & e).

Concerning conflict prevention, the NPC uses early warnings and preventive diplomacy. Early warnings are detected through the RPCs and the DPCs. According to Owusu (2017), a neutral mediator is dispatched to negotiate to be able to do away with any form of violence waiting to explode.

Also, in conflict management and resolution, conflict analysis is conducted to get a better hold of the conflict which would inform the appropriate mechanisms to deal with it. Consensus building is adopted to get the conflicting parties to bring on board the issues underlying their stands.

5.4.1.1 Electoral Disputes

Since Ghana became a democracy in 1992, several elections have been conducted and have either brought a party to power or opposition. Though the NPC was administratively established in 2006, it was seen participating actively in the 2012 and 2016 general elections because it was not until 2011 that the Council was given parliamentary recognition to operate. The Council, however, played a role in the 2008 general elections.

In the 2008 general elections, the NPC played a key role to reduce the disputes that could have increased the level of violence that could have erupted following the elections.

An official of the NPC expresses that:

The Council at the time headed by Cardinal Appiah Turkson worked especially in the Northern part of the country which already had several conflicts taking place. The NPC through mediation, contributed to the management of the Dagbon conflict to diminish the tensions there before the election was conducted. Most of the time, some of the ethnic, chieftaincy, and land disputes are likely to take a political dimension, and therefore, not controlling or managing the Dagbon conflict, would have been detrimental especially with the election which was about to take place. The NPC ensured that the violence in Dagbon was managed to give room for a violent-free election in 2008 (Top level official 2, 2020).

Kumar and Haye (2011) posit that the NPC played a significant role in the 2008 general elections by emphasising on the views expressed by Emmanuel Bombande the founder of WANEP that, when it became needful in an extremely difficult situation during the elections, the NPC was there to intervene especially following the 50,000 votes difference that took the then incumbent (NPP) into opposition. This brings out the need for peace institutions and their effective operation as Conflict Theory suggests.

During the 2012 general elections, the political landscape was beleaguered with acts of violence including assaults, destruction of properties, molestations, defacement of posters, and death threats between the major political parties namely the NPP and NDC (Kotia & Aubyn, 2013). According to Kotia and Aubyn (2013), the NPC bestowed their quota in making the 2012 general elections a successful one.

An official concurs with this assertion and establishes that:

The NPC contributed tremendously towards the 2012 general elections. This was achieved through the efforts of the Council to make presidential candidates sign peace accords which ensured that they were not going to perpetrate any violence during and

after when the result was declared. Through a series of dialogues before, during, and after the elections, there was peace at the end of the day (Academic 2).

Also, an official of NPC maintains that:

In 2012 when the election was disputed by the then opposition party NPP, the NPC had to do a lot of preventive diplomacy work behind the scenes. The Council worked with several institutions at various levels. At the local level, prominent chiefs were engaged together with former presidents who spoke to the parties and their leaders. Due to the contribution of the NPC, Ghana was able to go through over an eight-month legal system and come out with very few negatives to her peace and stability (Top level official 1).

From the literature review, Kotia and Aubyn (2013:25) assert that “The most visible achievement of the NPC is the exceptional role it plays in preventing and diffusing disputes during elections in Ghana”. Kotia and Aubyn (2013) posit that during the 2012 general election, the NPC did not only contribute to reducing the intensified political atmosphere but also helped to avert the potential violence that could have plunged Ghana into conflict. As one of the major stakeholders in the election, the NPC engaged in several activities to combat the tensions to ensure that the electoral process was peaceful. For instance, the NPC took it upon itself to enhance the capacity of the political parties on how to deal with issues of diversity and conflicting interests between and among them. The NPC thus contributed to averting the disputes that could have erupted.

In the same way, the NPC together with the media increased campaigns for peace across the country. There was peace education in communities, schools as well as public peace forums and symposia. For instance, a peace forum was organised by the NPC and IDEG in Kumasi to bring the presidential candidates to sign the peace pact. The then NPC chairman Cardinal Appiah Turkson was part of the National Enforcement Body put together by the IEA to supervise the enforcement of the 2012 Political Party Code of Conduct adopted by the political parties to guide and regulate their activities. Also, the NPC through a series of mediation and dialogue urged the

political parties to accept the verdict of the Supreme Court following the 2012 general elections (Kotia & Aubyn, 2013).

The NPC also contributed its quota during the 2016 general elections. The NPC has been extolled due to its efforts towards the 2016 elections. As argued by the Commonwealth Observer Group in the 2016 election, the NPC contributed tremendously to the successful outcome of the election. This is because the NPC and the RPCs were used as channels to identify threats of violence that were likely to take place during the elections. The various RPCs worked to eliminate these threats through public education and awareness creation of especially the youth. These were achieved with the help of the NCCE and the EC as well as the security agencies (The Commonwealth, 2017). In line with this, an official of NPC expresses that:

I think a major achievement of the NPC is its role in elections. During the 2016 general elections, a forum was held in Kumasi by IDEG in collaboration with NPC where the Asantehene was present to discuss issues bothering on peace. The Council again rose to that challenge to ensure that in 2016, the country would have a peaceful election by engaging the parties and their leaders. So in terms of elections, we have been doing quite well and a lot of behind the scenes work. Indeed in 2016, we went to all the 275 constituencies across the country to engage religious leaders, political leaders, and youth leaders to ensure that violence is reduced to a very minimal level (Top level official 2, 2020).

As it was reported by the Ghanaweb on 21st November 2016, “The Chairman of the Council unreservedly condemns such acts of violence, provocation and impunity...”. This statement was expressed as a result of the clashes between the two major political parties which are the NPP and the NDC in several parts of the country. Some of these areas included the New Juaben North, Wulensi, Odododiodoo, and Ajumake constituencies. The NPC Chairman Most Rev. Prof Emmanuel Asante condemned these acts arguing that they are harmful to Ghana’s hard-earned democratic credentials and therefore called on the political parties to call their members to order.

According to the Commonwealth Observer Group (2017), the use of structures such as NEEWARG and REEWARGs helped the NPC to quickly identify and avert potential violence that occurred in areas such as Nsawam, Suhum, and Asunafo during the election.

An official states that:

The NPC has done much as far as Ghana's elections are concerned over the years. For instance, with the aid of the technical and financial support from WANEP in the 2016 general elections, the NPC was able to set up National and Regional Election Early Warning Response Groups (NEEWARG & REEWARG). These structures were created to serve as a platform for development for responses to latent and manifest situations of conflicts (Official of WANEP, 2020).

Another official avers that:

The NPC has achieved much especially with respect to preventing electoral disputes. This is because, in the time leading to the elections, especially concerning the 2016 general elections the NPC and the NCCE worked together. Before the 2016 general elections, the NCCE organised a workshop and invited the regional representatives of the NPC who came and assisted by throwing light on conflict and its related consequences and for that matter the cost of it if it arises. There were a series of presentations and videos of conflicts from other African countries. It was all about how to go through the elections without violence and if violence erupted, the cost of it. We are hoping to work together in the same way following the 2020 general elections. The NPC talks about the need for peace and we help with the education at the various levels (Official of NCCE, 2020).

This indicates that since its establishment, the NPC has engaged in elections and worked its way around all levels to reduce violence to its minimal level in the country. The NPC has, therefore, contributed to Ghana's path towards the consolidation of democracy due to its role in elections together with other institutions such as the NCCE.

