

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

INDIGENE-SETTLER CONFLICT: A CASE STUDY OF THE GBI AND
HOHOE-ZONGO CONFLICT



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2023

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Thesis submitted to the Department of Peace Studies of the School for
Development Studies, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of
Cape Coast, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master
of Philosophy Degree in Peace and Development Studies.

DECEMBER, 2023

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

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

Candidate's Signature.....Date.....

Name.....

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 Signature.....Date.....

Name.....

Co-Supervisor's Signature..... Date.....

Name.....

ABSTRACT

Indigene-settler conflicts have occurred all the world over as a result of the differences in basic human-needs such as food, water, shelter and security as pointed out by human-needs theory. Then also, they occur based on ideas, cultural practices and socio-political organisations as espoused by the psycho-cultural conflict theory. Ghana is no exception. Indigene-settler conflicts pose serious threat to peace and stability that the country is enjoying. This study used the indigene-settler conflict between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers as a case study. Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used to select the participants. In-depth interviews and unstructured observation guide were used to obtain data from the participants for the study. The study revealed that the root causes of the conflict were historical antecedence, identity and ethnicity, hegemony and ownership as well as social relationship. The conflict led to loss of lives, people were permanently relocated to other towns and Hohoe has lost its status as the commercial hub of the Volta Region. The study recommends that State Farm should be established by the government in the area to provide economic activities for the teeming unemployed youths. Inter-marriage is also recommended to repose trust between the two communities and improve upon their interpersonal relationship which will again boost the socio-economic activities and promote sustainable peace in the area.

KEY WORDS

Antecedence

Conflict

Dialogue

Dispute

Indigenes

Mediation

Relations

Regalia

Settlers

Socio-economic

Sustainable peace

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to my supervisors, Dr. K.S. Aikins of the Department of Peace Studies and Dr. Richard Ntiri-Oppong of the Department of Integrated Development Studies for supervising this work to a successful end. My gratitude goes to the lectures in the Department of Peace and Development Studies especially Dr. Osei-Kufuor who has been my mentor for sometimes now, Dr. Bukari, Mr Ametefe, Dr. Appiah-Boateng and Dr. Tuffuor not forgetting Prof. Kendie. Furthermore, I thank all the participants, particularly the Gbi chiefs, Hohoe-Zongo elders, Hospital staff, security personnel and the youths at Hohoe who shared their lived experiences with me during the data collection process.

To Togbe De-Gozah and Alhaji Anas, I say thank you for supporting me during the data collection process at Hohoe. To my course mates, I say thank you for supporting me in diverse ways, and my parent, Daniel Kosi Atabuatsi and Gladys Mawuli Kotoku-Atabuatsi for your encouragement. I could not have written a thesis of this nature without drawing from the academic resources provided by many reputable scholars whose works were profusely consulted as resources. To these authors I express my profound gratitude.

DEDICATIONS

This thesis is being dedicated to my wife, Evelyn Addo and my children, Selikem Atabuatsi, Kofi Elinam Atabuatsi and Mawuenam Atabuatsi.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

Resurgence and frequency of violent indigene-settler conflict and tensions in the world require analysis and explanations that encapsulate the conflictual complexities that have shaped the history of societies. Several researchers (Abubakari, 2021; Akanji, 2012; Aloa, 2007; Bukari, 2022; Kugbega, 2018) have highlighted the devastating effects of indigene settler conflict and the consequences on the general society. Due to the devastating nature of indigene-settler conflict especially loss of lives and properties at conflict zones, every effort should be made by the parties concerned to prevent its occurrence by addressing the early warning signs amicably for sustainable peace in the society.

Indigene-settler conflict takes place all over the world from Syria, Yemen Afghanistan, Qatar and the most recent one is the Palestinians and Israelis conflict. Most of these conflicts revolve around scarcity of natural resources (Barton, 1997). This indigene-settler conflict occurs on daily, weekly, monthly and yearly basis all over the world some of which degenerate into wars. Indigene-settler conflict circles around the issues of indigene who are usually the ethnic group that had come to inherit the land and are therefore, the allodial land title holders while settlers are those who are given land for either farming or rearing animals, depending upon the type of agricultural or economic activities the settlers want to engage in. However, with time, these same indigenes will begin to complain about the destruction of their crops and farm

lands as well as land degradation by the settlers, mostly the Fulani herdsmen whom they had given lands for grazing (Kugbega, 2018).

The intense indigene-settler conflict over issues revolves around ‘conflict fanners’ who make sure that the conflict is sustained for a very long time and ‘conflict interveners’ who are the third parties that quickly come in to begin peacebuilding process between the factions. These actors who sustain the conflict or begin peacebuilding, bring complexity to the conflict. Operationally, the causes of a conflict are all the various circumstances that include lack of effective communication, facing uncertainty, loss of trust for each other and a sustained hostility between the parties (Mayer, 2000; Cleman and Bass 2019).

Indigene-settler conflict is intractable and difficult to deal with (Jalali & Lipset, 1998; Olzak, 2004; Schneider, 2010). Jalali and Lipset pointed out that the systemic nature of indigene-settler conflict makes it a daunting duty to rely on only one cause to provide a comprehensive explanation for the manifestation of such conflicts. They explained that it is difficult to identify a single cause of indigene-settler conflict. As a result of colossal loss of lives, properties and internal displacement of people (IDP) by indigene-settler conflict in Ghana as a whole and Hohoe Municipality in particular, every effort should be made by all stakeholders to prevent its reoccurrence in the society. Mitchell (2014) explained how systemic changes lead to complexity of conflict through “exacerbation”, “perpetuation” and “mitigation” due to the various sources of dislike in such an intractable conflict which may often times change as the conflict progresses which will affect the peacebuilding efforts. According to Mitchel, the indigene-settler conflict can escalate when dealing with issues of change within a conflict system.

Indigene-settler conflict began in Africa when people living in a geographical location welcomed other people from neighbouring communities to settle with indigenes of the land, either as migrants or for economic reasons. But later on, when the indigenes saw that the settlers were rather doing better than them economically, the indigenes began to put structures in the way of the settlers to prevent them from gaining access to economic opportunities and natural resources such as land and water bodies (Blench, 2004). This dates back to the 20th century when Fulani herdsmen began to move from the Sahel region to the semi-arid wet forest in the then Gold Coast, for their animals to graze as a result of unfavourable climatic conditions such as environmental degradation, resource scarcity, demographic, low rainfall and long drought due to climate change. Then in 1920s and 30s, large number of Fulani herdsmen begun to move from Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger to the then Gold Coast now Ghana in search of greener pastures and water for their animals mostly cattle due to the long drought in the Sahel. They also took the opportunity to look for better economic in Ghana (Tonah, 2002).

In Ghana, the indigene-settler conflict phenomenon is so rampant that hardly a year passes without a reported case of its occurrence. According to Kugbega (2018), Famer-Herder conflict in the Agogo area of the North Akyem District of the Ashanti Region led to the farmers taking hard decisions to protect their crops which led to indigene-settler conflict between the people of Agogo and the Fulani herdsmen. Again, Kugbega (2018) stated that indigenous farmers' investment, thus their food crops was being destroyed by the cattle of the Fulani herdsmen which always led to indigene-settler conflict. The farmers are the indigenes and the herders are the settlers who brought their cattle to

greener pastures for grazing and end up destroying the farmers' crops. Bukari (2022) explains that indigene-settler conflict did not occur only at Agogo in the Ashanti Region but also between the indigenous farmers and settler herders at Gushiegu in the Northern Region.

Just like any other community in the Volta Region where there are settlers, Hohoe also hosts a large number of settlers at the Hohoe-Zongo which dates back to the 19th century, more than 200 years ago. These settlers are mostly Kodogoli people from the Republic of Togo who formed the majority of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers. There are other minority ethnic groups such as, Akan, Dagomba, Frafra, Kable, Ewes, Guans, Hausa, Losso and Zamrama, who are not from the Gbi Traditional Area (Osei-Kufour *et al.*, 2016). It is one of the four traditional areas that formed the Hohoe Municipality of which Hohoe is the Municipal Capital. The Gbi indigenes and the Hohoe-Zongo settlers coexisted peacefully for centuries. However, in June 2012, communal violence clash occurred between them leading to loss of lives and properties (Iddi, 2014).

Since then, there has been intermittent clashes and violent action against each other leading to strained interpersonal relationship between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers which necessitated this research study. This strained interpersonal relationship was particularly seen among the youth of indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers within the Hohoe township (Anumel, 2017 as cited in Kendie, Osei-Kufuor, Bukari and Bukari, 2021). Gbi Traditional Council and Zongo Community used shuttle mediation to bring the situation to appreciable level for the people of the Zongo Community to move freely and engage in business activities without the fear of being harmed (Kendie *et al.*, 2021). However, this objective has not been achieved due to the

fact that the mechanism was faced with challenges. This is because certain items such as regalia and other traditional items destroyed during the conflict have not been found (Kendie *et al*, 2021). What makes this research study more relevant is that the ban on the Hohoe-Zongo settlers not to bury at the Hohoe public cemetery is still in force making the interpersonal relationship between them strain which affected the socio-economic activities of most of the Zongo settlers to the extent that they relocated their businesses to the Zongo community only while others had to relocate to other towns. Several factors could lead to indigene-settler conflict. Scarce natural resources, ethnic identity, political power struggle and geographical independence by the settlers could be causes of indigene-settler conflict. Osinubi (2006) traces the quest for power and the resultant indigene-settler conflict to ambition and greed. Due to individual needs and interests, even within the same community, each sub unit has a set of fixed prejudice and stereotypes about others in the community making it difficult to identify one factor or issue as the root cause of the conflict. Hence, ethnic factor is still a force to reckon with in indigene-settler conflict.

Several researchers pointed out that indigene-settler 'conflict' occurs as a result of scarce natural resources such as land and water bodies. According to Alao (2007), almost all the indigene-settler conflicts in Africa centre on natural resources, either the resources are scarce due to population growth or the resources are being depleted by settlers to the displeasure of the indigenes. These conflicts normally occur in the bush where the land use is at the centre of the conflict. Indigene-settler conflict occurs at the bush at Agogo at all times but not in the town leading to people and cattle being found dead in the bush during such indigene-settler conflicts.

The theories underpinning peace are instrumentalist and functionalist. Once there is peace, infrastructure can be built with other services. From the functionalist perspective, when there is peace, other social functions can go on. Peaceful coexistence brings about social order and sustainable development. (Ibeanu, 2006 cited in Nwafor, 2012).

Norwegian peace theorist, Johan Galtung outlined two dimensions of peace; positive and negative where positive peace talks of absence of conflict and equal relations while negative peace deals with absence of fear of conflict at all levels of human existence.

Many theories of conflict exist that tried to explain the causes of indigene-settler conflict in society. “Universal human needs that are unsatisfactory” are dealt with by human-needs theory. To resolved conflict, needs should be analysed and communicated to the conflicting parties (Osei-Kufuor et al., 2016). According to Ross (1998), structural conflict theory looks at competition for resources which people prevent others from accessing, even though it is common to both parties. This shows that no society is immune from conflict which presupposes that a community can be peaceful today but experience conflict the next day.

Economic conflict theory points out that society undergoes unending conflict due to the struggle for inadequate resources such as land, water bodies, power, prestige, authority and status. The theory further explains how social balance has been upheld by domination and power, instead of agreement and conformity. According to the economic conflict theory, wealthy and powerful persons try all available means to hold on to wealth and power. They achieve this objective by subduing poor and powerless people This conflict theory

simply posits that individuals and groups within a society work only to benefit themselves to the maximum. The theory explains that social disparity has been the main cause of social conflicts that exist between people with diverse social status in the society.

Furthermore, economic theory has a role to play in conflict between parties. According to Bendal & Malone (2000), conflict has a functional utility and embedded in economic disparities. Conflict entrepreneurs benefit from chaos while majority of the population are affected by its negative impacts. War economist and instigators as well as peace economists benefit from conflicts significantly. Thus, they derive functional utility and satisfaction from the conflict.

Moreover, realist theory emphasises the role of the state, national interest, and power in world politics which make people to engage in the pursuit of personalised self-interest which is defined as power. Perpetually, competing for limited resources and power leading to conflict between individuals and group of individuals in society. Again, tension and conflict arise when resources, status and power are not evenly distributed.

The end product of every conflict study is some suggestions for peaceful coexistence of the parties that engaged in the conflict. This can be done through sustainable peace mechanisms such as Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR), which is supported by Galtung peace theory.

Conflict theories that have been discussed and their importance in this study are that every human being must have basic necessities including security and if these basic needs are denied a people by another group of people will definitely lead to conflict. Conflict occurs as a result of denial of one group of

people the access to the basic natural resources by another (Vaynynen, 2018). Thus, the exclusion of one party by another from accessing the natural resources that are available to all. These natural resources are not only material objects like land but also immaterial things such as identity, power, authority, status, recognition, and participation in social events in the community

These theories are also important to this study in the sense that economically, society undergoes unending conflict due to the struggle for inadequate resources such as land, water bodies, power, prestige, authority and status. Economic theory explains that social balance is upheld by domination and power, instead of agreement and conformity, thus wealthy and powerful persons try all means to hold on to wealth and power which supports human needs theory. Economically, people benefit from conflict when whenever there is chaos. These are conflict entrepreneurs who capitalise on the situation to supply arms to the conflicting parties so as to maximise their profits in that business.

So, they will always want conflict to occur in society for them to benefit from the conflict. Human-needs theory looks at basic needs such as food, water, shelter, security and if anyone is denied these basic amenities for human survival, definitely, there will be conflict. Realist theory looks at conflict from the perspective of self-interest in acquiring natural resources such as land, minerals as well as authority, power, identity and prestige. Social conflict theory argues that conflict occurs in society due to the fact that resources are unevenly distributed. The theory further stated that competition for natural resources, authority, power, identity and recognition between and among individual parties lead to indigene-settler conflict.

Even though other researchers have done some work on the conflict situation, what was left to be studied were the actual root causes of the conflict, the effects of the conflict on socio-economic activities of the people and the current interpersonal relationship between them. The ban on the Hohoe-Zongo settlers from burying their dead bodies on Gbi land is still in force. The inability of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers to procure the stolen or burnt regalia and other traditional items that were destroyed at the residence of Togbega Gabusu VI is still making the indigenes of Gbi harbour animosities against the Hohoe-Zongo settlers Kendie (2021). There has also been intermittent attacks on each other until 2017 when there seemed to be some level of peace (Annumel, 2017). This is underpinned by human needs theory where the indigenes of Gbi need their regalia while the Hohoe-Zongo settlers also need land to dispose of their dead bodies making the two communities to enjoy a fragile peace.

Statement of the Problem

As a result of persistent breakdown in social relationship, there was misunderstanding between the indigenes of Gbi and the Hohoe-Zongo settlers which led to a ban on burial of people from the Zongo community in the Hohoe public cemetery (Kendie *et al*, 2021). The late Chief Imam, Alhaji Alhassan was exhumed and was dumped on Hohoe-Jasikan road which the Hohoe-Zongo settlers' thought was as result of the ban placed on the Hohoe-Zongo settlers from burying on Gbi land that was why the body was exhumed (Osei-Kufuor, 2014). The Hohoe-Zongo settlers were of the view that the order to exhume the body was made by the Paramount Chief of the Gbi Traditional Area, Togbega Gabusu VI due to unresolved issues surrounding the ban, hence attacking his residence (Iddi, 2014). Iddi further explained that a reprisal attack by the

indigenes of Gbi led to the burning of stores belonging to the Hohoe-Zongo settlers leading to loss of lives and properties running into millions of Ghana Cedis. Previously, differences were resolved through dialogue for peaceful coexistence.

According to Anumel (2017), while the indigenes of Gbi wanted to be recognised as the landlords, the Hohoe-Zongo settlers wanted to be recognised as owners of the Zongo community since they have bought the land from the indigenes of Gbi. This is where human needs theory comes in to address basic psychological need of recognition of both the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers. Another cause of the indigene-settler conflict identified is the persistent breakdown in social relationship between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers which led to misunderstanding and subsequent ban of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers from burying their dead bodies on Gbi land (Kendie *et al*, 2021).

However, Osinubi (2006) traces some of the causes of indigene-settler conflict to quest for power, ambition and greed. This presupposed that there is no single cause of indigene-settler conflict. Besides, theories such as human needs theory and psycho-cultural conflict theory support resurgence of indigene-settler conflict. There is no known theory that deals with total prevention of indigene-settler conflict. Galtung's model of violence, conflict and peace can only be applied after the conflict had occurred to bring about peace. There is no known theory that deals with total prevention of conflict in the society leading to gap in the literature.

Moreover, earlier researchers failed to ascertain the current interpersonal relationship between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers since it

takes longer time for relationships to be patched up after such a conflict. Besides, the ban on the Hohoe-Zongo settlers not to bury their dead bodied on Gbi land is still in force making the Hohoe-Zongo settlers travel for more than 15 kilometres to buy their dead bodies at Liati Torganu where they had bought land for that purpose. Worst of all, the burnt or stolen regalia at the Paramount Chief's residence had not been found or bought by the Hohoe-Zongo settlers making strain relationship between the two communities. The lost or destroyed regalia and other traditional items belonging to the residence of Togbega Gabusu VI made some of the indigenes of Gbi harbour animosities against the Hohoe-Zong settlers Kendie (2021). All that they are enjoying is a fragile peace. This study sought to examine the root causes of the conflict, analyse the effects on socio-economic activities, ascertain the interpersonal relationship between them and make suggestions for sustainable peace in the area.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to evaluate the indigene-settler conflict between the Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers.

Research Objectives

The specific objectives include, to:

1. examine the root causes of the conflict between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers,
2. analyse effects of the conflict on socio-economic activities,
3. ascertain the current interpersonal relationship between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers,
4. Suggest possible solutions to achieve sustainable peace in the area.

Research Questions

1. What are the root causes of the conflict between Gbi indigenes and Hohoe-Zongo settlers?
2. How has the conflict affected socio-economic activities of the area?
3. How are the current interpersonal relationship between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers?
4. What sustainable peace mechanisms have been used to manage the conflict?

Significance of the Study

Indigene-settler conflict occurs as a result of the differences in basic human needs, perceptions, beliefs, values need, cultural orientation and socio-political organisation. This study was significant for four main reasons. The first one was sharing knowledge about some of the causes of indigene-settler conflict of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers. Secondly, it has contributed to the academic debate on going about indigene-settler conflict in the country. Thirdly, it enabled the researcher make suggestions for sustainable peace in the area. Finally, the findings make knowledge available to conflict management and peacebuilding expects, the indigenes and settlers and the general public on the suggestions for sustainable peace in the area.

Delimitations of the Study

This study is located in the Gbi-Hohoe and Hohoe-Zongo of the Hohoe Municipality. This study focuses on the events and causes of the indigene-settler conflict which occurred in the Hohoe town in the Municipality

Limitations of the Study

The methodological challenge envisaged was all the participants should be able to answer the questions without demonstrating any biases. Another one is the ability of the participants to remain focused on the conflict issues under investigation without bringing in issues that may not have significant effect on the study.

Definition of Terms

In this study, some terms have been defined and they included:

Accommodation: Accommodation is defined as a process whereby one conflicting party makes a conscious effort to forgo some needs and wants in the interest of peace.

Alternative Dispute Resolution: Alternative Dispute Resolution is a mechanism that has been used to resolve conflict between people.

Avoidance: Avoidance is where the parties try to postpone the issue to a better time.

Conciliation: Conciliation is a process in which a third party plays an intermediary role with the aim of persuading the parties to work towards a peaceful resolution

Compromise: Compromise is defined as a situation where parties split their differences and make concessions in order to resolve the conflict.

Conflict: Conflict is defined as disagreement between indigenes and settlers.

Conflict Response: Conflict Response is defined as non-violent means of resolving any conflict situation.

Indigenes: Indigenes are defined as people who first inherited the land and have the allodial title to the land.

Insubordination: Insubordination is defined as the act of wilfully disobeying a lawful order of one's superior.

Internal Displacement of People: Internal Displacement of People is a situation where people run away to neighbouring towns during conflict.

Mediation: Mediation is a non-binding process involving an impartial third party who strive to remain as neutral as possible in dispute resolution process.

