

iscte

INSTITUTO
UNIVERSITÁRIO
DE LISBOA

Assessing the Dynamics, Causes and Socio-Economic Impact of Ethnic Conflicts in the Northern Region of Ghana.

Joseph Donkor

Masters in International Studies

Advisor:

PhD. Eduardo Gargallo, Integrated Researcher,
CEI-Iscte - Centre for International Studies

January, 2023



SOCIOLOGIA
E POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS

Department of History

Assessing the Dynamics, Causes and Socio-Economic Impact of Ethnic Conflicts in the Northern Region of Ghana.

Joseph Donkor

Masters in International Studies

Advisor:

PhD. Eduardo Gargallo, Integrated Researcher,
CEI-Iscte - Centre for International Studies

January, 2023

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my family who has been with me during a lifetime of learning. This study is especially dedicated to my parents, Joseph Donkor and Dina Ansere, who offered me unconditional love. This study is also dedicated to my lovely wife Elizabeth Owusu-Konadu, for her understanding, persistent support, and for making me feel exceptional.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to almighty God for supporting me throughout my course of study.

I wish to extend my acknowledgment to all the lecturers and workers at the department of International Studies, ISCTE - University Institute of Lisbon.

My deepest thanks go to my supervisor for his wonderful supervision throughout my research at ISCTE - University Institute of Lisbon.

RESUMO

A natureza intratável dos conflitos interétnicos em todo o mundo tem geralmente impactado questões críticas de desenvolvimento. A intervenção constante de governos, organizações internacionais e populações locais ao longo das décadas teve um impacto mínimo na gestão de conflitos étnicos.

Este estudo examinou os conflitos étnicos na região norte de Gana, concentrando-se no conflito étnico do município leste de Bawku entre os Kusasi e os Mamprusi e seu impacto no desenvolvimento socioeconômico. Examinou ainda os métodos de mediação usados pelo governo nos últimos 20 anos e a percepção dos indígenas locais sobre o sucesso dos métodos. O estudo empregou uma amostra de 100 respondentes para adquirir dados primários através da distribuição de questionários em 6 comunidades Sagabo, Natinga, Sabongari, Possum, Azanga e Gingande. O método de pesquisa mista foi usado para coletar e analisar os dados.

As principais descobertas foram que a política, a propriedade da terra e a chefia foram os principais fatores que contribuíram para o conflito étnico do município leste de Bawku na região norte. Para completar, o desenvolvimento socioeconômico pode ser realizado no município de Bawku East se os métodos de mediação recomendados pelos indígenas locais forem bem executados. Essa abordagem diminuirá a desconfiança entre os Kusasi e os Mamprusi e, conseqüentemente, levará a um ambiente pacífico que acelerará o desenvolvimento socioeconômico do município de Bawku East (BEM).

Palavras-chave: Conflito Étnico, Causas, Impacto Socioeconômico, Métodos de Mediação, BEM

ABSTRACT

The intractable nature of inter-ethnic conflicts around the world has generally impacted critical developmental issues. The constant intervention by governments, international organizations, and local people over the decades has had minimum impact on the management of ethnic conflicts.

This study examined the ethnic conflicts in the Northern Region of Ghana by focusing on the Bawku East Municipality ethnic conflict between the Kusasi and the Mamprusi and its impact on socio-economic development. It further examined the mediating methods used by the government over the past 20 years and the perception of local indigenes about the success of the methods. The study employed a sample size of 100 respondents to acquire primary data through the distribution of questionnaires in 6 communities Sagabo, Natinga, Sabongari, Possum, Azanga, and Gingande. The mixed research method was used to collect and analyze the data.

Key findings were that Politics, Land ownership, and Chieftaincy were the key contributing factors to the Bawku East Municipality ethnic conflict in the Northern Region. To complete this, socio-economic development could be realized in Bawku East Municipality if the mediating methods recommended by the local indigenes are well executed. This approach will lessen the mistrust between the Kusasi and the Mamprusi and consequently lead to a peaceful environment that will accelerate the socio-economic development of Bawku East Municipality (BEM).

Keywords: Ethnic Conflict, Causes, Socio-economic Impact, Mediating Methods, BEM

TABLE OF CONTENT

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Background	1
1.2. Problem Statement	3
1.3. Main Objective	4
1.3.1. Specific Objectives	4
1.4. Research Questions	5
1.5. Significance of Study.....	5
1.6. Scope of Study	6
1.7. Thesis Organization	6
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	7
2.1. Introduction	7
2.2. The Concept and History of Ethnic Conflict	7
2.3. Ethnic conflict from Global Perspective	9
2.4. Ethnic conflict from Ghana's Perspective	12
2.5. Causes of Ethnic Conflicts	14
2.5.1. Chieftaincy and Leadership	14
2.5.2. Land Ownership and Resource Management	15
2.5.3. Politics	16
2.6. The Bawku East Municipality (BEM) Ethnic Conflicts	16
2.7 Ethnic Conflict and Its Impact on Socio-Economic Development	20
2.7.1. Ethnic Conflict on Health and Demography	21
2.7.2. Ethnic Conflict in Education	22
2.7.3. Ethnic Conflict on Employment	23

2.7.4. Ethnic Conflict on the Environment and Quality of Life	24
2.8. Conflict Mediating Methods	25
2.9. Theoretical Framework	25
2.10. Conceptual Framework	26
2.11. Conclusion of Literature Review	26
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	27
3.1. Introduction	27
3.2. Study Area	27
3.3. Research Methodology	29
3.4. Research Strategy	30
3.4.1. Qualitative Research Method	30
3.4.2. Quantitative Research Method	31
3.4.3. Mixed Method	31
3.5. Research Design	32
3.6. Population and Sample Size	32
3.7. Source of Data Collection	32
3.8. Method of Data Collection	33
3.9. Data Collected	33
3.10. Data Analysis and Presentation	33
3.11. Challenges and Limitations.....	34
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS	35
4.1. Demographic Factors	35
4.1.1. Sex of the Respondents	35
4.1.2. Age of the Respondents	36
4.1.3. Educational Qualification	36
4.2. Causes and Escalation of Ethnic Conflict in the Bawku East Municipality	37
4.2.1. Respondents' Ethnic Group	37
4.2.2. Politics	38
4.2.3. Chieftaincy	39

4.2.4. Land Ownership	40
4.3. The Impact of BEM Ethnic Conflicts on Socio-Economic Development in the BEM.....	41
4.3.1. Impact on Health	41
4.3.2. Impact on Education	42
4.3.3. Impact on Employment	43
4.3.4. Environment and Quality of Life	44
4.4. Ethnic Conflicts’ Resolution methods used by the government in the BEM ethnic Conflict	45
4.4.1. Curfew as Mediating Measure Used by the Government	45
4.4.2. Ban on Motorbikes as a Mediating Measure Used by the Government	46
4.4.3. Presence of Military as Mediating Measure Used by the Government	47
4.4.4. Setup of Military Camps as a Mediating Method by the Government	48
4.5. Summary	48
CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION	49
5.1. Introduction	49
5.2. Summary	49
5.2.1. Causes and Escalation of the Ethnic Conflicts in Bawku East Municipality	49
5.2.2. Socio-economic Development Impact of the BEM Ethnic Conflicts	50
5.2.3. Mediating methods used by the Government and perceived methods by Local People ...	51
5.3. Conclusion	52
5.4. Recommendations	53
REFERENCES	55
APPENDIX	64

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1. Sex of the Respondents.....	35
Table 4.2. Age of the Respondents.....	36
Table 4.3. Educational Qualification of the Respondents.....	36
Table 4.4. Ethnic group belonging to the respondents.....	34
Table 4.5. Respondents' assessment of curfew as mediating measure used by the government	45
Table 4.6. Respondents' assessment of curfew as mediating measure used by the government.....	46
Table 4.7. Respondents' assessment of military presence as mediating measure used by Government.....	47
Table 4.8. Respondents' assessment of the setup of military camps as mediating measure used by government	48

LIST OF GRAPHS

Graph 4.1. Views of Respondents on Politics as the Cause of BEM Ethnic Conflicts.....	43
Graph 4.2. Views of Respondents on Chieftaincy as the Cause of BEM Ethnic Conflicts.....	44
Graph 4.3. Views of Respondents on Land Ownership as the Cause of BEM Ethnic Conflicts.....	45
Graph 4.4. Respondents' Assessment of Impact of BEM Ethnic Conflicts on their Health.....	46
Graph 4.5. Respondents' Assessment of Impact of BEM Ethnic Conflicts on Education.....	47
Graph 4.6. Respondents' Assessment of Impact of BEM Ethnic Conflicts on Employment.....	48
Graph 4.4. Respondents' Assessment of Impact of BEM Ethnic Conflicts on Environment and Quality of Life.....	49

Glossary of Acronyms

BEM – Bawku East Municipality

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Intractable ethnic conflict worldwide has long interested development advocates, and in recent years, literature on the theme has drawn considerable attention based on its enormous contemporary threat to global peace and development. In Asia, numerous ethnic conflicts have been seen in countries such as Armenia and Azerbaijan conflicts, Sri Lanka ethnic conflicts, Burmese Civil War amongst others (Aidan, 2017). The Armenians and Azeris ethnic conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh were early fisticuffs in 1988 which twisted into a full-blown war in 1992 between the ethnic groups (Sanan, 2007). In East Africa, several countries can be stated to have witnessed rising ethnic conflicts in the past decades due to ethnic identity. The early 1990s witnessed thousands of Burundians migrate to seek refuge in neighboring countries due to the persistent fighting between the government and Hutu rebels in the means to end the political influence of the Tutsi minority (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2016). The conflict started, subsequently, the first multi-party elections in the nation after achieving independence from Belgium in 1962, which lead to the loss of 300,000 lives as well as homes and properties (Heavy Shelling Burundi Capital, 2008).

West Africa has not only been characterized by the highest ethnic diversity, but also the highest occurrence of civil war (Tokunbo & Oladipupo, 2006). Ethnic conflicts in Nigeria are believed to erupt due to multi-culturalism, religion, scarcity of political resources, and militarization of ethnicity amongst others. The famous October 2000 Lagos (Oko-Oba) – Kano (Idi-Araba) conflict originated from a misinterpretation between a Yoruba resident and a Hausa inhabitant in Lagos town over the use of an area of convenience by a Hausa indigene. The conflict resulted in the death of many Yoruba people and consequently led to the creation of the O'dua People Congress, which worsened the situation as the conflict spread southwards to Kano state (Enukora 2005:633).

In Ghana, nothing sparks so much fear and uneasiness as the speculation of new ethnic conflicts, parallel to those that disrupted the Northern region in 1994 amongst others (Sulemana, 2009).

The Nkonya and Alavanyo ethnic conflict, which dates back to 1923, has become obstinate with non-ending solutions between the affected ethnic groups (Midodzi and Jaha, 2011).

The root cause of the conflict is attributed to a land ownership process that was stretched in a Gruner map sketched during the colonial German administration in 1913.

The Nkonya and Alavanyo ethnic conflict that happened between the years 1923 to 1958 due to ownership of land is notable in the history of Ghana. The conflict is perceived to be happened due to the land that stretches through Nkonya and Alavanyo with the Nkonya community winning the case after a severe court ruling in 1958. This ultimately generated tension in the Alavanyo community as the ruling did not favor them. The Nkonya and Alavanyo conflict did not see many casualties until the late 1990s and early 2000s when the conflict took a different direction, leading to the loss of lives and properties (Asamoah, 2014).

The Kusasi and Mamprusi conflicts in the Bawku East Municipality are what the study focuses on. The Kusasi and Mamprusi conflicts are believed to be one of the most disturbing conflicts in Northern Ghana due to their sensitivity. The conflict was born out of Chieftaincy and land disputes and dates back to 1930 when Kusasi claimed chieftaincy title in Bawku East Municipality (Awedoba, 2009). The Kusasi are relentless in the position that they first settled in the town of East Agolle, now BEM Township comprising towns such as Garu, Zebilla, Binduri, etc (Brukum, 2001). Furthermore, the Kusasi ethnic group believes that they are being deprived of their traditional political power (Awedoba, 2009). To juxtapose, the Mamprusi are of the view that the Kusasi are foreigners who migrated to BEM from Ayua, Bugri, and Yauga in the neighboring country Burkina Faso (Awedoba, 2009). The misunderstanding between the two groups ethnic has resulted in severe clashes between the two factions since 1983 with the loss of thousands of lives and properties (Awedoba, 2009).

One then begs to ask the question, what is an ethnic group? Ethnic groups are groups of people who see themselves or are seen by others as sharing distinctive identities and traits based on certain features (Achebe, 1997). These features could include a common history, destiny, beliefs, kinship, language, and a shared a common geographical location. An ethnic conflict can be defined as an occurrence where a group of individuals who share a common identity organize to fight other people on the grounds of ethnic identity.

The past and recent occurrences of inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic conflicts can be described as one of the worst moments in Ghana's history since its independence.

The political and socio-economic degradation in the development of Northern Ghana particularly BEM in the past two decades might hugely have impacted the poor development of the area hence the current developmental issues.

1.2 Problem Statement

Ethnic conflicts in the northern part of Ghana can be described as one of the main reasons for the underdevelopment in the region. The root causes of multi-ethnic conflicts in Northern Ghana can be mainly attributed to disputes over succession to a chieftaincy title as in the case of the Mamprusi-Kusasi chieftaincy or ethnic conflict. On the one hand, there are other schools of thought that believe that the causes go beyond chieftaincy titles. According to Ross (2000), prolonged and bitter ethnic conflicts are usually fueled by religious fanaticism, tribalism, competition for power (Chieftaincy), boundary disputes, and many more. In Ghana, it is argued that the Kusasi - Mamprusi conflict has been the most everlasting in the northern part of the country. The conflict has forced thousands to migrate to nearby and far countries and towns with more than a thousand deaths recorded since 2000.

Several homes and properties are being destroyed since they are the easiest target for destruction. Indeed, the idea that disputes may occur at any point in BEM has made the topic of ethnic conflict sensitive to developing policy options for conflict management within the communities. The proposed study explored the impact of the Kusasi and Mamprusi ethnic conflict on the socio-economic development of the BEM in reference to some crucial socio-economic development indicators such as employment, health, education, environment and quality of life, and poverty. The common news of ethnic conflict eruption immediately dissolves in panic, misconception, and confusion within government, civil societies, and the conflicting parties at home and afar.

Over the years, people have contended about the 'myth' and root cause of the ethnic conflict between the famous Mamprusis' and Kusasis'. According to Bukari & Guuroh (2013), ethnic conflict is caused by a deep-seated long-lasting difference in identity revolving around traditional political power.

This situation has worsened the level of the human poverty index (HPI) in the region since interventions such as curfews minimize economic activities.

Others argue that the cause of the conflict can be blamed on present-day partisan politics where political parties use campaign messages to influence the people to clash together confusing the means to ask for votes.

This could be obvious in electioneering campaign messages from the main political parties in Ghana namely N.D.C and N.P.P that aggravates the BEM ethnic conflict. Politicians are key actors in ethnic conflict, according to Jared (1996, p5).

1.3 Main Objective

The main objective of the study is to determine the impact of BEM ethnic conflicts on the socio-economic development in the municipality and the effect of government mediating methods on conflict prevention and management.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

- To examine the causes of ethnic conflict as perceived by the indigenous people in Bawku East Municipality.
- To determine the impact of ethnic conflict on the socio-economic development of Bawku East Municipality
- To examine the perception of the local people about the success of the mediating methods used by the government to manage and resolve the conflict in Bawku East Municipality.

