

**THE IMPACT OF VIOLENT CONFLICT ON RURAL  
DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY OF BAWKU  
MUNICIPAL AREA, GHANA**

**G.L MALIK – KUSI**

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OF THE BAWKU MUNICIPAL AREA, GHANA**

G. L MALIK- KUSI

Submitted in fulfilment of requirements for the degree **Masters in Development Studies**  
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**SUPERVISOR: MR SAVO HELETA**

## **DECLARATION**

I, **GEORGINA LEILA MALIK-KUSI** hereby declare that this treatise for the award of **MA (Development Studies)** is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for assessment or completion of any postgraduate qualification to another university or for another qualification.

G.L Malik- Kusi

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to myself and my entire family. I love you all.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I wish to acknowledge God for his mercies and grace throughout my studies. I am particularly grateful to my supervisor Mr Savo Heleta for his support and relentless efforts in making this work a success. I also want to acknowledge all lecturers and coordinators who have imparted knowledge into me at this level of my education.

My sincere thanks go to my parents who supported me financially in my study. To my sister Jamila, whose companionship and love made a lot of difference in hard times. To all friends and loved ones, church folks and course mates, thank you for your encouragements and support. God bless you all.

## **ABSTRACT**

Development has suffered a great deal due to the frequent changes that occur in life and these changes inevitably cause conflict. A typical example is the research setting, the Bawku Municipal area in Ghana. This area has suffered severe forms of conflict which in one way or the other have affected the development of the district and the people as a whole. The effect of conflict has not only affected the rural development but also social, human, intellectual, economic and technological developments in general. While the aim of all countries is to develop, some may have reached a stage where they qualify as developed; others are still in the process of reaching their goal; yet others are still struggling to barely survive thus the names 'developed countries, developing countries and under developed countries'.

Most developing countries are faced with the problem of rural underdevelopment and Ghana is no exception. Most rural areas have been neglected in the development project of the country. Resources are channelled to the urban areas and other places where the government reaps profits; however the Bawku municipal area has not only suffered underdevelopment from government negligence but also from conflict. The district of Bawku has been in tribal war stretching for the past ten years. This has stalled most developmental works from both government and external bodies. The area is one of the poorest places in Ghana; the problem is not only with rural development but social, economic and human development as well.

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## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.0.BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY**

Conflict is a complex subject that has attracted much attention in the development literature. The causes of conflict within West Africa range from a diverse mix of environmental, social, political, ethnic and cultural factors. Conflict constitutes the major explanatory factor for famine, hunger and malnutrition given the complex nature of the humanitarian crisis that results from conflict. Conflict is disruptive and has strong implications for rural development. Considering the current outbreak of violent conflict in many parts of the world, the fact remains that the issue of conflict has been on the ascendancy and its impact on development has been very disturbing. There have been deaths, loss of properties and displacement of many people across villages, towns and nations. (Lund 2003) There are countless cases of conflict worldwide. In the case of Africa, Ivory Coast, Sudan, Tunisia, Rwanda, Somalia, Kenya, some parts of Nigeria and Ghana have also had their fair share of the negative effects of conflict. Some scholars in the field of economic development have argued that conflict is an interruption of development and that development cannot begin until war has ceased in a particular location. (Thomas 2006:186).

Like most concepts in the social sciences, different scholars have defined development differently placing emphasis based on their individual areas of specialization. Johan Galtung (1996: 127-129) identifies three broad definitions of the concept of development in the scholarly literature. The first, refers to “the unfolding of a culture; realizing the code or

cosmology of that culture.” This is a cultural relativist understanding of the concept, and implies that development is construed differently in different cultures. The second definition sees development as “the progressive satisfaction of the needs of human and non-human nature, starting with those most in need”. The emphasis in this definition is on the satisfaction of both human and non-human needs. The third definition stresses, “economic growth, but at nobody’s expense”. This definition identifies the most commonly accepted understanding of development as proposed by the Bretton Woods Institutions. However, it includes a social justice clause – “but at nobody’s expense” -, which leads us to what has become known as sustainable development concept: that development must meet the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generation to meet their own needs.

The state of many rural areas in Ghana is nothing to write home about; many are underdeveloped and stricken by poverty. One major reason for this is the presence of conflict in these areas. Developmental projects often come to a standstill, leading to major decline in the progress of such places. The economies of many rural areas have plummeted and they are in crisis (Martin 1965:6 -13). Many rural communities suffer from declines in population, jobs and tax bases. Indeed improving the economic, physical and social environment in rural Ghana is increasingly gaining the attention of government thus the emphasis on rural economic development which is “a multipurpose, comprehensive approach to making rural areas a better place to live and work” (Tweenten and Brinkman, 1976: 7). However the impact of conflict on these areas cannot to be overemphasised.

This study seeks to unveil the extent to which violent conflict has impeded the very fabric of the Ghanaian society. Although conflict is a very normal part of our social existence, periods of rapid development are likely to be particularly fraught with conflicts of a more serious nature. Typically the conflict associated with development is multi – faceted, and needs

Careful analysis. Various types of conflict are associated within developmental context. It is very important to note that most conditions giving rise to conflicts are not recognised and this may be the background of most of the conflict around us. There is a high tendency of reacting to the visible side of the conflict spectrum and in so doing; we may be ignoring some of the most important causative factors of conflict. This research thus seeks to investigate the root causes as well as the impact of conflict on rural development in the Bawku municipal area.

### **Overview of the study area**

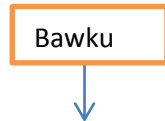
Bawku municipality is one of the eight municipalities in the Upper East Region of Ghana, bordering Burkina Faso on the north and Togo on the east. It covers a land area of about 121505 sq. km and has an estimated total population of 205,849; giving it a population density of 169 persons per square kilometres which is comparatively smaller than that of Accra and Kumasi with 2.4 million and 1.8million respectively. The population is 20 percent urban and 80 percent rural. Household sizes in the Municipality are fairly large. According to the 2000 population census report, on the average there are seven persons per household (Bawku Municipal Medium Term Development Plan 2006-2009).

The main ethnic groups are Kusasi, Mamprusi, Bissa and Mossi. The people of Bawku are very traditional and hence, traditional leadership plays a vital role in the governance system of the area. The traditional authority encapsulates the chieftaincy institution which is highly recognised. Though no major role is assigned to the traditional authorities under the municipal system of governance, its position is guaranteed in the Ghanaian Constitution based on the support it wields among the people of the Municipality. This is especially so in the rural areas where the influence of central government and the Municipal Assembly tend

to be minimal. Traditional authorities play several roles including allocations of land, settling disputes, maintaining law and order, and upholding traditional customs.

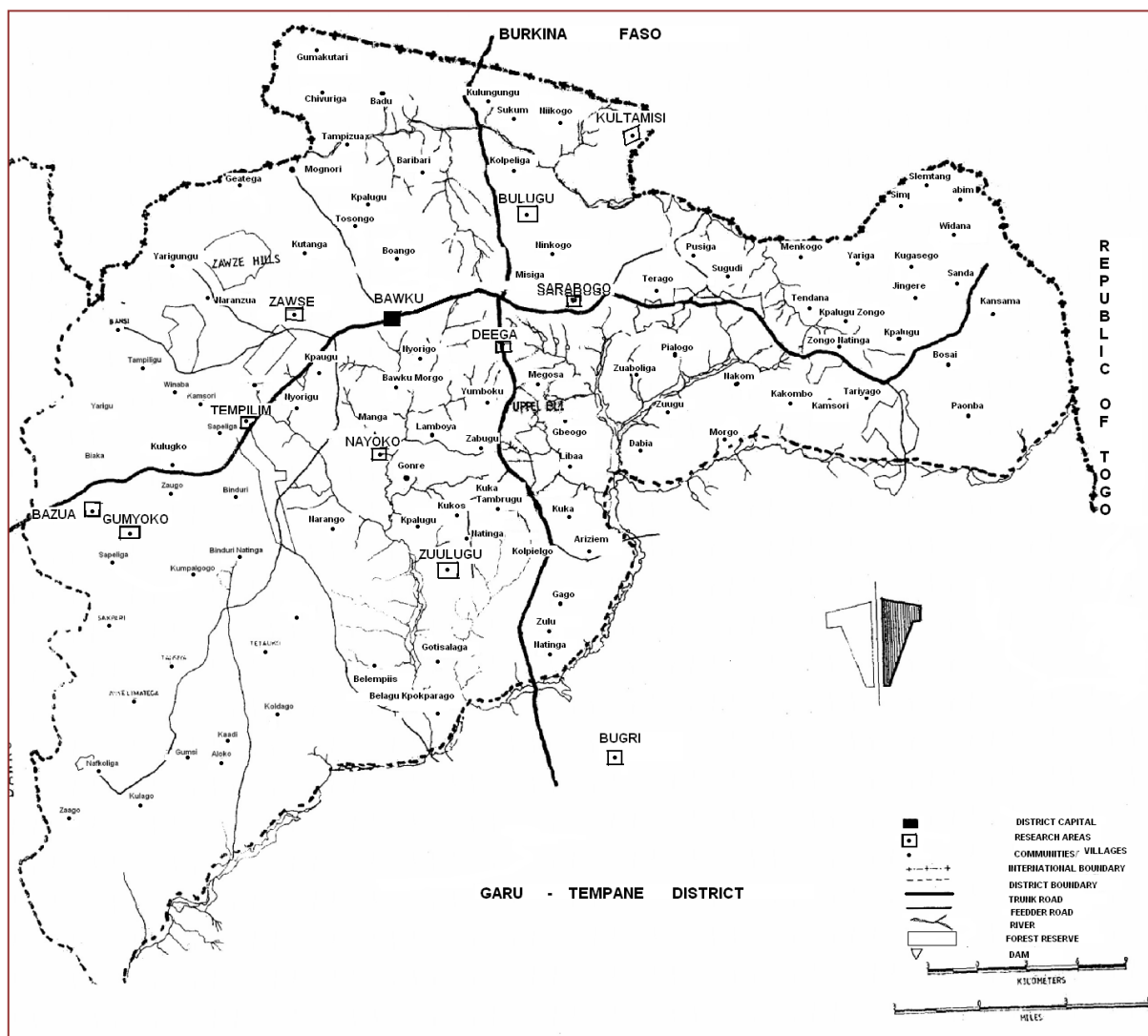
Bawku is one of the poorest areas in Ghana (Domfeh. 1994). The main source of livelihood of the people is subsistence which accounts for about 62% of total employment. The main crops grown include millet, sorghum, maize, rice, groundnuts, watermelon and onions. The main livestock include cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys. Poultry keeping is also a thriving agro-activity. farming (Human development report 2007) Also, due to the strategic location of the area it serves as a commercial hub for neighbouring countries such as Burkina Faso and Togo and also attracting migrants from these countries. Bawku is considered one of the rural areas in Ghana; it is less developed and has a high rate of poverty. As one of the traditional Muslim communities, Islamic religion makes up about 90% of the religious population.

*The maps below illustrate the position on Bawku in the context of Ghana.*





**Map 1: Bawku in the context of Ghana.**



**Map2: Bawku Municipality (source: Municipal Assembly)**

Ghana’s effort towards rural development dates back to 1943 when the idea to establish the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development was first considered. With the creation of the Department of Social Welfare and Housing in 1946, most of its effort was concentrated on the construction of community centres, social clubs and youth centres as the basis of welfare work. The main strategy for rural development at that time was the community development approach. Under this approach the major target was to help the rural folk grow in civic responsibilities and in use of their potentialities and talents in achieving



desirable economic and socio-cultural goals. The main objective was to stimulate the local populace to undertake self-help projects to improve their living standard.

### **1.1.STATEMENT OF PROBLEM**

Most developing countries are faced with the problem of rural underdevelopment and Ghana is no exception. Resources are channelled to the urban areas and other places where the government can recoup the cost of public investment through taxation and rates. Another reason for rural underdevelopment is the idea of seeing cities as engine for economic growth. Most developing countries including Ghana channel most of their resources to create enabling environment in urban areas at the detriment of rural areas in their quest to attract foreign investments. The Bawku municipal area, which is purely rural, has suffered as a consequence of this. The situation in the area is exacerbated by the presence of violent conflict which has seemingly hampered subsistent farming – the very source of livelihood of the people (Bawku development plan 2007). There is thus food insecurity in the Bawku municipal area.

The Bawku municipal area has suffered long-lasting conflicts that have undermined the wellbeing of its people and the economy. There have been intermittent tribal wars in the Bawku municipal area over the past ten years (Seidu 2011). This has stalled most developmental projects from both government and non-governmental organisations. The area is one of the poorest places in Ghana (HDR 2008). The conflict in the Bawku municipal area usually results in extreme brutality and violence against civilians which culminates in the death of many people. Health, education and social welfare services in the area have been devastated, the local economy has collapsed and many features of traditional life and the social structure have been destroyed. This area being the scene of one of the most protracted conflict in the country. The conflict has been the cause of perennial violence in the

Municipality. Bawku has long been an important trading centre, and is still seen as the commercial nerve of the region. The Municipality clearly appears not to have benefited from its nodal location in the inter-regional trade, as unemployment, education, health etc. are still major concerns among its people. The Municipality was therefore seen as an ideal place for this study into the impacts of violent conflict on rural development, as the conflict appears to have adversely affected the development of the area.

This research thus seeks to investigate the causes of the violent conflict in the Bawku municipal area and the impact of this conflict on the development of the area, especially the poverty levels. It will also use the livelihoods framework to conceptualise the effects of conflict on rural development.

Conflict can negatively impact human capital by causing physical and mental impairment, declines in health and nutritional status, as well as in education and training opportunities, which in turn drive individuals and households into poverty. Declines in health and well-being can hinder an individual's capacity to work, thus constraining the ability to earn an income in both the short-term and long-term. The physical impairment of civilians and combatants in times of conflict can drive chronic poverty. Children are often more vulnerable to conflict-driven impairment than adults (Moore 2005). It is therefore necessary for this study to bring to light the cancerous nature of violent conflict and how it is undermining development.

## **1.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

2. What are the causes of violent conflict in the Bawku municipal area?
3. How does violent conflict impede rural development?

4. What post-conflict policies will seek to improve the living standards of the people
5. Who are affected by the violent conflict in the Bawku municipal area?

### **1.3. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The main objectives of this study are to:

- (1) Identify the causes of violent conflict in the study area
- (2) Study the effects of violent conflict on development in the Bawku municipal area
- (3) Recommend ways of preventing conflict from escalating into uncontrollable proportions
- (4) Offer recommendations to policy makers in Bawku on how to improve the standard of living of the people.

### **1.4. RESEARCH METHODS**

Methodology refers to the techniques and procedures adopted in the process of gathering data, for interpretation and the explaining of research. It serves the purpose of explaining the process of scientific enquiry (Cohen, 1989: 35).

Development and conflict is a functional phenomenon and therefore have to be explained as such. Functionalist are of the view that human society is made up of interconnected parts and no part must be underestimated because doing so can lead to the dysfunction of the entire society (Shepard 2002 :20 -21). Likewise, development plays or is an important component of the functioning and progress of any society. For this reason the research was not limited to a single or particular way of research method. Different methods were used to ascertain the impact of conflict on rural development in Bawku municipal area. In the course of this research the method of data collection was essentially qualitative. According to Creswell

(2003), this approach “takes place in the natural setting” and allows the researcher to actively “go where the action is”. The data was collected mainly through structured interviews with the help of an interview guide. A few questionnaires were administered as well to ensure objectivity and reliability of the research. Secondary data was used to collect data for the literature review. The interview guide explored issue such as,

- The causes of violent conflict.
- The people’s views about violent conflict
- The level of development in the area.
- What in the view of the local people could help salvage the rise of violent conflict and promote development
- The role of the government in managing violent conflict in the area

For the purpose of this study the above methods have been employed because the topic under study is so enmeshed that a single method cannot fully suffice in finding answers to the research question. To prevent inadequacies, this study adopted these methods so they could complement each other to promote a better understanding of the topic at hand. More so, the combined approach was critical to this study because limited amount of questionnaires was administered on the field. Language barrier was a major problem on the field thus research questionnaires were designed and administered to the population who could communicate in language and also well informed about the topic under discussion. To reconcile this discrepancy the structured interview was used to complement information secured from the field.

This method is intended to;

- Expose in depth and comprehensive information
- Avoid armchair information
- Give a complete picture of the situation
- Take into account the values of the people involved
- Bring to the fore the research problem
- Permit a better understanding of social situation

### **1.5. SAMPLE POPULATION**

A population is made up of “all those people with the characteristics a researcher wants to study” (Shepherd, 2002:45). The impact of conflict on rural development in the area has been measured based on assessment of resources among other things. Conflict and development is a functional phenomenon. Therefore, to be able to draw an objective conclusion on the topic under discussion, there is the need to have a sizable population. The study sample comprises six (6) local leaders from the respective tribes at war, five (5) government representatives (the Member of Parliament for the municipality and the municipal Chief Executive (MCE) and four (4) other persons in policy making as well as fifteen (15) locals of the area making thirty 30 respondents in all. Bawku municipal area was selected for this research because of the long periods of conflict that has plunged the area. Moreover, there has been other research conducted on other conflict areas in Ghana. The exact focus has been to determine or identify what the causes of these conflicts are and how they impact on the area and the people at large. Stratified random sampling based on gender, educational qualification and knowledge on the topic was used to divide the population. Random selection of individuals from the groups was done to get a true representation of the larger population.

