

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST



TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES AND PEACE BUILDING: A STUDY OF  
EGUAFO TRADITIONAL AREA

HAGAR ASARE

THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES,  
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN  
PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

SEPTEMBER, 2014

## DECLARATION

### Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's name: Hagar Asare

Signature: ..... Date: .....

### Supervisor's Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Principal Supervisor's Name: Dr. P. K. Agbesinyale

Signature: ..... Date: .....

Co-Supervisor's Name: Dr. David W. Essaw

Signature: ..... Date: .....

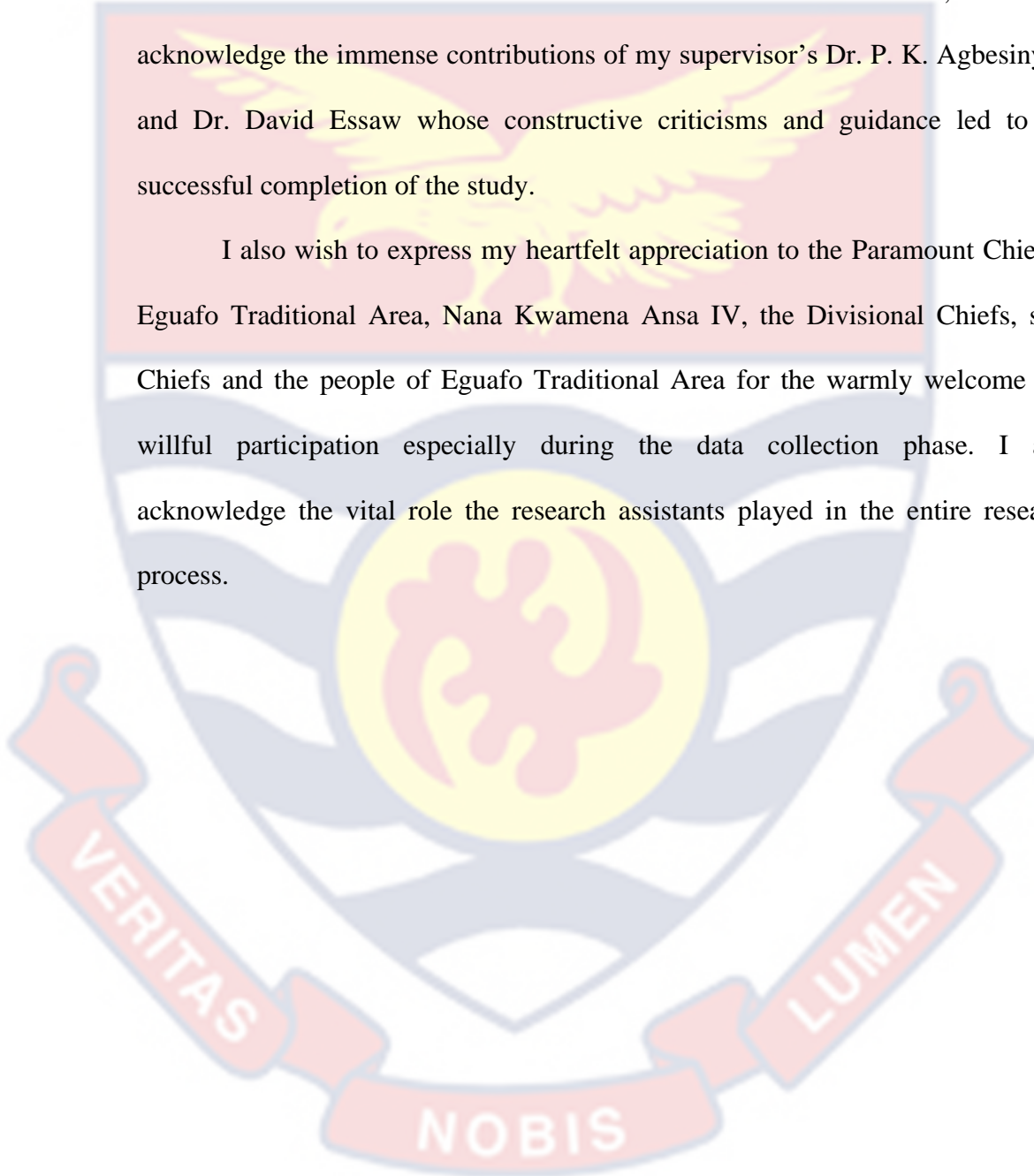
## ABSTRACT

Since the early 1990s a growing emphasis on peace building has marked the international community's response to conflict. Even though it has scarcely been highlighted traditional peace building has been part of the traditional governance system before the introduction of the contemporary court system. The study sought to analyse the traditional peace building process at Eguafo Traditional Area in the Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abrem Municipality. Purposive sampling method was adopted to select the paramount chief, four sub-chiefs and six elders for in-depth interviews, and the divisional chiefs and queens for focus group discussions. Underpinned by the conflict transformation perspective and the peace building integrated framework, the study identified that traditional authorities used reconciliatory approaches to build peace in the traditional area. Additionally, diplomacy, negotiation, peaceful settlement and community participation were the main peace building tools that are often adopted. To an extent, the Municipal Assembly and the Police participated in the peace building process. Further research is relevant to thoroughly discuss the effects of activities of the 'conflict entrepreneurs', and to buttress the need for a modification of the peace building integrated framework.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The accomplishment of the study has become possible owing to the tremendous contributions of certain individuals. First and foremost, I wish to acknowledge the immense contributions of my supervisor's Dr. P. K. Agbesinyale and Dr. David Essaw whose constructive criticisms and guidance led to the successful completion of the study.

I also wish to express my heartfelt appreciation to the Paramount Chief of Eguafo Traditional Area, Nana Kwamena Ansa IV, the Divisional Chiefs, sub-Chiefs and the people of Eguafo Traditional Area for the warmly welcome and willful participation especially during the data collection phase. I also acknowledge the vital role the research assistants played in the entire research process.



**DEDICATION**

To my family.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CONTENT	PAGE
DECLARATION	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
DEDICATION	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
LIST OF ACRONYMS	xii
 <b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</b>	
Background to the study	1
Problem statement	8
Objectives of the study	9
Research questions	10
Significance of the study	10
Organization of the study	11
 <b>CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW</b>	
Introduction	13
History, conceptual and definitional issues in peace building	13
Theoretical approaches to peace building	19



General instruments used in peace building	26
Traditional authorities in peace-building	30
Traditional peace building process	32
Features of traditional peace building	33
Tools used in traditional peace building	37
Women's participation in peace building	40
Challenges to peace building	43
Selected case studies of peace building in three African countries	45
Conceptual framework for the study	54
<b>CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY</b>	
Introduction	58
Study area	58
Research design	61
Study population	61
Instrumentation	61
Pre-field activities	62
Sampling procedure and sample	65
Sources of data	66
Data collection	67
Data analysis	69
Ethical issues	70

**CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

Introduction	74
Background characteristics of respondents	75
Traditional structure and authority	77
Conflict evolution	79
Root-causes of conflicts	80
Peace building at Eguafo Traditional Area	85
Peace building tools	89
Traditional leadership	95
Key stakeholders in traditional peace building	96
Challenges to peace building at Eguafo Traditional Area	99
Benefits of traditional peace building to the development of Eguafo Traditional Area	102
Discussion	104

**CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND  
RECOMMENDATIONS**

Introduction	108
Summary of findings	109
Conclusions	113
Recommendations	114
REFERENCES	116



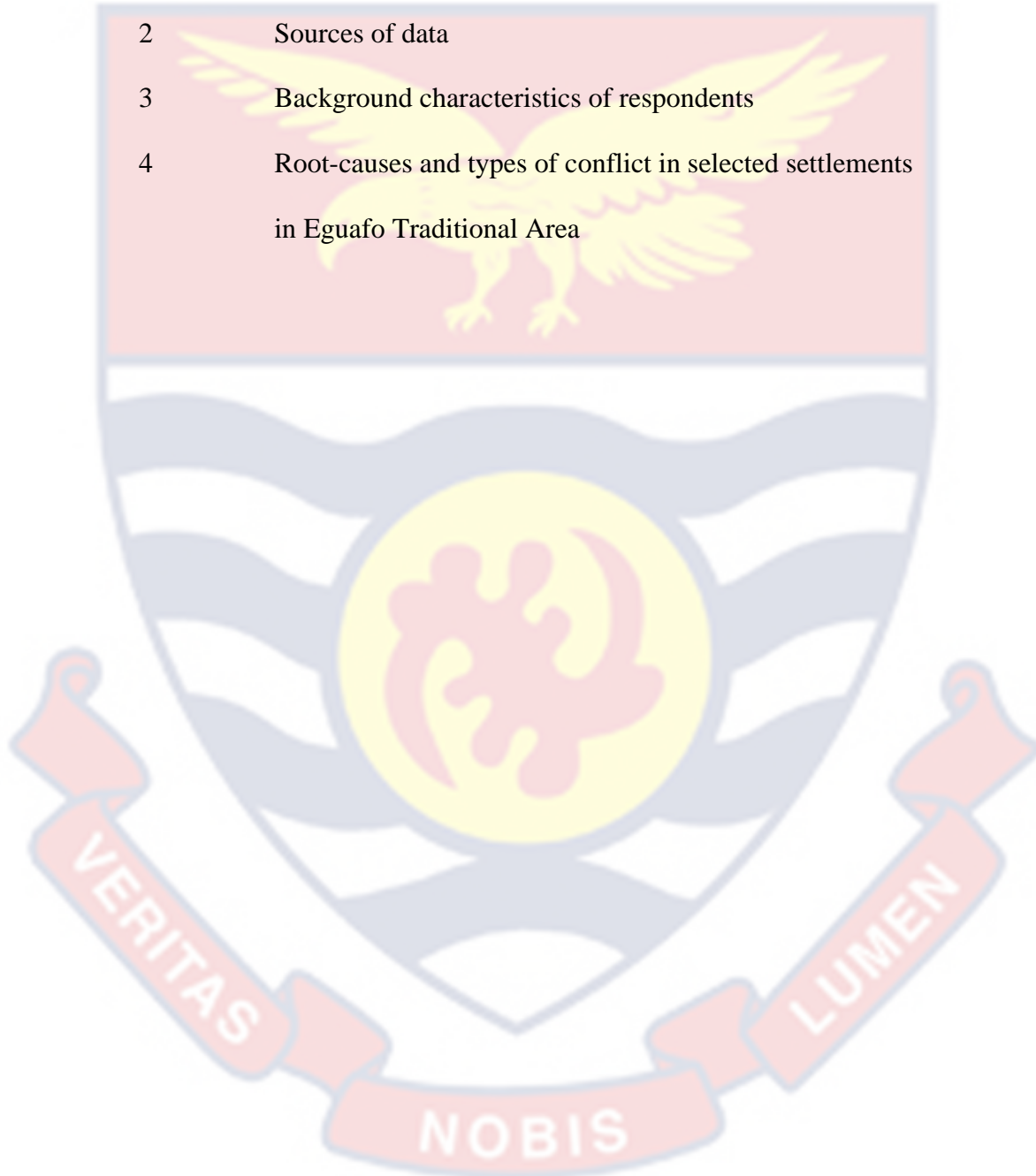
APPENDIX I: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW AND FOCUS-GROUP  
DISCUSSION GUIDE

128



**LIST OF TABLES**

<b>TABLE</b>		<b>PAGE</b>
1	Population characteristics of Eguafo Traditional Area	59
2	Sources of data	67
3	Background characteristics of respondents	76
4	Root-causes and types of conflict in selected settlements in Eguafo Traditional Area	85



**LIST OF FIGURES**

<b>FIGURE</b>		<b>PAGE</b>
1	Lederach's pyramid of building peace	25
2	Peace building integrated framework	57
3	Hierarchy of traditional structure and authority	78



**LIST OF ACRONMYS**

ARLPI	Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative
CIKOD	Center for Indigenous Knowledge and Development
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
IDI	In-depth Interviews
KEEA	Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abrem
LI	Legislative Instrument
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
NAPG	National Architecture for Peace in Ghana
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NRM	National Resistance Movements
NUREP	Northern Uganda Rehabilitation Programme
PRDP	Peace, Recovery and Development Plan of Northern Uganda
RHC	Regional House of Chiefs
UN	United Nations

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### **Background to the study**

Africa is at the core of today's global challenge of armed conflict, a challenge that is inextricably related to development (Bornstein, 2008). Most of the world's armed conflicts of recent decades have occurred in the region (Human Security Report Project, 2006). Continued violence in several countries, the tenuousness of peace in others and the legacy of violence pose significant peace, security and development challenges both within states and on the continent as a whole.

Since the early 1990s a growing emphasis on peace building has marked the international community's response to conflicts. Supporters of peace building have promoted it as a new international idea, usually tracing it back to the United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's *An Agenda for Peace* in 1992 in which he proposed responsibilities and responses for the United Nations (UN) and the international community (Boutros- Ghali, 1992).

In *Agenda for Peace*, the United Nations defines peace building as a process that consists of a range of activities associated with capacity building, reconciliation and societal transformation. In other words peacebuilding is a long term process that occurs after violent conflict has slowed down or come to a halt (Boutros-Ghali, 1992). According to Leest, Kolarova and Mcreant (2010) peace building assumes that conflict is a natural part of human existence and that the goal is to transform the destructive ways of conflict to more constructive outcomes. Any

actions undertaken during and at the end of conflicts are to consolidate peace and prevent a recurrence of fighting (Best, 2006; Paris, 1997). Peace building has therefore been conceptualised as a methodology (Leest et al., 2010) and a process (Schirch, 2008).

Peace building is the effort to promote human security in societies marked by conflicts. The overarching goal of peace building is to strengthen the capacity of societies to manage conflict without violence as means to achieve sustainable human security. Thus, it is a process which facilitates the establishment of durable peace and tries to prevent the recurrence of violence by addressing conflict through reconciliation, institution building and political as well as economic transformation (Labonte, 2004).

Peace building has however been expressed in different forms: a set of policies, a humanitarian agenda, or a way of conflict resolution; all involve the idea of efforts made to prevent a relapse into conflict. More importantly, it is acknowledged around the world that peaceful atmosphere is a necessary precondition for the pursuit of development in its broadest conception (Enu-Kwesi & Tuffour, 2010). It is believed that insecurity in Africa has made it impossible to realise the economic development potential of the continent. Taking the conflict in Ivory Coast as an example, it is noted that not only was cocoa industry disrupted, but the weakened domestic economy reduced the government's ability to invest in a gas project (Adetula, 2006).

Leest et al., (2010) explain that peace building as a methodology aims to identify the roots of violence which may be based on violations of human rights which lead to discrimination, marginalization and exclusion which prevent certain



groups from accessing goods and services such as food, clean water infrastructure health education justice-and participating in the political social and economic process of a state that form the basis of a developed society. Therefore, without addressing the continued or potential exclusion of different groups of society including women, demobilised soldiers, disillusioned youth, marginalised minorities, and development gains will not be sustainable.

According to a World Bank (2002) report, resources diverted by conflict away from development use are estimated at \$1billion a year in central Africa and more than \$800million in West Africa. Donors and development agencies have argued that development assistance projects have suffered in many African countries due to incessant conflicts. Usually the concern is that resources that are originally planned for the funding of development project are increasingly diverted to conflict management and local and international peace building activities.

International peace building operations have grown more important as a response to countries that have experienced civil wars. Such conflicts leave a legacy of social upheavals and violence which if not addressed can ultimately destroy the ability of the societies to progress post-conflict. Thus, peace building works to improve a population's security and quality of life and to ensure that it can and will function in a sustainable manner after the conflict (Beever, 2010). The growing threat to continental peace and security is clearly unacceptable for the long term development of African continent, as it further complicates the challenges of economic development and human security. Routine humanitarian and development activities have implications for peace building as has been noted often in the decade (Anderson, 1999). They may strengthen the bases for resolving

conflict, deepen simmering resentments or favour the claims and power of some groups over others.

Contemporary peace building emphasises partnership among the actors most involved in building war-torn societies especially between international, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and local counterparts. Yet peace building partnership faces numerous constraints and challenges, including intense competition for resources, effective project design and negotiation of roles and responsibilities (Bornstern, 2008).

Peace building also requires a readiness to change the operations and mandates of existing political security and developments. Most importantly, it requires the ability to make a difference on the ground in preventing violent conflicts or establishing the conditions for a return to sustainable peace. To achieve this, peace building approaches must also integrate the expertise and skills of all including women.

Although most of peace building activities have been dominated by men, women also play important roles in peace building. As activists and advocates for peace, they wage conflict non-violently by pursuing democracy and human rights. Women most at times are victims of conflict which obscures their role as peace builders in reconstruction and peace building processes. The contributions of women to peace building have been significant especially in peace building networks. A well noted example is the women in Bougainville who initiated a range of peace building processes, the most significant being a peace settlement between secessionists and the Papua New Guinean government (Schirch & Sewak, 2005).

Theoretical arguments in peace building have been developed to explain peace building. These include conflict management, conflict resolution, complementary and transformational schools of thoughts (Dudouet, 2006; Fisher, 1993, cited in Paffenholz & Spurk, 2006). Peace building is not limited to the post-conflict environment. They are complex and the results materialise only in the medium and long term. The emphasis is on the need for long term work, the need to overcome the root causes of conflict, and the need to strengthen elements which will bring the parties together (Tschirgi, 2003). Conflict transformation accentuates more the structurally-related measures, while peace building deals with the process-related measures (Tschirgi, 2003). The concept of peace building, which involves bridging security and development at the international and domestic levels, offers an integrated approach to undertaking and dealing with the full range of issues that threaten peace and security (Tschirgi, 2003).

Key consideration in any peace building process include the prevention and resolution of violent conflict, the consolidation of peace once violence has been reduced and post conflict reconstruction with a view to avoiding lapses that lead to violent conflict. The issue of how to address the proximate and root causes of contemporary conflicts, including structural, political, social, cultural, economic and environmental factors is all given the necessary attention (Tschirgi, 2003) in peace building. Thus, peace building requires a willingness to rethink the traditional boundaries between the domains of security and development and to expand these boundaries to include other related issues such as defence, international trade and finance, natural resources management and international governance (Bornstein, 2008). Most importantly, it requires the ability to make a

difference on the ground in preventing violent conflicts or establishing the conditions for a return to sustainable peace.

Evaluating the success or failure of peace building efforts is especially challenging considering that it entails the task of creating an environment conducive to self-sustaining and durable peace and resolving the problems of unwillingness to cooperative. Social and economic transformations deserve economic attention in the attainment of durable peace. It entails reconciling opponents by considering the psychological and emotional components of protracted conflict and the relationship between antagonist groups. There is also the need to address the structural and social factors with direct efforts towards transformation of the conditions that may have caused the conflict.

Peace is essential for local development, but more importantly without development, peace is ephemeral and cannot endure (Kendie, 2010). Although various mechanisms including conventional and indigenous ones have been adopted to building and sustaining peace in local communities in Ghana, new conflicts tend to emerge from existing ones. Perhaps, this may be attributed to the complexity and pluralism of the African and Ghanaian socio-cultural contexts (Benson, 2009). Despite all these possible and factual evidences, traditional authorities have contributed immensely to maintain peace.

In Ghana, the chieftaincy institution is regarded as one of the respectable institutions with a primary mandate of not only resolving conflict but ensuring and maintaining peace and tranquillity especially in local communities, among traditional authorities, ethnic groups and in recent times between eminent political personalities. Chiefs therefore have been active in dispute resolution particularly



where parties disenchanted with the procedures of the formal court have clamoured for traditional modes of resolution. Indeed dispute resolution would have been impossible without the active involvement of chiefs in all parts of Ghana (Kangsangbata & Kendie, 2009).

For instance, the National Architecture for Peace in Ghana (NAPG), a document issued by the Ministry of Interior in 2006, and sponsored by the United Nations Development Programme recognises the valuable role that traditional authorities play in peace building not only at the various traditional areas but also nationally. As one of its objectives, the NAPG intends to develop the capacity of chiefs to enable them function effectively as practitioners of peace and instruments for peace building in the country.

In addition to employing tools such as diplomacy, negotiation, balance of power as used in international peace building practices, traditional authorities rely on other indigenous tools. Some of these tools are social (such as parables, proverbs, wise sayings, and fraternal relationships including marriages), spiritual tools (such as of oath, sacrifices, prayers and incantations), and material tools (such as drinks used for prayers and libation, animals and other ingredients for sacrifices) (Esia-Donkoh, 2012; Kendie & Guri, 2006).

The roles and activities of traditional authorities in peace building is therefore worth studying to build up adequate knowledge in this context and most importantly to contribute to the development of traditional knowledge as a resource for peace building in Ghana. As its contribution, this study profiles and discusses the concept and assesses the practice of peace building at Eguafu Traditional Area in the Central Region of Ghana; one of the few traditional areas

in the region regarded as peaceful (Support for Decentralisation Reform Programme, 2009).

Eguafo Traditional Area is located within the Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abrem Municipal Assembly in the Central Region of Ghana. The area forms part of the inland zone of the municipality. Historically, oral literature indicates that Eguafo Traditional Area, formerly known as the Eguafo Kingdom, had gone through both inter and intra ethnic wars and conflicts dating back to the colonial and post-colonial era especially in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early nineteenth centuries largely on issues of trade and land occupation. Some of these wars were influenced and/or supported by the French and most importantly the Dutch and British colonists. In recent times, the traditional area can recount conflicts over land and chieftaincy clashes.