1.4 Research Questions

In order to address these objectives, the following questions were used to guide the study:

- What are the causes of ethnic conflicts as perceived in Bawku East Municipality?
- What are the impacts of the ethnic conflicts on socio-economic development in Bawku East Municipality?
- What are the mediating methods used by the government in managing and resolving the conflicts in Bawku East Municipality and their success rate?

1.5 Significance of Study

This study is of significance based on the following few reasons. Firstly, the study is important for researchers who research general conflicts giving much attention to inter-ethnic conflicts and their impact on the socio-economic development of the study area. Academic scholars will benefit from the academic arguments and recommendations of this research. The case of Kusasi – Mamprusi ethnic conflicts lacked the substantive intellectual analysis to comprehend the intractable causes of the perpetual conflict.

Secondly, the study serves as a reference for government or development practitioners to factor in their intervention projects on ethnic conflict matters. Lastly, it serves as guidelines for proper policy formulation designed in consultation with policy experts and community leaders of the study's location concerning how to manage ethnic conflicts.

1.6 Scope of Study

The scope of the study is to identify the causes of the Kusasi-Mamprusi ethnic conflict in BEM, its effect on socio-economic development, and the success of conflict management interventions made by the government over the past 22 years to address it. Obviously, a study of this nature could not be materialized without referring to the historical facts. In that respect, the time frame of the conflict is anticipated to bring forth an unpredictable question than what the study could deliver. In light of this, extra questions would be raised to cater to further research.

1.7 Thesis Organization

Concerning the study structure, the study was divided into five chapters. Chapter one talked about the background of the study comprising the problem statement, objectives, research questions, significance of the study, the scope of the study, and limitations of the study. Chapter two presented the relevant literature with respect to ethnic conflicts, their impact on socio-economic development, and the potential conflict resolution mechanisms.

Chapter three explained the methodological approach employed by the study. This chapter comprises the research design, data collection, and sampling method. Chapter four presented data analysis of findings from the distributed questionnaires. Finally, chapter five summarized all findings from the analysis, conclusion, and recommendations to the study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviewed the related literature in the area of ethnic conflict from international perspectives. It began with the concept of ethnic conflicts as perceived at face value and outlined a better in-depth analysis and investigation of ethnic conflicts. Also, the chapter explained the history of ethnic conflict in Ghana. It reviewed the impacts of ethnic conflict on socio-economic development in relation to key socio-economic indicators such as education, employment, health, poverty, human rights, environment and quality of life, gender equality, and migration. Ethnic conflict resolution was further discussed to look at efforts taken over the years to maintain peace in the conflict zones. Based on the nature of this empirical research, theoretical groundings and frameworks became pertinent to aid the exploitation of the explicit and implicit premises of the study and descriptions of certain behaviors.

2.2 The Concept and History of Ethnic Conflict

To clearly explain the concept of ethnic conflict, it was significant to distinguish the meanings of the various concepts connected with ethnic group and ethnicity. Achebe (1997) described an ethnic group as a number of people who see themselves or are seen by others as sharing a distinctive, collective identity and traits based on certain features. According to Horowitz (1985), ethnicity is based on a myth of shared ancestry usually carrying traits believed to be innate. According to Tambiah (1989), the resurgence of ethnicity in the field of social science literature in the 1960s and 1970s took place not only to define certain manifestations in the world, but also to explain the emergence of the ethnic movement in the industrialized world; especially in Canada, the United States, and Western Europe.

According to Horowitz (1985), ethnic members are historically given collectivities or psychological communities whose members share a continuing sense of common interest and identity based on some contribution of collective historical experience and valued cultural traits such as beliefs, culture, religion, language, a common homeland and ways of life.

This is to mean from the definition, that for a community or group to be identified as ethnic, it is important to have a certain common identity as language, religion, and name which are key indicators in identifying an ethnic conflict.

According to Sambanis (2001), ethnicity is closed to Max Weber's idea of a 'subjective belief' in 'common descent' in that ethnicity embraces groups distinguished by language, religion, and color; it covers tribes, races, nationalities, and caste systems. These common attributes are important in Ghana as a country with various ethnic groups and languages coupled with diverse religious practices.

Michael (1993), defined ethnic conflict as a dispute about important economic, cultural, political, and territorial issues between two or more ethnic groups. He explained that security problem leads to special circumstances that arise when proximate groups of individuals suddenly find themselves responsible for their security. Ethnic conflicts result in anarchy, a distinct situation under which ethnic groups fear for their basic survival; their overriding interest is to enhance their capabilities for self-defense.

Wolff (2006) describes ethnic conflict as a state in which more than one group pursues incompatibility from their perspective, entirely just goals. Wolff further explained that ethnic conflicts are conflicts in which one party's ambition is defined in absolute ethnic terms with the primary fault line of confrontation as one of the ethnic peculiarities. For whatever reason the conflict erupts, one group at least shows dissatisfaction in ethnic terms – that is, one party believes that its ethnic identity is a warning for the other party not to achieve its interest and that its fundamental rights have been overstepped. Sambian (2001) stated that ethnic conflicts are conflicts amongst groups who have differences over power relationship that occurs between the communities and the state. He further clarifies that opposing groups in ethnic conflicts hold irreversible ideas of their borders, identity, and citizenship of the state. Varshney (2001), conceives that ethnic conflict differs from black and white conflict in South Africa and the United States; to the Protestant-Catholic struggle in Northern Ireland and the Hindu-Muslim dispute in India; the Shia-Sunni conflicts in Pakistan, and Tamil-Sinhala conflict in Sri Lanka

According to Ross (2000), ethnocentric conflict is an obstinate political problem in recent times.

Ross further argues that although most scholars anticipated conflicts rooted in race and ethnicity to diminish in importance the opposite occurs.

As ethnic conflicts are prolonged and bitter, they are fueled by tribalism, competition for power, religious fanaticism, boundary disputes, etc.

2.3 Ethnic conflict from Global Perspective

In Asia, the Nagorno-Karabakh ethnic conflict coaxed most scholars' attention as a result of its scale as well due to its significant spill-over effect (Melita, 2011). In Sri Lanka, the Sinhalese and Tamil ethnic groups trace their ethnic heritage or culture to India (Manogaran, 1935). The Sinhalese and Tamil ethnic conflict emerged from the fact that the Tamils see their group as a privileged group in Sri Lanka with total rights to languages, employment, the status of Buddhism, education opportunities and political control of the nation whiles Sinhalese ethnic group perceives their group as been disregarded and their rights been overstepped upon (Manogaran, 1935). The Kashmir conflict, a typical territorial conflict between Kashmiris and Jammunites ethnic groups from India and Pakistan respectively has equally caught the attention of scholars over the past decades (Human Rights Watch, 2006). The conflict between the two originates from the fact that the Indian government and Kashmiris insurgents are tied to a dispute over the local autonomy of the disputed land. Despite the loss of several lives and properties, the violent nature of it has become less in recent times due to the intervention of protest movements (Wax, 2008).

South Sudan has largely witnessed a long history of ethnic disputes resulting in massive killings. With over 64 ethnic tribes, it is common to find dissimilarities amongst the various tribes with the Dinka tribe dominating about 35% of the populaces and predominately in government (The World Factbook, 2017). Conflict in that part is often occurred due to differences over the issues of cattle and grazing lands amongst nomadic groups.

The Ituri ethnic conflict in Congo is another key ethnic conflict between agriculturalists – Lendu, and pastoralists – Hema since 1972 mainly set off by the Second Congo War (Uppsala Conflict Data Program, 2016). The conflict between Hem and Lendu groups had been a longstanding conflict over three decades.

Much of the issues revolve around the fact that, the 1973 Law permitted people to buy land that they do not occupy and where ownership is not challenged for two years. This allows the eviction of any resident on the uncontested land.

The conflict's extreme nature erupted in large-scale massacres executed by groups of both ethnic factions. BBC reported that as many as 60,000 lives were lost since the beginning of the conflict in 1998 while thousands of lives were evicted from their homes (Reddition d'environ 300 miliciens de la FRPI en Ituri, 2015).

The Batwa–Luba ethnic dispute in Congo is another ethnic conflict that has disrupted development in Congo (Ethnic Militias Attack Civilians Katanga, 2015). The Batwa group was noted to be exploited and enslaved by the Luba and Bantu groups. The main cause of the conflict was the rising up of the Batwa group into a militia to attack Luba villages. In 2015, at least 40 persons were killed and thousands were displaced from their homes because of the conflict.

The new ethnic conflict between the Jukuns and Tivs in the Plateau state, Nigeria escalated to the highest level in September 2001 as the result of 'mistaken identity' (Kura 2010:34-35). The findings were that some Tivs populations mistaken some 19 soldiers to be Jukuns in disguise military uniform. The Tivs youth apprehended the armed soldiers, brutalized and slaughtered them in turns. The Nigerian army in response to this situation embarked on an attacking crusade leading to the killing of hundreds of people (Human Rights Watch, 2001). The Herder–Farmer (Fulani/Hausa – Tiv/Tarok) ethnic dispute over land and cattle between farmers and herders in 2004 and 2011 is another classical conflict in Nigeria. The fights greatly affected the people of the Nigerian Middle Belt such as Plateau, Benue, and Taraba with the loss of about 2,000 properties and over 700 lives in 2015 (Social Violence Nigeria, 2015).

The Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) in Liberia was formed to sustain and build a stable democracy through the takeover of the Taylor government and it eventually created conflicts in the ethnic lines of Mandingo, Gio, and Krahn, factions (Kranz, 2005). The differences between the Krahns and Mandingos in 1994 developed hatred between the two groups respectively. The Mandingos with the largest population met brutality in their wake of coming back to their villages after the civil war.

During the war period, it was alleged that some mosques were destroyed by the Lorma ethnic group. Some members of the Gio, Lorma, and Mano believed that the Mandingos were the people who committed those atrocities during the civil war. In Guinea Bissau, the ethnic dispute between the Fulas and Mandinkas was also attributed to border issues (Voz, 2010).

In the means to stop the destruction of lives and properties in the conflict, an Elder Chief presented a mechanism for determining what tamarind tree was predominantly cultivated in that land. The ethnic group with the highest tamarind tree was allowed to be the lawful owner of the land as a result of the eating habits of the two ethnic groups.

In Cameroon, the Mbessa and Oku ethnic groups battled over land disputes in the year 2000 (Elena, 2007). More than 63 lives were lost notably the elderly as they neither could run nor react and was estimated that over 120 elderlies become homeless. In the course of the conflict, it was established that the provincial governor threatened to forcefully acquire and relocate the place to any development organization if the groups fail to come to a compromise. Ethnic conflicts originated by elites of Cameroon for personal benefits as senior officials of government and most politicians fashioned it into a business venture (Elena, 2007).

In Burkina Faso, the famous conflict between Bissa and Mossi groups is quite notable in Tenkodogo in the eastern part of Burkina Faso. The conflict between the two parties was largely linked to land ownership and traditional chiefdom (chieftaincy) (Cissao, 2017). Most notable was the divisive nature of the two groups with respect to their social and political affiliations coupled with the two traditional chiefs representing each group in the several communities within Tenkodogo. The occurrence of the conflict was situated in the fact that the majority Bissa ethnic group decided to retake lands loaned by their ancestors to the Mossi group in the past. With the loss of lives, the justice courts became the middle ground for the resolution of the conflict. In the case of chieftaincy, the government objectively agreed not to involve in the customary affairs of the communities. The government later encouraged all stakeholders in the communities to contribute to the settlements of the disputes by making strong decisions.

2.4 Ethnic conflict from Ghana's Perspective

Ethnic conflicts in Northern Ghana in most cases are being linked to chieftaincy disputes. Destruction of lives and property, development degradations, misery, serious abuse of human rights, particularly on the vulnerable as well as the constant migration of the youth to urban cities of Ghana have been the features of this chieftaincy conflict (Ahorsu & Gebe, 2011). In the event of the demise of an incumbent chief in the succession to a chieftaincy position, these conflicts arouse tensions on which house or lineage is the next to the throne. Awedoba (2009) attributed the cause of these conflicts to the right of an existing chief to continue to retain a throne or to manipulate processes that lead to the enskinment of a chief.

The numbers with respect to the destruction of property, loss of lives, and health issues as the result of these ethnic conflicts are quite alarming. Huge national funds and resources have been used in maintaining peace in these conflicted areas to the detriment of the social-economic development of the environment. According to Brukum (2006), a wholesome 6 million Ghana Cedis was invested by the government in the region to maintain peace during most of the devastating conflicts.

Notably, the Nanumba-Konkomba ethnic conflict has had a negative impact on the socio-economic development of the area. Prior to 1980, the Nanumbas and Komkombas lived peacefully as neighbors attending funerals, and schools, and working in government departments and ministries together (Maasole, 2011). The Alhassan committee report was blamed for triggering certain events that culminated in the 1981 Konkomba-Nanumba dispute and the subsequent wars. The key cause of the conflict has been mainly linked to land and its related resources. Several lives and properties were lost during the conflict.

The Konkomba and Bimoba conflict is amongst the larger series of ethnic conflicts in the Northern Region. The main cause of the ethnic conflict between the two groups is land ownership which is very common with most of the conflicts in the Northern Region. These conflicts have destroyed thousands of lives and properties with the original sporadic conflict becoming more intense, and bigger in the 1980s (Meji, Bodegan, and Laar, 2002).

The Nawuri and Gonja conflict is like most ethnic conflicts in the Northern part of Ghana. Its root cause is linked to a colonial policy implemented in the region in 1932, which recognized Nawuri under the Gonja as part of the colonial government's effort to rationalize the existing political and social structures for administrative purposes (Ladouceur 1979: 43).

The policy indirectly placed the Nawuris under the Gonja chiefs and this began the conflict between the two groups (Ladouceur 1979: 43). The conflict has become intractable for years with many properties and lives lost impacting negatively on the socio-economic development.

The Konkomba-Dagomba conflict is certainly another ethnic conflict that has been happening for years in the Northern Region.

The two groups in past and present years have experienced both peace and conflict despite their long-standing differences. According to Boateng (1999), the cause of the conflict is linked to the fact that the Konkombas are aliens or settlers who are not playing by the rules of accepting the authority of their host (Dagombas). According to Martinson (1995, p456), " it is intellectually pathetic, historically myopic for many Ghanaians to have failed to recognize or are ignorantly not aware that Konkombas since 1914 -1994 have fought and are still fighting the people of Dagbon for no reason than the mystical assumption that their ancestors were exterminated by Naa Nyase". The Konkomba-Dagomba has seen over 2,000 deaths and about 150,000 displaced from their home to seek refuge in different locations (Centre for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM), 1999).

In Ghana, nothing raises so much fear and uneasiness as the speculation of fresh ethnic conflicts, similar to those that rocked the Northern region in 1994 amongst others (Sulemana, 2009). The Alavanyo and Nkonya ethnic conflict which dates back to 1923 has become obstinate with no ending solution between the two ethnic groups (Midodzi and Jaha, 2011). The root cause of the conflict is believed to be linked to a land ownership process that has stretched in a Gruner map sketched up by the colonial German administration in 1913. The Nkonya and Alavanyo ethnic conflict that occurred between the years 1923 to 1958 over ownership of land is notable in Ghana. The conflict is perceived to be a result of land that passes through Nkonya and Alavanyo with the Nkonya community winning the case after a rigorous court ruling in 1958. This ultimately triggered tensions in the Alavanyo community as the ruling did not settle well in their best interest.