## **SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY**

Societal change most often requires structural change. While this may be true in any country, it is probably more often true in the developing world. Yet most development intervention is locally targeted and short-term. It does not try to implement structural change across the entire society. This disconnect creates something of a vicious cycle in which development leads to conflict, and the lack of conflict resolution practices interferes with further development. Ignoring structural factors means not only overlooking dimensions that take place at the macro level, but also not paying enough attention to the micro-level effects of development and conflict in society. This study is to address the issue of conflict's impact on development in the Bawku municipal area and in so doing remote and immediate causes of conflict will be unveiled. The findings made in this research could help manage if not prevent future conflicts. It is also believed that this research would leave a positive influence about ways to manage conflict constructively

### **1.6. LIMITATION OF THE STUDY**

There were four (4) major issues which limited the potential of this research in accomplishing its objectives. Firstly, the limited amount of time under which the research was conducted, travelling from South Africa to Ghana to collect data, put a lot of pressure to meet the deadline both by the school and flight. Therefore some insights into this issue were missed due to less time spent in the field. Language barrier was also an issue to contend with. Most people were not willing to co-operate by not answering all questions, also some were not able to fully express their opinions in the English language as they would in their native language. Financial constraint was yet another problem encountered in the field, due to lack of funds

the number of trips (4) expected to have been taken in the process of the research was cut down to two (2). This also prevented the hiring of an interpreter. Lastly the fact that there had been previous research work conducted on the conflict in the area there was not so much new findings to collect.

## **1.7. ORGANIZATION OF WORK**

This thesis comprises of five chapters.

### **Chapter I**

This chapter is the introduction of the topic under discussion with a background to the study. The problem related to the research and its aims and objective are clearly stated in this chapter as well as the research methods and the population sample for the research. The significance of this study, its contribution to academia along with its delimitations has been acknowledged accordingly. Finally this chapter concludes with an outline of the entire work.

### **Chapter II**

Review of related literature

### **Chapter III**

Research Methodology

### **Chapter IV**

Data analysis, Findings and discussion of results

### **Chapter V**

Conclusion and Recommendation

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2. INTRODUCTION

Conflict and development have had a unique relationship in which one births the other; in this case development births conflict. As already stated, development is all about change, progress or advancement and at any point in time when these take place there is disorder. Societal change most often requires structural change. While this may be true in any country, it is probably more often true in the developing world. Yet most development intervention is locally targeted and short-term. It does not try to implement structural change across the entire society. This disconnect creates something of a vicious cycle in which development leads to conflict, and the lack of conflict resolution practices interferes with further development. When conflict is not generating from the process of development; it comes as an element to stall or undermine the process of development from issues such as political or ethnic dispute which is the main cause of the conflict in Bawku.

Violent conflict has killed and displaced more people in Africa than in any other continent in recent decades according to the Commission for Africa. This severely challenges the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals in these countries; moreover conflicts are also costly and it is estimated that the cost of each conflict almost equals the value of annual development aid worldwide. (Moore 2005:15)

The review of related works in this field is important to this research to show the depth of study that has been conducted in this area. Moreover, views of scholars in this area of study will go a long way to show that much attention should be given to the issue of conflict even in the minutest form. The focus of this part of the research is to help identify issues and areas



in literature and also to help formulate questions that this study aims to answer and questions that need further research in this area.

### **2.3. DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS**

#### **➤ DEVELOPMENT**

It is important to realise that an apparently neutral and scientific word like “development” is no such thing. A definition of the concept of development unavoidably depends on the values of the person doing the definition, as well as on facts that are in principle falsifiable (Toye 1993:31). This confirms that there is no absolute or accurate meaning to the term development. However one thing which theoreticians and practitioners in the field of development all agree is that there is no agreement about the meaning of development as explained by Toye.

But to say development is a value laden concept is extremely unhelpful. Nonetheless it is important to note, however, that most definitions of the term development imply movement from a current or previous condition, to one which is in many respects different and has often the ‘connotation of a necessary path of progress, embracing an idea of necessity, change and fundamental improvement. In other words, it can simply be explained as the improvement, upgrading or advancement of the state of a thing such as a country, community, structures or person. It is concerned with the most urgent needs and the greatest imbalances in human societies.

Often development is used interchangeably with the term social change. As Chambers (2005) pointed out, if development means good change what then is good and what sort of change matters? Traditionally, these good changes refer to increased living standards, better

health care and well-being and other forms of common good which are seen to benefit society at large' (Power, 2003:2). Whichever perspective we take, development means change and that cannot in anyway be over emphasised.

### ➤ ***RURAL DEVELOPMENT***

The term rural development came to wide usage in the mid 1970's. It is defined as a sustainable improvement in the quality of life of communities in rural areas (as defined by 'natural' landscapes, primary economic activities, scattered settlements, traditional societies that suffer hardship through poverty and where infrastructure is lacking and subsistence livelihoods dominate), through promotion of better access to social services, improved infrastructure, economic empowerment, reduced inequality (including gender) and skills transfer. (Goodhand, 2001).

Rural areas mostly cover a greater portion of land area as well as functioning as home for the majority of people. It is also these areas that face seemingly intractable socio-economic challenges. Some of the farming and forestry businesses still need to build their competitiveness in both local and international front. More generally, average income per head is lower in rural regions than in the towns and cities, while the skills base is narrow and the service sector is less developed.

### ➤ ***SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT***

Mostly referred to as social change, it refers to an alteration in the social structure of a social group or society, i.e. a change in the nature, social institutions, social behaviours or social relations of a society.(Jacobs 1999:7) It may refer to the notion of social progress or

sociocultural evolution; the philosophical idea that society moves forward by dialectical or evolutionary means. It may refer to a paradigmatic change in the socio-economic structure, for instance a shift away from feudalism and towards capitalism.(Jacobs 1999) Accordingly it may also refer to social revolution, such as the Communist revolution presented in Marxism, or to other social movements, such as Women's suffrage or the Civil rights movement. Social change may be driven by cultural, religious, economic, scientific or technological forces.

### **Social development theory**

In sociology, social development theory attempts to explain qualitative changes in the structure and framework of society that help the society to better realize its aims and objectives. Development can be broadly defined in a manner applicable to all societies' at all historical periods as an upward ascending movement featuring greater levels of energy, efficiency, quality, productivity, complexity, comprehension, creativity, mastery, enjoyment and accomplishment.(Jacobs,1999) Development is a process of social change, not merely a set of policies and programs instituted for some specific results. This process has been going on since the dawn of history. But during the last five centuries it has picked up in speed and intensity, and during the last five decades has witnessed a marked surge in acceleration. (Jacobs 1999). Development is governed by many factors that influence the results of developmental efforts. There must be a motive that drives the social change and essential preconditions for that change to occur. The motive must be powerful enough to overcome obstructions that impede that change from occurring. Development also needs resources such as capital and technology and the availability of supporting infrastructures.

Development is the result of society's capacity to organize human energies and productive resources in order to meet the challenges and opportunities that life presents society with all

the times. (Coser 1956) Society passes through well-defined stages in the course of its development. They are nomadic hunting and gathering, rural agrarian, urban, commercial, industrial and post-industrial societies. Pioneers introduce new ideas, practices and habits etc which are resisted in the beginning by the conservative element in society. At a later stage the innovations are accepted, imitated, organized and made use of by other members of the community. The organizational improvements introduced to support the innovations can take place simultaneously at four different levels—physical, social, mental and psychological. (Cleveland et al 1999) Moreover four different types of resources are involved in promoting development. Of these four, physical resources are the most visible but the least capable of expansion. The productivity of resources increases enormously as the quality of organization and level of knowledge inputs rise. “The pace and scope for development varies according to the stage that society is in during the developmental process”. (James D. Wolfensohn)

Society’s developmental journey is marked by three stages which can be called physical, vital and mental. (Fry 1983) These are not clear-cut stages but overlapping ones. All the three elements will be present in any society at time. One of them will be predominant while the other two play subordinate roles. The term 'vital' denotes the emotional and nervous energies that empower society's drive towards accomplishment and express most directly in the interactions between human beings. Before the full development of mind, it is these vital energies that predominate in human personality and gradually yield the ground as the mental element becomes stronger. The speed and circumstances of social transition from one stage to another varies.

### **Physical stage**

The physical stage is characterized by the domination of the physical element of the human personality. During this phase, society is preoccupied with bare survival and subsistence.

People follow tradition strictly and there is little innovation and change. Land is the main asset and productive resource during the physical stage and wealth is measured by the size of land holdings, this is the agrarian and feudal phase of society. (Smith 1999) Inherited wealth and position rule the roost and there is very little upward mobility. Feudal lords and military chiefs function as the leaders of the society. Commerce and money play a relatively minor role. As innovative thinking and experimental approaches are discouraged, people follow tradition unwaveringly and show little inclination to think outside of established guidelines. Occupational skills are passed down from parent to child by a long process of apprenticeship. Guilds restrict the dissemination of trade secrets and technical knowledge. The Church controls the spread of new knowledge and tries to smother new ideas that do not agree with established dogmas. The physical stage comes to an end when the reorganization of agriculture gives scope for commerce and industry to expand. This happened in Europe during the 18th century when political revolutions abolished feudalism and the Industrial Revolution gave a boost to factory production. (Jacobs 1999) The shift to the vital and mental stages helps to break the bonds of tradition and inject new dynamism in social life.

### **Vital stage**

The vital stage of society is infused with dynamism and change; the vital activities of society expand markedly. Society becomes curious, innovative and adventurous. At the vital stage emphasis shifts from interactions with the physical environment to social interactions between people (Anderson 2002) Trade supplants agriculture as the principal source of wealth. Equally important, society at this time begins to more effectively harness the power of money. Commerce takes over from agriculture and money replaces land as the most productive resource. (Keynes 2008) The centre of life shifts from the countryside to the towns where opportunities for trade and business are in greater abundance. The centre of power shifts from the aristocracy to the business class, which employs the growing power of

money to gain political influence. At the vital stage, the rule of law becomes more formal and binding, providing a secure and safe environment for business to flourish. Banks, shipping companies and joint-stock companies increase in numbers to make use of the opportunities. Fresh innovative thinking leads to new ways of life which are accepted as they prove to be beneficial. Science and experimental approaches begin to make headway as the hold of tradition and dogma weakens, demand for education rises (Tuner et al 1984). As the vital stage matures through the expansion of the commercial and industrial complex, surplus income arises which prompts people to spend more on items so far considered out of reach. People begin to aspire for luxury and leisure which were not possible when life was at a subsistence level.

### **Mental stage**

This stage has three essential characteristics which can be described as the practical, social and political application of mind. The practical application of mind leads to the generation of a great number of inventions. (O'Farrell and Murphy 2002) The social application of mind leads to the invention of new and more effective types of social organization. The political application leads to changes in the political systems, empowering the common man to exercise political and human rights in a free and democratic manner (kusimi et al 2006) These changes had their beginning in the Renaissance and Enlightenment and gained a powerful impetus through the Reformation which proclaimed the right of the individual to relate directly to God without the mediation of the priest(Nukunya 1992). The political application of mind led to the American and French Revolutions which first gave written recognition to the rights of the common man and gradually led to the actual enjoyment of these rights. Organization is a mental invention therefore it is not surprising that the mental stage of development is responsible for the formulation of a great number of organizational innovations.(Richani 2007) Huge business corporations have emerged that make more money

than even the total earnings of some small countries. Global networks for transportation and communication now connect the nations of the world within a common unified social fabric for sea and air travel, telecommunications, weather reporting and information exchange (Djilas 2000).

## ➤ **CONFLICT**

According to Webster (1998), the term conflict means a “fight, battle or struggle” that is an overt confrontation between parties. But its meaning has grown to include “a sharp disagreement or opposition of interests, ideas, etc. The term now embraces the psychological underpinnings of overt confrontation itself. African countries today face greater challenges to peace and stability than ever before. The countries of sub-Saharan Africa, including Sierra-Leone, Ivory Coast, Liberia and the Democratic Republic of Congo, are a volatile mix of insecurity, instability, corrupt political institutions and poverty.

## **CLASSIFICATION OF CONFLICT**

Conflict takes many forms, some are in the form of war both cold and civil, and others are in the form of confrontations while others are in the form of tribal or ethnic conflicts (Kline et al). There are also religious and organisational conflicts, among others. Just as the definition by Webster all these conflicts connote a “fight, battle or struggle”.

## **ETHNIC CONFLICT**

Ethnic groups are defined as a community of people who share cultural and linguistic characteristics including history, tradition, myth, and origin. Scholars have been trying to

develop a theoretical approach to ethnicity and ethnic conflict for a long time. Some, like Donald Horowitz, Ted Gurr, Donald Rothchild and Edward Azar, agree that the ethnic conflicts experienced today-- especially in Africa -- are deep rooted. These conflicts over race, religion, language and identity have become so complex that they are difficult to resolve or manage. Ethnicity has a strong influence on one's status in a community. Ethnic conflicts are therefore often caused by an attempt to secure more power or access more resources. The opinion of this study is that conflict in Africa is synonymous with inequality. The conflicts in most African countries are between ethnic groups, not between states when not checked, ethnic conflicts are contagious and can spread quickly across borders like cancer cells. Ted Gurr and Monty Marshall have written that most African conflicts are caused by the combination of poverty and weak states and institutions. (Peace and Conflict, 2001:11-13; 2003).

Ethnic conflict has been at the heart of development problems. Politicised ethnicity has been detrimental to national unity and socio-economic well-being. It is important to note that most of these ethnic conflicts were caused by colonialism, which compounded inter-ethnic conflict by capitalising on the isolation of ethnic groups. The divide-and-conquer method was used to pit ethnicities against each other, thus keeping the people from rising up against the colonisers. Distribution of economic resources was often skewed to favour a particular group, pushing marginalized groups to use their ethnicity to mobilise for equality. These are the seeds of conflict.

## **SOCIAL CONFLICT**

Protracted social conflict refers to conflict situations characterized by the prolonged and often violent struggle by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition, acceptance, fair access to political institutions, and economic participation. (Azar 1991: 10)



Normally the communal groups may experience deep-seated cleavages based upon racial, religious, cultural or ethnic lines. These cleavages are characterized by continuing hostility with sporadic outbreaks of violence; and caused by the frustration of human needs for security, recognition, and distributive justice.

Such identity-driven rifts are the result of an underlying fear of extinction that often grows within vulnerable ethnic groups who live with the memories or fear of persecution and massacre. Ethnic divisions and perceived threats often result in the domination of the state machinery by a single group or coalition of elites who deny access to basic human needs for the majority of the population. Azar (1991:15) argued that the denial of basic human needs to a large portion of the population initiated instances of protracted social violence. Four preconditions are isolated by Azar as the predominant sources of protracted social conflict: communal content, deprivation of human needs, governance and the State's role, and international linkages.

➤ **Communal content**

This element, which contributes to the initial creation of protracted social conflict, consists of the fact that people involved in protracted social conflicts create their own identity groups. Azar (1991: 20) notes, "That it is the relationship between identity groups and the states, which is at the core of the problem." He also cited the "disarticulation between the state and society as a whole" as a source of violence within a society.

This precondition also involves the reliance that many people have on their social groups; because governments in areas that experience protracted social conflict are often unable, incapable or unwilling to provide basic human necessities to the population, individuals turn to their social groups for stability. The resultant disconnection of society and the state can be

linked to the colonial legacy, which, "artificially imposed European ideas of territorial statehood onto a multitude of communal groups."

This results in the domination of certain identity groups over others. The dominant group isolates itself from the needs of other groups, leading to an even bigger separation between groups even within an ethnicity. To overcome this division of society, national identity must be stressed over individual group identity.

➤ **Deprivation of human needs**

To alleviate the "underdevelopments" Azar holds responsible for protracted social violence, and in turn overcome the conflict resulting from underdevelopment, Azar (1991: 22) points to the needs of security, development, political access and identity in terms of cultural and religious expression Azar refers to these needs as non-negotiable; therefore, if these needs are not met, people will inevitably want a structural change to take place. Such a need for structural change is likely to result in a violent conflict.

This in turn emphasizes Azar's theory that the "deprivation of human needs is the underlying source of protracted social conflict" where conflict is emphasized by the collective grievances of a group of people. To overcome this deprivation of human needs to entire groups of people, the government must offer security on a multiplicity of levels to all of the constituent population.

➤ **Governance and the State's role**

With government being "endowed with the authority to govern and use force where necessary to regulate society, to protect citizens, and to provide collective goods," the government plays a leading role in the satisfaction or lack of satisfaction of minority and identity groups.

Azar (1991: 27) states that protracted social conflicts can be characterized by "incompetent, parochial, fragile, and authoritarian governments that fail to satisfy basic human needs." It is said that governments, expected to be unbiased and impartial, tend to be dominated by the leading identity groups or those groups that have been able to monopolize power within a country or territorial entity. This creates a "crisis of legitimacy" in the governance of these countries. The structure of the government needs to be changed so that all citizens are equally cared for and equally represented without bias or corruption.