According to the NPC, in the lead up to the 2020 general elections, it is again laying down measures to ensure that the election becomes a successful one. The Council is advocating for a peaceful election and urging media owners and editors to work towards a sustainable peace to advance the state's democracy and development during the events of the 2020 general elections. At the same time, the NPC seeks to avoid any form of violence by making the political parties sign the peace

pact ahead of the election. The Council seeks to reduce electoral disputes which may result in violence. This is usually achieved through peace forums and also campaigns through the use of the media. For instance, on January 11th, 2020, the NPC organised a conflict resolution workshop and urged in an opening remark that, “This is an election year and so Ghanaians should ensure that there is a calm atmosphere before, during and after the election” (Yeboah, 2020).

Following the violence that has been ongoing in Ghanaian elections and the recent ones which are mainly posed by the political party vigilante groups principally concerning by-elections, the NPC has made attempts to resolve this. In 2019 especially following the Ayawaso West Wuogon by-elections and its associated violence, the NPC through dialogues with stakeholders set off to bring an end to vigilante groups in the country through the Vigilantism Bill. The NPC designed the Political Party Vigilantism Code of Conduct following the dialogue between the NPP, NDC, and some key stakeholders to extirpate political vigilantism in the country especially in the lead up to the 2020 general elections.

As one of the stakeholders in Ghana’s democratic architecture, the NPC was engaged by the NCCE on the menace of political party vigilantism. The NPC led by its Chairman Most Rev Prof Emmanuel Asante recommended that the vigilante groups should be disarmed through the Small Arms Commission. The NPC also urged that there should be the availability of skills development and apprenticeship for the members of the vigilante groups (NCCE, 2019). This is mainly to prevent any form of violence and disturbances from these groups before, during, and after elections in the future.

This indicates that with respect to averting electoral related disputes, the NPC has played a significant role using its National, Regional, and District Councils together and also through the collaboration with other institutions.

From the literature review, it is observed that every election that has taken place in Ghana has experienced some form of violence, however, the intensity of the violence differ from election to election. Despite the role of the NPC to extirpate electoral disputes, these elections were still reported to have experienced some level of violence. Though the 2012 and 2016 general elections were successfully conducted, incidents of violence were felt. There were incidents such as destruction of properties, insults, molestations, and threats by political opponents. It is important to realise that despite the successful outcome of the elections, the violence that was experienced indicates that Ghana's democratic credentials could still be questioned. This shows that Ghana's democracy is not sustained (Marfo, 2013).

An official shares that:

One thing that we must know is that Ghana's democracy is still progressing and hence, there will definitely be shortfalls. To an extent, the country has been able to go through successful elections with minimum violence and that is to be appreciated. The NPC together with other peace and security institutions have contributed to this and it is hoped that in the coming years we will be able to go through our elections without any violence. I think this is part of what the NPC aspires to achieve. The Council has not been able to achieve all that is expected of it (Academic 3).

To an NPC official:

We are still in the process and we will eventually get there. We are putting in place measures to ensure that all upcoming elections are conducted peacefully without disputes which may in turn cause violence. This, however, calls for a committed approach by all stakeholders so that together we can achieve this goal. The NPC is also doing its part (Lower level official 4, 2020).

Aside from general elections, all by-elections that have taken place in the country have experienced some form of violence. The NPC usually goes silent during by-elections. For example, the recently conducted by-elections in the Abuakwa North and Ayawaso West Wuogon Constituencies resulted in violence, however, the NPC was not seen playing any preventive role whatsoever. There is a weakness on the part of the NPC to detect early warnings of threats of

violence during elections because it does not have eyes all over the country. Concerning education and awareness creation during elections, not all parts of the country are enlightened. Therefore, despite the efforts of the Council in elections, some disputes and violence are still experienced. Bentil and Aidoo (2018) argue that political party adversity has the tendency of causing serious tensions and divides in the country. These are threatening especially when the NPC does not do much to reduce the clashes between and within the parties off election times. This, therefore, makes it rather difficult for the Council to deal with such disputes when they pile up over time and manifest during elections.

Also, according to the Commonwealth (2017), sometimes, the independence of the Council is questioned and hence making it difficult for them to achieve some of their roles, especially during elections. Some have argued that the NPC should report directly to parliament and not the Minister of Interior. The NPC has been criticised severally by the political parties to the extent that they sometimes fail to adhere to some of the peace agreements they undertake.

In line with this, an official of NPC argues that:

The credibility of the Council is mostly questioned. Due to the lack of trust by the political parties, it is sometimes difficult for the NPC to bring them together. For instance, it took a huge effort for the NPC to get the NDC to sign the Vigilantism Code of Conduct in the lead up to the 2020 general elections (Top level official 3, 2020).

It is therefore important to note that though the NPC plays a significant role in Ghana's elections, there is still a lot to be achieved due to the deficiencies in its activities to prevent electoral disputes which eventually lead to violence.

It has been arraigned by scholars such as Awinador-Kanyirige (2014) and Issifu (2015) that the Council has focused more on elections than other equally important areas of conflicts. This according to them is because the NPC becomes prominent during elections than the period after.

In line with this, an official argues that:

The NPC becomes more prominent during elections because an election is an activity that concerns the entire country and with the least provocation could turn the country into unbridled chaos. This is therefore one way of explaining the prominence of the Council during elections to prevent and manage electoral related disputes. Due to the nature of elections, the Council is likely to be more focused and prominent there (Academic 1).

It is prudent to acknowledge that, during elections, the NPC is likely to receive more funds from donor organisations to operate than other areas of conflict. To boost Ghana's democratic credentials, several donors are likely to give out funds for peace institutions to exhibit their mandates in Ghanaian elections especially when they have investments in various sectors of the country's economy. The NPC, therefore, may get the necessary funds to carry out its mandates across Ghana during elections and this tends to make the Council to be seen more during elections than in other conflicts

According to an official of NPC:

One of the areas that the NPC has been very much successful is preventing electoral disputes. However, the NPC does more than that. The Council has also contributed to the prevention, management, and resolution of other conflicts that bother Ghana's peace such as chieftaincy, ethnic, land disputes, and several (Top level official 1).

This is to argue that the NPC tends to be more focused and prominent in electoral related disputes as observed in the literature review. This is attributed mainly to the nature and level of intensity of electoral disputes as well as the availability of funds to operate. From the Conflict Theory, there is a need for peace institutions to operate effectively, however, from what is observed, despite the successes of the Council during elections there is still much more to be achieved by the NPC as far as electoral disputes are concerned.

5.4.1.2 Chieftaincy, Ethnic, and Land Disputes.

From the literature review, it was established that chieftaincy, ethnic, and land disputes are some of the types of conflicts that are identified in Ghana. As indicated by the Conflict Map of Ghana, these conflicts have become quotidian and they are found in almost every region in the country. While some of these conflicts have been managed or resolved over the years, some have also been recurring while new ones also keep emerging with time. From the conflict map, the prominent conflicts Ghana faces now are chieftaincy disputes.

While the NPC has been noted for particularly engaging in the prevention of electorally related disputes, it was also discovered that the Council engages in the prevention, management, and resolution of other areas of conflicts in the country including chieftaincy, ethnic, and land disputes.