### **Problem statement**

All over the world, issues of conflict in general and ethnic conflict in particular have assumed centre stage with Africa having the highest. The reason, as has been argued, is that Africans are deeply rooted in their cultural commitments since most of the conflicts in Africa are as a result of threatened cultural heritage and historical sentiments (Brock-Utne, 2001). For decades, conflicts in Africa have been resolved using both conventional and non conventional mechanisms and frameworks.

Non-conventional or traditional methods have been relied on to deal with conflicts and maintaining lasting peace in many local communities. Local communities use the council of elders or 'wisemen' to achieve this objective (Adu-



Adu-Boahen, 1993). With their rich knowledge in cultural and traditional rules and values, and clothed with the ritual mandates in community level conflicts resolution and peacemaking, traditional authorities become reliable actors of peace building (Awedoba, 2010). In many developing countries in Africa, traditional authorities have served as peacemakers for centuries before the coming of the Europeans. In most of these countries, elders, chiefs and other customary leaders have played important roles in ensuring reconciliation, maintaining peace and security (Hagmann, 2007).

Currently, governments in the sub-region including Ghana have introduced reconciliatory approaches to the conventional court system all in the attempts to reduce re-emergence of conflicts and to a large extent encourage peace building. Undoubtedly, the practice of reconciliation towards peace building constitutes one of the core mandates of traditional authorities even in contemporary times. They are therefore a relevant source of study on the subject (Mensah, 200; Isike & Okeke-Uzodike, 2010).

Peace building research is relatively new and a few in Ghana. The limited studies conducted have also focused on areas with records of emergence and re-emergence of violent clashes particularly in the northern parts of the country (Ahorsu & Gebe, 2011; Tsikata & Seini, 2004). The present study argues that peace research is equally relevant in (traditional) areas that are relatively peaceful to understand the practices that have promoted the relative peaceful atmosphere.

### Objectives of the study

The general objective of the study is to examine the traditional peace building practices at Eguafo Traditional Area. The specific objectives are to:

- review the traditional structure upon which conflicts are resolved,
- analyse the processes of peace building,
- discuss the roles of key stakeholders to peace building,
- assess the challenges to peace building, and
- make recommendations for improving peace building process in the study area.

### Research questions

The following are the research questions for the study.

- What is the traditional structure that has been instituted to resolve conflicts?
- Who are the key stakeholders of the structure and what are their specific roles to peace building?
- What are the processes used in peace building?
- What challenges affect the peace building processes?
- How sustainable is the peace building process?
- What strategies should be put forward to improve peace building in the study area?

### Significance of the study

Traditional governance system is paramount especially in the development of local communities. Core to traditional governance is the resolution of conflict resolution and maintenance and sustenance of peace. The study explores the governance structures and discusses the strengths of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms. This does not only contributes to the development of traditional peace building mechanisms but also serves as a platform for effective and sustainable peace building in the study area in particular and similar traditional communities in general.

The study also seeks to bring to light more practical information to supplement the existing but scanty literature on traditional peace building process. It contributes to existing literature by addressing some of the gaps in the literature. This can be of interest to academic institutions, students, development practitioners, administrators, and traditional institutions. The findings are also expected to serve as ground for further research.

Traditional peace building practices are mostly orally transmitted. In contribution, the study will serve as documented information for local communities in Eguafo Traditional Area. Other local communities outside the traditional area can as well use the document and implement not only the peace building processes but also incorporate the recommendations for sustainable peace.

## Organisation of the study

The study is divided into five chapters. The first Chapter deals with the introduction to the study comprising the background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, significance of the study, the study area and organization of the study.

Review of literature comprises the second Chapter. The Chapter looks at both theoretical and empirical issues of traditional authorities and peace building. Concept of peace building, process structures and stakeholders are also discussed. It also touches on gender issues in peace building with specific discussion on role of women in the sustainability of peace in local communities. It concludes with a conceptual framework for the study.

Chapter Three constitutes the methodological perspective and how they are employed. These include the introduction, data sources, research design comprising the sampling procedures and the sample size, data collection and management, pre-field activities, fieldwork and tools for data analysis and procedures.

The fourth chapter presents the results and discussion. Responses to the research questions are discussed in detail with supporting narratives in this chapter. The final chapter comprises the summary, conclusions of the findings and discussion, and recommendations to the study.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### **Introduction**

This section comprises the conceptual and theoretical issues in peace building. Relevant literature available is reviewed to discuss the history and definitional issues in peace building, theories in peace building, theoretical approaches to peace building and the general tools used in peace building. The section also focuses on traditional and women's participation in peace building process. The theoretical and conceptual frameworks that guide the study are also discussed in this section.

#### **History, conceptual and definitional issues in peace building**

The term peace building first emerged over thirty years ago through the works of Galtung (2000) who called for the creation of structures to promote sustainable peace to address the root causes of violent conflict and supporting indigenous capacities for peace management and conflict resolution (Schirch, 2008).

Peace building became a familiar concept afterwards within the United Nations (UN) following Boutros Boutros-Ghali's Report in 1992 which touched on agenda for peace by defining peace building as action to solidify peace and avoid relapse into conflict (Schellhaas & Seegers, n.d.). In the year 2000, the Brahimi Report continued with a focus on peace building and defined the concept



as activities undertaken on the far side of conflict to reassemble the foundations of peace and provide the tools for building on those foundations. Since then, a growing emphasis on peace building has marked the international community responses to conflicts beyond resolution. Supporters of peace building have promoted it as a new international idea usually tracing it back to Agenda for Peace in 1992 which proposed the responsibilities and responses for the UN and the international community.

Peace building is expressed in different forms such as a set of policies, a humanitarian agenda, or a way of conflict resolution. All these forms involve the idea of efforts made to prevent a relapse into conflict (Sehellhass & Segers, n.d.). As reiterated by Leest et al., (2010), peace building assumes that conflict is a natural part of human existence and that the goal is to transform the destructive ways associated with conflict to lead to more constructive outcomes. This idea highlights that peace building is a particular approach to conflict which focuses on how conflict is managed or resolved. This view sees peace building as a long term and people-centred approach. It looks at tackling the structural causes and drivers of conflict. This does not only universalise peace building but also realises its relevance in contextually. It also recognizes the importance of justice and the centrality of human rights, as well as the responsibility of individuals and institutions to uphold and safeguard the objectives of peace building.

Schirch (2008) conceptualises peace building as a post-conflict work. To him, peace building can be seen as an umbrella term for all works geared toward social change at all levels of society and in all stages of conflict. He explains that peace building is most often used as an umbrella term or 'meta-term' to



encompass other terms such as conflict resolution management, mitigation, prevention or transformation. Thus, peace building process must intend to address the root cause of conflict to reconcile differences, to normalize relations, and to build institutions that can manage conflicts without resorting to violence. Such a process involves a diverse set of actors in government and civil society and also constitutes short and long term actions to prevent violence over many years. This orientation is preferably held and applied by those who focus on the larger goals of peace and security rather than on the problems of conflict.

The process of peace building encompasses a range of tasks that include identifying and addressing the underlying political economics, social and structural imbalances that have contributed to conflict, reconciling the competing objectives and interest of opponents, preventing the re-emergence of past conflict and ensuring social citizens' participation in peace process and transitions to peace, as well as building the capacities of those institutions that support a secured civil society. Peace building therefore does not stand alone. As explained by Askandar (2005), it is part and parcel of the process of peacemaking. It involves resolving or setting conflict situations and contributes to peacemaking by helping build the basic foundation that is needed to bring people and groups in conflict together.

Peace building is also viewed as a concept used to alleviate human insecurity which involves transforming the social and political environment that fosters intolerable inequality, engenders historical grievances and nurtures adversarial interaction. This encompasses development of social, political, and economic infrastructure that produces tolerable inequality and/or prevents future violence. The focus is to dismantle structures that contribute to conflict in

particular and moving beyond short-term function to maintain a ceasefire. Thus, peace building in a way seeks to prevent, reduce, transform, and help people recover from violence in all forms, including structural violence that has not yet led to massive civil unrest. At the same time, it empowers people to foster relationships that sustain people and their environment. In Iraq for example, the peace building process includes conflict prevention effort in villages and regions of the country not yet experiencing severe violence to build relationship with Sunni, Shia and Kurdish leaders across the lines of conflict (Mensah, 200; Isike & Okeke-Uzodike, 2010; Schirch, 2008).

The UN Security Council's concept of peace building goes beyond post war. In fact, in February 2001, the Council decided no longer to limit the concept of peace building to the post-war context. It redefined peace building as the aim at preventing the outbreak, the recurrence or continuation of armed conflict. Similar to this view is that of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). NATO conceptualises peace building in a wider sense as a peace support operation employing complementary, diplomatic and civil, and when necessary military means to address the underlying causes of conflict and the longer-term needs of the people (Schirch, 2008). This requires a commitment to a long-term process and may run concurrently with other types of peace support operations.

The issues about conceptualisation and definitions of peace building are not only diverse but also present a debate on what the terminological should constitute. The debate primarily centres on what constitutes peace building. Firstly, some are of the view that the definitions given by the UN make the tasks in peace building become too large, too difficult to evaluate and unrealistic given the

limited resources available to it. This has motivated other views resistant to use the term peace building to refer to efforts to address structural violence (Schirch, 2008). Others are of the opinion that peace building must emphasise justice and fairness rather than on preserving harmony and political order (Pugh, 2005; Duffield, 2001).

The other issue being discussed revolves around the types of activities to include in peace building. Peace building is routinely used to refer to specific activities such as democratization efforts, reconstruction of infrastructure, and reintegration of soldiers in the post-war context. Some have contended that peace building connotes no specific time frame, yet with a limited scope in a way that closely links it to development work (Madoka, Edward & Shahrbanou, 2010; Herrhausen, 2009). This argument is in line with the assertion that, although in theory peace building is not synonymous with development, it is closely related to the latter in practice if critical elements such as building up local capacities, strengthening civil society, restoring essential infrastructure and commercial relations are to be considered.

Secondly, some writers use peace building interchangeably with conflict prevention, conflict mitigation, and conflict resolution or conflict transformation. Few others see the concept as a relationship-building process such as negotiation, mediation, dialogue or to describe the emotional or psychological dimensions of work with people in conflict. As such, some have attempted to discuss peace building as an umbrella term for many different activities that non-violently prevent, limit, resolve or transform conflict and create peaceful and just societies (Madoka, Edward & Shahrbanou, 2010; Herrhausen, 2009; Schirch, 2008).

Thirdly, the term peace building is used widely in different ways. For instance, some are of the opinion that peace building intervention must include economic development. This is different from those who think of peace building as addressing structural infrastructure that leads to conflicts. These have contributed to ‘mission creep’ where people lose track of their goals. For example while some experts used the term to mean demobilizing and reintegrating soldiers in post-war setting such as Afghanistan, others’ expectation of the post-war included broad community level diplomatic efforts and capacity building development that are sustainable (Schellhaas & Seegers, n.d.).

Fourthly, there are differences in opinions by governments and militaries regarding the use of the term peace building. As peace building concepts make their way into government and military discourse, some question whether government-led peace building addresses “root cause” and achieve “sustainable peace” with integrity. Terminological agreement within and between the United Nations, regional organisations, governments and international and local NGO communities would increase the ability for all groups to monitor and evaluate peace building efforts. For example, if conflict prevention is widely recognized as involving structural changes that promote open, democratic discussions, it is more likely that efforts by government or non-governmental groups in places like Liberia will be well coordinated and effective. An unclear terminology weakens the ability to promote peace building programmes to others. For instance, some often find peace building terminology sloppy and irritating (Schirch, 2008; Intern, 1998). They usually question differences between conflict management, conflict resolution, and conflict transformation and peace building.



Crucially, the understanding of peace building can also be contextual. What may constitute the objective, purpose, structure, activities and stakeholders in peace building may differ from one context to the other. In traditional contexts, the term is conceptualised within their cosmovision or worldviews. Thus, the way traditional societies in Africa and elsewhere perceive peace relates to their way of life which is guided by three main dimensional worlds namely, the natural or material, social or human and spiritual worlds (Millar & Haverkort, 2006). This subject is discussed later in this chapter.

Lastly, a difference in language is another factor. Peace building, as an English word translates more effectively in some cultures. Perhaps, this contributes to the inability of individuals and institutions to be accurate, comprehensive and consistent in describing what peace building is. Such variations in definitions and conceptualisations have increased the need for further discussions on peace building. This is because there are so many different terms relating to one concept; peace building.

### **Theoretical approaches to peace building**

Paffenholz and Spurk (2006) have discussed extensively four main schools of thought that can be distinguished within peace research. These are the conflict management school, conflict resolution school, complementary school and the conflict transformation school. Although based on different terminologies and conceptual understandings, these schools of thought are largely linked to the history of peace building. It is also important to note that these theoretical schools



are not linked to the conceptual debate on the peace/conflict and development nexus.

### *The conflict management school of thought*

The conflict management school of thought is perceived as the oldest school of thought, closely linked to the institutionalisation of peace building in international law. The basic objective of the approach is to end wars through varied diplomatic initiatives. Within its logic, the approach calls for external diplomats and members from well recognised bilateral or multilateral organizations peace builders (Swanström & Weissmann, 2005).

The approach is also referred to as the outcome-oriented approach. That is, its goal is to have a consensus between conflicting parties by bringing them to the negotiating table. It focuses on the short-term management of armed conflict (Fleetwood, 1987). Recent examples including former UN Secretary, Kofi Annan's involvement in the Syrian crisis, and the African Union and ECOWAS role in the Ivoirian unrest. In some cases, the approach can take the form of power mediation. Although with the same criteria as the outcome-oriented approach, the power mediation can apply external power including financial inducement, political persuasions and military tactics on the parties. A critical example is the Ivoirian crises which saw the ousted of Laurent Bagbo in 2012.

The conflict management school has been criticised on three main grounds. Firstly, mediators tend to only focus on the top leadership of the conflicting parties. Secondly, mediators used in this approach are not always neutral in internal conflicts. Thirdly, the approach overlooks deep causes of conflicts and

thus cannot guarantee long-term stability of the peace agreement (Swanström & Weissmann, 2005; Tracol, n.d.).

*The conflict resolution school of thought*

The conflict resolution school became recognised in peace studies and research in the 1970s. The approach adopts strategies from socio-psychological conflict resolution at the inter-personal level. Like the traditional conflict resolution approach, the logic in conflict resolution school is to deal with the underlying causes of conflict and rebuild destroyed relationships between the parties. Under this logic, relations need to be rebuilt not only between the top representatives of the conflict parties, but also within society at large (Bamidele, 2012). This approach addresses the third critique levelled against the conflict management school discussed earlier.

The recognition of the conflict resolution approach has seen various participants such as international or local NGOs, as well as individuals and communities adopting this approach in contemporary societies. The common features are that all actors work to address the root causes of conflict using relationship-building and long-term resolution-oriented approaches. They do not, however, represent a government or an international organization in terms of motive and practice (Lutz, Babbitt & Hannum, 2003).

The conflict resolution school has been criticised especially by supporters of the conflict management school. They argue that firstly, the resolution process is too lengthy to be able to stop wars. That is, improving communications and building relationships between conflict parties per se do not necessarily result in an

agreement to end the war. Secondly, rebuilt relationships between groups do not necessarily guarantee a rippling effect on the relationships between the entire groups and leadership. A critical example is the Oslo Peace Agreement between Israel and Palestine in 1994 which improved the relations between participants but with no impact on the peace process at large (Bamidele, 2012).

### *The complementary school of thought*

The complementary school focuses on the complementarity of the conflict management and resolution schools with three different approaches. The first approach is the ‘contingency model for third party intervention in armed conflict’ (Fisher, 1993). This approach aims to identify the appropriate third party method and the timing of interventions. It is underpinned by the conflict escalation model developed by Glasl (Dudouet, 2006; Paffenholz & Spurk, 2006; Fisher, 1993). Thus, the purpose is to de-escalate the conflict from phase to phase. The approach recognises that the escalation phase is the appropriate time for resolution-oriented approaches, while power mediation should be used when the conflict escalates. However, after a peace agreement has been reached, resolution-oriented approaches must be reverted to. Critics of this approach point out that in practice different types of interventions can take place at the same time.

The second approach is similar to the contingency model. However, it shifts the perspective from approaches to actors. It explains the need for effective mediation at each or different stages of the conflict. Thus, it is not important which mediators are the most effective, but who is more effective at different stages of the conflict. Therefore, the more the conflict escalates, the more powerful the third

party should be. A weakness of this approach is that it does not fully address the issue of coordination or the possibility of simultaneous application of all approaches (Dudouet, 2006; Tejan-Cole, 2003).

The third approach of this school is the multi-track diplomacy approach. The multi-track diplomacy is a conceptual way to view the process of international peacemaking as a living system. It looks at the web of interconnected activities, individuals, institutions, and communities that operate together for a common goal: a world at peace. It originated in the 1990s due to the inefficiency of pure government mediation. This approach recognises that different approaches and actors are needed to reach peace (Tejan-Cole, 2003). It therefore adopts the 'track' concept to make a clearer distinction between the different approaches and actors. Two main tracks have been conceptualized. Track One Diplomacy consists of official government diplomacy whereby communication and interaction is between governments while Track Two Diplomacy comprises the unofficial interaction and intervention of non-state actors (Richmond, 2005; United Nations, 2001; Paris, 1997; United Nations, 1992).

The complementary school has not been subject to a broad critique nor has it resulted in major debates within mainstream research. This is likely due to the evolution of the conflict transformation school that absorbed the results of the complementary school and was taken over by mainstream research and practitioners (Dudouet, 2006; Fisher, 1993).



*The conflict transformation school of thought*

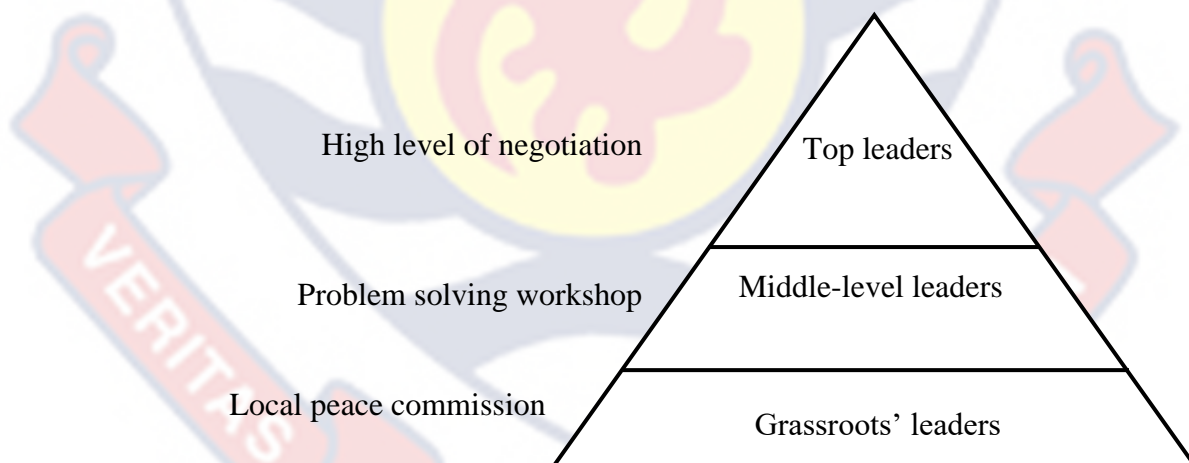
The conflict management school focuses on the conversion of deep-rooted armed conflicts into peaceful ones based on different understanding of peace building. It recognizes that not all conflicts can be resolved, hence, the suggestion of the term conflict transformation rather than conflict resolution. The first comprehensive transformation-oriented approach is credited to the works of John Paul Lederach in the 1980s (Lederach, 2003). Drawing from the complementary school, the conflict transformation sees the need to address short-term conflict management and long-term relationship building and resolution taking into account the underlying causes of conflict. The purpose is to build 'long-term infrastructure' for peace building by supporting the reconciliation potential of society (Galtung, 2000).

In line with the conflict resolution school, this approach also realizes the need to restore destroyed relationships, focus on reconciliation within society and strengthen society's peace building potential. It advocates for third party intervention. However, such interventions should concentrate on supporting internal actors and coordinating external peace efforts. It also acknowledges the sensitivity to the local culture. A key element of this approach is to focus on peace constituencies by identifying mid-level individuals or groups to strengthen their capacities to build peace and support reconciliation. Empowerment of the middle level is assumed to influence peace building at the macro and grassroots levels (Galtung, 2000).

Lederach (2003) divides the society into three levels. These are the top level, mid-level and grassroots level (Figure 1). Each level can be approached with



different peace building strategies. The top level can be accessed by mediation at the level of states and the outcome-oriented approach. Mid-level can be reached through more resolution-oriented approaches such as problem-solving workshops or peace-commissions with the help of partial insiders including prominent individuals in society. The grassroots level, however, represents the majority of the population and can be reached by a wide range of peace building approaches, such as local peace commissions, community dialogue projects or trauma healing. Building on a decade of work in the Horn of Africa, the conflict transformation approach adopts a community-based bottom-up peace building approach. This approach also combines in-country peace building with peace building advocacy at the international level and thereby conceptually links to the debate on global civil society.



**Figure 1: Lederach's pyramid of building peace**

Source: Lederach (2003)

The historical, conceptual and definitional and theoretical issues discussed above are relevant to the study based on two main reasons. Firstly, they provide

basis to understand peace building in a wider context. That is, the conceptualisation and theorisation of peace building is not restricted to a single perspective but rather varied views depending on history, one's background or a group's orientation. This makes the concept of peace building, to some extent, context specific. However, the underlying long term goal of peace building is almost similar if not the same in all contexts.