Relations: Relations are defined as continuous association between people in a community.

Resurgence: Resurgence is defined as rising again into activity after a period of little dormancy.

Shuttle Mediation: Shuttle Mediation is employed to help the conflicting parties to an acceptable outcome without necessarily at the same time. agreement without the parties being present in the same room at the same mediation meeting.

Settlers: Settlers are defined as people who migrated from their original home to live with the land owners to seek refuge or for economic purposes.

Sustainable Peace Mechanism: Sustainable Peace Mechanism is the process of maintaining peaceful society devoid of violent conflict.

Organisation of the Study

This study has been put into five chapters. The introduction, background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, research objectives, research questions can all be found in chapter one. This same chapter discusses the significance, delimitations, limitations, definition of terms and organisation of the study. The second chapter was on literature related issues including theories. It also looked at the relevance of the theorise

and conceptual framework Chapter three dealt with the methods, techniques and procedures adopted in the study for data collection and analysis. Results as well as the actual root causes of the conflict have been discussed in chapter four. The last chapter covers summary, conclusion and recommendations. It also offers suggestions for future studies.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter focuses on literature review and discusses the various theories underpinning conflict which is indigene-settler conflict. This chapter gives explanation and relevance of theories to this study and also presents the theoretical framework which guides this study. The empirical review and theoretical framework underpinning this study were explained for sustainable peace in the area. This theoretical framework explored Human-needs theory (HNT), Psycho-cultural conflict theory (PCT) and Galtung's model of Conflict, Violence and Peace (CVP

Theoretical Framework

These three theories were human-needs theory, psycho-cultural conflict theory and Galtung's model of conflict, violence and peace theory. The main one is human-needs theory which is universal due to the fact that people all over the world share similar needs for survival. The psycho-cultural conflict theory dealt with the creation of enemy images which eventually lead to conflict in future since human actions are learnt from growth. The supporting theory which is the third and the final one was Galtung's model of conflict, violence and peace (Galtung, 1996).

Human-needs Theory

Human-needs theory was developed in 1970 and 1980 as a basic theory of human behaviour. It is based on the fact that humans have basic needs that have to be met in order to maintain stable societies. Azar's (2005) Human Needs Theory states that if people are denied basic physical and psychological

needs, they will engage in conflict with the one who denies them the opportunity to enjoy these resources. Human needs also include security, fairness, and recognition of identity. The allocation and distribution of needs are done by some members in the community who determine those who get and those who are denied. However, denial of needs is non-negotiable. Therefore, attempt by those who are socially excluded to seek for the redistribution of needs bring about conflict in the society.

Volkan (1990) explains that conflict is necessitated by the struggle at all levels to satisfy needs including prestige and authority. It is the struggle for these needs that led to indigene-settler conflicts. Rosati, Carroll & Coate (1990) used this theory to explain why individual or groups engage in conflict as a result of unmet needs.

Frustration-aggression theory happens as a result of the differences in peoples' desire. The theory also says that frustration causes aggression especially when the source of the frustration cannot be challenged the aggression gets displayed onto the innocent target. When people are prevented from reaching their targets, they become frustrated which leads to conflict. Relative deprivation theory is meaningful to this research study because at any point in time, human beings need and desire some basic resources for their survival. Conflict will definitely occur as a result of the denial of a group by another group of people such resources.

Every human being needs some basic items for survival, and if these resources are denied an individual or a group will lead to misunderstanding and its consequent conflicts. There will always be conflict if one person or another

person's try to prevent others from getting access to these basic needs since these needs form the basis of human survival.

Vaynynen (2018) identified some basic needs such as water, food, shelter and security which when denied others will lead to conflict. Security, identity, status, power, authority, recognition and effective association and participation in all social activities in a community are basic human needs. This presupposes that conflict occurs when such needs are not met by another group of people. Human-needs are irrepressible, non-negotiable, non-replaceable and have no substitute and therefore, cannot be compromised; they are the drivers for human survival, sustainable peace and development.

As a result, when people are denied and deprived of their basic needs, they become frustrated and once frustration sets in, the group that suspects the other for frustrating them from getting their basic needs will become aggressive towards that group of people leading to conflict. This human-needs theory posits that the "haves" will always protect their territory while the "do not haves" will also fight to get access to the necessary basic needs for their survival. It is this gap created that breeds violent conflict. Vaynynen (2018) added that individuals will not accept wrong teaching and practices that are intended to destroy their identity and other goals that are attached to their needs. So long as the basic needs are denied others, no political or socio-economic system can be used to suppress the people's efforts from engaging in violent conflict.

The explanation given by human-needs theory is meaningful in the sense that there has never been a time in human life that they do not need one resource or the other. From the time of birth to the time of death, human beings need unlimited resources for their survival and when they do not get these resources,

conflict erupts. But what worsened the case is the realisation that these basic human needs have been denied them by another person or group of persons; irrespective of the peoples' status in society, they will resist those denying them their basic needs leading to conflict. This theory therefore, explains the root causes of indigene-settler conflict because resources such as water bodies for domestic and commercial uses as well as fishing, land for housing, farming, mining, industrial purposes and even disposing off corpses are scarce and there is always competition for them. As much as the human need's theory explains the root causes of indigene-settler conflict, it does not touch on the reasons why indigene-settler conflicts are protracted and the role indigenes and settlers play in such conflict situations. Other theories will be considered.

Psycho-cultural conflict theory

This theory emphasises ethnic identity and creation of enemy images against one another which leads to conflict in future which are often irresolvable. Psycho-cultural conflict theorists maintain that conflict becomes protracted when people do not get the satisfaction of their basic needs. Psycho-cultural theory is linked up with the relative deprivation theory where a group of people have been deprived of their needs based primarily on ethnic identity. This can also be linked up to the enemy system theory where enemy images are created based on ethnic identity. These theories seem to reiterate the proposition stated by human-needs theorists that humans need basic resources for physical survival at all times, from birth to death. Hence, indigene-settler conflicts that occur on the basis of identity are usually dangerous, violent and intense.

Jenkins (2014) argue that identity is an aspect of the emotional and psychological constitution of individuals. It is bound up with the maintenance

of personal integrity and security, and may be extremely resistant to change. Indigene-settler conflict is identity-driven in the sense that people seem to identify themselves with a particular ethnic group which portrays them to be better than the other group of people. Jenkins further stated that in indigene-settler conflicts, there is the fear of extinction and future survival of a particular group of people as well as the loss of power, identity and recognition. Usually, there is the history of discrimination, humiliation, stereotyping, segregation, oppression, of inferiority and persecution of one group by another group, which is planted in generations who will always want to dominate while the oppressed will also try to retaliate.

The belief formed by actors subjectively, are largely based on past interactions between the two groups and also based on historical relationship between the people. Therefore, historical legacies of mistrust, hatred are not genetically transmitted from one generation to another but rather, they become part of current reality through myth, socialisation and education. Again, psycho-cultural conflict theory deals with the culturally based issues where a group of people are oriented against another as enemies right from the childhood. The theory does not offer any roadmap of mechanism for sustainable peace after the indigene-settler conflict. Another theory will be looked at.

Galtung's model of conflict, violent and peace

Galtung (1996) uses these three-dimensional models to explain that structures result into conflict due to social institutions that have been established in enforcing certain laws. During this law enforcement, hostility may develop leading to direct violence. As time goes on, these hostilities may degenerate into

irresolvable conflict. Therefore, resolving such a conflict will require behavioural and attitudinal change.

Galtung's concept of structural violence refers to the indirect forms of violence originating from social, economic, and political structures and manifesting primarily as oppression and exploitation. These direct forms of violence result in injustice in the distribution of political power and economic benefits.

Galtung further recommended that conflict could be observed as a triangle, with attitude (A), behaviour (B) and contradiction (C), known as ABC Triangle. He explained that all the three aspects must be present for conflict to occur. This means that if all the three factors are not fully operational, indigene-settler conflict cannot occur.

Attitude comprises the conflicting parties' views and misunderstandings of each other and of themselves. Behaviour is another factor which can involve coercion or cooperation, gestures defining conciliation or hostility. Contradiction is an important factor of a conflict which deals with the intentions and clash of interests between the conflicting parties. The violent conflict approach is defined through coercion, threats, and destructive assaults. Galtung's model suggests that each of those components influence one another.

The explanation given by Galtung's model of conflict, violence and peace theory is most appropriate and meaningful in the sense that in indigene-settler conflict, all the three factors outlined in the ABC triangle must be present. The indigene-settler conflict begins with attitudinal change in the sense that peoples' attitude must change towards each other's. This is followed by the

behaviour of the same people and finally the contradiction in whatever they do as well as their actions.

Galtung's model of conflict, violent and peace theory which underpinned this study is appropriate in the sense that all the factors in the ABC triangle are applicable to this study. This is because a change in peoples' attitudes, behaviour and contradiction of misunderstanding each other will lead to indigene-settler conflict.

However, the theory offers roadmap of mechanism for sustainable peace after the indigene-settler conflict. Sustainable peace could return to the conflicting area if peoples' attitudes, behaviours and contradicting factors are addressed amicably by the conflicting parties.

Hence, sustainable peace mechanism of this type of conflict will require a careful study of root causes of conflict so as to reverse the process that will change people's attitudes, perceptions about each other and the beliefs built in the societal structures. Asymmetric conflict is the type of conflict between a group of people whose relative power differs significantly or whose strategy or tactics differ significantly.

Relevance of the Theories to the Study

Vaynynen (2018) identified some basic needs such as food, water, shelter and security as the basic human needs and if denied by another group of people can fuel conflict. According to the study carried by Vaynyene, conflicts happen as a result of the denying one group of people the access to the basic natural resources by another. These natural resources are not only material but also immaterial such as identity, power, authority, status, recognition and participation in social events in the community. When a group of people are

denied an access to these resources by another group of people, it can lead to conflict.

The consequence is that when people are denied their basic needs, frustration sets in and once frustration sets in, aggression follows, since frustration and aggression are “brothers” that move together. Once people are frustrated due to some structures put in place by another group of people which impede their freedom, the other group of people will definitely revolt leading to the kind of conflict witnessed between groups of people in the society. Gurr (1970) stated in his thesis that “the greater the discrepancies however marginal between what is sought and what seems attainable, the greater will be the chances that anger and violence will result”.

Again, the psycho-cultural conflict theory is important to this study since it brought out the issue of negative identity which can lead to conflict. It also deals with the historical basis of conflict where one group of people have the beliefs that they are better off than the other group of people. They discriminate, marginalise and segregate other groups to the extent that the other group revolts against their oppression which leads to conflicts.

The issue of the indigene-settler conflict has been with man since human civilisation and continues to affect people in the society. The indigenous people who are of the view that no matter the number of centuries settlers stay with them, they are still their “boy-boy”. as long as they continue to stay on their land. This is linked to the old adage that “a log in river for thousand years does not become a crocodile” This issue of authority and unlimited power exercised by the indigenes over the settlers is primordial to both the indigenes and the settlers.

Psycho-cultural conflict theory is to serve as a working guide for peace actors to understand the historical perspective of the conflict so as to adjust their mechanisms for sustainable peace modules and strategies in order to meet the changes that take place in a conflict. Hence psycho-cultural conflict theory is very important to the objective of this study in order to make recommendations for sustainable peace in the area.

Moreover, the psycho-cultural conflict theory focuses on conflict “fanners” and “peace actors”. Conflict fanners are also referred to as “conflict entrepreneurs” are those who supply all the needed weapons for the conflict to continue between the two communities based on their historical foundations while the peace actors are those third parties who use different strategies to end the conflict for sustainable peace in the area. Some of these indigene-settler conflicts just take some few days or weeks, but very disastrous. Some are also protracted in nature as a result of the underlining causes, needs and interest of the parties involved.

Galtung theory showed that both conflicting parties will hold onto their stand claiming rights to whatever they do during the conflict. Galtung (1996), “the father of peace studies” used some terms “peacebuilding” to mean the same process of resolving conflict. This is where peace actors of diverse background come in to resolve the conflict, since conflict is inevitable where human beings exist especially when they are raised from different social, political, religious, cultural and educational backgrounds.

Comparatively, all the three theories under review pointed to the reasons why conflict occurs in society. The human-needs theory deals with basic needs such as food, water, shelter and security; and psycho-cultural conflict theory

also deals issues that can cause indigene-settler conflict such as identity, authority, status, prestige and recognition which are all basic needs of human beings and if denied by another person or group of persons can definitely lead to conflict.

In contrast, the three theories identify different issues that cause indigene-settler conflict. While human-need theory emphasises the importance of human needs and biological factors such as food, water, shelter and security, psycho-cultural conflict theory focuses on the culturally induced motivation for indigene-settler conflicts. Again, as human-needs theory describes conflict in the context of basic needs for human satisfaction, psych-cultural conflict theory concentrates on authority, identity, power, prestige recognition and status as the main causes of indigene-settler conflicts while Galtung based the argument on the fact that some structures put in place to deny others the opportunity to access the same resources can lead to conflict. Clearly, these three theories are focusing on different issues that can cause indigene-settler conflict in society.

Critically looking at these theories reviewed in the literature, it is clear that they all supported indigene-settler conflict in the society. The occurrence of conflict in society. All agreed on facts that society cannot exist without conflict. Clearly, these types of theories if supported will always defend conflict in the society. It is expected that new theories would emerge that will not support conflict in the society so as to bring sustainable peace in the society.

Hence methodology is composed of a synthesis of specific elements drawn from human-needs theory, psycho-cultural theory as well as the Galtung's model of violence, conflict and peace to achieve the objectives for

this study. Qualitative research design has been used to deal with the methodological issues.

Indigene-settler Conflict

Indigene-settler conflict occurs between two opposing factions living in the same geographical area. As the name implies, it happens between the indigenous people and the other people who have come to settle with them on their land called settlers. These terms “indigenes” and “settlers” are being used to differentiate between the allodial land owners and any other person or persons who have come to stay on the land for whatever reasons. So, the indigenes have every right to use the land anyhow they want within the confines of law of Ghana regarding the use of land. However, the settler cannot do so without the permission of the indigene or whoever his landlord is. Several factors lead to indigene-settler conflict. These are historical reasons.

Historically some of these settlers have been with the indigenes for decade and sometimes, centuries. Based on this, the settlers take themselves to be equal to the indigenes to the extent that they feel they can also do whatever the indigenes do on the land and this always bring about conflict. Some of the descendants of these settlers have even forgotten where their ancestors had come from and therefore, can use every available resource the same way the indigenes use them. Meanwhile, the indigene will continue to tell their generations where the settlers had come from to settle there. According to Coser (1998), the struggle for scarce resources and their use can lead to conflict. Conflict that arises from specific demands and needs is as a result of limited resources. All these happen when people become frustrated and aggressive when their basic needs are not met since conflict is not an end in itself.

Again, economic factor contributes to indigene-settler conflict. When the settlers first arrived, they are given land by the indigene for either farming or grazing of their animals. With time they are able to mobilise resources to the extent that they could invest in other businesses that the indigenes cannot do. This brings about envy, jealousy and enmity between the indigenes and the settlers. According to Bukari (2022), the indigene of Gushiegu gave large truck of land to the settlers for grazing but the very indigenes turned against them for their animals destroying their crops. This brought about conflict between the indigenes and the settlers. Such similar research by Kugbega (2018) revealed that the indigenes of Agogo initially gave out land to the settlers for grazing by their animals but later on accused the settler for using their animals to destroy their crops and also taking over more land from the indigenes than they had given them. This led to indigene-settler conflict in that part of the country.

Another reason is cultural differences between the indigenes and the settlers. Cultural differences include beliefs, values, social and political organisation of a particular group of people. The indigenes have their laws and rules that they think everyone should obey irrespective of who you are. And these may not be in line with the settlers since they also have their unique culture of doing things. Most of these settlers are Muslims and their way of practicing their cultural values and beliefs may not be in association with the indigenes who are mostly either Christian or Traditionalists. So, there will be that covert feeling that these settlers are not part of the indigenes after all but are making money from their resources to promote their religion which is part of their culture. Besides, the indigenes have customary practices regarding to the use of the land since land is considered to be spiritual in many societies in Ghana.

This is why the indigenes do not go to the farm on certain days of the week. This law may be blatantly ignored by the settlers especially those who bought the land from the indigenes, thinking that once the land is bought from the indigene, they have no right to obey any customary laws of the indigenes and these can lead to indigene-settler conflict.

Furthermore, the settlers having stayed in a community for very long time may seek their independence from the indigenes. Some of these settlers have been with the indigenes for centuries and so think they want freedom from their “masters”, the indigenes. The indigenes will also not grant them independence since they continue to stay on their land. According to Bukari (2022), the Kusasi and Mamprusi conflict in Bawku is an inter-ethnic in nature but can be linked to indigene-settler conflict in the sense the Kusasis claimed to be the land owners and for that matter the indigenes while the Mamprusis are the settlers.

The thin line between inter-ethnic conflict and indigene-settler conflict is that while inter-ethnic conflict takes place between two different ethnic groups in different community, indigene-settler conflict occurs between different ethnic groups staying at the same community, using the natural resources such as land. Tsito -Peki conflict and Nkunya-Alavanyo conflict are examples of indigene-settler conflict. At point in time, the Nkunya people wanted the Alavanyo people to be expelled from the land since Nkunya people claimed to have given the land to the Alavanyo people for settlement centuries ago. The indigene-settler conflict between the Dagombas and the Kokombas in 1994 was as a result of the Kokombas demanding for their freedom from the Dagombas.

According to Bukari *et al*, (2021), the Kokomba-Dagomba/Nanumba conflicts in 1994/1995 arose over similar agitations to be independent. United Nations (UN) declared on 10th December, 1948 that “every human being is born free and equal in dignity and of right”, so everybody is seeking for that freedom. Unfortunately, seeking such a freedom is always accompanied with conflict in one form or the other and when this conflict occurs between the indigenes and settlers who live in the same community, it leads to indigene-settler conflict.

Moreover, the use of unlimited authority can lead to indigene-settler conflict. The indigene turns to exercise unlimited authority over the settlers to the extent that the settlers can revolt leading to conflict between them. The indigenes exercise their authority over the way they farm, the percentage of the farm produce that should be sent to the chief, even if the settlers kill an animal in the bush, certain parts of the animal must be sent to the chief of the community. The indigenes determine the amount that will be paid for the use of the land and for how long it can be used before renewal. The number of bottles of gin that the settler has to provide before a piece of land is given to him for farming, grazing or any other economic activities is determined by the indigenes.

In certain instances, after paying all these fines, the wives and children of the land owner have unlimited access to the crops anytime they grow to the displeasure of the settler farmer and all these can exacerbate conflict. For example, the Dgombas had authority over the Kokombas so much so that their wives could go for the yam at will to the displeasure of the Kokombas leading to the indigene settler conflict. Bukari (2022) argued that indigene-settler conflict did not happen only in the Agogo area but also in the Gushiegu. As a

result of authority and power play since the settlers also have their leaders, they hardly take instruction from the indigenes.

Another point is that the settlers turn to disrespect the indigenes in many ways such as not taking orders from their land lords and engaging in activities that are detrimental to the very survival of the indigenes. The indigene built the community on certain beliefs and such practices are performed to keep the community in harmony with the forebears have established the community for them. For instance, in certain communities in Ghana, people do not bring head of plantain, oil palm fruit, tied firewood and dried bamboo to the community. It is put at the outskirts of the community cut into pieces before bringing it to the community. There is a day that women do not go to the river side or wash in the river and girls or women in their menses do not enter the river due to health reason. And if all these rules and laws are disrespected by the settlers, it will definitely lead to indigene-settler conflict.

Last but not least, is the perception formed by both parties against each other leading to prejudice, discrimination and group closure in some instances. This happens mostly where the behaviour and social organisation is quite different from each other. This also leads to mistrust, lack of cooperation, self-seeking behaviour and complete bad interpersonal relations. This leads to stereotyping, hatred, jealousy, misunderstanding and disobedience towards each other leading to indigene-settler conflict. Here, the settlers want to be identified in a certain way so that others can recognise them as existing in the society. Azar (1990) argued that people want basic needs and if they do not have access to these basic needs such as identity will result into conflict. Azar further said that conflict is inevitable as humans for "if you want peace, prepare for war".