To begin with, the NPC has made contributions towards the management of the Bawku conflict which is a persistent ethnopolitical conflict between Mamprusi and Kusasi. Noagah (2013) posits that the NPC mediated and drew a roadmap to peace against the Bawku conflict. The NPC set up an Inter-ethnic Peace Committee in 2009 which became the early warning mechanism on the ground to ensure that any tension that was burning up in the Bawku conflict was curtailed before it degenerated into unmanageable violence. The NPC thus contributed to the prevention of violence and also helped to manage the conflict.

According to Anumel (2017), the NPC also engaged in the peace processes of the Alavanyo/Nkonya and Hohoe conflicts which have been contained today. Through the use of the mediation mechanism to identify each involving party's position in the conflict, the NPC was able to contribute to the management of the conflicts. The NPC thus created a platform where the parties involved in the conflicts were able to bring their grievances on board so that the appropriate measures could be taken to deal with them.

The NPC again did a lot behind the scenes interventions in the Dagbon chieftaincy conflict and as a result of its contribution to the peace processes, a new Ya-Na has been installed. As part of the involvement of the NPC in the Dagbon chieftaincy dispute, a board member namely Bishop Vincent Sowah Boi-Nai appealed in 2019 to the Minister of Chieftaincy and Religious Affairs, Mr Kofi Dzamesi for a clear Dagbon succession plan to help the kingmakers in Dagbon.

An official of NPC adds that:

Every conflict that has the potential to threaten the peace in Ghana calls for the attention of the NPC. Aside from the achievements of the Council in elections, we have also contributed towards the prevention, management, and resolution of some ethnic and chieftaincy disputes in the country. The NPC contributed to the resolution of the Dagbon crisis which had been in existence for over two decades. Also, we have been able to manage the Bawku conflict which is between the Mamprusis and the Kusasis to the extent that though it has not been completely resolved, violence is absent for now and the NPC did what it could to make this possible. At the same time, the Alavanyo/Nkonya conflict has been contained and the NPC did their part. In 2008, the NPC led by its first Chairman, held peace education for the various ethnic groups as well as mediation talks for ethnic opinion leaders on how they can manage and resolve conflict. Apart from this, the NPC was engaged in the management and resolution of the Bimbila and the Sankore conflicts through mediation and dialogues which I was a witness to. (Top level official 3, 2020).

According to the NPC, in the Bimbila chieftaincy conflict, the Council undertook several interventions before the final judgment was pronounced by the Supreme Court. The NPC used dialogue to enlighten both parties on the need to welcome the outcome of the case. When the Supreme Court pronounced its judgment, though the party which lost disagreed on the verdict, they did not do so in a violent manner but rather organised a press conference to express their grievances. The NPC was also very instrumental in the Chereponi ethnic conflict which happened in 2019 between the Kokombas and the Chokosis. The NPC was part of the five-member committee which was set up by the government under the Ministry of Interior to investigate the incidents leading to the deadly violence in the conflict. Due to a joint effort, there is peace in Chereponi now.

The role and efforts of the RPCs and DPCs cannot be overlooked when it comes to the prevention, management, and resolution of chieftaincy, ethnic, and land disputes. These bodies are in place to identify early warnings and hotspots of such conflicts and also to contribute to their prevention management and resolution through peace education, awareness creation, and capacity building.

An official of NPC avers that:

The RPCs and DPCs work to identify threats of conflicts in the various regions and districts. For example, the ERPC is doing what it can to contribute to the resolution of the Bosomu chieftaincy dispute. It is important to realise that some of the disputes relating to chieftaincy, ethnic and land have been in existence even before the NPC was established and therefore it becomes prudent to first find their root causes before resolving them. For this reason, some of the conflicts can be managed for now, and while being managed, measures would be put into place to ensure that they are completely resolved and the Regional Peace Councils work to ensure this is achieved (Lower level official 2, 2020).

Another official of NPC concurs that:

The Central Regional Peace Council is doing what it can to ensure that the chieftaincy dispute in the Efutu Municipal Assembly is resolved. For instance, the Masquerade Festival in this region has always brought some misunderstandings and violence but with the dedication and intervention of the Central Regional Peace Council, there was no violence whatsoever in the 2019 festival celebration (Lower level official 3, 2020).

This indicates that the existence of the RPCs and the DPCs help to enhance the work of the NPC and also make it possible for the Council to outstretch its role to the grassroots and across the country. The Upper East Regional Peace Council for instance has made interventions in chieftaincy and land conflicts in the region in areas such as Bolga, Kologu, Paga, Navio, and Yorogo. Also in the Bono Region, the Council has made interventions in the Drobo-Japekrom land dispute, the Wenchi chieftaincy succession dispute, and also the Tuobodom land and chieftaincy disputes.

It is espied in the theoretical framework that, conflicts are bound to happen and it, therefore, becomes imperative to deal with the psychological need of the human being to engage in conflict. For this reason, in as much as it is the responsibility of the NPC to manage and resolve conflicts

when they happen, it is also part of its duty to prevent conflicts from taking place. When it comes to preventing conflicts, the NPC normally conducts peace education and awareness creation to curb the need for people to engage in conflicts and violence. This is in conjunction with the NPC Act 818 3 (f). The NPC in the bid to prevent conflicts such as the chieftaincy, land, and ethnic disputes coordinates and supervises the activities of the RPCs and DPCs.

To an official of NPC:

The NPC in the process of the prevention of chieftaincy, ethnic and land disputes does a lot of peace education and in situations where they hear early warnings of some of these conflicts, respond to them as soon as possible before they turn serious and would, therefore, take time and resources to manage and resolve. For this reason, the Council has Regional Peace Councils within several regions and efforts are being put in place to ensure that all the newly created regions also get Peace Councils within them (Lower level official 1, 2020).

It was unearthed that the NPC through its collaboration with other institutions such as the NCCE, GES and the NYA does a series of peace education in the churches, mosques, and schools to increase peace education, especially among the youth. This creates some form of awareness in the groups that are more likely to be used to perpetuate violence when these conflicts occur. For instance, the Ghana News Agency reported on 30th May 2019 that the NPC has educated students on peace processes and with this, a total of 285 school children in the Efutu Municipality were schooled on issues bothering peacebuilding in the country for over four months. They were taught to live harmoniously with one another in their homes and societies and the country at large.

An official of NPC emphasises that:

When it comes to conflict and peacebuilding, a few people know very little about it, therefore, it is left with the NPC to work to advance the awareness. One thing that the RPCs for instance are doing is education and training. This has helped a lot and it is hoped that the few who have been trained will continue to multiply the effect of what they have learned. Though there has not been any assessment to find out the impact of the training and education, what is important is that people especially the youth who are mostly lured into perpetrating violence following these conflicts get to know

about the consequences of conflicts and withstand any temptations whatsoever (Lower level official 2, 2020).

The above establishes that the NPC does more than election even though the Council may be more prominent in elections than these areas. The Council has thus engaged in the prevention, management, and resolution of chieftaincy, ethnic and land disputes at various levels together with other peace institutions where necessary.

On the other hand, with the number of conflicts going on in the country as shown in Ghana's conflict map, the NPC's engagement in them has been minimal. While these conflicts exist, the role of both the NPC and other CSOs become crucial in managing and resolving them. For instance, when it comes to chieftaincy disputes, the National House of Chiefs must be the first point of call and when or where necessary the NPC is invited to contribute to either managing or resolving them (Ministry of Interior, 2006).

