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# **Conditions Militating Against Peace Process in** the Alavanyo-Nkonya Area, Ghana

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#### **Abstract**

The study of peace processes seems to be gaining grounds in scholarship the world over, given that peace processes are very vital to establishing permanent armistice. Arguments are provided to the effect that peace processes provide key opportunities for major reforms that transform institutions, structures, and relationships in societies affected by conflict or crises (Brewer, 2010; O'Reilly, Ó Súilleabháin, and Paffenholz, 2015). This article, however, outlines some of the factors which have undermined peace processes not only in Alavanyo-Nkonyo area of Ghana but across all African countries. Interview, observation were amongst the major ways of data collection. This research used empirical methods in its analysis. The observation made conclusively stated that peace process in this region is undermined by several factors, these include undressed needs, rumours, war, beneficiaries and financiers, national and ethno-politics and damaged relationships. The study recommended the need for grounded research on ways to deal with the spoiler problems in peace processes.

**Keywords:** Alavanyo-Nkonya, conflict, Ghana, peace, peace process



# 1.0 Introduction

Over the years, discussions of peace processes have highlighted an analytical category - postviolence society, where peace processes occur (Brewer, 2010; Irrera, 2011). Within that thinking, Analysis of peace processes are centered on post-violence societies in which peace settlements have been reached through a negotiated compromise (Brewer, 2010; Plowright, 2011). In those configurations, studies have highlighted the roles of social cleavages which persist through a negotiated settlement, and the manner in which they must be addressed in order to seek long-term peace (Plowright, 2011; Irrera, 2011). However, Brewer (2010) explained that contemporary peace processes are dominated by political concerns of good governance, which cannot address the bottom-up needs of individuals in post-violence societies. A practical level, the discussions present arguments that peace processes should have a top-down and bottom-up approach; they should take into account local, national and international levels; they need to consider political and social issues, but above all they should be extremely inclusive (Irrera, 2011). The practical discussions provide space for analysis that centered on issues of gender, emotions, as well as memory and 'truth' recovery (Saunders, 1999; Brewer, 2010). Analyses have drawn a distinction between the political and social dimensions of peace processes, arguing that each is dependent on the other. Conventional approaches that emphasize institutional reform in politics, law and economics are discussed in concatenation with attention to sociological factors and the positive impact of global civil society on peace processes. Recent studies identified the new forms of peace work engendered by globalization and highlights the importance of sociological considerations such as rumours, gender, civil society, religion, restorative justice social memory and public victimhood (Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007; Brewer, 2010; O'Reilly et al., 2015).

In Ghana, peace processes have become a fact of life following the establishment of the National Peace Council. The nation hosts many post-conflict communities dotted all over the country. Some notable post conflict communities include Bawku (Upper east Region), Yendi (Northern Region), Akropong-Akuapim (Eastern Region) and Abiriw (Brong Ahafo), Juaso (Ashanti Region), Nkonya and Alavanyo (Volta Region) and Winneba in the Central Region (Mahama, 2003; Tonah, 2007; Tsikata & Seini, 2004; Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007). A common feature of these conflicts is that most of them seemed intractable. However, the recent resolution of the Nkonya- Alavanyo conflict brought new hopes and investments that require analysis to understand the peace processes that have been initiated, and are ongoing to secure permanent armistice. This research primarily focused on analysis of peace processes in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area given that the conflict there had been so intractable and recurs sporadically in unprecedented ways (Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007). It explores the peace processes in terms of activities that are being undertaken, the dynamics that are being considered and the actors involved (with a focus on inclusion and the prospects for the establishment of permanent and positive peace). The central consideration is to add substantially to what is known about the theory and practices that are aimed at securing peace and stability in Ghana and beyond.

# 2.0 Conditions that militate against peace processes

#### 2.1 Undressed needs

Human needs theorists argue that peace cannot be achieved unless human needs are addressed. That would suggest that unmet needs can impede peace processes. As Burton (1990) and other colleagues argue, human needs are central to reasons why people continue to fight. People engage in conflict either because they have needs that are met by the conflict process itself or because they have (or believe they have) needs that are inconsistent with those of others (Meyer, 2008). He reiterates that people engage in conflict because of their needs, and conflict cannot be transformed or settled unless these needs are addressed in some way. Needs do not exist in a vacuum but are embedded in a constellation of other forces that can generate and define conflict. In order to effectively address needs, it is usually necessary to work through some of these other forces, which affect how people experience their needs and how these needs have developed.