Secondly, they provide a path that guides the structure of the study with specific reference to the traditional context within which the study is situated. For instance, the conflict transformational school provides a perspective that is culturally sensitive, and recommends the use of reconciliation; a tool essential in peace building particularly in traditional settings. The present study is guided by the conflict transformation school of thought owing to its culturally sensitive and intently reconciliatory characteristics (Lederach, 2006, 2003; Galtung, 2000).

### **General instruments used in peace building**

The process of peace building requires varied tools or instruments that are useful to ensuring the achievement of peace. Although the instruments may depend on the context and the type and scale of the peace building process, there are general instruments that are usually used. Two main tools that are commonly used in international peace building are diplomacy and balance of power (Latifi, 2011; Burgess & Burgess, 2010). However, there are other tools that have been prescribed in the League of Covenant and the UN Charter to complement the balance of power tool. These are collective security, peaceful settlement,

disarmament and arms control, functionalism and self-determination (Alger, 1991).

### *Diplomacy*

This is a basic tool used to ensure peaceful relationships between states and governments. The system of embassies that each country has in the capital of many other countries has developed over many centuries. Formally consisting primarily of career diplomats representing their foreign ministry, now many embassies include representation of other courses. This expansion of diplomatic representation reflects the impact of new technologies and relations between states. Although the inter-state diplomatic system preserves peace most of the time, disputes do create situations in which states fear the aggression by others (Latifi, 2011; Burgess & Burgess, 2010).

### *Balance of Power*

Balance of power is the means whereby a state attempts to acquire sufficient military and related capacity to defer aggression, or attempts to defer aggression by making alliances with other states. In some cases, when balance of power is employed as a deferent, it does indeed defer aggression. On the other hand, reciprocal application of balance of power sometimes leads to arms races. The League of Nations Covenant, which came into force in 1920, provided members with three additional peace tools to complement the existing ones. These are collective security, peaceful settlement and disarmament and arms control (Doyle & Sambanis, 2000; Chayes & Handle, 1996).

The collective security tool was devised to overcome the weaknesses of balance of power as a deterrent to aggression. Collective security obligated all who were members of the League to respect and preserve territorial integrity, exert political independence of all members of the League and at the same time deal with external aggression. Those who advocate for collective security believe that the pledge of all to resist aggression by any member would be such an overwhelming deterrent that none would have reasonable ground to fear aggression. The obvious common sense of collective security is that all may be able or willing to resist aggression by any other members. This may be explained by longstanding friendship and alliances and perhaps by fear of retribution by powerful neighbour. However, when the aggressor is very powerful the practice of collective security in the present of peace may produce an even larger war than the initial aggression. For reasons such as this, collective security could not prevent aggression by Germany, Japan and Italy which led to the World War II (Chayes, & Handle, 1996; Lund, 1996; Peters, 1996).

The second main peace tool in the League Council is peaceful settlement intended to prevent the outbreak of violence in instances when routine diplomacy fails to do so. In cases where a dispute may lead to a 'rupture' the Covenant requires states to submit the matter either to arbitration, judicial settlement or inquiry to the League Council. In other words, members involved in a dispute can agree to involve third parties when they alone cannot control escalating hostility (Griffiths, O'Callaghan & Roach, 2008).

The third tool is disarmament and arms control. Some who believe that arms races had contributed to the outbreak of World War I thought that



elimination or at least reduction of arms would enhance the chances for peace. This was an effort to codify disarmament and arms control proposals that had advanced in earlier times. Although the provisions of the Covenant for disarmament and arms control never fulfilled the aspirations advocated, they did provoke the negotiation of numerous arms control measures in the 1930s UN Charter. Following World War II, the victorious states once again endeavoured to create a world organisation that would maintain peace. When the United Nations Charter was drafted in San Francisco in 1945, it once again incorporated collective security, peaceful settlement and disarmament and arms control. But the most significant differences between the Covenant and the Charter consist of the addition of two other peace tools. These are functionalism and self-determination (George & Holl, 1997).

The functionalism tool is used when states cooperate in efforts to resolve common economic and social problems that might disrupt normal relationship and even lead to violence. Drafters of the Charter had in mind examples such as worldwide depression in the 1930s and the inability of states to collaborate and cope with the disaster. The depression led to strikes, extreme social unrest and violence in many countries. These contributed to the development of totalitarian government and aggression in some cases. The UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) alongside the Security Council (responsible for collective security) are the Councils with such responsibility. Although the League of Nations gave relative attention to economic and social activities in practice, it also became significantly involved in economic and social issues (Griffiths et al., 2008; George & Holl, 1997).



The second peace tool added by the UN Charter is self-determination. Here the UN built on the League experience. In giving independence to many nations in the formerly defeated Ottoman empires the world which was in peace settlement recognised self-determination as a tool for building future peace. But most important for self-determination in the Charter was the inclusion of a Declaration regarding None Self-Governing Territories which covered many overseas colonies not under trusteeship. The Declaration asserts that those administrating colonies are obligated to develop self-government, and to assist them in the progression to develop their free political institution (Griffiths et al., 2008; Chayes, & Handle, 1996; Lund, 1996).

### **Traditional authorities in peace-building**

According to Haggmann (2007) elders, chiefs and other customary leaders play an important role in maintaining peace and security and managing public affairs in many developing countries where state bodies are unable or unwilling to assert authority. This 're-traditionalisation' of governance has been boosted by the erosion of the state's monopoly of violence, as well as by democratization and decentralization programmes that promote or revive traditional authorities at the local level.

As peace building and development actors, customary elders have become significant stakeholders in project implementation (Haggmann, 2007). In many parts of the world government resources as well as the civil servants are concentrated in the capital and major cities while vast rural areas are effectively governed by non-state actors such as traditional authorities. Some of these

customary authorities have played prominent roles in recent efforts to (re-) establish functioning state structures and resolve armed conflicts in various African countries.

A case in point is Uganda where several attempts by the government to end the war between the state and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) failed but they had to rely on an initiative of traditional and religious leaders called the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) to bring the conflict to an end and to map out a lasting peace process (Khadiagala, 2001). Again, in Afghanistan where the international community and national politicians have relied upon the Loya Jirgah, a national gathering of tribal leaders, to legitimize the political process spelled out by the Bonn Agreement in 2001 as well as to negotiate and endorse the new Afghan Constitution (2003/2004) (United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), 2013; Kuehnast, Omar, Steiner & Sultan, 2012). In Somaliland clan elders were instrumental in ending bloodshed, negotiating peace agreements and defining new state institutions at the beginning of the 1990s (Farah, 2008).

The case of Ghana is not different. In all the major and minor conflicts and peace processes, traditional authorities have played and continue to play immense contributions in their respective traditional areas and communities. For instance, traditional authorities are fully represented on the National Peace Council as stipulated by the National Peace Council Act 2011 (Act 818). The Council has the mandate of promoting peace in the country. In fact, it has largely been observed that conflicts are unlikely to be resolved amicably through normal judicial processes (Ahorsu & Gebe, 2011; Kangsangbata & Kendie, 2009; Tsikata & Seini, 2004). This explains the reason a committee comprising eminent chiefs in the

country was charged to bring a lasting peace to Dagbon. In numerous other African countries elders have formally or informally taken over core state functions including tax mobilization, natural resource management and conflict resolution (Kibwanga, 2005).

### **Traditional peace building process**

Traditionally, peace is seen as a communal virtue. As such, there is always the attempt by traditional or indigenous communities to ensure a cordial and harmonious relationship between nature, humans and spirits. As stated earlier, the traditional cosmovision comprises three main worlds. These worlds (natural, social and spiritual) interrelate and interdependent to achieve peaceful harmony (Millar and Haverkort, 2006). That is, whatever activities that take place in the social world relates to the natural and spiritual worlds, hence, there is always the attempt to achieve such harmony. This epistemology transcends to all facets of human lives which consciously or unconsciously must be pro-peace; a value that cannot be compromised. This does not tend to mean that traditional communities are always peaceful. However, based on this cosmovision some have argued that traditional methods of peace building are appropriate especially at the local level (Kendie, 2010; Sarpong, 2009; Kirby, 2006).

Traditional or indigenous societies by their very nature tend to be communal, collective and more prone to foster an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence through the application of tradition customs and values in reconciliation. Within this context culture is viewed as the primary exploration of change. It is by nature inter subjective, and has real constitutive force (Kouassi, 2008; Ojiji, 2006;

Conteh-Morgan, 2005; Osamba, 2001). For instance, Osamba (2001) in his analysis of violence, warfare, insecurity and reconciliation among pastoral groups in Eastern Africa, underscores the effectiveness of indigenous communal methods of peace-building. He maintains that the use of security forces and other extra-judicial methods of maintaining peace could not ensure peace in that region.

He explains further that the current climate of repeated violence in the borderlands of Eastern Africa, among pastoralist, is due to the marginalization of the African indigenous practices of conflict principles and norms communities such as Turkana, Pokot, Sambure, Smalie, and the Boran of Kenya, and the Topasa and the Merille of Ethiopia and Sudan, and the Karamonjong of Uganda hold to ensure peace. In other words, in such societies, cultural values are of primary importance to most members of the community. According to Burton and Dukes (1990), indigenous societies are more inclined to utilize traditional peace building approaches that foster collectiveness than methods that are embedded in Eurocentric epistemologies which are universally implemented and externally imposed.

### **Features of traditional peace building**

As indicated earlier, traditional peace building is culturally sensitive. It is grounded in the worldviews and values of the people. It therefore has features that are related to the dictates of the communal society handed over from the old generation to the younger generation as a way of life. Such dictates, as the belief of the people portrays, are the rules and regulations that have been structured by the ancestors to promote cordiality and tranquillity in diverse communities. A



number of authors have identified features that characterise traditional peace building (Haider, 2009; Edossa, Bebel, Gupta, & Awulachew, 2005; Brock-Utne, 2001).

Firstly, traditional peace building is community-based. It focuses on grassroots participation based on the assumption that since war involves most of the masses (grassroots) or rank and file of either active participants or victims, it becomes prudent to involve this large segment of the society in the process of peace building to foster human security and development. A community-based approach to peace building therefore translates into building peace from below.

Closely related to the community-based is the second feature which is communal-based. A communal approach to peace building is based on the premise that sustained peace and order in society result from the moral authority exerted by the communal groups over its members. In pastoral communities peace building takes the form of elders from two neighbouring clans playing an important part in defusing tensions and conflict, which usually revolve around the control of grazing land or water (Osamba, 2001; Pritchard, 1940). The wisdom and experience of the elders are manifested in clear and well-articulated procedures for peace building in which all the parties to the conflict are given the chance to express their views. The elders vested with cultural authority act as arbiters and even give judgement on the rights and wrongs of a dispute submitted to them for resolution, and then suggest a settlement for peace although they may have no power of physical coercion by which to enforce them. But often the pressures of culture guarantee obedience.



Thirdly, traditional peace building aims at reconciliation in a communal post-conflict setting. It is often viewed as an opportunity to re-affirm and re-establish relationships not just between former protagonists but between all the people. Lotze, Carvalho and Kasumba (2008) emphasise that there is a holistic approach to the process by working with the community as a whole, invoking the spiritual forces to be present and to accompany the community towards peace. Consensus is a key objective in negotiations, and the responsibility of the elders is to steer the negotiations towards that end. Reconciliation becomes the major preoccupation. Treaties or agreements concluded during negotiation are considered binding and sacred and are therefore entered into with solemnity and oaths. Members of the community believe that any violation of the oaths would incur the wrath of the supernatural against the culprit.

In some communities, peace conferences are organised. The convening of a traditional peace conference is normal, for example, among the Turkena following any serious conflict. The main purpose of such a conference is to restore broken relationships and strengthen the process of social heading (Osamba, 2001). Such a meeting is meant to be therapeutic in the sense that all participants are given unlimited time to express their feelings. The meeting is usually characterised by singing, storytelling, dancing, proverbs and the like such that the atmosphere takes a form of a 'celebration'. Other cultural practices such as rituals and sacrifices are made to ratify the peace covenant. The celebration usually continued for several days.

The Luo and Massai also have a similar peace building process. Here too, the elders play a key role as conveners of a peace conference with women, youth,

and children playing active roles. As documented by Augsburg (1992), the two groups would strengthen a blood brotherhood by performing a number of rituals, such as:

1. Getting a mother to exchange belief with the enemy group and suckle them.
2. Warriors exchange spears.
3. Prayers are offered by the elders; and
4. A profound curse being pronounced on anyone who attempts any further cross-border violence.

These rituals among others would make it almost impossible for the two sides to fight against each other (Augsburger, 1992). The presence of the entire community meant that the process of reconciliation was one of the total communal involvements. Ury (1999:28) explains the process with the statement below:

...emotional wounds and injured relationships are healed within the context of the emotional unity of the community.

Opposed interest are resolved within the context of the community peace. Quarrels over rights are sorted out within the context of overall community power.

On moral issues, the elders are viewed as embodying the norms and values of the society. Since they are preoccupied with societal stability and cordial relationships, elders make sure that any battlement is based on consensus underlined by commonly accepted principles of justice based on custom, virtue and fairness. The main objective is to go beyond the mere satisfaction of justice, but to ensure long term sustainable peace.

Lastly, traditional peace building process is governed by the traditional authorities. Apart from the conflicting parties, the chiefs, queens, elders, priests, diviners, soothsayers, etc. constitute the main actors to ensure that a lasting peace and sustainably cordial relationships are restored, maintained and improved. Traditionally, these actors have jurisdictional authority, vested power, status and are highly revered not only as traditional leaders but also divine carriers and representatives of the gods and ancestors on one hand and the community on the other hand (Kendie & Guri, 2006; Kirby, 2006). They therefore act as intermediaries of the social, natural and spiritual worlds. Quite apart from that, they represent the embodiment of traditional knowledge in general and peace building in particular.

### **Tools used in traditional peace building**

In principle, similar tools in the international peace building are used in traditional peace building. Thus, diplomacy, negotiation, balance of power and peaceful settlement feature prominently in traditional peace building although the practice may differ contextually. That is, application of such tools may differ from one region to the other or from community to community (Kendie & Guri, 2006; Kirby, 2006).

Diplomacy is one the most common tools used in traditional societies to build peace. Traditionally, the man of the earth (earth priest) and the council of elders are agents duly accredited to represent and negotiate in place of the state or a group to resolve internal conflicts or conflicts with other states and to develop and implement strategies to build lasting peace (Kouassi, 2008; Smith, 1968). For

instance, the Akans of Ghana instituted a method of diplomatic relations with states. The method involved the signing of treaties and developing alliances of friendship. As explained by Adu-Boahen (1993), the Akans had ‘ambassadors’ who were sent to conduct negotiations with purposes of forming alliance and concluding treaties of friendship among other ethnic groups and states in and outside the Akan state. Intervention by eminent personality was and is currently being used in diplomacy.

Similarly, Johansen (n.d.) writes about the pre-colonial Ibido societies of present day Nigeria, where such personalities referred to as ‘messengers’ or ‘pilgrims of peace’ were used in diplomacy. Often linguists to priests played this role in particular if language difficulties arose because of the issues involved. The personality that assumed this mission did not need to be a noble, but could be chosen because he possessed special competence in delivering messages or the art of persuasion in languages, literature, technology, management and command.

The second tool used is negotiation. This tool is used by seasoned experts who use their knowledge of worship to the earth god. They have power of constraint or coercion. They could command people in a jurisdiction sense or ask them to do or refrain from doing something with the hope that the orders would be executed. Traditionally, a priest could restore peace by making trips back and forth between combatants while raising dust along his passage to show a sort of ‘shuttle diplomacy’ (Kouassi, 2008).

In a case of murder, the murderer could neither eat nor drink until he was purified by the earth priest (man of the earth). If the murderer lived next door to the house of his victim he was obliged to leave his house and take refuge in the



inviolable sanctuary of the man of the earth to avoid vengeance and certain death at the hands of the troubled family and/or the ancestors (lords of the earth). The man of the earth undertook the job of negotiating between the two families or the two groups and tried to bring them together to persuade the family of the victim to accept reparations in the form of monetary compensation or compensation in kind. For reasons of honour the family might be tempted to refuse but being threatened by the possibility of facing the curse of the lords of the earth, compensations were usually be accepted (Kouassi, 2008).

Another frequently used tool in traditional peace building by the people of West Africa was balance of power which was implemented through the exchange of gods between communities. Since the 18<sup>th</sup> century until our present day, diplomatic relations between the state of Dwaben and the state of Krakye in the Volta Region were established in common in the sanctuary of the gods of Krakye, officially recognised in the state of Dwaben under the name of Krakye Dente. Adu-Boahen (1993) explains that the influence of this god was so well-known that even the British had to resign themselves to conclude a treaty of friendship with the two states during the last two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These relations have been developed satisfactorily because of the practice of exchange of gods (power).

Peaceful settlement is also a tool used to create peace in the pre colonial days to ensure lasting armistice. When parties in conflict wanted to put an end to their war and make peace, it sufficed to send someone from a neutral village or a person from his group dressed in palm leaves as a signal of defence to one's enemy. When the truce proposal is accepted, a meeting is arranged at the border of the conflicting communities to settle the differences (Talbot 1969). It was equally



customarily for war to end when the villages in the conflict received a shamrock flag from the council of elders or an eminent personality in the region acting as a mediator. However, when the council of elders' efforts to dampen the conflict within a community met with persistent resistance from a subgroup, the council would not accept to see its authority threatened any longer but to oblige the guilty groups to leave the community and go settle elsewhere. Thus, the group would be expelled from the community through ostracism (Nicolson, 1954).

The need for broad and complex interventions is derived from the simple fact that conflicts are diverse in nature and the degree of seriousness; ranging from a single quarrel of envy or jealousy to serious crimes of murder, and concerning conflicts over land or women, disrespect of ancestral usages, debt and so on. When the accused and the victim(s) do not have the same social status or do not occupy the same social roles, the choice of appropriate mediators becomes more difficult. To prevent or settle a conflict, it is not just anybody who can judge anyone else or intervene in any affair anywhere, anytime in any way and in the presence of anybody (Sarpong, 2009; Tsikata & Seini, 2004).

### **Women's participation in peace building**

The participation of women in peace negotiations and post-conflict peace consolidation both as victims of conflict and agents of peace is increasingly being recognised as a vital contribution to long term peace recovery and stability (United Nations, 2002). During conflicts women may have taken on community leadership role or non-traditional employment. Once peace is established their role should be

recognized and women fully involved in governance and economic recovery and development.

Integrating women into processes offers new degree of democratic inclusiveness, more durable economic growth, and human and social capital recovery. Transition should provide a window of opportunity for promotion gender sensitive policies, including affirmative action in social and economic spheres. For example, it is important to reform the rights of women and to ensure appropriate provision that made for groups such as widows and women-heading households left particularly vulnerable in the wake of conflict (Kuehnast et al., 2012).

Three principal strategies have been identified for mainstreaming a gender equality perspective into peace-building. These are addressing the particular impact of conflict on women's recovery especially on sexual and gender based violence, supporting women's full and equal participation in and ownership of peace-building and decision making processes, and ensuring that national priorities for recovery of political, social and economic redress of inequalities positively influence gender relations and contribute to gender equality (UN, 2010).

Women play important roles in peace building too. As peacekeepers and relief workers, women contribute to reducing direct violence. As mediators to man-heading counsellors and policy makers, women work to transform relationship and address violence. As educators and participants in the development process, women contribute to building the capacity of their communities and nations to prevent violent conflicts. Socialization processes and

the historical experience of unequal relation contribute to the unequal insights and values that women bring to the process of peace building (UN, 2010).

There are some widely accepted reasons why women are important to peace building processes. These reasons include the following:

1. Because women are half of every community and the tasks of peace building are so great, women and men must be partners in the process of peace building.
2. Because women are the central takers of families in many cultures, every one suffers when women are oppressed, victimised and excluded from peace building. Their centrality to communal life makes their inclusive in peace building essential.
3. Because women have the capacity for both violence and peace, women must be encouraged to use their gift in building peace.
4. Because women are excluded from public decision-making leadership and educational opportunities in many communities around the world it is important to create special programmes to empower women to use their gift to building peace.
5. Because women and men have different experience of violence and peace, women must be allowed and encouraged to bring their unique insight and gift to the process of peace building.
6. Because sexism, racism, classism, ethnic and religious discrimination originated from the same set of beliefs that some people are inherently 'better' than others, women's empowerment should be seen as inherent to the process of building peace.

7. Because violence against women is connected to other forms of violence women need to be involved in efforts that particularly focus on this form of violence.

(United Nation Children Educational Fund, 2011; Schirch & Sewak, 2005)

Culturally, in traditional West Africa, women are regarded as life-givers, life-sustainers and society builders. Women are responsible for nurturing children, taking care of their feeding, health, and training. In Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, The Gambia and Cote D'Ivoire for example, traditional peace-making had involved the role of women prominently. In situation of war between ethnic groups, women were called on, to initiate a ceasefire. The oldest women in one of the towns (mostly from the losing side) would wear white chalk and walk in the middle of the warring parties. She would walk to the offensive party and lay an axe before them. The axe would be laid on the ground or stuck to a tree. In most instances, the offensive party would cease to make war (Isike & Okeke-Uzodike, 2009).