One would have thought that groups of people living in the same community for decades and in some instances, centuries, should always maintain peace, but this is not the case. This re-echoes the fact that indigene-settler conflict can never be avoided in society at least it can only be managed for peaceful coexistence.

Conflict Response

Conflict response is defined as the non-violent means of resolving any conflict situation. According to Shadrack (2019), the way people and society respond to conflict pre-determines the way to manage conflict in order to reduce the negative impact of it. In all societies, there is a growing desire for peaceful settlements of conflicts. Conflict relating to natural resources can permanently be resolved while those over values and status can be transformed, regulated or managed. It is therefore a pre-requisite condition to assess the different ways to conflict response so as to assess resolution mechanisms which will be appropriate to dealing with the conflict. As it is the interest of this research to assess the appropriate peace interventions for the conflict between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers, it is necessary to review some related literature on conflict management such as Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR), shuttle mediation and arbitration.

If ADR and shuttle mediation do not work in the indigene-settler conflict, at least the arbitration would have to work. This is because the arbitration is a process where a certified arbitrator presides, listens to the conflicting parties and whatever decision the arbitrator takes is binding on the two parties legally. Since indigene conflict is unavoidable in the society, people must respond to the conflict in such a way that it does not bring negative effect

such as animosities, hatred bad interpersonal relations and non-cooperation in the society.

However, people experience conflict in different ways and there are spectrums of other options available to parties to use so as to cope with the situation According to Ojijij (1998), there are seven ways by which people respond to conflict. These are conflict domination, confrontation, avoidance, accommodation, compromise, collaboration, and problem solving.

Conflict domination is a way where one of the conflicting parties becomes more confident. One party has absolute influence and persuade the conflict to its logical conclusion. The influential party in the conflict tries every possible means to suppress the view of the other party by using stronger argument to buttress its position. Conflicts that are resolved in this manner does not last and can easily resurface.

During conflict, people use confrontational means to perceive their interest. Each party threatens the other by using insulting and unpalatable languages against the other. Issues involved in the conflict are often misunderstood which result in lose-lose situation. It is only in few cases that the stronger party wins where eventually, the lost party bears grudges with the other party which increase the intensity of the conflict.

Avoidance is a conflict situation in which one of the parties tries to postpone the issue to a better time. In this case, the party may even ignore the other party all together where the conflicting issues are not addressed at all. There may be peace at the initial stage but can resurface in later year where the repercussions are usually dangerous. This is surely not the best way to respond to any conflict situation.

Accommodation is a process whereby one conflicting party makes a conscious effort to forgo some needs and wants in the interest of peace. In such a situation, one party accepts the demands of the other party. This kind of situation brings about short-term satisfaction since the assertive party is likely to resurface stronger leading to aggression.

Compromise is another way that conflicting parties respond to conflict situation. Compromise is used when the position of the conflicting parties is so much incompatible so that one party has to lose something in the interest of peace. This type of conflict response may help resolve the intensity but its benefits are short term.

With collaboration response, conflicting parties work with each other in a situation that is satisfactory to both parties. The two parties dialogue to develop a situation that is satisfactory to the concern of the parties. This situation brings about win-win and the outcome tend to be binding since both parties were part of the process.

Last but not least is the problem solving in conflict response. Parties involved in the conflict dig deep into the problem so as to deal with the issues that brought about the conflict so that they get a lasting situation. This approach leads to a win-win situation as both conflicting parties work together eventually lead to a lasting peace.

Shamir (2016) defined ADR as “a term generally used to refer to informal disputes resolution processes in which parties meet with a professional third party who helps them to resolve their dispute in a way that is less formal and often more consensual than what is done in the courts”.

Generally, ADR mechanisms adopt a mutual and convincing way of addressing the issues between parties. The methods of ADR which are widely used are negotiation, mediation, conciliation, and arbitration.

Negotiation is most single and least interfering conflict resolution structured process, in which the disputing parties communicate about issues in which their opinions differ in order to fulfil their needs and goals (Fisher 2014). The desired aim in negotiation is the agreement among the parties. As compared to other third-party involvement, negotiations are usually cheap and faster.

Mediation process is seen as a non-binding process where the third party's role is only to manage the communication process after the disputants have admitted that there is a problem and needs to be solved. Mediators do not make decisions for the parties or mediator can choose to opt out at any time. In mediation process, there is the need for the third party to be neutral and non-judgmental and also try to drive the parties towards an outcome that is mutually beneficial (Best, 2006).

Conciliation is process of conflict resolution which is similar to that of mediation but conciliation is where a neutral party tries to engage the stakeholders separately in a network to promote communication and help them to jointly choose a conflict resolution method. Conciliation process as conflict resolution is normally used at situations where there is lack of communication is lacking between the conflicting parties and the possibility of agreement is difficult to attain. The process provides vital background information to support higher profile even like mediation (Best, 2006).

The arbitrator's decision to resolve the conflict is legally binding on both parties to the conflict. This process is higher than mediation in conflict

resolution process. Here, the parties to the conflict do not have much control over their situation than those who choose other lower level of intervention.

Shuttle mediation is usually employed to help the conflicting parties to reach an acceptable resolution without the two parties being present in the same room. This will enable the mediator to give fair and concise input as far as the mediation is concerned.

Sustainable Peace Mechanism is the process of maintaining peaceful society devoid of violent conflict, since no society can exist without disagreement by one party or the other. To maintain the existing peace all the time, there should be some mechanism put in place to manage conflict anytime it occurs or to reduce its occurrence to the barest minimum. This can be done through constant peace educations in both print and electronic media. It can also be done in schools to create awareness in the youth so as to desist from outrances and behaviour that are potential for conflict. This can be done at townhall meeting to discuss how to coexist peacefully. Peace education can be carried out in churches, mosques, shrines or anywhere that people meet for religious activities. Local radio stations can take up this exercise to make sure that each morning they talk of peace issues for at least 30 minutes before any other business of the day.

Identification of early warning signs is used to minimise conflict in the society. It is the early warning signs that are identified by peace experts that will be communicated to the general public and suggest remedies to such warning signs. Such warning signs can be got from outrances of political activists, radio presenters, traditional authorities and religious leaders as well as youth leaders. Miller (2003) viewed sustainable peace mechanism as the various approaches

used in bringing conflict situation to the barest minimum through distinct forms different from just transformation of conflict.

Conflict mapping is another way of sustaining peace in the society. Since the occurrence of conflict is inevitable, using conflict mapping to determine the causal agents and different needs of the parties involved in the conflict will bring about sustainable peace in the society. Conflict mapping will also help the experts identify the key actors in the conflict so as to deal with the situation well.

There should be development good communication skills among the people in the society so that they can understand one another very well. Avenue should be created for redress of grievances so that it does not degenerate into conflict. Through good communication, good interpersonal relationship will definitely develop. This will lead to respect for authority, respect for one another for peaceful coexistence.

Empirical Review of the Study

The methods and theories used by other researchers in studying indigene-settler conflicts are what this chapter dealt with. The empirical review was used to determine the gaps that exist in the literature concerning indigene-settler conflict.

Bukari, Sow and Scheffran (2018) examined Co-operation and Co-Existence between farmers and herders in the midst of violent farmer-herder conflicts in Ghana. The authors employed ethnographic interviews, narratives, participants observation and focus group discussions (FGD). These qualitative research approaches were used to get in-depth understanding of the issues under study. The information which was gathered in qualitative study would reflect

the experiences, feelings and judgements of individuals who participated in the study. With the qualitative research approach used, the results of Bukari, Sow and Scheffran (2018) study can be used to understand the qualitative nature of the issues examined.

The approach used was suitable as this study, focused on indigene-settler conflict. The responses were summarised, interpreted and transcribed. Thematic analysis tool was used to examine the factors that led to farmer-herder conflicts in Ghana. The result of the study indicated that indigene-settler conflicts have doubled as evidenced by the deaths of more than forty farmers in Agogo between 2000 and 2015. The study revealed that indigene-settler conflict in Gushiegu had a history of tensions revolving around cattle rusting and crop destruction.

The study concluded that there have been good interpersonal relations between the indigenes and settler's despite of the conflict. The study recommended that there shall be bottom-up grassroots levels of everyday community practices including local forms of dispute resolution and reconciliation, proper communication among actors in indigene-settler conflicts, and the introduction of informal localised norms, rules in promoting cooperation.

A study by Bukari and Osei-Kufuor (2019) explored the drivers of 'labour' migration of Fulani herders to Ghana, particularly Agogo. and Gushiegu. Similar to Bukari et al., (2018) study, Bukari and Osei-Kufuor used qualitative research approach combined with narratives from in-depth, focus group interviews and observations in studying the drivers of 'labour' migration among Fulani migrants which led to indigene-settler conflicts in these two

communities. These methods were used because the researchers wanted to find out the experiences and opinion from the participants.

The result of the study showed that among the Fulani herders, survival is central in their decision to migrate. The harsh environmental conditions in the Sahel region affect alternative livelihood options available to herders. The result also found out that migration, today, is topical issue globally considering the impact of violent indigene-settler conflicts which countries are experiencing.

The study concluded that migration of young Fulani to Ghana brought indigene-settler conflict. The study recommended the regulation and recognition are needed to protect the well-being and dignity of migrant herders. Local government authorities can play meaningful role by registering migrant herders and offering them the requisite support.

Again, Bukari, Sow and Scheffran (2019) examined Linkages between environmental/ Climate change and conflict-The case of Farmers and Fulani Pastoralists in Ghana. The researchers used Agogo and Gushiegu as study areas since these were the area where the frequency of indigene-settler conflicts was higher. The study used qualitative approach to deal with the emerging issues

The study found out that while climate change has a link with indigene-settler conflict.in the study area. The study concluded that theories linking resource scarcity and conflicts are hinged on the basic assumption that scarce resources such as water, land and pasture will eventually force people to migrate to resource-endowed areas.

Kuusaana and Bukari (2015) examined land conflicts between small landholders and Fulani pastoralists in Ghana: Evidence from the Aseante Akim District. The case of farmers and Fulani pastoralists in Ghana with specific

reference to Agogo and Gushiegu because they both centred on indigene-settler conflicts, which is natural resource based. Kuusaana and Bukari used Agogo as their study area because Agogo provided clear example of the indigene-settler conflicts just as that of Gushiegu. The study adopted mixed qualitative methods in that this study combined survey, in-depth and focus group discussion.

The study found out that most lands in Agogo are stool lands. The study concluded that conflicts between the indigenes and settlers are attributed to scarce natural resources basically over overlapping land use rights, but always seen explicitly attributed to recourse scarcity, crop destructions and intrusion. This study recommended that in future, issues of ‘water grabbing’ should be given critical attention.

Ametefe, Bukari and Shaibu (2021) examined market women in formal peacebuilding efforts in Ekumfi-Narkwa, Ghana. This study examined market women participation in peacebuilding in the Ekumfi-Narkwa community in the Central Region of Ghana. This study was necessitated as a result of the indigene-settler conflict that occurred between the indigenes of Fante and settlers of Ewe in the Ekumfi-Narkwa community in 2012. Similar to other authors, this study used qualitative approach in both data collection and analysis.

Unstructured, in-depth one-on-one interviews were organised with each woman where thematic analysis was used to develop patterns and themes from transcripts of the in-depth interview. The study found out that the community were mainly: the autochthonous Fante who have inherited the area since the thirteenth century, and the Ewe settlers who moved to the area in the early part of the nineteenth century. The study revealed that the Fante were already

distrustful of the Ewe and were ready to attack the Ewe at the slightest provocation. This study also concluded that there is the need for in-depth analysis of the contributions of women in peacebuilding for official organisations need to harness the potential of these women by enhancing their skills and encouraging their participation and inclusion by involving them to future peacebuilding processes.

Other authors such as Alao (2007) and Akanji (2012) examined the causes of indigene-settler conflict in Africa using qualitative method. Their findings showed that indigene-settler conflicts are mostly cause by natural resources such as land use, water bodies and mineral resources. The study found out that indigene-settler conflict occurs in societies with weak socio-economic and political structures, especially developing world. The study also found out that either the resources are scarce due to population growth or one party sees the other as over using the resources leading to its depletion.

Akanji (2012) looked at these conflicts as having their basis from theories that influence conflict and the study was done in the Cross-River State in Nigeria where in-depth interviews were conducted to unearth the causes of indigene-settler conflict in the community. The study found out that this theory supports conflict to occur between indigenes and settlers. The study concluded that conflict is a normal occurrence in society where there are differences in peoples' views, perceptions, wants, needs and interests. However, it was recommended that local government authorities should take charge of how the land and other resources be used by the community members and other settlers to prevent future conflict.

Moreover, Appiah-Boateng and Kendie (2022) carried out a study on Framing and conflict: the case of the Asante Akyem North district's farmer-herder conflict in Ghana, in which the study explored how framing of conflict in different phases was adopted and how specific framing affected the development of the conflict and its management in the farmer-herder conflict in the Asante Akyem North District in Ghana. The study was underpinned by framing theory which postulated that frames held by the actors involved in a conflict from the basis on which they act, and these frames were built upon underlying structures of beliefs, values and experiences that actors constructed to distinguish themselves in unique ways (Burgess, 2017) as cited in Boateng and Kendie.

The study area was Agogo which fell within the Asante Akyem North District in Ghana where qualitative approach whose ontological, epistemological and philosophical beliefs that meaning is constructed interpretatively. A case study design using in-depth interviews, focus group discussion and observational guide were used while purposive and snowballing techniques were used to select the respondents for the study. Thematic analysis approach was used to analyse the data collected and all ethical issues were duly respected during the study. The study revealed that the conflict actors formed themes as the drivers of the conflict. The study therefore, recommended that stakeholders should come on board to manage the situation by converging their ideas and thoughts to find permanent solution to the long-standing conflict in the area. The method employed and the theory that underpinned the study made it appropriate for the objectives of the study to be achieved.

From the empirical review, this study found out that almost all the authors whose studies were reviewed discussed natural resources such as land and its usage as the main cause of indigene-settler conflicts. Moreover, except Bukari et al., (2021) study which mentioned ethnic, religious and political as causes of conflicts, all other studies failed to discuss non-natural resources such as use of authority, ethnic identity, historical antecedence, independence, gross insubordination, prejudice and stereotype as causes of indigene-settler conflicts.

Again, all other studies failed to discuss the effects of the indigene-settler conflicts on socio-economic activities of the people in the areas where these conflicts occurred. This study intends to consider these gaps identified so as to make suggestions for sustainable peace in the Hohoe community where this research study was carried out.

Conceptual Framework

This conceptual framework was developed based on the issues that relate to the objectives of the study. These are the root causes of the conflict effects on socio-economic activities, current interpersonal relations and suggestions for sustainable peace in the area.

The issues of the indigenes circle around natural resources such as land, political power, traditional authority, ethnic identity, recognition perception that settlers are naturally aggressive and prejudice against the settlers. The issues of the settlers that could lead to conflict are struggle over political power with the indigenes, control of economic activities, ethnic identity, differences in cultural practices such as language, attitudes, values, interests and beliefs, geographical independence, gross insubordination as well as group closure.

Figure 1 is the conceptual framework which indicates that the root causes of the indigenes and settlers are common in nature. The issues on the effects of the conflict, interpersonal relations and recommendations sustainable peace have all been pointed out in this conceptual framework. All these can be brought to the barest minimal if correct sustainable peace mechanisms are employed through conflict response and alternative dispute resolution such as negotiation, mediation, conciliation as well as shuttle mediation. Effective use of these mechanisms will bring about a desirable outcome for sustainable peace in the society.

Assessment can be done using indicators such as peaceful co-existence tolerance, cooperation, communal spirit, communal labour sharing jokes and visitations for measuring the level of sustainable peace in the area. Other indicators are good inter personal relations, friendly football matches between the youths of the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers, honouring invitations from either side during festival naming, marriage and funeral celebrations, Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo people being on the same committees in schools and the Municipal Assembly as well as Gbi Traditional Council allowing the people of Hohoe-Zongo settlers to resume burying their corpse in the Hohoe public cemetery.

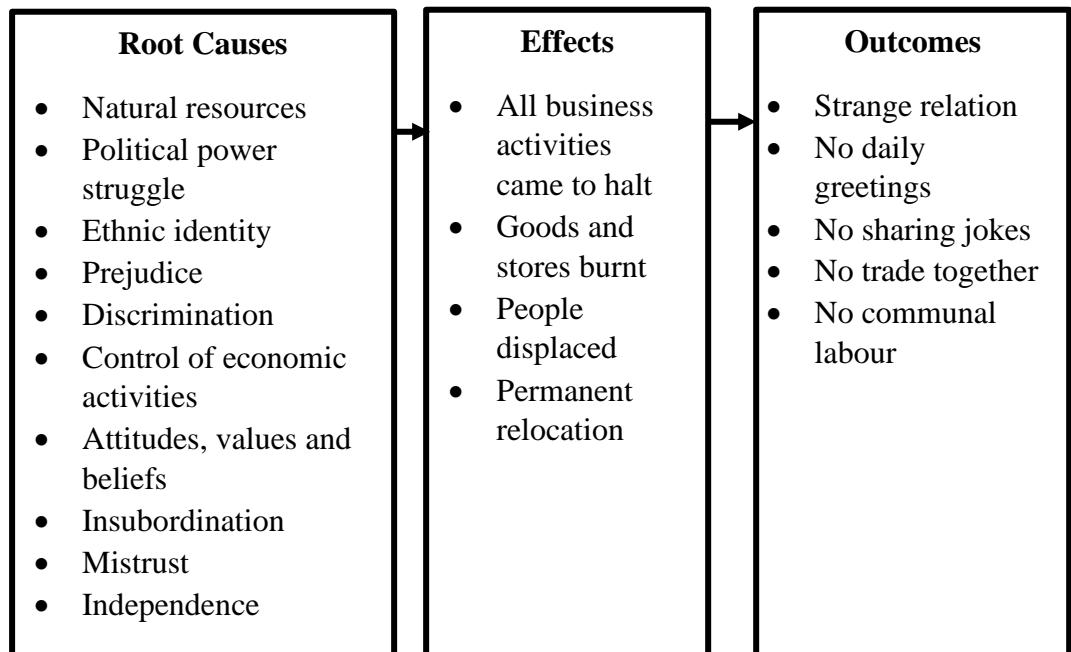
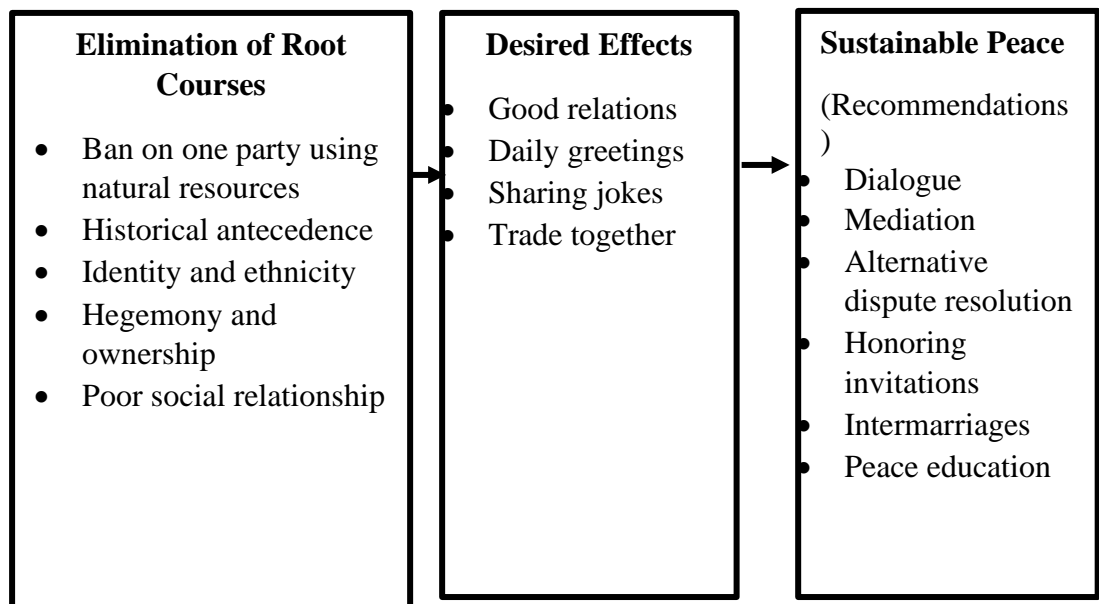
Current situation of the conflict**Desired situation**

Figure 1: Conceptual framework indicating the root causes of the conflict, effects on socio-economic activities, interpersonal relationship and recommendations for sustainable peace in the area.