#### 2.2 Rumours

Rumours in this context are employed as unofficial and interesting story or piece of news that is largely untrue or invented, and quickly spreads from person to person. Adzahlie-Mensah (2007) explains that rumour is one of the problems that impede peace processes and was the greatest challenge to any peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. The analysis of situations in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area provided much evidence that rumours caused the occurrence of "intermittent skirmishes" that have created fear, mistrust, hatred and violence with attendant pain, suffering and traumas (Kwawukume, 2006; Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007). Tamakloe (2006) and Adzahlie-Mensah (2007, p.95) cited statements from community leaders in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area to the effect that "rumours can threaten the peace building process and all must guard against that". Consequently, Adzahlie-Mensah noted that rumour is taken seriously by the belligerents within the Nkonya Alavanyo area where this study was conducted. The issue of rumours is so delicate that its effects are never under-estimated by even neighbouring groups. For instance, in a GNA report (August 10, 2004) rumours of tension in Kwamekrom led to the banishment of Mr. Seyanu S. Agbenotor, a veteran Politician, in his mid-70s from the town. The man was banished after fifty years stay there because he was alleged to have hosted a meeting of Nkonyas in the town in his house. This concern was expressed by a member of the Consultative Committee in an interview. The literature provides knowledge that trust and confidence building strategies were used as the strategy to impress on the belligerents to ignore rumours.

# 2.3 Finance and logistics

Finance and logistics were identified as a major threat to the peace process. Adzahlie-Mensah (2007) explained that lots of things related to peace building cannot be achieved without finance. In a model developed following a study of conflict resolution in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area, he reported that funding is an essential part of any effort aimed at preventing conflict and

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building permanent peace. Funding may come from both track one and tract two sources. Adzahlie-Mensah (2007, p.99) explained the threat posed by the lack of funds and logistics via statement from the chiefs and Queen mothers of Nkonya and Alavanyo area as follow: 'To us, the peace process is on course but there is one worry that we must necessarily convey to government since it has the potential of derailing the peace process. This threat to the process is the lack of funding and logistics ... We are ready for peace and we hereby convey an urgent supplication to government to support us achieve our desire by providing logistics and funds for the work of the mediation committee. It is disheartening to learn that government has not provided funds for the purpose ... and the committee has to shop around for petty funds to continue the process. The Official Report of Parliamentary Debates (2006) for instance, cited a Member of Parliament for the area Mr. E.K. Bandua noting that there was "the need" for the government to provide financial support to the peace process because actors were facing a lot of financial and logistic problems. Honourable Bandua described the financial and logistic problems as "unbearable" and expressed "the urgent need for (the central) government to come . . . with resources to support". Funds were necessary to hold meetings and pay for related bills such as accommodation and feeding costs.

# 2.4 War Beneficiaries and Financiers

War beneficiaries and financiers have been portrayed by Adzahlie-Mensah (2007) as spoilers who are noted as posing challenges to peace processes worldwide. Stedman (2000), Zahar (2008) and Gray (2009) explained that the biggest source of risk for peace processes comes from spoilers. Stedman explained spoilers as leaders and parties who believe the emerging peace threaten their power, world view, and interests and who use violence to undermine attempts to achieve it. The argument is that by signing a peace agreement, leaders put themselves at risk from spoilers and disgruntled followers who see peace as a betrayal of key values, and from excluded parties who seek either to alter the process or destroy it (Ayres, 2006; Stepanova 2006; Shedd, 2008; Avant, 2009). Among those writers, Stedman (2000) proposes that analysis of peace processes should include objectives aimed (I) to create a typology of spoilers that can help custodians choose robust strategies for implementing peace, (2) to describe various strategies that custodians have used to manage spoilers, (3) to propose which strategies will be most effective for particular spoiler types, (4) to sensitize policy makers to the complexities and uncertainties of correctly diagnosing the type of spoiler, and (5) to compare several successful and failed cases of spoiler management in order to refine and elaborate my initial propositions about strategies. The spoiler problem has been highlighted in previous studies of the Alavanyo-Nkonya area (Tsikata and Seini, 2004; Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007). Those writings indicated that "Some people always try to create confusion ... and then bulldoze their way out to do business ... some people engage in "unprovoked skirmishes" so that during the confusion they have a field day to harvest timber, bamboo, cola nuts, and cocoa' " (Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007, p. 101). Analysis highlighted that spoilers in the area have vested interests, and would not want to see peace. They may be or not be resident in conflict

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community. Their main characteristics are that they never want peace because it would take away their benefits. Similarly, Tsikata and Seini (2004) argued that the conflict in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area remained largely insoluble because some people benefit from the dispute.

