

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

PEACE PROCESSES IN ALAVANYO AND NKONYA AREA



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**A THESIS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION,
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DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

I, LINDA BEDZRA, do clearly state that with the exception of references to other works which I have duly acknowledged, I hereby declare that this work is the result of my own research and that neither in whole nor in part, has this work been presented for the award of another degree elsewhere.

SIGNATURE:

DATE:

SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I certify that the preparation of this thesis was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

SUPERVISOR'S NAME: VINCENT ADZ AHLIE-MENSAH (PhD)

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DATE:

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the glory of God Almighty, the giver of Life and the influence to achieve deeper understanding of events in space and time.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CC	:	Consultative Committee
CDPBT	:	Catholic Diocesan Peace Building Team
CPS	:	Community Peace Setters
DPBT	:	Diocesan Peace Building Team
GSS	:	Ghana Statistical Service
MC	:	Mediation Committee
PHC	:	Population and Housing Census
VRCC	:	Volta Regional Coordinating Council
WANEP	:	West African Network for Peace



ABSTRACT

This thesis explored the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. The main objectives were to examine the nature of the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area; the actors in the peace process; the conditions militating against the peace process and the measures that are needed to achieve a positive peace in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area. The thesis employed Saunders' (1999) Public Peace Process and multi-track diplomacy approach as a theoretical framework to understand how various professional and community groups are involved in the peace process. The data were collected primarily through qualitative methods; observation and interviews. In all, a total of 15 interviews were conducted with people distinctly involved in the peace building process using the Snowball and purposive sampling techniques. The data were analyzed using thematic analysis. From the analysis, the study found that the peace process has a checkered history beginning from local peace setters taking the initiative through the traditional and formal courts. Later it became a public process involving track one actors (Formal State agencies - Commissions, Committees, the District Assembly and the Regional Coordinating Council), and several civil society and community groups including professional mediators, faith-based organizations, youth and women groups. The principal conditions militating against the peace building process in the conflict area were identified to be peddling of rumours which created new escalations, inadequate funds and logistics for convening committee meetings and workshops, interference from conflict beneficiaries, ethnic and political interference from various actors. The study concludes that community ownership of the peace building process is the key principle that can support the building of a positive peace.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the entire research. It presents the Background to the Study, Statement of the Research Problem, justification of the research and the Research Objectives. It also presents the Significance of the Study, Limitations, Delimitations and Organization of the Study.

1.1 Background to the Study

The study of peace processes seems to be gaining grounds in scholarship worldwide on the grounds that peace processes are very vital to establishing permanent armistice. Arguments are provided to the effect that peace processes provide key opportunities for major reforms that transform institutions, structures, and relationships in societies affected by conflict or crises (Brewer, 2010; O'Reilly, Súilleabháin, and Paffenholz, 2015).

Over the years, discussions of peace processes have highlighted an analytical category - post-violence society, where peace processes occur (Brewer, 2010; Irrera, 2011). Within that thinking, analysis of peace processes are centered on post-violence societies in which peace settlements have been reached through a negotiated compromise (Brewer, 2010; Plowright, 2013). In those configurations, studies have highlighted the roles of social cleavages which persist through a negotiated settlement, and the manner in which they must be addressed in order to seek long-term peace (Plowright, 2013; Irrera, 2011).

However, Brewer (2010) explained that contemporary peace processes are dominated by political concerns of good governance, which cannot address the bottom-up needs of individuals in post-violence societies. At the practical level, the discussions present arguments that peace processes should have a top-down and bottom-up approach; they should take into account local, national and international levels; they need to consider political and social issues, but above all they should be extremely inclusive (Irrera, 2011). The practical discussions provide space for analysis that centered on issues of gender, emotions, as well as memory and 'truth' recovery (Saunders, 1999; Brewer, 2010).

Analyses have drawn a distinction between the political and social dimensions of peace processes, arguing that each is dependent on the other. Conventional approaches that emphasize institutional reform in politics, law and economics are discussed in concatenation with attention to sociological factors and the positive impact of global civil society on peace processes. Recent studies identified the new forms of peace work engendered by globalization and highlights the importance of sociological considerations such as rumours, gender, civil society, religion, restorative justice social memory and public victimhood (Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007; Brewer, 2010; O'Reilly et al., 2015).

In Ghana, peace processes have become a fact of life following the establishment of the National Peace Council. The nation hosts many post-conflict communities dotted all over the country. Some notable post conflict communities include Bawku (Upper East Region), Yendi (Northern Region), Akropong-Akuapim (Eastern Region) and Abiriw (Brong Ahafo), Juaso (Ashanti Region), Nkonya and Alavanyo (Volta Region) and Winneba in the Central Region (Mahama, 2003; Tonah,

2007; Tsikata & Seini, 2004; Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007). A common feature of these conflicts is that most of them seemed intractable. However, the recent resolution of the Nkonya- Alavanyo conflict brought new hopes and investments that require analysis to understand the peace processes that have been initiated, and are ongoing to secure permanent armistice. This research primarily focused on analysis of peace processes in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area given that the conflict there had been so intractable and recurs sporadically in unprecedented ways (Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007). It explores the peace processes in terms of activities that are being undertaken, the dynamics that are being considered and the actors involved (with a focus on inclusion and the prospects for the establishment of permanent and positive peace). The central consideration is to add substantially to what we know now about the theory and practices that are aimed at securing peace and stability in Ghana and beyond.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Available literature on Alavanyo-Nkonya area shows that it has a long history of conflict that recurs sporadically with devastating outcomes such as deaths, and loss of economic activity. However, reports over the last decade extolled successful resolution of the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict which was one of Ghana's most intractable despite several resolution efforts in the past (see Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007). Given recent success of resolution efforts reported in the last decade, it is important to examine the peace process that has been initiated to prevent resurgence of the conflict and to achieve armistice. What is the nature of the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area? Who are the actors in the peace process? What conditions militate against the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area? What

measures are needed to achieve a positive peace in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area?

1.3 Justification for the Research

Ghana and most of West Africa have been plagued by internal conflicts year after year. The cost of these conflicts in Ghana in terms of loss of human lives and destruction of property is beyond measure. Strategies have been considered for the development of national peace process and infrastructure to coordinate and help minimize internal conflicts over the years. Therefore this research provides important analysis that can inform peace initiatives in Ghana, and the sub region. This research provides insight into peace processes in Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict and the analysis of the on-going peace process. As such the findings have importance for theorists and practitioners who are interested in learning about peace processes.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of the research was to analyze the peace processes in Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The objectives that guided the study were to:

1. examine the nature of the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area.
2. find out the actors in the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area.
3. analyze the conditions militating against the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area.
4. examine the measures that are needed to achieve a positive peace in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area

1.6 Research Questions

The following research questions were derived from the objectives.

1. What is the nature of the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area?
2. Who are the actors in the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area?
3. What conditions militate against the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area?
4. What measures are needed to achieve a positive peace in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area?

1.7 Significance of the Study

Understanding the nature of peace processes in conflict communities provide useful insights into peace building organisations, policy makers and security operators in Ghana. The study has important messages for helping peace building organisations, policy makers and security operators to understand factors that require attention to build peace in the area. Understanding the nature of peace processes in conflicts provides peace makers and related professionals like conflict resolution experts with a basic tool for addressing the essential forces that shape the development of individuals and social entities.

This study provides stakeholders and ethnic leadership with knowledge of the dynamics of peace processes and the policy options for effective peace building. The acknowledgement of such peace processes will help stakeholders to put preventive measures in place to enhance the process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict zone.

The study has the potential to prompt more research in the area. It will contribute to the literature related to ethnic conflicts and serve as a reference for both public and private organisations interested in dynamics of peace processes. This

knowledge to be generated from this study may lead to several policy initiatives that may be contributory to the attainment of the goals guiding more peaceful society in Ghana and beyond.

1.8 Delimitation of the Study

The scope of the study is the peace processes in conflicts and how they are handled in ethnic conflicts. The study is confined to the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict zone which is in the Volta Region of Ghana. The study population is limited to only members and organisations which have been involved in the peace processes in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict. The study was conducted as a qualitative research where Alavanyo-Nkonya was taken as a case study.

1.9 Organization of the Study

The study is organized into six (6) chapters. Chapter One discussed the Background to the Study, the Statement of Problem for the research, Research Objectives, Research Questions, Significance of the Study, Delimitation of the Study, Organization of the Study, Limitation, and Definition of Terms. Chapter Two deals with the Literature Review as it relates to the study. The theoretical base of this study is provided in this chapter. The chapter discussed themes relating to the research questions that guided the study. Chapter Three focused on the Methodology which was used in the data collection and how data was analyzed. It also involved the Research Design, Population, Sample and sampling technique, instruments, validity and reliability, ethical considerations and a thorough description of the data collection process. Chapter Four has the presentation of data collected. The presentation was guided by the research question. The first section examined the nature of the peace process in the Alavanyo- Nkonya area. The second identified who were the actors in

the peace process. The third section looked out for conditions that militated against the peace process. And finally, the fourth identified the measures that are needed to achieve positive peace in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. Chapter Five discussed the main findings of the research based on the research questions that the study explored. The discussion was done with reference to the Literature Review and the theoretical framework that informed the study. Chapter Six (6) sums up the findings and presents the conclusions. It also outlined policy recommendations emerging from the findings of the research. Finally, the chapter outlines areas for further research on Alavanyo-Nkonya area.

1.1.0 The limitation of the Study

This research was not without limitations. First, there were some contradictions in the data. There has been very little study into peace processes in Ghana. Books have not been written on the Nkonya-Alavanyo peace process except for publications in the local media. The researcher had to rely on international publications for literature review, particularly in the area of theories and perspectives on peace. Therefore, the relevant materials (about the Alavanyo-Nkonya peace process) used for the study were mainly unpublished.

Travels and accommodation related issues posed serious limitations. The researcher had to travel several times and these travels took a lot of time and money. Besides, there were no Guest houses or hotel accommodation in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. Since this was not a sponsored research, the financial cost became unbearable, particularly, because hotel bills in Ho, Kpando and Hohoe were exorbitant for a student researcher. Therefore the researcher could not have quality

time (i.e. could not stay long enough) in the communities to observe much of the interactions among the people. As such, telephone interviews were conducted at certain times. This removed the personal contact that could have created a friendlier environment for the collection of quality information through careful probing.

The researcher spent seven week-ends in the two communities which by any standard are enough to observe practices and interview people. A lot was observed during the period and much data was gathered during interactions with community members and participants in the peace process. Yet much could have been achieved if it were possible to be resident in the communities; if more resources were available for more sustained dialogic interactions with participants in the peace process. A major gap in this study is that it did not focus on exploring the roles played by the various actors in the peace process. It concentrated more on the nature of the process, the various actors in the peace process and the conditions that militate against the process.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on peace and peace processes. It is organized under various themes. The first section reviews understandings of peace and peace processes. The second focuses on the nature of peace processes. The third reviews literature on conditions that militate against the peace processes. The final section reviews the measures to achieve positive peace.

2.1 Understanding of Peace and Peace Processes

Maiese (2003) argued that there are two distinct ways to understand peace. First, peace building consists of a wide range of activities associated with capacity building, reconciliation, and societal transformation. Peace building is a long-term process that occurs after violent conflict has slowed down or come to a halt. Thus, it is the phase of the peace process that takes place after peacemaking and peacekeeping. Peace building as an umbrella concept that encompasses not only long-term transformative efforts, but also peacemaking and peacekeeping. In this view, peace building includes early warning and response efforts, violence prevention, advocacy work, civilian and military peacekeeping, military intervention, humanitarian assistance, ceasefire agreements, and the establishment of peace zones.

In this narrower sense, peace building is a process that facilitates the establishment of durable peace and tries to prevent the recurrence of violence by addressing root causes and effects of conflict through reconciliation, institution building, and political as well as economic transformation. (Boutros, 1995) This

consists of a set of physical, social, and structural initiatives that are often an integral part of post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation.

It is generally agreed that the central task of a peace process is to create positive peace, a stable social equilibrium in which the surfacing of new disputes does not escalate into violence and war (Maiese, 2003). Sustainable peace is characterized by the absence of physical and structural violence, the elimination of discrimination, and self-sustainability (Reychler, 2001). Moving towards this sort of environment goes beyond problem solving or conflict management. Peace building initiatives try to fix the core problems that underlie the conflict and change the patterns of interaction of the involved parties (Reychler, 2001). They aim to move a given population from a condition of extreme vulnerability and dependency to one of self-sufficiency and well-being (Laderach, 1997).

A second way to understand peace is to contrast it with the more traditional strategies of peacemaking and peacekeeping. In that conception, peacemaking is understood as the diplomatic effort to end the violence between the conflicting parties, move them towards nonviolent dialogue, and eventually reach a peace agreement. Peacekeeping, on the other hand, is a third-party intervention (often, but not always done by military forces) to assist parties in transitioning from violent conflict to peace by separating the fighting parties and keeping them apart. These peacekeeping operations not only provide security, but also facilitate other non-military initiatives.

The distinctions present a view that peace processes increasingly go beyond outlining cease-fires and dividing territory to incorporate elements that lay the foundations for peace and shape the structures of society (O'Reilly et al., 2015). Some

draw a distinction between post-conflict, peace building and long-term peace building (Brewer, 2010). Post-conflict peace building is connected to peacekeeping, and often involves demobilization and reintegration programs, as well as immediate reconstruction needs (Doyle, 2006). Meeting immediate needs and handling crises is no doubt crucial. But while peacemaking and peacekeeping processes are an important part of peace transitions, they are not enough in and of themselves to meet longer-term needs and build a lasting peace.

Long-term peace building techniques are designed to fill this gap, and to address the underlying substantive issues that brought about conflict. Various transformation techniques aim to move parties away from confrontation and violence, and towards political and economic participation, peaceful relationships, and social harmony (Doyle, 2006).

This longer-term perspective is crucial to future violence prevention and the promotion of a more peaceful future. Thinking about the future involves articulating desirable structural, systemic, and relationship goals. These might include sustainable economic development, self-sufficiency, equitable social structures that meet human needs, and building positive relationships (Laderach, 1977).

Peace building measures also aim to prevent conflict from reemerging. Through the creation of mechanisms that enhance cooperation and dialogue among different identity groups, these measures can help parties manage their conflict of interests through peaceful means. This might include building institutions that provide procedures and mechanisms for effectively handling and resolving conflict. For example, societies can build fair courts, capacities for labor negotiation, systems of civil society reconciliation, and a stable electoral process (Doyle, 2006). Such

designing of new dispute resolution systems is an important part of creating a lasting peace. In short, parties must replace the spiral of violence and destruction with a spiral of peace and development, and create an environment conducive to self-sustaining and durable peace. The creation of such an environment has three central dimensions: addressing the underlying causes of conflict, repairing damaged relationships and dealing with psychological trauma at the individual level.