It is imperative to understand that the nature of these conflicts rather makes it very difficult to handle them. Some of these conflicts especially in the northern parts of the country have been in existence for a longer period. Finding solutions to them requires a lot of time, expertise, and resources hence, while some of these conflicts have been managed, resolving them remains another issue the NPC is left with. Sometimes it is rather very difficult to also prevent some of these conflicts. One thing that cannot be overlooked is that when it comes to prevention, some of these conflicts cannot be prevented because they do not even show early warnings or signals. For example, it is argued that some of these conflicts come about as a result of festival celebrations and, therefore, before one even realises they would have happened already.

An official asserts that:

The NPC may also engage in other forms of conflicts, however, because some of these conflicts such as chieftaincy, ethnic, and land disputes are limited to a particular area,

even if the Council engages in them, people who are outside these areas may not be able to recognise. Sometimes, the NPC is not able to tell its story and other times too due to the principle of confidentiality, it does not bring every activity it engages into light (Official of UNDP, 2020).

Even though the NPC has not been able to tackle most of these conflicts, its engagements in them and the roles played by its RPCs and DPCs are to be acknowledged. Also most of the time, the NPC operates behind the scenes and so most of what it does remain shrouded. This, therefore, makes the Council to be seen more during elections than others. However, from what is observed there remain a series of disputes as displayed by the conflict map. The Council's involvement in them has been less and there are a lot more left to be achieved with the number of these conflicts increasing with time. The Council, therefore, is left with much to do as far as these conflicts are concerned, however, its efforts and achievements must not be overlooked in these areas.

5.4.2 Capacity Building

One of the major functions of the NPC is to “strengthen capacities for conflict prevention, management, resolution and sustainable peace in the country including but not limited to chiefs, women, youth groups and community organisations” (NPC Act, 2011:4). This is to enable these groups to develop the necessary skills to meaningfully contribute to Ghana's peacebuilding process. The NPC does this by organising conferences and symposia for institutions and groups with themes such as; Women and Youth Empowerment in Peacebuilding, Mediation Training, Media Training in Peacebuilding, and the like. That is also to argue that one of the functions of the NPC is to serve as an umbrella institution that will ensure that at the end of the day other groups such as women and the youth and other institutions have the requisite capacity to contribute their quota to Ghana's peacebuilding.

An area that the Council has been looking at is the chieftaincy institution which in itself has structures for conflict management and resolution. This indicates that enhancing the capacity of this institution will help by equipping it to better handle its role in conflict management and resolution.

Building capacities, therefore, means creating room for groups and institutions to become responsive to conflict situations so that they will know their way around managing and resolving them. Faith-based organisations are also involved in the process. As part of its capacity building programme, the NPC has fabricated key documents to help those who are into conflict resolution to use as a guide. An example of this is a mediation guide titled “*Doing Mediation: A Guide for Practitioners*”. The NPC has also contributed to the creation of a conflict map which displays the types and nature of conflicts trending in the country. This is to enable easy identification of the hotspots of conflicts.

According to an official of NPC:

When it comes to capacity building, the NPC is doing much to train and educate several groups such as women and youth and certain institutions to enhance their capacity to aid in the peacebuilding process in the country. In every region, there is capacity building so that some of these groups and institutions can as well take up their roles and put them to relevant uses. The last capacity building programme conducted in 2019 was the Catholic Bishops Conference where they were taught to understand the concept of peacebuilding to be able to ready up to engage at both internal and external scale.
(Lower level official 1, 2020).

In 2008, the NPC led by its first chairman Cardinal Appiah Turkson, held a mediation training programme for ethnic opinion leaders to enhance their capacity on the coalition of views on the ways conflicts could be resolved. This was done to enhance the capacity of these opinion leaders to also take up an important role in peacebuilding.

In the lead up to the 2012 general elections, the NPC organised a capacity building programme for the members of the political parties on how to manage diversity and conflicting interests within and between them (Kotia & Aubyn, 2013). According to Kotia & Aubyn (2013), in July 2013, there was also a national summit in Accra on the theme 'Justice, Peace and Reform will Strengthen Ghana'. This was to also strengthen the capacity of CSOs to aid in Ghana's peace processes.

According to an official of NPC:

Several peace actors including women, chiefs, and queen mothers across the country have been trained on how to handle conflict issues. The NPC thus deliberately builds the capacity of these groups to increase the number of conflict-sensitive actors who can offer mediation at any level they find themselves. The NPC usually does the training in association with the University of Cape Coast and the Kofi Annan International Peace Training Centre. Over two thousand people have been trained in conflict and peace processes (Top level official 2, 2020).

The NPC has also started a 'get more women in conflict prevention' campaign to increase women's participation in peacebuilding. According to the Chairman of the Council Most Rev Prof Emmanuel Asante, the project seeks to target areas the NPC had previously neglected (Ghanaweb, 30th October 2019). On November 14, 2019, as part of the capacity building programme of the NPC, a two-day capacity building workshop on conflict prevention was held in Kumasi for some queens with a call on them to raise their voices in conflict prevention, management, and resolution (Ibrahim, 2019). It is acknowledged that even before independence, traditional rulers were key actors in conflict resolution, and therefore there is a call on them to indulge in peacebuilding processes. Besides, other institutions such as the NCCE have been engaged by the NPC and through training programmes, they have been enlightened on peace processes and the effects of conflicts.

In December 2019, the NPC trained its staff on gender integration in peacebuilding in a two-day programme in Kumasi. This was meant to strengthen the skills of the participants in the

development and implementation of gender-sensitive programmes in peacebuilding. This also intends to empower the woman to boldly bestow their quota to the peacebuilding process. Again, on 11th January 2020, the NPC held a capacity building programme on the use of non-violent mechanisms to address election-related violence at Prampram in the Greater Accra region (Yeboah, 2020).

A staff avers that:

Women participation in conflict prevention has been a recent activity that the NPC has been engaging in with the aid of foreign donors. The youth has also been engaged in some areas and across the country. For instance, the NPC has been working closely with the NYA and the NCCE to also engage the youth to build their capacities in conflict prevention as well as to detach themselves from violence (Lower level official 3, 2020).

Through the Regional Peace Councils, the NPC expanded its capacity building activities across the country. It was discovered that the Eastern Regional Peace Council ERPC, the Upper East Regional Peace Council UERPC, and several of the RPCs for instance, have engaged in several capacity building programmes with youth groups and women, and these are mostly carried out in churches and mosques. They are adjured to develop peaceful and non-violent means in handling instances of conflict situations to enable them to live together harmoniously. Through the capacity building programmes, these groups become acquainted with how to prevent conflicts and how to resolve them even at the family and community levels.

To an official of NPC:

It is important to acknowledge that the NPC has also extended its role to support other African countries in peacebuilding. The NPC sent its representative to South Sudan to assist in the setting up of an infrastructure for peace. Also, countries such as Uganda, Cote d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Guinea, and Liberia have sent their representatives to Ghana to study the Ghanaian model of infrastructure for peace to help them copy and apply in those countries (Top level official 2, 2020).

This indicates that the NPC is on its path to train and include several actors in the area of conflict prevention and peacebuilding. This also means that at different levels and among groups like women and youth, these programmes are meant to shape their thinking in conflict situations and also contribute to their management and resolution when necessary. This will, therefore, bring about a coordinated effort and approach where individuals and groups will contribute to the peacebuilding process. It is important to note that the Council has not been able to achieve much in this important activity.

