

Post Socio-Economic and Social Effects of Dagbon Chieftaincy Conflict and its Implication in the Tamale Metropolitan Area of Ghana

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Abstract: The study assessed the effects of the Dagbon chieftaincy conflict and its socio-economic and social effects on the Tamale Metropolitan Area. Ethnic conflicts including the Dagbon conflict have impacted negatively on the livelihood of the people in the area especially, in the Northern Region in particular. In spite of its prolonged nature, there have been limited attempts to research into the post effects of the Dagbon Chieftaincy Conflict. This study investigates the dimension of the conflict and its post negative effects on the Tamale Metropolis of Ghana. Using questionnaires and interview guides for the data the study shows that the conflict has affected development in the Metropolis. The conflict has generally affected education, employment generation, health care delivery, trade, farming, agriculture, family structures, social capital and traditional leadership among others. The resolution and the installment of the king of Dagbon yielded positive economic development especially, teachers and other workers have now accepting postings to the conflict area and there is now peace in the Metropolis. All recreation centers have opened and all the religious activities are going on normal without any difficulty and these tend to boost the social and economic development of the metropolis. The study recommends that various individuals, groups, stakeholders and government should provide lasting peace in the area. Government and the security agencies should maintain neutral to the conflicting parties and there is the need for a permanent security in the conflict area not only to see to the end of the conflict but also to maintain peace and security in the entire Dagbon. There must be a review of the Dagbon constitution in line with the suggestions of the eminent chiefs. The Assembly should ensure unbiased in allocation of development projects and the creation of jobs for all the youth and support the department's organizations and agencies to function properly. People from both Abudu and Andani gates should learn to tolerate, respect and coexist peacefully since they have more in common than what divides them.

Keywords: *Socio-Economic, Development, Chieftaincy, conflict, Effects.*

Background:

The issue of violent conflicts and their effects on development have indeed become a serious challenge to national, international communities and many other agencies that have engaged themselves in its prevention and management. These conflicts have become commonplace, especially in the developing world with their accompanying implications on development, which undoubtedly tend to create negative effects on development.

Many African countries have experienced one or more conflicts resulting in loss of lives, destruction of property, displacement of people and insecurity. Some of the countries that have been in the limelight over the past twenty years among others include; Liberia, Sudan, Mozambique, Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea war, Nigeria / Cameroon over Bakasi Peninsula, La Cote D'Ivoire and Zimbabwe (Brukum, 2001, 2017).

A disturbing fact about the conflicts is that some of them are still ongoing. The conflicts in Ghana, especially Northern Ghana are mostly inter and intra-ethnic conflicts and even though some of them do not assume national dimensions and their destructive nature have become disturbing. In Ghana, the prominent inter-ethnic conflicts include, the Mampurusi-Kusasi conflicts in Bawku area, the Konkomba against majority groups of Dagbomba, Nanumba and Gonja between 1981 and 1994, the conflict between the Nawuri and Gonja, and the conflict between the minority groups consisting of the Konkomba, Nawuri, Basare and Nchumuru against the Gonja in 1992 (Brukum, 2001). In addition, in 1991, there was war over chieftaincy conflict between the Gonja on the one hand, and the Nawuri and Nchumuru on the other.

Other people such as the Basari and Konkomba joined later, on the side of Nawuri resulting in a destruction of property, displacement of people and loss of lives. Another war between these ethnic groups occurred in 1992 in the same Kpandai for the same reasons. The main cause of this conflict was because of a claim by the Gonja that both Nawuri and Nchumurus were only their subjects, and had no chiefs and therefore, no land. To Gonjas, therefore all the land in the Nawuri and Nchumuru areas belongs to them. However, both Nawuri and Nchumurus denied the Gonjas claim (Brukum, 2001).

Adding to the above is the issue of destructive ethnic conflict in Northern Ghana also known as the "Guinea Fowl War" which broke out in February, 1994 between the Konkombas and Nanumbas. Other ethnic groups however, joined in the war nearly engulfing the entire Northern Region of Ghana. Since the 1980 Pito War, the Nanumba and Konkomba had been arming themselves to fight each other when an opportunity offered itself. It was clear that they still have bitter feelings against each other hence the given when a Nanumba and a Konkomba bargained over a price of a guinea fowl at Nakpayili near Bimbilla. This confrontation led to the most destructive war ever fought in Northern Ghana since the imposition of colonialism (Brukum, 2001). Some of the

intra-ethnic conflicts fought among the Dagombas include those at Karaga, Zabzugu, Vaggu and Gusheigu in 1991 and the conflict among the Gonja at Yapei and Kuswgu in 1992 (Brukum, 2001). The abilities to control the chieftaincy problems in Dagbon that result from these, produce the immediate factors that lead to negative development within the system.

The emergence of these conflicts can be understood from the contest over land and other resources, the quest for political autonomy and liberation by the oppressed minority groups, disregard of traditional authority and property rights, the existence of an inferiority complex, competition for power among the youth and the elite as a result of the decentralization and the democratization process, religious intolerance, partisan support of national governments, chieftaincy succession struggles or the competition for traditional power (Tonah, 2007).

This current study assesses the Dagbon chieftaincy Conflict especially the one which occurred in 2002 and its effects and post effects on the socio-economic development of Tamale Metropolis. The cause of this intra-ethnic conflict was due to the death of the King of Dagombas and forty (40) others who were members of his advisory council. This brought about the dispute between supporters of Abudu and Andani gates in the Tamale Metropolis. A number of houses including the Gbewa Palace where the King or Overlord of Dagbon resides, with lots of property were destroyed in Yendi and Tamale Metropolis. The supporters of Andani gate in the Metropolis did not understand why such should happen and this brought about the intra-ethnic conflict between the supporters of Abudu and Adani gates.

Violent conflicts in any form need to be given attention since they eventually have impact on the economic life, environment and development of the communities where they occur. These have enormous socio-economic implications for the region. Experts and professionals who contribute to the development of the region moved out to other regions because of the prevailing insecurity. Again, investors and other development partners withdraw their services from the region. In addition, the dead, displaced and maimed people who would have contributed to the progress of the area in diverse ways were a loss to the region.

Theoretical Bases of the Study:

Structural conflict theory is seen in two ways. The first is the radical structural theory represented by the Marxist Dialectical School with exponents like Karl Marx (1888) and Engels V.I Lenin. The second is the Liberal structuralism represented by Reyna (1999), Samson (2012) and (Galtung, (1990) on structural violence. The theory sees incompatible interests based on competition for resources, as responsible for social conflicts (Anderson 2002).