➤ **International linkages**

This involves the "political–economic relations of economic dependency within the international economic system, and the network of political-military linkages constituting regional and global patterns of clientele and cross-border interest." Weaker states, like those often involved in protracted social conflict, tend to be more influenced by outside connections both economically and politically. For example, many states are dependent on an external supply of armament. To overcome the dominance of the international economy, underdeveloped countries must work to build institutions that can ease global dependency and stimulate domestic economic growth.

## **2.4.CAUSES OF CONFLICT**

As Johan Galtung (1996: 71) has stressed, incompatibility and a potential clash of goals (interest or values) are the basic motivations for conflict. In this study, *conflict* is understood as a collision of interest between different persons and groups who are motivated by the economic, political, cultural and social rewards they are likely to enjoy by having a kin as the "Bawkunaba" (Chief of Bawku).

Some common conflict patterns include: The demand for ethnic and cultural autonomy, competing demands for land, money and power, and conflicts taking place between rival ethnic groups. (O'Farrell and Murphy 2002) Economic factors have been identified as one of the major causes of conflict in Africa. Theorists believe that competition for scarce resources is a common factor in almost all ethnic conflicts in Africa. In multi-ethnic societies like Nigeria and South Africa, ethnic communities sometimes violently compete for property, rights, jobs, education, language, social amenities and good health care facilities. In his study, Okwudiba Nnoli (1980) produced empirical examples linking socio-economic factors to ethnic conflict in Nigeria. According to J.S. Furnival, cited in Nnoli (1980:72-3), "the working of economic forces makes for tension between groups with competing interests. In the case of South Africa, Gerhard Mare confirms that ethnicity and ethnic conflict appear to be a response to the uneven development in South Africa, which caused ethnic groups (Xhosas, Zulus and even Afrikaners) to mobilise to compete for resources along ethnic lines. It follows that multi-ethnic countries are likely to experience distributional conflicts.

Another major cause of ethnic conflict is psychology, especially the fear and insecurity of ethnic groups during transition. It has been opined that extremists build upon these fears to polarise the society. Additionally, memories of past traumas magnify these anxieties. These interactions produce a toxic brew of distrust and suspicion that leads to ethnic violence. The fear of white Afrikaners in South Africa on the eve of democratic elections was a good case in point. Gurr's (1970) relative deprivation theory offers an explanation based on an ethnic groups' access to power and economic resources. This is closely related to Horowitz, (2000) who wrote that group worth is based on the results of economic and political competitions. According to Lake and Rothschild, (1996) ethnic conflict is a sign of a weak state or a state embroiled in ancient loyalties. In this case, states act with bias to favour a particular ethnic group or region, and behaviours such as preferential treatment fuel ethnic conflicts.

Therefore, in critical or difficult political situations, the effectiveness of governance is dependent on its ability to address social issues and human needs.

Recently, scholars have come out with different approaches to conceptualising ethnicity. Faced with the proliferation of separatist conflicts in North Africa, the inadequacies underlying modernisation theory are being exposed. The notion that modernity would result in smooth transition from *gemeinschaft* (community) to *gesellschaft* (association), with gradual dissolution of ethnic affiliations, simply did not work. Ethnicity has persisted in North America, Africa and elsewhere. This failure simply means ethnicity will remain, and that the stability of African states is threatened not by ethnicity per se, but the failure of national institutions to recognise and accommodate ethnic differences and interests. According to this argument, the lesson for ethnic conflict management is that governments should not discriminate against groups or they will create conflict.

The second theory is from the primordial school and stresses the uniqueness and the overriding importance of ethnic identity. From their point of view, ethnicity is a biological and fixed characteristic of individuals and communities. (Geertz, 1963) The third theoretical approach is the instrumentalist argument. (Barth, 1969, Glazer and Moynihan, 1975) In Africa where poverty and deprivation are becoming endemic, mostly as a result of distributive injustice, ethnicity remains an effective means of survival and mobilization. Ethnic groups that form for economic reasons, easily disband after achieving their objectives. This corresponds with Benedict Anderson's (1991:5-7) argument that ethnicity is "a construct" rather than a constant. Additionally, scholars' attention has also shifted to the nature of ethnic conflict and violence because the post-Cold War era has been marked by the resurgence of ethnic conflict and even genocide in some societies like Rwanda, Bosnia, and Zaire.

## **2.5.RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONFLICT AND DEVELOPMENT**

The history of human kind and the rise and fall of civilizations is unquestionably a story of conflict. Conflict is inherent in human activities. It omnipresent and fore ordained. (Isard, 1992: 1) “Human conflict is truly a ubiquitous social phenomenon. It is experienced by all of us much of the time. It is the inevitable result of the living in close proximity of vast numbers of intelligent, complex beings with ambitions and goals that are always going to be compatible in context of a world of finite resources.” (Bradshaw, 2007:12). Conflict comes in various ways such as social conflicts which normally occurs where groups of people compete, organizational conflict which also occurs in organisations such as private sector companies, schools, government departments and political parties. Ethnic conflict, one of the most dramatic forms of conflicts is as a result of ethnic difference. This form of conflict can be extremely destructive.

Although conflict is a very normal part of our social existence, periods of rapid development are likely to be particularly fraught with conflicts of a more serious nature. Typically the conflict associated with development is multi – faceted, and needs careful analysis. Various types of conflict are associated within developmental context. It is very important to note that most conflict is not recognised and this is the background conditions to much of the conflict around us. There is a high tendency of reacting to the visible side of the conflict spectrum, in so doing we will be ignoring some of the most important causative factors of conflict.

Like most concepts in the social sciences, different scholars have defined development differently placing emphasis based on their individual areas of specialization. Johan Galtung (1996: 127-129) identifies three broad definitions of the concept of development in the scholarly literature. The first, refers to “the unfolding of a culture; realizing the code or cosmology of that culture.” This is a cultural relativist understanding of the concept, and

implies that development is construed differently in different cultures. The second definition sees development as “the progressive satisfaction of the needs of human and non-human nature, starting with those most in need”. The emphasis in this definition is on the satisfaction of both human and non-human needs. The third definition stresses, “economic growth, but at nobody’s expense”. This definition identifies the most commonly accepted understanding of development as proposed by the Bretton Woods Institutions. However, it includes a social justice clause – “but at nobody’s expense” - which leads us to what has become known as sustainable development concept: that development must meet the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generation to meet their own needs.

The interconnection of development factors often causes further conflict escalation. For example, administrative chaos in under-financed governmental bodies often causes the transfer of responsibilities from the central state to NGOs, local governments, and the private sector. The result is that such organizations assume duties that may go well beyond their capacities, which causes further conflict. For example, NGOs, local governments, and the private sector lack training in facilitation, mediation, and negotiation, as well as the theoretical knowledge of conflict resolution. So conflicts escalate, with no one knowing what to do about it.

To put it more elaborately, both conflict and development have to do with the satisfaction of needs (human or non-human): development being the ability to meet such needs and conflict the effort to satisfy the needs of different parties. Therefore where the ability to meet needs is expanded (development) little effort would be used to satisfy individual needs. In times of conflict, competing groups and individuals use their energies unproductively to contain their opponents, rather than use them productively to improve life.

## **2.6.IMPACT OF CONFLICT ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT**

As defined by Goodhand (2001) as a sustainable improvement in the quality of life of communities in rural areas. It becomes obvious that conflict would affect the rural areas in major aspects of developments such as economic growth, agriculture, population displacement etc.however the major effect of conflict on rural development is poverty and this cannot be underestimated hence a more important link to establish is that between conflict and poverty which is the major impact of conflict on rural areas is. For every area that has been hit with conflict, poverty is one thing they have in common. Conflict drives the households and individuals of these households into poverty in the following ways; human capital, financial capital, physical capital, political capital and social capital.

### **Human capital effect**

Conflict can have negative impact on human capital by causing physical and mental impairment, declines in health and nutritional status, as well as in education and training opportunities, which in turn drive individuals and households into poverty. Declines in health and well-being can hinder an individual's capacity to work, thus constraining the ability to earn an income in both the short-term and long-term. The physical impairment of civilians and combatants in times of conflict can drive chronic poverty. Children are often more vulnerable to conflict-driven impairment than adults. For example, "during 1998 in the city of Kabul, Afghanistan, roughly 55% of landmine victims and 86% of victims of unexploded ordinances were 18 years old or younger" (Dec and Landis 1998: 6, quoted in Stewart et al 2001a: 151). Impairment can affect children's ability to gain an education while young and can hinder an adult's ability to secure employment and care for children (Lwanga-Ntale 2003: 6).



Conflict also erodes human capital by causing mental impairment and permanent psychological trauma. Mental impairment can result from malnutrition, which can have repercussions for the IGT of chronic poverty: “Children whose cognitive development has been impaired in their early years may find learning more difficult, both at school and in terms of important life skills. Where this leads to difficulties obtaining skills or qualifications, their future labour market opportunities and thus earning prospects may be constrained” (Harper, Marcus and Moore 2003: 542-3). One type of mental impairment directly linked to conflict is permanent psychological trauma caused by the exposure to life threatening situations, rape or torture (Luckham et al 2001:41). Conflict can also increase the spread of HIV/AIDS through rape as a weapon of war. Tens of thousands of women were raped in Rwanda during the conflict (Human Rights Watch 2004). In a survey of 1,125 Rwandan rape survivors carried out by AVEGA (Association of Genocide Widows) it was found that some 80% remain severely traumatized, and about 70% of them have tested HIV positive (AVEGA web site, visited 22/02/06).The decline in educational and training opportunities during a conflict depletes human capital formation among the younger generations.

### **Financial capital effect**

Conflict also impacts on financial capital by causing economic distortion at both a macro and micro levels, damaging war-time financial capitals as well as affecting post-war growth. Issues such as capital flight, falling investment level, and loss of credit, savings and transfers, such as pensions, bridge the macro/ micro divide (Brück 2001). “The greater part of the human costs of war does not result directly from battle deaths and injuries, but rather ‘indirectly’ from the loss of livelihoods caused by the dislocation of economy and society resulting from conflict” (Stewart et al 2001: 5). Markets can fail due to insecurity, uncertainty and scarcity of information, leading to reduced trading opportunities, higher transaction costs, efficiency losses and reduced incentives to invest for the future (Brück 2001: 60).

### **Physical capital effect**

The destruction of assets in conflict has a significant impact on livelihoods, the breakdown or shrinking investment in public infrastructure and services further diminishes physical capital. Social services such as hospitals, clinics and schools can deteriorate due to reductions in government expenditure on infrastructure (Stewart et al 2001: 16; Fozzard 2002: 2). In Mozambique, the mostly rural central and Northern provinces suffered the most damage to infrastructure. “In Zambezi [province in Mozambique] only 12% of primary schools were still operational when the war ended” (Fozzard 2002: 2). The impact on health was also severe. The ratio of doctors to population in Mozambique declined from one doctor for every 36,900 people to one doctor per 50,000 (Stewart et al 2001a: 89). The implications of depleted health and educational resources have been discussed in the human capital section above and will be expanded in chapter four. Other types of infrastructure may also be targeted in a conflict, such as communications, transportation and energy. This destruction thereby disrupts social, economic and political relations and increases transaction costs of travelling to the markets and other public places. For example, rebels in Mozambique directly targeted the energy supply to disrupt economic activities (Goudie and Neyapti 1999).

### **Natural capital**

Conflict again impacts on natural capital by reducing access to land, security of tenure and the distribution of holdings (Brück 2001). Factors which may reduce access to land include the breakdown of customary rights and values of usage, resource depletion and degradation, lack of management of natural resources, land expropriation and increased use of marginal lands (Daudelin 2003). The war in Mozambique also disrupted seed production and preservation activities, leading to a decline in agricultural output by smallholders (Howard et al 1998: 18-19). The destruction or loss of agricultural land due to looting, dislocation and

landmines can severely limit a household's ability to produce. Landmines "continue to destroy lives and keep the land useless for years after the ceasefire, extending the war uncertainty way beyond the end of the formal conflict" (Brück 2001: 70-1). Land-deprivation as an asset loss "is what drives already poor people into deeper and more intractable poverty" (CPRC 2004:42). Another aspect of the impact of war on natural capital is the environmental impact of refugees in camps or settlements, which depends on various factors and is a controversial debate in the literature (Jacobsen 1997; Kibreab 1997).

### **Political capital**

In a conflict situation the state can lose its monopoly on force: "Many conflict-prone states are unwilling or unable to provide security, creating opportunities for non-state actors to fill the security space" (UNDP 2005: 162). The state can struggle to legally protect vulnerable individuals from violence, exploitation and discrimination if the state has the power and political will to do so. However, state interventions may be targeted to favoured groups "Power, representation and inclusion in society are often determined by ethnic or political identity and affiliation" (Jaspars and Shoham 2002: 7).

Furthermore, combatants may target specific ethnic and class groups, as in the conflict in Rwanda. Thus it can be people's political or social status which can make them vulnerable, and these are specific to the conflict itself. (Keen 1994) on the 'war-famine' which took place in Bahr el Ghazal, Sudan (1983-1989) demonstrates that famine has to be seen in a highly politicized context where government soldiers and government-supported militias were involved in perpetuating and prolonging the famine in collusion with the central government of Sudan. They restricted migration of famine victims as well as the collection of wild foods as substitutes and relief deliveries were blocked. In this context the breakdown of government monopoly of force can be beneficial for vulnerable individuals. Thus, the

assumption of an ultimately benign and non-violent state should be carefully scrutinized when evaluating the impact of conflict on state monopoly (Keen 1994).

### **Social capital**

Conflict can disrupt social capital, namely social networks, group memberships, relationships of trust, and access to wider institutions of society. As Brück notes in his analysis of post conflict Mozambique, “war directly undermines social capital as war dislocates people and institutions thus depreciating contacts, trust, and other components of social capital. This will lead to a further, war-induced reduction in output and thus welfare” (Brück 2001: 11). Dislocation can occur through the displacement of migratory workers or refugees (Howe and McKay 2005), which can also result in human capital deprivation associated with “loss of access to normal food sources and exposure to hazardous environments – new disease vectors, lack of shelter, use of unsafe water” (Devereux 2000: 5). Trust operates as the foundation for all civic actions, including market transaction. The complete loss of trust at the local level can lead to the destruction of horizontal forms of “exchange, mutual assistance, and reciprocity” (Bradshaw 2005), including also the protection of the vulnerable (Colletta and Cullen, 2000). When combined with the breakdown in state service provision, vulnerable individuals and households who are dependent on local or family networks can be left with no support networks at all.

## **2.7.THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES**

There are a number of theoretical explanations for the onset of violent conflicts. The most prominent of these are the political, the social, the psychological, and the economic theories of conflict respectively. The scope (resources, time and space, etc) of this research places severe limitations on any attempt to test all these theoretical perspectives in the thesis.

Therefore I will adopt and apply the economic theory of grievance to the case of the Bawku conflict. Though economic theories have been applied mainly to civil wars, the explanatory insights they present may be usefully applicable to the analysis of the conflict in the Bawku Municipality.

## **2.8. ECONOMIC THEORY OF GRIEVANCE**

In the economic theories of civil conflict, parties in the conflict are assumed to be rational economic players, that is, they are maximizing agents who are driven by the urge to maximize power in order to have access to the economic rewards of victory. The economic theories of conflict are made up of two main theoretical schools, the “Classical Greed School” and the “Greed and Grievance School”. In their initial formulation of the „Greed Thesis“, Collier and Hoeffler (1998) argue that objective political grievances have no direct link to the onset of conflict, for them it is rather the possibility of “looting”, that lead people to resort to violence (cited in Ballentine and Sherman, 2002; 2). Other proponents of this “Classical Greed School” provide other variants of the Theory. Hirshleifer (1994) for instance has opined that people are guided by the idea of trade-off. For him people choose between production and appropriation, where the opportunity cost for appropriation is lower than that for production, violence will ensue (Cited in Cramer, 2002; 1847). For Azam (2001), though conflict and violence are dangerous activities, if their pay-off outweighs calculated risk, people will choose them (Cited in Cramer, 2002; 1847).

Violence is therefore seen as a rational economic activity- a form of entrepreneurship (see also Bakonyi and Stuvøy, 2005; 360). “The greed theory” has been criticized for its emphasis on solely economic factors to the exclusion of the traditional causes of conflict. The critics argue that violence is complex and can hardly be explained by a single theory (see El jack,

2003; 89; Flores, 2004:3). Scholars have formulated other theories as the social conflict and psych-cultural conflict theories in an attempt to account for social violence. But like the economic theories, most of these theories have tended to over emphasize one area to the detriment of all other areas, thereby weakening their arguments too. Writing in the eightieth century, Clausewitz recognized that violence (war) is caused by the interplay of different factors. He argue that “a theory that ignores any one of them or seeks to fix an arbitrary relationship between them conflict with reality to such an extent that for this reason alone it would be totally useless.” (Quoted in Cramer, 2006; 4). Collier and Hoeffler have modified their initial formulation of the “Greed Thesis” to include social, geographic, historical factors, etcetera to make their theory more acceptable (See Collier et al. 2001, 4). One of the factors in the modified “Greed and Grievance theory” is the lack of economic opportunities in the form of employment. According to Collier, the availability of a large pool of uneducated young men with limited opportunities increases the risk of a country experiencing a civil strife. He argues that “the willingness of young men to join a rebellion might be influenced by their other income-earning opportunities. If young men face only poverty, they might be more inclined to join a rebellion than if they have better opportunities” (ibid; 94).