Source: Author's construction based on various literature review.

Summary

The main theory reviewed was Human-needs Theory which was developed in 1970 and 1980 as a basic theory of human behaviour which talked about conflict relating to basic needs of every human being. This was supported by Psycho-cultural conflict Gultang (1996) model of conflict, violent and peace was also reviewed to address the sustainable peace aspect of the study. The causes of indigene-settler conflicts, on socio-economic activities, relations and sustainable indicators have been outlined in the conceptual framework. In general, the review showed that competition for scarce natural resources is the underpinning cause of indigene-settler conflicts. These natural resources are land and water bodies while non-natural resources such as ethnic identity, religion and political power struggle can also cause conflict. The subsequent chapter discusses the methodology of the thesis.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

The study used a qualitative approach whose philosophical, ontology and epistemology believe that meaning is constructed. This means that the study was located in an interpretative-qualitative paradigm, empirical enquiry which involved peoples' experiences beliefs and values through an extensive data collection and analysis (Creswell, 1998). Discovering and understanding these meanings and the contextual elements that impact, determine and affect the interpretations that were made by individuals were considered critical under this paradigm. Kusi (2012) also added that qualitative research involves the use of language rather than figures to analyse the issues. This chapter discusses research design, study area, population of the study, sample and sampling procedure, data source, data collection instrument, data collection procedure, data processing, ethical considerations, analysis and summary.

Research Approach

Qualitative research uses a social problem by building a complex holistic picture, analysing words rather than numbers, and providing detailed information on the views of the participants in their natural settings (Creswell, 1998). There will be reflection in the information experiences, feelings and judgements of individuals who will take part in the investigation of this study (Gupta 2006). According to Kincheloe (2011), human experience must be shaped in particular contexts and cannot be understood if removed from those contexts. Qualitative research deals with construction of knowledge rather than dealing with figures for generalisation.

This study was underpinned by the philosophical standpoint that knowledge must be constructed based on participants' experiences, reality is a social construction which is experienced subjectively. It was based on this philosophy that valid data was gathered for valid interpretation so as to create valid knowledge. The intension of this study was to create knowledge from the root causes of the conflict between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settler, effects on socio-economic activities and the current interpersonal relationship between the two communities for sustainable peace in the area. This knowledge creation was subjective, a socially-constructed as a product of human thinking and which placed this research study within the interpretative paradigm

This research study gathered 'valid data to make valid interpretation for the creation of valid knowledge'. The interpretative paradigm was informed by the ideals, thought that 'the view of the world that we see around us is the creation of the mind...reality is better experienced through our perceptions which are influenced by our preconceptions and beliefs' (Walliman, 2019). Unlike positivist paradigm, this research reinforces the interpretative paradigm that the researcher cannot distance himself from the process of research and the findings since the epistemological standpoint is that knowledge creation depends on people's beliefs, thought and valued experiences.

According to Taylor and Bogdan *et al.*, (1984), qualitative study describes "people's own written or spoken words and observable behaviour". This qualitative method is very important to this study because it enabled the researcher explore, in details, the current interpersonal relationship between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers in the area. This research study also

intends to create knowledge and debate it in a manner which will improve sustainable peace in the Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo communities at Hohoe. This methodology aims at achieving 'depth' rather than 'breadth', which the quantitative method fails to take account of because 'it overlooks people's ability to interpret their experiences, construct their own meanings and act on these' (Burns, 2000).

Research Design

This study used a case study design to evaluate the purpose of the study. The same case study design was used to examine the root causes of the conflict between the Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers, analyse the effects on socio-economic activities, ascertain the current interpersonal relationship between them and suggest possible solutions for sustainable peace in the area. According to Kumar (2018) the type of research methodology used in a study depends upon the research design.

Study Area

The conflict under study is located in the Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo community of the Hohoe Municipality of the Volta Region of Ghana. This research study focuses on the root causes of the conflict and the current interpersonal relationship between the Gbi indigenes and Hohoe-Zongo settlers in the Hohoe township in the municipality. This means that this research study was conducted within the Hohoe community where the conflict took place but not the entire Hohoe Municipality. Hohoe Municipality shares boundaries with Afadzato South District to the South, Biakoye District to the West, the Republic of Togo to the East and yet to be created district to the North in the Oti Region. It is located in longitude 00 15'E and 00 45'E and latitude 60 45'N and 70 15'N.

The Municipality lies in a wet semi-equatorial climate zone with an annual rainfall between 1,016mm and 1,210mm. There is five months dry season from November to March and the rainy season from April to October but can break from late July to early September, making the rainy season unpredictable. Temperatures are high throughout the year and range from 26°C in the coolest months to 32°C in the hottest month.

The indigenes of Gbi are the dominant population of Hohoe and are the custodians of the land on which all other settlers including the Hohoe-Zongo community. The main Hohoe market is located within the settlement of the indigenes of Gbi between Hohoe-Trevi and Gbi Kpoeta. It is at the same place that the lorry station is also located making it difficult for the Hohoe-Zongo settlers to take part in any socio-economic activities during the conflict. Again, the central business centre where most of the stores of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers, mostly the Zamrama ethnic group ply their trade is equally located within the indigenes of Gbi communities, thus between Hohoe-Ahado and Gbi-Bla around the Bank of Ghana area all the way to Absa Bank. Even the public educational institutions are all located in the area of the indigenes of Gbi. So, Not only these but also, the main football fields that they all play ball is located in the community of the indigenes of Gbi. The Hohoe government hospital as well as the public cemetery are all located within the settlement of the indigenes of Gbi. All the financial institutions such as the Bank of Ghana, GCB Bank, National Investment Bank as well as Absa Bank are all located within the settlement of the indigenes of Gbi. Meanwhile, the Hohoe-Zongo community is located between the Bank of Ghana and Ghana Cocoa Board along the river Danyi. They are on both Gbi-Bla and Hohoe-Ahado land but that of Gbi-Bla is larger

making them regard the Gbi-Bla chief as their land lord. This is why during the conflict; they were unable to move out and engage in any socio-economic activities.

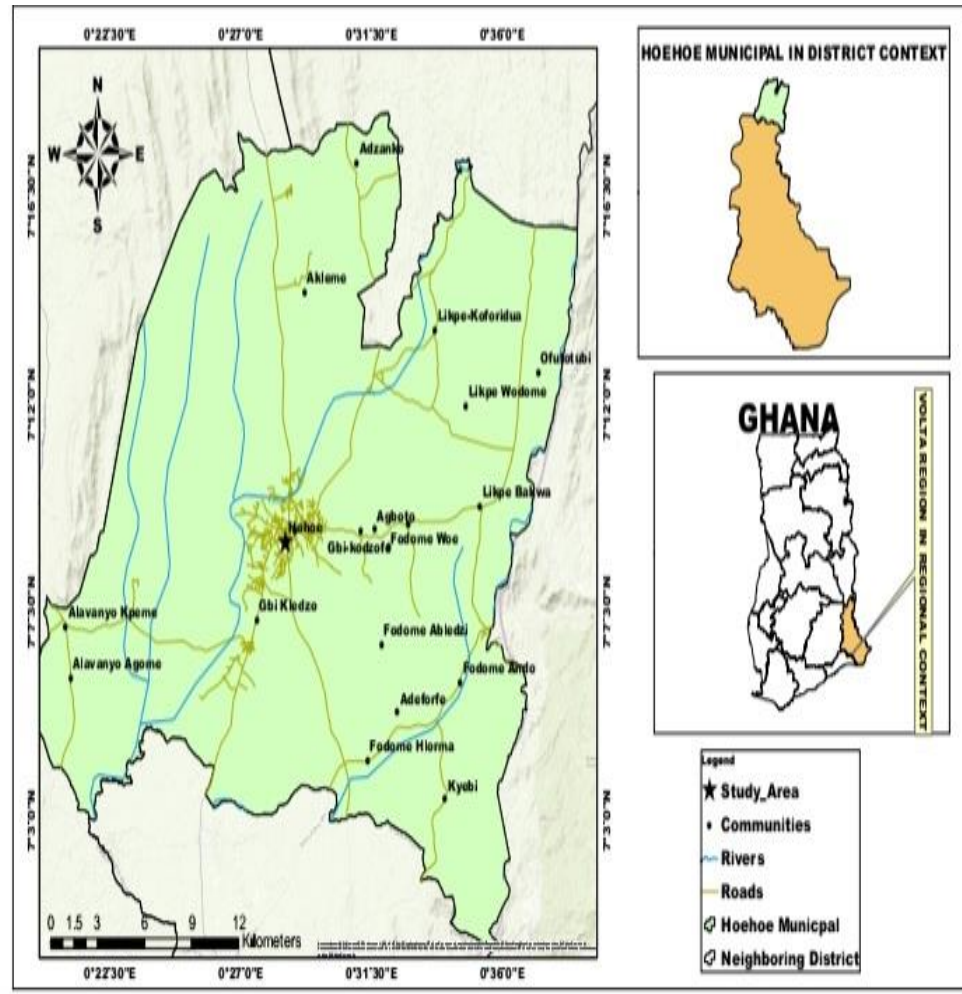


Figure 2. The Map of Hohoe Municipality and Neighbouring Towns.

Source: Department of Geography and Regional Planning, University of Cape Coast.

Population

Total population of the Hohoe Municipality is 114,472 and area of 357.8km² (Ghana Statistical Service, 2021). But the Hohoe township where the conflict between the Gbi indigenes and Hohoe-Zongo took place, has a population of 84,061 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2021). The average household size in the Hohoe township ranges between 7.2 and 7.8. According to

Population and Housing Census conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service (2021), while the Gbi indigenes have a population of 69,658, that of Hohoe-Zongo settlers is 14,403.

The breakdown of other ethnic groups was as follows: Akan, 4,198; Ga Dangme, 1,140; Ewe, 84,026; Gusi, 259; Mande, 174; and other ethnic groups were 5,708 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2021). This research study targeted nine traditional leaders of Gbi including a youth, nine opinion leaders from the Hohoe-Zongo settlers including a youth and four stakeholders who would act as neutral participants and were at Hohoe before, during and after the indigene-settler conflict between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers and the Executive Secretary of the Volta Regional Peace Council making a total of twenty-three participants. These participants have been targeted due to the fact that they could provide an in-depth information of the phenomenon in the real-life context from their lived experiences (Creswell *et al.*, 2008). Again, the conflict was between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers. So, the other five stakeholders served as neutral people who did not support any side of the parties during the conflict. Besides, they were into peace and security of people and properties and so, were supposed to provide neutral information, exactly what they saw and knew about the conflict.

Sampling Procedure

Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used in the investigation. Key informants such as traditional authorities of Gbi, opinion leaders of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers, a youth of Gbi and of Hohoe-Zongo settlers, security officials (Divisional and Municipal commanders), Municipal Director of the National Investigation Bureau a staff of the government hospital

and the Executive Secretary of the Volta Regional Peace Council were chosen using the purposive sampling method. Again, expert and maximum variations were used for the purposive sampling. This technique allowed for the selection of participants who were relevant to the study and improved the discussion quality Appiah-Boateng and Kendie (2022). This is because in qualitative research, a few numbers of participant are used so that the data can be analysed thematically without much difficulty. Due to the difficulty in locating the Hohoe-Zongo opinion leaders, snowball sampling was used to choose the individuals who emerged in the episode of the indigene-settler conflict. They were coded for the sake of anonymity as GC1-9 for all participants from Gbi. Nine Opinion Leaders from Hohoe-Zongo settlers including a youth leader and they were coded as HZ1-9. Other participants were stakeholders such as the Divisional and Municipal Commanders of the Ghana Police Service, Hohoe Government Hospital staff and the Municipal Director of the National Investigation Bureau in the Hohoe. Their relevance is that they did not belong to either side of the conflicting parties and therefore, were expected to provide neutral evidence of the conflict.

The argument raised by Creswell, (1998) is that if large number of interviewees are selected it will 'result in superficial perspectives...the overall ability of a researcher to provide an in-depth picture diminishes with the addition of each new individual. Besides, a massive amount of data was expected to be generated by the interview schedule because the interviewees were given the opportunity to express their views on the issues. To do the transcription, coding and analysing such data manually was extremely difficult

within the duration of the study, especially if many interviewees were involved since it takes considerable time to collect and analyse qualitative data.

Source of Data

Sources of data for this study were both primary and secondary. The primary data was obtained from people of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers as well as stakeholders mentioned earlier from the Hohoe community where this study took place. The relevant journals, articles, books, manuscripts, reports of committees, memoranda, press releases, minutes of the traditional council in connection with the conflict meetings and online resources constituted the secondary data that would be used to complement the primary data.

Data Collection Instruments

The main instruments that were used to collect data for this study were in-depth interview guide and unstructured participant and non-participant observation. The in-depth interview guide shaped the parameters of conversation between the interviewer and the interviewee, so as to prevent the respondent from 'going away' from the scope of the guide. This instrument was used to collect information from all the respondents. The interview guide was divided into four sections labelled as Appendices. Appendix A consisted of Interview Guide for the Gbi Chiefs and Hohoe-Zongo Opinion Leaders. Appendix B dealt with Interview Guide for the Security Heads, Hohoe Municipality while Appendix C was the Interview Guide for the Hohoe Government Hospital staff and Appendix D was the Interview Guide for the Executive Secretary of the Volta Regional Peace Council. All were coded as GC1-9 for participants from Gbi, HZ1-9 for participant from Hohoe-Zongo

settlers, SH1-3 for stakeholders and ES for the Executive Secretary for the sake of anonymity.

An in-dept interview guide was used to solicit information from the interviewees because there were specific number of questions that are designed for the interviewees for their responses recorded using systematic and standard methodology. This would enable the researcher achieve the objectives of this research study.

Data Collection Procedures

Data was collected from selected chiefs of Gbi, opinion leaders of Hohoe-Zongo settlers and stakeholders using in-depth interviews and unstructured observations of the participants and non-participants. In-depth interviews involved a one-on-one dialogue with the interviewees. They were used to solicit information on the topic under study which allowed participants to freely express their underlying beliefs, attitudes and values around the objectives of this study.

In-depth interviews were also conducted to examine the root causes of the indigene-settler conflict that occurred between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers and analyse the effects of the conflict on socio-economic activities in the area. The in-depth interviews were also used to ascertain the current interpersonal relationship between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers and to provide recommendations for sustainable peace in the area. This enabled an in-depth knowledge about the issues under study where participants shared their lived experiences

Observation was crucial during the field study. Unstructured observation method was used to observe both the participants and non-

participants. Unstructured observation guide is provided in the Appendix E. Since the researcher lived in the research community throughout the data collection period, the researcher was able to make friends with the participants which made the researcher stayed a little longer with a participant to observe the way they interact with one another. The researcher accompanied one of the opinion leaders of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers to attend a funeral ceremony of the Kodokoli Chief who passed on at the time of the data collection to observe the way the Gbi chiefs present at the ceremony interacted with their Zongo counterparts.

Another opinion leader from the Hohoe-Zongo settlers took the researcher to the Clinic for the Zongo community located at a suburb called Adabraka where he showed the researcher another AMBULANCE bought for the Zongo community by one of their brothers in the United States of America (USA). Another one was donated by Hon. John-Peter Amewu, the Member of Parliament (MP) for the Hohoe Constituency. That gave the researcher the opportunity to asked more questions in relation to the study where the opinion leader even sent the researcher from his office to his house to greet the family. The observation was used basically to ascertain the current interpersonal relations between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers since the relations between some conflicting parties takes longer time to be cordial again after the conflict due to reflection of bad images of the conflict. The researcher also observed women from the Hohoe-Zongo community carrying their wares such as ripped banana with roasted groundnut, pears oranges and other consumables moving freely in the community of the indigenes of Gbi selling which were even patronised by the indigenes of Gbi.

The Hohoe township was visited by the researcher upon receipt of clearance from the Institutional Review Board, and an introduction letter from the Department of Peace Studies, both of the University of Cape Coast to introduce himself and seek the participants' consent, familiarise with the participants as well as scheduled date for the commencement of the data collection which took place from the 25th October to 6th November, 2023., and each one-on-one interview lasted between 45 and 60 minutes.

Data Processing and Analysis

Responses were summarised, interpreted and transcribed using thematic tool. Data from the field was edited to make sure that responses were obtained for all the interviews. Tape recording of the interview was transcribed by hand and coded for easy quoting. A coding system was used to distinguish between each of the informants who participated in the interviews. Codes such as GC1-9 for participants from the Gbi Chiefs and a youth leader who were the indigenes while HZ1-9 for participants from the Hohoe Zongo settlers and a youth leader, SH1-3 for stakeholders and ES for the Executive Secretary. The texts from the transcribed recordings were analysed using context analysis. Contextual analysis helped the researcher identify the findings from the participants and interpreted them as evidence of the root causes, analysed socio-economic activities, ascertained the current interpersonal relations between them and provided recommendations for sustainable peace in the area.

Positionality

Even though the researcher is not from the Gbi Traditional Area, he has close relations with some people from the area. Traditionally, the researcher attends most of the events such as marriage ceremonies, funeral services as well

as annual festival celebrations of the chiefs and people of Gbi Traditional Area in the Hohoe township upon the invitation of the Gbi Traditional Council. On the 10th December, 2021, the researcher led some chiefs and queens of Ve Traditional Area to attend the funeral ceremony of the late Togbega Gabusu VI upon the invitation by the Gbi Traditional Council.

The researcher observed then that the cordial interpersonal relationship that existed between the Hohoe-Zongo settlers and the indigenes of Gbi was no longer the same after the conflict due to the small number of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers present at the ceremony. For the researcher not to be biased, the observation motivated the researcher more, to carried out this study to ascertain the current interpersonal relationship between the two communities. It was that state of affairs that necessitated this research work in the Hohoe township within the Hohoe Municipality of the Volta Region.

Ethical Considerations

Letters from both the Institutional Review Board (UCC-IRB) and the Department of Peace Studies, University of Cape Coast were taken by the researcher to legitimise the collection of data at Hohoe township which was presented to all the participant to authenticate the researcher's data collection in the study area. The researcher then embarked on a day's tripe to the community to present the letters to all the participants after which an Informed Consent Form was administered to the participants. All participants were given the opportunity to read, understood and asked the necessary questions in connection with the research objectives which was explained by the researcher to them. Of course, all Covid-19 protocols measures were taken to avoid contracting diseases from the field.

Again, all participants would be allowed to withdraw at any time during the research study. Besides, all in the study were made aware that data collected from them would be kept confidential and no third party will get access to it. For the participants and data to be anonymous, no name was allocated to the participants but rather codes were used instead. Before the participants were taped-recorded, permission had been sought from them. Even though, notes were taken during the interview, the recording enabled the researcher to sit back and get all the vital information the researcher might not be able to capture during the note taking. All these data would be destroyed after use to avoid a third-party getting access to any information from the participants. The researcher has no interest in the conflict but only using the indigene-settler conflict between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers as a case study.

Participants were using codes to replace their true identity and the information that would be gathered. The information gathered was kept confidential without any third party assessing the information except the supervisor of the researcher to authenticate the research study. To repose confidence in the researcher by the participant, the recoded tape would be played back to the participants for accuracy of data gathered. That also assist participants to make any correction or give additional information where necessary. The researcher used 10 days for data collection which lasted between 45 to 60 minutes per participant.

Not to harm them psychologically, it was explained that this study was for academic purpose and not to instigate any party against the other. Besides, data collected through tape recording was stored in the researcher's goggle drive with a secrete password which only the researcher could access. To ensure that

the conflict did not recur through the interview the researcher assured that all the data collected from participants would be kept secret and confidential so that a third party did not have access to it.

