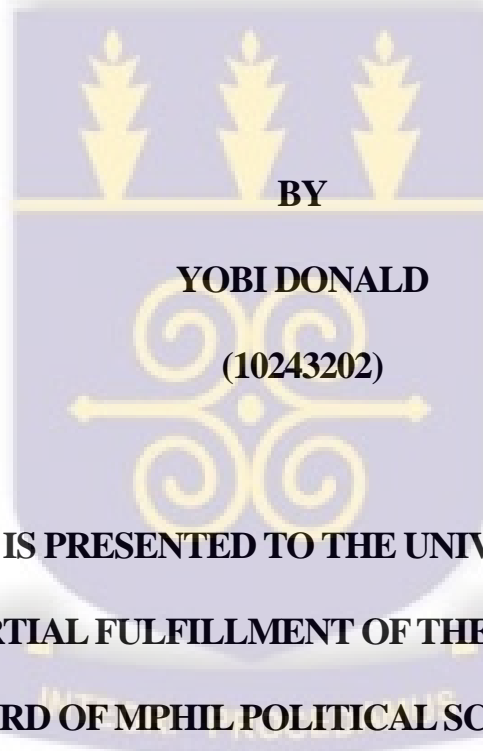


**INTRACTABLE CONFLICTS IN NORTHERN GHANA AND THE
SEARCH FOR LASTING PEACE: THE CASE OF MAMPRUSIS AND
KUSASIS IN BAWKU**

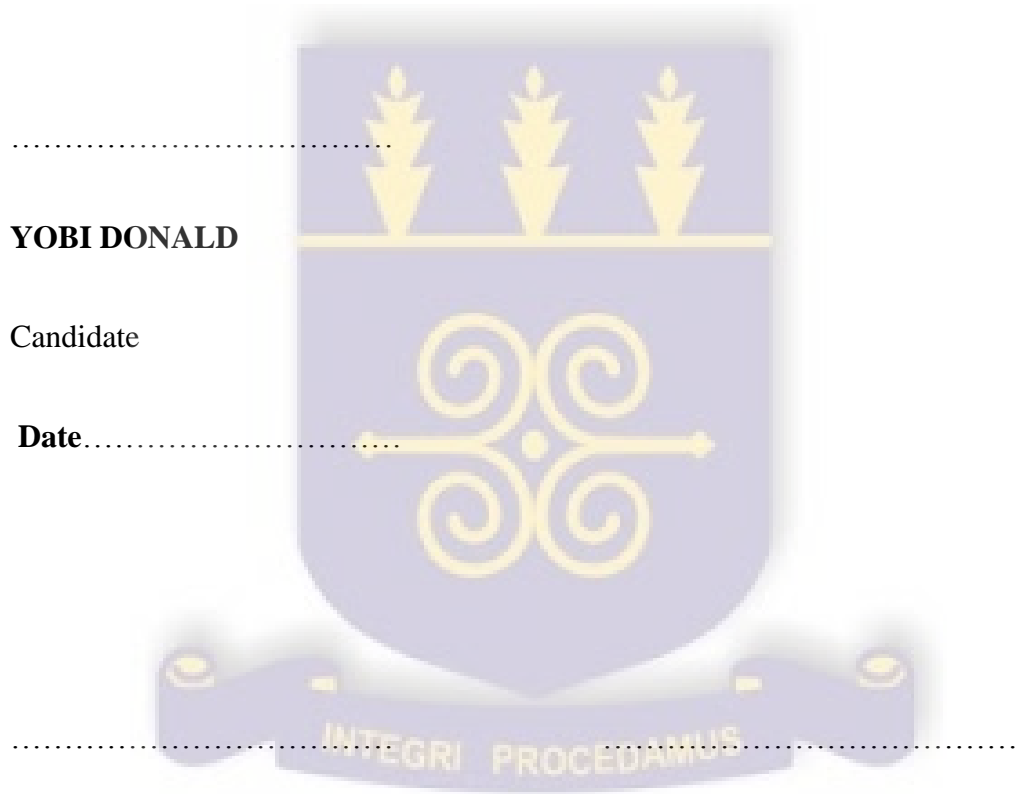


**THIS THESIS IS PRESENTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,
LEGON IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR
THE AWARD OF MPhil POLITICAL SCIENCE DEGREE.**

JULY, 2015

DECLARATION

This to certify that this thesis is the personal work of the researcher, **YOBİ DONALD** under the guidance and supervision of **DR. ALİDU SEİDU** and **PROF. ABEEKU ESSUMAN-JOHNSON** towards the award of the Master of Philosophy in Political Science in Political Science, University of Ghana. People’s works that were used as references have been acknowledged through citation.



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ABSTRACT

The Northern part of Ghana has witnessed several ethnic conflicts. Most of these conflicts are based on religious differences, land litigations and claims to chieftaincy. The Kusasi and Mamprusi ethnic groups in Bawku have engaged in conflict that has become intractable and permeated the whole life span of the people, thereby impeding growth and development in the area.

Data collected from both primary and secondary sources revealed that the claims to chieftaincy title have been the fundamental root cause that explains why the ethnic groups are locked up in the conflict. Other factors relate to the proliferation of weapons, armed robbery and illiteracy including cessations of farmlands. Religious belief, the work of “spoilers” and the politicisation of the conflict are also attributed as factors that contribute to the frequent escalation and de-escalation of the conflict thus making it intractable.

The study found that retrieval of weapons, the neutrality of Bawku Inter-Ethnic Peace Committee (BIEPC) chairpersons, the presence of security personnel living among the people, bye-laws that regulate land ownership, and eradication of poverty will go a long way to resolve the conflict. Also, actors should desist from enticing the combatants with money as a means of getting them to negotiations and mediations. Similarly, the formation of watchdog committees including the usage of legal dispute resolution mechanisms like the law court would also result in the resolution of the conflict. This would require stakeholders to be independent and neutral in working assiduously towards resolving the conflict.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this whole work to the entire Kubo family for their financial support and prayers throughout my educational life till date. To God be the Glory for great things he has done.



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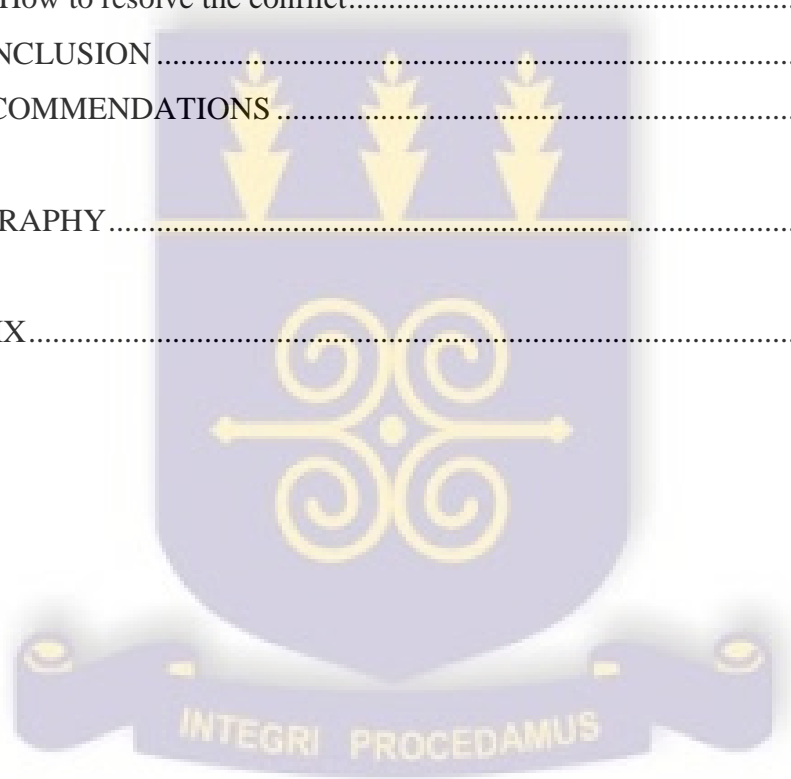
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BEWDA-	Bawku East Women Development Association
BIEPC-	Bawku Inter-Ethnic Peace Committee
BNI-	Bureau for National Investigation.
CBO's-	Community Based Organisations
CCG-	Christian Council of Ghana
CPP-	Convention People Party
CSO's-	Civil Society Organisations
CSR-	Catholic Relief Services
DCE-	District Chief Executive
GNA-	Ghana News Agency
GSS-	Ghana Statistical Service
MA-	Municipal Assembly
MP's-	Members of Parliament
NDC-	National Democratic Congress
NGO's-	Non-Government Organisations
NHC	National House of Chiefs

NLC-	National Liberation Council
NLDC-	National Liberation Council Decree
NPC-	National Peace Council
NPP-	New Patriotic Party
PNDC-	Provisional National Defense Council
PP-	Progress Party
PSC-	Protracted Social Conflict
RCC-	Regional Coordinating Council
RHC-	Regional House of Chiefs
UN-	United Nations
UNDP-	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF-	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UP-	United Party
WANEP-	West Africa Network for Peace Building

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO STUDY

Conflicts have been experienced across various continents. These conflicts are fought for several reasons including political, survival, economic and religious motives. Conflict may be manifested through irreconcilable behaviours which translate into incompatibilities of interest (Miller, 2005). Thus conflicts emerge as parties' interests become incompatible or the relationship they are in becomes oppressive, which leads to the development of hostile attitudes and conflictual behaviors (Woodhouse and Duffey, 2008).

Some conflicts are constructive and this involves adversaries coming together to negotiate for peaceful settlement. Some conflicts too follow a more vicious path and many of these become intractable hence difficult to resolve. Peaceful resolution mechanisms or approaches that might be appropriate in overcoming the differences of conflicting parties in a 'constructive conflict' would appear to be unworkable in other intractable situations.

Intractable conflicts are conflicts which are deep, standstill and difficult to settle (Coleman, 2000). Intractable conflicts are thus the most dangerous conflicts in the world as it could be a catalyst for terrorism or terrorist activities. It must be pointed out that conflict are inherently not intractable but as it prolongs, the antagonistic parties deepen their entrenched interest, hence becoming hostile and violent to each other with an accompanying subjective and objective views regarding each other's activities.

According to Holsti (1991) conflicts of the 20th century are not about foreign policy or competing state interest but the consolidation of new forms of power based on ethnic homogeneity. Majority of conflicts in Africa, are internal and these internal conflicts appear to be increasing each and every day hence posing security threat to the lives of citizens. Additionally, these conflicts do not only generate casualties and displace people from their homes; they also contribute largely to the outbreak of epidemic diseases, malnourishment, hunger, social and economic decline as well the deterioration of the moral fibre of that define the society (Adeleye, 2011).

Intractable conflicts in Africa are mostly caused by ethnic, religious and border disputes. For example, the clan system or ethnicity was highlighted as the main cause of the Somali war. The clan system or ethnicity represents the embryonic cleavages and cultural division within the Somali society (Ali and Matthews, 1999). Sudan is another country in Africa that has had ethnicity at the center of its intractable conflict.

Ghana has also tasted a number of intra-state conflicts among various factions and ethnic groups. An example is the Alavanyo and Nkonya conflict which has become intractable with no lasting solution between the two ethnic groups; the Dagbon chieftaincy dispute in the Northern Region of the country which is also intractable in nature (Mahama, 2003). The Nanumba-Konkomba conflict was however resolve amicably (Awedoba, 2011), although one still wonders if that would be lasting.

The Northern part of Ghana has witnessed a lot of conflicts among the various ethnic groups, which were caused by chieftaincy succession rights, land ownership and religious

differences. These conflicts have undermined the peace, security and development of the three Northern Regions in relation to the other Southern Regions.

The Kusasis and Mumprusis conflict in the Bawku Municipality is no exception to the horrifying ethnic conflicts fought in Northern Ghana after colonization and has remain intractable till date. The conflict has claimed the lives of thousands of both ethnic groups and has since rendered many homeless, with some seeking refuge in neighboring countries. For instance, in 2001, sixty people were confirmed dead and some 2,500 persons were also reported to have been displaced as a result of the ethnic conflict (GNA, 2001). Another GNA report sourced from the Bawku East district chairman of the Ghana Red Cross society, Mr. Peter Aduala notes that 190 houses in and around Bawku were burnt down owing to the conflict. The conflict has been intractable for several years and various resolution mechanisms have been used by stakeholders and it still persists. It is therefore the goal of this study to unearth the root causes and other causes that makes the conflict intractable.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

Conflict in general has so many propelling factors. Each conflict has its triggers, phases, objective and subjective sources, positions, needs, values and interest (Woodhouse and Duffey, 2008). These features distinguish one conflict from the other. The Mamprusis and Kusasis conflict first erupted during the Samanpiid¹ festival and subsequently in 1984 and 1985. After the 2000 general elections, the conflict erupted again, and this was same in 2007. Various stakeholders in the conflict including Government and Non-

¹ The festival of the Kusasis ethnic group in Bawku. This is celebrated after every farming season.

² A state institution with the responsibility of resolving conflicts, strengthening peaceful co-existence.

Governmental Organisations (NGO's) have tried to bring lasting peace to the area but these attempts have not materialized into the peace being sought. In 2008, former President John Agyekum Kuffour invited both factions to the seat of government in an attempt to broker a peace deal. This was followed up by the National Peace Council's (NPC)² resolution efforts in 2009. President Mahama, as the then Vice President embarked on a mediation mission with the two factions but his efforts proved futile in achieving a lasting solution. Thus in order to resolve a conflict of this nature, there is a need to find out the root causes and propelling factors that has made the conflict almost intractable. It is against this backdrop that this research seeks to identify the various root causes of the conflict. It is the aim of the research that, identifying the root and other causes that make the conflict escalate and de-escalate will go a long way to help understand the complexity of the conflict and recommend possible conflict resolution strategies to end the conflict.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The general aim of this research is to find out why the Bawku ethnic dispute remains intractable over the years. Specifically this thesis will:

1. Find out the root causes of the conflict.
2. Find out the factors that contribute to the frequent escalations of the conflict.
3. Examine the efficiency of the mechanisms put in place to resolve the conflict as well the various actors of the conflict.

² A state institution with the responsibility of resolving conflicts, strengthening peaceful co-existence.

4. Suggest ways of resolving the conflict.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In an attempt to achieve the objectives above, the following questions will be answered;

1. What are the roots causes of the Bawku conflict?
2. What accounted for the frequent escalations of the conflict?
3. What measures have been put in place to address this conflict and who are the actors?
4. How effective are these mechanisms employed to address it?
5. How can the conflict be resolved?

1.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Thomas (1997), a theory advances an explanation to expand knowledge in a specific study. In a similar vein, Bacharach (1989) posited that a theory is a system of constructs and propositions that collectively presents a systematic and coherent explanation of a phenomenon of interest. To Creswell (2014), a theory help in explaining behaviours, attitudes and constructs for social occurrences and the fundamental factors that underline a particular study. To better understand the conflict causes and its intractable dynamics, two theories are used - Protracted Social Conflict (PSC) and Instinctive Aggressive Theory (IAT).

1.5.1 Protracted Social Conflict Theory (PSC)

The theory of PSC has its foundation in the writings of Edward Azar. This theory puts more weight on conflicts which are violent, enduring, and thus difficult to resolve.

According to PSC theorist, violent conflict emerge and prolong as a result of a struggle between communal groups for basic needs such as security, recognition and fair participation in Traditional and political institutions. According to the theory, hostilities are based on deep-seated issues relating to complex causal chain involving the role of the state and the international communities (Azar, 1990).

Azar further enumerated four preconditions for PSC and these are *Communal content; Human Needs; Government and the State's Role; and International linkages* (Azar, 1990). Communal content is linked to colonial legacy and local historical settings of that particular society in conflict. It is assumed that, the role of the colonial Governments during colonial period contribute to the protracted nature of conflicts as we are witnessing now. Colonial masters in their bid to get a foothold of the various communities impose policies which are aimed at favoring one group than the other. Some of these legacies empowered one group to dominate the other. This further widened the relationship and interactions into more of an acrimonious one. After the departure of the colonial powers, the stratification of the various groups and thus their privileges were made to be carried on. The remnants of these divide and rule policies by the colonial administration became contestable by the group that feel disadvantage and began to fight in order to restore the erstwhile status quo. The advantaged group also became intransigent to reverse or to restore the social order into one of an equal society.

The second tenet of PSC relates to human needs. To Azar, human needs can be achieved better through collective activities. These human needs include security, fair participation and access to recognisable institutions, religious, and cultural needs. It is considered that these needs are necessary elements for the survival and existence of identity groups. Denial or deprivation of the group from these needs motivate them to mobilized and express their objection collectively. The particular social group will identify among themselves and fight for the restoration of what they feel is legitimate to them. ‘The most obvious ontological need is individual and communal physical survival and well-being. Individual or communal survival is contingent upon the satisfaction of basic needs. In the exact words of Azar (1990: 6)

...whilst one group of individuals may enjoy satisfaction of those needs in abundance, others do not. Grievances resulting from need deprivation are usually expressed collectively. Failure to redress these grievances by the authority cultivates a niche for a Protracted Social Conflict.