The lack of economic opportunities could also serve as an objective grievance to encourage young men and women to join in the rebellion in the hope that changing the existing order could lead to better political and socio-economic conditions established. This forms the basis of Gurr’s (1968, 1970) “relative deprivation theory”. This theory “captured people’s perception of discrepancy between their value expectation (the goods and conditions of the life to which they believe they are justifiably entitled) and their value capacities (the amounts of those goods and conditions that they think they get and keep).” (Cited in Cramer 2005; 4). Where such a discrepancy exist people are likely to be more rebellious.

Blatant economic inequalities can also make countries vulnerable to civil rebellion. Where people see that their economic woes are a direct result of a few elites sharing the bulk of the resources, it would be expected that such people would easily join in on a rebellion. This is more so in countries where such inequalities coincide with religious, tribal or ethnic divisions. Inequality increases the discrepancy between people's value expectation and their value capacities. Other factors recognized by Collier and other greed and grievance theorists, which makes countries vulnerable to civil rebellion, include a history of violence, geography, ethnic composition, and diaspora remittances.

## **CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY**

### **3.0. INTRODUCTION**

This chapter gives a concise description of how the research was conducted by examining the various research methods employed in reaching the design of this research. Since methodology is the technique and procedures adopted in the process of gathering data for the interpretation and the explanation of research (Cohen, 1989: 35), the validity and reliability of the methods used in the study as well as problems encountered and how they were surmounted are considered in this chapter as well. Topical issues such as the representativeness of the sample and delimitation will also be discussed in this chapter. The relatively small questionnaire administered was based on the fact that the questionnaires are written in English hence it was administered to people who could read and write. However, this will not affect this work because it will be consolidated by an interview and documentary sources.

In the process of gathering data, the questionnaires have been administered first in order to give an idea of what the people think. In doing so, the interview will then touch on issues that will come up in the course of assessing the questionnaire, thus the interview questions will be open ended. The two main social research methods are qualitative and quantitative but for this research, qualitative approach has been used. Amongst the various qualitative methods, explorative and descriptive approach has been chosen for the purpose of this work. However in the analysis of data, both qualitative and quantitative methods have been employed for this research.

### **3.1. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHOD**



Qualitative research is a method of enquiry employed to explore issues and for understanding phenomena's through the use of unstructured information such as; in depth interviews, content analysis, and ethnography amongst others. This is usually used for academic purposes especially by the social science discipline.

Creswell defines the term qualitative research as the use of “different knowledge claims, strategies of enquiry, and methods of data collection and analysis” (Creswell, 2003:179) however it is important to note that the term qualitative enquiry is ambiguous in its definition, because it can be used to describe research activities such as symbolic interactionism, ethnography, action research, phenomenology, grounded research etc. (Schurink, 2005: 35). Based on the difficulty in definitions scholars define qualitative enquiry to suit the condition under which they work (Creswell 2003). Qualitative research takes place in the natural setting (Creswell 2003:181) the researcher is able to go where the action is and watch and listen (Babbie, 2007: 305). This act of active participation helps the researcher to build a relationship and credibility with the individuals involved; moreover it reduces interventions and interference. (Creswell, 2003:181).

In the context of this research qualitative research is suitable since qualitative method is used mostly to investigate social actions such as behaviour and perception (Babbie et al 2001: 270) and the topic under investigation is a social phenomenon.

### **3.2. MERITS AND DEMERITS OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHOD**

In the use of qualitative research there are advantages and disadvantages that comes with it, however the strengths of this method can help promote validity and reliability.

### **3.2.1. Merits**

- a. It permits a better understanding of social situations. A typical example is the topic under investigation. Such a topic requires a great deal of knowledge in social situations and interactions to eliminate any form of bias. Shephard (2002) states that qualitative research “produces a depth and breadth of understanding unattainable by quantitative research. Uniquely they can reveal insights into social situations from experiences of the people involved” (Shepard, 2002:50-51)
- b. It is relatively inexpensive compared to quantitative approach. No expensive equipment is needed to conduct research.
- c. It is a very flexible method to work with, devoid of rigidity, additions and subtractions can be made as the research is on-going. Qualitative research makes room for modification of research design even on the research field. Babbie (2007) notes that with the qualitative research methods “One is always prepared to engage in field research, whenever the occasion arises....” ( Babbie 2007: 312)

### **3.2.2. Demerits**

- a. With the absence of precise measuring instruments the outcomes are often biased, a result based on personal judgement is prone to prejudice which renders the results unreliable.
- b. Field research is difficult to duplicate. The absence “of objectivity and standardized research procedures makes it difficult for another researcher to duplicate a filed study. ( Shepard 2005)

### **3.3. DESCRIPTIVE APPROACH**

To identify the cause of an event is usually done by the descriptive approach. With this method the experiences and viewpoints of respondents of the topic under investigation are collected (Babbie et al 2001: 270). In this research the experiences of the locals of Bawku who have lived through periods of violent conflict have been collected. Their views as well as opinions are important because they have experienced at first hand violent conflict and therefore stand a better chance of retelling the event and how it has affected the community. This approach involves the participants describing what they know and how they experienced it. By this the researcher gets first-hand information devoid of “arm chair information” and hearsays.

### **3.4. EXPLORATIVE APPROACH**

This approach is useful in investigating more persistent social manifestations such as conflict making use of interviews, group discussion, observations and journals (Raineri & Lis, 2009). The explorative method exposes relationships and dimensions of a phenomenon. This is made possible by investigating how such phenomena manifest themselves in other related areas (Wilson, 1993: 90).

This approach will also aid in unravelling the knowledge the locals have on conflict, and also attempt to answer the question whether violent conflict is the answer to solving issues. In this sense, this research will help to bringing to the fore how the locals perceive conflict. Exploring the depth of knowledge the locals have on the subject at hand will go a long way to explain why they engage in violent conflict. With the information gathered a meaningful recommendation can be made.

### 3.5. TRIANGULATION

The method of triangulation is used to establish the accuracy of information by comparing three or more points of view on data sources, for example interviews, observation and documentation. According to As de Vos (1998), the concept triangulation can be “a conscious combination of qualitative and quantitative methodology. It is also akin to corroboration and an essential methodological feature of case study as in the case of this research.”

This study therefore uses the triangulation approach because the topic is so “enmeshed” that a single approach would not suffice in finding answers to the research questions. “ it would therefore be futile to behave as though one approach should be fully accepted and the other rejected ( Mouton and Marias,1990) The triangulation approach has a lot of advantages which includes:

- As a multimethod design it allows the researcher to be confident of the results.
- It stimulates the creation of inventive methods and new ways of capturing a problem to balance with conventional data collection methods.
- The use of this method can also lead to integration of theories. In this sense, methodological triangulation closely parallels theoretical triangulation.
- It may also help unveil the deviant dimension of a phenomenon.
- The triangulation approach can also serve as the critical test, by virtue of its comprehensiveness, for competing theories (Jick 1983, cited in de Vos et al. 2002:342)

### **3.6. SAMPLE**

In conducting this research a sample was made up of people with the knowledge and information the researcher needed to conduct the research and answer research questions. A sample on the other hand is defined as the drawing of limited number of cases from the population. The sampling must be done in such a way that the selected elements from the population accurately portray or reflects the total population from which the elements are selected (Babbie, 2007:190). A sample for this research comprised 26 people: 6 chiefs, 5 government officials and 15 locals.

### **3.7. RESEARCH PROCEDURE**

Research design is “the plan or blueprint according to which data is collected to investigate the research hypothesis or question in the most economical manner” (Huysaman, 1993). In the course of the research, the data was collected mainly by interviews and questionnaires; content analysis was also used a few times.

### **3.8. DATA COLLECTION TOOLS**

The tools used in collecting data for a research is very crucial to the outcome of the study. After identifying the type of data needed for the research, the next important question to answer is how to go about collecting the data and what is needed to collect the data. In this research the tools used to collect the data were questionnaires and interviews mainly.

### **3.9. DATA COLLECTION METHOD**

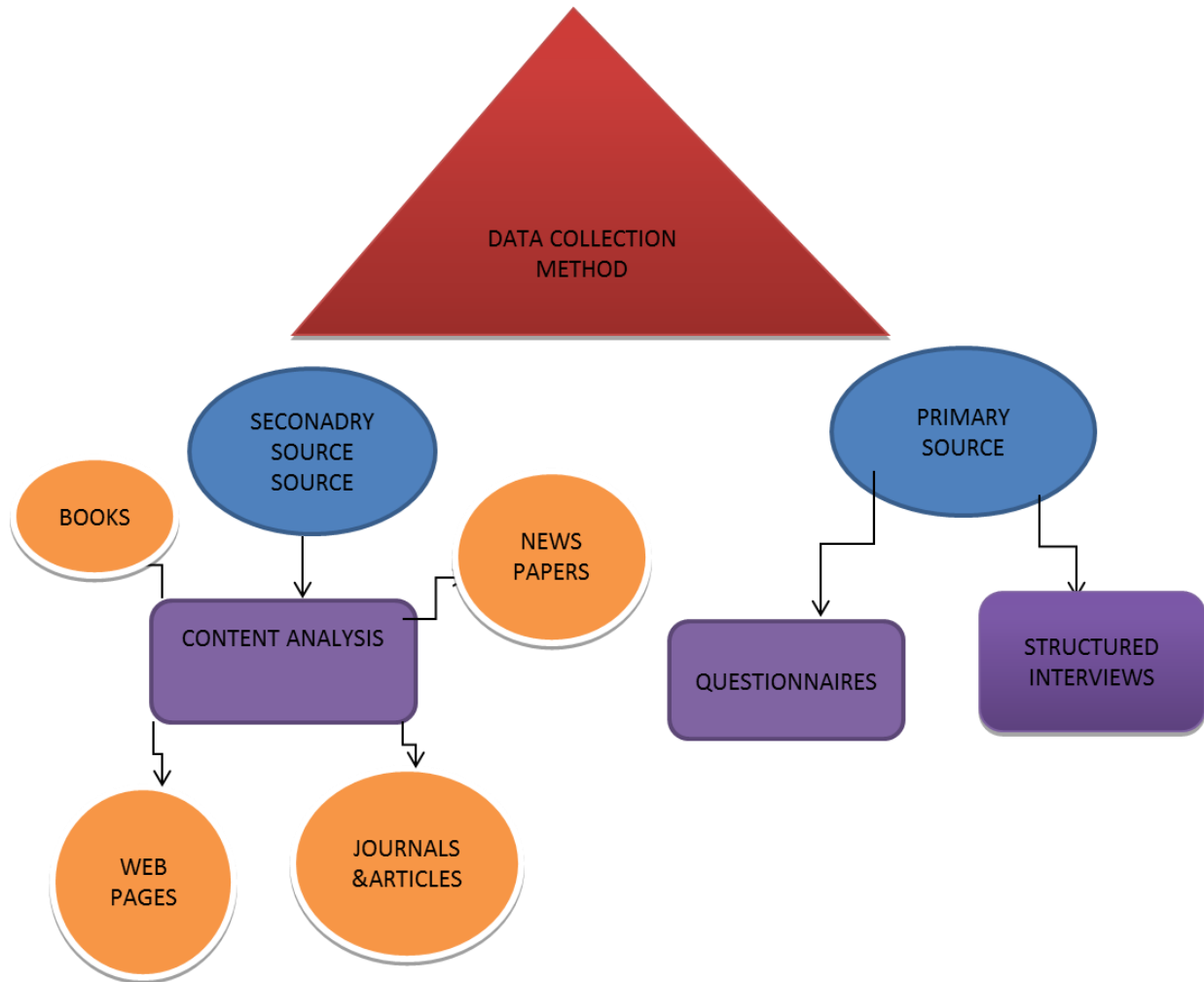
The main data collection method used in this research was interviewing. Interviews were conducted with the help of an interview guide which was created in conjunction the research aims and objectives. In addition, the review of related literature also helped in creating the interview guide in the sense that certain questions were raised in the course of the review. The interview guide was used because it gives the opportunity to meet respondents in person and this allows some level of rapport between the researcher and the respondent. It also allows for candid response from the respondents. It also helped for the people who could not read but have the required information to give their contributions as well. Just like any social research it helps the researcher to collect “original” information on the topic under study.

Apart from the interviews, a questionnaire was administered to people who could read and write and this also played a very important role by describing a population too large to observe directly. In administering the questionnaire the respondent’s name was not recorded. This allows the respondent to be discrete and anonymous. By so doing the respondents are more forthcoming and well able to correspond. The use of the questionnaire guides the researcher in asking the appropriate questions and keeps the research in focus.

Content analysis was yet another important tool used in collecting data for this research. According to Babbie, “It is the study of recorded human communications” (Babbie 2007: 224). As a result, the researcher consulted archival materials, books, newspapers journals and Web pages which dealt with the topic under study.

In designing the questionnaire the research objective was the main focus as well as other literature and conceptual frameworks concerning violent conflict and development. The questionnaire was coded and included both close and open ended questions. This was to help obtain the best information from the participants.

Below is a sketch of how data was collected:



### 3.10. ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

In conflict areas, information divulged for purposes such as research can compromise the security and safety of the respondents. As a result of the above, the researcher explained in detail the purpose of the research to each respondent, making them understand that participation was on voluntary basis. The informed consent of each respondent was required for participation in this research. With the exception of a few respondents who consented to

being named in this research, most opted to remain anonymous. In order not to compromise the safety of respondents, the researcher decided not to attribute politically sensitive claims directly to any respondent.

Every researcher has personal perceptions, beliefs and values that can influence the decisions making process during research and the data analysis process. Weber (1946) has pointed out that all research is contaminated to some extent by the values of the researcher. The conclusion and implication to be drawn from the study are also largely grounded in the moral and political beliefs of the researcher (cited in Silverman, 2000; 257). This researcher certainly had personal preconceptions about how the chieftaincy conflict in the Bawku Municipal area has affected its development. As a result of the above, in order to conduct a scientific research, one needs to de-construct stereotypes and misconceptions so as to become open to new ideas. My personal views did not interfere with the research.

### **3.11. VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF INSTRUMENTS USED**

Although the term reliability and validity are concepts used for testing or evaluating quantitative research, the idea is most often used in all kinds of research as well. If the idea of testing is seen as a way of information elicitation then the most important test of any qualitative research study is its quality. The concept of validity on the other hand is described by a whole range of terms in qualitative studies; this concept is not a single, fixed or universal concept but “rather a contingent construct, inescapably grounded in the process and intentions of particular research methodologies and projects (Winters 2000).

Validity and reliability are two factors which a qualitative researcher should be concerned about while designing a study, analysing results and judging the quality of the study. (Patton 2002). Validity has no single agreed definition but generally refers to the extent to which a



concept or conclusion is well founded and corresponds accurately with the “real world” according to Shepherd validity refers to “when a measurement technique actually measures what it is designed or intended to measure” (Shephard 2002: 58). Thus a valid statement gives a true description of what it claims to describe. Reliability on the other hand is the ability to perform assigned functions in routine circumstances. In the case of qualitative research it is the ability to produce consistency in findings. This means that whatever results gathered in the study must never change; it must always produce the same result irrespective of who conducts the research via the same method. In testing the validity and reliability of the information gathered for this study, documentary instruments such as books, archives, journals and newspapers which deal with the topic under study were consulted.

### **3.12. DATA ANALYSIS**

In analysing data, the information collected from the field of study is brought under the microscope. The information (data) is analysed by describing the situation and interpreting the findings of the research. This procedure helps to test the hypothesis and brings to the fore a better understanding of social phenomenon. In this case both quantitative and qualitative data analysis was employed.

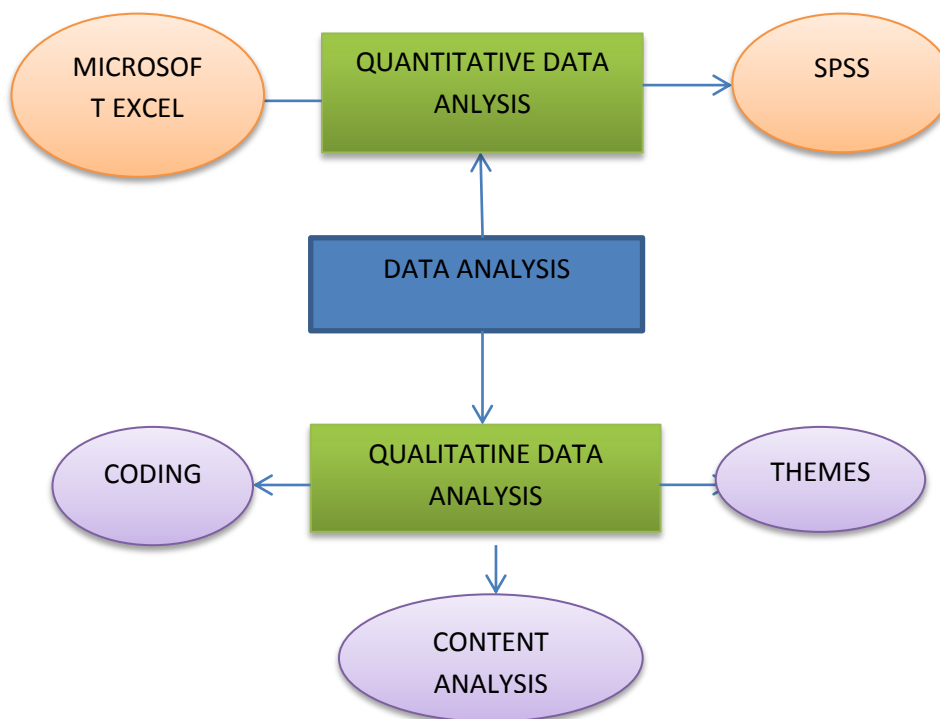
#### **3.12.1. QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS**

In view of the fact that questionnaires were used in this research, the Statistical package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used in analysing data. In this case the number of respondents who identified themselves with a particular situation or factor was easily processed. The number of respondents, their responses and the information given made the assessment of data easy as displayed by the SPSS. The SPSS is very important in data analysis especially in

cases where the sample is a small number as in this case. The SPSS was helpful in coming out with various forms of analyses, excel was also used in analysing data especially in generalizing graphs for data distribution.