The Nkonya and Alavanyo conflict has not seen many casualties until the late 1990s and early 2000s when the conflict took a different direction resulting in a significant number of lives and properties lost (Asamoah, 2014). The case of this study is Kusasi and Mamprusi conflicts in the Bawku East Municipality (BEM). The Kusasi and Mamprusi conflicts are opined to be one of the most horrifying conflicts in Northern Ghana due to their sensitive nature. The conflict born out of Chieftaincy and land disputes dates to 1930 with Kusasi's claiming chieftaincy title in Bawku East Municipality (Awedoba, 2009). The Kusasi are entrenched in the position that they were the first settlers of the town of East Agolle, now BEM Township consisting of towns such as Garu, Zebilla, Binduri, etc (Brukum, 2001).

2.5 Causes of Ethnic Conflicts

This section reviews the literature available about some factors that trigger ethnic conflict from both local and global perspectives.

2.5.1 Chieftaincy and Leadership

Kaarbo and Ray (2008: 219) argued that ethnic conflicts do not occur in a vacuum with the indication of some key causes such as chieftaincy and leadership. Their first argument is that "various ethnic groups that are involved in horrendous conflicts, have a long chain of disputes from their history of intergroup relations"- this they termed the "hatred factor". Secondly, ethnic conflicts are expected to occur when the groups believe the state is failed due to poor leadership. Due to uncertainty amongst numerous ethnic groups, there is the assertion that the power vacuum is uncontrollable. There is the probability of fear of discrimination due to insecurity in relation to the power that is expected to be amongst some ethnic groups. Furthermore, leadership capability often tends to be scrutinized as there is always the fear of bias on the part of those who eventually ascends to the chieftaincy position, and this leads to a security dilemma. Taras and Garguly (2002) argued that in such anarchy conditions, several ethnic groups relent to acquire resources to protect themselves against oppression from other ethnic groups.

According to Posen (2003), two major factors that occur in security dilemmas amongst ethnic factions are the mobilization of groups to be offensive and defensive posing a threat to other ethnic factions, and the case of ethnic groups living far apart in isolation poses vulnerability to attacks by other groups leading to insecurity. Defensive mechanisms are devised by the group to protect themselves, which is sometimes misunderstood as offensive by other ethnic members. Mearsheimer (2001) argued that due to the absence of a central government, there is a propensity for great powers to compete for supremacy in international systems.

Thirdly, discrimination against the ascension of a new leader results in ethnic conflicts all over the world (Ray and Kaarbo, 2008). Ethnic groups who believe that they have been deprived of their right to lead are inspired to fight and claim their power.

Ethnic groups who believe that they have been marginalized with respect to privilege positions take the initiatives to regain their rightful privileges. Initiatives of this nature are shown in clashes between ethnic groups and that results in ethnic violence.

2.5.2 Land Ownership and Resource Management

According to Awedoba (2009), land and resource disputes are among the major sources of conflict in the northern region of Ghana. Further, Blagojevic (2009) argued that resource competition between disagreeing ethnic groups is a driving force for ethnic conflicts. The tendency of individuals to side with a known group to contend over resources is highly possible where resources are scarce or insufficient to share. The challenge over access to insufficient resources in difficult economic situations and the uncertainty of future prospects may force people to channel their anger and blame on other ethnic groups. This ultimately limits other groups' access to the essential resources for their survival hence the disputes. The ethnic groups believe that even the distribution of resources and political participation for all groups are basic rights that they need to survive.

2.3.3 Politics

According to Blagovjevic (2009), politicking on the part of the political parties' system is the main cause of ethnic conflict. Blagovjevic further argues that a state system becomes a weak system when there is a clear indication of uncertainty, where political parties manipulate the emotions of various ethnic groups by influencing and mobilizing for their political gains. According to Kaufman (1996), belligerent political leaders strengthen mass hostility; belligerent leaders threaten other groups, creating a security problem, which, in turn, promotes more hostility and leadership belligerence. There is always deeper polarization amongst various ethnic factions in societies due to the creation and influence of hostile actions, hence ethnic disputes at the least provocation.

2.6 The Bawku East Municipality (BEM) Ethnic Conflicts

BEM is located in the north eastern part of the map of Ghana. It is known to be a commercial and market center sharing borders with Burkina Faso and Togo (Awedoba, 2009). Due to its location and commercial activities, BEM has become the center of traders and immigrants from other parts of Ghana and the nations nearby. Immigrants' existence has made BEM a cosmopolitan and expanded its demography in time with the Mamprusi and Kusasi remaining the dominant ethnic groups. As presented in the 2020 population and Housing Census, Kusasi and Mamprusi as majority and minority ethnic groups respectively (Ghana Statistical Service, 2020).

At the center of the Mamprusi-Kusasi conflict were the allodial rights and chieftaincy matters about litigation. The claim of allodial ownership of BEM by Kusasi and Mamprusi has covered narrative histories of origins but rather on first-ownership. Alhassan Committee report used first-ownership as one of the bases to claim land ownership of land ownership in Northern Ghana (Alhassan, 1978). The argument of the first settlers in BEM over the years has been unsettled and has generated a lot of controversies. To address the argument of the first settlers in BEM, it is significant to discuss the history of migration and settlement of the Kusasi and the Mamprusi people.

The Mamprusis, who are believed to be descendants of Na Gbewa, trace their origin to Tanga, a place in the East of Lake Chad. It is believed that Na Gbewa settled in Pusiga a place near BEM was enskinned as chief of Gurma and some Kusasis (Mahama, 2009).

After the death of Na Gbewa, three of his sons - Tohugo, Mantambu, and Sitobu, dispersed and formed the Mamprugu, Nanumba, and Dagomba ethnic groups, respectively. Mamprusis claim their presence in BEM dates back to the 17th Century after the military support provided to the Kusasi during the era of Na Atabia and Nayiri (1690-1741). Continuous troubles of Bissa into Kusasi territory made the Kusasi seek military assistance from the Nayiri of the Mamprusi. However, it was suggested that there was a tainted image of the formation of a relationship between Kusasi and Mamprusi prior to the 17th century as there was an inconclusive indicator of any evidence that Kusasi lived under Mamprusi in Pusiga prior to the Kusasi-Mamprusi alliance to stand against the people of Bissa (International Journal of Innovative Research & Development, 2014).

The tradition of the Mamprusi upholds the fact that Na Atabia intervened in the plea of Kusasi by making security in Teshi, BEM, Binduri, Tanga, Sinnebaga, and Worikambo. In no time, Mamprusis were appointed as chiefs in these places with Kusasi being the dominant group (Public Records and Archives Administration Tamale, 1957). This unpredictable pre-colonial arrangement set up precedence for the Nayiri to select a Mamprusi as the Bawkunaba. Rattery (1932), argues that Kusasi came to the location before Mamprusi migrated from Gambaga to BEM. Kusasi were seen as migrants from Zawga, Biengu, and Yuiga and settled in the outskirts of BEM where they practiced animal husbandry and crop cultivation. Despite the presence of other ethnic groups such as Moshi, Bissa, Hausa, and Bimoba in the municipality, they migrated into BEM as traders.

In the late 1940s, political parties started to take shape with the birth of the United Gold Coast Convention (U.G.C.C) in 1948 led by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as the General Secretary. Nkrumah separated from the U.G.C.C in 1949 and founded the Convention People's Party (C.P.P) with a focus on the youth. R.S Iddrisu and Eben Adam, both youth members of the U.G.C.C, brought a good number of the northerners into the C.P.P. Division were created by the presence of these two political parties in the North which further separated the society in the 1954 run up elections. With the arrival of the Northern People's Party (N.P.P) in April 1954, Nkrumah began to lose hope in Nayiri's support and other Northern chiefs.

In response, Nkrumah targeted the Nayiri and some Northern chiefs who turned against him. The Kusasis capitalized on that opportunity by throwing massive support to the C.P.P led by Ayebo Asumda, Imoro Ayarna, Dugunyelli Herbi, and other prominent members of the Kusasi Youth Movement (The International Journal of Humanities & Social Studies, 2015).

The posturing of the Kusasi and Mamprusi together with the emergence of party politics in the late 1940's worsened the polarization of BEM. With the Mamprusi under the leadership of Nayiri throwing its support to the Northern People's Party (N.P.P), Kusasi were led by their mostly intellectual elites under the influence of Nkrumah's concept of freedom and liberation threw their support to the Convention People's Party (C.P.P). BEM and the North generally were thrown into serious partisan politics and ethnic affiliations thereof in the run-up of the 1954 elections between the two popular parties. It was clear that the only strategy that could secure political power in the North by Nkrumah was to suppress the N.P.P and systematically undermine the influence of the Nayiri (Lund, 2003). Subsequently, the C.P.P began to decrease Mamprusi territories through the Frafra and Kusasi surroundings by appealing to C.P.P followers to call on the two ethnic tribes to denounce the N.P.P. This ultimately implied on the election results of 1954 in the Northeast as Nkrumah's fear came to light when N.P.P won 26 seats in the Northern region. Kusasi and Mamprusi were deeply divided into the lines of politics, ideology, and ethnicity. Nkrumah relentlessly pursued his plan to lower the Nayiri and frustrate the N.P.P post-1954 by creating independent Kusasi and Frafra District councils from the Mamprusi District council.

The victory of C.P.P in the 1956 general elections paved way for independence with Nkrumah and Lord Listowel as the prime minister and acting general governor, respectively. According to Richard (2000), the consequences of the C.P.P victory and the attainment of Independence were grave for Nayiri and the Mamprusi due to the bitter relationship between Nkrumah and Nayiri as a result of the attempts by some Northern chiefs to frustrate the C.P.P Tamale branch prior to the establishment of the party. According to Lacouceur (1979), the tension between Nayiri and Nkrumah worsened as Nayiri publicly and actively campaigned against the C.P.P with the directive to all chiefs supporting and rallying behind the N.P.P.

The death of the Bawkunaba Na Awuni in December 1956 created a vacant position for the BEM skin.

According to Awuni (2012), this generated an opening for the Kusasi to materialize their aspirations by choosing a Kusasi to occupy the throne of the Bawkunaba. This initiated a contest between the princes from the four families of the Mampurusi for the throne. Nayiri announced Yerimiah Mahama as the next successor, which triggered discontent from the other contestants. While Mamprusi were having their internal conflict with the next successor, the Kusasi Youth Association, Kusasitentanba, and their clan heads exploited the Mamprusi situation to protest and enskinned a Kusasi native known to be Abugrago Azoka. Soon, a violent clash erupted between Kusasi and Mamprusi, which caused casualties and the destruction of properties. A committee of Enquiry chaired by Opoku Afari was formed by Lord Listowel and Nkrumah to investigate the causes of the dispute and offer recommendations.

Tension rose with the government's official recognition of Abugrago Azoka as BEM Bawkunaba making him of an equal level as the Nayiri (Ghana Government Gazette no. 21, 1st March 1958).

The C.P.P was overthrown in 1966 by the National Liberation Council (NLC), supposedly a military government. A Chieftaincy Amendment Decree, NLDC 112 was introduced by the military government directing all newly paramountcy created in 1957 to be reversed to its original state. To that effect, prominent paramountcy formed by the C.P.P government was reverted to Nayiri who installed Adam Azangbeo, a Mamprusi as Bawkunaba.

The 1969 elections won by the Progress Party further deepened the alignment of the various factions. Mamprusi occupied prominent traditional and political institutions due to their affiliation with the Progress Party which created more problems for the Kusasi. Mamprusi retained land ownership and chieftaincy until the emergence of another military coup by the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) led by Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings who also reversed all laws passed by the National Liberation Council (NLC) to its original state in 1957. Mamprusi chieftaincy was reversed to Kusasi who enskinned a man called Ninchema Abugrago Azoka II as the new paramount chief of BEM. This dissatisfaction from the Mamprusi group led to several clashes with Kusasi with no resolvable means to peace.

The BEM conflict can be described as an ethnopolitical conflict with two phases of both ethnic and political associations (Lund, 2003).

However, to summarize the key precept of the conflicts, he stated that the BEM conflict has survived due to reasons such as political parties, chieftaincy, land ownership, and other places of interest in BEM. The acts of political parties as argued by Lund had caused more damage by making the disputes between the two factions go beyond chieftaincy to political parties' rivalry. These facts were supported by Lund with analytical trajectories of the origin of the conflict linking it to the activities of political parties. Lund further explains the conflict and its related matters created fixed ethnic positions between the two rivals. Despite government intervention in the management of the conflict, there is doubt about the future with respect to BEM conflict management. According to Long (2014), the BEM conflict is a legacy of the British colonial policies in the region. He explained that the series of events imposed by the indirect rule of the British colonial policy caused the indifference between Kusasi and Mamprusi. Longi (2014), did not only attribute the causes of the BEM conflict to British colonial policies but also to the C.P.P - N.P.P politicking, which worsened the relationship between Mamprusi-Kusasi.

According to Noagah (2013), the BEM conflict peace process is linked to power, values, identity, and cultural differences as the main causes of the conflict. He stated that the protracted case of the BEM dispute can be related to setbacks that stalled peacebuilding initiatives by Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Government, and the West African Network for Peace Building (WANEP). He specified the loose movement of arms in BEM through the neighboring borders as a major obstacle to securing a lasting peace in BEM. He further indicated the deliberate political interference of government and mistrust in the peace settlement approaches as a major problem to the lasting BEM Peace process.

2.7 Ethnic Conflict and Its Impact on Socio-Economic Development

The BEM ethnic conflict has had an impact on the socio-economic development of the region. Some of the crucial socio-economic development indicators impacted by the BEM ethnic conflict are education, employment, health, environment, and quality of life.

2.7.1 Ethnic Conflict on Health and Demography

Sisaye (2009) stated that the most worrying and disturbing direct or immediate effect of ethnic conflict on health is death, subject to either qualitative or quantitative measurement. He further defined the indirect impact of ethnic conflict on mortality as the number of deaths resulting from war minus the number of deaths that would have happened in the same period if the war had not happened. Levy (2002), suggested a different set of the effect of ethnic conflict on health relating to long-term impact including physical disabilities and psychological trauma. Levy specified that these disabilities could result in long-term health issues, which are mostly ignored in the aftermath of ethnic disputes due to the poor state of health facilities. According to Perdesen (2001), emerging political and ethnic conflicts have a more diverse consequence on present populations than the conflicts of the past. Recent ethnic conflicts are usually seen as a constant violation of cease-fire and neutrality of health service and relief operations.

In times of ethnic conflicts, health services and workers are susceptible to death threats, mass executions, murder, detention, etc., in the cases of Pakistan, Croatia and Bosnia, and the Philippines (Physicians for Human Rights, 1993; Summerfield, 1995).

Martin-Baro (1989) posited that instilling terror, forced militarization, and social polarization of daily life could bring significant changes in the social lifestyle of the civilian populace. This generates difficulty in measuring and attributing meaning concerning life expectancy and morbidity.

According to UNICEF (1996), some innocent adolescent girls were raped during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Commercial sex and rape extended to the refugee camps leading to an increase in unsafe abortion and sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS. Young (1995) argued that people exposed to ethnic conflicts tend to suffer from psychiatric symptoms, which are known as "war neuroses". Most of these cases are characterized as clinical syndromes based on symptoms such as psychoses, conversion states, somatic regressions, etc., which need therapy such as drug-induced sleep, shock therapy, psychotherapy, etc., for treatment.