2.2 Dimensions of Peace Building

The literature presents several dimensions of peace building. Maiese (2003) discussed three main dimensions of peace building, arguing that each of these dimensions relies on different strategies and techniques.

2.2.1 The Structural Dimension: Addressing Root Causes

The structural dimension of peace building focuses on the social conditions that foster violent conflict. Many note that stable peace must be built on social, economic, and political foundations that serve the needs of the populace (Haugerudbraaten, 2001). In many cases, crises arise out of systemic roots. These root causes are typically complex, but include skewed land distribution, environmental degradation, and unequal political representation (Haugerudbraaten, 2001). If these social problems are not addressed, there can be no lasting peace.

Thus, in order to establish durable peace, parties must analyze the structural causes of the conflict and initiate social structural change. The promotion of substantive and procedural justice through structural means typically involves institution building and the strengthening of civil society. Avenues of political and economic transformation include social structural change to remedy political or economic injustice, reconstruction programs designed to help communities ravaged

by conflict revitalize their economies, and the institution of effective and legitimate restorative justice systems. Peace building initiatives aim to promote nonviolent mechanisms that eliminate violence, foster structures that meet basic human needs, and maximize public participation (Laderach, 1977).

To provide fundamental services to its citizens, a state needs strong executive, legislative, and judicial institutions. Many point to democratization as a key way to create these sorts of peace-enhancing structures. Democratization seeks to establish legitimate and stable political institutions and civil liberties that allow for meaningful competition for political power and broad participation in the selection of leaders and policies. It is important for governments to adhere to principles of transparency and predictability, and for laws to be adopted through an open and public process (Kritz, 1996). For the purpose of post-conflict peace building, the democratization process should be part of a comprehensive project to rebuild society's institutions.

Political structural changes focus on political development, state building, and the establishment of effective government institutions. This often involves election reform, judicial reform, power-sharing initiatives, and constitutional reform. It also includes building political parties, creating institutions that provide procedures and mechanisms for effectively handling and resolving conflict, and establishing mechanisms to monitor and protect human rights. Such institution building and infrastructure development typically requires the dismantling, strengthening, or reformation of old institutions in order to make them more effective.

It is crucial to establish and maintain rule of law, and to implement rules and procedures that constrain the powers of all parties and hold them accountable for their actions (Kritz, 1996, p.588). This can help to ease tension, create stability, and lessen

the likelihood of further conflict. For example, an independent judiciary can serve as a forum for the peaceful resolution of disputes and post-war grievances (Kritz, 1996, p.588).

In addition, societies need a system of criminal justice that deters and punishes banditry and acts of violence (Kritz, 1996, p.588) Fair police mechanisms must be established and government officials and members of the police force must be trained to observe basic rights in the execution of their duties. In addition, legislation protecting minorities and laws securing gender equality should be advanced. Courts and police forces must be free of corruption and discrimination.

However, structural change can also be economic. Many note that economic development is integral to preventing future conflict and avoiding a relapse into violence. Economic factors that put societies at risk include lack of employment opportunities, food scarcity, and lack of access to natural resources or land. A variety of social structural changes aim to eliminate the structural violence that arises out of a society's economic system. These economic and social reforms include economic development programs, health care assistance, land reform, social safety nets, and programs to promote agricultural productivity (Laud, 2001).

Economic peace building targets both the micro- and macro-levels aims at creating economic opportunities and ensure that the basic needs of the population are met. On the microeconomic level, societies should establish micro-credit institutions to increase economic activity and investment at the local level, promote inter-communal trade and an equitable distribution of land, and expand school enrollment and job training. On the macroeconomic level, the post-conflict government should be

assisted in its efforts to secure the economic foundations and infrastructure necessary for a transition to peace.

2.2.2 The Relational Dimension

A second integral part of peace building is reducing the effects of war-related hostility through the repair and transformation of damaged relationships. The relational dimension of peace building centers on reconciliation, forgiveness, trust building and future imagining. It seeks to minimize poorly functioning communication and maximize mutual understanding (Laderach, 1977, p.82)

Many believe that reconciliation is one of the most effective and durable ways to transform relationships and prevent destructive conflicts (Assefa, 2001, p.340). The essence of reconciliation is the voluntary initiative of the conflicting parties to acknowledge their responsibility and guilt. Parties reflect upon their own role and behavior in the conflict, and acknowledge and accept responsibility for the part they have played. As parties share their experiences, they learn new perspectives and change their perception of their 'enemies' (Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007). There is recognition of the difficulties faced by the opposing side and of their legitimate grievances, and a sense of empathy begins to develop. Each side expresses sincere regret and remorse, and is prepared to apologize for what has transpired. The parties make a commitment to let go of anger, and to refrain from repeating the injury. Finally, there is a sincere effort to redress past grievances and compensate for the damage done. This process often relies on interactive negotiation and allows the parties to enter into a new mutually enriching relationship (Assefa, 2001, p. 342)

One of the essential requirements for the transformation of conflicts is effective communication and negotiation at both the elite and grassroots levels.

Through both high- and community-level dialogues, parties can increase their awareness of their own role in the conflict and develop a more accurate perception of both their own and the other group's identity. As each group shares its unique history, traditions, and culture, the parties may come to understand each other better. International exchange programs and problem-solving workshops are two techniques that can help to change perceptions, build trust, open communication, and increase empathy. For example, over the course of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the main antagonists have sometimes been able to build trust through meeting outside their areas, not for formal negotiations, but simply to better understand each other (Kathleen, 1997).

If these sorts of bridge-building communication systems are in place, relations between the parties can improve and any peace agreements they reach will more likely be self-sustaining (Reychler, 2001, pg. 13). The Israeli-Palestinian situation illustrates that there are no guarantees however, various mass communication and education measures, such as peace radio and TV, peace-education projects, and conflict-resolution training, can help parties to reach such agreements (Lund, 2001, pg.18). And dialogue between people of various ethnicities or opposing groups can lead to deepened understanding and help to change the demonic image of the enemy group. It can also help parties to overcome grief, fear, and mistrust and enhance their sense of security.

A crucial component of such dialogue is future imaging, whereby parties form a vision of the commonly shared future they are trying to build. Conflicting parties often have more in common in terms of their visions of the future than they do in

terms of their shared and violent past (Lederach, 1997, p.77). The thought is that if they know where they are trying to go, it will be easier to get there.

Another way for the parties to build a future together is to pursue joint projects that are unrelated to the conflict's core issues and center on shared interests. This can benefit the parties' relationship. Leaders who project a clear and hopeful vision of the future and the ways and means to get there can play a crucial role here.

But in addition to looking towards the future, parties must deal with their painful past. Reconciliation not only envisions a common, connected future, but also recognizes the need to redress past wrongdoing (Lederach, 1997). If the parties are to renew their relationship and build an interdependent future, what has happened must be exposed and then forgiven.

Indeed, a crucial part of peace building is addressing past wrongdoing while at the same time promoting healing and rule of law (Howard, 2001). Part of repairing damaged relationships is responding to past human rights violations and genocide through the establishment of truth commissions, fact-finding missions, and war crime tribunals. These processes attempt to deal with the complex legal and emotional issues associated with human rights abuses and ensure that justice is served. It is commonly thought that past injustice must be recognized, and the perpetrators punished if parties wish to achieve reconciliation.

However, many note that the retributive justice advanced by Western legal systems often ignores the needs of victims and exacerbates wounds (Zehr, 2001). Many note that to advance healing between the conflicting parties, justice must be more reparative in focus. Central to restorative justice is its future-orientation and its emphasis on the relationship between victims and offenders. It seeks to engage both

victims and offenders in dialogue and make things right by identifying their needs and obligations (Zehr, 2001). Having community-based restorative justice processes in place can help to build a sustainable peace.

2.2.3 The Personal Dimension

The personal dimension of peace building centers on desired changes at the individual level. If individuals are not able to undergo a process of healing, there will be broader social, political, and economic repercussions. The destructive effects of social conflict must be minimized, and its potential for personal growth must be maximized (Lederach, 1997) Reconstruction and peace building efforts must prioritize treating mental health problems and integrate these efforts into peace plans and rehabilitation efforts.

In traumatic situations, a person is rendered powerless and faces the threat of death and injury. Traumatic events might include a serious threat or harm to one's family or friends, sudden destruction of one's home or community, and a threat to one's own physical being (Van der Merwe, 2001, p.343). Such events overwhelm an individual's coping resources, making it difficult for the individual to function effectively in society (Van der Merwe, 2001, p.343). Typical emotional effects include depression and post-traumatic stress disorder. After prolonged and extensive trauma, a person is often left with intense feelings that negatively influence his/her psychological well-being. After an experience of violence, an individual is likely to feel vulnerable, helpless, and out of control in a world that is unpredictable (Van der Merwe, 2001, p.345). Building peace requires attention to these psychological and emotional layers of the conflict. The social fabric that has been destroyed by war must be repaired, and trauma must be dealt with on the national, community, and individual

levels (Van der Merwe, 2001, p.343). At the national level, parties can accomplish widespread personal healing through truth and reconciliation commissions that seek to uncover the truth and deal with perpetrators. At the community level, parties can pay tribute to the suffering of the past through various rituals or ceremonies, or build memorials to commemorate the pain and suffering that has been endured (Van der Merwe, 2001, p.344). Strong family units that can rebuild community structures and moral environments are also crucial.

At the individual level, one-on-one counseling has obvious limitations when large numbers of people have been traumatized and there are insufficient resources to address their needs. Peace building initiatives must therefore provide support for mental health infrastructure and ensure that mental health professionals receive adequate training. Mental health programs should be adapted to suit the local context, and draw from traditional and communal practice and customs wherever possible. Participating in counseling and dialogue can help individuals to develop coping mechanisms and to rebuild their trust in others (Van der Merwe, 2001).

If it is taken that psychology drives individuals' attitudes and behaviors, then new emphasis must be placed on understanding the social psychology of conflict and its consequences. If ignored, certain victims of past violence are at risk for becoming perpetrators of future violence (Van der Merwe, 2001). Victim empowerment and support can help to break this cycle.

2.3 Nature of Peace Processes

This section presents the theoretical approach to peace processes as delineated by Saunders (1999), and which forms the major framework for this study. Saunders proposition, known within the literature as the *Public Peace Process* targets the use of

sustained dialogue as a means to build peace. The public peace process theory is based on the assumption that sustainable implementation of conflict resolution work depends on public consent and involvement. Saunders' theory operates with few other assumptions:

- Identity, fear, historic grievance, and injustice are non-negotiable in conflict resolution.
- Governments can negotiate binding agreements and enforce and implement them, but only track two actors (citizens) can change human relationships.
- The tools of conflict resolution - diplomacy, mediation, negotiation, force, and allocation of resources have long been laid by Governments
- Dialogue is the tool or instrument citizens outside government can use for transforming conflict.
- Citizens can use dialogue to reduce racial, ethnic, and other deep-rooted tensions in their countries, communities, and organizations.

For Saunders (1999), the peacemaking process goes through five stages as defined below:

Stage One: Deciding to Engage

This is a very risky stage. The sensitivities may make belligerents reluctant to talk with "the enemy." The people who are willing to participate at this stage are those who have courage, and who recognize that current methods are not working. The participants may be influential individuals and leaders who are not in support of continuing conflict. Participants would respond when the convener is trustworthy, neutral and competent. They would expect to meet at a safe, and a neutral location. Ground-rules are very important. Participants may be asked to engage in sensitive

listening and confidentiality. Attendees should be required to be open-minded. They should be encouraged to expand their thinking and adopt a worldview.

Stage Two: Mapping the Relationship Together

This is the beginning of the real dialogue. It begins with a period of expressing and exploring each party's interests which would provide an understanding of the context and scope of the relationship between the belligerents. The objective here is to do a relationship mapping. This gives a contextual understanding of how specific problems and underlying interests define the relationship. People are encouraged to tell their experience as it is and express their feelings as they have planned them. At this stage the feelings to emerge might be anger, resentment, and blame. Hurt, sadness, and guilt would follow later. From the expression of strong feelings, participants can learn to probe for deeper causes or needs.

The discourse then changes towards unloading and transforming the dehumanization and demonization that marked the initial stage of the dialogue. Blame gives way to further negotiation. It is important to listen to participants' life experiences and feelings. There may be feelings of fear of failure or gratitude for the opportunity of finally being together face to face.

The concern of dialogue is the state of the relationship and how it can potentially change. The participants are expected to (1) value the relationship and examine it, and (2) ask themselves, and each other, what underlies the expressed emotions and positions that have been evoked. The participants look for "solutions" by learning about underlying needs, and discover essential dynamics of the relationship.

Stage Three: Probing the Dynamics of the Relationship Together

This stage recognizes the dynamics of conflicts. The various groups work to understand and reflect back fully how a reaction from one triggers another reaction from the other. Building on the relationship dynamics from Stage Two, the parties try to give meaning to the diversity of experiences and perceptions that make up the relationship. The parties begin to empathize and identify with each other. The foundations are then laid for problem-solving together. It is essential to understand that the progression at this stage should not be rushed. There is need to be fully aware of the relationship, and overcome the old tendency to "not waste time." Perhaps the paradox at this stage is *more haste less speed!*

Stage Four: Experiencing the Relationship by Thinking Together

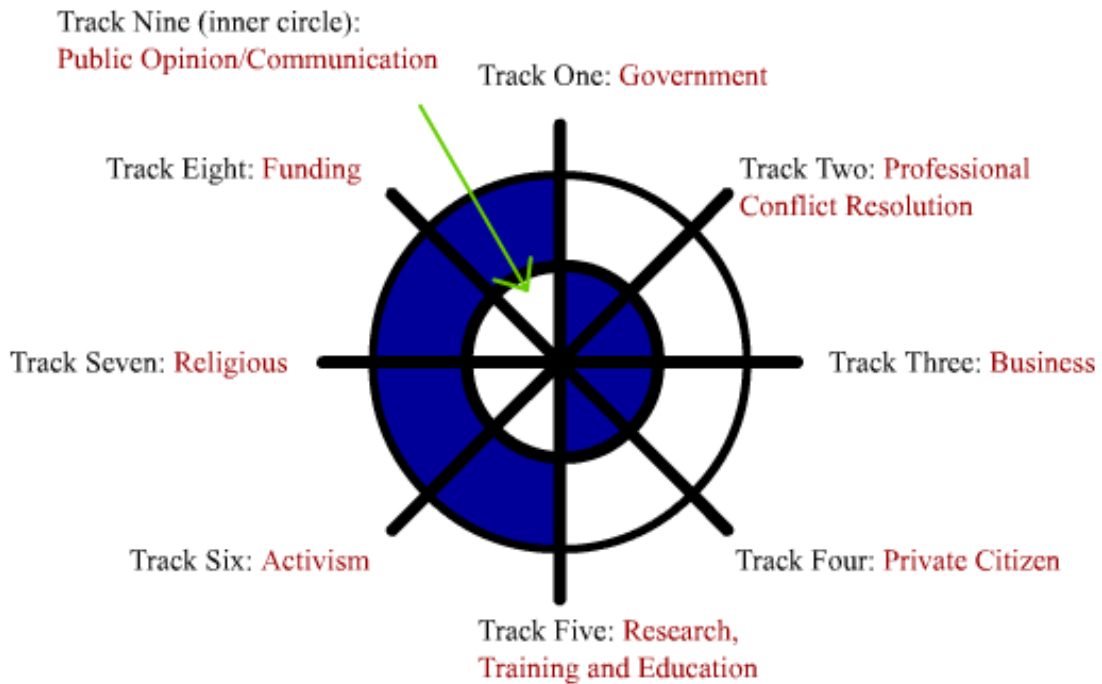
Thinking together essentially involves an examination of how to deal with a practical problem related to the conflict. In the process, participants further experience the relationship itself. There is an option. The first option is to divide the parties into subgroups to create scenarios and their stepwise implementation to describe how each party's interests would be affected. The demonstration would include how resolution and reconciliation would occur. A particular course of action is ultimately selected. This is known as collective thinking. The collective thinking can transform relationships or initiate a whole systemic change. Perhaps only one step can be taken, but in time that may make further steps possible. A new relationship and process emerges for future action. The insights gained may then be shared within their own constituencies. It may also be a source of fresh understandings and a way of establishing a model for others.