The main argument of the structural conflict theory is that conflict is built into the particular ways societies are structured and organized. The theory looks at social problems like political and economic exclusion, injustice, poverty, exploitation, inequity as sources of conflict. Structuralists maintain that conflicts occur because of the exploitative and unjust nature of human society's domination of one class over another. This case is made by radicals like Friedrich Engel, Karl Marx, Joseph Lenin and Mao Tung, who blame capitalism for an exploitative system based on its relations of production and the division of society into the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The exploitation of the proletariat and lower classes under capitalism creates conflict. Thus, capitalist societies are accused of being exploitative, and such exploitation is a cause of conflict. Capitalist conflict, to Marxists, will be resolved through a revolution led by workers or the proletariat, bringing about the establishment of a socialist order led by the working people (Best, 2006). This therefore implies that; the dialectical analysis is relevant in explaining the inherent conflict in societies. Marx adopted Hegel's dialectics and applied it in his own analysis where he pointed out the various stages of social conflicts.

The emphasis of structural theory focuses on how the competing interests of groups is as a result of the conflict and its direct impact on the social, economic, and political organization of society. According to Saunder (1997), in situations where existing structures are tilted in favour of one group while putting the others at a disadvantage, where cultures are seen as exclusive, where holders of certain powers or privileges are unwilling to acknowledge the rights of others to be different, or where people find it difficult to identify with the political and economic activities of a particular regime, the chances are that conflict will emerge and escalate if nothing is done to correct such anomalies. One could associate this with the Dagbon conflict, the Dagbon Traditional Area is currently divided into the Abudu and the Andani gates, which are clearly competing for the Ya Na title on rotational basis. Each gate works to dominate the other in order to win this title.

In view of this, the elites from each side and politicians try to manipulate the chiefs and the masses surreptitiously to help them get their desires. The results are irregularities in the structure of succession leading to open violent confrontation of the two groups. Related to the structural conflict theory is the realist theory which postulates that, competitive processes between actors, primarily defined as states, is the natural expression of conflict by parties engaged in the pursuit of scarce and competitive interests (Borjas 1999). This has three component parts; descriptive realism which sees the world as an arena of conflict. Explanatory realism which seeks to show that there are genetic defects which push human kind into behaving negatively (Koestler, 1967) and that wars become inevitable because there is no mechanism to stop them from occurring (World Bank, 2011). Prescriptive realism says that decision makers (individuals, groups or nations) have a moral justification to defend their basic interests and ensure self-preservation using any means necessary.

Miall (1999), one of the leading exponents of realism in his thesis on "*Power Politics in Politics Among Nations:*" argues that the imperfection in the world, namely conflict, has its roots in forces that are inherent in human nature; that the human being is selfish, individualistic and naturally conflictive. The States will always pursue their national interests defined as power, and that such

interest will come into conflict with those of others leading to the inevitability of conflict. In conclusion, actors should prepare to deal with the outcome and consequences of conflict since it is inevitable, rather than wish there were none.

In relating it to Dagbon conflict, there is competitive process between Abudu and Andani descendants as actors for the throne of Ya Na is the natural expression of conflict by parties engaged in the pursuit of scarce and competitive interests. The idea is that since our ancestors were instinctively violent beings and since we evolved from them, we too must bear destructive impulses in our genetic making. In their assessment of human nature, classical theorists like Hobbes, St Augustine, Rev. Thomas Malthus and Sigmund Freud expressed the belief that human beings are driven by a natural instinct to self-preservation. Because of this tendency, Jeffery (2003) described life in the state of nature as "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short". In the same way, Staniland (1975) and Novick (1999), and some theologians referred to the linkage between violent behavior and original sin in humanity.

The biological theories have given rise to another theory called the innate theory of conflict which contends that conflict is innate in all social interactions, among all human beings. It argues that humans are animals, albeit higher species of animals, and would fight naturally over what they cherish. Those who subscribe to this theory are the theologians and religious people, who see an inner flaw in human kind by way of sin that, bring forth bitterness, violence and conflict.

In view of this evil nature of man and the fact that conflict is innate in all social interactions, the fight between the Abudus and the Andanis is in line with human nature. They are therefore naturally fighting over the throne of Dagbon as part of their interactions for power in spite of recognizing that they are of the same decent.

Frustration Aggression theory was initially developed by John Dollard and his research associates in 1939 has been expanded and modified by scholars like Rondineld (1985) appears to be the commonest explanation for violent behavior stemming from inability to fulfill needs. In an attempt to explain aggression, it points to the differences between expected need satisfaction and "actual need satisfaction. Where expectation does not meet attainment the tendency is for people to confront those they hold responsible for frustrating their ambitions. As one of the argument of Gimpel (1999) theory, relative deprivation thesis addresses in saying that the greater the discrepancy, however marginal, between what is sought and what seem attainable; the greater will be the chances that anger and violence will result.

A suppressed disadvantaged group feels discriminated and seeks to redress this deprivation through various means. It is a sound and psychological explanation of causation of conflict. In addition to the above related theories of conflict, the psychological Theories explains that even though humans have the capability to be aggressive this capability remains idle until stimulated. This is different from the realists and biological. Abernethy (1999) noted that the expression of aggression has a lot to do with learning. In essence, the psychological sources of aggressive behavior are a function of several factors including human nature and the environment.

Michael (1996) and Luckham (2001) among other psychologists have sought to understand how the human brain reacts when people are under stress and threat. They noted that it is possible for a person to experience conflict between what he feels and thinks. This then determines whether such a person feels strongly about something or not and whether they act on such feelings or decide to ignore the feelings. For this reason, when people are under certain conditions, their reaction can confirm or differ from what others expect. In essence, humans are naturally capable of being aggressive but do not display violent behavior as an instinct. When violence occurs, there is the possibility that it is being manipulated by a combination of factors within and outside the individual's control. This seems to be the case in the Dagbon conflict as instinctively nothing is seen but violence sporadically occurs as a result of manipulations from other interest groups such as politicians.

There is also Human Need Theory which explains the concept conflict this theory. The main assumption of this theory is that all human has basic needs, which they need to satisfy immediately or later, and if they are denied, can lead to conflict (Roberts et al .1995). "Basic human needs" in this sense comprise physical, psychological, social and spiritual needs. In essence, to provide access to one (e.g. food) and deny or hinder access to another (e.g. freedom of worship) will amount to denial and could make people to resort to violence on an effort to protect these needs. Needs theorists over time identified these needs the deprivation of which causes conflicts. Maslow (1973), in his motivation and personality identified physiological needs, safety needs, belongingness and love, esteem and self-actualization. Burton lists response, stimulation, security, recognition, distributive justice, meaning, need to appear rational and rationality needs for sense of control and the need for role defense (Brown 1996). Azar name some basic needs like security, distinctive identity, social recognition of identity and effective participation in the processes that shape such identities (Amor, 1995).

Burton (1997) identified a link between frustration, which forces human into acts of aggression, and the need on the part of such individuals to satisfy their basic needs. According to him, individuals cannot be taught to accept practices that destroy their identity and other goals that are attached to their needs and because of this, they are forced to react against the factors, groups and institutions that they see as being responsible for threatening such needs.