The third variable of PSC according to Azar relates to the government and the role of the state in guaranteeing accessibility to basic human needs. Some particular social groups are able to have contact and control of power. They use the state resources to dominate the other groups. This unfair treatment denies them their human needs. This leads to opposition thus exacerbating PSC. This implies that there exist a correlation between regime type and PSC.

Fourthly, International linkages promote PSC. According to Azar there are two ways that attracts international linkages-economic dependency and client relationship. Some states depend economically on the international economic system. This weakens the

sovereignty and the ability of the state to make policies to enhance the delivery of basic humans needs. According to Azar (1990: 9);

Economic dependency often exacerbates denial of the access needs of communal groups, distorting the domestic political and economic systems through the realignment of subtle coalitions of international capital, domestic capital and the state

1.5.2 Instinctive Aggressive Theory (IAT)

The Instinctive Aggressive Theory (IAT) was propounded by Lorenz (1966). According to Lorenz, human engagement in conflict can be traced to their basic biological heritage. This can be attributed to genetics and evolution. This makes human form dominant hierarchies to protect identity, territories and behave aggressive towards others. In that, conflicts are inborn in human beings. They are aggressive and ready to attack in order to control affairs. Lorenz brought his Instinctive Aggressive by using animals and comparing it to human beings. To him, animals possess certain behaviour that are fixed and cannot be varied. This follows that human beings and their behaviour including physical performance are genetically fixed. Lorenz said these animals have aspects of aggressiveness which is applied to humans as well. Aggressiveness in its limited usage is healthy but in excess with militant zeal leads to violence. Lorenz added that some animals such as hawks or wolves naturally have deadly weapons which are used to hurt and exterminate other animals. The reverse is that human beings with their biological foundation of conflict do not possess these natural deadly weapons therefore used

technology to develop weapons to harm and kill one another. In all, Lorenz concluded that war and conflict is as a result of human biological instinct.

Freud (1964) contributed further to the theory of Instinctive Aggressiveness by developing what is called death instinct and life instinct. Freud said human cruel and carnage behaviour is as a result of the death instinct opposing the life instinct. Any time the death instinct is thwarted by the life instinct, its energy is express towards other human beings leading to aggression between people or groups. He contended that whether a death instinct is in the human system or not human beings are generally aggressive by nature.

1.6 STUDY AREA-BAWKU IN THE UPPER EAST REGION

The Kusasi and Mamprusi are among the two ethnic groups found in Bawku in the Upper East Region of the country. Upper East is among the smallest region in the country in terms of size and population (2010 population census) with Upper West as the smallest amongst all. With its small size, the Upper East Region boasts of a rather high population density. The 2010 population census reveals a population density of 104.1 per square kilometer which places the region fifth in the country in terms of population density. The region is partly rocky which makes it unsuitable for agricultural activities. Although the small nature of the land and its unfairness to farming the region still attracted various ethnic groups these including the Tallensi, Nabdam, Frafra, Grusi, Kusasi, Kasena – Nankana, Busasi, Bulsa and many more. All the various ethnic groups practice patrilineal type of inheritance.

Bawku derives from Bokko which means the valley in Kusaal,³. Bawku refers, not only to the town by that name but also to the two administrative districts that bear this name: Bawku West with Zebilla as district headquarters and Bawku East (Bawku Municipal) with Bawku town as the district headquarters. The White Volta divides the area into the two Bawku districts, Agolle or Bawku East and Atoende (Bawku West). The multi-ethnic town of Bawku is the largest commercial town in the Upper East.

Being one of the fastest growing commercial towns of the Upper East Region, Bawku is ethnically mixed. Located in the extreme North-Eastern corner of the region, it is home to Kusasi, the majority group which also claims to be the indigenes of the area; Mamprusi; the Bisa (Busasi); and other ethnic groups such as the Moshi. The commercial importance of the Bawku town accounts for its attraction to trading communities such as the Hausa, Dagomba and other traders and merchandise from Burkina Faso and Togo. It is well noted for trading in commodities such as kola nuts from Southern Ghana destined for Burkina Faso, livestock and onions.

The town owes its prominence as a trading centre to its location on the pre-colonial trade route from Ouagadougou and the Sahel region to Gambaga and onwards to Salaga and beyond (Awedoba, 2011) The Kusasi people speak Kusaal, a Gur language and predominantly practice traditional religion and as it demands they make sacrifice and celebrate the 'Samanpiid' festival to thank the ancestors for a bumper harvest as well as for guiding them throughout the year. 1987 was the first time in which the festival was celebrated. Islam and Christianity are now mixed with Kusasi and they are the majority in

³ It is the language spoken by the Kusasis in Bawku

Bawku. The Mamprusis are believed to have come from Nalerigu⁴ in the Northern Region of the country and migrated to their present place in the Upper East Region, serve as the minority comparing to the Kusasis and they speak Mampruli⁵. Islam is the dominant religion among the Mamprusis. They practice polygamy and celebrate the Eid-dul-Fitri. Both ethnic group live peaceful on the land until the there was a change in the chieftaincy structure predating in the colonial era and further exacerbated by the Nkrumah regime. Since then, the various people are on each other throat for the ownership and claim to the throne of the chieftaincy.

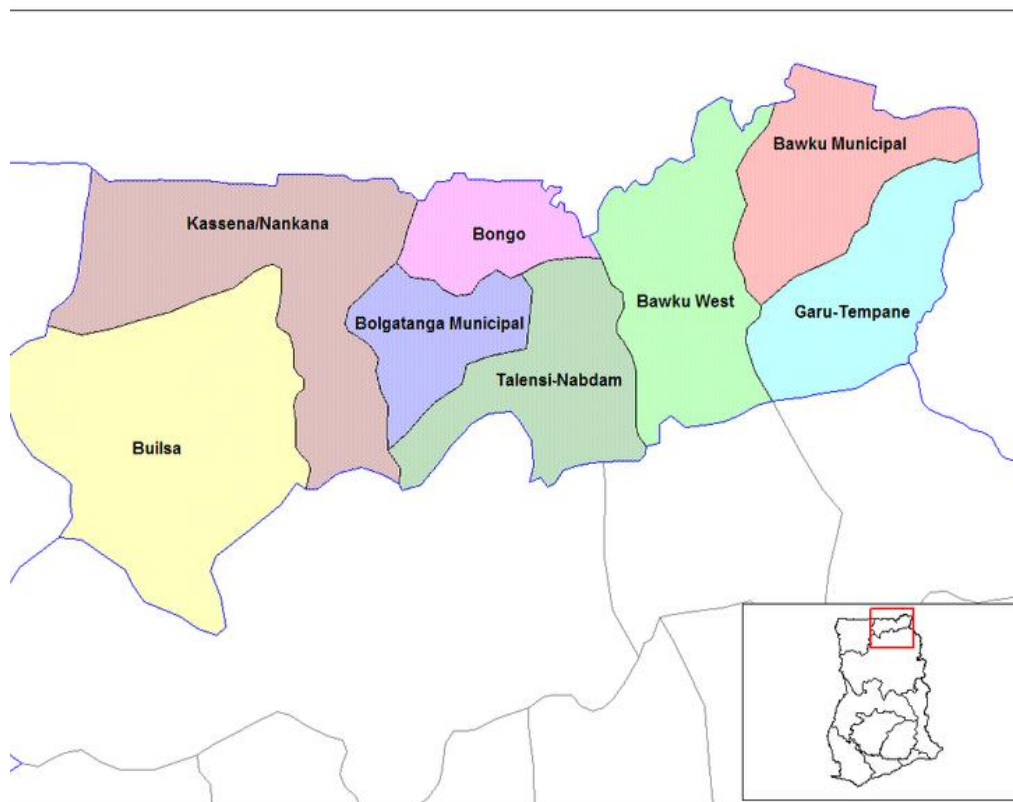


Figure 1.1: Map of the Upper East Region

SOURCE: Ghanadistricts.com

⁴ It is a town in the Northern Region of Ghana and it is believed to be the traditional home of all Mamprusis.

⁵ The traditional language of the Mamprusi ethnic group.

1.7 OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

1.7.1 Conflict

According to Woodhouse and Duffey (2008) conflict refers to the pursuit of incompatible goals by individuals or groups. In other words, conflict situations arise when individuals or groups identify a goal they want to secure in order to satisfy their material interests, needs or values. In other words, conflict ensues in societies when different social groups are seen as rivals or when they are in competition with each other (Barash & Webel, 2002:26).

Thus conflict is the struggle over values, claims to status, power and resources in which the opposing parties do not only aim at achieving the desired values but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals (Cosser, 1968). For the purpose of this study conflict is construed as violent means to achieve one's aim: be it social, political and economic.

1.7.2 Intractable/Protracted Conflicts

Coleman (2000) refers to intractable conflicts as the conflict which is often intense, deadlock and difficult to resolve. Intractable conflict has three primary characteristics: It is resistant to resolution; it has some conflict intensifying features; and it involves attempts or successes to harm the other party (Kriesburg et al, 1989). Parties are likely to theorise the conflict in win-lose terms rather than considering compromises.

1.7.3 Chief/Chieftaincy

Article 277 of the 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution of Ghana defines a chief as

A person, who, hailing from the appropriate family and lineage has been validly nominated, elected or selected, and enstooled, enskined or installed as a chief or queen mother in accordance with the relevant customary law and usage. (1992 Constitution, Ghana)The constitution further made provisions for National House of Chiefs (NHC)⁶ and Regional House. The constitution also legitimises the establishment of the NHC with subsidiary institutions in every region.

These Regional House of Chiefs (RHC) are responsible for the appointment and removal of a person as a chief. The RHC also settles chieftaincy disputes in the region through Alternative Disputes Resolution Mechanisms (ADRM), (1992 Constitution, Ghana).

1.7.4 Ethnicity/Ethnic Group

According to O'Neil (1966) ethnicity refers to specific attributes and societal institutions that make one group of people culturally different from others. These attributes include language, religion, geographical location, customs and history.

Ray and Kaarbo (2008:211) define an ethnic group as “people who perceive themselves as distinct in terms of language, origins, physical appearance or religion of residence”. Each ethnic group is characterised a unique set of institutions that embody the norms and standards of behavior. It must be noted that, a single society can be composed of several ethnic groups, thereby rendering it heterogeneous. Similarly, the Bawku Municipality is a

⁶ A constitutional mandated body consisting of chiefs with the responsibility of settling chieftaincy disputes in the country.

collection of several ethnic groups of which the Mamprusis and Kusasis constitute more than eighty percent (80%) of the population.

1.7.5 Conflict Resolution

To Woodhouse and Duffey (2008: 34), conflict resolution implies that, “the deep-rooted sources of the conflict are addressed, changing behaviours so they are no longer violent, attitudes so they are no longer hostile, and structures so they are no longer exploitative”.

Conflict resolution is about how parties can move from zero-sum to a win-win situation. Conflict resolution develops processes that appear to be satisfactory to parties in dispute and operative in resolving conflict, (Azar and Burton 1986).

1.8 RESEARCH SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of the research is viewed along three angles; research, practice and policy. In terms of research significance, this study goes ahead of present research in intra-state conflicts in Ghana. Most researchers conduct studies into conflicts in general that is inter-state conflicts whilst giving little salience to intractable intra-state ethnic conflicts. They end up with an outline of driving forces for conflicts without necessarily being case specific. In Ghana, the Kusasis-Mamprusis conflict lacks adequate intellectual or academic analysis into its propelling factors. As a result, this study seeks to complement extant literature on the Kusasis-Mamprusis conflict along with suggesting means of successful peacebuilding.

In relation to its significance to conflict resolution actors, it will provide guidelines to resolving intractable ethnic conflict as well as mending structures, behaviours and

attitudes of the actors in the conflicts. It will help experts address the challenges in resolving conflicts and understanding dynamics of the conflict.

Concerning significance to policy, the study provides guidelines for policy formulation to effectively manage and prevent violent conflicts in the various communities of the country. This to a larger extent will lead to stability and enjoyment of peace between various groups in societies.

1.9 SCOPE

The research is about the conflict between the two ethnic groups and why it has become intractable, upon various resolution mechanisms. The span of this study extends from the initial years of the conflict (late 1956) to 2014. Happenings and mechanisms enforced between these years have been analysed.

1.10 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter one introduces the research and what the study seeks to do. It provides a detailed background to the study as well as a statement of the research problem that informed this study. Also included in this first chapter are the research objectives, research questions, theoretical framework of the research, site of the study, research significance, scope and lastly, the organization of the study.

Chapter two presents a review of relevant literature on intractable conflicts in the world, ethnic conflicts, chieftaincy conflicts in Northern Ghana and the conflicts in Bawku as well as conflict resolutions mechanisms.

The third chapter deals with the methodological framework adopted for this study. Included in the methodology are the sources of data, and study population, sampling techniques and sample size, data collection instrument and method and mode of analysis. Chapter four entails data analysis and discussion of findings. Finally chapter five comprises the summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Like every research, the literature review chapter of this study seeks to identify and review works or scholarly articles in the area and subject of study. The purpose of this review is to acclimatise the researcher with works already done in the field. It is also aimed at identifying research gaps in the existing literature pertaining to the subject of study as well as helps the researcher to identify appropriate theoretical model or framework within which to situate his study. In the bid to achieve the aforementioned objectives, the review is undertaken along certain thematic areas that are vital to this study. These are: literatures on intractable conflicts; ethnic conflicts; conflicts in Northern Ghana; the conflicts between Kusasis and Mamprusis; and lastly, literatures on ethnic conflict management and resolution in Ghana.

2.1 INTRACTABLE CONFLICTS IN GENERAL

Halperin (2008) simply described intractable conflict to be a long and enduring violent conflict that is based deep-rooted issues or root causes and usually has the tendency to resist efforts towards resolutions.

In their description of the nature of intractable conflict, Burgess and Burgess (2003) equated it to its negative connotation to terms of its resolution. To them, intractable conflicts have resolution mechanisms but needed varied strategies and experts' involvement.

Bar-Tal (2007) enlisted Kriesberg's (1998) four characteristics of intractable conflicts. The first feature is violence. Intractable conflicts involve pure and naked violence where members of the society are killed, alongside loss of lives and valuable properties. This is what Johan Galtung termed as physical violence (Galtung, 1969).

Secondly, it is protracted. Intractable conflict by nature is protracted and permeates over a long period of time. The protractivity of intractable conflicts makes it difficult, if not impossible to resolve.

Consequently, Kriesberg's (1998) identified the irresolvability of intractable conflicts as a third feature. Parties involved in the intractable conflict subscribe to entrenched positions with little or no resolve to consensus building. Winning the conflict is usually the major aim of combatants thereby avoiding peaceful resolution mechanisms.

Fourthly, Kriesberg's (1998) observed that, intractable conflicts demand extensive investment. Economic and technological as well as psychological investments are hugely made by parties in intractable conflict. These investments are made in order to sustain their strength and edge over one another.

Besides the four features outlined by Nonetheless, Bar-Tal (1998) did not hesitate to add three vital features of characteristic of intractable conflict to what Kriesberg (1998) outlined. Bar-Tal identified that, intractable conflict has the totality of the purpose. Their purpose is perceived to be linked with the need for the satisfaction of basic human needs. Other purposes include conflict over a territory or land, religious extremism and self-determination. Additionally, Bar-Tal (1998) believes that intractable conflicts are zero sums in nature. In essence, no party is prepared to compromised or share her victory with

the other party. There is a feeling that compromising means losing everything to the other party. The goal of a party is seen as essential for survival, there is no need for concession if they want to survive. Bar-Tal also recognized the central nature of intractable conflicts. The conflict occupies a central place in the minds and hearts of members of the community. The centrality in the minds of the members of the community drives them to continue the conflict with the least provocation. The intractable conflict becomes the caption for most of the media houses in the community.

Several scholars attribute intractable conflicts to a number of causes. Bercovitch (2003), Kriesburg et al (1989) and Azar (1986) posited that, group identity is a cause of intractable conflicts all over the world. Identity is responsible for the unchanging positions in the conflict. It is seen as the tendency for individuals and groups to establish, maintain and protect a collective sense of self and purpose. It is based on the rationale that, one is safe when he or she belongs to a group. As a result, things that threaten the core sense of the identity will generate strong defensive responses aimed at defending and restoring the status quo. The defensive responses can take any form of violence to protect their identity. Groups fight to protect their identity leading to intractability.