According to Alderman et al (2006), ethnic conflicts do have an increasing effect on the health of children and women and concluded that the intensity of ethnic conflict worsens child health during and after conflicts.

2.7.2 Ethnic Conflict in Education

"Give me the amount of money that has been used in conflicts and I will cloth every child, man, and woman in an attire of which queens and kings will be proud. I will build schools in all valleys over the whole earth. I will crown every hillside with a place of worship consecrated to peace" - (Anderson & Sumner, 2006: 60).

According to Anderson & Sumner (2006), it is critical to study ethnic conflicts with the associated benefits that are achieved when ethnic conflicts are prevented particularly protracted ethnic conflicts in our communities. Harber (2002) argued that ethnic conflict has effects on the educational systems of every country. He further indicated that education as a major institution is often targeted by hostile parties in countries experiencing ethnic conflicts. A total educational failure demoralizes children's self-confidence and makes them susceptible to criminality, illegal drugs, unsafe sex, and prostitution.

Furthermore, the educational system is gravely affected due to the displacement of families and children as a result of ethnic conflict leading to the disruption of schooling and enrolment of children in educational institutions.

Easterly (2009) posited that several nations in the African continent including Sierra Leone, Chad, etc., have witnessed a low level of school enrolment, low retention, and poor academic performance at all levels of education as a result of ethnic conflicts.

Buckland (2005) explained that ethnic conflicts denote a key impediment to Education for All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) or Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), mainly universal attainment of basic education and gender equality in primary and secondary education. UNESCO (2010) elaborated that over half of the world's primary-aged children are out of school due to ethnic conflicts.

This supports the UNESCO (2010) report that indicated that over 50% of children, mostly female children, drop out of school in Africa and Asia to support their parents' farm work and other business activities to generate capital for their survival due to the harsh economic situation created by the ethnic conflict.

Alhassan & Karim (2017) stated that lots of money and huge farms got lost due to ethnic conflicts, subsequently, parents were unable to offer equal education for all children. Pape (1998) added that an increased rate of poverty and child care responsibilities during a period of ethnic conflict often impacts existing gender inequalities in the educational system.

According to Swee (2009), ethnic conflict can affect the attendance of children in school, increase the dropout rate as well as decrease educational survival due to displacement of family, economic challenges, long-term closure of educational institutions, and lack of educational materials. UNESCO (2010) reported that conflict-impacted countries experience an increased number of children dropping out of school compared to conflict-free nations. UNESCO (2013) further added that statistics on scholarship indicated that the increase in school dropout children due to ethnic conflicts often impacts the number of children who get access to education attainment in the same countries. According to Justino (2011), the future life prospects of children are affected by ethnic conflicts including earnings, labor market access, and health outcomes in adulthood.

2.7.3 Ethnic Conflict on Employment

Collier (2000) indicated economic growth rate as the sole most influential factor in determining the likelihood of a nation returning to war within a few years of the peace settlement and saw unemployment as the most likely way through which it could influence the conflict. He further explained that ethnic conflicts were the source of unemployment and vice versa unemployment can be a source of conflicts. According to Lindgren (2005), a calculated decrease in the gross domestic product (GDP) associated with conflicts, however, varies considerably across locations of conflicts and timeframe. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grows with public expenditure on official military expenses as an intervention mechanism relative to non-conflict environments. The suggestions are that an adverse impact on gross domestic product (GDP) and investment turn to have a great impact on formal and informal sector employment.

Cramer (2010) stated that warfare pitches many persons into a desperate search for wage-employment. According to Chingo (2001), a massive extension of the informal sector was witnessed in Maputo (Mozambique) with respect to conflict and non-conflict activities from urban expansion. According to Keen Duffield (2001), many positive employment opportunities are impacted by conflicts creating negative opportunities such as smuggling, arms, and drug trade in the global markets.

The poor are the victims who experience the hardest hits when ethnic conflicts occur. Vital areas of targets during conflicts are rural infrastructure in the conflicted territory. Ethnic conflicts are detrimental to development and constant ethnic conflicts cause poverty.

Mercier et al. (2016) argued that the first effect of ethnic conflict is the reduction in labor and human capital, then the destruction of financial and assets capital and dilapidation of social capital of trust and cooperation where strong political and economic systems depend.

2.7.4 Ethnic Conflict on the Environment and Quality of Life

The ethnic conflict between the Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda over the years had an immense impact on the environment and quality of life of the population. According to Rwandan Environmental Management Authority (2009), the demands of high population and increased land shortages have contributed to the large-scale conversion of natural habitats to agriculture, mining, and other human activities. The scarcity of natural resources together with the poaching of endangered species such as elephants, mountain gorillas, and buck for trade and consumption has increased.

Rwandan Environmental Management Authority (2009) further explained that key biological geographical sites in the country are stressed due to the large numbers of refugees and returnees after the genocide conflict leading to high demand for and reliance on natural resources for basic survival. This has destroyed the environment and for that matter environmental degradation. Niyongabo (2004) argued that forest in the country has declined rapidly since the genocide in 1995 due to deforestation.

2.8 Conflict Mediating Methods

According to Gaudens (2004), the procedures of conflict resolution are described by three exclusive dimensions which include the nature of conflicts, conflict resolution mechanisms, and results of such mechanisms.

Reimann (2015) indicated three unique but related approaches to conflict management in his analysis of the theoretical perspective of conflict transformation. These approaches are conflict settlement, conflict resolution, and conflict transformation. He explained that for a good appreciation of these approaches, it is important not to view them as unique, single, and comprehensive theoretical systems.

2.9 Theoretical Framework

Security dilemma theory and economic theories of ethnic conflicts seek to explain the many theories of ethnic conflict types as rational choice theories mainly focused on economic and insecurity needs. Psychological theories have also been recognized as another group of ethnic conflict theories that define social identity and symbolic choice, instrumentalist theory, and protracted conflict theory.

According to Kaufman (2001), the cause of ethnic conflict is attributed to people's acceptance and response to traditional ethnic myths that offer adequate and reasonable grounds and aggression toward other groups. This study adopted the theory of symbolic politics as it describes the factors influencing ethnic conflicts. Key to this theory is ethnic fear, which is the major promoting factor that aggravates ethnic conflict.

Again, this theory has been successful in analyzing and understanding the ethnic conflicts in Sudan and Rwanda.

Further symbolic political theory can be used as a way to antagonize other ethnic factions supposing a demonstration can attest that the other faction is a traditional enemy. Also, this could be a case if the ethnic conflict is based on a group's resource as a territory that requires protection, defense, and domination. The situation evolves with one ethnic, subsequently with more ethnic groups concluding that the survival of their ethnic groups is at stake.

The persistent perception of an ethnic group's survival depicts reasons to display aggression and antagonism towards other ethnic groups in a huge exhibition of self-defense and activities to show dominion over the other ethnic groups. Hence, thoughts of ethnic destruction become prevalent, they produce opportunities for an ethnic group incitement to rise to violence in order to defend and protect their existence. These fears cause ethnic conflicts as people are determined to avoid losses rather than focus on benefits. They do it with ease to categorize and fight a common enemy. This concept of ethnic fear or danger can be expanded to describe why leaders of some countries defend their motive of violence against other countries due to the fear of being destroyed by the presence of other nations. Kaufman (1974), argued that the massacre of the Jews was reorganized in an ideology that Jews were both inferior and a threat to the Nazi Germans.

2.10 Conceptual Framework

Based on the theory, the empirical views of the study, and the literature review, the conceptual framework steered the explanation of the theory in the study. In order to understand the effect of the BEM ethnic conflict, it was important to understand the root causes of it as well as the intensifying factors. Based on the reviewed literature, it was identified that chieftaincy, access to weapon/arms politics, and land ownership are the root cause and escalating factors to the ethnic conflict in BEM. Socioeconomic development was operationalized to constitute the composite effect of health, employment, education, environment, and quality of life. Also, the framework seeks to understand the existing conflict-mediating methods used by the government. Due to the continuous nature of the BEM conflict, it was essential to explore the perceived conflict mediating methods by the local people which include trust building, education, counselling, and acceptance of rightful chieftaincy title owner.

2.11 Conclusion of Literature Review

This chapter presented the context of the study. It commenced with the global concept of ethnic conflicts and showed an in-depth analysis of ethnic conflicts and their dynamics globally. It focused on the history of settlements and different ethnic factions as well as the impact of ethnic conflicts on vital socio-economic development activities. The chapter further explained ethnic conflict mediating and management methods.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This part talked about the data collection procedure that was adopted for this research. This section also explained the research strategy, research design, target population, and sample size. It looked into details of the study area with emphasize on the socio-economic development activities in the BEM. The study gave attention to the causes of ethnic conflicts in BEM, the socio-economic effect of the conflict on the development of BEM, and mediating methods employed to manage and prevent ethnic conflicts. The chapter finally detailed the challenges, limitations, and lessons learnt from the research.

3.2 Study Area

Mamprusi and Kusasi are among the major ethnic groups located in BEM, the Northern part of Ghana. The municipality is known to be amongst the smallest municipalities in Ghana with respect to population sample and land size. The population of BEM is within the figure of 134,612 representing 9.8 percent of the total population of the region according to the report from the 2010 Population and Housing Census (Population Census, 2010). Over 65 percent of the households in BEM are highly engaged in agriculture with 51.9 percent in the rural area and 48.1 percent in the urban area. Despite the small size of the land in BEM, its farming activities still entice various ethnic groups including the Frafra, Grusi, Kasena – Nankana, Talensi, Nabdam, Busasi, Bulsa, and many more.

Bawku is distinctively divided into two administrative districts namely Bawku West district and Bawku East Municipality. White Volta is the key element that divides the area into two. Over 70 percent of the total populace beyond 15 years of age are economically active while the remaining are inactive in any economic activity.

Bawku East Municipality is mixed with a lot of traders from different ethnic backgrounds. It is a location at the far end of the North Eastern corridor housing ethnic factions such as Kusasi, the majority group, Mamprusi – being the minority opposing group, and other ethnic factions such as the Busangas and Moshes.

The commercial significance of the town is the factor that attracts trading communities such as the Hausa, Bulsa, and others from neighboring countries such as Benin, Burkina Faso, and Togo. Bawku East Municipality is highly known for trading in commodities such as kola nuts, onions, millet, and corn. About 73 percent of the population does not have formal education with only 17.9 percent having formal basic education (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010). About 54.3 percent of children above 3 years are beneficiaries of primary school education while 18.2 percent are in junior high school and senior high school. On employment, a majority of 66.5 percent dominated by males are economically self-employed with no employee whereas the others are predominantly female, either casual workers or domestic workers. About 98.5 percent of households in BEM live in permanent structures with the rest living in temporary structures such as containers, tents, and kiosks.

BEMs have access to household facilities such as electricity and water through boreholes, pumps, and rivers. Toilet and bathing facilities are shared in the same compound and waste materials are disposed of through public dumps in open spaces (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010). Bawku prides its importance as a trading center on its location on the pre-colonial trade route from Ouagadougou and the Sahel region to Gambaga and onwards to Salaga and beyond (Awedoba, 2011). Kusaal is the language spoken by the Kusasis. Historically, it is written that the first festival was celebrated in 1987. Islam and Christianity are the two major religions with Islam as the majority. Geographically, Mamprusis are recognized as descendants of Nalerigu and found themselves in Bawku as the minority. They largely speak Mampruli as their language. Polygamy is dominant among the Mamprusis who also celebrate Eid-ul-Fitri. The town was peaceful until the discussion of the chieftaincy structure exploded during the colonial era and later worsened after independence. Ethnic conflict between the two ethnic factions seemingly became intractable, hindering the socio-economic development of the area. However, to outline the main precept of the conflicts, he concluded that the BEM conflicts have survived due to factors such as land ownership, chieftaincy, party politics, and other places of interest in BEM. Lund (2003) argued that politics had caused more damage by making the conflicts go beyond chieftaincy to political parties' rivalry. Lund further explained that the conflict and its related matters resulted in fixed ethnic positions between the two factions.

Despite government intervention in the management of the conflict, there is a skeptic concerning the future with respect to the resolution and management of BEM ethnic conflicts. Long (2014) argued that the BEM conflict is a legacy of British colonial rule in Northern Ghana. He was of the view that most of the events enforced by the indirect rule of the British colonial policies caused the indifference between Kusasi and Mamprusi. He further compared Ghana to neighboring countries such as Liberia, Burkina Faso, and Cote d'Ivoire, which have been impacted by the actions and inactions of colonial policies leading to conflict issues in resource allocation and chieftaincy issues. He argued that the intrusion of colonial policies in the Northern part of Ghana hugely affected the socio-political structures.

According to Noagah (2013), BEM conflicts peace process is linked to power, values, identity, and cultural differences as the main causes of conflict. He placed the BEM ethnic conflict as a Protracted Social Conflict Theory into theoretical frameworks of ethnic conflicts. He posited that the protracted case of the BEM ethnic conflicts can be related to setbacks that stalled peacebuilding initiatives by Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), the government, and the West African Network for Peace Building (WANEP). He specified the loose movement of arms through some of the neighboring borders to BEM as a major obstruction to securing a lasting peace in BEM. He further outlined the flagrant political interference from the government coupled with the mistrust in the peace settlement as the major hurdle to the lasting peace process.

3.3 Research Methodology

Methods of research are very significant in research processes because they guide and direct researchers on the best possible methods to collect and analyze data to produce valid, reliable, and replicable research outcomes. Research methods provide various means to address a research problem, particularly how the problem is formulated; the choice of subject for investigation; the validation of data gathering tools; the definition of terms; the collection, analysis, and interpretation of data (Lokesh, 2009).

3.4 Research Strategy

Creswell (2009) defined research strategy as the information required to achieve the needed answers for research questions in every research and shows the assembly and examination of the data. According to Charles Tabi (2016), there are three advanced research methods or strategies, namely, quantitative, qualitative, and advanced methods. According to Harwell (2011), research strategy is characterized as qualitative, quantitative, or a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods popularly known as the mixed method.

The strategies used in this study are mixed methods consisting of qualitative and quantitative methods. Quantitative strategy deals with numerical data whilst qualitative strategy is about non-numerical data and statistics (Mana Ghahramanzadeh, 2013).

The available literature was first reviewed to gather information from other published and unpublished theses, books, journals, publications of companies, etc. After reviewing the available literature, a well-structured questionnaire was developed to collect the remaining data from the selected research population.

3.4.1 Qualitative Research Method

According to Mack (2005), the qualitative method is a type of scientific research that looks to answer a question and systematically uses a set of predefined processes to answer the question, collecting evidence with findings that are not pre-determined but are predictable above the immediate boundaries of the study. The qualitative method seeks out a given research problem from the perspectives of a local populace within a given community intending to effectively gain culturally specific data about the opinions, behaviors, values, and social context of a particular population. Qualitative research requires the researcher to gather information from natural settings through several means of data collection techniques such as documentation, interviews, and observations. The results of the findings are analyzed and interpreted in the social context of the phenomena. Critical to the qualitative research method, the researcher is the main instrument in the research because the researcher does not depend on methods employed by others but is involved extremely in the research within the context of the study.

3.4.2 Quantitative Research Method

According to Boateng (2014), the quantitative method is critical to establish the extent of a problem or the presence of a relationship between aspects of a phenomenon by quantifying the variations. Also, the quantitative research method can be defined as a method in which the researcher decides what to research; asks narrow and distinct questions; gathers quantifiable information from participants; uses statistics, and conducts an inquiry to analyze in an unbiased objective manner (Abraham, 2010). He further explained that the quantitative research method emphasizes gathering and analyzing data in numbers as well as gathering scores that measure the unique features of individuals and organizations. The quantitative method of research depends on experiments, correlational studies, and surveys as means of comparing groups or relating factors to groups in a population.