### **Challenges to peace building**

Peace building usually happens in an insecure, politically fragile and therefore a challenging environment. As such, the process is fraught with a number of challenges. Critical among these are financial and coordination challenges. Financial challenge relates with a funding gap that ensues when the humanitarian response to a crisis begins to draw down but fully fledged development assistance is not yet in place. It also occurs because donors are unwilling to fund critical but high-risk political and security activities. Yet, this is the moment when a country



most needs timeline, strategically targeted financial support to undertake critical peace building efforts. Identifying the needs, writing project proposals within the context of a coherent strategy and securing funding quickly are all major challenges for post-conflict countries (Johansen n.d)

There is also the challenge of coordination. Schirch (2008) categorises this challenge into three. These are coordination among national actors, coordination of the international response and internal UN coordination. With regard to the coordination among national actors, it has been emphasised that national ownership is essential to successful sustainable peace building. But national ownership requires coordination among many national actors. Such a challenge manifests at different levels. The first level consists of inadequate coordination that exists within political arrangements and accommodation needed among parties in the immediate aftermath of a conflict, contesting centres of power among the government structure such as the executive, legislative and the judiciary. The second level consists of how to involve other stakeholders like civil societies and the private sector in the peace building process. Other levels centre on the (re) emergent of the local government structures which may mirror and compete for social service, health, infrastructure and other resources deemed priorities, and competing claims of roles of traditional leaders, a politicised civil society and capability of the civil service (Schirch, 2008).

The second category is the coordination of the international response. Where there are many international actors involved in a country, it can be very difficult to agree on one common strategy for, and to agree on division of roles and responsibilities. A strong UN leader supported by an experienced team is essential



to good coordination, but it is not enough without the political will to work together too. Hence, the call to member states in the UN Secretary-Generals' Report (2001) to align their support behind common strategies which should be nationally owned (Schirch, 2008).

The third category relates to the internal UN coordination. Since the UN staff in a country come from different parts of the UN family, there are often structural barriers to working as a team to for instance, develop different ways of getting funding from different government bodies, and different working practices such as the proportion of national staff employed. These policy and institutional differences often lead to misunderstanding. In order to maximize the individual and collective impacts of the UN's response in activities required to consolidate peace, the Secretary-General has reaffirmed integration as the guiding principles for all conflict and post conflict situations.

There is typically a wide range of actors involved from national governments to the UN and multilateral organisations. With such a variety of actors, and given the need to ensure that their efforts are aligned in support of one common strategy, the need for leadership and coordination is critical. In most cases, the international community looks to the UN to lead the international response and coordinate the actors involved. Given the regional dimensions of many contemporary conflicts including refugee movements cross border ethnic networks, flows of national resources and arms, financial transformations and pandemics, regional organisations are increasingly at the forefront of peace processing in mediating, guaranteeing peace agreements and monitoring their implementation. Regional actors may sometimes be better equipped than global

actors to adopt and apply universal principles to a local context (United Nations Education Fund, 2011).

### **Selected case studies of peace building in three African countries**

The African continent is noted of violent crises arising from different causes including intra-ethnic chieftaincy succession dispute, inter-ethnic political conflicts, and socio-economic misunderstanding including land and pastoral disputes. This section profiles three main peace building approaches to the Dagbon chieftaincy dispute in Ghana, the resource-based conflicts in Ethiopia and the state-rebel war in Uganda.

#### *Ghana: Dagbon chieftaincy succession*

Ghana had been saddled with violent conflicts from pre-colonial era to date. One of such cases of violent conflicts which have and is still going through the peace building process is the Dagbon intra-ethnic dispute. Tsikata and Seini (2004) provide a comprehensive analysis of the dispute and the numerous attempts to peace building from pre-colonial era to the fourth republic era. The Dagbon dispute relates to chieftaincy succession between two families namely the Abudulai and Andani Gates. The origin of the present succession dispute dates back to 1948 when the candidature of the son and Regent of the late Ya Na Mahama II from the Andani Gate failed and Ya Na Mahama III from the Abudulai Gate became the king. After his death, the Andani Gate was not successful this time again and the throne was ascended to by Abudulai III in March 1954. As a result, dissatisfaction continued and rippled into the era of independence. The

recent crisis resulted in the death of Ya Na Yakubu Andani II on the 27<sup>th</sup> March 2002 over a dispute to perform a royal funeral of the former Ya Na Mahamadu IV of the Abudulai Gate whose death occurred when there was a sitting Ya Na in the person of Ya Na Andani II. It must however be indicated that the Dagbon dispute has had political interferences since pre-independent era (Ahorsu & Gebe, 2011; Tsikata & Seini, 2004).

Various methods and tools have been employed to deal with the dispute and build peace. Tsikata and Seini (2004) record that traditional ruling using the drum history to determine a possible successor had always been in place. For instance, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, a decision was taken to consult Nayiri, the king of Mampurugu (the sister state) when the elders realized that there were numerous aspirants to the office of Ya Na. King Nayiri then selected three communities namely, Karaga, Savulugu and Mion whose chiefs could occupy the office in order to reduce the number of aspirants to avert potentially associated conflict.

Based on the Nayiri ruling, the British Administration in 1930 tried to codify the Constitution of Dagbon. The purpose, among others, was to address or eliminate conflicts associated with chieftaincy succession. Although the chiefs of Dagbon consented to this arrangement where a chief would be selected from the three divisional chieftaincies according to the Nayiri's wisdom, conflicts did not cease. After independence, the Convention People's Party Administration issued a Legislative Instrument ((LI) 59) that set out the rules of succession to the Yendi skin. The LI recognised that succession should rotate between the two royal families (Andani and Abudulai Gates). This was agreed by both families. The Supreme Court later ruled and confirmed the alternation of the succession between

the two families when the LI 59 was repealed after the death of Ya Na Adubulai II. The ruling gave the rotational system of succession a legal status (Tsikata & Seini, 2004).

Thoughts of lasting peace were truncated in the 2002 conflict leading to the death of Ya Na Andani II. The government instituted a committee of eminent chiefs chaired by the Asantehene to ensure a truce and lasting solution to the Dagbon dispute. The idea to use a committee of chiefs was to reduce the interference of government in the conflict resolution and peace process. A roadmap to peace has been developed and stakeholders are expected to follow the map to its lasting conclusion (Ahorsu & Gebe, 2011).

The Dagbon peace building process is one of the unique approaches in the country. It shows the use of traditional, governmental and a combination of these. The process has also seen the use of tools including diplomacy, peace settlement and arms control through mediation and reconciliation (Ahorsu & Gebe, 2011; Tsikata & Seini, 2004). Time is now the instrument to measure the extent of peace in Dagbon.

#### *Ethiopia: Natural resource-based issues*

Ethiopia is said to have abundant potential water resources. However, the level of water supply in the country is among the lowest in Africa. As a result, both intra and inter-ethnic conflicts over water-based resources are not uncommon in the drylands in general and in the Awash River Basin and the Liban and Borana Zones in particular. Edossa et al. (2005) have well analysed conflicts in these areas and the various interventions and methods that are usually implemented to resolve



conflicts and build peace. This section draws largely from the account of Edossa et al. (2005).

The Borana Zone is located at the southern fringe of Ethiopia occupied by the numerically dominant Borana Oromo ethnic group. The area is traditionally noted for conflicts between rival pastoral groups over resources. Evidence shows that the frequency and magnitude of these conflicts have been alarming especially over the last three decades. For instance, there were three major conflicts that occurred between the major pastoral groups, namely, Boran versus Garri, Merehan versus Digodi, and Digodi versus Boran. These conflicts and the severe droughts in that year led to the death of hundreds of people and dislocations. There are also generation of tensions and periodic violence when pastoralists from neighbouring Kenya and Somali move into Ethiopia in search of water and food especially when the rains fail in those regions (Edossa et al., 2005; Wood, 1993).

The Boran (people from Borana) use their traditionally instituted governance system known as the *Gadaa* to manage conflicts. The system has also implemented measures to regulate and manage use of water resources especially to minimise conflicts and build peace. Negotiation and mediation situated within their indigenous knowledge system are the main methods that have been employed of the years to resolve conflicts. In most instances, leaders from various ethnic groups in conflict meet with the Gadaa elders to negotiate for conflict resolution and peace building. This, according to Tache and Irwin (2003) has ensured co-existence of diverse local communities and ethnic groups under the traditional negotiated system. Measures put in place to manage water resources under drought conditions include the following:



- Wet season: after rainfall, open water sources and used and wells are closed,
- Dry season: herds are successively shifted to more distant ponds and traditional wells are re-opened to preserve water near the homestead,
- Progressing dry season (water scarcity): the drinking frequency of cattle is gradually reduced to one to three days (Edossa, et al., 2005: p 9).

There is however a loose collaboration between the Borana governance institution and the state statutory institution. In fact, the state has never given any formal recognition of the Boran political/judicial/governance system despite the latter's importance in regulating interpersonal relations in the rural contexts and access to pastoral resources (Bassi, 2003). As reported by other authors, officials of the state with little or no regard to the authority of the elder representatives at the local level are appointed and given powers to administer natural resources especially in the rangelands. This has the potential of breeding inter-institutional conflicts (Pankhurst, 2003).

#### *Uganda: State-rebel war*

Uganda, like any other African country has had moments of (violent) conflicts dating back to antiquity. Earlier attempts to peace building were primarily traditional which were ordinarily organized by families, clans and tribal heads. Inter-clan violence was commonly over cattleground, women and goods. Even before 1894 when Uganda became a British protectorate, the impending threats from other tribal communities and the more stratified and organized southern

kingdoms threatened the northern and eastern tribes. In most of these conflicts, the elders used negotiation and compensation through diplomacy as peace building tools. Afterward, a peace-affirming ceremony involving the conflicting parties were performed (Kibwanga, 2005).

Kibwanga's (2005) thesis, which this section draws from, indicates that the most important of all traditional practices of peace building is the process of resolution of armed conflicts. Traditionally, wars were fought for expansion, protection of territories and to repel raiders. Wars were usually fought by clans after consultation with the oracles in order for them to be considered just and fair. Consequently, most of these societies abhorred wars and favoured peaceful settlements of disputes. They developed a number of peaceful practices such as *yiko tong* (burying of spear), *nyomdyere* (marriage of friendship) and *gango* (organized merry making) to settle disputes.

*Yiko tong* for instance, was normally used at the beginning or during the war. A buried spear signified a need to end the war and to discuss a peaceful solution to the conflict. It was usually declared by the council of elders sitting as a War Council in consultation with the *jogi* (gods). Usually, spears were buried while some were bent and planted on the war path to inform the other party that the peace ritual had been conducted. The other party was then required by their own oracles to follow suit by burying their own spears and planting bent spears alongside their enemies' spears. This marked the beginning of discussion to unearth the root causes of the conflict and institution of acceptable solutions. This could be complemented by *nyomdyere* and *gango*. This practice tended to spill into neighbouring tribes and helped set the tone for peace building.

Even though traces of traditional practices of peace building is still observed in some traditional societies, the advent of colonialism and the nation state in the late 19th century relegated or outlawed many of these traditional practices for being inconsistent with the expectations of civilization and modernity. Firstly, the recent wars in Uganda are fought between the state and rebels. Secondly, weapons like spears have been replaced by advanced weaponry which makes yiko tong an outlived practice. Thirdly, authorities of regulatory institutions of the clan and the tribe have been replaced by state-owned institutions and regulated organizations with assistance from other external partners (Khadiagala, 2001).

Currently, the Government of Uganda (GoU) has adopted notably, political, legal and developmental approaches to peace building. Politically, the GoU has attempted to seek solution to the Northern Ugandan conflict between the state and The Lord's Resistant Army (LRA) using diplomacy and negotiations. The GoU also set up a Juba Peace Talk which lasted from 2006 to 2008 which was brokered by the Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS) supported by many regional governments and international agencies including the United Nations (UN). It must be emphasized that the religious and tribal leaders from Northern Uganda also participated in the Peace Talk (Khadiagala, 2001).

The legal dimension, which complemented the political approach, were the enactment of enabling laws passed by the Act of Parliament and Presidential prerogatives enshrined in the constitution of Uganda. To encourage the rebels to surrender and resettle, the plan of declaration of amnesty in 1991 was initiated by parliament and followed by presidential pardon. This became the Amnesty Act of

2000. The rationale was to allay the fear of prosecution held by the rebels. Traditional practices of the northern tribes based on the tenets of 'confession' and 'forgiveness' were relied upon. More than 23, 000 rebels benefitted from the amnesty (Kibwanga, 2005).

Again, to open up the political platform and space to allow participatory politics by all, the 1995 constitution was amended to abolish the single party government known as the 'movement system' under the National Resistance Movement (NRM). It was believed that the single party government was one of the reasons for frequent conflicts by rebels in Northern Uganda and therefore broadening the political space was necessary.

Another legal step was the decentralization of political and administrative powers. To achieve this, the Local Government Act was amended to give tribal politicians the liberty to govern their societies although under the auspices of the central government. Government representatives were appointed to oversee affairs at the decentralized districts. In a way, the people at the grassroots had the opportunity to interact directly with their leaders who were very close to them. This approach reduced the support base of the LRA at the local level.

Based on the opinion that the underdevelopment at the northern parts of Uganda contributed to the wars, the GoU set up various developmental agencies aimed at pacifying the region and redistributing national wealth in a manner favourable to the region. One attempt was to appoint a special cabinet minister with the tasks to pacify and rehabilitate the region. Other programmes that were rolled without success were the Northern Uganda Reconstruction Programmes I and II, Northern Uganda Social Action Fund I and II, Northern Uganda



Rehabilitation Programme (NUREP), and Peace, Recovery and Development Plan of Northern Uganda (PRDP) (Kibwanga, 2005).

Notwithstanding the several failed attempts by the government to end the war, the traditional and religious leaders initiated peace building attempts with the government using dialogue as a tool to engage the LRA. They initiated a programme called the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) to bring the conflict to an end. The involvement of the civil society organizations and media complemented this initiative to encourage the peace building process. These have translated in the formation of peace fora in most districts and locales (Kibwanga, 2005; Khadiagala, 2001).

The Northern Ugandan peace building process provides an understanding and emphasizes that traditional peace building practices are relevant to contemporary peace building process in Africa. Governments therefore need to revisit some of these traditional practices and adopt or adapt and incorporate them into the mainstream peace building process.

### **Conceptual framework for the study**

The study adopts the conflict transformation theoretical perspective as its guiding framework. Four main reasons underscore this adoption. Firstly, the framework recognizes the fact that not all conflict can be resolved, hence, the transformation approach advocated for peace building rather than resolution. Secondly, it is not only contemporary but also draws from existing theoretical perspectives such as the complementary and resolution schools of thought. Thirdly, and most importantly, the framework recognizes the sensitivity of culture



as key to peace building (Lederach, 2003; Galtung, 2000). In relation to the Ghanaian context, the traditional authorities constitute the custodians and main stakeholders with the responsibility of managing and ensuring 'lasting' peace at the local settings. This is even crucial in the sense that most of Ghana's protracted (violent) conflicts centre on chieftaincy issues. Traditional authorities therefore become the immediate internal actors for peace interventions. Lastly, the framework advocates for coordination between internal actors and external peace efforts. The appropriateness of this principle to the study is the fact that Ghana runs the duality system of governance comprising the conventional political and the traditional governance systems (Support for Decentralisation Reform Programme, 2008). Thus, internal actors (traditional authorities) coordinate directly with the political (formal) system (or conceptually, external actors) to ensure and promote peace building in traditional communities (Ahorsu & Gebe, 2011). This arrangement reflects in the National Architecture for Peace in Ghana issued by the Ministry of Interior in 2006.

Largely credited to John Paul Lederach, the conflict transformation perspective, as indicated earlier perceives and classifies a society into three levels which relate to peace building. These are the top level, mid-level and grassroots level. The relevance of this classification to the study is that when applied to the context of Ghana, there is the recognition of both traditional and political systems playing dual but coordinated roles at each level. However, at the grassroots level, the role of traditional authorities is more significant.

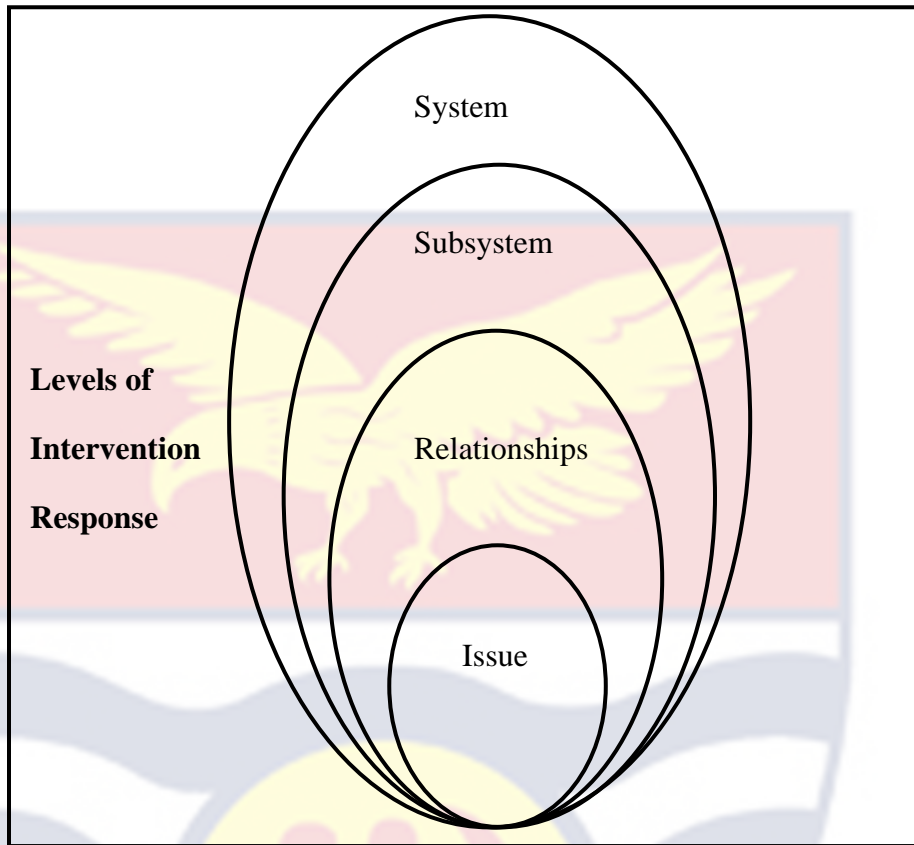
The research also incorporates the peace building integrated framework (Lederach, Neufeldt & Culbertson, 2007). In this conceptual framework, the

authors identify four levels at which peace building activities are directed. These levels are issues, relationships, subsystems and systems (Figure 2). The issues refer to the immediate problems and crises that demand immediate responses.

They always relate to conflicting individuals, factions or ethnic groups. The relationships identify these conflicting parties and their backgrounds, cause(s) of the issues and the possible or potential parties that are likely to be robed into the issues. In Ghana, the commonest issues to deal with relate with land ownership and chieftaincy succession.

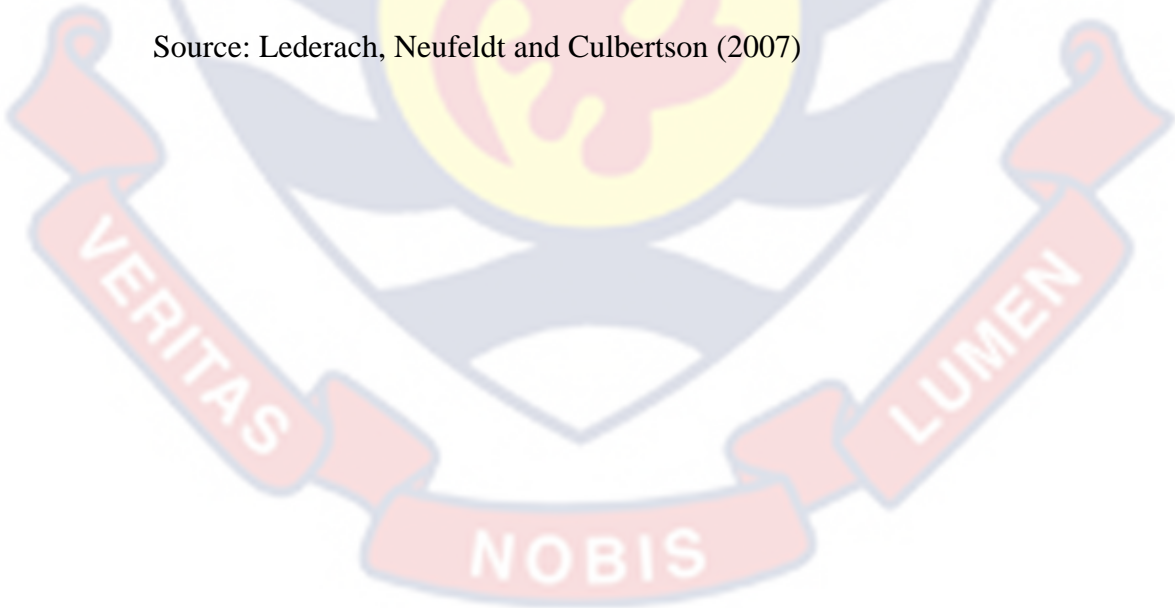
The framework also brings subsystems into focus. The subsystems' lens centres on the area between the relational and system levels. It asks questions such as 'who are the people to which peace builders have access and who are responsible for the community?'

The people and institutions at the sub-system level (for instance, the traditional council) provide an entry point to wider systemic change. That is, working at the subsystem level is a way to begin to effect structural or cultural change on a small scale. This level is similar to the mid-level of the conflict transformation perspective. In the context of this study, the traditional authorities in particular become relevant. The activities at the subsystem reflects at the level of system; a much broader scope of endeavours. Likened to the top level in the conflict transformation school of thought, the system is conceptualised by this study as the Central Regional House of Chiefs which has jurisdictional authority and power over traditional and chieftaincy issues in particular in the Central Region.