# 2.5 Politics (Ethnic Politics)

Adzahlie-Mensah (2007) noted that, ethnic politics have provided a major challenge to the work of the committee. He recountered that in 2004, in particular the Biakoye constituency that was predominantly Nkonya suffered the guts of ethnic politics. It was found out that Biakoye in particular had been in disarray in 2004. (Chronicle, August, 23, 2004). This was corroborated by a GNA report (August 10, 2004). Edward Collins Boateng, accused the then Volta Regional Minister, Kwasi Owusu-Yeboah of using divide and rule tactics. The Regional Minister was accused of expressing anti-Nkonya sentiments. He was alleged to have been previously engaged as a solicitor for the Alavanyos in the dispute. The implication was that the Minister lacked the moral authority to oversee the work of the committee to resolve the conflict. The Minister was accused of inconsistencies that were stated as 'In one breath, he tells the fending parties to go in for the enforcement of court judgement on the conflict and in the next he sets up a committee aimed at bringing lasting peace to the area '(GNA report August 10, 2004). Adzahlie-Mensah (2007) highlighted that Dr. Kwabena Adjei, (an Nkonya citizen) who was the seating Member of Parliament (MP), had complained about a plot by an Alavanyo group to assassinate him. The claim was that the plot against him was part of the fratricidal killings. The paramountcy of Alavanyo denied any knowledge of the plot and gave two weeks ultimatum to the MP to prove his allegation or face their wrath. They described the allegations as childish and asked the MP to "condemn the callous manner in which their paramount linguist was murdered right in his village". Fortunately, the politics did not degenerate into party divisions. Essentially, they were intra-party disagreements. However, it significantly threatened the fragile relationship between the two communities. Subsequently, Dr. Kwabena Adjei became the National Chairman of one of the largest political parties. Apparently, other political parties who want to score political points could whip up Anti-Nkonya sentiments against him (Adjei). This has made politics a danger to the work of the committee.

# 2.6 Damaged relationships

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

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as "mutual slaughtering" of their people. People were kidnapped and killed on a daily basis. The road linking the two communities became impassable because people were constantly and mutually abducted and killed along it. Further, Adzahlie-Mensah provided excerpts from a joint press statement issued by the Chiefs and Queen mothers of the two areas which captured the strained relationship between the feuding parties as follows: 'Our traditional areas...live as though an iron curtain was erected between us. This is the plight of our communities who otherwise are closely related by blood ties out of many years of inter-marriage and used to visit relations and interact freely, joining in common festivities and celebrations'. This statement was made when the two groups met for the first face-to-face at a workshop to begin the resolution process. This is normal with intractable conflicts. As Burgess (2003) puts it parties to intractable conflicts often demonize the other developing "enemy images" or even "dehumanizing" the other side. According to reports cited by Tsikata and Seini (2004, p.38) "It was also alleged that Alavanyo people were inspecting vehicles travelling between Nkonya and Hohoe with the view to attacking Nkonya people on board (Chronicle, 4/11/2003) or the very least preventing them from travelling through Alavanyo to Hohoe (Ghanaian Times, 1/3/03). This practice led to the closure of the road between Nkonya and Alavanyo.