Summary

This study adopted a qualitative method with interview guide to solicit in-depth information from the key informants with lived experiences about the topic under study. Participants from both the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers as well as the stakeholders were gotten using purposive sampling method. Nine each from both the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers and four stakeholders. Interview guides were used for the interviews for participants.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Introduction

The chapter four discussed all the issues that dealt with the objectives of this study. These objectives were root causes of the indigene-settler conflict between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers, effects of the conflict on socio-economic activities in the area, the current interpersonal relations between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers and suggestions for sustainable peace in the area.

Root causes of the indigene-settler conflict

This objective which was the first of this study was to examine the root causes of the conflict between the indigene-settler conflict that occurred in the Hohoe township between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers. Hohoe is a farming and trading community located in the Municipality. This community comprised many ethnic groups but could be put into two main groups; the indigenes of Gbi who speak Ewe and the Hohoe-Zongo settlers who are mixtures of many ethnic groups and speak languages such as Kodokoli, Kabli, Loso, Guan, Dagomba and Hausa as well as Fulani.

Hohoe township was generally peaceful until Monday 11th June, 2012 when the settlers clashed with the indigenes when they wanted to kill Togbega Gabusu VI as a result of his perceived order to exhume the late Zongo Chief Imam. The Hohoe-Zongo settlers succeeded in burning down the residence of Togbega Gabusu VI but could not get him to kill. The regalia stolen or burnt by the Hohoe-Zongo settlers at the residence were *atamkayi*, *wukpo*, stool, palanquin, *atumpani*, horn, umbrella and many others. The indigenes of Gbi gave a reprisal attack and that resulted in the conflict between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers which lasted for seven years for the situation to

become normal again after dialogue and mediations were used by a committee set up comprising the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers.

The root causes of indigene-settler conflict and related objective were solicited through the use of qualitative method. In-depth interviews were conducted to allow participants come out with the issues concerning the objectives of this study. In an interview with all the participants, some gave varied reasons while others gave the same reasons about the indigene-settler conflict between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers. To better understand the root causes of the indigene-settler conflict, thematic analysis was used to analyse the data. The root causes of the indigen-settler conflict were put under subheadings including:

Historical antecedence of violence

It was revealed during the interview that there was a history of violent impunity by the Hohoe-Zong settlers against the indigenes of Gbi and that the 2012 conflict was not the first-time people from the Zongo community attacked the indigenes of Gbi. It was not clear was motivated the people from the Zongo community to attack the indigenes of Gbi but one of the participants of GC mentioned gross disrespect for the Stool of Gbi State. The GC1 participant added in the interview that

The history of impunity of violence exhibited by the Hohoe-Zongo settlers dates back to 1930 when they demonstrated a gross disrespect for the Gbi stool. Again, in 1949 a Fulani man from the Zongo went to the E.P. Primary school and killed some pupils for no apparent reason. Then in 2012, another attack not only against any indigene of Gbi but Togbega Gabusu VI himself, the Paramount Chief of Gbi Traditional

Area and the President of the Gbi Traditional Council as well as the immediate past President of the Volta Regional House of Chiefs. (28th October, 2023).

So, within 82 years, there had been three attacks on the same community that hosts the settlers for centuries. However, there are other six settler communities on Gbi land but none of them had ever disrespected the orders and authority of the traditional authority making them live in total peace with the indigenes of Gbi. These settler communities are Avega, Akplamafu, Segbedenu, Galikofe Kodzoviakofe and Agbelikofe. It was also revealed that none of the settlers is geographically independent since they were all affiliated to one of the nine Divisions of Gbi State namely Gbi Hohoe, Bla, Kpeme, Abasi, Kpoeta, Kledzo, Wegbe, Godenu and Atabu. This confirms psycho-cultural conflict theorists' position which emphasises ethnic identity and creation of enemy images against one another which leads to conflict in future. Jenkins (2014) argued that identity is an aspect of the emotional and psychological constitution of individuals. It is bound up with the maintenance of personal integrity and security, and may be extremely resistant to change.

Two other GC participants supported the earlier participants' view saying that the people of the Zongo community were noted for violence upon the slightest provocation and they seemed not to be patient at all especially the youth. In support of that submission, HZ participant attributed the violent behaviour of the Zongo youth to the fact that most of them migrated from the northern part of the country to settle at the Zongo and had no parental care, control and responsibility. This participant further stated that what

added to the indiscipline was the use of hard drugs such as “wee”, cocaine, madras, and alcohol. During an interview the participant HZ1 explained that:

Anytime they take such drugs, they don't listen to anybody, not even the Hohoe-Zongo elders or the chief of the various ethnic groups of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers and so becoming impatience to any issue that crop up. They can do anything that will satisfy their zeal and interests without listening to anybody. (28th October, 2023).

So, by the time the issue of the Chief Imam's exhumation reached the elders of the Hohoe-Zongo elders and they were in consultation with their landlord, the Bla chief to discuss how to rebury the Chief Imam by the Zongo Mosque, the youth were on rampage to Togbega Gabus VI's resident to destroy and consequently burnt down his residence.



Picture 1: Angry youth matching and burning tyres in the streets during the conflict at Hohoe

Source: Ghana News Agency. Retrieved on 29th November, 2023.

The pictures showed the level of destructions and burning of tyres in the streets of Hohoe. this was as a result of the confidence gattered from the

historical antecedence of violence attack on the indigenes by the Hohoe-Zongo settlers. The participant from HZ1 added that:

If the Hohoe-Zongo youths were patience a little, that conflict would not have occurred at all bringing these shames to the Hohoe-Zongo settler community. That's not how we behave when we were youth at this same Zongo those days. We were respectful and obeyed our parents and everybody irrespective of where the person come from. But it is not so these days, the youth think we, the elders should rather respect them and all their views even if the views are wrong. (28th October, 2023).

Again, during the death of one Mali Magid the same youth from the Hohoe-Zongo settlers went to the Hohoe Government Hospital and beat up some of the staff on duty at the time on the grounds of not releasing the dead body to them in good time for burial. The SH1 participant said that the youth mistaken a dead body from Likpe who was being sent to the morgue to be their brother, hence the attack on the hospital staff. In an interview, the SH1 shared the experiences:

The Hohoe-Zongo youth evaded the hospital, beat up anyone they see including patients on admission in the wards. They destroy all the stretchers that we use to convey the dead bodies to the morgue. They even destroy louvre blade and break some hospital beds. They even want to kill the man who engage the services of Malik Magid before he was electrocuted. (29th October, 2023).

The youth of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers always identifies themselves as one family and if you touch one, you touch all and that was premised on the fact

that most of them migrated from the northern part of the country and practice the same Islamic religion. When the elders of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers were collecting the debris of the tyres that was burnt at the Zongo section of the Hohoe-Jasikan road during the conflict, the Zongo youth were calling the Zongo elders as afraid men saying as HZ participant shared his experiences in an interview:

Leave us to show them where the power lies, they have suppressed and oppressed us for far too long and this is our time to show them that we have power, this is our day, this is our day, they shouted. We want our freedom and independence now or never; this is holy war we are fighting. If you the elders can't fight, leave us alone. (29th October, 2023).

The quotations by these key informants confirmed the fact that the history of violence attack motivated the Hohoe-Zongo settlers to engaged in the indigene-settler conflict with the Gbi people. The study revealed that no punitive measures were meted out to the perpetrators of such violent attacks previously and so had the courage to engage in similar one. This root cause of the indigene-settler conflict is underpinned by human needs theory which supports the point that indigene-settler conflict becomes protracted when people do not get the satisfaction of their needs and in this case the independent needs that the Hohoe-Zongo settlers yearned for so many years. Jenkins (2014) argued that identity is an aspect of emotional and psychological constitution of individual. Jenkins further stated that in indigene-settler conflict, there is the fear of extinction and future survival of a particular group of people as well as the loss of power, identity and recognition. Usually, there is the history of

discrimination, humiliation, stereotyping segregation, oppression, of inferiority and persecution of one group by another which is planted in generations who will always want to dominate while the oppressed will also try to retaliate. Relating the quotations of the various participants to the theory revealed that historical antecedence of violence was a root cause of the indigene-settler conflict between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers.

Identity and ethnicity

The first participant to be interviewed was a security official who said that there was persistent breakdown in social relations between the two communities. Probing further to find out what brought about the breakdown in the social relations, the participant said that anytime there was an issue between the two communities, it ended inconclusive. This security official, further said that ethnic identity, recognition and power struggle were seriously at play before the conflict. While Gbi indigenes wanted to be identified as the owners of the land, the Hohoe-Zongo settlers wanted to be recognised as the rightful owners of the Zongo community since they bought the land from the indigenes of Gbi.

The security official said that any time someone was arrested from Hohoe-Zongo settlers for committing a crime but release after investigations, the indigenes of Gbi accused the security of being biased. Likewise, if an indigene was arrested for any crime committed but released after investigations were concluded, the Hohoe-Zongo settlers would equally accuse the security for being on the side of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers. same. The official SH2 explained saying:

The two communities have to blame themselves for the conflict. They claimed to have lost trust in the security service, so they did not deem

it important to report the matter to our outfit in good time for us to step in to rescue the situation. An Assemblyman ever said that if he will report his case to the security personnel, he will leave to God. And that was due to the ethnic identity issues among them. (30th October, 2023).

Due to that the two communities lost trust in the security personnel and that was evidenced in the fact the conflict occurred at Hohoe, the Municipal capital but was reported to the security lately after Togbega Gabusu VI's residence was biased down.

In supporting this view an opinion leader from the HZ4 told the researcher that identity and ethnicity underpinned the indigene-settler conflict between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers. This was displayed in comments by an indigene that:

The land is for us but you these Zongo people have come here to make money and you are bluffing yourselves Whatever you do, the land belong to the land owners, the people of Gbi and not Zongo, he said. (30th October, 2023).

The participant further stated that the Hohoe-Zongo settlers equally wanted to be recognised as the owners of the Zongo since large portions of the land on which we are is owned by the Zongo people by purchasing the land from the indigenes of Gbi. In an interview he said:

We have bought the land from the indigenes of Gbi but pay property tax to the Hohoe Municipal Assembly but not Gbi people. How can we buy land from you and you will still claim to the owner of the same land? If

they want to be the owner of the land, why should they sell it? he asked.
(30th October, 2023).

The HZ4 said that people of the two communities used to share jokes where the Hohoe-Zongo settlers used to say that they were strangers but have money more than the owners of the land any time they met but the indigenes never took such issues serious. All that the indigenes would say was that they were the owners of the land and that they were not interested in the money of the Zongo settlers. During an interview the HZ4 participant shared his experiences:

To consolidate this identity and ethnicity issues during the conflict, the indigenes of Gbi remove my save, take out the money from it and burn the money in the middle of the road without taking a cedi away but burn all. They even want to kill me when I protest, knowing very well that I don't belong to them but was taken away to the Absa Bank at Hohoe for protection by their staff. I use to go to China and Dubai for goods but now I can't even go to Togo, I have no money. (30th October, 2023).

Another key informant confirmed these identity and ethnicity issues that it was pervasive among the people of the two communities especially the youths. The participant reiterated that the youths normally used it as a joke and nobody even knew that such jokes could be taken seriously to become a cause of conflict. Several warning signs such as friendly football matches ending inconclusively leading to fight with offensive weapons; stones, knife matchet, and the like were enough indication that given the opportunity, the Hohoe-Zongo settlers could attack the indigenes of Gbi.

These revelations by the key informants were underpinned by the psycho-cultural conflict theory which emphasises ethnic identity and creation of enemy images against one another that lead to conflict in future which are irresolvable. Jenkins (2014) argued that identity is an aspect of the emotional and psychological constitution of individuals. It is bound up with the maintenance of personal integrity and security, and may be extremely resistant to change. This means that indigene-settler conflict is identity-driven in the sense that people seem to identify themselves with a particular ethnic group which portrays them to be better than the other group of people. Jenkins further stated that in indigene-settler conflict, there is the fear of extinction and future survival of a particular group of people as well as the loss of power, identity and recognition.

Again, Azar's (2005) Human Needs Theory states that if people are denied basic physical and psychological needs, they will engage in conflict with the one who denies them the opportunity to enjoy these resources. Human needs also include security, fairness, and recognition of identity. The quotations by the participants in relation to the theories, clearly showed that identity and ethnicity were the root cause of the indigene-settler conflict between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers. Identity and ethnicity are connected to issues such as greed jealousy injustice and unfair treatment meted out by one group of people against another. This is where one group of people see themselves to be superior to the other.

The findings support Tonah's (2006) assertion that the indigene-settler conflict debate underlines ethnic differences where the Hohoe-Zongo settlers seed themselves as different from indigenes of Gbi. The differences created

between the two communities resulted into how each group behave towards each other. These differences may result in prejudice, political exclusion, marginalisation discrimination and stereotype. Unfortunately, in Ghana, citizenship is tied to ethnic identity. And so, the Hohoe-Zongo settlers, though have been in Hohoe for centuries are still been referred to as strangers due to the fact that they did not have the allodial right to any land, even if they had bought it and cannot ascend any traditional throne in Gbi no matter the number of years they stay on Gbi land. This again supported Galtung's (1996) model of violent, conflict and peace where he postulates that peoples' attitude and behaviour change towards each other which bring about contractions leading to conflicts. Hence, attitude, behaviour and contradictions are three necessary factors that induce ethnic identity for indigene-settler conflict.

Hegemony and ownership

The leadership or dominance, especially by one group mor state or social group over others could lead to indigene-settler conflict. Hegemony is preponderant influence or authority over other. The dominance of one group over another is supported by legitimating norms and ideas. This legitimacy and power by a leader are derived from the land he owes. As noted in Ghana, a chief's land size defines his power, authority and legitimacy (Gyamera *et al.*, 2018). And Gbi Traditional Area is no exception to this type of leadership. The Gbi Traditional Area has Togbega Gabusu as the traditional, political and religious head of the entire State. Naturally, not everybody would be comfortable with his decisions as how things should be done, especially the Hohoe-Zongo settlers since the settlers thought they could have geographical independence from the indigenes of Gbi.

That was not possible since the landlords are always the owners of the land and could make any decision for the settlers. The Hohoe-Zongo settlers were not comfortable with that type of political structure and wanted to be free from the control and ownership of the indigenes of Gbi over the Hohoe-Zongo settlers. In an interview with a GC participant, he intimated that Togbega Gabusu VI wanted to divide the Hohoe-Zongo community into two; Hohoe-Zongo and Blah-Zongo but the Hohoe-Zongo settlers did not agree. The participant described the situation that, from the Bank of Ghana at Hohoe going to Jasikan, the left-hand side is for the Hohoe-Ahado while the right side belongs to the Gbi-Bla people. But since the area occupied on Bla land is larger than that of Ahato, they all refer to the Bla chief as their landlord. This participant said that, that decision by Togbega Gabusu VI to divide the Hohoe-Zongo community into two did not go down well with the settlers and that created animosity between the settlers and Togbega Gabusu VI and by extension the indigenes of Gbi. The participant further said that when the youth of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers committed a crime against the Gbi State and the person is fined by the traditional authority, the sometimes refuse to pay the fine and when the elders of the Zongo were contacted, they would tell the traditional authority to report the person to the police if they felt the person committed any crime since we are under the same constitution of Ghana.

That act of disrespect by some Hohoe-Zongo settlers toward the traditional authority brought about some form of tension between the two communities. That political power struggle over ownership by the indigenes of Gbi and independence by the Hohoe-Zongo settlers led to persistent breakdown in social relations between the two communities. As if that was not enough, the

youth of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers went to beat up the Hohoe government hospital staff including the younger brother of Togbega Gabusu VI, during the death of one of their colleagues, Malik Magid. In an interview, the key informant SH3 shared his experience:

The Hohoe-Zongo youth went to the hospital and beat up any staff member they could see. They even beat up patients admitted to the hospital at the various wards. They destroyed beds, stretches, louvre blades and so many things at the hospital. How can the youth of one settlement go to the hospital to do that, and if the youth of other settlement want to do same how do we live at Hohoe? he asked. (1st November, 2023).

In support of that submission, another participant from GC told the researcher that disrespect for the traditional authority of Gbi by the Hohoe-Zongo settlers was as a result of this ownership and power over whoever is on Gbi land by the Supreme head, Togbega Gabusu VI. People wanted to have their free-way to do whatever they liked. But in every community, there are rules and regulations to guide everybody for peaceful co-existence and maintenance of society. In an interview, the SH3 participant added that:

Due to the disrespect for the traditional authority and refusal to pay the items the traditional authority fined the perpetrators of the hospital destruction that burial ban was placed on the Hohoe-Zongo settlers to serve as punitive measures to proof to them that the indigenes of Gbi are the owners of the land and could make any decision for any settler on their land. That would also proof the power and authority of the indigenes of Gbi. (1st November, 2023).

The key informant said that when the Chief Imam, Alhaji Alhassan died, the Zongo elders had to inform Togbega Gabusu VI and his elders before the burial as was the norm. As at the time the information about the death of the Chief Imam got to Togbega Gabusu VI and his elders, it was passed 5:00pm and according to Islamic religion as they, the Muslims made indigenes of Gbi aware, the Muslims do not bury after 5:00pm. Based on that information, Togbega Gabusu VI and his elders directed that the body be kept until the following morning before burial so that the indigenes of Gbi could equally participate in the burial ceremony as they did always. Again, they would have resolved the issue concerning the ban on burial of Hohoe-Zongo settlers at the Hohoe public cemetery overnight to reach amicable settlement. That directive was necessitated by the earlier vandalism of the Hohoe Government Hospital property as a result of the death of one Magid Malik, a youth from the Zongo who went there to offload goods for a staff. A letter to that effect was written by the Gbi Traditional Council and dispatched to the Zongo Chief on 6th July, 2012. Before the letter could reach its destination, the Hohoe-Zongo Chief Imam had died. Unfortunately, the letter did not get to Hohoe-Zongo Chief until the Zongo elders went to the Paramount Chief, Togbega Gabusu VI's residence to inform him and his elders of the death of the Chief Imam. So, Togbega Gabusu VI wanted to use the opportunity to address the ban issues before the Chief Imam was buried.

According to the GC participant, unfortunately, the indigenes of Gbi just had information in the night that the Hohoe-Zongo settlers had gone to bury the Chief Imam without informing Togbega Gabusu VI and his elders with police protection. To add insult to an injury, this key participant said that the

Hohoe-Zongo settlers who went to bury the late Imam had marched through the principal streets singing and insulting Togbega Gabusu VI and finally came to stand at the entrance of his residence and insulted him until they were satisfied before leaving for the Zongo community. That disrespectful action disturbed the indigenes but did not retaliate in any way, for the sake of peace and GC5 asked this question in an interview:

How on earth can a stranger come to stand at the entrance to the Paramount Chief's residence and insulted him for some hours till you are tired before going home, where can such a thing happen in Ghana, who will tolerate that kind of disrespectful behaviour? he asked. (2nd November, 2023).

Then the following morning, the indigenes of Gbi had information that the body of the Imam was thrown along the main road to Santrokofi. It was due to the issues that preceded the burial of the late Chief Imam that everybody including the Hohoe-Zongo settlers, thought that the exhumation was done by the indigenes of Gbi upon the orders of Togbega Gabusu VI and his elders. But that was a wrong perception as GC5 participant said that since:

Nobody in the Gbi Traditional Area would order the youth or any indigene to perform such a sacrilegious act but the whole incidence was so coincidental that even if we say we had no knowledge about the exhumation, it would be difficult to belief. Who knows, it could even be the same Hohoe-Zongo settlers who had gone to exhume the body so as to get a point and attack the Hohoe people, he added. (2nd November, 2023).

The findings and various quotations highlighted that the conflict has a history of political power struggled between the two communities. In this indigene-settler conflict, the Gbi people who were the indigenes and owners of the land felt more potent over the Zongo community who were the settlers and argued that the settlers needed to respect the traditional and political structures of the people of Gbi or leave the Gbi land. The findings and quotations were underpinned by psych-cultural conflict theory which emphasis ethnic identity and creation of enemy images against one another which leads to conflict in future which are often irresolvable. This is linked up to enemy system theory where enemy images are created based on ethnic identity.