**Figure 2: Peace building integrated framework**

Source: Lederach, Neufeldt and Culbertson (2007)



## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### **Introduction**

This section describes all the methods and procedures that were adopted to collect the data for the study. It deals with the study area, sources and type of data collected, instrument used, sampling procedures, the sample size and how the data were analysed. It also outlines the pre-fieldwork activities that were undertaken as well as challenges that were encountered during the data collection.

#### **Study area**

##### *Location*

Eguafo Traditional Area is within the KEEA Municipal Assembly in the Central Region of Ghana. The area forms part of the inland zone of the Municipal. The area is located in the semi-forest zone of Ghana and the vegetation is semi-deciduous. It experiences two wet seasons in the year in May - July and September-November with the latter season as the major wet or rainy season. The entire land is suitable for agriculture. Some of the major crops cultivated in the area are food crops such as cassava, and maize, vegetable such as tomato, garden eggs and pepper, and fruits such as pineapple, citrus and water melon.



*Population characteristics*

The population of the Eguafo Traditional area according to the 2000 Population and Housing Census conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service is 10,361 comprising of 4869 males and 5492 female in twelve settlements (Table 1).

**Table 1: Population characteristics of Eguafo Traditional Area**

No.	Settlement	Population		
		Male	Female	Total
1	Abrehyia	779	815	1,594
2	Eguafo	658	752	1 410
3	Breman	563	632	1,195
4	Daber	519	568	1,087
5	Egyeikrom	304	331	635
6	Mpeasem	251	269	520
7	Bando	120	126	246
8	Ponkrom	98	113	211
9	Ntsinman	108	92	200
10	Benyadze	408	507	915
11	Eduegyei	76	74	150
12	Dominadze	985	1,213	2,198
<b>Total</b>		4,869	5,492	10,361

Source: Ghana Statistical Service (2005)

*Governance structure*

The study area, like any other traditional area in the country practices the dual governance structure. That is, the governance structure comprises the governmental structure perpetuated by the Municipal Assembly and the traditional structure governed by the chieftaincy institution. Both structures, which are regulated by the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, work in tandem to ensure grassroots participation in local governance and to discharge social, material and spiritual development of the area. A study by CIKOD and Institute for Development Studies, University of Cape Coast, indicates that the traditional area has one of the best governance systems in the region. The seat of the Eguafo Traditional Area is located at Eguafo.

The traditional area is governed by a paramount chief, divisional chiefs and sub-chiefs (Adikrofo) who hold chieftaincy offices at the paramountcy, divisions and settlements respectively. Attached to each office is a female traditional leader. As such, there is a paramount queen, divisional queens and sub-queens who have the traditional mandate particularly to deal with issues that relate to females and children. The traditional area is made up of nine divisions. These are Eguafo, Abrehyia, Bando, Benyadze, Daber, Breman, Egyiekrom, Ponkrom and Dominadze.

The chieftaincy institution with its auxiliary institutions support and facilitate the governance process at the local level. For instance, the Asafo companies, the traditional court, the priest and the whole institution of chieftaincy are vibrant in the area with respect to preservation of culture, resolution of conflicts (Kendie, Gharthey & Guri, 2004; Kendie & Guri, 2004).

### **Research design**

The study used the exploratory design (Babbie, 2005; Sarantakos, 2005). It explored and focused on detailed and accurate description of historical and contemporary issues about conflicts and peace building processes and practices at Eguafo Traditional Area. This research design helped the study to describe accurately the history of conflict and the peace building in each of the study settlements in particular and the traditional area in general, and highlighted the role of traditional authorities in peace building at the traditional area.

### **Study population**

The study population for this research comprised the traditional authorities in the Eguafo Traditional Area. As Babbie (2005) and Sarantakos (1998, 2005) put it, a population of a study always constitutes the entire aggregate of elements in which the researcher is interested in gaining information and drawing conclusion. For the purposes of this study, chiefs, queens and elders comprised the study population.

### **Instrumentation**

The interview guide was the research instrument used to collect the data. The interview guide is structured into five main sections, namely, Sections A, B, C, and D, based primarily on the specific objectives. The first Section consists of demographic as well as socio-cultural characteristics such as age, office, status or position held in the clan, community and the traditional area, and the year(s) of tenure.

Section B touches on issues that bother on traditional structures and history of conflicts. It probes into the hierarchical and power structure(s) that have been instituted to resolve conflicts. The Section also delves into issues that relate to historical and contemporary conflicts that have challenged the peace in the various communities and the traditional area in general.

Section C encompasses questions that tend to provoke discussions into the various traditional methods, tools and processes for peace building in the study area. Inherently, the Section discusses the role of key stakeholders in traditional peace building process as well as the sources of support that have contributed to peace building practices in the study communities and traditional area.

The last Section assesses the effectiveness of traditional peace building in the area. It discusses the strengths and weaknesses of traditional peace building. It also analyses the major factors that promote traditional peace building as well as challenge the practice. Lastly, the Section opens up to the discussion on how to improve traditional peace building in the area.

Apart from the in-depth interview and focus group discussion guide, the study made use of other logistics such as the digital recorder, note books and pens. These logistics complemented the use of the research instrument.

### **Pre-field activities**

Three main pre-field activities were conducted. These are training of field assistants, pre-testing of research instrument and logistics, and reconnaissance activities (Babbie, 2005; Sarantakos, 2005, 1998). These activities were conducted about two months prior to the main field work.



### *Training of field assistants*

Two field assistants were trained to assist in the pretest and actual field work. The assistants, who were post graduate students at the Departments of Population and Health, and Geography and Regional Planning were trained to have in-depth understanding of the objectives of the study and how to use the research instrument and the digital recorder. These assistants were selected because of their rich field experience in research methods in general and data collection in traditional communities in particular. Three days were used for the training. In the course of the training, each assistant conducted an in-depth interview with the instrument. The purpose was to assess their understanding of issues and particular how they could probe to ascertain adequate information.

### *Pre-test exercise*

Pre-test exercise was conducted at the Ajumako Traditional Area. Three settlements namely Odoben, Essikado and Ajumako were selected with assistant from the registrar at the Traditional Council. The Ajumako Traditional Area was selected because it has similar geographical features, natural resources and cultural characteristics. Also, the research team was quite familiar with the area especially on issues of conflict and peace building.

The ultimate purpose of the pre-test was to assess the effectiveness and appropriateness of the research instrument and other logistics that would be used for the actual data collection at Eguafu Traditional Area. It was also relevant in the sense that it gave the research team a first-hand experience with respect to

questioning and probing skills needed to explore adequately and in detail the issues of conflicts and peace building.

All the necessary traditional and customary protocols and procedures were followed. The pre-test broadened the scope of understanding of the study on issues about traditional and cultural values to adhere to, and protocols to observe. This contributed to the smooth conduct of the reconnaissance activities and actual data collection

#### *Reconnaissance activities*

Two reconnaissance activities were conducted. The first one was conducted to seek permission from the paramount chief and his elders in the traditional area and the registrar and officers at the traditional council. An introduction letter from the Institute of Development Studies, University of Cape Coast was presented to introduce the study and its purpose and objectives. Based on literature available, all the traditional protocols and procedures were also followed and observed. For instance, two bottles of schnapps were presented to the paramountcy as custom demands. Other traditional values including how to talk (through the linguist), greet the chiefs and elders and appropriate body language were adhered to strictly.

The second reconnaissance activity was conducted at the office of the Traditional Council. The Registrar at the Traditional Council was informed about the purpose of the study and the permission given by the paramount chief. At the Council, basic data about the number of settlements and divisions as well as the statuses of the chiefs in the traditional area were collected. A day (Tuesday) was

suggested by the Registrar for the research team to meet the chiefs to further explain the objectives of the study and also to decide on the time for the data collection. The meeting was also to enable the potential respondents to know the identity of the members of the research team. The second reconnaissance survey was also used to collect basic data on key settlement where conflicts are pending. This provided a fair idea for sampling purposes. Other protocol and administrative processes were also provided to the research team.

### **Sampling procedure and sample**

Sampling was purposive. Firstly, the paramount chief was selected because he is the most superior chief and the chair of the standing committee and judicial committee that adjudicate on conflict matters. He also has the key responsibility to ensure, maintain and sustain peace in the traditional area. Additionally, all the seven divisions which constitute the judicial committee in the traditional area were selected. However, at the time of the study, only six divisional chiefs were available. Five of them participated in the study.

Queens (the female counterparts of the chiefs) were also part of the study. The Paramount Queen and five other divisional queens who were available during the data collection period were also selected. Although the divisional queens are not part of the judicial committee, they are involved in inter-personal and household disputes resolution as well as chieftaincy succession conflict resolution (Support for Decentralisation Reform Programme, 2008).

Additionally, three chiefs were selected. One of them was the oldest chief in terms years of tenure as a chief. His selection was based on the fact that as the

oldest on the stool he was likely to have a rich institutional memory of peace building in the traditional area. The other two chiefs selected were from communities where there have been recent and/or protracted conflicts. Two elders from each of the communities headed by the chiefs were also selected. The rationale was to have complementary information.

In all, twenty-one traditional authorities were sampled from the traditional area to participate in the study. They comprised one paramount chief, five divisional chiefs, six divisional queens, three chiefs and six elders (including three females) drawn from nine communities or settlements. The communities are Eguafo, Bando, Daber, Benyaadze, Mpeasem, Breman, Ponkrom, Ntsinman and Egyeikrom.

### **Sources of data**

The study relied solely on primary data sourced from the traditional authorities of Eguafo Traditional Area. In-depth-interviews and focus-group discussions were conducted to collect the data from chiefs, queens and elders in the traditional area. The IDI data were sourced from the Paramount Chief, three other sub-chiefs, and six elders while the FGD data were collected from the divisional chiefs and queens (Table 2).



**Table 2: Sources of data collected**

Source of data	Data collected	
	Number of IDI	Number of FGD
Paramount Chief	1	
Divisional Chiefs		1
Divisional Queens		1
Sub-Chiefs	3	
Elders	6	
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>

Source: Fieldwork (2013)

In addition, the study accessed relevant literature from various sources to support the analyses of the qualitative data. These sources include books, articles, journals, information from the Eguafo Traditional Council and Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abrem District where Eguafo Traditional Area (as well as Council) is located, published and unpublished research theses as well as other relevant internet sources.

### **Data collection**

The actual data collection process began on the 15<sup>th</sup> of April and ended on the 19<sup>th</sup> of June, 2013. Thus, about two weeks were spent to collect the data. Two methods were used to collect the data. These are the in-depth interview (IDI) and the focus group discussion methods. The IDI was used to collect data from the

paramount Chief. This approach was based on cultural orientation where the view of a superior chief is more or less seen as the fact. As such, it is untraditional to challenge the view of a superior chief especially in the presence of a 'foreigner'.

The traditional proverb which says: *when the chief baths, then the water is finished* was given a careful consideration. The process also provided a generalised view about conflict and peace building in the traditional area. This formed the basic understanding of the issues on the ground and enhanced probing in the subsequent discussions with other participants. The IDI guide was the tool used.

The method was also used to collect data from sub-chiefs (Adikrofo) in communities where there have been prolonged conflicts pending as well as recently recorded ones. The same method was used to collect data from the opinion leaders. The purpose was to establish basic data validation. Hence, independence of the respondents was crucial. An average of 45 minutes was spent with each IDI participant.

The FGD was used to collect data from the divisional chiefs and queens. Apart from its strengths and ability to collect bulk data at a time, the method encouraged diverse views on issues as well as provided a forum to share comparable and similar experiences about how they manage and resolve conflict as well as maintain and sustain peace at the various levels in the traditional system and structure. For the divisional chiefs, five members participated while six participated in the FGDs organised with the queens (Sarantakos, 2005, 1998). The FGD guide was the instrument used in the data collection. In all the methods, consent was sought to record the responses with a digital tape recorder.

The IDI with the Paramount Chief was the first data collected. This was conducted at his personal residence. The discussion entailed both general and specific historical and recent issues that bother on the subject. His roles and responsibilities to peace in the traditional area were also discussed. This provided basis for focus group discussions (FGDs).

The FGDs were conducted at the assembly hall of the Eguafu Traditional Council. The arc or horse 'shoe' sitting structure was adopted. The sitting structure facilitated effective eye contact with all the participants (Babbie, 2005; Sarantakos, 2005). It also enhanced easy access to them with the recorder as well as allowed easy movement among the participants who needed to do so for private reasons. Codes were used to identify the respondents to ensure anonymity. An average of 1 hour 15 minutes was spent during each FGD.

### **Data analysis**

Immediately after each interview, part of the recorded data was played to be sure that each recording was done effectively. After, the tapes were appropriately coded for easy identification and retrieval of the data. The full tape of each interview was later played when the research team came home. The purpose was to have adequate understanding of the issues even before they were transcribed. Also, the listening of the responses in whole allowed the team leader to identify issues that needed further clarification. On three occasions, follow-ups were conducted to seek clarity of issues.

Every interview conducted was transcribed within a maximum of two days. Each tape was labelled with the time and date of interview, category and status of

respondents, and settlement to enhance easy identification. Also, the duration of each interview was recorded for records purposes. The data were manually analyzed.

### **Ethical issues**

Ethical issues form a crucial part of research. It relates to three main levels of relationships in the research process. These are the researcher-respondent, researcher-researcher, and researcher-animal relationships (Sarantakos, 2005). For the purposes of this research, the ethical issues that were adhered to mainly focused on the researcher-respondent and researcher-researcher relationships.

The research addressed the researcher-respondent relationships at two main levels. These are the institutional level and individual-respondent level. At all these levels, key issues such as adherence to protocols, informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity and privacy were strictly observed.

The first level of contact was at the chieftaincy level where permission was sought from the Paramount Chief of the traditional area to conduct the study. All the members of the research team were presented to the Paramount Chief to enable him know the number and composition of the team. Introductory letters and identification cards were used to confirm the identity of the members, and the official nature of the research. Consequently, a date was fixed with the Paramount Chief for a similar exercise to be done before the Divisional Chiefs at the Traditional Council for the same purpose.

The Traditional Council, which is the formal administrative office of the Eguafo Traditional Area was the first institution to contact to explain the purpose



and nature of the study. Introductory letter from the Institute for Development Studies was presented to the Registrar of the Traditional Council to authenticate the research exercise.

Informed consent was also sought from the individual respondents before the start of the data collection. Participants were informed adequately about the purpose, objective and nature of the research. They were also communicated to about the possible duration of the interview, and most importantly, their rights to participate or decline participation. Again, their rights to withdraw from the exercise at any time were clearly spelt out to them both orally and in writing. All the respondents indicated and consented orally to show their willingness to participate in the study.

Confidentiality was also a key ethical issue that was observed. At both the institution and individual-respondent levels, clarity was made about the fact that the research was purely for academic purposes. They were assured that the data and information will not be made available to any third party apart from those responsible for such academic purposes. A copy of the thesis will be submitted to the Traditional Council to confirm the primary purpose for which the information was used.

On the issue of anonymity, no names were used in the thesis. This was to avoid the possibility of a reader being able to relate a statement, narrative or an issue discussed to a respondent. Similarly, names and identities of personalities, groups, families or clans mentioned by the respondents in the course of the interviews and discussions were omitted for anonymous reasons.

The study considered the ethical issue of privacy at three levels. These are the physical level, community level and personal level. The physical level comprises the external factors (such as noise and other human interferences) that have the potential to distract the respondents in particular and the study in general. Upon recommendations from the Traditional Council and the FGD participants, all the FGDs were conducted at the Traditional Council. While some of the IDI respondents opted to have the interviews at the Traditional Council, others preferred to have the interviewed conducted at their official palaces and private residences.

The last two levels of privacy relates to the respondents' personal social sphere as well as the community's oath that needs not to be shared. There are issues that are usually considered as 'secret', private, and sacred, or in some instances a taboo to mention. The respondents were informed about their rights to avoid any responses that are very sensitive which could affect both personal and community privacy. In some instances, in order for some of the respondents to explain certain issues, they agreed to share some of these 'private' issues but strictly off-record.

Apart from the above ethical issues, the study adhered to and observed all the cultural norms and values that pertain in the traditional area in general, and in each community and clan in particular. For instance, the necessary protocols such as how to greet, dress, talk in the presence of chiefs and elders were observed. In each community that was visited during the reconnaissance, the contact persons educated the research team on such issues. In some instances, the contact persons

became the spokespersons of the research to facilitate effective traditional communication after which the interviews were conducted.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### Introduction

The administration of the Eguafo Traditional Area is consistent with the prescription of the Chieftaincy Act, 2008 (Act 759). Like any other traditional areas in the country, the Eguafo Traditional Area consists hierarchically of a Paramount Chief, Divisional Chiefs, Sub-divisional Chiefs and Adikrofo who have been gazetted according to the dictates of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, and the Chieftaincy Act 2008. The traditional area is governed by the chiefs. As custodians of the local knowledge and culture, the chiefs are responsible to ensuring that conflicts do not only become violent, but also there is peace in the respective communities in particular and the traditional area in general.

The present chapter analyses and provides results of the study. It first describes the background characteristics of the in-depth interview respondents and the focus group participants. It also presents the analysis of the key issues that reflect the objectives of the study. Firstly, it describes the traditional structure of the traditional area and outlines the composition of the authority in relation to conflict resolution and peace building. Secondly, the chapter also reviews past and present conflict issues and resolution procedures and their implications on peace building. Thirdly, it focuses on specifically on traditional peace building approaches, its strengths and weaknesses as well as measures put in place to improve and address the strengths and weaknesses respectively. Presented in this



chapter also is the discussion of each of issues analysed. The discussion is done by relating the findings with the pertinent literature reviewed including the theoretical and conceptual frameworks used for the study.

### **Background characteristics of respondents**

As indicated earlier, there were two main categories of respondents. These were the in-depth interview and focus group discussion participants. Background characteristics of the respondents comprised the age, chieftaincy or traditional status, and years of tenure.

#### *In-depth interview respondents*

The in-depth interview respondents comprised chiefs and elders who had extensive information about conflict and peace building issues in the traditional area and their respective communities. Again, they had in-depth understanding about traditional knowledge and practices that have been used over the years as well as presently. In total, ten respondents including three female elders were interviewed.

All the respondents except three were aged above fifty years. Similarly, the three respondents had their tenure less than a decade while the rest had ruled for more than ten years as chiefs. The oldest (92 years) chief had been on the stool for over five decades (Table 3). All the clan elders were also community elders who assisted the chiefs in their communities to settle disputes, promote and maintain peaceful environment.

**Table 3: Background characteristics of In-depth respondents**

No	Respondent	Age (in years)	Settlement	Tenure (in years)
<i>In-depth interview respondents</i>				
1	Paramount Chief	78	Eguafo	16
2	Chief	92	Ponkrom	52
3	Chief	64	Ntsinman	13
4	Regent	35	Egyeikrom	5
5	Clan elder	87	Bando	24
6	Clan elder	63	Bando	14
7	Clan elder	63	Mpeasem	5
8	Clan elder	37	Eguafo	6
9	Clan elder	34	Bando	7
10	Clan elder	54	Ntsinman	15
<i>Male FGD respondents</i>				
1	Divisional chief	84	Bando	34
2	-do-	53	Daber	24
3	-do-	54	Benyaadze	23
4	-do-	40	Mpeasem	20
5	Regent	81	Breman	12

Source: Fieldwork (2013)

### *Focus group discussion participants*

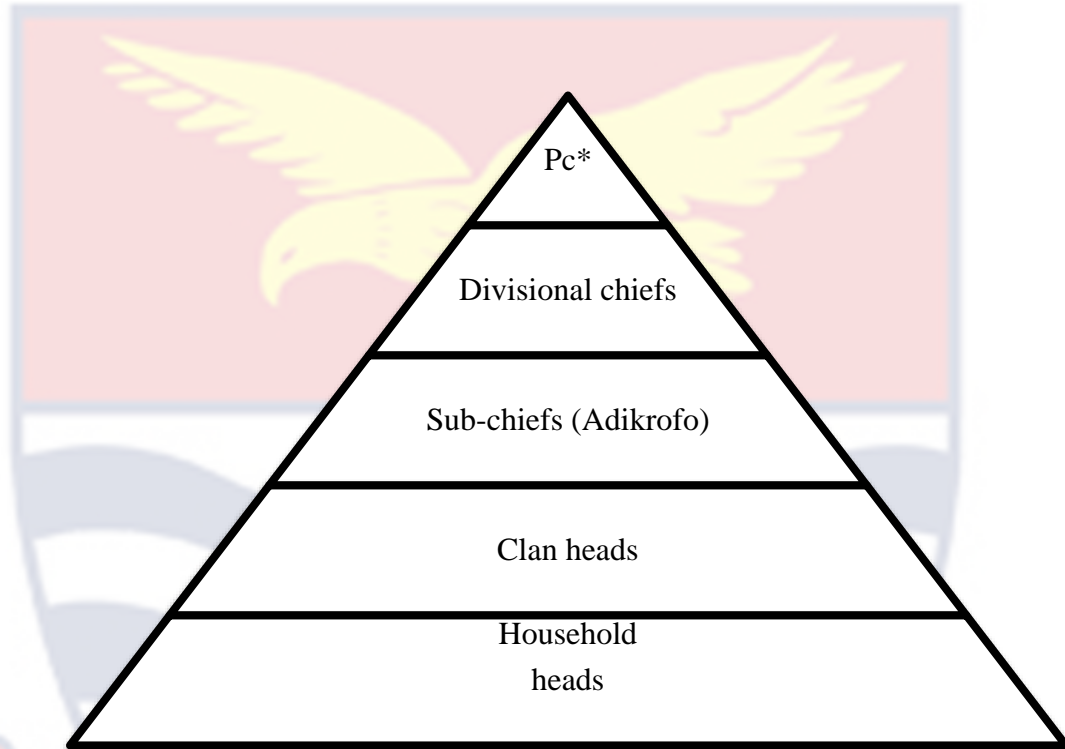
All the male focus group discussants were divisional chiefs except one who was a regent. The divisional male chiefs constituted the judiciary committee of the traditional area. They have been involved in conflict prevention, resolution and peace building and promotion. Apart from their duties as enshrined in the Chieftaincy Act, each of the male divisional chiefs is responsible for peace building among other tasks at the community level too. Two of the discussants were octogenarians with one of them having occupied the stool for thirty-four years (Table 3).