# 3.0 Problems with earlier efforts at resolution

The literature suggests that previous failed efforts are serious threat to peace process. In the particular case of the Nkonya-Alavanyo Conflict, it has been identified that previous failed efforts led to the development of mistrust, which affected subsequent efforts. Adzahlie-Mensah's (2007) work provided several evidence that how the parties went back to fight after signing peace agreements was a major factor that affected the building of trust among the belligerents. This point is also noted in the literature internationally (Brewer, 2010; O'Reilly, Ó Súilleabháin, and Paffenholz, 2015). The idea is that previous failed efforts have serious consequences in terms of parties becoming skeptical because of a lack of total involvement to peace process. In the Nkonya-Alavanyo case, Adzahlie-Mensah (2007) explained that the problems with previous peace efforts were many. The first was sectionalizing the peace process. For example, the efforts by the church remained at the level of the E.P. church alone. The other dominant church, the Catholic Church was not seriously involved then. The E.P. Church itself dealt only with its church members. Track One actors dealt with community leaders without involving the youth who were the main actors. Other efforts did not consider the roles played by conflict beneficiaries and war sponsors. The important roles that women can play were not considered. Therefore the essential question of total involvement and community participation was not addressed. As Adzahlie-Mensah noted, there were instances when chiefs were invited to functions where people express the need for peace only as part of their long speeches. Individuals, who talked about peace, did so at a small scale. Besides, their efforts were largely uncoordinated. The other side remained in the dark about efforts being made in the opposing camp. The most essential point was that all previous efforts were ad-hoc. The court decisions on their part were adversarial and further increased the divide.

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The institution of committees only followed violent incidents. In consequence, government troops were somewhat permanently stationed in the area to enforce peace. There were occasional arrests, swoops and seizure of guns. The presence of troops also had its own contribution to the conflict. This problem was expressed by the then MP for the area Dr. Kwabena Adjei who was reported to have given the example of "peace-keepers who were stationed in the area but who with time, gained economic interests, hence losing focus and becoming part of the problems rather" (Adzimah, 2005 p. 14). Therefore, this research explored the peace process in terms of how a more integrated approach is being adopted to achieve permanent peace.

#### 4.0 Measures Needed to Achieve Positive Peace

The concept of positive peace is described by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) as an optimal environment under which human potential can flourish. The opposite is Negative Peace which refers to the absence of violence or fear of violence - an intuitive definition that many agree with and is more easily measured than other definitions of peace (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2015). Measures of Negative Peace are used to construct the Global Peace Index (GPI). Societal safety and security refers to internal aspects of violence such as homicides, incarceration or availability of small arms while ongoing conflict and militarization capture the extent of current violent conflict and a county's military capacity. A more ambitious conceptualization of peace is Positive Peace, which IEP defines as the attitudes, institutions and structures that create and sustain peaceful societies. Well-developed Positive Peace represents the capacity for a society to meet the needs of citizens, reduce the number of grievances that arise and resolve remaining disagreements without the use of violence. Positive Peace acts as a system, therefore the sum of the parts is more than the constituent parts and the system must be addressed as a whole. Positive Peace also provides a framework for risk analysis, as historical research has shown that countries which have low levels of violence but weak Positive Peace tend to experience falls in peacefulness over time. In 2008, IEP identified 30 countries that fit this profile which were at risk of deteriorating and becoming more violent. This approach contrasts with most research in the field which is focused on what does not work and why systems or institutions fail. Understanding what creates sustainable peace cannot be found in the study of violence as the factors that are associated with resilient societies are not present in states that are failing, highly corrupt or have large group grievances. The IEP (2015) identified the indicators of positive peace as follows:

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

Sound Business Environment: The strength of economic conditions as well as the formal institutions that support the operation of the private sector determine the soundness of the business environment. Business competitiveness and economic productivity are both

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associated with the most peaceful countries, as is the presence of regulatory systems which are conducive to business operation.

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

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

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

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

High Levels of Human Capital: A skilled human capital base — reflected in the extent to which societies educate citizens and promote the development of knowledge — improves economic productivity, care for the young, enables political participation and increases social capital. Education is a fundamental building block through which societies can build resilience and develop mechanisms to learn and adapt.

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

Whereas these factors apply to States, this research examines them at the micro level of the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. The idea is to examine the extent to which these factors exist in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area. The examination is necessary given that the area has not benefitted from societal safety and security for over 80 years. Societal safety and security refers to internal aspects of violence such as homicides, incarceration or availability of small arms while ongoing conflict and militarization capture the extent of current violent conflict and a county's military capacity.

# 5.0 Research design and Methodology

#### 5.1 Interview

The interviews sought to establish from the participants themselves, how they perceive the peace process used in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict and approaches used by stakeholders in the area. Lankshear and Knobel (2004, p.202) maintain that semi-structured interviews enable researchers to dig deep into the phenomenon being studied, implying that the semi-structured interview guide will be made up of both structured and unstructured questions to provide the opportunity for the interviewees to substantiate their understanding of the situation under study (Oyetunji, 2006, p.132). Since most participants may want to speak in the local dialect, open-ended interview questions were used to collect data from them. This enabled the participants who were not comfortable with English language to freely bring out their views as the study required of them. It was divided into two broad sections. The first section was concerned with socio-demographic characteristics of the participants while the second section focused on the research questions stated in chapter one of the study.