An official advances that:

The NPC is trying to enhance the capacity of several groups and institutions in the peacebuilding process. Even though we have not been able to do much in this area, we are still in the process and we will eventually get there. Sometimes we want to do more but we are drawn back by several challenges like the unavailability of funds to engage in such programmes (Top level official 2, 2020).

This rather shows that while it is important to appreciate the fact that the NPC has done well in the field of building capacities of groups and institutions, there is still more to be achieved in this area. For example, the capacity of women is being enhanced to engage them in conflict prevention and resolution but the national board, for instance, is made up of only one woman which gives the impression that fewer women are being included in the peacebuilding process in the country. The youth has less been engaged in this area. There remain a lot of groups and institutions including the religious bodies whose capacities need to be enhanced to contribute to Ghana's peacebuilding process. Also, the NPC has not done any research whatsoever to find out the impact of these activities across the regions to know whether the training and education have had an impact on the targeted groups.

5.5 MAJOR CHALLENGES THAT CONFRONT THE NPC

5.5.1 Inadequate Funding

For the effective operation of every institution, there must be the availability of apposite funds that will enable the institution to carry out its objectives in an effective manner. Besides, in every organisation or institution, financial constraints are to be expected because most institutions often do not always receive adequate funding. However, uttermost constraints on funding are likely to inhibit the effective operation of the institution.

It is the responsibility of the government of Ghana to ensure that the NPC gets the needful financial budget allocation annually. At the same time, donor agencies may contribute to the financing of some of the activities of the NPC. It is also important to note that the Peace Fund which is to supplement the funding from the government in order to provide adequate funds and resources to the NPC has not been established yet even though its framework has been drawn. After the five-year strategic plan between the UNDP and NPC ended in 2017, the government of Ghana took full control over the funding of the Council. It was however observed that the NPC and its regional, as well as its district offices, face a lot of financial constraints that tend to hinder the effective operation of their activity plans towards peacebuilding. Also, the funds from the government are mostly delayed and as a result, most of the plans of the Council are obstructed.

An official of NPC expresses in line with this that:

The major challenge of the NPC is inadequate funding and resources. Due to inadequate funding, most of the activity plans of the NPC are not put into practice. The financial constraints on the NPC make it difficult for the Council to get the resources it needs to operate in areas that call for its attention. Sometimes, the funds from the government are delayed. So far the highest funds the NPC has received from the government is that for the year 2020. The Council received GHC 1.4M out of GHC 2.0M for goods and services (Top level official 2, 2020).

It is important to note that the Council may have received the GHC 1.4M out of the GHC 2.0M because it was an election year and it was thought wise to equip it to undertake its role in peacebuilding. The Council, however, only received 70% of the required funds to conduct its activities even in an election year. This indicates that there are a lot of activity plans that the Council could not have achieved without the remaining 30% of the requested budget for the year.

An official of NPC concurs that:

The major challenge that confronts the NPC is financial constraints. The Regional Peace Councils are not able to operate effectively due to inadequate funds and delaying of funds from the government. The Effutu Municipal Assembly Peace Council, for instance, does not have a board membership and even a well-furnished office. All these are needed to enable us to operate efficiently and effectively to ensure that the objectives of the Council are met, however, due to the inadequacy in finances, the Council is rather struggling to put into practice some of its plans such as peace education and capacity building. Sometimes due to the inadequate funds of the Council, we have to use our own money to pay for transportation and under circumstances where for instance other institutions like the NCCE or NYA is invited to help the Council in a particular area, I have to use my own money to pay for their transportation. For this reason, sometimes when these institutions are invited, they are reluctant to come (Lower level official 3, 2020).

Awinador-Kanyirige (2014) and Issifu (2015) emphasise that a major challenge that confronts the NPC in the course of exercising its mandate is inadequate funding. On grounds, it is seen that the Council faces more than what these scholars assert. From a clear observation, some of the offices of the Council are not conducive enough to enable the staff to work to yield the expected outcomes. It was observed that most of the offices lack computers and furniture and sometimes the staff there use their own money to pay for electricity bills to work. There are no generators at the national, regional, and district offices to generate electricity when there are power outages and so the staff are unable to work during such times. It was again discovered that some of the Regional and District Peace Councils across the country lack vehicles for transportation to the very remote areas for peace programmes.

There is also not enough personnel or staff to run the day-to-day activities of the NPC and it is a result of inadequate funding and sponsorship. This is because employing more staff will indicate that the government has to motivate them through the payment of their salaries. The number of secretarial staff is fifty (50) and the number of seconded staff who are accountants working for the NPC is seventeen (17). Most of the RPCs for instance, have only three staff working for them and the DPCs have only one staff each. Some of the RPCs and DPCs depend on the accountants of the regional coordinating councils because they do not have accountants of their own. Table 5.4 displays the staff capacity of the NPC.

TABLE 5.4: Staff Capacity of the NPC

NPC Offices	Number of Actual Staff	Number of Seconded Staff
NPC Head Office (Accra)	14	7
Ahafo RPC	2	0
Ashanti RPC	4	1
Bono RPC	3	1
Central RPC	3	1
Eastern RPC	3	1
Greater Accra RPC	3	1
Northern RPC	3	1
Savannah RPC	2	0
Upper East RPC	3	1
Upper West RPC	2	1
Volta RPC	3	1
Western RPC	3	1
Effutu DPC	1	0
Nadowli Kaleo DPC	1	0
Total	50	17

Source: (NPC Secretariat)

This, therefore, makes the work of the Councils rather strenuous. This is because it is arduous to work under such circumstances and come out with successful outcomes. These conditions are likely to create a situation where the Council would see the poor performance of the staff.

It is imperative to understand that peace is expensive and to be able to achieve it, a lot of resources must go into it. Without this, it will rather be difficult for the Council to operate effectively and efficiently. Inadequate funding thus hinders the effective operationalisation of the activity plans of the NPC.

5.5.2 Inadequate Operation of the National Architecture for Peace

The National Architecture for Peace in Ghana displays the structure for peacebuilding and resolution of conflicts as well as the objectives and functions of the structures. The structure includes the NPC at the national level, RPCs at the regional level, and DPCs at the District level (Ministry of Interior, 2006). The Architecture also shows the Peace Support Unit which is to be established within the Ministry of Interior as observed in the literature review. These structures according to the Peace Architecture have their respective functions to perform in conflict prevention, management, and resolution.

It was revealed that the National Peace Architecture has not been fully operationalised. This is because the DPCs which are to be established in the various districts per the prescription of the Architecture is only two out of the two hundred and sixteen (216) districts in the entire country. There were only three DPCs established across the country. These were located in the Central Region, the Brong Ahafo Region, and the Upper West Region. However, after the creation of the six new regions, the DPC in the then Brong Ahafo Region has now been transformed into an RPC in the Bono Region leaving only two DPCs. This means that there is a need for the establishment

of RPCs and DPCs in the regions and districts without Peace Councils. Figure 5.2 highlights the locations of NPC offices across the country as of 2020.

FIGURE 5.2: Location of NPC Offices across Ghana



Source: Author's creation

The UNDP Five-Year Strategic Plan sought to also put efforts in place to ensure that the Peace Architecture is fully operationalised by the end of 2017, however, this has not been achieved. This rather tends to weaken the performance of the NPC. The District Peace Councils have their mandates when it comes to conflict prevention and management as noted in the literature review. The roles of the DPCs include promoting peace within the districts, creating and facilitating spaces for dialogues between groups and communities, engaging in trust-building activities, and

promoting tolerance building, and providing strategic advice and early warning on potential threats to the peace and stability of communities (Ministry of Interior, 2006). Since most of the DPCs have not yet been established, these roles are not performed. This, therefore, tends to hinder the activities of the NPC.