Maiese (2003) argues that the core of most intractable conflicts is deeply-rooted in issues that affect individual interests, positions, needs and values. Positions are concrete demands of the conflicting parties. They may include possessions of land or other resources. Values are usually the non-negotiable positions of the parties upon which they define their being and need includes identity and security. In essence, intractable conflicts are seen as the continual denial of basic needs of the citizens.

According to Maiese (2003) there is a higher propensity for a moral conflict to degenerate into an intractable conflict. Most of the issues on moral beliefs are held rigidly and difficult to prove incorrect. These moral and religious values are not easily changed. Therefore, people who subscribe to a particular belief may be unwilling to compromise their world view, (Barash and Webel, 2002). The substantive issue cannot be described in shared terms thus parties have different standards for morality and give different answers to moral questions, (Pearce and Littlejohn, 1997). It is based on this moral difference that one way of life fundamentally differs from the other. Groups with different ideology of moral life develop incompatible goals, thus deepening intolerance and discordant opposition (Pearce and Littlejohn, 1997).

Injustice, according to Maiese (2003), is another source of intractable conflict. Justice is linked to norms, rights and entitlement that bring decent human treatment. The level of disparities to what an individual is entitled to, makes that person develops feeling of deprivation (Deutsch, 2000). As a result, there is the tendency for the marginalised to contest unfair treatment or injustice. In such situations, violence is seen as viable means to justice and the restoration of fairness in the distribution of national resources as well as in the dispensation of laws. To handle the violence, the top dog will take actions to maintain the injustice making the violence protracted. Negotiations thus become more difficult and actual interest are obscured, the conflict is framed as win-lose (Glendon, 1993). Forgiveness and reconciliation will not be welcome by the parties fighting just cause.

Linked to the issue of justice, Maiese (2003) posited that, issues about fundamental human rights easily propel conflicts into intractability. Claims and demands made by

others and rejected by some generates dispute. Similar to the issue of justice, those who feel they are right presses on and never back down. The perceive sufferers also try to fight for what is right making communications between them virtually impossible because both parties differ in views of rights. Attempts to dialogue on the right issue produces conflict and increases the volatility of the conflict. When parties do not balance their rights claims against that of others, their conflict is likely to become intractable (Etzioni, 1993).

There is a strong connection and relation between human rights abuses and intractable conflicts. Denial of right to basic needs, employment, cultural right and exclusion from decision making in society triggers social conflict. The breakdown of state to protect the rights of citizens result in right denial does intensify people to fight for their rights.

Moreover, unmet human needs to Maiese (2003) also trigger intractable conflicts. Such human needs include pressing needs of security and personal fulfillment. These fundamental human needs are the currency to human development. Without these human needs nobody can be realised and be at his or her best. Human needs are more complex aspects of one's life and need to be met legitimately (Rothman, 1997). These needs are so important that if they are not fulfilled, it brings about feelings of neglect therefore raising issues of lets fight these needs of ours. Interests can be negotiated when they come into conflict but needs cannot. Most of the intractable conflicts are grounded in unmet human needs (Human Rights Today, 2000).

High-stakes distributional issues are among the causes of intractable conflicts by Maiese (2003). High stake distributional issues in conflicts are based on who gets what and how

much in terms of tangible resources like land, water, money and intangible such as social status turned to be intractable. Resources are scarce and everyone cannot get what he or she wants. More of the scarce cannot be created therefore it becomes the bases for conflict between various parties. As each want to have more of the scarce resources, it raises high stakes of contestation. The important nature or worth of the resource drags the conflict to intractability.

Social status is also important to human beings. Most people want to have control over social, economic and political hierarchy. They continue to struggle to get to the top among the various groups. Those who are on top want to remain on top and bottom groups also fighting to get on top which ensues conflict situation. Individuals and nations can be involved in conflict of social status because it's among issues of economic power determining the rich from the poor. It becomes deeply intractable when the less privileged wants to gain power and change the relationship whilst those in power do not want to give up because of the benefits attached to the position perpetuating the conflict. The conflict still continue as those bottom parties gets top, the current bottom to struggle to get on top.

The consequences of intractable conflicts are huge, intractable conflicts tend to be pursued in damaging and destructive ways. The violence that is very common in inter-group and international conflicts causes widespread loss of lives and damage to properties. This creates massive economic costs, which are supplemented by the costs of defense (Crocker et al, 2005). But the social and emotional costs are huge too: the fear, the hatred, the anger, the guilt are difficult to deal with while the conflict is ongoing and are equally difficult to remedy after the conflict has supposedly been resolved (Coleman,

2003). Children who watched their parents been killed or who were forced to kill others, may probably never be emotionally healthy. Such children may not be able to put back life together and may be haunted by the post trauma effect.

2.2 ETHNIC CONFLICTS

It is assumed that ethnic conflicts may appear deceptive on the face value. Therefore, there is the need for a thorough and in-depth investigation and analysis into ethnic conflicts in order to better understand its dynamics. For instance, the Yugoslav ethnic conflicts between the Serbs, Muslims and Croatians occurred between people who had no difference in their physical characteristics. In the same vain ethnic conflict in Rwanda was between two groups (Hutus and Tutsis) that spoke the same language, same religion, intermarried and stayed without territorial differences. The Hutus and Tutsis shared everything amidst differences created by the foreign masters in the form segregating them into one being famers and the other being pastoralist respectively. These discriminatory actions by their colonial leaders, coupled with ethnic inequality, fueled ethnic hatred and discord that resulted in the 1994 genocide.

Based on the widely held assertion that ethnic conflicts do not occur in vacuum, Ray and Kaarbo (2008:219) identified three main triggers of such conflicts. They contended that, “various ethnic groups that engaged in horrendous conflicts, have a long chain of conflict from their history of intergroup relations”. This is what they termed as the ‘hatred factor’.

Secondly, ethnic groups also engaged in conflict when the state is deemed to be collapsed or as a failed state. They believe that, power vacuum is always accompanied by uncertainty among the various groups. As a result, there is enormous fear of

discrimination by ethnic groups stemming from the insecurity of power. Meaning, there is uncertainty as to who ascends to power and how they will fare under such leadership. This gives them enough justification to engage in a fight for power. Under such anarchic conditions, various ethnic groups face security dilemma. Therefore, there is the need to garner resources to protect themselves from being subdued by other ethnic groups (Taras and Garguly, 2002). Cordell and Wolff (2010) relate this assertion to the realist theory of international relation focusing on the concept of security dilemma and anarchy.

Mearsheimer (2001) posits that great powers compete for supremacy in the international system because of the absence of a central authority or government. Posen (1993) argue that there are two factors inviting security dilemma among various ethnic groups: mobilization of ethnic groups for offensive and defensive, which is seen by other as a threat. Secondly, ethnic groups live in isolations becoming vulnerable to attacks by other groups heightening insecurity. They take defensive steps for protection but it will be seen as offensive. All this pulls the trigger of ethnic violence.

Thirdly, discrimination is a factor that leads to ethnic conflicts in world over according Ray and Kaarbo (2008). People or groups that are deprived of what they think belong to them, are motivated to fight to reclaim it. After a study of 275 communal groups Gurr (2000) concluded that, 65% are victims of economic discrimination. To such people or groups, discrimination is an affront to their privilege position and they take actions towards restoring it. Such action can be embedded in demonstrations as well as fighting in groups leading to heavy burden of ethnic conflict. Most African conflicts are triggered by such discriminations.

Blagojevic (2009) mentioned political entrepreneurs approach as one of the causes of ethnic conflict. When there is uncertainty within the state system, caused by weak state institutions, politicians manipulate the ethnic emotions in order to mobilize for their own parochial political purposes. Belligerent political leaders strengthen mass hostility; belligerent leaders together threaten other groups, creating a security dilemma which in turn encourages more hostility and leadership belligerence (Kaufman, 1996). This action creates and reinforces ethnic polarisation among the various groups in the society thereby leading to ethnic clashes at least provocation.

In addition, Blagojevic (2009) mentioned competition over resources as an approach to understanding the driving forces of ethnic conflicts. In cases where there is little for more to share, there is the tendency for the people to lean towards identifiable groups to compete for such resources. Struggle over scarce resources under strenuous economic conditions and lack of future prospects make people vent their anger and blame their misfortune on other ethnic group. This basically makes other ethnic groups an impeding bloc to their attainment of needed resources. Studies have revealed that most ethnic conflicts are triggered by competition over resources, especially natural resources. Race by individual groups for jobs, educational opportunities, government contracts and the allocation of developmental resources entangled ethnic groups into economic competition leading to violent ethnic conflicts. Most ethnic groups are focused on getting basic rights for its group members such as fair distribution of resources and equivalent political participation. There is resentment on the part of the less advantage this can cause ethnic deployment followed by blatant conflicts.

2.3 CONFLICTS IN NORTHERN GHANA

Though collectively called the Northern territory⁷, the contemporary Northern Ghana has been administratively divided into the Northern Region, Upper East Region and Upper West Region (Awedoba 2011:1-5). Even though it was just the Northern and Upper Region, the administrative division into the Upper East and West was done in 1983. Bolgatanga was made the administrative capital of the Upper East Region and Wa the administration capital of the Upper West Region.

Although the three regions of the North share common history, language and culture, ecology and geography, the struggle over inadequate resources of the various lands has perpetuated numerous conflicts in the region (Awedoba, 2011). The regions have little rainfall and the three regions are savannah areas. The erratic and seasonal rainfall, farming activities are restricted to the cultivation of tuber and grains crops. There is no uniform distribution of arable and fertile land in the North. Parts of Upper East are rocky and less fertile for cultivation. Settler farmers are enticed to the Southern part of the North which is more fertile than the other parts. The massive demand for tuber crops in the Southern part of Ghana are an incentive for migrant farmers to Brong- Ahafo⁸ for cultivation of crops. Besides this some engaged in cattle and goats rearing. The former Northern territory lacks natural resources therefore the British colonial masters see no reason to spend in this area of the country but rather assembled unskilled labour from there to feed the industries in the Southern part of the country. Given this position, it was

⁷ In colonial era, it represented the now three Northern Regions and now divided into Northern Region, Upper East and Upper West Region.

⁸ The region for Brong ethnic groups and the Ahafo ethnic groups. Both ethnic groups came to form the Brong- Ahafo Region with Sunyani as the capital for the region. The region is fertile and good for all farming activities in Ghana.

seen that British policy was to keep this part of the Gold Coast underdeveloped, as the pool from which unskilled labour would be extracted for the industries of the rest of their colony (Thomas, 1973).

Educational prospects were few, infrastructural facilities virtually non-existent coupled with poor communication networks were severely underdeveloped with just a hand of industries were set up by the colonial masters. After independence, Northern Ghana still distant behind in terms of development equated to the other part of the country as poverty and economic activities virtually non-existent couple with heavy unemployment climaxing the able youth moving into the Southern part of Ghana in search for non-existent jobs. Poverty, economic and lack of social prospects further triggers poverty leading to various survival tactics by members of the different communities which some are unapproved. The poor become ravenous for the property of the well to-do in society, contrary the wealthy bully the poor. Laws and other customs are been broken by the youth due to the hash economic conditions as well as involved in treacherous business just for survival. This causes injury, death and disgusting social interaction. They later blame their misfortunes on the gods and spirits.

In spite of their shared and similar culture, the communities in the Northern Ghana were different in the sense that there was no centralised, coordinated and administrative system. The British introduced indirect rule to enable them rule with uniformity. The colonial administration also created chiefs among those who did not have them (Brukum, 1999). "In connection with the appointments of a chief for Tumu the district commissioner noted: the only reason why he was chosen was that he lives at the place where the Europeans lives and he has little power and if anything he wants doing he

always ask for a commissioner's stick" (Brukum, 1999:108-109). The British introduced chieftaincy institutions within the communities where they did not exist. This was aimed at helping them run the territory to arrive at uniform activities, laws and sanctions. Chiefs role were stretched to the government's wings (agents) and good chiefs were allowed to acquire properties to the resentment of others. The officially declared policy was to rule through chiefs and to support them as much as possible, in some; chiefs had been reduced to the status of agents of colonial administration (MacGaffy, 2006).

Lands belonging to the communities in the Northern Ghana were vested into the awaiting fingers of colonial masters to be used for the benefits and betterment of the multitudes. On the contrary in the Southern (Ashanti and Gold Coast) land was not vested in the hands of the colonial state. The policy was changed in the post-colonial era were lands were reversed to the chiefs to bring about homogeneity between the North and South. Not all chiefs own lands because they were not able to conquer other people and their land which is vested into the hands of the land priest "tendaana"⁹ as well some lands fell within the circles of the land priest. Chiefs were eligible to tithes, donations and labour from members of the communities occasionally. There was and still exist the expectation that lower chiefs on visits to the courts of the senior chiefs would provide presents (Goody, 1972). Benefits coming from chieftaincy holders are dissimilar from community to community. They equally receive gifts from visitors who come to the community. Prominent people and politicians who want the people support visit the chiefs not bare handed. Meeting the chief's means, he or she has seen the whole community. Community been levied in the past by colonial authorities passed on the levy

⁹ The spiritual land owner and as their responsibility demands they pour libation and offer sacrifices to the gods.

to affiliates of the community to contribute. After contribution the excess money is reserved by the chiefs.

Besides material benefits, it is also prestigious being a chief of a community. Therefore members of the community devise various strategies of becoming a chief to enjoy both material benefits and prestigious status, making it keenly contested including the incumbent. The competition and claiming of the chieftaincy stool becomes unhealthy, bringing conflicts and disputes especially relating to succession.

Awedoba (2011) enumerated contributory factors for these conflicts in Northern Ghana. He opined that, religious differences between sects or groups have been a propelling factor. He further stipulates that conflicts in the Northern Regions occur between people or groups with diverse religious beliefs. Issue of doctrines and opposing faith takes center stage of discourse during these conflicts. In most part of the North, religious extremism has always been a source of conflicts among the various groups, especially among the Conformist and Ahmadiya Muslims in Upper West Region. It happens several times within the regional capital of the Upper West Region. In the Northern Region it has always been the religious conflicts between the Al-suna and Tijania Muslim sects. Pentecostal churches have also being in conflict with the Traditional religion in the areas in Wa or Upper West Region.

Another contributory factor by Awedoba (2011) to the conflicts in Northern Ghana is partisan politics. Entrenched political party affiliation makes it difficult for one to appreciate and tolerate an opposition. This is the terrain Awedoba (2011) observed in the Northern Ghana. Therefore, any attempt to discredit the political affiliation will be met

with enormous aggressiveness. This gesture, Awedoba (2011) observes, leads to conflict between the political sects. These conflicts usually begin with some few youth groups of different political parties but widen to other parts of the community, exacerbating into a wild conflict causing lots of injuries, loss of lives and properties.

Some politicians use political differences to exploit the people in the region in order to win elections. These ambitious politicians even go to the extent of promising them justice in case they vote them into power. In the run-up to the 2004 elections, the NDC candidate, Atta-Mills promised that he would order a new investigation into the ‘Ya-Na’s’ death if NDC won—thus continuing the tradition that such investigations reward supporters of the party in power (MacCaffy, 2006). In view of this, most conflicts in Northern Ghana erupts during election years. Pundits and security personnel alike attribute such conflicts to political differences.

Besides the above, Awedoba (2011) believes that disagreements erupts between communities or ethnic groups due to uncertainty of their hierarchy of power. It was a common practice for small chiefdoms which were independent, subsumed into one big traditional area under the leadership of a single chief. This afforded the colonial administration a less cumbersome way to carry out their policy of indirect rule. The colonial masters did this by bringing the various chiefdoms that were once on their own to one paramountcy. The bitter portion of it was that, most of these chiefs lost their status and were lowered to divisional status whilst some rose to paramountcies. Accordingly, some of the communities are vehemently in opposition to this new arrangement and continuously demand a return to the status quo. Some communities have gone to the extent of not paying homage to the paramount chief in whose jurisdiction they are. The

result of such disagreements about the order of precedence is instability and conflicts for power between these communities.

Land disputes have been identified by Awedoba (2011) as a common denominator of conflicts in the North. He observes that, land is one of the most valuable assets in Northern Ghana. Therefore, communities struggle to have enough of it for subsequent generations. Even though Traditional authorities have first-hand on such lands, they are usually inimical to following the due process due to bribery and corruption as well as untruthful nature of human beings. Very serious and horrifying land dispute in the North resulting in the death of several people and properties lost is the 1994 Konkombas and Nanumbas conflict. “Konkomba Youth nursed the idea of declaring some parts of Dagbon as Konkomba land. For the purpose of achieving this goal, the Konkomba Youth Association set up a national lands committee in 1978 to identify all lands belonging to Konkomba by right for an appropriate action to be taken” (Mahama, 2003: 155)

Ahorsu and Gebe (2011), Ladouceur (1972) attributed chieftaincy as a pipe through which conflicts erupts in the Northern Ghana. Chieftaincy disputes run through all parts of Northern Ghana with most of them being protracted or intractable. It normally happens over the succession of an incumbent chief in case of death. Usually, chieftaincy disputes erupts over seats that are well recognised and powerful. Some communities and societies in Upper West still see chieftaincy as nothing important so do not devote much time for strengthen the institution. On the contrary, there are less struggles on issues about succession. There are no codified or clear guidelines for succession, enskinment removal of chief from office. However, Ahorsu and Gebe (2011) observed that, members of the

society take bribes to support people who have no right or claim to the throne in communities where the chief wields enormous power.