MacDonald (1998) believes that the tension between deprivation and potential is the main issues addressed by the human needs theory because when important needs are not sufficiently satisfied economic and political problems will continue to grow. The absence of economic opportunities, hyperinflation, and penury are manifestation of economic imbalance, while political imbalance

leads to fear, xenophobia (intense fear or dislike of foreign people, their customs and culture), crime and violence, forced migration, voluntary or forced exile and political marginalization. All these constitute the root causes of bitter conflicts. In the Dagbon case, it is a matter of esteem and self-rationalization.

Methodology:

The study Area:

Tamale Metropolis is the only metropolis in the Northern Region. It is also the capital of the region. According to 2010 population census Tamale Metro is among the most populous settlement in Ghana with the population of 571,531 (Statistical Service (2012)). Located in the Northern part of the country, the area is like a conglomeration of villages where one can find an architectural blend of traditional mud houses and modern buildings. Majority of the houses are roofed with corrugated iron sheets. A good number of them are still roofed with grass. Due to its central location, it serves as a hub for all administrative and commercial activities in the region, doubling as the political, economic and financial capital of the region. The center of Tamale Metropolis hosts regional branches of Ghana's financial institutions and a considerable number of international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) like the Catholic Relief Services (CRS), CARE International, Action Aid and World Vision. It is often referred to as the NGO capital of Ghana. The place has developed and transformed very fast within the last few years and is reported to be the fastest growing settlement in West Africa (2010, census). The new dimension of Tamale's development is the rush by various companies to open branches in the town. The hospitality industry has grown significantly with new hotels, financial institutions and guesthouses built around the town. Area helps in maintaining law and order (Regional Coordinating Council, Tamale, cited in UNDP 2012).

Research Design:

The study adopted a cross-sectional as a plan that guides the study in the process of collecting, analyzing and interpreting the data. Research design is also regarded as the plan of action that links the philosophical assumptions of the project to specific methods (Creswell, 2003). Data can either be analyzed quantitatively, qualitatively or the combination of the two. However, both quantitative and qualitative approaches were adopted for this study. It is mainly a qualitative research using the social survey approach. The social survey as Creswell (2003) explains is a design, which provides a quantitative or numeric description of trends, attitudes or opinions of a population by studying a sample of that population. The result of qualitative or quantitative data was the main reason for the choice of this approach.

The target population is any well-defined set of unit of analysis from which a sample size is obtained. For this study, it comprises all adult Dagombas in the Tamale Metropolis, particularly the youth, opinion leaders, pressure groups, chiefs and institutions. Each of the unit of analysis identified was considered as a stakeholder and thus likely to have knowledge and experiences of the 2002 Dagbon conflict. The target population was 371,351 accounting for 15% of the total population of Northern Region, which is 2,479,461 (2010 Population and Housing Census (Statistical Service of Ghana, 2012)). The cardinal objective of most studies is to generalize or to draw conclusion based on samples about the parameters of a population from which the samples are taken (Yin, 1993). For the selection of a sample technique to come out with a representative sample in the Metropolis, stratified and purposive sampling techniques were used. Where it is realized that some individual units, by their very characteristics, will provide more and better information on the particular subject matter, such units were purposefully selected for the study.

With stratified sampling, the identified communities in the Metropolis were divided into strata based on their locations. The various communities were categorized into groups where each community represented a stratum and made it possible for the use of simple random sampling to get the respondents for the sample size. This was preferable since the sample frame was not available and it was less expensive because the elements in the group were geographically close to each other. Statistical efficiency for stratified sample was lower than simple random sampling, but that did not affect the work due to the larger sample size used for data collection.

The Purposive sampling was also used to select respondents from specific institutions and organizations. The technique targeted respondents such as the staff of Northern Regional Security Council, House of Chiefs, selected Chiefs, Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) and Religious Organizations. The use of purposive sampling for the above identified key respondents was because they were suspected to be knowledgeable about the Dagbon conflict and could give vital information.

One hundred and fifty (150) questionnaires were given out and 150 were returned. The 150 questionnaires represent the different respondents selected from each of the communities identified. It is quite explicit that, 10 respondents from 15 communities were used for the study. This instrument was chosen because it was inexpensive, responses required were simple. This guaranteed independent responses without fear, and many people could have accessed within a short time. The researcher gave out the questionnaires to respondents to answer for two days and collected them back on the third day for those who could read and write English. For those who could not read and write English, the questions were interpreted and their responses were recorded.

Karma (1999) defined an interview as any person-to-person interaction between two or more individuals with a specific purpose in mind. A good interview is one in which the interviewee takes over the control of the interview situation and talks freely (Yin, 1993). It is classified into structured and unstructured. Both designs were administered at the various targeted places.

Interviews give firsthand information from the respondents. It also strengthens interaction between the interviewer and the interviewees on the field of data collection. The researcher met the respondents and this created an atmosphere where interaction was possible. In using interviews, there were fewer or no 'don't know' answers. This was possible since the researcher and his assistants were able to explain questions which some of the respondents did not understand. The use of interviews was effective for both non educated and educated respondents in the sense that the interviewer poses the questions and answers are provided in the presence of the interviewer. In this research, this was possible since the researcher came face-to-face with different respondents. With interviews, quick results are achieved. The researcher had instant responses from respondents on the first day. The remaining respondents were interviewed the next days.

At the first stage in the analytical procedure, coding was done, which is the act of attaching numerals to the responses obtained from the field to have meaningful categories, and this was carried out within 3 days. At the next stage, the data was cleansed by removing unwanted data and putting the raw data in the SPSS analytical matrix to make sure that values under of the columns were within the accepted limits. After that, the data then entered into the computer for analysis. The completion and final stage led to the presentation of the data into frequency distribution tables and figures for interpretations and discussions. According to Karma (1999), data analysis computation should measure along with searching for patterns of relationship that exist among data-groups, Transcripts from the interviews used qualitative data analysis.

Discussions of the Results:

The age distribution of respondents who took part in the study. Out of the 150 respondents, 50 representing 33% were aged between 10-20 years. Those found to be in the bracket of 21-30 years were 29 respondents 19%. The majority age group of the respondents was 31-40 (54 respondents) representing 36% of the entire sample. Those found between 41-50 years are 18 and this represents 12% of the respondents. The above findings therefore depict that adults and youth participants, which is 67% formed majority, have agreed to contribute their views to the issue being investigated. These were the primary targets because they have more responsibility towards the conflict resolution and management.

In terms of gender 73% were male. The target respondents among adults at the community level were members of the various communities in the Tamale Metropolis. Female also took part in the data collection exercises, and institutions at the time of the data gathering. Females, representing 27% were also selected and interviewed to find out their perspectives about the conflict. This data therefore shows that more men were involved in the data gathering than female.