Stage Five: Acting Together

The goal of this stage is to transform blame into responsibility and enemies into partners. The attendants are helped to develop and model a culture of dialogue and reconciliation. They are encouraged to move out from the meetings and act together to have a concrete impact on their constituencies. They are tasked to change the relationship between their people and the opposing camp. These are to be expressed in visible social outcomes. They are expected to carry their fresh understandings from Stage Four to community institutions and implement the Five Step Public Peace Process with an expanded group of new citizens.

In adopting the public peace process as a theoretical framework, this research also takes seriously the propositions of Diamond and McDonalds (1996) regarding *Multi-Track Diplomacy*. Multi-track diplomacy holds that peace processes require a systemic approach that requires the involvement of a diversity of actors and activities needed for successful conflict resolution. The schema of Multi-Track Diplomacy emphasize that state and non-state actors alike are seen as integral and complementary organs in conflict resolution. The imperative in this schema calls for the bridging of all theories, approaches, frames and perspectives in conflict resolution. This theory is emerging as the newest theory which adopts a systemic approach, giving a role to all societal structures and groups in conflict resolution. It is worth considering because it sought to reject the individualistic and somewhat segmented approaches to the analysis of conflict resolution processes.

The Schema of Multi-Track Diplomacy



Source: Diamond and McDonald, the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy (IMTD) 1996.

The theory was developed by Diamond and McDonalds (1996) as an extension of Montvilles's (1982) concept of Track Two Diplomacy – unofficial contact and interaction aimed at resolving conflicts – with the belief that “it is only through a collaborative effort among all societal sectors and power structures that real change is possible.” It holds that grass root participation by citizens is essential in conflict resolution. It emphasizes the use of human relations approaches to dialogue, listening, and diplomacy and operates with the belief that activities which emphasize the humanity of each party are keys to transforming adversarial relationships. This research is located within the multi-track diplomacy theory because the theory emphasizes the integration of both track one and track two initiatives. In this perspective, all society members, from those in elite leadership positions – a variety

of community specialists including lawyers, economists, scholars, educators, to religious leaders, – to those at the grassroots level (chiefs and queen mothers, the youth, women and their leaders), have a role to play in the peace process. Therefore, Multi-track diplomacy is considered to be consistent with and complementary as well as supplementing the propositions is the public peace process theory.

2.4 Peace Agents

Peace building agents in this research refers more broadly to peace process actors - all society members, from those in elite leadership positions, to religious leaders, to those at the grassroots level, have a role to play in building a lasting peace. Many apply John Paul Lederach's model of hierarchical intervention levels to make sense of the various levels at which peace building efforts occur

Lederach (1997) model of peace building measures require a wide variety of agents for their implementation. These agents advance peace building efforts by addressing functional and emotional dimensions in specified target areas, including civil society and legal institutions. While external agents can facilitate and support peace building, ultimately it must be driven by internal forces. It cannot be imposed from the outside.

Various internal actors play an integral role in peace building and reconstruction efforts. The government of the affected country is not only the object of peace building, but also the subject. While peace building aims to transform various government structures, the government typically oversees and engages in this reconstruction process. A variety of the community specialists, including lawyers, economists, scholars, educators, and teachers, contribute their expertise to help carry

out peace building projects. Finally, a society's religious networks can play an important role in establishing social and moral norms.

Nevertheless, outside parties typically play a crucial role in advancing such peace building efforts. Few peace building plans work unless regional neighbors and other significant international actors support peace through economic development aid and humanitarian relief (Doyle, 2001, p.18). At the request of the affected country, international organizations can intervene at the government level to transform established structures. They not only provide monetary support to post-conflict governments, but also assist in the restoration of financial and political institutions. Because their efforts carry the legitimacy of the international community, they can be quite effective.

Various institutions provide the necessary funding for peace building projects. While international institutions are the largest donors, private foundations contribute a great deal through project-based financing. In addition, regional organizations often help to both fund and implement peace building strategies. Finally, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) often carry out small-scale projects to strengthen countries at the grassroots level. Not only traditional NGOs but also the business and academic community and various grassroots organizations work to further these peace-building efforts. All of the groups help to address 'the limits imposed on governmental action by limited resources, lack of consensus, or insufficient political will' (Stevens, 1995).

Some suggest that governments, NGOs, and intergovernmental agencies need to create categories of funding related to conflict transformation and peace building (Lederach, 1997, p. 89). Funds are often difficult to secure when they are intended to finance preventive action. Middle-range initiatives, infrastructure building, and

grassroots projects do not typically attract significant funding, even though these sorts of projects may have the greatest potential to sustain long-term conflict transformation (Lederach, 1997, p. 92).

Those providing resources for peace building initiatives must look to fill these gaps. In addition, external actors must think through the broader ramifications of their programs (Lederach, 1997 p. 91). They must ensure that funds are used to advance genuine peace building initiatives rather than be swallowed up by corrupt leaders or channeled into armed conflict.

But as already noted, higher-order peace, connected to improving local capacities, is not possible simply through third-party intervention (Doyle, 2006, p.25). And while top-down approaches are important, peace must also be built from the bottom up. Many top-down agreements collapse because the ground below has not been prepared. Top-down approaches must therefore be buttressed, and relationships built. An important task in sustaining peace is to build a peace constituency within the conflict setting. Middle-range actors form the core of a peace constituency. They are more flexible than top-level leaders, and less vulnerable in terms of daily survival than those at the grassroot level (Lederach, 1997, p.94).

Middle-range actors who strive to build bridges to their counterparts across the lines of conflict are the ones best positioned to sustain conflict transformation. This is because they have an understanding of the nuances of the conflict setting, as well as access to the elite leadership.

Many believe that the greatest resource for sustaining peace in the long term is always rooted in the local people and their culture (Lederach, 1997, p. 94). Parties should strive to understand the cultural dimension of conflict, and identify the

mechanisms for handling conflicts that exist within that cultural setting. Building on cultural resources and utilizing local mechanisms for handling disputes can be quite effective in resolving conflicts and transforming relationships. Initiatives that incorporate citizen-based peace building include community peace projects in schools and villages, local peace commissions and problem-solving workshops, and a variety of other grassroots initiatives.

Effective peace building also requires public-private partnerships in addressing conflict and greater coordination among the various actors (Stevens, 1995). International governmental organizations, national governments, bilateral donors, and international and local NGOs need to coordinate to ensure that every dollar invested in peace building is spent wisely (Doyle, 2001, p.23). To accomplish this, advanced planning and intervention coordination are needed.

There are various ways to attempt to coordinate peace-building efforts. One way is to develop a peace inventory to keep track of which agents are doing various peace-building activities. A second is to develop clearer channels of communication and more points of contact between the elite and middle ranges. In addition, a coordination committee should be instituted so that agreements reached at the top level are actually capable of being implemented (Lederach, 1997, p. 100).

A third way to better coordinate peace-building efforts is to create peace-donor conferences that bring together representatives from humanitarian organizations, NGOs, and the concerned governments. It is often noted that "peace building would greatly benefit from cross-fertilization of ideas and expertise and the bringing together of people working in relief, development, conflict resolution, arms control, diplomacy, and peacekeeping" (Lederach, 1997, p.101).

Lastly, there should be efforts to link internal and external actors. Any external initiatives must also enhance the capacity of internal resources to build peace-enhancing structures that support reconciliation efforts throughout a society (Lederach, 1997, p.103). In other words, the international role must be designed to fit each case.

2.5. Conditions that Militate Against Peace Processes

Previous research on the factors that militate against the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area and other conflict areas identified several factors. This section presents those factors that have been outlined in the literature and their implications for peace processes.

2.5.1 Unaddressed needs

Human needs theorists argue that peace cannot be achieved unless human needs are addressed. That would suggest that unmet needs can impede peace processes. As Burton (1990) and other colleagues argue, human needs are central to reasons why people continue to fight.

People engage in conflict either because they have needs that are met by the conflict process itself or because they have (or believe they have) needs that are inconsistent with those of others (Mayer and Louw, 2012). Mayer and Louw reiterates that people engage in conflict because of their need, and conflict cannot be transformed or settled unless these needs are addressed in some way. Needs do not exist in a vacuum but are embedded in a constellation of other forces that can generate and define conflict. In order to effectively address needs, it is usually necessary to work through some of these other forces, which affect how people experience their needs and how these needs have developed.

2.5.2 Rumours

Rumours in this context are employed as unofficial and interesting story or piece of news that is largely untrue or invented, and quickly spreads from person to person. Adzahlie-Mensah (2007) explains that rumour is one of the problems that impede peace processes and was the greatest challenge to any peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. The analysis of situations in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area provided much evidence that rumours caused the occurrence of “intermittent skirmishes” that have created fear, mistrust, hatred and violence with attendant pain, suffering and traumas (Kwawukume, 2006; Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007).

Tamakloe (2006) and Adzahlie-Mensah (2007, p.95) cited statements from community leaders in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area to the effect that “rumours can threaten the peace building process and all must guard against that”. Consequently, Adzahlie-Mensah noted that rumour is taken seriously by the belligerents within the Nkonya Alavanyo area where this study was conducted. The issue of rumours is so delicate that its effects are never under-estimated by even neighbouring groups. For instance, in a GNA report (August 10, 2004) rumours of tension in Kwamekrom led to the banishment of Mr. Seyanu S. Agbenotor, a veteran Politician, in his mid-70s from the town. The man was banished after fifty years stay there because he was alleged to have hosted a meeting of Nkonyas in the town in his house. This concern was expressed by a member of the Consultative Committee in an interview. The literature provides knowledge that trust and confidence building strategies were used as the strategy to impress on the belligerents to ignore rumours.

2.5.3 Finance and Logistics

Finance and logistics were identified as a major threat to the peace process. Adzahlie-Mensah (2007) explained that lots of things related to peace building cannot be achieved without finance. In a model developed following a study of conflict resolution in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area, he reported that funding is an essential part of any effort aimed at preventing conflict and building permanent peace. Funding may come from both track one and track two sources. Adzahlie-Mensah (2007, p.99) explained the threat posed by the lack of funds and logistics via statement from the chiefs and Queen mothers of Nkonya and Alavanyo area as follow:

To us, the peace process is on course but there is one worry that we must necessarily convey to government since it has the potential of derailing the peace process. This threat to the process is the lack of funding and logistics ... We are ready for peace and we hereby convey an urgent supplication to government to support us achieve our desire by providing logistics and funds for the work of the mediation committee. It is disheartening to learn that government has not provided funds for the purpose ... and the committee has to shop around for petty funds to continue the process.

The Official Report of Parliamentary Debates (2006) for instance, cited a Member of Parliament for the area Mr. E.K. Bandua noting that there was “the need” for the government to provide financial support to the peace process because actors were facing a lot of financial and logistic problems. Honourable Bandua described the financial and logistic problems as “unbearable” and expressed “the urgent need for (the central) government to come . . . with resources to support”. Funds were

necessary to hold meetings and pay for related bills such as accommodation and feeding costs.

2.5.4 War Beneficiaries and Financiers

War beneficiaries and financiers have been portrayed by Adzahlie-Mensah (2007) as spoilers who are noted as posing challenges to peace processes worldwide. Stedman (2000), Zahar (2008) and Gray (2009) explained that the biggest source of risk for peace processes comes from spoilers. Stedman explained spoilers as leaders and parties who believe the emerging peace threaten their power, world view, and interests and who use violence to undermine attempts to achieve it. The argument is that by signing a peace agreement, leaders put themselves at risk from spoilers and disgruntled followers who see peace as a betrayal of key values, and from excluded parties who seek either to alter the process or destroy it (Ayres, 2006; Stepanova 2006; Shedd, 2008; Avant, 2009). Among those writers, Stedman (2000) proposes that analysis of peace processes should include objectives aimed (1) to create a typology of spoilers that can help custodians choose robust strategies for implementing peace, (2) to describe various strategies that custodians have used to manage spoilers, (3) to propose which strategies will be most effective for particular spoiler types, (4) to sensitize policy makers to the complexities and uncertainties of correctly diagnosing the type of spoiler, and (5) to compare several successful and failed cases of spoiler management in order to refine and elaborate my initial propositions about strategies.

The spoiler problem has been highlighted in previous studies of the Alavanyo-Nkonya area (Tsikata and Seini, 2004; Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007). Those literature indicated that “Some people always try to create confusion ... and then bulldoze their

way out to do business ... some people engage in “unprovoked skirmishes” so that during the confusion they have a field day to harvest timber, bamboo, cola nuts, and cocoa’ ” (Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007, p. 101). Analysis highlighted that spoilers in the area have vested interests, and would not want to see peace. They may not be resident in conflict community. Their main characteristics are that they never want peace because it would take away their benefits. Similarly, Tsikata and Seini (2004) argued that the conflict in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area remained largely insoluble because some people benefit from the dispute.