In the North, where once appointed, most chiefs rule until death and official procedures or codified rules and regulations of destoolment are unusual if not known (Lentz, 1998). Codified rules and regulation avoids doubts to the throne and reduces or eliminates chieftaincy conflicts which are rampant in Northern Ghana.

Ladouceur (1972) observed that, chiefs in the North marry several wives and have a lot of children. As a result, most of the children, especially males, have aspirations of becoming a chief upon the death of their father. This sometimes leads to unhealthy competition among the sons for the rightful successor. Competitions of such nature have dire consequences and propel conflicts. The Dagombas are strongly attached to the institution of chieftaincy. This partly accounts for the intensity of conflicts that flare up with chieftaincy undertone.

2.4 THE BAWKU CONFLICT

The conflict in Bawku, between Kusasis and Mamprusis, is deep-seated and spans over a long period of time. The Kusasis are the majority group in the Bawku area, they have lived in the area for many years and are the ‘tendaanas’ (earth priest) of the area (Awedoba, 2011) and clearly the Mamprusis are believed to have come from Nalerigu and are the minority in Bawku.

It is alleged by the Mamprusis that Bawku, since pre-colonial era, has been under their stewardship. There was migration to the present Bawku area by the Kusasi from Burkina

Faso towns namely Yauga, Syna and Bugri. Mamprusi further asserts that Tanya, Teshie, Sinibaga, Bawku and Warikambo are villages in which they ruled as chiefs. They further claimed that Kusasis have never been chiefs and had no royal lineage aside being “tendaanas” (Awedoba, 2011: 86). The Kusasis were attacking the Mamprusi traders who ply the route from Nalerigu to Gambaga and Wagadugu and because of that the ‘Nayiri’¹⁰ sets up a security post at Bawku, Binduri, Teshie, Sinibaga, Tanga and some other towns to protect the traders from robbers and criminal gangs.

Subsequently, the ‘Nayiri’ established chiefs in these towns with Mamprusis. It eventually leads to one prince of the Mamprusi who became the chief of Bawku but he was born out of Nalerigu. Other Mamprusis were made chiefs in Teshie, Binduri, Tanga, Sinibaga and Warikamba. The Kusasis who never had any problem with them been ruled by the Mamprusi. They later resisted their been ruled by people not believed to come from the area or land. The ethnic conflict between the two groups in the Bawku traditional area epochs back in the colonial era over the Bawku skin (Bombande, 2007)

It was only Mamprusis who had the right to be enskinned and made Bawku chief from 1731 but later in 1957. There were claims by the two different groups to the skin leading to the enskinment of different chiefs from each ethnic group for one skin. The Kusasis had installed Abugrago Azoka and the Mamprusis also installed Mahama Yiremia. This sparked violence and agitation over the Bawku skin. The colonial governor by that time governor general Lord Listowell¹¹ set up a committee called the Opoku- Afari Committee

¹⁰ The king, that is the paramount chief of all Mamprusis in Ghana and the Nayiri is located in Nalerigu. Nalerigu is a Mamprusi town in the Northern Region

¹¹ The last governor who was the representative of the queen of England during the colonial rule in Ghana.

of 1957 to investigate into the true claims of the matter as to which ethnic group has the rightful authority to the throne.

The Opoku-Afari Committee stated vividly and clearly that ‘Nayiri’ act of appointing and enskinning of a chief in Bawku is wrongful and not accepted. The reports were presented to the colonial governor and Lord Listowell assented to the installation of Abugrago Azoka as the rightful chief in Bawku traditional area and he became the Bawku Naaba. The decision did not go down well with the Mamprusis and the ‘Nayiri’ in Nalerigu, so they resorted to the court by filing a writ at the divisional court with their claim that the committee reports and the decision of the governor General Lord Listowell be overturned.

The divisional court listened to the plea of the Mamprusis but it was overthrown by the court of appeal. Both ethnic groups after independence resorted to getting support from the political parties at the time by aligning with them. The Kusasis aligned with the Convention People Party (CPP)¹² and enjoyed massive support from the party with the then governor Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. The Mamprusis content that Nkrumah decided to divide the Mamprusis state into three namely “the Mamprusi, Kusasi and Frafra as a way of defusing and weakening the power of the Nayiri because the CPP had lost 10 seats in the Mamprusi area to the Northern People Party in the 1956 election” (Awedoba, 2011: 87). Mamprusis also aligned with the United Party (UP)¹³ the then opposition party and they equally enjoyed massive support from them.

¹² The first political party to win elections in Ghana with its leader Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as the first president

¹³ The then opposition party to the CPP.

Abugrago Azoka was recognized by the CPP government of Nkrumah because they accepted the verdict of the court of appeal which was viewed with a political lens by the Mamprusis. To them the recognition of Abugrago Azoka as Bawku Naaba was a reward to the Kusasi for supporting the Nkrumah and CPP during the election in 1957. Afterwards there was calm between the two factions. Unfortunately, the CPP government was overthrown in 1966 by the military government of the National Liberation Council (NLC)¹⁴. A decree was passed called the Chieftaincy Amendment Decree, NLCD 112 of 1966 by the National Liberation Council military government. In the decree it was stated clearly that all newly established paramountcies that was created in 1957 should be reversed back to the old paramountcies. In line with that, most of the paramountcies created by the CPP and Nkrumah were reverted to their former positions. This decree affected the paramountcy of the Bawku Traditional area as the area was given back to the Nayiri who elected and installed a Mamprusi man called Adam Azangbeo as Bawku Naaba and other chiefs were affected and condensed powerless.

The 1969 general election was won by the Progress Party (PP)¹⁵ and the party further deepens the alignment by the factions. Mamprusis who were cronies of the ruling party of the Progress Party (PP), many were found in the corridors of powers which further deepen the rivalry and opened cracks for the Kusasis to fall into. There were changes in some of the political and Traditional institutions all over the country. A Mamprusi was made the chief from then until 1981 another military government of the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC)¹⁶ led by former president Jerry John Rawlings,

¹⁴ A military government that over threw the democratically elected CPP candidate of Kwame Nkrumah.

¹⁵ It won the election after the NLC left.

¹⁶ The military government that came to succeeded the PP.

contrary passed the PNDC law 75 which reverted all the paramountcies that were affected by the NLC decree 112 to their former holders. The Bawku Naaba who was a Mamprusi man-Adam Azangbeo and all his sub-chiefs were stripped off their chieftaincy titles and powers. A Kusasi man-Ninchema Abugrago Azoka II was enskinned as chief. Afterwards, there have been violent clashes between the factions and no solvable remedy to resolve it peacefully. The alignment by the two ethnic groups to CPP and PP has also changed and directed into NDC and NPP¹⁷. Kusasis enjoy support from NDC whilst Mamprusis to the NPP.

Lund (2003) classified the Bawku conflict as an ethno-political conflict, thereby rendering it a conflict with both political and ethnic undertone. However, in outlining the major tenets of the conflicts, he identified that, the conflict has played out over triggering factors including chieftaincy, party politics, land, markets, and names of places. He believes that the actions of political parties such as the Convention People Party(CPP), Northern People Party, National Democratic Congress(NDC) and New Patriotic Party (NPP) has not done much to resolving the conflict; rather it has worsened the conflict situation making it not only a conflict of chieftaincy but also a conflict of two rival political parties. Lund supported this stance with an analysis of historical trajectories of the conflict, revealing the actions of political parties that aggravated the conflict situation. He further opined that the conflict and its issues have created entrenched ethnic positions between the two conflicting parties. “The antagonisms have been crystallised and a pattern entrenching conflict between the two groups has been perpetuated”. Even though the Government has an important role in facilitating the resolution of the conflict, Lund

¹⁷ The PP metamorphosed into the NPP that is the now opposition party in the country.

contended that the state has given an indication of its capability in resolving the conflict. He is therefore skeptical about the future of the conflict in terms of its resolution.

Longi (2014) wholly contended that, Bawku conflict is ‘a legacy of British colonial policy in Northern Ghana’. In other words, the actions and inactions of the British colonial policy of indirect rule brought feud between the two ethnic groups. He believes that Ghana, like Liberia, Cote d’Ivoire and Sierra-Leone was affected by the excesses of colonial policies that led to disagreements over issues such as chieftaincy titles and resource allocations. He observes that, the intrusion of colonial authority in the North significantly altered the existing socio-political structures. He notes that, the change brought about a replacement of the appointive method which hitherto had been exercised solely by the ‘Nayiri’ for the elective endogenous method. This change brought the implication of conflict between the two major tribes in Bawku Mamprusi – Kusasi. Nonetheless, Longi (2014) did not neglect the impact of party politicking in the exacerbating the nature of the conflict perpetuated by the British colonial policies. He believes that the CPP-Northern People Party electoral politics deteriorated the already fragile Kusasi-Mamprusi relations.

Noagah, (2013) in an analysis of the peace process in the Bawku conflict identified claims to values, identity, power, as well as cultural feud as the root causes of the conflict. This helps him to situate the conflict into the framework of the Protracted Social Conflict Theory. He revealed that the protracted nature of the Bawku conflict is due to the bottlenecks and challenges that impede the peacebuilding initiatives by Government, West African Network for Peace Building (WANEP), Christian Council of Ghana (CCG), Catholic Relief Services (CRS), Civil Society Organisations (CSO’s) and Non-

Governmental Organizations(NGO's). He identified 'blatant political infiltrations by state, along with the lack of trust in the mediation efforts as major impediments to the peace process. In addition, the proliferation of arms in Bawku is a major hurdle to cross in terms of securing a lasting peace in the area.

2.5 ETHNIC CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND RESOLUTION IN GHANA

Deutsch et al (2006) propounded that, conflict arises when people feel their respect interest or needs are incompatible. Resolving a conflict is tantamount to eradicating the apparent incompatibility and building conditions that addresses common goals and values.

As conflict ascends and considering the colossal effects of the conflict on both human and natural resources, there is a crucial urge to reduce the negative effects of the conflict to the positive (non-violence) aspect leading to a peaceful resolution of the conflict lastly. For that matter, conflict resolution is a vital and final ingredient to all conflicts. In managing and resolving conflict, the locality and the culture of the people is taken into considering for a better resolution mechanisms. Most ethnic conflicts in Ghana have cultural or ethnic-based triggering factors, especially chieftaincy and land disputes. Therefore both Traditional and modern conflict resolution methods must be applied. Such conflicts start with cultural sources but later get fueled by other sources.

According to Woodhouse and Duffey (2008: 34)

“conflict resolution is a more comprehensive approach based on mutual problem sharing between conflict parties. The parties co-operate with each other to redefine their conflict and their relationship. They solve the conflict themselves, by jointly finding their own solution and becoming their own guarantors of the agreement .Rather than compromising or bargaining away their goals, they engage in a process of information-sharing, relationship-building, joint analysis and co-operation. The role of the third party is one of facilitation without coercion or the use of hard power persuasion”.

Conflict resolution targets at addressing the root cause of the conflict by replacing subjective matters with objective ones aiming at long-term peace. With conflict resolution, the major goal is to bury and bring the conflict to a complete and permanent end. Woodhouse and Duffey (2008) realised that for conflict to be resolved, it has to pass through certain tools before the final and definitive resolution. These tools are conflict management, settlement and conflict transformation. Conflict management to them refers to the limitation, mitigation and containment of conflict rather than the durable eradication of the causes. Therefore its major aim is to limit and eliminates the negative and violent aspect of conflict.

Woodhouse and Duffey (2008) said conflict settlement approach prescribes an outcome that is constructed on agreement reached by the conflicting parties through negotiation and bargaining. In this way the conflict parties agreed based on either compromise or concession. If there is settlement meaning the antagonistic parties have reached each other’s goals else there cannot be compromise or concession. During the settlement period, combatants including the third parties are there to promote their own to achieve their goals. Even though it is difficult to get conflicting parties to compromise, the third

party uses various approaches such as inducement, threats or even pressure to compel the antagonistic parties to a compromise. In terms of quickness, it is the number one solution to violent conflict but its efficacy is short-lived as the main issues and root causes are not addressed. Conflict settlement solution easily relapses to violent situations with a little provocation especially when the third party's pledge runs out.

To Woodhouse and Duffey (2008), the term conflict transformation refers to deeper structural, relational and cultural dimensions of conflict resolution. Conflict transformation is mainly aimed at bringing changes at the various levels of societies that ensure perpetual and lasting peace in the society. Some of the changes aspect is the relationship between the individuals in the society. Conflict transformation eliminates changes to the social and cultural structures that trigger the conflict for sustainable peace. Conflict transformation involves peacebuilding process which carries along peacemaking and peacekeeping by experts and security personnel. It helps in changing the structures and streamlining bond between the combatants. Cordell and Wolf (2010) share similar view with Woodhouse and Duffey (2008) by positing that conflict regulation or resolution comprises of three elements-prevention, management and settlement.

The peace is also build based on the culture of that particular society. That is from the cultural setting of the people in the community.

Avruch and Black (1991) identify two culturally linked approaches in resolving conflicts- Ethnoculture and Ethnoprxes theories. To Avruch and Black, Ethnoculture theory is the understanding of the local people and their actions that propel conflict behaviour. Therefore it is the local common-sense about conflict. Factors such as social, economic,

political and religion influences the Ethnoculture and varies from culture to culture. With the Ethnoculture theory knowledge, it helps actors in conflict resolution to reach the best strategies for intervention. Ethnoprxes is the local techniques and practices of conflict resolution and it is based on the culture. These techniques and practices can be formal or informal or both.

Lederach (1995) made a similar assertion to conflict resolution and connotes the term to Prescriptive and Elicitive approaches to resolving conflicts. The Prescriptive approach is the transfer of techniques and practices of conflict resolution from one environment to a different one. This is in line with the notion that some conflict resolution methods are universally and appropriate to any environment no matter the cultural variation. It is mostly transferring Western techniques to a Non-Western environment where an expert leads the training. Elicitive approach is based on generating appropriate models from the cultural resources obtainable in a given community by modeling out the cultural understandings about conflict and conflict resolution and using the cultural understanding to carve out resolution mechanisms.

Miller (2005) elaborated several techniques used in resolving conflicts. He touched on arbitration, arbitration is where the disputants identify their grievances and demands, fix a procedural process and willingly submit to the decision of outcomes made by an external entity. The external entity is an arbitrator. The arbitrator is a third party and therefore has a hearing ear for all the combatants and makes a final decision. The arbitrator has authority and power and his decisions are binding on the antagonistic parties. Any refusal to go by the final decision will attract sanctions. The arbitrator does not come to the final decision anyhow but goes through a careful study on the issues in contention. Listen to

the conflicting parties and finally make a fair and just pronouncement based on the merits of the case. Reward is given; obedience and sanctions are meted out to any who do not go by the compulsory decision of the arbitrator. In that sense, the arbitrator can be a tribunal or a law court. Though the final decision is not coming from the disputants but it helps in bring a settlement in conflict. Arbitration is relatively quick and economic in nature.

Furthermore, he added negotiation as a technique for resolution. To him, negotiation is the communication usually governs by pre-established procedures between representatives of parties involved in a conflict or dispute. The disputants therefore open direct talks among themselves with ultimate aim of resolving their perceived differences that metamorphose into conflicts. Woodhouse and Duffey (2008) asserts that negotiation is the process that provides the conflictual parties with an opportunity to directly exchange information and commitments through which they will resolve their perceived difference of interest. When combatants later realised that the issue cannot be won by any of them, they think of negotiation because there is a deadlock, Harris and Reilly (1998) term this as “hurting statement”. In negotiations, compromise should be reached where it will mean there is a win-win situation as none of them is a loser. For negotiation to be successfully, certain procedures must be agreed upon before the process kick start. This includes the place to meet, who will be involved and time frame. In Ghana most deadlocks are negotiated for a possible resolution.