Knowledge of the academic background of the respondents provides an insight into the educational situation in the Metropolitan Area, and helps in the interpretation of the data given by them. An analysis of the academic background of the respondents' showed that a good number of them representing 71 % have some level of formal education. The study also indicated that 29% of the respondents had no formal education. Education as a variable was used to assess whether their levels of education has a bearing on the knowledge of the conflict. For details of levels of education, see table 1 below

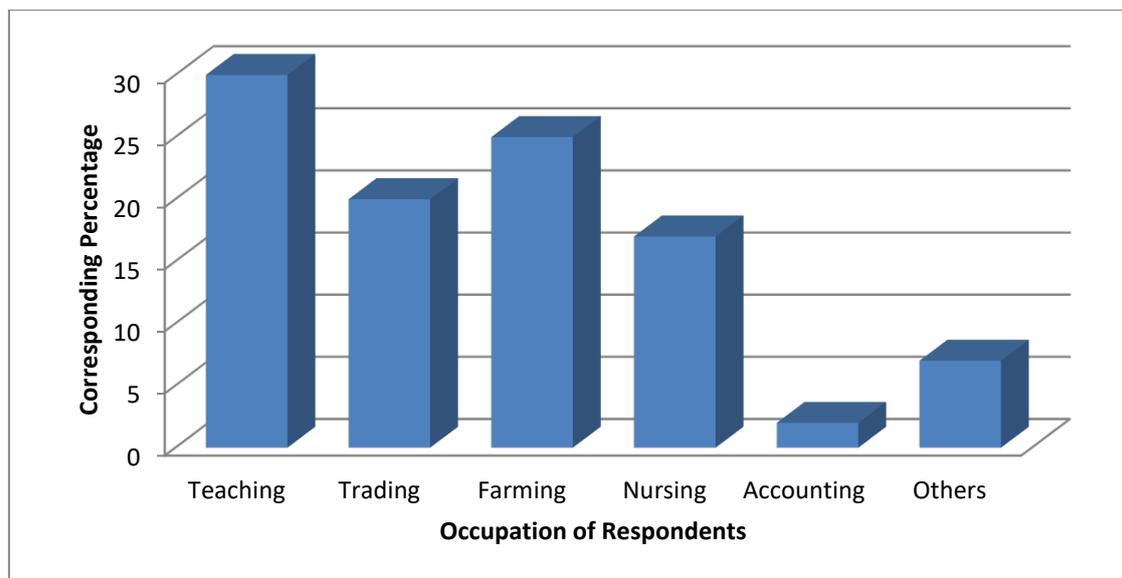
Table 1: Educational Background of Respondents

Educational Background	Frequency	Percentage (%)
No Formal Education	44	29
Basic Education	23	15
Vocational Training	34	23
Senior High School	30	20
Tertiary Education	20	13

Source: Field Survey, 2020

The occupational distribution of the respondents showed that 20% of the respondents were traders engaged in different economic activities, farmers constituted 25%, health workers 17%, accountants 2% and others representing 7% of the respondents. It can therefore be observed that, the sample obtained for this study comprised people with different occupational backgrounds. This is illustrated on the chart below:

Figure 1: Occupation of Respondents



Source: Survey, 2020

Violence Experienced During the Conflict:

Respondents were asked whether they experienced any kind of violence during the conflict. Table 2 showed their responses. Ninety-three percent said yes and their reasons were that some were involved in the conflict and others heard about it, while 7% said no because they were strangers and did not experience any violence.

Table 2: Violence Experienced by Respondents

Responses	N = 150	Percentage (%)
Yes	140	93
No	10	7

Source: Field Survey, 2020

Respondents were again asked to mention any kind of violence they experienced. They mentioned different types as shown in table 4.5. Ninety-five of them representing 63% said the types of violence they experienced during the conflict were threats. Other respondents 67% said they were being stoned. Ten of respondents 7% said they were physically assaulted. Sixteen percent claimed that they were verbally assaulted. Other forms of violence experienced were disrespect from either gate or chasing one another around with the least provocation.

Table 3 Types of Violence Experienced During the Conflict

Types of Violence	Frequency	Percentage
Threats	95	63
Stoning	100	67
Physical assault	10	7
Verbal assault	25	16
Other forms of violence	95	63

Source, Field Survey, 2020

With regards to the causes of the conflict in general in the metropolis, it is quite explicit that, majority of the respondents (Ninety-seven percent) answered in affirmative that certain factors caused it and only 3% provided contrary view. Respondents mentioned the following factors in table 4.6 as the causes of the conflict in the area with their percentages.

Table 4: Causes of the Dagbon Chieftaincy Conflict

Responses	N = 150	Percentage (%)
Religious differences	55	37
Chieftaincy disputes	100	67
Political violence	45	30
Ownership of Dagbon properties	15	10

Source: Field Survey, 2020

With respect to the causes of the Dagbon conflict, the, 37% of the respondents mentioned religious differences as a cause. The members of the two gates are sharply divided along Sunnis and Tijannia sects. Responses from the respondents pointed to the fact that, NDC supporters are mostly Sunnis, whereas those of NPP supporters are followers of the Tijannia sect. Since NPP was in power, Tijania thought they could enjoy the government support to do what they could to meet their targets whilst Sunnis claim they are the majority in the place and would not allow the other side to do something bad to them, which resulted to the conflict. Sixty-seven percent of the respondents mentioned chieftaincy disputes as the main contributory factor to the Dagbon conflict. The throne Ya-Na is now a competition between the Abudus and Andanis as to who is to be the Ya-Na. Since the then NPP was in power, Abudus wanted government support to get to the throne, which Andanis said no since they are on the throne and this brought about the 2002 Dagbon conflict and the various clashes in the Metropolis.

It was further found that, chieftaincy violence contributed greatly to the Dagbon conflict, which led to the immediate violent clashes at Yendi and in Tamale and thereby resulting in the death of the Overlord of Dagbon and others, valuable property were destroyed and vandalized including the Gbewaa palace. According to Kresberg (1989), in situations where existing structures are tilted in favour of one group while putting the others at a disadvantage; where cultures are seen as exclusive, where holders of certain powers or privileges are unwilling to acknowledge the rights of others to be different, or where people find it difficult to identify with the political and economic of a particular regime, the chances are that conflict will emerge and escalate if nothing is done to correct such anomalies. Looking at the above statement, it means Abudus have seen the Dagbon chieftaincy throne tilted in favour of Andanis gate for a long time, since 1974.

Different category of respondents representing 10% named ownership of properties like Dagbon land as another cause. According to them, whenever one side dominates the ownership of these properties, to the disadvantage of the opposite side, also results in conflicts. This relates to Marx's assertion. According to Kalpers (2001) in this situation, conflict will continue between the two opposite side until there is revolution to overthrow the capitalist by the workers. Here those enjoying the property are the capitalist while those suffering are the workers.