3.4.3 Mixed Method

Mixed method of research combines both quantitative and qualitative methods (Boateng, 2014). Mixed method research focuses on collecting, analyzing, and mixing quantitative and qualitative data in a unique study or series of studies (Creswell & Plano, 2011). Harwell (2011) defined a mixed method of research as a method that combines both quantitative and qualitative research approaches within a research study. The mixed method allows the researcher to harmonize the strength of the two methods to offset the weakness of both qualitative and quantitative research. Creswell & Plano, (2011) argued that the mixed method of research helps to answer questions that cannot be answered by qualitative or quantitative methods.

Despite the huge benefits of the mixed research method, using it comes with its associated challenges (Creswell & Plano, 2006). The mixed method of research requires immense resources to collect and analyze both qualitative and quantitative data. There are complications to the processes of the research with regards to it and requires clearer presentation for subjects in order to sort out the different procedures. In order to deal with this research problem thoroughly, the mixed research method was opted for this study.

3.5 Research Design

According to Bryman (2003), research design provides a framework for a researcher's decision on information collection and analysis. This research focused on the use of the case study design, which constitutes an intensive and detailed analysis. Amongst other research designs are the experimental design, longitudinal design, cross-sectional design, and comparative design.

3.6 Population and Sample Size

The population size of BEM was solicited from the Ghana Statistical Services and the Municipal Assemble office. As the whole population of BEM could not be sampled for this study, it was necessary to acquire a sample size of the population based on a suitable population sample technique. Purposive sampling was employed as the research instrument in the administering of data sampling in this research. Bryman (2008) explained that the goal of purposive sampling is to sample participants strategically, so that sampled population is relevant to the study questions that are being posed. The sample size was derived from the total population size (18,010) of the selected six (6) communities from the conflict-affected areas in the study area, namely Sagabo, Natinga and Possum, Sabongari, Azanga, and Gingande. I used the average number of people in each house (6.5 persons) as indicated by the Ghana Statistical Service to select the sample size from the six communities.

The sample size of 100 respondents was deduced from the selected communities and interviewed through the questionnaire guide. A minimum of 15 people were given questionnaires to answer in each community.

3.7 Source of Data Collection

This research derived data from both primary and secondary sources to answer the study questions to achieve the objective of the study. The primary sources of information were collected from opinion leaders, chiefs, and household heads. Literature was also reviewed to gather additional data.

3.8 Method of Data Collection

The method of data collection was primarily through questionnaires. Questionnaires were administered to a sample size of 100. The respondents included opinion leaders, chiefs, and commoners from both ethnic lines, representatives of civil society organizations, non-Kusasi and Mamprusi residents, Bawku Municipal Assemble, Ghana Police Service, and government and non-governmental organizations.

4.9 Data Collected

All 100 questionnaires were given to respondents to share their views according to the contents of the questionnaires. The respondents were given two weeks to fill them. After two weeks, only 81 completed questionnaires were successfully received from the respondents and analyzed.

3.10 Data Analysis and Presentation

Contextual analysis and scrutiny were used to analyze the data collected from primary and secondary sources. Data collected in the field were analyzed and coded using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Expected results of the analysis were presented in the form of frequency tables and graphs. This method of analysis was used because the respondents' views were devoid of any researcher's view. Again, this technique offered a detailed explanation of events under study and prevents ambiguities or biases. These themes and figures presented the overall objective of the research – causes of the ethnic conflict; the impact of ethnic conflict on socio-economic development; mediating method of managing and preventing ethnic conflict used government; and the way forward. The various figures and themes of questions were compared and contrasted with the respondent's answers.

3.11 Challenges and Limitations

There were limitations to the study. A key limitation of this study was the difficulty in accessing information from reliable sources. It was difficult to reach some of the key respondents due to the sensitive nature of the environment. A curfew was placed on Bawku during the period of data collection and this limited access to some key people. Time and cost were also an issue as the researcher had to travel long distances to BEM to collect reliable data for this study.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the full analysis of the data collected, including the demographic factors of the respondents, the causes and escalation of ethnic conflict, the socio-economic impact of BEM ethnic conflict, and the conflict resolution methods used by the government to resolve the conflict. The clarifications, which are presented in this chapter, helped to achieve the objectives of this research. The results from the study are detailed and analyzed below.

4.1 Demographic Factors

This section was designed to assess the demographic factors of the respondents. These factors were measured to find the individual age, sex, educational levels, marital status, years of residence, and people in the household and their dependents.

4.1.1 Sex of the Respondents

The respondents' sex was asked and analyzed below.

Table 4.1. Sex of the Respondents

Sex	Number of Respondents	Percent (%)
Male	46	57
Female	35	43
Total	81	100

As indicated by table 4.1, the majority of the respondents (57%) were male and (43%) were female, respectively.

4.1.2 Age of the Respondents

The objective of this part was to know the age of each respondent so they were asked to indicate it and it is being analyzed below.

Table 4.2 Age of the Respondents

Age (Years)	Number of Respondents	Percent (%)
18-25	12	14.8
26-35	14	17.3
36-45	26	32.1
46+	29	35.8
Total	81	100

The analysis from table 4.2 above shows that the majority (67.9%) of the respondents were above 35 years old and 32.15 were below 36 years old.

4.1.3 Educational Qualification

The respondents were asked about their highest educational qualifications in this part. This was asked to assess the rate of education in the municipality. Table 4.3 shows the detailed results from the respondents.

Table 4.3 Educational Qualification of the Respondents

Highest Qualification	Number of the Respondents	Percent (%)
Non-Formal Education	32	39.5
Primary Education	12	14.8
Junior High School	12	14.8
Senior High School/Technical Education	10	12.4
Tertiary	15	18.5
Total	81	100

The analysis from table 4.3 above shows that the majority (39.5%) of the respondents had not achieved formal education, followed by 18.5% with tertiary education. Also, 14.8% had primary education, 14.8% had junior high school education, and 12.4% of them had completed Senior High School/Technical Education. The results show that majority of the populace within the municipality have no formal education.

4.2 Causes and Escalation of Ethnic Conflict in the Bawku East Municipality

4.2.1 Respondents' Ethnic Group

Respondents were asked to indicate their ethnic group and the results are analyzed below.

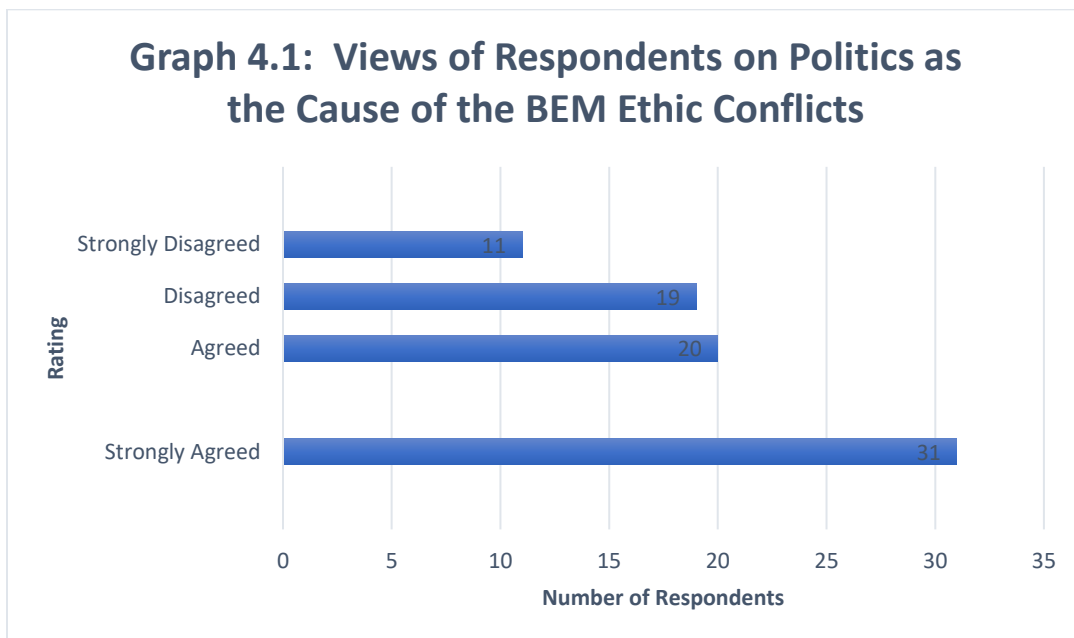
Table 4.4: Ethnic group belonging to the respondents

Ethnic Group	Number of Respondents	Percent (%)
Mamprusi	36	44.4
Kusasi	28	34.6
Others	17	21.0
Total	81	100

The analysis of the data from table 4.4 shows that 44.4% of the respondents were Mamprusis, 34.6% were Kusasis and 21% belonged to other groups.

4.2.2 Politics

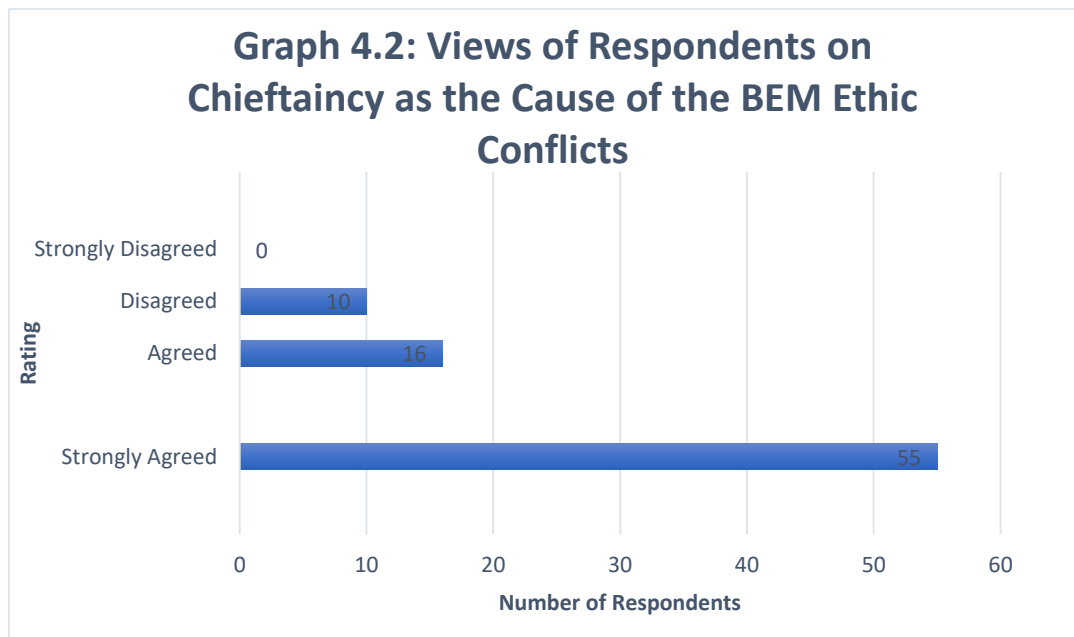
According to Blagovjevic (2009), politicking on the part the political party system is a key cause of ethnic conflict. Blagovjevic further explains that a state system becomes weak when there are clear indications of uncertainty, political parties of this nature manipulate the emotions of various ethnic factions to achieve their political agenda. From Graph 4.1, it was identified that 31 of the total respondents strongly agreed that politics contributed to the cause of the BEM conflict while 11 respondents indicated that they strongly disagree with that assertion. 20 respondents relatively agreed that politics was also a contributing cause while 19 respondents relatively disagreed with that fact.



BEM is a place that is carried away by political activities, which has caused major division between the Kusasi and Mamprusi representing the N.D.C and the N.P.P, respectively. The results from the fieldwork indicated that political activities had had a significant influence on the escalation of ethnic conflicts in the region.

4.2.3 Chieftaincy

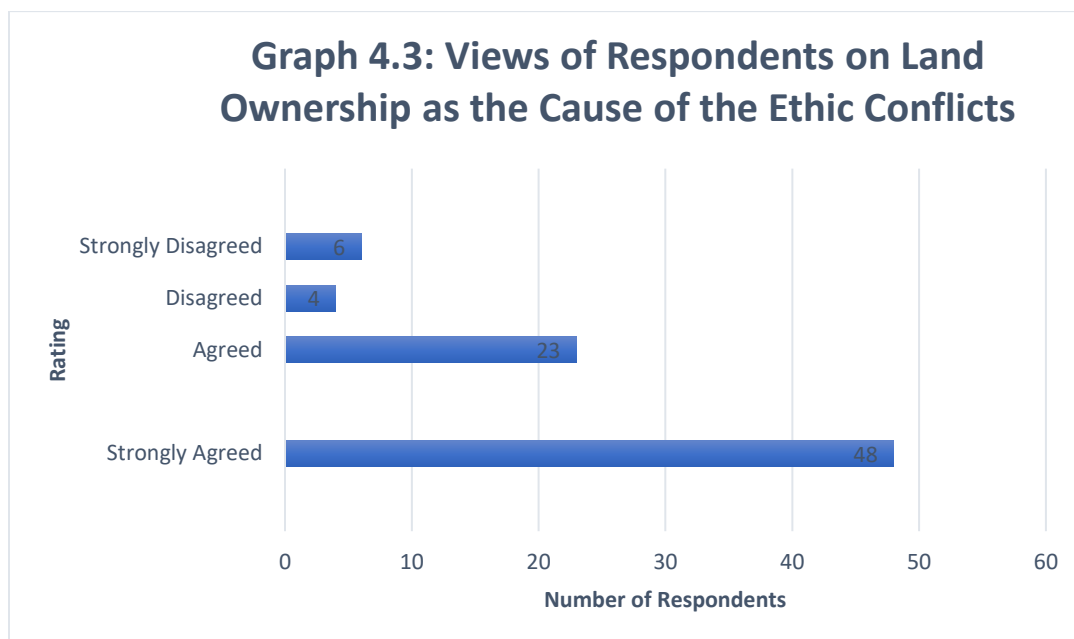
Ethnic conflicts do not just occur in a vacuum but caused by certain elements identified to be leadership and chieftaincy (Kaarbo and Ray 2008:219). From Graph 4.2, it was identified that 55 out of the total respondents (81) stated that chieftaincy is the major contributing factor to the BEM conflict while none of the respondents (0) indicated that they strongly disagree with that assertion. It was also identified that 16 respondents relatively agreed that chieftaincy was the cause while 10 respondents relatively disagreed with that fact.



The case of chieftaincy as the major cause of the BEM ethnic conflict might be different in other conflict perspectives as claimed by some ethnic conflict theorists. Chieftaincy as a major cause of ethnic conflicts in BEM varies from the case of chieftaincy been equally as the major cause of the Dagbon conflict.

4.2.4 Land Ownership

According to Awedoba (2009), land and resource disagreements are among the major sources of conflicts in the Northern part of Ghana. Blagojevic (2009) argues that resource competition between ethnic factions escalates ethnic conflicts. From Graph 4.3, it was shown that 48 of the total household respondents from both strongly agreed that land ownership also contributed to the cause of the BEM conflict while 6 respondents indicated strongly disagreed with that assertion. 23 respondents relatively agreed that land ownership was a contributing cause while 4 respondents relatively disagreed with that fact.