2.5.5 Politics (Ethnic Politics)

Adzahlie-Mensah (2007) noted that, ethnic politics have provided a major challenge to the work of the committee. He recounted that in 2004, in particular the Biakoye constituency that was predominantly Nkonya suffered the guts of ethnic politics. It was found out that Biakoye in particular had been in disarray in 2004. (*Chronicle*, August, 23, 2004). This was corroborated by a *GNA* report (August 10, 2004). Edward Collins Boateng, accused the then Volta Regional Minister, Kwasi Owusu-Yeboah of using divide and rule tactics. The Regional Minister was accused of expressing anti-Nkonya sentiments. He was alleged to have been previously engaged as a solicitor for the Alavanyos in the dispute. The implication was that the Minister lacked the moral authority to oversee the work of the committee to resolve the conflict. The Minister was accused of inconsistencies that were stated as ‘In one breath, he tells the feuding parties to go in for the enforcement of court judgement on the conflict and in the next he sets up a committee aimed at bringing lasting peace to the area ‘(GNA report August 10, 2004).

Adzahlie-Mensah (2007) highlighted that Dr. Kwabena Adjei, (an Nkonya citizen) who was the Member of Parliament (MP), had complained about a plot by an Alavanyo group to assassinate him. The claim was that the plot against him was part of the fratricidal killings. The paramountcy of Alavanyo denied any knowledge of the plot and gave two weeks ultimatum to the MP to prove his allegation or face their wrath. They described the allegations as childish and asked the MP to “condemn the callous manner in which their paramount linguist was murdered right in his village”. Fortunately, the politics did not degenerate into party divisions. Essentially, they were intra-party disagreements. However, it significantly threatened the fragile relationship between the two communities. Subsequently, Dr. Kwabena Adjei became the National Chairman of one of the largest political parties. Apparently, other political parties who want to score political points could whip up Anti-Nkonya sentiments against him (Adjei). This has made politics a danger to the work of the committee.

2.5.6 Damaged relationships

Intractable conflicts normally lead to killings and attacks that damage relationships among belligerent communities (Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007). Within the literature, Burgess (2003) explains that damage to relationships is almost inevitable in conflicts and determines the success of peace processes. In a scathe analysis of the effects of the Nkonya-Alavanyo conflict, Adzahlie-Mensah (2007) argued that Relationships that were friendly, open and built on trust deteriorated. Marriages broke up and families were separated. Walls of division went up as the conflict escalated. There was little communication between the two groups (Nkonya & Alavanyo). The two previously friendly communities became adversaries. They

became very hostile to each other. Youths from the two sides engaged in the conflict to do what is known as “mutual slaughtering” of their people. People were kidnapped and killed on a daily basis. The road linking the two communities became impassable because people were constantly and mutually abducted and killed along it.

Further, Adzahlie-Mensah provided excerpts from a joint press statement issued by the Chiefs and Queen mothers of the two areas which captured the strained relationship between the feuding parties as follows:

Our traditional areas...live as though an iron curtain was erected between us. This is the plight of our communities who otherwise are closely related by blood ties out of many years of inter-marriage and used to visit relations and interact freely, joining in common festivities and celebrations’.

This statement was made when the two groups met for the first face-to-face at a workshop to begin the resolution process. This is normal with intractable conflicts. As Burgess (2003) puts it parties to intractable conflicts often demonize the other developing “enemy images” or even “dehumanizing” the other side.

According to reports cited by Tsikata and Seini (2004, p.38) “It was also alleged that Alavanyo people were inspecting vehicles travelling between Nkonya and Hohoe with the view to attacking Nkonya people on board (*Chronicle*, 4/11/2003) or the very least preventing them from travelling through Alavanyo to Hohoe (*Ghanaian Times*, 1/3/03). This practice led to the closure of the road between Nkonya and Alavanyo.

2.5.7 Problems with earlier efforts at resolution

The literature suggests that previous failed efforts are serious threat to peace process. In the particular case of the Nkonya-Alavanyo Conflict, it has been identified that previous failed efforts led to the development of mistrust, which affected subsequent efforts. Adzahlie-Mensah's (2007) work provided several evidence that how the parties went back to fight after signing peace agreements was a major factor that affected the building of trust among the belligerents. This point is also noted in the literature internationally (Brewer, 2010; O'Reilly, Súilleabháin, and Paffenholz, 2015). The idea is that previous failed efforts have serious consequences in terms of parties becoming skeptical because of a lack of total involvement to peace process.

In the Nkonya-Alavanyo case, Adzahlie-Mensah (2007) explained that the problems with previous peace efforts were many. The first was sectionalizing the peace process. For example, the efforts by the church remained at the level of the E.P. church alone. The other dominant church, the Catholic Church was not seriously involved then. The E.P. Church itself dealt only with its church members. Track One actors dealt with community leaders without involving the youth who were the main actors. Other efforts did not consider the roles played by conflict beneficiaries and war sponsors. The important roles that women can play were not considered. Therefore the essential question of total involvement and community participation was not addressed. As Adzahlie-Mensah noted, there were instances when chiefs were invited to functions where people express the need for peace only as part of their long speeches.

Individuals, who talked about peace, did so at a small scale. Besides, their efforts were largely uncoordinated. The other side remained in the dark about efforts

being made in the opposing camp. The most essential point was that all previous efforts were ad-hoc.

The court decisions on their part were adversarial and further increased the divide. The institution of committees only followed violent incidents. In consequence, government troops were somewhat permanently stationed in the area to enforce peace. There were occasional arrests, swoops and seizure of guns. The presence of troops also had its own contribution to the conflict. This problem was expressed by the then MP for the area Dr. Kwabena Adjei who was reported to have given the example of peace-keepers who were stationed in the area but who with time, gained economic interests, hence losing focus and becoming part of the problems rather as documented in the work of Adzahlie-Mensah (2007). Therefore, this research explored the peace process in terms of how a more integrated approach is being adopted to achieve permanent peace.

2.6 Measures Needed to Achieve Positive Peace

The concept of positive peace is described by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) as an optimal environment under which human potential can flourish. The opposite is Negative Peace which refers to the absence of violence or fear of violence - an intuitive definition that many agree with and is more easily measured than other definitions of peace (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2015). Measures of Negative Peace are used to construct the Global Peace Index (GPI). Societal safety and security refers to internal aspects of violence such as homicides, incarceration or availability of small arms while ongoing conflict and militarization capture the extent of current violent conflict and a county's military capacity. A more ambitious conceptualization of peace is Positive Peace, which IEP defines as the attitudes,

institutions and structures that create and sustain peaceful societies. Well-developed Positive Peace represents the capacity for a society to meet the needs of citizens, reduce the number of grievances that arise and resolve remaining disagreements without the use of violence. Positive Peace acts as a system, therefore the sum of the parts is more than the constituent parts and the system must be addressed as a whole. Positive Peace also provides a framework for risk analysis, as historical research has shown that countries which have low levels of violence but weak Positive Peace tend to experience falls in peacefulness over time. In 2008, IEP identified 30 countries that fit this profile which were at risk of deteriorating and becoming more violent.

This approach contrasts with most research in the field which is focused on what does not work and why systems or institutions fail. Understanding what creates sustainable peace cannot be found in the study of violence as the factors that are associated with resilient societies are not present in states that are failing, highly corrupt or have large group grievances. The IEP (2015) identified the indicators of positive peace as follows:

Well-Functioning Government: A well-functioning government delivers high-quality public and civil services, engenders trust and participation, demonstrates political stability and upholds the rule of law.

Sound Business Environment: The strength of economic conditions as well as the formal institutions that support the operation of the private sector determine the soundness of the business environment. Business competitiveness and economic productivity are both associated with the most peaceful countries, as is the presence of regulatory systems which are conducive to business operation.

Equitable Distribution of Resources: Peaceful countries tend to ensure equity in access to resources like education and health, as well as, although to a lesser extent, equity in income distribution.

Acceptance of the Rights of Others: A country's formal laws that guarantee basic human rights and freedoms and the informal social and cultural norms that relate to behaviours of citizens serve as proxies for the level of tolerance between different ethnic, linguistic, religious, and socioeconomic groups within the country. Similarly, gender equality, worker's rights and freedom of speech are important components of societies that uphold acceptance of the rights of others.

Good Relations with Neighbours: Having peaceful relations with other countries is as important as good relations between groups within a country. Countries with positive external relations are more peaceful and tend to be more politically stable, have better functioning governments, are regionally integrated and have lower levels of organized internal conflict. This factor is also beneficial for business and supports foreign direct investment, tourism and human capital inflows.

Free Flow of Information: Peaceful countries tend to have free and independent media that disseminate information in a way that leads to greater openness and helps individuals and civil society work together. This is reflected in the extent to which citizens can gain access to information, whether the media is free and independent and how well-informed citizens are. This leads to better decision-making and more rational responses in times of crisis.

High Levels of Human Capital: A skilled human capital base — reflected in the extent to which societies educate citizens and promote the development of knowledge — improves economic productivity, care for the young, enables political

participation and increases social capital. Education is a fundamental building block through which societies can build resilience and develop mechanisms to learn and adapt.

Low Levels of Corruption: In societies with high corruption, resources are inefficiently allocated, often leading to a lack of funding for essential services. The resulting inequities can lead to civil unrest and in extreme situations can be the catalyst for more serious violence.

Whereas these factors apply to States, this research examines them at the micro level of the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. The idea is to examine the extent to which these factors exist in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. The examination is necessary given that the area has not benefitted from societal safety and security for over 80 years.

2.7 Summary of the Literature Review

There are many theories for analyzing contemporary ethnic conflicts. Many of these use multidisciplinary approaches with different analytical ‘lenses’ to examine and develop responses to violent conflict. Majority of these frameworks on peace process look at the primary root cause of conflicts and adopt effective resolution strategies in resolving conflicts in communities or even countries. In line with this Saunders (1999) set out a theory, *Public Peace Process* which targets the use of sustained dialogue to transform racial and ethnic conflicts. The public peace process theory is based on the assumption that sustainable implementation of conflict resolution work depends on public consent and involvement.

Given the nature of the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict over the years, I have adopted Saunders (1999) Public Peace process as an analytical framework to explore

the nature of the peace process of the conflict. This analytical framework is considered workable for this study based on the fact that it focuses on social, interest, and ethnic based conflict.

From this review, there are a number of issues that occasion concerns as gaps that need addressing. Aside from the research analyzing the conflict resolution work in the area (Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007) little knowledge exist on the Nkonya-Alavanyo peace process. What is documented consists in new paper publications and journalistic presentations of facts that are mainly opinionated. Therefore several questions exist that this research explored. These include among others: What is the nature of the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area? Who are the actors in the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area? What conditions militate against the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area? What measures are needed to achieve a positive peace in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area? In the next chapter (Chapter Three), the methodology that was adopted to explore these questions is delineated.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodological approach and methods used in collecting data for the study. The chapter comprises the research design, setting, population, sample and sampling population, research instruments, validity and reliability, data collection procedure and data analysis plan.

3.1 Research Design

Research design according to Kothari (2004) consists of a description of the population of the study focusing on its sample, techniques and procedures that would be used in the gathering of the information from the sample and the methods that would be used in the processing of the information obtained and its analysis which facilitate the smooth flow of the research operations, thus making the research efficient and minimizes wastage of time, effort and money. Cohen, Morison and Manion (2011), research design refers to the overall plan used by the researcher to look for answers to the research questions and testing the hypothesis formulated. It is seen as a comprehensive master plan, framework, or a blue print of the research which stipulates the general statement of the various methods used, and also guides the collection and analysis of the data collected. Cohen *et al.* (2011) would maintain that depending on the needs of the researcher, the research design may be very detailed statement or only outline the minimum information essential for planning the research. They argued that the function of the research design therefore is to see to it that the requisite data in accordance with the problem at stake is accurately collected.

The research design used is a case study. Gall, et al., (2007) observe that a case study is the in-depth study of one or more instances of a phenomenon in its real-life context that reflects the perspective of the participants involved in the phenomenon. Punch (2005) gives a prescriptive definition of case study and indicates that: “the case study aims to understand the case in depth, and in its natural setting, recognizing its complexity and its context. It also has a holistic focus, aiming to preserve and understand the wholeness and unity of the case” (Punch, 2005, p.144).

To examine the peace processes involved in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area, data was collected primarily through qualitative methods; observation and interviews. Qualitative research methods, as stressed by Denzin and Lincoln (2005) are a situated activity that locates the observer in the world, and consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world, and turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self (Cohen *et al.*, 2011). This means that qualitative research study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret the phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Silverman, 2010). This also indicates that qualitative research methods involve finding and understanding experiences, perspectives, and thoughts of respondents, thereby exploring meaning, purpose, or reality of a phenomenon (Flick, 2006).

The case study design was adopted based on similar works on peace processes and conflict resolution conducted by researchers such as Wolcott (1990), and Adzahli-Mensah (2007). Cohen *et al* (2011) explained that case study is a form of qualitative research approach that allows detailed investigations of individuals, groups, institutions or other social units. For its utility Adzahli-Mensah (2007) argued that, in

conflict studies, qualitative case study focuses on understanding the particular case in its complexity. Docherty (2001) and Adzahlie-Mensah (2007) used qualitative case study to study and explore conflict related issues in the USA and Ghana respectfully. According to them, the study design allowed an in-depth investigation of the issues involved in peace and conflict resolution processes.

In the specific case of Alavanyo-Nkonya, Adzahlie-Mensah (2007) used the case study design to develop a model that explained how the age-old conflict was resolved. Therefore, the case study has both practical and theoretical relevance for the study of peace processes in Alavanyo-Nkonya area. In spite of the advantages case study offers, critics of case study argue that generalizing the findings of such studies is difficult and unreliable because of their limited coverage (Cohen *et al*, 2007). According to Stake (2000), a case study lends itself to ‘naturalistic generalization’ and not ‘scientific generalization’, as a survey does. Based on all these considerations, case study was employed to collect data for the study.

3.2 Population

Rubin and Babbie (2008) see population as the aggregate of elements from which the sample is actually selected. From the definition, a research population could be seen as the total of all the individuals, objects and events. who or which have certain characteristics and are of interest to a researcher in conducting a study for generalization to be made. Fraenkel and Wallen (2009) assert that the target population is ideal which in this research, was comprised of the traditional and opinion leaders in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict zone, government institutions directly involved in the peace process, the Regional Coordinating Council, Regional Security Council, Regional House of Chiefs and Independent Peace Actors. Nkonya

has a population of 35,000 whereas Alavanyo has 18,500 people according to figures from the Population and Housing Census (PHC) that was carried out in 2010 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010). Accessible population is the research participants who are available for participation in the research (Johnson and Christensen, 2012). The accessible population comprised of the traditional and opinion leaders in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area, government institutions directly involved in the peace process, the Regional Minister, Regional Security Council, Regional House of Chiefs and Independent Peace Actors.