Thirty percent of the respondents also mentioned political violence as a caused and their reasons were that, past and present governments took side in the Dagbon conflict and have treated the case unfairly due to the political support a particular group has for the government. These governments also used the conflict as a campaign promise for parties in the conflict to score political points, which further led to the conflict. Abudus also try to use government power to get to the throne which, Andanis resisted.

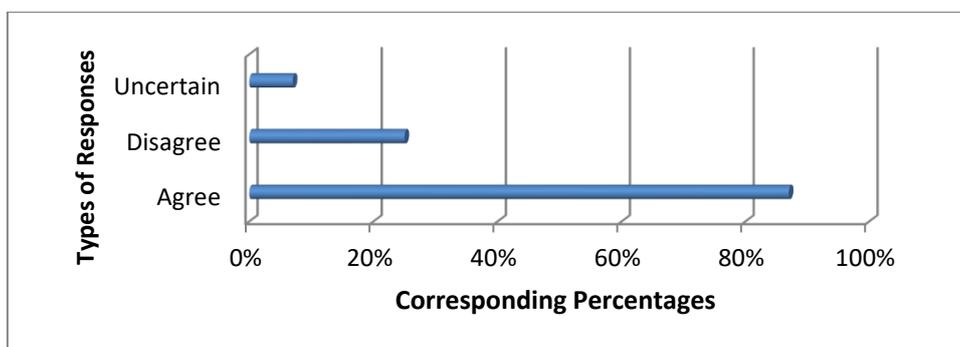
Lack of recognition and distributive justice as one of the key informants said is also a contributory factor to the conflict in the area. The reasons offered in support of this issue were that inability of people in authority and other positions of trust to punish wrong doers, biasness towards a section of the warring factions and lack of severe punishments to some people. Responses from the respondents also said that, other people used the military and security agencies to cause further violence and victimized of their opponent in the area.

Respondents were asked to determine whether the intervention of security agencies could lead to the conflict escalation in the Tamale Metropolis. As the responses in table 4.7 reveals that, fifteen percent said yes and their reasons were that the security agencies could be bias towards one gate, which can further escalate the conflict. Eighty-five percent said no, with the fact that the security agencies are to protect people, lives, maintain peace and property from further destruction. It is obvious that security agencies were present during the process.

Resolving the Conflict:

Conflict resolution is conceptualized as the methods and processes involved in facilitating the peaceful ending of social conflict. It is the concern and responsibility of every government, groups and individual to find solutions to conflicts when they erupt whether within or outside. On whether there was the need to involve different ethnic groups in the resolution can resolve the conflict in the Metropolis, the responses in the figure 4.4 reveals the reality on the ground.

Figure 2 Involving Different Ethnic Groups in the Resolution of the Conflict



Source: Field Survey, 2020

The involvement of different ethnic groups in the resolution of the conflict as indicated above in figure 4.4 could bring about lasting peace to Dagbon. Eighty-seven percent of the respondents agreed that, it was possible to achieve lasting peace in the area if different ethnic groups are involved in the resolution process. Those who agreed to the fact, said that Dagombas have ever involved Mamprusi to resolve their chieftaincy problem when Na Zangina was to become the Ya Na. Irrespective of the massive agreement to the issue, some of the respondents representing 25% held an opposing view and indicated that the involvement of different ethnic groups cannot resolve the conflict. Most of them also held the opinion that, the inclusion of other ethnic group may appear to be an intrusion of outsiders to the internal issues of Dagombas, which may be private, confidential, and therefore thought the factions themselves formulate their own strategies to find a lasting solution to the problem that has bedeviled Tamale Metropolis for a considerable period.

Institutions Involvement Working to Resolve the Dagbon Conflict:

Ninety-three percent of them accepted that, there were institutions working to resolve the conflict as against 7% who said they do not see any institutions/organizations working to resolve the conflict. A follow up question was asked to the respondents to mention these institutions and organizations in the resolution process with their percentages. 18% of the respondents mentioned police as an institution, which has worked to put the situation under control since its emergence in the March 2002. The mandate of the police is to maintain peace, protect lives and property. With the Commission on Human Right and Administrative Justice, 10% of the respondents affirmed, that it was another organization that worked for promotion of peace in the Metropolis. Even though its mandate is to investigate corruption in the society, investigate abuse of human rights and to investigate administrative injustices. National Commission on Civic Education 28% by the respondents said they had organized several educational program aimed at resolving the issue. Even though their core mandate is to educate the public on their civic rights and the constitution of Ghana. With all intent, it is obvious that, this conflict is undoubtedly a chieftaincy one. It is therefore imperative that, the conflict resolution attempts should be intensified and continued for peace to prevail.

Chiefs of the Dagbon traditional area in general and the Metropolis in particular, were the only stakeholders who led to the peaceful resolution of the conflict. The respondents said the chiefs came out with some steps aimed at resolving the issue. Such steps they mentioned included: talking to their subjects the need of peace, the idea of talking to people in positions of trust to also join hands with the creation of dialogue among the factions in the conflict, discussing the issue objectively and the creation of awareness to members of the factions to bury their differences to ensure development in the Metropolis. In terms of the usefulness and success of the conflict resolution mechanisms identified so far, 82% of the respondents thought they were useful and their importance could not be underestimated. They further indicated that these attempts were either effectively implemented or the resources needed for the effective implementation of these mechanism were adequate making it easy to cool down tempers. Though discussions in the above narration depict that, there was almost total acceptance to the usefulness and importance of the conflict resolution mechanisms. Other respondents representing 18% thought otherwise, that the attempts were not useful because to them it did not help in resolving the conflict and the problem is still like how it started.

Other efforts, which were identified as mechanism aims at resolving the conflict, were as follow: implementing the Wuaku commission report, the involvement of the three eminent chiefs in the arbitration process and creation of dialogue between the warring factions themselves as stated earlier. Another resolution strategy they mentioned was the involvement of the Asantehene, the Catholic Bishop of Yendi, his Lordship Vincent BoiNai, and opinion/religious leaders in the Metropolis and other prominent Northern chiefs in negotiating and mediation for peace to prevail.

A relation can therefore be established between the resolution attempts and the United Nations report (2011) on people's socio-economic activities. The United Nations report states that, conflicts negatively affects people's wellbeing thereby reducing their quality of life as well as their capabilities to live the kinds of lives they value and cherish most. For the people of Tamale Metropolis to enjoy high wellbeing and improve their quality of life as indicated by UN report, the conflict resolution attempts must work to achieve its intended purposes.

Effects of the Dagbon Chieftaincy Conflict on the Socio-Economic Development in the Metropolis:

Conflicts in general are considered dysfunctional for the development at both the state and community levels. The effects of the conflict on the socio-economic activities of people are quite obvious which resulted in people losing their jobs, lives, destructions of property worth millions of Ghana cedis, and maiming of people. The negative effects also include lack of employment opportunities, and loss of work force, vandalism leading to various types of crimes and discrimination, psychological distress among the rest.