Also, the Peace Support Unit which is to facilitate the work of the Peace Councils and also ensure a coordinated approach to resolving conflicts has not yet been established. This indicates that there is the likelihood for there to be disparities in the activities of the various Peace Councils since the institution which is to correlate their activities in resolving conflicts is absent.

From this argument, it is seen that all these roles are important, and with the absence of the DPCs and the Peace Support Unit, the NPC misses out on a lot of important activities that could have helped the Council to function adequately.

5.5.3 Too Broad Mandate and Lack of Specificity of the NPC Act

The NPC Act explicitly shows the mandate and specific functions of the NPC which is the guide under which the Council operates. Though the Act stipulates the objective and functions of the NPC, it was however revealed that one major challenge that opposes the NPC is that its mandate is too broad and it also lacks specificity.

An official shares that:

The NPC Act only gives a broad scope of the functions of the NPC and does not go further to expatiate on these roles. For instance, since the NPC Act is not specific on which type of conflicts that the Council should get involved in, it sometimes becomes difficult to tell which particular issues the NPC is supposed to get involved in (Academic 1, 2020).

The NPC Act states that “the objective of the Council is to facilitate and develop mechanisms for conflict prevention, management, resolution and to build sustainable peace in the country” (NPC

Act, 2011: 3). The object of the Council is thus not specific because it does not state the type of disputes that particularly call for the attention of the NPC.

An official of NPC opines that:

Since the Act is not very clear about some of the things that the NPC should get involved in, it sometimes creates confusion. For example, when labour issues like strikes and demonstrations take place, people sometimes look up to the NPC to resolve them. Under such circumstances, the NPC does not know whether they should get involved or not. For instance, with the call for a new voter register by the EC, the NPC though is trying to work its way around it to bring about peace, should not necessarily get involved because the EC is an independent body that makes its own independent decisions (Lower level official 1, 2020).

Due to the broad nature of the mandate of the NPC, the Council tends to widely spread its wings to cover a lot of issues and because of that, the Council is not able to delve deeper into some of the issues of conflicts to find lasting solutions to them.

5.5.4 Other Challenges that Confront the NPC

One other challenge that confronts the NPC is that the Council is sometimes tagged as a politically biased institution. This is mostly due to the two appointments made by the president to the NPC board and also the appointment of the national executive secretary of the Council. Following from this, it sometimes becomes arduous for the Council to be trusted by certain groups and institutions and opposition parties as well. It is sometimes difficult for the NPC to implement some of the agreements which are reached between conflicting parties in the course of exercising their mandates. For this reason, sometimes recommendations made to the government, political parties, and other stakeholders are questioned which also in one way or the other affects the operations and effectiveness of the Council.

Moreover, there is a minimal inclusion of women in the activities of the NPC. In contemporary times, gender equality and women inclusion in sensitive issues such as conflict resolution and

peacebuilding has become predominant. An observation of the NPC board indicates that right from the top, few women are included in the peacebuilding process. It was found out that all the groups who bring representatives to the board only bring men and hence women representation tends to be less. The inclusion of women will thus enable a broader perspective on issues concerning conflicts and peacebuilding. However, if at the national level there is less representation of women, it is possible to affect the inclusion of women at the regional and district levels. For instance, the number of female secretarial staff of the NPC is fifteen (15) out of the fifty (50) secretarial staff of the Council. Though the Council has started a programme to get more women involved in Ghana's peacebuilding process, the one woman representation on the national board does not seem to reflect NPC's inclusion of women in and peacebuilding issues.

5.6 REFORMS NEEDED

While it is relevant to look at the major challenges that confront the NPC, it is also worth exploring some of the plans and reforms needed to ameliorate the performance of the Council. These plans and reforms are important because they serve as a guide towards a better and enhanced performance of the NPC. From the data gathered, all respondents argued vehemently that there is a need for the challenges that confront the NPC to be dealt with to enhance the performance of the Council.

Firstly, the government must increase the budget allocation resources of the NPC. This is because when there is any form of conflict within the state, the NPC is one of the institutions that is looked upon to respond to such issues. The NPC cannot effectively respond to every conflict without the required funds and resources. Adequate funding will, in turn, help the NPC to operate effectively. It will thus help the NPC to get conducive offices, vehicles, and all the other logistics that will help it to work much easier. Also, it was revealed that the operationalisation of the Peace Fund will

contribute to enhancing the performance of the Council because it will help it to fund most of its activity plans.

Secondly, one major reform that all respondents agreed to is that some provisions in the Act should be amended. If this happens, then there is the possibility for the youth and more women to be added to the governing board of the NPC. For instance, Awinador-Kanyirige (2014) on NPC's role in Ghana's Responsibility to Protect argues that it is important that the board has the youth and an equal number of women to men so that it would at least display some form of diversification of views and skills of these groups. This will help to ensure that the NPC works towards its mandated objectives for greater achievements. Again, it was discovered that a reform in the NPC Act will also ensure that there is some form of specificity in the functions of the Council. Awinador-Kanyirige (2014) however argues that the NPC should rather broaden its objectives and not focus on some particular types of conflict to the neglect of others. With a clear and specified mandate of the NPC, it would help to eliminate the confusion that the Act brings as to which types of conflicts the Council should get involved in.

Thirdly, all respondents hope for a deepened training and capacity enhancement for women and the youth to raise their awareness and also to empower them to raise their voices when it comes to conflict prevention and resolution. Also, expert knowledge is believed to be very important to the operations of the NPC, and hence, it is important to also acknowledge experts in the field to improve the activities of the Council in Ghana's peacebuilding process.

Fourthly, it is argued that for the best results, it is important for the NPC to maintain its neutrality under all governments and circumstances. The Council needs to operate neutrally to show itself as a more independent body whose directives and proceedings are acceptable to all groups and across all political divides.

5.7 CONCLUSION

In order for the researcher to be able to answer the research questions, the data analysis and discussions were organised under thematic areas. These included: the relevance of the mandate of the NPC and some factors of consideration in assessing the Council such as membership, funding, and partnerships. Also, the achievements and weaknesses of the NPC in areas such as electoral, chieftaincy, land and ethnic disputes as well as capacity building were gleaned. The final themes the chapter covered were the major challenges that confront the Council and how these challenges could be dealt with.



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CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The overall objective of this study was to ascertain how the NPC has performed towards Ghana's peacebuilding. The main objectives of the study were to: find out the relevance of the mandate of the NPC when it comes to peacebuilding; investigate the performance of the NPC in Ghana's path towards sustainable peace and finally find out the major challenges that confront the NPC in the course of exercising its mandates as well as how these challenges could be dealt with.

Another objective of this study was to fill the gaps in the literature. The study was undertaken to assess the NPC to ascertain what it has been able to accomplish in Ghana's peacebuilding. The researcher for that matter conducted interviews with open-ended questions. Again, the theoretical framework that underlies the study was used to bring out variables for data analysis and it is from the theory that the research questions were drawn to guide the study. This chapter summarises the findings of the study, draws conclusions, and finally makes recommendations to the NPC, stakeholders, as well as for future research.

6.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

6.2.1 Research Question 1:

How relevant is the Mandate of the NPC in Ghana's Peacebuilding?