The female FGD discussants on the other hand were also divisional queens except one who was the Paramount Queen. The oldest queen was more than seventy years while the youngest age was less than forty years. The tenure of office differed. The highest and lowest of years of occupancy were forty years and nine years respectively or more.

### **Traditional structure and authority**

Theoretically, the structure of a traditional area is made up of five main levels in the order of power and authority. From the base to the top are the other chiefs as recognised by the Regional and National House of Chiefs are the adikrofo (or edzikrofo), sub-divisional chiefs, divisional chiefs, and the Omanhen (National House of Chiefs, 2008). All the duties and roles of these levels of authority are enshrined in the Chieftaincy Act. However, in practice, there are other locally recognised (but not stipulated in the Chieftaincy Act (Act 759)) leaders such as the *ofiempanyimfo* (household heads) and *ebusuampanyimfo* (clan

heads). The traditional structure at the study area is largely consistent with the theoretical structure except the level of the sub-divisional chiefs. However, in addition to the structure are the household heads and the clan heads (Figure 3).



Pc\*: Paramount chief

**Figure 3: Hierarchy of traditional structure and authority**

Source: Fieldwork (2013)

As Figure 3 portrays, power and authority of the leaders or chiefs flow from the bottom (household heads) to the top (Paramount Chief). The levels also depict a system of appellate where conflicts or issues that could be addressed at the lower authority are sent up to the next level of authority. Individual members of the community also have the right to petition the next and higher level of authority of judgement given at a lower level of authority is dissatisfactory. At the base are many of the authorities. However, the number decreases upwardly.



Apart from this structure, the traditional authorities operate the committee-system especially for conflict resolution and peace building known as the standing committee. At the traditional council level, the paramount chief and all the divisional chiefs are members of the standing committee which is responsible for all developmental issues in the area including conflict resolution. Similar structure exists at the divisional and *odziikro* levels. The members of the committee, which are usually seven or nine, are referred to as the *beesumfo*.

The paramount chief or any other chief (divisional or Odikro) has the power to constitute committees to execute specific tasks. Members of such committee(s) must have the requisite expertise on the tasks to be executed. If the tasks bother on conflict resolution, for example, chiefs who have jurisdictional authority and are members of the standing committee but have personal interests are understandably recused.

### **Conflict evolution**

The development of conflicts has extensively been discussed in the literature (Bornstein, 2008; Schirch; 2008 Labonte, 2004). From its widely accepted definition, conflict evolves as a result of disagreement between opposing parties. This study is also consistent with the study. However, the findings further revealed that conflicts can also evolve when a person of a party begins to search for the 'truth'. As the respondents put it; 'conflicts begin with research'. That is, anytime a person or a group of person usually from a lineage begins to ask questions, investigate events and uncover historical antecedents relating to any ownership of a property, succession to the clan stool or any related position all in

search of evidential knowledge (or truth) it marks the genesis of conflict. This is because usually, the findings from such an exercise contest the status quo.

It was also realized that in most instance, the search for the 'truth' is not necessary to oppose the present status. With fair mindset, members of some clans try to document their history, and so doing, come out with results that could be used to contest the status quo. Again, some of these investigations arise when there is misunderstanding such as resistant by a group to traditional processes such as payment of land rent, succession processes, and ownership of titles of properties. Therefore, conflict can evolve before and during or after a misunderstanding. However, it is through investigations or research that the real root-causes of conflicts can be uncovered.

### **Root-causes of conflicts**

The main causes of conflicts in Ghana in general and traditional areas in particular in recent times are noted to relate to chieftaincy succession and land ownership (Tsikata & Seini, 2004; Awedoba, 2010; Kendie, 2010). The present study therefore probed further to uncover the latent reasons that represent the root-causes to the chieftaincy succession and land ownership conflicts that prevail in the Eguafo Traditional Area. The root-causes are inter-clan marriages, re-clanisation, and regent-role.

#### *Inter-clan marriages*

Traditionally, intra-clan marriages are detestable in local communities, hence, marriages always occurred between two different clans (inter-clan

marriages). The respondents explained that about a century ago, clans welcomed other clans to live with them. At the time there was the quest to have people joining clans and communities in order to resist any external aggressions and also to defend themselves against animal attacks. As a result, many a clan saw it as a fortune to welcome and stay with other 'foreign' clans. Again, in the past, the inter-marriages were used as a social tool to finally resolve and promote conflicts and peace respectively.

As a result, through inter-marriages, some males from visiting clans got the opportunity to ascend to the stool of other royal clans in the traditional area. This became possible at a time when there were no male children available in the royal clan. Hence, some of the males who were born through inter-marriage between a royal adult and a female of a visiting clan were selected to become chiefs to occupy vacant stools.

The realization and contestation of this arrangement in recent times have usually orchestrated conflicts in these clans and communities in the traditional area. In most instances, the traditional court system or the judicial committee resolve such conflicts as well as promote peace. However, on rare occasions, dissatisfied parties proceed to the conventional court. One of the discussants had this to say:

When it comes to conflict, inter-marriages is a root-cause.

Our forefathers were not concerned about so many things but now we are. So we have done so many research works about our chieftaincy issues and we have evidence of conflicts because of inter-clan marriages. For instance in

my area we had a conflict and our research indicated that the previous chief got the chance to become a chief because he married from the royal family. Conflict therefore began after research revealed this truth. History in my area tells me that this particular chief with his people came from elsewhere to the present location after transiting at Eguafo. Others came from places in the Western region and were all allowed to join our clan because we needed people for security purposes. Some of the visitors too claimed that they belonged to the same clan as ours. One of the elders in my family unfortunately married from the clan of one of the groups which joined. It happened that there was no male in our royal line so it was agreed that the son of the 'foreign' woman married to my elder be allowed to ascend to the stool. If those times were like these days we would have allowed the females in our clan to become chiefs. Research later revealed that that line of lineage cannot occupy the stool any longer. This brought about conflict. The judicial committee resolved it amicably though for peace to prevail. [Divisional chief]



### *Assimilation and integration*

The respondents explained that in the past, some visiting clans who stayed with host clans for many years with no intentions of going back to their former settlements were integrated into the host clan. This process is termed by the present study as *re-clanisation*. This practice, which dates back into antiquity comes with its associated conflict when the descendants of the 're-clanised' group begin to contest succession to a stool, ownership of land or any fortune in the original clan even though the former does not belong to the royal bloodline. In certain instances, some of them ascended to the stool and claimed legitimacy for their descendants; a situation which usually resulted in conflicts.

### *Regent-role status*

In some instances, when a chief 'goes to the village' (that is, dies), arrangements are made to have a respectable person nominated to take up the responsibility as a chief to govern the community (with the council of elders) and also oversee to the burial and funeral rites of the dead chief. This person is known as the regent. From the respondents, a regent does not necessary have to be a potential chief even though currently, that has been the practice. They indicated that there has been cases where regent have refused to step down but have contested to become the chief. This accounts for one of the root-causes of conflict in the traditional area. One of the respondents explained further:

We have vowed never to allow anybody to become regent over the stool when a chief dies. The reason is after the death of my grandfather we made somebody from another

clan to become the regent. The stool was then stolen by the members of this clan. Later the elders of this non-royal clan claimed that they were eligible to ascend to the stool.

This resulted in a conflict. When we finally got the stool, the one (a member of our clan) brought it to our royal home died because he did not perform any religious rites (slaughtering of a sheep) to appease the ancestors or the stool. We have therefore vowed never to allow any non-royal to become a regent. [Regent]

Key settlements in the Eguafu Traditional Area where conflicts seem protracted are Ntsinman and Bando. There are other communities with conflicts. Notable was Egyeikrom. The summary of root causes of conflicts, type of parties involved, the level at which conflicts are being resolved and the status of recent conflict are presented in Table 5.

It must be emphasised that all the cases pending are being resolved at the Traditional Council by the judicial committee. However, the inter-party dialogue is pending at the Municipal Assembly. The conflict that has been resolved at Mpeasem was arbitrated at the judicial council. Reconciliation, mediation and arbitration are tools that have been adopted to resolving the conflict and maintaining peace.

**Table 5: Root-causes and types of conflicts in selected settlements in Eguafo****Traditional Area**

Town	Type of conflict	Year	Root-cause	Parties involved	Level of resolution	Status of conflict
		evolved				at TJC*
Bando	Chieftaincy	1989	Re-clanisation	Intra-clan	Traditional Council	Pending
Ntsinman	Chieftaincy	1992	Clash of status	Intra-clan	Traditional Council	Pending
Mpeasem	Chieftaincy	1993	Swearing of oath	Clan and community	Community level	Resolved
Egyeikrom	Land and property	2011	Government's broken	Community and MA*	Inter-party dialogue	Pending

TJC\*: Traditional Judicial Committee

MA\*: Municipal Assembly

Source: Fieldwork (2013)

**Peace building at Eguafo Traditional Area**

The quest for sustainable peace is on the heart of all the chiefs and individuals interviewed. The history of Eguafo Traditional Area, although fraught with various types of conflicts, consistent efforts to ensuring peace have largely been successful. At least, conflicts have relatively been non-violent. The study identified four main factors that contribute to peace in the traditional area

including divisions and communities where there are deep-seated conflicts that are decades old. These are inter-relationships among the chiefs, peace-building tools used, effective leadership, and community participation.

### *Inter-relationships among chiefs*

Historical accounts recounted by the chiefs indicate their ancestors established good relationships among themselves, a virtue which has become an ‘ancient landmark’ that reflect their thinking even during inter-clan and inter-community conflicts. Per their history, the traditional area traces its antecedent to a common ancestral ‘blood’ and one common ancestral ‘tree’. As one of the chiefs put it, *‘we are all from one woman, and one womb, hence, we see ourselves as one as was the case in the remote and recent past’*.

It was evident that this ancestral virtue of ‘oneness’ is fairly pervasive in Eguafo Traditional Area. During the focus group discussions and the subsequent follow-ups, the chiefs reiterated this and emphasized that there are consistent instances where chiefs relate with one another at the local and divisional levels to resolve disputes. For instance, they indicated that usually the chiefs relate with one another whenever there is a challenging issue (such as dealing with disputes) and other socio-cultural activities (such as festivals, funerals, etc.). The respondents emphasized that it is a common phenomenon for a chief to ‘knock at the door’ of a colleague for assistance; a fraternal relationship that Adu-Boahen (1993) and Kouassi (2008) posit is crucial to peace and its sustainability. Some of the chiefs shared their thoughts on this subject.



As for the chiefs of this traditional area we relate very well and we normally visit each other and spend some time and days with our colleague chiefs. We have even formed an association whereby we meet on regular bases to discuss issues that confront as a traditional area. [Divisional chief]

Chiefs in this traditional area relate well as peace makers since any issue that is beyond us as sub-chiefs we invite other chiefs at the divisional level for settlement. They divisional chiefs do not hesitate to helping to bring the issue to an amicable solution. [Sub-chief]

Presently, the chiefs in the traditional area have collectively formed an association called 'United Chiefs of Ghana (UCG)'. The membership comprises mainly the divisional and paramount chiefs in the traditional area. There are however some divisional chiefs from Western region who are members. The vision of the UCG is to establish a cordial relationship among all chiefs in the country for development. The association, according to the chiefs, serves as a platform where issues particularly on conflict resolution and peace building that concern individual chiefs, communities, and divisions are discussed.

I started the association but with some of the divisional chiefs in the traditional area. The main objective is to organize ourselves as an association so that if there is any issue that is of concern to any chief, his community or division, we will come together to resolve it. The

association is very young. It is about one year old. It was formed in 2012. [Divisional Chief]

We meet every last Friday of the month. The association is called United Chiefs of Ghana. Our vision is to have a united front for national development. We are moving on; now we have some of the chiefs from Western region as members. The association has come to help because now a chief is not 'afraid' to visit any other chief. [Divisional Chief]

Information from the IDIs confirmed these efforts. In fact, some of the opinion leader explained that their parents and elders in the clans consciously recounted the history of the traditional area to them and emphasized that they have been brought up to see one another as a 'blood-relation'. They explained that to some extent, this has contributed to the fairly sober attitude of the larger proportions of the people especially the youth. One of the elders shared his view on the issue.

As youth of this area we have been brought up by our parents to be sober and respectful. We see ourselves as brothers and sisters in the community and the entire traditional area. We hardly fight among ourselves or even try to disturb the peace in the area. [Clan member]

## Peace building tools

The appropriate use of peace building tools contributes to peace and peace building. As discussed in the literature and also in the second chapter of this thesis, diplomacy, peaceful settlement and negotiation are the key tools that have and are still being used in international relations (Latifi, 2011; Burgess & Burgess, 2010; UN, 2010; Griffiths et al., 2008) as well as traditional areas (Kendie & Guri, 2006; Alger, 1991). In this present study too, these tools featured prominently during conflict situations at all the levels of the traditional structure to prevent and resolve conflicts and to ensure and maintain peace.

### *Diplomacy*

Historical accounts that were provided by the chiefs showed that centuries ago, diplomacy was used as one of the tools to prevent and settle both violent and non-violent conflicts among inter-states and also between the Eguafó states and the colonial regime. Contemporary use of diplomacy is more localized largely within the traditional area. For instance, some of the divisional chiefs have been used as ‘diplomats’ by other colleague chiefs to prevent and settle disputes and to maintain peace in their areas of jurisdiction.

Usually we resort to different ways to resolve conflict and to build peace at the community and divisional levels and the entire traditional levels. There have been instances where the *Omanhen* has used me as a ‘diplomat’ to resolve conflicts in a number of communities that fall outside my area of jurisdiction. Again, I often rely on some of the

divisional chiefs to deal with some conflicts if I foresee that that will hasten the resolution and peace building processes. We do this often amongst ourselves as chiefs.

[Divisional Chief]

Diplomatic talks usually proceeded ‘underground’ investigation to establish the truth and to calm nerves of parties before a case is called for resolution. Sometimes some cases need to be sent to the police station but the tool of diplomacy is used resolve it locally. One of the respondents shared his experience.

Normally, anytime cases or complaints come before me for settlement, I do some underground work to establish the truth myself before sitting on the case. The next thing I do is to go to each party and talk to the person before the case will be called. As a result, when the case is called, the conflicting parties become relaxed and willing to agree to reconciliation. Even if one is found guilty, he/she does not become alarmed and the reason for an appeal becomes unnecessary. Again, it reduces the tendencies to use the Police or the conventional court system. [Divisional chief]

The respondents also explained that in certain instances, key personalities are used. The key personalities to use depend on the potential and actual case on hand. Thus, there have been instances such as the recent Egyiekrom conflict where key persons with diverse backgrounds facilitated the conflict resolution and peace



process. The personalities included some of the assemblymen, members of the clergy and the municipal chief executive who constituted the ‘diplomatic agents’. At the traditional council level too, the Omanhen constituted a ‘diplomatic committee’ comprising some of the divisional chiefs in that regard.

### *Community participation*

Community participation is used as a tool (and also a method) to engage and involve citizens, members and all cohorts of the community on issues that affect them. It is one of the tools used in grassroot development. In peace building, this tool becomes essential not only to involve and solicit views of members for sustainable peace, but also for the entire community to have ownership of peace building decisions. Arnstein’s (1969) ladder of citizen-participation explains the tool better.

One main cohort in the community that anecdotal evidence shows that they are easily involved in ‘violent’ conflicts and ‘misbehaviour’ is the youth. Until recently, the youth (and children) were not involved in community decision making confirming the adage that *a child needs to be seen, not to be heard*. The tool of community participation addresses this gap. Both the IDI and FGD participants explained that recent participation in their communities and especially the involvement of the youth at such platform has contributed to open governance where each person has the right to speak, share his/her views and contribute to (peaceful) decisions. Communities where this tool has facilitated peace building include Benyaadze, Daber, and Bando.

Some chiefs failed in the past because the youth were sidelined in community participation activities that bother on conflict and peace. For example one elder was questioning me why I always involved the youth in decision at the palace and to seek their advice. What I normally do is that every year I call the youth once or twice to my palace to discuss issues that concern them. In so doing, the youth come to me because the doors are open to all. This has prevented so many petty and potential conflicts in the community. [Divisional Chief]

#### *Peaceful settlement*

Peaceful settlement is characteristic in all the communities studied, and formed crucial part in resolution and peace building. From the respondents, especially the chiefs who used the tool, the emphasis was to ensure an amicable settlement among conflicting parties. Three main steps were identified in using this tool. The first step is to seek the concerns of each party. That is, the chief either invites or visit each party independently to listen and understand the issues involved and also to identify their needs. The second step is to invite the parties to a platform to discuss how their needs identified can be fulfilled. At times, there are trade-offs or compromises. The third step is to monitor and evaluate how the needs or concerns have been addressed practically. The chiefs interviewed indicated that there were numerous instances where they (the chiefs) have used their personal economic resources to achieve peaceful settlement especially when the issue concerns individuals and the community.

One of the chiefs shared his experience on a case where he personally used his economic resources to ensure that peace prevailed in his community. In the said case, about fourteen members of his community failed to participate in a communal labour; a breach tantamount to a fine. However, the period within which the fine was to be honoured elapsed, a situation which warranted their arrest by the Police if reported. But, according to the chief, he personally interacted with the culprits and realized that half of them could genuinely be unable to pay the fine. He therefore paid on their behalf to avoid the intervention of the Police, which will not only be more costly to the culprits financially, but also in terms of time to spend on the case.

Again, some of the chiefs shared their experiences about how peaceful settlement has contributed to peace building in their respective communities as well as among communities. For instance, a case that invariably involved two communities was settled with this tool. In the said case, the death of a female spouse (who hailed from Community A) was perceived to have been caused by a spousal neglect of her partner (who came from Community B). This angered the members of Community A while Community B was prepared to also defend their son. The chief adjudicating on the matter first interacted with the key conflicting personalities (including members of the families of the spouses) separately. When their concerns were known, the parties were called officially for resolution, which became very amicable. Consequently, during the final funeral rites of the deceased spouse in Community A, so many members of Community B showed up to console, sympathize and contribute to the rites of passage. According to the

chief, hitherto, the tension was so intense that his elders advised him to invite the Police when the final verdict was to be announced.

Three main reasons make this tool crucial in the traditional area. Firstly, the tool is simple to use. One needs to know the conflicting parties and their concerns. Secondly, one does not necessary need external inputs to apply the tool. Thirdly, it primarily focuses on reconciliation, an outcome necessary for peace building.

### *Negotiation*

Generally, negotiation is normally done by chiefs. Depending on the case and its jurisdictional status, a divisional chief or the Omanhen would be invited as the negotiator. For instance, there were occasions where divisional chiefs have been selected to negotiate on divisional and community-based disputes that border on land, chieftaincy and other critical social issues at the clan level. A typical example is described by the quote below.

There was a land dispute between the people of Community X and Community Y which are neighbours. The dispute arose when a decision was made by the Municipal to build a school on that piece of land. Traditionally, all the lands in the traditional area are vested in the paramount chief. As such, the Omanhen negotiated on the issue and peace prevailed.

[Divisional Chief]

It was also observed that chiefs in one traditional area could serve as negotiators to settle disputes in other jurisdictions. The respondents admitted that



whenever there is the need to invite people outside the community they do so to bring about lasting resolution. According to the respondents they do invite people like other chiefs outside the community and also church elders and pastors to help them achieve peace with this tool among others. A critical example is explained by the narrative.

### **Traditional leadership**

Leadership at each level of the traditional structure was essential to peace building in the traditional area. Factors that have contributed to peace building, as discussed earlier, became relevant largely as a result of effective leadership particularly executed by most of the traditional authorities. The respondents accordingly, stressed that without effective leadership, cohesion among chiefs, diplomacy, peaceful settlement and all the other peace building tools would not have been effective.

It however emerged during the discussions that the effective leadership of the paramount chief was very critical. The participants explained that the Omanhen has not only been firm, just and reconciliatory, but his legal and in-depth knowledge about the chieftaincy institution in general and the customs, norms and traditions of the Eguafu state, and his cordial relationship with all the chiefs have contributed significantly to a peaceful environment for effective traditional governance. This has prompted most of the divisional chiefs and sub-chiefs to emulate such trait. The leadership of the Omanhen was summarized by some of the chiefs as follows:

I think the Omanhene is rather a calm, peace-loving person; he is a 'no-nonsense' man. He is responsible for the effective management of the case in my own town and he further advises me a lot on how to manage the conflicts to have peace in the community. [Sub-chief]

How powerful a divisional or sub-chief is and will be depends on the political, social and traditional support the chiefs receives from the Omahen. Hence, the proverb 'the help of Kweku enables his relative Kweku to be able to swallow the dagger'. Thus, if we the chiefs are powerful and can address difficult situations at our local jurisdictions, it is as a result of the support we get from our brother Omanhen. His effective leadership cannot be underestimated at all as far as peace in the traditional area is concerned. [Divisional chief]

### **Key stakeholders in traditional peace building**

Peace and its sustainability are generally considered as a collective task. The old and young, males and females, and leaders and non-leaders have stakes in peace building. Among the obvious personalities are the chiefs. Much has been discussed about the role of chiefs in peace building especially in this chapter. Other personalities that were named who contribute to peace at Eguafu Traditional Area are locally the unit committee and assembly members, and key members of the Municipal Assembly such as the Municipal Chief Assembly, and the Police.