This psycho-cultural conflict theory is also linked up with relative deprivation theory where a group of people have been deprived of their needs based primarily on ethnic identity. Again, psycho-cultural conflict theory deals with the culturally based issues where a group of people are oriented against one another as enemies right from the childhood. Jenkins (1996) argues that identity is an aspect of the emotional and psychological constitution of individual. The study revealed that the indigene-settler conflict between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers has hegemony and ownership as root cause and was identity-driven in the sense that people seem to identify themselves with a particular ethnic group which portrays them to be better than other group of people.

Furthermore, the findings could be underpinned by Galtung's model of violent, conflict and peace where he used three-dimensional models to explain that structures result into conflict due to social institutions that have been established, in enforcing certain laws. During this law enforcement, hostility

may develop leading to direct violence and with time the hostility may degenerate into irresolvable conflict. Galtung (1996) indicated that conflict could be observed as a triangle, with attitude behaviour and contradictions. The study showed that the attitude of the indigenes changed due to the fact that they are the owners and custodians of the land. Similarly, the behaviour of the settlers also changed towards the settlers because they needed freedom and independence from the indigenes which was practically impossible.

Social relationship

Social relationship is how people interact and behave with other people, and how other people also interact and behave towards them. It includes relationships between family members, friends, neighbours, coworkers, and other associates. It is also any voluntary or involuntary interpersonal link between two or more people, individually or between groups. Relating these definitions of social relationships to the indigene of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers means that there should be cordial relationship between the indigenes and the settlers. Ideally, people who lived together for centuries should have such cordiality so that there would not be any conflict between them.

Such cordial relationship existed between and among the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers until there was persistent breakdown in social relations between the two communities (Kendie et al., 2021). The indicators of this breakdown in social relation was evidence in disrespect by the Hohoe-Zongo settlers towards the indigenes of Gbi, beating up of the hospital staff during Malik Magid's death fighting during friendly football matches between the youths of the two communities and finally the ban on the Hohoe-Zongo settlers from burying their dead bodies on Gbi land to show the settlers that they

needed to respect the orders and authority of the indigenes who are the custodians of the land which the settlers lived since land is intertwined with the identity, history and culture of the people in many places in Ghana.

The breakdown in social relationship led to political exclusion, deprivation, social discrimination, economic marginalisation and a belief in stereotype of one group of people against another. Relating Malik Magid death issue to breakdown in social relations leading to the conflict, an SH who was present at the time of the incidence said that the youth from the Hohoe-Zongo community did not exercise patience at all. The hospital staff asked the colleagues of Malik who were present to go for his National Health Insurance Card, his folder which were normal items demanded from any patient who patronise the services of the hospital. But the youth from the Hohoe-Zongo settlers thought the demands were too much for them. So finally, when Malik was pronounced dead, they thought it was the delay by hospital the staff that caused the death, hence the attack after they had called their colleague from the Zongo community to come to the hospital

The participant said that unknown to the Hohoe-Zongo youth present demanding the release of their colleague, a man who was bitten by snake and brought in from Likpe had died on arrival and was in the same ward with Malik. So, when the mortuary attendants were called in to come for the Likpe man's body to the morgue, the Hohoe-Zongo youth thought it was Malik the mortuary men had come to take to the morgue and therefore, bounced on the mortuary men and other staff present and beat them up one of whom was a younger brother of Togbega Gabusu VI. As if that was not enough, the Hohoe-Zongo youth also destroyed other properties of the hospital. Before the police arrived,

the Hohoe-Zongo youths had absconded. Upon consultations and deliberations, the body was finally released to the family for burial.

This participant further said that some of the Hohoe-Zongo youth came back the same night to kill the staff member who engaged the services of Malik before dying but they did not know the residence of that staff. Still not satisfied, some of the Hohoe-Zongo youth came back on the third day to vandalise the hospital properties including louvre blades and hospital beds and even beat up some patients in the wards. Again, the police were called in but they had run away before the police arrived. If the youth of the Hohoe-Zongo had good social relations with the hospital staff they would have respected their dignity and not attack them. This key informant explained further that:

When the message finally got to Togbega Gabusu VI and his council, they decided that as part of punishment to show the Hohoe-Zongo settlers that they were the indigenes of Gbi and for that matter, the landlords and that settlers or strangers could not misbehave towards them on their own land to that extent, the Gbi Traditional Council wrote a letter to the Municipal Chief Executive, the Municipal Commander of the Ghana Police Service as well as the Hohoe-Zongo chief banning the Hohoe-Zongo settlers from burying their dead bodies in the Hohoe public cemetery. (3rd November 2023).

Confirming this submission, another two participants, GC6 and GC7 attributed the breakdown in social relations to lack of fairness and justice in dealing with cases concerning the two communities. All other participants mentioned the same issues relating to the first objective of this study. But another participant was of different view in the sense that the social relation

could have been worked on by the two communities so that it did not degenerate into such a violent conflict. This participant was of the indigenes overused their traditional power and authority in dealing with the Hohoe-Zongo settlers especially the ban on burial of their dead bodies at the Hohoe public cemetery since that was the only common resource to both of them for disposing their dead bodies. During an interview, the key informant shared his experience:

I will find it difficult to obey some of the rules we the indigenes of Gbi make for the Hohoe-Zongo settlers, one of which is the ban placed on them not to bury their dead bodies on Gbi land. Upon sober reflections, I realise that the rules and sanctions are too harsh and difficult for them to obey. That was done to prove to the Hohoe-Zongo settlers that the indigenes of Gbi are the landlords and have power and authority to do anything to the Hohoe-Zongo settlers who were considered strangers. But that is not how we should live in a society. After all, they have been here with us for centuries. (5th November, 2023).

However, this participant agreed with other participants that even though the rules were harsh, the Hohoe-Zongo settlers were naturally aggressive, otherwise, they would have been patient enough to dialogue with the traditional authority to find the culprit who exhumed the late Chief Imam instead of taking the law into their own hands which resulted into the conflict. GC7 added that when they had meeting with the Hohoe-Zongo opinion leaders and some section of the youth in 2020 and one Alinco, a youth from the Zongo was among the delegation, he was made to leave the meeting. He was suspected to be the organiser and the leader of the violent attack on the residence of

Togbega Gabusu VI and the subsequent attacks in the Hohoe township in 2012. So, if in 2020 the youth of Gbi were still expelling a youth of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers from their meeting then surely the two communities are only enjoying a fragile peace.

This study revealed that every human needed basic resources for physical survival at all times, from birth to death. The findings and the quotations supported the Human Needs Theory which humans have basic needs that have to be met in order to maintain stable society. Azar's (2005) Human Needs Theory states that if people are denied basic physical and psychological needs, they will engage in conflict with the one who denies them the opportunity to enjoy these resources. The allocation and distribution of needs are done by some members in the community who determine those who get and those who are denied but denial of needs is non-negotiable. Therefore, any attempt by those who are socially excluded to seek for the redistribution of needs bring about conflict in the society.

Azar (2005) further explains that conflict is necessitated by the struggle at all levels to satisfy needs including prestige and authority. It was the struggle for needs that led to the indigene-settler conflict. Rosati, Carroll and Coate (1990) used this theory to explain why individuals or groups engage in conflict as a result of unmet needs. The issues discussed are underpinned by psycho-cultural conflict theory which emphasises ethnic identity and creation of enemy images against one another which led to conflict in future which are often irresolvable. The study revealed that enemy images have been created in the minds of the younger generation which goes a long way to degenerate into conflict in the future.

Again, the findings could be related to the three-dimensional models of Galtung (1996) which explained that structures result into conflict due to social institutions that have been established in enforcing certain laws. As he further stated, during the enforcement of this laws, hostilities may develop leading to direct violence. And that was what exactly happened between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers. During the enforcement of the traditional and political laws by the indigenes, they created hostilities between them and the Hohoe-Zongo settlers. The hostility led to the persistent break down in social relations between the two communities and the result was the indigene-settler conflict between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers. The scholars explained that needs for social recognition and ethnic identity affect social relationship in the sense that one group that is dominant and powerful would always want to be recognised by the other minority group to their displeasure leading to indigene-settler conflict.



Picture 2: Overview of Hohoe Township where the Conflict occurred

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 2021.

The picture shows the area view of the Hohoe Township where the conflict occurred between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers. The picture could not show the entire area but the central business centre and the Bank of Ghana at Hohoe. Behind the Bank is where the Hohoe-Zongo community is located and most of the stores that were burnt could be found around the Bank.

Effects of the conflict on socio-economic activities in the area

Second objective of this study centred on the effects of the conflict on socio-economic activities in the Hohoe township where that conflict took place. The indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers engaged in conflict that resulted in casualties which eventually affected socio-economic activities in the area. Specifically, the objective centred on issues of how people were affected, the group of people who were most affected, number of people who lost their lives, casualties, displaced people and whether the displaced people have returned to Hohoe or not. Hohoe is one of the biggest commercial towns in the Volta Region and with such magnitude of conflict, it would not only affect the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers who engaged in the conflict but also, others whose economic activities revolved around Hohoe.

In an interview to solicit participants lived experiences on this objective an SH told the researcher that the conflict started around 8:30am with the burning down of the residence of Togbega Gabusu VI by the Hohoe-Zongo settlers. After which the indigenes of Gbi retaliated by burning down the stores of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers. According to this participant, by the time the security personnel arrived to save the situation, more than hundred stores

belonging to the Hohoe-Zongo settlers were burnt. In an interview HZ6 participant shared his experience:

Items such as dresses, bags, shoes, phones, in fact, even food stuffs such as rice, beans millet, groundnut, yams, maize kokonte, fish and the like were all looted and later destroyed during the conflict by the indigenes of Gbi. That was a great economic loss to the owners of such goods who were mostly the Hohoe-Zongo settlers. By the time the Fire Service people come the goods were burnt into ashes. (29th October, 2023)



Picture 3: Stores that were looted during the conflict at Hohoe

Source: Ghana News Agency. Retrieved on 20th November, 2023.

These pictures show some stores that were looted and later set ablaze during the conflict at Hohoe. That destruction ran into millions of Ghana Cedis which affected the socio-economic activities of the individual. The cost of these goods made the owners unable to do business as they used to do before the conflict at Hohoe.

In support of this submission, another respondent of HZ said that during the entire conflict period, there was no commercial activities especially store

owners since all their wares were burnt. Those who did not get theirs burnt could equally not open the stores because almost all the stores were located in the central business area which was the community of the indigenes. This HZ4 participant who was affected by the conflict shared his experiences:

Commercial drivers and market women from the Hohoe-Zongo settlers could not go to work, even school children could not go to school. We the commercial drivers from the Hohoe-Zongo settlers were particularly warned by the indigenes of Gbi not to step feet at the lorry station for loading of passengers making all the passengers getting stranded for so many days. Due to that we the Zongo drivers were advised by the Ghana Private Road Transport Union (GPRTU) of TUC officials to give our vehicles to non-Zongo drivers to be using during the conflict period. The Hohoe-Zongo settlers would not allow their children to go to school even when they were given security protection by the police since most of the public schools were located in the communities of the indigenes of Gbi which equally affected those who prepared food for the school children. (30th October, 2023).

Even though the situation lasted for sometimes, it affected socio-economic activities of both the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers. This study revealed from the interview that not even the presence of the security personnel encouraged the Hohoe-Zongo settler to venture into the territory of the indigenes of Gbi to carry out any economic activities.

In support of the GC3 participant, an opinion leader from the HZ7 settlers confirmed that drivers from Hohoe-Zongo settlers could not go to work

since the lorry station was located in the community of the indigenes of Gbi. This HZ7 participant added that:

Not only that the Zongo drivers could not go the lorry station but they were actually warned by the indigenes of Gbi not to step their feet at the station. Even though there was security presence all over the township the stern warning given the Hohoe-Zongo drivers was enough to scare them, after all the land was for the indigenes, hence, passengers got stranded for so many days, weeks and even months due to lack of vehicular movement. at Hohoe without food nor water since nobody was going to sell anything let alone convey them to their destinations. (1st November, 2023).

Another GC participant supported these submissions by saying that even fish and meat were not available because there was no vehicle to transport them. Besides, the two communities did not trust each other to patronise anything they sell. So, even if the butchers from the Hohoe-Zongo settlers slaughter the animals, nobody from the indigenes of Gbi would patronise them for fear of being poisoned. The participant who used to buy goats from the northern part of Ghana to sell not only the butchers but the general public said his business was affected tremendously. The HZ8 participant got this to say in an interview:

We could only get meat to buy from Ve-Golokuati, the District Capital of the Afadzato South which is about 19 kilometres from Hohoe. Therefore, anybody who needed meat during the conflict had to travel to Golokuati to buy. At the time of the conflict in 2012, lorry fare from Hohoe to Golokuati was GHC 7.00 and a pound of meat was GHC10.00. So, if anyone wanted to buy just a pound of meat, he was

going to spend GHC 24.00. But if it were Hohoe town, the person would have spent just GHC10.00 without any transportation cost to get the meat. In short, there was no business activities during the entire period of the conflict between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers. (3rd November, 2023).

On the issue of casualties, all the participants confirmed that three people died but there were undisclosed number of people who were injured. According to a participant who was youth leader of the HZ2 more than six thousand people were displaced to the neighbouring towns such as Liat, Golokuati, Jasikan and Kadjebi. And some had even crossed to Togo. During an interview the HZ2 participant said that:

A business woman from the Hohoe-Zongo settlers who was noted for preparing wakye had to relocate to Kpando where she plies her trade of wakye business now. Some of them sold their properties and left Hohoe for another town to do business. A woman I know sold her land and travelled back to Tamale and never come back even after the conflict. (4th November, 2023).

This participant intimated that it was not only the stores that were looted and burnt later on but also vehicles and motor bicycles were equally destroyed during the conflict. According to the participant, by the time the Ghana National Fire Service arrive to put off the fire most of these physical materials had been destroyed beyond repairs affecting their socio-economic activities in the area. This is shown in the pictures below:





Picture 4: Destruction of vehicles and motor bicycles during the conflict at Hohoe

Source: Myoyonline.com. Retrieved on 25th November, 2023.

These pictures showed the level of destructions caused to people's motor cycles and vehicles. Again, these destructions ran into thousands of Ghana Cedis and that deprived the people from using these vehicles for any economic activities which eventually affected the socio-economic activities in the area.

Supporting the view of the previous participant this affected participant told the researcher that some of them could not go anywhere because Hohoe has become their home, this is they were born and all their properties on this earth were at Hohoe, and so there was nowhere to go. In an interview the HZ7 shared her experiences:

Our ancestors came to settle here at Hohoe centuries ago before some of us were born. Even though our parents told us that they migrated from the modern-day Republic of Togo, it will be difficult for us to move with all our family to trace back where we come from in Togo and go back. Hohoe has become our home and we are now Ghanaians by birth according to the constitution of Ghana. I used to sell maize and millet for those who prepare "Hausa koko" but all the goods were burnt during the conflict but I thank Allah that I'm alive and that is enough for me. (5th November, 2023).



Picture 5: Ghana National Fire Service putting of fire during the conflict at Hohoe

Source: Myjoyonline.com. Retrieved on 25th November, 2023.

The picture showed devastation caused to peoples' properties during the conflict. This therefore, revealed that stores motor cycles and vehicle were not the only properties that were destroyed during the conflict but peoples' houses as well. By the time the Ghana National Fire Service arrived to put off the fires, most of the properties including houses were burnt to ashes.

Another opinion leader from the HZ3 said that what affected them most was not only the burning of the stores and the wares but also burying land at Liat Torganu to bury the dead bodies This was supported by the third person also from HZ.3 In an interview, the participant shared his experiences:

Every time we lose our member, we have to travel for 15 kilometres to bury the person. Not only that but fuelling the AMBULANCE is putting a toll on our purchasing power. This has affected our socio-economic

status to the extent that we are not finding it easy at all. Currently we spend about GHC 300.00 on fuel to convey a corpse to the new cemetery at Liati Torganu not to talk of other expenses like allowances for the drivers and maintenance of the vehicle. If we lose two or three persons a day, then you can imagine what we are going through. (6th November, 2023).



Picture 6: The donated AMBULANCE to the Hohoe Zongo community
Source: Field Survey, 2023.



Picture 7: The AMBULANCE arriving at the new cemetery at Liati Torganu.
Source: Field Survey, 2023.

Even though this AMBULANCE was donated to the Hohoe-Zongo community by the Hon. John-Peter Amewu, PM for Hohoe Constituency, the Zongo community have to fuel it themselves to convey a corpse to the new

cemetery at Liati Torganu. This also confirmed the participant's concern that the Zongo Community spends so much money in conveying a corpse to the cemetery subject to changes in fuel prices at all times. The findings highlight the cost effects on socio-economic activities of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers where they have to leave their business activities for the burial period, particularly in travelling long distance to dispose of their dead bodies. It also posits that the cost of maintaining the vehicle is high due to the untarred nature of the road from Hohoe to the cemetery ground.

The conflict did not only affect indigenes of Gbi and the Hohoe-Zongo settlers but also the status of Hohoe as the commercial hub of the Volta Region. This is because economically, Hohoe is strategically and geographically located as a hub for Volta Region south and north and neighbouring country, Togo. Some of the goods such as maize and kolanut that were traded with Togolese could not be sent to Togo and vis versa as there was no vehicular movement. The conflict caused permanent displacement of many people to other towns to do their businesses.

In line with the second objective of this study, the researcher sought to analyse the effects of the conflict on socio-economic activities in the area. The data revealed that both the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers would have wished to continue with their business activities had it not be the interaction of the conflict. This was underpinned by Human Needs Theory which is based on the fact that humans have basic need that have to be met in order to maintain stable society. The findings supported Azar's (2005) assertion that if people are denied basic physical and psychological needs, they will

engage in conflict with the one who denies them the opportunity to enjoy these resources.

This is supported by economic theorists' position that conflict has become lucrative business for young people who steal, loot and join militant groups for better economic options. Conflict can be seen as having a "functional utility" and embedded in economic disparities (Bredal & Malone, 2000:1). Economic theory shares the view of Structuralists who maintain that conflict occurs because of the exploitative and unjust nature of human societies, domination of one class by another, greed and jealousy. The study revealed that the Hohoe-Zongo settlers dominated the economic space of the Hohoe township in all aspects to the displeasure of the indigenes of Gbi. The central business area which the indigenes of Gbi thought would have been a preserve for the people of Gbi had also been occupied by the settlers.

Moreover, the study showed that Galtung's (1996) three-dimensional models of structures resulting into conflict due to social institutions that have been established in enforcing certain laws influence the conflict. This means that the law made by the traditional authorities of Gbi to ban the Hohoe-Zongo settlers from burying on Gbi land created some level of hostility between the two communities. This is because the land is a common natural resource to the two communities that they used for centuries only to be prevented from using just like that was difficult to be taken by the Hohoe-Zongo settlers.

This is why Aza (2005) says that if people are denied basic physical and psychological needs, they will engage in conflict with the one who denied them the opportunity to enjoy those resources. During the conflict certain laws were still enforced by the indigenes of Gbi to prevent the Hohoe-Zongo settlers from

patronising both the market and the lorry stations. Discussing the findings of this objective with the Galtung's theory indigene-settler conflict could be observed as triangle, with attitude, behaviour and contradictions. Galtung (1996) postulates that all the three factors should be present for a conflict to occur. Here contradiction is an important factor of the conflict because it is through contradictions that parties' intentions and clash of interests can lead to misunderstandings of each other. It is a fact that the attitude and behaviour of the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers determined the effects of the conflict on socio-economic activities in the area.

The study again revealed that the amount of money spent on purchasing land at Liati Torganu as new cemetery could have been used to support brilliant but needy students from the Zongo community in schools. The amount could have also been used to invest in agricultural activities to provide job for the unemployed youths in the communities. The money burnt during the conflict for instance, could be used to expand the business of the trader so that he could employ more youths including the indigenes of Gbi who were willing to work to solve unemployment in the area to some extent.