As one of the key informant said, their relationship with one another in the Metropolis, was good and others say no. Table 4.10 indicates that, 23 of the respondents representing 15% said there was a cordial relationship among the factions since the conflict started. In addition, 120 of the respondents 80% indicated that, there was no cordial relationship between the two royal gates in the Metropolis. The issue was seen as being very complex; seven of the respondents representing 5% strongly indicated that the relations were rather tensed between the gates contesting to achieve supremacy over each other in gaining victory in the Dagbon chieftaincy issue.

The Dagbon conflict had effects on human well-being, reducing quality of life, the capabilities of people to live the kinds of lives they value, and the real choices they have. It resulted in loss of lives, livelihoods and opportunity, as well as of human dignity and fundamental human rights. Jeffery (2003) in his opinion maintained that, livelihoods are directly affected through decreased access

to land, and inadequate access to natural resources, as a result of exclusion, displacement and the loss of biodiversity. Tamale metropolis is seen to be difficult in accessing resource from either side because of the differences between them.

Education:

Most schools in the Tamale Metropolis were closed down and those that were in session could not function effectively during the conflict, because most people fled for their lives. Similarly, children and students from the primary schools and some of the senior schools ran home. After the schools reopened. Many students and staff failed to return to their posts. Choggu Nuri Islam primary and JHS for example had lost their Mathematics, English, Social Studies and Integrated Science teachers for the fear that they might be killed. Other neighboring schools also experienced the same challenges. Most trained professional teachers preferred other parts of the region to Dagbon by some respondents.

Responses from the interview indicated that, four schoolchildren from Choggu Nuri-Islam JHS, six from St. Paul's Primary School, seven from Bagabaga Demonstration JHS drop out. According to data gathered these children could no longer get support to continue their education since their sponsors from overseas refused to come. The data gathered showed that 90% said the conflict had affected education in the Metropolis because the students and teachers could not finish their syllabus as they use to which made most of them not to perform well in their exams. All these schools were reopened after the resolution and are now doing well. The teachers who left the schools have all come back and after the final resolution and the enskinment of the overload of Dagbon after thing have now been normalized and there is peace and harmony

The hospitals in the Metropolis were affected which in turn affected health care delivery in the Metropolis. An interview with health workers and other respondents at the Tamale Teaching Hospital revealed that, before 21h March 2002 conflict, the hospitals had a number of Ghanaian doctors assisted by some Cuban doctors. When the conflict occurred, some of the Ghanaian doctors run away for the fear of their lives and the Cuban Embassy in Accra sent a rescue team to pick their doctors leaving few doctors in our hospitals.

According to some nurses from Central and West hospitals, most patients during the period died of curable diseases. According to some nurses of the hospitals, there were many nurses in the hospitals before the conflict. Immediately after the conflict, some of the nurses run away and did not return and others returned to collect their release letters. At the time of this study (July to December 2009) most of the health workers in the various hospitals were not at post, numbering up to hundreds. In order to make up the shortage, Senior High School leavers who were trained in basic health issues nationwide were absorbed as ward assistants to these hospitals. These ward assistants were assisting the nurses who were in charge of the wards. About 99% of the respondent agreed that many nurses are now seeking transfers to the Metropolis since the enskinment of the King of Dagbon and this is a positive sign to economic and social development of the area. Nurses according to the respondents are now working without fear.

Activities like selling, buying and transport in the metropolis were badly affected. In most cases, some people do trading in and into the night and back to their destinations at night. Retail and wholesale businesses spring up as people try to engage themselves into meaningful economic activities. Due to the problems that occurred during and after the 2002 Dagbon conflict in the Metropolis, that is, long dusk to dawn curfew that was imposed in the Tamale Metropolis, really affected every trading activity in the area.

Unfortunately, this curfew was imposed at the beginning of the dry season, posed very serious challenges in trading activities, which could have flourished in the dry season, rather experienced a downward trend thereby rendering most people redundant and unemployed. Traders could no longer travel to other communities to trade for fear of being caught by the curfew. Others also feared to come to the Metropolis' markets for a similar reason. All night trading and economic activities came to a sudden halt as the police and military vigorously ensured compliance to the dusk to dawn curfew. Of late the situation has improved, activities are now gradually beginning to flourish to create better conditions for the people in the Metropolis so that life will return to normal. As many as 10 major super markets have been opened after the enskinment of the King and the Metropolis is now doing well in terms of trade.

From the variety of respondents in the Metropolis, social relations, specifically those of the family institution were affected. Others run away from their husbands' houses leaving their children behind. This happen because they are from different gates. In such a situation by the respondents, the trauma and psychological effects of these break ups on the children can be great. In view of this, one can argue with high level of certainty that, considering the careful nature of some fathers, the absence of the mothers surely affects the normal socialization process of the children. Children missing the parental love and care at the tender age are likely not to be loved and cared for other people when they grow up.

The study also found that the conflict affected almost all social functions in the Metropolis notably among them were wedding, naming ceremonies and funerals. The study further points to the fact that, people do no longer attend social functions of opposing gates but now it is better since they can come together to common things like prayers, funerals and naming ceremonies of either side. At that time when they come together, it was clearly seen in their sitting arrangements, the Abudus on one side and the Andanis on the other. Food and drinks served at such gatherings by one side member(s) to the opposite gate member(s) was/were regarded with the highest suspicion, and are not taken by the others but now after the resolution the suspicions have been minimized and friends have reconnected and gradually the issue of the Abudu and Andani will be the thing of the past 85% respondents attested to this,