According to Basu (2011:294), mediation is also method of resolving conflicts in society. To her mediation occurs when a “third party (mediator) actively participates in the discussion of substantive issues and offers proposal for settlement. A mediator may meet with the parties either separately or jointly and expected to maintain an attitude of

impartiality throughout". The third party encourages the disputants to re-examine their positions, interest and needs. Miller (2005) also supported Basu in her conflict resolution mechanism of mediation. Miller said mediation is a voluntary, informal, non-binding process undertaken with an outside party that promotes the settlement of differences. Miller further added that mediators often have a general interest in the resolution of a given conflict but tentatively they are able to operate impartially and objectively. Mediation is a very useful approach to conflict resolution but the outcome or final decisions are not binding to the parties. They may only abide by it, based on moral judgment. The mediator has no binding powers. The mediator is always a train and unbiased party to the conflict.

Haris and Reilly (1998) distinguished mediation into soft (pure) mediation and power mediation. In pure mediation, the mediator is only to facilitate the issue in dispute for a final settlement and the outcome of pure mediation is not binding on the disputants. Compliance is based on individual and good will. The mediator uses various techniques, skills and experience to bring the disputants to agreement. A pure mediator's role is major but their status is minor in relating to the conflicting parties. In power mediation, the mediator has power drawn from its position outside the destructive situation to bring parties to settlement. Carrots and sticks (incentives and punishment) are used to persuade adversaries to obey.

Awedoba (2011) has enlisted several strategies of managing and resolving conflicts in Ghana. To him, conflicts in Ghana can be managed and resolved through education and information. The Youth are mostly involved in conflicts all over the country because of factual inaccurate information couple with lack of education on their part. Anytime there

is conflict, various associations and organization try to educate the adversaries and the youth on the importance of peace, need for nation building and respect for human rights. Education corrects the erroneous impression on the Youth and letting them know that fighting and killing is not the best way to resolve misunderstanding. There are better channels to resolve misunderstanding than resorting to violent conflicts. When the people become aware of alternative avenues through education, conflicts become easier to resolve.

Additionally, legislation is used by Government to manage and resolve conflicts. When conflict arises in a community, Government uses executive instruments, decrees to limit the movement of people in the warring community. Government limits their access to the interest in contention. Curfew is imposed to ensure security and the preservation of lives and properties. The curfew also brings down the tension for a lasting resolution. Conflict and resolution processes cannot be on at the same time, unless the tension and destruction is controlled before resolution. Therefore Government based on the advised of the regional security committee imposed curfew in trouble spot for a possible resolution of the bone of contention. Some of these acts and decrees include formation of commissions and committees of inquiry to investigate and bring its finding for action to be taken by the Government.

Besides the above, the role of the earth and the earth priest is paramount in conflict resolution. The earth, in the restoration peace in the country especially in the Northern part of Ghana is very eminent as it plays a vital role. In Ghana for that matter the Northern communities, it is a taboo for bloodshed and if such happens the community is purified through Traditional performance on the earth by the earth priest or certain people

vested with such authority. Traditional authorities and people in a particular locality also have their indigenous ways of resolving conflicts. When blood is shed, purifications and rituals are performed to mark the end of the bloodshed. Even in times past, perpetrators were banished from the community or made to undertake expensive purification rituals as it was believed that if not done, can plague disaster such as diseases and droughts in the community. Therefore in case there is ethnic violence, purification is done to purify the land from the bloodshed to a peaceful settlement of the dispute. After the purification rituals, an oath is taken to anybody who wants to engage in bloodshed again will be visited by the wrath of the gods.

The use of the District and Regional security committees is among the tools of conflict management and resolution mentioned by Awedoba. All the Municipal, Metropolitan and District Assemblies have security committees that help in bringing peace within their purview or authority. These security committees are having the responsibility of maintaining peace in case there is outburst of conflict and they used various conflict management and resolution methods such as calling on the security agencies to impose curfew. They also reward informants, offer cash to people who voluntarily give out their weaponry. These committees are not only to resolve conflict but also identify potential and triggering causes of conflict thus work towards ameliorating it. Ethnic and chieftaincy conflicts within the communities are the most conflicts that normally reach the doorstep of the committees. These committees ensure that rule of law is applied to arrest violent conflict and bring lasting solutions to ethnic and chieftaincy conflicts.

Lastly not the least, police and military are used to maintain and settle conflicts among various ethnic groups in violent conflicts or disputants. When conflict erupts, the police

and military are brought in to coil the situation till final and amicable solution is reached. They intervene to protect lives, properties and contain the violence from exploding further. The Bureau for National Investigations (BNI) is also involved, they to pick secret information regarding the conflict and perpetrators.

2.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Chapter two of the literature review looks into intractable conflicts and enumerates contributory agents of such conflicts in the world and as well as ethnic conflicts. Conflicts in Northern Ghana is also viewed holistically to check what actual permeates into it, to the bottom which includes religious differences, chieftaincy, disagreement in the order of precedence, land disputes and partisan politics. The conflict in Bawku is also reviewed in addition to mechanisms to resolve it.

Though Ghana is seen as a safe haven, still conflicts between various ethnic groups cannot be overlooked specially the Kusasis and Mamprusis conflict in Bawku with various mechanisms for resolving the conflict yet it still persist. The literature review gives enough pages and rich source for the study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter of the study tackles the methodology which the thesis is embedded. It concentrates on the methods of the research, the nature of the data sought for and how it will be gathered to enable a competent and accurate work. The focus of this work is to find out the factors that are responsible for the emergence, frequent escalations of the conflict in the Bawku traditional area making it intractable as well the mechanisms used towards resolving the conflict. The chapter finally opens up the problems, difficulties and lessons from the field.

3.1 RESEARCH METHOD

Methods of research are very significant in every research processes as well as enabling the work to be done in a well-structured and objective manner. It encompasses the various significant steps adopt in the research to enable the research problem been resolved. The research methods also check definitions of the various methods, the subjects to be used for the investigations of the research, data gathering tools, data collection and analysis of data.

Methods of research include qualitative method, quantitative method and the mixture of both qualitative and quantitative methods called mixed method (Biggam, 2008 and Creswell, 2014). The method to be used for this research for both data collection and analysis are qualitative and content analysis methods.

Anol (2012) defined qualitative research as a systematic inquiry into complex social structures and processes by employing observational, interpretative and naturalistic methods. In qualitative research, the social reality is rooted within the social setting and cannot be taken away from the settings. Qualitative research study normally engages in small focused samples than wide random samples. Various definitions have been given by scholars on the subject of qualitative research method. Some writers and scholars grounded the definition on the purpose of the research. Merriam (2009:13) in her definition posits that “qualitative researchers are interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed that is how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world.”

To Parkinson and Dristane (2011), qualitative research is a research based on using methods such as participant observation or case studies that gives a narrative or descriptive accounts of the issue.

Others based their definitions on the context and mode of data collection. One of them is Denzin and Lincoln (2005:3), who grounded that “Qualitative research is a situation activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that makes the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representation including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recording and memos. 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 to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them”

Furthermore, Nkwi et al (2001:1) states that “qualitative research involves any research that uses data that do not indicate ordinal values”. Nkwi, et al (2001) definition abides by the kind of data generated or even used. They believe that qualitative research work with images, texts and sounds. Mostly the data is collected by recording a participant and transcribing. Ryan and Bernard (2000) supported Nkwi et al by dividing qualitative research data into three categories namely text, images and sound similar to what Nkwi et al pursued.

According to Patton and Cochran (2002) in qualitative research ethical issues must be checked and considered critical to the work. The findings will be represented to authorities, into books therefore the identity of participants should be protected to avoid victimisation. Patton and Cochran pointed out that in ethical issues and concerns, four principles of Tom Beauchamp and Tim Childress (1983) should be considered: respect the rights of the individual, doing good, not harming and mostly equity.

Patton and Cochran (2002) hammered on two key ethical concerns in any research project- consent and confidentiality. To them, consent is that participants to the research be freely and willingly to participate not be coerced or deceived to participate. Every detail process should be explained to the players to enable them make informed judgment as to fully participate or not. Assurance should also be guaranteed in case they want to opt out any time. Both written and verbal consent must be created for better understanding by would-be participants. Confidentiality, the participants should be assured that all information collected from will be kept top-secret and confident from any person. Their names and other details would not found their way in books and gadgets such as computers thus participants’ identity would be protected.

Qualitative research has a number of characteristics that makes it different from other methods of study. Creswell (2013) observed that qualitative research is naturalistic autopsy. Qualitative research is carried out in the natural settings of the social phenomena. The social setting is not detached from the researcher. Therefore the researcher obtains information from the social setting through various data collection methods such as interviews, documentation and observation. The findings are interpreted within the social context of the phenomena.

Additionally, Marshall and Rossman (2011) elucidated that one characteristics of qualitative research is that the researcher is a key instrument in the research. The researcher does not depend on instrument like questionnaires or interview guides designed by another person but does it him or herself as well as researcher is deeply involved in the social context under study. He uses all his skills including observation to obtain firsthand information, knowledge and know-hows to enable him apprehend the phenomena of interest into specifics.

Furthermore, Hatch (2002) added another feature to qualitative research. He said qualitative research depends on multiple sources of data such as observations, interviews, documentary and audiovisuals. The different sources of data enable the researcher to organise and review the data into themes.

Qualitative research methods have a lot of advantages. To Anol (2012) qualitative research do not necessitate a large number of populations to be used for data collection. A few populations are needed in the form of purposive sampling compared to quantitative that needs huge data to be coded into numerals statistically.

According to Bobbie (2005), flexibility is another advantage of qualitative research. The research questions can be modified or changed to suit the data collection and analysis processes. He further enlisted that qualitative research can be relatively inexpensive as well. To him qualitative or the field researcher does not need to carry very expensive equipment and other staff to the field for research. A notebook and pencil are possible materials to be taken to carry out field research. Comparably, other researches need expensive equipment and experience supporting staff before it can be conducted successfully. It does not mean entirely qualitative research study is not expensive but depended on the project type.

Willig (2001) brought a number of weaknesses to qualitative research method. To him qualitative research methods of data collection and analysis incorporate a wide array of diverse techniques and assumptions and carefully selection of the appropriate qualitative method is important. Patton and Cochran (2002) hinted that the samples are small and not automatically representation of the wider population, so it is difficult to know how far this can produce results. Patton and Cochran further added that, it is difficult to tell how extreme the results are biased by the researcher's own opinions.

3.2 DATA COLLECTION

Bawku has a very large population and it will be impossible to interview and collect data from every member of the community before a true reflection of the research is carried out. A sample of the population was taken in a form of a purposive sampling with a qualitative research method.

The source of data for this study research was obtained from both primary and secondary sources in line with the objectives of the study. The primary source of data was collected through interviews from respondents. The interviews were conducted on face to face bases, recorded and transcribed. The sampling technique that was employed in the administration of the research instruments for data collection is purposive sampling. Saunder et al (2007: 230) states that the “purposive sampling enables you to use your judgment to select cases which will best enable you answer your research question in detail and meet your objectives”.

Attention was also given to the behaviour and remarks of interviewees in order to informally gather their reactions and opinion on matters relating to the study. In all, a total number of 15 people were interviewed for the study to enable a proper records and study that replicates the true nature of the research. The interviewees were traditional leaders consisting chiefs and opinion leaders from both faction of the Kusasi and Mamprusi ethnic groups and the other neutral ethnic groups in Bawku, Governmental and Non-Government Organisations.

Secondary source of data for the study was collected from books, newspapers and articles. Information was also gathered from publications by scholarly authorities on the subject matter as well as reports by Non-Governmental and Governmental agencies. Also, the online sources of information on the Kusasi and Mamprusi conflicts in Bawku, intractable conflicts, ethnic conflicts, conflicts in Northern Ghana, and mechanisms for resolving conflicts were examined. Further materials from Balme Library, Sociology Department Library, Institute of African Studies and Political Science Department, all of the University of Ghana, which are related to the intractable conflict in Bawku, were

thoroughly scrutinized. These literatures and information sources was reviewed, and analysed to provide useful input in some parts of the study such as the introductory, literature review and not forgetting conclusion aspect.

Table 3.1: Interviews

INTERVIEWS	ROLE IN THE SOCIETY	TRIBE
1	Cordinating Director for Bawku Municipal Assembly	Did not answer
2	Representative, personal assistant to Bawku Naaba and Co-chair for the Bawku Inter-Ethnic Peace Committee.	Kusasi
3	Representative for Mamprusis chief	Mamprusi
4	Assemblyman and Member Inter-Ethnic Peace Committee	Mamprusi
5	Youth leader and a teacher	Mamprusi
6	BEWDA Representative	Kusasi
7	Youth leader, Assemblyman, Member Inter-Ethnic Peace Committee	Mamprusi
8	Registrar- Upper East Regional House of Chiefs	Kusasi
9	Moshi representative to the Iinter-Ethnic Peace Committee	Moshi
10	Busanga representative, Youth leader and a teacher	Bisa
11	Divisional crime officer for Bawku	Did not answer
12	Clergy for Assemblies of God Church	Kusasi
14	Presiding member for Bawku Municipal Assembly	Kusasi
15	Youth leader and Representative for Dagombas	Dagomba

Source: Fieldwork.

3.3 DATA ANALYSIS

Data that was gathered is important to the study and relevant for the researcher to analyse for interpretation. The ability of the researcher to analyse and interpret the data collected answers the research questions. The names used in the data analysis are not the real names of the respondents. These names are used to protect the privacy and anonymity of participants (Creswell, 2014).

Primary and secondary source of data was analysed using qualitative content analysis. Osuala (2007) defined content analysis in clear and precise term as the order and breaking down of data into essential parts. It consists of the statistical calculations performed with the raw data to provide answers initiating the research. Neuendorf (2002) describes content analysis as the primary message centered methodology. As Mayring (2000) explained that the procedures of qualitative content analysis are categories into two, namely inductive category development and deductive category application. The primary source (interviews) to the research was structured according to the questions and objectives of the work in themes to enable best and simple qualitative content analysis.

3.4 LIMITATIONS AND CHALLENGES

The researcher encountered some challenges in his bid to get detail answers to his questions and objectives for the study. One of the problems is language barrier. The researcher encountered challenges with the language of the various ethnic groups. The researcher is a non-native speaker of any of the native languages thus battles with the problem of language. Some of the interviewees speak only the local language which the researcher hired the services of an interpreter. Even some of the interviewees can speak

English but prefer to be interviewed in the local language justifying it based on the assumption that, the usage of the native language enables them to express themselves openly and well.

Another limitation and problem is the cost involved in the research. The research came with high and huge cost in terms of travelling from Accra to Bawku, Bolgatanga and back to Accra in addition to staying there for several weeks. The researcher was waiting for the Government of Ghana bursary that normally comes from the scholarship secretariat for research purposes but unfortunately the bursary did not come. Therefore the researcher was compelled to resort to borrowing money from colleagues who are equally on the same mission thereby inflicting financial wounds on my colleagues. The very colleagues the researcher borrowed money from were also in dire need of the money to enable them do their research successfully. At the field the researcher ran out of money for his day to day upkeep in Bawku. Getting a voice recorder to collect data also came with financial burden.

Besides that, getting some target group of interviewees posed a problem to the researcher. The researcher was able to interview most of the target groups but was tough and a big challenge interviewing the Bawku Municipal Chief Executive (MCE). The researcher went to Bawku and from day one the researcher started interviewing the respondents. He has tried several times to interview the MCE but to no avail. The researcher was initially told the MCE has travelled to Accra and will be back the following week; apparently he was in on the promised date. Unfortunately, the researcher who waited for his return went to his office to interview him, the MCE later schedule the interview to the following week. The researcher became disappointed when the MCE did not fulfill part of his

promised of attending to my interview with an excuse he was just preparing for another meeting in Sunyani because of that he cannot attend to the researcher and promised to come in sa weeks later. Finally the researcher could not interview him. Some of the interviewees equally reschedule and schedule the researcher but they later had a listening ear for the researcher and allowed him to interview them. The researcher had a difficult time interviewing the Moshi representative for the Bawku Inter-Ethnic Peace Committee (BIEPC) and God been so good the researcher was able to interview him.

After gathering the necessary information, the researcher had a hectic time transcribing it. The research data was gathered through interview by recording, its tedious and time consuming transcribing the recorded voices as it took several hours to transcript a conversation of an hour. As a matter of fact the researcher took lot of days transcribing. Thus putting fear and panic on the researcher because of the submission deadline as extension comes with huge financial cost.

There was an instance when the researcher swept, when he mistakenly deleted some of the recorded voices from the recorder. The device used for recording is sophisticated and new to the user. For that matter the researcher mistakenly press a key and some of the recordings got deleted. This poses a serious challenge and a big problem to the researcher who already had hectic time getting the people to interview but thank God those lost voices, the very people accepted a second interview.

3.5 CONCLUSION

Chapter three of the research elaborates the methodology underlying the research. Primary data was gathered by interviewing using a well-designed interview guide,

recorded and transcribed. Interviewees were selected through a purposive sampling. The chapter also dealt with the challenges and limitations the researcher encountered during the collection of the data at the field.