Current interpersonal relations between the indigenes and settlers

This objective was to ascertain current interpersonal relations between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers in the Hohoe township. Issues discussed concerning this objective included current interpersonal relationship between the two communities whether invitations are accepted or rejected, the relationship between the two communities before the conflict and whether the displaced people were back or not. Interpersonal relationship is defined in this study as a social association, connection between two or more persons, or

friendly interaction between people or persons. Interpersonal relation refers to building of social capital that cuts across ethnic identity, political power struggle, independence and subsequently eliminates prejudice against one another. Good interpersonal relationship existed between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers in Hohoe township before the conflict. Interpersonal relationship between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers was so cordial that it was difficult to differential between the two communities had it not been language and dresses of the Zongo settlers which are different from that of the indigenes of Gbi.

Unfortunately, the cordial interpersonal relationship turned sore during and after the conflict as shown in the picture below:



Picture 8: Some opinion leaders of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers and security personnel inspecting houses destroyed during the conflict at Hohoe

Source: Field Survey, 2023

This picture also showed some destroyed houses which was been inspected by some opinion leaders of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers and some security personnel after the conflict. The cost element in renovating these

building was enormous which affected their socio-economic activities in the area and also their interpersonal relationship.

This was supported by psycho-cultural conflict theory which emphasises ethnic identity and enemy image creation. Jenkins (2014) argues that identity is an aspect of the emotional and psychological constitution of individuals or group of individuals. This bad interpersonal relations that developed between the two communities affected every aspect of their lives especially business activities. Invitations to social gatherings such as marriage, naming and funeral ceremonies came to a halt.

Ross (1998) notes that there are different forms of identities but the one that is based on people's ethnic, origin and the culture that is learned on the basis of that ethnic origin is one of the most important ways of explaining conflicts that long time to resolve which eventually affect the interpersonal relations. The data revealed that the cordial interpersonal relations that existed between the two communities is returning gradually. During an interview a key informant from SH1 shared his experiences about the current interpersonal relations between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers:

The interpersonal relationship between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe Zongo settlers is now becoming cordial again. They attended social gatherings such as marriage, naming and funeral ceremonies together. They also partake in each other's festivals such GBIDUKOZA and the Islamic festivals such as ED AD-ADHA. That did not mean that the cordial relationship that existed between us before the conflict is the same. No. Everybody had some reservation about one another (28th October, 2023).

Galtung theory indicated that both conflicting parties will hold onto their stand claiming rights to whatever they do during the conflict making relationship building to delay. Galtung (1996), “the father of peace studies” used some terms “peacebuilding” to mean the same process of resolving conflict through good interpersonal relations. This is where peace actors of diverse backgrounds come in to resolve the conflict, since conflict is inevitable where human beings exist especially when they are raised from different social, political, religious, cultural moral emotional and educational backgrounds.

Supporting the earlier participant’s submission, another HZ4 participant added that:

These days we all attend social gatherings together as we used to do before the conflict. We lost our Kodokoli chief and all the Gbi chiefs who were informed were present. In fact, John- Peter Amewu, the Member of Parliament for Hohoe Constituency, an indigene of Gbi was present. He was not only present but donated GHS 2,000.00 to the bereaved family. To take care of the relatives who came from the Togo to attend the funeral. (28th October, 2023).

The study revealed that the current interpersonal relations between the two community were becoming cordial again. To proof that assertion, HZ4 said that invitation by both sides were being honoured without any security personnel accompanying them to such functions. Gbi chiefs now invite the Hohoe-Zongo settlers to marriage and funeral ceremonies as well as festival celebrations and vice versa. This study supported Galtung’s (1996) assertion that for peace to return after conflict, peoples ‘attitudes and behaviours that necessitated the conflict must change. The way the people used to think, behave

and act in many ways must change to build confidence in the other party that they could relate with one another in a cordial manner.

Confirming this current interpersonal relation between the two communities an SH2 participated said that calm had returned to the entire township of Hohoe. During an interview, SH2 explained that:

The security deployment had been evacuated to their various camps and the barriers removed for free flow of traffic at the entrance and exit points of the Hohoe township. The curfew that was imposed on the township during the conflict had also been lifted and vehicle from either side of Hohoe could pass at any time Commercial vehicles too could enter and exit at any time without any restrictions. Drivers from the Hohoe-Zongo settlers could now come to load at the main lorry station without any problem or security protection. (29th October, 2023).

The SH participant was quick to add that even though there are constant security patrols mostly at night, it is usual work of the security personnel in the Hohoe township, now that Hohoe is the Headquarters of the Northern Volta Regional Command of the Ghana Police Service and they are helping to maintain law and order in the entire township.

This study showed that cordial interpersonal relations have been improved and there is general security presence mostly at night. From this study, it came out that life has come back to normal and business activities were going on well except that some of the businesses for the Hohoe-Zongo settlers were concentrated at the Zongo community alone such as AILINCO PHONES

ENTREPRISE whose shops were located at the central business area before the conflict.

Even though observation was not part of the instrument for collecting data for this research study, the researcher observed during the stay in the Hohoe township that most of the Zongo women were carrying items such as banana, orange, pear, roasted groundnut and maize and other wares, and were freely moving about in the communities of the indigenes of Gbi selling without any fear of being attacked as an evidence that the relations between the two communities was now cordial as described by the participant. The predominantly Gbi communities that the Zongo women were selling their ware were Gbi-Bla, Kpeme, Abansi Gboxome and Ahado with the indigenes freely patronising their ware and goods.

The researcher was at a funeral of a Gbi chief during which the Hohoe-Zongo settlers were not only invited but actually honoured the invitation and were present throughout the funeral. Equally present was the Kodokoli chief's funeral in the Hohoe-Zongo community where some chiefs of the Gbi were present. They also participated in each other's festival celebration such as GBIDUKOZA and the Islamic festivals. The researcher was taken to some parts of the Zongo community by a participant.

The researcher moved around the town with a Gbi participant as well to the local chop bar where we bought and ate fufu and grasscutter meat. This gave the opportunity to the researcher to observe and put his ears on the ground for further information that might not be revealed by the participants. At the market place, the researcher saw women from both communities freely trading together as if nothing had ever happened between them.

This proved Human Needs Theory that every human being needs basic resources such as food, shelter and security for survival and maintenance of life. Azar' (2005) argues that if people are denied basic physical and psychological needs, they will engage in conflict with the one who deny them the opportunity to enjoy those resources. Once one group of people does not deny the other from enjoying the natural resources available to both of them, there will be peace.

Another GC9 affirmed that there are cordial relations between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers but was quick to add that some comments by the youth of Hohoe-Zongo settlers infuriated the indigenes of Gbi. He shared this comment as:

“We the Zongo settlers are also pilling an arm down for you for next time. We are not afraid of you because you think the land belong to you. This time, we’ll not wait for you to burn our stores ooo!”

Again, an opinion leader of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers who was a participant said that a youth from the indigenes of Gbi made a comment against the Hohoe-Zongo settlers but the chiefs of Gbi did not take it kindly. He shared what the youth said as:

“The war is coming back again and the Hohoe-Zongo settlers must prepare for that. We want seven heads from the Hohoe-Zongo settlers to bury our late chief.”

The participant said Togbe Wode, of Gbi-Kpeme, the acting Chairman of the Gbi Traditional Council called Press Conference to dissociate the chiefs and people of Gbi from such comments by the unknown youth from Gbi during which the leaders of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers were present to confirm the cordial relations between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers.

From these interviews and quotations by the all the participants there is an indication that there is cordial interpersonal relationship between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers. But the comments by those youths of the two communities were pointed out that there is some covert tension between the youths of the two communities which must be worked at through constant peace education. The indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo have only gotten negative peace, since there has been ceasefire and the violence had stopped. Therefore, the utterances of the youths which can go a long way to affect the current peace and development in the area must be worked on seriously. This study again, supported Galtung's (1996) position which says that for peace to be sustained after a conflict, there should be change in attitudes and behaviours towards factors that caused the conflict. Galtung's concept of structural violence refers to the inherent forms of violence originating from social, economic, and political structures and manifesting primarily as oppression and exploitation. These direct forms of violence result in injustice I the distribution of political power and economic benefits.

Sustainable Peace Mechanisms

The fourth and final objective of this study centred on the sustainable peace mechanisms used to bring the situation to the level at which it is now. Sustainable peace in this study is defined as a process which is aimed at making sure that there is good human relations, cooperation and communal spirit for development. Mechanism in this study is defined as established process by which something takes place or is brought about. To the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers' daily interaction, greetings, trading together at the market place respect for one another, joking relations, associational

organisation, communal interactions and attending social gatherings constitute sustainable peace. And the processes such as dialogue, mediation alternative dispute resolution and shuttle mediation through which these can be achieved if the is conflict is referred to as the mechanisms.

That said, participants were interviewed to solicit information from them on this particular objective. The participants also shared their lived experiences on the various mechanisms used in sustaining the peace. Concerning what brought the conflict to an end, most of the participant said that there was security presence in the town coupled with the curfew imposed on the township to prevent people's movement so that they could not attack each other. The study revealed that curfew was imposed on the entire community during the conflict which restricted people's movement to enable the security personnel present to maintain law and order. This means that if the security personnel had not arrived at Hohoe in good time, the indigenes would have caused havoc the Hohoe-Zongo settlement. Another SH4 participant shared his experiences during an interview:

Curfew was first imposed on the township which restricted people's movement so that no side could attack the other. Then the police and the military were brought in to serve as a blockade between the indigenes of Gbi and the Hohoe-Zongo settlers. Barriers were mounted at both entry and exit points of the town to check every vehicle that came in or left the township to find out if they were carrying any arms or ammunitions. That brought the situation down before a Commission of Enquiry was constituted and other peace actors also came in to talk to the parties. (4th November, 2023).

This showed the role the security personnel and peace actors played in managing the conflict. In support of that submission, the HZ1 mentioned some of the state instructions, individuals and organisation that helped in managing the conflict as:

Immigration officials, Ghana National Fire Service, the Ghana Police Service the Military as well as the National Security personnel. He said that others who visited Hohoe during the conflict were John Dramani Mahama, former president of the Republic of Ghana, members of the national and regional House of Chiefs, Volta Regional Peace Council, Religious groups, National Chief Imam and other concerned individuals. Commission of Enquiry was however, established by the government to investigate the causes of the conflict. (4th November, 2023).

That was an indication that institutions and individuals showed some level of concern in bringing the conflict between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers to an end. Concerning the mechanisms used to manage the conflict, most of the participants mentioned dialogue and mediation. A few others were of the view that shuttle mediation and Alternative Dispute Resolution could have also have been used as mechanism in dealing with the conflict. In an interview with GC6, she had this to say:

Both dialogue and mediation were used. Again, both the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers were part of the committee set up to deal with the issues for sustainable peace. These dialogue and mediation processes were possible because not all the settlers at the

Zongo took part in the conflict. Ethnic groups such as Loso and Kable people did not take part in the conflict. (5th November, 2023).

This study revealed other ethnic groups that did not participate in the conflict which was a good communal spirit of the people, would do everything to maintain peace in society. Supporting this submission, HZ3 participant said the she was part of the Commission of Enquiry to identify some of the causes of the conflict and make recommendations. During an interview, she shared his experiences:

The commission comprised both the indigenes of Gbi, the Hohoe-Zongo settlers market women, chiefs, queens, members of the Municipal Assembly and government official with a High Court Judge as the Chairman. We used about six months to finish our assignment, presented our findings to the government but since then no white paper has been issued by the government which left all of us in a suspense. I was part of the commission so; I can't go beyond this. At the same time the dialogue and mediation were also going on. (6th November, 2023).

These experiences from the interviews demonstrated that commission of enquiries could do their work on time, present their finding to the government but if the government of the day does not show any interest in the case the government would not issue white paper on it which would let the general public know about the findings.

On the issue of constitution of the committee and how long it took the committee to do the work, ES participant said that all stakeholders formed the committee and it took about four years to complete the assignment. During an interview he mentioned them as:

Ghana Education Service, market queens, youth associations and the government appointees as well as assembly members were part of the dialogue committee whose work had brought about the sustainable peace in the area. It took us three to four years to get to any meaningful understanding during the dialogue. Drinks were used to perform libation prayers and rums slaughtered to appease the divinities and the worthy ancestors of the Gbi land not to be angry with the people for the conflict that occurred since that was the first-time conflict of such a magnitude had occurred on Gbi land. Apart from the dialogue and mediation that were used, both sides of the communities continue to talk to their youths, especially to desist from any activities that would jeopardise the peace we are enjoying. (6th November, 2023).

From this study it was found out that using dialogue to resolve conflict between two communities can take such a long time due to individual differences and group interests. The study also revealed that in this type of conflict situation, the dominant group who are also the custodians of the land would not be willing to go to the mediation table arguing that the settlers did not deserve any sympathy from them due to the sacrilegious act committed against them by attacking them. When finally, the indigenes go to the mediation table, drinks were used to perform libation and a rum slaughtered to appease the divinities of the land and asked them not to be angry with the people.

On the issue of sustaining the current peace they are enjoying, most participant said that they are educating their people especially the youths to tolerate one another's view and desist from any activities that would lead to conflict. This study again, revealed that the two communities have put a stop to

any football matches between the youths of the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers to avoid confrontations leading to future conflict. It is however, revealed that a man from Gbi-Bla who established a Football Club engaged both the youths of the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers. The man established a nursery project as a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) where he employed both the youths of Gbi and Zongo settlers.

From the interviews and quotations, it is clear that both the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers are making every effort to sustain the peace they are currently enjoying. This study supports the position of Galtung (1996)'s model of conflict, violence and peace theory that structures result into conflict due to social institutions that have been established in enforcing certain laws. During this law enforcement, hostility may develop and affect inter-personal relationship that could lead to indigene-settler conflict. Galtung added that using mechanisms to sustain this type of conflict would require careful study of root causes so as to reverse the process that would change people's attitudes, behaviours and perceptions about each other and the beliefs built in the social structures.

This is because primordialist maintains that there exists some primordial quality to ethnic identity which means that the distinction between people assumes behaviours that are deeply rooted in the past. Ethnicity is the basic form of group identity that consists of already made set of endowments and identifications. Right from birth, every individual shares this identity with others by the chance of the family into which the person is born (Croucher 2004). The assumption is that ethnic identity is located in common descent

which is established through narratives of origin and migration especially those suffering at the hands of others (Tonah, 2007).

Chapter Summary

This study found out that the ban of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers by the Gbi Traditional Council not to bury their dead bodies based on identity and ethnicity was a root cause of the indigene-settler conflict between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers. Other were historical antecedence of violent impunity of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers against the indigenes of Gbi, hegemony and ownership and social relationship.

This study again revealed that the conflict brought hardship to people so much so that some had to leave Hohoe all together to other towns to continue with their business ventures. The Hohoe Zongo settlers have to spent not only money to buy new land for burial purposes but also fuel the AMBULANCE and travel for fifteen kilometres to bury the dead. Even though there is some improvement in the current interpersonal relations comments by the youths from both communities have the potential to jeopardise the interpersonal relations.

Finally, the peace was being sustained as a result of the personalities involved in the dialogue and mediation processes that brought the situation this far. To sustain the peace all activities that are competitive like football matches had been suspended permanently by the two communities. As a result of an improvement in social relations between the two communities' invitations are being honoured to attend social gatherings such as marriage, festivals and funerals.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The purpose of the study was to evaluate the indigene-settler conflict between the Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers. To achieve this purpose, the study specifically examined the root causes of the conflict between the Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers and analysed the effects of the conflict on socio-economic activities in the area. The study also ascertained the current interpersonal relationship between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers and suggest solutions for sustainable peace in the area. In-depth interview guide and unstructured observation guides were used to solicit information from the participants. Purposive sampling and snowballing techniques were used to get the participants.

Key Findings

The following were the findings:

There was historical antecedence of violence of impunity against the indigenes of Gbi by the Hohoe-Zongo settlers dating back to 1930. This violence of impunity took place in 1930, 1949 where a Fulani man killed a number of school pupils and 2012 conflict where three people lost their lives, several stores burnt down and other properties worth millions of Ghana cedis were destroyed. So, in 82 years, there has been three violent conflict attack on the indigenes of Gbi by the Hohoe-Zongo settlers. The gross disrespect for the indigenes of Gbi and the stool of Gbi State led to the first attack. While the Hohoe-Zongo settlers are always violent towards the indigenes of Gbi, all other six settler communities on Gbi land lived in peace with the indigenes of Gbi

since they are not independent geographically to take any decision in relation to the use of the land on their own.

The study further revealed that identity and ethnicity issues between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers caused the conflict. As the indigenes of Gbi wanted to be recognised as the owners of the land, Hohoe-Zongo settlers wanted to be identify as the owners of part of the Zongo community especially the parts of the Zongo where they had bought the land from the indigenes of Gbi. Therefore, the indigene-settlers conflict between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers was identity-driven since people who identified themselves with a particular ethnic group feel more important over the other.

Hegemony and ownership were also identified as the cause of the conflict. The indigenes who were the custodians of the land seemed to have political and traditional power over the Hohoe-Zongo settlers in spite of the fact that most of the land on which the Zongo community is located has been bought by the Hohoe-Zongo settlers. This is because the Zongo settlers have not been granted any geographical independence but are under the authority of Togbe Buamah of Gbi-Bla, their traditional landlord. The study revealed that none of the six other settler communities on the Gbi land is geographically independence. The indigenes of Gbi are the owners of the land and they remain the owners, even if the Hohoe-Zongo settlers had bought it from them since the Gbi people hold the allodial title to the land.

The study further revealed that there was persistent breakdown in social relationship between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers based on identity and ethnicity. That was so because there was misunderstanding between the youths, especially when the two engaged in a friendly football match which

ended inconclusively by insulting each other or using offensive weapons such as stone, knife, machet and the like to attack each other. That was aggravated by issues surrounding the death of Malik Magid and subsequent ban on the Hohoe-Zongo settlers from burying their dead bodies at the Hohoe public cemetery by the Gbi Traditional Council and the subsequent exhumation of the late Zongo Chief Imam, Alhaji Alhassan which was damped on the Hohoe-Jasikan road.

Concerning the second objective, the study revealed that there were no business activities during the conflict not only because there was total breakdown in social relations between the two communities but also the very stores containing the goods were burnt down. There was so much mistrust for one another that nobody was prepared to patronise anybody's goods and services.

The study revealed that drivers from the Hohoe-Zongo settlers were warned by the indigenes of Gbi not to step feet at the lorry station to do any business. The market women from the Zongo settlement were equally warned not to come to the Hohoe market. Women were so affected by the conflict that, they had to run away to neighbouring towns since they could not go to the market or farm for food before preparing food for the family which became practically impossible.

Current interpersonal relationship between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers was the third objective. The study revealed that interpersonal relations between the two communities were coming back gradually. This is because both communities now extend invitations to each

other which is honoured without any fear of being attacked and no security is invited to protect any party when honouring such imitations.

The study showed that all security personnel deployed during the conflict have been evacuated to their camps and barracks. Women who had run away to neighbouring towns have come back and doing brisk business moving in the territory of the indigenes of Gbi without fear of being attacked. Togbega Gabusu VI's residence which was burnt down during the conflict had been renovated through local government effects while some of the stores of the settlers had been renovated by an International Non-Governmental Organisation bringing business back to life. Other indicators that interpersonal relation was becoming cordial were daily greetings, attending association meetings, attending Municipal Assembly meetings and attending social events such as marriage, naming and funeral ceremonies.

The study showed that to consolidate this interpersonal relation between them, the Hohoe-Zongo settlers had gone to buy land at Liatu Toganu purposely for burial. An AMBULANCE had been procured by one of their sons who was a Medical Doctor abroad for that purpose since the burial ban on Gbi land had not been lifted. Another one was also donated to the Zongo community by Hon. John-Peter Amewu the MP for Hohoe Constituency.

Suggestions for sustainable peace in the area was the fourth objective that was dealt with by this study. Many institutions and individuals played various roles in managing the conflict in the area. Apart from the Enquiry Commission established to find facts, another committee was established that used both dialogue and mediation to bring the situation to the current level of peace that both communities are enjoying. The body of the exhumed Chief

Imam was reburied near the Hohoe-Zongo Mosque. Other elderly Zongo leaders were permitted by the landlord, Bla chief, to be buried near the same Mosque as a sign of sustaining the peace.