#### 5.2 Observation

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

Creswell (2008) observed that qualitative observations are those that the researcher takes field notes on the behaviour and activities of individuals at the research site. Therefore the observer observed how the peace processes are working in the study area. Attitude of members from each of the towns towards one another were observed. This was done to check on whether there was some form of intimidation as far as members' relations were concerned. Observation protocol was used as a guide to note observations from the field. During the

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research, the researcher embarked upon community visits to the research area. Interactions between the two communities were observed during these visits to the Alavanyo-Nkonya area.

# 6.0 Data Analysis

Walliman (2005) argued that the analytical frame chosen for a study depends on the theoretical and philosophical perspectives which inform it, the goal of the study, the questions addressed and the methodology used. The analysis used therefore was based upon a multi-track approach model developed by Adzahlie-Mensah (2007). The model emphasised the involvement of all groups and the use of multi-faceted theoretical or analytical approach to study of the process of conflict resolution just as advocated for in multi-track diplomacy. As such it was considered fitting to Harold Saunder's theoretical framework (the public peace process) which was adopted for the study. Given that approach critical discourse analysis was chosen as the method of data analysis. The findings of the interview schedules and observations were presented and the data presentation and analysis were done manually. This strategy was chosen because the volume of data collected was manageable, making it less difficult to identify relevant text passages and the desire was to interact and have a hands-on feel for the data (Creswell, 2005). The problem associated with analyzing data manually is that it is laborious (Creswell 2005; Marshall & Rossman, 2006). The first stage was preparatory where the interview data for presentation began with the organization and transcription of the audio-tape recordings. The transcription involved listening to each tape repeatedly to familiarize myself with the conversations and carefully writing them down in the words of each interviewee. The interview data was categorized into themes of responses for effective management and comparisons. The next stage involved intensive and repeated reading of the data with the aim of immersing myself in it and to determine analytical categories or themes (Schmidt, 2004 and Creswell, 2005) using my professional judgment (Denscombe, 2003). The development of the themes was guided by the research questions and the literature review. The coding processes were begun after determining the themes. The participants were coded to avoid identification. Contributions, responses and comments made were also coded. Brief quotations from the participants were used to add realism to the description (Creswell, 2005). Since the data was collected from different categories of respondents, it was analyzed from their perspectives in order to build some kind of complexity into the study (Creswell, 2005).

# 7.0 Results and discussion

# 7.1 Conditions that Militated Against the Peace Process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya Area

The involvement of various stakeholders such as committees, experienced individuals, plays key role in attaining positive peace (Lencioni 2005). However, the results showed that there are identified conditions which militate against peace building process. The analysis indicated that several factors militated against the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area. The main reasons listed were peddling of rumours which created new escalations. Inadequacy

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of funds and logistics for convening committee meetings and workshops affected capacity building that is needed to support the peace process. Conflict beneficiaries who were plundering the natural and forest resources for their gain will do anything to stop the peace process. Being an interest based conflict people get to fight on 'rational' grounds as retaliation for harms done them. Such people get to wait for the best opportunity and never compromise. Also, ethnic and political interference from various actors have been fundamental factors that militate against the peace process. Prominent factors identified in the literature include rumours and the activities of spoilers (Adzahlie-Mensah, 2007; Brewer, 2010; O'Reilly et al., 2015). Therefore, previous research may examine the how these militating factors can be addressed.

#### 8.0 Conclusion

Several factors were militating against the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya conflict area. The main reasons listed were peddling of rumours which created new escalations. Inadequacy of funds and logistics for convening committee meetings and workshops affected capacity building that is needed to support the peace process. Conflict sponsors and beneficiaries who were plundering the natural and forest resources for their gain will do anything to stop the peace process. Ethnic and political interference from various actors have been fundamental factors that militate against the peace process.

#### 9.0 Recommendations

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

- a) Efforts should be made to document the lessons from the peace process in the Alavanyo-Nkonya area.
- b) There is need for grounded research on ways to deal with the spoiler problems in peace processes.

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