CHPATER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a succinct analysis of data gathered by the researcher through recording and transcribing of interviewees to find answers to the research questions outlined in the first chapter of this study, hence achieving the research objectives. The data analysis chapter examines the root causes of the conflict along with the frequent escalations and de-escalations. It also identifies actors involved in the resolution of the conflict and the mechanisms used as well as analyse how effective these mechanisms are. The names used in the data analysis are the not the real names of the respondents. Code names are used to protect participant since data was gathered in a conflict zone where there is a high tendency for victimisation (Creswell, 2014).

4.1 THE ROOT CAUSES OF THE CONFLICT

In every conflict situation, there are always root causes coupled with other triggering factors. The root causes are termed as the remote causes that underlie the conflict which can easily trigger the conflict upon the least provocation. The intractability of the Mamprusi-Kusasis conflict is rooted in chieftaincy. All respondents of the interview made it emphatically clear that the ‘decades-long’ conflict between the two ethnic groups is as a result of chieftaincy agitation. It is based on a feud caused by the claim to the chieftaincy title by both ethnic groups. The British colonial administration instituted a chieftaincy system to enable them rule and have control over the area. Thus Mamprusi

were brought to be made chiefs over the Kusasis who were the natives of the land and the Kusasis were only seen as ‘tendaanas’ - Land owners.

The Mamprusis claim they are the real chiefs of the land, but were politically deprived of the chieftaincy title to the Kusasi who were only were ‘tendaanas’ in the Traditional area. The Kusasis, on the other hand, claim to be indigenes thereby making them rightful owners of the skin. As a result, the two ethnic groups make counter claims to the skin pitching them against each other. This goes to confirm to Azar (1990) theory of Protracted Social Conflict (PSC) based on one of his preconditions for PSC-Communal content, where is it linked to colonial legacy that later turned to be worrying after the departure of the colonial masters. As Longi (2014) in the literature review on Bawku conflict, he emphatically point out the legacy of the British colonial policy is a major of the conflict.

In Ghana, the 1992 Republican Constitution recognises chieftaincy. Article 270 clause 1 states that “the institution of chieftaincy together with its traditional councils as established by customary law and usage is hereby guaranteed”. The importance of chieftaincy is immeasurable in the lives of the people, both the rulers and the ruled. Interviewers from both ethnic groups accepted that chieftaincy is the factor that keeps them apart and fighting. Once the conflict erupts, due to some triggering factors, the effect is always colossal on the entire residence of Bawku and the nation as whole. Lives are lost with properties running into millions of cedis devastated

In the literature review, Ahorsu and Gebe (2011) and Ladouceur (1972), identified chieftaincy as one of the pipes through which conflicts erupts in Northern Ghana. This to

a larger extent, is in consonance with the assertion that chieftaincy is the root cause of the conflict in Bawku. Chieftaincy basically connotes the institution that wields Traditional and cultural authority and control over a particular Traditional area. The Mamprusis and Kusasis were lived peacefully with each other without disagreement on chieftaincy titles. Mamprusis started ruling for several years during the colonial period until there was a change in rulership to the Kusasis during Nkrumah regime. Mamprusis were motivated by the believe that they are the legitimate chiefs. This believes urged them to fight for their rightful place especially in such a situation where they felt the Government machinery was on the side of the Kusasis. The Kusasis also said there was no political hand and it was mere coincidence as it happened during Nkrumah's regime.

The Mamprusis believed that Nkrumah changed their leader because they refused to offer him the political support he needed. Their support was undoubtedly for the Northern People Party. Therefore, it is believed that Nkrumah used his political authority as a President to change the Mamprusi man who was a chief in Bawku for the installation of a Kusasi man who is widely believe to be a sympathiser of the Convention People Party (CPP) Government. However, the overthrow of Nkrumah brought the Mamprusis back to power. This is because the National Liberation Council (NLC) believed they had the support of the Mamprusis. Consequently, these activities exposed the Bawku chieftaincy to the whims and caprices of national politics. Usually, the conflict normally erupts during political period as both ethnic groups are linked to different and divergent political parties.

The theory underlying this research (Protracted Social Conflict) clearly indicates why people engage in prolong conflict. In this theory, Azar stipulates that people or ethnic

groups engage in long conflict because of deep-seated issues such as identity, security and sovereignty. Deploying the theory in the Bawku conflict, the ethnic groups are fighting over what they both think rightly belongs to them, the chieftaincy title. This makes the contestation over the skin, a deep seated issue that has influence the intractability of the conflict. The second theory by Lorenz (1966) of Instinctive Aggressive behaviour of human beings also attests to why conflict occurs and escalates and de-escalates. However, the Instinctive Aggressive Theory propounds that, human beings are aggressive by the nature and can be traced genetically. As conflict is biological, the people attack with the least provocation because the tendency to attack is inborn and easily unleash.

The last time the conflict degenerated into a full violence, Fred and Kizito attributed it to political reasons. From respondents, Bawku is segregated into NPP and NDC with the Mamprusis and Kusasis sharing these political parties respectively. Fred perceives that the feud was as a result of primaries to elect party executive for NDC. According to Fred, the fear of losing the NDC primaries election led the old executives to plan and execute actions to disrupt the electoral process under the ethnic cover. This resulted into clashes between the Mamprusis and Kusasis.

The rest of the interviewees attributed it to the celebration of the ‘Samanpiid’ festival by the Kusasis. The Mamprusis on the other hand have ‘Damba’ as their festival. Festival plays a very important part in the lives of the people of both tribes. Festivals are periods where the society reflects on issues of cultural and Traditional relevance. Whilst the ‘Samanpiid’ is celebrated to mark a period of bumper harvest from the farming season,

the Mamprusis are deprived of their ‘Damba’¹⁸ festival celebration. They have been barred from the celebration based on the justification of security reasons. This has peeved off the Mamprusis. Depriving them the opportunity to pour libation for the glorification of their ancestors. As revealed, the Mamprusi Youth already annoyed easily resort to violence when their Kusasi rivals are celebrating their ‘Samanpiid’. According to Christo and Roland during the celebration of the ‘Samanpiid’ the Kusasis used Traditional irritating statements like “no monkey can stop them from celebrating their usual Samanpiid”. Richard added Mamprusis perceive the celebration of ‘Samanpiid’ as an act of war. This is because, the Kusasis, aside clothing themselves in war regalia are also heavily armed. Based on the castigation of insults, the mode of preparation and dressing for the celebration easily ends up in conflict upon the least provocation.

4.2 OTHER FACTORS FOR THE ESCALATIONS AND DE-ESCALATIONS OF THE CONFLICT

The conflict that began over five decades ago and escalates all most all the times due to certain factors identified by the interviewees. Roland, Christo, Clement and Fred identify cessations of farm lands from the minority ethnic groups in Bawku. The Mamprusis-Kusasis conflict is a clear depiction of the assertion by Awedoba (2011) that land disputes are regular causes of conflicts in Northern Ghana. According to the respondents, farm lands are ceased from the Mamprusis in every farming season. Farming is the major occupation of the people, taking their farm lands deprives them of their livelihood which is tantamount to not living at all. Therefore the victims would be restless until all possible means including resorting to violence attacks are used. This is one major force that drives

¹⁸ The annual festival of the Mamprusi ethnic group and it is celebrated to thank God for the many blesses and protection throughout the year.

both ethnic groups into violent conflicts especially in farming seasons when their lands are always been ceased.

Another factor that causes the resurgence of the conflict after a period of quasi peaceful coexistence is the proliferations of arms and ammunitions (weapons). Interviewees; Godfred, Evelyn, Gilbert and Roland revealed that, guns and ammunitions have found their way into the hands of ordinary citizens who are not part of any security attachment. Without hesitation, these guns are used to attack their rival ethnic groups at the least provocation; to either settle scores or for revenge purposes. Godfred indicated that “they also used these guns and ammunitions for robbery”. In instances where a relative is attacked or even killed during the robbery, the other side is peeved and looks for the least opportunity to revenge. Consequently, that opportunity sparks violence, leading to a resurge of the conflict.

Religious belief also triggers the conflict when there is a peaceful atmosphere. Albert observed that, the prediction of the ‘Mallams’ of the Mamprusis as a factor for the escalations of the conflict in the area. The Mamprusis who are largely Muslims have clerics who “predict or look into the future and predict the appropriate time for them to strike and within that predicted time they will succeed unseating the Kusasis chief”. When such prediction is made by the ‘Mallams’ (Muslim clerics), the Mamprusis take advantage of the prediction to strike with the aim of overthrowing the Kusasi Chief. They are motivated by the believe that, killing is an act of self-defense that attracts blessings from Almighty Allah. To Godfred, this also further exacerbates the already fragile Bawku into large scale conflicts.

Kizito, Bob, Fred and John hinted on the lack of Government's commitment to solving the conflict by politicising it. The over politicisation of the conflict is a major source of its escalation and de-escalation. It is believed that subsequent Governments after Nkrumah have exploited the conflict for political gains. This assertion is premised on the basis that, various Governments supported the faction that pledged alliance for it during political campaign. These politicians used the conflict to solicit for votes with the promised of solving the problem. However, upon winning power, they covertly lend their support to their supporting faction with the aim of enskinning a chief from that tribe. Blagojevic (2009) mentioned political entrepreneur as a cause of escalations in ethnic conflicts. This is because politicians always use the conflict as a campaign tool.

Fred asserted that, "some people never want peace because they make money or fortunes out of the conflict so when there is peace they run out of their source of income". Such people are termed "Spoilers" by Stedman (1996). Like Stedman (1996), Newman and Richmond (2006) asserted that some people never want to see an end to a conflict due to self aggrandisement. Stedman, the originator of the term "Spoilers" defined it as actors who use violence to undermine the peace processes (Stedman, 1996). Stedman (1997; 5) further asserts that "Spoilers" thwart conflict settlement and when they succeed the effects are dangerous. In such cases they keep fueling the conflict for their personal gains. Godfred revealed that, the community is full of mixed tribe which is also a factor that keeps the conflict escalating regularly undermining peace settlement. "The nature of the mixed tribe" said by Godfred is that most of the businesses are owned by the feuding factions and they enjoy the biggest share of the market in Bawku. So the neutral tribes do stir up the conflict to enable them enjoy part of the market share. This is because, they

believe that if the conflict resurges, both Mamprusis and Kusasis business men and women cannot carry out their business. Therefore, the neutral tribes take opportunity to do brinks business.

John opines that, the frequent escalations nature of the conflict is because, the root causes still persist. These causes are swept under the carpet and not attended to, so the belligerents continue to fight. As a confirmation, Vincent revealed that, during their usual Bawku Inter-Ethnic Peace Committee (BIEPC) meetings “the Mamprusis claimed they are not fighting because of the chieftaincy but for farm lands”. This explains why the conflict still lingers. For any conflicts to end peacefully, the root causes needs to be addressed. In such instances where the root causes are not tackled the conflict is never settled but protracted.

Because the root causes are not addressed, Fred concluded in the interview that “the people themselves fight till they become tired and stop. When they regain strength, they resume fighting”. Human beings engage in conflicts for a reason; if it’s not solved, they never stop fighting until their interest and positions are change or negotiated. With the issue of the Mamprusis and Kusasis, Fred observed that, the conflict de-escalates when the combatants are tired. However, after a period of rest, they resume fighting.

“Illiteracy is identified as a cause” of the resurgence of the conflict with devastating effects said by Godfred. The level of illiteracy makes the people feel that the best option to an opponent is to murder. Bob stressed that, even civil cases or situations that do not call for anger or fisticuffs become conflictual and bloody due to the lack understanding of certain issues regarding human relationship.

4.3 ACTORS AND MECHANISMS USED TO MANAGED AND RESOLVE THE CONFLICT

The United Nations (UN) through its agencies is actively involved in conflict resolution all over the world; Rumki Basu (2011:363) stated that, “at the request of the Security Council, the secretary general recently provided comprehensive analysis of conflicts in Africa along with recommendation on how to promote durable peace.” It has been realised that various actors have been working for the resolution of the Bawku conflict since its eruption in the late pre-independence. The actors mentioned by all the respondents are the security agencies comprising the police, military and the Bureau of National Investigations (BNI), Bawku East Women’s Development Association (BEWDA), Bawku Inter-Ethnic Peace Committee (BIEPC) comprising all the six ethnic groups in Bawku. The rest of the actors are the Assembly men, Traditional leaders, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF) of the UN, West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP), Youth groups and Religious leaders.

These actors have used different and varied mechanisms to resolve the conflict. Legislative instrument has been used by the Government to impose curfew and ban the riding of motor bikes. All the interviewees stated that the central Government, through the security agencies, imposes curfew in the community where the movements of people are restricted for calm and sanity. The people involved in the conflict are limited in their movements preventing them from committing the atrocities in the area as Evelyn attested. The Bawku community, which is an amalgamation of various ethnic groups, is usually slammed. Awedoba (2011) pointed out that, legislations, especially curfews are imposed to fundamentally aim at ensuring tranquility during times of the day noted for heightened

tensions and clashes. Besides the curfew, Bob, Gilbert and Evelyn said banning the riding of motor bikes in the Municipality to reduce the murdering of residents. Heavily armed hardened criminals ride motorbikes in pairs for robbery activities.

The Traditional leaders in the area are to embark on a Traditional purification exercise of “blood collection”¹⁹, revealed by Vincent and Bob as a Traditional method of conflict resolution in the area. The Traditional purification ritual of ‘blood collection’ and burying of an okro stick to signify the total end of the conflict is been planned to be carried out by the parties, as it was negotiated at the meeting of the BIEPC.

Education is also used by the actors to resolve the conflict between the different ethnic groups. The Youth groups in their bid for the resolution of the conflict educate each other on the need for peace and lasting resolution. They are engaged in the battle field and are been affected most than any members of the community. They advise and educate one another as all the respondents hinted with the exception of Fred. Not only the Youth that advised and educate each other; Civil Societies (CSO’s) also educate the people on key issues of the conflict.

As part of the education processes, combatants are told the bare facts regarding the conflict. Most of the Youth engaged in the conflict are ignorant of certain information. To resolve the conflict, certain credible information should be given to the people with the help of the Civil Societies. In the literature reviewed on conflict management and resolution methods by Awedoba (2011), he categorically stated that one of the ways of solving conflicts in Ghana is through education and information giving.

¹⁹ A Traditional purification rite performs to official mark the end of a conflict and anybody or family that fight again after the process will be punished by the gods.

From all the interviewees both Government and Civil Societies used the techniques of mediation in the resolution of the conflict. Data gathered have affirmed various CSO's have come in to mediate and facilitate the resolution processes. Notably among these CSO's includes WANEP. With the aid of Government, WANEP was able to send the feuding parties for mediation in Damongo for a possible settlement and resolution for peace to reign in Bawku as affirmed by all interviewees. Mediation is one of the ways to resolve conflicts in Ghana and widely used. To Badu (2011), mediation is used for the parties to re-examine their positions, interests and needs for a possible resolution of conflict. Mediation is usually done by a third party who is a neutral party to the conflict but is affected with the raging conflict. In this case Government and other CSO's mediate between the adversaries.

In the interview, Ronald and Christo mentioned that the people in Bawku negotiate among themselves for a possible settlement and final resolution in the conflict. Through the BIEPC, formed with members consisting all the ethnic groups in Bawku, negotiate among them. Miller (2005) supported Woodhouse and Duffey (2008) used of negotiation as a conflict resolution technique to bring peace to non-violent and violent conflict in various societies. In negotiation, there is direct communication between the adversaries and pre-determined measures are used by the adversary that is why BIEPC pre-determined agreements before the negotiation stated opined by Christo, Emmanuel and Kizito. When the BIEPC negotiations travelled along the rope of peace, an agreement was reached by all the parties to allow the Mamprusis to celebrate their Traditional 'Damba' festival but was breached by the Kusasis. This breach led to the withdrawal of the Mamprusis from the BIEPC. In the sense of Stedman (1996), the Kusasis refusing to

fulfill their part of the agreement would be referred to as “Inside Spoilers”. To Stedman (1996) “Inside Spoilers” are the parties in a negotiation who are willing to reach a peaceful settlement but later refused to fulfill their part of the agreements.

As part of the mechanisms used to resolve the conflict, actors of the resolution made provisions for the delivery of social interventions policies and services within the region. Most of the social services provided are aimed at engaging the people more to better their lives. Christo and Richard revealed that UNDP has also provided a grinding mill to the people, where they can meet to talk to each other and exchange ideas thereby opening formal communication among the various ethnic groups. In addition, BEWDA in conjunction with UNICEF provided the adversaries and members of the community with ruminants (sheep) to rear and seedling to be used for their agricultural activities. The agricultural activities keep the combatants busy thus taking their minds off the conflict. Clement asserts that BEWDA also helps in facilitating the BIEPC by bringing the parties together for negotiations.