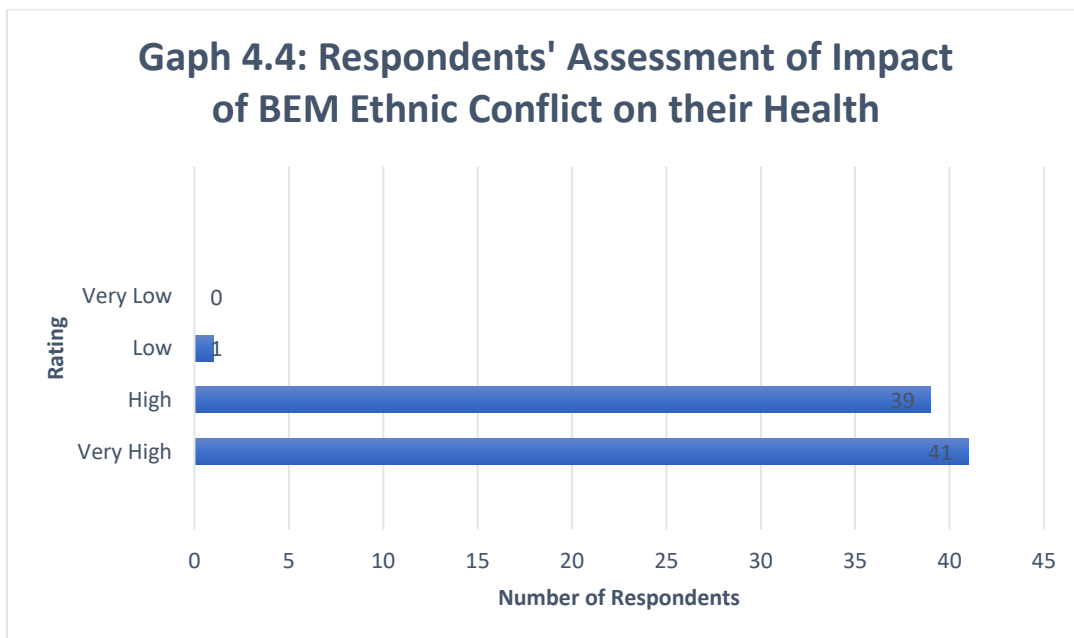
Land has become scarce and expensive in BEM due to the ethnic conflicts. People have to travel farther from their hometowns to farm or make houses. The fact that people have to go outside their towns create grounds for disputes over lands.

4.3 The Impact of BEM Ethnic Conflicts on Socio-Economic Development in the Municipality

Generally, there was a perception that BEM was growing massively with more development in all works of life before the ethnic conflict began in 2000. There were developmental projects in areas such as education, employment, health and etc. Unfortunately, the emergence of the ethnic conflict in the year 2000 has severely affected the socio-economic development of the area area. The respondents were asked to access the severity of impact of the ethnic conflicts on some selected socio-economic development indicators and is analyzed below.

4.3.1 Impact on Health

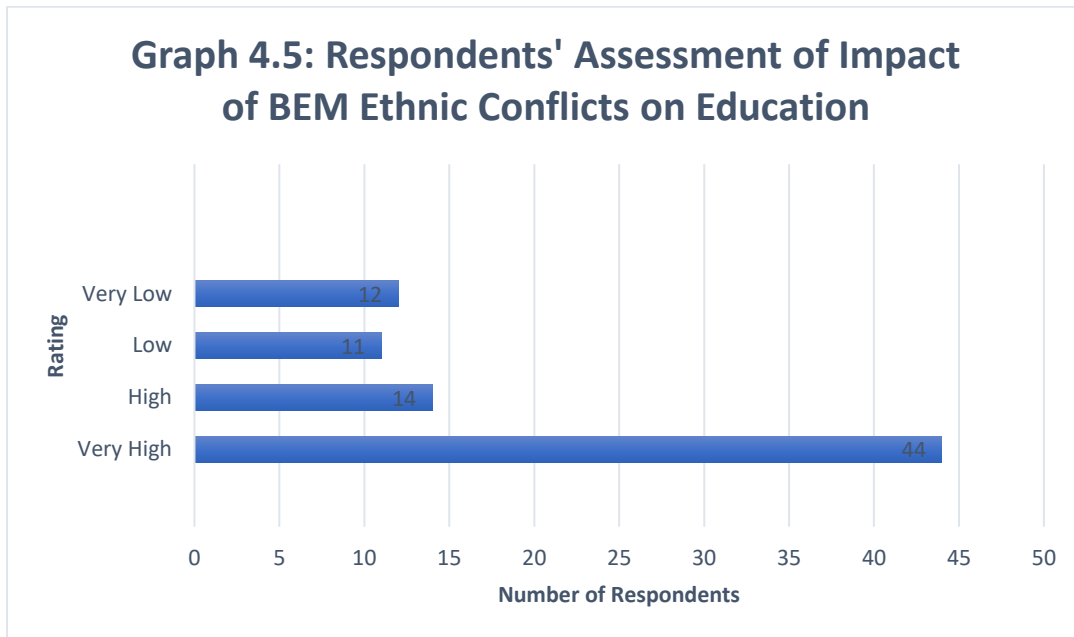
According to Sisaye (2009), the most worrying immediate impact of ethnic conflict on health is death, subject to measurement either quantitatively or qualitatively. From Graph 4.4, it was identified that 41 of the total household respondents from all the ethnic faction groups stated that their health was highly impacted by the BEM conflict while none of the respondents indicated that the impact was very low. 39 out of the 81 respondents stated that there was a relatively high impact on their health by the ethnic conflict while 1 respondent believes that it was relatively low.



As argued by Sisaye (2009), the most immediate impact of ethnic conflict on health is death, which replicates the most of the results collected. Some respondents indicated post traumatic health disorder, depression etc. as some of the impacts of the ethnic conflict.

4.3.2 Impact on Education

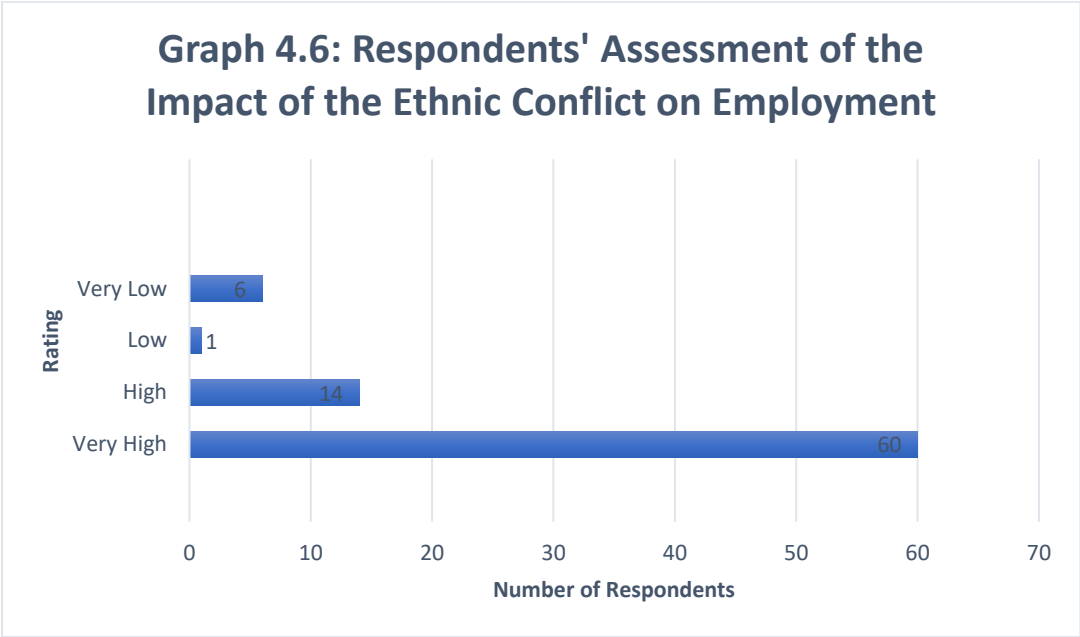
According to Harber (2002), ethnic conflict has effects on the educational systems of every country. He indicated that education as a major institution is mostly seen as a target by bitter groups in places impacted by ethnic conflicts. In the case of the BEM ethnic conflicts, the impacts of the ethnic conflicts were huge on the residents as stated by the respondents. From graph 4.5, it was established that 44 of the total respondents stated their education was highly affected by the BEM conflict while 12 respondents indicated there was a very low effect. 14 respondents were convinced that there was a relatively high effect on education by the ethnic conflict while 11 respondents believe there was a low impact.



The data collected indicated that education has been greatly impacted by the ethnic conflicts. It was emerged that one Kusasi teacher was slaughtered by the Mamprusis when the conflict was heavily ongoing.

4.3.3 Impact on Employment

Employment was massively affected by the ethnic conflict in BEM in all aspects including private institutions and public sector as specified by the respondents. From table 4.6, it was established that 60 respondents from the total 81 stated their employment was highly affected by the BEM ethnic conflict while 6 respondents indicated that there was a very low impact. 14 respondents indicated that there was a relatively high impact on the rate of employment by the ethnic conflict while 1 respondent believes that there was relatively a low impact.

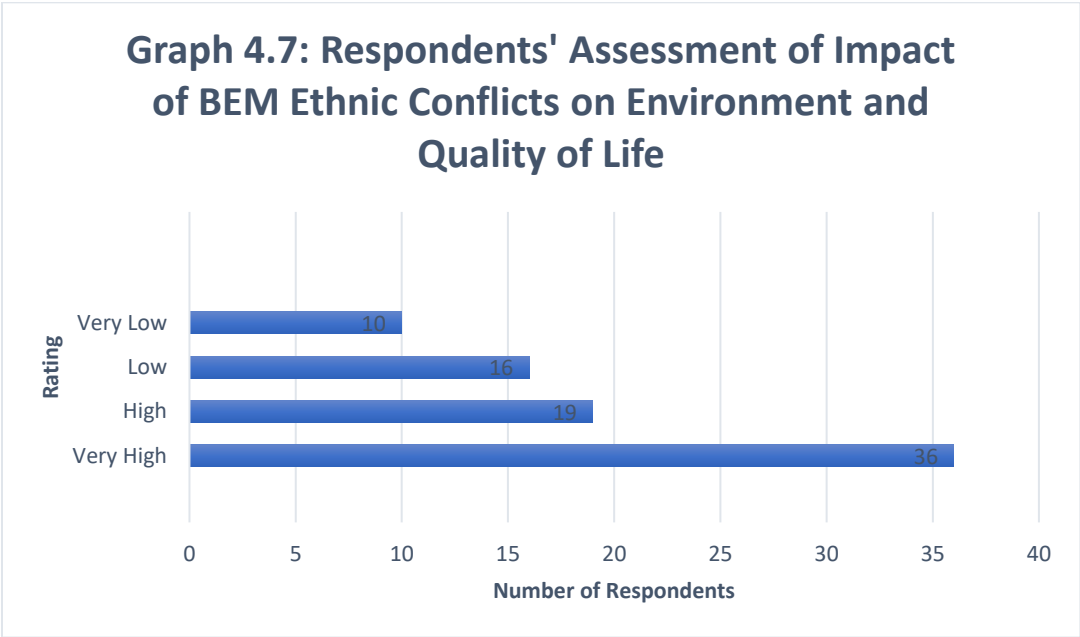


Mamprusi’s and Kusasi’s lived and worked together harmoniously for years until the BEM ethnic conflict started. The cooperation in both private and public institutions was clear evident and it was very difficult to differentiate the two groups before the war.

The findings show that the emergence of the conflicts increased unemployment situation in the region. The conflicts have collapsed the famous onion market which serves as the highest source of employment for the inhabitants.

4.3.4 Environment and Quality of Life

This part examined the respondent’s assessment of the effects of the BEM ethnic conflict on the natural environment and their living conditions. From graph 4.7, 36 of the total respondents stated that the environment and quality of their life experienced a very high impact due to the BEM ethnic conflict while 8 respondents indicated that there was a very low impact. 19 respondents indicated that there was a high impact on the environment and quality of their life by the conflict whiles 16 agreed that there was relatively a low impact.



Some argued that before the ethnic conflicts, BEM was one of the best tourist sites due to its friendly environment and quality of life. From the findings, it came out that BEM has lost that fame and people do not want to be associated with natives of the place as they are labelled radical people.

It was further revealed that the ethnic conflicts have displaced some of populace having huge impact on the socio-economic development location.

4.4 Ethnic Conflicts’ Resolution methods used by the government in the BEM ethnic conflicts

The ethnic conflicts in the Northern Region have received attention from government and other institutions over decades. A number of interventions have been introduced to manage the ethnic conflicts since they started. Most notable mediating mechanisms employed to control the conflicts included Ban of Motorbikes, curfew, setup of military camps and military presence in the conflicted zones.

However, these measures have achieved temporal results due to the complex nature of the conflicts. The respondents were asked to assess the success rate of government mediating methods and results are analyzed below.

4.4.1 Curfew as Mediating Measure Used by the Government

From table 4.4.1, it was identified that 10 of the total household respondents (12.3%) from all the ethnic faction groups stated that curfew as a mediating measure has had a very high impact on the resolution of BEM ethnic conflict by the government while 21 respondents (25.9%) stated that there was a very low impact. 13 respondents (16.1%) indicated that curfew had a relatively high impact on the BEM ethnic conflict while 37 respondents (45.7%) believed that there was relatively a low impact on the BEM ethnic conflict.

Table 4.5: Respondents’ assessment of curfew as mediating measure used by the government

Ratings	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very High	10	12.3
High	13	16.1
Very Low	37	45.7
Low	21	25.9

In a state of national security, curfew is mostly seen as the immediate measure to normalize the situation. Some security theorist argued that curfew is the most effective conflict mediating technique used by government to keep individuals indoor and under control in order to evaluate the situation and devise strategies to resolve it.

4.4.2 Ban on Motorbikes as a Mediating Measure Used by the Government

From table 4.4.2, it was identified that 2 of the respondents (2.5%) stated that the ban on motorbikes as a mediating method had a very high impact on the BEM ethnic conflict management by the government while 58 respondents (71.6%) indicated that there was a very low impact. 9 respondents (11.1%) were convinced that the ban of motorbikes only had a relatively high impact on the conflict as a mediating method used by the government while 12 respondents (14.8%) believed there was relatively a low impact.

Table 4.6: Respondents' assessment of curfew as mediating measure used by the government

Rating	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very High	2	2.5
High	9	11.1
Very Low	12	14.8
Low	58	71.6
Total	81	100

The commonest means of transportation in BEM is motorbike. It facilitates easily travel through the remote parts of the municipality due to the bad nature of road infrastructure. It was alleged that motorbikes are used to commit crimes during conflicts. It was identified that motorbike was first used to attack a prominent Kusasi person by shooting him in the open place by two criminals alleged to be Mamprusis.

4.4.3 Presence of Military as Mediating Measure Used by the Government

From table 4.4.3, it was identified that 29 of the total household respondents (35.8%) indicated that military presence had a very high impact on the mediation of the BEM ethnic conflict by the government while 4 respondents (4.9%) said there was a very low impact. 30 respondents (37.1%) were convinced that military presence had a relatively high impact on the BEM ethnic conflict while 18 respondents (22.2%) believed that there was relatively a low impact.

Table 4.7: Respondents' assessment of military presence as mediating measure used by government

Rating	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very High	29	35.8
High	30	37.1
Very Low	18	22.2
Low	4	4.9
Total	81	100

The presence of military personnel in the most ethnic conflict zones in Ghana and around the world has proven to lessen the escalation of the conflict as argued by some theorists. From BEM perspective, the presence of military has proven to be effective due to the data collected.