3.3 Sample and Sampling Procedure

Bryman (2004) explains that sample refers to the segment of the population that is selected for investigation and sample frame as the listing of all units in the population from which the sample will be selected. Sample is a smaller set of cases a researcher selects from a larger pool and generalizes to the population (Neuman, 2006). This subset of the population consists of individuals, objects or events that form part of the population (Cohen et al., 2011). It is implied that a sample is a representative selected for study whose characteristics exemplify the larger group from which they were selected. The sample size was 15 made up of three traditional and opinion leaders each from the two communities, four people from the government institutions directly involved in the peace process, one from Volta Regional House of Chiefs, two independent peace actors, two people from the Religious Institutions.

3.4 Sampling Technique

In selecting participants for the study, different sampling techniques like Snowball and purposive sampling techniques were used. The snowball technique was employed to select participants for the study as they were otherwise difficult to

identify and locate. Hanson (2009) asserts that snowballing is a process of accumulation of referrals as each located and interviewed informant suggests other informants whom they happen to know and locate. Sarantakos (2005) opines that to use the snowball technique the researcher first identifies a few individuals or group who meet the set criteria or possess the characteristics and ask them to recommend other individuals within the group. This process continues until you get the required sample size for the study or reach the point of saturation. In this study, the researcher was interested in selecting members from both Nkonya and Alavanyo communities who actively participated in the peace process. Firstly, the researcher enquired and identified one person who actively participated in the peace process from members from both towns.

Using the snowballing approach, a lead informant was identified. This informant was a peacesetter in the community and has served with the Mediation Committee. Through the lead the, the sample size was 15 participants were selected purposively. The community leaders involved in the study included one chief nominated by the paramount chief in each community; a youth leader involved in the work of the mediation committee; and an elder involved in the work of the mediation committee. The four participants selected from the government institutions directly involved in the peace process included one person each from the District Assemblies in which the two communities were located, and two officials from the Regional Coordinating Council who have experience working with the Peace Process in the area. One member of the Volta Regional House of Chiefs was purposively selected based on the criterion of involvement in the work of the Mediation Committee. Two individuals who have provided technical support to the work of the Mediation Committee throughout the peace process were also purposively selected. One person

each was selected from the Ho Diocese of the Catholic Church and the Headquarters of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church. The Catholic Diocese has provided much support to the peace process in the area for many years while the Evangelical Presbyterian Church is the most dominant Church in both communities. Also, a former moderator of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church was the Chair of the Mediation Committee. The purposive sampling was adopted because it allowed for the selection of people distinctly involved in the peace process. As Neuman (2006) stated, the purposive sampling is a non-random sample in which the researcher uses a wide range of methods to locate all possible cases of highly specific and difficult-to-reach population. Combining the snowballing with purposively sampling helped to identify the people who have direct experiences with the peace process so that the narrations presented in this study were not guesses, but the direct experiences of people who were involved in the peace process.

3.5 Research Instruments

This study made use of two instruments; semi-structured interview guide and observation schedule. The required data for this study was collected through semi-structured interviews and observations. The interviews allowed the researcher to explore in more detail some of the things which were observed. McNamara (1999) Cohen *et al.* (2011) noted that interviews are particularly useful for getting the story behind a participant's experiences. Kvale (1996), Cohen *et al.* (2011), also explained that the qualitative research interview seeks to describe the meanings of central themes in the life world of the subjects. Since the interview was a semi-structured one, open-ended questions were asked the participants.

The interviews involved presentation or oral-verbal stimuli and reply in terms of oral-verbal responses. Semi-structured interview were used to collect data from the participants. Thus, a semi-structured interview guide (used to collect detailed information through probing) was designed for this purpose. This allowed the participants to highlight and explain their viewpoints, and to enable the investigator seek clarifications from the participants. The purpose of the interviews was to establish the peace processes that have been used or intended to be used in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict.

3.5.1 Interview

The interviews sought to establish from the participants themselves, how they perceive the peace process used in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict and approaches used by stakeholders in the area. Lankshear and Knobel (2004, p.202), maintain that semi-structured interviews enable researchers to dig deep into the phenomenon being studied, implying that the semi-structured interview guide will be made up of both structured and unstructured questions to provide the opportunity for the interviewees to substantiate their understanding of the situation under study (Oyetunji, 2006, p.132).

Since most participants may want to speak in the local dialect, open-ended interview questions were used to collect data from them. This enabled the participants who were not comfortable with English language to freely bring out their views as the study required of them. It was divided into two broad sections. The first section was concerned with socio-demographic characteristics of the participants while the second section focused on the research questions stated in chapter one of the study.

3.5.2 Observation

Observation is where data from the field is collected with the help of observation by the observer or personally going to the field. It is the systematic viewing coupled with consideration of seen phenomenon. Observation was also used to particularly reinforce the responses from the interviews, and as pointed out by Kothari (2004), the accurate use of observation as a method of collecting data eliminates subjective biases, the data obtained relates to current phenomenon, and that it is not complicated by past behaviour or future intentions or attitudes. Qualitative observation is done as part of complimenting the information gathered by the semi-structured interview guide. By this, all potentially relevant phenomena was carefully observed and notes extensively taken without specifying in advance exactly what was observed. The researcher therefore acted as a complete observer and observed as an outsider and not informing people they are being observed (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). Activities that were observed included how members from both towns mix up in places such as churches, funerals, and other social events that are conducted. As the researcher watched members of the communities in context, their views and impressions related to the research questions were examined. Though, not all that intrusive, the researcher took caution in observing actions of subjects being studied. Documents, pictures and other observable substances and materials were observed to ascertain the authenticity of stories told by the respondents.

Creswell (2009) observed that qualitative observations are those that the researcher takes field notes on the behaviour and activities of individuals at the research site. Therefore the observer observed how the peace processes are working in the study area. Attitude of members from each of the towns towards one another were observed during field visits. This was done to check on whether there was some form

of intimidation as far as members' relations were concerned. Observation protocol was used as a guide to note observations from the field. During the research, the researcher embarked upon community visits to the research area. Interactions between the two communities were observed during these visits to the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. The key observations to determined improved relations included travels of people on the previously closed road that linked both communities, holding of joint church services and visits to markets in both communities.

3.5.3 Document analysis

Secondary data was collected from documents of VRCC and the Catholic Secretariat on the peace process in Alavanyo-Nkonya area. These documents included relevant books and publications concerning peace processes and peace building in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area.

3.6 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher approached each of the participants for single-face-to-face interview. After seeking the consent of each participant, the researcher proceeded to conduct the interviews. On the average, 30 minutes was spent on each interviewee. Each participant was interviewed using the problem centered interview approach which combined narration based interview with guideline interviews and minimal interviewer structuring of the interview. This approach is considered because it gives freedom to the interviewee to structure the narration at the beginning according to his/her relevant setting. This helped participants express their views more broadly and deeply. Field notes and recorder were used to capture the views expressed.

As indicated earlier, participants were made to respond to a set of semi-structured interview questions based on the key issues raised in the research

questions. Participants' voices were recorded with audio recorders as advised by Wisker (2008) and Creswell (2009).

3.7 Data Analysis

Walliman (2005) argued that the analytical frame chosen for a study depends on the theoretical and philosophical perspectives which inform it, the goal of the study, the questions addressed and the methodology used. The analysis used therefore was based upon a multi-track approach model developed by Adzahlie-Mensah (2007). The model emphasised the involvement of all groups and the use of multi-faceted theoretical or analytical approach to the study of the process of conflict resolution just as advocated for in multi-track diplomacy. As such it was considered fitting to Saunder's theoretical framework (the public peace process) which was adopted for the study.

Given that approach critical discourse analysis was chosen as the method of data analysis. The findings of the interview schedules and observations were presented and the data presentation and analysis were done manually. This strategy was chosen because the volume of data collected was manageable, making it less difficult to identify relevant text passages and the desire was to interact and have a hands-on feel for the data (Creswell, 2009). The problem associated with analyzing data manually is that it is laborious (Creswell 2009; Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

The first stage was preparatory where the interview data for presentation began with the organization and transcription of the audio-tape recordings. The

transcription involved listening to each tape repeatedly to familiarize myself with the conversations and carefully writing them down in the words of each interviewee. The interview data was categorized into themes of responses for effective management and comparisons. The next stage involved intensive and repeated reading of the data with the aim of immersing myself in it and to determine analytical categories or themes (Schmidt, 2004 and Creswell, 2009) using my professional judgment (Denscombe, 2003). The development of the themes was guided by the research questions and the literature review. The coding processes were begun after determining the themes. The participants were coded to avoid identification. Contributions, responses and comments made were also coded. Brief quotations from the participants were used to add realism to the description (Creswell, 2009). Since the data was collected from different categories of respondents, it was analyzed from their perspectives in order to build some kind of complexity into the study (Creswell, 2009).

3.8 Ethical Issues

The consent of each participant was sought before they were involved in the study. Works of people which were used to buttress analysis in the literature were duly acknowledged both in-text and in reference. The aim and objective of the research were explained to the interviewees and were also informed about their right to refuse to answer any question. In order to avoid the violation of the principle of informed consent in the social research, letters of introduction were sent to the respondents based on snowballing techniques to seek their permission before the administration of questionnaire. They were assured of data protection, anonymity and confidentiality.



CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the research. The presentation was guided by the research questions. The first section examined the nature of the peace process in the Alavanyo- Nkonya area. The second identified who were the actors in the peace process. The third section looked out for conditions that militated against the peace process. The fourth identified the measures that are needed to achieve positive peace in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area.

4.1 The Nature of the Peace Process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya Area

This section presents the data and discussed the results of the research concerning the nature of the peace process in the Nokonya-Alavanyo area. The data presented here comes from both interviews and documents analyses.

When the participants were asked to describe the nature of the peace process one significant comment was that;

The peace process was never consistent. Each process that was started ended in a re-escalation of violence until 2004 when the community, so tired from effects of war decided to seek mediation through the Volta Regional Coordinating Council (Participant one. 6/6/2016)

This comment shows that the peace process did not follow one consistent path. It suggest that there were many and different efforts towards achieving peace. It highlights that the process was jerky, inconsistent and complex. Further analysis of the comments indicates that the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area has

experienced several reversals and setbacks – re-escalations that derailed gains made at certain stages.

In terms of various efforts made, there were several such as

Some people who believed they could do something about the conflict stepped in. They appealed to the traditional courts for settlement at Kpando, which handle it to some point. (Participant 2, 6/6/2016)

The Nkonyas took the matter to the High Court, Court of Appeal, and the Supreme Court and had Judgment passed in their favour. The courts being an evidence based court used the Grunner map as evidence in Judgment. This was rejected and disputed by the Alavanyos who believed the traditional demarcation item; the Anya Trees should be used. (Comment by Participant 4. 25/5/2016)

The comments indicate several things about the peace process. First, it showed that there were concerned citizens acting as peace agents. Second, it showed that those citizens explored both the traditional and formal legal approaches to peace. As the comments indicated, concerned citizens took the initiative to have a peaceful resolution through the traditional court system. The implication is that such citizens were drawing on Ghanaian alternative dispute resolution mechanisms to find solutions and achieve peace. It also suggests that such citizens within the communities were opposed to violence as a means of addressing conflicts. The comments further indicate that the formal legal system was used to seek justice. This helped to deescalate the violence and started the peace process. A significant aspect of the comment is that formal judgments have been passed which could have settled the matter.

Several other comments gave indications that the peace process was complex with several actors getting involved.

The attempts to settle the dispute was handled by non-professional mediators and the courts, which are British styled and evidence based until 2004 when the mediation committee was formed. (Comment by Participant 2, 25/5/2016)

It must be noted that some other initiatives by government saw the institution of the Justice Acquah Commission and that of Mireku in the 1980's – 1990's. But these never went anywhere with their work before being halted by eruptions of the conflict'... (comment by Participant 3, 3/3/2016)

The comment emphasized that many attempts have been made to initiate a peace process. It showed several non-state efforts have been made to seek peace. It involved the traditional and formal legal structures and processes, commissions and committees of investigation were involved at the political level. The comments also showed evidence of state level activities aimed at achieving peace. It showed that several non-professionals and professionals were engaged in the peace process over the years.

The peace agents from the two communities (track two actors) took the initiative to seek mediation with the help of track one actors.

Having been wearied with war and violence and the limitation of the Judicial System for resolving the land dispute, the two communities in mutual resolve, decided to take their destiny ... into their own hands by appealing to government through the Volta Regional Coordinating Council to assist them set up mediating committee...(comment from participant One. 6/6/2016)

This comment is significant to the effect that it highlighted joint initiative by both communities to seek peace through an organized system of working together in a collaborative way. It highlights how community actors invited state level actors to work together towards finding lasting peace. That resolve speaks volumes. In a concrete way, commitment to peace and commitment to working together as well as identifying that the path to peace is not a simple discussion among belligerents but a difficult system of working together with various actors. It highlights the importance of collaboration between track one and track two actors in a peace process given that the two communities had a mutual agreement to seek mediation. It suggests that prior to this stage the two communities have kept a line of communication between them that allowed them to work in collaborative ways to mutually agree on the need for state level involvement.

Further comments from a participant showed that state actors willingly agreed to help towards achieving peace.

This discussion was embraced by government and on 16th June, 2004 a mediation committee was formed, nominated by the actors from the two communities, composed of the very Rev. Dr. L.K. Buamah as the Chairman. Other prominent Clergy persons were the Bishops of Ho and Jasikan Diocese of the Catholic Church, Bishop's Lodonu and Mante. (comment by participant three, 3/3/2016)

Analysis of documents related to the peace process indicated that the committee (otherwise known as the Mediation Committee) took several steps to work for peace. The Mediation Committee (MC) did its work in a procedural manner akin to Saunders public peace process although, many activities and initiative were conducted simultaneously.

First, the Committee took steps to build the capacity of members. It realized that the members lacked knowledge in the art of conflict resolution. It therefore, employed the services of the West African Network for Peace (WANEP) to organize a capacity building workshop for its members. The Committee used WANEP as a technical advisory group to train its membership and the structures in the art of conflict resolution. This equipped the participants with relevant skills. In other words, the participants became skilled mediators. This is a lesson for other conflict resolution efforts.

The next step was to identify important allies. The key ally was the Catholic DPBT. The DPBT provided the needed technical direction to the MC. It served as a strategic planning committee for the MC. It was the DPBT that proposed that the MC and its structures needed to be trained. It was the same body (DPBT) which brought the MC in touch with WANEP. This underscores the need to work with various allies in resolving a conflict. An ally may come with very useful tips to facilitate the process.

The Committee did a conflict mapping to identify the dynamics in the conflict. This was a diagnostic measure to determine what works well for conflict resolution in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. All conflicts have different causes and dynamics. It is therefore important to investigate the dynamics in a conflict before any attempt is made to resolve it. The lesson is that mediators in a conflict should not assume that a conflict can be resolved because they know core issues in a conflict. The Nkonya-Alavanyo case demonstrated that the dynamics are more important. For example, the issue of land which caused the conflict became a secondary matter because people

were fighting either to avenge the deaths of relatives or as a form of pre-emptive attack.