For instance it was reported that the Municipal Assembly with the Police assisted the traditional authorities in the area to bring peace during a demonstration in one of the communities. The reason of the demonstration was to press down the legitimate concerns of the people which have been neglected by the government for a perceived long time.

One category of stakeholders which are generally less highlighted in peace studies nationally and internationally is women. A similar observation was made during the IDIs and FGDs. In almost all the discussions, issues of females were silent until the participants were prompted. Generally, all the respondents agreed that women were very influential in peace building. Some of the respondents shared some of their views.

My mother was very instrumental in the selection of my candidature. At the time, there was a conflict between the people and the paramount chief. This affected social cohesion, governance and stalled development. It was upon the counsel of my mother in particular that pressed me to accept this current position. This singular act reduced the tensions in the clan and the entire community because the concern of the people had been addressed. There were men in the clan, but the counsel of a woman yielded fruits. [Chief]

Many major, perhaps possibly violent ones have been prevented and peace has been maintained because we have taken good care of the household and the chiefs well. Most

conflicts begin from the house so if there is peace in the house it translates to the clan and the community at large. Without the queens, we may be telling a different story. But now there is peace. [Divisional Queen]

We solve many conflicts at the domestic level including marital, family and interpersonal conflicts. We make sure that at the end of the day there is peace. At times we have to negotiate for peace to prevail. In some cases, we have to compromise our start as Queens to beg parties to forgive because the more the calabash is pulled from two opposing sides it breaks. I must also say that we influence our chiefs also to think about peace. We are consulted on such issues and our views have always been peaceful they listen to us....they are our children. [Queen]

Women continue to be actors and stakeholders in peace building. The roles played by the queens according to the chiefs interviewed of importance to peace building in the area. They confirmed that most domestic and female-related conflicts were usually handled by the queens. In addition, the queens and some of the women with rich traditional and contemporary knowledge on specific issues serve on the committees that handle conflicts and promote peace in their respective communities.

Two other systems that directly or indirectly contributed to peace building in the traditional set up are the Regional House of Chiefs (RHC) and the



conventional court system. It was observed that some parties who were dissatisfied at ruling at the judicial committee of the traditional council proceeded to the RHC or the conventional court system for redress. This approach, according to the respondents, has been used on number of times especially by unsatisfied individual clans to settle land and chieftaincy disputes in the recent past. While resolution at the RHC was regarded as appropriate because the process is reconciliatory, same was not said about the conventional court system whose ruling has a win-lose outcome. Although the respondents did not recommend the latter approach they admitted that some protracted conflicts have been settled with this approach and peace has prevailed in the community (but not necessarily among the conflicting parties).

### **Challenges to peace building at Eguafu Traditional Area**

The study identified two main types of challenges to peace building in the traditional area. These are internal challenges and external challenges. The internal challenges emanated from and at the clan and community levels while the external challenges constituted the inadequate support from other key agencies relevant to contributing to peace building in the traditional area.

#### *Internal challenges*

The internal challenges were experienced at both the clan and community levels. Principal among these challenges was the role of some of the elders of the community also known as the *beesuomfo*. Described in the literature as ‘conflict entrepreneurs’ (Collier, 2006; Faleti, 2006), such elders preferred to apply the

strictest forms of the traditional laws and rules. Their reason primarily is not necessary to prevent conflict, but perhaps to prolong its adjudication. In so doing, appearance fees and fines could be slapped on contracting parties to generate income for the community in general and the stool and chiefs or elders in particular. Some of the chiefs shared their experiences.

It is not likely that all the chiefs will genuinely feel sorry about my case; you know such cases also present good opportunities for people to tap... Sometimes such cases present good grounds for some of the chiefs to exploit and make financial gains – all people cannot be the same... What I meant was that with conflict cases, some of the chiefs would definitely want to exhibit opportunistic behaviours, that is, ‘feeding’ on the case. In the event of a conflict, one or two (divisional) chiefs are appointed to adjudicate over the case. That is where the chiefs exploit the parties financially. [Sub-chief]

At times my elders disagree with me by allowing people who need to be fined according to the rules time to redeem themselves. For instance, there was a case where some individuals failed to pay their community contribution towards development. According to the law, they were supposed to be summoned and dealt with accordingly. As usual, I did my underground investigations and realized that

some of them genuinely cannot pay because of poverty. I paid for them and encouraged the others too to pay. This act did not please some of my elders who would have wished that we went through the traditional adjudication process, partly, in order to get appearance fees, fines and other customary demands. [Divisional Chief]

Perhaps, this is expected because the traditional area and the divisions do not have prominent economic resources that could be relied upon to generate income. Thus, while some of the chiefs would wish to prevent potential conflicts by using peaceful settlement, for instance, the 'conflict entrepreneurs' would prefer prolonged adjudication of cases and arbitration in order to benefit from appearance fees and fines.

#### *External challenges*

Peace building is a collective agenda. Given the duality of governance in Ghana (that is, the traditional and political governance), the municipal authority and its allied department and agencies have important roles to play too. One of such agencies is the police. The respondents indicated that the role of the police in certain conflict resolutions and peace building cannot be underemphasized. They however expressed concerns about the inability of the police to respond to their call expeditiously and regularly. As a result, some of the chiefs have resolved to try as much as possible to use traditional peace building tools to avoid protracted and prolonged conflicts in the communities.

We need the security official to help. Unfortunately, when you even call for police assistance especially on some critical conflicts in order to stop people who want to foment disturbances, they (Police) will tell you they don't have a vehicle for transport. Sometimes the cost of transport is borne by the community or the chief. That is why these days I have decided to try resolve most disputes underground using diplomacy and peaceful settlements without Police interventions. [Divisional Chief]

### **Benefits of traditional peace building to the development of Eguafo**

#### **Traditional Area**

Peace is essential to the development of every community. Some have argued that the consistent conflicts in some parts of the country have retarded the development of such area. Similar is said about Africa where development has been affected by various 'violent' conflicts (Brock-Utne, 2001; Tsikata & Seini, 2004; Francis, 2006; Adetula, 2006; Kendie, 2010; Bukari & Kendie, 2012). Thus, the admission that development precedes peace is undoubted.

It emerged from the study that Eguafo Traditional Area's relative peace, largely owing to the use of traditional methods and tools in conflict resolution and peace building have contributed significantly to the development of the area. Discussions with the chiefs (Omanhen, Divisional Chiefs and Edikrofo) revealed that the relatively stable peaceful environment the area enjoyed have contributed to both tangible and intangible benefits.



*Tangible benefits*

General tangibles that were mentioned during the discussions was infrastructural development in terms of construction and expansion of schools in almost all the communities as well as a senior high school at Eguafo, a soccer academy at Abrehyia, (basic and senior high school). For instance, some of the opinion leaders and the chiefs at Eguafo indicated that a group of European Philanthropists who referred to the community as ‘calm and peaceful’ have established a basic school in the area. Similarly, it was also realized that the Faculty of Arts, University of Cape Coast has selected Eguafo as a social research laboratory. This was pointed out by one of the sub-chiefs.

The Eguafo Traditional Area is growing in diverse forms. I can say that partly, it is as a result of the relative environment of peace and tranquility. For example, the Faculty of Arts in the University of Cape Coast have not only selected Eguafo as a social research laboratory, but the students have done numerous researches in the traditional areas. We always get copies of these researches. Thus, we have a stock of literature for the library available for the chiefs, other indigenes and tourists as well.

Emphasising the relevance of the literature, Nana Omanhen reiterated that it has provided a platform for knowledge generation, development and advancement. He hastened to add that some of the benefits associated with the educational and other infrastructural development also bear intangible benefits.

### *Intangibles benefits*

Traditional peace building centres on social cohesion and conciliation. These two elements were consistently mentioned in both the IDIs and the FGDs as the most benefits the traditional area in general and the respective and neighbouring communities have enjoyed over the years. The respondents reiterated that even in communities where there are protected and prolonged (chieftaincy) conflicts, violence has scarcely been recorded.

Three levels of social cohesion were identified. These are social cohesion among the traditional authorities, between the traditional authorities and the community members, and among the community members. The respondents explained that these levels of social cohesion have contributed to reconciliatory settlement of minor and major disputes while in turn, the reconciliation has deepened the social cohesion. Again, communal labour programmes have been successful contributing to local development.

### **Discussion**

Some traditional societies in Ghana have experienced chieftaincy and land dispute disturbances, some resulting in destruction of lives and properties. These conflicts have not only destabilise the governance structure but as well have contributed to difficulties in peace building (Bukari & Kendie, 2012; Kendie, 2010, Awedoba, 2008). Both conventional and traditional mechanisms have been employed in traditional communities to resolve conflicts and promote peace. The case of Eguafo Traditional Area where to a large extent peace building based on traditional approaches, as presented in this chapter is worth discussing.

The analysis of the traditional structure of the traditional area is similar to all other structures elsewhere in the country (see National House of Chiefs, 2008). The appellate structure of adjudication also permits individuals and groups to seek redress, a practice that promotes trust.

It can be argued that the socio-cultural cohesion among the chiefs and the perceived effective leadership of the paramount chief are equally important as the peace building tools used. They can be described as two sides of a coin. Thus, effective leadership and use of traditional peace building tools appropriately are necessary elements for peace building, at least at Eguafu Traditional Area.

The issue of 'conflict entrepreneurs' as earlier discussed by Collier (2006) and Faleti (2006) also emerged in the presented study. Although in isolated contexts, it came out that some of the chiefs preferred that conflicts linger so that they have the reason to demand and benefit from fees and fines. They were not interested in using traditional tools to promote (re)conciliation. They opposed other chiefs who preferred the use of traditional tools to resolve conflict and promote peace expeditiously. The issue however requires further investigations to assess the effects on peace building in the study area. Suffice to say however, that a well-defined traditional structure, effective leadership, social cohesion, application of peace building tools are critical ingredients for peace building in the study area.

The role of internal actors (traditional authorities/chiefs) and external actors (Municipal Assembly, the Police and the court) in the study area also show how appropriate the theoretical framework adopted by the study was. By rationalization, both internal and external actors have roles to play in peace

building even in traditional contexts. In some contexts and cases such as the Dagbon chieftaincy, the roles of external political actors have to some extent aggravated the conflicts. It can be argued that if external actors interfere with limited understanding of the cultural, traditional and historical antecedents but with political power, peace only becomes ephemeral.

The evidence of transmission of historical knowledge and informal education about traditional values from the older to the younger generation at Eguafo Traditional Area is therefore commendable. Notwithstanding, the approach to the transmission needs to be revised to reflect the current formal educational structure without neglecting the traditional oral history and transmission of cultural knowledge to the younger generations. The issue here is sustainability of not only the approach but also the traditional knowledge and value that also contribute to cultural identity and social cohesion.

With reference to the conflict transformation theoretical perspective adopted, it was realized that it was appropriate for the study especially given the relevance of culture in peace building. Consistent with the perspective, the study also observed that the essence of disputes resolution was to ensure reconciliation and promote peace among the parties involved and the entire area in general (Kouassi, 2008; Sarpong, 2009). This was evident by reconciliatory actions of some of the chiefs as discussed earlier.

The study also identified the levels of peace building as described by Lederach, Neufeldt and Culbertson (2007) in their Peace Building Integrated Framework. Thus, the issues (conflicts), the relationships (conflicting parties), the sub-system (traditional authorities) and the system (the Regional House of Chiefs)



described makes the framework suitable for this study. Nevertheless, the roles of external actors such as the Municipal Assembly, the Police and to some extent the conventional court system makes the addition of another level in the framework relevant as far as this study is concerned. This is particular essential because of the duality of governance structure operative in Ghana where both the traditional governance structure and the conventional 'western' democratic governance structure function especially at the district, municipal and metropolitan levels.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Introduction

All over the world, the quest for sustainable peace and security has continued to bother the minds of all stakeholders, international organizations, government, security agencies, traditional authorities and communities. Since the end of the cold war, civil society groups, non-governmental organizations (NGO) agencies of the United Nations and regional organizations have increasingly intervened in conflict areas. In Ghana, key personalities that have intervened to avert potential conflicts, address disputes and ensure and sustain peace in their jurisdictional communities are the traditional authorities. Traditional authorities and particularly the chiefs are often regarded as highly experienced peacemakers who judge and settle disputes at community and inter group levels usually without reference to statutory norms.

Constitutionally, the chieftaincy institution and structure in Ghana is regulated by the Chieftaincy Act, 2008 (Act 759) which describes the traditional structure within which the chieftaincy institution operates as well as the key roles and responsibilities of the chiefs. Even though the peace making roles of the traditional authorities in general and chiefs in particular have not gained much recognition on local and international peace building platforms, studies conducted in Ghana indicate that most people in the local communities prefer to settle their disputes at the chief's palace because of a number of reasons including the

reconciliatory mechanisms inherent in traditional conflict resolution and peace building (Sarpong, 2009; Kouassi, 2008, Kendie, 2010). The present chapter highlights the main findings, recommendations and conclusion of the study.

### **Summary of findings**

Generally, the study aimed at analysing the role of traditional authorities and peace building process at the Eguafo traditional area in the Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abrem Municipal in Ghana based on the backdrop that the traditional area is relatively peaceful. It therefore sought to review the traditional structures upon which conflicts are resolved, assess factors that promote peace building as well as discuss the challenges to peace building in the traditional area.

A qualitative approach was adopted and data were sourced with both in-depth interview and focus group discussions. In all, one focus group discussion was conducted involving five divisional chiefs while nine in-depth interviews were conducted with five sub-chiefs and four opinion leaders. The study was underpinned by the conflict transformation school of thought and the peace building integrated framework to address all the research questions and objectives stated. The following are the key findings from the study.

- The traditional structure in place is consistent with the constitutional provision. Hierarchically, it also connotes an appellate system of adjudication. It comprises the paramount chief, divisional chiefs, and sub-chiefs who are recognised as members of the traditional council. All the divisional chiefs serve on the standing committee responsible for ensuring reconciliatory dispute settlements and peace sustainability in the traditional

area in general. Apart from this formal structure, there are other key persons at the clan and household levels that work to complement the roles and activities of the chiefs.

- The study identified three main root causes of conflict in the traditional area, some of which have been addressed but without violence. These are inter-marriages, re-clanisation and regent-role status. These causes have manifested in almost all the conflicts in the traditional area. Notable settlements where conflicts are being resolved traditionally are Bando and Ntsinman. Other localities where conflicts have almost been resolved include Egyeikrom. In all the settlements studied, it was observed that the role of the chiefs and the trust the communities have for their traditional authorities in the resolution process have promoted peace and peace building in the traditional area.
- Peace building was seen by the respondents as a key responsibility of all members in the traditional area with the chiefs as the ones to ensure its sustainability. As such, peace building tools such as diplomacy, community participation, peaceful settlement and negotiation were regarded as essential to peace building. It was also evident that cordial inter-relationships among the chiefs within and even in other traditional jurisdictions have cemented unity and cohesion among the chiefs. The respondents explained that the cordial relationship have contributed to the building of a platform where conflict resolution knowledge and peace



building strategies as well as other key developmental issues are discussed and shared.

- Apart from the chiefs, other personalities that have contributed and continue to contribute to the peace in Eguafo Traditional Area were mentioned and their specific roles described. For instance, a mention was made of the roles women had played and continue to play. An example was the role of a queen who upon realizing the intense conflict between the traditional area and its paramount chief at the time was able to convince a credible candidate to ascend the stool. This paved way for peace to revisit the traditional area. Other institutions that have complemented the efforts of the traditional authorities in the Eguafo Traditional Area include the Regional House of Chiefs, Municipal Assembly and the Police.
- Traditional leadership was also mentioned as a key ingredient that has sustained peace in the traditional area. The study particularly realized from the divisional and the other sub-chiefs that the leadership of the paramount chief has not only provided a broad platform for other chiefs to learn from one another but has also been just, firm, reconciliatory and above all supportive. Thus, the chiefs themselves have gained confidence in the traditional judicial system at the traditional council, and in themselves at the local levels in that they have at the back of the minds that they have the unflinching support of the top hierarchy.
- There were however internal and external challenges to peace building at the traditional area. It was realized that ‘conflict entrepreneurs’ in the

traditional area wished that strict rules and laws be applied, and conflict adjudication to be delayed so as to increase material gains from appearance fees and also fines. The external challenge was the inadequate support from for example the Police in some cases where their interventions are needed. It was explained that inadequate resources for transport (for instance) available to the Police was seen as the cause of the challenge.

- Nevertheless, the benefits associated with the peace the traditional area enjoyed were seen as crucial to the development of the area. Tangible benefits such as soccer academy complex, and use of the area as a social learning laboratory by the Faculty of Arts of the University of Cape Coast were enumerated. The latter benefit for example has contributed to generation of literature of knowledge available for all and sundry to read. Intangible benefits such as social cohesion and conciliation have promoted communal labour programmes for local development.
- With reference to the guiding theory and framework used for the study, both the conflict transformation perspective and the peace building integrated framework were found to be appropriate and suitable. For example, the essence of culture and reconciliation in peace building observed at the traditional area are consistent with the tenets of the conflict transformation perspective. Similarly, the various levels identified in the peace building integrated framework were applicable to the study area to a large extent. However, given the role of other external actors in peace building in the traditional area as a result of the duality of governance

practiced by the country, there is the need to modify the framework in other to make it applicable in such and similar contexts.

### **Conclusions**

Traditional authorities as agents of peace cannot be doubted and their contributions to peace building in their local communities cannot be underemphasized. Over the years, traditional areas such as Eguafo, have experienced peace even in conflicts largely owing to the relevance of traditional conflict resolution and peace building practices employed by the chiefs and other internal and external actors. Well-structures and trusted traditional system and structures put in place serve as basis and framework to address potential and recurrent conflicts many of which emerge from the same traditional system.

Use of peace building tools differs in various contexts and situations but with the same purpose and objective. In traditional contexts, use of the tools also depends on the importance and willingness of traditional authorities place on its outcome. Thus, those who are highly interested in reconciliation and peace outcomes go another length to use personal resources to achieve the objective even if constrained by 'conflict entrepreneurs'.

Lastly, the theoretical perspective and conceptual framework adopted for the study were suitable in that the research questions posed and the objectives stated were addressed and achieved. A modification of the peace building integrated framework is however necessary. That is, it needs to be extended to accommodate and show a distinction between traditional and non-traditional actors within the framework because of the dual roles played although complementary.

## Recommendations

- Peace is essential in all dimensions of social, cultural and economic development in a community, a traditional area, a municipal and the entire national fabric. Therefore generally, studies on peace and research into traditional peace building are not only relevant but also imperative particular in Africa where traditional systems and structures exist. Clans and communities need to engage in research too even in contexts where there are no conflicts in order to have documentary evidence where they are lacking. This would provide the platform for resolution of potential conflicts and reveal the root causes of conflicts which are fundamental to lasting resolution and peace building.
- Oral transmission of cultural values and historical knowledge in traditional locales until recently, has largely been informal. In the current study it was evident. Apart from the documentation of these knowledge and information that are critical to forming bases especially for conflict resolution and peace building, traditional authorities must liaise with the Ghana Education Service to integrate these issues in the formal and non-formal educational systems. The adage *teach the child the way and he will not depart from it* is still relevant and in peace building too.
- The issue of ‘conflict entrepreneurs’ becomes a snapshot for further research too. Admittedly, it is not pervasive, but its effects in other jurisdictions especially within this and other conflict-prone communities cannot be underestimated. The traditional council, individuals and



institutions interested in conflict resolutions, peace building and traditional issues can consider this subject. With the Faculty of Arts of the University of Cape Coast using the traditional area as a social laboratory, this recommendations falls within its purview. Nevertheless, researchers, NGO and academic institution can further interrogate this issue to assess the roles and effects of 'conflict entrepreneurs' on conflict resolution and peace building in the traditional area.



## REFERENCES

Adetula, H. V. (2006). Development, conflict and peace building in Africa. In G.

S. Best (ed), *Introduction to peace and conflict studies in West Africa*.

Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Adu-Boahen, A. (1993). *Traditional African diplomacy and diplomatic techniques*: A paper submitted to the Third International Congress of Africanists. Addis Ababa.

Ahorsu, K. & Gebe, B. Y. (2011). *Governance and security in Ghana: The Dagbon chieftaincy crises*. SIPRI/OSI African Security and Governance Project. Retrieved 07/07/14 at

[http://www.sipri.org/research/security/africa/uploaded/ghana\\_study\\_2011](http://www.sipri.org/research/security/africa/uploaded/ghana_study_2011)

Alger, C. (1991). *Peace research with a diversity perspective: A look to Africa*. Retrieved 10/11/2011 at

[http://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol9\\_2/Brock-utne\\_92ijps.pdf](http://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol9_2/Brock-utne_92ijps.pdf)

Anderson, M. (1999). *Do no harm: How aid can support peace or war*.

Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. *JAIP*, 35(4), 216-224.

Askandar, K. (2005). *Conflict resolution, peacebuilding and the roles of the civil society: Some lessons from South-east Asia*. Retrieved 02/02/2010 at

[http://www.peacebuilderscenter.jp/parts/pdf-o9snr-txt/100119\\_Asakandar.pdf](http://www.peacebuilderscenter.jp/parts/pdf-o9snr-txt/100119_Asakandar.pdf)

Augsburger, D. (1992). *Conflict mediation across cultures: pathways and patterns*. USA: Westminster/John Knox Press.