Conclusions

The study sought to examine the root causes of the indigene-settler conflict between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers, analyse the effect on socio-economic activities, ascertain the current interpersonal relations between the two communities and suggest some mechanisms for sustainable peace in the area. Historical antecedence of violence by the Hohoe-Zongo settlers against the indigenes of Gbi was one of the main causes of the conflict at Hohoe. In this case, the Hohoe-Zongo settlers were very confident that they could attack the indigenes of Gbi without any retaliation. That confidence from the previous attacks made the Zongo settlers saw themselves as practically superior group over the indigenes of Gbi.

The issue of identity and ethnicity also came up from the research findings as the root causes of the conflict. Indigene-settler conflict is mostly identity-driven in the sense that people turn to identify themselves with a particular group of people who appears to be better than the other. Here, they created the “we and them” phenomenon where each of the conflicting parties saw themselves as having unique identities which was different from the other based on their ethnicity. This influenced their attitudes and behaviours towards each other leading to the exhumation of the body of the late Chief Imam which sparked the indigene-settler conflict at Hohoe.

Again, the study concluded that hegemony and ownership were identified as causes of the conflict. This is because the indigenes who were the

land owners and custodians of the land had more political and traditional powers over the Hohoe-Zongo settlers which the settlers were not comfortable with and wanted their independence. That led to political power struggle between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers which eventually led to persistent breakdown in social relationship that caused the conflict.

As a result of the conflict, Hohoe has lost its status as the commercial hub of the Volta Region. Business activities had dwindled due to the conflict between the two communities leading to loss of trust to patronise each other's goods. People have permanently relocated to other-to-other towns and there was loss of lives and properties. According to the study, it is when the two communities began to honour invitations from both sides without any security protection that confidence and trust would be reposed in each other to do business together as usual. It finally posits that to consolidate the current peace that the two communities are enjoying, there should be the use of Alternative Dispute Resolutions mechanism to deal with any misunderstanding that comes up between them in future.

Recommendations

In relation to the main findings of the study, the following recommendations have been made for the consideration of all stakeholders, policy makers and the academia who are concerned about sustainable peace in the area.

Since historical antecedence of impunity of violence by the Hohoe-Zongo settlers against the indigenes of Gbi was identified as a cause of the conflict, the study recommends that stakeholders should join hands in educating the two communities on the issues of tolerance, peaceful coexistence,

irrespective of their identity and ethnicity. This community-level education on the underlying issues should be done by National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) in collaboration with the Volta Regional Peace Council at town hall meetings, market places, religious gatherings, educational institutions and any other public place. It can also take the form of workshop where discussions would include the importance of tolerance, and peaceful coexistence as against violent conflict to address differences. Imams at the Hohoe-Zongo can equally educate the people especially the youth on Fridays at the Mosque which should cover tolerance and peaceful coexistence while the Traditional Authorities do same on any available occasions such as festival, marriage ceremonies and funerals. Again, the government could make it a policy by introducing peace education in the curriculum so that children and the youth will be equipped with the knowledge and skills which will bring about better understanding of peace in the society.

The issues of hegemony and ownership can be addressed by the two communities through mutual agreement on the ownership and use of the land in accordance with the laws of Ghana in relation to the use of land. The Hohoe Municipal Assembly by-laws on the use of land within the municipality may also be of great use regarding the use of the Gbi land and if both parties respect such laws, it will put the land ownership matter to rest.

Again, the study recommends that the Gbi Traditional Council should be circumspect in exercising their traditional authority and powers not to infringe upon the fundamental human right of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers. This is because the Constitution of Ghana allows freedom of the citizens living anywhere in Ghana to engage in any legal business and own properties. As

declared by the United Nations General Assembly on the 10th December, 1948 that “every human being is born free and equal in dignity and of right” the indigenes of Gbi need to respect the dignity and right of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers as well. This will improve the social relations between the two communities tremendously.

Besides, the study recommends that the regalia that was stolen or burnt at the residence of Togbega Gabusu VI during the conflict should be purchase by the Hohoe-Zongo settlers to reduce the animosity the Gbi youth have against the youth of Hohoe-Zongo settlers. By so doing the Gbi Traditional Council may lift the ban on burying of Hohoe-Zongo settlers on Gbi land which is a common natural resource to the two communities.

Since Hohoe-Zongo settlers were banned from burying at the Hohoe public cemetery by the Gbi Traditional Council which was one of the causes of the conflict, it is recommended that the Hohoe Municipal Assembly should be in charge of the public cemetery so that no particular ethnic group can claim ownership of it and ban the other from using it. This will eliminate the elements of ethnic discrimination and stereotyping to enhance peaceful coexistence between the two communities.

Moreover, it is recommended that the government should make it a policy to establish State Farm within the Hohoe Municipality to enable the teaming unemployed youths to be engaged so that they can dissipate their excess energy in working on the farm rather than idling about. This will even foster goodwill, cooperation and collaboration among the youths of the indigenes of Gbi and the Hohoe-Zongo settlers since all of them will be working together at the farm and this will eventually bring back the lost economic hub of Hohoe in

the Volta Region to its status since the farm produce will boost socio-economic activities in the area.

Not only these, but also, entertainment centres can be built by the government or even individual through private sector development to enable the youths who want to engage in entertainment activities can do so. This can be in a form of a Theatre which should be called Hohoe Municipal Theatre for all aspects of cultural activities and performances. This will bring about youth integration of the two communities to see themselves as one people working towards a common goal.

Inter-marriage should be encouraged by the two communities as they used to do before the conflict. This will bring some level of trust between the two parties. During such ceremonies, religious leaders should use the occasion to preach about the usefulness to live together in peace by tolerating each other. Their preaching should focus more on tolerance, reconciliation, forgiveness and trust-building among themselves. The security personnel at Hohoe can also use such occasions to talk to the people of the two communities about trust and cooperation to improve the trust that both the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers have for the security. This will let the people repose confidence and trust in them so as to work together.

Finally, it is recommended that another theory should be looked at which will deal with the maintenance and sustenance of peace so that conflict does not occur at all in society before looking for ways to resolve it. This is because all the three theories reviewed supported conflict in one way or the other which is not good enough for the society.

Suggestions for Further Research

Further studies could be carried out among others, to ascertain the current interpersonal relationship between the indigenes of Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers since it takes a longer time for the enemy images created in the minds of the youths to be totally erased for interpersonal relationship to be fully appreciated by the two communities.

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APPENDICES**APPENDIX A****INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR GBI CHIEFS AND HOHOE-ZONGO****OPINION LEADERS****SECTION A: Root causes of the indigene-settler conflict**

1. How long have you been living in this community?
2. What position do you hold in the community?
3. How did people of your community come to settle in this area?
4. Which year did people of your community settle in the area?
5. What were the warning signs that there could be possible conflict?
6. What brief background can you give to the conflict?
7. Which year did the conflict occur?
8. How long did it last? (Days, weeks, months, years).
9. Has there ever been any conflict between the two communities?
- 11a. If yes, what triggered that conflict?
- 11b. If no (Move on).
12. Have you personally witnessed the current conflict?
13. What role did you play in the conflict?
14. Was the conflict violent or non-violent (Probe for the intensity of the conflict)
15. What was the conflict about? (Land, identity, power, recognition, authority, independence, other reasons).

16. Which categories of people were engaged in the conflict? (Men, women, both, youth, old, leaders of the communities).
17. Aside the two communities, which other group of people were engaged in the conflict? (Probe to find the various stakeholders of the conflict).
18. Why do you think people engage themselves in conflict?
 - a. they feel discriminated against
 - b. they feel marginalised
 - c. they profit from conflict
 - d. they have been marginalised
 - e. they are naturally aggressive
 - f. they want to protect their identity
 - g. past history that led to the development of negative stereotype
 - h. other reasons.
19. How did the conflict end?

SECTION B: Effects of the conflict on socio-economic activities

20. Which month of the year did the conflict occur?
21. How were you able to go to the farm to work or for foodstuff?
22. How were you able to go to the market to sell or buy any item?
23. Which group of people were most affected by the conflict? (Men, women, children, youth, elderly people, others).
24. In what ways were people affected in your community?
25. How were children able to attend school?
26. How many people lost their lives and by which means?
27. Which community recorded higher casualties and why?
28. How many were injured in your estimation?
29. How many people were displaced and where did they seek refuge?
30. In your estimation, how did the conflict affect socio-economic activities of the area in general?

SECTION C: Current interpersonal relationship

31. How were interpersonal relations between the two communities before the conflict?

32. How will you describe the current relations, cordial or hostile?
33. How often are you invited for any programme after the conflict by the other community?
34. Do you accept the invitation or reject it and why?
35. How do you think the cordial relationship that existed between the two communities before the conflict could be restored?
36. Have the displaced people returned to their communities?
37. If yes, when and if no, what efforts have you been making to bring them back?
38. Which Board, Council or Committee do people of the two community serve on?

SECTION D: Sustainable peace mechanisms

39. How did the conflict end?
40. Who were involved in managing the conflict?
41. What action was taken against the perpetrators of the conflict?
42. How were the destroyed properties renovated and by who?
43. What role did you play in the sustainable peace in the area?
44. Which sustainable peace mechanisms were used and why?
45. What was the outcome of the peace process?
46. How long did the peace process last?
47. How did your community accept the outcome?
48. What efforts will you put in place to prevent future occurrence?
49. How were the youth and women involving in the peace process?
50. How best do you think the conflict could have been resolved to bring about sustainable peace in the area?
51. What are the indicators that there is peace between the two communities?
52. What are your suggestions as how future conflict can be prevented for sustainable peace in the area?

Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SECURITY HEADS, HOHOE

MUNICIPALITY

SECTION A: Root causes of indigene-settler conflict

- 1 How long have you been living in this community?
2. What position do you hold in the community?
- 3 What was the relationship between your outfit and the two communities?
4. How often did you receive complain from either side about any misunderstanding?
5. What were the warning signs that there could be possible conflict?
1. What brief background can you give to the conflict?
2. Which year did the conflict occur?
9. How long did it last? (Days, weeks, months, years).
10. Has there ever been any conflict between the two communities?
- 11a. If yes, what triggered that conflict?
- 11b. If no (Move on).
12. Have you personally witnessed the current conflict?
13. What role did you play in the conflict?
14. Was the conflict violent or non-violent (Probe for the intensity of the conflict)
15. What was the conflict about? (Land, identity, power, recognition, authority, independence, other reasons).
16. Which categories of people engaged in the conflict? (Men, women, both, youth, old, leaders of the communities).
17. Aside the two communities, which other group of people were engaged in the conflict? (Probe to find the various stakeholders of the conflict).
18. Why do you think people engage themselves in conflict?
 - a. they feel discriminated against
 - b. they feel marginalised
 - c. they profit from conflict
 - d. they need something
 - e. they are naturally aggressive
 - f. they want to protect their identity
 - g. past history that led to the development of negative stereotype
 - h. other reasons.
- 19 How did you hear of the conflict?

20 At what point in time did the security come to maintain law and order in the area?

21 Was there any reinforcement from the regional command or your men were able to handle the situation?

22 How many of your men were engaged?

23 How many casualties did you record and why?

24. How did the conflict end?

SECTION B: Effects of the conflict on socio-economic activities

26. Which month of the year did the conflict occur?

27. How were people able to go to the market to sell or buy any item?

28. Which group of people were most affected during the conflict? (Men, women, children, youth, elderly people, others).

29. How were the other residents who were not party to the conflict affect?

30. How were they able to go about their business activities?

31. How many people lost their lives and by which means?

32. Which community recorded higher casualties and why?

33. How many were injured?

34. How many people were displaced and where did they seek refuge?

35. In your estimation, how did the conflict affect socio-economic activities of the area in general?

SECTION C: Current interpersonal relationship

36. How is the current relationship between the two communities?

37. How will you describe it, cordial or hostile?

38. How often do they invite each other for any programme after the conflict?

39 How often do you sent your men to their program?

40. How do you think the cordial relationship that existed between the two communities before the conflict can be restored?

41. Have the displaced people returned to their communities?

42. If yes, when and if no, what efforts are you making to bring them back?

43. How is the current atmosphere in the area?

SECTION D: Sustainable Peace Mechanisms

44. How was the conflict curbed?

45. Who were involved in managing the conflict?

46. What action was taken against the perpetrators of the conflict?

47. How were the destroyed properties renovated and by who?

48. What role did you play in the maintenance of peace in the area?

49. How did you play that role?

50. What was the outcome of the intervention?

51. How did the two parties accept the outcome?

52. How long did the resolution process last?

53. Which form of resolution mechanism was used so as to prevent future conflict?

54. Which group of people took part in the conflict resolution?

55. How best do you think the conflict could have been resolved to bring about sustainable peace in the area?

56. What are the indicators that there is peace between the two communities?

57. What are your suggestions as how future conflict can be prevented for sustainable peace in the area?

Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR HOHOE GOVERNMENT HOSPITAL

STAFF

SECTION A: Root causes of the indigene-settler conflict

- 1 How long have you been living in this community?
- 2 What positions do you hold in the community?
- 3 How do you attend to the people brought to your outfit from the two communities?
- 4 Why do they become aggressive sometime to the point of attaching your staff?
- 5 How do you handle people who were aggressive at the hospital?
- 6 How do you respond to people of the Gbi community when they are brought on emergency?
- 7 How often do they attack your staff?
- 8 What were the possible warning signs that there could be conflict between the two communities?
- 9 In your own view, what were the root causes of the conflict?
- 10 Which year and month did the conflict occur?
- 11 How long did it last? (Days, weeks, months, years).
- 12 Has there ever been any conflict between the two communities, if yes, which year?
 - 11a. If yes, what triggered that conflict?
 - 11b. If no (Move on).
12. Have you personally witnessed the conflict?
13. What role did you play in the conflict?
14. Was the conflict violent or non-violent (Probe for the intensity of the conflict)
15. What was the conflict about? (Land, identity, power, recognition, authority, independence, other reasons).
16. Which categories of people were engaged in the conflict? (Men, women, both, youth, old, leaders of the communities).
17. Aside the two communities, which other group of people were engaged in the conflict? (Probe to find the various stakeholders of the conflict).

18. Why do you think people engage themselves in conflict?
 - a. they feel discriminated against
 - b. they feel marginalised
 - c. they profit from conflict
 - d. they need power and authority
 - e. they are naturally aggressive
 - f. they want to protect their identity
 - g. past history that led to the development of negative stereotype
 - h. other reasons.
19. Per your estimation, how many victims were brought to your outfit?
20. How did the conflict end?

SECTION B: Effects of the conflict on socio-economic activities

20. Which time of the year did the conflict occur?
21. Apart from the two communities, which other people were affected by the conflict?
22. How were you able to go to work during the conflict?
23. Were you given security protection in any form and why?
24. Which group of people were affected more during the conflict? (Men, women, children, youth, elderly people, others).
25. In which way were the people affected were people affected?
26. How did the conflict affect your work and that of your staff?
27. How many people lost their lives and by which means?
28. Which community recorded higher casualties and why?
29. How many were injured?
30. In your view, how did the conflict affect socio-economic activities of the area?

SECTION C: Current interpersonal relationship

31. How are the current interpersonal relationship between the two communities?
32. How will you describe it, cordial or hostile?
33. How often are you invited for any programme after the conflict by any of the community?
34. Do you accept the invitation or reject it and why?
35. How do you think the cordial relationship that existed between the two communities before the conflict can be restored?
36. What advice do you give them if you have the opportunity?
37. How is the current atmosphere in the area?

SECTION D: Sustainable Peace Mechanism

39. How did the conflict end?
40. Who were involved in managing the conflict?
41. What action was taken against the perpetrators of the conflict?
42. How were the destroyed properties renovated or bought and by who?
43. What role did you play in the sustainable peace in the area?
44. How did you play that role?
45. Which state institution intervene in the conflict and how?
46. What was the outcome of the intervention?
46. How did the two parties accept the outcome?

47. How long did the sustainable peace process last?
 48. Which form of sustainable peace mechanisms were used so as to prevent future conflict?
 49. Which group of people took part in the sustainable peace process?
 50. How best do you think the conflict could have been resolved to bring about sustainable peace in the area?
 51. What are the indicators that there is peace between the two communities?
 52. What are your suggestions as how future conflict can be prevented for sustainable peace in the area?
- Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE VOLTA REGIONAL PEACE COUNCIL

SECTION A: Root causes of the conflict

- 1 How did you hear of the conflict between the Gbi and Hohoe-Zongo settlers?
- 2 How long did it take you to respond to the conflict situation?
- 3 What was the first thing that your outfit did to prevent the conflict?
- 4 How did you get the two communities to talk to them?
- 5 Which warning signs did you pick on the ground before the conflict?
- 6 What brief background can you give to the conflict?
- 7 Which year and month did the conflict occur?
- 8 How long did it last? (Days, weeks, months, years).
- 9 Has there ever been any conflict between the two communities?
 - 11a. If yes, what triggered that conflict?
 - 11b. If no (Move on).
 12. Have you personally witnessed the current conflict?
 13. What role did you play in the conflict?
 14. Was the conflict violent or non-violent (Probe for the intensity of the conflict)
 15. What was the conflict about? (Land, identity, power, recognition, authority, independence, other reasons).
 16. Which categories of people were engaged in the conflict? (Men, women, both, youth, old, leaders of the communities).
 17. Aside the two communities, which other group of people were engaged in the conflict? (Probe to find the various stakeholders of the conflict).
 18. Why do you think people engage themselves in conflict?
 - a. they feel discriminated against
 - b. they feel marginalised
 - c. they profit from conflict
 - d. they need recognition
 - e. they are naturally aggressive
 - f. they want to protect their identity
 - g. past history that led to the development of negative stereotype
 - h. other reasons.
 19. How did the conflict end?

SECTION B: Effects of the conflict on socio-economic activities

20. Which time of the year did the conflict occur?
21. How were you able to get to the conflicting communities?
22. How were the people able to carry out their daily activities?
23. Which group of people were affected more during the conflict? (Men, women, children, youth, elderly people, others).
24. How were other people affected?
25. How was the atmosphere during the conflict?
26. How many people lost their lives and by which means?
27. Which community recorded higher casualties and why?
28. How many were injured?
29. How many people were displaced and where did they seek refuge?
30. In your estimation, how did the conflict affect socio-economic activities of the area?

SECTION C: Current interpersonal relationship

31. How is the current relationship between the two communities?
32. How will you describe it, cordial or hostile?
33. How often are you invited for any programme after the conflict by the other community?
34. Do you accept the invitation or reject it and why?
35. How do you think the cordial relationship that existed between the two communities before the conflict can be restored?
36. Have the displaced people returned to their communities?
37. If yes, when and if no, what efforts are you making to bring them back?
38. How is the current atmosphere in the area?

SECTION D: Sustainable Peace Mechanisms

39. How did the conflict end?
40. Who were involved in the sustainable peace process?
41. What action was taken against the perpetrators of the conflict?
42. How were the destroyed properties renovated or bought and by who?
43. How were the victims compensated and by who?
44. What roles did you play in the sustainable peace process?
45. How did you play those roles?
46. Which state institution intervene in the sustainable peace process?
47. What was the outcome of the intervention?
48. How did the two parties accept the outcome?
49. How long did the resolution process last?
50. Which form of sustainable peace mechanisms were used so as to prevent future conflict?
51. Which other group of people took part in the sustainable peace mechanisms?
52. How best do you think the conflict could have been resolved to bring about sustainable peace in the area?
53. What are the indicators that there is peace between the two communities now?

54 How often do you come to interact with the two communities to make sure that there is sustainable peace in the area?

54. What are your suggestions as how future conflict can be prevented for sustainable peace in the area?

55 What measures do you think policy makers should put in place as a means of sustaining the peace in the area?

Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX E

OBSERVATION GUIDE (NON-ANALYTICAL)

This guide was used to observe:

1. The state of the market at Hohoe after the conflict
2. The state of the burnt stores of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers
3. The state of the main lorry station where drivers load their vehicles
4. The state of the residence of Togbega Gabusu V and the burnt vehicles
5. The state of the new burial ground of the Hohoe-Zongo settlers at Liati Torganu
6. Women from the Hohoe-Zongo carrying their wares selling from house to house in the area of the indigenes of Gbi.
7. The interpersonal relationship between Hohoe-Zongo settlers and the indigenes of Gbi during marriage ceremonies, funeral services and annual festival celebrations

THE END.