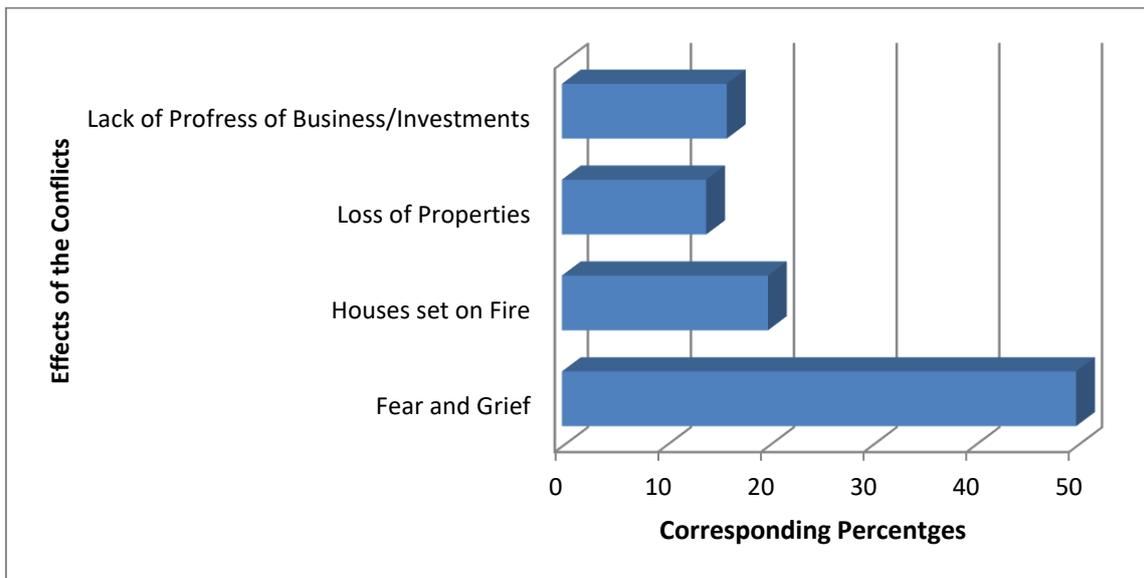
Tamale Metropolis has many interesting places of entertainment, which include: Picorna Hotel, Tamale-Prison Canteen, Jubilee Park, and Center for National Culture, and currently the Tamale sports stadium. These are places where new CDs cassettes are launched and record dances organized. Musical and video nights occasionally organized for the public. Every Damba Festival (a traditional festive) witnessed the organization of Miss Damba and Tamale Beauty Contest from these centers.

After the March 2002 conflict, activities and the organization of these centers were compromised. These have made life in the Metropolis dull and have affected the businesses of the restaurants and drinking bars, though they are still operating. From the interview, most of the respondents said that people in the metropolis are now use to indoors and not coming out in the night due to the long curfew hours they last experienced. The current study revealed that even though these interesting places were negatively affected the enskinment of the overload of Dagbon, these activities have been improved positively and people in the metropolis participate without fear.

Institutions and organizations were badly affected by the conflict. 87% of the respondents attested to this while 13% declined. The respondents identified institutions like National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE), Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), Regional House of Chiefs, police among the rest. The NCCE officials were going round educating people on the need for peace rather than doing their mandatory duties as to educate the public about their civic rights or educating people on their constitutional rights. CHRAJ also spends so much time trying to maintain peace in the Metropolis instead doing what they are establish to do, such as to fight for fundamental human rights of the people, fight corruption and administrative injustice, and finally the Regional House of Chief by some respondents concentrated so much on the conflict without performing their mandatory functions as the chieftaincy institution required.

A relationship can therefore be established between these findings and the United Nations report on people's socio-economic activities again. The United Nations report states that, conflicts negatively affects people's wellbeing thereby reducing their quality of life as well as their capabilities to live the kinds of lives they value and cherish most (UN Report, 2011). At this stage, people and these institutions and organizations of the Tamale Metropolis had problems in getting their socio-economic activities but this has been resolved since the enskinment of the king. The residents in the metropolis were not left out. They were affected in one way or the other. The figure below explains the ways these residents were affected by the 2002 Dagbon chieftaincy conflict:

Figure 3 Ways in which the Conflict Affected Residents in the Metropolis



Source: Field Survey, 2020

From the figure 4.5 50% of the respondents mentioned fear and grief, which affected people, and they could not go out to do their normal activities to earn their living. This has brought about serious problem, which they have been grappling with over the years, and it has affected them in many endeavors. In addition to this, twenty percent of the respondents indicated that houses were set ablaze due to the conflict. Other respondents representing 14% said, other properties such as cash, household materials, farms and their produce were also lost. Sixteen percent of them mentioned the lack of progress of their businesses and other investments. The responses also pointed to the fact that, night businesses, which used to be vibrant had been slowed down as people were afraid to sell in the night. It was also disclosed that, various socio-economic activities such as buying and selling of different merchandized among the people in the Tamale metropolis were generally affected negatively. The study further found that 97.9% of the residents, these anxieties are all now issues of the past. They carry out all their activities without recourse to fear.

Table 5: Types of Rights by the Respondents, which were abused during the Conflict

Types of Rights	Frequency	Percentage
Religious rights	50	33
Social rights	100	67
Political rights	120	80
Marital rights	37	25
Educational rights	30	20

Source: Field Survey, 2020

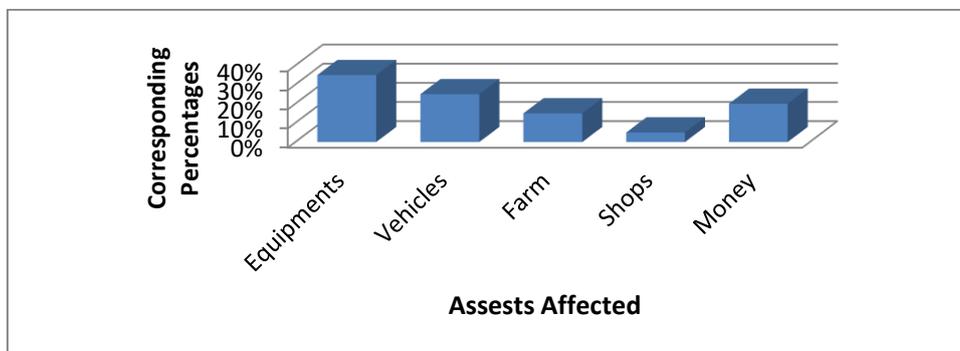
When asked to indicate the various rights they have and their abuses because of the conflict, 33% of the respondents mentioned religious right being abuse. The curfews imposed prevented many Muslims, Traditionalists and Christians from observing some of their daily prayers at the stipulated period. The interview gathered shows that Moslems in the Metropolis were molested in an attempt to observe evening prayers. Respondents said that, Imams of mosques from Sabonjida, Hausa Zongo, Sakasaka, Nyohini, Choggu and Dohinaa yili being severely molested by the security forces to enforce the curfew imposed in the Metropolis, when they wanted to observe prayers. The interview gathered shows that Muslims in the metropolis are either Sunnis, Tijaania or Ahamadiyya. Majority of the respondents said NPP attached themselves to Tijaniyya sects while NDC also attached to Sunnis and this the study found a perception by the residents and not a fact.

67% of the respondents viewed their social rights were abused, which brought about segregation among them during social gatherings such as naming ceremonies, funerals, weddings and the rest. At social gatherings as the respondents indicated, those identified as sympathizers of a particular gate were abused verbally by their opponents, through insinuation which raises tension and creates problems.

Eighty percent of the respondents felt their political rights were abused. In every to democratic dispensation, citizens are allowed to express their freedom of association in politics, but that is not the case of Tamale Metropolis during the outbreak of the Dagbon chieftaincy crisis. Communities dominated by supporters of one particular party turn to harass and disturb the opponents found with them. This indeed as the respondents lamented really created a kind of discomfort and invasion of people individual privacy leading to most people abandoning such communities for others places they thought could be peaceful. According to an Assemblyman from Aboabo electoral area dominated by NPP, an attack on an NDC supporter nearly sparked violence, but for the intervention of the security forces, this could have resulted into a deadly clash between the supporters of NDC and NPP of Abudus and Andanis respectively and could have engulfed many areas in the Metropolis.