Awedoba, A. K, (2010). *Living in the age of Conflict: Exploring the role of indigenous solution in conflict management/resolution in northern Ghana.*

Tamale: Centre for Continuing Education.

Babbie, E. (2005). *The basics of social research.* Canada: Wadsworth.

Bamidele, O. (2012). Conflict resolution and practices in Africa: a philosophical Perspective. *The African Symposium*, 12(2), 1-10.

Bassi, M. (2003). *Enhancing equity in the relationship between projected areas and local Communities in the context of global change: Horn of Africa and Kenya.* Retrieved 20/11/2010 at

<http://www.iucn.org/themes/ceesp/Publications/TILCEPA/CCA-MBassi.pdf>

Beever, S. D. (2010). *Women's role in peace building, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala Compared.* A thesis submitted to the college of Graduate Studies and Research, in partial fulfilment of the Requirement for Degree of Master of Arts in the department of political studies. University of Saskatchewan Saskatoon.

Benson, K. N. (2009). *Deterring cross-border conflict in the horn of Africa: A case study of Kenya-Uganda border.* Retrieved 20/04/2011 at

<http://www.stormingmedia.us/9719743/A974384.html>

Best, G. (2006). The linkages between research and peace policy advocacy. In S. G. Best (ed), *Peace and conflict studies in West Africa.* (pp. 93-115).

Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.

Bornstein, L. (2008). Planning and peace building in post-war Mozambique: Critical thinking and constructive action at the intersections of conflict.

*Journal of Peace and Development*, 4(1), 22-38.

Boutros-Ghali, B. (1992). *Agenda for peace, the United Nations*: Retrieved 18/03/2010 at <http://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/>

Braffi, E. K. (1992). *The Akan clans*. Kumasi:University Press.

Brock-Utne, B. (2001). *Indigenous Conflict resolution in Africa*. A draft presented to the Week-end Seminar on Indigenous Solution to Conflicts, held at the University of Oslo, Institute for educational research.

Bukari, K. & Kendie, S. B. (2012). Conflicts and its effect on development in the Bawku Traditional Area. *Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, 1(1), 190-210.

Burgess, H. & Burgess, G. (2010). *Conducting track II peacemaking*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.

Burton, J. & Dukes, F. (Eds) (1990). *Conflict readings in management and resolution*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Chayes, A. & Handle, A. (1996). *Preventing Conflict in the Post-Communist World*. Washington D. C.:Brookings Institution.

Collier, P. (2006). *Economic causes of civil conflict and their implications for policy*. Oxford: University.

Conteh-Morgan, E. (2005). Peace building and human security: A constructive perspective. *International Journal of Peace*, 10(1), 70-86.

Doyle, M. & Sambanis, N. (2000). International peacebuilding: A theoretical and quantitative analysis. *The American Political Science Review*, 94(2), 779-801.

Dudouet, V. (2006). *Transitions from violence to peace: Revisiting analysis and intervention in conflict transformation*. Retrieved 21/11/12 at <http://www.berghof-center.org/>



Duffield, M. (2001). *Global governance and the News Wars: the merging of development and security*. London: Zed Books.

Edossa, D. C., Bebel, M. S. Gupta, A. S, & Awulachew, S. B, (2005). *Indigenous systems of conflict resolution in Oromma, Ethiopia*. International Workshop on African Water Laws: plural legislative frameworks for rural water management in Africa held on 26-28/01/2005, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Enu-Kwasi, F. and Tuffour, K. A. (2010). *Conflict management and peace-building in Africa: Critical lessons for peace practitioners*. Centre for Continuing Education and Inter-disciplinary Research, University for Development Studies, Tamale.

Esia-Donkoh, K. (2012). Traditional conflict resolution in the Ghanaian context. *Distance Forum*, 2, 17-33.

Faleti, S. A. (2006). Theories of social conflict, In S. G. Best (ed), *Peace and conflict studies in West Africa*, (pp. 35-60), Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.

Farah, M. (2008). The role of Somaliland elders in making and keeping peace. *Accord*, 21, 60-62.

Fisher, R. J. (1993). The Potential for peace building: forging a bridge from peacekeeping to peacemaking. *Peace & Change*, 18(3), 241-266.

Fleetwood, K. L. (1987). *The conflict management styles and strategies of educational managers*. Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Communication. Retrieved on 06/06/2014 at <http://www.udel.edu/communication/web/thesisfiles/fleetwoodthesis.pdf>

Francis, D. J. (2006). Peace and conflict studies: An African overview of basic concepts. In S. G. Best (ed.) *Introduction to peace and conflict in West Africa: A reader*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Galtung, J. (2000). *Conflict transformation by peaceful means: The transcend method*. United Nations.

George, A. & Holl, J. (1997). *The warning-response problem and missed opportunities in preventive diplomacy*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Commission.

Ghana Statistical Service (2005). *2000 Population and housing census*. Accra: Ghana Statistical Service.

Griffiths, M., O'Callaghan, T. & Roach, S. (2008): *International relations: The key concepts*. UK: Routledge.

Hagmann, T. (2007). Bringing the Sultan Back in: Elders as peacemakers in Ethiopia's Somali Region. In L. Buur and H. M. Kyed (eds), *State Recognition and Democratization in sub-Saharan Africa. Anew Dawn for Traditional Authorities?* (pp. 31-51). New York: Palgrave.

Haider, H. (2009). *Community-based approaches to peacebuilding in conflict-affected and fragile areas*. Retrieved 16/04/2012 at <http://www.gsdr.org/docs/open/EIRS8.pdf>

Herrhausen, A. (2009). Coordination in United Nations peace building: A Theory-Guided Approach. *Discussion Paper*. Social Science Research Centre Berlin.

Human Security Report (2009). *Eliminating world poverty: Building our common feature*. University of Uppsala and DFID. London: DFID.

Intern, H. H. (1998). *Peacebuilding: Six dimensions' and two concepts*. Bonn

International Centre for Conversion. Retrieved 16/04/2012 at

<http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/ASR/7No6/Peacebuilding.htm>.

Isike, C. & Okeke-Uzodike, U. (2010). *Moral imagination, Ubuntu and African women: Towards feminizing politics and peace-building in KwaZulu-Natal (South Africa)*. *Gandhi Marg*, 31 (4), 679–709.

Johansen, R. C. (n.d). *Reviving peacebuilding tools ravished by terrorism, unilateralism, and weapons of mass destruction*. Retrieved 24/10/2012 at [http://www.gmu.edu/academic/ijps/vol9/\\_2/johnasen\\_92jpspdf](http://www.gmu.edu/academic/ijps/vol9/_2/johnasen_92jpspdf)

Kangsangbata, C. & Kendie, S. B. (2009). The role of traditional authorities in local governance. *Oguaa Journal of social sciences*, 4(4), 195-227.

Kendie, S. B. (2010). *Conflict management and peace building for poverty reduction*, Centre for Continuing Education and Inter-Disciplinary Research, University for Development Studies, Tamale.

Kendie, S. B., Ghartey, N. T. K., & Guri, B. Y. (2004). *Mapping Indigenous Institutions in Southern Ghana*, Cape Coast: University Printing Press.

Kendie, S. B. & Guri, B. Y. (2006). *Indigenous institutions as partners of agriculture and natural resource management*. The Netherlands: Compass/ETC. CD ROM.

Kendie, S. B. & Guri, B. Y. (2004). *Traditional Institution, Culture and Development*, Cape Coast: University Printing Press.

- Khadiagala, G. M. (2001). *The role of the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) in peace building in Northern Uganda*. Retrieved 21/06/2014 at [http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf\\_docs/Pnacy566.pdf](http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/Pnacy566.pdf)
- Kibwanga, R. M. (2005). *Rediscovering traditional peace building practices in post war in Northern Uganda*. Retrieved 20/09/2012 at <http://www.unesco.org/iiep/PDF/pubs/2008/Burundi.pdf>.
- Kirby, J. P. (2006). *The earth cult and the ecology of peace-building in Northern Ghana*. The Netherlands: Compass/ETC. CD ROM.
- Kouassi, E. C. (2008). Negotiation, mediation and other non-judicial ways of managing conflict of pre-colonial West African societies, *International Negotiation*, 3, 233-246.
- Kuehnast, K., Omar, M., Steiner, S. E. & Sultan, H. (2012). *Peacebuilding Efforts of Women from Afghanistan and Iraq: Lessons in Transition*. U.S.: The United States Institute of Peace.
- Labonte, W. (2004). *Post-conflict peacebuilding: Meeting human needs for justice and reconciliation*. Retrieved 15/03/2010 at <http://www.brad.acu/c/ssis/peaceconflict-anddevelopment/issue-4/postconflictpeacebuilding.pdf>
- Latifi, V. (2011). The preventive diplomacy and the process of the peace-building since the end of the Cold War. *AARMS*, 10(2), 223-235.
- Lederach, J. P., Neufeldt, R. & Culbertson, H. (2007). *Reflective peace building: A planning, monitoring and learning toolkit*. Retrieved 23/07/2012 at <http://www.crs.org>.



Lederach, P. J. (2006), *Preparing for peace: conflict transformation across cultures*. Syracuse. NY: Syracuse University Press.

Lederach, J. P. (2003), *Beyond intractability: Conflict transformation*. Retrieved 21/11/12 at <http://www.beyondintractability.org/bi-essay/transformation>

Leest, V. K. D., Kolarova, D., and Mecreant, L. (2010). *A guidance for integrating peacebuilding into development*. Retrieved 24/06/2012 at [www.initiativeforpeacebuilding.eu](http://www.initiativeforpeacebuilding.eu)

Lotze, W., Carvalho, G. B., & Kasumba, Y. (2008). Peace building coordination in African countries: Transitioning from conflict, *Occasional Paper Series: 3* No. 1. Retrieved 16/04/2012 at [http://www.accord.org.za/downloads/op/op\\_2008\\_1.pdf](http://www.accord.org.za/downloads/op/op_2008_1.pdf)

Lund, M. S. (1996). *Preventing violent conflicts: A strategy for preventive diplomacy*. Washington D.C.: US Institute for Peace (USIP).

Lutz, E. L, Babbitt, E. F. & Hannum, H. (2003). Human Rights and Conflict Resolution from the Practitioners' Perspectives. *Winter Spring*, 27(1), 173-193

Madoka, F., Edward, N., & Shahrbanou, T. (2010). *Towards a human security approach to peacebuilding*. United Nations University for Sustainable and Peace. Retrieved 16/04/2012 at <http://www.humansecuritygateway.com/showRecord.php?RecordId=3718>

Mensah J, (2007). *Indigenous institutions and development of Eguafu Traditional Area in Central Region of Ghana*. Unpublished thesis submitted to institute for Development studies, University of Cape Coast.

Millar, D. & Haverkort, B. (2006). *African knowledges and science: Exploring the way of knowing of sub-Saharan Africa*. The Netherlands: Compass/ETC. CD ROM.

National House of Chiefs (2008). *Changes affecting status of chiefs and other Chieftaincy matters*. Accra: Chieftaincy Bulletin.

Nicolson, H. (1954). *The evolution of diplomatic method*. London: Constable

Ojiji, O. (2006). Conflict handling styles. In S. G. Best (ed). *Introduction to peace and conflict studies West Africa* (pp.116-129). Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.

Osamba, J. (2001). Peacekeeping and transformation from below: Indigenous approaches to conflict and reconciliation among pastors societies in the Boaderlands of Eastern Africa. *Africa journal in Conflict Resolution*, 1, 1-8.

Paffenholz, T., & Spurk, C. (2006). Civil society, civic engagement, and peace building. *Social development papers: Conflict prevention and reconstruction*. Retrieved 21/11/2012 at <http://www.worldbank.org/conflict>

Pankhurst, A. (2003). 'Conflict management over contested natural resources: A case study of pasture, forest and irrigation in South Wello, Ethiopia'. In A. P. Castro & E. Nielsen, *Natural resource conflict management case studies: an analysis of power, participation and protected areas*. Retrieved 06/06/2014 at <http://www.fao.org/3/a-y4503e.pdf>

Paris, R. (1997). Peace building and the limits of liberal internationalism. *International Security*. 22(2), 54-89.

Peters, J. (1996). *Pathways to peace: The multilateral Arab-Israeli peace talks*. London, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.

Pugh, M. (2005). The political economy of peacebuilding: A critical theory perspective. *International Journal of Peace*, 10(1), 24-38.

Richmond, O. (2005). *Understanding the liberal peace*. A paper presented at Experts' Seminar on Transformation of War Economics on 16-18<sup>th</sup> June, University of Plymouth, UK.

Sarantakos, S. (2005). *Social Research*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Sarantakos, S. (1998). *Social Research*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Sarpong, P. K. (2009). Traditional Ghanaian means of promoting and/or re-establishing Peace, strength and weaknesses in contemporary Ghana, *Pedu Today*, 9, 28-33.

Schellhaas, C., & Seegers, A. (n.d.). *Peace building: Imperialism's new disguise?* Retrieved 20/09/2012 at <http://www.isn.eth2.ch/DigitalLibrary/publications/>

Schirch, L. (2008). *Strategic peace building: State of the field of peace prints*. Retrieved 15/04/2011 at <http://www.wiscomp.org/peaceprints.htm>

Schirch, L. & Sewak, M. (2005). *Towards an indigenous model of conflict resolution: Reinventing women's roles as traditional peace-building in neo-colonial Africa*. Retrieved 10/03/2011 at <http://www.conflictrecovery.org/bin/issue>

Smith, R. (1968). *Warfare and diplomacy in pre-colonial West Africa*. London: Oxford.

Support for Decentralisation Reform Programme (2008). *The Role of Traditional Authority in the Decentralised System*. A research report by Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Organisational Development, and Institute of Development Studies of University of Cape Coast.

Swanström, N. L.P. & Weissmann, M. S. (2005). *Conflict, conflict prevention and conflict management and beyond: a conceptual exploration*. Retrieved 06/06/2014 at

[http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/docs/ConceptPapers/2005/concept\\_paper\\_ConfPrev.pdf](http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/docs/ConceptPapers/2005/concept_paper_ConfPrev.pdf)

Tache, B., & Irwin, B. (2003). Traditional institutions, multiple stakeholders and modern perspectives in common properties: accompanying change within Borana pastoral systems. *Securing the commons*, 4, 22-48.

Talbot, A. (1969). *The peoples of southern Nigeria: Linguists and statistics*. London: Oxford.

Tejan-Cole, A. (2003). The complementary and conflicting relationship between the special court for Sierra Leone and the truth and reconciliation commission. *Yale Human Rights and Development Journal*, 6(1), 1-21.

Tracol, C. (n.d.). *A constructivist critique of consociational and civil society approaches to conflict management, the case of Iraq*. Retrieved 06/06/2014 at

[https://www.academia.edu/3254527/A\\_constructivist\\_critique\\_of\\_consociational\\_and\\_civil\\_society\\_approaches\\_to\\_conflict\\_management\\_the\\_case\\_of\\_Iraq](https://www.academia.edu/3254527/A_constructivist_critique_of_consociational_and_civil_society_approaches_to_conflict_management_the_case_of_Iraq)

Tschirgi, N. (2003). *Peace building as the link between security and development: Is the window of opportunity closing?* New York: International Peace Academy Studies in Security and Development.



Tsikata, D., & Seini, W. (2004), 'Identities, inequalities and conflicts in Ghana', *Working Paper 5*, Centre for Research and Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity. Oxford: University of Oxford Press:

Tuffour, K. A., & Obeng-Somuah, A. (2010). Conflict, security and Development in Africa: the need to invest in peace education. *Oguaa Journal of Social Sciences*, 5(1), 134-149.

United Nations (2002). *Women, Peace and Security*. Geneva: UN .

United Nations (2001). *The prevention of armed conflict: Report of the Secretary General*. UN Doc. A/55/985-5/2001/574. Geneva.

United Nations (1992). *Agenda for peace: preventive, diplomacy, peacemaking, and peacekeeping*. New York: United Nations

United Nations Environment Programme (2013). *Natural resource management and peacebuilding in Afghanistan*. Retrieved 21/06/2014 at <http://unep.org/Afghanistan/>

United Nations Education Fund (2011). *Peacebuilding and post conflict reconstruction*. Geneva: United Nations.

Ury, W. (1999). *Getting Past No: Negotiation with difficult people*. New York: Bantam Book.

Wood, A. P. (1993). 'Natural Resource Conflicts in South-West Ethiopia: State, Communities, and the Role of the National Conservation Strategy in the Search for Sustainable Development'. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 2(2), 83-99.

World Bank (2002). *World development indicators*. Retrieved 12/12/2010 at <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators>.

## APPENDIX 1

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW AND FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR  
KEY INFORMANTS**Section A: Background characteristics**

1. How long have you lived in this community? (Probe for place of birth, education, occupation, etc).
2. What is the history of this community? (Probe for origin of migration, major conflicts encountered, how these were resolved, peace building practices, etc)
3. What is your status(es) in your family?
  - a. When did you assume that status? (Probe for number of years)
  - b. Why were you selected for this position? (Probe for criteria and conditions for selection, e.g.: royalty to stool, educational level, etc)
4. What position do you occupy in this community?
  - a. When did you assume that status? (Probe for number of years)
  - b. Why were you selected for this position? (Probe for criteria and conditions for selection, e.g.: royalty to stool, educational level, etc)

**Section B: Traditional structure and conflict resolution**

5. Briefly describe the traditional structure in this community and traditional area (In each case, probe for levels of hierarchy, authority and power as well as gender linkages)

6. What were the major conflicts that confronted this community in the past? (Probe for intra clan and inter clan conflicts that relate to chieftaincy, resources (e.g. land).

- a. How did each of these conflicts start? (Probe for actors and how they acted)
- b. What were the impacts of each of the conflicts mentioned? (Probe for loss of human life, properties, migration, etc)
- c. Was the community able to resolve the conflict finally? How were these conflicts resolved (Probe for both traditional methods, internal and external support, etc)
- d. Was the traditional area able to resolve the conflict finally? How were these conflicts resolved (Probe specifically for both traditional methods, various actors, internal and external support, etc)

7. What were the major conflicts that confronted the traditional area in the past? (Probe for intra and inter clan and community conflicts that relate to chieftaincy, resources (e.g. land).

- a. How did each of these conflicts start? (Probe for actors and how they acted)
- b. What were the impacts of each of the conflicts mentioned? (Probe for loss of human life, properties, migration, etc)
- c. Was the community able to resolve the conflict finally? How were these conflicts resolved (Probe for both traditional methods, internal and external support, etc)

- d. Was the traditional area able to resolve the conflict finally? How were these conflicts resolved (Probe specifically for both traditional methods, various actors, internal and external support, etc)

8. What are the major conflicts that confront this community currently? (Probe for intra clan and inter clan conflicts that relate to chieftaincy, resources (e.g. land), etc).

- a. How did each of these conflicts start? (Probe for actors and how they acted)
- b. What are the effects of each of the conflicts mentioned? (Probe for loss of human life, properties, migration, etc)
- c. What methods and steps were adopted to resolve the conflicts? (Probe for both traditional methods, internal and external support, etc)

9. What are the major conflicts that confront this community currently? (Probe for intra clan and inter clan conflicts that relate to chieftaincy, resources (e.g. land).

- a. How did each of these conflicts start? (Probe for actors and how they acted)
- b. What are the effects of each of the conflicts mentioned? (Probe for loss of human life, properties, migration, etc)
- c. What methods and steps have been adopted to resolve the conflicts? (Probe for both traditional methods, internal and external support, etc)



**Section C: Traditional structure(s), tools and processes for peace building**

10. Have there been any efforts or attempts to engage in any kind of peace building in this community and traditional area? (Probe for factors that necessitated the peace building engagement in each case and location)
- a. Who were/are the key actors in the peace building process? (Probe for specific traditional authorities, other internal or external supports)
  - b. Which structure(s) was/is the foundation upon which the peace building was engaged? (Probe for specific traditional structures)
  - c. What tools were/have been employed? (Probe for specific tools: social tools, material tools, spiritual tools)
  - d. What were/are the processes involved in the peace building engagement? (Probe for specific social, material and spiritual processes and the key actors)

**Section D: Effectiveness of traditional peace building**

11. Based on your experience in peace building in the community/traditional area, what are the strengths of traditional peace building practice? (probe for diversity of strengths: specific social, cultural, spiritual, material, etc)
- a. What specific factors ensure the strengths of traditional peace building? (Probe for local and external institutional arrangement based on previous cases)

- b. What factors challenge the strengths of traditional peace building?  
(Probe for reliance on oral evidence and memory recording, conventional factors)
- c. How can these challenges be addressed? (Probe for key actors to address these challenges and why)
12. What are the weaknesses of traditional peace building practice? (probe for weakness: specifically social, cultural, spiritual, material, etc)
- a. What specific factors contribute to the weakness of traditional peace building? (Probe for local and external institutional arrangement based on previous cases, personal interest, materialism, etc)
- b. What factors challenge such strengths? (Probe for reliance on oral evidence and memory recording, conventional factors)
- c. How can these challenges be addressed? (Probe for key actors to address these challenges and why)
13. How do we develop traditional peace building in this community/traditional area?
- a. What needs to be done?
- b. Who must be involved, and why?
- c. What is the future of traditional peace building in this community/traditional area?
14. What other issues do you want us to discuss in relation to traditional peace building which we have not touched on?

**Closing courtesies**

I am very grateful to you for your valuable time spent with me and also sharing these rich experiences and knowledge with me. I may call on you again if other emerging issues about the subject come up.

**Thank you very much.**