The study found out that, in contemporary times, there is a need for the existence of national infrastructures for peace to enable countries to respond to the threats of violence and conflicts. There is the need to move beyond the small-scale approach to peacebuilding training and activities into a large-scale and more effective and long-term approach that involves a sustainable

architecture for peace (Murithi, 2006). Though Ghana is deemed as a peaceful country, the state continues to face several instances of conflict situations. Several institutions have been put in place to respond to these issues of threats of violence and conflicts. Some of these institutions have a limited or local mandate to operate and also sometimes there are deficiencies in their activities. However, the NPC has been given a national mandate to operate at the National, Regional, and District levels to respond to issues that bother Ghana's peace and democracy by working together with other peace institutions where necessary and also complement their roles.

The study found out that the mandate of the NPC is relevant to Ghana's peacebuilding because the NPC also intends to respond to every conflict that tends to cause chaos in the country. The Council, therefore, uses several peacebuilding approaches to delve deeper to identify the root causes of conflicts and also prevent them through early warning mechanisms. The Council is set to enhance the capacity of several groups and institutions. Again, through its experiences, the NPC is also set to make recommendations to the government and key stakeholders on issues bothering Ghana's peace and democracy. The study thus found out that the mandate of the NPC is relevant to Ghana's peacebuilding, however, the relevance of the mandate of the Council could be expressed if the Council has been able to achieve the purpose for which it was created.

6.2.2 Research Question 2:

How successful has the NPC been towards Ghana's Peacebuilding?

The study found that the NPC has particularly played a significant role in elections since it contributed to the prevention and management of electorally related disputes especially following the 2008, 2012, and 2016 general elections. Through the collaboration with the EC, WANEP, NCCE, and other institutions the NPC was able to work towards ensuring that these elections were conducted peacefully and the results were equally accepted by all the political party candidates.

To do away with electoral violence, the NPC has made contributions towards the disbandment of political party vigilantism through a series of dialogues and also by designing the Roadmap to the Disbandment of Political Vigilantism. The study, however, found out that the NPC becomes more prominent during elections than other areas of conflicts. This is due to the general and intense nature of elections as well as the likelihood for the Council to receive more funds during those times. For this reason, the role of the NPC is more visible in elections and hence making it its major achievement in Ghana's peacebuilding.

The study found that though the NPC tends to focus more on elections, the Council through its membership and partnerships as well as with the required funding has also engaged in more activities by working with its Regional and District Peace Councils to ensure that other conflicts like ethnic and tribal disputes, chieftaincy disputes and the like are prevented, managed and resolved. However, it was revealed that the nature of these conflicts sometimes makes it difficult to find lasting solutions to them and, therefore, the Council's involvement in them have been minimal.

The study revealed that the NPC organises peace education and awareness creation programmes across the country to enlighten people on the need for peace. Again, capacity building programmes are hosted for some CSOs, women, and youth to ameliorate their involvement in conflict management, resolution, and prevention. The Council has also extended its support to other African countries that wish to replicate Ghana's Peace Architecture and the activities of the NPC.

The study found out that despite the efforts of the NPC to bring about peace in the country, there is still more to be done across the country because there are still outstanding conflicts waiting for the response of the NPC. Also, peace education and awareness creation, as well as capacity-building programmes, have not reached a majority of the people in the country. Again, Ghana's

elections continue to experience some form of violence. The study found out that to an extent the NPC has had some achievements but there is still a lot to be achieved towards sustaining Ghana's peace. Therefore, though the NPC is on track, it has not been able to fully achieve its mandate.

6.2.3 Research Question 3:

What major challenges confront the NPC in the course of exercising their mandates and how can they be dealt with?

The study found out that the reason the NPC has not fully met its expectations is that several challenges confront the Council. These challenges cause hindrances in the activities and performance of the Council. The study found out that the major challenge that confronts the NPC is financial impediments. It was revealed that the funds from the government are inadequate. There is also the pending establishment of the Peace Fund which is to enable the NPC to get the needed funds to operate. Due to this, most of the activity plans of the Council are not met and so it rather tends to weaken the NPC's performance.

Other challenges include the lack of the specificity of the NPC Act on the types of conflicts the NPC should involve itself in, minimal representation of women when it comes to peacebuilding processes, and the political biases the Council is tagged with. It was discovered that when all these challenges are met, the NPC will be able to enhance its activities to ameliorate its performance in Ghana's peacebuilding.

6.3 CONCLUSION

The study sought to assess the NPC to ascertain how it has performed as far as its mandate is concerned. The study, therefore, looked into the NPC taking into account the relevance of its mandate, its performance in Ghana's peacebuilding, and the major challenges that confront the

Council and how they can be dealt with. The basic assumption of the study was that since its establishment, the NPC has in one way or the other engaged in several activities relating to its mandate and especially when it comes to elections. However, the extent to which the NPC has performed in averting electoral disputes and what it has done in other conflict areas as well as how it has performed in those areas mostly remains shrouded. The study adopted the Conflict Theory to explain the inescapable aspects of conflicts and the need for institutions to prevent them from happening and to manage and resolve the ones already in place. The then study adopted the qualitative research approach to data collection.

The study revealed that the mandate of the NPC is relevant to Ghana's peace. The Council has had some accomplishments concerning the prevention, management, and resolution of conflicts as well as in the area of capacity building and has thus contributed to Ghana's peace today. It was, however, found that the NPC becomes more prominent during elections to avert electoral disputes than other areas of conflicts such as chieftaincy, ethnic, and land disputes and the like. This is due to the differences in the nature of these conflicts and the availability of funds for the Council to operate. The study found that there is a lot more to be achieved by the NPC towards the sustainability of Ghana's peace. It was again discovered that several challenges, mainly financial impediments confront the NPC and that when these challenges are dealt with, the performance of the Council will be ameliorated.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations of this study mainly address the NPC, the government, academia, Africa, and the world at large.

Firstly, after assessing the NPC, it was revealed that in contemporary times peace has become essential to the development of every state and therefore making the NPC a very crucial institution

in Ghana's peacebuilding. This means that Ghana needs an institution like the NPC to ensure that peace thrives to enable the country to be more focused to work towards development. It is therefore recommended that the current government and subsequent ones place much importance on the NPC and ensure that they get the requisite funds and logistics to be able to function more appositely.

Secondly, the study revealed that the NPC has performed better in elections even though it has also done well in other areas. It is important to realise that every conflict irrespective of its scale has the potency to degenerate into violence which can threaten Ghana's peace and democracy. It is therefore recommended to the NPC to make every conflict a priority and respond to them as early as possible.

Thirdly, the lack of specificity of the NPC Act somehow creates or brings about some level of confusion when it comes to the type of conflicts the NPC should prevent, manage, and resolve. Also, though the NPC has made advocacy for the voices of the youth and women involvement when it comes to conflict prevention and resolution one of its priorities, there is however the inadequate representation of the youth and unequal representation of women on the board. This is likely to be expressed at its Regional and District levels. It is, therefore, recommended to amend some sections of the NPC Act to ensure specificity of the mandate of the Council and equal representation of women.

Fourthly, it was found out from the study that as part of the activities of the NPC are peace education and capacity building which are organised to raise awareness and to empower certain groups and institutions to also work toward conflict prevention and resolution. It is therefore recommended that the NPC increases these programmes to all parts of the country and related institutions so that individuals and institutions will be aware of issues bothering on peace to be

able to prevent some of these conflicts and also contribute to resolving them when they come about.