### 3.12.2. QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Data from documented materials were analysed differently; in this case content analysis was used. It is therefore described as “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of a text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005:1278). Data obtained from documented sources on violent conflict and development were “broken down, conceptualized and put back in new ways” (de Vos, et al, 2002:346) and this helped to derive findings from the data collected. The next chapter will be dedicated to interpreting and analysing findings. The table below shows the process of data analysis:



### **3.13. PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED**

During the field research a few challenges were encountered. In collecting the data the major problem was language barrier. Even though speaking the English language was not a problem I realised that respondents could not fully comprehend some questions hence some of the answers were not what was anticipated. However, further probing helped in the course of the interviews. Due to this the language barrier restricted the population size. My inability to speak the Kusasi or Mamprusi language made it impossible to interact with as many people as I wanted. Also, the sample size was supposed to include 6 chiefs and 5 government officials; this was not realised because of very sensitive chieftaincy issues, 3 government officials were available instead of 5. Notwithstanding, the respondents that I interviewed provided me with deep insights into the conflict and its implication for the socio-economic development in Bawku.

Since the questionnaire and interview guide were both written in English, it was administered to only those who could read, speak and understand English. I realized that most of the neighbourhoods, especially the Municipal centre, were ethnically mixed, a fact I probably should not have overlooked. What this meant was that if I was going to use the simple random sampling technique there was always the possibility that I was not going to get the specified numbers from the different ethnic groups. What I decided to do was to distribute 40 questionnaires instead of 25, and then afterwards separate them into the different ethnic groups, and then pick the specified numbers at random.

Financial constraint was also another problem. Because I was working with limited funds it was impossible to hire a translator hence the limited population sampled for the study. Also the distance of the setting (Bawku) from my place of residence (Accra) was almost a day's journey; hence it was difficult to visit the field as much as anticipated. However these

challenges in no way distorted the significance of the study. During the fieldwork it was important that I build trust with the respondents. This was especially so considering the fact that the study area is a conflict zone. However, when I got to the field some people refused to participate in the research, citing time constraints, lack of knowledge of the conflict (either because they had recently arrived in the Municipality or are not directly involved in the conflict), or lack of interest. I had tried to make my questions very simple and straight to the point so that they would not need a lot of time to be spent on them because I had anticipated the time factor. But this notwithstanding some people still insisted they just did not have the time.

## **CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS**

### **4.1. INTRODUCTION**

This chapter deals with the presentation, analysis and interpretation of the research findings. The data in this study was derived from interviews with 5 people and questionnaires administered to 25 respondents from the Bawku Municipal Area. Bawku is in the upper east region of Ghana, a place that has been plunged with conflict since 1957. This conflict has been an on-going thing. Though subtle for a period of time it escalated during the year 2000.

The respondent comprise of 2 assemblymen, one headmaster, a constituency secretary and a pastor (as an opinion leader). Documentary sources in the form of archival materials, books and newspapers which report on the conflict in Bawku and its effect on the people and the place as a whole were consulted and analysed. In order to facilitate the data interpretation, tables, graphs and figures are used in conjunction with simple descriptive statistics.

The objective of this research is to show how conflict interrupts development by bringing to bare the negative effect of conflict. The cause of this conflict is also one very important objective of the research. A detailed analysis of the perception of the various variables follows. The conclusion of this study should be regarded as tentative and probable approaches could yield different results. However this does not mean that important inferences cannot be made from this research.

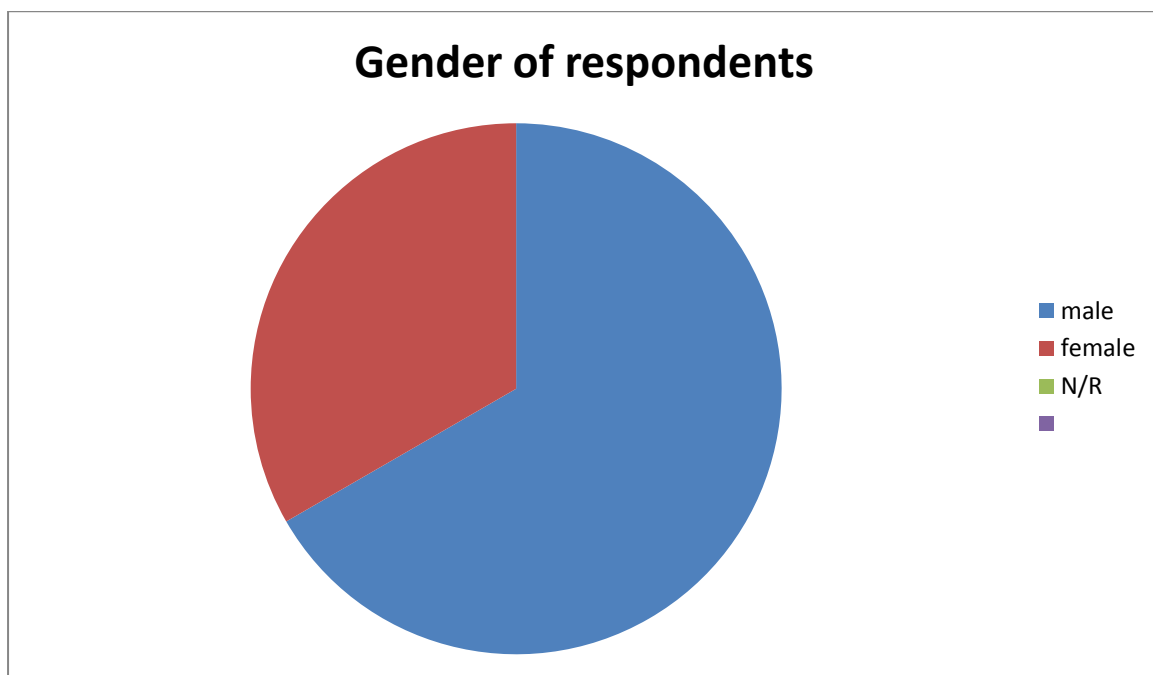
The details of the population sample was given in chapter 3, a population of 25 respondent were made to encouraged to answer the questionnaire administered while 5 other people were taken through a series of interviews. Among the information sought were things such as age, gender and tribe. This piece of information is included because it is crucial to make unbiased

analysis of the views of the people. The various responses given to the questions asked will be better understood when such personal information is available, these attributes are considered integral on understanding the research topic.

## 4.2. DEMOGRAPHICS OF RESPONDENTS

### 4.2.1. Table 1: Gender of Respondents

VARIABLES	FREQUENCY	%
Male	20	67
Female	10	33
None Respondent	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>

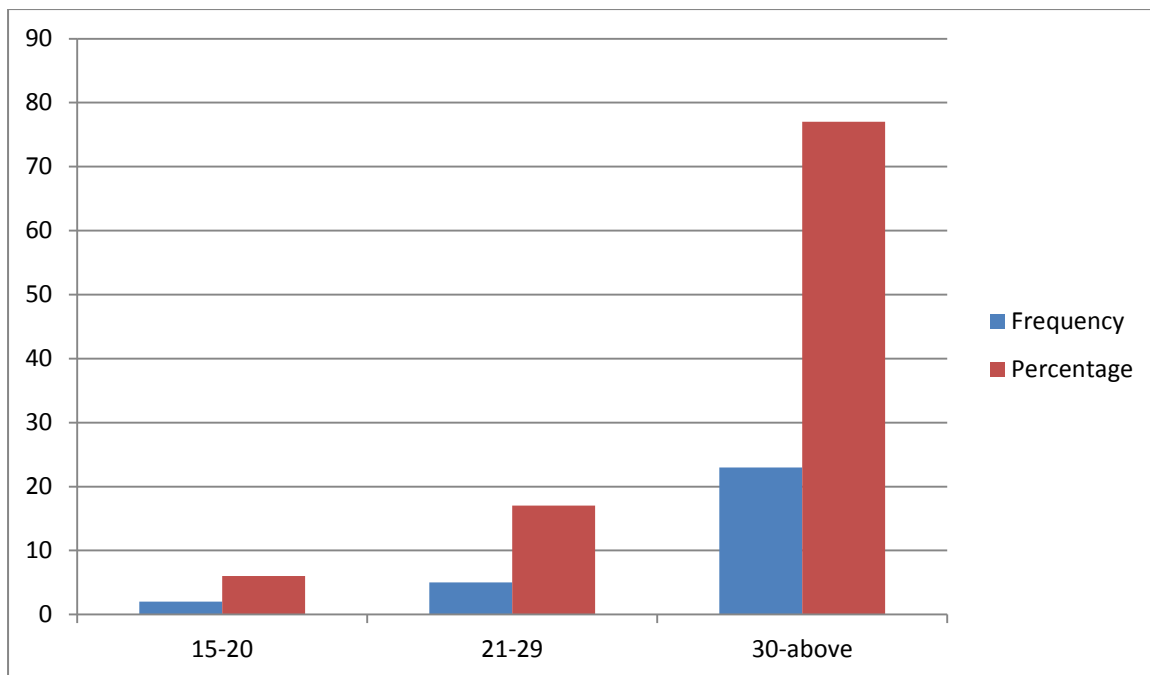


The representation on table 1 shows that (20) 67% of men and (10) 23% of women participated in the study out of a population of about 148,000. This gives a strong indication that men in the Bawku Municipal District are more vocal than the women. In such a typical traditional society women are not permitted to take the forefront or prominent role in sensitive issues such as chieftaincy or political issues hence the low percentage representation of women to men in the research conducted. Though the number of women was less, it's encouraging to know that they are not completely marginalised.

This disproportionate representation of males and females attest to the fact that in a typical African traditional society, though women play an integral role in the development of the community, they have little or no room for active participation in political issues. Since the conflict is viewed as more political than social, women are not at liberty to openly talk about it.

#### 4.2.2 Table 2: Age Range of Respondent

VARIABLES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
15 – 20	2	6
21 – 29	5	17
30 – above	23	77
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>



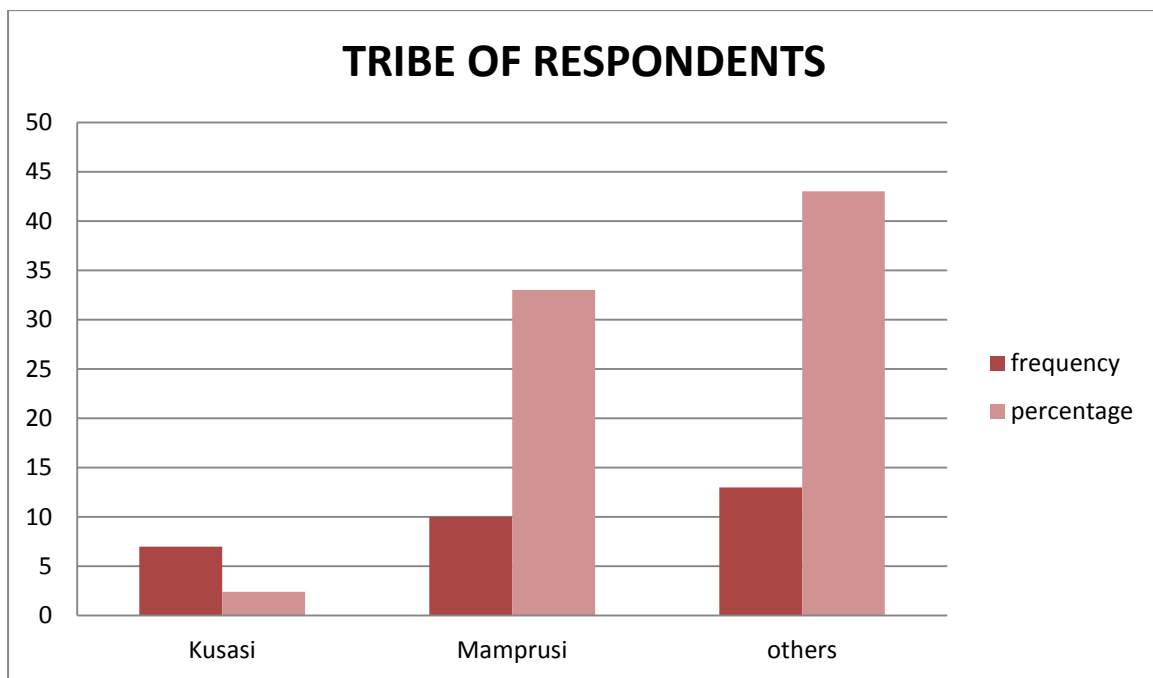
The table above indicates that majority the respondents in this research are above 30. This has come to the fore as a result of the fact that (23) 77% of the total sample population falls within 30 and above. On the other hand those within the age of 20 and 29 are only 5, while those who fall within the range of 15 and 20 are 2 representing 17% and 6% respectively of the total sample population. The vast difference between the majority and minority age range can be attributed to the fact that as a rural area Bawku suffers from urban migration. Most of the youth in the area have migrated to the urban areas in search of greener pastures. Giving the fact that the area is a conflict prone area where no better livelihood can be attained, the town is dominated by mostly older people who cannot work. They stay back while the young ones go to work and bring some money home.

This trend may also be established because the younger generation no longer takes interest in traditional issues hence they move out to places where they can experience modernity. Moreover the conflict of Bawku has been an old lingering chieftaincy dispute which certainly does not seem to interest young people.



**4.2.3. Table 3: Tribe of Respondent**

VARIABLES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
Kusasi	7	23
Mamprusi	10	33
Others	13	43
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>



From the table it is clear that respondent from other tribes such as Busanger, Mossi and Hausa's were the majority people who responded to the questions. This trend is deduced from the fact that the conflict in the Bawku Municipal area is basically between the Mamprusi and Kusasi hence their hesitation to answer the question out of fear implicating them.

## 4.2. Data Analysis

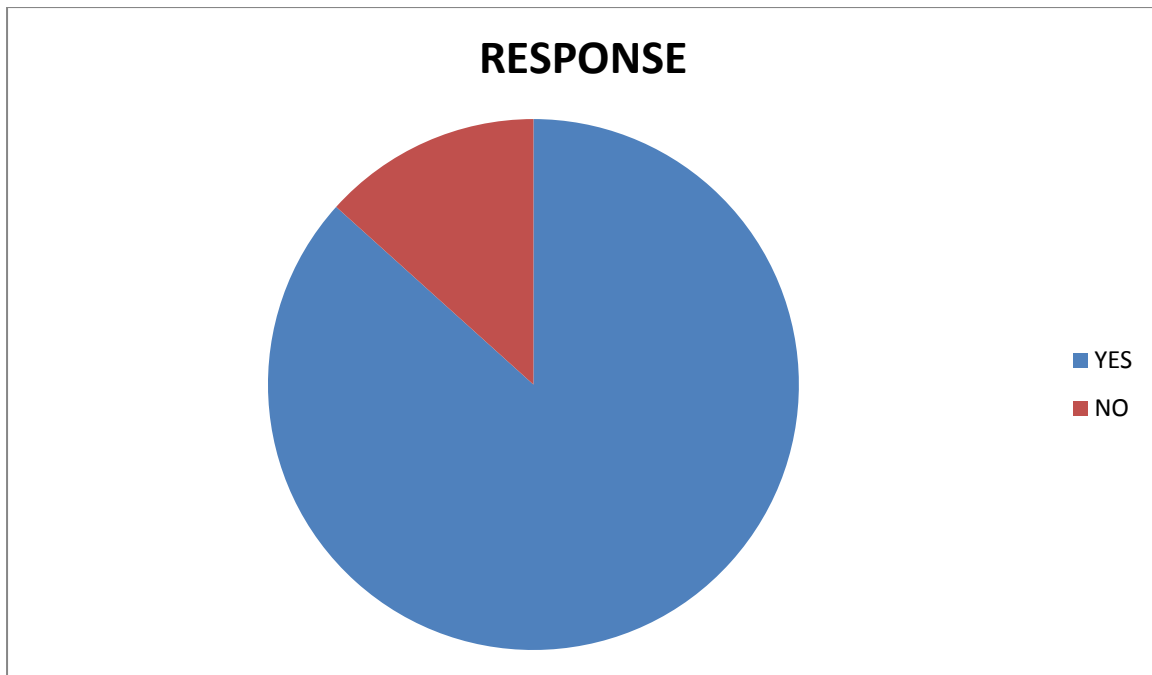
### 4.2.1. Table 4: Is there conflict in the area?