As part of the social service provision, according to Richard, the UNDP also trains the people or members of this committee on how to “communicate to residents to calm down tension” for mutual understanding between the different ethnic groups. They normally do these through workshops, seminars and symposia. The UNDP also goes directly to talk to the residents on the effects of conflicts and the need to build harmonious relationship among them. Some of these CSO’s organised games between the ethnic groups for them to mingle among each other.

4.4 EFFECTIVENESS OF THE RESOLUTION MECHANISMS

Even though most interviewees believed that, the mechanisms used by the Traditional authorities, Government, CSO's and the Youth groups have been effective mechanisms as it is responsible for temporal peace that they are enjoying. Fred, Roland, Christo, Clement and Gilbert contented that these mechanisms are not effective. They argued that if they were effective, the conflict would have totally been over. Clement said it is not effective with the reason that all the "mechanisms and techniques results in temporal peace".

The curfew used by Government through the security agencies is not anything residents see effective any longer; they have become immune to curfew, Fred hinted. The education, workshops, seminars by the NGO's and other bodies seems to be useless to residents who normally think of revenge but nothing else. The grinding mill provided by the UNDP for residents to converge and interact among themselves has become a fighting ground for the women of the different ethnic groups. In addition, some security personnel are not professional as they arrest with bias further exacerbating the already volatile situation.

If these mechanisms were effective, it would have stopped this waging conflict. Fred even said the CSO's initiative to converge faction leaders at Damongo for mediation is useless, as they only go to share food, monies and sleep in hotels for nothing. Christo revealed that these "mechanisms are not 100%" because there are a lot of unresolved problems including farm land issues, performance of their Traditional festival. It is therefore obvious that the resolution mechanisms adopted have been less ineffective and could not resolve the conflict.

4.5 CHALLENGES IN RESOLVING THE CONFLICT

In a bid to resolving the conflict with the application of the various mechanisms, the actors face some challenges. All the interviewees commented on challenge of proliferation of guns and ammunitions in the hands of ordinary citizens instead of the security agencies a backlash to the peace process. The citizens who possessed guns and ammunitions used it to further exacerbate the already fragile situation in Bawku.

According to Richard, background checks reveal that residents had the weaponry during the hostilities. Ethnic leaders gathered bad boys and bought them various weapons for the killing of opponents but in the cause of fighting most claims the security personnel chased them and they run and left the weapon, which happens to be lies. The lies are been told to enable that person have possession to the weapon for his personal use. So upon the least provocation, the possessor quickly takes it and start committing atrocities fueling the conflict thereby affecting the resolution processes. Other guns were bought for residents by politicians who belong to the different ethnic groups in the name of protecting themselves from their opponents. With the intention of protecting themselves, these people use the guns anytime they want for their parochial interest which poses a huge challenge to the management and resolution of the conflict. Bob told the researcher that “almost every young man in Bawku has a gun”.

Politicians are also a challenge to the conflict resolution process according to respondents. Emmanuel, Gilbert, Richard, Evelyn, Godfred and Bob indicated that political influence limits the search for lasting peace. Politicians used the situation to further their political course. Politicians from the area leaned their support to the ethnic group they belong exacerbating the conflict. The bad nature of the politicians go to an

extend that when a person who commits atrocity is arrested, it takes only a phone call from a politician and the next day the person who was arrested for murder goes scot free.

During elections period, the politicians use the bad relationship between the ethnic groups for their political gains which pose a serious challenge to peace. According to Richard the politicians promise the various the conflicting parties of the chieftaincy title if they win. It is revealed that the NDC makes such a promise to the Kusasis, the NPP do same to the Mamprusis. Consequently, when they win, amidst support of the ethnic groups, the Government unable to prosecute the people that lend their support to the party. This permits people to commit crimes with impunity. Gilbert alleged that the Member of Parliament (MP), who is a Kusasi instructed the security agencies to be arresting at the center of the town, which is dominated by the Mamprusis, leaving out the outskirts, dominated by Kusasis. Besides, when a Mamprusi man is shot dead the MP tells the media that it is the handiwork of the armed robbers and not be linked to the chieftaincy.

John, Vincent and Godfred mentioned illiteracy as a challenge to resolving the conflict. They said even when the Youth are been advised by their colleagues to use dialogue than violence the advisers are seen as friends and sympathisers of their opponents. Because of the high illiteracy level, any small mistake from a different ethnic group is read with the lens of violence therefore reacting violently. This attest to Lorenz (1966) theory of Instinctive Aggressive as the parties reacts aggressively towards each other with the least provocation. In most African countries, conflicts resolution process is been hindered by illiteracy. These illiterates are easily influenced by politicians and other belligerents to engage in the conflict said by Vincent.

There is lack of trust and insincerity among the disputants which is not helpful in the resolution of the conflict, as testified by Bob. According to Bob none of them had trust for one another because they all live in suspicion. One never knew when he or she would be attacked by another, making them not to trust each other especially when a truce is agreed. Because of the lack of trust, disputants do not abide to their obligations in the agreements. Residents are been asked to return their weaponry to the security agencies or to the Municipal Assembly (MA). For lack of trust most did not, for the fear that an opponent may be keeping his and may use it to attack them. The trust level has gone to a state that members accused their representatives for engaging in bribery and not representing their interest properly as notice from respondents. Fred said some of their “representatives are bribed” to keep mute during deliberations. So they no longer trust their own representatives to the BIEPC. That is why some of the resolutions from BIEPC are not taken serious by the people.

Insincerity has also let the parties hide the main issue under the carpet by saying they are restless because their farm lands are been ceased from them, pointed out by Albert and Vincent. This, to Albert and Vincent, is a serious challenge to the peace process. For every conflict to be resolved successfully the root causes have to be tackled but they shy away from the main cause diverting it to farm land cessations making the conflict difficult to be resolved. Vincent said the Bawku Naaba who is a Kusasi ceased a farm land from a Kusasi, gave it to a Mamprusi man and uses his own tractor to weed it for that particular Mamprusi. Besides, order his follow Kusasis to stop the cessation of farm lands. The parties hide under the canopy of farm lands to fight the chieftaincy battle showing insincere behaviour. With such deceitful behavior, the mediators loose grips of

the conflict and always end resolutions sessions without dealing with the root issues. Truly to that, a number of farm lands are actually been ceased from the Mamprusis according Christo, Richard, Fred and Clement.

Because of insincerity, some of the actors in the conflict resolution do not perform their part of agreements as revealed by Albert, Richard, Kizito and Christo. Christo made reference to an agreement made by the BIEPC to use the various ethnic groups' festivals to promote peace. When it was time for the Mamprusis 'Damba' festival, the Kusasis said no way. The government supported the Kusasis with a flimsy excuse of security reasons. Meaning the Kusasis did not fulfill their part of the agreement propelling the Mamprusis to withdraw from the BIEPC. This to some committee members was an affront to the moving towards a final resolution point.

Logistics and finance posed a challenge to the resolution process said by John and Vincent. The security personnel have to be fed by the Government through the Municipal Assembly (MA), where John openly said "they lack logistics and finance to aid in the resolution". Monies to reward informants and people who voluntarily return arms and ammunitions are not there to reward them. In such case, people feel it is better to keep the weapon as there is no benefits for sending it. Informants keep mute because he will not risk his life for no remuneration. The problem of logistics and finance is hindering the better implementation of these mechanisms to ensure lasting peace.

Inexperience security and unprofessional nature of some of the security personnel. Gilbert pointed out that, most of the security personnel posted to the community lack requisite experience and professionalism in dealing with conflict situations. Security

personnel are accused of bias and arbitrary arresting. This creates the feelings of mistrust towards the security apparatus in the conflict region. Some have nurtured the believe that the security personnel are there not to resolve the conflict but to assist their opponent in fighting them. As a result, they sometimes engage in a firefight with the security men. According to Gilbert, based on bias and lack of professionalism, when they hear gun shots in one area they go to a different area to make arrest meaning innocent people will be arrested. The innocent person's family and sympathisers will not rest and begin to attack other people in retaliation for their innocence. Thus, creating a lot of challenges in the resolution processes.

Entrenched positions by both parties according to John and Clement are serious challenges to the peace process. All the parties have taken entrenched positions, making their differences difficult to be reconciled amicably for lasting peace in the area. In a conflict environment, entrenched positions by combatants block smooth resolution. The entrenched positions by the parties do not encourage compromising which is a bases for finding a lasting solution.

Armed robbery is also a challenge to the resolution of the conflict in Bawku added by Godfred and Vincent. These armed robbers attack and kill business men and traders en route to market centers, Togo or Burkina Faso. Usually, the victim's relative perceived the attack was perpetuated by other rival ethnic group. With this presumption in mind they take the law into their own hands for revenge. The armed robbers from the different ethnic groups know each other and do plan their robbery activities together posing challenges to ironing out their differences.

4.6 HOW TO RESOLVE THE CONFLICT

Interviewees suggested various methods and ways to bring a final resolution to the intractable ethnic conflict in Bawku. Among the suggested solutions is education as all respondents put it. It has been suggested that the various ethnic groups in Bawku should be well educated to know the effects of conflicts in their socio-economic development. John hinted that “when people are well educated on the negatives on this dispute, they will take concrete steps to end it to avoid the negative effects”.

After the education, Government should find out the motive for the fighting said by John. It means that Government does not know the motive for the conflict. Whether it is cessations of farm lands or chieftaincy, which is why it is taking Government a daunting task to offer lasting solution. This resolution suggested is linked to what Albert and Vincent pointed out that, in their meetings to find a lasting solution to the conflict, the real issue is shy away and swept under the carpet. The parties say they are restless because of farm lands not chieftaincy which is viewed to be factual inaccurate. To them, if the issue is made clear, lasting solution can be gotten.

Opined by Albert “the aggrieved parties should also be told the truth by whoever that is responsible for maintaining peace that Government cannot reverse the situation now unless a judiciary decision”. It means, the aggrieved parties are not told to understand they are not the rightful owners to the chieftaincy title. They should also be made know that “the chieftaincy cannot be taken from anybody by any Government like the way the NLC took it to the Mamprusis through a decree” according to Albert. Albert further said, we are now in a democratic system unless from a court of competent jurisdiction. This also suggests that the aggrieved party all along has not been told the truth of the whole

issue surrounding the chieftaincy as a person can only become a chief through lineage or royalty not through a decree from any Government.

Government herself should show interest to resolving the conflict by John. Government's reluctance to objectively engage in the resolution process. Not showing interest in the conflict resolution means the parties will not be told the truth regarding the chieftaincy conflict. When Government shows interest, the issue will be resolve easily without delay. As part of the interest, Government should clearly let the whole Bawku and Ghana know who the chieftaincy or the Traditional authority belongs by making use of National House of Chief (NHC) suggested by Kizito. The 1992 Republican Constitution of Ghana arrogates to the chieftaincy institution the power to settle all disputes that relate to 'paramount stool or skin or the occupant of a paramount stool or skin' (Article 274, c and d). When the people know the tribe who owns the chieftaincy, it will make them take their minds away from it and never think to fight for it.

According to Christo, individual problems or issues must be disassociated from the chieftaincy. Some individuals have their personal problems and scores to settle and they shift it to the chieftaincy, more especially when the issues are on farm lands they attribute it to the disagreement between the factions. When such issues are detached from the chieftaincy issue, people will not link their personal feelings to the chieftaincy and use it to cause confusion in the name of fighting for their tribal group for the chieftaincy. The disassociation from the chieftaincy issue will make such people calm down and cause no further atrocities.

Poverty is a factor that makes people to fight. Information gathered on the ways of possible resolution from Godfred, Gilbert, and Vincent suggests that the Youth are the people involved in the battle so they should be trained and given employable skills. The poverty level of the people in Bawku goes to confirm a Regional analysis of poverty Incidence Survey carried out by the Ghana Statistical Service in 2005/2006 where the three Regions of Northern Ghana recorded highest in poverty (GSS, 2007).

People that are employed get busy with their employable activities than engaging in violent conflict which do not bring “food to their table or do not add their names on Government’s payroll” stressed by Richard. Idle Youth use their idle time to prove how strong they are to conquer their enemies. All over the world one reason why people continue to fight is attributed to poverty. Government and CSO’s should do their best to help the people to eradicate poverty to enable lasting peace in Bawku.

Additionally, for the conflict to be resolved the combatants should compromise suggested by Clement and Richard. In compromise for a resolution of a conflict, there should be a win-win situation where no party is a loser but all the parties are winners. Compromise is necessary for conflict resolution as Harris and Reilly (2008) linked compromise to “hurting statement”. ‘Hurting statement’ is where both conflicting parties realised that none of them can win the issue involved therefore they have to enter into a compromise. In that same breadth of compromise, it is suggested by Fred that the two parties should understand each other else “neither Government nor the UN can resolve it”. Compromise will be a panacea to the conflict where both will understand especially the Kusasis to give part of the farm lands to the Mamprusis as suggested by Clement and Richard. Compromise should be the best option at this state of the conflict. Farm lands issues are

said to be one of the factors that keeps the conflict resurging. The farm land issue goes to attest what Albert says the Mamprusis said they are restless because of the cessation of their farm lands. The disputants coming to understand each other by compromising and giving part of the land to the Mamprusis will end their fight for the farm land which will finally resolve the conflict and make their restless for farm lands rest.

Fred and Gilbert further that the best way to resolve the conflict is to divide Bawku between the various ethnic groups. Division of the land brings demarcation to the share of each tribe ending the hostilities because dividing will let the various sides have their own chiefs to manage their own affairs than the central one for all the tribes as the legitimate chief resulting in the crises. Dividing the land between the disputants will resolve the conflict as Bawku is already divided because each tribe has its area of abode. Though not legitimate, the Government should legitimise its division.

Furthermore it has been suggested by Bob that the “Nayiri for the Mamprusis in Nalerigu should be impressed upon to make pronouncement in connection to the chieftaincy in Bawku”. Bob said the Nayiri should announce that he has no control in Bawku. Such pronouncement will make the Mamprusis know that Bawku does not belong to the Mamprusis as that will keep their minds off the chieftaincy. If such is done, there is no need to fight for it. In addition to the pronouncement, the ‘Nayiri’ should add that any Mamprusis who feel threaten or feel that Bawku has now become hostile to him should come home – Nalerigu for settlement as he is ready to welcome any of them back to Nalerigu the land for the Mamprugu further stressed by Bob. This suggestion will kill the conflict in Bawku because what they are fighting for is been pronounced by their king not to belong to them thus ending the conflict.

To Avruch and Back (1991) and Lederach (1995) encourages the use of the culture of the people in resolving conflict in the area. Bob and Vincent suggested that for the conflict to end the Traditional authorities should help to resolve it by going through the Traditional purification ritual called the “blood collection” and bury of an okro stick in all the communities in Bawku. According to the suggestion from them, the local people have their own indigenous methods of resolving conflict .The ‘blood collection’ purification is the surest way to end the conflict. In the “blood collection” exercise there will be rituals and purification all over the communities and finally end it with the burry of an okro stick signifying the end of the conflict. Any family or side or person who engages in the conflict after the purification rituals will have all his family perishes. Awedoba (2011) in the literature also gave his blessings to the use of Traditional and local methods in resolving conflicts where he used the role of the earth and earth priest to resolving conflicts. The earth priest of both ethnic groups with the help of the Traditional authorities pours or performs the purification rituals to signify the end to the conflict.

4.6.1 How to maintain the solutions

The suggested resolutions can be maintain effectively without relapsing into conflict when Government, Members of Parliament (MP’s), Municipal Chief Executive (MCE) are fair as nobody is bigger done the state by Gilbert .The Government and other Government leaders in Bawku should be fair and firm in their decisions for the resolutions. As they are not fair it will give the people loop holes to punch and misbehave without arrest.

The law must be applied as no citizen in Bawku is bigger than the state. Citizens should live under the umbrella of the law and must obey the state. Where MP's, MCE in the area are not fair in their dealings this make the people who are in their camp feel they can engage in any violent behaviour without arrest, for the fact that those Government leaders are there to protect them in case they breach the law. Some Government leaders are not fair and do instruct the security agencies to arrest and prosecute tribes that are different from their own ethnic group. If fairness is dealt with in the dealings of issues relating to the conflict, citizens will be afraid to violate certain laws in the land for fear of been arrested.

The people should also be engaged regularly, dialogue with them and most importantly Government showing interest in the whole episode suggested by Clement, Evelyn and John. Government not showing interest, and not engaging the people regular and dialoguing with them will not implement the resolution solutions to the latter. Government showing interest of resolving the conflict and offering regular engagement by using dialogue is a panacea of maintaining the solutions without relapsing into conflict.