4.4.4 Setup of Military Camps as a Mediating Method by the Government

From table 4.4.4, it was identified that 32 of the total respondents (39.5%) stated that military camps as a mediating method impacted very highly on the management of the BEM ethnic conflict by the government while 16 respondents (19.8%) stated that there was a very low impact. 28 respondents (34.5%) indicated that setting up of military camps by the government had a relatively high impact on the conflict management while 5 respondents (6.2%) were convinced that there was relatively a low impact.

Table 4.8: Respondents' assessment of the setup of military camps as mediating measure used by government

Rating	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very High	32	39.5
High	28	34.5
Very Low	16	19.8
Low	5	6.2
Total	81	100

In BEM, it is significant to indicate that certain strategic zones within the towns are well known for inciting conflict, according to the data collected. There is an argument that the creation of military camps in towns has improved the security situation in BEM.

4.5 Summary

This chapter focused on data analysis of the collected data applying a quantitative method as the research strategy. Data was evaluated and analyzed based on the available literature and the questionnaires distributed to the respondents.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this research was to find out the impact of ethnic conflicts on the socio-economic development in the northern Region with particular emphasize on BEM. The specific objectives of the research were to identify the main causes of the BEM ethnic conflicts as perceived by the populace; the impact of the conflicts on the socio-economic development and the success of mediating methods used by government to manage and resolve the BEM ethnic conflicts. The objectives of this study were achieved based on the information collected and findings as it grants the opportunity to draw conclusions and recommendations for this study.

5.2 SUMMARY

A summary of the findings of the research is explained in this part to reflect the objectives of the research.

5.2.1 Causes and Escalation of the Ethnic Conflicts in Bawku East Municipality

The data analyzed drew out findings indicating chieftaincy as the major cause of the ethnic conflict in the BEM. A larger proportion of the sampled population agreed to this finding with reasons been ascribed to distrust created by the colonial leaders for their own objective. Both ethnic groups believed that the lack of historical facts and documents on the BEM chieftaincy made chieftaincy as the major contributor to the BEM ethnic conflicts. Both ethnic groups believed they are the rightful heir to the title as narrated by their past generations to them. This has created distrust between the ethnic factions making it difficult to agree on a common solution at all levels.

Other contributing factors of the BEM ethnic conflict from the findings were; politics and land ownership. Politics was identified as a contributing factor to the BEM ethnic conflict according to the findings of the study. Since the initiation of the Neo-Colonialism era, the political parties and British have been leveraging on the mistrust between the ethnic groups to achieve their agenda. The British assured one ethnic group chieftaincy title for supporting their agenda at the expense of the other group and vice versa.

The famous National Democratic Congress (N.D.C) party supports Kusasi while the New Patriotic Party (N.P.P) party supports Mamprusi respectively. The divisive support from the two political parties has massively contributed to protracted BEM ethnic conflict in the Northern Region. Land ownership and resources were also identified from the findings as a contributing factor to the BEM ethnic conflicts. The poor demarcation of lands among the ethnic groups creates disagreements and scuffles which frequently contribute to the BEM ethnic conflict.

5.2.2 Socio-economic Development Impact of the BEM Ethnic Conflicts

The findings indicated that the BEM ethnic conflicts had a huge effect on the socio-economic development of BEM. BEM is well known for its vibrant commercial activities due to its strategic positioning as the barrier for Anglophone-Francophone trade. This trading activity prior to the BEM ethnic conflict positively impacted on the socio-economic development of BEM in crucial areas such as employment, health, environment and quality of life until BEM ethnic conflicts started in 2000. Socio-economic development activities started to decline as indicated from the information collected and analyzed.

BEM had been known for producing outstanding students prior to the ethnic conflicts with persons from all walks of life choosing to live and work in BEM. There were great competitions amongst the numerous educational institutions due to the quality of students accommodated and trained by the institutions. Performance of students and institutions reduced from the beginning of the BEM ethnic conflicts with lots of the educational institutions performing poorly for the past 20 years as shown by the findings in the study. Parents requested for transfers to other cities in order to obtain better education for their wards.

Findings from the data analyzed indicated that health was massively impacted by the BEM ethnic conflict. Before BEM ethnic conflict, BEM attracted persons from far and near for one of its best healthcare facilities particularly in the part of eye treatment due to the prominent optometry services in BEM Presbyterian Hospital. BEM had one of the best healthcare facilities providing affordable and quality healthcare to the local people and visitors. Healthcare delivery was impacted negatively during and after the conflicts as many health specialists had to find refuge in other places for fear of their lives.

Findings from the data collected showed cases of threat by both ethnic groups to health workers making it difficult to attend to the needs of patients.

On employment, findings indicated an impact on the availability of jobs in both public and private sector of BEM. Before BEM ethnic conflict, commercial activities were very vibrant that financial institutions extended their services to BEM generating huge employment opportunities for the local indigenes. The findings revealed that it became a norm to employ 80% of local people by any institution or business that establishes its operations in BEM. The local businesses were also affected as local goods trading dropped low due to fear of losing their goods because of the conflicts. Most local businesses migrated to near or far towns to salvage their activities and seek for other opportunities. Employment in the public sector reduced as government had to channel its resources and revenue to address the BEM ethnic conflicts.

Findings from information collected and analyzed showed that the BEM ethnic conflicts seriously affected the environment and quality of life. Prior to the BEM ethnic conflict, the environment and quality of life in the municipality was one the best. Sanitation was prominent in BEM where mandatory community cleaning exercises were organized including all residents devoid of ethnic affiliation. BEM witnessed constant road construction and rehabilitation as results of the peaceful nature of the towns. A lot declined during the BEM ethnic conflict forcing contractors constructing roads and buildings to vacate their sites due to the BEM ethnic conflicts. It is sad to reveal by the findings that roads in BEM roads had not received any key re-construction since the inception of the conflicts from 2000 till now. The peace enjoyed by the population is no more as the conflicts put fear and panic in persons affecting their quality of life.

5.2.3 Mediating methods used by the Government and perceived methods by Local People

Generally, government has always applied the standard procedures during conflicts such as the BEM ethnic conflicts. Findings from the study identified institutionalization of curfew as the primary intervention used by government to contain the condition by keeping the populace in home. This was accompanied by the distribution of military personnel and set up of military camps to create fear in the local people to prevent the escalation of the conflicts by the ethnic factions.

The Bawku Inter ethnic Peace Committee was formed to find lasting peace to the conflicts. The establishment of the Bawku Peace Committee was the longest and active policy intervention by the government which reported directly to government on the progress of the BEM ethnic conflict management and resolution processes.

Unfortunately, these mediating measures have only been temporal measured as indicated from findings in this research. The local population perceived these mediating approaches by government as less effective and as temporal approaches to resolve the BEM ethnic conflict.

Findings indicated that the local people proposed mediating methods for resolving the BEM ethnic conflict contrary to the government methods. Mediating methods as proposed by the local people was the inclusion of a curriculum in BEM educational system to teach the young ones on the concept of conflicts and its negative impacts. Another mediating method suggested was the selection of rightful owners for chieftaincy title for peace to prevail. They believed that the chiefs are sometimes not chosen from the right family and it rejuvenates the conflicts. Again, a mediating method suggested was for government to withdraw its participation in the management of the conflicts and allow traditional leaders to manage and resolve the ethnic conflicts. Lastly, a mediating method as indicated by the respondents was to allow a healing process for affected people by the ethnic conflicts to recover from the hurt and teach the present generation not to revenge the harm caused to their families.

5.3 Conclusion

BEM is located in a very strategic point in Ghana trans-bordering between Ghana and two Francophone nations Togo and Burkina Faso. Like many other African nations and the world at large, Ghana has witnessed ethnic conflicts for decades for reasons relating to chieftaincy, land and resources, religious and political affiliations. The main objective of this study was to examine the impact of BEM ethnic conflicts on the socio-economic development of BEM which was significantly achieved taking into consideration the causes of the conflicts and mediating methods used by government and other stakeholders to resolve the BEM ethnic conflicts.

It is clear that two main ethnic factions, namely, Kusasis and Mamprusis have learnt more lessons from the effect of the BEM ethnic conflicts on their livelihood and working tirelessly to address their difference to promote a peaceful environment now and also for their future generation.

Notwithstanding, it is significant to note that some of the local populations are skeptical about a perpetual peaceful resolution of the conflicts. It is imperative as a democratic nation to include all stakeholders in sustaining the current peace in BEM while exploring the mediating approaches of conflict resolution offered by the local indigenes as additional options to the existing methods. There is positivity in achieving a long-lasting resolution to the ethnic conflicts in BEM. As a researcher, it is my wish that findings from this research are communicated and understood by local people. Also, the mediating methods stated by the local people are implemented to improve the socio-economic and sustainable development of the region.

5.4 Recommendations

BEM is a lively place to live in periods of calm with business opportunities spanning from all parts because of its commercial history. The intractable nature of the BEM ethnic conflicts has declined the development of the area for many years and for that matter there is a need for right interventions to be taken to improve the socio-economic development of BEM.

Government's conflict mediating methods such as military presence, setup of military camps and ban on motorbikes have not offered a lasting solution as suggested by the respondents from the study. Government needs to perform a broader consultation with other stakeholders to accept the recommendations and perceived mediating strategies professed by the local people to ensure total resolution of the ethnic conflicts. The local people doubt the effectiveness of the day-to-day reports on the conflicts by the Bawku Peace Committee Council to government in resolving the ethnic conflicts in BEM.

The local people see the Bawku Peace Committee Council responsibilities as been playing to the gallery of government instead of working towards a permanent solution to the ethnic conflicts in the BEM.

Traditional and religious leaders must be key and critical to the peace plan of the BEM ethnic conflicts.

They offer impactful advices to the current generation or youth through traditional and religious worships. As respected people in the societies, their inputs and contributions should be regarded by the other stakeholders in the peace process of BEM.

Ghana Education Service and other educational institutions should revive or re-invent the periodic organization of sporting events and other educational competitions for the youth from all communities with great prizes giving to the winners. Also, local stars and celebrities can be invited from all parts of Ghana to participate and honor some of the events to present a good picture of BEM to other world. Other ethnic groups can be invited from other part of the country to participate in the event and also award trophies or medals to the winners. This will generate competition among the youth of the area to exhibit their capability in order to minimize the idle nature of the youth which easily lead them to violence.

Though counselling activities are not very vibrant in most parts of the country but the Ghana Counsel Association can begin counselling programs through its branch in BEM as a healing program for people who have lost families and properties through the conflicts. This can help persons who have been hurt and devastated to avoid looking for opportunities to revenge. It is very clear that victims of the BEM ethnic conflicts are really hurt and might take opportunity to revenge at the least provocation.

With the above recommendations, Bawku East Municipality can begin to realize a lasting solution to the ethnic conflicts to improve the socio-economic development of the area.

REFERENCES

- Aidan S. (2017), Conflict in the Caucasus: Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Regional Security. NATO's Arc of Crisis (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Aladje Abdulai. Tite, May 31, 2008. Tamarind or Calabash? Roots of Conflicts in Guinea-Bissau: the voice of the people (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Asamoah, K. (2014). Ethnic Conflict: A threat to Ghana's Internal Stability: A Case Study of the Nkonya-Alavanyo Conflict in the Volta Region. Department of Political Science, University of Ghana (Accessed 19/01/2018)
- Awedoba, A.K. (2011) An Ethnographic study of Northern Ghana Conflicts: Towards a Sustainable Peace: Accra: sub-Saharan Publishers. (Accessed 28/12/2017)
- Awedoba, A.K. (2011). An Ethnographic Study of Northern Ghana Conflicts: Towards a Sustainable Peace: Accra: sub-Saharan Publishers. (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Anderson, M. B. & Sumner, C. (2006). Girls' access to primary education in Pakistan. Bangalore: Pakistan Press. (Accessed 25/08/2017)
- Anne, H. (1983). The Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and Transition, 1641-1718. University of Wisconsin Press (Accessed 12/02/2018)
- Anthony D. Smith (1996). Ethnicity. Nationalism and Ethnicity at the London School of Economics (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Abayie, B. (1999). Anthropology of Africa and the Challenges of the Third Millennium: Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflicts, PAAA / APA, 1999 (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Abraham, S.F. (2010) Quantitative Research Methods. School of Education, Nova SouthEastern University. (Accessed 05/02/2018)
- Abayie Boateng (1999). " Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflicts in Africa: Ghana's Example ", Anthropology of Africa and the Challenges of the Third Millennium – Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflicts, PAAA/APA, 1999 (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Achebe, C. (1997). The Trouble with Nigeria. Fourth Dimension Publishers (Accessed 15/12/2016)

- Ahorsu, K., & Gebe, B.Y. (2011). Governance and Security in Ghana: The Dagbon chieftaincy crisis, Accra Ghana: WACSI (Accessed 25/08/2017)
- Alderman et al (2006). A Focus on the Internally Displaced Conflict (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Alhassan E. & Karim, A. (2017). Implications of the Bawku Chieftaincy Conflict on Basic Education in the Bawku Traditional Area. (Accessed 25/08/2017)
- Babbie, E. (2005). *The Basics of Social Research*, (3rd ed.). Chapman University. Thomson Wadsworth (Accessed 19/01/2018)
- Blagojevic, B. (2009). *Journal of Global Change and Government*. 111(1), winter. LaGuardia Community College, City University of New York. University (Accessed 25/08/2017)
- Boateng, A. (1999). *Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflicts in Africa: Ghana's Example*. (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods*, 4th edition. Oxford University Press, UK (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Boateng, R. (2014). *Research Made Easy* (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Brukum, N. J. (2006). *Ethnic Conflict in Northern Ghana, 1980-1999: An Appraisal*. (Accessed 25/08/2017)
- Buckland, P. (2005). *Reshaping the future: Education and post-conflict reconstruction*. Washington: World Bank. (Accessed 25/08/2017)
- Collier, Paul, et al. (2001): "On the Duration of Civil War" Policy Research Working Paper.(2681). The World Bank Development Research Group. September 2001 (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Cooper, O. (1966). *The Zulu Aftermath. A Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Bantu Africa* (Accessed 25/08/2017)
- Cordell, K., & Wolff, S. (2010) *Ethnic Conflict. Causes-Consequences-Responses*. Polity Press, 65 Bridge Street. Cambridge CB2 1UR, UK. (Accessed 25/08/2017)
- Cramer, C. (2010). *Unemployment and participation in violence - World Bank Group* (Accessed 24/07/2017)

- Centre for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM). June 1999.
(Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Chriford C. (2008), Ethnicity Main Cause of Instability, Civil Conflict, and Poverty in Africa.
(Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Cissao, Y. (2017). Village communities and the management of conflicts in the department of Tenkodogo. Boulgou district, Burkina Faso (Accessed 15/12/2016)
- Cliff S. Maasole (2011). The Land Factor in the Konkomba Nanumba Crisis of 1981: A Historical Perspective. (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Creswell, J.W (2013) Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among five approaches (3rd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage (Accessed 11/01/2018)
- Creswell, J.W, & Plano, V.L. (2011) Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research, Sage Publications (Accessed 05/02/2018)
- Daneil, M. (2004) Doing Quantitative Research in Education, Sage Publications, London (Accessed 05/02/2018)
- Donald, Y. (2015): "Intractable Conflicts in Northern Region Ghana and the Search for Lasting Peace: Case of Mamprusi and Kusasi in Bawku". University of Ghana, Legon.
(Accessed 12/02/2018)
- DR Congo: Ethnic Militias Attack Civilians in Katanga. Human Rights Watch. 11 August 2015.
(Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (Eds) (2005) Handbook of qualitative research (3rd ed) Thousand Oaks, CA: sage. (Accessed 11/01/2018)
- Gaudens, P. (2004). Conflict resolution and peace building in Africa as a process (Accessed 01/01/2018)
- Easterly, W. (2009). How the millennium development goals are unfair in Africa. World Development, 37 (1): 26-35. (Accessed 25/08/2017)
- Elena Chadova (2005): Global Action on Aging, Cameroon: Tribal Conflict Leaves More Than 100 Elderly Dead or Homeless (Accessed 12/11/2016)