VARIABLES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
Yes	30	100
No	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>

The presence of conflict in the Bawku municipal district is an undeniable fact considering the various newspaper reports and news about the violence in the area. Moreover the data clearly indicates that there is indeed conflict in the area, seeing that a 100% (30) of the respondents agree to the fact that there is violent conflict in the area. This conflict has been in existence since 1957, when Ghana attained independence and the then government took the chieftaincy from the Mamprusi and put a Kusasi as the chief. This resulted in a fired up conflict because the Mamprusi claim to be the majority of the inhabitants and first to have settled in the Bawku area hence they were the rightful heir to the chieftaincy. Apart from chieftaincy been the main cause of the violent conflict in the area, land disputes are also seen as a very delicate issue which causes conflict.

### 4.2.2. Table 5: Has the conflict brought about insecurity the municipality?

VARIABLES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
Yes	26	87
No	4	13
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>



The data suggest that the conflict has led to increase insecurity in the Municipality. Atrocities such as arson attacks, looting, killings and gun battles are common during the perennial violence associated with the conflict. In the latest violent outbreak, which started on the 31st of December 2007 during the “Saamanpiid” festival, it was reported that thirty-three people were killed and 159 houses burnt (Ghana web, 2008 January 07). Police reports also indicate that “a number of houses belonging to both groups had been burnt and there was mass violence, anarchy and indiscriminate firing (of guns) in the town...” (Graphic Online, 2008, February 08)

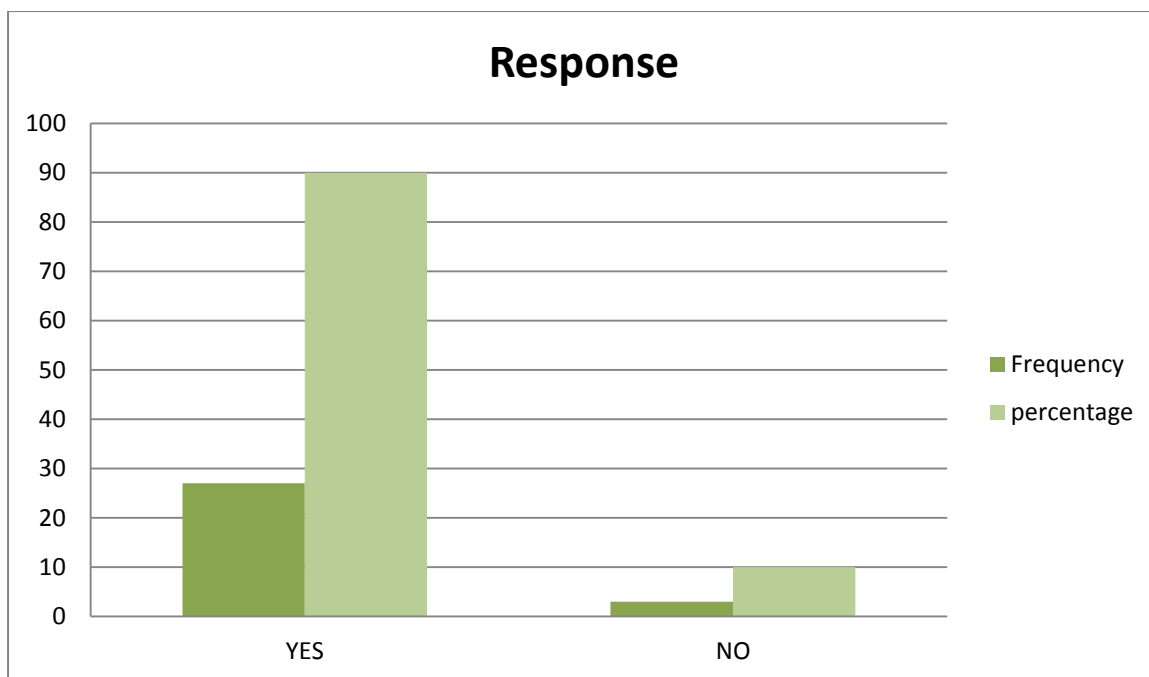
It is not uncommon to find people using the violence as a camouflage to settle personal scores, and to rob and to perpetuate crimes, which they otherwise could not indulge in, in times of peace. 26 respondents out of the 30, representing 87% of the respondents to the questionnaires, said they thought that the conflict has a negative effect on crime rates in the Municipality. It has led to the increase in armed/unarmed robbery, motorcycle theft, cattle theft, and destruction of properties, general lawlessness and smuggling of goods such as textiles, motorcycles, electronics and firearms. The smuggling of firearms into the

Municipality through the porous borders leads to another major security concern, the proliferation of firearms.

The proliferation of small firearms in Ghana in general and the conflict-ridden Bawku municipal area (BMA) in particular is a major concern and a grave threat to the peace of the Municipality and to the Ghanaian society as a whole. Most unregistered weapons in Ghana are smuggled into the country from neighbouring countries. As a border town, the BMA has been one of the main destinations of such smuggled weapons. FOSDA (Foundation for Security and Development in Africa) cites the arrest of a sixteen-year-old boy who on February 1, 2001 attempted to smuggle shorts guns into Bawku. Unlicensed weapons in the Municipality do not only come from across the borders, some are brought from the southern part of Ghana where there is a thriving illegal industry in the manufacture and trade of firearms. According to Mboda ( Mboda 20110) history, Ghana has a long-standing and socially embedded gun-making tradition. He claims that some local blacksmiths now possess the requisite know-how to copy imported AK-47 assault rifles. Such locally manufactured weapons find their way into the BMA and to other troubled spots in the country.

**4.2.3. Table 6: Has conflict affected the socio-economic development in the area**

VARIABLES (Answer)	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
Yes	27	90
No	3	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>



As observed in chapter two, conflict has a direct link to development and a grave impact on the economy. The violence associated with the conflict in the BMA affects development in the different sectors of the municipal economy. As indicated by the data, 70% of the respondents agree that the presence of conflict in the area has affected the socio- economic development of the area. This is fully discussed according to the various sectors.

### ➤ **Agriculture**

The violence resulting from the conflict adversely affects production, marketing and investment in agriculture, the dominant economic activity in the BMA. During outbreak of violence in the Municipality, farmers, especially those engaged in the cultivation of perishable foodstuffs such as watermelons and onions suffer heavy losses. Watermelons and onions are cultivated by irrigation and need constant tending. When violence breaks out, most farmers are forced to abandon their crops because they fear being either attacked or because of the curfew instituted by the government/security apparatus. Furthermore, the transportation networks are also disrupted during violent clashes and farmers are unable to

transport their foodstuff to the market places. These results in the foodstuffs getting rotten on the farms, the markets are deprived of these produce, scarcity sets in while their prices soar in the Municipality and the country as a whole.

Violence and insecurity in the Municipality has also resulted in most financial institutions unwilling to grant loans to farmers to invest in production because the violence and insecurity increases the risk factor of such loans. The officials from the Municipal Assembly interviewed claimed that, the conflict results in many young people relocating to other places; increasingly leaving farming in the hands of the elderly whose output is low. For Mr Hamza Amadu, most young people would rather invest their time, energy and resources on other ventures as commerce, which allows them to have liquid capital most of the time. Liquid capital could serve as their tickets out of the Municipality in times of escalating violence. Such capital, he said, is also safer from looting, robbery and burning.

The dispute over land ownership also affects agriculture production negatively. The inability of the two factions in the conflict to reach an amicable solution over several contested farmlands, such as those at Zabzugu, has deprived many farmers of their livelihood. It became evident from the interview that Mamprusi and other minority farmers who have their farms at the outskirts of the town, among Kusasi villages have been greatly affected by the perennial violence. During violent clashes they are unable to visit their farms, and so most of them have had to give up farming altogether.

#### ➤ **Commerce**

Commerce, the second most important economic activity in the BMA, has also been negatively affected by the chieftaincy conflict. The officials from the Municipal Assembly asserted that commercial activities as a whole are negatively affected by the perennial violence in the Municipality. The Assembly finds it very difficult to attract potential

investors. Such activities as looting, robbery and the general lawlessness, which bring businesses to a standstill during violent clashes, scare away potential investors. The officials also cited the out migration of business people to other parts of the country as a direct effect of the perennial violence in the Municipality. Restricted movement, disruptions in businesses, the loss of capital through burning of houses and shops, and limited and selective business transactions (this means that people will normally not do business with members of the other side, this limits the market available to each trader) were all cited by various respondents as effects of the violence which are disincentives to business in the Municipality.

➤ **Industry**

Industry in the BMA has also been negatively affected by the chieftaincy conflict. As observed, the economy of the Municipality is characterized mainly by small-scale industries in such areas as Shea butter extractions, groundnut oil extraction, pito brewing, and millet grinding among a few others. The officials from the Municipal Assembly held that industries in the Municipality have generally suffered from lack of investment. Indeed the small-scale industries in the Municipality have also been unable to attract substantial capital investments to enable them to expand. The unstable business environment makes it even more difficult to encourage the establishment of large-scale industries. However, though the respondents attributed the lack investment in large-scale industries in the Municipality to the chieftaincy conflict, this lack of large-scale industries is not unique to BMA. It is a fact that the entire northern part of the country generally lacks large-scale industries. The service industry in the BMA has also been affected by the chieftaincy conflict.

Whereas the service industry is doing relatively well in most parts of the Upper East Region, and Ghana in general, the industry is clearly faring poorly in the Municipality (particularly

the hotel industry). The problem is that buildings belonging to members from either faction in the conflict are frequently the targets for arson during violent clashes. This makes people in the Municipality reluctant to invest large sums of money to put up hotels. Although properties of outsiders and members of other ethnic groups are not targeted for destruction during violent clashes, neutral respondents claimed that they do not feel it is safe to commit large sums of money to such undertakings.

### ➤ **Revenue Generation and Collection**

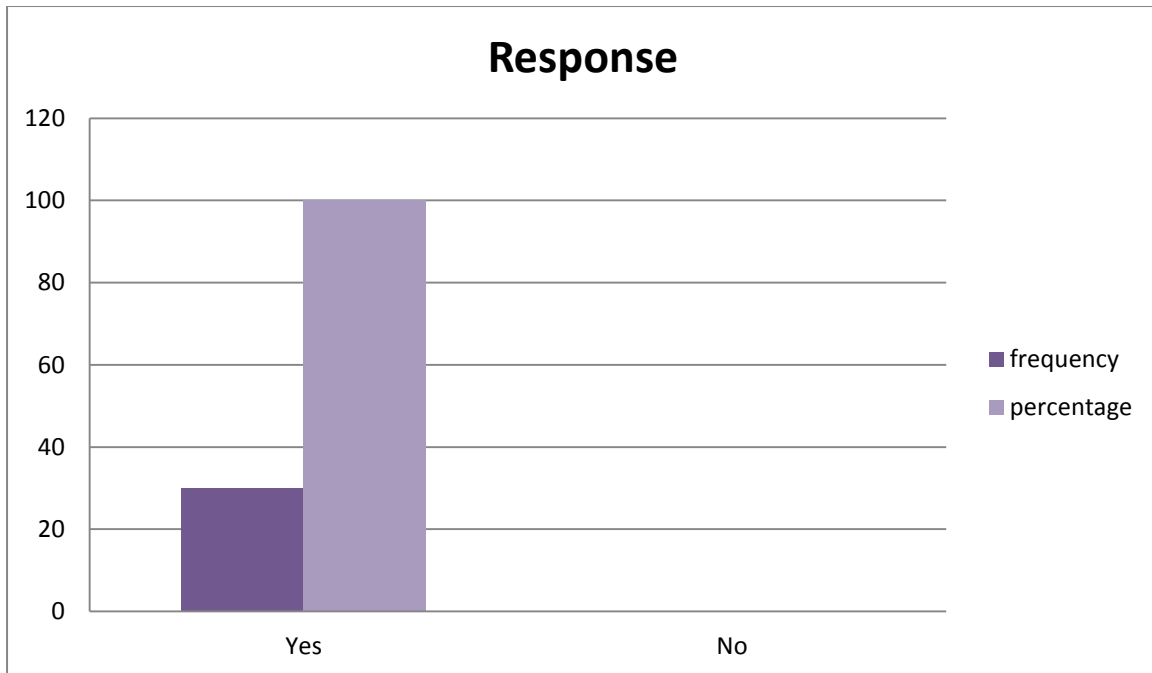
Revenue collection is an important component of every organization's ability to perform its functions optimally. In addition to funds received from central government in the forms of the "District Assembly Common Fund" "Grants-in-Aid", and "Ceded Revenue", the Municipal Assembly relies on revenues generated internally through the collection of levies, property taxes, and duties to finance its budget. Revenue generation and collection is another important aspect of the municipal economy that has been adversely affected by the chieftaincy conflict. Officials from the Municipal Assembly held that the ability of the assembly to collect revenues has been severely affected by the protracted chieftaincy conflict. One interviewee for instance claimed that, "the Mamprusi regard themselves as royals and to them royals do not pay taxes". This claim was confirmed by some of the Mamprusi respondents. Some Kusasi also refuse to pay since paying the taxes in the face of the Mamprusi refusal might be construed as accepting the Mamprusi claim of over lordship. The general economic decline in the Municipality as seen above, also negatively affects revenue collection and mobilization in the Municipality, as there are few productive ventures to tax. Smuggling is a major leakage in the Municipality's revenue mobilization efforts. The fact that a lot of goods are smuggled into, out and through the Municipality means that a



substantial amount of revenue that central government and the Municipal Assembly could have realized through duties are lost.

**4.2.4. Table 7: Has conflict affected the district negatively?**

VARIABLES	FREQUENCY	%
Yes	30	100
No	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>



The effect of the conflict in the area is adversely a negative one and has brought nothing but more chaos and multiple setbacks to the district in terms of development. The table clearly shows that the entire population sample (100%) used for the research attest to the fact that violent conflict has destroyed the district. According to data collected the following areas have been affected most.

➤ **BUDGET (Allocations to manage the conflict)**

A number of security measures have been put in place to respond to the perennial violence from the conflict and to reassure people to go about their normal daily lives without fear. Some of these measures include the stationing of a rapid response Air-Borne Force and a significantly larger police and military force in the Municipality. These measures mean that central government and the municipal authorities have had to channel more resources into maintaining the military and police presence.

The Municipal Assembly spends GH¢250 every month on the Air-Borne Forces. In addition, BMA pays their communication, health, and fuel bills. The central government pays the wages of these forces. This expenditure overstretches the Municipal budget. I was unable to obtain the amounts central government spends on the security of the area. In Ghana, security issues are normally not divulged to civilians, but government expenditure on law and order in the three northern regions, is estimated to be about GH¢648 million with its rand equivalent being (4,000,000 rand) since 2002. Such high expenditures put a strain on the ability of government and the Municipal Assembly to provide other essential public goods as schools and hospitals. The taxpayer is also required to do more to meet these expenditures.

➤ **HIGH DEATH RATE**

The perennial violence also claims several lives. On the 3rd of January 2008 it was reported that twelve people were killed in a single night of violence (peaceonline, 2008, January 03). Respondents also claimed that lot of deaths are either not reported or are played down by the authorities to reduce the tensions. They however maintained that in every major violent outbreak, more than a hundred lives are lost

➤ **LOSS OF PROERTY (through arson and destruction)**

Properties running into several millions of Ghana Cedis are lost annually through the violence. Arson, looting and gun battles are perpetuated during clashes between the feuding factions. These destroy the properties of many people from both factions. 17 respondents to the questionnaires, representing 57% of the sample population, claimed they have either personally lost property through the perennial violence or have relatives who have lost properties. In the wake of the violence, which took place at the close of 2007, it was reported that over 15 shops and 159 houses were burnt. (Ghana web, 2008 January 07)<sup>40</sup> Public facilities are however not targeted in these clashes.

*Below are pictures of houses and properties that had been burnt and destroyed during the conflict.*



***Picture A: An abandoned shop***



*Picture B: A house attacked and burnt during the conflict.*



*Picture C: A house pulled down amidst the violence*

### **4.3. OTHER EFFECTS OF VIOLENT CONFLICT ON THE BAWKU MUNICIPAL AREA.**

#### **4.3.1. Migration**

The general insecurity the conflict breeds has a direct impact on the demography of the Municipality. To escape the perennial violence and its negative consequences, many people, especially the youth, are forced to relocate to relatively more peaceful parts of the country. Most of the respondents in the focus group discussions claimed that they have been forced to flee the Municipality at least once in the past because of violent clashes. Some held that they had returned to the Municipality only recently, because of the long absence of any violent clash. (The last clash of violence before this fieldtrip was in 2001). The recent migration would have been the cause of the recent clashes at the end of 2007 and early 2008. Most respondents also claimed that they know of several people who have fled the perennial violence to settle permanently in nearby towns and in the big cities of Accra and Kumasi.