Twenty-five percent of the respondents mentioned marital abuse, which led to divorces and break ups especially between opposing spouses. This affected the children of these spouses making them to indulge themselves into social vices like stealing, pick pocketing, armed robbery, prostitution and the like. Women found to be with opposite gate are made to be silent and never to mention anything good about her gate or quit the marriage. This issue as the women reveals was described as a very serious challenge for them at their marital homes or Educational rights were also reported by 20% of the respondents to be abused at the various schools in the Metropolis. Teaching and learning in the Metropolis schools assumed gate consciousness, which made most teachers not to deliver effectively and efficiently. It also made a lot of school going children to become dropouts as indicated earlier. Lives, incomes and property worth millions of Ghana Cedis were destroyed as stated earlier. Many people have been displaced which made them difficult to settle by the conflict. The Economic Commission for Africa with their report states that, conflicts have increased urbanization. In Angola and Ghana, for example, a combination of war-related factors resulted in rapid and unplanned urbanization. The population of the capital city, Luanda, doubled from 1990 to 2001, increased (Economic Commission for Africa, 2005). The figure below shows the assets that were destroyed

Figure 4: Assets Destroyed by the Dagbon Conflict



Source: Field Survey, 2020

In relation the implication of the conflict 10% of the respondents identified employment as one of the issues which has been greatly affected by the conflict because, most employers laid off their employees, and some employees runaway due to differences with the gates of their employers and them. Also, 15% said another implication of the conflict was on infrastructural development, some

of the infrastructural facilities like roads and buildings were destroyed. Also 7% of the respondents thought that, social services have also been affected since the outbreak of the conflict because people from opposite gates found it difficult to have their social services together. Eight percent of the respondents said their businesses were affected, because they could do business with traders of different gate. Twenty-three percent of them said their social life was affected and they could not do what they normally do before the conflict. It is clear from the above that investors will not want to invest in such areas, which otherwise could not create jobs to increase people's earnings and improve their livelihood.

Table 6 Suggestions of the Respondents on the lasting peace in Dagbon

Suggestions of the Respondents on the resolution of the conflict	Frequency Chiefs	Percentages Community Members	Frequency Chiefs	Percentages Community Members
Continuation of the dialogues created among the warring factions	6	75	30	50
Government should issue a white paper on the findings of both commission and committee set as part of efforts to end the conflict may be implementing the outcome	10	38	50	25
The opposing gates must have a 4 dispassionate discussion on the problem at stake	4	22	27	15
Installation of a new king to the vacant throne of the Dagbon paramountcy	15	140	75	93

Source: Field Survey, 2012

The respondents suggested ways of resolving/preventing the issue as indicated in the table. Thirty percent of the chiefs and 50% of the community members outlined the continuation of the dialogues in a form of negotiations / mediations among the warring factions. This in their views can really go a long way to prevent or resolve the problems. Fifty and twenty-five percent of the chiefs and community members of the respondents added that government should issue a white paper on the findings of both committee and commission set as part of efforts to end violence associated with the conflict. It is also revealed that 27% and 15% of the chiefs and members indicated that the opposing gates must have a dispassionate discussion on the problem at stake. This will result in bringing the factions together to brainstorm over the issue relating to the conflict and to prevent it in future. Finally, 75% and 93% of the chiefs and community members respectively said, the installation of a new king to the vacant throne of the Dagbon paramountcy could be a positive and a progressive move towards the resolution and preventing of the conflict.

Conclusions and Recommendations:

The actual cause of the Dagbon chieftaincy conflict has been the absence of an agreed-upon custom of selecting and enskinment of Ya Na among the Dagombas. In addition, there is complete absence of institutionalized sanctions against Ya-Na in a form of dethronement.

It is also clear from the study that undue interference by the elites in the society, and politicians, have contributed largely to the continuation of the conflict and its present deadlock between the two royal gates. Political interference has succeeded in incapacitating the institutions of the State to deal with the issues involved in the conflict during and after the conflict in March 2002. The present impasse can be seen as a direct consequence of the loss of faith by both Andanis and Abudus in the state to effectively deal with the problem leading to the crisis and also resolve the conflict. The politicization of the conflict has therefore led to a situation where the capacity of the state to resolve the conflict seems lacking, as one of the conflicting factions no longer sees it as an honest peace broker. In the light of the needless destructive consequences outlined above, there is the need for a permanent solution to the Dagbon conflict, the need for peaceful co-existence must be endorsed by all. Even though the 2002 Dagbon chieftaincy conflict negatively affected Tamale Metropolis and the entire Northern Region During and the after the conflict, the resolution, the after month and the subsequent enskinment of the new king have reversed a lot of the negative effects and the people of Dagbon are now enjoying peace and harmony in the metropolis.

- Dagbon constitution be reviewed and the tenants implemented. The two gates should all representatives in the committees that will work on the constitution and all matters affecting Dagbon be discussed and agreed by all members. The Wuaku Commission Report and Committee of the Three Eminent Chiefs suggestions should be looked at and discuss during the review of the Dagbon constitution. Which is now thrown overboard be reconsidered to enable them continue their work so as to resolve the conflict and to bring lasting peace to the area.
- Tamale Metropolitan Assembly should encourage integrating peace building in all its development projects. The multiplier effects of dividends of such an approach on peace in the area cannot be over emphasized. The assembly should create employment avenues for the unemployed and idle youth because as it is often said 'the devil finds work for the idle hands'.

- The assembly should identify employment avenues and invest heavily into them to generate more employment to absorb the jobless youth. Employment avenues will thrive in the agricultural sector, especially in irrigation farming, dry season gardening, tree planting to combat the encroaching desert, economic or agriculture and many more.
- The youth should be supported and encouraged to continue their education. Sponsorship for training more on conflict management and resolution could be stepped up to encourage educated youth in the area to, ensure the availability of the future work force needs of the Metropolis in particular and the nation at large.
- The assembly should also encourage the presence of more NGOs to help build capacity of the youth in various skills/businesses to enable them gainfully employed and on the need for lasting peace since the assembly cannot do it alone.
- The Metropolitan Assembly should play an active role in collaborating with the traditional authorities and religious leaders to intensify their campaign for peace especially through the mosques, churches etc. in order to find solution to the problem.
- Youth leaders from both Abudu and Andani should be named Ambassadors for peace in the Metropolis. They should be well resourced and given the needed logistics to preach and campaign for peace.
- Radio and Television Discussions on Chieftaincy conflict should be banned by the Tamale Metropolis this will help deemphasized the issues regarding chieftaincy conflict.
- It is further recommended that the security agencies maintain a high level of neutrality and professionalism in the Tamale Metropolis.

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