Following the conflict mapping, the MC adopted a community segmentation approach. It identified all interest groups and segmented them as target groups including the Youth, Women, Chiefs and Queen mothers, and those citizens who were in the diaspora. The work of the MC was enhanced once it gained the support of the leaders of those groups. The leaders became agents of peace to their constituencies which they had controlled as belligerent groups in the past. This is the lesson for other conflict resolution efforts. All stakeholders in a conflict should be identified and engaged in the resolution process.

Also, the MC established functional structures: CC and Community Peace Setters (CPS) in the communities. As a result, its presence was felt all the time. The CC and CPS worked as foot soldiers in the community and among the people. The CC comprised equal representation of people from both Nkonya and Alavanyo. The CC was used as an oasis of peace and mutual co-existence which later expanded in the Nkonya–Alavanyo area. This was because the CC members become united as one people to motivate the other people in their communities. This participatory approach to conflict resolution greatly contributed to the resolution process.

Workshops were organized to build capacity for the structures. The MC used the workshops as its training procedure in building the capacity of community leaders so that they became effective agents of peace among their peoples. The workshops were organized for the Youth, Women Leaders, Citizens in the diaspora and, Chiefs and Queen mothers from the communities. Once the leaders had a change of attitude it was easier to change the community members as well.

The MC members sought funding from sources other than government. The funding sources included individuals, religious bodies and NGOs particularly the CRS. This shows the need to explore different funding sources for conflict resolution. As a fact, funding could have stalled the process if the MC had relied on government. Government delayed the work of the Committee for five months and claimed that there were no funds for the start of work. As a result the MC was unable to work while conditions deteriorated in the conflict communities. That was why the MC took the initiative to seek for funding from other sources. Therefore it is useful to note that if government is relied upon a conflict may deteriorate. The implication is that a conflict resolution process that entirely depends on government funding may fail if the state has more pressing development needs to address in other parts of the nation. The lesson is that conflict resolution work should focus on sourcing funds from all sectors of the society. Therefore, the involvement of civil society in conflict resolution is essential. The MC organized community visits. These visits were used to obtain permission to resolve the conflict through alternative means. Practical steps were also taken. For instance, the impassable road linking the two communities was opened. This improved communication. The Committee operated with two important working principles namely:

- I. Every individual or group who related directly or indirectly to the conflict was regarded as a strategic ally for (MC).
- II. Socialize the belligerent communities to accept that ‘violence is powerful but dialogue was more powerful’.

The observance of these principles led to the adoption of multi-dimensional approach to conflict resolution in the Nkonya Alavanyo area. The committee involved all stakeholders and interest groups in or outside the areas in the process.

Resources both human and material were harnessed from all sources to facilitate the work of the committee. The belligerents were made to realize the hard fact of life in their communities; that war has stagnated development, given them a demeaning label as killers (murders) which has also led to the isolation of both areas. They were encouraged to communicate: sit and dialogue to resolve their differences. The Alavanyo and Nkonya people were made to realize, also, that many years of court actions and rulings had not promoted conflict resolution. The observance of the two principles and the subsequent steps taken by the MC presented a novel model for inter-communal conflict resolution in Ghana and elsewhere.

Workshops and seminars for various interest groups involved in the conflict were organized to promote deeper engagement. The trainings were organized for and attended as follows:

- Training of Chiefs, Council of Elders, Queen mothers and Opinion Leaders on Peace Building Initiatives and Conflict Resolution. This was attended by different people representing the two communities.
- Training of Women Leaders from Nkonya and Alavanyo Traditional Areas in Conflict Transformation and Accelerated Development.
- Training of Youth Leaders and War Leaders of Nkonya and Alavanyo in Conflict Resolution Mediation and Development.

At the end of each workshop training participants passed resolutions affirming support for the resolution of the conflict. These trainings were not left to chance. The members of the CC and the Committee Peace Setters continued to work. Besides, follow-up training workshops for further engagement were organized as follows:

- Follow-up training of the Chiefs, Elders and Opinion Leaders on Peace Initiatives and Conflict Resolution.
- Follow-up training for Women Leaders in Nkonya and Alavanyo on Peace Initiatives, Growth and Development. (Basic need considerations)
- Follow-up training for Youth Leaders on Conflict Transformation and Livelihood Strategies (Development) (Basic need consideration)

These follow-up trainings deepen reconciliation. It enabled the committee “to test the concessions (personal resolutions) made by the Chiefs, Elders and other key players in the conflict” so as to refine and sharpen the commitments necessary for lasting peace in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. The commitment of the committee was thus rooted in the words *Dialogue Is ‘More Powerful than Violence’* which they encouraged the groups to imbibe.

Part of the process was making the groups to co-operate towards shared goals can facilitate peace process. Chairman of the MC, Rt. Rev. Dr. Buama, continued to impress on the two neighbours that, permanent peace was within their reach having come this far, but the temptation to rock the boat was equally strong and that if they lowered their guard, detractors who stood to benefit from re-igniting hostilities would take advantage of them. This appeal made significant impacts because the belligerents also realized that they could not achieve their stated goals in the conflict even after over 80 years of warfare. The belligerents were therefore encouraged to co-operate and work together for peace.

Efforts were intensified through the CC and the Community Peace Setters. At the same time the MC members were aware that by providing a controlled environment, the meetings would help the belligerents to develop trust, share

perspectives, disabuse each other of false impressions and explore each other's goals and values. Although nothing is binding on the warring parties, their increased knowledge of the other side's perspectives and interpretations can be the groundwork for productive negotiations and perhaps, the discovery of integrative solutions.

The MC had further methods and strategies of engagement they never took those resolutions as solution to end the conflict. The following activities were undertaken to consolidate the gains of the peace process;

Trust and confidence visits to the communities: These were organized periodically and systematically. They were not haphazardly done. For each visit, the MC was sure that the CC and the Chiefs have worked to prepare the people for the visit.

Mediation visits to Chiefs, Queen mothers and Council of Elders and Opinion Leaders of Nkonya and Alavanyo communities: The Chiefs were visited on regular basis. During the process emerging issues were discussed and updates received. Making of Peace Pact and Peace Match to celebrate the end of hostilities and open the gate for authentic dialogue and peaceful existence in Nkonya and Alavanyo communities. The MC members walked with a cross section of citizens of both communities to signify the beginning of friendly relations and interactions between the Nkonya and Alavanyo.

Opening of link road between the two communities: The road linking the two communities was opened through a joint project by the two communities. This road had remained closed for some time. It also became impassable. Through the intervention of the MC, the two communities re-opened the link road. They engaged

in communal labour to cut the road. The Nkonya side cut one side from Nkonya to Alavanyo. The Alavanyo also cut the other side from Alavanyo to Nkonya.

Monthly review meetings were organized to assess the progress of the resolution process and the extent to which the Chiefs and people of both communities abide by the concessions they were making at each stage of the resolution process. The participants included the chiefs and opinion leaders of both communities, and the members of the structures.

Mid-term Evaluation workshops were also organized by the Mediation Committee. These were organized as appraisal workshops. These were aimed at ensuring that the momentum gained by the conflict resolution process was sustained.

Collaborations with other bodies: the MC also worked with other groups and bodies. Essentially, the MC controlled the process by ensuring that all other groups who were interested in working for conflict resolution in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area were brought under one umbrella. This ensured the proper co-ordination of activities. In fact all activities were mainstreamed. One organization the MC worked with was Management Strategies for Africa. This was a Non-Governmental Organization which has programmes for capacity building in post conflict communities. After gaining clearance from the United Nations Development Programme to work in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area, the MC ensured that the activities of the group were mainstreamed into its broad strategies. As has already been mentioned the committee also worked with Churches in the area, the CDPBT, the CRS, and the WANEP.

These activities ensured that the two communities were constantly in touch with each other. They kept talking to each other and this facilitated the strengthening of friendly relations. It also helped the MC to become abreast with emerging issues

and to re-strategize. This way the MC managed to deal consistently with the concerns of the communities.

The development above followed Stage Five: ‘Acting Together’ of Saunders (1999) peace public process as discussed in Chapter Two. The goal of this stage is to transform blame into responsibility and enemies into partners. The attendants are helped to develop and model a culture of dialogue and reconciliation. They are encouraged to move out from the meetings and act together to have a concrete impact on their constituencies. They are tasked to change the relationship between their people and the opposing camp. These are to be expressed in visible social outcomes. They are expected to carry their fresh understandings from Stage Four to community institutions and implement the Five Step Public Peace Process with an expanded group of new citizens (the entire natives of the two communities).

The two communities of Alavanyo and Nkonya desired and requested projects and activities that will help them express in visible social outcomes evidence of acting together, and indicated by Sanders’ stage five. Among these were embarking on a peace walk together in both communities, cutting the path between linking the two communities, building a common market and a health centre, and celebrating festivals together.

In reflecting on the work of the MC, a participant explained that,

The mediation committee with the support of the two communities achieved many positive milestones like restoration of relations, celebration of common cultural and social activities, reinstatement of economic links’ ... (a comment by participant three, 3/3/2016)

This comment shows the development of the culture of peace among the communities through the instrumentality of the MC. The building of bridges is useful for the consolidation of peace. Such bridges of social activities, common development projects, and other social ties were seen to be established by the two belligerent communities. This success by the MC and the communities was noted to be greatly influenced by the invaluable support of the Catholic Church in the Ho Diocese. A significant comment was that:

The Catholic Church has a peace process and its architecture already. Therefore, using this architecture, Bishop Emeritus Lodonu appointed the Vicar General, one Mr. Edem of CRS, and Rev. Fr. Terence to do the conflict mapping, to understand the conflict, what it is about, who are the actors and all that'...
(comment by participant two. 25/5/2016)

This comment further confirms the use of professional mediators in the peace process. The MC was led professionally to understand the impact of the peace process to be embarked upon using the Catholic peace architecture led by the Vicar General.

We made them understand this so we thought of how to go about the peace process. This is a professional mediation. The Executive Director of West African Network for peace building Dr. Emmanuel Bombandee at the time was the resource person or the leader of the mediation team. We did the architecture and all the design was done from the Bishop House at Akoefe before his arrival'..... He came and we started training the people; the chiefs, war leaders, women, men, a new group call strategic allies (they are people from the area, either Alavanyo or Nkonya living in Ho, Accra, Takoradi, Kumasi, Tema) in Accra for about three or four times. Comment by participant two. 25/5/2016

From this, it can be deduced that the peace process was aided professionally by seasoned professional mediators. More important was the fact that the peace process was more embracing. It identified people in the Diaspora (especially in Canada and the USA) who were financiers of the conflict and brought them into the process. The rationale for identifying and involving those living outside the communities was noted by a participant as follows;

These were people (we believe) were pumping money into the conflict. Because, we believe they are benefiting politically, religiously, or whatever (way) and they are called conflict entrepreneurs.'(comment by participants one and two 6th of June & 25th May, 2016)

This comment identified the role played by conflict entrepreneurs in peace building. In this case, they were involved in the peace process to resolve the conflict through training to enlighten them on their roles in bringing peace into the belligerent communities. Another important aspect of the peace process was stated by a participant as follows:

An agreement was signed by the two parties at Kpando recently (2014) to live together peacefully from now onwards. This agreement was signed through a ceremony where the two communities were in white apparel. But all this may not make any difference from the previous ones (comment by participant ten. 25/5/2016)

This comment attests to the fact that intermittent skirmishes do occur in the peace process. Some community members have come to see them as usual and easily become skeptical when any agreement is signed. The various ways in which the process unfolded with the MC indicates that the process was very participatory. It was not imposed from anyone outside of the communities. It was essentially community

led and there was strong community ownership of the process. These suggest that the process has been difficult but steadily successful. The next section looks at the actors involved in the process.

4.2 The Actors in the Peace Process

One of the main objectives of this study was to identify actors involved in the Nkonya-Alavanyo peace process. In identifying the actors in the peace process, respondents came out with the following people or groups of people, institutions and the identified roles they played;

The composition of the MC discussed in 4.1 suggests that the actors in the peace process were eminent people, members of the community and traditional leaders. The ways in which the MC went about its work also suggested that there were people with experience to handle the peace building process between the two belligerent communities and have contributed significantly in the peace process. They are part of the track one actors.

It must be noted that some other initiatives by government saw the institution of the Justice Acquah Commission and that of Mireku in the 1980's and 90's. But these never went anywhere with their work before being halted by eruptions of the conflict. (Official of the VRCC, 3/3/2016)

This comment reveals the role played by track one actors, the government. The government established these investigative bodies to help initiate a peace process. This initiative was at the instance of the government following renewed clashes in the 1980 and 1990s.

Government efforts have mainly been that of management of the conflict through what may be termed as peace keeping through

the security services enforcing curfew and maintaining social order (Independent Peace Actor, 5/6/2016)

This comment shows that many of the immediate attempts of government to restore peace were through imposing curfew, placing security forces in the two communities to maintain social order. The key track one actors were the military and the police.

Having been wearied with war and violence and the limitation of the Judicial System for resolving the land dispute, the two communities in mutual resolve, decided to take their destiny into their own hands by appealing to government through the Volta Regional Coordinating Council (VRCC) to assist them set up mediation committee. (Traditional Leader, 6/6/2016)

From this comment, the main actors involved were the VRCC, District Assemblies (track one actors), and the peace agents from the belligerent communities (track two actors). The VRCC established the Mediation Committee (MC) which became the primary coordinating agency of the peace process. From the analysis of the nature of the peace process discussed in Section 4.1, the Mediation Committee comprised stakeholders from all the groups involved in the research such that efforts are not individualized to the various constituents from which participants were selected for this study. The entire peace process was coordinated under the umbrella of the mediation committee so that different groups were not involved in patchworks of activities that did not contribute to a common agenda.

Therefore, the actors involved in the peace building process were the traditional leaders (Paramount Chiefs and Queen Mothers) of the Alavanyo and Nkonya, youths, men and women, Opinion Leaders, (track two actors) and the Government, Independent Professional Peace Actors, Volta Regional State Attorney, Regional Coordinating Council, the Clergy, and the Courts of Ghana (as track one

actors). This fits well into the propositions of multi-track diplomacy. The various actors in the process further indicate that the process was participatory.