#### **4.3.2. Relocation of Economic Activities**

It also became evident from the fieldwork that not only do people relocate to other places, but they relocate their businesses and other economic ventures to more peaceful parts of Ghana as well. For instance two industries, Asontaba Bricks and Tidita Bricks, both brick factories that have been relocated to the regional capital, Bolgatanga (Mboda 2011). Most respondents also held that, the perennial violence have not only made it risky to do business in the Municipality, but also ensures that few people have money to spend. This significantly affects businesses in the Municipality as demand for goods and services go down, many businesses are left with little option but to relocate.



### **4.3.3. Social Services**

The perennial violence in the Municipality has also affected healthcare delivery and education. The health effects of the violent clashes include deaths, injuries, ill health and psychological disorders among the residents of the Municipality. The situation places a lot of stress on the limited health infrastructure and personnel. Mr Samuel Kofi Adjei, the administrator at the Bawku Presbyterian Hospital, claimed that during the outbreak of violence, scores of people are rushed to the hospital with several degrees of injuries as cutlass wounds, guns wounds and injuries from poisoned arrows. Most of these he claimed either die or are maimed.

The escalation of violence also limits access to health facilities. During such times, the disruption in the transportation network means that many people are not able to access health facilities when they need to do so. In addition, health workers are unable to go to work during such times for fear of exposing themselves to the violence. In the on-going violence, it has been reported that most of the staff at the Bawku Presbyterian Hospital have deserted their post for safety (myjoyonline.com; 2008, May 05)<sup>41</sup>. Most health workers also refuse posting to the Municipality. Some of those already there frequently request for transfers to other places.

It also became evident from the field research that the conflict negatively affects education in the Municipality. Mr Issah Kariama Mboda, a head teacher of a local school, asserted that any time violence erupts schools are closed down because of the fear that the violence might spread there. He further stated that the Basic Education Certificate Exam (BECE) results of the area had dropped drastically due to absentee teachers and student all because of the conflict. On the 18th of February 2008 it was reported that the conflict in the Bawku

Township had extended to the Bawku Secondary School forcing the school authorities to close it down (myjoyonline.com; 2008, February 18). Schools may remain closed for several months as the violence continues. A range of factors affects children's ability to continue their education. The most common of which are the shortage of family income due to the loss or disruption of their livelihood, insecurity for the children in the schools, out-migration or death of a sponsor, or children may be required to work in place of adults who have migrated out of the Municipality, or died to help support the family. The conflict has also affected recruitment of teaching staff/teachers to BMA. Upon graduation from the Teachers College in the Municipality, most the new teachers often opt to be posted elsewhere because of the perennial violence. Similarly, most teachers from other areas refuse to take up posting to the Municipality. The explanation for this reluctance to be stationed in BMA is that many teachers have become victims of the conflict. During the 2001 violence, a teacher who had rented an apartment in a house belonging to the then Member of Parliament for the area lost all his belongings when the house was burnt down. The teacher had to take a transfer out of the Municipality.

#### **4.3.4. Development of Infrastructural Facilities**

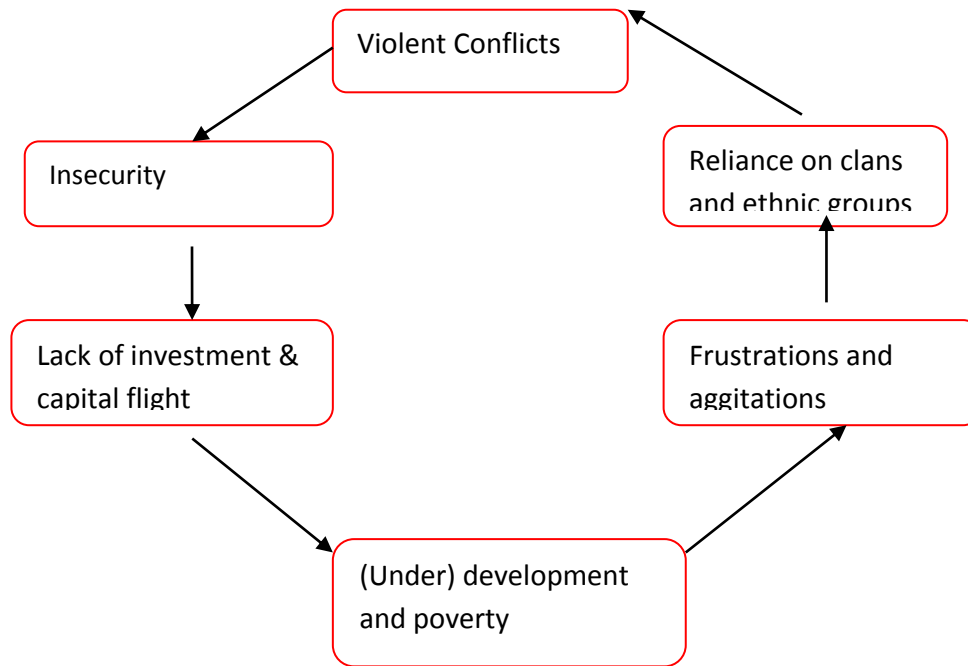
The development of infrastructural facilities in the Municipality has clearly been affected by the violent clashes. The ability of the government and the Municipal Assembly to provide infrastructural facilities has been affected by the violent conflict. The Co-ordinating Director was of the view that the because of the high expenditures required to maintain security, the Assembly is unable to commit adequate resources to the provision of infrastructural facilities. It is also difficult to get central government to provide the resources needed for such facilities because it already spends a lot of resources on the security of the Municipality. A cursory

look at such facilities as roads, clinics and schools in the Municipality shows that most of these facilities are badly worn out and need renovation and replacement.

### **Conflict-underdevelopment model**

As indicated in chapter 2, there is a close relationship between conflict and development. This relationship produces peace and development on the one hand, and conflict and insecurity on the other hand. Underlying the two relationships is what Collier et al (2003:1) describe as a “double causation [which] gives rise to virtuous and vicious circles”. This means that a condition of peace and security encourages investment in productive ventures that gives employment and enhanced livelihood to individuals as well as communities. Thus peace and security stimulate socio-economic development. Conversely conflict begets insecurity, discourages investment and production, and leads to underdevelopment and poverty. Current research (Collier et al., 2003; Kuzuhide K, 2006, Cramer, 2006) on conflict and development shows that violent conflicts and underdevelopment mutually affect and reinforce one another. For instance, Collier et al. (2003; 1) have concluded that violent conflict “retards development, but conversely, development retards war [conflict]”. In other words, violent conflict has an impact on the national, local as well as domestic economies of a conflict area. Justino puts it more succinctly: “violent conflict will affect the levels of poverty in any given economy, as well as the dynamics of poverty along the lifetime of the conflict and in post-conflict context (2007: 6)”. Conversely, retarded economic development can lead either to violent conflicts or to the escalation of existing conflicts. How do these observations relate to the conflict in BMA? The model below, which is derived from the empirical data, illustrates the vicious cycle produced by the conflict in the BMA.





As the model illustrates, violent conflict creates insecurity, discourages investment, encourages capital flight and disrupts productivity. In sum, it undermines the long-term planning for sustainable development as well as increases poverty in Bawku. Consequently, the situation breeds agitations and frustrations among the peoples. Above all, these frustrations drive individuals and interest groups to ethnic-based solidarities in a bid to defend what they consider to be their “birth rights”. This revives ethnic rivalry and deepens ethnic consciousness among the different groups, each of which recruits their youth to perpetrate the violence. A vicious cycle of violence has emerged over time because other extraneous forces (political support for one group and/or role of migrated financiers) complicate the issues.

#### **4.4. IMPACT OF VIOLENT CONFLICT ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT**

The following analysis of the data will illustrate that the violent conflict affects household poverty in BMA in four ways: through economic effect, through human capital effect, through population displacement effect and income mobilization effects.

#### **4.4.1. Economic Effects**

As table 6 of the data depicts, the conflict affects all the main sectors of the municipal economy negatively. Agricultural production is adversely affected because of the dispute over farmlands, disruption of transportation networks, and the inability of most farmers to go to their farms. These disruptions of agricultural production have far reaching consequences for household economies in the Municipality because the sector accounts for about 62% of total employment. Also, trading which is the second most vital component of the municipal economy has been negatively affected. The insecurity associated with the perennial violence has made the Municipality unattractive to business people who otherwise may have liked to establish businesses there. Furthermore many businesses that were operating in the Municipality have relocated to relatively more peaceful parts of the country. The businesses that have remained in the conflict zone are one-man businesses that deal in cross-border trading that yields minimal profit, and are unable to attract any significant investment for expansion. These small-scale commercial ventures therefore lack the capacity to provide employment for a vast majority of the youth of the Municipality. This means that the Municipality has been unable to take advantage of its nodal location to attract businesses, and thus provide employment for its citizenry.

Another aspect of the municipal economy that is affected by the conflict is investments in industry. As noted earlier many industrial units have relocated to more peaceful areas. For instance, the owners of the Asontaba Bricks and Tidita Bricks have relocated their companies to the regional capital, Bolgatanga. Generally, the small-scale industries that have not relocated are unable to attract investments for expansion, because of the insecurity. Financial institutions are reluctant to give out loans to entrepreneurs in the BMA due to the huge risks

involved. As a result industries in the Municipality have not been able to expand to give employment to more people. Thus, generally, the potential vast market that the free movement of goods and people across the border promises has not been able to attract industries that can provide employment to the people as well as enhance the economy of the Municipality.

➤ **Loss of Assets**

The perennial violence in BMA breeds arson, lootings, gun battles, and robberies. The violence targets assets of both factions indiscriminately. For instance in the wake of the violence which took place at the close of 2007, it was reported that 159 houses and 15 shops belonging to individuals on both factions were burnt down. In fact, properties amounting to several millions of Ghana cedis were lost annually through the violence in Bawku. In a similar vein Justino's has found that "violent conflicts result in the destruction of houses, land, labour, utensils, cattle and livestock". Though public facilities have not been targeted for destruction during the violence, people temporarily lose the use of such facilities. Thus whenever violence erupts in BMA people is unable to access such facilities as schools, hospitals, clinics, libraries, and entertainment centres, for fear of exposing themselves to danger. Generally, this loss of assets as well as the inability to use public facilities affects the quality of life of households in the Municipality.

➤ **Disruption or loss of Livelihoods**

The perennial violence affects the livelihoods of the people of the Municipality in several ways. First it affects the livelihoods of farmers in the sense that when violence breaks out most farmers are unable to visit their farms to harvest their crops. Thus most of their perishable crops go rotten. Moreover, access to markets is a major problem during such

violent periods. Farmers who are able to harvest their crops are faced with the problem of getting their produce to the markets because the transportation network is also disrupted. Above all the ubiquitous disputes over farmlands have cost many people their livelihoods. For instance Mamprusi farmers whose farmlands are located in the Kusasi-dominated Zabzugu farming district have to give up farming altogether because of the outstanding dispute over those farmlands. Generally, the land dispute discourages displaced farmers who wish to return to subsistence farming from doing so. Also, people from both factions have their stores and wares destroyed through arson and looting by rioting youth.

These indiscriminate attacks on businesses have left many business people indebted.

These disruptions and loss of livelihoods have dire implication for poverty in the Municipality: the poor are pushed to the fringes of survival and many more people who were hitherto not poor, have been pushed into poverty. Also, the insecurity and general lawlessness associated with the outbreak of violence in the Municipality has forced many people to seek refuge in other parts of the country. Most of the refugees leave behind their sources of livelihood, and therefore would have to start setting up new businesses when they arrive at their new destination. It should be noted at this point that, due to time and financial constraints, this research was unable to assess the effects of the relocation on the livelihoods of the refugees. Nevertheless, it can be deduced that having to start life all over again could have a negative effect on the livelihoods of such people.

#### **4.4.2. Human Capital Effects**

Levels of education and health status are important determinants of the availability of human capital in any one place to contribute to productive activity. The violent conflict in the BMA negatively affects both education and health. It has not only disrupted education but has also

inhibited the efforts of government and other institutions to bridge the education gap between the Municipality and other parts of the country. In the BMA, children's ability to continue their education is often affected by a range of factors. The most common are the shortage of family income due to the loss or disruption of their livelihood, insecurity for the children in the schools, out-migration or death of a sponsor. Sometimes children may also be required to work to boost household earnings. In addition, the violent conflict has also affected recruitment of teachers in the Municipality. Above all, the school calendar is also frequently affected by the conflict. Anytime violence erupts schools have to be closed down because of the fear that the violence might spread to the schools. Schools remain closed for the duration of the violence, which can run into several months. The negative effects of the conflict on education in turn reflects the high level of household poverty in the BMA because it prevents the people from acquiring the necessary education which, as Justino puts it, "is one of the most important mechanisms shown to aid households out of poverty traps" (2007; 11).

Healthcare delivery is also negatively affected by the chieftaincy conflict. The violence often leads to deaths, injuries, ill health and psychological disorders among the residents in the Municipality. It also limits access to health facilities because the violent clashes disrupt transportation network and many patients are unable to access health facilities at the appropriate time. In addition, health workers refuse posting to the Municipality, and those who are already there request to be transferred to more peaceful places. While the negative effective of the conflict on education and health affects the quality of labour in the Municipality, the quantity of labour is also affected through the direct loss of lives. The perennial violence leads the loss of several lives. While some are killed directly in the violence, some sustain injuries, or are afflicted by diseases, illnesses or poverty and may die after the violence subsides. This latter group is often not included in the official figures of

deaths caused by the violence. However it is important to include „collateral“ mortalities in the statistics as effects of the violence. This unnecessary loss of lives also affects the availability of labour in the Municipality.

#### **4.4.3. Population Displacement Effects**

The violent conflict in the BMA also leads to out migration and/or displacement of large numbers of individuals and their families. People are forced to become refugees in other places because of the general insecurity in the Municipality. The refugees are effectively cut-off from their livelihoods. In one research Justino found that conflicts cut off vast numbers of people from economic opportunities and lead to a vicious cycle of displacement and poverty (2007: 13). The youth are the most visible perpetrators of the violence as well as the main victims of such violence. Most of them who have become frustrated by the constant threat to their lives and their livelihoods have relocated to other municipalities. This out migration of the youth of the Municipality has affected the age structure of the population. The population is increasingly dominated by the aged and other dependents, affecting the dependency ratio. This increasingly dependent population affects productivity. The out-migration and displacement of people also affects the human resource base and the other parameters of development in the Municipality. The settlement of citizens of the Municipality in other places has become an important component in the conflict. Many respondents attested to the fact that some of these refugees have actively been involved in financing and refuelling the conflict. People living outside the Municipality may have less interest in peace because they do not have to suffer any of the awful consequences of renewed conflict. As Collier (2000: 14) notes, non-resident financiers of conflicts “sometimes harbour romanticized attachment to the group of origin and may nurse grievances as a form of asserting continued belonging.”

#### **4.4.4. Revenue Mobilization Effects**

The ability of the Municipal Assembly to raise revenues has also been affected by the conflict, while spending on security increases its expenditures. The general indiscipline and lawlessness, which have become associated with the chieftaincy conflict, hamper the Municipality's income generation efforts. Many people fail to live up to their tax obligations, but the Municipal Authorities are not able to use the security apparatus to enforce their by-laws because of the fear that such use of force might result in violent clashes. Coupled with the above is the fact that the budgetary allocation to manage the conflict is astronomical. Both the government and the Municipal Assembly have to spend a significant portion of their budget to maintain security in the Municipality. This affects their ability to provide other essential public utilities.

#### **4.4.5. The Effect of Violent conflict on household poverty**

The lack of economic opportunities in the form of employment, and inequality are some of the determinants of violence. The willingness of young people to join in violence might be influenced by their other income-earning opportunities. Also people are more likely to resort to violence if they think that their lack of opportunities is a result of a few people monopolizing the bulk of the resources. Though both of these determinates are prevalent in the BMA, none of the respondent attributed the conflict directly to them. This is not surprising because (Collier 2000: 2) findings also show that people would normally refer to only objective grievances (such as historical injustices and government interferences) as the main causes of a conflict in which they are engaged in, because "it is good for public relations". If Collier assertion is anything to go by then it is understandable why respondents in BMA, who have a stake in the conflict, failed to cite any of these.

#### **4.4.6. Social and Economic Discontent**

The impact of household poverty and inequality on the chieftaincy conflict can be unravelled by examining such motives as social discontent and the search for new opportunities. The BMA has a high rate of unemployment. Agriculture, which is the highest employer, has been adversely affected by irregular rainfall patterns and dwindling soil fertility. This means that a majority of the people in the Municipality are faced with difficult socio-economic conditions. Commerce and industry, the other major sectors of the municipal economy, also perform poorly, employing only few people. The majority of the people are therefore left discontent with their social and economic lot. The inability of the government, municipal and local authorities to solve this discontent leave the majority of the people frustrated and susceptible to aggressive behaviour.