Fifthly, to Africa and the world at large, it is important to note that peace is an important factor to consider in every state. To developing countries especially, it becomes more utilitarian to have an infrastructure for peace to prevent and handle instances of conflict situations to allow developmental activities to thrive. In Africa especially where a lot of conflicts have taken place in several countries, it is recommended that states who do not have peace institutions to counter conflict situations put in efforts to create these institutions. To states which have these institutions but have not given them the needed attention must also put resources into them to ameliorate their impacts to enable them to operate at their full capacity to achieve their objectives.

Sixthly, donors should also continue to provide the necessary support for the NPC to meet its expectations because within a peaceful country, businesses are likely to thrive and foreign organisations are also likely to benefit.

Lastly, to the academic world, the replication of this study is important and it is recommended to also look at how best the NPC can overcome its challenges to operate effectively and efficiently. Also, the level of impact of peace education and capacity building programmes by the NPC can be looked at. Besides, the performance of the NPC during the 2020 general elections can be a point of focus. Lastly, the outcome of the UNDP's five-year collaboration with the NPC can also be assessed.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR BOARD MEMBERS AND STAFF OF NPC

INTRODUCTION

The research is aimed at assessing the NPC to ascertain how it has performed in Ghana's peacebuilding.

The Relevance of the Mandate of the NPC

1. How relevant is the mandate of the NPC?
2. How unique is the mandate of the NPC from other peace institutions?

Membership, Partnership, Funding and Conflicts of Interest

1. Does the membership of the Council adequately represent the diverse nature of Ghana's population? In terms of gender and age of members.
2. Do the members of NPC have the requisite skills to handle conflicts in terms of management, resolution, and peacebuilding?
3. Which institutions do the NPC collaborate with and what has been the outcome?
4. Is the NPC independent from political interferences?
5. How does the council raise and spend revenue? Is the revenue they obtain enough to fund their activities?

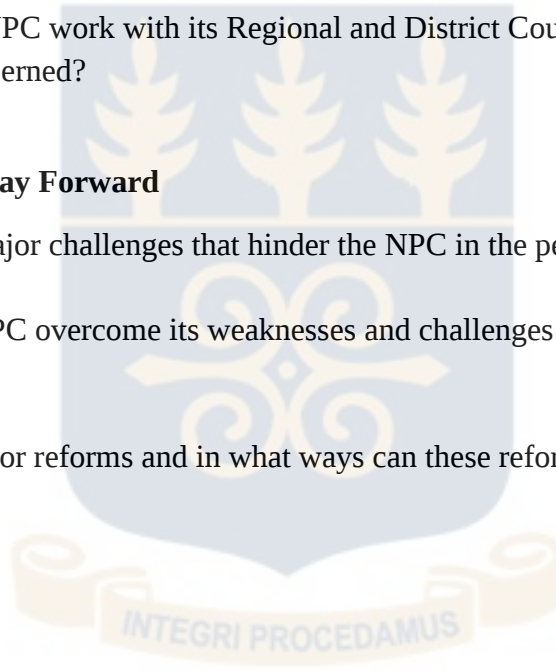
Performance (Achievements and Weaknesses)

1. What has the NPC achieved as far as their mandate is concerned in areas such as elections and its related disputes, chieftaincy, ethnic and land disputes?

2. What has the NPC done concerning capacity building and strengthening of other groups and peace institutions?
3. How successful has the NPC been in the areas mentioned and how have they failed?
4. Which type of conflicts does the NPC spend more time on and why?
5. To what extent has the role of the NPC contributed towards Ghana's peacebuilding?
6. On what basis does the NPC select the areas that have peace councils?
7. How does the NPC work with its Regional and District Councils as far as their mandate is concerned?

Challenges and the Way Forward

1. What are the major challenges that hinder the NPC in the performance of its mandate?
2. How can the NPC overcome its weaknesses and challenges to enhance its performance?
3. Is there a need for reforms and in what ways can these reforms be achieved?



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APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR OTHER INSTITUTIONS

INTRODUCTION

The research is aimed at assessing the NPC to ascertain how it has performed in Ghana's peacebuilding.

The Relevance of the Mandate of the NPC and Overall Performance the NPC

1. How relevant is the mandate of the NPC?
2. How unique is the mandate of the NPC from other peace institutions?
3. What has the NPC been able to accomplish in areas such as electoral, ethnic, chieftaincy, and land disputes as well as in capacity building?
4. Do you think the NPC has accomplished its role in Ghana's peacebuilding?
5. In which types of conflicts have the NPC been more active and why?
6. In what ways do you think the NPC can work more effectively and efficiently?

Partnership and Outcome

1. In what areas have you collaborated with the NPC to contribute towards Ghana's peacebuilding?
2. What role did you play in the collaboration?
3. How successful was the outcome of the collaboration?

Challenges and Way Forward

1. What major challenges did you encounter with your collaboration with the NPC?
2. How can these challenges be dealt with?

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PEACE AND CONFLICT EXPERTS

INTRODUCTION

The research is aimed at assessing the NPC to ascertain how it has performed in Ghana's peacebuilding.

The Relevance of the Mandate of the NPC and Overall Performance of the NPC

1. How relevant is the mandate of the NPC to Ghana's peacebuilding?
2. How unique is the mandate of the NPC from other peace institutions?
3. What has the NPC been able to accomplish in areas such as electoral, ethnic, chieftaincy, and land disputes as well as in capacity building?
4. Do you think the NPC has accomplished its role in Ghana's peacebuilding?
5. In which types of conflicts have the NPC been more active and why?

Challenges and Way Forward

1. What are the major challenges that confront the NPC?
2. In what ways do you think the NPC can work more effectively and efficiently?

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APPENDIX D: LIST OF RESPONDENTS/PARTICIPANTS

Serial No.	Name of Participant	Position	Date of Interview
1	Mr. Charles Ohene-Amoh	Executive Secretary Efutu Municipal Assembly	18 th January 2020
2	Mr. Peter Agbodzo	Former Executive Secretary of Eastern Regional Peace Council	21 st January 2020
3	Mr. Edmund	Eastern Regional Peace Council (Staff)	21 st January 2020
4	Mr. Henry Okai	Senior Programs Officer of NPC	29 th January 2020
5	Mr. Justice Agbezuge	Former Peace and Governance Analyst to UNDP Ghana (Currently with USAID West Africa)	11 th March 2020
6	Mr. Rockson Richmond Gbande	Deputy Director for Programmes, NCCE	27 th May 2020
7	Apostle Prof. Opoku Onyinah	Board Member of NPC (2012-date)	29 th May 2020
8	Mr. George Amoh	National Executive Secretary of NPC	4 th November 2019 1 st June 2020
9	Mr. Osei Frimpong Baffour	Regional Researcher of WANEP	10 th June 2020
10	Mr. Samuel Harrison Cudjoe	Principal Programmes Officer of NPC	18 th June 2020
11	Mr. Enoch Darfah Frimpong	Journalist/ Deputy Online Editor	6 th April 2021
12	Mr. Alexander Kaakyire Duku	Lecturer of Department of Political Science, Legon	9 th April 2021
13	Dr. Abdul-Jalilu Ateku	Lecturer of Department of Political Science, Legon	11 th April 2021
14	Madam Rita Yali	Head of Human Resource (NPC)	13 th April 2021