To maintain the solution of court verdict the Government must back the court ruling with all the state apparatus to ensure its effectiveness as revealed by respondents. Court verdicts are always final unless there is an appeal by any of the aggrieved parties. People disrespect the decisions of the various courts in conflict area. For the decision of the court to be effective as suggested by John and Richard, the Government should back the decisions fully with all the necessary logistics and state institutions else the solutions will be relapsed.

Even before the pronouncement of the verdict by the court, Government must ensure there is calm before and after the pronouncement else there would be some recalcitrant who will be aggrieved with the court verdict. When it does not go in their favour, they will use the pronouncement as an opportunity to misbehave and cause further destructions noted by Richard. Security must be put in place to check violent reaction coming from the parties. Even the victor can take it has an upper hand in the conflict to teach the opponents lesson that they are the legitimate owners of the Traditional authority relapsing it to violent conflict. Making security before and after the pronouncement enable the resolution to stay put without disturbances as hinted by Richard.

Another suggestion by Clement, the people themselves should forgive and forget the pass. Forgiveness is the beginning of the end which is couple with forgetting the pass where they use to hunt down each other. When the people forgive and forget, it will enable the various tribes to mingle with each other without suspicion. The Mamprusi man can freely move to the Kusasi area without fear of been lynched and this will enable the suggested solutions to be maintained without relapse. Fred angrily said that “nobody even the UN cannot solve the conflict”, meaning the best is to forgive and forget the pass happenings and look forward in the future for harmony. The factor of forgiveness will help maintain the solutions without relapsing to conflict.

To maintain these suggested solutions to the conflict, the Government should in all directions empower the Regional Coordinating Council (RCC) to work efficiently. The RCC is responsible for all the security matters in the region suggested by Clement. The RCC has its security committees that work throughout the year for sanity in the town.

The BIEPC should be maintained as proposed by Evelyn. The BIEPC uses dialogue among the various types of techniques in Bawku. Members usually have resolutions and all the representatives of any of the tribes make sure he implements the resolutions at his tribe level for calm and peace. The dialogue is always either negotiations or mediation which is a useful conflict resolution mechanism. With the help of the BIEPC, they have resolved to go through the purification rituals called the "blood collection" and burying of the okro stick which will go a long way to resolving the conflict by instituting the various resolutions.

If still there are skirmishes after the implementation of the resolution methods, the law must be enforced pointed out Richard. Laws are made to regulate the behaviour of citizens. After the solutions and residents are still misbehaving the law enforcement agencies should apply all tactful measures to bring lasting peace. As well if the government is not able to maintain the peace and following skirmishes therefore Civil Societies must come in to help the Government shoulder the burden.

Civil societies have several tactics they employ in resolving conflicts in various societies such as education, sensitisation, seminars workshops and the organisations of games and sporting activities that bring the people together on the same platform. Sometimes because of the bias and non-neutral position of the Government, the adversaries do not trust the Government and whatever measures the state put in place to resolve the conflict because of these reasons civil societies should come in to help resolve the disputes.

In educating disputants on such sensitive matters, the education should be holistic to cover every aspect of the person including the physical, socio-economic and cultural

aspect of the human being and if not done well after whatever solution been implemented it will come back to square zero. After the implementation of these solution and there are still some violence recorded, the education and sensitisation must be strengthen effectively and enforce effectively to nip in the bud.

According to Gilbert, the problem will still rear its ugly head when the personnel especially the securities are corrupt and interested in making money. It has been crystal clear that security agencies in conflict area are always interested in making money than protecting lives and properties. Such corrupt security agencies will take monies and other material things from some of the aggrieved parties and allow them to become a threat to the resolution solution. When those who gave the bribes commit crimes, they are not arrested or the laws are not enforced by those responsible for its enforcement making them commit crimes with impunity. Not only the security agencies are suspected to be corrupt, the people representatives on the BIEPC are accused of corruption. So any of the suggestions coming from BIEPC make the residents violate the solutions but if the security agencies and the representatives stay away from wearing the cloths of corruption, they will be able to enforce the laws and restore calm after any skirmishes and implement the solution effectively.

Better still, Evelyn said if the issue in contention is resolved effectively and efficiently and taken care of, nobody has any problem fighting again. Because what would the person or tribe be fighting for when the bone of contention is resolved. According to Albert after the bone of contention is resolved, the Mamprusis will not even dare because any fighting would not be in their favour after the solutions are implemented well and enforced. No skirmishes would be recorded as they the Kusasis have the numbers and

weapons than the Mamprusis so any fighting will not be in the interest of the Mamprusis and they will not dare added by Albert.

4.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The chapter four of this research delved into the data collected and analysed qualitatively. The analysis is from both primary and secondary sources of data gathered. The research questions and objectives of finding out the causes of the conflict, resolution mechanisms and its effectiveness, why it has remain intractable and how the conflict can be resolved were the bases used to analyse the conflict.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The general aim for the study was to find out the root cause of the conflict between the Kusasis and Mamprusis and other causes that make the conflict intractable. The specific objectives of the study were to: find out the root causes of the conflict; find out the factors that contribute to the frequent escalations of the conflict; examine the efficiency of the mechanisms put in place to resolve the conflict as well the various actors involved in the resolution process; and suggest ways of resolving the conflict. The objectives of the study were achieved with the aid of qualitative data gathered. Hence this concluding chapter recaps the key findings discovered by the study, as it also aims at presenting the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

5.1 SUMMARY

This section summarises the findings of the study. The summary of findings is presented to reflect the objectives of the study.

5.1.1 The Root Cause of the Conflict

The data gathered qualitatively and analysed reveals that chieftaincy is the fundamental root cause of the conflict. This eventually rolled out some other triggering factors of the conflict. Through the indirect rule policy, the British colonial administration instituted the chieftaincy institution to enable them rule and have control over the area. The Mamprusis were therefore made chiefs and the Kusasis as ‘tendaanas’. Both ethnic groups never had

problems with this chieftaincy arrangement until there was a change to this system which resulted in a Kusasis being a chief. This was believed by the Mamprusis to be politically motivated, in an attempt to change the status quo. The two major political parties in Ghana (NDC and the NPP) have since pitched camps with the two groups with the aim of promoting their interest to the chieftaincy title. Hence the current ruling NDC government was gathered by the study as belonging to the Kusasis while the opposition NPP was discovered to be with the Mamprusis. Hence the Mamprusis have been agitating for the chieftaincy and counter agitation by the Kusasis. The agitations by both groups have made the conflict protracted, as till date there is no definite consensus regarding the rightful occupant of the skin.

5.1.2 Other Cause of the Conflict

Aside the fundamental chieftaincy impasse, the escalation and de-escalation nature of the conflict was also discovered to be related to issues of land ownership. The Mamprusis accused the Kusasis of ceasing and taking hold of their farm lands thus the need to fight for it particularly during the farming season. According to interviewees, the root cause of the conflict has not been tackled because the both parties at negotiation table hide their motive for the conflict. In addition, Government has not shown commitment to addressing the conflict rather politicising it. Previous and present Governments have since succeeded in gaining political capital by aligning themselves to either of groups. Another factor that makes the conflict escalate and de-escalate is the proliferation of arms and ammunitions in and the conflict area - Bawku. The conflict area has now become a center where all sort of weapons could be found hence residents who possess these weapons

used it to attack and kill upon the least provocation because of easy access to these weapons coupled with their lack of fear for being punished. Armed robbery activities which are remote to the conflict are also easily misunderstood as an act which stirs up revenge by the victims' family. The work of 'spoilers', who never wish for the conflict to end, because of their own financial gains and other whimsical and capricious motives, also contribute to the escalation and de-escalation of the conflict. They thus stir up the conflict to make money from the conflict especially the business men who are neither Mamprusi nor Kusasi.

Furthermore, religious beliefs were also discovered by the study as other contributing factor of the conflict. It was found that Mamprusi were predominantly muslims and 'mallams' (clerics). These clerics predict to them the period that is mark for victory. The Mamprusi use the prediction to strike thus escalating the conflict. The nature of the conflict is such a way the people fight and become tired and stop. After regaining energy they continue till they drop again, de-escalation and escalating the conflict. Illiteracy is also a contributory factor to the frequent escalations of the conflict.

5.1.3 The Various Actors and the Efficiency of Resolution Mechanisms

In an attempt to resolve the conflict, several actors have made efforts to control the conflict from further degenerating. Prominent among the actors are the security agencies, UN agencies, WANEP, BEWDA, BIEPC, the Religious bodies, Traditional authorities, Assemblymen and Youth groups. These actors were found to have used varied mechanisms in an attempt to manage and resolve the conflict. For example, curfews were imposed by Government (as an actor) as well as other measures like banning motor bike

riding. The traditional purification ritual - “blood collection” together with the burying of an okro stick to signify the end of the conflict, was planned however it was utterly ineffective as the Mamprusis were discovered to have backed out of that arrangement. Among the other mechanisms were negotiations, mediations, education, preaching peace sermons and provisions of social interventions.

There were mixed reactions regarding the effectiveness of the various resolution mechanisms. Some respondents agreed to some measures as effective although many also wondered how efficient some mechanisms were in addressing the root causes of the conflict. Generally, these mechanisms were woefully ineffective because it did not resolve the conflict. Respondents saw these mechanisms as only temporal measure to peaceful coexistence.

5.1.4 Challenges in resolving the Conflict

Like any other conflict resolution arrangement, the study gathered some challenges that inhibit the conflict resolution process. It was notice that illiteracy is a challenge that contributes to residents thinking that violence is the only efficient option to victory. Again, arm proliferations were discovered as something that debilitates the conflict resolution processes. Further, unemployment was also found by the study as a challenge. Jobless youth are engage in the conflict after they are given some monetary incentives to offset their hunger. Armed robbers do attack residents, so some feel they have been attacked by their opponents throwing them into conflict. Political influence and impartiality of Government pose a problem to lasting solution in the Bawku conflict. Insincerity on the part of some actors was again discovered as a cause which leads to

mistrusting representatives at the BEIPC, as they are accused of bribery in order to advance the interest of one group. Another pitfall relates to logistical deficits and the lack of funds to carry out various resolution measures. It was unearthed by the study that Government and the Municipal Assembly need logistics and funds to help in the smooth implementation and resolution of the conflict. The unavailability of funds and logistics made it difficult to implement various resolution roadmaps. Parties to the conflict take entrenched positions not allowing compromise thus thwarting resolution processes. These are coupled with inexperience and unprofessional security men.

5.1.5 How to resolve the conflict

Residents gave suggested solutions to end the conflict. The first solution proposed is that residents should be educated holistically on the conflict to understand the underlining factors of the conflict. Additionally, Government should find out the motives of conflicting parties in order to determine whether or not parties are yanked into the conflict because of ownership of farm lands or chieftaincy or other possibilities. Besides, the aggrieved parties should be told the truth that no Government can reverse the chieftaincy from one faction to another unless the use of judiciary means. When residents are made aware of this, they will stop fighting and resort to the legal means. Also personal issues must be disassociated from the chieftaincy disputes. Compromises also ought to be considered in getting a lasting solution. Both tribes must compromise by redefining their interest, needs and positions as this was discovered as a way that could lead to achieving lasting solutions. It is suggested that Bawku should be divided between the ethnic groups so that each tribe will have their own chief who will be responsible for

them than a central chief. The ‘Nayiri’ should disassociate himself from Bawku and let the Mamprusis know he has no authority in terms of chieftaincy in Bawku. Traditional purification ritual of “blood collection” and bury of an okro stick should be carried out to deter conflict mongers.

The above suggested solutions can be maintained without relapsing to conflict when Government, MP’s, MCE are seen to be neutral. Furthermore, perpetrators should be arrested and prosecuted without fear or favour as this would go a long way to deter others. Also, regular dialogue, as well as engaging and showing interest by government will help achieve and maintain peaceful resolutions. In cases where the court makes a determination, Government should back and enforce the ruling of the court than renegeing on its efforts to implement those decisions. Government should also strengthen and empower both the RCC and BIEPC. These bodies should be provided with logistics and finance to enable them negotiate, mediate and implement their activities successfully. Residents should forgive and forget the past. Forgiveness allows factions to move about freely without suspicion let alone arming themselves.

5.2 CONCLUSION

Ghana as a peace loving country in the continent of Africa and the world at large still faces different types of conflicts among the ethnic groups notably are lands dispute, religious and chieftaincy conflict. The study was based on the intractable conflict in Bawku. The Mamprusis claim they are the real owners of Bawku and should have the Traditional authority in Bawku but because of politics and other illegal dealings by certain leaders of the country, they are deprived of that legitimacy. The Kusasis also

claim to be the truthful owners of the Traditional area and were rightfully awarded. This brought misunderstanding between the Kusasis and Mamprusis leading to an intractable conflict. Varied resolution mechanisms have been applied by different actors which still remained intractable. Its escalating and de-escalating nature has been attributed to various factors.

Ghana is a democratic country and believes in the tenants of democracy. Hence, the democratic principles should be applied for a lasting peace to bring relief to the people of Bawku and the country at large. Resolving the conflict is a collaborative effort that does not relay one person but all stakeholders and all peace loving people. It is the will of the researcher that lasting peace should be found in Bawku based on the solutions from the interviewees who are members of the community and the recommendations by the researcher.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Bawku is still filled with illegal guns which are used during the conflict, the security agencies and the assembly do asked for people to voluntarily bring their weapons for a reward. Even though Government has made efforts towards disarmament, little has been done. Therefore, there should be a rigorous search and retrieval of weapons from the people when there is a truce.

The security personnel should be made to live among the people in the communities than all of them in the barracks. The mere presence of the security personnel within them prevents those criminals and conflict mongers from initiating their evil acts. Even if there

is any confusion the security personnel are right there to quell it else atrocities may be committed before the security get there.

The researcher also recommends that the BIEPC chairpersons should be neutral people as the two chairmen are always from the combatants whose main agenda is to promote their interest which usually leads deadlocks. A neutral chairperson will be able to moderate the meetings successfully.

A bye-law should be passed to indicate that any person or family that acquire land in Bawku before 1980 have ownership or is the bona fide property of the person or family to end the cessation of these farm lands. The cessation of the lands by the Kusasis Youth triggers the conflict. The bye-law of land ownership will help arrest the frequent occurrence of the conflict and help in bringing lasting peace in Bawku.

A watchdog security committee has to be formed consisting representatives of the various ethnic groups in Bawku. The watchdog security committee with the help of the MA be equipped with logistics to enable them patrol Bawku township in the night to complement that of the state security agencies. The people themselves know the hide outs and plans of recalcitrant Youth and will be able to offer antidotes to them.

CSO's facilitating the mediation must be neutral and reframe from enticing disputants to the mediation table using cash because the people are in need of peace not money and other gifts. This will let them win the trust of the adversaries.

Government in partnership with private institutions should create Youth fund, where the teaming Youth can get loans from to engage in businesses. Bawku is a commercial town and most of the Youth are interested in doing business but do not have capital. This

makes them idle around and use the chieftaincy conflict to get busy. The loans will earn them employment enabling them concentrate on their businesses to the neglect of the conflict.

With the above recommendations, it will go a long way to help in resolving the conflict.

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APPENDIX

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

INTERVIEW GUIDE

INTRODUCTION

I am Yobi Donald, a Master of Philosophy student from the Department of Political Science at the University of Ghana-Legon. As part of a master's programme of the University, I have to submit a research work as a requirement for the award of the MPhil degree, my research work is titled: **INTRACTABLE CONFLICTS IN NORTHERN GHANA AND THE SEARCH FOR LASTING PEACE; THE CASE OF MAMPRUSI AND KUSASI IN BAWKU.**

The aim and objective of the work is to find out the causes of the intractable conflict in Bawku between the Mamprusis and Kusasis and why it remains unresolved. This research work is purely for academic purposes and your anonymity is guaranteed. The interview will be recorded for better transcription later. All conversations and comments will be treated with confident. You have the right to respond or not to respond to some of the questions.

BIO DATA

1. Are you from Bawku?
2. Which tribe are you?
3. What role do you play in the community?

CAUSES OF THE CONFLICT

1. What do you think is/are the root causes of the conflict?
2. What triggered the conflict the last time it escalated?
3. What factors keeps the conflict escalating and de-escalating?

ACTORS AND MECHANISMS USED TO MANAGED AND RESOLVE THE CONFLICT

1. Can you identify actors that were involved in the resolution process?
2. What mechanisms were used to resolve the conflicts by the following agencies?
 - Government, Traditional Authorities, The Youth, Civil Societies
3. How effective are these mechanisms?
3. In attempt to resolve it, what are some of the challenges?

HOW TO RESOLVE THE CONFLICT

1. In your opinion, how can the conflict be resolved?
2. How do we maintain the above solution(s) successfully without relapsing into conflict?
3. In case these are implemented and there are still skirmishes, what should be done?