#### **4.4.7. The Search for New Opportunities**

The conflict in the BMA can be seen as a struggle by each faction to upset the socio-political and economic order established under colonial rule, and perpetuated by the postcolonial state, and to replace it with a new order that offers better opportunities for membership of the individual groups. The opportunities that existed before the onset of the conflict in the 1950s failed to meet the basic aspirations of the majority Kusasi. The Kusasi struggle appears therefore to have been a rejection of the minority Mamprusi monopoly over key offices as well as control over commerce in the area. This explains why the Kusasi exploited PNDC Law 75 (that restored the chieftaincy to the Kusasi) to appropriate both political power and economic opportunity: seizing lands cultivated by the Mamprusi farmers, and by dislodging Mamprusi and other minority traders from market stalls in the Bawku central market (Salifu 2011).



For the Kusasi, therefore, violence became a useful tool in their search for new and better opportunities. They continued to employ the use of violence to protect their newly won opportunities as well as to win further opportunities that still remain in the hands of the Mamprusi and other minority groups. On their part, the Mamprusi resorted to (peaceful and violent) methods to regain political and economic predominance. After political and judicial processes failed to restore the chieftaincy position to them, they resorted to violence.

## **CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATION**

### **5.0. Introduction**

This study about the impact of conflict on rural development had two main aims: first, to investigate the effects of the perennial violence on the development of the Municipality and, second, to make recommendations on how the conflict can either be resolved peacefully or managed and contained to promote development in the municipality. The data had been analysed to ascertain the effect of conflict on rural development. An underlying assumption in the thesis is that the recurrent violent conflict has negatively affected the general development of the Municipality. This hypothesis has been tested by examining the impact of the violent conflict on household poverty, commerce, agriculture, industry, health, education and governance. In this concluding chapter the research findings are summarized and recommendations are given towards the resolution of the conflict and development of the municipality.

### **5.1. Application of the ‘Greed and Grievance’ theory to the Bawku Case**

Following the propositions of the “Greed and Grievance theory”, the feuding factions in the Bawku conflict are to be seen as rational economic players who are striving for economic rewards that are attached to the occupancy of the chieftaincy institution. With the advent of political modernization under British colonial rule, the office of the “Tendaana” (custodian of the land) was abolished. The custodianship of the land was now given to the appointed chief, whose position had hitherto been only a political one. In addition, the British colonizers delegated localized judiciary powers to the chieftaincy office. This made the occupant of the “skin” (symbol of chiefly office) very powerful. The appointed chief was therefore well positioned to influence local development pattern. The institution of chieftaincy therefore

became coveted and an object of contention to be competed for and controlled between Kusasi and the Mamprusi. That explains why “the acephalous Kusasi society would frame their plight in terms of a chieftaincy structure, instead of going against chiefs in general” (Lund, 2003; 594). The lack of economic opportunities in the form of employment is one of the main factors in Collier and Hoeffler’s later modification, the „greed and grievance theory“. The lack of employment opportunities in the BMA can also be said to have exacerbated the conflict. Despite the high level of cross border trade, the level of unemployment is very high in the Municipality especially among the youth (Bawku Municipal Medium Term Development Plan 2006-2009).

This lack of economic opportunities has largely made the youth of the area from both factions disillusioned, and they have often sought to ensure that traditional governance in the Municipality is controlled by their kin in the hope that when economic opportunities come they would be in a better position to access them. The result of this appeal to group solidarities is that the youth of both factions in the conflict are easily recruited by interest groups and financiers who have an interest in the continuation of the conflict. This explains why it is the youth who are most visible on the frontlines of the cycle of violent confrontations.

## **5.2 Summary of Research Findings**

The findings, which are presented below, meet the aims and objectives of the research.

(A) The findings in respect of the general effects of the violent conflict in Bawku are that:

- All aspects of individual and communal livelihoods in the Municipality have been negatively affected;

- The conflict has led to the militarization of the population, indiscipline, political chaos and insecurity;
- The violence has in turn retarded the socio-economic development of the Municipality.

(B) With regard to the municipal economy the research found that

- Production in agriculture, commerce and industry has been adversely affected.
- Disputes over farmlands and the inability of many farmers to cultivate their farms during periods of violence outbreaks have negatively affected agricultural production.
- The general insecurity has made the Municipality unattractive to business people, thus many businesses have relocated to other peaceful parts of the country.
- The violence discourages investment in the economic sectors.
- High unemployment rates (30% of respondents are unemployed) due to the domination of small scale farming in the Municipality.
- The poverty level has is on the ascendency

(C) The violent conflict has led to the loss of assets, valued at millions of Ghana cedis. The destruction of assets has:

- Affected people from both sides of the conflicting factions through, lootings, arson and gun battles.
- Aggravated household poverty in the Municipality through the loss of livelihoods and displacement of many people.
- Disrupted the educational and health sectors as resource persons (teachers and health workers) refuse to go to the Municipality and work. Since education and health are

important determinants of poverty, this disruption contributes to the entrenchment of poverty in the Municipality.

- The attention of government and the Municipal Assembly has been diverted from tackling pressing developmental issues relating to the restoration of peace and order. Meagre state resources are spent to maintain peace and order, and to give immediate social relief to victims of violent conflict

### **5.3. Recommendations**

It is evident from the data gathered that the conflict in Bawku has adversely affected the development of the municipality. In this view, this question has to be answered: How can the negative effects of the conflict in the Bawku be resolved peacefully or be managed in order to promote development? The recommendations made in this section are based on the research findings as well as on suggestions made by some respondents. Before advancing my recommendations, however, I would like to describe the distinction between conflict resolution and conflict management.

#### **➤ Conflict Resolution and Management**

As the term would suggest, conflict resolution involves the reduction, elimination, or termination of all forms and types of conflict. In practice, when people talk about conflict resolution they tend to use terms like negotiation, bargaining, mediation, or arbitration on the other hand, conflict management does not necessarily imply conflict resolution. “Conflict management involves designing effective macro-level strategies to minimize the dysfunctions of conflict and enhancing the constructive functions of conflict in order to enhance learning and effectiveness in an organization” (Rahim, 2002, p. 208).

Though related, there is a clear theoretical and institutional distinction between conflict resolution and conflict management regimes. Conflict resolution refers to attempts by outsiders to intervene in and resolve a dispute or a conflict. Conflict resolution normally involves listening to and providing opportunities that meet the needs and interest of the feuding factions in a conflict, such that each faction in the conflict becomes satisfied with the outcome. Conflict management refers to the various means by which individuals and societies are able to cope with conflicts without interventions from external forces. In conflict management individuals and groups in conflict neither give up their positions on the conflict nor do they compromise on them. They just find mechanisms through which they can tolerate each other within the parameters of the conflict. A close look at the conflict in Bawku suggest that, the interference of outsiders infuriates the locals hence the best way to deal with the conflict in Bawku is to try and introduce conflict management which involves the feuding parties themselves.

### **5.3.1. Recommendations based on the findings**

A critical study of the genesis of the conflict in Bawku shows that it is deep rooted and cannot easily be resolved. This can be proven from the numerous efforts the government has made by setting up committees and commissions to look into this case and help bring an end to this. All of these efforts have proved futile in the sense that the feuding parties can make peace for a while and then again suddenly get into yet another conflict for a reason as meaningless as “a stolen fowl”. These conflicts have been sparked by various factors , however the underlying fact is the enmity between these two feuding parties, thus the mamprusi and kusasi. For this reason it is laudable to suggest that the conflict in Bawku cannot be resolved any time soon but however can be managed.

The following recommendations should enable the feuding factions to contain the conflict so that they can go about their normal political and socio-economic daily routines without the danger of further violent outbreaks:

- A fair distribution of farmlands and other resources.
- Expanding access to education to all groups
- The need for both factions to the conflict to display tolerance and understanding
- The need to enter into effective dialogue
- Both sides need to make compromises and concessions. One way of achieving this is to consider power sharing. To resolve this conflict there will be the need for government, political parties, the Municipal Assembly and all stakeholders to:
  - Show a high sense of morality and refrain from exploiting ethnic sentiments for electoral favours
  - Empower the Regional House of Chiefs or the National House of Chiefs to lead mediations on resolving the conflict
  - Extract the role and power of the chief, so that calculated risk of perpetuating chieftaincy violence will become greater than their pay-offs

### **5.3.2. Recommendations from respondents**

The respondents expressed one major concern and recommended that if the municipality would ever be developed, then the conflict must be managed if not resolved. The respondents gave varied and divergent views on how the conflict can be managed or resolved successfully. Their recommendations are:

- The need for effective dialogue by the various stakeholders.
- The equal distribution of farmlands and other resources.

- The rightful owners should be allowed to occupy the skin. It is believed that the custodian of the skin at the moment are the kusasi
- Political parties should stop interfering in the chieftaincy conflict.
- The Regional House of Chiefs or the National House of Chiefs are the appropriate authorities to resolve the conflict.
- The need for education and understanding.

However, there were some pessimists among the respondents who argued that the conflict cannot be resolved and recommended that the two sides should be allowed to fight until one faction emerges victorious and asserts dominance.

Some concluding observations about conflicts in Ghana indicate that violent conflicts in Ghana, unlike the conflicts in neighbouring countries, are little known outside the country because they are not of the kinds that attract the gaze of the international media. Nevertheless, the ubiquitous chieftaincy conflicts have reduced the general peaceful outlook of the entire country as the EIU Global Peace Index report indicates. Also a specific conflict can either have different motivations or can be exploited for different purposes. Leaders can draw ethnic sentiments into political conflicts, just as social grievances can be painted with political interpretations. Thus, as the research shows, the Bawku conflict like other conflicts elsewhere is caused by a combination of several dynamics and local contestations. Also the Bawku conflict degenerates into perennial outbreaks of violence when fuelled by a complex set of political, social and economic factors. The Bawku conflict has affected livelihoods negatively. It has led to loss of life and property as well as to a displacement of persons. Successive governments have allocated more resources (fiscal and personnel) to maintain security. This increase in government spending has reduced the resources available for the



improvement of conditions of life of the people in general. This has resulted in mass poverty; unemployment and inequalities of income and of opportunity. Finally, in seeking to resolve the conflict a combination of several factors will equally be needed. It is my belief that the implementation of the recommendations could play a crucial role in managing the conflict and, eventually, lead to its resolution permanently.

These recommendations will not necessarily bring an end to the conflict in Bawku, it would help curb the violence and also maintain some peace and order. If these recommendations are implemented and adhered to, to the letter Bawku will be on its way to achieving a violence free society and developments will be underway to make Bawku the buoyant and lovely place for its inhabitant.

A close study of how the pattern of this conflict has been it is obvious that when each party stay in their respective sides and do not cross the opposite faction, there is peace. This is evident in 2001 when the government set up a peace commission to help settle this case. After their recommendations were implemented, Bawku was calm form then till 2008 thus six (6) years of non-violence. I therefore believe that with proper adherence and full co-operation to these reccemendation, Peace shall finally come to Bawku.

## **CONCLUSION**

This chapter has examined the mutual impact of the chieftaincy conflict and socio-economic development in the BMA. These have been discussed in three parts. The first part presented a model that illustrates the correlation between the cycles of violence, insecurity and underdevelopment. The second part looked at the effects of the conflict on the socio-economic development and household poverty of the BMA. The last part considered the

impact of underdevelopment and household poverty on the conflict. It has become clear from the analysis that the chieftaincy conflict breeds violence and insecurity which impacts negatively on investments in agricultural production, commerce and industry in the Municipality. Many people also have their assets destroyed and their livelihoods disrupted by the perennial violence. It has also become evident that the chieftaincy conflict has adversely affected health care delivery and education in the Municipality. The above negative effects of the conflict have ensured that many more people are pushed into poverty. The analysis has also shown that the lack of development and household poverty in the Municipality are important considerations in the chieftaincy conflict. The lack of development results in social and economic discontent and drive individuals and interest groups to ethnic-based solidarities in a bid to compete for limited resources. This revives ethnic rivalry and deepens ethnic consciousness among the different groups. A vicious cycle of violence emerges over time as the different groups see one another as competition and other extraneous forces as political support and the role of non-resident financiers are brought to play. It is important to note at this stage that though underdevelopment and household poverty do not always lead to conflict, they can become major components in a conflict that might have been introduced by other factors, fuelling and refuelling the conflict, as the Bawku case shows.

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Figure one (1) and two(2)Google Maps, Ghana map. Assessed on 18<sup>th</sup> September 2011 at 14:42pm.

Pictures A to C: picture taken on the field of research. Bawku Municipal Area. September 10<sup>th</sup> 2011 at 10am

## Appendix A

### INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. State your name please?
  2. Your age?
  3. Your occupation?
- 
- A. History of the people
    - Origin
    - How and why did they settle in their current destination
  - B. Culture
    - What are their values and system of belief
    - What is their traditional occupation
    - How is their traditional system like
    - Who is the traditional head
  - C. CONFLICT
    - What in your opinion is conflict
    - What are the causes of conflict in the area
    - What steps have been taken to curb or stop the violent conflict in the area
    - Has the violent conflict had any negative effects on the community? Were there any positive effects?
    - Has the conflict brought insecurity to the municipality
    - How will you describe the conflict in the municipality
  - D. DEVELOPMENT
    - How do you perceive the level of economic development in this district?
    - Do you think that conflict has influenced it in any way?
    - What role is the government playing to help the situation?
    - What is the way forward in terms of ending conflict and encouraging economic development?

Is there anything else that was not covered with the above questions?

# APPENDIX B

## RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

### NELSON MANDELA METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY (NMMU)

#### DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

I shall be grateful if you will respond to the questions in this questionnaire. You are assured of absolute confidentiality.

LOCALS OF BAWKU

#### DEMOGRAPHIC

##### 1.1. GENDER

i. MALE

ii. FEMALE

##### 1.2. AGE GROUP

i. 15-20  ii. 21-29

iii. 30 and above

#### 2. TRIBE

2.1. Can you please tell me which tribe you are?

A. Mamprusi

B. Kusasi

C. Other

#### 3. Occupation

A. Farmer

B. Trader

C. Industry

D. Other

E. unemployed

**PERCEPTION ON CONFLICT**

4.0 Is there conflict in this area?

1. YES       2. NO

4.1. How would you describe the conflict in the municipality?

A. Violent       B. Non Violent

4.2 Do you think the conflict in this area had influenced the socio-economic of development of this district?

A. YES       B. NO

4.3. What is the level of development in this area?

A. underdeveloped       B. Developing       C. developed

4.4. Do you think the Conflict has brought insecurity to the municipality?

A. Yes       B.

4.5. Do you think government is responsible for the conflict here?

1. YES       2. NO

*If respondent answers 'NO' in question '27' above, then probe further*

4.6. If government is not responsible for the conflict here, then who or what is?

4.7. Did you experience violent conflict recently?

1. YES       2. NO

*If respondents' answers 'YES' then probe further otherwise skip to question '3.B.' below.*

4.8. What did you do?

- |   |                          |
|---|--------------------------|
| A. I joined the attackers                         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| B. I participated and destroyed                   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| C. I did nothing, just look on.                   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| D. I joined the violence and destroyed properties | <input type="checkbox"/> |

4. 9. What is your present take on violent conflict in this district?

- A. I support it
- B. I do not support it

4. 10. If you support violent conflict, please in one sentence tell me why you support violent conflict.



4.11. If you are not supporting violent conflict, please tell me in one sentence why you are against conflict.

3. 12. Has the conflict helped resolve the issues at stake?

A. YES                       B. NO

3. 13. If 'YES' how did it help?

3. 14. In your opinion do you see a relationship between conflict and development?

3. 15. Has the development of the district been affected in anyway?

A. YES

B. NO

3. 16. In what ways if yes?

3. 17. What in your opinion is the cause of conflict in the district?

3. 18. Do you think this conflict has any setback on the general development of the district?

A. YES  B. NO

319. Would you partake in violent conflict?

A. YES

B. NO

*If respondent answers 'YES' to the above question, please probe further.*

3.20. What do you suggest the government should do about the violent conflict in the district?

4.21. Please in one word or a sentence can you tell me the reason which accounted for

---

4.22. Would you say the use of violent conflict is justifiable?

A. YES

B. NO

## APPENDIX C

### MAP OF GHANA INDICATING BAWKU



## **APPENDIX D**

### **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

**BMA..... Bawku Municipal Area**

**CPRC..... Chronic Poverty research Centre**

**EIU.....Economist Intelligent Unit**

**FOSDA.....Foundation**

**HDR..... Human Development Report**

**HSR.....Human Security Report**

**PNDC.....Provisional National Defence Council**

## APPENDIX D

### LIST OF TABLES

#### DEMOGRAPHICS OF RESPONDENTS

**Table 1: Gender of Respondents**

VARIABLES	FREQUENCY	%
Male	20	67
Female	10	33
None Respondent	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 2: Age Range of Respondent**

VARIABLES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
15 – 20	2	6
21 – 29	5	17
30 – above	23	77
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 3: Tribe of Respondent**

VARIABLES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
Kusasi	7	23

Mamprusi	10	33
Others	13	43
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 4: Is there conflict in the area?**

VARIABLES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
Yes	30	100
No	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 5: Has the conflict brought about insecurity the municipality?**

VARIABLES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
Yes	26	87
No	4	13
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 6: Has conflict affected the socio-economic development in the Area**

VARIABLES(Answer)	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
Yes	27	90
No	3	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 7: Has conflict affected the district negatively?**

VARIABLES	FREQUENCY	%
Yes	30	100
No	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>