4.3 Conditions that Militated against the Peace Process

There are conditions which work against the peace building process. In this study, various participants identify the following factors militating against the peace building process between the two belligerent communities. They included rumor which was mentioned by some participants. One person stated that:

I was here and then they said a woman in our town said she had a phone call and said Nkonya people were preparing massively to attack in few days' time or even the next day. We quickly have to rush and got the woman to get the number, we went to MTN to confirm the originator of the call but MTN has not been able to give us the source. We brought some fear to the people that if you make such anonymous call we can trace and bring you to book and now our motto is that we will not shield any wrong doer anybody who take the law into his own hands must be punish (A comment a Chief of Alavanyo, 5/6/2016)

Another participant stated that:

I was here and some prominent native of Alavanyo called me and said that some people were coming for a marriage rite in one of our towns along the Kpando side. When they came to Nkonya – Tayi, they reported that some young men came out of the bush and they asked them if that was the road to Alavanyo. They said yes. They asked what we were you going to do. We replied, we were going for a marriage rite but they said you can't go. Go back and pass through Kpando. So they went back and they said the people pulled out gun and started giving some warning shoot. When they saw that they returned. I told him I have heard and I will do my investigation. So quickly, I call the assemblyman and

I told him this is the message reaching me. He can go to the town where the marriage took place and find out whether some people came like that. They said a lady who reported the matter ..., because the issue now is unfounded nobody heard it apart from you and she got up and said she was sorry that she was telling lies. So you see many of these things do happen (Comment by Chief of Nkonya, 6/6/2016)

Another participant also mentioned that *'peace cannot be built when rumours have taken grounds*. From the comments, it can be said that false reports or rumours are one important condition militating against the peace process between the two belligerent communities. The rumours create fear and panic among the community members which normally results in escalation.

Another peace factor militating against the peace process is the limited mandate from the government to the mediation committees. It was stated by one committee member that their mandate has limits which affect the peace process. According to the participant, *the government has not given us the mandate to enforce discipline, maintain ground rules and certain decisions arrived at*.

During one of our meetings, Nkonyas presented a different set of representative different from those who started with us. The chairman insisted that the original representatives should be brought back. They refuse to do that. The MC could do nothing accept closing the work for the day and stating that, they will only resume when the original representatives were brought (comment by Youth Leader from Alavanyo, 5/7/2016)

The above comment shows that lack of mandate from the government to the MC made it difficult to enforce ground rules discipline and compliance with decisions or agreement arrived at. It made the work of the committee painfully slow.

The third militating factor against the peace building process is ethnic politics. This is because members of the communities belong to different political parties which use the conflict to score political points by their offices to influence the peace process. According to a document from the desk of VRCC:

Ethnic politics have provided a major challenge to the work of the committees set up for the peace building process. We heard in 2004 that, the Biakoye constituency that was predominantly Nkonya and had suffered the guts of ethnic politics. It was found out that Biakoye in particular had been in disarray. They said Edward Collins Boateng, accused the then Volta Regional Minister, Kwasi Owusu-Yeboah of using divide and rule tactics. The Regional Minister was accused of expressing anti-Nkonya sentiments. He was alleged to have been previously engaged as a lawyer for the Alavanyos in the dispute. The implication was that the Minister lacked the moral authority to oversee the work of the committee to resolve the conflict.

From this, it can be clearly seen that ethnic politics or nepotism has some level of influence on the peace building process between the two belligerent communities. Lack of resources such as logistics and finances have strong militating influence on the peace building process. It was stated by a participant that;

availability of resources (finance) to help the committee work smoothly was lacking. Government just put the committee in place without seeking for resources to have the members trained. Though the resources came later, but not at the time that they needed it for the training and so the Catholic Church had to come

in to help during the training’. (Comment by Chief from Volta Regional House of Chief, 25/5/2016)

Any time the committee met us, we were transported from our villages to Ho and back, fed and sometime housed in a hotel. ...yes, this must be costly. At a point we could not meet. We are told when things are organized the mediation will resume. (comment by Youth Leader from Nkonya, 5/6/2016)

This result shows that the supply of resources for the work of the mediation committee was not readily available and this delayed the commencement of the work of the mediation committee. The logistical constraints also interrupted their work along the way.

Another factor militating against the peace building process is conflict beneficiaries. Their activities prevented effective working of the peace building process. Some participants mentioned that people are benefiting from the natural resources on land which is the main source of the conflict. They stated that:

Selfish people from the two communities hired chainsaw operators to come over and cut timber, bamboo and Odum trees on the land. This act usually occurs when there is curfew in the communities, lumbering goes on in the forest, because they knew people would not go to the farm or come over to the bush to do anything since they are afraid (Comment by Opinion Leader from Alavanyo, 5/6/2016)

Another thing is that others go to the bush to uproot people’s palm tree to tap and distill Akpeteshie for themselves and trees are cut down indiscriminately all over the forest. Some also harvest people’s cola nuts sell. (Comment by Opinion Leader from Nkonya, 5/6/2016)

All effort to resolve the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict over a disputed land which we have not created have failed, ... those who benefit are somewhere enjoying their loot while life's are lost, people are being killed day after day. The selfish individual in their comfort elsewhere always pushed other sufferers to suffer more in their pain without having a second thought over their lives. (Comment by Official of the Catholic Church, 5/6/2016)

Women suffer most while the (brave) men continue to benefit....they (men) will not agree to end these escalations. They are able to go to the farms, forest to harvest trees, food crops and mineral resources for their benefit (Comment by a District Assembly Official, 12/6/2016)

These comments indicated that there are conflict beneficiaries in the belligerent communities. They would prefer the uneasy calm exist for them to continue to enjoy their loot. These beneficiaries may continue to stoke the conflict situation through rumour mongering, revenge attacks and assassination, which retrogress the efforts of the mediation committee.

Retaliation by relatives who lost their relations in the conflict is another factor militating against the peace building process. A participant mentioned that:

I have trained my children in warfare and weapon handling, and instructed them to avenge my brothers and myself if I should die.

I hope they do that irrespective of the condition of peace they find themselves. (Comment by a Opinion Leader from Nkonya, 12/6/2016)

This clearly shows that some people in the belligerent communities are not willing to welcome peace because they want to avenge the death of relatives. Thus,

they are barricades to the peace building process. Generally, the key militating factors against the peace building process identified by the participant were rumours creating new escalations, lack of mandate for the committee to ensure compliance of agreements, lack of finance and logistics, conflict beneficiaries who are plundering the natural resources for their gain and will do anything to keep the conflict going on. Being an interest based conflict, people get to fight on 'rational' grounds to retaliate for harm done them. Such people get to wait for the best opportunity and never compromise, and ethnic political interference.

4.4 The Measures needed to Achieve Positive Peace in the Alavanyo-Nkonya Area

The respondents adduced the following in their opinion as some things that could be done to achieve positive peace in Alavanyo-Nkonya area. One participant mentioned that:

The work of the mediation committee was much appreciated compared to the interventions made by government in attempt to settle the dispute and hence recommended that the committee should be brought back with a mandated power giving to them to fully operate. The most appropriate measure is when the two parties themselves are given the chance to control their case, thus by taking the dispute into their own hand in order to resolve it through the traditional leadership and the mediation team because they felt the people always listen to their chiefs and elders better than any other person coming to them (Comment by a District Assembly Official, 5/6/2016)

The mediation team should also re-strategize and come back with the full backing of the government with legal mandate, so that they can now implement their findings to ensure peace between the two groups. (Comment by a Opinion Leader from ALavanyo, 5/7/2016)

From these, it can be said that the attainment of positive peace works best with mediation committee when given mandate. This is because the mandate makes the work of the committee less odious. However, a participant is of divergent view on the said mandate. He said, *‘the major work of the mediation committee is listening, having the patience to listen and hear them out. Any attempt to force any person will not create the good will needed to win their confidence.*

Another measure to achieve positive peace should be strong education and awareness creation for the community members to stop depending on government mechanisms for attainment of peace. According to a participant, they should take their destiny in their hands:

...for about 3 years, giving promises no new mediation committee that’s why we are telling our people that we are killing our own selves let’s take our destiny in our own hand if you want government to come down they have their own priorities, they are not looking at your conflict as anything big which demands attention... (Comment by a District Assembly Official, 10/8/2016)

Another participant related that a native of Nkonya gave the MC two million cedis to assist their work. Another also related how the Catholic Relief Services supported the peace process as follows:

when government funding was not forth coming, I had to write a proposal to the Catholic Relief Services (CRS) for the release of

\$5000. 00 to get Mr. Bombandee contracted to lead the Mediation’
(Comment by Official of the Catholic Secretariat, 25/5/2016)

These comments indicate that mutual initiative of members of the belligerent communities is very vital for building peace. This mutual responsibility is the first step towards a peace process. The belligerent communities agreed to work in mediation. Over reliance on government only stalled the peace building mechanism. Training of traditional leaders in professional mediation skills will help the native courts to attain positive peace in their communities. This is because traditional authorities need some kind of expertise to complement their skills in peace building.

A participant stated that:

I felt they (Traditional Leaders) should also forecast that there might be weakness in the future and so they should begin to think of seeking for expertise that would strengthen their work: when there is lack of future plan and progress, failure is eminent... they should endeavor to expose any wrongdoer or individual who want to bring confusion within the rank of the two towns...Although, the traditional setting seems to be doing well at this time, in my opinion I felt they have actually learnt something indirectly from the committees that they worked with. (Comment by VRCC Official, 12/6/2016)

Training of the traditional authorities in handling issues within the peace process at their traditional courts would prevent shielding of wrongdoers in their communities. It would further prevent bias in their judgments.

Government should provide logistics adequately and timely for mediation committee to work effectively. According to a participant, “*The government should address the resources and logistics challenges that the mediation committee would*

face. This comment indicates that the mediation committee needed to be well resourced to work and earn the trust and belief of the people involved in the mediation.

It was rumoured that the security personnel who were supposed to enforce curfew were alleged to be collecting bribes from the conflict beneficiaries. A participant commented that:

...the security should be checked and dealt with so that they stop the harassment of the people, and dealing in forest resource exploitation. Instead, they should watch over their mandate” (Comment by Youth Leader from Nkonya, 12/6/2016)5/6/2016).

The security personnel should be monitored so that they focused on their peace keeping job. This would allow for positive attainment of peace. To achieve positive peace in the belligerent communities, community members should cooperate with external people mandated to build peace between the communities. A participant mentioned that;

Before the mediation committee can help attain positive peace, the people themselves [natives of both communities] must be ready enough to make peace by cooperating with the teams and the security to achieve its purpose... (Comment by representative of the Volta Regional House of Chiefs, 12/6/2016)

The analysis in this section shows that there are several measures that need to achieve positive peace in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. The first is cooperation between partners involved in peace building process as noted by authors such as (Saunders, 1999; Diamond and McDonalds, 1996). Aside from that, the adoption of a multi-track approach which ensured the engagement of various groups of people in the peace process seemed very helpful (Burgess, 2003; Brewer, 2010; O’Reilly, Súilleabháin, and Paffenholz, 2015). Again the coordination of efforts through a single

agency, the Mediation Committee, seemed very helpful to the peace process. Thus, various stakeholders involved in the peace process should work cooperatively. Mediation Committees should work with a wider group of community members, institutions and government.

4.5 Summary

The results concerning the nature of the peace process show that it has been a long and complicated process. The processes have been back and forth including several actions in and outside of court. There were failures and successes. Several actors have been involved in the process and there are several factors and conditions militating against the process. The mediation committee is leading the peace building process by working with various professionals, community members and peace actors. It has involved itself in capacity building both for members of the MC and community peace setters and other principal actors. The analysis highlights that there are several measures that are needed to ensure that the peace process succeeds. Those include cooperation between partners involved in peace building process and the adoption of a multi-track approach. The next chapter discusses the findings of the research in line with the research questions and the literature reviewed in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the research that have been presented in chapter four. It is organized in line with the four main themes with the principal research questions. The themes are; to examine the nature of the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area, to find out the actors in the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area, to find out what conditions militate against the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area, to examine measures needed to achieve positive peace in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area.

5.1 The Nature of the Peace Process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya Area

From the data analyzed, respondents identified the following as the nature of the peace process. The peace process did not follow one consistent path. The process was jerky, inconsistent and complex. The process experienced several reversals and setbacks – re-escalations that derailed gains made at certain stages (Maiese, 2003). The process started with concerned citizens acting as peace agents. They (citizens) explored both the traditional and formal legal approaches to peace. Concerned citizens sought peaceful resolution through the traditional court system, drawing on Ghanaian alternative dispute resolution mechanisms to find solutions and achieve peace. The processes involved community peace setters who were opposed to violence as a means of addressing conflicts. The formal legal system was also used to seek justice; and formal judgments were passed by courts of competent jurisdiction. The complexity of the entire process fits into what writers have identified as the

challenges with long term peace building processes (Doyle, 2006; Brewer, 2010; O'Reilly et al., 2015).

Overall, the process was very participatory and community led - there was strong community ownership of the process. The process involved state level activities aimed at achieving peace. There were commissions and committees at the political level as delineated by Saunders (1999) and Adzahlie-Mensah (2007).

The data shows that several non-professionals and professionals have been engaged in the peace process over the years. The process involved the communities (Alavanyo and Nkonya) working together on joint projects. Activities included embarking on a peace walk together, cutting the path linking the two communities, building a common market and a health centre, and celebrating festivals together. These activities in the peace process showed evidence of how much 'enemy images' which Adzahlie-Mensah (2007) identified as fueling conflicts and preventing peace building efforts in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area have been removed. In that consistency, those activities contributed to confidence building measures that make the peace processes self-sustaining (Reychler, 2001).

The data indicates that the Nkonya-Alavanyo peace process has a long history of escalation and de-escalation of violence since 1923 supports. It supports the views of Howard (2001) that peace processes are not simple. It stresses the point of Saunders that there are various stages involved in the process. Within the thinking of Saunders (1999), peace processes are complex and often demanding sustained commitment.

The path travelled by the process – beginning with the chieftaincy court, to the formal courts, adopted commission of investigations and finally with professional

mediation committee – shows evidence that the process has all the needed political will give that it is not externally imposed as described by Stevens (1995). Within that thinking the possibilities of success are more than of failure. Given that the process involved all actors fits well into the propositions of multi-track diplomacy theory. The processes involved the Volta Regional Coordinating Council, ordinary citizens working together in a collaborative way sustains the point by Gordon (2011) that commitment must be supported by co-operation as the right tools to be used for effective peace building. It also speaks to the points of Volpe and Chandler (2007) that peace building initiatives must explore various options and be exhaustive of all possible factor processes that are good options. As in the case of the Nkonya-Alavanyo process, various options have been explored. They have been persistent and involved various people, groups and institutions. The traditional resolution mechanisms, formal track one activities and systems approaches have been explored.

The MC represents a structural mechanism that was employed in addition to the personal and relational mechanisms that were employed. The success of the work of the MC over the years as extolled in the data speaks to the arguments that stable peace must be built on social, economic, and political foundations that serve the needs of the populace (Haugerudbraaten, 2001). The complexity of the process speaks to the arguments in the literature that crises arise out of systemic roots (Adzhalie-Mensah, 2007; Haugerudbraaten, 2001). The suggestion that is confirmed in this research is the fact that peace processes are typically complex and no lasting peace can be achieved without addressing those complexities.