- Emily Wax (28 August 2008). "Peaceful Protests in Kashmir Alter Equation for India".
The Washington Post. Retrieved 23 November 2010. (Accessed 17/09/2017)
- Erukora, L.O. (2005). "Managing Ethno-Religious Violence and Area Differentiation in Kaduna Metropolis", in A.M. Yakubu et al (editors), *Crisis and Conflict Management in Nigeria since 1980*. (2), P. 633. Baraka Press and Publishers Ltd., Kaduna, Nigeria.
(Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Erukora, L.O. (2005). *Managing ethno-religious violence and area differentiation in Kaduna metropolis: Crisis and conflict management in Nigeria*. Kaduna, Nigerian Defense Academy. (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Ethnic Militias Attack Civilians Katanga (2015). *Batwa-Luba ethnic conflict – Ethnic Militias Attack Civilians in Katanga*. DR Congo (Accessed 17/09/2017)
- Ghana Statistical Service (2010). *Bawku Municipality – 2010 Population and Housing Census*. Ghana Statistical Service (Accessed 25/08/2017)
- Hans, M. & David, B. & Daniel L. *The Bimoba: The People of Yenu* (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Harber, D. (2002). Education, democracy and poverty reduction in Africa.
Comparative Education 38 (3): 267-276. (Accessed 25/08/2017)
- Harwell, M. R. (2011). "Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods"
In C. C., & S. R.C., *The Sage handbook for research in education*:
- Harwell, M. R. (2011). "Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods" In C. C., & S. R.C., *The Sage handbook for research in education: Pursuing ideas as the keystone of exemplary inquiry* (Second ed., p. 151). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Heavy shelling in Burundi's capital. *BBC News*. April 18, 2008. Retrieved April 27, 2010.
(Accessed 12/11/2017)
- Hilton, Anne (1983). Family and Kinship among the Kongo South of the Zaire River from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries. *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 24, No. 2. p. 202. (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Horowitz, D. (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press
(Accessed 25/08/2017)

- Horowitz, D.L 1985; *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press
(Accessed 19/01/2018)
- Human Rights Watch (2001). *Military revenge in Benue* - Human Rights Watch
(Accessed 15/12/2016)
- Human Rights Watch (2006). *Patterns of Impunity in Jammu and Kashmir* (Accessed 12/02/2018)
- Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (2016). *BURUNDI: Still no end to displacement, despite political progress*, Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, Geneva
(Accessed 12/11/2016)
- International Crisis Group (2012). *The North Caucasus: The Challenges of Integration (I), Ethnicity and Conflict*, Europe Report N°220, International Crisis Group, New York.
(Accessed 12/11/2016)
- International Journal of Innovative Research & Development (2014). *Politicized ethnicity and Human Rights Violations: Unintended side-effects of the multi-party politics in Kenya*
(Accessed 12/02/2018)
- International Journal of Innovative Research & Development (2014). *Mamprusi-Kusasi Imbroglia; 1902-2000: A Colonial Legacy or Failure of the Post-Colonial State* (Accessed 17/09/2017)
- Jared, D. (1996). *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The fates of human societies*. New York
(Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Jick, T.D (1979) *Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: Triangulation in Action*, Sage Publication, Johnson Graduate School of Management, Cornell University
(Accessed 05/02/2018)
- John Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath*, Longmans, 1966. (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Justino, P. (2011). *Violent conflict and human capital accumulation*. HiCN Working Paper 99.
(Accessed 01/01/2018)
- Kaufman, S.J. (1996). "Spiraling to Ethnic War: Elite, Masses, and Moscow in Moldova"s Civil War, *International Security*, 21(2), 109. (Accessed 25/08/2017)
- Keen, D. (1998) & Duffield, D. (2001). *The economic functions of violence in civil wars*
(Accessed 24/07/2017)

- Koul, Lokesh (2009) *Methodology of Educational Research*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd. (Accessed 01/01/2018)
- Kranz, R.W. (2005). *The Civil War in Liberia - Bong Town* (Accessed 19/01/2018)
- Kura, Kabir H. 2010. *Muslim-Christian cooperation for conflict prevention/management, peacebuilding, and reconciliation in Northern Nigeria, Kaduna, PCMRA.* (Accessed 24/07/2017)
- Ladouceur, P.A. (1979). *Chiefs and Politicians: The Politics of Regionalism in Northern Ghana.* London: Longman. (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Levy, J. (2002). *Theories of War and Peace* (Accessed 24/07/2017)
- Lindgren, B. (2005). *The Politics of Ethnicity as an Extended Case: Thoughts on a Chiefly Succession Crisis* (Accessed 01/01/2018)
- Longi, F. (2014). *The Kusasi Mamprusi Conflict in Bawku: A Legacy of British Colonial Policy in Northern Ghana*, *Ghana Studies*, 17,157-176. Published by African Studies, University of Wisconsin- Madison. (Accessed 24/07/2017)
- Lund, C. (2003). *'Bawku Is Still Volatile': Ethno-Political Conflict and State Recognition in Northern Ghana.* *The Journal of Modern African Studies* (Accessed 09/01/2018)
- Lokesh, K. (2009). *Methodology of Educational Research* (Fourth ed.). New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House PVT Ltd (Accessed 24/07/2017)
- Maasole, C. (2011). *The Land Factor in the Konkomba-Nanumba Crisis of 1981* (Accessed 01/01/2018)
- Nnoli, O. (2008). *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria Enugu dimension publishers* (Accessed 17/09/2017)
- Noagah, B.K. (2013). *The Peace Process in the Bawku Conflict in Ghana: Challenges and Prospects.* *Conflict and Communication Online*, 12(2) (Accessed 24/07/2017)
- Pape, J. (1998). *Changing education for majority rule in Zimbabwe and South Africa.* *Comparative Education Review* 42(3): 253-266. (Accessed 24/07/2017)

- Parkinson, G., & Dristane, R. (2011). Qualitative research. In online dictionary of social science. Retrieved from [http:// bitbucket: icaap.org/dict.p/](http://bitbucket:icaap.org/dict.p/) (Accessed 09/01/2018)
- Patton, M.Q. (2002) A Guide to using Qualitative Research Methodology, Medecins Sans Fronliers. (Accessed 19/01/2018)
- Paul A. (2014). Ethnic Conflict: A threat to Ghana’s Internal Stability: A Case Study of the Nkonya-Alavanyo Conflict in the Volta Region (Accessed 25/08/2017)
- Perdesen, R. (2001). Understanding Ethnic Violence, Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002 (Accessed 24/07/2017)
- Population and Housing Census (2010), District Analytical Report: BEM, Ghana Statistical Services (Accessed 25/12/2017)
- Public Records and Archives Administration's Tamale (1957). The Ghana Public Records and Archives Administration Department-Tamale (Accessed 01/01/2018)
- Posen, B. (1993). The security dilemma and ethnic conflict, survival, 35/2:133-49. (Accessed 25/08/2017)
- Reimann, C. (nd). “Assessing the State-of-the-Art in Conflict Transformation –Reflections from a Theoretical Perspective”, Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management (Accessed 24/07/2017)
- Robert W. Kranz (2005) Information courtesy of: www.GlobalSecurity.org (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Rathbone, R (2000): Nkrumah & the Chiefs. The Politics of Chieftaincy in Ghana 195160. Ohio University Press. Athens. James Currey Oxford (Accessed 24/07/2017)
- Ray, J. L., & Kaarbo, J. (2008). Houghton Mifflin Company Boston New York. Publish by Patricia Coryell (Accessed 25/08/2017)
- Reddition d’environ 300 miliciens de la FRPI en Ituri (2015). Hem and Lendu ethnic conflict: Reddition d’environ 300 miliciens de la FRPI en Ituri, Democratic Republic of Congo (Accessed 25/12/2017)
- Ross, H. (2001). Identity Dynamics in Ethnic Conflict (Accessed 12/02/2018)

- Rwandan Environmental Management Authority (2009). Rwanda State of the Environment and Outlook Report. (Accessed 01/01/2018)
- Social violence in Nigeria. Connect SAIS Africa. (Accessed 12/11/2016)
- Social Violence Nigeria (2015). Social Violence in Nigeria - Connect SAIS Africa ~ (Accessed 12/02/2018)
- Sulemana M. (2009). Understanding the Causes and Impacts of Conflicts in the Northern Region of Ghana. Ghana Policy Journal (Accessed 24/07/2017)
- Summerfield, D. (1995). Addressing Human Response to War and Atrocity: Major Challenges in Research and Practices and the Limitations of Western Psychiatric Models (Accessed 01/01/2018)
- Swee, E.L. (2013). On war intensity and schooling attainment: The case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, mimeo, Melbourne: University of Melbourne. (Accessed 12/02/2018)
- Sambanis, N. (2001). Do Ethnic and Non-Ethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes? A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry (Part I). (Accessed 25/08/2017)
- Sanan, M. (2007). Conflicting Theories of Ethnic Conflicts: The Case of Nagorno-Karabakh. (Accessed 19/01/2018)
- Sisaye, S. (2009). Violent Civil Conflict and Its Impact on Health Outcomes: A Closer look at Kenya's 2007-2008 Post-Election Violence (Accessed 25/08/2017)
- Tambiah, S. J. (1989). "Ethnic Conflict in the World Today", American Ethnologist, Vol. 16 (No. 2), 335-349. (Accessed 19/01/2018)
- Taras, R.C., & Ganguly, R. (2002). Understanding Ethnic Conflicts: The International Dimension, New York: Longman, 25. (Accessed 25/08/2017)
- The International Journal of Humanities & Social Studies (2015). Kusasi-Mamprusi Ethnic conflict: The International Journal of Humanities & Social Studies (2015) (Accessed 12/02/2018)
- The World Factbook (2017). Sudan - The World Factbook: Central Intelligence Agency (Accessed 12/02/2018)

The World Factbook. Central Intelligence Agency. South Sudan (Accessed 15/12/2016)

Thomas D. Conflict and Human Rights: A Theoretical Framework, University of Birmingham.
(Accessed 12/11/2016)

Tokunbo, O. & Oladipupo, O. (2006). Ethnic Conflicts in Contemporary Africa:
The Nigerian Experience (Accessed 25/12/2017)

UNESCO (2006). International standard classification of education. Montreal:
UNESCO Institute for Statistics (Accessed 25/08/2017)

UNICEF (1996). Lasting Wounds: Consequences of Genocide and War for Rwanda's Children)
(Accessed 24/07/2017)

United Nations, Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN). 16-22 October 1999.
"Tripartite Discussions on Ghanaian Refugees in Togo." ((Accessed 25/08/2017)

United Nations, Sustainable Development Goal Report 2016. New York (Accessed 25/08/2017)

Uppsala Conflict Data Program (2016). Congo - The Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP)
(Accessed 05/02/2018)

Uppsala Conflict Data Program Conflict Encyclopedia, Conflict Name: Hema – Lendu,
Conflict Summary, Non-state Conflict (Accessed 17/09/2017)

APPENDIX

ASSESSING THE DYNAMICS, CAUSES AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF ETHNIC COFLICTS IN THE NORTHERN REGION OF GHANA: A CASE STUDY FROM BAWKU EAST MUNICIPALITY(BEM).

QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE

Consent to Participate in the Study

Thank you for accepting to participate in this study. This questionnaire is designed to assess the dynamics, causes and the socio-economic impact of ethnic conflicts in the Northern Region with particular emphasize on BEM. This study will help in analyzing ethnic conflicts and their associated effects in the development of the region.

The study is conducting solely for academic purposes and your views will be treated as STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

Community Name: Date:

PART ONE: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

1. Sex of respondent: 1. Male [] 2. Female []

2. Age of respondent:

A. 18-25 [] B. 26-35[] C. 36-45[] D.51+ []

3. Highest educational qualification:

A. No Formal Education [] B. Primary Education [] C. Junior High Education []

D. Senior High School/Technical [] F. Tertiary []

4. Marital Status:

A. Never Married [] B. Married [] C. Divorced/Separated []

5. How long have you resided in BEM?

.....

6. How many people are in your household?

.....

7. In your household, how many dependents do you have?

.....

PART TWO: CAUSES, AND ESCALATION OF BEM ETHNIC CONFLICTS.

1. Which ethnic group do you belong to?

A. Mamprusi [] B. Kusasi [] C. Other (specify)

2. What ethnic language do you speak?

A. Mampurli [] B. Kusaal [] C. Other (specify)

3. On a scale of 1-4, could you please rate your fluency in your language?

A. Poor [] B. Good [] D. Very Good [] E. Very Good []

4. From your own understanding, what do you think are the causes of ethnic conflict within the Municipality?

.....
.....

5. Causes of BEM Ethnic Conflicts

The table below contains some selected causes of Ethnic Conflicts, please indicate your thought about their contribution to BEM ethnic conflict by ticking.

CAUSES	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Do you agree politics is the cause of the conflict?				
Do you agree chieftaincy is the cause of the conflict?				
Do you agree land ownership is the cause of the conflict?				

**PART 3: IMPACT OF ETHNIC CONFLICTS ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
IN BEM**

1. Has the ethnic conflict in the BEM affected you in anyway?

A. Yes [] B. No []

2. If no, why?

3. If yes, rate the severity of effect on you?

A. Very High [] B. High [] C. Normal [] D. Low [] E. Very Low []

4. Can you relate the impact to your socio-economic development?

A. Yes [] B. No []

5. If no, why?.....

6. If yes, which of the following socio-economic development indicator have you been impacted by?

A. Health [] B. Education [] C. Employment [] D. Environment and Quality of life []

7. Impact of BEM ethnic conflicts on Socio-economic development.

The table below contains some selected socio-economic development indicators, please assess the level of effect of BEM ethnic conflict on them by ticking.

INDICATORS	IMPACT			
	VERY HIGH	HIGH	LOW	VERY LOW
Health impact on you or family				
Education impact on you or family				
Employment impact on you or family				
Environment and Quality of Life impact on you or family				

PART FOUR: CURRENT ETHNIC CONFLICT RESOLUTION METHODS BY GOVERNMENT

1. Do you know any current conflict mediating methods used by government?

A. Yes [] B. No []

2. If yes, which ones do you know?

.....

3. If no, which of the following resolution methods have you heard of?

A. Curfew [] B. Presence of Military [] C. Ban of moto bikes [] D. Set up of military camps []

4. Impact of government mediating methods on ethnic conflict resolution:

The table below contains some selected government mediating methods on ethnic conflict resolution, please assess their impact on BEM ethnic conflict by ticking.

GOVERNMENT MEDIATING METHODS	IMPACT ON ETHNIC CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN BEM			
	Very High	High	Low	Very Low
Curfew				
Ban on motorbikes				
Presence of military in town				
Set up of military camps				