The workshops and the procedural approaches employed by the MC showed the complexities involved in the process. The data analysis showed that the MC took

several steps to build bridges. They created structures and communication systems were in place to improve relations between the parties. They encouraged parties to sign peace agreements so that the peace process is continually self-sustaining (Reychler, 2001). The engagement of both parties in mutual projects helped to address past wrongdoing while at the same time promoted healing and rule of law (Howard, 2001). The confidence building workshops improved communication (Lederach, 1997) that is necessary to re-construct the reciprocal relations among the parties. It may be argued that the entire process reflects Saunders (1999) Public Peace process which asks for a procedural and a stage by stage approach to peace building.

5.2 The Actors in the Peace Process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya Area

The analysis in chapter four indicates that there were many actors involved in the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. There were both track one and track two actors as well as other civil society groups. Track one actors included government functionaries at the District Assembly and the Regional Coordinating Council. Track two actors included the traditional leaders (Paramount Chiefs and Queen Mothers) the Youths of Alavanyo and Nkonya. Men and Women and Opinion Leaders were involved in the process. Other actors included independent professional peace actors and the clergy. The Courts have been involved and NGOs support the process in several ways including facilitating capacity building activities. The myriad of actors involved in the process makes it akin to the propositions in multi-track diplomacy (Maise, 2001).

In consistence with the propositions in multi-track diplomacy theory, several actors were involved in the Nkonya-Alavanyo peace process. Those included CC members used as “foot soldiers”. They interacted with the people on daily basis.

Since the Membership included respected leaders of the communities, their views were respected by their people. They were responsible for educating their people on the need to embrace peace and use dialogue in resolving the conflict. They worked among the people on daily basis to resolve all threats and manage rumours. What may be argued is that the MC worked such that what is known in the literature as ‘spoilers’ became actors in the peace process (Stedman, 2000; Zahar, 2008; Gray, 2009). The implication is that the biggest source of risk for peace processes have been dealt with and converted as an opportunity for success (Ayres, 2006; Stepanova, 2006; Shedd, 2008; Avant, 2009). Spoilers and peace actors worked together with clergymen resident in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. The actors involved in the Nkonya-Alavanyo peace process makes it akin to propositions of the Lederach (1997) model of peace building, to the effect that it usually requires wide variety of agents or actors. It also falls in consistence with other writings which suggest that multi-track approaches are necessary to achieve positive peace (Maise, 2003). It speaks to the need to develop models that ensure the engagement of different social actors in peace processes. It highlights the importance of community groups working in close collaborations with other civil society institutions of personalities to achieve peace. It bespeaks the importance of working with both technocrats (professional peace building experts) and community peace setters at the same time.

The analysis of the work of the MC showed it established structures through which it ensured that it was in constant touch with the two belligerent communities. Those structures revealed that several actors were involved in the peace process. The Mediation Team itself, Consultative Committee, Community Peace Setters and the Ho Diocesan Peace Building Team became implementing bodies. The way the various structures implemented “Peace Plans” and decisions of the Mediation Committee in

all the communities within the Alavanyo-Nkonya area showed the importance of involving multiple set of people in peace processes. Much of their work was about building capacity of the members that constitute the structures, so that they can effectively engage in peace plans by first understanding and reflecting back fully on how a reaction from one triggers another reaction from the other. Simply put, they were engaged to understand how the cycle of hurt was established. Therefore, perpetrators of violence were educated on the harmful effects of their actions such that they turned into supporters of peace by giving donations to support the peace process instead of funding conflict.

5.3. Conditions that Militated Against the Peace Process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya Area

The involvement of various stakeholders such as committees and experienced individuals, plays key role in attaining positive peace (Lencioni, 2005). However, the results showed that there are identified conditions which militate against peace building process. The analysis indicated that several factors militated against the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area. The main reasons listed were peddling of rumours which created new escalations. Inadequacy of funds and logistics for convening committee meetings and workshops affected capacity building that is needed to support the peace process. Conflict beneficiaries who were plundering the natural and forest resources for their gain will do anything to stop the peace process. Being an interest based conflict, people get to fight on 'rational' grounds as retaliation for harms done them. Such people get to wait for the best opportunity and never compromise. Also, ethnic and political interference from various actors have been fundamental factors that militate against the peace process. Prominent factors

identified in the literature include rumours and the activities of spoilers (Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007; Brewer, 2010; O'Reilly et al., 2015). Therefore, previous research may examine how these militating factors can be addressed.

5.4 Measures Needed to Achieve Positive Peace in the Alavanyo-Nkonya Area

The analysis indicates that there are several factors that are needed to achieve positive peace in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. The analysis showed that there are several measures needed to achieve positive peace in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. The first is cooperation between partners involved in peace building process. Aside from that, it may be argued that multi-track approach is required. Thus, various stakeholders involved in the peace process should work cooperatively. Mediation Committees should work with a wider group of community members, institutions and government. Given the analysis there are several pointers to the need to further strengthen the multi-track approach, especially with reference to the funding of the peace process. Concerning such, an earlier study of the Conflict resolution in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area argued that finance plays crucial role in peace processes (see Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007). Similar proposition is made in track eight of the multi-track diplomacy approach as delineated by Diamond and McDonalds (1996). This would suggest a need to work with companies and financial institutions which may have business interest in the area. The lack of this contact seems to be a major leaking point in the otherwise very successful work of the MC. Therefore, the MC and other interested parties may need to approach banks and other financial institutions including business interest to provide funding to support the peace process with a view of the potentials that future investment in the area holds. Aside from that the

issues about unaddressed needs as in the works of Burton (1990) may be taken more seriously so that there are no future concerns about neglected needs.



CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY , CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter sums up the key findings of the research based on the main research questions. It presents the recommendations and the conclusions drawn from the study. The dissertation was undertaken with the purpose of examining the Nature of the peace process; identify the actors in the process; identify the conditions that militate against the peace process; and find suggestions that will ensure positive peace.

6.1 Summary of Research

This section draws the main finding of the analysis in chapter four. The summary is based on the four research questions investigated. As indicated in chapter one, the four main research questions that this summary addresses are the following;

What is the nature of the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area?

The peace process was implemented as a multi-track activity with strong community ownership. It began with the chieftaincy court, to the formal courts, state commissions and finally with a mutually agreed mediation committee that worked with all parties and stakeholder groups that have an interest in the conflict. The process started with concerned citizens acting as peace agents. The citizens explored both the traditional and formal legal approaches to peace. Concerned citizens sought peaceful resolution through the traditional court system, drawing on Ghanaian alternative dispute resolution mechanisms to find solutions and achieve peace. The processes involved community peace setters who were opposed to violence as a means of addressing

conflicts. The formal legal system was also used to seek justice; and formal judgments were passed by courts of competent jurisdiction.

Overall, the process was very participatory and community led - there was strong community ownership of the process. The process involved state level activities aimed at achieving peace. There were commissions and committees at the political level. It showed that several non-professionals and professionals were engaged in the peace process over the years. The process involved the communities (Alavanyo and Nkonya) working together on joint projects. Activities included embarking on a peace walk together, cutting the path linking the two communities, building a common market and a health centre, and celebrating festivals together.

Who are the actors in the peace process?

The actors involved in the peace process included both track one actors (Govt. functionaries) and Track two actors (traditional leaders, youth, women and opinion leaders) as well as independent professional peace actors and the clergy were involved in the process. Track one actors included government functionaries at the District Assembly and the Regional Coordinating Council. Track two actors included the traditional leaders (Paramount Chiefs and Queen Mothers) the Youths of Alavanyo and Nkonya. Men and Women and Opinion Leaders were involved in the process. Other actors included independent professional peace actors and the clergy. The Courts have been involved and NGOs support the process in several ways including facilitating capacity building activities.

What conditions militate against the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area?

The analysis indicated that several factors militated against the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area. The main reasons listed were peddling of rumours which created new escalations. Inadequacy of funds and logistics for convening committee meetings and workshops affected capacity building that is needed to support the peace process. Conflict beneficiaries who were plundering the natural and forest resources for their gain will do anything to stop the peace process. Being an interest based conflict people get to fight on 'rational' grounds as retaliation for harms done them. Such people get to wait for the best opportunity and never compromise. Also, ethnic and political interference from various actors have been fundamental factors that militate against the peace process.

What measures are needed to achieve positive peace in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area?

The analysis shows that there are several measures needed to achieve positive peace in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. The first is cooperation between partners involved in peace building process. Aside from that, it may be argued that multi-track approach is required. Thus, various stakeholders involved in the peace process should work cooperatively. Mediation Committees should work with a wider group of community members, institutions and government.

6.2 Conclusion

This research explored the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. It highlights that the peace process did not follow one consistent path - it was jerky, inconsistent and complex – and involving several reversals and setbacks – re-

escalations that derailed gains made at certain stages. The process involved ordinary citizens acting as peace agents. The process involved both traditional and formal legal approaches to peace. Concerned citizens sought peaceful resolution through the traditional court system (alternative dispute resolution mechanisms) to find solutions and achieve peace. Community peace setters who were opposed to violence used the formal legal system to seek justice. Formal judgments were pronounced by Courts of competent jurisdiction. The analysis indicated that the process involved state level activities aimed at achieving peace. There were commissions and committees at the political level. It showed that several non-professionals and professionals were engaged in the peace process over the years. The process involved the communities (Alavanyo and Nkonya) working together. Activities included embarking on a peace walk together, cutting the path between linking the two communities, building a common market and a health centre, and celebrating festivals together.

Several actors are involved in the peace process. Track one actors (government functionaries at the District Assembly and the Regional Coordinating Council) and a multiple set of actors are involved in the peace process. The other actors included the traditional leaders (Paramount Chiefs and Queen Mothers), the Youths and Women. Other actors included opinion leaders in both communities, independent professional peace actors and the clergy (representing churches) and NGOs.

Several factors were militating against the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area. The main reasons listed were peddling of rumours which created new escalations. Inadequacy of funds and logistics for convening committee meetings and workshops affected capacity building that is needed to support the peace

process. Conflict sponsors and beneficiaries who were plundering the natural and forest resources for their gain will do anything to stop the peace process. Ethnic and political interference from various actors have been fundamental factors that militate against the peace process.

Several measures were needed to achieve positive peace in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. Cooperation between both communities is important to the peace building process. They need to work together using a multi-track approach. The Mediation Committee needs funds in order to work with a wider group of community members, institutions and government.

6.4 Recommendations

The following recommendations are made based on the findings of the research.

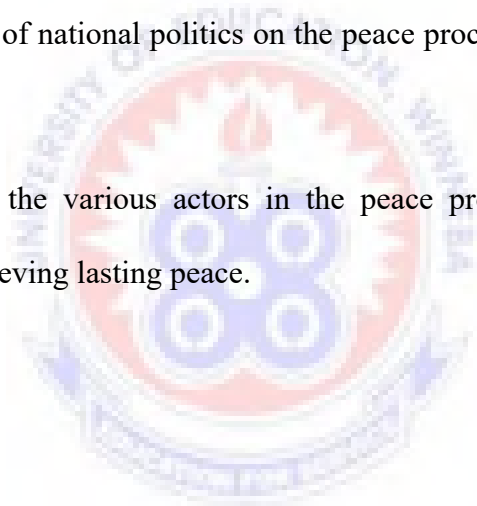
- Efforts should be made by researchers and the National Peace Council to document the lessons from the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area.
- Conflict researchers need to conduct grounded research on ways to deal with the spoiler problems in peace processes.
- Leaders in both communities need to develop system of managing rumours which created new escalations.
- The Mediation Committee and the Regional Coordinating Council needs to discuss how to deal with the problems of finance and logistics for convening committee meetings and workshops.
- State authorities including the police should develop appropriate ways to deal with conflict beneficiaries who are plundering the natural and forest resources for their gain.

6.5 Further Areas of Research

From the lessons of this research the following are recommended for further study.

Research may explore:

- The threats to the peace process, the early warning systems that exist to prevent future conflicts.
- The impacts of the peace process on the development of the area
- The ways in which the criminal issues and spoiler activities can be dealt with without derailing the peace process should be researched.
- The impacts of national politics on the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area.
- The role of the various actors in the peace process and the contributions towards achieving lasting peace.



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Press Statement by Mediation Committee engaged On the Resolution of the Alavanyo-Nkonya Conflict. 10TH Dec. 2007

Resolution Passed by the Youth of Nkonya and Alavanyo and Presented at the Close of a Sensitisation and peace building workshop held for them by the Mediation Committee from 8th-11th January 2006.



APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INDEPENDENT ACTORS IN THE PEACE PROCESS

Introduction

I am Linda Bedzra, an MPhil student of Social studies from the University of Education, Winneba, researching into the topic: A study of the Peace Process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict zone. I am collecting data for the study above. Thank you very much for giving me the audience and allowing me to solicit your view on the topic.

The study aimed at getting information on the actors on the peace process. It seeks to investigate the peace process undertaken so far in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict zone. I want to assure you of your confidentiality.

Part I: Socio-demographic data

Age []

Marital Status []

Occupation []

Religion []

Part 2: Interview guide on research question

1. How would you describe the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area?
2. How would you access the nature of the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area?

3. How is process affected by the actors in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area?
4. What constraints are working against the peace process? Which do you consider major?
5. In your opinion how can these constraints be addressed?
6. What do you suggest to be done to achieve positive peace?
7. What prospects do you perceive for the Alavanyo-Nkonya peace process?
8. Do you have any comment or suggestion in this respect?



APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR TRADITIONAL AND OPINION LEADERS IN THE ALAVANYO-NKONYA CONFLICT AREA

I am Linda Bedzra, an Mphil student of Social studies from the University of Education, Winneba, researching into the topic: A study of the Peace Process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict zone. I am collecting data for the study above. Thank you very much for giving me the audience and allowing me to solicit your view on the topic.

The study aimed at getting information on the actors on the peace process. It seeks to investigate the peace process undertaken so far in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict zone.

I want to assure you of your confidentiality.

Part I Socio-demographic data

Age []

Marital Status []

Number of Children/dependent []

Occupation []

Religion []

Part 2 interview guide on research question

1. How would you describe the peace process in your area?
2. Who are the actors in your area?
3. What has been done since the last open conflict to support the peace process?
4. How has any peace process been initiated?

5. How would you describe the parties that are involved in the peace process?
1995
6. What constraints or factors militate against the peace?
7. In your opinion how can these constraints be addressed?
8. What do you suggest to be done to achieve positive peace?
9. What prospects do you perceive for the Alavanyo-Nkonya peace process?
10. Do you have any comment or suggestion in this respect?
11. What are your views or what measures do you think can prove effective in dealing with the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict?

Thank you for your generous contributions.

